Changes in the event structure of psych verbs in the history of Spanish

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1. AIMS

➢ To study the aspectual behaviour of Spanish psych verbs classified by Belletti and Rizzi (1987) as 3rd class (i.e., verbs that take a dative EXPERIENCER and a nominative THEME) from a diachronic standpoint:

    (1) A Pepe *le gusta* el café
       to Pepe CL$_{Dat}$ likes the coffee
       'Pepe likes coffee'

➢ To provide a classification of Dative Experiencer Psych Verbs (DEPVs) that pays attention to their etymological origin, which is shown to be relevant to their aspectual behaviour.

➢ To show that the different aspectual nature of Modern Spanish DEPVs corresponds to different stages of an evolutionary path.

➢ To posit a formal analysis of these constructions.

2. ETYMOLOGY AND DIACHRONIC EVOLUTION

2.1. Basic description of DEPVs

• In these structures the formal subject does not correspond to the logical subject.

• DEPVs are unaccusative structures with a dative object that relates to the EXPERIENCER of the action; and the syntactic subject is a THEME that identifies the stimulus that triggers the experience.

    (2) A Gustavo *le duelen* los oídos y la cabeza
       to Gustavo CL$_{Dat}$ hurt the ears and the head
       'Gustavo has earache and headache'

• In Spanish the verbs of this class are:

    (3) *agradar* 'to like, to please', *desagradar* 'to dislike', *apetecer* 'to fancy', *placer* 'to please', *doler* 'to hurt', *gustar* 'to like, to enjoy', *importar* 'to matter', *pesar* 'to regret, to sorrow' and *antojarse* 'to feel like, to fancy'

• There is general agreement in that these verbs behave as states (Cano Cambronero 2013: 106). We agree with this, but we pose that the aspectual behaviour of DEPVs is not homogeneous nowadays.

2.2. Etymological classification of DEPVs

GROUP 1 − *DEPVs inherited from Latin*

• Latin verbs that could be used as DEPVs in unaccusative configurations (*placer* 'to please' < PLACEO 'to please', *doler* 'to hurt, to feel pain' < DOLEO 'to hurt, to feel pain', *pesar* 'to upset, to sorrow' < PENSO 'to weigh, to consider'):

    (4) *placuit* castra defendere exercitui
       pleased camp defend army
       'Defending the camp pleased the army'
       [Pinkster (1990:23)]

• Most of these verbs already took a dative complement in Latin and could have an impersonal value, but for PENSO.

• With regard to PENSO, although it was an active verb in Latin, it accommodates to the syntax of DEPVs from its first Romance attestations.

    (5) a. ex factis, non ex dictis, amicos pensare
        by facts, not by words, friends consider
        'To value friendship by actions, not by words'
        [Liv. 34, 49, apud. *Lewis & Short* s.v. PENSO]

      b. Mucho pesa alos de Teca & alos de Teruel non plaze
        A-lot upset to-the of Teca & to-the of Teruel not please
        'It upsets people from Teca and it disgusts people from Teruel'.
        [*Cid*: v. 625; *apud.* Batllori (2012)]

GROUP 2 − *Active Latin verbs that became DEPVs in Romance*

• Latin verbs the descendants of which did not develop the DEPV structure until the Golden Age (*gustar* 'to like' < GUSTO 'to taste', *apetecer* 'to fancy' < APPETO 'to strive after, to desire', *importar* 'to matter' < IMPORTO 'to bring, to imply'):

    (6) para dar mayor claridad para que *todos lo gusten*
       to give greater clarity to that all CL$_{Acc}$ taste
       'so as to shed more light for everybody to taste it'
       [*CORDE*: 1585. Juan de Arfe y Villafañe. *Varia Conmensuración para la Escultura y la Arquitectura.*]

    (7) *No le gustó* el mancebo
       not CL$_{Dat}$ liked the youth
       'She did not like the youth'
       [*CORDE*: 1612. Lope de Vega Carpio, *Pastores de Belén, prosas y versos divinos.*]

GROUP 3 − *DEPVs of Romance genesis*

• Verbs of Romance creation unattested in Latin (*agradar* 'to like', *desagradar* 'to dislike', *antojarse* 'to fancy, to feel like').

• The first attestations were passive or pronominal configurations. Later on, they took the DEPV pattern.

    (8) a. La Reina *era* tan *agradada* de cómo él servía, que lo no dexava quitar delante su presencia.
        The queen was so liked of how he served that him not let leave in-front-of his presence
        'The queen was so pleased of the way he served that she didn't allow him to leave'.
        [*CORDE*: 1482-1492. Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo, *Amadís de Gaula*, libros I y II]

      b. *antós'* dél la mugier de Furtifar, e dixo: "Iazcomygo"
        fancied-CL of-him the wife of Furtifar and said sleep-with-me
        'Furtifar's wife took a fancy to him, and told him: 'sleep with me'
        [*Diccionario Histórico*: c1220 *Fazienda Ultra Mar* Almerich (1965) 52]

    (9) a. el mj fillo caro leal muyto *me agrada*
       the my son dear loyal very-much CL$_{Dat}$ like
       'I like very much my dear and loyal son'
       [*CORDE*: 1400 – 1425. Anónimo, *Libro del Tesoro*. Girona, Catedral 20a5]

      b. cien cosas *se les antojan*.
        hundred things CL CL$_{Dat}$ feel-like
        'They feel like having hundreds of things'
        [*Diccionario Histórico*: c1480 Mexía (*Canc. gen.* 1511, 70e)]

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3. TESTING THE ASPECTUAL PROPERTIES OF DEPVs

GROUP 1→ homogeneous class → stage-level predicates

• Test: compatibility with the temporal modifier *cada vez que* 'every time that'; cf. Fábregas & Marín (2015)

    (10) a. Cada vez que *le place* comer, va al restaurante.
        'Every time he feels like eating, he goes to the restaurant'.

      b. Cada vez que *le duele* la cabeza, va al médico.
        'Every time he has got a headache, he goes to the doctor'.

      c. Cada vez que a Fernando *le pesa* haber cometido un pecado, va a confesarse.
        'Every time Fernando regrets having committed a sin, he goes and confesses it'.

GROUP 2 → non-homogeneous class → individual-level predicates: *gustar* and *importar*
                   → stage-level predicates: *apetecer*

    (11) a. *Cada vez que a Luisa *le gusta* leer novela negra, se compra una.
        'Every time that Luisa likes reading a thriller, she buys one'.

      b. *Cada vez que a mi prima *le importan* las apariencias, se comporta de manera extraña'.
        'Every time that my cousin cares about appearences, she behaves weirdly'.

      c. Cada vez que a Marta *le apetece* un zumo, se lo toma.
        'Every time that Marta fancies a juice, she takes it'.

GROUP 3 → non-homogeneous class → individual-level predicates: *agradar* and *desagradar*
                   → stage-level predicates: *antojarse*

    (12) a. *Cada vez que a Jaime *le agrada* el chocolate, merienda una taza de chocolate.
        'Every time that Jaime likes chocolate, he takes a cup of hot chocolate'.

      b. Cada vez que a Claudia *se le antoja* comer fresas, voy a comprárselas.
        'Every time that Claudia feels like eating strawberries, I go to buy them'.

ON THE ASPECTUAL HETEROGENEITY OF GROUPS 2 AND 3

• Verbs of group 2 (inherited from active Latin verbs) and group 3 (of Romance creation) are not attested in DEPV configurations until the mid 16th century.

• Although they are not homogeneous nowadays, empirical evidence shows that these verbs could have been stage-level predicates in the past. For instance, *agradar* and *desagradar*, which are individual-level predicates in current Spanish, could occur with *estar* until the 18th century; and *gustar*, for example, allowed temporal modification by *cada vez que* until the beginning of the 20th century.

    (13) a. El Conde … ya <u>estava</u> muy *agradado* de aquella donzella.
        'The Count was already very pleased with that maiden'.
        [*CDH*: a1300 [s. XVI (1503)]Anónimo, *El caballero del cisne*]

      b. Principalmente se mostravan más *desagradados* y agraviados.
        'They felt and were more disgusted and offended mainly '.
        [*CORDE*: 1540 - c 1550. Pedro Mejía, *Silva de varia lección*]

      c. <u>Cada vez que le *gustaba*</u> uno a una de las hermanas, tiraba ella sobre él su pañuelo.
        'Every time one of the sisters liked somebody, she threw her shawl over him'.
        [*CORDE*: c 1916. Vicente Blasco Ibáñez, Traducción de Las mil y una noches]

• Hence, it seems that these verbs have evolved from a stage-level to an individual-level nature.

• This diachronic evidence seems to point to the following evolutionary pathway:

    (14) **Transitive active structure > passive structure/stative pronominal structure > stage-level stative unaccusative structure > individual-level stative unaccusative structure.**

• Notice that the reason why *apetecer* (group 2) and *antojarse* (group 3) keep being stage-level probably lies in their inchoative morphology: *apetecer* ends with the inchoative suffix *-ecer*; and *antojarse* is a pronominal verb with *se* – cf. *dormir* 'to sleep' vs. *dormirse* 'to fall asleep' (see De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla 2000: 37).

4. ANALYSIS

• Current stative verbs behaving as individual-level predicates could be given the analysis proposed by Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015: 66).

• The stativity of these predicates lies in the presence of a Central Coincidence Preposition (Pcentr; see Hale & Keyser 2002: chap. 7) that connects a FIGURE (the subject THEME/CAUSE), with a GROUND (the psychological emotion expressed by the verbal root) in a static manner.

• The dative EXPERIENCER is the specifier of a high Applicative functional head that conveys a benefactive meaning and acts as a quirky subject.

    (15) a. A Rosa *le gustan* los lunares.
        to Rose CL$_{Dat}$ like the spots
        'Rose likes beauty spots'
      a'.[$_{AplP}$ [A Rosa] $_{[Apl']}$ le [$_{vP}$ [$_{v'}$ (=SER) [$_{PCentrP}$ [los lunares] [$_{PCentr'}$ PCentr [√GUST]]]]]]]
        [Acedo-Matellán & Mateu (2015: 64, e.g.18b)]

• Concerning the stage-level predicates, we hypothesise that they should be attributed an underlying structure that parallels the one provided by Acedo-Matellán and Mateu (2015), but for the fact that they include a Terminal Coincidence Preposition (Pterm) in addition to a central coincidence one (see Brucart 2012 for a similar proposal).

    (16) a. A Gustavo *le duelen* los oídos.
        to Gustavo CL$_{Dat}$ hurt the ears
        'Gustavo has earache'
      a'.[$_{AplP}$ [A Gustavo] [$_{Apl'}$ le [$_{vP}$ [$_{v'}$ (=SER) [$_{PTermP}$ [los oídos] [$_{PTerm'}$ PTerm [$_{PCentrP}$ <s>los oídos</s> [$_{PCentr'}$ PCentr [√DOL]]]]]]]]]]

• The evolution from the stage level step to the individual level one entails the deactivation of the Terminal Coincidence Preposition Projection.

5. CONCLUSIONS

➢ We studied the aspectual behaviour of Spanish psych verbs that take a dative EXPERIENCER (the DEPV class) from a diachronic perspective.

➢ We classified these DEPVs regarding their etymological origin and pointed out their different aspectual behaviour accordingly.

➢ We agreed in that all of them are states, but we posed that their different current aspectual classes relate to different stages of an evolutionary path that goes from transitive active verbs to individual-level stative unaccusative structures.

➢ We provided a formal analysis of these constructions that attributes the differences between individual-level predicates and stage-level predicates to the Preposition they include: either a Central Coincidence Preposition or a Terminal Coincidence Preposition and a Central Coincidence Preposition, respectively.

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