

From Impersonal to Pronominal Psychological Verbs

A Comparative Study of Latin and Catalan

Jaume Mateu

Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Espanya

Carles Royo

Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Espanya

Abstract Latin impersonal psychological verbs, whose experiencer in the accusative case is hierarchically prominent over the stimulus in the genitive case, involve stative causative constructions. A null *A(mbient)-Causer* pronoun is posited to act as their external argument. In the transition from Latin to Romance languages such as Catalan the reflexive pronoun was grammaticalized as a middle marker, which attracted verbs to the personal construction. We show that Lat. non-agentive impersonal psychological verbs correspond to Cat. anticausatives, whereas more agentive ones correspond to autocausatives.

Keywords Anticausatives. Autocausatives. Catalan. Impersonal psychological verbs. Latin.

Index 1 Latin Impersonal Psychological Verbs. – 2 Latin Impersonal Psych Verbs Are Causative Stative Predicates. – 3 Diachronic Evolution of Latin. – 4 Comparison with Sentences from Modern Catalan. – 5 Argument Structure of Sentences with Catalan Verbs. – 6 Conclusions.



LiVVal 8

e-ISSN 2974-6574 | ISSN 2974-6981

ISBN [ebook] 978-88-6969-962-7 | ISBN [print] 979-12-5742-059-8

Peer review | Open access

Submitted 2025-03-14 | Accepted 2025-09-04 | Published 2026-04-29

© 2025 Mateu, Royo | © 4.0

DOI 10.30687/978-88-6969-962-7/004

1 Latin Impersonal Psychological Verbs

Latin impersonal psychological verbs like the ones exemplified in (1)¹ are interesting for linguistic theory since they appear to pose non-trivial problems for the so-called Burzio's Generalization (namely, a verb which does not assign an external theta-role to its subject does not assign structural accusative Case to an object and conversely) and for Chomsky's Extended Projection Principle (EPP), whereby all clauses must contain an NP/DP in the subject position.² The existence of this impersonal class shows that the range of descriptive patterns of psychological verbs goes beyond the typical tripartite classification (namely, experiencer subject verbs like *timere* 'fear', experiencer direct object verbs like *perturbare* 'embarrass' and experiencer indirect object verbs like *placere* 'appeal'), which can be traced back to Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) seminal work. See Giusti and Iovino (2019) for a recent descriptive comparison of Latin psychological verbs with the Italian ones.

(1) *me tamen meorum factorum... numquam... paenitebit*
me.ACC however my.GEN.PL fact.GEN.PL never regret.FUT.3SG
'However, I will never regret my deeds' (Cic. *Catil.* 4, 20)

(2) *neque te mei miseret...*
nor you.ACC.SG me.GEN.SG feel_pity.PRES.3SG
'You don't have pity for me' (Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 106)

(3) *ut me non solum pigeat stultitiae*
CONJ me.ACC not only irk.PRES.SBJV.3SG stupidity.GEN.SG
meae, sed etiam pudeat
my.GEN.SG but also shame.PRES.SBJV.3SG
'so that I am not only upset but also am ashamed of my silliness' (Cic. *Dom.* 29)

1 Following Pinkster (2015, 132), we include the deponent verb *veretur* 'it has respect' into the list of impersonal psychological verbs (see (5)). Several derivatives from these verbs such as *subpaenitet* 'it regrets slightly', *commiseritur* 'it feels compassion for', *dispuget* 'it makes greatly ashamed', *subpuget* 'it makes slightly ashamed', *taedescit* 'it grows tiresome', *pertaedet* 'it wearies', i.a., can also be added to this list. E.g. see Matasović 2013, 93 fn. 1 and Barðdal et al. 2020, 30, i.a.

2 See Baños (2003), Mangialavori (2013, 21-31), Matasović (2013), Tur-Altarriba (2013), Cavallo (2014, 106-46), Fedriani (2013; 2014a; 2014b, 119-89), among others, for a description of the linguistic properties of these impersonal psychological verbs. Cuzzolin and Napoli (2009, 76), Lühr (2011, 327) and Matasović (2013, 101-3) point out that this type of construction, which is found in Latin and Celtic, is rare in other Indo-European languages.

- (4) *me civitatis morum piget*
me.ACC city.GEN.SG habit.GEN.PL feel_grieved.PRES.3SG
taedetque
feel_annoyed.PRES.3SG-and
'I am sick and tired of the manners of the city' (Sall. *Iug.* 4, 9)
- (5) *Si tui veretur te progenitoris, ...*
if you.GEN.SG have_respect.PRES.PASS.3SG you.ACC.SG ancestor.GEN.SG
'If you have respect for your ancestor,...' (Acc. *trag.* 76)

These psychological verbs can also appear in personal constructions when the subject is a neuter pronoun: e.g. *quod* in (6a) and *haec* in (6b). In these examples the subject is marked in the nominative case and is interpreted as the stimulus. However, as pointed out by Pinkster (2015, 133), "instances of 'personal' forms with an explicit cause constituent as subject are rare and mostly Late".

- (6) a. *Nimio id quod pudet facilius*
much this.NOM.N.SG REL.NOM.N.SG shame.PRES.3SG easily.COMP
fertur quam id quod
bear.PRES.PASS.3SG than this.NOM.N.SG REL.NOM.N.SG
piget
irk.PRES.3SG
'That which causes shame is much more easily endured than that which causes displeasure' (Plaut. *Pseud.* 281)
- b. *Non te haec pudent?*
not you.ACC.SG this.NOM.N.PL shame.PRES.3PL
'Don't these things shame you?' (Ter. *Ad.* 754)

Furthermore, these verbs can also appear in constructions where the subject is an infinitival or finite clause: see (7a) and (7b), respectively. Fedriani (2013, 213-14) notes that, "if the stimulus is conveyed by an infinitive clause, its subject is usually co-referent with the experiencer and this results in a situation of conceptual identity between the experiencer and the causer of the experience which he repents".³

³ As pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, one may wonder why a gerund in the genitive case could not instead be used in (7a): e.g. *Me paenitet vivendi*_{GEN}. As far as we know, this pattern is not attested nor is commented on in Latin grammars at all. Incidentally, the very same question was, in fact, raised by the first author of this paper in 2019 in the Stack Exchange network devoted to the Latin language: <https://latin.stackexchange.com/questions/12655/gerundial-arguments-selected-by-verbs-taking-genitive-e-g-memento-moriendi>.

- (7) a. *me, mi Pomponi, valde paenitet vivere*
 me.ACC my.VOC Pomponius.VOC much regret.PRES.3SG live.INF
 ‘my dear Pomponius, I am very sorry to be alive’ (Cic. Att. III, 4)
- b. *tam diu... te quantum proficias*
 as_long_as you.ACC.SG so_much_as advance.PRES.SBJV.2SG
non paenitebit.
 not regret.FUT.3SG
 ‘as long as you are not dissatisfied with the progress you are making’
 (Cic. Off. I, 2)

The experiencer accusative in these impersonal psychological verbs has been said to be non-structural (e.g. see Migliori 2016, 77) but can be argued to be *structural*. As shown by Mateu and Royo (2024, 423), this proposal can be exemplified in (8), where the case of the experiencer is changed from accusative to dative in the context of the gerundival form *paenitendum (esse)*. To put it more concisely, the experiencer expressed in the accusative case in the simplified example in (9a) changes to dative in the gerundival construction in (9b), i.e. in the so-called ‘passive periphrastic’ in traditional Latin grammars. This change can be taken as evidence for the structural nature of the accusative argument of these impersonal psychological verbs. Were it non-structural, one would expect that the accusative case could be preserved, contrary to fact: in contrast to (9b), the sequence **nos**_{ACC} *paenitendum est consilii nostrii* is ungrammatical.

- (8) *Consilii nostri, ne si*
 resolution.GEN.N.SG our.GEN.N.SG NEG if
quidem qui id secuti
 indeed REL.NOM.M.PL this.ACC.N.SG follow.PERF.PASS.PTCP.NOM.M.PL
non eos sunt non paeniteret,
 not this.ACC.M.PL be.PRES.3PL not regret.IPFV.SBJV.3SG
nobis paenitendum putarem.
 us.DAT regret.GERNDV.ACC.N.SG think.IPFV.SBJV.1SG
 ‘As for our line of conduct, we ought not in my opinion to regret it even if those who took a different line were not regretting that’ (Cic. Fam. 9.5.2)
 [Transl. by Pinkster (2015, 297, ex. (g))]
- (9) a. *Nos paenitet consilii nostrii.*
 us.ACC regret.PRES.3SG resolution.GEN.N.SG our.GEN.N.SG
 ‘We regret our resolution’
- b. *Nobis paenitendum est consilii nostrii.*
 us.DAT regret.GERV.NOM.N.SG is resolution.GEN.N.SG our.GEN.N.SG
 ‘We must regret our resolution’

It is also worth pointing out that examples like (10) and (11), which are drawn from Baños (2003, 63-4), can be taken as evidence for the “quirky subject” nature of the experiencer with these impersonal psychological verbs. In (10) the impersonal verb *paenitet* is juxtaposed with other personal verbal forms (*erravi, feci, confugio*, etc.), whereas in (11) this impersonal verb appears in an infinitival construction that is juxtaposed with other infinitives. As is well-known, the subject of the latter can be expressed in the accusative case (e.g. *sapientem*_{ACC} ‘the wise man’ in (11); cf. the so-called ‘Accusativus cum Infinitivo’ construction in traditional Latin grammars). As shown below, our analysis will be claimed to capture this syntactic fact by positing that in these atypical cases of coordination/juxtaposition the experiencer argument, which occupies the specifier position of an inner verbal predication, turns out to be coindexed with a null pronoun in the upper subject position.

- (10) *erravi, temere feci, paenitet, ad clementiam*
 err.PRF.1SG recklessly act.PRF.1SG regret.PRES.3SG to clemency.ACC.SG
tuam confugio, delicti ueniam peto, [...]
 your.ACC.SG take_refuge.PRES.1SG fault.GEN.SG mercy.ACC.SG ask.PRES.1SG
 ‘I was wrong, I acted recklessly, I regret it, I take refuge in your clemency, I ask for mercy with my fault’ (Cic. *Lig.* 30)

- (11) *Sapientem nihil opinari, nullius rei paenitere,*
 sage.ACC.SG nothing opine.PASS.INF any.GEN.SG thing.GEN.SG regret.INF
nulla in re falli, sententiam mutare
 any.ABL.SG in thing.ABL.SG mistake.PASS.INF view.ACC.SG change.INF
numquam.
 never
 ‘that the wise man has no opinion, regrets nothing, makes no mistakes, and never changes his mind’ (Cic. *Mur.* 61)

As for the genitive constituent that typically, but not always (e.g. it is absent in (10)), appears with these impersonal verbs, it can be said to be, at least conceptually speaking, required by the psychological predicate: it expresses the stimulus associated to the emotion. However, in the next section we, following Cavallo (2014, 142), claim that, syntactically speaking, it is a low adjunct in typical examples like (1)-(5). In less typical examples like (12) the conceptual stimulus of the emotion can also be syntactically expressed through an upper (in this case, conditional) adjunct.

- (12) *ceteros* *pudeat* *si qui* *se*
the_other.ACC.PL feel_shame.PRES.SBJV.3SG if REL.NOM.PL REFL.ACC
ita litteris *abdiderunt ut nihil* *possint*
so letter.ABL.PL hide.PRF.3PL that nothing.ACC be_able.PRES.SBJV.3PL
ex eis *neque ad communem adferre fructum,*
from this.ABL.PL nor to common.ACC.SG to-bring.INF profit.ACC.SG
neque in aspectum lucemque proferre
nor into sight.ACC.SG light.ACC.SG-and forth-bring.INF
‘Let others be ashamed if some have buried themselves in books without being able to produce anything out of them for the common advantage or anything which may bear the eyes of men and the light’ (Cic. *Arch.* 6,12)

2 Latin Impersonal Psych Verbs Are Causative Stative Predicates

In this section, we briefly review Matasović’s (2013) proposal that the Latin impersonal verbs described in Section 1 express causative stative predicates. As we will see, his proposal provides an interesting explanation of why the experiencer is marked in the accusative case with these verbs. Finally, we will provide a syntactic account of their argument structure.

Matasović (2013, 106-8) claims that the argument structure pattern of Latin impersonal psychological verbs is a *blend* of the argument structure of causative verbs, on the one hand, and of the argument structure of stative verbs, on the other. According to him, this merge was motivated by the following morphological fact, i.e. the P(roto)I(ndo)E(uropean) causative and stative suffixes merged as Latin *-ē-*, which is the 2nd conjugation suffix involved in all these impersonal verbs.

Latin verbs with case-frames like *paenitet* belong to the second conjugation, which includes the PIE causatives (e.g. PIE **mon-eye-ti* ‘admonishes’ > Lat. *monet*) and statives (PIE **tak-eh₁-ti* ‘is silent’ > Lat. *tacet*). This is the consequence of the regular sound changes (**eh₁* > *ē*, **eye* > *ē*) by which the stative and causative suffixes merged as Latin *-ē-*. We argue that the irregular case-frames of the Latin bivalent statives are innovations based on the analogy with the case-frames of causative verbs, which had the Causee argument in the accusative case. (Matasović 2013, 93)

However, we would like to point out that Matasović’s (2013, 106-8) paraphrase of Latin impersonal psych verbs (i.e. “Source (Gen) causes the sensation X on experiencer (Acc)”) is based on his wrong premise that the Stimulus has structural preeminence over the experiencer.

Rather, as noted by Devine and Stephens (2013, 123), “the stimulus is still lower in the event structure than the experiencer [...] That is why a reflexive can be bound by the object argument”: see the examples in (13).

- (13) a. senectutis eum suae paeniteret
 old_age.GEN.SG this.ACC.SG POSS.GEN.SG regret.IPFV.SBJV.3SG
 ‘He would not regret his old age’ (Cic. *Cato* 19)
- b. quos libidinis infamiaequae suae neque
 REL.ACC.PL desire.GEN.SG infamy.GEN.SG.-and POSS.GEN.SG nor
 pudeat neque taedeat
 shame.PRES.SBJV.3SG nor upset.PRES.SBJV.3SG
 ‘Who are neither ashamed nor upset by their own licentious behavior and bad reputation’ (Cic. *Verr.* 1, 1, 35)

The proposal that the Latin impersonal psychological verbs are causative leads us to claim that there is a null Causer in their subject position. In particular, following Pesetsky’s (1995, 112) definition of so-called *A(mbient)-Causer* (i.e. “A-Causer is simply a Causer of a predicate that limits the argument to ambient pronouns -as a matter of s-selection”),⁴ we claim that his analysis of the Russian impersonal verb in (14a) can also hold for the Latin one in (14b).

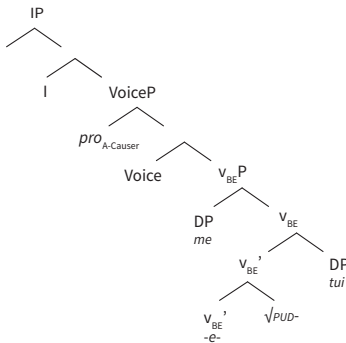
- (14) a. Menja tošnit. (Russian)
 me.ACC nauseate.3SG
 ‘I am nauseated’ (ex., gloss and transl. from Pesetsky 1995, 311 fn. 119)
- b. Pudet me tui.
 shame.3SG me.ACC you.GEN.SG
 Lit.: ‘It causes me to be ashamed of you’

⁴ Pesetsky (1995, 111-13) put forward an interesting meaning connection and structural parallelism between the subject of impersonal meteorological verbs like *It rains* and that of impersonal psychological predicates like *It’s boring in there*. This linguist expounds his following insightful proposal in a section that is properly entitled as “Emotional Weather”: “Emotions like surprise, annoyance, and amusement are indeed like the weather in a number of respects. They are ‘global’ (ambient), affecting one’s perceptions as well as actions. They are transitory. They are somewhat unpredictable in their onset, intensity, and duration. Most important for our purposes, the proximate cause of both weather and emotions can be viewed as a force of nature [...]. One possibility might be a requirement that the lexical item used to express natural forces in meteorological and psychic weather sentences must somehow be *minimally expressive*. An appropriate notion of minimal expressivity might explain why the form used for meteorological natural forces is (in languages that use the strategies seen in English, French, and Italian) generally identical to that used for expletives: third person, neuter if available (otherwise masculine), null pro if available (otherwise an unstressed pronoun)” (Pesetsky 1995, 111-12).

Accordingly, the combination of these two assumptions – namely, (i) Devine and Stephens’s (2013, 123) claim that the stimulus (i.e. Matasović’s ‘Source’) is hierarchically lower than the experiencer and (ii) Pesetsky’s (1995) proposal that “A(mbient)-Causer” is involved in certain impersonal constructions – leads us to argue that Matasović’s (2013) proposal, namely, “Source (Gen) causes the sensation X on experiencer (Acc)”, must be replaced by the following one: ‘A(mbient)-Causer *pro* causes the experiencer (Acc) to have the sensation X (root) from Y (Gen)’.

Our syntactic analysis of (14b), which is associated to the meaning ‘A-Causer *pro* causes the experiencer (*me*_{ACC}) to have the sensation X (*√pud-*) from Y (*tui*_{GEN})’, is depicted in (15). The true external argument in (15) is minimally expressed (see fn. 4) by a null Causer and is introduced by the Voice head (Kratzer 1996; Alexiadou et al. 2015, i.a.) Furthermore, following Cuervo (2003; 2014a) and Royo (2017), i.a., we assume that verbs are formed in the syntax by combining a lexical root with a verbal head *v*, which can present three flavors (e.g. see Folli, Harley 2005). Depending on the combination of the root with the verbal flavor, three basic eventive types can be obtained: activity (*v*_{DO}), change (*v*_{GO}) or state (*v*_{BE}). As shown in (15), the last type is the one involved in the syntactic representation of Latin impersonal verbs like *pudet* in (14b). Finally, it is worth pointing out that the constituent in the genitive case *tui* (lit. ‘of you’) is represented in (15) as a low adjunct to the inner verbal structure (see Cavallo 2014, 142 for a related proposal and Mateu, Royo 2024, 424-5, 432 for relevant discussion). It could also in principle be claimed to be syntactically expressed as the complement of the psych root *√pud-*. However, see Acedo-Matellán, Mateu 2014 and Alexiadou 2014a, i.a., for the claim that roots do not take arguments/complements in the syntax. Alternatively, as pointed out by an anonymous reviewer, it could also be an adjunct to the root, developing the content of the feeling of shame.

(15)



Following Cuervo (2003; 2014a), we claim that in stative predicates the root $\sqrt{pud-}$ is generated in the complement position of v_{BE} , to which it is incorporated (or conflated in Hale and Keyser's 2002 terms; see also Mateu 2017). In line with mainstream Distributed Morphology approaches, we assume that the root $\sqrt{pud-}$ is acategorial but see Bouchard 1992, 33 fn. 10 for the insightful proposal (attributed by him to Roger Higgins, p.c.) that psychological verbs are denominal in IE. Interestingly, the "denominal" nature of the root can be said to receive some support from the following derivations put forward by Matasović (2013, 98-9):⁵

Lat. *miseret* 'feel sorry for' is derived from *miser* 'poor, unfortunate' [...]. Lat. *paenitet* 'cause to regret' is derived from *paene* 'almost, practically'. It appears to contain a root **payn-*, the original meaning of which should have been 'lack' [...]. Lat. *piget* 'affect with revulsion, irk' is from the same root as *piger* 'torpid, inactive' [...]. Lat. *pudet* 'be ashamed of' is derived from the same stem as *pudor* 'shame, decency' [...]. Lat. *taedet* 'be tired of' is probably connected to *taeter* 'foul, horrible'.

3 Diachronic Evolution of Latin

Over time, Latin impersonal psychological verbs evolved to form personal sentences with an experiencer subject in the nominative case. This evolution was gradual and constant: it was first noted in the classical age and had been completed by the third century AD, when all the following structures coexisted: the impersonal active (16a), the personal active (16b), the personal deponent (16c) and the reflexive (17) (see Baños 2003, 59-60, for the examples in (16)).⁶

- (16) a. *iuravit dominus nec paenitebit eum*
swear.PRF.3SG lord.NOM.SG and_not regret.FUT.3SG he.ACC
'The Lord has sworn it and will not change His mind' (Itala, *Psalm*. 109.4)

⁵ Here "denominal" should be understood in the traditional sense put forward by Latin grammarians, i.e. there are two kinds of *nomina* 'nouns': *nomen substantivum* (lit. 'substantive noun') and *nomen adjectivum* (lit. 'adjectival noun'). Unsurprisingly, declension is then expected to apply to both types of *nomina*: substantives and adjectives. See Mateu 2002; Kayne 2008; Fábregas 2020, i.a., for a reappraisal of this traditional definition of adjectives.

⁶ Authors such as Woodcock (1959, 167) and Cavallo (2014) point out that in the evolution of most of these verbs from Latin the impersonal deponent construction is also possible. However, there is no record of the use of the impersonal deponent with *paenitetur* (see Woodcock 1959, 167; Baños 2003, 60).

- b. *si* *paenitebit* *deus*
if regret.FUT.3SG god.NOM.SG
'If God will change His mind' (Itala, *Ion.* 3.9)
- c. *iuravit* *deus* *et* *non* *paenitetur*
swear.PRF.3SG god.NOM.SG and not regret.PRES.IND.PASS.3SG
'God has sworn it and does not change His mind' (Itala, *Psalm.* 109.4,
cod. 136 Cas.)

- (17) *ubi* *dominus* *paenituit* *se*
when lord.NOM.SG regret.PRF.3SG REFL.ACC.3SG
'When the Lord changed His mind' (Vulg., *I Reg.* 15.11)

In Late Latin, the coexisting impersonal active forms remained marked structures for semantic reasons since they encoded the lack of volition in the experiencer (see Cavallo 2014, 125). As well as the personal active form, it is significant that in Late Latin there was a tendency for the deponent morphology of Latin impersonal psychological verbs to become more widespread (see Matasović 2013, 95; Cavallo 2014, 131).

The semantics of the experiencer in the personal deponent construction, in the nominative case, has some quite significant features. On the one hand, the experiencer is affected by verbal predication (see Baños 2003, 60) insofar as it is an internal subject in the argument structure (see Cavallo 2014; Pinzin 2018). On the other, it resembles an agent since it entails a certain degree of agentivity, intentionality, rational involvement and control over the action of the verb (see Tur Altarriba 2013; Fedriani 2014a; 2014b; Cavallo 2014; Baños 2019), although the extent of this involvement will depend on the verb (see Fedriani 2014a; 2014b). Pinzin (2018, 365) claims that the nominative argument of Latin deponent verbs always merges in an internal position and has two thematic roles, which for sentences that encode a controlled change of state are a holder (the subject of a state) and a doer.

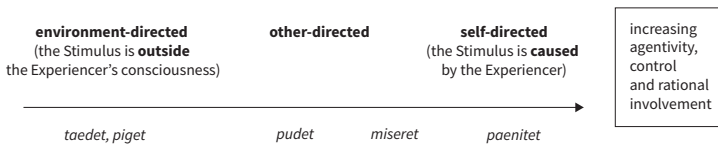
The impersonal active construction of the verb *miseret* exists since Old Latin alongside the personal construction (see Baños 2003, 52 fn. 1; Fedriani 2014b, 154-65; Cavallo 2014, 130-3). According to Tur Altarriba (2013, 250), this phenomenon suggests that the personal constructions that coexist with *miseret* may be one of the factors that catalysed the development of the personal construction in the other four impersonal verbs in this group.

However, other factors may explain this evolution in Late Latin. Fedriani (2014b, 208) mentions two of them. The first factor has to do not only with the progressive personalisation and transitivity of the construction but with the highlighting of the semantic features of the experiencer. According to Fedriani (2014a; 2014b, 198-208), the

semantic properties of these predicates have affected this evolution: the more agentivity, control and rational involvement the sentence's experiencer has, the faster it is; the less agentivity, control and rational involvement the sentence's experiencer has, the slower it is. The verb *paenitet* evolved to the personal form more quickly than the other four verbs, and this personal form was used more frequently as from the second century AD, particularly in the moral texts of Christianity (see Pinkster 2015, 133-4).

For Fedriani, *paenitet* is the verb that has an experiencer with the most agentive features with a *self-directed feeling*, followed by *miseret*, with an *other-directed feeling*. These two verbs share a rational reinterpretation of a past personal experience. In contrast, the verbs that have least control are *piget* and *taedet*, which have an *environment-directed feeling* (i.e. caused by the environment). Meanwhile, the verb *pudet* is halfway between the two extremes, the result of a combination of a *self-directed feeling* (becoming aware of oneself after rationalising an event) and an *environment-directed feeling* caused by an external judgement (imagining oneself to be observed by a potential witness) (18).

(18) Semantic characterization of the *pudet*-type verbs (Fedriani 2014b, 208, fig. 9)



The second factor mentioned by Fedriani is related to another significant phenomenon that has been discussed: in Late Latin, there was a tendency to extend the deponent or middle morphology of these five verbs (see Matasović 2013, 95; Cavallo 2014, 131). And Latin subsequently grammaticalised the reflexive pronoun as a mark of the middle construction (16). This pattern was gradually adopted by a considerable number of new verbs in the Romance languages (in Italian, *affliggersi* 'to grieve', *rammaricarsi* 'to regret', *vergognarsi* 'to feel shame') or by other Romance verbs with an existing lexeme that moved syntactically towards a pronominal intransitive construction with a nominative experiencer (such as *pentirsi* 'to regret', from *paenitet*) (see Fedriani 2014b, 242).

4 Comparison with Sentences from Modern Catalan

Like other studies that have analysed the contrast between sentences containing certain psychological verbs in Latin and the syntax in a modern-day Romance language,⁷ below we compare sentences with these five verbs in Latin with the same verbs in modern Catalan.

Our initial proposal is that, in the move towards the personal construction, the causative semantics of the null pronoun situates this causation in the experiencer, which has some control over the predication expressed by the verb. The experiencer is the active internal cause of the psychological experience (see Royo 2017) and is also affected by it. Both elements in the sentence become coindexed, which facilitates the disappearance of the pronoun since it is identified with the experiencer, which can take nominative case when accessing the specifier of IP. The sentence in Catalan can initially take the following meaning:

- (19) *‘Alguna cosa en mi fa {penedir-me / compadir-me / avergonyir-me / afligir-me disgustar-me / shame.INF-REFL.1SG distress.INF-REFL.1SG upset.INF-REFL.1SG fastiguejar-me o avorrir-me} {del / amb el} que sigui.’*
disgust.INF-REFL.1SG or bore.INF-REFL.1SG of_D with D whatever
‘Something in me makes me {regret / take pity / ashamed / distressed or upset / disgusted or bored} {of / with} whatever’

Of the five verbs, only *paenitet* maintains the lexical root in the corresponding Catalan verb (*penedir-se* ‘to regret’). For this reason, we do not make a diachronic study – from the Middle Ages to the present – of the items in Catalan that have inherited the semantics of the corresponding etymons in Latin but compare the syntactic structure of the sentences in Latin, just as we have done in this paper, with the syntactic structure of the sentences with the verbs in modern Catalan that have taken the meaning of each of the Latin verbs.

A common feature of the corresponding verbs in Catalan is that they are all pronominal: *penedir-se* ‘to regret’ or ‘to repent’ for *paenitet*, *compadir-se* ‘to take pity’ or ‘to be sorry’ for *misereret*, *afligir-se* or *disgustar-se* ‘to get distressed’ or ‘to get upset’ for *piget*, *fastiguejar-se* or *avorrir-se* ‘to get disgusted’ or ‘to get bored’ for *taedet*, and *avergonyir-se* ‘to be ashamed’ or ‘to get embarrassed’ for *puDET*. What is more, some of these verbs govern an oblique

⁷ See, for example, Batllori 2012; Batllori et al. 2019 and Acedo-Matellán 2013.

complement: *penedir-se de* 'to regret' or 'to repent of', *compadir-se de* 'to take pity on' or 'to be sorry about' and, in some contexts, *avergonyir-se de* 'to be ashamed of' or 'to get embarrassed about'.

There is an interesting correlation between the semantic characterisation of impersonal psychological verbs in Latin (18) (see Fedriani 2013; 2014a; 2014b) and the syntactic behaviour of the corresponding pronominal verbs in Catalan. On the one hand, in Catalan the most agentive verbs (*penedir-se* and *compadir-se*) encode a semantics in which the experiencer both initiates a process (agent) and is affected by it (patient). It has, therefore, two thematic roles: agent and patient (see Royo 2018). Several authors refer to this type of construction as *autocausatives* (see Parry 1998; Pinkster 2015; Pinzin 2018).⁸ On the other, the verbs that are not agentive (*afligir-se/disgustarse* and *fastiguejar-se/avorrir-se*) are part of *anticausative* sentences (also known as *ergatives*), in which the experiencer is a patient.

We refer to Royo's (2018) evidence for the differentiated characterization of autocausative and anticausative sentences.⁹ Both constructions share a bi-eventive unaccusative structure: they encode an internal subject argument with a patient thematic role, as is shown by both construction's ability to form resultative sentences (20). However, they differ from one another because the subject of an autocausative also presents agentive characteristics, as can be seen from the ability of an autocausative (but not an anticausative) to admit, for example, an imperative sentence (21) or the deontic interpretation of the modal periphrasis in a sequential order of two modals in Catalan such as *haver de + poder* (22). Authors such as Ramchand (2008) and Mateu (2015) argue for the existence of agentive unaccusative sentences, although they do not specifically refer to autocausative constructions. Contrary to Chomsky's (1981) Theta Criterion, Ramchand (2008, 78-9) characterizes the subject of unaccusative agentive sentences as having more than one thematic role.

⁸ Armstrong (2016) uses the term *unergative* to refer to some Spanish pronominal verbs labelled by Masullo (1992) as *antipassives*, even though he is aware that this group of verbs is quite heterogeneous: *aprovecharse (de)* 'to take advantage (of)', *compadecerse (de)* 'to take pity (on)', *deshacerse (de)* 'to get rid (of)', *despedirse (de)* 'to say goodbye (to)', *desquitarse (de)* 'to get even (with)', etc. The psychological verb *compadecerse (de)* shows the heterogeneity of the group because it permits a resulting state construction (*estar* or *quedar compadecido* 'to be pitied'), unlike other predicates mentioned in the list. We regard this to be one of the differences between autocausative sentences, as they are defined here, and antipassives. The former have a bi-eventive structure (see Section §5) and accept a resultative construction; the latter have a mono-eventive structure and do not.

⁹ According to the alternants that they can form, autocausative sentences are labelled in Royo (2018) as *SubjExp(pr-prep)_A* and *SubjExp(pr-prep)_B*, and anticausatives are labelled as *Subj(i)Exp(pr)* and *Subj(i)Exp(pr-ci)*. It should be noted that the argument structure we show for these sentences does not entirely coincide with the one presented in Royo (2018).

- (20) a. L' *Enric* {n' *està o n' ha*
 D *Enric* PRON_(OF_THAT) *is or PRON_(OF_THAT) has*
quedat penedit/ n' està o n' ha
 turn_out.PTCP regret.PTCP.M.SG PRON_(OF_SB) *is or PRON_(OF_SB) has*
quedat compadit.
 turn_out.PTCP take_pity.PTCP.M.SG
 Lit.: 'Enric {has become regretful about sth / has taken pity on sb}'
- b. L' *Enric està o ha quedat {afligit*
 D *Enric is or has turn_out.PTCP distress.PTCP.M.SG*
o disgustat/ fastiguejat o avorrit.
 or upset.PTCP.M.SG disgust.PTCP.M.SG or bore.PTCP.M.SG
 'Enric is or has got {distressed or upset / disgusted or bored}'
- (21) a. *Penedeix -te 'n/ Compadeix -te 'n!*
 regret.IMP.2SG REFL.2SG PRON_(OF_THAT) *pity.IMP.2SG REFL.2SG PRON_(OF_SB)*
 'Regret it! / Take pity on sb!'
- b. **Afligeix -te! / *Fastigueja 't!*
 distress.IMP.2SG REFL.2SG *disgust.IMP.2SG REFL.2SG*
 Lit.: **Get distressed! / Get disgusted!'
- (22) a. L' *Enric ha de poder {penedir -se 'n/*
 D *Enric has of be_able.INF regret.INF REFL.3SG PRON_(OF_THAT)*
compadir -se 'n.
 pity.INF REFL.3SG PRON_(OF_SB)
 'Enric must be able to {regret it / take pity on sb}'
- b. **L' Enric ha de poder {afligir -se/ fastiguejar -se}.*
 D *Enric has of be_able.INF distress.INF REFL.3SG disgust.INF REFL.3SG*
 Lit.: **Enric must be able to get {distressed / disgusted}'

Pudet translates as *avergonyir-se*, which is part of an autocausative construction in the agentive interpretation and an anticausative construction in the non-agentive interpretation. In the terminology used by Pinzin (2018), in autocausative sentences there is a *controlled change of state* and in the anticausatives there is an *uncontrolled change of state*.

4.1 The Verbs *penedir-se* ‘to regret’ and *compadir-se* ‘to take pity’

Of the five Latin verbs, the only lexical predicate that is used in Catalan in the corresponding verb form is that of *penedir-se* ‘to regret’ (from *paenitet*). In line with the higher degree of agentivity, control and rational involvement of the original Latin etymon, the sentences with *penedir-se* (*de*) ‘to regret’ in Catalan encode the semantics of anticausative sentences.

The syntactic structure of the Catalan verb *penedir-se* (*de*) ‘to regret’ expresses reflexivity with the pronoun and introduces the stimulus with a preposition in an unaccusative sentence (23a). The clitic absorbs the accusative case and prevents the stimulus argument from receiving it, which can only be an oblique complement: see Rigau (1994, 33) for Catalan and Pinzin (2018, 357-8) for Italian. On occasion, the absolute construction (23b) can be used.¹⁰

- (23) *penedir-se de* [anticausative construction (a) / absolute use (b)]
- a. *La Maria es penedeix d' haver-ho fet.*
D Maria REFL.3SG regret.PRES.3SG of have.INF-it do.PTCP
(o se 'n penedeix)
or REFL.3SG PRON_(OF_THAT) regret.PRES.3SG
'Maria regrets having done it' (or 'regrets it')
- b. *~La Maria es penedeix.*
D Maria REFL.3SG regret.PRES.3SG
Lit.: ~'Maria regrets'

If we bear in mind the features of the verbal lexical predicate *compadir-se* (*de*) ‘to take pity (on sb) or to be sorry (about sth)’ which in Catalan has taken on the meaning of the second Latin predicate with a higher degree of agentivity (*miseret*), the sentences with this verb are expected to share the behaviour described for *penedir-se* (*de*): indeed, *compadir-se* (*de*) also forms pronominal sentences with anticausative features and a stimulus introduced by a preposition, which contain an experiencer with two thematic roles, at once an agent and a patient (24a). However, each psychological verb can have different idiosyncratic traits, which show the specificity of each verb and the semantic and syntactic flexibility of psychological verbs (see Royo 2017): unlike *penedir-se* (*de*), *compadir-se* (*de*) has

¹⁰ In some contexts in Catalan, sentences can be formed with the verb *penedir-se* with no prepositional phrase. Rather than a different anticausative alternant, we regard this construction as an absolute use of the verb. Example: *Quan l'altre s'ha penedit* ‘lit.: When the other regretted’ (Torralba 2012, 139, title).

a non-pronominal transitive alternant with an experiencer subject: SubjExp or a Belletti and Rizzi type I verb (1988) (24b).

- (24) *compadir-se de* [autocausative construction (a) / SubjExp construction (b)]
- a. *La Maria es compadeix de la Bet.* (o
D Maria REFL.3SG pity.PRES.3SG of D Bet or
se 'n compadeix)
REFL.3SG PRON_(OF_HER) pity.PRES.3SG
'Maria takes pity on Bet' (or 'takes pity on her')
- b. *La Maria compadeix la Bet.*
D Maria pity.PRES.3SG D Bet
'Maria pities Bet'

4.2 The Verbs *afligir-se/disgustar-se* and *fastiguejar-se/avorrir-se*

At the other extreme, with a lower degree of agentivity, there are the Latin verbs *piget* and *taedet*. Although we could use more verbs as examples, the verbal lexical items in Catalan that have the meaning of these Latin predicates are *afligir-se* or *disgustar-se* for *piget*, and *fastiguejar-se* or *avorrir-se* for *taedet*. They also form unaccusative pronominal sentences, but they are all different from *penedir-se (de)* and *compadir-se (de)* in the sense that they do not form autocausative sentences but anticausative sentences, with a patient experiencer that has no agentive features (25a)-(26a): they do not require the presence of a PP (although they may have an optional one, generally introduced by the preposition *amb* 'with') and they are often intransitive alternants of the causative alternation. These four predicates in Catalan are verbs that have a causative transitive non-pronominal alternant (causative alternation) with an accusative experiencer: AcExp or a type II Belletti and Rizzi verb (1988) (25b)-(26b).

- (25) *afligir-se / disgustar-se* [causative alternation: anticausative construction (a) / causative or AcExp construction (b)]
- a. *La Maria s' afligeix. / La Maria es*
D Maria REFL.3SG distress.PRES.3SG D Maria REFL.3SG
disgusta. (amb el que has dit)
upset.PRES.3SG with D what have.2SG say.PTCP
'Maria is distressed / Maria is upset (with what you said)'
- b. *La Bet afligeix la Maria. / La Bet disgusta*
D Bet distress.PRES.3SG D Maria D Bet upset.PRES.3SG
la Maria.
D Maria
'Bet distresses Maria. / Bet upsets Maria'

- (26) *fastiguejar-se / avorrir-se* [causative alternation: anticausative construction (a) / causative or AcExp construction (b)]
- a. *La Maria es fastigueja. / La Maria s' avorreix. (amb aquesta classe) bore.PRES.3SG with this class*
'Maria gets disgusted / Maria gets bored (with this class)'
- b. *La Bet fastigueja la Maria. / La Bet avorreix la Maria.**
D Bet disgust.PRES.3SG D Maria D Bet bore.PRES.3SG D Maria
'Bet disgusts Maria / Bet bores Maria'

* In this sentence, in which the verb *avorrir* means 'to cause tedium', the experiencer is la Maria (direct object in the accusative case). The verb *avorrir* can also be used in SubjExp sentences such as *La Maria avorreix la Bet*, which has an experiencer subject in the nominative (la Maria) but a different meaning: 'to have or take a dislike to/of'.

4.3 The Verb *avergonyir-se*

Still to be analysed is the verbal lexical item in Catalan that has the meaning of *puget*, the verb *avergonyir-se*. It should be pointed out that, in just the same way that Fedriani (2014a; 2014b) shows that in Latin *puget* is mid-way between the extreme of most agentivity (*paenitet* and *miseret*), and the extreme of least agentivity (*piget* and *taedet*), so *avergonyir-se* plays a similar role in Catalan. It is a predicate that can take part in both an autocausative structure, with an experiencer that is a patient and an agent at the same time (27), and an anticausative structure, with a patient experiencer (28a), which represent the two extremes of most and least agentivity, respectively.¹¹

- (27) *avergonyir-se de* [autocausative construction]
- La Maria s' avergonyeix de la Bet. (o se n' avergonyeix)*
D Maria REFL.3SG shame.PRES.3SG of D Bet or REFL.3SG
PRON_(OF_HER) shame.PRES.3SG
'Maria is ashamed of Bet' (or 'is ashamed of her')

¹¹ This contrast is probably also present in complex predicates containing a light verb and a psychological noun (admittedly a highly uncommon contrast), where there is a patient and agent experiencer (a) and a patient experiencer (b):

- a. *Me 'n dono vergonya, de ser amic teu.*
PRON.DAT.1SG PRON_(OF_THAT) give.PRES.1SG shame of be.INF friend your
Lit.: 'I give to me shame to be your friend'
- b. *Em fa vergonya ser amic teu.*
PRON.DAT.1SG make.PRES.3SG shame be.INF friend your
'It makes me ashamed to be your friend'

- (28) *avergonyir-se* [causative alternation: anticausative construction (a) / causative or AcExp construction (b)]
- a. *La Maria s' avergonyeix (amb el que li*
D Maria REFL.3SG shame.PRES.3SG with D what PRON.DAT.3SG
acabes de dir).
finish.PRES.2SG of say.INF
'Maria is ashamed (because of what you have just said)'
- b. *La Bet avergonyeix la Maria.*
D Bet embarrass.PRES.3SG D Maria
'Bet embarrasses Maria'

Other Catalan verbs have the double pronominal use in autocausative and anticausative sentences (for example, *alegrar-se* 'to be happy'). In some contexts, the agentive component of *avergonyir-se (de)* 'to be ashamed (of)' and *alegrar-se (de)* 'to be happy (with)' becomes more transparent (see the example in (29a)); and in others the emotional spontaneous reaction with no agentivity involved in *avergonyir-se* and *alegrar-se* is clearly shown (see (29b)). The two alternants in (29) are an example of emotional/volitional alternation (see Royo 2017; 2018).

- (29) a. *Ja ho he fet, i no sé si*
already it have.1SG do.PTCP and not know.PRES.3SG if
alegrar-me 'n o avergonyir-me 'n.
be_happy.INF-REFL.1SG PRON_(OF_THAT) or shame.INF-REFL.1SG PRON_(OF_THAT)
'I've already done it and I don't know whether to be happy or ashamed'
- b. *Després de dir-li-ho sense embuts, la Maria {es*
after of tell.INF-PRON.DAT.3SG-it without care D Maria REFL.3SG
va avergonyir i es va enrojolar/ es
PST.3SG shame.INF and REFL.3SG PST.3SG blush.INF REFL.3SG
va alegrar i em va abraçar}.
PST.3SG feel_happy.INF and PRON.1SG PST.3SG hug.INF
'After telling him to his face, Maria {felt ashamed and turned red / felt happy and hugged me}'

Following the semantic characterisation of Fedriani's experiencer for the five Latin verbs, below we show the behaviour of the corresponding verbs in Catalan when they form anticausative and autocausative sentences (30)-(31) in order from the most agentive to the least (*penedir-se* > *compadir-se* > *avergonyir-se* > *afligir-se* / *disgustar-se* > *fatiguejar-se* / *avorrir-se*). The sentences in (30c) and (31c) take part in the emotional/volitional alternation.

- (30) Anticausatives: non-agentive, uncontrolled change of state
- a. ^{??}*Després de fer-ho, es va penedir.*
Lit.: ^{??}'After doing it, he regretted'
 - b. ^{??}*Després de veure el que li ha passat, es va compadir.*
^{??}'After seeing what had happened to him, he took pity'
 - c. *Després de dir-li-ho, es va avergonyir i es va enrojolar.*
'After telling him, she felt ashamed and turned red'
 - d. *Després de dir-li-ho, es va {afligir / disgustar} i va perdre l'alegria.*
'After telling him, she got {distressed / upset} and lost her good humour'
 - e. *Escoltant la conversa dels tertulians es va {fastiguejar / avorrir} i no hi pensa tornar.*
'Listening to the conversation of the talk-show guests, she got {disgusted / bored} and she has no intention of returning'
- (31) Autocausatives: agentive, controlled change of state
- a. *Ja ho he fet, i no sé si alegrar-me'n o penedir-me'n.*
'I've already done it and I don't know whether to be happy about it/that or to regret it/that'
 - b. *He vist el que li ha passat, i no sé si alegrar-me'n o compadir-me'n.*
'I saw what happened to him, and I don't know whether to be happy or sorry about it/that'
 - c. *Ja ho he fet, i no sé si alegrar-me'n o avergonyir-me'n.*
'I've already done it and I don't know whether to be happy or ashamed about it/that'
 - d. ^{??}*M'ha passat això, i no sé si alegrar-me'n o {afligir-me'n / disgustar-me'n}.*
^{??}'This happened to me and I don't know whether to be happy or {distressed / upset} about it/that'
 - e. ^{*}*M'ha passat això, i no sé si alegrar-me'n o {fastiguejar-me'n / avorrir-me'n}.*
^{*}'This happened to me and I don't know whether to be happy or {disgusted / bored} about it/that'

5 Argument Structure of Sentences with Catalan Verbs

We start from the combination of the Voice head concepts developed by Kratzer (1996) and Embick (1997) using different approaches. These concepts allow us to differentiate the argument structure of causative sentences, with an external argument, from their pronominal intransitive alternations. On the one hand, Kratzer (1996) characterises the Voice head as the introducer of the external argument into the sentence. On the other, Embick (1997) analyses Voice as a common morphological component in sentences with no external argument.

Schäfer (2008) proposes that Voice can both expand into a full VoiceP to introduce an external argument with semantic content (thematic role) in its specifier, and be an expletive VoiceP without a specifier that can contain an argument with semantic content. On the basis of these proposals, various authors have gone further into Voice head applied to various argument alternations (see Alexiadou et al. 2015; Harley 2017; Wood, Marantz 2017, among others). We first focus on the presence of Voice in the two components of the causative alternation – a causative transitive alternant with a full VoiceP and another anticausative intransitive with an expletive VoiceP – and then move on to analyse autocausative sentences.

Currently, the Voice head of transitive (and also unergative) sentences is usually characterized as the licenser of the sentence external argument in its specifier, as head of a full VoiceP with the feature [+D], and this would be the Voice_{+D} head of the transitive alternant of the causative alternation. In contrast, anticausative sentences have a head of an expletive (or non-active) VoiceP, without a specifier, with the feature [-D]. In languages that, like Catalan, use the clitic *es* or similar in anticausative sentences, several authors introduce it in the expletive VoiceP specifier (see Schäfer 2008; Alexiadou 2014b, among others). Unlike some previous studies, we consider the clitic *es* to be a legitimate morphological component of the head of the expletive VoiceP (Voice_{-D}),¹² not of the specifier, which will merge with the verbal element when it passes through Voice before merging with the head IP. This is also different from Cuervo's theoretical framework (2003), which does not use expletive Voice heads and places the clitic *es* of the anticausatives as a verbal morpheme in the head of a v_{GO}P.¹³ Therefore, for anticausative sentences we use a Voice_{-D}, which is non-thematic or without semantic characterisation, and which indicates the absence of external argument.

For Cuervo (2003), sentences with a v_{GO}P – prototypical of unaccusative sentences – do not have an external argument because they do not project a VoiceP; on the other hand, the sentences with a v_{DO}P do project a VoiceP that introduces an external argument (see Kratzer 1996). In our approach, however, it is the *flavor* of the vP that determines what type of VoiceP is projected on the sentence: a v_{GO}P projects an expletive voice or Voice_{-D}, and a v_{DO}P projects a full voice or Voice_{+D}.¹⁴ A v_{GO}P conceptualises an uncontrolled dynamic

12 When it occurs in autocausative sentences, we consider the clitic *es* to be a legitimate morphological component of the head of a full VoiceP (Voice_{+D}).

13 See also the proposals made by Folli and Harley (2005) and Vivanco (2016, 327-31) for placing the corresponding clitic in Italian and Spanish, respectively, in a phrase head other than Voice.

14 We use Cuervo's model (2003) for the flavors of vP, making the adaptations necessary to explain when a full VoiceP is projected and when an expletive VoiceP.

event with a patient subject (in a bi-eventive structure) and a v_{DO} P a controlled dynamic event with an agent subject (see Cuervo 2003; 2014b; 2015; Pinzin 2018, 55).

As far as autocausative sentences are concerned, we claim they present an argument with two thematic roles, at once an agent and a patient, and that they do not comply with Chomsky's (1981) Theta Criterion. Since it is necessary for a Voice head to have an argument that has the semantic content of an agent, we argue that autocausative sentences have a Voice_{+D} head, which enables the internal argument to merge into its specifier to saturate the thematic role of the agent, without losing the role of patient (see Royo 2017; 2018). Therefore, the experiencer argument of the anticausatives is generated as the subject of an internal predication (patient) and it moves to the specifier of the IP to comply with EPP. On the other hand, the experiencer argument of the autocausatives involves an additional intermediate step: starting from the position as subject of an internal predication (patient), it moves first to the specifier of Voice_{+D} (agent) and then finally to the specifier of IP to comply with EPP. It should be borne in mind that the thematic role of the patient of the internal subject - which allows the resultative construction: see the examples in (20) - is determined by the bi-eventive structure of both constructions - v_{DO} P+ v_{BE} P (autocausatives) and v_{GO} P+ v_{BE} P (anticausatives). This subject is in the specifier position of a v_{BE} P (stative) which has above it another non-stative v P (v_{DO} P or v_{GO} P) (see Cuervo 2003).

On the other hand, the stimulus of the psychological experience adopts the position of an adjunct, following the reasoning in §1 *in fine* and (15) for the argument in the genitive case of sentences with Latin impersonal psychological verbs. One topic that still requires a considerable amount of research is the relation between the obligatory presence of this PP and the agentive features of the experiencer in autocausative sentences, as can be seen in the contrasting pairs of examples in (29), (32) and (33); somehow, the PP enforces a causative structure that is intransitive.

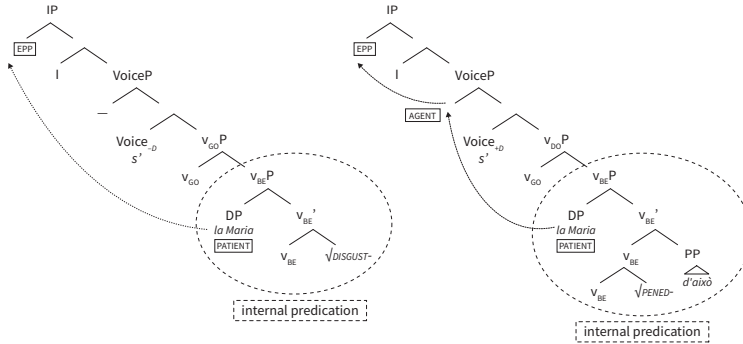
Below we show the structural difference between the anticausative sentences of these verbs and the autocausatives. Example (32) shows the contrast between a verb that forms anticausative sentences (*disgustar-se* 'to get upset') and another that forms autocausative sentences (*penedir-se* 'to regret'). And example (33) shows that a

verb such as *avergonyir-se* ‘to be ashamed’ can take part in both types of sentences.¹⁵

(32) anticausatives (a) vs. autocausatives (b) with different verbs (*disgustar-se* and *penedir-se*)

a. *La Maria s’ha disgustat.*
D Maria REFL.3SG have.3SG upset.PTCP
‘Maria got upset’

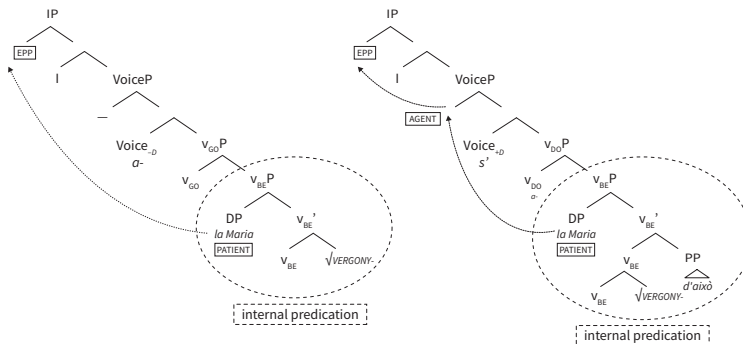
b. *La Maria s’ha penedit d’això (or se n’ha penedit).*
D Maria REFL. 3SG have.3SG regret.PTCP.of that
‘Maria regretted that’



(33) anticausatives (a) vs. autocausatives (b) with the same verb (*avergonyir-se*)

a. *La Maria s’ha avergonyit.*
D Mana REFL.3SG have.3SG shame.PTCP
‘Maria felt ashamed’

b. *La Maria s’ha avergonyit d’això (or se n’ha avergonyit).*
D Mana REFL.3SG have.3SG shame.PTCP.of that
‘Maria felt ashamed of that’



15 Like Cuervo’s approach (2003, §3.3.2) to prefixed adjectival verbs, we place the prefix *a-* of the verb *avergonyir-se* as a verb marker, associated with the dynamic *v*. Therefore, on this point, we follow Cuervo’s proposal which differs from the prepositional characterisation of prefixes argued by other authors.

6 Conclusions

1. The experiencer argument in the accusative case is the subject of an inner stative predication (specifier of $v_{BE}P$), which is then syntactically prominent with respect to the Stimulus in the genitive case. Conceptually speaking, this genitive constituent is a participant of a psychological emotion, but, syntactically speaking, is a modifier of the stative vP (low adjunct).

2. Latin impersonal psych verbs express a stative causation. An A(mbient)-Causer *pro* appears in the specifier position of VoiceP, whose head in turn selects the stative vP . Despite appearances, Burzio's Generalization is not violated: (i) there is a thematic external argument represented by this null *pro* and (ii) the experiencer argument has a structural accusative case.

3. In the transition from Latin to Romance languages the grammaticalization of the reflexive pronoun as a marker of middle-related functions attracted new verbs to the personal construction (e.g. Cat. *avergonyir-se* 'to feel shame'). This structural pattern was also extended to existing lexemes like Cat. *penedir-se* 'to regret' (< *paenitet*). The diachronic productivity of intransitive pronominal verbs resulted in the loss of the $ACC_{EXP} - GEN_{STIM}$ non-centered pattern.

4. There is a correlation between the semantic characterization of impersonal psych verbs in Latin and the syntactic behavior of their corresponding pronominal verbs in Catalan: non-agentive *taedet* 'it tires' and *piget* 'it irks' correspond to anticausatives like *fatigujarse/avorrir-se* and *afligir-se/disgustar-se*, respectively, whereas more agentive *miseret* 'it moves to pity' and *paenitet* 'it regrets' correspond to autocausatives like *compadir-se* and *penedir-se*, respectively. *Pudet* 'it makes ashamed' corresponds to *avergonyir-se*, which, on its non-agentive reading, is anticausative and, on its agentive reading, is autocausative.

Acknowledgments

Jaume Mateu is grateful for the financial support from the Spanish MINERVA research project PID2021-123617NB-C41 (Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades) and the Catalan research project 2021SGR00787 (AGAUR-Generalitat de Catalunya). Carles Royo is grateful for the financial support from the research project PID2022-136610NB-I00 (Ministerio de Ciencia, Innovación y Universidades) and the Research Promotion Plan 2022PFR-URV-10 (Universitat Rovira i Virgili) granted to the Research Group on Language and Linguistics ROLLING (2021 SGR 01217,

AGAUR-Generalitat de Catalunya). The authors would like to express their gratitude to the audience of the workshop on Psych Predicates in Romance Languages (Heinrich Heine Universität Düsseldorf, Institut für Romanistik, Düsseldorf, Sept. 20-2, 2023). We are also very grateful to two anonymous reviewers for their positive and constructive comments.

Bibliography

- Acedo-Matellán, V. (2013). *Change in Functional Morphemes or Change in Roots?: Diachronic Variation in Psych Predicates from Latin to Catalan*. Workshop L'estudi de la variació sintàctica: eines pràctiques i aspectes teòrics. Universidad del País Vasco / Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea. Vitoria-Gasteiz, Dec. 12, 2013.
- Acedo-Matellán, V.; Mateu, J. (2014). "From Syntax to Roots: a Syntactic Approach to Root Interpretation". Alexiadou, A.; Borer, H.; Schäfer, F. (eds), *The Syntax of Roots and the Roots of Syntax*, 14-32. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199665266.003.0002>.
- Alexiadou, A. (2014a). "Roots Don't Take Complements". *Theoretical Linguistics*, 40(3/4), 287-97. <https://doi.org/10.1515/tl-2014-0012>.
- Alexiadou, A. (2014b). "Active, Middle, and Passive: the Morpho-Syntax of Voice". *Catalan Journal of Linguistics*, 13, 19-40. <https://doi.org/10.5565/rev/catj1.153>.
- Alexiadou, A.; Anagnostopoulou, E.; Schäfer, F. (2015). *External Arguments in Transitivity Alternations: A Layering Approach*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199571949.001.0001>.
- Armstrong, G. (2016). "Towards a Theory of Pronominal Verb Constructions in Spanish". Cuza, A.; Czerwionka, L.; Olson, D. (eds), *Inquiries in Hispanic Linguistics: From Theory to Empirical Evidence*, 21-38. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ih11.12.02arm>.
- Baños, J.M. (2003). "Paenitet y los verbos impersonales de sentimiento en latín: sintaxis y pragmática del acusativo personal". Baños, J.M.; Cabrilla, C.; Torrego, M.E.; de la Villa, J. (eds), *Prædicativa. Complementación en griego y latín (Verba. Anuario Galego de Filoloxía, anexo 53)*, 51-77. Santiago de Compostela: Universidade de Santiago de Compostela, Servicio de Publicacións e Intercambio Científico.
- Baños, J.M. (2019). *Colocaciones y Construcciones con verbo soporte en latín*. Madrid: UAM, 2 de octubre – 7 de noviembre de 2019 (Máster en Filología Clásica (UCM / UAM / UAH). *Aspectos sincrónicos del latín*. Curso 2019/2020). https://www.academia.edu/40774648/_Colocaciones_y_construcciones_con_verbo_soporte_en_lat%C3%ADn?email_work_card=view-paper.
- Barðdal, J.; Cattafi, E.; Bruno, L.; Danesi, S. (2020). "Non-Nominative Subjects in Latin and Ancient Greek: Applying the Subject Tests on Early Indo-European Material". Preprint.
- Batllori, M. (2012). "Diacronia de los verbos psicológicos: una propuesta de entrada léxica". Clavería Nadal, G.; Freixas Alás, M.; Prat Sabater, M.; Torruella i Casañas, J. (eds), *Historia del léxico: perspectivas de investigación*, 341-74. Madrid: Iberoamericana; Vervuert. <https://doi.org/10.31819/9783865278784-011>.
- Batllori, M.; Gibert-Sotelo, E.; Pujol, I. (2019). "Changes in the Argument and Event Structure of Psych Verbs in the History of Spanish". Bouzouita, M.; Breitbarth, A.; Danckaert, L.; Witzgenhausen, E. (eds), *Cycles In Language Change*, 249-70. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198824961.003.0013>.

- Belletti, A.; Rizzi, L. (1988). "Psych-Verbs and Theta-Theory". *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 6(3), 291-352. <https://doi.org/10.1007/bf00133902>.
- Bouchard, D. (1992). "Psych Constructions and Linking to Conceptual Structures". Hirschbühler, P.; Koerner, K. (eds), *Romance Languages and Modern Linguistic Theory*, 25-44. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/cilt.91.04bou>.
- Cavallo, G. (2014). *The Latin Psych Verbs of the ē-class: (De)Transitivization and Syntactic Alignment* [PhD Dissertation]. Padova: Università degli Studi di Padova.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- Cuervo, M.C. (2003). *Datives at Large* [PhD Dissertation]. Cambridge, MA: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Cuervo, M.C. (2014a). "Arguments for a Root". *Theoretical Linguistics*, 40(3/4), 375-87. <https://doi.org/10.1515/tl-2014-0018>.
- Cuervo, M.C. (2014b). "Alternating Unaccusatives and the Distribution of Roots". *Lingua*, 141, 48-70. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2013.12.001>.
- Cuervo, M.C. (2015). "Causation without a CAUSE". *Syntax*, 18(4), 388-424. <https://doi.org/10.1111/synt.12115>.
- Cuzzolin, P.; Napoli, M. (2009). "An Overview of the Impersonals in Proto-Indo-European". Lühr, R.; Ziegler, S. (eds), *Protolanguage and Prehistory. Akten der XII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, vom 11. bis 15. Oktober 2004 in Krakau*, 75-81. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Devine, A.M.; Stephens, L.D. (2013). *Semantics for Latin: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Embick, D. (1997). "Voice Systems and the Syntax/Morphology Interface". Harley, H. (ed.), *MITWPL 32: Papers from the UPenn/MIT Roundtable on Argument Structure and Aspect*, MITWPL, 41-72.
- Fábregas, A. (2020). *Morphologically Derived Adjectives in Spanish*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.30>.
- Fedriani, C. (2013). "The *me pudet* Construction in the History of Latin. Why and How Fast Non-Canonical Subjects Come and Go". Seržants, I.A.; Kulikov, L. (eds), *The Diachronic Typology of Non-Canonical Subjects*, 205-32. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.140.10fed>.
- Fedriani, C. (2014a). "*Peniteo errorem* (Hier. *Tract. in Ps.* II, 84, 37). Un caso di mutamento sintattico semanticamente motivato". Molinelli, P.; Cuzzolin, P.; Fedriani, C. (eds), *Latin Vulgaire Latin Tardif X. Actes du X^e colloque international sur le latin vulgaire et tardif: Bergamo, 5-9 septembre 2012*, 263-86. Bergamo: Bergamo University Press; Sestante Edizioni.
- Fedriani, C. (2014b). *Experiential Constructions in Latin*. Leiden: Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004257832>.
- Folli, R.; Harley, H. (2005). "Flavors of *v*". Kempchinsky, P.; Slabakova, R. (eds), *Aspectual Inquiries*, 95-120. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Giusti, G.; Iovino, R. (2019). "Psychological Verbs as a Vulnerable Syntactic Domain: A Comparative Study of Latin and Italian". *Lingua*, 223, 29-45. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2019.03.001>.
- Hale, K.; Keyser, S.J. (2002). *Prolegomenon to a Theory of Argument Structure*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/5634.001.0001>.
- Harley, H. (2017). "The 'Bundling' Hypothesis and the Disparate Functions of Little *v*". D'Alessandro, R.; Franco, I.; Gallego, Á.J. (eds), *The Verbal Domain*, 3-28. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767886.003.0001>.
- Kayne, R.S. (2008). "Antisymmetry and the Lexicon". *Linguistic Variation Yearbook*, 8, 1-32. <https://doi.org/10.1075/livy.8.01kay>.

- Kratzer, A. (1996). "Severing the External Argument from its Verb". Rooryck, J.; Zaring, L. (eds), *Phrase Structure and the Lexicon*, 109-38. Dordrecht: Kluwer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-8617-7_5.
- Lühr, R. (2011). "Zur Validität Linguistischer Theorien in der Indogermanistik". Krisch, T.; Lindner, T. (eds), *Indogermanistik und Linguistik im Dialog: Akten der XIII. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft vom 21. bis 27. September 2008 in Salzburg*, 321-30. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag.
- Mangialavori, M.E. (2013). *Arquitectura clausal y estructura semántica. Las construcciones impersonales en la lengua latina*. München: Lincom.
- Masullo, P.J. (1992). "Antipassive Constructions in Spanish". Hirschbühler, P.; Koerner, K. (eds), *Romance Languages and Modern Linguistic Theory*, 175-94. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Matasović, R. (2013). "Latin *paenitet me, miseret me, pudet me* and Active Clause Alignment in Proto-Indo-European". *Indogermanische Forschungen. Zeitschrift für Indogermanistik und historische Sprachwissenschaft*, 118, 93-110. <https://doi.org/10.1515/indo.2013.118.2013.93>.
- Mateu, J. (2002). *Argument Structure: Relational Construal at the Syntax-Semantics Interface* [PhD Dissertation]. Bellaterra: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Mateu, J. (2015). "La inacusativitat i la selecció de l'auxiliar en català antic". Lloret, M.-R.; Pons-Moll, C.; Bosch-Roure, E. (eds), *Clàssics d'ahir i d'avui en la gramàtica del català*, 127-51. Barcelona: Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona.
- Mateu, J. (2017). "State and Change of State in Latin: A View from the Lexicon-Syntax Interface". Fernández-Soriano, O.; Castroviejo, E.; Pérez-Jiménez, I. (eds), *Boundaries, Phases, and Interfaces. Case Studies in Honor of Violeta Demonte*, 344-66. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.239.16mat>.
- Mateu, J.; Royo, C. (2024). "Configuració sintàctica i estructura argumental dels verbs psicològics impersonals del llatí". Gibert-Sotelo, E.; Pujol Payet, I.; Rost Bagudanch, A.; Tro Morató, T. (eds), *Linguistica sine finibus: estudis dedicats a Montserrat Batllori Dillet*, 416-40. Girona, Universitat de Girona: Documenta Universitaria. https://doi.org/10.33115/c/9788499846163_19.
- Migliori, L. (2016). *Argument Structure, Alignment and Auxiliaries between Latin and Romance: A Diachronic Syntactic Account* [PhD Dissertation]. Leiden: Universiteit Leiden.
- Parry, M. (1998). "The Reinterpretation of the Reflexive in Piedmontese: 'Impersonal' SE Constructions". *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 96(1), 63-116. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-968x.00024>.
- Pesetsky, D. (1995). *Zero Syntax. Experiencers and Cascades*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- Pinkster, H. (2015). *The Oxford Latin Syntax. Vol. 1 The Simple Clause*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199283613.001.0001>.
- Pinzin, F. (2018). *Stuck in the Middle: A Morphosyntactic Analysis of the Deponent Verbs from Latin to Romance* [PhD Dissertation]. Venice: Università Ca' Foscari Venezia.
- Ramchand, G.C. (2008). *Verb Meaning and the Lexicon. A First-Phase Syntax*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/cbo9780511486319>.
- Rigau, G. (1994). "Les propietats dels verbs pronominals". *Els Marges*, 50, 29-39.
- Royo, C. (2017). *Alternança acusatiu/datiu i flexibilitat semàntica i sintàctica dels verbs psicològics catalans* [tesis doctoral]. Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona.
- Royo, C. (2018). "Els verbs psicològics pronominals catalans i l'alternança emotiva/volitiva". *Études Romanes de Brno*, 39(1), 115-38. <https://doi.org/10.5817/erb2018-1-8>.

- Schäfer, F. (2008). *The Syntax of (Anti-)Causatives. External Arguments in Change-of-State Contexts*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.126>.
- Torralla, F. (2012). *El valor de tenir valors*. Badalona: Ara Llibres.
- Tur Altarriba, C. (2013). "Las construcciones de *miseret* y de *miserer/miseror* en latín". *Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos*, 33(2), 239-51. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_cfcl.2013.v33.n2.43564.
- Vivanco, J.M. (2016). *Causatividad y cambio de estado en español. La alternancia causativo-inacusativa* [tesis doctoral]. Madrid: Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- Wood, J.; Marantz, A. (2017). "The Interpretation of External Arguments". D'Alessandro, R.; Franco, I.; Gallego, Á.J. (eds), *The Verbal Domain*, 255-78. Oxford: Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198767886.003.0011>.
- Woodcock, E.C. (1959). *A New Latin Syntax*. Mundelein: Bochazy-Carducci Publishers.

