

Psych Light Verb Constructions in Catalan

Basic Typology

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Abstract This paper provides a descriptive account of psych light verb constructions in Catalan. The goal is to present orderly and systematic data as a preliminary step for future research. To achieve this goal, a typology of light verb predicates is established based on the syntactic position of the Experiencer argument. The paper also has an applied purpose and offers some contrastive comments between Catalan and Spanish, and between Catalan and English, which may help in the development of future tools for Catalan learners.

Keywords Light verb constructions. Psych predicates. Argument structure. Semantic roles. Catalan.

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1 Introduction

In this paper,¹ I present the current state of descriptive research on psychological predicates with light verbs in Catalan. Psychological predicates form an interesting group of predicates because emotional experiences play a central role in human life (Wierzbicka 1999). Therefore, the way languages encode these experiences has attracted scholarly attention for many years. In addition, psychological predicates – specifically psychological verbs (or psych-verbs) – are considered a key subject in syntax, semantics, and cross-linguistic typology. In many languages, these verbs diverge syntactically and semantically from more prototypical verbs, presenting challenges for linguists attempting to map both the universal features and specific variations of these verbs across languages. The crucial point of discussion, specially since Belletti and Rizzi (1988), is the mapping between semantic roles and syntactic positions.² But there are other aspects (which are ultimately related to the first) such as the eventive/aspectual structure of these predicates,³ the possible agentive nature of some of them – which poses a problem for certain theoretical frameworks (though not for all), since to accept an agent constituent may imply the attribution of more than one semantic role to the same argument – (Bogard 1995; Martínez-Linares 1998; Royo 2017), or the syntactic and semantic flexibility of a big deal of particular (or of groups of) psych verbs.⁴ And, in the end, what exactly defines a psych predicate (Bouchard 1995, 259-386). Recent general accounts can be found in Marín (2015) and in Rozwadowska and Bondaruk (2020).

On the other side, light verb constructions (or support-verb constructions) are also claimed to pose challenges to current syntactic and semantic theories. In a traditional grammatical framework, the verb carries the main semantic and predicational weight in the sentence and selects for the arguments. But in light

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2 Van Voorst 1992; Pesetsky 1995; Cheung, Larson 2015; Filip 1996; Rosselló 2002; Mendivil Giró 2004; Kailuweit 2005; Varchetta 2010; Acedo-Matellán, Mateu 2015; Royo 2017, among many others.

3 Arad 1998; Parodi, Luján 2000; Di Tullio 2004; Sanromán Vilas 2005; Marín 2011; Kailuweit 2015.

4 Mendivil Giró 2005; Suárez 2012; Royo 2017; Kailuweit 2018; Fábregas, Marín 2020; Iacobuzio, Silva 2022.

verb constructions this does not seem to be the case – or not always (or at least it is controversial).⁵ This state-of-affairs led some schools of thought to claim for a specific grammatical status of light verbs (LV), different from regular or full (or lexical) verbs (Gross 1981, Jung 2002, Butt 2010). Other researchers deny or qualify this assertion,⁶ pointing out that the term *light verb* refers to a specific use of lexically full verbs (Fleischhauer, Hartmann 2021, 138). Be that as it may, the fact is that in recent years the study of light verb constructions (LVCs) has increased a lot. Some lines of current research are the degree of “lightness” of a LV (it contributes little predicative meaning to the LVC, but can encode aspect, valency, or other content features),⁷ the syntactic properties of the noun (Alba-Salas 2002; Melloni 2017; Pisciotta, Masini 2025) and the contrast between particular languages.⁸ One of the main topics at present is the semantic, syntactic and pragmatic relationship between LVCs and their synthetic counterparts – often focusing on the (more) flexible modification properties of LVCs.⁹ General accounts of current research on LVCs can be found in Baños et al. (2022), Pompei et al. (2023) and in Riccio and Fleischhauer (2025).¹⁰

Moreover, there is a last controversial issue about LVCs. Some linguists reject (overtly or covertly) the possibility of establishing systematic grammatical statements in this field, and they fit LVCs into the sphere of verb-noun collocations or idioms and, therefore, they deal with this class of constructions in the framework of phraseology and the study of idiomatic or semi-idiomatic expressions.¹¹

5 Gross 1981; Grimshaw, Mester 1988; Jayaseelan 1988; Mendivil Giró 1999; De Miguel 2006; 2008; 2011.

6 See Butt, Geuder 2001; Bustos Tovar 2011; Ramchand 2014; Bruening 2016.

7 Koike 1995; Acedo-Matellán, Pineda 2019; Fleischhauer 2021; Kwo 2025.

8 Elena 1991; Ginebra, Navarro 2015; Martín Salcedo 2016; D’Andrea 2021; D’Andrea 2022; Alvarez-Morera 2022, inter alia.

9 Sanromán Vilas 2009; Bonial, Pollard 2020; Fleischhauer, Neisani 2020; Alvarez-Morera 2023b; Alvarez-Morera, Ginebra, Oltra-Massuet 2025; Pisciotta, Masini 2025.

10 Work has also been done on LVCs from both a diachronic perspective and applied perspectives, such as language teaching, translation, and lexicography. I am not providing references on these topics.

11 This is the position of John Sinclair’s school, which emphasises the verb-noun combination as the minimum unanalysable unit of meaning and rejects or marginalises the idea that the formation of these constructions is based on principles of compositionality. The issue could be expressed in these terms: if the correspondence of LVs with the corresponding psych noun in one language or between languages can be described in grammatical or semantic terms – in terms of the ‘system’ – it must be concluded that the expressions in which they appear are not (phraseological) collocations. On the contrary, if it is necessary to “list” the specific verb-noun pairs, we must accept that we are in the domain of phraseology or lexicology (Alonso Ramos 1994-95, 23-4; 2004, 190-2; Ginebra 2003, 39-40).

If both psych verbs and LVCs pose challenges to current syntactic and semantic theories, it seems reasonable to think that psych light verb constructions (PLVCs), since they are a class of predicates that participate in the properties of psych predicates and at the same time in the properties of LVCs, are structures of great interest: that they are a compelling subject for linguistic research. For example, one of the questions that would need to be explored is whether the specificity of psych predicates in relation to general predicates is retrieved in PLVCs in relation to general or “regular” LVCs: whether the psych domain in the world of LVCs shows specific syntactic and semantic properties (as it has been claimed for psych verbs in connection with general verbs). Another – related – question to explore is the grammatical connections between PLVCs and psych verbs, and the parallels that can be drawn between the two classes of predicates. This intersection of study (psych predicates and LVCs) has begun to receive attention in recent years.¹²

In any case, these – and other – questions are first of all empirical issues (although not just empirical issues). So, data is required. This paper, a descriptive account of PLVCs in Catalan – a work that has not yet been carried out – is aimed at providing evidence along these lines.¹³ My aim is just to present orderly and systematic data on Catalan PLVCs, as a preliminary step for future research. One of the reviewers asked whether the psych domain is really an essential parameter of my study, or whether it is rather a typology of Catalan LVCs in which all examples happen to be psych predicates. He or she is right to raise this question. I can’t say anything for sure at this stage. My intention is to provide information so that further work can arrive to general claims and to explanatory statements.

My paper, finally, has also an applied purpose. Catalan is a language that in recent years has aroused considerable interest, not only among scholars and academics outside the Catalan-speaking area, but also as a foreign language. The field of light verb constructions is particularly complex for language learners so any contrastive input should be useful for them. In this paper, I provide some contrastive comments between Catalan and Spanish and Catalan and English

12 See Viñas-de-Puig 2008; 2009; 2014; Wiskandt 2025; Wiskandt, Turus 2025; Piscioti, Masini 2025 and partly Di Tullio 2015, 196-9 and Pompei, Piuanno 2023, 111-20.

13 For Catalan psych verbs, see Cabré, Mateu 1998 and Rosselló 2002. Today the author of reference on this subject is Royo 2017; 2018; 2019; 2021; 2023, among others). Some studies have been made of Catalan light verbs (or of Catalan LVs in a cross-linguistic approach), but none of them focus on psych light verbs, apart from those by Viñas-de-Puig (2008, 2009, 2014) (he adopts an interesting theoretical approach, but actually provides very little descriptive data). See, among others (with different purposes and different theoretical frameworks), Alvarez-Morera 2023a; 2023b; 2024; Castell 1999; Colominas 2001; Monllao 2003; Ginebra 2006; 2008; 2017; 2023; Montserrat 2014; Bartra 2011; Ginebra, Navarro 2015 and Marco, Bracho 2024.

that may help the implementation of future applied tools for Catalan language teaching and for translation.

Finally, I must note that I will not address an interesting topic about PLVCs that relates not only to grammatical explanation but also to language teaching: the fact that the phenomenon is (at least apparently) defective, discontinuous. For a unit such as *tenir enveja* (lit. *to have envy* 'to envy'), for example, there is the full verb counterpart (*envejar* 'to envy') and the copular predicate counterpart (*estar envejós* 'to be jealous/envious'). But in Catalan this is not systematic (I put aside now the question of the aspectual differences between the three versions here), as tables 1-5 show (examples created by the author). I will make just some comments regarding this question later (section 9).

Table 1 The complete set of psychological predicates. A sample

PLVC	psych verb	psych copular predicate
1. <i>La Laia té enveja de la seva</i> Laia has envy of her <i>germana.</i> sister. 'Laia is jealous/envious of her sister'	<i>L. enveja la seva</i> Laia envies her <i>germana.</i> sister. 'Laia envies her sister'	<i>L. està envejosa de</i> Laia is envious of <i>la seva germana.</i> her sister. 'Laia is jeaolus/envious of her sister'
2. <i>La Laia té respecte a</i> Laia has respect for <i>l'autoritat.</i> the-authority. 'Laia respects authority'	<i>L. respecta l'autoritat.</i> Laia respects the-authority. 'Laia respects authority'	<i>L. és respectuosa amb</i> Laia is respectful with <i>l'autoritat.</i> the-authority. 'Laia respects authority'

Table 2 The set without psych copular predicate. Examples

PLVC	psych verb	psych copular predicate
1. <i>La Laia té veneració pel</i> Laia has veneration for-the <i>seu avi.</i> her grandpa. 'Laia has a great admiration for her grandpa'	<i>La Laia venera</i> Laia reveres <i>el seu avi.</i> her grandpa. 'Laia has a great admiration for her grandpa'	
2. <i>Aquest senyor té odi als</i> This man has hate to-the <i>atalans.</i> Catalans. 'This man hates the Catalans'	<i>Aquest senyor odia</i> This man hates <i>els catalans.</i> the Catalans. 'This man hates the Catalans'	

Table 3 The set without psych verbs

PLVC	psych verb	psych copular predicate
1. <i>La Laia té ansietat.</i> Laia has anxiety. 'Laia is anxious'		<i>La Laia està ansiosa.</i> Laia is anxious. 'Laia is anxious'
2. <i>La Laia té afecte als Andorrans.</i> Laia has affection to-the Andorrans. 'Laia is fond of / loves the Andorrans'		<i>La Laia és afectuosa amb els andorrans.</i> Laia is affectionate with the Andorrans. 'Laia is fond of / loves the Andorrans'

Table 4 Just psych verbs

PLVC	psych verb	psych copular predicate
1.	<i>La Laia lamenta la situació.</i> Laia regrets the situation. 'Laia regrets the situation'	
2.	<i>La Laia deplora l'error.</i> Laia regrets the-mistake. 'Laia regrets the mistake'	

Table 5 Just PLVCs

PLVC	psych verb	psych copular predicate
1. <i>La Laia té aversió al risc.</i> Laia has aversion to-the risk. 'Laia is risk-averse'		
2. <i>La Laia té animadversió a la vida burgesa.</i> Laia has aversion to the life bourgeois 'Laia has an aversion to bourgeois life'		

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, I give the core theoretical assumptions of the work and a basic working reference typology of psych predicates with LV. In section 3 I explain the methodology of the empirical research. In section 4 I give the general results and present the four basic classes of Catalan PLVCs. In the following sections (5-8) I provide the details of each one of these four basic classes. In section 9, I add a reflection on the relationship between Catalan PLVCs and Catalan psych predicates with copular verbs. I close the paper (section 10) with some concluding comments.

2 Theoretical Assumptions

2.1 Basic Constituents of the Psych Predicates with LV

The three basic constituents of psych predicates with LV are the following. The first expresses the life experience denoted in these constructions by the psych noun (at times abbreviated as PN), which is expressed by the verb in psych predicates containing a full lexical verb. I label this constituent with the term *psychological experience* (at times abbreviated as PE). I could have used *emotion*, *emotional state*, *emotional experience*, *feeling*, or others. Furthermore, I do not intend to give any terminological value to the phrase *psychological experience* or engage in any encyclopedic discussion. The second constituent denotes the person who undergoes the psychological experience and is called the *experiencer* (at times abbreviated as Exp). The third constituent denotes the fact or thing that triggers the psychological experience of the experiencer, which I refer to as *stimulus* (at times abbreviated as STI), as in the case of *psychological experience* for practical reasons, and not because of any theoretical commitment. As is well known, in the field of the study of psych predicates there is no general agreement as to the semantic function / thematic role of this item (nor whether it is the same in all classes of psych predicates). Among others, the following terms have been used: *theme*, *stimulus*, *source*, *trigger*, and *cause*.

One question open to debate is whether the *basic* constituents of the psych predicate with LV are also *essential*. That is, whether all three need to be present for one to speak of a LV psych predicate. In this paper, I assume not. And I further assume that the only essential constituents are the experiencer and the psychological experience. If this were not so, I could not classify as psychological a predicate such as *El vell té por* (lit. *The old man has fear* 'The old man is scared'), because it does not express the stimulus.¹⁴

14 This view seems to contradict that of such other authors as Viñas-de-Puig (2009), for whom the source argument (my stimulus) is an essential and universal item of what he calls Basic Experience Structure. One way to make these two views coincide would be to argue that, for example, a sentence such as *El vell té por* always has an implicit or generic constituent that refers to the source/stimulus (see Di Tullio 2015, 199). I will not pursue this issue here. On the other hand, my view means that here I cannot discuss sentences such *Aquesta habitació tan fosca fa por* (lit. *This room so dark makes fear* 'This dark room is scary'), since does not contain an experiencer - but see Becker, Guzmán Naranjo 2020, 498 for a different claim.

2.2 Basic Reference Typology of Psych Predicates with LV

I have established five working reference classes of PLVCs, based on the criterium followed by Belletti-Rizzi (1988) in their analysis of psych verbs: the syntactic function of the experiencer. As is well known, Belletti-Rizzi distinguished class 1 (subject Exp), class 2 (object Exp) and class 3 (dative Exp). This has resulted in the first three classes of my general typology of PLVCs. Moreover, in the PLVCs we can find the Exp introduced by prepositions which are not dative prepositions. This has led me to add two other classes (class IV and class V).

In addition, each class has been divided into subclasses according to the structural distribution of the other basic constituents of psych predicates. To specify and formalize these classes and subclasses, I have benefited from contributions from several scholars, including Giry-Schneider (1987), Gross (1989), Bouchard (1995), and various works by Alba-Salas (2016, 2017, 2019) – although none of these authors attempted to outline the syntactic patterns of PLVCs. I represent the five classes schematically in (1). This typology is intended as a working reference framework – just a tool for the description of Catalan data. Examples in (1) come from Catalan, Spanish, French and English. The symbols stand for the following: S (subject), DO (direct object), Dat (dative phrase), PP (prepositional phrase – dative and PP_{GEN} excluded), PP_{GEN} (genitive prepositional phrase), v (light verb), Exp (experiencer).¹⁵

Class I

1. S Exp + v + DO psych experience 2. S Exp + v + PP psych experience
1. *El vell té por.* (Cat. 1971, CTILC)
The old-man has fear.
'The old man is scared'
2. *I flew into a rage.* (eng. COBUILD 2003)

Class II

1. S stimulus + v + DO Exp + PP psych experience 2. S psych experience + v + DO Exp
1. *Cela a mis Pierre dans une rage terrible.* (fr. Bouchard 1995, 275)
That has put Pierre into a rage terrible.
'That put Pierre into a terrible rage'
2. *L'havia presa una por inconcessable.* (Cat. 2019, CTILC)
ACC-has taken a fear unconfessable.
'A terrible fear paralyzed her'

¹⁵ As will be seen later, I divide the subclasses into types based on the eventive features of the predicates. In more detailed research, it may be interesting to assess whether the concept of LVCs families, used by Fleischhauer (2021) for German, can be adapted to obtain more descriptive precision.

Class III

1. S stimulus + v + DO psych experience + Dat Exp 2. S psych experience + v + Dat Exp 3. S stimulus + v + PP psych experience + Dat Exp

1. *A l'Enriqueta li feien por les màquines.* (Cat. 2011, CTILC)
To the-Enriqueta DAT made fear the machines.

'Enriqueta was scared of machines'

2. [A la Tatiana] *li agafa por.* (Cat. 2019, CTILC)
[To Tatiana] DAT catches/takes fear.

'Tatiana gets scared'

3. *No les viene en agrado hacer algo útil.*
No DAT-PL come in pleasure to-do something useful.

'They do not like to do something useful' (sp. Google Search, 17 May 2025)

Class IV

1. S stimulus + v + DO psych experience + PP Exp 2. S psych experience + v + PP Exp

1. *Cela a éveillé en Pierre une rage terrible.* (fr. Bouchar 1995, 275)
That has awoken in Pierre a rage terrible.

'That awoke in Pierre a terrible rage'

2. *Entró en ellos el pánico.* (sp. Alba-Salas 2016, 11)
Entered in them the panic.

'They panicked'

Class V

S stimulus + v + DO psych experience + PP_{GEN} Exp

Al nord d'Europa l'all no ha tingut mai l'admiració
In-the north of-Europe the-garlic not has had never the-admiration
de la gent. (Cat. 1972, CTILC)

of the people.

'In Northern Europe, garlic has never been admired by people'

Class IV expresses the Exp as a PP, and the psych experience as the DO (class IV.1) or has the subject (class IV.2). The syntactic distribution of these constituents can be explained under the localist hypothesis and in terms of a metaphorical approach, in line with Cognitive Linguistics and other theoretical frameworks (Talmy 2000; Morimoto 2001; Croft, Cruse 2004). Thus, if it is assumed that semantic domains are structured in terms of the spatial relations, like location and movement, the psych experience can be seen as semantically recategorized as a physical object (a Figure, according to Talmy's semantics), so that it can "be placed". And the Exp is semantically recategorized as a place or as a recipient, where the psych experience goes or is located (Cifuentes, Llopis Ganga 1996; Landau 2010; Alba-Salas 2016, among many others). In a sentence like *Cela a éveillé en Pierre une rage terrible*, the PE "converted"

into a “physical object” (*une rage terrible*) is located in a “place” (*en Pierre*). Alba-Salas (2016) calls this Exp *locative experiencer*. In contrast, in class II.1 (*Cela a mis Pierre dans une rage terrible*) the psych experience (*une rage terrible*) is the “place” and the Exp (*Pierre*) is the “physical object” – the Figure.

Class V also expresses the Exp has a PP, but in a clearly different fashion, both from semantic and syntactic points of view (and for that reason I use a different label, PP_{GEN}). Semantically the Exp cannot be seen as a place or as a recipient where the figure is or goes, but rather as a source. Syntactically, the PP Exp (*de la gent*) is in fact what is often called a subjective genitive of the noun (*admiració*). This PP is not an argument of the verb, but of the PN, so classe V constructions cannot be classified as PLVCs strictly speaking. Nevertheless, I have included them in the list because they are psych predicates and contain an LV, a PN, and an Exp. They also have a long tradition as a subject of study in the field of LVCs within the theoretical framework of Lexicon-grammar, where they are referred to as *converse constructions* (Gross 1989).

3 Empirical Work. Methodology

First, I provided a comprehensive alphabetical list of Catalan psych nouns (PN) by means of lexicographic data, manually collected, mainly from the DIEC2. I compiled about 300 nouns. I selected a sample: the first 18 nouns [tab. 6]. The evidence came from de CTILC – a free-access corpus of general contemporary written Catalan (1833-today) created by the Institut d’Estudis Catalans (Institute for Catalan Studies) –, where I checked the concordances of all the tokens of the 18 lemmas in order to find the sentences with PLVC. I obtained 1.216 PLVC-sentence tokens. And I analysed them to see how they fit into the classes established in 2.2.

Table 6 The 18 psych nominal lemmas and their number of tokens in the CTILC

<i>abúlia</i> ‘abulia’ (64)	<i>alegrament</i> ‘happiness’ (2)
<i>aclapament</i> ‘overwhelming feeling’ (91)	<i>alegrança</i> ‘happiness’ (27)
<i>acolloniment</i> ‘fear’ (slang) (3)	<i>alegria</i> ‘happiness’ (8.932)
<i>acomplexament</i> ‘feeling of inferiority’ (9)	<i>alleugeriment</i> ‘sense of relief’ (37)
<i>acontentament</i> ‘satisfaction’ (39)	<i>alleujament</i> ‘sense of relief’ (331)
<i>admiració</i> ‘admiration’ (2.873)	<i>amargor</i> ‘bitterness’ (767)
<i>adoració</i> ‘worship’ (716)	<i>amarguesa</i> ‘bitterness’ (87)
<i>afecte</i> ‘affection, love’ (3.832)	<i>amargura</i> ‘bitterness’ (373)
<i>alarma</i> ‘alarm’ (532)	<i>amoïnament</i> ‘worry’ (12)

In addition, I selected other 15 frequent PN from the list of 300 items. They are randomly chosen nouns, which my intuition as a Catalan native speaker indicates are frequent in the language: *angoixa* 'anguish', *atabalament* 'confusion', *confiança* 'trust', *desànim* 'discouragement', *disgust* 'displeasure' *il·lusió* 'illusion', *interès* 'interest' *mania* 'bad obsession', *paciència* 'patience', *pànic* 'panic', *por* 'fear', *ràbia* 'rage', *sorpresa* 'surprise', *tristesia* 'sadness' and *vergonya* 'shame'. The reason to add these nouns is that the first 18-nouns list gave poor results. I obtained 1.216 PLVC-sentence tokens, as I said, and this amount may appear to be enough, but 576 of these 1.216 tokens correspond to PLVCs with *alegria* 'happiness', and 502 to PLVCs with *afecte* 'affection, love'. The remaining 138 tokens are distributed among 16 nouns. Some PN (*abúlia*, *aclapament*, *acolloniment*, *acomplexament*, *amarguesa*) are never found in a PLVC. Some others (*acontentament*, *alegrament*, *alegrança*, *alleujament*, *amoïnament*) are found once.

For each one of the psych nouns from the second list (the 15-nouns list), I searched for the verbs with which they most frequently co-occur, using the CTILC query application, which allows retrieval of data on collocations. This task led me to read and examine around 7,500 new concordances. Thus, I found occurrences of PLVCs with patterns that had not appeared in the exploration of the concordances of the 18 nouns mentioned earlier. I should note that the query application does not allow looking directly for the co-occurrence of two specific items, and the way to get a token of a LVC is not always easy (see Fleischhauer 2021 for other problems related to extraction of LVCs from current corpora). Finally, I complemented the research by consulting dictionaries: the DDL, the DEIEC, and the DIEC2. I searched for both the nouns in the list of the 18 PN and those in the random 15-nouns list, and also all the LVs that the previous search had provided me.

PLVCs with just one token were discarded. In the sentences included in the dataset, the first letter has been modified to always be capitalized. Catalan sentences from before 1913 have been orthographically standardized. It should be remembered that the focus of the work is the syntactic typology of PLVCs. The purpose is not to provide quantitative data. General statements in next sections about Catalan PLVCs must be understood as a projection drawn from the data obtained in the analysis of these 33 psych nouns.

4 General Results. The Four Basic Classes of Catalan PLVCs

Let me note three previous general observations before presenting the typological results of the analyses carried out. The first is that, according to the CTILC data, the number of psych nouns that occur

in PLVCs is very small in percentage terms – approximately 6% of the total tokens of PNs. Laporte, Ranchhod, and Yannacopoulou (2008), in their corpus study of French LVCs (not just PLVCs), found that LVCs made up 4% of the total predicative nouns in their corpus. The second is that there are PNs that never appear in PLVCs or appear only once. The third is that there are LVs that appear with a certain frequency but occur with very few nouns (sometimes only one).

That being said, let us now turn to the general results of the work. In contemporary Catalan, constructions corresponding to classes I, III and V are common. More specifically, to classes I.1, III.1, III.2 and V. Therefore, what would be the 4 basic constructions in Catalan do not correspond to 4 of the classes of the general reference typology, but to 3, with the particularity that two of the basic Catalan constructions correspond to 2 subclasses of the same general class. According to what is shown in (2) and exemplified in (3).

(2) Common Catalan PLVCs

- a. Class I.1
- b. Class III.1
- c. Class III.2
- d. Class V

(3) a. *El vell té por.* (1971, CTILC)

The old-man has fear.
'The old man is scared'

- b. *A tu et fa vergonya sortir a passejar amb mi.*
To you DAT makes shame to go out to walk with me.
'You are embarrassed to go for a walk with me' (2011, CTILC)

- c. *A la Patrícia li va agafar molta por.* (1977, CTILC)
To Patrícia DAT caught/took much fear.
'Patrícia got very scared'

- d. *L'all no ha tingut mai l'admiració de la gent.*
the-garlic not has had never the-admiration of the people.
'Garlic has never been admired by people' (Cat. 1972, CTILC)

Class I.2 is possible in Catalan but rarely attested. I give some details about this pattern in section 5. Class II is even more rarely attested. The CTILC contains some tokens of class II.1 sentences (only with *alarma*), illustrated in (4). The sentence in (4a), with *tenir en* 'to

have in', is stative. The sentence in (4b), with *posar in* 'to put in', is inchoative. Today they sound rather weird or bookish.¹⁶

- (4) a. *Sovintejava [...] en nostra capital l'esclat d'explosius*
It-was-frequent in our capital the-explosion of-explosives
que la tenien en continua alarma.
that Acc had in constant alarm. (1910, CTILC)
'By that time, bombs were exploding frequently in our capital, leaving her in a constant state of alarm'
- b. *Una bronjada de carmí clapava sos pòmuls de*
A brushstroke of carmine speckled her cheekbones of
cera, en alarma a la Delfina.
wax, in alarm to the Delfina. (1890, CTILC)
'A brushstroke of carmine speckled her cheekbones with wax, putting Delfina on alert'

As for class II.2, data are still more reduced. I found the sentence provided in (1, class V), with *prendre* 'to take', repeated here as (5):

- (5) *L'havia presa una por inconfessable.* (2019, CTILC)
Acc-has taken a fear unconfessable.
'A terrible fear paralyzed her'

Class III.3 and class IV are not found in contemporary Catalan. I leave for further research to look for an explanation. I will make just a quick note. At least for class IV, the cause could be related to the phenomenon described by Alba-Salas (2016) for Spanish with the label *El triunfo del experimentante dativo* 'the victory of the dative Exp' (which I cannot comment on here). In the case of Catalan, moreover, the locative clitic with a human referent is syncretic with the dative clitic (*li* sing. *els/los* plural; the locative clitic is *hi*), as shown in (6) with a regular directed motion verb.

- (6) a. *La policia va portar el noi a la comissaria.* → *La policia hi va portar el nen.*
The police PAST take the boy to the The police LOC PAST take the
police-sation. boy.

¹⁶ As a supplementary work, I searched for this structure with nominal units that are not part of the list of 33 psych nouns under scrutiny in my research, and I found the string "*posar + OD (Exp) + en commoció*" (*to put + OD Exp + in commotion*) with 12 tokens, the last one from 1955.

<p>‘The police took the boy to the police station’</p> <p>b. <i>La policia va portar el noi al comissari.</i> The police PAST take the boy to the chief.</p> <p>‘The police took the boy to the chief’</p>	<p>‘The police took the boy there’</p> <p>→ <i>La policia li va portar el nen.</i> The police DAT PAST take the boy.</p> <p>‘The police took him the boy’</p>
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If we adopt the localist perspective again, what could be said is that this property of Catalan pronouns invalidates, in sentences with clitics, the metaphorisation of the Exp as a “place”, since the result is never “visible”: the Exp never ceases to appear as a dative clitic. Thus, a great number of hypothetical class IV psych sentences tend to confuse / to reduce to the strong class III. The locative Exp turns into a dative Exp.

5 Detailed Results. Class I: S Exp

Class I.1 has been shown in (1) and (3), repeated here as (7):

- (7) *El vell té por.* (1971, CTILC)
The old man has fear.
‘The old man is scared’

In this sentence, the argument *El vell* expresses the experiencer and is realized as the subject. The argument *por* ‘fear’ denotes the psych experience and is realized as the direct object of the LV *tenir* ‘to have’. The third constituent, the stimulus, is not expressed (but see next paragraph).

Class I.1 PLVCs could be considered the analytical counterpart of Belletti-Rizzi’s (1988) class 1 psych verbs. However, there are two clear differences. First, and most obviously, with psych verbs the stimulus is formalized as a DO. In *El vell tem la nit* ‘The old man fears the night’, the phrase *la nit* ‘the night’, the stimulus, is the DO. In *El vell té por* the DO position is full, occupied by the constituent indicating the PE. So, when there is a stimulus, it is realized as a prepositional complement of the DO: *El vell té por de la nit* (*por de la nit* ‘fear of the night’).

But there is another difference. Class 1 psych verbs are stative. In contrast, only some Catalan class I.1 PLVCs are stative. The LVs *agafar* ‘to take, to catch’, *cobrar* ‘to collect (payment)’, *prendre* ‘to take’, *posar* ‘to put’ and *perdre* ‘to lose’ build dynamic predicates with, in the first four cases, inchoative aspectual meanings. In the fifth case (*perdre*, ‘to lose’), of terminative aspectual meaning. In

addition, the light verb *tenir* 'to have' has a telic eventive reading when it selects a psych noun with an article. Thus, in Catalan, subclass I.1 divides in 7 types (8).

- (8) 1. Stative transitive with the verb *tenir* 'to have'
2. Inchoative dynamic transitive with the verb *agafar* 'to catch, to take'
3. Inchoative dynamic transitive with the verb *cobrar* 'to collect payment'
4. Inchoative dynamic transitive with the verb *prendre* 'to take'
5. Inchoative dynamic transitive with the verb *posar* 'to put'
6. Terminative dynamic transitive with the verb *perdre* 'to lose'
7. Telic dynamic transitive with the verb *tenir* 'to have'

The following are examples of the types 2-7 (type 1 has already been illustrated). Type 2 in (9). Type 3 in (10). Type 4 in (11). Type 5 in (12). Type 6 in (13). Type 7 in (14).

- (9) a. *La criatura agafa por.* (1984, CTILC)
The child takes fear.
'The child gets scared'
- b. *[El pare] agafà mania a la Felissa.* (1977, CTILC)
[My father] took obsession to the Felissa.
'[My father] became obsessed with Felissa'
- (10) a. *D'ençà del primer dia, Anselma li cobrà* (1898, CTILC)
From of-the first day, Anselma DAT collected
un viu afecte.
an alive love.
'From the very first day, Anselma developed a deep affection for him'
- b. *Al sentir-se anomenar així, van cobrar* (1898, CTILC)
In-the to-feel to-call this-way [they] PAST collect
confiança, ja no tractaren de demanar més socors.
confidence, already not tried of to-ask-for more help
'Being addressed that way gave them confidence; they no longer tried to ask for help'
- (11) a. *La vella Diamandula prenia paciència.* (1965, CTILC)
The old Diamandula took patience.
'The old Diamandula was patient'
- b. *Havia pres afecte a la mansa bestiola.* (1932, CTILC)
[She] had taken affection to the mild little-animal.
'[She] became fond of the mild little animal'

- (12) a. *En Timeu havia posat afecte al capità.* (1965, CTILC)
The Timeu had put affection to-the captain.
'Timeu got affection for the captain'
- b. *Ell no posa interès en les coses.* (1933, CTILC)
He not put interest in the things.
'He does not take an interest in things'
- (13) a. *A l'últim el Quimet va perdre la paciència.* (1962, CTILC)
At the-last the Quimet past lose the
patience.
'At last Quimet lost his patience'
- b. *Ha perdut la il·lusió de viure.* (1992, CTILC)
[She] has lost the illusion of to-live.
'[She] has lost the joy of living'
- (14) a. *Vallclara tingué una sorpresa ben inesperada.* (1946, CTILC)
Vallclara had a surprise very unexpected.
'Vallclara had a very unexpected surprise'
- b. *La Galana va tenir una alegria.* (191, CTILC)
The Galana PAST to-have a joy.
'Galana felt joy'

Hence, only subclass I.1 type 1 would be close to Belletti-Rizzi class 1 verbs, because only subclass I.1 type 1 is stative (Di Tullio 2015, 196). This type 1 of Catalan PLVCs (with the verb *tenir* 'to have' and a bare OD noun), the only one of the seven subclass I.1 types with stative value, is the most common PLVC in Catalan, in terms of frequency but also in terms of the property to be combined with more different psych nouns.

Besides *tenir*, the CTILC provides tokens of other light verbs in stative subclass I.1 psych LVC, but they have a very low frequency and very restricted distribution. These verbs are *dur* and *portar* (both mean 'to carry, to bring'). The first is found with *admiració*, *adoració*, *afecte* i *amargura* (15a). The second, with *afecte* (45 tokens) (15b) and once or twice with other PN (*angoixa*, *paciència*, *ràbia*, *disgust*), in most cases with a determiner.¹⁷

¹⁷ Nota bene: the structure we are dealing with differs from the one underlying the sentence *La seva arribada va portar alegria a la casa* (2016, CTILC) 'Her arrival brought joy to the house', where the subject is not the Exp but the stimulus (class II.1). It should be pointed out that use of *dur* and *portar* as stative LVs with a subject Exp seems to be obsolete. Most tokens belong to the XIX century or to the first half of the XX century (although we still find *dur adoració* in 1993 and *dur afecte* in 1982).

- (15) a. *Tots sabem l'afecte que li duu, a* (1906, CTILC)
 All [we] know the-affection that DAT carries, to
la Mila.
 the Mila.
 'We all know how fond he is of Mila'
- b. *Si no fos veritat que li porto un gran* (1926, CTILC)
 If not was truth that DAT [I] carry a great
afecte, jo no et seguiria.
 affection, I not DAT follow.
 'If it weren't true that I care deeply for her, I wouldn't follow you'

Some comments about types 2-7 are in order here. The difference between types 2-5 has not yet been studied in detail. The four are dynamic and inchoative. The contrast between 2 and 4 (the more frequent) seems to come from the fact that with *agafar* the subject does not have semantic features of will and intentionality, and with *prendre* it does (or at least in central Catalan; not all varieties of Catalan share this property). So, the verb *agafar* in (9a) and (9b) cannot be replaced by *prendre*.¹⁸ The verb *prendre* in (11a) cannot be replaced by *agafar*. But the verb *prendre* in (11b) can be replaced by *agafar*, probably because the event described allows for a reading partly intentional and partly accidental. The problem increases when type 4 (*posar* 'to put') is added to the set, especially when compared to *prendre* 'to take'. Thus, the verb *posar* in (12a) can be replaced by *prendre*, but this is not clearly the case for (12b). The contrast, probably, has to do again with the event described. The predicates *posar interès* and *prendre interès* are related to the lexical psych verb *interessar-se* which, according to Royo (2019, 79-80), has the meaning of a voluntary action by the Exp ('to take interest'), as an initiator of their own process of change. This is not the case for *posar afecte*. But further research is needed. It seems that the only thing that can be said at present in terms of syntactic or semantic contrast between the two LVs (not between the two predicates) is that *posar* selects for two mandatory complements (the PE as DO, the STI as

¹⁸ This contrast does not work in all the cases when the LVC is not a psych LVC. Thus, LVCs like *agafar/prendre força* 'to gain strength' or *agafar/prendre impuls* 'to gain momentum' are synonyms. I live for another occasion the task of comparing Catalan LV *prendre* with the results from Nicoletti's work on Italian LV *prendere* (Nicoletti 2025).

PP), but *prendre* does not.¹⁹ As for *cobrar* ‘to collect (payment)’, I have little to say for now. It is worth highlighting that the predicate *cobrar afecte* ‘to collect love, affection’, contrary to what would seem logical if we take into account the underlying metaphor that allegedly grounds it, selects the Exp as the subject, and not the stimulus, unlike what happens with a verb semantically close verb, *rebre* ‘to receive’, which selects the stimulus as the subject (in other words: *cobrar afecte* does not mean ‘to receive love’ but ‘to love’).

It should be added that in type 6 the object requires an article and, if there isn’t one, sentences can often be ungrammatical (**perdre por*), but not always (*perdre interès* is fine). Finally, in type 7 (14a), it is not possible in Catalan to say *tenir sorpresa* (stative reading), and *tenir una sorpresa* does not mean *to be surprised* but *to get surprised*. In other words, if I got surprised and, as a result, I am in a state of surprise, in Catalan I can say neither *tinc sorpresa* nor *tinc una sorpresa*. The appropriate sentence is *Estic sorprès*. Thus, *He tingut una sorpresa i per això estic sorprès* ‘I got surprised and, therefore, I am surprised’. Some authors observe that the stative *Aktionsart* is inherently present in the Romance LVs equivalent of *to have* (Pompei, Piunno 2023, 112). This means that, in type 7, the noun overrides its *Aktionsart* over the verb’s (aspectual coercion, according to Pustejovsky 1995).

As noted above, it should be pointed out that class I.2 is rarely attested in contemporary Catalan. The structure that formalizes the psych experience by means of a prepositional complement is dynamic inchoative and is built in Catalan with the light verb *entrar* ‘to enter’ (v + PP) (16):

- (16) [El rei] va entrar en pànic i va ordenar (2021, CTILC)
 [The king] PAST to-enter in panic and PAST to-order
 la retirada.
 the withdraw.
 ‘[The king] panicked and ordered to withdraw’

In this sentence, as in the previous subclass, the argument *El rei* is the Exp and is realized as the subject. The argument *en pànic* indicates the PE and is realized as a prepositional complement of the

19 The fact that *posar* requires two complements has led me to wonder whether I should split type 4 from subclass I.1 and classify it as a separate subclass. So, subclass I.1 would correspond to structure (i) and the new subclass to structure (ii).

- (i) S Exp + v + DO psych experience
 (ii) S Exp + v + DO psych experience + PP stimulus

However, I have not taken the step because, in fact, there are sentences in the other types of I.1 that also require a second complement, depending on the particular psych noun.

LV *entrar* ‘to enter, to get in’. The expression of the stimulus can only be expressed by an adjunct. For example: “El rei va entrar en pànic a causa de l’arribada de les tropes enemigues” (‘the king panicked because of the arrival of the enemies’).

Apart from *pànic*, no other PN constructs with *entrar en* ‘to enter in’. Phrases like **entrar en por*, **entrar en ira*, **entrar en ràbia*, **entrar en amor* would sound strongly weird. In Old Catalan it is more common to find sentences of this subclass (17) (verbs *caure en* ‘to fall in’ and *metre en* ‘to put in’) (data from CICA, but research still needed).²⁰

- (17) a. *Molt fortment se meravellà lo sant* (XIV century)
 Very strongly REFL amazed the holy
hom, com ten sobtosament era caut en tristícia.
 man, how so suddenly was fallen in sadness.
 ‘The holy man was absolutely amazed, how he had so suddenly fallen into sadness’
- b. *E sabets què fa, Regina, vostre fill?* (XIV century)
 And [you] know what does, Queen, your son?
Met-se en amor d’algunes velletes pobres.
 [He] puts. REFL in love of-some old-women poor.
 ‘Do you know what your son is doing, My Queen? He falls in love with some poor old women’

In connection with the contrast between PLVCs and the general drawing of Catalan LVCs, it must be said that *entrar en* is fine with a great variety of non-psych predicative nouns. It combines with activity nouns (translations just to identify the items) (*entrar en batalla* ‘enter in battle’, *entrar en combat* ‘enter in combat’, *entrar en conversa* ‘enter in conversation’, etc.) – expressing the beginning of the activity – and with stative nouns (*entrar en contacte* ‘enter in contact’, *entrar en vigor* [lit. *enter in force*] ‘come into effect’, *entrar en conflicte* ‘enter in conflict’, *entrar en relació* ‘enter in relationship’, *entrar en decadència* ‘enter in decline’, etc.) – expressing the inception into the state.

²⁰ In today’s English there is the well-known (more or less) idiomatic expression to *fall in love* (not available in Catalan), which also corresponds to this subclass I.2.

6 Detailed Results. Class III.1: Dat Exp with S Stimulus

Class III of psych light verb constructions has two subclasses, III.1 and III.2, both frequent and productive in Catalan. Class III.1 can be divided in 4 types (18).

- (18) 1. Stative transitive with the verb *fer* 'to do, to make'
2. Dynamic causative with the verb *donar* 'to give'
3. Dynamic causative with the verb *dur* 'to carry, to bring'
4. Dynamic terminative with the verb *prendre* 'to take'

The following sentences are examples of the two types. Type 1 corresponds to (19) and type 2 corresponds to (20). Types 3 and 4 are both in (21), because these two types are marginal.

- (19) a. *A l'Enriqueta li feien por les màquines.* (2011, CTILC)
To the-Enriqueta DAT made fear the machines.
'Enriqueta was scared of machines'
- b. *A Mariela li va fer ràbia no saber-li correspondre.* (2018, CTILC)
To Mariela DAT PAST to-make rage not
to-know. DAT reciprocate.
'Mariela was angry that she did not know how to reciprocate'
- (20) a. *Quina alegria em dones, Déu meu!* (1947, CTILC)
What joy DAT.1PERS [you] give God mine!
'What joy you give me, oh my God!'
- b. *Soc incapaç de donar un disgust tan gros a l'Emília.* (1984, CTILC)
[I] am incapable of to-give an upset so
big to the-Emília.
'I am incapable of giving Emília such an upset'
- (21) a. *Això et durà algun alleujament.* (1956, CTILC)
This DAT bring some relief.
'This will bring you some relief'
- b. *Es va aturar i com si aquella pregunta li hagués pres tota l'alegria.* (1970, CTILC)
REFL PAST to-stop and as if that question
DAT had taken all the-happiness.
'He stopped, as if that question had taken away all his joy'

The default word order for type 1 predicates is Dat + v + S (with obligatory dative pronoun duplication). The dative Exp occupies the initial position as the topic of the sentence. It is what has been often called a “psychological subject” (Royo 2017, 27), a “logical subject” (Di Tullio 2015, 188) or, in a more general framework, a dative subject (Barðdal et al. 2012; Rigau 2013, 129-30). This dative Exp argument corresponds to what traditional grammars call the indirect object, but a minimally attentive observation shows that the place of this dative argument is parallel to the place of the Exp dative of Belletti-Rizzi’s (1988) class 3 psych verbs. The Exp argument of a verb such as the Catalan *agradar* ‘to like’ and Spanish *gustar* (it. *piacere*) has been described as an external dative, corresponding to what today some authors call a high applicative (Cuervo 2008, 66-8; Pineda 2014, 64; Royo 2017, 56-65). For Spanish, Cuervo (2010) has directly related the synthetic predicates of the type *A María le gusta el chocolate* (to María DAT likes chocolate ‘María likes chocolate’) with the analytic predicates of the type *A María le da rabia el desorden* (to María Dat gives rage the disorder ‘María is angry at the disorder’), in which we find the external dative *A María*, the LV *dar* ‘to give’ and a direct object with a bare noun (*rabia* ‘rage’). The Catalan structure in (19) is parallel to this structure, although the LV is a different one (strictly speaking, Sp. *dar* would correspond to Cat. *donar*, while Cat. *fer* would correspond to Sp. *hacer*). The bare noun, denoting the EP, has full predicational value. Thus, this type of PLVCs could be considered the analytical counterpart of Belletti-Rizzi’s (1988) class 3 psych verbs.²¹

In (19) the constituents *por* ‘fear’ and *ràbia* ‘rage’ denote the PE and are realized as the direct object of the LV *fer*. The stimulus argument of (19), which I have classified as a subject, also presents a semantic/grammatical value in this construction that distances it from the standard subject (causer, agent, or holder). In some theoretical frameworks it should be considered an internal argument, although there is no general agreement on its precise syntactic status. I will not deal with this here. Nor will I deal with the possibility of the existence of an alternant of this type 1 with an eventive causative meaning. Thus, for Viñas-de-Puig (2009, 2014), a predicate like *fer por* (lit. to make fear), in addition to the one that corresponds to the construction illustrated in (19), admits a non-stative reading, with a

21 In his contrastive corpus study, Wiskandt (2025, 111-14) identifies tokens of *donar por* (‘to give fear’) in present-day Catalan. Indeed, the CTILC, for example, contains 12 occurrences of the unit. Most Catalan linguists, however, claim that expressions like *donar por* (instead of *fer por*) can only be found in texts subject to strong interference from Spanish. This is the reason I have not taken this construction into account here. In any case, this is an interesting issue that deserves further debate. See Alvarez-Morera (2023a) for a general approach to the use of the LVs *fer* and *donar* in present-day Catalan (not restricted to PLVCs).

causer/agent subject, which would be illustrated by a sentence such as *El teu germà em va fer por per divertir-se* (your brother made me fear for enjoying ‘your brother frightened me for fun’). In any case, it is an infrequent alternative, as Viñas-de-Puig himself acknowledges, pointing out that only a few psych nouns accept this reading. This issue needs further research.²² The contrast between this pattern (class III.1 type 1) and class I.1 type 1 should also be studied, because both are stative (*Al vell li fa por la nit / El vell té por de la nit*).

Type 2 presents the standard default word order of a ditransitive predicate. It is an eventive construction. The subject stimulus is also an agent or a causer. Both types 1 and 2 use the same verb (*dar* ‘to give’, cat. *donar*) in Spanish. French and Italian pair with Catalan for type 1 (*faire, fare*), but it must be kept in mind that there is no strict parallelism between the three languages (see Pompei, Piunno 2023 for details on the connections between some Romance languages on this point – Catalan excluded). English lacks type 1.

7 Detailed Results. Class III.2: Dat Exp with S Psych Experience

In Catalan, subclass III.2 of psych light verb constructions has 4 types (22):

- (22) 1. Inchoative dynamic with the verb *agafar*
2. Inchoative dynamic with the verb *entrar*
3. Inchoative dynamic with the verb *venir*
4. Terminative dynamic with the verb *passar*

These are examples of the 4 types:²³

- (23) a. [A la Tatiana] *li* *agafa* *por.* (2019, CTILC)
 [To Tatiana] DAT takes/catches fear.
 ‘Tatiana gets scared’

²² Drawing on my intuition as a native speaker, I have examined the 300 psych nouns in the above-mentioned list, and I think that none of them, with the precise exception of *por*, fits into a hypothetical causative eventive reading of this type with an agent subject. See Alvarez-Morera et al. (forthcoming) for more details about the single predicate *fer por*.

²³ Nota bene. With the verb *agafar* we have an alternation: the verb *agafar* belongs to two different structures (I.1 and III.2). Sentences *A la tia Paulina li agafa por* (lit. To the aunt Paulina takes fear) and *La Tia Paulina agafa por* (lit. Aunt Paulina takes fear) are semantically equivalent, although the functional distribution of the arguments differs.

- b. *Quan ella li preguntava coses, [a ell] li (2020, CTILC)*
 When she DAT asked things, [to him] DAT
agafava vergonya.
 took shame.
 ‘When she asked him questions, he felt embarrassed’
- (24) a. *Al noi li entrà por i volgué plorar. (1932, CTILC)*
 To-the boy DAT entered fear and he-wanted to-cry.
 ‘The child became frightened and wanted to cry’
- b. *El rostre se li enfosquí i li entrà ràbia. (1932 CTILC)*
 The face REFL DAT darkened and DAT entered rage.
 ‘His face darkened, and he became angry’
- (25) a. *Aquella alegria no em venia del (1934, CTILC)*
 That happiness not DAT.1PERS came from-the
fet material d’estalviar-me uns quants diners.
 fact material of-save-REFL some moneys.
 ‘That joy did not come to me from the material fact of saving money’
- b. *Em va venir una ràbia boja. (1985 CTILC)*
 DAT.1PERS PAST to-come a rage mad.
 ‘I got really angry’
- (26) a. *Aquesta amargor li passaria si tingué (1980, CTILC)*
 That bitterness DAT would-pass if [he] had
fe. d’estalviar-me uns quants diners.
 faith. of-save-REFL some moneys.
 ‘That bitterness would leave him if he had faith’
- b. *Al menut li havia passat la por. (1937 CTILC)*
 To-the child DAT had past the fear.
 ‘The child was no longer afraid’

As in subclass III.1, the constituent expressing the experiencer is realized as a dative. Its default position, in Catalan, is also preverbal (with obligatory pronominal duplication). The comments made about subclass III.1 dative Exp also apply. The constituent conveying the psychological experience, unlike what is found in subclass III.1, is not realized as the direct object of the LV but as the subject. Naturally, this is not a “canonical” subject – a conventional agent/causer subject –, but what some schools of thought call an internal argument (but not a DO, because it agrees with the verb): its position is postverbal and can be replaced by the partitive clitic *en*. In these structures, the stimulus does not appear (it could be expressed by an adjunct). The main syntactic contrast between subclass III.1 and subclass III.2, then, is that in subclass III.2 the stimulus is not

realized as an argument and that the PE is realized as the “subject” (a position which in class III.1 is occupied by the stimulus).

The PE argument is a bare NP in type 1, but not necessarily in types 2 and 3. The possible semantic differences between types 1, 2 and 3 have not been studied. As a starting methodological principle, I have considered that each LV heads a specific structure (a type). However, this point can be modified if future research shows that two or more LVs are interchangeable in all contexts. In this case, it would simply be a matter of synonymy. If the LVs are to be considered just grammatical units (free morphemes), then in these cases we would have to speak of a kind of free alternance or of allomorphy.

From the aspectual point of view, type 4 is terminative and requires the definite article in the PE argument. The explanation seems simple: when, for example, someone stops being afraid, the “fear suffered” by that person is an identified referent in the communication act and so requires the definite article. Finally, it should be borne in mind that the verb *passar* ‘to pass, to happen’ is polysemic and, therefore, the semantic contrast between *passar la por* and the construction with the bare object, *passar por*. In the first case – for example, in the sentence (26b) (*li havia passat la por*) – the meaning is ‘the fear stopped’. In the second case – for example, in a sentence like *La Marta passa por* (lit. Marta passes fear) – the meaning is ‘Marta is afraid’.²⁴

8 Detailed Results. Class V: PP_{GEN} Exp

Class V expresses the Exp as a PP_{GEN}, as is explained in 2.2. The subject denotes the stimulus and the DO denotes the psych experience. In Catalan, class V of psych light verb constructions has 5 types (27), illustrated in (28): Types 1-4 are stative. Type 5 is telic.

- (27)
1. Stative transitive with the verb *tenir* ‘to have’
 2. Stative transitive with the verb *fer* ‘to make’
 3. Stative transitive with the verb *rebre* ‘to receive’
 4. Stative prepositional with the verb *gaudir* ‘to enjoy’
 5. Telic dynamic transitive with the verb *guanyar* ‘to win’

24 This sentence forces me to consider whether the structure corresponding to *La Marta passa por* is a type to be added to class I.1 PLVCs. At the moment I believe that it is not a LVC, since in this sentence the verb *passar* is not a LV, but a lexical verb which is equivalent to *experimentar* ‘to experience’, *patir* ‘to suffer’. It should be noted that *tenir por*, on the one hand, and *experimentar por* / *patir por* / *sentir por* ‘to feel fear’ and *passar por*, on the other hand, are equivalent predicates (they are discursive synonyms). However, they do not structure the syntactic-semantic components of the whole in the same way.

- (28) a. *Al nord d'Europa l'all no ha tingut mai l'admiració de la gent.* (1972, CTILC)
 To-the north of-Europe the-garlic not has had
 never the-admiration from the people.
 'In northern Europe, garlic has never been admired by people'
- b. *Monuments arqueològics de tota mena [...] que fan l'admiració dels estrangers.* (1946, CTILC)
 Monuments archaeological of all type that
 make the-admiration of-the foreigners.
 'Monuments of all kinds, which inspire the admiration of foreigners'
- c. *Fer prèdiques [...] per tal de rebre [...] l'admiració de l'inacabable estol de passarells.* (2000, CTILC)
 To-make speeches in order to receive
 the-admiration from the-endless flock of fools.
 'Giving speeches in order to win the admiration of the endless flock of fools'
- d. *Lope de Vega gaudia de l'admiració de tothom.* (2019, CTILC)
 Lope de Vega enjoyed from the-admiration of everybody.
 'Lope de Vega enjoyed everyone's admiration'
- e. *Joan Antoni havia guanyat no solament llur afecte, sinó que tots quatre sentien per ell un respecte barrejat d'admiració.* (1926, CTILC)
 Joan Antoni had earned not only their
 affection, but all four felt for him a
 respect mingled of-admiration.
 'Joan Antoni had not only earned their affection, but all four of them felt for him a respect mingled with admiration'

The DO of all these sentences needs a definite determiner. A sentence like **L'all no ha tingut mai admiració de la gent* (see 28a) would be ungrammatical. On the other hand, types 1-3 can be seen, following the Lexicon-grammar (see 2.2), as the *converse* structure of class I.1 type 1, as is shown in (29).

- (29) a. *L'all té l'admiració de la gent.*
 STI PE EXP
 The-garlic has the-admiration from the people.
 'Garlic is admired by people'
- b. *La gent té admiració a l'all.*
 EXP PE STI
 The people have admiration to the-garlic.
 'People admires garlic'

which dates back to Polenz (1963) and Helbig (1983-84). German grammarians use the term *functional verb* (*Funktionsverb*) – and *verb-noun periphrasis* (*Funktionsverbgefüge*) for the LVC – to refer to copular predicates as LVC when the attribute is a PP: *im Begriff sein* ‘to be ready’ or *in der Lage sein* ‘to be able’ (see also, among others, Fleischhauer 2021). The French Lexicon-grammar approach also equates LVCs (using the term *support verb*) with nominal predicates linked by the copular verb (Danlos 1988, Ranchhod 1988, Gross 1996, among others).²⁶

This more general perspective could also help the diachronic analysis of Catalan. In Catalan today, constructions such as those in (31), copular constructions with the copular verb *estar* followed by a PP containing the NP, are ungrammatical:

- (31) a. **La Laia està en alegria.*
The Laia is in happiness.
‘Laia is happy’
b. **L'àvia estava en tristesa.*
Grandma was in sadness.
‘Grandma was sad’
c. **Sé que estàs en por.*
I-know that you-are in fear.
‘I know you are scared’

But in Old Catalan they were frequent (or more frequent: detailed research is still needed):

- (32) *En tristor estave lo sant hom en* (Ramon Llull, 14th century, CICA)
In sadness was the holy man in
lo carçre.
the prison.
‘The holy man was sad in prison’

Nevertheless, it should be noted that, at least for the time being, these are general trends. There are some cases of these constructions. In Catalan today, *La Laia està en por* (Laia is in fear) is not possible, but *La Laia està en xoc* ‘Laia is in shock’ is. In fact, in English *Laia is in sadness* is not possible either, but *in shock* is. Although *shock* clearly

26 It would be still more interesting to adopt a broader perspective (beyond LVCs and copular sentences) and cover the entire variation and distribution of construction types of psychological expressions found in language use. This is what Becker and Guzmán Naranjo (2020) do in their parallel corpus study of seven European languages.

denotes a psych experience, perhaps the expression *in shock* comes from the universal language of medicine, which has a specific style that goes beyond languages and cultures.

10 Concluding Remarks

Analyzing Catalan PLVCs is not an easy task. I have provided an initial description of the field. It is too early to determine the extent to which further and more detailed research will benefit from the data provided and shed light on the complex world of psych predicates, on the one hand, and the no less complex world of LVCs (and PLVCs), on the other. Nevertheless, some concluding descriptive remarks can be drawn.

Catalan PLVCs do not fill all the slots provided in the reference working typology established at the beginning of the work. Regular Catalan PLVCs belong to class I.1 (S Exp and OD psych experience), class III.1 (S stimulus and Dat Exp), class III.2 (S psych experience and Dat Exp), and class V (S stimulus and Exp as a genitive PP complement of the OD). The other classes are either not attested or are rarely attested in Catalan. For every attested class, Catalan has both stative and eventive constructions. The number of different single LVs found in inchoative eventive types is greater than the number found in stative types.

Regarding the specificity of Catalan PLVCs compared to Catalan psych verbs, one point deserves attention. Most Catalan PLVCs are subject Exp structures, primarily of the class I.1 type 1 (with the verb *tenir* 'to have'). In contrast, the number of subject Exp psych verbs in Catalan is very small, around 25 units. Conversely, the number of PLVCs with OD Exp is very small (virtually non-existent), whereas the number of OD Exp psych verbs exceeds 250. As for predicates with Dat Exp, the pattern mirrors that of subject Exp: Catalan has just over 10 Dat Exp psych verbs, but hundreds of Dat Exp PLVCs. These contrasts deserve further attention, but a short remark is in order here: they may be related to the fact discovered by Piasciotta and Masini for Italian (2025, 167): LVCs are the preferred strategy to convey stative psych predicates (Belletti and Rizzi's class 1 and class 3 verbs are stative, while those in class 2 are mainly eventive).

Regarding the specificity of PLVCs faced to general framework of LVCs, two points are worth noting. First: not all Catalan LVs are found in Catalan psych LVCs. Among the Catalan LVs collected in various works on LVC, we find units such as *anar* 'to go', *llençar* 'to throw', *pegar* 'to hit', *clavar* 'to nail down' or (slang) *fotre* 'fer' that are not attested in this work. Second: some common Catalan LVC structures (for example, "S Exp + *entrar en* + OD PE") are also not attested (or rarely attested) in PLVCs.

Furthermore, it is interesting to highlight the syntactic versatility of LVs in psych structures. The verb *agafar* works in S Exp and with Dat Exp constructions. The verb *prendre* works in inchoative S Exp and in terminative Dat Exp constructions. The verb *tenir* works in stative and inchoative S Exp constructions, and also in PP_{GEN} Exp constructions. Etc.

Finally, regarding the question raised at the beginning of this paper about whether LVCs fit into the sphere of collocations, phraseology, and idiomatic expressions, the fact is that, despite the general statements made about the semantic and syntactic properties of every LV, it is often impossible to predict whether a verb will be used with a specific psych noun. This supports the claim that – at least to some extent – it is the noun that idiosyncratically and arbitrarily selects for the verb. But, as Wiskandt points out (2025, 103), more “empirical data are also needed to support or falsify the assumption”. It is likely that future research will shed more light on the subject.

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