

Towards a Typology of Psych Verbs: Evidence from Spanish

JON FRANCO
(University of Southern California)

1. Introduction

Belletti and Rizzi (1988) establish three classes of Experiencer verbs in Italian in relation to the Case an Experiencer argument can take, as illustrated in (1). For the first class, the *temere*-class, the Experiencer takes the nominative Case, and a parallel list of verbs can be found in Spanish, for example: *amar, odiar, adorar*. The second class of verbs is the *preoccupare*-class. In this second group, the Experiencer takes the accusative Case inherently. Finally, the third class of "psych" verbs is the *piacere*-class under which the Experiencer arguments receive the dative Case inherently as well.

(1) Italian (B & R 1988)				Spanish
<i>Class I</i>	<i>temere:</i>	Nom.	Acc.	<i>amar, odiar, adorar</i>
	(fear)			
		Exp	Theme	
<i>Class II</i>	<i>preoccupare:</i>	Nom.	Acc.	? <i>divertir, ? enojar,</i>
	(worry)			? <i>preocupar</i>
		Theme	Exp	
<i>Class III</i>	<i>piacere:</i>	Nom.	Dat.	<i>gustar, agradar,</i>
	(like)			<i>complacer</i>
		Theme	Exp	

With some important exceptions such as Mexican and Peruvian Spanish, many dialects of Spanish do not have such a clear cut between the second class and the third class. A significant number of speakers, on the other hand, do not acknowledge any Experiencer argument bearing the accusative Case. Intriguingly, there are some dialects of Spanish, especially from the Southern Cone of Latin America and some

(*) I am especially grateful to Alazne Landa for fruitful discussion, help, and encouragement throughout the process of writing this paper. I am also greatly indebted to Mario Saltarelli for his valuable comments on early drafts. My thanks to Linda Schwartz and Jean-Roger Vergnaud for providing me with useful references; to the participants of the Spanish Syntax Festival held at USC on March 14, 1990 for helpful remarks on the issue; and to my informants from the Spanish literature section at USC for sharing with me their intuitions on the data.

areas of Spain, in which homophonous forms of Experiencer verbs allow an alternation accusative-dative in the Case marking of Experiencer arguments. The data corresponding to the latter phenomenon are examined in detail in this paper.

The aim of this study is to discriminate between the different types of Experiencer verbs in Spanish and to avoid a Lexicon with multiple homophonous lexical entries as much as possible. Therefore, the hypothesis I will pursue is that the accusative status of the Experiencer arguments results from having been derived from the intransitive embedded subject of an infinitival causative construction.

2. Discrimination of the data

The basic contrast with which I will be concerned here is illustrated in (2) and (3) below:

- (2) a. Ese espectáculo *le*_i / ? *lo* divierte a Juan_i.
 That show-NOM CL-DAT/ACC amuse to Juan-DAT
 That show amuses Juan.
- b. María *lo*_i divierte a Juan_i por las noches
 María CL-ACC amuse to Juan-DAT at the nights.
 María amuses Juan at nights.
- (3) a. Ese tipo de comentarios *le*_i enojan a Juan_i.
 That type of comments CL-DAT anger to Juan.
 That type of comments anger Juan.
- b. María *lo*_i enojó a Juan_i.
 María CL-ACC anger to Juan.
 María angered Juan.

In (2b) and (3b), the argument *a Juan* takes the accusative Case as indicated by its coreferentiality with the accusative clitic *lo* 'him'. Contrastively, the Experiencer argument *a Juan* in (2a) and (3a) is coindexed with the dative clitic *le*, 'him'. Apart from this asymmetry in Case marking, another difference that stands out is that, in (2b) and (3b), the subject is an Agent whereas in (2a) and (3a), the subject, or — from a less compromising position — the argument that agrees with the verb, is a Theme. This phenomenon was pointed out by Jaeggli (1984), and the insight was that the agentivity of the subject determines the Case of the other argument of the verb with verbs like *molestar*, 'to bother'. Furthermore, once we have an agentive subject, it would be logical for us to think that *a Juan* in (2b) and (3b) is not an Experiencer anymore but a Patient-Theme, and that (2b) and (3b) are examples of two regular transitive clauses. This line of thought could have been inspired by the analysis of verbs like *molestar* 'to bother', *excitar* 'to excite', or *encantar* 'to love' or 'to cast a spell on', which should have two lexical entries, even if they are homophonous, as shown in (4) and (5). However, for a number of reasons that I will expose below, it would be the wrong approach to extend the [Agent Patient] analysis that applies to (4b) and (5b) to *divertir* and *enojar* in (2b) and (3b).

- (4) a. A Juan_i le_j molestan sus hermanitos.
 To Juan CL-DAT bother his brother-Diminutive-PL
 His little brothers annoy Juan.
- b. A Juan_i lo_j molestan sus hermanitos diariamente.
 To Juan CL-ACC bother-PL his brother-Dimin-PL. daily
 His little brothers bother Juan daily.
- (5) a. Ese mago del circo_i / ? lo encantó a Juan_j.
 That magician fromcircus CL-DAT/ACC love-PAST to Juan
 Juan loved that magician from the circus.
- b. Ese mago lo_j encantó a Juan_i.
 That magician CL-ACCbewitch-PASTto Juan
 That magician cast a spell on Juan.

In addition to the fact that (4b) and (5b) emphasize a physical activity rather than a psychological process, syntactically, the behavior of the NP *a Juan* in these sentences cannot be paired with *a Juan* in (2b) and (3b).¹ For instance, if the NP *a Juan* in (2b) and (3b) received the Patient Theta-role from the verb as its internal argument, they should be able to appear as subjects in passive constructions. However, the passive structure is only going to be possible with the *molestar* verb-type but not with the *divertir* one, as shown in (6) and (7):

- (6) * Juan es divertido por María por las noches.
 Juan be amused by María at the nights
 Juan is amused by María at nights.
- (7) Juan es molestado por sus hermanos diariamente.
 Juanbe bother-Part by his brother-Pl daily
 Juan is bothered by his brothers daily.

Bearing in mind the oppositions between the data above, it seems unlikely that the D-structure objecthood of *a Juan* in the accusative occurrence of *divertir* has any resemblance to that of a direct object in a prototypical transitive sentence, since the two objects do not participate in the same syntactic operations, as shown additionally by the contrast between (6) and (8):

- (8) Juan es odiado por María.
 Juanbe hate-Part by María
 Juan is hated by María.

There is also another piece of evidence that argues in favor of the Experiencer thematicity of *a Juan* even when it is marked accusative, as in (2b) or (3b). Possessive pronouns that accompany subject nominals that are derived from Experiencer verbs in coordinated structures, have to be coreferential with the Experiencer argument:

(1) I am subscribing here to the view that *a Juan* is an NP regardless of the Case it takes and that *a* is a pseudo-preposition. For further discussion of this issue, see Suñer (1988) and Franco (1988).

- (9) María_i odia a Elena_k y su_j/^{*}_k odio es por envidia.
 María hate to Elena and her hatred be by envy.
 María hates Elena and her hatred is out of envy.
- (10) Pedro_j enfadó a Juan_k y su^{*}_j/_k enfado duró meses.
 Pedro anger-PAST to Juan and his anger last-PAST months
 Pedro angered Juan and his anger lasted months.
- (11) A José_i le_j gustaba María_k pero su_j/^{*}_k gusto nunca fue muy bueno.
 To José CL-DAT like-past María but his taste never be-PAST very good
 Jose liked Maria by his taste never was any good

In examples (9), (10) and (11), the Experiencer argument has to control the possessive pronoun *su* 'his/her/its/your (formal)/their', nevertheless, one would miss this semantic generalization if *a Juan* were assigned a Patient role in (10).²

Furthermore, one may wonder whether all the Experiencer verbs whose Case distribution resembles those of ergative systems exhibit the Case alternation presented in (2) and (3). The answer is negative. There is a group of verbs (in all dialects of Spanish) that mark the Experiencer argument with the dative Case. These verbs belong to the *gustar*-class (*piacere*-class for Belletti and Rizzi):

- (12) María le_i / *lo_i gusta a Juan_i.
 María CL-DAT/ACC like to Juan
 Juan likes María.
- (13) María le_i/^{*}la_i agrada a la seleccionadora_i.
 María CL-DAT/ACC please to the coach
 María pleases the coach.

Notwithstanding, as far as morpho-syntactic operations are concerned, there is a construction that singles out the Experiencer verbs with dative-accusative alternations from the rest of Experiencer verbs, namely, the antipassive construction. In this type of structure, one of the verb arguments, normally the one adjacent to the verb in D-structure, gets an oblique Case. For instance, the antipassive counterparts of (2) and (3) would be as follows:

- (14) Juan_i se_i divierte con ese espectáculo.
 Juan-NOM CL-APASS amuse with that show
 Juan has fun with that show
- (15) Juan_i se_i divierte con María.
 Juan CL-APASS amuse with María
 Juan has fun with Maria

(2) A crucial test to validate this argument would be to check whether a patient argument can be the only controller with verbs with attested double Theta-grids like those in (4) and (5):

(i) Ese mago_i lo_k encantó a Juan_k y su_j/^{*}_k encanto duró meses.

That magician cast a spell on Juan and his spell lasted months.

Although *Juan* is the one that has the spell, *mago* can still control the possessive pronoun as the creator of the spell. This type of dual control (split antecedent) is impossible in sentences like (10) or (11).

- (16) Juan_i se_i enoja con ese tipo de comentarios.
 Juan CL-APASS anger with that type of comment-PL
 Juan gets angry with that type of comment.
- (17) Juan_i se_i enojó con María
 Juan CL-APASS anger-PAST with María
 Juan got angry at Mary

The clitic *se* has a multiple value in Spanish which ranges from reflexive to passive. I am not going to pursue this issue here, however, the clitic *se* in (14), (15), (16), and (17), is not a true reflexive marker, but a detransitivizer. This *se*, although a pronominal for its features, appears to have the "effects" of a passive morpheme, as pointed out by Osvaldo Jaeggli (p.c.), in the sense that *se* absorbs the Case assignment of the verb to its object, forcing, in this way, the insertion of a preposition in order to avoid a violation of the Case Filter which the second verbal argument would otherwise commit,³ as in (18) and (19):

- (18) * Juan_i se_i enojó María.
 JuanCL-APASS anger-PAST María
 * Juan got angry María.
- (19) * Juan_i se_i divierte María.
 Juan CL-APASS amuse María
 * Juan gets amused María

Although the antipassive construction is banned from occurring with Experiencer verbs of the *gustar*-type or the *amar*-type (see (20) and (21)) the antipassive pattern can be found with other verbs in the language, as exemplified in (22) with the verb *besar*, 'to kiss'. Even if (22b) conveys some subtleties in the action of kissing, the syntactic process is the same as the one involved in examples (14)-(17):

- (20) * Juan_i se_i gusta de/con/por María.
 Juan CL-APASS like of/with/by María
 ? Juan likes with María.
- (21) * Juan_i se_i ama con María.
 Juan CL-APASS love with María
 ? Juan loves with Mary
- (22) a. Juan besó a María en la plaza.
 Juan kiss-PAST to María in the square
 Juan kissed Mary at the square
- b. Juan_i se_i besó con María en la plaza.
 Juan CL-APASS kiss-PAST with María in the square
 Juan kissed Mary at the square.

(3) This property of Case absorption is not shared by the anaphoric reflexive *se* which does not affect the verb Case assignment:

- (ii) Juan_i se_i compró un coche.
 Juan CL-REFLXbuy-PAST a car
 Juan bought himself a car.

Much of the ambiguity existing between the anaphoric reflexive *se* and the non-anaphoric one is owed to their ability to appear with one single overt argument. In the reflexive anaphoric construction, the anaphor itself is the dropped argument, whereas in the antipassive there is an indefinite implicit argument which is not phonologically realized. Thus, (23) may have two readings:

- (23) a. Juan_i se_i enojó (consigo mismo).
 Juan CL-REFLX anger-PAST (with himself)
 Juan got angry at himself.
- b. Juan_i se_i enojó (con todos).
 Juan CL-APASS anger-PAST (with everyone)
 Juan got angry at everyone.

Two observations ought to be made. First, not all verbs subject to the antipassive construction allow to the same felicitous degree the deletion of the oblique argument, as seen in (24a). Second, the reflexive reading as opposed to the antipassive one is possible for most diadic predicates, including the two other types of Experiencer verbs as in (25):

- (24) a. ??? Juan_i se_i interesó.⁴
 Juan CL-APASS interest-PAST
 Juan became interested.
- b. Juan_i se_i interesó por la política.
 Juan CL-APASS interest-PAST for the politics
 Juan became interested in politics.
- (25) a. Juan_i se_i adora (a sí mismo).
 Juan CL-REFLX adore (himself)
 Juan adores himself
- b. Hoy, Juan_i se_i gustó.
 Today, Juan CL-REFLX like-PAST
 Today, Juan liked himself.

3. The Semantics of the THEME Argument

Many of the different patterns found in structures with Experiencer verbs have been attempted to be explained by a specified subdivision of the role Theme. In this line of analysis, Pesetsky (1987) distinguishes between a Theme that is Cause of Emotion and a Theme that is Object of Emotion. In a subsequent manuscript, Pesetsky (1988) makes an even sharper distinction of the semantic roles that have been subsumed under the label Theme. Thus, Pesetsky's classification of Experiencer predicates is:

(4) As pointed out to me by Carmen Silva-Corvalán, *Juan se interesó* could only be uttered as the answer to one question or in a conversational context:

- (iii) — Nadie se interesó por la conferencia.
 Nobody was interested in the conference.
 — No, Juan se interesó.
 No, Juan was interested.

- (26) a. predicate (Cause, Experiencer)
 b. predicate (Experiencer, Target of Emotion)
 predicate (Experiencer, Subject Matter)

As Pesetsky points out, the new thematic relations in (26) give us a chance to rescue Perlmutter and Postal's Universal Alignment Hypothesis for which Experiencer verbs have been posing a good challenge as regards the alignment between theta roles and grammatical relations. The hypothesis in question states the following:

- (27) UNIVERSAL ALIGNMENT HYPOTHESIS: There exist principles of UG which predict the initial relation borne by each [argument] in a given clause from the meaning of the clause. (Perlmutter and Postal 1984)

Given a classical Theta-grid for Experiencer verbs like (28), the prediction would be that the grammatical function or the Case of the Theme is an accusative object, as in (29). However, this prediction is incorrect for verbs like *gustar* 'to like, as in (30), which have always needed an ad hoc analysis to save the prediction of the UAH.

- (28) Experiencer V: Exp Theme
 (29) Juan ama a María.
 Juan loves María.
 (30) A Juan_i le_j gustan los Rollings.
 To Juan CL-DAT like-Pl the Rolling-Pl
 Juan likes the Rolling Stones

Advantageously, Pesetsky (1988) would analyze (29) as a predicate of the type (26b) whereas, in his analysis, (30) would belong to the type of predicate described in (26a), allowing us in each case to align the Theta role with the correct grammatical function. Nevertheless, there are some drawbacks in Pesetsky's proposal. First, his analysis brings, as a consequence of the different realizations of the "old" Theme role, a multiplication of lexical entries for verbs that seem to be closely related in Spanish. For instance, Pesetsky (1988) makes a thematic distinction between *to be angry at* and *to anger* as in (31):

- (31) a. Bill was very angry at the article in *The Times*
 (TARGET).
 b. The article in *The Times* angered Bill (CAUSE).

The Spanish counterpart of (31) would be (32):

- (32) a. i. Felipe González estaba muy enojado por/con⁵ el artículo de
El País (TARGET).
 OR
 ii. Felipe González se enojó con el artículo del *El País*
 (TARGET).
 b. El artículo de *El País* le enojó a Felipe González (CAUSE).

(5) As a matter of fact, whether we interpret (32a) as a Cause or as a Target may depend very much on the choice of preposition the speaker makes. For instance, one of the basic meanings of *por* is Cause, and this meaning is listed in dictionaries under the lexical entry of *por*, not of *enojar* or *enojarse*.

(32a.i) constitutes an example of the imperfective passive in Spanish. Thus, along the lines of Jaeggli (1986), passive morphology neutralizes the verb property to assign a theta role to its object; then a prepositional head appears to fulfil the functions of Case and Thematic role assignment. The same explanation could also be extended to (32a.ii), as we have seen in (16). The prepositional head *con* 'with' somehow modifies the thematic content of the sentence, yet, this modification is not strong enough as to exclude the interpretation that the article in *El País* caused Felipe González's anger. Although Pesetsky's interpretation of both sentences is tenable, that is, it is plausible that (31b) and (32b) focus on the content of the article rather than on the article itself, *el artículo* in both (32a) and (32b) can be the cause of anger.

Additional data show us that the imperfect passive structure is not always available for Experiencer verbs. Still, Spanish can resort to the antipassive construction as in (33b):

- (33) a. * Juan no está divertido con las películas de miedo.
 Juan NEG be-amused-PASS with the film-PL of fear
 Juan is not amused by scary movies.
- b. Juan no se divierte con las películas de miedo.
 Juan NEG CL-APASS amuse with the film-PL of fear
 Juan is not amused by scary movies. (? TARGET)
- c. Las películas de miedo no le divierten a Juan.
 The film-PL of fear NEG CL-DAT amuse-PL to Juan
 Scary movies do not amuse Juan. (? CAUSE)

The distinction between Cause and Target in (33b) and (33c) is very hazy, according to my informants' intuitions. Therefore, it is undesirable to have a Lexicon such as (34) in which different forms of an Experiencer verb are listed every time there is a different non-verbal morphological occurrence:

- (34) 1. enojar: Cause Exp
 2. estar enojado: Exp Target
 3. enojarse: Exp Target

Moreover, if we did not derive the entries in (34) from a basic form we would fail to capture a process that is taking place in other parts of the language.

An account of the alternation accusative-dative for the Experiencer argument of *divertir* and *enojar* that hinges on the refinement of the role Theme, although plausible, might be rather complicated. For instance, let us say that for the dative realization of *divertir* the agreement subject would be aligned with the role Cause, and that for the accusative *divertir* the subject would be aligned with the role Agent, as illustrated in (35a,b) respectively:

- (35) a. 1. *divertir*: *Cause* Exp
 |
 Nom. Dat.
 b. 2. *divertir*: *Agent* Exp
 |
 Nom. Acc.

In terms of Theta Theory, the Mapping Principle in interaction with the thematic hierarchy projects the Agent to the highest syntactic position, and as an indirect result, the Agent takes the nominative Case in (35b) and the Experiencer takes the accusative. As regards (35a), Causer is a less studied element in the hierarchy and, for the time being, one could say that it outranks the Experiencer, occupying in this way a higher position, so again, the Causer would be associated with the nominative. The Experiencer's dative Case, on the other hand, is assigned inherently, following Belletti and Rizzi (1988) and Saltarelli (1988). However, at this point, we have encountered a semantic paradox, i.e., the Agent can also be a Causer. Therefore, a more accurate labeling and description of the Theta grid of these homophonous verbs is at urge. Let us propose an entry such as (36) in which the notion of volitionality plays a crucial role:

- (36) a. 1. *divertir*: [—Volitional Causer] Exp
 |
 Nom. Dat.
 b. 2. *divertir*: [+Volitional Causer] Exp
 |
 Nom. Acc.

Thus, (36) would correctly predict those cases in which the Experiencer is marked accusative. However, in addition to the cost to language learning that is entailed by having a great amount of lexical entries, this solution lacks a cross-dialectal validity. That is to say, the notion of volitionality plays no role in those dialects that do not exhibit the Case alternation because either the accusative or the dative takes over in the Experiencer Case marking.

4. A syntactic alternative analysis

There are somehow parallel causative forms in Spanish which render the same meanings as the Experiencer verbs at stake. This peculiar relation has been picked up by some linguists in regard to other languages: Kuroda (1965) for Japanese, McCawley (1976) for English, and Mohanan and Mohanan (to appear) for Malayalam. One feature that these causative paraphrases of Experiencer verbs have in common is that they do not add any external argument to the sentence. In other words, the number of nominal arguments remains the same in both constructions, so the causative equivalents of (2b) and (3b) would be (37) and (38) respectively:

- (37) *María hace divertirse_i Juan_i por las noches.*
 María make amuse-CL-APASS to Juan at the nights
 María makes Juan have a good time at nights.
- (38) *María hizo enojarse_i a Juan_i.*
 María make-PAST anger-CL-APASS to Juan
 María made Juan get angry.
- (39) *María lo_i hizo enojar*(se)_i a Juan_i.*
 María CL-ACC make-PAST anger-CL-APASS to Juan
 María made Juan get angry.

Interestingly, only those forms that show the accusative-dative alternation can be paraphrased with a causative construction. This restriction could also be deduced from the fact that the embedded infinitive verb in the causative paraphrase can only occur with the antipassive *se* form as in (39). Consequently, the types *amar* and *gustar* which lack antipassive structures cannot undergo causativization, hence the ungrammaticality of (40) and (41):

- (40) * *María hace gustar/se_i a Juan_i.*
 María makes like-CL-APASS to Juan
 María makes Juan like.
- (41) * *María hace amar/se_i a Juan_i.*
 María make love-CL-APASS to Juan
 María makes Juan love.

Having discussed all these data, my claim is that it is not accidental that the Experiencer verbs that take accusative Experiencer arguments have semantic causative correlates: on the contrary, the whole phenomenon seems to be quite natural if we assumed that both constructions have been generated in the same causative phrase marker at D-Structure. This analysis enables us to avoid idiosyncratic solutions with respect to Case Theory like that of Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) Inherent Accusative Case Assignment for the *preoccupare*-class in Italian. This aspect of Belletti and Rizzi's Case theory is problematic for Spanish. For instance, if the Case grids of Experiencer verbs, with the exception of the *amar*-class, were instances of morphological ergativity, as it is generally assumed, the accusative Case would be something anomalous in the Spanish ergative pattern which is nominative-dative, as illustrated in (42) and (43):

- (42) *A Juan_i le_i/*la_i hacen falta esos libros.*
 to Juan CL-DAT/ACC have-PL lack this-PL book-PL
 Juan needs those books.

(6) According to Mario Saltarelli (p.c.), since sentences (37), (38) and (39) are impossible in Italian with the clitic *se*, the occurrence of the reflexive and antipassive clitic *se* in causative structures might be a parameter in Romance that could account for various differences among Romance languages. This is an interesting topic that should be explored in the future.

- (43) A María_i le_i/*la_i sobran los novios.
 to María CL-DAT/ACC be left over-PL the boyfriend-PL
 María has plenty of boyfriends.

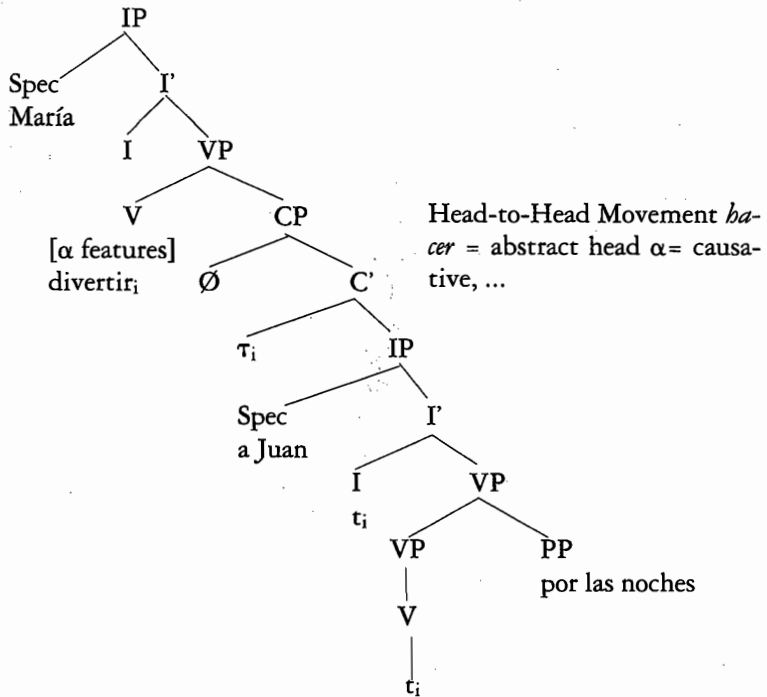
In effect, inherent Case assignment for the accusative is rather suspicious in Spanish, especially when the language has strategies to assign this Case structurally. The causative analysis that I propose below will shed some light on how the accusative Case got lined up with an Experiencer argument in (2b) and (3b). Since the Experiencer was originated as the subject of an intransitive sentence embedded in a causative infinitival construction, as the paraphrases in (37) and (38) may reflect, the accusative Case in *a Juan* results from conforming the predictions in Comrie (1976), that is, in causative constructions, the subject of an embedded intransitive sentence surfaces as an accusative. Yet, if the derivation of (2b) is done by means of Baker's Incorporation, as I will adopt here, a straightforward derivation of (2b) from (37) should be discarded since it may require some extra device in the morphology. Notice, moreover, that (44) would not be a type of incorporation by adjunction of lexical heads, as it is normally realized in Baker's (1988), but by substitution:

- (44) Hacer divertirse → divertir

In the flavor of Zubizarreta (1985), I am going to assume that *hacer* 'to make' does not need to have lexical content. Moreover, one could claim that *hacer* can have a double status within the same lexical entry: for the derivation of (2b), *hacer* would belong to a class of abstract functional heads, like AGR and TENSE, with α features. However, since *hacer* must assign Theta-roles, it must be in V. A possible alternative would be [*hacer*: θ_1 (Cause), θ_2 (Event)]. In other words, *hacer* would have a lexical entry, projected as head of VP which would be the same for [*hacer divertirse* and *divertir*]. The only small stipulation is that this verb may be phonologically null. Subsequently, since morphology requires heads to be overt, the Head-to-Head Movement of *divertir* would be triggered.⁷ The derivation of (2b) would be as in (45):

(7) Pesetsky himself proposes a predicate raising analysis for the *anger*-type of verbs, yet, his motivations for such an analysis are different from mine. Whereas my main concern is how the accusative Case is assigned to the Experiencer, Pesetsky tries to account by means of Case Theory for the paradox that one cannot have the roles Cause of Emotion and Target or Subject Matter in the same clause even if they are two distinct Theta roles. Thus in regard to (iv) below, Pesetsky (1988: 23) states that after head raising of the lower predicate has applied, the trace left by the verb 'is unable to assign the required inherent Case to its object' (*at the government*). However, in accordance to more recent principles of the PP Theory such as Baker's Government Transparency Corollary, the status of the object in (iv) in terms of Case assignment under government should be fine. This explanation looks as though it were only bound to Experiencer predicates. Notice, moreover, that the Spanish mirror construction in (v) is perfectly correct:

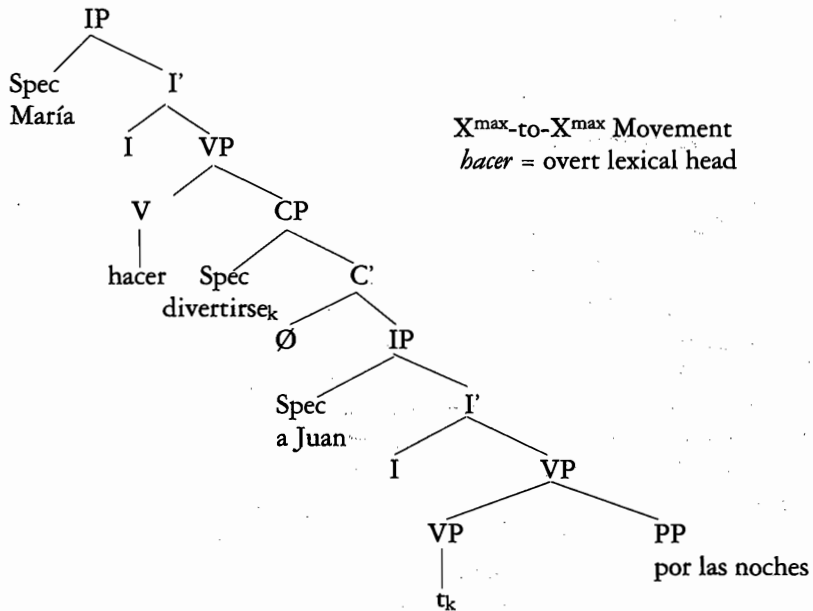
- (iv) * The article angered_i [Bill _t at the government]
 (CAUSE) Causat + angry (TARGET)
 (v) El artículo enojó a Bill con la prensa.
 * The article angered Bill at the media.

(45) *María divierte a Juan.*

With respect to (37) *hacer* would be a genuine lexical head, as it is made evident by the possibility of having in some dialects an intervening subject between the causative and the embedded verb. Although desirable, it would be too much of a simplistic analysis to derive *divertir* from *hacer divertirse*, since one would have to face the problem of how to regulate the surface of each occurrence at S-structure.

At this point, the regulation might be unnecessary if *hacer divertirse* and *divertir* count as two possible strategies of Spanish causatives, in the same way that one finds causative structures with complementizers and without them. Thus, even if *divertir* and *hacer divertirse* share a similar original configuration at D-structure the derivations that render (2b) and (37) must follow different paths. The former is done via Head-to-Head Movement, as illustrated in (45), whereas the latter is done via X^{\max} -to- X^{\max} Movement, as illustrated in (46):

(46) *María hace divertirse a Juan.*



A legitimate question to ask is why one does not find [IP *María* [VP [V α f. *se* *divierte*]] [CP [IP *a Juan*...]]]. Apart from the Theta role absorption of *se* that would outlaw *a Juan*, one could say that there is a morphological filter that prevents antipassive *se* and α features from occurring under the same head.

As a further piece of evidence about the naturalness of this process, one can also find in the language other examples of verbs that have nothing to do with Experiencer predicates, but can also be decomposed in a verbal complex of the type seen, that is, $V \rightarrow$ *hacer* + *Vse*. For instance:

- (47) a. *El padrino casó a la chica con el gobernador.*
 the godfather marry off-PAST the girl with the governor
 The godfather married the girl to the governor.
- b. *El padrino hizo casarse_i a la chica_i con el gobernador*
 the godfather make-PAST marry-CL-APASS the girl with the governor
 The godfather made the girl marry the governor.

Be that as it may, the typology of Experiencer verbs proposed in this paper relies on the kinds of constructions in which these verbs can appear, rather than on the θ - and Case-grids that these verbs may have. Without further comment, the typology would be as in (48) and, since it is a first sketch, I have endowed it with some redundancy for the sake of exposition.

(48) TYPOLOGY OF SPANISH EXPERIENCER VERBS

Class I *amar*: [- Antipassive]
 [- Functional Causative]
 [+ Passive]

Class II *divertir*: [+ Antipassive]
 [+ Functional Causative]

Class III *gustar*: [-Antipassive]
 [- Functional Causative]
 [- Passive]

A secondary goal I have attempted to achieve with this taxonomy is to capture the syntactic parallel behavior of these verbs in different dialects of Spanish despite the fact that Case marking may vary from one dialect to the other. For instance, in most varieties of Castilian Spanish, *divertir* and *gustar* have the same Case grid which hides a different syntactic behavior that is otherwise reflected in the typology in (48). Nonetheless, the dative nature of the Experiencer argument of the Castilian *divertir* could be attributed to a merging of Case systems which is taking place in the language with the 'leísmo' phenomenon as a typical feature of this dialect.⁸ A potential problem for my analysis might be a sentence like (49) in the dialects that contemplate, additionally, the possibility of having dative Experiencers with verbs of the *divertir*-type. In (49), although *a Juan* is the subject of an intransitive embedded clause in an infinitival causative sentence, and hence should be marked accusative, it is the dative Case that emerges in the incorporated form, as in (3a), the one that is also present in the causative paraphrase:

- (49) Esos comentarios le_i hacen enojarse_i a Juan_i
 those comment-PL CL-DAT make-PL anger-CL-APASS to Juan
 Those kinds of comments make Juan get angry.

The occurrence of (49) with a dative Experiencer is indeed puzzling.⁹ Nonetheless, one could infer an implicit argument licensed by *enojarse* 'to get angry', that has been underspecified. Example (49) has several readings, since *Juan* can be mad (a) at himself (*consigo mismo*), (b) at the person that made the comment (e.g.: *con el periodista*, 'at the journalist') or (c) even at the whole world (*con el mundo*). Any of the constituents in parenthesis could be added to (49) without affecting the correctness of the sentence. Thus, one could hypothesize that the speakers that produce (49) deem this unrealized argument as a constituent subcategorized by *enojarse* when the time comes to apply the Case assignment rules. Hence, following Comrie (1976), the cross-referentiality of the embedded subject with the dative clitic in (49), stems from the fact that the embedded verb subcategorizes a non-external argument. In

(8) Although there are several degrees of *leísmo*, in broad lines one could say that *leísmo* refers to the replacement of accusative clitics by dative ones in contexts in which the so-called etymological system requires accusative Case.

(9) Perhaps the Case marking anomaly in (49) for non-Castilian dialects could be reduced again to a partial spreading of the *leísmo* phenomenon.

any case, whether or not there is an implicit argument licensed by *se* in (49) is an open issue which deserves further investigation.

Finally, a sample of the lexical entries for Spanish Experiencer verbs is attempted in (50):

(50) THE LEXICON OF SPANISH EXPERIENCER VERBS

amar:	<i>Experiencer</i>	Theme
[- F.caus.]		
	Nominative	Accusative
divertirse:	<i>Experiencer</i>	(Theme)
[+F. caus.]		
	Nominative	(Oblique)
gustar:	<i>Theme</i>	Experiencer
[- F. caus.]		
	Nominative	Dative

4. Conclusion

This paper has described mainly the behavior of Experiencer verbs that take accusative Experiencer arguments. I have argued that although these accusatives may occur with Agent subjects, they still preserve their Experiencer status since they never take part in the syntactic processes in which accusative Patients do. I have also shown that the oddity of these Experiencer accusatives has its origin not in their receiving their Case inherently, as Belletti and Rizzi propose for the Italian *preoccupare*, but in the position they occupy at D-structure, that is, the subject of an intransitive embedded sentence in an infinitival causative construction. I justify this analysis by putting forward the unnaturalness of inherent accusative Case when compared to other instances of split in the nominative-accusative Case system in Spanish and by showing the existence of causative structures semantically parallel to each of these particular verbs. Finally, a GB account of the generation of these verbs is developed via Baker's Incorporation in interaction with the idea of having an abstract causative head.

References

- Belletti, A. and L. Rizzi, 1988, "Psych Verbs and θ -Theory", *NLLT* 6, 291-352.
 Baker, M., 1988, *Incorporation*, University of Chicago Press.
 Chomsky, N., 1986, *Knowledge of Language: Its Nature, Origins, and Use*, Praeger, New York.
 Comrie, B., 1976, "The syntax of causative constructions", in Shibatani (ed.), *The Grammar of Causative Constructions*, Syntax and Semantics, V. 6. Academic Press, 261-311.
 Franco, J., 1988, Indirect Objects as NPs in Castilian Spanish, paper presented at the Symposium on Spanish Linguistics, University of Illinois at Chicago.
 Kuroda, S.-Y., 1965, "Causative forms in Japanese", *Foundations of language* 1, 30-50.
 Jackendoff, R., 1972, *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*, MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.

- Jaeggli, O., 1984, Passives, middles and implicit arguments, USC ms.
———, 1986, "Passive", *LI* 17, 587-662.
- McCawley, N., 1976, "On experiencer causatives", in Shibatani (ed.), *The Grammar of Causative Constructions*, Syntax and Semantics, v.6. Academic Press, 181-202.
- Mohanan, K. P. & Mohanan, T., to appear, "Dative Subjects in Malayalam: Semantic information in syntax", in K. P. Mohanan and M. Verma (eds.), *Experiencer subjects in South Asian languages*. CSLI.
- Pesetsky, D., 1987, "Binding Problems with Experiencer Verbs", *LI* 18, 126-140.
———, 1988, "Psych predicates, universal alignment and lexical decomposition", paper presented at UCLA Conference on the Lexicon and Syntax.
- Saltarelli, M., 1988, "VP-Nominative constructions in Italian", paper read at the LSRL 18, April 7, University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana.
- Suñer, M., 1988, "The role of agreement in clitic-doubled constructions", *NLLT*, 6, 391-434.
- Zubizarreta, L., 1985, "The relation between morphophonology and morphosyntax; the case of Romance causatives", *LI* 16: 247-289.