

HUMBOLDT-UNIVERSITÄT ZU BERLIN



Unmarked word order in Korean and Spanish psych-verbs: Interaction of case, theta-roles, and event structures in HPSG

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Introduction

Psych verbs

verbs denoting a relation between two arguments: one argument bearing the theta role **experiencer** and the other **stimulus**

- (1) *love, like, fear, frighten*
- (2) [Peter]_{EXP} fears [his boss/the storm]_{STM}.

Experiencer (EXP)

animate entity **affected** by a psychological eventuality

Stimulus (STM)

+/- animate entity **triggering** the psychological state

- Psych verbs participate in a well-known alternation between **EXP** and **STM**:

(3) a. [We]_{EXP} puzzled over [Sue's remarks]_{STM}.

[ES]

b. [Sue's remarks]_{STM} puzzled [us]_{EXP}.

[EO]

(Landau, 2010)

- ES = Experiencer Subject
- EO = Experiencer Object

ES

(Grimshaw 1990; Landau 2010;
Reinhart 2002; a.o.)

(4) Peter_{NOM.EXP} loves Maria_{ACC.STM}.

- **canonical** w.r.t. linearization:
SUBJ_{NOM,AG} > OBJ_{ACC,PAT}
- **no psych-effects**
- STM has **no case alternation**.
(... allegedly)

EO

(Arad 1998; Belletti and Rizzi 1988; Pesetsky 1995;
Verhoeven 2010, 2014; a.o.)

(5) Das Buch_{STM} interessiert Maria_{ACC.EXP}.
'The book interests Maria' [EO_{ACC}]

(6) Maria_{DAT.EXP} gefällt das Buch_{STM}.
'Maria likes the book' [EO_{DAT}]

- **non-canonical** w.r.t. linearization
- **psych-effects** w.r.t. linearization,
binding, extraction, ...
- EXP has frequently **case alternation**.
- correlation of **case marking**
alternation and **linearization**

Research Questions

- How can we model ...
 - ... the alternation of the experiencer (EO vs. ES),
 - ... the case alternation in EO structures (ACC vs. DAT),
 - ... the different readings of the STM, and
 - ... the different linearization patterns (unmarked word orders) shown for the distinct configurations?
- In order to answer those questions:
 - Spanish (SVO) & Korean (SOV)
 - Examine linearization (i.e. unmarked word order) in terms of:
 - Case alternation
 - Event structure
 - Theta-roles
 - HPSG framework

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Psych verbs: Spanish

Class 1: *gustar* ‘to like’ (EO)

- stative and non-agentive (cf. (7)) (Landau 2010; Reinhart 2002)
- unmarked WO: DAT-EXP > NOM-STM
- STM-role: SM

(7) [A Clara]_{DAT.EXP} le gusta [David/el reporte]_{NOM.SM}.
 to Clara CL.DAT like.PRS.3.SG David/the report
 ‘Clara likes David/the report.’

Subject Matter (SM)

Non-agentive argument which **provokes** an emotional response in the EXP, but **does not cause** the emotion **directly**. (cf. Pesetsky, 1995; a.o.)

Class 1 & 2: *asustar* ‘to frighten’ (EO)

- stative: DAT structure (cf. (8a))
unmarked WO: DAT-**EXP** > NOM-**SM**
- eventive: ACC structure (cf. (8b))
unmarked WO: NOM-**CSR** > ACC-**EXP**

(cf. Marín, 2011)

- (8) a. [A Clara]_{DAT.EXP} le asusta [David/el reporte]_{NOM.SM}.
to Clara CL.DAT frighten.PRS.3.SG David/the report
‘(Something about) David/the report frightens Clara.’
- b. [David/el reporte]_{NOM.CSR} (la) asusta [a Clara]_{ACC.EXP}.
David/the report CL.ACC frighten.PRS.3.SG to Clara
‘David/the report frightens (directly) Clara.’

Causer (CSR)**direct causer** of the emotion (cf. Pesetsky, 1995)

Class 3 & 4: *amar* ‘to love’, *temer* ‘to fear’ (ES)

- stative: DAT structure (cf. (9a))
unmarked WO for DAT structure: NOM-EXP > DAT-SM
- stative: ACC structure (cf. (9b))
unmarked WO for ACC structure: NOM-EXP > ACC-TG

- (9) a. [David]_{NOM.EXP} (le) ama [a Pedro]_{DAT.SM}
David CL.DAT love.PRS.3.SG to Peter
‘David loves (something about) Peter.’
- b. [David]_{NOM.EXP} (lo) ama [a Pedro]_{ACC.TG}
David CL.ACC love.PRS.3.SG to Peter
‘David loves Peter.’

Target (TG)

argument **evaluated** positively or negatively by the EXP (cf. Pesetsky, 1995)

Summary – Spanish

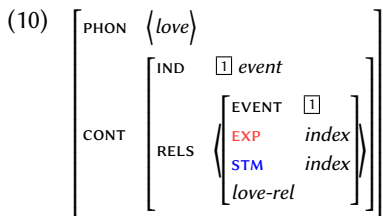
	type	θ -role & case		eventuality	unmarked WO	class
		STM	EXP			
<i>gustar</i>	EO	SM-NOM	DAT	state (-CoS)	EXP-DAT > SM-NOM	1
<i>asustar</i>	EO	SM-NOM	DAT	state (-CoS)	EXP-DAT > SM-NOM	1
		CSR-NOM	ACC	event (+CoS)	CSR-NOM > EXP-ACC	2
<i>amar</i>	ES	TG-ACC	NOM	state (-CoS)	EXP-NOM > TG-ACC	3
		?SM-DAT	NOM	state (-CoS)	EXP-NOM > SM-DAT	4
<i>temer</i>	ES	?TG-ACC	NOM	state (-CoS)	EXP-NOM > TG-ACC	3
		SM-DAT	NOM	state (-CoS)	EXP-NOM > SM-DAT	4

- We propose – at least for Spanish – a **fourfold** classification of psych verbs (in contrast to the threefold classification proposed e.g. in Belletti and Rizzi 1988)
- The data suggest that
 - (not only) the **EXP** alternates w.r.t. case in **EO structures**
 - (but also that) the **STM** alternates w.r.t. case in **ES structures**

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HPSG & psych-verbs

- In HPSG the treatment of θ -roles is Davidsonian. (cf. Davidson, 1967; Koenig, 1999; Davis and Koenig, 2000; Copestake et al., 2005; Müller, 2013)



Problems

- As already mentioned, psych verbs bear two θ -roles: **EXP** and **STM**.
- STM can behave in different ways: target (**TG**) or subject matter (**SM**).
- ES psych verbs like *amar* 'love': case alternation w.r.t. the θ -role (i.e. TG vs. SM)
- **Underspecification** of θ -roles in order to account for Spanish case alternation

Theta-roles

- We are proposing to treat θ -roles as **values** (and not as features).

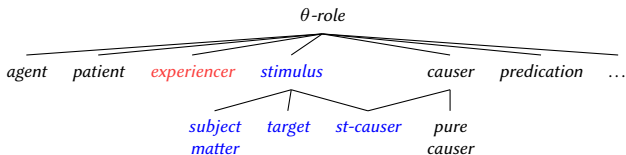


Figure: Type hierarchy for θ -role

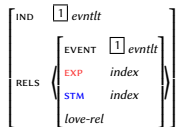
Advantages:

- Generalisations about θ -roles
- Generalisations about verb classes
- In a further state of the theory: Defining θ -roles by feature-value pairs, accounting for the commonalities and differences between them.

Restructuring

- Restructuring the RELS attribute
- Proposal of a **neo-davidsonian** structure for RELS (cf. Parsons, 1990; Copestake, 2006)

(11) *love*:



$\approx \lambda y \lambda x \lambda e. \text{love}'(y)(x)(e)$

(12) *love* (proposed)



$\approx \lambda y \lambda x \lambda e. \text{love}'(e) \wedge \text{exp}(x)(e) \wedge \text{stm}(y)(e)$

- Neo-Davidsonian Approach: Possibility of **manipulation of arguments** without having to assume a *new predicate*.
- Useful for phenomena **altering the semantic valence of predicates**, without altering the core meaning of the predicate.

HPSG & Spanish psych verbs

- Solving the problems *lexically* (and not by means of syntactic structure)

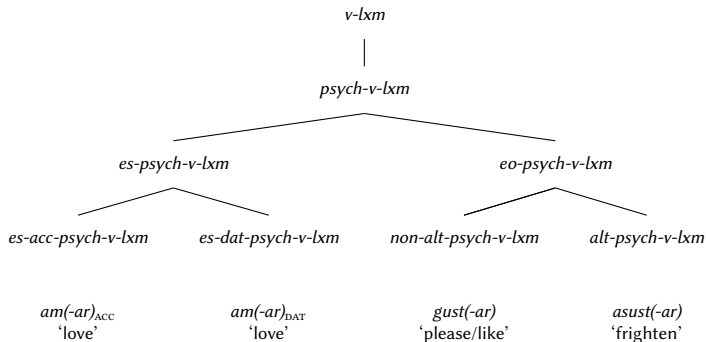


Figure: Psych-verb types in Spanish

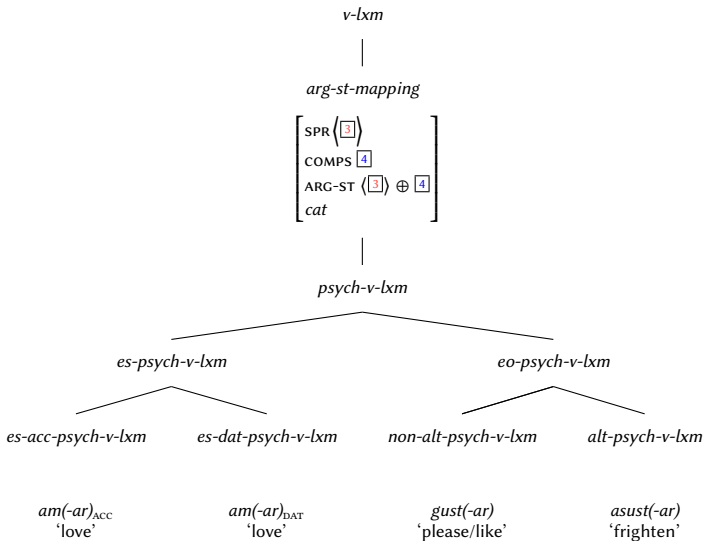
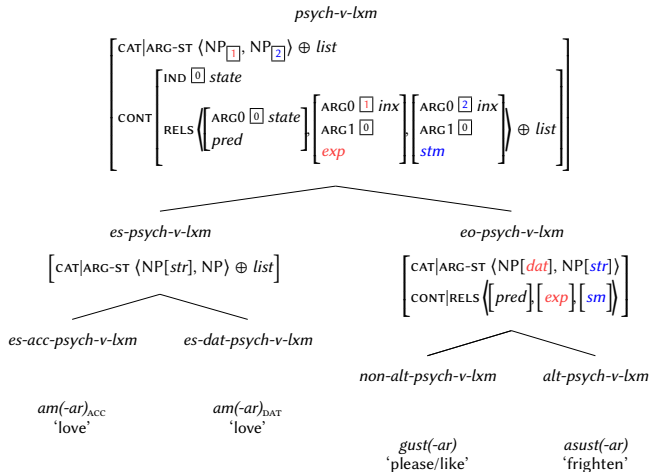


Figure: Psych-verb types in Spanish

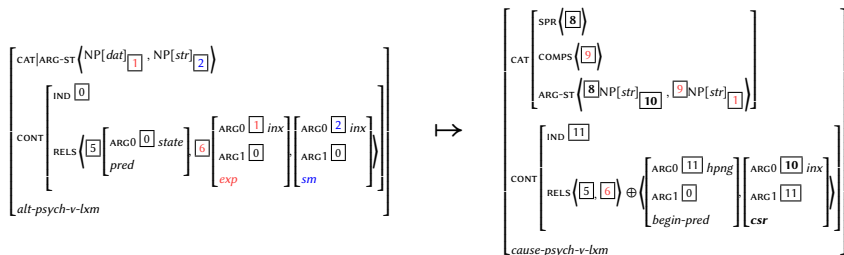


- (15) [A Clara]_{DAT.EXP} le gusta [David/el reporte]_{NOM.SM}
 to Clara CL.DAT like.PRS.3.SG David/the report
 'Clara likes David/the report.'

So far, what is the inheritance hierarchy accounting for?

	type	θ role & case		eventuality	unmarked WO	class
		STM	EXP			
<i>gustar</i>	EO	SM-NOM	DAT	state (-CoS)	EXP-DAT > SM-NOM	1
<i>asustar</i>	EO	SM-NOM	DAT	state (-CoS)	EXP-DAT > SM-NOM	1
		CSR-NOM	ACC	event (+CoS)	CSR-NOM > EXP-ACC	2
<i>amar</i>	ES	TG-ACC	NOM	state (-CoS)	EXP-NOM > TG-ACC	3
		?SM-DAT	NOM	state (-CoS)	EXP-NOM > SM-DAT	4
<i>temer</i>	ES	?TG-ACC	NOM	state (-CoS)	EXP-NOM > TG-ACC	3
		SM-DAT	NOM	state (-CoS)	EXP-NOM > SM-DAT	4

- For *asustar* ‘to frighten’ we need a **LR** changing the case of the **EXP** and the unmarked word order.



(16) [A Clara]_{DAT.EXP} le asusta [David/el reporte]_{NOM.SM}.
 to Clara CL.DAT frighten.PRS.3.SG David/the report
 ‘(Something about) David/the report frightens Clara.’

(17) [David/el reporte]_{NOM.CSR} (la) asusta [a Clara]_{ACC.EXP}.
 David/the report CL.ACC frighten.PRS.3.SG to Clara
 ‘David/the report frightens (directly) Clara.’

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Psych verbs: Korean

Class 1: *mwusepta* ‘scary’ (AEP)

- stative and non-agentive (Choi 2015; Lee and Shin 2007)
- WO freezing effect (cf. (18)): NOM-**EXP** > NOM-**STM**
- STM-role: **SM**

- (18) [Mina-ka/nun]_{EXP} [kongpho yenghwa-ka / Minho-ka]_{SM} mwusep-ta.
 Mina-NOM/TOP horror movie-NOM / Minho-NOM scary-DECL
 ‘Mina is scared of horror movies/Minho.’

Agentive Experiencer Predicates (AEP)

Experiencer plays a role of agent in the experiential causing sub-event (Nam, 2015).

Class 2 *mwusepta* ‘scary’ (AEP)

- stative and non-agentive
- free WO, but unmarked WO (cf. (19)): NOM-SM > DAT-EXP

(19) [kongpho yenghwa-ka/nun / Minho-ka/nun]_{SM} [Mina-eykey]_{EXP} mwusep-ta.
 horror movie-NOM/TOP / Minho-NOM/TOP Mina-DAT scary-DECL
 ‘The horror movie/Minho is scary to Mina.’

Class 3 *ccacungnata* ‘get irritated’ (PEP)

- inchoative (+change of state) (cf. Choi, 2015)
- WO freezing effect (cf. (20)): NOM-EXP > NOM-TG

(20) [Mina-ka/nun]_{EXP} [Minho-ka / khun soli-ka]_{TG} ccacungna-n-ta.
 Mina-NOM/TOP Minho-NOM / big noise-NOM get.irritated-PRS-DECL
 ‘Mina gets irritated at Minho/the big noise.’

Patientive Experiencer Predicates (PEP)

Experiencer plays a role of patient or theme in the causing sub-event (Nam, 2015).

Class 4 *ccacungnata* ‘get irritated’ (PEP)

- inchoative (+change of state)
- free WO, but unmarked WO (cf. (21)): NOM-EXP > DAT-TG

(21) [Mina-ka/nun]_{EXP} [Minho-eykey / khun soli-ey]_{TG} ccacungna-n-ta.
 Mina-NOM/TOP Minho-DAT / big noise-DAT get.irritated-PRS-DECL
 ‘Mina gets irritated at Minho/the big noise.’

Summary – Korean

	type	θ role & case		eventuality	unmarked WO	class
		STM	EXP			
<i>mwusepta</i>	AEP	SM-NOM	NOM	state (-CoS)	EXP-NOM > SM-NOM	1
		SM-NOM	DAT	state (-CoS)	SM-NOM > EXP-DAT	2
<i>ccacungnata</i>	PEP	TG-NOM	NOM	inch (+CoS)	EXP-NOM > TG-NOM	3
		TG-DAT	NOM	inch (+CoS)	EXP-NOM > TG-DAT	4

- Our proposal: a **fourfold** classification of psych verbs (in contrast to the literature, e.g. Kim 2008; Choi 2015 and Yang 1996)
- Considering Nam (2015)'s double classification of psych verbs (i.e. AEP vs. PEP), we **borrow** his case alternation patterns between NOM and DAT and correlate that in terms of theta-role assignment.

- Data demonstrate NOM-NOM structures are more limited in the psych domain (cf. Kim, 2008).
- More prominent alternation between NOM and TOP as structural case assignment (Yoon, 2004)
- As in Spanish, there is an alternation in case for both EXP and STM.
- Asymmetry in case marking correlates with the theta-role of the STM, but **not** with sub-event causation (cf. Nam 2015).
 - *mwusepta* ‘scary’ class (i.e. AEP): includes adjectives taking SM as arguments.
 - *ccacungnata* ‘get angry’ class (i.e. PEP): includes verbal inherently inchoative items with a BECOME operator (cf. Choi and Demirdache 2014), taking TC as arguments.

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Analysis of Korean psych verbs

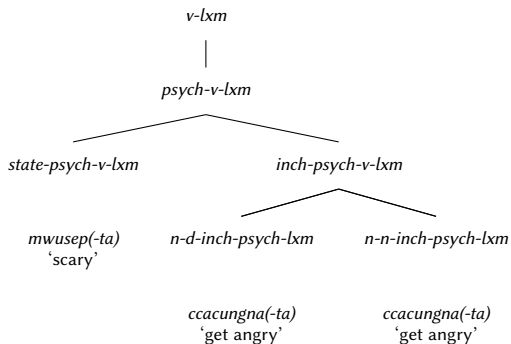


Figure: Psych-verb types in Korean

Analysis of Korean psych verbs

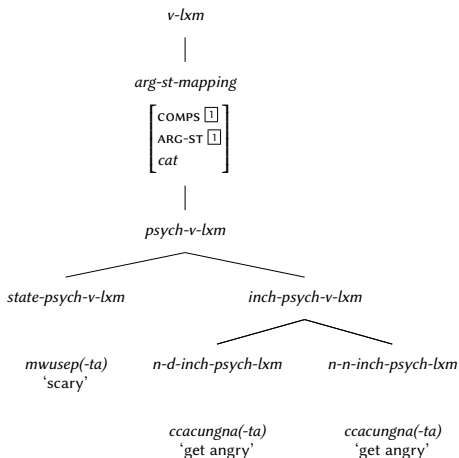
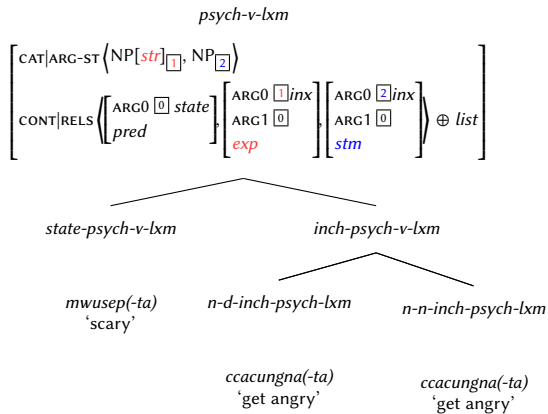


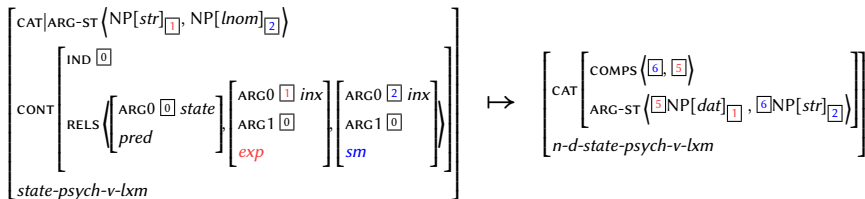
Figure: Psych-verb types in Korean



So far, what is the inheritance hierarchy accounting for?

	type	θ role & case		eventuality	unmarked WO	class
		STM	EXP			
<i>mwusepta</i>	AEP	SM-NOM	NOM	state (-CoS)	EXP-NOM > SM-NOM	1
		SM-NOM	DAT	state (-CoS)	SM-NOM > EXP-DAT	2
<i>ccacungnata</i>	PEP	TG-NOM	NOM	inch (+CoS)	EXP-NOM > TG-NOM	3
		TG-DAT	NOM	inch (+CoS)	EXP-NOM > TG-DAT	4

- For *mwusep(-ta)* ‘be scared’ we need a **LR** changing the case of the **EXP** and of the **stm**, and the unmarked word order.



- (25) [Mina-ka/nun]_{EXP} [kongpho yenghwa-ka / Minho-ka]_{SM} mwusep-ta.
 Mina-NOM/TOP horror movie-NOM / Minho-NOM scary-DECL

‘Mina is scared of horror movies/Minho.’

- (26) [kongpho yenghwa-ka/nun / Minho-ka/nun]_{SM} [Mina-eykey]_{EXP} mwusep-ta.
 horror movie-NOM/TOP / Minho-NOM/TOP Mina-DAT scary-DECL

‘The horror movie/Minho is scary to Mina.’

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Conclusions

- A **fourfold** categorization of psych verbs for both Spanish and Korean represents better the data (contra the classic two-/threefold views proposed e.g. by Belletti and Rizzi 1988 and Nam 2015).
- Not only the **EXP** alternates in case marking (Sp. DAT/ACC and Kr. NOM/DAT), but also the **STM** does (Sp. DAT/ACC and Kr. NOM/DAT).
- Unmarked word order: the result of the interaction of **event(ualities)**, **theta-roles** and **case marking**.
- **EXP**-first can be predicted by means of constraints in the type hierarchy:
 - ① for Spanish and Korean: *arg-st-mapping*
- **STM/CSR**-first is predicted by a LR for both languages:
 - ① for Spanish: *cause-psych-v-lxm*
 - ② for Korean: *n-d-state-psych-lxm*

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Spanish

Class 1 (EO)

eo-psych-v-lxm

e.g. *gustar* 'like', *asustar* 'frighten'

- STM → SM
- EXP → DAT
- uWO EXP > SM

Class 2 (EO)

alt-psych-v-lxm + LR

e.g. *asustar* 'frighten'

- state → happening
- CSR
- EXP → ACC
- uWO CSR > EXP

Class 4 (ES)

es-dat-psych-v-lxm

e.g. *amar* 'love'

- STM → SM
- optionally TG
- SM → DAT
- uWO EXP > SM

Class 3 (ES)

es-acc-psych-v-lxm

e.g. *amar* 'love'

- STM → TG
- no extra argument
- TG → ACC
- uWO EXP > TG

Korean

Class 1

state-psych-v-lxm

- state
- STM → SM
- no extra argument

exp-psych-v-lxm

- uWO EXP > SM

n-n-state-psych-lxm

e.g. *mwusepta* ‘scary’

- EXP → NOM
- SM → NOM

Class 3

inch-psych-v-lxm

- state → happening
- STM → TG
- no extra argument

exp-psych-v-lxm

- uWO EXP > SM

n-n-inch-psych-lxm

e.g. *ccacungnata* ‘get angry’

- EXP → NOM
- SM → NOM

Korean

Class 2

n-d-state-psych-lxm

e.g. *mwusepta* 'scary'

- EXP → DAT
- SM → NOM
- uWO SM > EXP

Class 4

exp-psych-v-lxm

- uWO EXP > SM

n-d-inch-psych-lxm

e.g. *ccacungnata* 'get angry'

- EXP → NOM
- TG → DAT

Spanish Dative vs. Spanish Benefactive

Benefactive: The Spanish dative in psych constructions is **not** a benefactive.

- Semantic interpretation:

- The benefactive argument is interpreted as getting some benefit out of the verbal event (cf. (27)).

(27) Pedro le cargó [las maletas]_{ACC} [a Clara]_{DAT.BEN.}
 Pedro CL.DAT carry.PRT.3.SG the suitcases to Clara

‘Pedro carried the suitcases for Clara.’

Interpretation: Pedro transported the suitcases on behalf of Clara.

Spanish Dative vs. Spanish Benefactive

- Semantic interpretation:

- The dative argument with psych verbs is a non-agentive argument provoking an emotional response (i.e. SM) in the EXP (cf. (28))

(28) [Pedro]_{NOM.EXP} le ama [las manos]_{ACC.TG} [a Clara]_{DAT.SM}.
 Pedro CL.DAT love.PRS.3.SG the hands to Clara

‘Pedro loves the hands to Clara.’

Interpretation: Clara is Pedro’s source of love, without her necessarily doing anything to evoke love in Pedro.

Spanish Dative vs. Spanish Benefactive

- In constructions with a benefactive, the DO cannot be left out (cf. (29a)). In dative ones, the DO can be left out (cf. (29b)).

- (29) a. Pedro le cargó [*(las maletas)]_{ACC} [a Clara]_{DAT.BEN.}
 Pedro CL.DAT carry.PRT.3.SG the suitcases to Clara
 ‘Pedro carried the suitcases for Clara.’
- b. [Pedro]_{NOM.EXP} le ama [(las manos)]_{ACC.TG} [a Clara]_{DAT.SM.}
 Pedro CL.DAT love.PRS.3.SG the hands to Clara
 ‘Pedro loves the hands to Clara.’

Stativity

- Traditionally, studies have used Dowty's (1979) tests in order to differentiate between states and other eventualities.
- One of the properties of states: considered atelic (a.o)
- Tests for telicity:
 - *in x time* measures the smallest interval during which the described eventuality takes place.
 - *for x time* is compatible with predicates that do not possess an endpoint.

Stativity – Spanish

- Spanish psych verbs are stative.

(30) Pedro amó a Clara durante/*en toda su vida.

Pedro love.PRT.3.SG to Clara during/in all his life

‘Pedro loved Clara for/*in all his life.’

[ES]

(31) A Pedro le gustó Clara durante/* en toda su vida.

to Pedro CL.DAT like.PRT.3.SG Clara during/in all his life

‘Pedro liked Clara for/*in all his life.’

[ES]

Stativity – Spanish

- (32) a. A Pedro le asustó Clara durante/*en toda la tarde.
 to Pedro CL.DAT frighten.PRT.3.SG Clara during/in all the afternoon
 ‘Clara frightened Pedro for/*in all the afternoon.’ [EO – DAT]
- b. A Pedro la asustó Clara durante/*en toda la tarde.
 to Pedro CL.ACC frighten.PRT.3.SG Clara during/in all the afternoon
 ‘Clara frightened Pedro for/*in all the afternoon.’ [EO – ACC]

- In 32a, the dative structure denotes a stative reading.
- in 32b, the *for*-adverbial captures the inchoativity of the verb, eliciting an iterative reading.
- This change in eventuality is done with a LR in HPSG.

