

Reflexive alternations of OE psych verbs in Polish¹

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The main objective of the talk is to examine Object Experiencer (OE) – Subject Experiencer (SE) verb alternations in Polish, with the focus on the differences between stative and eventive OE verbs, to determine the conditions under which Polish OE verbs take part in the psych causative alternation as opposed to the psych instrumental (non-causative) alternation and to provide syntactic structures for two different types of OE-SE alternations involving reflexive forms.

Assuming the division into stative and eventive OE verbs (see Arad 1998, Biały 2005, Pylkkänen 2000, a.o.), we demonstrate that Polish eventive OE verbs have SE alternates which show the reflexive marking, typical of anticausatives, and which can co-occur with the optional Cause-PPs, like *od* ‘from’ (and Cause *przez*-PPs), regularly found in anticausatives. Compare (1) and (2) below:

- (1) a. Uderzenie pioruna złamało gałąź.
strike-nom lightning broke branch-acc
‘The lightning strike broke the branch.’ (causative)
- b. Gałąź złamała się (od uderzenia pioruna).
branch-nom broke refl from strike lightning
‘The branch broke from the lightning strike.’ (anticausative)
- (2) a. Głupie gadanie zdenerwowało Marka. OE
idle talk-nom annoyed Mark-acc
‘Idle talk annoyed Mark.’
- b. Marek zdenerwował się (od głupiego gadania). SE
Mark-nom got-annoyed refl from idle talk
‘Mark got annoyed with idle talk.’

The resemblance of the OE-SE alternation, as in (2), to the (anti)causative alternation, as in (1), indicates that the former can be subsumed under the latter. Consequently, the perfective eventive SE variants, describing the inceptive initial boundary event as in (2b), are associated with the unaccusative structure, where the Experiencer is VP-internal, Cause-PPs are treated as vP adjuncts (as in Alexiadou *et al.* 2015), and the reflexive marker is placed in Spec, Voice_{expletive}P, as in Schäfer (2008). Eventive OE verbs like *(z)denervować* ‘annoy’, *(z)irytować* ‘irritate’, as well as stative ones like *(za)interesować* ‘interest’, *(za)fascynować* ‘fascinate’ also participate in an alternation in which the reflexive SE variant takes a T/SM argument (Pesetsky 1995), realised as an Instrumental DP as illustrated in (3):

- (3) a. Marek zdenerwował się /denerwował się (głupim gadaniem).
Mark-nom annoyed-perf refl /annoyed-imperf refl idle talk-instr
‘Mark got annoyed/was annoyed with idle talk.’
- b. Zosia zainteresowała się / interesowała się *(składnią generatywną).
Sophie-nom interested-perf refl /interested-imperf refl syntax-instr generative-instr
‘Sophie got interested /was interested in generative syntax.’

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We argue that the pattern in (3) cannot be treated as anticausative, because Causes in anticausatives in Polish can never be represented as Instrumental DPs:

(4) Gałąź złamała się (*uderzeniem pioruna)
branch-nom broke refl (striking-instr lightening-gen)

‘The branch broke with the lightning strike.’

Instead, we suggest, assuming the tests adopted from Marelj (2016) that the Instrumental case marked DP functions as a complement, not an adjunct. The evidence is based on the fact that the Instrumental DP may be pronominalised, may be definite, may be questioned, and may occur with strong determiners. Moreover, with strongly stative roots like *interesować* ‘interest’ or *fascynować* ‘fascinate’, it is obligatory. We argue that the Instrumental DP is an argument of the reflexive SE verb and therefore the verb is dyadic, thus no longer intransitive, the way typical of anticausatives. The Instrumental DP in (3) represents a T/SM argument, as in Pesetsky (1995), since for the sentence in (3) to be true the Experiencer must have evaluated the T/SM participant and must have formed an opinion about it. Consequently, we conclude that reflexive SE verbs with Instrumental case marked DP arguments do not participate in the psych causative alternation and must be treated as representing a different type of alternation. These SE verbs are taken to have dyadic structures (similar to non-reflexive SE verbs like *love*), with the Experiencer in the external argument position and the T/SM inside the VP. In this case, the reflexive acts as a detransitiviser, forming a lexical unit with the verb. Stative OE verbs participate only in one alternation in which there is a T/SM, realized as an Instrumental DP, but there is no Cause. The SE cognates of stative OE verbs as well as SE verbs of eventive OE verbs taking the complement in the Instrumental case are associated with the dyadic structure. The main conclusions reached are as follows: (i) only eventive OE verbs take part in the psych causative alternation in Polish (cf. Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia 2014), (ii) there is no Cause argument with stative OE and SE verbs (contra Pylkkänen 2000), which we take as evidence for the lack of the causative subevent, and (iii) Polish reflexive SE alternates of eventive OE verbs resemble labile verbs (Francis *et al.* 1996), and hence can be found in monadic (unaccusative) and dyadic structures alike.

Selected References

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