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**A Comparative Study of Psych-Verb
Alternations in English and Polish**

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**Analiza porównawcza alternacji
czasowników psychologicznych
w językach angielskim i polskim**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SPECIAL CHARACTERS

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ACC	accusative
Asp _Q P	aspectual quantity phrase
BNC	British National Corpus
COCA	Corpus of Contemporary American English
DAT	dative
DE	dative Experiencer
EP	event phrase
F	feminine
F ^s P	shell functional projection
GEN	genitive
IMPERS	impersonal
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
IPFV	imperfective
LOC	locative
M	masculine
NKJP	Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (National Corpus of Polish Language)
NOM	nominative
OE	object Experiencer
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PRS	present tense
PST	past tense
PTCP	participle
REFL	reflexive
SE	subject experiencer/reflexive pronoun
SIPFV	secondary imperfective
SG	singular
SP	state phrase
T	tense
WSJP	Wielki Słownik Języka Polskiego (The Great Dictionary of the Polish Language)
*	ungrammatical utterance
?	questionably grammatical sentence

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the properties of the widely recognized semantic class of psychological verbs, i.e., verbs that denote miscellaneous moods, feelings, and emotions such as love, hatred, amazement, or surprise. They are often referred to as Experiencer verbs. Landau (2010) defines Experiencer verbs as those that imply a mental state in their Experiencer argument. The current debate is whether they are grammatically special and thus differ from verbs describing physical events or whether their behaviour can be reduced to other verb classes describing the tangible physical world, such as e.g., Agent-Patient verbs. It will be demonstrated that psych verbs constitute a distinct case of stativity (henceforth dubbed as *psychological eventualities*)¹, which is manifested by their aspectual variants and argument structure modifications. This claim is in line with Landau (2010), Fábregas and Marín (2015), Rozwadowska (2003, 2012, 2020), i.a., but against Żychliński (2016) and Grafmiller (2013), who equate psych verbs with activities or accomplishments, as well as van Voorst (1992) and Rothmayr (2009), who level psych verbs with achievements. This proposal is also different from the approach to psych verbs developed by Rappaport Hovav and Levin (1998), who reduce psych verbs to internally caused verbs.

1.1 Goal of study

The aim of this work is an analysis of transformations within the argument and event structures of psych verbs defined above because verbs belonging to distinct semantic classes undergo similar morpho-syntactic alternations, as claimed by Levin (1993). We intend to demonstrate where the specialness of these verbs lies and how their morphosyntax, semantics and aspect interact. This analysis is couched in the neo-constructionist approach to the lexicon-syntax interface developed in Borer (2005b). We extend Borer's representations of event structure by integrating them with Husband's (2012) insights related to state predicates, Fábregas and Marín's (2015) claims concerning psych verbs and Verkuyl's (1993) feature [+/- ADD-ON] distinguishing dynamic and non-dynamic verbs. Such refinements to this model are necessary to accommodate psych verbs' properties associated with more than one level of linguistic analysis.

¹ The term *eventuality* is due to Bach (1986) and covers both events and states.

1.2 Psych verbs

In the analysis pursued in this work, we adopt Beletti and Rizzi's (1988) by now classic division of psych verbs into Subject Experiencer (SE) verbs (*fear* class), Object Experiencer (OE) verbs (*frighten* class) and dative Experiencer (DE) verbs (*appeal to/please* class).² Psych verbs have been commonly examined within frameworks that incorporated the concept of thematic roles. In these approaches, the non-Experiencer argument appears under many different names, often depending on its position in a clause. Thus, one may find such labels as *Theme* (Beletti and Rizzi, 1988), *Causer* (Pesetsky, 1995), *Stimulus* (Huddleston and Pullum, 2002, p. 231, 234), *Trigger* (Bouchard, 1995, p. 269), or *Neutral* (Rozwadowska, 1992). Since Pesetsky (1995), two other roles associated with object argument preceded by a preposition have been recognised, that is *Target of Emotion* and *Subject Matter*. In this work, we use the term *Stimulus* to talk about the non-Experiencer argument in the subject position and the term *Object of Emotion* in reference to the non-Experiencer argument in the object position. However, we must stress that the model we adhere to in this dissertation assumes that thematic roles are not grammatical primitives but rather entailments read off event structure (see García-Pardo, 2020, p. 9-10). We resort to the terminology borrowed from thematic roles solely for descriptive purposes.

The grammatical status of psych verbs has not yet been finally established. With their argument structure and aspectual properties, psych verbs challenge the assumptions of modern linguistic theories like (R)U(T)AH (Relativized Universal Theta Assignment Hypothesis), which assumes unique linking or mapping rules of thematic roles to grammatical relations or structural positions. Neither is it clear where they belong in lexical aspectual classifications of verb classes or *aktionsart* (Vendler, 1957; Bach, 1986; Smith, 1997). Whilst in most approaches, psych verbs whose Experiencer argument is in the subject position (SE verbs) are generally assumed to behave like prototypical transitive verbs, a quirky syntax has been attributed to OE verbs.³ This treatment of OE verbs was due to their exceptional behaviour

² Another division connected with psych verbs is provided by Haspelmath (2001), who, drawing on findings from European languages, distinguishes two types of Experiencers: generalised experiencers (agent-like) (SE), inverted experiencers, including (patient-like) (OE) and (dative-like) (DE). In turn, Levin (1993) names the given classes of psych verbs after their respective prototypical members. In terms of subcategorization, psych verbs are divided into transitive and intransitive. Levin (1993) further subdivides transitive psych verbs according to whether the Experiencer is the subject (*admire* verbs) or the object (*amuse* verbs). Intransitive psych verbs are subdivided according to whether the Experiencer is expressed as the subject (*marvel* verbs) or as the object of the preposition (*appeal* verbs). Some *marvel* verbs can also be used transitively and subsumed under *amuse* verbs.

³ A quirky syntax regards a syntax that significantly differs from other patterns adopted for other verbs and is limited only to one semantic class of verbs.

(so-called *psych phenomenon*) connected with backward binding, passivisation, anaphoric cliticization, focus effect, agentivity effect or formation of synthetic compounds, among others.

To account for such unexpected grammatical behaviour, scholars sought recourse to peri- or extra-theoretical notions. In the era of Transformational Grammar, Postal (1971) postulated a rule of psych movement (PSYCH-MVT), whereby the surface structure of OE verbs is derived from the basic structure of canonical transitives. In response to this, Jackendoff (1972) maintained that the odd grammar of OE verbs is not motivated on syntactic but on semantic grounds. These two opposing approaches: syntactically based (involving movement) and semantically based (appealing to thematic relations) awaited further extensions and resulted in the emergence of finer-grained approaches to syntax or semantics, such as an unaccusativity account (Belletti & Rizzi, 1988; among others), a thematic hierarchy (Grimshaw, 1990), a causativity account (Pesetsky, 1995); feature decomposition of thematic roles (Rozwadowska 1989; Reinhart 1996, 2016; Dowty 1991; different types of thematic roles (Bouchard, 1995); or force-dynamic relations (Croft, 1993).

Despite the inventiveness of the approaches presented above, they have failed to explain and describe all the intricacies of psych-verbs. The pitfalls they have beleaguered were of various sorts: reliance on selected data from selected languages as well as little consideration of corpus data. Yet more importantly, they have only partially taken into account the aspectual properties of psych verbs.

Within the aspect-based approaches, an important question is where psychological predicates should be placed in the Vendlerian classification such as states, activities, achievements or accomplishments (Dowty, 1979; Vendler, 1957) and its extensions to include semelfactives (Rothstein, 2008; Smith, 1997). So far SE verbs and DE verbs have been viewed as states without the CAUSE operator and thus with non-decomposable simple event structure. In respect to OE verbs, Pustejovsky (1995) claims that they denote complex events, where the first sub-event represents a process and the second sub-event a result connected with a clausal link of a different kind than that present in non-psychological verbs.

Another complexity involved in the analysis of OE verbs is their polysemy between different readings such as agentive, eventive and stative (Arad, 1998; Pylkkänen, 2000). On the agentive reading, they have been treated as accomplishments. On the (non-agentive) eventive reading, they have been considered to be change-of-state verbs and classified as achievements or as accomplishments, depending on the nature of change: instantaneous or durative, respectively. On the stative reading, they have been claimed to be atelic causative states, characterized by the absence of a change of state (Arad, 1998a, b; Pylkkänen, 2000;

Rothmayr, 2009; García-Pardo, 2018). Van Voorst (1992) argues against the view that the *frighten*-type verbs are like accomplishments and thus are levelled with the *break*-type verbs. Instead, in his opinion, all psych verbs are in fact achievements because they do not imply a final change of state. In contrast to this, Grafmiller (2013) or Żychliński (2016) view OE verbs as regular transitive verbs from the action domain.

Landau (2010) attempts to integrate the syntactic, semantic and aspectual properties of psych verbs indicated in the accounts previously described. He tries to incorporate these findings into a model that recognises the locative concept of the Experiencer argument introduced by a null preposition and marked for accusative or dative. The locative approach to psychological predicates can also be found in Garcia-Pardo (2020) for Spanish and Varchetta (2010, 2011) for Italian.

As is visible from the above brief outline of the literature, psychological predicates have been subject to a long debate. Nevertheless, not all properties of these verbs have been considered in the derivation of event structure. Independently of the analysis of psych verbs but in reference to dynamic verbs and non-psych state verbs, new observations came to light about inner (lexical) aspect and its relation to outer (grammatical) aspect and the importance of the exponents of quantity.

In the context of dynamic predicates, Borer (2005b) extensively argues that the referential and quantificational qualities of the direct object are correlated with telic and atelic interpretations of a predicate. These interpretations correspond to temporal entailments. To put it simply, telicity implies the endpoint of an action whereas atelicity entails the duration of an action. The emergence of telicity is contingent, among other things, on the presence of an article in English or the presence of verbal morphology that marks perfectivity in Polish. Within the domain of states, Husband (2012) claims that direct argument's quantization correlates with the existential interpretation of an external argument. These views have not yet been extensively examined in relation to psychological predicates.

There is another issue that has to be taken into account while defining the event structure of states. The most current results from studies on Polish psych verbs (Rozwadowska 2012; 2020) show that all perfective psych verbs encode inceptivity and not termination, which means that they refer to the onset to a state. Additional support for inceptivity of psych verbs comes from the study of Polish verbal prefixation (cf. Biały, 2020), which shows that psych verbs can only be matched with superlexical prefixes that carry inceptive meaning and can be attached to atelic stems only. The evidence is also drawn from degree quantification in the domain of psych predications. According to Willim (2020), psychological predicates modified by the

comparative degree quantifier *jeszcze bardziej* ‘even more’ points to an onset or beginning of an emotional state rather than a change of state.

These findings concerning the effects of quantity on both dynamic or non-dynamic predicates as well as different temporal entailments among states and events should be included in the derivation of event structure. We intend to do so in this dissertation.

1.3 Verb alternations

The term *verb alternation* refers to two or more realisations of argument structure available to one verb root (hereafter dubbed as *alternants*). In keeping with Levin (1993), these realisations involve a reshuffle of verbal arguments, as presented in (1) – (2), or changes in the verb’s transitivity, as shown in (3) – (4): Reversal of arguments within a clause.

- (1) a. Ann worries me. (Object Experiencer alternant)
 b. I worry about Ann. (prepositional Subject Experiencer alternant)
- (2) Reversal of arguments within a predicate
 a. I adore her for her tenacity. (possessor object alternant)
 b. I adore the tenacity in her. (attribute object alternant)
- (3) Argument addition
 a. Mary vexes Jack. (Object Experiencer alternant)
 b. Mary vexes Jack with her attitude. (split stimuli alternant)
- (4) Argument deletion⁴
 a. This performance shocks the audience. (Object Experiencer alternant)
 b. This performance shocks. (PRO-*arb* object alternant)

Since psych verbs are transitive (dyadic) verbs, they do not participate in the alternations that obligatorily require the presence of two complements, as is the case with the double object alternation and locative alternation, although they sometimes occur in triadic structures

Given that the argument structure and aspect of the verb is retained under nominalisation (Meinschäfer, 2005; Rozwadowska, 1997), we also pay attention to argument structure nominals derived from psych verbs in the course of our analysis. Nominalisations come in useful to view Experiencers as mental locations. Argument structure nominals are thus

⁴ In this context, the term *labiality* is often used which requires the very same verb’s root appearing in transitive and intransitive uses (e.g., *break*).

considered as a special kind of verb alternation. Additionally, some attention is devoted to passive structures featuring psych verbs and their types with an eye to showing that psych verbs differ aspectually from dynamic verbs.

In the literature, the term alternation has also been used in reference to detransitivisation processes such as *suppletion* requiring the use of another verb root (e.g., *kill* vs. *die*) and *equipollency* involving ablaut in the form of a verb (e.g., *rise* vs. *raise*). If we assume that alternations are cases where verbs change their forms although the meaning of the sentence is quite synonymous, then we should also consider doublets as one of their types.⁵ However, the doublets such as *fear/frighten* or *like/please* should not be equated with what Haspelmath (1993) labels as ‘the suppletive alternation’ (e.g., *kill/die*) or ‘the equipollent alternation’ (e.g., *rise* and *raise*), because there is no change in transitivity. Moreover, they ought not to be levelled with pairs such as *sell/buy* or *give/get*, which apart from allowing the presence of three arguments, show a relationship of converseness or reversal and in fact retain the same meaning but differ in information structure. In this work, we do not deal with these types of alternations because they do not concern argumental changes within a single verb root.

Another alternation that is crucial for psych verbs concerns the change in the semantics of the whole sentence but does not regard the syntactic modification of arguments. As the examples in (5) show, the (in)-animacy of both a subject and an object contributes to a shift from non-psychological to psychological meanings (see Pustejovsky, 1991, for logical metonymy):

- (5) a. John killed Joanna. (non-psychological reading)
 b. John’s words killed Joanna. (psychological reading)
- (6) a. The detergent irritates the skin. (non-psychological reading)
 b. The smell of this detergent irritates me. (psychological reading)

In (5b) the subject *John’s words* may imply that Joanna is alive but emotionally devastated while example (5a) suggests that Joanna is dead. In turn, example (6a) means that the detergent causes skin inflammation, whereas example (6b) means that the smell of this detergent has a negative psychological effect on the Experiencer. Following Bennis (2004), Fábregas

⁵ There is a disagreement as to the entailments of such doublets. Kutscher (2009) contends that SE verbs and OE verbs are mutually interchangeable and entail one another. Van Voorst (1992) asserts that there is no aspectual difference between them. Tantos (2006) postulates a unified semantic analysis of such verbs. On the other hand, Dowty (1991) and Croft (1993) assert that in fact these doublets have disparate aspectual and causal structures and thus require two distinct Experiencers. Levin and Grafmiller (2013) and Hiroko (2016) argue that doublets of this kind are scarce in English and when they are used as paraphrases, they lead to different presuppositions.

and Marín (2015), Peterson (2016), we endorse the view that reliance on conceptual semantics is solely of a descriptive nature. Therefore, the need arises to make a distinction between conceptual psych verbs and formal psych verbs. Conceptual psych verbs denote emotions only semantically, but their syntactic structure is that of a prototypical Agent-Patient structure. Formal psych verbs (psychological constructions), in turn, exhibit psychological properties both semantically and syntactically. In the approach that we follow, each verb root can be embedded in event structures that either encode a psychological meaning or a non-psychological meaning. It is the properties of event structure that determine an aspectual meaning. Hence, examples (5b) and (6b) are regarded as psychological constructions, both conceptually and formally. The verbs *kill* and *irritate* are located in well-defined psychological structure. We believe that the approach undertaken in this work is able to capture semantic shifts within the same verb root as these shown in (7) – (8), from action verbs to psych verbs, from causative verbs to psych verbs.

Besides, we argue that this approach can accommodate aspectual variants of psychological predicates which are illustrated in (7) for English and in (8) for Polish:

- (7) a. He irked Mary. (non-progressive alternant of Object Experiencer alternant)
 b. He was irking Mary. (progressive alternant of Object Experiencer alternant)
- (8) a. Barok fascynuje Tomka. (imperfective variant of OE alternant)
 Baroque.NOM fascinate.IPFV.PRS Tom.ACC
 ‘The Baroque fascinates Tom’
- b. Barok zafascynował Tomka. (perfective variant of OE alternant)
 Baroque.NOM za.PFV-fascinate.PST Tom.ACC
 ‘The Baroque fascinated Tom’

It is important to note that there is no one-to-one correlation between the simple-progressive tense in English and the imperfective-perfective aspectual contrast in Polish (and other aspect languages). In Polish, outer aspect marked chiefly by verbal prefixation presents events as either ongoing (imperfective aspect) or completed (perfective aspect). In English, the simple past tense (non-progressive aspect) can denote as single event and a habitual event (e.g., *Tom went to school yesterday* vs. *Tom went to school when he was ten*).

In analysing the alternations of psych-verbs, we also refer to the inner aspectual distinctions which are dependent on the semantics of verbs (i.e., their division into dynamic and non-dynamic verbs), the semantics of predicates giving rise to either existential or generic interpretations within states and additionally into atelic and telic readings within events, as illustrated by following instances:

- (9) a. Tom ate apples. (generic and atelic reading of sentence with non-psych verb)
 b. Tom ate the apple. (existential and telic reading of sentence with non-psych verb)
- (10) a. Jack despises cats. (generic reading of Subject Experiencer alternant)
 b. Jack despises that cat. (existential reading of Subject Experiencer alternant)

An attempt is made in this work to integrate all these aspectual readings in the event structure representations into the refined Exo-Skeletal model to the lexicon-syntax interface.

We believe that the study of argument-structure alternations with an approach that aims at integrating argument structure with event composition and conceptualisation helps reveal grammatical properties of psych verbs and understand better the interface between semantics and morpho-syntax. This study also aims to broaden the knowledge of verb alternations in general since it covers the analysis of grammatical and lexical aspects present in these alternations. This analysis deals with the following questions (i) what is the correlation between the construction in which the verb appears and its lexical meaning? (ii) does verbal meaning change when the verb root gets inserted in different syntactic configurations? (iii) how do variants and alternants modify the syntax and semantics of basic (regular) constructions? (iv) which linguistic elements determine verbs' compatibility with selected alternation? (v) to what degree is the phenomenon of psych-verb alternations similar in both languages? (vi) how do psychological eventualities differ from non-psych states and events in relation to the phenomenon of verb alternations?

Important in our study is the juxtaposition of two separate linguistic systems. English and Polish belong to two different branches of the Indo-European language family, Germanic and Slavonic, respectively. In addition, English is an analytic language relying on context, word order, functional words like auxiliaries, light verbs, particles and prepositions. Polish, in turn, is a synthetic language characterised by a high degree of declensional and inflectional morphology. This is why they exhibit considerable variations at each level of linguistic analysis. Apart from that, Polish is an aspect language in which the morphological form of the verb encodes what corresponds to outer aspect in English. Moreover, it determines the referentiality of an internal argument. At this point, we need to stress that Borer's model allows for recognising the quantificational properties of verbal morphology in Slavic languages. Despite these significant differences between these two typologically distinct languages, this work makes the claim that English and Polish describe mental states in a similar way, which shall be demonstrated further on by an array of corresponding alternations both languages employ.

Moreover, investigation into verb alternations which show a predictable set of possible syntactic expressions of the very same verb's arguments, perforce seeks to reveal what primitive

elements from grammar, semantics or world knowledge are implicated in semantics-syntax flexibility (in the terminology of van Hout, 1996) or the elasticity of verb meaning (in the terminology of Levin, 2017). In this respect, the theoretical conundrum is that some verbs are flexible enough to shift from unaccusative to unergative verbs or from intransitive to transitive verbs. They can also alternate between aspectual classes: from states to activities or from activities to accomplishments.⁶ This event-type shifting is not only interlinked with changes in argument structure but also with changes in the semantic type of subjects and objects. It turns out that this type of flexibility does not apply to all verbs. Quite the contrary, not always is their systematic correspondence between verb classes and alternations. Sometimes verbs sharing a similar component of meaning do not participate in the same array of alternations. Some verbs are much alternation-friendlier and more prone to meaning shifts than others. This dissertation tries to show that the model adopted and extended here is well suited to adequately explain the observed (ir)regularities and constraints.

Looking at previous linguistic analyses, one might conclude that verb alternations have not been the centre of attention but rather employed to tease out grammatical properties of particular verbs. Above all, verb alternations have been used as transformational diagnostics, a variability criterium served as evidence for scholars' claims. Much the same is true of psych-verb alternations, which have mainly accompanied research on the grammatical specialness of psych verbs as such or lack thereof, as well as their adequate description and representation in linguistic theory. Research into psych-verb alternations has often been fragmentary and perfunctory at places. Only a few comprehensive studies have been conducted on selected psych-verb alternations in English. Most attention has chiefly been given to whether psych verbs fall into the inchoative-causative alternation (cf. for English Alexiadou, 2016; for Dutch Pijpops & Speelman, 2016; for Greek and Romanian Alexiadou & Iordăchioaia, 2014; for Polish Rozwadowska & Bondaruk, 2019) or whether they form adjectival and verbal passives (cf. for English Grimshaw, 1990; Pesetsky, 1995; Grafmiller, 2013; for Polish Bondaruk & Rozwadowska, 2018, 2019; for German Wunderlich, 1985).

Polish definitely presents a wider range of unexplored research areas as regards the linguistic phenomenon in question. Hajnicz (2007) points out that most of the types of verb alternations investigated in Polish do not go in line with the classifications of verb alternations proposed for English. Another contribution in this area is due to Szupryczyńska (1973).

⁶ These types of verbs come under the name of *variable behaviour verbs* and their polysemous properties have been discussed in some works, including Apresjan (1992) and Borer (2005b).

She labels semantic and syntactic variations within the same verb root as transformations and describes them in a broader sense than it has been done in the literature on the English language. For instance, she discusses situations where the case selection of certain verbs varies and at times changes the meaning of the whole sentence (e.g., *zazywać lekarstwo/kapieli* ‘take a pill.ACC/a bath.GEN’) yet at others it does not (e.g., *pożyczyć pióro/pióra* ‘lend a pen.ACC/GEN’). Without a doubt, a more thorough understanding of this phenomenon is still desired.

Compared to a vast body of linguistic work on psych verbs in lexical approaches, so far little research thereon has been done pursuing the neo-constructionist approach to psych verbs and their alternations, let alone the implementation of its principles to the phenomenon of psychological predicates. Additionally, such an approach may provide a new angle to understand the notion of stativity that has frequently been neglected in many linguistic analyses.

1.4 Neo-constructionism

Prior research on verb alternations attempted to indicate what component of language plays the most decisive role in determining in which sentential construction a given verb can be found. This attempt was related to establishing the role of semantics and syntax in forming the overall interpretation of a sentence. In other words, the main inquiry amounted to indicating which type of information (verb-specific or predicate-specific) determines the overall meaning of a sentence and what semantic input the construction alone may provide to a sentence. The verb-specific information embraces the morpho-phonological form of a verb (dubbed as a *root*) alongside its idiosyncratic basic meaning.⁷ The predicate-specific information, in turn, encompasses argument structure, including subcategorisation frames and c(ategory)-selection, which all constitute a lexical syntactic representation. It also requires s(ematic)-selection and thematic grids as well as event complexity, which constitutes lexical semantic representation. This type of information rests on the distribution of arguments that accompany the verb. Chomsky (1986), for instance, underscores a dominant position of verbs in the syntactic structure, claiming that only the meaning of a verb needs to be learnt (frequently referred to as verb centrality in the sentence schema). Goldberg and Jackendoff (2004) point to the role of whole constructions in shaping a sentence meaning (the so-called constructional view of grammar)

⁷ Roots are minimal morpho-phonological building blocks – lemma, distinct from “words” or “lexemes”. They are usually represented by the root sign $\sqrt{\quad}$, as in [\sqrt{AVOID} or $\sqrt{SURPRISE}$].

whereas Tenny (1992, 1994), Verkuyl (1972, 1993), a.o., highlight the function of verbs' complements in determining the aspectual interpretations.

As seen, the phenomenon of verb alternations is inextricably linked with the mediation between the grammatical and lexical structures of language. Until recently, three major approaches have been distinguished within generative grammar to the division of labour between syntax and semantics in establishing the overall meaning of a sentence. In the lexicalist or projectionist approach, a verb's lexicalised meaning proper was thought to determine the projection of its arguments. Over time, other intricacies have been discovered based on this claim, which resulted in a variety of approaches to the nature of mapping operations that are either syntactic (especially approaches rooted in the UTAH tradition, Baker, 1988) or non-syntactic (Williams, 1981; Levin & Rappaport-Hovav, 1995; Reinhart, 2000).

In the constructional approach (Goldberg, 1995; Jackendoff, 1997; Kay, 2000), the composite effects of the verb and the construction determine the argument structure and the total meaning of an utterance. To illustrate, the meaning of a resultative sentence is built of two subevents: a constructional subevent established by the type of construction and a verbal subevent determined by the verb, which performs the function of an event modifier. While the lexicalist approach implies grammatically relevant verb classes, the constructional approach concentrates on semantically relevant families of constructions. This means that event structure is not only determined by the core meaning of a verb, including its inherent aspectual properties but also inferred from the grammatical and semantic type of its arguments.

The neo-constructionist approach, in turn, puts forth a significant divide between the lexicon (conceptual system) and the syntax (computational system). Whilst the former is an inventory of roots, which are understood as *listemes*⁸ identified with non-compositional encyclopaedic concepts alongside specified phonological information, the latter operates on functional vocabulary and structures with well-defined syntactic and semantic properties. In the simplest terms, the core meaning of an utterance is mostly encoded in the syntax but to a lesser degree in the lexicon. Syntactic structures guide specific semantic interpretations. Roots are memorised by the child as non-grammatically specified concepts, but their interpretation emerges as soon as they are merged with functional items such as a quantized object or a prepositional phrase. Hence, neo-constructionism postulates that syntax cannot be projected from semantics. For example, on this approach, argument structure and aspect

⁸ *Listemes* are understood as lexical items (see DiSciullo & Williams, 1987).

are generated in the narrow language faculty in the sense of Hauser, Chomsky and Fitch (2002) contra projectionist/lexical views, where they are part of the broad language faculty, comprising perceptual-articulatory and conceptual-intentional systems. It is further proposed that since syntax and morphology work on the same syntactic computational rules, they should be treated as one component of grammar.

The neo-constructionist approach is entrenched in the tradition of Cartesian linguistics, which focuses on the incisive study of an innate module in the human brain that is separate from thought and thus independent of other cognitive processes (compare two hypotheses: modularity of the brain in Berwick & Chomsky, 2017; Pinker, 1994 and connectionism in Piaget, 1980). This line of research postulates a strict formalism and, thus, a strict partition between structural elements and their reference to the real world. It follows that human reason might be free from instinct and external stimulus and operates largely on a posteriori knowledge. Thus, what should come into scrutiny is the linguistic material since exploring how the human brain builds grammatical utterances appears unfeasible.

Several arguments are in favour of neo-constructionism. Given that learning has a limited capacity and humans are predisposed to operate on patterns and rules, regularity, simplicity as well as compositionality are the qualities that scholars need to consider while building a theory. In accordance with a binding principle in Occam's razor, the simplest solution should always win. Neo-constructionism may guarantee such a direction through lightening the child's learning burden of acquiring loads of verb-specific information and significantly shifting it onto the child's innate combinatorial abilities.

Another advantage of neo-constructionism is that functional structures and the properties that govern them are considered to be universal across natural languages. Inter-language variation is viewed in this approach as differences in the stock of functional morphemes. Therefore, variation solely depends on the properties of functional vocabulary. This facilitates endeavours to compare similar constructions with the use of cognate verbs in different languages to see whether they lead to the same pragmatic and semantic implications and whether they have the same aspectual properties. This assumption differs from constructional views of Construction Grammar developed by Goldberg (1995), in which constructions are peculiar to a specific language community and are only learnt by this community. What is more, neo-constructionism sheds a new light on the understanding of lexical polysemy and metonymy, known as a process of coercion. They play a vital part in the formation and comprehension of verb alternations. A bulk of variations within neo-constructionism have been recognised. Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993); L-syntax (Hale & Keyser, 1993); Nanosyntax (Starke, 2009); First

Phase Syntax (Ramchand, 2008); Phrase Structure and Argument Structure (Lohndal, 2014). They basically differ in the way that they describe the role of morphology and lexical aspect in the creation of meaning.

This dissertation draws inspiration from the Exo-Skeletal Model (Borer, 2003; 2005ab; 2013), which takes the most extreme position to the partition of labour between syntax and semantics. It is assumed that there is no direct interface between the conceptual system and the grammar. As for the verbal domain, the main tenet is that inner aspect is syntactically reflected. In Borer's model, telicity as a semantic notion is instantiated syntactically in the presence of a Asp_Q (Quantity Phrase), which emerges when a range is assigned to a complement through f-morphs (e.g., quantifiers, cardinals, past-tense markers, derivational affixation), abstract head feature or through adverbs of quantification or discourse operators. In this understanding, neither quantization (Krifka, 1998) nor cumulativity (Kiparsky, 1996) are essential to induce telicity. Thus, verbs do not have aspectual properties, but it is a specific universal structure that correlates with aspectuality. The verb itself stops being considered the epicentre of the kernel meaning of a sentence but it is relegated to the role of a modifier of an event. Instead, the argumental environment around the verb determines the sentence's event structure. In this framework, clearly defined functional syntactic projections determined by their hierarchical arrangement within a structure together with the presence of functional lexical items impose stringent requirements on the aspectual interpretation of a sentence. This assumption is contra van Hout's (1996) views that verbs are lexically specified as +/- telic and Krifka's (1998) that all verbs are inherently atelic, specifying a path but not a culmination. We believe that Borer's model is able to incorporate miscellaneous characteristics of psychological eventualities present in the languages under scrutiny.

1.5 Methodology

In this work, we try to determine and elucidate the salient semantic and aspectual interpretations of sentences containing psych verbs in isolation from the pragmatics of word order shifts or discursive considerations like the intentions of speakers. Hence, the provision of any additional contexts that sets up the situatedness of the scenario of analysed sentences is largely ignored. Some of the sentences presented in this work are cited from well-documented sources and discussed anew. Others are retrieved from available corpora; for Polish: *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego (NKJP)*, including the IPI PAN and PELCRA browsers together with other

Internet sources like *sjp.pwn.pl* and *Wielki słownik języka polskiego (WSJP)*; for English: *Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)*, *British National Corpus (BNC)* as well as other Internet sources like *youglish.com*, *sentencedict.com*, *Idoceanline.com*, *collinsdictionary.com*, *english.stackexchange.com*. In addition to that, a host of examples of alternations come from the introspection of the author's language competence and are the result of own invention or translation of examples from other languages based on the quoted literature. Their well-formedness was consulted with native speakers of both languages.

1.6 Organisation of the dissertation

This dissertation consists of 6 Chapters, including this introductory Chapter. Chapter 2 delineates Borer's approach to eventive predicates and Husband's approach to stative predicates with a view to showing aspectual differences between states and events based on the quantifiable properties of direct arguments. The remainder of Chapter 2 attempts to accommodate Husband's findings concerning states into Borer's representational model of event structure. Chapter 3 deals with SE verbs. Chapter 4 focuses on OE verbs, whereas Chapter 5 is devoted to DE verbs. In these analytical Chapters, numerous variants and alternants of SE, OE and DE verbs go under close scrutiny. Their argument and event structures are analysed with the use of the apparatus and theoretical assumptions described in Chapters 1 and 2. The discussed variants and alternants that psych verbs fall into are syntactically and semantically represented. Chapter 6 concludes.

CHAPTER 2

EVENTS VERSUS STATES

This Chapter explores the theoretical underpinnings of the Exo-Skeletal Model proposed by Borer (2005ab). At the outset, it concentrates on the description of event structure of sentences featuring dynamic verbs. The remainder of the Chapter is devoted to describing the aspectual properties of non-dynamic events based on Husband's (2012) research and accommodating them in the Exo-Skeletal Modal. All this prepares the ground for analysing the alternations of psych verbs in subsequent Chapters to see if they behave differently from other alternations containing dynamic verbs and non-psych state verbs.

2.1 Events

The main thrust of Borer's point is that quantity affects the temporal interpretation of the whole sentence, as shown in (11):

- (11) a. Tom built the house (in three months). (Quantity predicate)
b. Tom built houses (*in three months). (Homogeneous predicate)

The telic interpretation, in which Tom finished building the house, is attributed to instance (11a) due to the referential and quantificational properties of the direct object, that is *the house*. Instance (11b), in turn, has an atelic interpretation, in which Tom's building houses has not got a specified endpoint. Such an aspectual interpretation is triggered by the absence of quantity marked on the direct object, that is *houses*.

By quantity, Borer understands the existence of quantifiable divisions. She defines the existence of quantity in the following way:

- (12) a. Quantity: P is a quantity iff P is not homogeneous.
b. P is homogeneous iff P is cumulative and divisive.

(Borer, 2005b, p. 147)

Cumulative events are defined by the following equation: $\forall x [P(x) \text{ is a } y \wedge P(y) \Rightarrow P(x \setminus y)]$, which reads for all x with property P there, proper subset of x, with property P, such that subtracting y from x yields a set with the property P (Borer, p. 147, 192). As for nominals, *some books* or *at least three books* are cumulative because some books plus some books equals some books or at least three books plus at least three books equal at least three books. However, *three*

books are non-cumulative because three books plus three books do not equal three books. When it comes to events, *run* is cumulative but *run to the shop* is not because the distance may be defined.

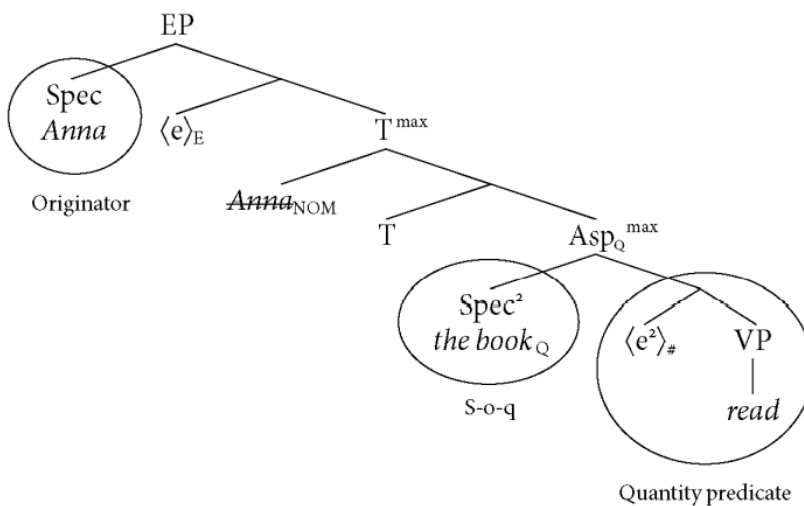
Divisive events, in turn, are captured in the following equation: $\forall x [P(x) \Rightarrow \exists (P(y) \wedge y < x)] \wedge \forall x, y [P(x) \wedge P(y) \wedge y < x \Rightarrow P(x-y)]$, which reads for all x with property P there is a y , proper subset of x with property P , such that subtracting y from x yields a set with the property P . By way of illustration, *some books* or *run* are divisive but *at least three books* are not. An apple is not divisive because its subparts such as a core, stalk, seed or pulp do not form an entire apple whereas water is divisive because each subpart of water is water.

This state of affairs leads Borer (2005b) to linking argument structure with lexical aspect. By dint of it, she identifies four separate functional structures. Namely, she makes a distinction between transitive and intransitive syntactic projections in which verbs fall into. Both transitive and intransitive structures can have atelic or telic interpretations, according to whether the complement argument is homogeneous or quantificational. Telic interpretations emerge at the presence of a quantity object which generates the projection of the Asp_QP (Quantity Phrase). The absence of quantity marked on the object indicates the lack of telicity.

2.1.1 Telic structure

At first, let us take a look at the telic transitive structure exemplified by the sentence *Anna read the book*, the representation of which is schematized after Borer (2005b, p. 85) below:

(13)



The telic transitive structure is composed of three functional nodes, i.e., EP, T^{max}, Asp_Q^{max}. In the tree in (13), the EP stands for an Event Phrase and is responsible for hosting an event argument. The argument that occupies the specifier of an EP is interpreted as an *Originator*. The head of an EP <e>_E is an open value that establishes a mapping from predicates to events. The T^{max} constitutes a Tense Phrase, the specifier of which hosts the subject of a sentence that moves to the specifier of the EP. More complex is the Asp_Q, which is shorthand for an Aspectual Quantity Phrase, which is the equivalent of Chomsky's AgrO. The argument taking the specifier position in an Asp_Q is interpreted as a subject-of-quantity, abbreviated as s-o-q.⁹ This phrase is headed by an <e>_# open value, which is assigned range in the case of (13) by a definite article *the*, which makes the DP *the book* quantity. The property of a quantity is copied onto [Asp_Q <e>_#] through the specifier-head agreement. Thus, the quantity DP gives rise to a well-formed quantity predicate. Note that the interpretations of arguments are mere entailments of the emerging structure.¹⁰

Borer (2005b) also presents the semantic representations of syntactic projections. In these representations, she severs not only the external argument from the verb (Kratzer, 1996) but also the internal argument. For example, the semantic formula for the syntactic projection of *Anna read the book* is depicted after Borer (2005b, p. 85) below:

(14) $\exists e[\text{quantity}(e) \ \& \ \text{originator}(\text{Ann}, e) \ \& \ \text{subject-of-quantity}(\text{the book}, e) \ \& \ \text{read}(e)]$

An exact explanation of forming a quantity phrase is in order now. A listeme receives a grammatical category just after range assignment binds with open value that sits below it. When open value is assigned range, it passes grammatical properties on to its sister lexical head, thereby categorizing a given listeme. For example, an agreement between a quantity DP and open value <e>_# acts as a nominaliser.¹¹

⁹ This type of argument is said to undergo a change of state. It has come under various names proposed by many scholars, that is the *Affected argument* (Tenny, 1992), *Gradient Patient* (Krifka, 1989, 1992), *Incremental Theme* (Dowty, 1991), *Subject-of-change* or *Undergoer* (Ramchand, 2008).

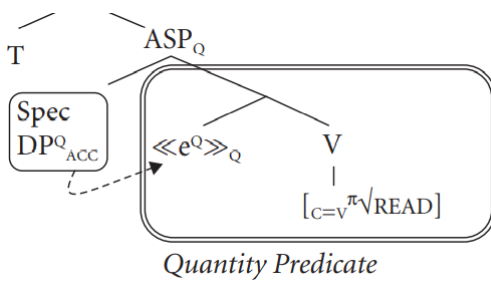
¹⁰ In her model, Borer removes the functional dependency between verbs and their syntactically external and internal arguments. This means that arguments are assigned not by the verb itself but by functional heads. Furthermore, in Borer, roots are placed in the specifier position, which differs from the phrase structure rule adopted in the traditional grammar, where listemes were found in the heads of phrases (see Adger, 2003).

¹¹ On a side note, Borer (2005b) does not address the case of bare plural subjects that can also induce atelicity despite the presence of quantity complements (e.g., *soldiers played that sonata*; *runners crossed the line*), as shown by Verkuyl (1972), a.o. It can be deduced from her model that although bare plural subjects render a non-completive interpretation, the predicate remains quantity and the Asp_Q is projected. As for subjects, she claims that they do not contribute to the determination of telicity if they are base-generated in both EP and in TP.

Borer distinguishes two modes of assigning range to $[Asp_Q \langle e \rangle_{\#}]$: direct and indirect, which are in charge of portioning out an event. Indirect range assigners (external binders) within the nominal domain are identified, among other things, with f-morph (free morpheme) like an indefinite or definite article or a bound morph like plural inflection. This assignment is instantiated in the domain of the specifier-head agreement (e.g., the dog's ear). Within the verbal domain, assigners might be like the future auxiliary *will* or an abstract head feature, which is present in the past tense in English. Indirect range assignment can also run from head to specifier. This type of behaviour is then associated with adverbs of quantification or a discourse operator.

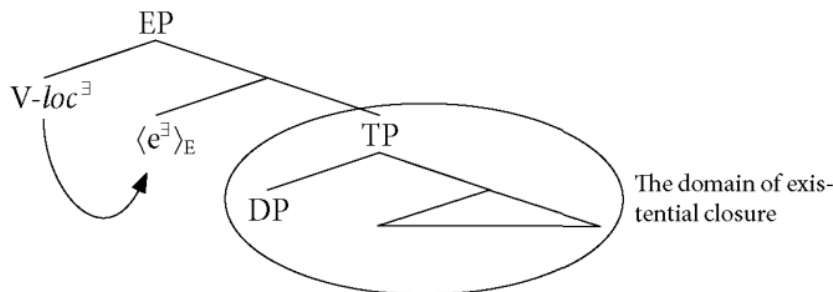
Below is the excerpt from the representation of the predicate *read the book* taken from Borer (2013, p. 76), which shows the workings of the indirect range assignment.

(15)



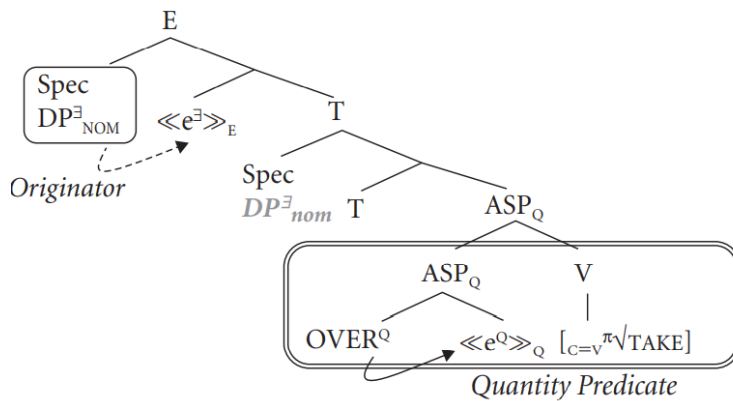
Direct assigners (internal binders) are identified with Slavic verbal prefixes and Hebrew locative clitics that impose restrictions on the direct object. Tree (16) reproduced after Borer (2005b, p. 297) shows the direct range assignment by a locative clitic in Hebrew in the domain of EP.

(16)



Borer (2005b) also claims that ‘some particles as well as directional prepositions in English do actually assign range directly to $[Asp_Q \langle e \rangle_{\#}]$, which gives rise to a telic interpretation (e.g., *Jake ran to the store*; *Robin swam away*) (p. 75). The syntactic and semantic representations of the sentence *the army took over* are presented below (reproduced after Borer, 2013, p. 76):

(17) a.

b. $\exists e$ [quantity (e) & Originator (the army), e) & took over (e)]

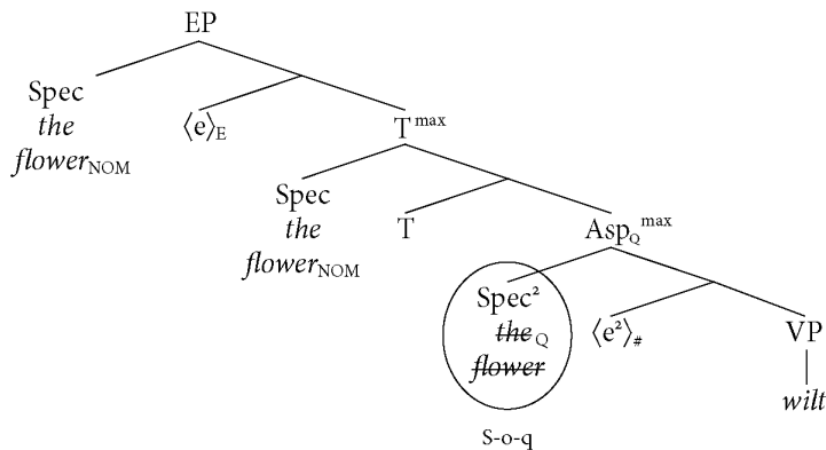
In the tree above, dashed arrows signify indirect range assignment whereas solid line arrows indicate direct range assignment.¹²

As seen, the internal syntactic structure of a nominal expression is crucial in determining count and telic interpretations. Translating all this into the verbal domain, past-time sentences in English can receive two aspectual interpretations: non-quantity (atelic) and quantity (telic), largely depending on the count qualities of the object but not on the durative or terminative character of an event. The bare plural object, as in *Tom ate apples*, points to the atelicity of an event, which often leads to an iterative/habitual reading. The situation changes when the definite object (or any quantificational operator) precedes the object of the sentence, as in *Tom ate the apple*. In this case such a sentence is telic and, if not coerced, indicates a one-time event.

The intransitive quantity structure, as is illustrated in (18) after Borer (2005b, p. 84), exhibits unaccusative properties since the s-o-q is a derived argument from the specifier of the ASP_QP that moves to the specifier position of T^{max} in order to receive the nominative case.

¹² From the crosslinguistic perspective, range can be assigned by different functional phonological and morphosyntactic elements (e.g., by a f-morph like the Chinese cardinals when plural inflection on nouns is not available; by a bound morpheme like the Hebrew definite prefix *ha*; by case-marking like the accusative and partitive cases in Finnish).

(18)



The flower in this representation is interpreted as the subject of quantity (the subject of structured change), which is captured in the following semantic formula after Borer (2005b, p. 85):

(19) $\exists e[\text{quantity}(e) \ \& \ \text{subject-of-quantity}(\text{the flower}, e) \ \& \ \text{wilt}(e)]$

The movement of the derived argument from T^{max} to EP, which is identified with the role of the Originator, may be surprising. Nevertheless, according to Borer (2005b, p. 81), the projection of Asp_Q entails the existence of a predicate of an event. In this case, an event node hosts the event argument interpreted as the originator of process. This reasoning is in accord with the traditional views of the unaccusative structure, where the subject is considered to be undergoing a caused event and not as an intentional initiator of an event (see Adder, 2003, p. 112). It has to be highlighted that the verb *wilt* alone does not determine the unaccusative structure, but it is the hierarchical position of a sole argument of this verb that is associated with Asp_QP, that is with the accusative case. In this case, the derived argument does not necessarily have to be overtly quantified (e.g., *flowers wilt* or *water evaporates*).

As shown in this Section, the meaning of quantity that ranges over nominal and verbal domains is syntactically structured and determined, as well as aspectually distinct. The emergence of a quantity implies a measuring point for the degree of change. At this point, it must be remembered that the quantifiable divisions are not fully correlated with other aspectual notions that have grown out of temporal and mereological approaches to aspectuality. The notions such as punctuality, durativity, habituality or subeventual structure into inception, process, result are treated in this model as a by-product of outer aspect (e.g., progressive, secondary imperfective, predicate modifiers: *for X time*, *in X time*, temporal and manner

adverbials) or the nature of concepts entrenched in the human perception of the world (e.g., *pushing the cart* is viewed as durative but *pushing the button* is not).

In contradistinction to the traditional understanding of telicity, for Borer, telic events do not always require culmination, an end point or an emerging result. Put differently, quantity direct objects do not necessarily trigger the climax of an event. They specify more starting points rather than end points. Following this, telicity in this model is correlated with a quantity predicate that presents an event as invariably measured and affected but not necessarily terminated. In place of quantization, Borer (2005b) uses the term count quantification that requires a unit of counting essential in determining telicity. If on the right track, the predicates like *tap the window* or *reach the summit* (irrespective of whether they denote protracted or instantaneous events) only foreshadow an end to an event as well as point to the development of an event. Such interpretations of the above events are based on the quantity phrase present in these predicates. It is simple past or temporal adverbials that impose a culminative interpretation on already existing event structure/the quantity phrase (e.g., *Tom tapped the window all of a sudden* or *They managed to reach the summit at last*). On the other hand, negation, progressive and time duration adverbs annul the culmination of an event (e.g., *Tom didn't tap the window* or *about the same time they were reaching the South Pole*). Despite these modifications, the event remains quantity.¹³

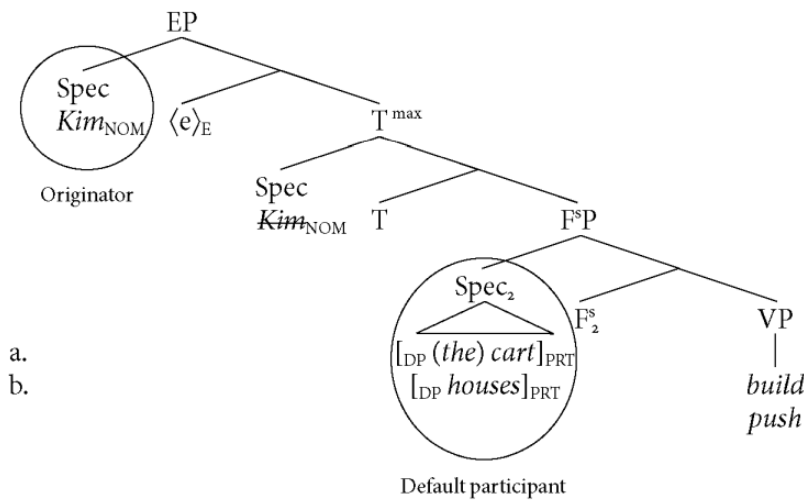
2.1.2 Atelic structure

Atelicity is characterised as an absence of a dedicated structure for quantity. For instance, bare mass nouns (e.g., *cutlery* or *slime*) and bare plurals (e.g., *soldiers* or *geese*) represent non-quantity objects and they do not assign range. It is claimed that direct objects in atelic contexts are not marked as accusative. Instead, direct objects receive partitive case that blocks a semantically contentful Asp_Q. While accusative and partitive cases are overtly expressed in synthetic languages, English assigns them covertly. The locus of partitive case is F^{SP} that is shorthand for the Functional Shell Phrase. Example (20), after Borer (2005b, p. 109)

¹³ Some studies (Mittwoch, 1991; Rothstein, 2004) indicate that there is a class of pure achievement verbs (e.g., *notice*, *spot*, *strike*, *erupt*, *explode*) that are inherently telic irrespective of a kind of object they take. Their analysis is outside the scope of this dissertation.

decomposes syntactically and semantically two atelic sentences: *Kim built houses* and *Kim pushed the cart*.

(20)



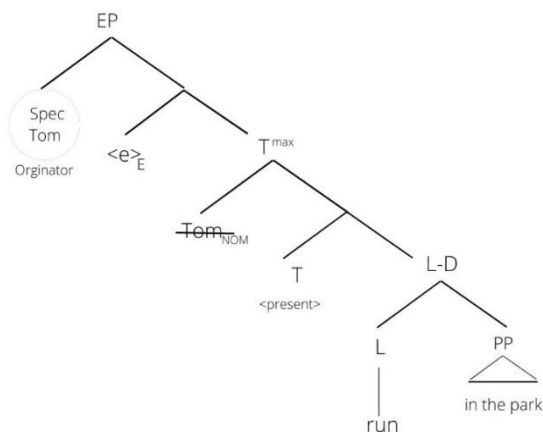
$\exists e$ [activity (e) & originator (Kim, e), & participant (the cart, e) & push(e)]

The predicate *push the cart* is troublesome for the theory of *aktionsart* because it remains atelic irrespective of merging with a quantity object. Borer (2005b) proposes that this predicate is ambiguous as to its telicity and it is world knowledge that lets people classify *pushing carts* as durative and *pushing buttons* as terminative.

The unergative atelic structure of the sentence *Tom runs in the park* may be represented in Borer's model, as in (21):

(21)

a.



- b. $\exists e$ [activity (e) & originator (Tom, e) & IN (the park, e) & run (e)]

The attachment of PP within the L-D (i.e., Lexical Domain) is that of a cascade in the sense of Pesetsky (1995), which is discussed in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1.

2.2 States

Having discussed the event structures of dynamic verbs, we proceed to discuss the peculiarities of states. In this respect, two major questions must be addressed: (i) is there a grammatically valid distinction between stative and atelic eventive predicates? (ii) if so, should states be treated as a uniform event type? Borer does not give a straight answer to any of these questions. She only mentions three possibilities: (a) states are not different from activities¹⁴; (b) states (possibly alongside activities with generic direct objects) differ from other activities in that they pre-empt verbalisation and their derivation may be that of $[_{EP} \langle e \rangle_E [_{TP} [_{SP^*} [_{VP/AP}]]]]$; (c) activities and states have different types of EPs (apart from a distinct functional structure c-commanded by T, there is also a special eventive and stative structure assigned to EP). Although Borer does not commit herself to any of these executions, she acknowledges that option (b) is conceptually the most attractive for her model.

This work opts more or less for option c, where states differ from dynamic events and where stative and atelic eventives are not aspectually uniform. The distinction between states and other atelics is grammatically valid since they pair up with disparate functional items across languages. In Russian, stative verbs cannot be perfectivised (Smith, 1999). In Finnish, the stative verbs assign the partitive case to their objects. In Polish, most of stative verbs have neither perfectivising prefixes (e.g., *posiadać* ‘possess’, *mieć* ‘have’, *liczyć się* ‘matter to’) nor a secondary imperfective form (*podziwiać* ‘admire’). In English, *would* is ungrammatical with stative verbs in the context of past habitual behaviours (e.g., **I would have a dog in the past* vs. *I would go to the cinema as a child*). In addition, state-denoting verbs such as *taste*, *smell*, *look* or *sound* disregard adverbs in favour of adjectives like *good* or *bad*.

¹⁴ Some of the literature on aspect supports a view that there is no aspectual divergence between states and activities since they both are homogeneous eventualities (Reinhart, 2000) and they share some spatiotemporal features, for instance: durativity and unboundedness (Rosen, 1999; Rothstein, 2004, a.o.). This view is not without its critics (see Smith, 1997).

2.2.1 State Phrase

We argue that states must have a different projection from events. Thus, this projection must entail a distinct participant. Regarding events, Borer (2005b) notes that the EP node licences an Originator interpretation, in which the Originator is responsible for initiating a process. Moreover, Ramchand (2018) associates initiation with the concept of causation, under which volitional agents and inanimate subjects are subsumed. In the received views, change of state that is predicated of the direct object is inextricably linked with the presence of causation on part of the subject. The logical entailment presented in (22) helps identify the causer but the application of them to states in (23) does not guarantee the correct identification of a causer.

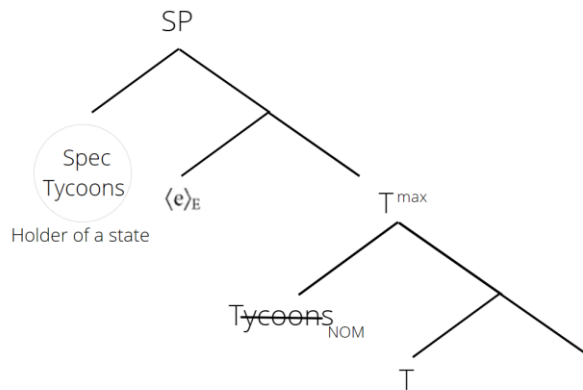
- (22) a. Tom built the house. Who caused it? Tom.
 b. Mary flossed her teeth. Who caused it? Mary.
- (23) a. Albert had a watch. Who caused it? ?Albert (but it could have been Jake)
 b. Betty lived long. Who caused it? ?Betty

One must be pressed hard to prove that states contained all the above-mentioned properties in relation to the subject.

The observation that the relationships between grammatical functions are different in states and events has also been addressed by Husband (2012), who concludes that “the difference between states and events comes from their relationship to their external argument which is regulated by the selectional restriction of *aktionsart* on the operation of Event Identification to compose Voice (p. 133)”. In his approach, it is assumed that the external argument, which is not a true argument of the verb, is introduced by a different Voice head that influences its interpretation either as Agent or Holder. Eventive VPs can only combine with eventive predicates through [Voice_E] while stative VPs can only combine with stative predicates through [Voice_S]. The stative voice projection maps the part-structure of the eventuality to the argument’s part structure. A special stative projection (SP) different from EP is also in line with Rothmayr’s (2009, p. 11) outline of the neo-constructionist views on states, where a stative little *v* projection turns the category-neutral root into a verb and licences a subject which is interpreted as the holder of the state.

Since states are aspectually different from events, instead of EP, we postulate the existence of a State Phrase projection (henceforth SP) that gives rise to a stative interpretation and is presented in (24):

(24)



The stative structure is neither a component of a larger eventive structure nor is their syntactic structure simpler from eventive structures. Rather, this account opts for viewing stative structure as complicated as eventive's one with the same self-governed system of compositional principles but with different aspectual interpretations. The emergence of the State Phrase with a stative range assigner $\langle e \rangle_E$ determines the interpretation of a subject as the holder of a state and an object which does not undergo change.¹⁵

2.2.2 Individual-level and stage-level states

Harking back to the second question posed at the beginning of this Section, it has been argued that states are not a uniform class. To illustrate, Dowty (1979) discriminated them into interval state predicates (e.g., *sit*), momentary stage-predicates (e.g., *be on the table*) and object level states (e.g., *know*, *like*). There are also classifications that base on the lexical semantics of stative verbs. In Bach (1986), states were bifurcated into dynamic (e.g., *sit*, *stand*, *lie*) and static (e.g., *be drink*, *love*, *resemble*). Related to that is the distinction between permanent and temporary states, which can be overtly grammaticalised. For instance, in Spanish, the verb *ser* is used together with long-lasting traits whereas the verb *estar* is used to indicate short-lasting states. In English, the verbs *like*, *love*, *hate* or *prefer* followed by a gerund refer to permanent preferences (e.g., *She prefers drinking cola*) but if they are

¹⁵ The emergence of the projection of the state phrase in the derivation of states has also been postulated in Fábregas and Marín (2015). However, they adopted a different framework.

followed by the *to*-infinitive, they point to a preference that arises at a specific event (*I prefer to stay in this hotel*).

Carlson (1977), following Milsark (1974), divided states into stage-level and individual-level based on how a predicate relates to its subject. Stage-level predicates (e.g., *Tom is thirsty*) denote the temporariness of a state while individual-stage predicates (e.g., *Tom is smart*) denote the permanence of a state, often referred to as its entire lifespan. Hoekstra (1992) later characterised the individual-level predicates with no dynamism and no control whereas Olsen (1997) assigned [+telic] and [+durative] features to the stage-level predicates, taking into account that these predicates can receive eventive readings (Fernald, 2000).

What is vitally important for the analysis carried out here is Husband's work (2012), in which he claims that the divide between states is encoded by the presence of quantity or lack thereof in their objects within verbal predicates. He postulates that quantized objects give rise to stage-level predicates associated with an existential interpretation while homogeneous objects form individual-level predicates identified with a generic interpretation. These correlations are captured by the following examples:

(25) Homogeneous objects

- a. Monkeys live in trees. → individual-level verbal predicate; generic interpretation
- b. Tycoons own banks. → individual-level verbal predicate; generic interpretation

(26) Quantity objects

- a. Monkeys live in these trees. → stage-level verbal predicate; existential interpretation
- b. Tycoons own this bank. → stage-level verbal predicate; existential interpretation

taken from Fernald (1994) and quoted after Husband 2012 (p.76)

Such a distinction of stative predicates translates directly into the presence of quantifiable divisions or lack thereof. Stage-level predicates relate to stages of an individual, which is why they should be viewed as quantificational. Individual-level predicates refer to all the stages of an individual and hence should be viewed as homogenous.¹⁶

It has to be noted that the presence of non-homogeneous objects gives rise to the same interpretations in the domain of dynamic verbs.

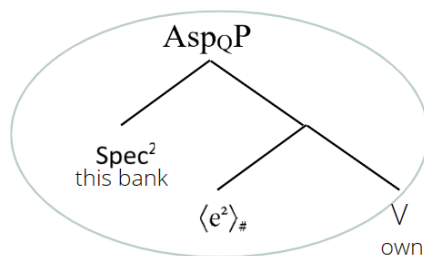
- (27) a. Tom built houses. → Individual-level verbal predicate; generic interpretation
- b. Tom built the houses. → Stage-level verbal predicate; existential interpretation

¹⁶ Empirical studies on Spanish (Lujan, 1981), (Nishida, 1994) and Chinese (Chang, 2003) have also shown that states can also be partitioned into imperfective (unbounded, undelimited) and perfective (bounded, delimited) based on the presence of an aspectual marker in a sentence.

This correlation between dynamic and non-dynamic predicates may be also captured by the concepts of cumulativity and divisiveness. The sum of two states *have a car* and *have a car* is not a state of having a car, which is why the VP *have a car* is not cumulative.¹⁷ Further on, the result of subtracting of having a car and having a car does equal have a car, which is why is not divisive. According to Borer's (2005b) generalisation quoted in (2), the state *have a car* is a quantity.

This shows that the presence of a quantified complement matters to both events and states. Therefore, their complements must have two parallel structures composed by the same mechanism with the use of the same structural elements, that is F^sP and Asp_qP. These findings can be applied to the model pursued in this dissertation. An <e># open value is assigned range by a quantity object. The c-command of the SP alongside the presence of such range assigners triggers the emergence of the Asp_QP that defines the aspectual nature of states as bounded, as represented below:

(28) a. Tycoons have this bank.



stage-level predicate;
existential interpretation

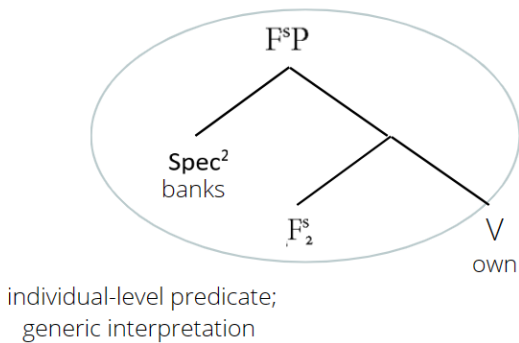
b. $\exists e$ [state (e) & subject-of-state (Tycoons, e) & default participant (this bank, e) & own (e)].

This approach is against (Borer, 2005), who claims that the structure of psych predicates and statives does not involve the projection of Asp_Q and is distinct from that associated with accusative case in telic transitives.

The lack of such range assigners results in a lack of the Asp_QP, as in (29):

¹⁷ This assumption is open to doubt given Filip's (2012) comments on cummulativity. She argues that two events in P can be put together to form a new singular event which is also in P; for instance: an event of running from 2 pm to 3pm and an event of running from 3 pm and 4 pm may be viewed as a single event of running from 2 pm to 3 pm. This may be also extended to two states of having an apple, which might be seen as a single state of having two apples.

(29) a. Tycoons have banks.



b. $\exists e$ [state (e) & subject of state (Tycoons, e) & default participant (banks, e) & own (e)].

2.2.3 [-/+ ADD-ON] feature

It has to be noticed that the proposal of two independent projections: SP and EP, the role of which is to differentiate the subjects of both stative and eventive predicates suffice to illustrate the difference between states and events. Nor does the observation that the quantificational objects of states lead to an existential interpretation elucidate the contrast in the aspectual interpretation between them. This aspectual distinction dependent on the type of a complement is presented in (30) – (31). Eventive and stative predicates have distinct temporal entailments in their F^sP projections.

(30) a.

Tom built houses: -----| terminus
 Tom's lifespan: _____| terminus

b.

Tom had houses: _____| terminus
 Tom's lifespan: _____| terminus

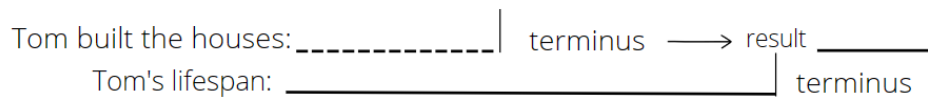
The dashed line in (30a) indicates that the event of building houses must have had pauses because Tom couldn't keep on building houses indefinitely.¹⁸ Due to this, atelic eventives can be easily modified by the progressive tense, quantificational or time adverbials that impose habitual or frequentive interpretations on them. The solid line, in turn, represents a continuous and uninterrupted duration. This is why, states are claimed to share the subinterval property.

¹⁸ According to Filip (2012), this understanding of the event of *Tom built houses* is due to world knowledge. She claims that 'there is nothing in the description of the event itself which makes it the case that such a stopping-point occurs', p 7.

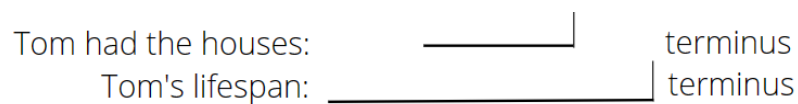
Rothmayr (2009, p. 3) defines this property in the following lines: “That is, if a predicate is true at a certain time interval, it is also true for any subpart of this interval”. Activities are claimed to be deprived of this property.

Whereas the difference in F^sP between statives and atelic eventives is really infinitesimal, it is surely significant in the Asp_QP.

(31) a.



b.



In telic eventives, the projection of the Asp_QP is usually associated with the terminus that leads up to a resultant state, as shown in (30a).¹⁹ In the case of statives, the terminus is deprived of the presence of a resultant state, which is confirmed by the inability to be modified by the superaspectual verb ‘finish’. A question arises at this point where the knowledge that the VP has a result in its denotation comes from.

Borer is against the decomposition of telic events into two subevents, roughly a development and a resulting state because result is already predicated of the direct argument of the development. For this reason, there is no need to double projections into process and result in contradistinction to Ramchand’s (2008) model. It is more appropriate to refer to Verkuyl’s (1993) bivalent classification of verbs with a view to indicating the interpretational difference between statives and eventives encoded in the internal argument.

His main stand is that verbs can be classified virtually into dynamic or non-dynamic. In this regard, he makes use of [+/- ADD-ON] feature. VPs denoting dynamic events [+ADD-ON] are sensitive to whether nominals determine a specified quantity [+SQA] or not [-SQA]. The combination of two features assigned to the verb and the noun such as [+ADD-ON] and [+SQA] results in the telic interpretation of a sentence. States, in his opinion, are not amenable to the feature [+/- SQA]. We argue that this view is erroneous since nominals with a specified quantity turn states into stage-level predicates and thus have an aspectual import, as has been shown earlier. Another thing that should be dispensed with is the addition of the

¹⁹ This observation has been nicely externalised by Ramchand (2008), who included the result projection in her model.

abstract feature [+SQA] since the quantity of the nominal is determined by functional items. What is left and should be applied in the model pursued in this work is the categorisation of verbs into [-ADD-ON] and [+ADD-ON].

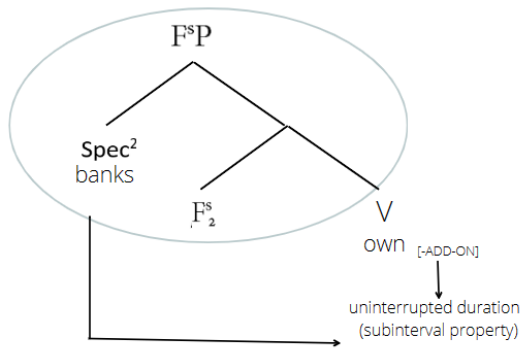
The distinction into dynamic and non-dynamic eventualities groups situation types well. Telics (achievements and accomplishments) and activities belong to dynamic events whereas states, including mental verbs, are viewed as non-dynamic eventualities. It has to be clarified at this point that punctuality does not always involve dynamicity. On the one hand, truly instantaneous achievements such as *kick*, *flick* or *tap* are classified in this work as dynamic since they denote a physical movement and change and the outcome of these actions is easy to be established. On the other hand, perception verbs such as *understand*, *know* or *see* are treated as non-dynamic because they do not denote any physical movement and they do not necessarily end as soon as they begin. This is in line with Marín and McNally (2011), who claim that even punctual Spanish reflexive psych verbs are non-dynamic.

Both stativity and eventivity are semantic categories. Verbs which have uninterrupted duration are categorised as states and those verbs which lack this property are categorised as activities. However, stativity should not be regarded as an inherent property of a lexical item. Verbs are able to shift between eventive and stative interpretations based on the semantics of a complement or a subject (32) – (33) or through the semantics of additional lexical material like a particle (34) or/and changes in transitivity (35).

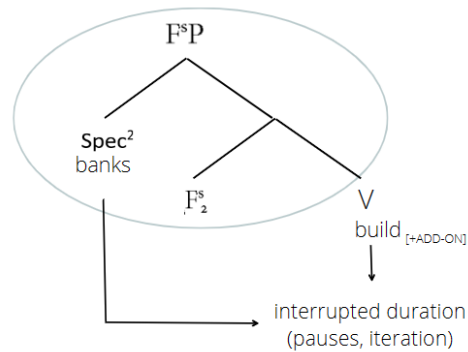
- | | | |
|------|---|---------------|
| (32) | a. She has blue eyes. | (state) |
| | b. We're having breakfast now. | (activity) |
| (33) | a. Daphne is lying in bed. | (activity) |
| | b. The town lies in a small valley. | (state) |
| (34) | a. Buccaneers own ships. | (state) |
| | b. Buccaneers owned up to stealing that ship. | (achievement) |
| (35) | a. The bathroom door stood open. | (state) |
| | b. My father stood me on a chair. | (achievement) |

Given the above considerations, it is postulated that the property of a verb must be read off from the event structure. This categorisation between dynamic and non-dynamic predicates translates into the ascription of a feature [+/- ADD-ON] to the verb in the lexical domain. The feature [+ADD-ON] indicates whether the Asp_QP is associated with a process and a result while the feature [-ADD-ON] is identified with an interpretation of a bounded state. Below are the projections of the F^SP c-commanded by both the SP and the EP alongside their interpretations induced by the feature [+/-ADD-ON].

(36) a.

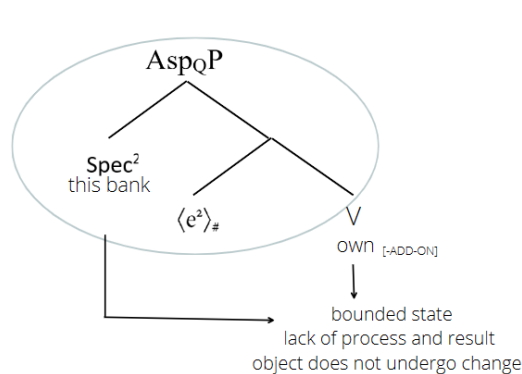


b.

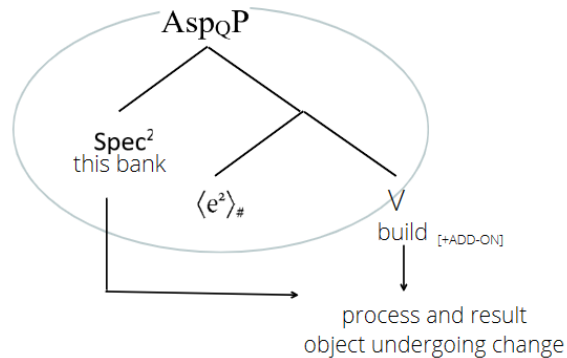


In turn, the projections of the Asp_QP within statives and eventives with their aspectual interpretations are given in (37), respectively.

(37) a.



b.



As seen, the type of stativity and the type of eventivity are dependent on the quantity-homogeneity distinction of direct objects but the categorisation of whether the predicate is dynamic or not is contingent on the morphosyntactic elements and the semantics of arguments.

In the presented approach, the semantic feature of stativity or eventivity permeates into the structure and triggers other aspectual interpretations of grammatical formatives. Admittedly, Borer (2005a, p. 11) contends that “properties of concepts do not feed directly into any determination of grammatical properties”, but at the same time she does not preclude other non-linguistic components from putting a kind of semantic interpretation on a given utterance.²⁰

²⁰ Some of these components have already been incorporated in studies on primitives that count in the conceptualisation of events. In Kamp (1979), the concept of change is taken to affect aspect. So is it in Awdiejew and Habrajska (2004), who also point to the importance of intentionality. Besides, what might interface with argument structure is for Talmy (1985) and Croft (1994) the understanding of causation whereas for Gruber (1965) and van Voorst (1992) the notion of location and motions.

2.3 Concluding remarks

Throughout this Chapter, it has been demonstrated that Borer's approach to the lexicon-syntax interface has provided a considerable insight into the nature of the inner aspect of eventive predicates by reducing it to the quantity vs. homogeneity distinction. The presence of direct range assignment to $[\text{AspQ} \langle e \rangle_{\#}]$ induces telicity in languages like English whereas its absence results in the lack of a telic structure. However, not much has been said about stative predicates in this model. It has only been mentioned that objects in statives are marked by abstract partitive case that blocks the projection of the AspQ P.

In the remainder of this Chapter, we have argued that the insights into states espoused by Husband (2012) can be incorporated into a neo-constructionist program advocated by Borer (2005b). We claim that events and states constitute two distinct aspectual classes that have two parallel structures composed by the same mechanism and with the use of the same structural elements. The main aspectual difference between events and states is that the former in the AspQ P have a process and a result in their denotations whereas the latter in the AspQ P lack these entailments and are solely classified as stage-level verbal predicates.

The difference between statives and eventives, in turn, lies in the assignment of the $[\pm\text{-ADD-ON}]$ feature borrowed from Verkuyl (1993). The $[\text{+ADD-ON}]$ feature being marked on the verb is connected with its dynamic interpretation while the assignment of $[\text{-ADD-ON}]$ points to non-dynamicity. This feature should not be treated as an inherent property of an individual verb. Stativity is rather a property of the whole sentence since it can be read off the semantic types of arguments; for example: whether the subject is animate or inanimate or whether the object constitutes a permanent quality or not. Once stativity is established based on all the components of the sentence and then ascribed to the verb in the form of $[\pm\text{-ADD-ON}]$, the interpretation of the F^{SP} is that of uninterrupted duration understood as the subinterval property and the AspQ P does not encode a process and a result in contrast to eventive sentences.

From this approach to inner aspect in verbal predicates, it emerges that there are two aspectual-semantic categories: dynamic eventualities and non-dynamic eventualities (statives). Each of these categories falls into two aspectual-morphosyntactic types. Dynamic eventualities are partitioned into non-quantity predicates including activities (unergatives) and quantity predicates including unaccusatives, achievements and accomplishments. Non-dynamic eventualities also fall into two types: non-quantity predicates viewed as individual-level (unbounded) and quantity predicates viewed as stage-level (bounded). The issue of placing psych eventualities in this fixed categorisation is undertaken in the two subsequent Chapters.

CHAPTER 3

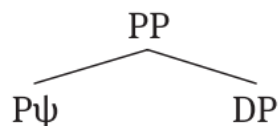
ALTERNATIONS OF SUBJECT EXPERIENCER VERBS

In this Chapter, we analyse various argument-structure alternations of Polish SE verbs in comparison to their English cognates to show that their event structure is different from verbs describing non-psych events and non-psych states. Throughout this analysis, we postulate that the Experiencer argument is conceptually a location, which is visible for the event structure and whose presence in this structure signals non-dynamicity. Additionally, following Rozwadowska (2003, 2012, 2020), we demonstrate that perfective variants of SE alternants point to the beginning of a state without any implications of a prior process leading to a result. With these assumptions in mind, we also attempt to provide event structure representations of sentences featuring SE verbs and their alternations based on Borer's model and its refinements proposed in the previous chapter. The English SE verbs will be analysed alongside their Polish equivalents.

3.1 Subject Experiencers as mental locations

In Doron (2003) and Landau (2010), real psychological constructions are attributed cross-linguistically to the accusative and dative Experiencers headed by an overt or covert preposition. The special psychological structure that licences the Experiencer argument is presented in (38).

(38)



Fábregas and Marín (2015) ascribe the above-mentioned psychological structure to all classes of Spanish psych verbs, including SE verbs, with the caveat that Experiencers are introduced by a null preposition and embedded in a transitive structure, not an unaccusative one. This means that Experiencers are not marked for inherent case, as was postulated by Landau (2010) for Object and Dative Experiencers. According to them, Experiencers require a special

psychological structure, since they block certain formal processes such as passive structures. At the same time, they admit that “each language determines on its own whether a verb is structurally psychological or just denotes a psychological concept” (p. 174). We argue that this approach should be extended to English and Polish SE verbs, in which the Experiencer is a sole location of an emotional state. To this end, we discuss specific grammatical behaviours ascribed to psych verbs based on their compatibility with particular argument-structure alternations.

Before we proceed to the analysis of psych verb alternations, we note that the association of Subject Experiencers at the level of event structure with the prepositional phrase is clearly abstract. The reason is that the Subject Experiencer in regular sentences is not headed by any preposition either in English or in Polish. We take the structure shown in (38) to be projected over the Experiencer conceptually. As opposed to actions and non-psych states that can be localised in the physical world, psychological eventualities take place in the psyche of the Experiencer. This is manifested by grammar in terms of restrictions concerning the addition of locative adverbials.

- (39) a. Contestants envy her ?in the show.
 b. I love her for her sense of humour *in the park.
 c. He dreads the unpredictability in her *in the pub.

Apart from exceptional behaviours of SE verbs in active structures, the passive alternant of the SE verbs cannot be conjoined with the locative adverbials, which shows that emotional states are located in the Experiencer, as illustrated in (40):

- (40) a. Johnny was liked by Mary *in the park.
 b. Celebrities were envied by many *in the show.

The presence of subject Experiencer blocks the insertion of locative phrases introducing other locations than the Experiencer. The degree of the acceptability of locative adverbials in these sentences is contingent on whether the attribute is alienable or inalienable.

- (41) She detests Mary’s dress in the film.

Example (41) shows that the locative adverbials are highly ungrammatical combined with the inalienable attribute whereas they can be acceptable at the presence of the alienable attribute and then it modifies the Stimulus but not the Experiencer. It cannot modify the Experiencer because this argument is a location itself.

However, this conceptualisation of all types of Experiencers (SE, OE and DE) can be reflected in grammar, as well. Arad (1998) acknowledges sentences in English, where the Experiencer is headed by a preposition.

(42) There is in me a great admiration for painters.

Through grammar, (42) unambiguously indicates that the emotion is in the Experiencer. The Experiencer holds the emotion and is a place where the emotion arouses. This is also visible in Polish, for example, by means of the verb *wzbudzać* ‘arouse’:

(43) On wzbudza strach we mnie
 He.NOM arouse.PRS fear in me.LOC
 ‘He makes me feel fear.’

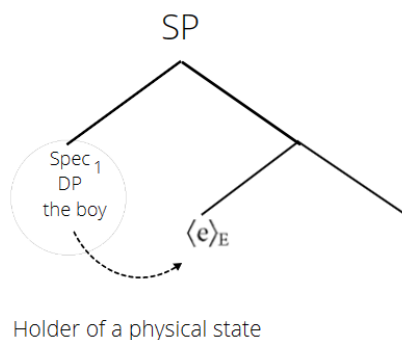
Additionally, the corpus data retrieved from NKJP show that psychological meaning is very often expressed with the use of verbs that can be found in the locative alternation such as *fill* or *flood*. We provide the relevant examples in (44):

- (44) a. Podobne sytuacje napawały mnie lękiem.
 ‘Similar situations instilled fear in him.’
- b. Teraz nawet ten mebel napełniał ją wstrętem.
 ‘Now even this piece of furniture filled her with revulsion.’
- c. Ta rozmowa napełniała go strachem i rozpaczą zarazem.
 ‘This conversation filled him with fear and despair at the same time.’
- d. i ogarniało go przerażenie na widok tych ścian.
 ‘And he was overwhelmed with horror at the sight of those walls.’
- e. Wzruszenie i trudna do wypowiedzenia miłość zalały go falą.
 ‘Emotion and love that is difficult to verbalise flooded him in a wave.’
- f. I to jej niezdecydowanie natchnęło mnie nadzieją.
 ‘And it was her indecisiveness that filled us with hope.’
- g. Jego zachowanie zatruwa nas zgorszeniem.
 ‘His manners poisoned us with scorn.’

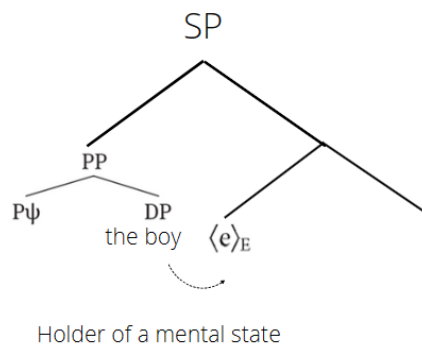
Emotions that arise in the Experiencer are frequently described in terms of having or losing. These terms as well are used to describe locations (e.g., *the city has its charm* or *the city lost its charm*). Below are examples describing a situation when the Experiencer has or loses a given emotion.

- (45) a. Wszyscy darzą ją szacunkiem.
 ‘Everybody has a respect for her.’
- b. Stracili zainteresowanie meczem.
 ‘They lost interest in the match.’

(46) a.



b.



We argue that this distinction in the event structure is valid because non-psych states do not participate in a variety of argument-structure alternations and do not express the holder of state in the object position, as is the case with OE verbs and DE verbs. The forthcoming Sections will delve into these issues in more detail.

3.2 Argument-structure alternations of SE verbs

3.2.1 Possessor-attribute factoring alternation

In this Section we first describe the syntax and semantics of all the alternants present in the possessor-attribute factoring alternation. Next, we represent these alternants using the apparatus adopted in this work. We then consider if any of these alternants imposes a specific aspectual interpretation or a particular aspectual variant. We compare this alternation to other similar alternations. Afterwards, we take a look at the cases where some psych verbs alternate in a different way and try to find out if they can be levelled with other alternations featuring dynamic verbs. Finally, we endeavour to demonstrate that the conceptualization of the Experiencer as a mental location may explain restrictions in the formation of the alternants in question.

The possessor-attribute factoring alternation in the terminology of Levin (1993) specifies what the Experiencer holds an affection for.²¹ In other words, it states the reason why the Experiencer feels an emotion towards someone or something. The reason of bearing an emotion is not expressed in sentence (47a). The alternants in (47bcd) constitute an elaboration of a sentential meaning in (47a).

²¹ The label of these two variants as factoring alternations derives from the fact that the attribute and its possessor are separated. In all likelihood, this term is taken from mathematics denoting the act of separating an equation or formula into its component parts.

- (47) a. I admire Tom. (SE alternant)
 b. I admire Tom('s dedication). (possessor's attribute object alternant)
 c. I admire Tom (for his dedication). (possessor object alternant)
 d. I admire *(the dedication) *(in Tom). (attribute object alternant)

Within this alternation, three possible realizations can be found. All of them introduce the third argument referred to as the Attribute (dedication), in addition to the Experiencer argument and the Stimulus argument (Tom), also understood as the Possessor. The difference among them is that the Possessor and the Attribute appear in disparate configurations. In the possessor's attribute object alternant (47a), the Possessor argument is a modifier of the Attribute being the head of the NP. In example (47b), the Possessor occupies the position of the direct object and the Attribute is introduced by a *for*-phrase while in example (47c), the Possessor is introduced by the preposition *in* and the Attribute takes the object position. The attribute object alternant often occurs in structures requiring fronting (e.g., *Mercy is what I so much admire in people; There is much to admire in John*). The Possessor is an obligatory argument and the Attribute is a modifier in (47ab). In (47c), both the Possessor and the Attribute are obligatory because the deletion of any of them results in ungrammaticality.

Let us first focus on the representation of the SE alternant, which constitutes a base for further argument modifications. As established in Chapter 2, the sentence (48a) expresses an event with a volitional agent and affected participant and does not licence the subinterval property, which means that there were moments when Mary didn't build houses because she may have been resting.

- (48) a. Mary built houses (for two years/*in two years).
 b. Mary liked houses (for two years/*in two years).

These qualities translate into the abilities of such sentences to accept specific modifiers such as *gradually* or *slowly* as well as to participate in a concrete set of alternations associated with specific interpretations. The sentence in (48b) does not lead to such interpretations because it is not dynamic. However, both sentences are non-quantity, which results in their atelicity. This is manifested by their inability to accept time-span adverbials.

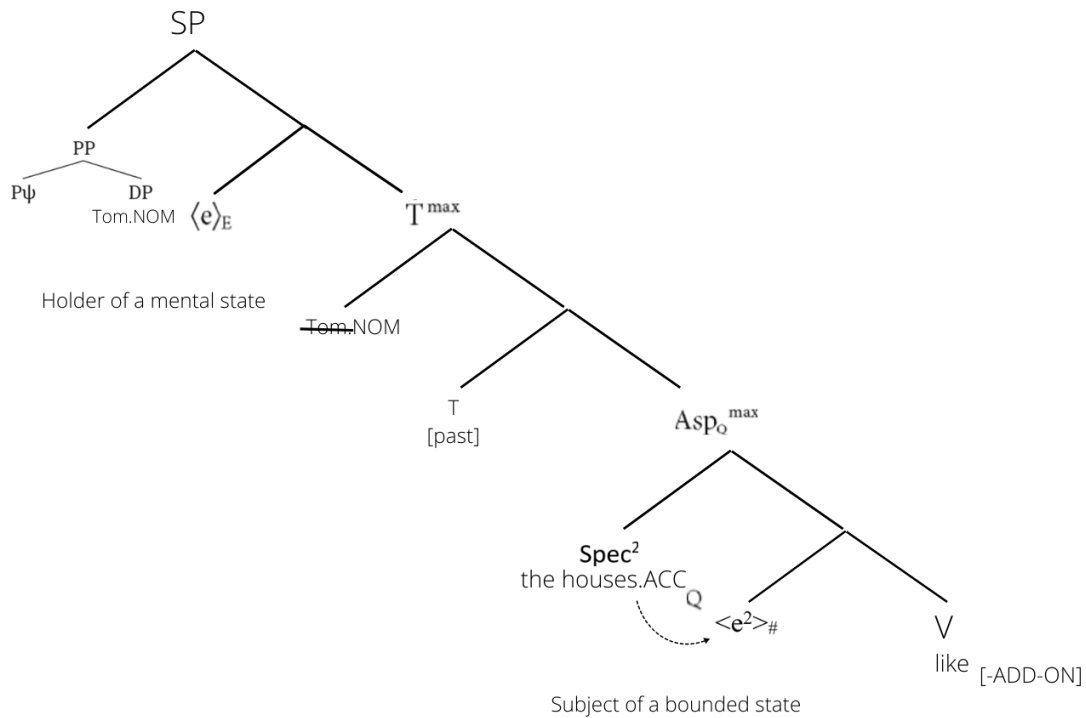
With the quantity objects, these two sentences exhibit divergent behaviours concerning the acceptance of adverbials. Sentence (49a) is undoubtedly telic since it is compatible with *in X time* adverbial but not with *for X time* adverbial.

- (49) a. Mary built the houses (*for two years/in two years).
 b. Mary liked the houses (for two years/?in two years).

Sentence (49a) unambiguously leads to one interpretation, in which Mary finished building the houses two years after she started. Interpreting sentence (49b) is much more troublesome to process. It may mean that she liked the houses until two years ago or she liked the houses after two years probably because of living in them. The lack of dynamicity is put to blame here. The addition of *in X time* adverbial requires the presence of a result of a certain action. The supplementary context repairs the sentence in (49b); for example: within two years of living in the houses, she liked them. This context also points to the beginning of a feeling but not its result. It denotes that she started loving them, but it does not denote that she finished loving them. To wrap up, non-dynamic eventualities cannot lead to any result and when coerced by a suitable context, for example, a time frame adverbial, they indicate the beginning of a state.

Another important thing is that the quantity of an object does not lead to telicity in psych eventualities, in contrast to events. Rather, the quantity direct argument forces an existential interpretation, as is the case with states. In (48b), Mary became a fan of houses in general but in (49b), she liked a few specific houses. To sum up, the feature [-ADD-ON] allows for a generic-existential interpretation without the entailments of a cause, process and result. The derivation of the sentence *Tom liked the houses* in the model pursued in this work is as follows:

(50) a.



- b. $\exists e$ [bounded state (e) & holder-of- a-state (Tom, e) & subject-of-a-bound-state (the houses, e) & love (e)]

The projection of the Asp_QP within non-dynamic predicates generates an interpretation of a stage-level predicate. This means that SE verbs should not be treated solely as individual-level predicates, which runs counter to the claims by Iwata, (1995); Primus, (2004); Landau, (2010); a. o.). With the provision of the right context, they can be located at specific points on the time axis. The difference between *Mary loved the dogs* and *Mary loved dogs* can be captured by the following context: Mary loved the dogs when she was in the shelter, but she also loved dogs in general. In other words, there was a time in Mary's life when she started loving particular dogs (a particular stage in Mary's life), but it does not change the fact that she loved dogs throughout her entire life.

It also needs to be highlighted that the labels: holder of a mental state and subject of a bounded state are structural categories but not thematic roles. Namely, the Experiencer licensed by a null P and located in the Specifier of SP node is identified with the role of a holder of a mental state whereas the Stimulus in the Specifier of the Asp_QP is viewed as a subject

of a bounded state. We take the term *bounded state* to mean a stage-level state with an existential interpretation.

SE verbs are different from other non-incremental verbs, which in combination with the object followed by a numeral and time span adverbial, give rise to a similar interpretation as achievement verbs have. For instance, the sentences *Tom saw three stars in one hour* or *Zane heard three songs in one hour* mean that stars were seen and songs were heard in succession, one after another, one at a time (cf. Filip, 2012). Examples featuring SE verbs in such contexts are considered borderline ungrammatical, which may be taken as an indication that SE verbs are states but not achievements.

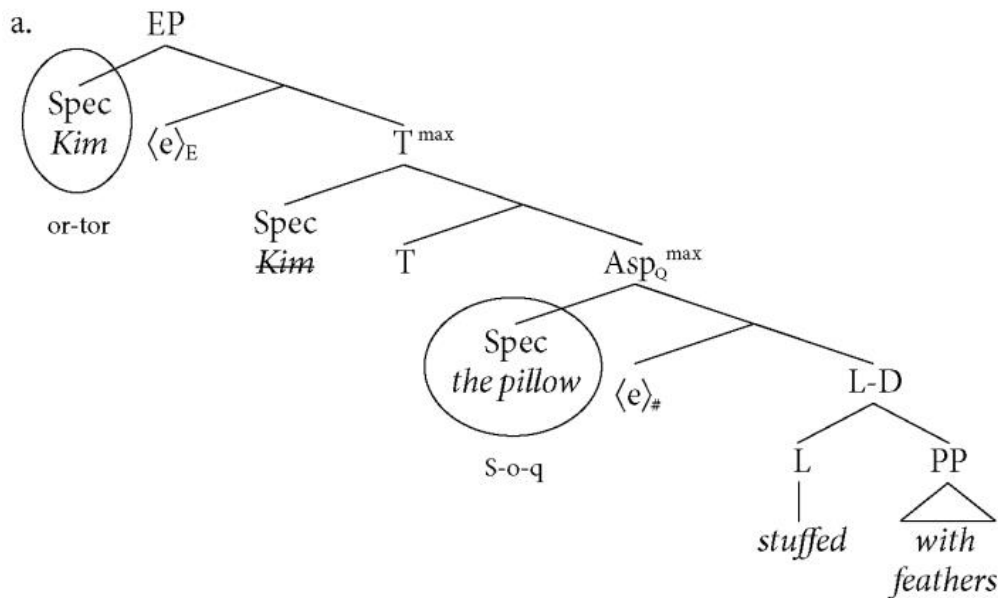
- (51) a. ?Tom hated three opponents for their rudeness in one hour.
 b. ?Pat trusted five people in one hour.
 c. ?Zane envied his five colleagues in one hour.

Once we have delineated the basic representation for regular SE sentences, we can move on to more complex constructs. In the possessor-attribute factoring alternation, what determines the aspectual interpretation are the quantifiable properties of the possessor irrespective of its position.

- (52) a. Johnny admires doctors' dedication. (unbounded state)
 b. Johnny admires doctors for their dedication. (unbounded state)
 c. Johnny admires dedication in doctors. (unbounded state)

In deriving the event structure of such sentences, it is necessary to describe how Borer (2005b) represents verb alternations. In the discussion of events, Borer (2005b) comments on two well-known alternations, i.e., the conative alternation and the *spray-load* alternation. The interpretation of a listeme as an argument in the conative alternation results from merging with a preposition (e.g., *Tom swatted at the fly*). The preposition blocks the emergence of the Asp_QP and the assignment of an accusative case, which is why the conative structure is associated with an atelic interpretation. As for the *spray-load* alternation, the argument that occupies the position of a direct object bears a telic/quantity interpretation. To illustrate, the sentence *Kim stuffed the pillow with the feathers*, the event structure of which is presented below, stresses the filling of the entire pillow.

(53)

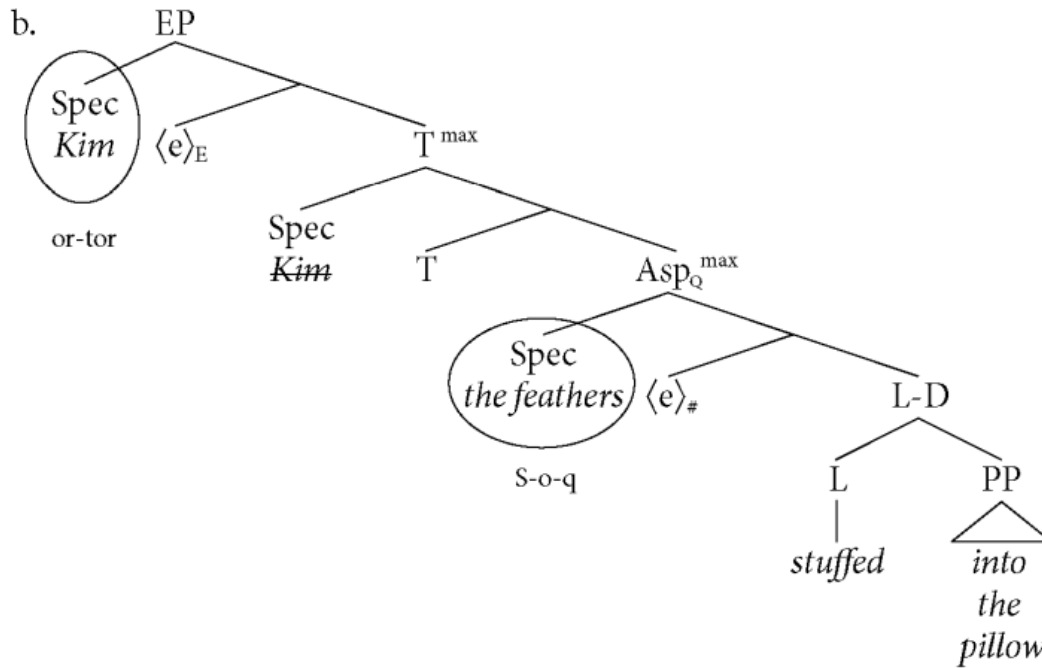


- b. $\exists e$ [quantity (e) & originator (Kim, e) & subject-of-quantity (the pillow, e) & WITH (the feathers, e) & stuff (e)].

from Borer (2005b, p. 93)

The sentence *Kim stuffed the feathers into the pillow* emphasises the exhaustion of the feathers and its event structure is demonstrated below:

(54)



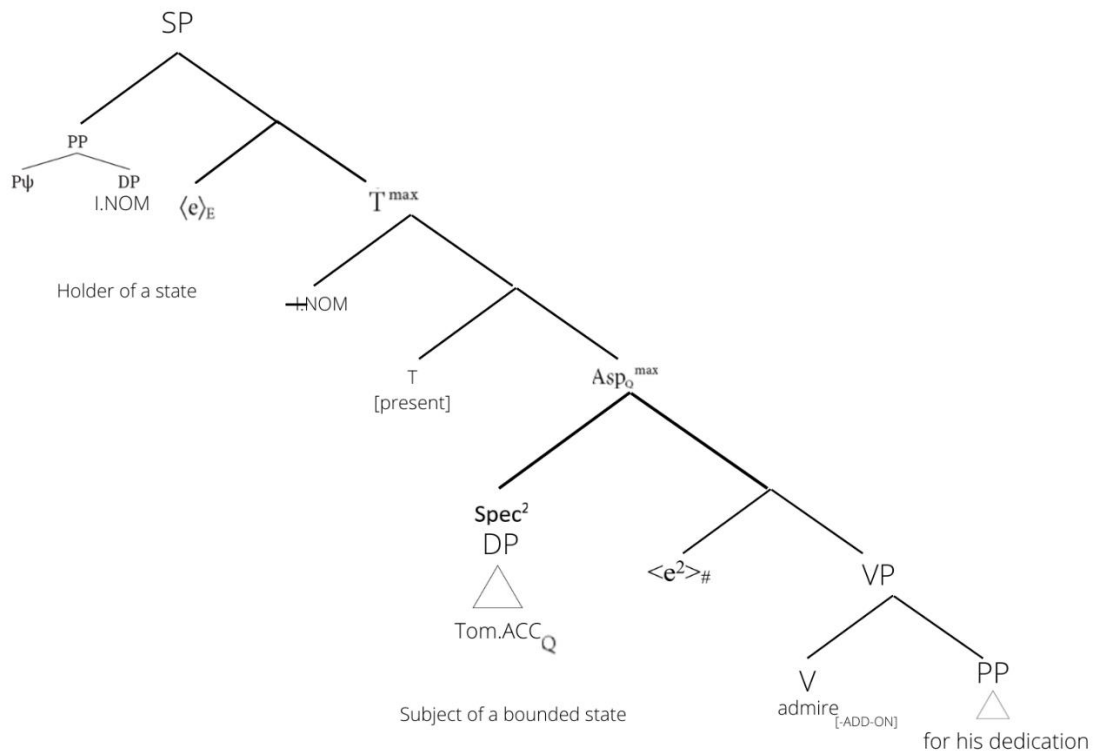
b. $\exists e$ [quantity (e) & originator (Kim, e) & subject-of-quantity (the feathers, e) & INTO (the pillow, e) & stuff (e)].

from Borer (2005b, p. 94)

As seen, Borer's model assumes the free merger of prepositions that are the daughters of the L-D and immaterial to the operation of the event structure. What matters to the inner aspect of a sentence is the subject and the direct (internal) argument. Other elements that are present in a sentence belong to the lexical domain.

Let us see how these insights may be incorporated in parsing the possessor object alternant. Since the prepositional attribute argument can be deleted from the structure and the existential interpretation is ascribed to this argument thanks to the possessor argument, it must be base generated in the lexical domain. We parse the sentence: *I admire Tom for his dedication* below:

(55) a.



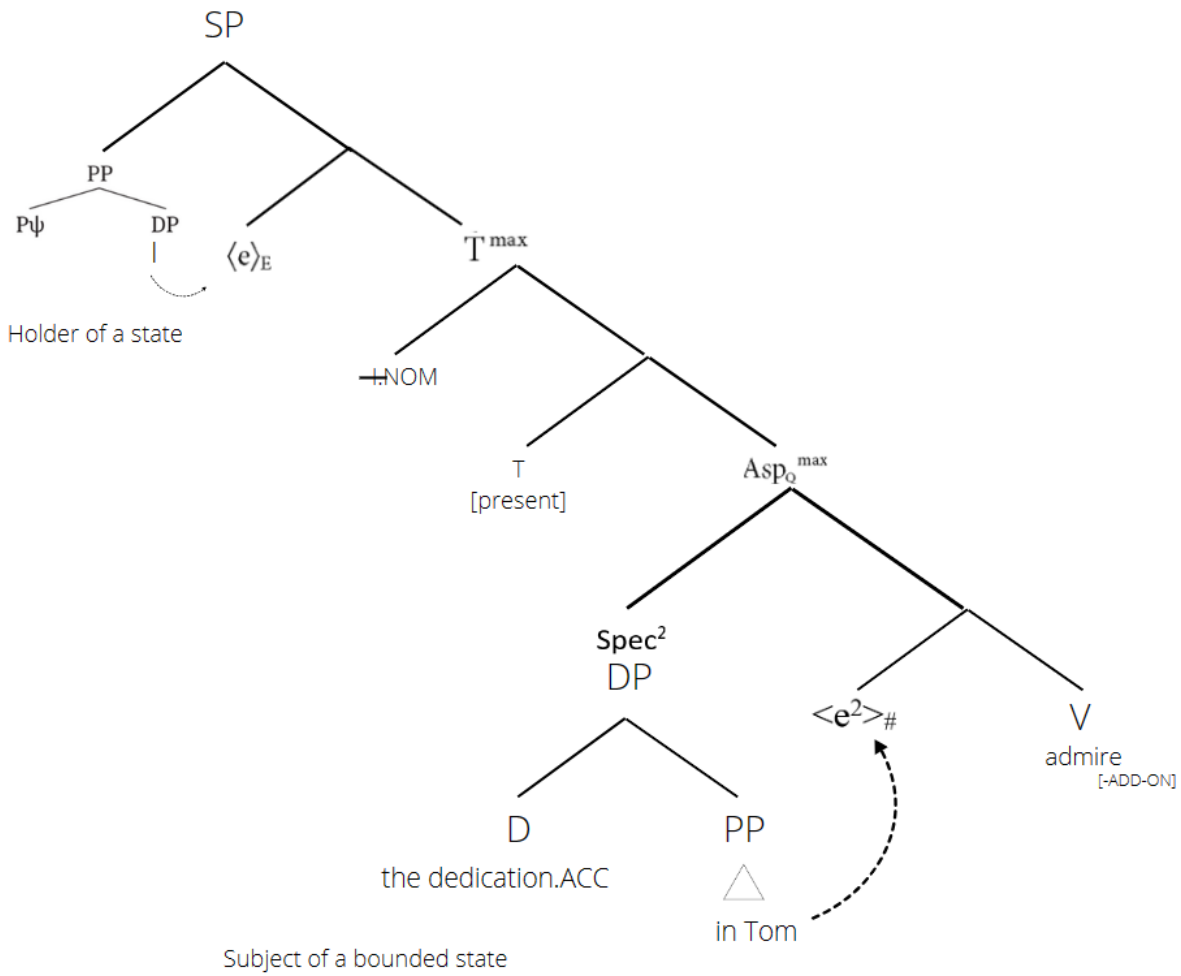
b. ∃e [bounded state (e) & holder-of-a-state (I, e) & subject-of-a-bound state (Tom, e)
& FOR (his dedication, e) & admire (e)]

The proper name *Tom* assigns range to the open value <e>_#, which results in the emergence of the Asp_QP that is associated with the role of subject of a bounded state. The same situation does not obtain for the attribute object alternant. The presence of the quantity possessor headed by the preposition forces the presence of the definite article before the attribute argument. Our informants had reservations about the grammaticality of sentence (53):

(53) ?Johnny admires dedication in Tom.

This shows that the prepositional possessor is not irrelevant to the inner aspect and thus must be located in either F^SP or Asp_QP near the direct object, as demonstrated in (56):

(56) a.



b. $\exists e$ [bounded state (e) & holder-of-a-state (I, e) & subject-of-a-bound state (the dedication, e) & IN (Tom, e) & admire (e)]

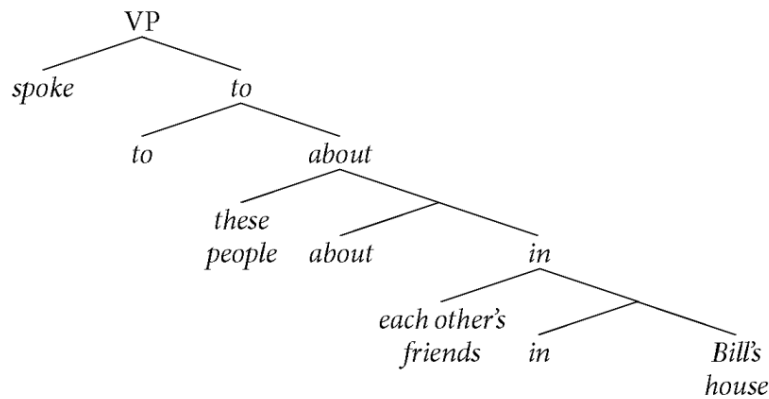
The F^SP is projected when the homogeneous object is headed by the preposition (e.g., *I admire dedication in people*). The possessor object alternant cannot be equated with a situation discussed in Borer in reference to sentences featuring verbs of communication, which allow for freedom in word order among PPs.

(57) a. I talked with Kim about Pat.

b. I talked about Pat with Kim.

The representation of these additional listemes consists in cascade structures in the sense of Pesetsky (1995). To illustrate, consider how the predicate of *spoke to these people about each other's friends in Bill's house* is parsed below after Borer (2005b, p. 90):

(58)

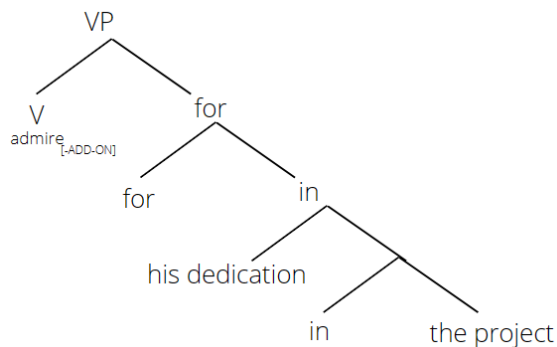


However, the possessor's attribute object alternant and the attribute object alternant can be augmented by non-sentential PPs. Consider the following examples:

- (59) a. I admire Tom's dedication in the project.
 b. I admire Tom for his dedication in the project.
 c. ?I admire the dedication in the project in Tom.

Given these considerations, the phrase *for his dedication in the project* present in the possessor object alternant may be parsed in the following way:

(60)



The alternation in question is not a property of verbs associated with achievement verbs. In turn, such verbs can participate in a seemingly similar alternation, i.e., the body-part possessor ascension alternation (e.g., *the brat kicked Tom's knee* vs *the brat kicked Tom in the knee*). Not surprisingly, such sentences are telic because they are compatible with the time-frame adverbials. Besides, they cannot undergo other argument structure modifications, as is the case with SE verbs.

- (61) a. *The brat kicked Tom for his knee.
 b. *The brat kicked his knee in him.

It appears that achievements describe one event while psychological eventualities allow for merging a state and an event in one sentence, as shown in (62):

(62) I admire that Tom was dedicated to the project.²²

This is possible within SE verbs because they can present attitudes towards external events. Instance (59) can be paraphrased with the use of sentential complements. Polish also licenses the possessor-attribute factoring alternation with the same set of cognate verbs: *kochać* ‘love’, *lubić* ‘like’, *podziwiać* ‘admire’, *szanować* ‘respect’, *nienawidzić* ‘hate’, as presented in (63):

- (63) a. Podziwiam poświęcenie mojej mamy. (possessor’s attribute object alternant)
admire.1SG.PRS dedication.ACC my mum.GEN
‘I admire my mum’s dedication.’
- b. Podziwiam moją mamę za jej poświęcenie. (possessor object alternant)
admire.1SG.PRS my mum.ACC for her dedication.ACC
‘I admire my mum for her dedication.’
- c. Podziwiam w Tomku jego poświęcenie. (attribute object alternant)
admire.1SG.PRS in Tom.LOC his dedication.ACC
‘I admire the dedication in Tom.’

The attribute in (63b) is followed by the preposition *za* ‘for’ whereas the possessor in (63c) is headed by the preposition *w* ‘in’ and usually occupies the postverbal position before the attribute argument. This specific word order may indicate that the prepositional possessor has aspectual import. Unlike in English, the attribute in the alternant under discussion is preceded by the possessive pronoun, which shows the co-referentiality with the possessor and its quantity.

Unlike in English, in Polish, the mere presence of quantity marked on a direct object does not contribute to the telicity of a sentence in the domain of events. This is illustrated in (64):

- (64) a. Tomek budował domy przez dwa lata/*w dwa lata.
Tom.NOM built.IPFV houses.ACC for two years/in two years
‘Tom built houses for two years/*in two years.’
- b. Tomek budował te/trzy domy przez dwa lata/*w dwa lata.

²² Very often SE verbs require the expletive ‘it’ before the sentential complement.

(i) I like it that you are so dedicated to this project.

It has to be noticed that there are some SE psych verbs that occur more often in the structures without the expletive *it*. The corporal analysis of the verb *fear* yielded results where there is a preponderance of the entries *fear+that* but structures *fear+it+that* are scarce. This claim differs from as well as Authier’s (1991) views that *fear* is an unbiased verb since it occurs with both extraposed sentence-final complements or the complimentizer *that* without anticipatory *it* with equal frequency.

Tom.NOM built.IPFV these/three houses.ACC for two years/in two years

‘Tom built these/three houses for two years/*in two years.’

What determines atelicity in (64) is the imperfective form of the verb *budować*. In other words, telicity does not emerge at the presence of a quantity direct argument in the imperfective sentence. Telicity is induced by the presence of verbal prefixation. More details about this phenomenon are found in Section 3.3.2.

The possessor-attribute factoring alternation in the perfective aspect is ill-formed with both durative adverbials, as shown below:

(65) a. Polubiłem ją za jej wytrwałość/ (w godzinę)/*przez godzinę).

Po.PFV-liked her.ACC for her determination.ACC (in an hour/for an hour)

‘I started to like her for her determination (*in an hour/*for an hour)’

It has to be noted that the perfective variants of SE verbs do not often occur with time-span adverbials. My informants consider sentence (65) odd with the adverbial *w godzinę* ‘in an hour’. This shows that this alternation carries the inference of temporal persistence. Such an incompatibility, especially with time-span adverbials, clearly demonstrates that inceptivity does not foresee the process and the cessation of a state but only the onset of a state. In addition, note that the attribute object alternant rejects perfective contexts.

(66) a. ?Pokochałem szczerłość w mojej mamie.

Po.PFV-love.1SG.M.PST honesty.ACC in my.LOC mum.LOC

‘I started to love the honesty in my mum.’

b. *Znienawidziłem obłudę w nich.

Z.PFV-hate.1SG.M.PST cant.ACC in them.LOC

‘I started to hate the cant in them.’

We argue that this is caused by the presence of two arguments which are locations. As established, the Experiencer is conceptually considered as a location marked by an abstract preposition and the Stimulus is a location marked by an overt preposition. Two locations do not move and the Stimulus can be unaware of the feelings towards it borne by the Experiencer. Two arguments introduced by prepositional phrases results in stativity and rejects eventive readings that are marked by the perfective aspect in Polish.

Not all SE verbs in both languages can be found in possessor object and attribute object alternants, for example: *regret*, *sympathise*, *trust* and *miss* and their Polish counterparts *żałować*, *współczuć*, *ufać* and *tęsknić*.. In addition, the verb *zazdrościć* ‘envy’ does not fall into possessor object and attribute object alternants (see 67) whereas the English cognate *envy* can

participate in the possessor object alternant. Instead, it allows for two objects (direct and indirect object), as in (68):

(67) a. *Zazdroszczę Tobie za twój samochód.

Envy.1SG.PRS YOU.DAT for your car.ACC

‘I envy you for your car.’

b. Zazdroszczę Tobie twojego samochodu.

Envy.1SG.PRS YOU.DAT your car.GEN

‘I envy you your car.’

(68) a. I envy you for your car.

b. I envy you your car.

The structures in (67b) and (68b) cannot be equated with the complex transitive (small clause) construction into which dynamic verbs fall or the alternation which *appoint* verbs undergo (e.g., *I appoint you vice-principle*). They do not show the possessor-attribute distinction and cannot hence participate in the possessor’s attribute object alternant.

There are also some properties of psych verbs that block them to appear in some other alternations. For example, they cannot undergo an argument augmentation by a benefactive *for*-phrase because the state is inextricably linked with the subject and cannot be given over to any beneficiary. Unlike events, a stative predicate constitutes an inseparable property of the subject and cannot be severed from the predicate, which can be confirmed by the following examples:

(69) Events

a. Tom carved a doll for Betty.

b. Mark baked a cake for Candy.

(70) Non-psych states

a. *Tom lived in Warsaw for his mum.

b. *Tom owned a house for his sister.

(71) Psych states

a. *Mark loves Dave for Mary.

b. *Jack frightens Zane for Pat.

This can be taken as an indication that psych verbs are much more similar to states than to dynamic verbs.

3.2.2 PRO-arb Object alternant – Experiencer’s characteristic property

In her work, Levin (1993) discusses the characteristic property of agent alternation (e.g., *that dog bites*) and characteristic property of instrument (e.g., *the pen doesn’t write*). These alternations describe the subject’s regular behaviours. Objects in this alternant are often dropped because they relate to non-specified or general entities such as ‘people’ or ‘everyone’.

On the basis of the corpus data, it seems that psychological eventualities fall into the similar alternation, which describes a characteristic property of Experiencer.

- (72) a. People hate, that is all they do. (COCA)
 b. They envy. This is all that they’ve got left.
 c. Persevere in hope, struggle together, love deeply, forgive often, repent quickly, and rejoice in the little things. (COCA)
- (73) a. Ludzie zazdroszczą i nienawidzą.
 People envy.IPFV and hate.IPFV
 ‘People envy and hate.’
 b. Magda nigdy nie żałuje i nigdy nie tęskni.
 Magda.NOM never not regret.IPFV and never not miss.IPFV
 ‘Magda never regrets and never misses.’

This alternant is linked with the specific aspectual interpretation and particular aspectual variant. Notably, it drives the availability of a generic interpretation of the Experiencer. In addition, the imperfective variant can merely be employed in this alternant, as in (73). The characteristic property of either Agent or Experiencer is related to generic interpretation. And usually appears in the imperfective aspect, though see Bułat (2007) for the discussion of the object drop analysis, where perfective aspect is also possible. Note that not all state verbs can participate in this alternation (e.g., *possess* or *have*), which may indicate the special properties of predicates describing mental states.

3.2.3 Inherently reflexive SE verbs

There is a small group of reflexive SE verbs that do not alternate with OE verbs. This is way, we refer to them as true reflexive verbs.²³ Although psych verbs, like other verbs, systematically have aspectual pairs, these verbs do not have perfective forms and pertain only to the duration of a mental state. This demonstrates their stative character. Among them, two alternants can be recognised: (i) reflexive SE verb with accusative Stimulus, as in (74a, 75a, 76a) and (ii) reflexive SE verb with prepositional Stimulus, as in (74b, 75b, 76b).

- (74) a. Bałem się ojca.
 Fear.1SG.M.IPFV.PST REFL father.ACC
 ‘I feared my father.’
- b. Bałem się o ojca.
 Fear.1SG.M.IPFV.PST REFL about father.ACC
 ‘I feared for my farther.’
- (75) a. Obawiałem się ojca.
 Fear.1SG.M.IPFV.PST REFL father.ACC
 ‘I am afraid of my father.’
- b. Obawiam się o ojca.
 Fear.1SG.M.IPFV.PST REFL about father.ACC
 ‘I am anxious for my father.’

The reflexive SE verb with the accusative Stimulus lexicalises the meaning of fearing somebody or something while the reflexive SE verb with the prepositional Stimulus conveys the meaning of worrying about somebody.

The reflexium tantum verb *lękać się* ‘dread’ also changes its meaning like verbs in (76) – (77). Yet again, the presence of the bare-accusative Stimulus forces the meaning of fear whereas the prepositional Stimulus is identified with the meaning of worry. What differentiates this verb form other truly reflexive SE verbs is that it can take the perfective form, as demonstrated below:

²³ Polish true reflexive verbs (reflexive tantum) lexicalise various meanings (see Wilczewska, 1966). Apart from impersonal verbs obligatorily followed by *się* (e.g., *dziać się* ‘happen’), Fisiak, Lipińska-Grzegorek and Zabrocki (1978) sort Polish inherently reflexive verbs into semantic verb classes: verbs denoting weather phenomena such as *błyskać się* ‘to lighten’, *chmurzyć się* ‘to cloud up’, verbs denoting actions such as *modlić się* ‘to pray’, *klócić się* ‘to argue’, *śpieszyć się* ‘to hurry’, *przyglądać się* ‘to observe’ and verbs denoting the psychological states of the subject such as *wahać się* ‘to hesitate’, *spodziewać się* ‘to expect’, *dąsać się* ‘to pout’ and *upierać się* ‘to insist’.

- (76) a. Lękałem się ojca.
Dread.1SG.M.IPFV.PST REFL father.ACC
'I dread my father.'
- b. Koń zląkł się ciągnika. (WSJP)
horse.NOM Z.PFV-fear REFL tractor.ACC
'The horse got frightened of the tractor.'
- (77) a. Lękałem się o ojca.
Worry.1SG.M.IPFV.PST REFL about father.ACC
'I worry about my father.'
- b. Jedynie kierowca mojego samochodu zląkł się o pasażera. (WSJP)
Only driver.NOM my.GEN car.GEN Z.PFV-worry
'Only the driver got worried about his passenger.'

It may be the case that inherently reflexive constructions with a bare complement lexicalise the non-Experiencer argument as a Cause whereas those with a preposition refer to the Target of Emotion, in the terminology of Pestesky (1995).

As a reminder, we hypothesise that the presence of the prepositional stimulus in psychological constructions blocks eventivity, which results in the marginal acceptability of the perfective variant. The grammaticalization of the Stimulus argument as a PP headed by *o* 'about' in combination with the Experiencer that is a conceptual location seems to allow stative interpretation only. Even though the empirical data in (77b) seem to contradict this hypothesis, it is important to notice that such a use of (77b) is not frequently applied, which may be confirmed by the scarcity of corpus findings and the opinions of my informants who rejected the grammaticality of (77b). However, it is an indisputable fact that reflexive SE verbs alternate between the prepositional Stimulus and the Stimulus expressed by a genitive case. This shows the flexibility of SE verbs in allowing stative and eventive readings.

We believe that these observations are connected to language change. Buttler (1976) observes that the verbs *pasjonować się* 'be passionate about' and *entuzjasmować się* 'enthuse' alter in the way they express their complements, as illustrated with (78)–(79):

- (78) a. Chłopcy szkolni pasjonowali się do footballu.
Boys school.NOM passionate REFL to football.GEN
'School boys are passionate about football.' (Dąbr. M. Noce IV, p. 32)
- b. Bardzo się entuzjasmował do takiej przyjaźni.
Very REFL enthuse.PST.IPFV.3SG to such friendship.GEN
'He enthuses about such friendship' (Hertz P. Słow, p. 164)

(79) a. Pasjonowali się grami logicznymi.

Gush.3PL.IPFV.PST REFL logic games.INS

‘They gush about logic games’ (Poliqarp NKJP)

b. Entuzjasmował się budową.

Enthuse. 3SG.IPFV.PST REFL building.INS

‘He enthused about a building site.’ (Poliqarp NKJP)

Both verbs do not have a perfective variant. Examples (78) demonstrate the previous intransitive use of the said verbs which, we argue, represent a stative meaning. The modern transitive use with an instrumental case Stimulus can take up two meanings: stative and eventive. It is easy to imagine the physical manifestation of such feelings and their coercion to verbs of speaking (cf. Sonnenhauser, 2010).

(80) Co on by z nami zrobił? Entuzjasmował się. (NKJP)

‘What would be he do to us? He was enthusing about it.’

A similar change occurred in the structures of *kochać* ‘love’ and *lubić* ‘like’. Etymological dictionaries state that these verbs were used intransitively and their forms were like that: *kochać się w* + locative and *lubić się w* + locative. Whereas the latter disappeared from the language, the former can still co-occur with its transitive variant *kochać* + accusative. No significant difference in meaning between two forms of *kochać* is detected.²⁴ This shows that this construction affects the meaning of the verb and verbs alone are extremely flexible to appear in various constructions.

The grammaticality of the alternants of inherently reflexive SE verbs is correlated with the semantic type of their Stimuli. Notably, reflexive SE verbs with the bare instrumental Stimulus, as in (78) – (79), cannot be animate, which example (81a) confirms. Example (81a) seems infelicitous with animate Objects of Emotion because probably the verb *pasjonować się* ‘gush about’ implies some kind of actions done upon the Object of Emotion. The prepositional Stimulus of true reflexive SE verbs cannot be inanimate at the absence of the possessor argument, as in (81b):

(81) a. ?Pasjonował się Marysią. (animate Object of Emotion)

Passionate.3SG.IPFV.PST REFL Mary.INS

²⁴ The hypotheses that such trends in Polish are an outcome of calques from German or Russian should be rejected. This may have happened in single examples, but it did not constitute a trigger for the changes in the whole system. However marginal, it is fairly feasible that under the influence of the partitioners’ languages native speakers incorporated some loan translations into Polish.

‘He gushed about Mary.’

- b. *Bałem się o zdrowie. (inanimate Object of Emotion)

Fear.1SG.M.IPFV.PST REFL about health.ACC

‘I feared for health.’

- c. Bałem się Marysi/wczorajszego dnia.

Fear.1SG.M.IPFV.PST REFL Mary.ACC/yesterday’s day.ACC

‘I feared Mary/the day before.’

This demonstrates that the semantics of the non-Experiencer argument plays a role in the formation of a proper alternant. This semantics relates to the distinction between animate and inanimate arguments or possessor and attribute arguments.

Another issue is that inherently reflexive SE verbs do not form the possessor object alternant, attribute object alternant, characteristic property of Experiencer or passive alternant. Their inherent reflexivity may be a reason for such a restriction.

3.2.4 Prepositional SE verbs not derived from OE verbs

English SE verbs can also take prepositions to introduce their Stimuli. For instance, the verb *fear* without a preposition means terror while at the presence of the preposition *for*, it lexicalises the meaning of worry.

- (82) a. We fear our father.
b. We fear for our father.

As for the verb *relish*, its meaning does not change significantly, whether it is expressed by a preposition or not.

- (83) a. They relish the idea of going to the seaside.
b. This allows me to relish in all the joys of my life.

There is a group of prepositional SE verbs that do not have a direct object alternant. The preposition is invariably linked with them.

- (84) a. She fretted over her sisters.
b. People gushed about how much I had changed as a friend.
c. Quebec fumed over his whole debacle.
d. I wallowed in self-pity.
e. We also glory in our sufferings.

Prepositional SE verbs do not fall into the alternations characterised for non-prepositional SE verbs like passive alternants or attribute object alternant. However, these verbs can form the progressive variant.

(85) Rachel is always gushing about how much she values Peter's friendship. (youglish)

Semantically, prepositional SE verbs alternate between a psychological interpretation, in which emotions are located in the internal Experiencer's world and a dynamic interpretation, in which emotions borne by the Experiencer are shown, expressed or externalised. The verb *rage about* in the sentence *teachers raged about the injustice they witnessed* is dynamic if it refers to protests or riots. These verbs can also be used in the context of verbalising emotions.

3.2.5 SE verb + on

It is possible in some Englishes to use the SE verbs *love* and *hate* along with the preposition of *on*. It is not a common usage and is mainly associated with Southern American English. The corpus throws the following entries:

- (86) a. My boss got mad when Helen leaned over the counter to hug me: "If she wants to buy something, let her...but if she just wants to love on you, save it for quitting time." (BNC)
- b. Don't hate on someone's creativity just because you didn't come up with the idea yourself. (COCA)
- c. I'm not trying to hate on the idea at all, I would love to see these sorts of things.
- d. Don't you love on sports radio? (youglish)
- e. Please do not hate on me for being beautiful. (BNC)

The meaning of *hate on* is close to that of *complain about* or *criticize something* while the meaning of *love on* is identified with physical love. In this connection, these verbs apparently denote activities, which translates into their proclivity to appear in the progressive more freely compared to SE verbs that do not require the preposition *on*. The presence of the preposition *on* determines the aspectual interpretation of psychological eventualities by coercing them into activities. The preposition *on* blocks the emergence of the complex structure introducing the Experiencer. Instead, the EP projection is added to the event structure, which allows for the licensing of the Originator. Such a structure ascribes the feature [+ADD-ON] to the psych verb.

3.2.6 Passive alternant of SE verbs

The aim of this Section is to show that the passive alternants of SE verbs exhibit different grammatical behaviours from the passive alternants of dynamic verbs. As it turns out, SE verbs can participate in two types of passives recognized by Wasow et al. (1977), i.e., verbal (eventive) and adjectival (stative). They break ranks since based on the division of passives, it has been established that event-denoting verbs form verbal passives whereas state-denoting verbs form adjectival passives.

While this division of passives is covert in English, Polish uses specific morphological elements that help recognize two distinct passives. Verbal passives are built either with the auxiliary *zostać* ‘become’ accompanied by the perfective passive participle or with the auxiliary *być* followed by the imperfective passive participle (cf. Zabrocki, 1981). Adjectival passives, in turn, are expressed by means of the auxiliary *być* ‘to be’ followed by the perfective passive participle (Bondaruk, Rozwadowska and Witkowski, 2017ab, p. 61).²⁵

One of the tests that test if a given verb can form verbal passives is disjoint reference effect first noted in Baker (1989). English and Polish passive alternants of SE verbs are compatible with verbal passives since they lead to the disjoint reference effect but not to the reflexive reading, as shown below:

- (87) a. Tom is loved. (stative or eventive passive)
 i. Somebody loves Tom. (disjoint reading)
 ii. *Tom loves himself. (reflexive reading)
- (88) a. Tomek jest kochany. (verbal passive)
 ‘Tom is loved.^{IPFV}’
 i. Ktoś kocha Tomka. (disjoint reading)
 ‘Somebody loves Tom.’
 ii. *Tomek kocha siebie. (reflexive reading)²⁶
 ‘Tom loves himself.’

²⁵ The passive alternant is formed analytically in English and Polish. It comprises two elements: (i) the auxiliary verb *to be* or *to get* in English and *być* and *zostać* in Polish (ii) the passive participle derived from verbs: in English modified by the regular ending *-ed* homonymous with the past tense forms or irregular formation; in Polish modified by the independent endings *-n(y)*, *-on(y)*, *-t(y)*, the choice of which rests on the type of grammatical gender of a derived subject. Additionally, Polish features imperfective passives and perfective passives (marked by prefixation on the verb stem).

²⁶ Obviously, SE verbs can take the reflexive pronoun, but the passive alternant does not lead to the interpretation, in which the Experiencer directs her emotion to herself.

Apart from that, SE psych verbs are felicitous in other contexts associated with the verbal passive alternant:

- (89) a. What they care about is being loved and accepted. (COCA) (progressive passive)
 b. You just got loved. (Google) (get-passive)
 c. The actor needs loved by the audience. (needs V-ed construction)

The get-passive definitely has a dynamic meaning and may be utilized to highlight eventive passives and telicity. *Get-passive* is more common in spoken English, thus considered informal. The difference between *be passive* and *get passive* is best captured by the two examples: (i) *They were married* and (ii) *They got married*. The former sentence refers to the state of being married but the latter to the process of getting married (Nordquist, 2017). It has to be noted that these passives rarely are matched with SE verbs. There are only few examples in the corpus.

Another construction that constitutes a diagnostic for verbal passives is a *needs V-ed* construction, especially widespread in dialects of western Pennsylvania and central Ohio in the USA (see Tenny, 1998). This construction does not hold with adjectives, but it holds with past participles. SE verbs are felicitous with this construction. This may be the case that SE verbs undergoes then a shift from psych verbs to action verbs.

Despite this, SE verbs are also compatible with grammatical contexts available to stative passives. One way to check the adjectival status of past participles is degree modification. Grafmiller (2013, p. 85) presents that English SE passives accept the modifier *very* because the attitudes they describe are gradable.

- (90) a. Jack is a very hated boss. (degree modification)
 b. They feel loved and happy. (conjoinment with an adjective)
 c. This table looks loved. (complements of look and seem)

Moreover, *with*-phrases in passive alternants of SE verbs modify the intensity of an emotion borne by the Experiencer being introduced by the *by*-phrase (e.g., *be loved with passion*, *be loved with all his heart*, *be loved with every beat of her heart*; *be hated with unmatched fanaticism*). They do not denote an instrument with which a certain action is performed.

Additionally, psychological eventualities with SE verbs exhibit a distinct behaviour when it comes to passive structures. Despite being understood, examples (87) combined with the adverb *suddenly* or adverbs of frequency are not natural in expression, which is evidenced by their rarity in corpora.

- (91) Punctual passive
- a. *She was suddenly loved by many.
 - b. *They were suddenly liked in some circles.
 - c. *The film was suddenly hated by critics.
- (92) Iterative passive
- a. *This film is sometimes admired by the audience.
 - b. *Holidays are frequently liked by many.
 - c. *Our neighbours were often envied by us.

The passive voice is not felicitous with the adverb *suddenly* that forces an inchoative interpretation. In contrast achievement verbs are good inputs for such passives (e.g., *He was suddenly taken ill at a banquet* or *Inmates were suddenly freed up from prison by wardens*). Psych verbs, in turn, are bad inputs for punctual and iterative passives because they denote states rather than a change of state. As for the incompatibility with the iterative passives, psych verbs are states of uninterrupted duration.

It seems that Zabrocki's (1981) classification of passives based on their morphosyntax is not able to accommodate the passive alternant derived from SE verbs. As seen in (94), SE verbs cannot form the stative passive.²⁷

- (93) Eventive passive
- a. Marek został (nagle/*często) pokochany przez wszystkich na sali.
 Mary.NOM be.PFV.PST suddenly/often po-PFV-loved by all in the room.
 ‘Mark got (suddenly/*often) loved by all the people in the room.’
 - b. Marek jest (*nagle/często)/teraz) kochany przez nastolatki.
 Mark.NOM be.IPFV.PRS suddenly/often/now loved by teenagers.
 ‘Mark is (*suddenly)/(often)/(now) loved by teenagers.’
- (94) Stative passive
- *Marek jest pokochany.
 ‘Mark be.IPFV.PRS po.PFV-loved.’
 ‘Mark is loved^{PfV}.’

It is also doubtful whether example (93b) is an example of the eventive passive since it does not allow for punctual contexts. Such passives derived from dynamic verbs permit the use of punctual adverbials, adverbs of frequency or time adverbials. Example (93b) clearly has

²⁷ The verb *nienawidzić* ‘hate’ permits the stative passive. The explanation of such state of affairs can be found in Bondaruk and Rozwadowska (2018).

a stative interpretation and should not be categorically subsumed under the eventive passive. What is more, the passive alternant of SE verbs does not fall into Kartzer's (2000) classification of state passives. She classifies them into: (i) target state passives designating reversible and transitory states (e.g., *The little goats are still hidden*) and (ii) resultant state passives referring to irreversible states (e.g., *The mailbox is *still emptied*). The latter passive alternant features verbs encoding a culmination and result state. In turn, SE predicates are not felicitous with either resultant state passive or target state passive (see Bondaruk & Rozwadowska, 2018). This shows that they do not lead to irreversible or reversible results.²⁸

(95) Resultant state passive

*Marysia jest pokochana przez Tomka.
 Mary.NOM is po-PFV-loved by Tom.ACC
 'Mary was love^{PfV} by Tom.'

(96) Target state passive

*Marysia jest wciąż pokochana.
 Mary.NOM is still po-PFV-loved.
 'Mary is still loved^{PfV}.'

3.2.7 Nominals derived from SE verbs

We believe that another piece of support for the claim that the SE is a mental location comes from nominalisations. In Polish, like in English, we can also find sentential patterns featuring nominals derived from SE verbs in which the Experiencer is viewed as a mental location of a variety of emotions. See (97):

(97) a. Jest we mnie dużo nieufności do takich osób.

Is in me.LOC much mistrust to such people.GEN
 'There is in me a great deal of mistrust of such people.'

²⁸ Polish data are more complex because of declensional markings on arguments. The SE verbs with accusative and genitive arguments passivise (e.g., *kochany* 'loved', *lubiany* 'liked', *miłowany* 'cherished', *podziwiany* 'admired', *szanowany* 'respected', *nienawidzony* 'hated') but SE verbs with dative and instrumental Themes do not (e.g., **ufany* 'trusted' **zazdroszczony* 'sympathised with', **tęskniony za* 'longed for'). Psych verbs are not special in this matter since other non-psychological verbs such as *pomagać* 'help' requiring the dative case do not undergo passivisation, either. The reason why verbs expressing dative and instrumental themes cannot appear in the passive voice may result from the fact that they assign inherent cases that block passive structures. Yet, it must be an erroneous conclusion since other verbs with non-accusative cases participate in passives. Although *nienawidzić* and *żalować* bear a non-structural case, i.e., genitive, they do passivise.

- b. Takiej nienawiści w ludziach nie było.
 such hatred.NOM in people.LOC not was
 ‘There was no such hatred in people’
- c. Nie ma w niej miłości.
 Not has in her.LOC love.GEN
 ‘There is no love in her.’

In comparison to nominals derived from non-psych verbs, those derived from psych verbs display divergent constraints when it comes to the arrangement of arguments, as shown in (94):

- (98) a. Tom’s admiration of the paintings
 b. Tom’s admiration (where Tom = Experiencer)
 c. *the paintings’ admiration by Tom
 d. *the admiration of the paintings by Tom

Tom (corresponding to the subject of a related verbal structure) can appear in the derived nominal as a possessive without the expression of the complement (98b) but it cannot appear in the *by*-phrase (98cd). Within argument structure nominals derived from non-psych verbs, the presence of the complement is required while the presence of the agent is not obligatory (see Chomsky, 1981).

The asymmetry in the distribution of arguments between psych nominals and action nominals is also present in Polish. In nominals derived from action verbs, the genitive position is occupied by the object and the agent is optionally introduced by the *by*-phrase. In psych nominals, the Experiencer is found in the genitive position but it is not expressed in the *by*-phrase, as illustrated in (99):

- (99) *Podziw Marii przez Jana
 admiration.NOM Mary.GEN by John.GEN
 ‘Mary’s admiration by John’²⁹

The main conclusion from the analysis of distribution of arguments in derived nominals extensively developed in Rozwadowska (1997) is that the Experiencer is realized in a way similar to the realization of participants of monovalent, i.e., intransitive action verbs. This leads the author to the conclusion that psych eventualities are single participant eventualities at the level of event structure, despite the presence of two syntactic arguments. Rozwadowska concludes that Experiencers are sole locations of psych eventualities. Even though

²⁹ For a detailed discussion of the argument distribution in psych nominals as compared to action nominals see Rozwadowska (1997).

Rozwadowska did not use her analysis of nominalisations to argue for the Experiencer in the PP, we claim that this observation shows special grammatical patterns available only for psychological predicates. The workings of nominalisation derived from psych verbs can be used to defend the claim that psych verbs in English and Polish require a special structure at the level of event structure. We take it as further support for our claim that Experiencers are structural locations.

Apart from constraints on the *by*-phrase in derived psych nominals discussed above, there are also differences in expressing the object argument of nominals. By way of illustration, underived nominals associated with activities cannot take the complement argument, as quoted after Borer (2013, p. 157)³⁰:

- (100) a. John's walk (*of his dog)
 b. Mary's ride (*of her dog)
 c. Kim's kiss (*of Dennis)
 d. Peggy's return (*of the library books)

The situation is different for underived nominals that license the Experiencer argument because the expression of the object of emotion is felicitous, as shown below:

- (101) a. Rhys's love of Lindsay
 b. Melissa's dislike of such manners
 c. Glenn's fear of cancer
 d. Ewen's envy of Jane's work

This shows that the state that is in the Experiencer is directed at somebody or something. This directionality is marked by the preposition *for* (e.g., *love for*, *dislike for*, *fear for*). The same holds for Polish nominals which show various attitudes towards people or things expressed through idiosyncratic prepositions:

- (102) a. podziw amatorów [=subject] dla zawodowców
 admiration.NOM amateurs.GEN towards professionals.GEN
 'amateurs' admiration for professionals'
 b. zazdrość Jana o Asię
 jealousy.NOM John.GEN about Joanna.ACC
 'John's jealousy of Joanna'

³⁰ According to Borer, roots are categorised the moment they are inserted in a concrete syntactic environment. In view of that, nouns such as (the) walk, (the) form, (the) dance, (the) jump, etc. are not derived from (to) walk, (to) form, (to) dance, (to) jump. Thus, they are considered underived nominals.

- c. tęsknota Marysi za wolnością
 longing.NOM Mary.GEN for freedom.INS
 ‘Mary’s longing for freedom’
- d. nienawiść Marysi do niewoli
 hatred.NOM Mary.GEN for bondage.GEN
 ‘Mary’s hatred for bondage’

Experiencer arguments must be licenced by a complex structure at the level of event structure in contrast to not only Agents but also other holders of a state. Holders of physical states like *live, stand, lie, have* or *possess* do not exhibit the same properties within nominals as holders of mental states discussed above. Inner states can also receive an eventive interpretation much more easily than other states. Borer (2005b, p. 244) claims that examples (103) are grammatical because their subjects can be interpreted as originators whereas examples (104) can only have a stative interpretation.

- | | | |
|-------|---|--------------------|
| (103) | a. Kim’s living of Pat | (eventive reading) |
| | b. Kim’s feeling of the coat on his shoulders | (eventive reading) |
| (104) | a. *The wall’s touching of the fence | (stative reading) |
| | b. *Kim’s hearing of the symphony | (stative reading) |

3.3 Aspectual variants of SE verb alternants

3.3.1 Progressive variant of SE verbs

Another important SE verbs’ ability is to appear in the progressive aspect. Dictionaries say that some verbs strongly resist the continuous tenses such as *desire, feel like* or *fancy*. Nevertheless, examples in this syntactic environment are found in the corpus.³¹

³¹ A few explanations of this grammatical behaviour of SE verbs can be found in the literature. Following Mufwene’s (1984) distinction into transient states (e.g., *love, sit*) and non-transient states (e.g., *know, understand*), Bouchard (1995) suggests that the progressive can fit in with verbs that denote a less permanent feeling together with more active Experiencer. While the non-progressive usage of SE verbs relates to the permanence of an emotional condition with no reference to its termination, the progressive variant of SECs corresponds to a span of time in which a given emotion is activated and where the Experiencer is still adapting to a new emotional state, which often lasts temporarily. This lines up with Baker’s (1989) explanation that progressive SE verbs “assert[s] the existence of a judgment of some sort...,” (Baker, 1989, p. 489) and are used “when the speaker is understood as being still in the process of making some judgment about the eventuality expressed by the sentence (p. 489) “. In turn, Pestesky (1995) claims that the progressive tense is used with the emotions that take hold gradually whereas the simple tense is used to describe the emotions that emerge immediately.

(e.g., **Shaun will be loving Lea from 1st August to 23rd September*). This shows that they are individual-level predicates.

3.3.2 Perfective alternant of SE verbs

Thus far, we have dealt with the imperfective sentences in Polish. Now the focus is laid on the perfective sentences featuring SE verbs and their alternations. At first, we briefly sketch verbal morphology in Polish.

Overt verbal morphology differentiates the perfective aspect from the imperfective aspect. There are aspectual triplets in Polish: (i) simplex imperfective (e.g., *tworzyć* ‘to create’ or *pisać* ‘to write’); (ii) prefixed perfective (e.g., *stworzyć* ‘_{prefix}-create’ or *przepisać* ‘_{prefix}-write’); (iii) secondary imperfective (e.g., *stwarzac* ‘_{prefix}-create-_{suffix}’ or *przepisywac* ‘_{prefix}-write’). There is also a group of verbs in Polish that do not fall into aspectual triplets, i.e., *imperfectiva tantum* (verbs that are only imperfective like *potrzebowac* ‘to need’ and *pragnac* ‘to desire’), *perfectiva tantum* (verbs that are only perfective like *ocknac sie* ‘to awake’ and *pojmac* ‘to apprehend someone’) and finally biaspectual verbs that are either perfective or imperfective like *abdykowac* ‘to abdicate’ and *dymisjonowac* ‘to depose’ (for further information check Cockiewicz, 2007).

The verbal prefix fulfils the double function: (i) marking the event as quantity and (ii) assigning quantity to the DPs (cf. Filip, 1999; Borer, 2005b). That means that verbal prefixation quantifies both events and their objects, or at the very least it assigns range to at least one of them.

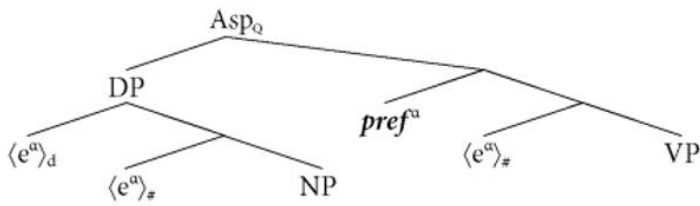
(110) Marek pokochał psy.

Marek po.PFV-love.PST dogs.ACC

‘Marek started to love the dogs.’

The noun *psy* ‘dogs’ is definite due to the perfective form of the verb *kochać* ‘love’. Borer (2005b, p. 175) opts for representing perfective markers as phonological elements devoid of morphemic structure, which means they act only as a head feature.

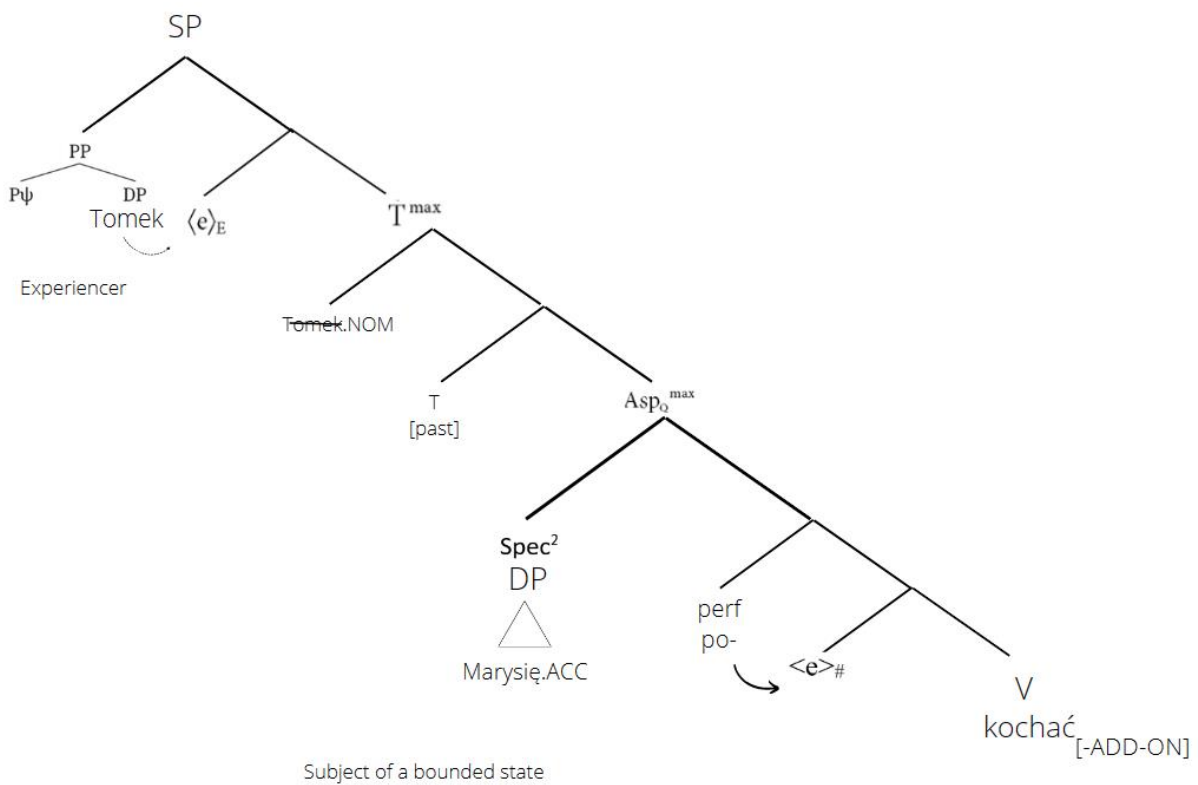
(111)



However, she does not exclude an alternative representation, in which these markers are seen as bound f-morphs. A quantificational feature is transferred from the head to the specifier.

We propose that the representation of the event structure of sentences with perfective SE verbs is as follows:

(112) a.



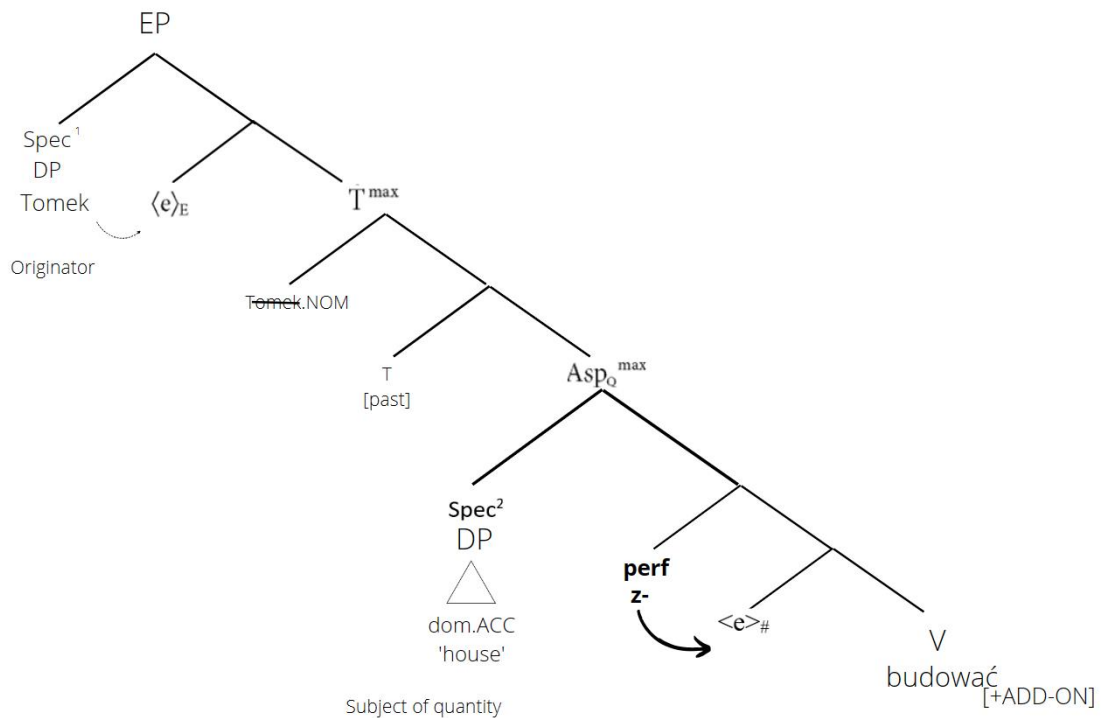
b. $\exists e$ [bounded state (e) & holder-of-a-state (Tomek, e) & subject-of-a-bound state (Marysia, e) & kochać (perf, e)]

The presence of a verbal prefix within an event structure containing the Experiencer licenced by a null prepositional phrase in the Specifier of SP allows for identifying the verb in L-D with the [-ADD-ON] feature, which forces the interpretation of an inceptive state.

Note that the semantic representation of such sentences in Polish is slightly different from the one in English because of verbal prefixation. In English representations, a quantity structure is determined among other things, on the basis of the presence of the definite article, which is indicated in brackets after subject-quantity. In Polish representations, on the other hand, a quantity structure is established on the basis of the presence of the verbal prefix that is included in brackets after the verb.

In the received views, the verbal prefix is a carrier of meaning associated with a result of the culminating event. In the tree representing the event structure of dynamic events proposed in this work, the result of a culminating event is encoded by the presence of the EP and the feature [+ADD-ON]. The sentence *Tomek zbudował dom* ‘Tom built the house’ is parsed below:

(113) a.



- b. $\exists e$ [quantity (e) & originator (Tomek, e) & subject-of-quantity (dom, e) & budować (perf, e)].

Rozwadowska (2020) presents some diagnostic tests which indicate the final boundary of an event and change of state. In addition, Rozwadowska (2020) observes that ‘the properties of psych verbs and non-psych accomplishments and achievements are almost in complementary distribution’ (p. 54). Examples (114) – (116) show the compatibility of dynamic verbs and psych

verbs with the diagnostic tests for the presence of culmination in their denotations. Psych verbs fail such tests.

(114) Process leading up to a culmination

- a. *Tomek stopniowo lubił swój dom aż go polubił.
 Tom.NOM gradually liked.IPFV self's house.ACC until it.ACC po-PFV-liked
 'Tom gradually liked his house until he started to like it.'
- b. Tomek stopniowo budował dom aż go zbudował.
 Tom.NOM gradually built.IPFV house.ACC until him Z.PFV-built.
 'Tom was gradually building the house until he built it.'

(115) Compatibility with the aspectual verb *skończyć* 'finish'

- a. *Tomek skończył lubić swój dom.
 Tom.NOM S.PFV-finished like.INF self's house.ACC
 'Tom finished loving his house.'
- b. Tomek skończył budować dom.
 Tom.NOM S.PFV-finished build.INF house.ACC
 'Tom finished building the house.'

(116) Perfective at time t entails imperfective at time $t' < t$

- a. *Tomek lubił swój dom, ale go nie polubił.
 Tom.NOM like.IPFV self's house.ACC, but it.ACC not po-PFV-liked.3SG.M
 'Tom liked his house, but he didn't start to like it.'
- b. Tomek budował dom, ale go nie zbudował.
 Tom.NOM built.IPFV house.ACC, but it.ACC not Z.PFV-built.3SG
 'Tom was building the house, but he didn't build it.'

Apart from the above-mentioned diagnostic tests, it is also worth mentioning other syntactic structures, in which endpoints must be present. Adverbial past participle clauses express the precedence of one action over another. They are formed by the attachment of the accurate suffix to telic verbs, that is *-wszy* (e.g., *zjadłszy* 'eaten') when the stem word ends with the vowel or *-wszy* (e.g., *zbudowawszy* 'built') when the stem word ends with the consonant. Predicates viewed as achievements and accomplishments readily occur in these syntactic environments because they encode the result subevent. The illustrative examples are provided in (117):

(117) Past participle clause

- a. Polubiwszy gry planszowe, Tomek zorganizował turniej.
 like.PTCP.PFV board games.ACC, Tom.NOM organise.PST.PFV tournament.ACC
 'Having started to like board games, Tomek set up a tournament.'

- b. Zapowiedziawszy swą dymisję, premier odetchnął z ulgą.
 announce.PTCP.PFV his deposition.ACC, prime minister.NOM breathe.PST with relief.INS
 ‘Having announced his deposition, the Prime Minister breathed a sigh of relief’.

Adverbial past participle clauses are not licit with a majority of SE verbs because they lack a result in their denotation. The verbs *kochać* ‘love’ and *lubić* ‘like’ can be marginally found in corpora. However, they denote the beginning of a state and its continuation while the main even is taking place. The interpretation of the sentence in (117a) is that Tom organised the tournament and he still likes the board games, which is in contrast to the interpretation of sentence (117b), in which the prime minister finished announcing his deposition and then he breathed a sigh of relief. In English, past participle clauses containing psych verbs or other structures highlighting the sequence of events are fairly odd.

- (118) a. ?Having liked board games, Tomek set up a tournament.
 b. ?After loving Mary, Tom invited her for dinner.
 c. ?On hating the election, he stopped running for an office.
 d. ?With his liking the book, Tom started reading more books like that.

Besides the tests for the final boundary of an event, we suggest tests that can indicate a progress subevent. The diagnostics in (119) – (120) demonstrate that SE verbs are deprived of any progression in their denotation.

(119) Presupposition of a process

- a. *Zanim pokochał psy musiał je kochać.
 Before po.PFV-loved.3SG.M dogs.ACC must.3SG.M.PST them.ACC like.INF
 ‘Before he started to love the dogs, he must have been loving them.’
- b. Zanim napisał list musiał go pisać.
 Before na.PFV-wrote.3SG.M letter.ACC must.3SG.M.PST it.ACC write.INF
 ‘Before he wrote the letter, he must have been writing it.’

(120) Compatibility with the expression ‘be in the middle of’

- a. *Był w trakcie lubienia filmu.
 Be.1SG.M.PST in middle liking film.GEN
 ‘He was in the middle of writing this application form.’
- b. Jesteśmy w trakcie budowania zespołu.
 Be.3PL.PST in middle forming band.GEN
 ‘We are in the middle of forming a line-up of the band.’

One may notice that only accomplishments can pass the above-mentioned tests because they have a process in their denotation. What may help differentiate achievements from other

aspectual classes of verbs is that it is possible to presuppose a preliminary stage. For example, finding presupposes searching. We speculate that a preliminary stage can be presupposed with dynamic verbs. The following test lends itself to indicating the dynamicity of a predicate.

(121) Presupposition of a process

- a. *Zanim pokochał Marysię musiał się poruszyć.

‘Before he loved Mary he must have moved.’

- b. Zanim zdobył szczyt musiał się poruszyć.

‘Before he reached the summit he must have moved.’

Apart from the presence of progress and result phrases in the denotation, eventives can also include a preparatory stage or gradual onset, which is expressed by a secondary imperfective *-yw* suffix (e.g., *przepisywać* ‘copy’) (see Rozwadowska, 2020). In Borer (2005b), secondary imperfectivisation is taken to be a species of outer aspect. Therefore, the suffix *-yw* should be placed in the TP. Besides, the prefixes attached to verbs construed as [+ADD-ON] can often stack (e.g., *po-prze-pisywać* ‘copy something one after the other’). Psych verbs marginally take secondary imperfective forms, which means that SE verbs do not lexicalise a process subevent.

Other tests used by Rozwadowska diagnose lack of terminal and resultative points. Psych verbs pass these tests, in contrast to dynamic verbs.

(122) Event continuation test

- a. Tomek polubił swój dom i nadal go lubi.

Tom.NOM po-PFV.liked self’s house and still it.ACC likes

‘Tom started to love his house and still loves it.’

- b. *Tomek zbudował dom i nadal go buduje.

Tom.NOM Z.PFV-built house.ACC and still it.ACC built.3SG.IPFV

‘Tom built the house and is still building it.’

(123) Culmination cancellation

- a. Tomek polubił swój dom i nie przestał go lubić.

Tom.NOM po.PFV-liked self’s house.ACC and not stopped.3SG.M it.ACC

‘Tom started to like his house and didn’t stop liking it.’

- b. *Tomek zbudował dom, ale go nie skończył/przestał budować.

Tom.NOM Z.PFV-built house.ACC, but it.ACC S.PFV-finished/stopped build.INF

‘Tom built the house, but he didn’t finish building it.’

(124) Co-occurrence with result-state adverbials (cf. Piñón 1999)

- a. Tomek zatęsknił za domem tylko na chwilę.

Tom.NOM za.PFV-missed for house.INS only for while

‘Tom longed for his house only for a while.’

- b. *Tomek zdobył szczyt na jakiś czas.

Tom.NOM reached.PFV summit.ACC for some time.

‘Tom reached the summit for some time.’

As it turns out, inceptivity is not only encoded in psychological eventualities and is not a sole property of Experiencers but it stretches over all verbs classified partially by the structure and partially by the semantics of a verb as non-dynamic [-ADD-ON].

- (125) a. Tomek ożył i wciąż żyje.

Tom.NOM o.PFV-lived and still lives.3SG.M

‘Tom came to life and is still alive.’

- b. Robotnicy zamieszkali w Krakowie i nadal tam mieszkają.

Workers.NOM za.PFV-lived in Cracow and still there lived.1PL.M.IPFV

‘The workers started to live in Cracow and they still live there.’

- c. Pomnik stanął na ulicy Marszałkowskiej i nadal tam stoi.³²

Monument.NOM stood.PFV on street.LOC Marshall.LOC and still stands.3SG.M there

‘The monument was erected on Marshall street and it still stands there.’

- d. Kot położył się na parapecie i nadal tam leży.

Cat.NOM po.PFV-lay REFL on windowsill.LOC and still there lies.3SG.M.IPFV

‘The cat has laid down and it is still there.’

In the literature on Slavonic languages (especially based on Russian), three distinct types of perfective prefixes have been distinguished, i.e., lexical prefixes (e.g., *prze-rzucać* ‘throw across’); superlexical prefixes (*za-palić* ‘start smoking’) and purely perfectivizing prefixes (e.g., *złamać* ‘perf.break’ (see Svenonius, 2004). All these types of prefixes represent a syncretism of form, which means that the same prefix can be either lexical, superlexical or purely perfectivising. In Romanova (2004), Slavic verbal prefixes are classified as delimitative (lexical, telic) or determinative (superlexical, atelic). Each type of the prefix is projected in two different positions. Superlexical prefixes are derived in a high vP-external position while lexical prefixes are projected in a low position inside VP. In Borer (2005b, p. 196), what matters is that all types of prefixes are associated with a quantity reading of some kind. Their presence in the event structure always triggers the emergence of the Asp_QP. This is why in our analysis we do not designate any particular places for different types of prefixes in the Asp_QP. Dynamic verbs are amenable to a variety of prefixes, as presented in (126):

³² The verb *stawać* ‘become’ does not have a verbal prefix but the perfectivising suffix.

- (126) Czytać ‘read’, **poczytać**, **zaczytać**, **rozczytać**, **naczytać się**, **przeczytać**, **wyczytać**
 Pisać ‘write’, **popisać**, **zapisać**, **rozpisać**, **napisać**, **przepisać**, **wypisać**, **dopisać**,
przypisać
 Biegać ‘run’, **pobiegać**, **zabiegać**, **rozbiegać**, **nabiegać**, **wybiegać**, **dobiegać**,
przybiegać
 Siedzieć ‘sit’, **posiedzieć**, **zasiedzieć**, **rozsiedzieć**, **nasiedzieć**, **przesiedzieć**,
wysiedzieć, **usiedzieć**,
 Łamać ‘break’, **połamać**, **załamać**, **nałamać**, **przełamać**, **wyłamać**, **ułamać**

The use of perfective verbal prefixes is more restrictive within stative verbs including psych verbs than within dynamic verbs. Some stative verbs have only imperfective forms (e.g., *mieć* ‘have’, *posiadać* ‘own’, *podziwiać* ‘admire’). When it comes to the prefixed perfective forms of psych-verbs, their number is nowhere near as large as the number of prefixed variants of dynamic verbs. To illustrate that, below is the table presenting the possible and impossible combinations of SE verbs with a variety of verbal prefixes. The shaded squares stand for the compatibility of prefixes with a given verb.

- (127) Bać się ‘fear’, -
 Kochać ‘love’, **pokochać**, **zakochać**, **rozkochać**
 Lubić ‘like’, **polubić**, **znieubić**
 Żałować ‘regret’, **pożałować**
 Zazdrościć ‘miss’, **pozazdrościć**
 Podziwiać, ‘admire’ -
 Szanować, ‘respect’, **poszanować**
 Miłować ‘cherish’, **rozmiłować**, **umiłować**
 Nienawidzić ‘hate’, **znieawidzić**
 Współczuć, ‘sympathise’, **powspółczuć**
 Ufać ‘trust’, **zaufać**,
 Tęsknić ‘miss’, **potęsknić**, **natęsknić**, **wytęsknić**
 Cenić ‘treasure’, **przecenić**, **docenić**, **wycenić**

According to Biały (2020), prefixes that are attached to psych verbs are classified as superlexical and in combination with these verbs carry an inceptive interpretation. This means that perfectivity in Polish can encode not only telicity but also inceptivity and the distinction into telic and inceptive prefixes is not a matter a prefix’s lexical context. Like with other prefixes, the attachment of inceptive prefixes turns verbs into eventive and quantifiable.

No specific position for them is postulated here because superlexical prefixes to which inceptive prefixes belong can also be attached to non-dynamic verbs. The reason why a prefix is a range assigner of inceptivity is due to the presence of the complex structure licensing the Experiencer argument in the case of psych verbs or the presence of the SP projection licensing the holder of a physical state with non-psych states. These structures determine the semantic meaning of a verb which is then categorised as non-dynamic and associated with [-ADD-ON] feature.

It has to be pointed out that SE verbs can marginally take the lexical prefixes. Consider the following instantiations:

(128) a. Rozkochała w sobie Adriana.

Roz.loved.SIPVF in herself Andrew.ACC

‘She captured Andrew’s affections.’

b. Rozkochał się we francuskiej literaturze.

Roz.PFV-loved REFL in French.LOC literature.LOC

‘He has become enamoured with French literature’.

c. Zakochał się w niej szybko.

Za.PFV-loved REFL in her.LOC quickly

‘He quickly fell in love with her.’

In these examples, *roz-* and *za-* should be considered lexical prefixes because they are compatible with secondary imperfectives and change the argument structure of the verb. Since the Experiencer bears the accusative, the expression *rozkochać kogoś w sobie* features an OE verb, the analysis of which is given in Chapter 4. This verb also has a reflexive SE alternant *rozkochać się w* ‘become enamoured with’ This may indicate that *rozkochać* should not be regarded as a compositional verb, that is prefix+verb but rather as one lexical entry, which is located in the lexical domain in the derivation proposed in this work.

Interestingly enough, in all of these examples, the objects of emotion are in the prepositional phrases. Example (128a) is a special one because it requires the prepositional phrase with the dative reflexive pronoun *sobie* that is co-referential with the subject. These examples point to the transition of emotion from one location to another one, that is from the Experiencer to the object of emotion. The Experiencer is a mental location here because the sentences in (128) entail that the Experiencer is in a state of love.

Another compelling issue concerns the following lexical entries:

(129) a. kochać się (simplex verb)

love.IPF RELF

b. zakochać się (perfective verb)

za.PFV-love REFL

c. *zakochiwać się* (secondary imperfective)

za.love.SIPVF REFL

The verb *kochać się* can take an agentive interpretation (e.g., make love), which is reinforced by the use of the preposition *z-* ‘with’. However, it can also take the preposition *w* ‘in’ and then the psychological meaning is entailed. This also shows that two locations (Experiencer conceptually and Object of Emotion syntactically) lead to a stative meaning.

The possibility of psych verbs having a secondary imperfective form is fairly puzzling. However, there are still some interpretational differences between the sentences in (130):

- (130) a. *Stwarzał coraz to lepsze postaci w filmach, (?ale żadnej z nich nie skończył)*
 s.created.SIPFV more to better in film.ACC, but none.F with them.GEN not s.PFV-create.PST
 ‘He used to create better and better characters in films, but he created none of them.’
- b. *Zakochiwał się w wielu kobietach, (ale żadnej z nich nie pokochał).*
 Z.loved.SIPVF REFL in many women.ACC, but none with them.GEN not po.PFV-loved
 ‘He used to fall in love with many women, but he didn’t really start to love them.’

By way of illustration, example (130a) implies that he finished creating one character and then went on to create another character whereas example (130b) implies that he started to love one woman after another without mention of whether he unloved some of them or not. It seems that *zakochiwać się* points to the temporariness of a given emotion since the entailment in (130b) is quite licit.

3.3.3 Inceptivity in English SE verbs

In this Section, we check if SE verbs in English can encode inceptivity given that Polish SE verbs do it systematically with their perfective variants. In his spatial approach to event structure, van Voorst (1988; 1992) distinguishes between events leading up to their own culmination points (the end point interpretation) and events leading up to the beginning of another event (the begin point interpretation). He claims that only accomplishments have the end point interpretation since when they are conjoined with the adverb *almost* they point to the process that has already begun. In contrast, states, activities and achievements, when combined with *almost*, give rise to an interpretation when the eventuality has failed to start occurring. However, without the addition of the adverb *almost*, affirmative sentences featuring activity and achievement verbs differ in interpretation from sentences with psych verbs.

- (131) a. Tom used the paper. (activity)
 b. He kicked the ball. (achievement)
 c. She loved the dog. (state)

Examples (131ab) imply some sort of result. In (131a) some paper must have been used whereas in (131b) the ball must have changed its position. Both sentences point to the beginning of a new state, where the paper has a different shape and where the ball is in a different place. This also means that they include a transition from an old state to a new state. Example (131c) does not lead to such readings. It describes an emotional state in which the Experiencer was in the past. It does not point to either any result or the beginning of a new state. However, it does not mean that sentences as in (131c) cannot receive the begin point. We try to adduce such contexts. Let us start from the use of superlexical verbs. The insertion of aspectual verbs like ‘start’ or ‘stop’ is not very common. ‘Start to love’ has 20 hits in the COCA. *Started to love* has 26 hits. *Zaczqć kochać* ‘start to love’ has 2 hits in NKJP (retrieved in 2020). As seen, it is not a natural way of expressing the onset of a state.

Marín and McNally (2011) assert that psych verbs in English do not grammatically force reference to either a change of state or initial points of a state. In turn, an inceptive interpretation can be forced through the addition of *when*-clauses, pointing to the reasons of ongoing states, as in (132):

- (132) a. I actually hated him when I met him.
 b. I hated him when he took my car away.

As shown, the beginning of a state is just a matter of inference. The onset of a specific emotional state can also be expressed by the provision of a suitable context, as presented below:

- (133) She had been in his company for five minutes before she knew that she loved him.

Another way of encoding inceptivity within psychological eventuality is the addition of the adverb *suddenly*. Rozwadowska (2020, p. 42) claims that, for example, *suddenly know* is inceptive and differs from punctual achievements in that it entails the following state. By inference, if Mary suddenly knew the truth, she is very likely to know it now. This observation is also exemplified in (134), which shows that the cessation of a state is not implied in psych eventualities but the endpoint and then a resultant state is entailed in achievements.

- (134) a. He kicked the ball when I told him to do so. He isn’t kicking the ball anymore.
 b. He suddenly loved the dogs. ?He doesn’t love them anymore

English psych verbs do not usually co-occur with verbal prefixes and particles. Isolated examples of SE verbs with prefixes or particles have been found in corpora, as illustrated below:

- (135) a. Nobody commented about that! All right? I said women have got to love up their husbands. So I spent the morning after that whining. (COCA)
 b. Groundless desire: the last thing we outlive, outlove. You flip between following out this tale and fleeing from it. (COCA)
 c. The reason you overthink is because you overlove. (Google)

Collins Online Dictionary explains the meaning of *love up* as follows: *hug and cuddle*. The verbs *outlove* and *overlove* occur with other prefixed verbs, which may show that such psych verbs are of the writer's invention and their meaning is compositional. Such particled SE verbs do not contribute to an inceptive meaning. However, there are other particleverbs from the physical domain and prepositional verbs that lexicalise inceptivity.

- (136) a. Why have they gone off him now? – 'It could be something he said.' [stop liking]
 b. They hit it off straight away. [start liking]
 c. The first series was really bad. But for some reason the public took to it. [start liking]
 d. He was fantastically handsome – I just fell for him right away. [start loving]
 e. Working with Ford closely, I fell in love with the cinema. [start loving]
 f. Ten signs that you may be falling out of love. [start losing love]
 g. In a lot of break-ups people just drift apart. [start losing love]
 h. She lost her heart to maths. [start to love]
 i. She took a fancy to him at the wedding. [start to like]

Another way of expressing inceptivity within states employed in English is through the use of light verbs like *suddenly*, *get to*, *come to* and *grow to*, as illustrated below:

- (137) a. He suddenly liked, even loved her. (COCA)
 c. The more I read up on the political candidate, I came to dislike him.
 d. He came to think of Italy as his home.
 e. I came to believe that he was innocent after all.
 f. I'm really starting to get to like these characters, which meant this episode was full of teary moments.
 g. That's why I wanted to get to like me before I told you.
 h. You got to love odds and ends.
 i. After a while she grew to like Tom.

Also, it is to be observed that the presence of *suddenly*, as in *He suddenly liked, even loved her* does not require the presence of the aspectual auxiliaries such as *get to* and *come to*. No such instances have been found in the corpora. It seems that they encode the same meaning and grammar refuses to double it.

Un- prefixation gives rise to different interpretations, depending on the event structure it is attached to. Since psych verbs can denote the beginning of a state, the addition of the *un-* prefix to them turn their interpretation into the cessation of a state. This is illustrated in (138):

(138) You can never unlove those who you love.

To unlove means ceasing to love. In contrast, the *un-* prefix glued to eventive verbs reverses actions (e.g., *load-unload*; *furl-unfurl*) while attached to adjectives it conveys the opposite meaning of the stem word (e.g., *friendly-unfriendly*; *kind-unkind*).

Once embedded in the passive contexts, SE verbs can also bear the meaning of the cessation of a mental state, as in (139):

(139) a. She is unloved by her friends one by one.

b. She is being unloved by her friends and it is devastating her.

In the Anglophone literature, the telic-atelic distinction present in psych verbs is encoded configurationally. SE verbs are taken to be atelic while OE verbs are telic (see van Gelderen, 2018, for a diachronic analysis of psych verbs). In the subsequent Chapter, we verify this view about OE verbs.

3.4 Concluding remarks

In this Chapter, we have identified the alternations SE verbs participate in. The participation of SE verbs in these alternations is a unique property of these verbs. Even passive alternants formed from SE verbs and nominals derived from such verbs exhibit special grammatical behaviours, as compared to the same types of alternants containing dynamic verbs. Although SE verbs surface in a greater variety of argument-structure alternations than states, they both share the same aspectual interpretation. When perfectivised, both SE verbs and non-psych state verbs in Polish are associated with inceptivity. Thus, states and psychological eventualities can be eventive like actions are However, this eventivity leads to a distinct entailment. Inceptivity points to an onset to a state without entailing a cause, a process and a change of state. In English, SE verbs also behave like other states because at the presence of a quantity object, they give rise to an existential interpretation of their subjects, but culmination is not implied. Like other states, SE verbs are considered atelic.

Besides, this Chapter has shown that there is a correlation between argument-structure alternations and their outer aspect variants and inner aspectual interpretations. As for outer

aspectual variants, the attribute-object alternant and characteristic property of the Experiencer alternant occur only in the imperfective form. As to inner aspectual interpretations, the attribute-object alternant is usually linked with an existential interpretation and the attribute-object alternant is always correlated with a generic interpretation. Additionally, most of inherently reflexive SE verbs in Polish have only imperfective forms. The lack of a perfective variant coupled with reflexivity may explain why these verbs do not alternate like other SE verbs. Finally, the SE+on alternant presents a shift from a non-dynamic to dynamic meaning, from a state to an event.

During our analysis, we have shown that the semantics of the Object of Emotion also plays a role in the formation of sentential constructions, particularly when it comes to inherently reflexive verbs. Some alternants prefer animate objects or the possessor-attribute relation. Thanks to this analysis, we have revealed that SE verbs are not always individual-level predicates and they do not always have superlexical prefixes.

In this Chapter we have also shown that all the alternants of SE verbs and their aspectual variants can be accommodated in the representations of event structure proposed in this work. The Experiencer is base generated in the Specifier of the State Phrase. The argument that is embedded in this projection is identified with a structural role of a holder of state and has divergent properties from the role of Originator. The Experiencer occupying the Specifier of the State Phrase makes sentences containing this argument non-dynamic. Thus, psych verbs should be viewed as a subclass of state verbs rather than be equated with clearly dynamic verbs. Additionally, the Experiencer argument is licenced by a null preposition in a prepositional phrase and appears in the State Phrase, which signalises that the arousal of an emotion is located in the Experiencer. This conceptualisation of the Experiencer can be found in and retrieved from the alternants featuring SE verbs. This additional complexity in the event structure associated with the Experiencer allows this argument to bear various grammatical functions, which is to be discussed in the subsequent Chapters.

CHAPTER 4

ALTERNATIONS OF OBJECT EXPERIENCER VERBS

This Chapter provides an analysis of the argument-structure alternations of OE verbs alongside their inner aspectual readings and outer aspectual variants. We scrutinise English OE verbs in parallel with Polish OE verbs with a view to comparing their properties and postulating their event structure representation in respect to what we have established about SE verbs in the previous Chapter. At the same time, we want to show that the Object Experiencer is a conceptual location that is visible to event structure (Landau, 2010; Fábregas & Marín, 2015). In addition, we argue that the perfective variants of OE verbs lead to an inceptive interpretation, which levels OE verbs with states (Rozwadowska, 2003, 2012, 2020). The equivocal aspectual properties of OE verbs in English resemble that of locative verbs rather than that of dynamic verbs (García-Pardo, 2020).

4.1 Object Experiencers as mental locations and their polysemy

In parallel to the Subject Experiencer, we analyse the Object Experiencer as a mental location that is introduced at the level of an event representation by a null P (cf. Fábregas & Marín, 2015). In Landau (2010), Object Experiencers are locative Ps because they display a variety of locative properties. In English, OE verbs are resistant to form *wh*-islands (e.g., **Which film was Dirk amusing to the director of?*), synthetic compounds (e.g., **a man-frightening god; *a parent-appalling exploit*) and the heavy NP shift: (e.g., **These things bothered yesterday the man who visited Sally*). In our approach, each peculiar grammatical behaviour of OE verbs is taken as an indication of introducing the Object Experiencer by a special prepositional structure. The analysis of argument-structure alternations undertaken in this Chapter assists in identifying such peculiar behaviours. Before we deal with such an analysis, we need to discuss these verbs' particular quality, that is their polysemy. We link this quality with the conceptualisation of the Experiencer as a mental location and thus as a static participant. The polysemous nature of OE verbs can be equated with verbs of location.

García-Pardo (2020) attempts to level OE verbs with locative verbs because, they can bear both eventive and stative readings, as illustrated after him (p. 189) in (140) – (141):

- (140) a. The wall scares me.³³ (non-agentive, stative)
 b. John scared me (on purpose/by knocking a glass over) (agentive, eventive)
- (141) a. The wall surrounds the house. (non-agentive, stative)
 b. The police surrounded the house. (agentive, eventive)

What locative verbs and OE verbs have in common is that their aspectual interpretation depends on the semantics of the subject. In turn, their complements do not show any movement and their physical location is intact. Obviously, we can be on the move when the act of scaring us happens, but it does not relate to our physical location which we can change with ease. Rather, it refers to the mental condition which is located in us. The presence of two arguments that do not move drives a stative reading, as in (140a) – (141a). However, with the subject that is in motion irrespective of its intentionality, we then deal with an eventive reading, as in (140b) – (141b).

It should be noted at this point that the polysemy of OE verbs is much more complex than locative verbs. Firstly, the animate subject of the locative verbs is always associated with some kind of action and thus movement. The animate subject of the OE verbs can suggest only that its existence arouses particular feelings in the Experiencer. No action and movement are required on its part. Secondly, the combination of the inanimate subject with the animate object results in ungrammaticality among locative verbs while it is entirely licit with OE verbs. This shows that OE verbs are aspectually different from other verbs and that is why they have a distinct event structure. This is why OE verbs are identified not only with a stative and agentive meaning but also with an eventive meaning, which was neatly captured by Arad (1998b), as in (142) – (144):

- (142) Agentive reading
 Nina frightened Laura deliberately to make her go away.
- (143) Eventive reading
 a. Nina frightened Laura unintentionally/ accidentally.
 b. The explosion/ the noise/ the thunderstorm frightened Laura.
- (144) Stative reading
 a. John's haircut annoys Laura.
 b. This problem concerned Nina.
 c. Blood sausage disgusts Nina.

³³ We slightly modified Garcia-Pardo's example in (138a). We replaced the subject *storms* with *the wall* to provide a clearer comparison with locative structures.

The agentive reading entails the presence of an Agent acting intentionally, having some control over the action or a mental change of state in the Experiencer. The eventive reading expresses the presence of some change of mental state in the Experience without any intentionality. The cause is only the trigger of an event and it does not have to accompany the mental state constantly. Building on Grimshaw's (1990) aspectual dimension, Arad (1998b) postulates that a unique character of OE verb comes from their aspectual distinctions into stative and eventive rather than from any movement or inversion. In her account only OE verbs with stative readings such as *concern* and *worry* are grammatically special. These distinctions between OE verbs are directly encoded in the syntax. The stative reading entails a perception of stimulus by the Experiencer but there is neither change of state nor an Agent. Neither of arguments are in control of an event. The stative reading is characterised as an episodic event. It implies that the Experiencer is at a specific mental state as long as it perceives the Stimulus.

The distinction between agentive and eventive readings boils down to the contrast between animate and inanimate subjects as well as the intentionality and unintentionality on part of animate subjects. There is a disagreement as to whether these two interpretations are aspectually distinct. For Grafmiller (2013) the internal division of OE verbs into more agentive and less agentive ones is not valid while Darby (2016) argues that verbs such as *anger*, *discourage*, *annoy*, *terrify*, *startle*, *offend*, *scare*, *provoke* or *embarrass* favour more agentive readings in contrast to verbs such as *fascinate*, *concern*, *interest*, *depress*, *worry* or *please*.

In this work, we want to show that these readings are different from stative, eventive and agentive readings concerning dynamic verbs and require specific event structure representations. The more so that we claim that each OE verb can receive three possible psych readings since they can surface in each syntactic structure and only world knowledge lets the speaker decide which specific OE verbs tend to be embedded in particular functional structures and associated with a concrete aspectual meaning.

4.2 Argument-structure alternations

4.2.1 OE verbs versus a causative alternant

In the literature, the eventive OE verbs have often been considered causative and thus aligned with lexically causative verb like *break*, *dry*, *melt*, *thaw* and *open* that denote a physical change of state. This means they behave like the sentences below:

- (145) a. The boy broke the window. (eventive reading)
 b. The wind broke the window. (eventive reading)

However, the analyses carried out in reference to English and Polish have shown that OE verbs with an eventive interpretation do not participate in the causative alternant formed from change-of-state verbs. Alexiadou & Iordachioaia (2014) claim that OE verbs in English do not participate in the inchoative-causative alternation due to an increase in liability among psych verbs and the reorganisation of the English reflexive system. Rozwadowska & Bondaruk (2019) argue that Polish does not exhibit the inchoative-causative alternation based on the analysis of the inchoative alternant. Additionally, given that the causative construction is associated with the complex event structure, including two subevents: the causing event and the caused event, which *de facto* boils down to a change of state or result. Biały (2020) claims that perfective psych verbs have a simple event structure based on the type of perfective prefixes that are attached to Polish psych verbs. These independent claims may be taken as a valid premise that OE verbs must work differently from transitive dynamic verbs.

We only want to adduce more reasons why OE verbs do not participate in the causative alternant of the inchoative-causative alternation regarding the semantic and interpretational aspects in order to delineate appropriate event structures. Firstly, the presence of a subject, be it animate or inanimate, does not change the aspectual nature of a causative construction. Both sentences in (145) are eventive. Another difference concerns the temporality of both eventualities. The same tank cannot be continuously filled by water and the very same window cannot be broken *ad infinitum*. This is why the presence of bare plural objects forces an iterative interpretation and hence accepts the modifiers, as in (146):

- (146) a. The boy broke windows (intermittently; one after another).
 b. Water filled tanks (intermittently; one after another).

This also implies that some windows are finished being broken and tanks are finished being filled but the action itself is not finished. As for OE verbs in (146), the same woman can be

continuously frightened by Tom or women are simultaneously frightened by Tom, or viewers are shocked at the same time.

(147) a. Tom frightened women.

b. The documentary shocked viewers.

While the causative construction usually refers to irreversible changes or changes that cannot be fixed quickly, OE predicates may relate to changes in mental states that do not last forever and therefore are ephemeral or fugacious. By way of illustration, the sentence *A fierce gale destroyed the mansion* leads to the assumption that the house sustained an irremediable damage. On the other hand, the sentence like *the film saddened Tom* may easily hint at the temporariness of an emotion experienced by Tom. After a while, Tom busied himself in the kitchen and forgot what he had felt when watching the movie. Causes are responsible for physical changes undergoing in the Causee while the Experiencer in the stative reading, not the Stimulus, is responsible for the emergence of mental changes in her in reaction to the presence of the Stimulus.

At this point, a question arises whether the verb *open* causes the same type of a physical change of state as the verbs *break*, *melt*, *thaw* and *dry*. The same holds for *filling tanks* and *breaking windows*. The latter act changes the physicality of the window completely. The induced change in the former is superficial because it concerns only the weight of the tank. In addition, a reference to the suffixes that presumably attach a causative meaning (e.g., *-en* as in *lengthen*, *-ify* as in *solidify*, *-ate* as in *accelerate*) is not much helpful because the verbs, which are undoubtedly causative, are not composed of causative suffixes. One might note that a lot of OE verbs are marked by causative suffixes, as in *sadden*, *mollify* or *irritate*. However, these verbs were borrowed from French or Latin and may have lost their causative denotation.

With the intention of establishing a causative meaning, Fillmore's (1970) inference test may be a case in point. For instance, this test clearly shows that the verb *hit* is not causative, as in (148):

(148) The rock hit the window, but luckily it wasn't damaged.

The application of this inference test to the domain of psych verbs constitutes a formidable challenge since changes in human psyche are intangible. Nonetheless, the inferences from sentences containing OE verbs show that the Experiencer must be emotionally affected (see 149) but this affectedness can be short-lived and superficial (see 150).

(149) a. *Amy frightened the boy but luckily the boy didn't give a fig.

a. *Jared worried Eve but luckily, she didn't feel it.

(150) a. Amy frightened the boy, but he quickly forgot about it.

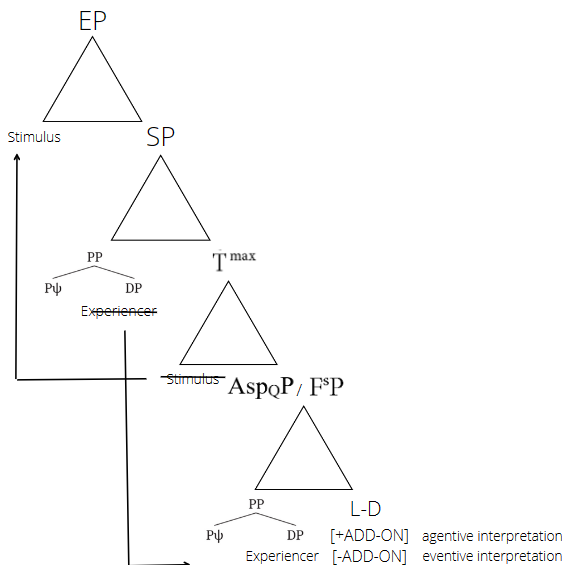
b. Jared worried Eve but this state of mind disappeared fast.

Additionally, change-of-state verbs participate in the inchoative-causative alternation. The possibility of forming of an inchoative alternant is intricately tied to the presence of a causative meaning. In Section 4.5, we argue following Rozwadowska & Bondaruk (2019) that SE cognates of OE verbs do not fall into an inchoative alternant. All this evidence calls for two distinct event representations for OE verbs and change-of-state verbs.

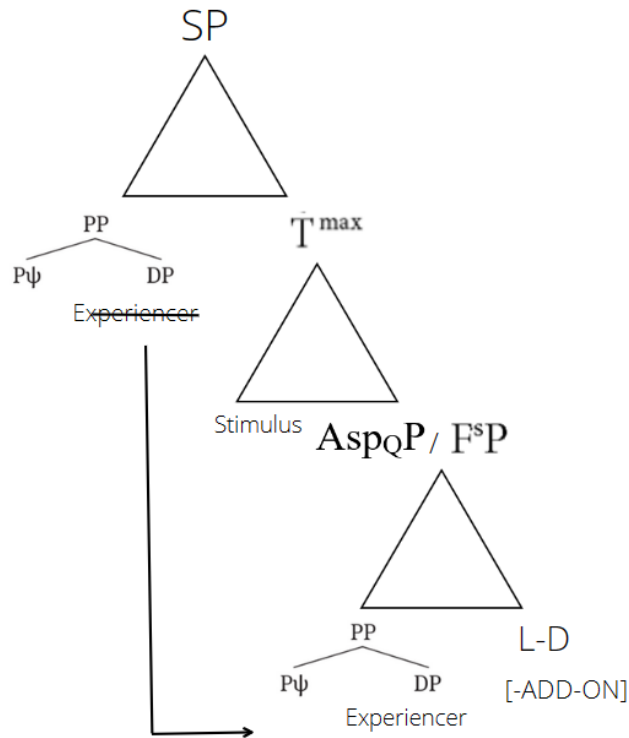
In the model adopted in this work, we attempt to propose a slightly different approach to the derivation of OE verbs at the level of event structure, including stative/eventive and agentive interpretations. In our approach, the Experiencer argument is base generated in the SP, which is identified with the structural role dubbed as *a holder of a state*. Next, it is demoted to the F^SP or AspQ^P, depending on its quantificational properties and bears the structural role of *a subject of a state*. In the stative interpretation, the Stimulus argument sits in situ in TP whereas in the agentive/eventive interpretation the Stimulus argument is promoted to the EP projection and bears the structural role of an Originator. The Stimulus's remaining in TP or its promotion to the EP results in the nominative case assignment while the Experiencer's demotion to F^SP or AspQ^P results in the non-nominative case assignment. The difference between the eventive psych reading and agentive psych reading lies in that the latter reading associates the verb with the [+ADD-ON] feature. The agentive psych reading refers to an interpretation of an action where the non-Experiencer provokes or elicits a certain feeling in the Experiencer. Below are schemata of representations of all the three interpretations.

(151)

a. Agentive and eventive psych reading



b. Stative psych reading



Our approach to the mapping problem of the object Experiencer is novel since, as Żychliński (2016, p. 50) points out, there have been two approaches striving to connect the behaviour of arguments within OE predicates with their structural positions: (i) Theme/Causer is structurally lower and raises to the initial position as a result of movement (Pesetsky, 1995) or (ii) Experiencer moves up covertly to a position from which it can c-command the Theme/Causer argument (Sato and Kishida, 2009; Landau, 2010). Additionally, Landau (2010) provides two representations of OE predicated according to which aspectual interpretation they have. Eventive OE verbs feature the argument called Causer which is derived from vP and moved to TP while stative OE verbs feature the argument called T/SM that is derived from VP and moved to TP. In both cases, the Object Experiencer undergoes the movement along with a governing preposition.

The term argument demotion is often ascribed to passive alternants, where the agent is demoted to function as an adjunct. Obviously, we do not want to level argument demotion that is present in passive with argument demotion within OE verbs and DE verbs, but some similarities between these structures are noticeable. The ability of OE verbs to participate in the OE-SE alternation which requires a change in grammatical relations, focus shifts and valency reduction resembles passive structures. Additionally, the optional insertion of the dative

Experiencer into the structures discussed in Chapter 5 bears a resemblance to the addition of the agent through the *by*-phrase in passive sentences. All Experiencers are base-generated in SP but in case of accusative and dative Experiencers they undergo a downward movement in order to receive the non-nominative case and assign range to an empty value $\langle e \rangle_{\#}$.

There is another issue that must be discussed at this point. The quantity of arguments within OE constructions affects their aspectual interpretation. The presence of homogeneous stimuli forces a stative interpretation of a sentence. Such stimuli are not associated with any deliberate action on part of the non-Experiencer argument. Homogeneous stimuli can be expressed by bare plural nominals in English (see 152) or plural nominals embedded in a structure with the imperfective aspect (see 153).

(152) Women frightened Tom.

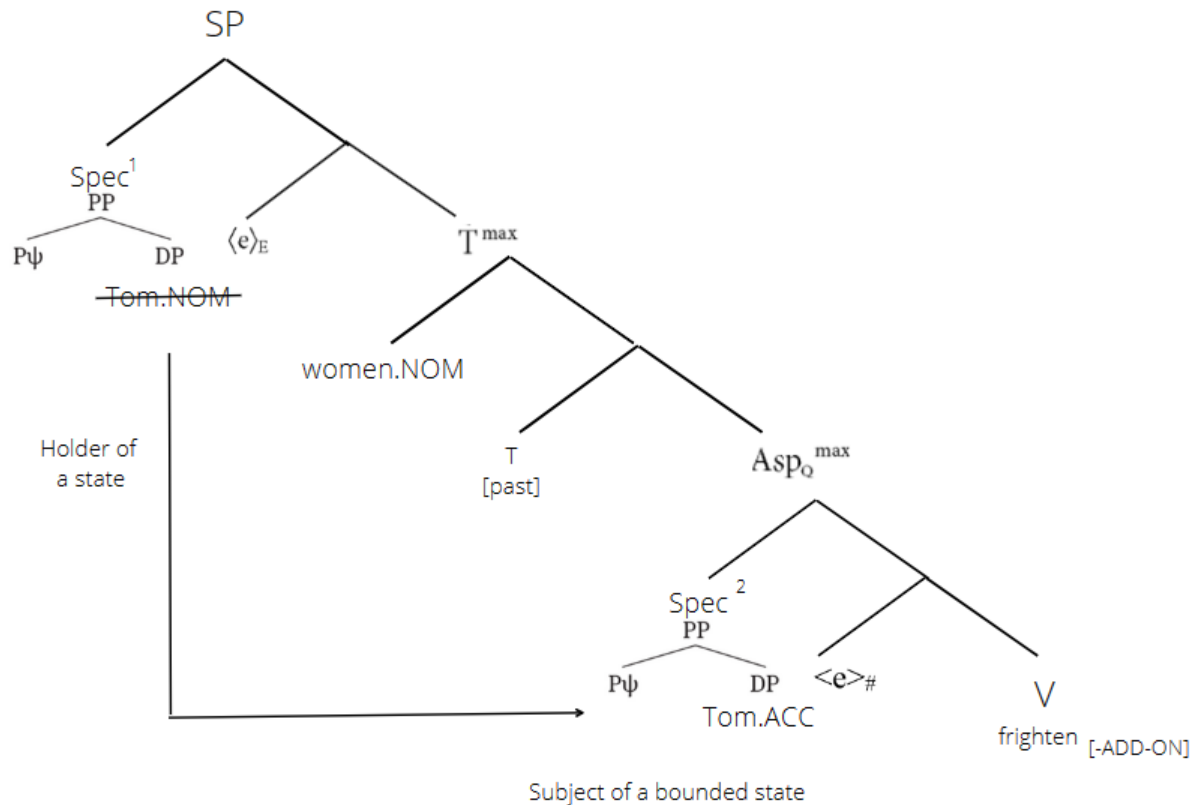
(153) Kobiety straszyły Tomka.

Women.NOM scare.PST.IPFV Tom.ACC

‘Women scared Tom.’

The event structure of the sentence *Women frighten Tom* could be represented, as in (154), which captures the existential interpretation of the Object Experiencer expressed by a proper name and its affectedness. At the same time, it captures the lack of intentionality on part of the Stimulus through preventing it from moving to EP. The Experiencer is demoted from the specifier of SP to the specifier of Asp_{QP}, which shows its emotional interpretation of the eventuality.

(154) a.



- b. $\exists e$ [bounded state (e) & holder-of-a-state/subject-of-a-bound-state (Tom, e) & default participant (women, e) & frighten (e)]

This event structure mirrors that of DE verbs with the exception of the presence of a preposition that assigns the dative case to the Experiencer. The Experiencer starts off as an internal argument but then is moved to SP. The Stimulus located in TP agrees with the verb and stays *in situ*.

Quantity stimuli like proper names (in combination with the imperfective form of the verb in Polish) may be ambiguous with respect to the stative-eventive interpretation. Tom can be unaware of his effect on women in general or he can frighten unspecified women on purpose. Compare (155) – (156):

(155) Tom frightened women.

(156) Tomek straszył kobiety.

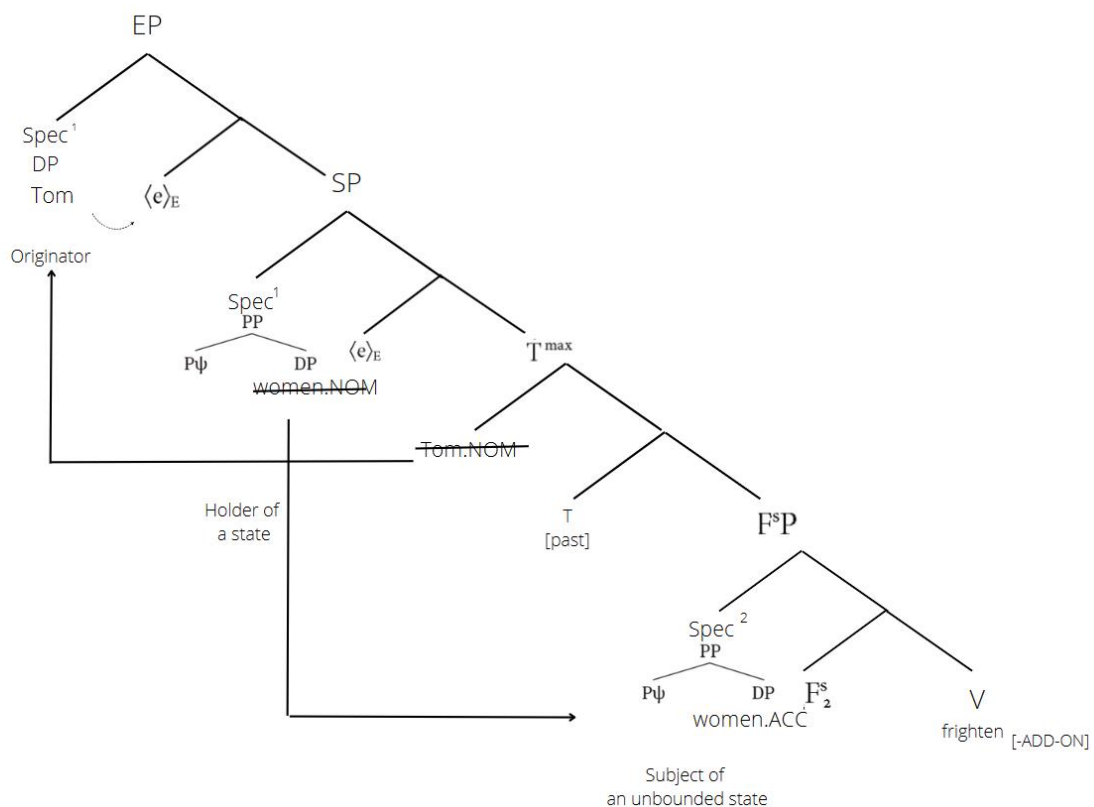
Tom.NOM frighten.PST.IPFV women.ACC

‘Tom frightened women.’

Some informants, however, observe that the combination of a concrete person with a generic Stimulus highlights the causative properties of the Stimulus. In other words, an eventive interpretation seems to be the most salient.

The event structure of the sentence *Tom frightened women* with an eventive interpretation could be represented as in (157), which captures that the Stimulus is an Originator and the Experiencer remaining in Asp_{OP} is associated with an existential interpretation. Additionally, the presence of the Experiencer licenced by a locative structure coupled with the assignment of the feature [-ADD-ON] forces an interpretation, in which the emotion aroused was punctual and could continue on part of the Experiencer after the event.

(157) a.



- b. $\exists e$ [unbounded state (e) & holder-of-a-state/subject-of-a-unbound state (women, e) & originator (Tom, e) & frighten (e)]

However, in case of an agentive interpretation, the sentence is then considered [+ADD-ON]. The Originator is in action in order to frighten the Experiencer.

In Polish, the imperfective forms of OE co-occurring with accusative Experiencer (see 153, 156) may be stative or eventive (Bondaruk, 2020b).

4.2.2 Split Stimuli alternant

In this Section, attention is given to two alternants, that is the Possessor Subject alternant and Split Stimuli alternant, as shown in (158) – (159), respectively:

- (158) a. Mark's singlemindedness terrified me. (possessor subject alternant)
 b. Mark terrified me with his singlemindedness. (split stimulus alternant)

taken from Levin (1993, p. 76-77, ex. 262, 263)

- (159) a. The clown's antics amused the children.
 b. The clown amused the children with his antics.

taken from Levin (1993, p. 190, ex. 476)

In the Possessor Subject alternant (see 158a-159a), the Possessor and the Attribute form a single noun phrase. The Split Stimulus alternant (see 158b-159b) expresses the Possessor and the Attribute as two distinct constituents; the Possessor bears the nominative case, functioning as a subject and the Attribute bears the instrumental case, describing the property of a subject (Engelberg, 2005).

On closer scrutiny, the semantic type of the attribute seems to yield a stative interpretation, where Tom's personal trait, that is singlemindedness, is interpreted or evaluated by the Experiencer as terrifying. OE verbs are often found in such a context, as illustrated by the example in (160) retrieved from the corpus.

- (160) She irritated me so much with her lack of agency. (youglish)

It appears that OE predicates denoting an emotional reaction to somebody's attribute, as in (160), yield a stative reading while OE predicates denoting an emotional reaction to somebody's actions yield both a stative and eventive interpretation. Moreover, it seems that the animate Possessor Subject alternant is more associated with a stative reading of OE verbs than the Split Stimuli alternant (see van Oosten, 1984, for highlighting agentivity in the Split Stimuli alternant).

As it turns out, the argument headed by the preposition *with* does not have to be an inherent property of the grammatical subject, as the following examples illustrate:

- (161) a. He's totally independent. He never worried me with any trifles.
 b. There is something else that really fascinated me with these cottages. (youglish)

- (162) a. At least one thing had worked, thought W.F., he had scared them with typhoid.

Nothing scared Germans more than sickness. (COCA)

b. They surprised me with a delicious brownie dessert. (COCA)

c. One of them was cities, as I've already bored you with. (COCA)

Example (162a) clearly shows that the prepositional argument is the stimulus of a feeling borne by the Experiencer, but the grammatical subject is a provider of such a stimulus. The Experiencer is afraid of typhoid because of the subject's acting. This meaning is purely agentive but with a psychological effect on the internal argument.

The constructions containing OE verbs with the PP-instruments are of a different kind than those featuring change-of-state verbs, in which the paraphrase with the use of the phrase *because of* is infelicitous.

(163) a. Tom opened the champagne with his corkscrew.

b. *Tom opened the champagne because of a corkscrew.

(164) a. Tom irritated Mary with his behaviour.

b. Tom irritated Mary because of his behaviour.

In the Possessor Subject Alternant in Polish, the Possessor is in the genitive case and the Attribute in the nominative case, as shown below:

(165) *Marysię denerwuje zachowanie Tomka.* (Possessor Subject alternant)

Mary.ACC anger.PRS behaviour.NOM Tom.GEN

'Tom's behaviour angers Mary.'

The Possessor Subject *zachowanie Tomka* 'Tom's behaviour' can also take the initial clausal position. All our informants claim that the initial position of the Experiencer in the Possessor Subject alternant is more natural and may suggest that Tom does not do it intentionally and this is only Mary's emotional reaction to his actions.

When it comes to the Split Stimulus alternant in Polish, the Possessor bears the nominative case and the Attribute argument is marked for the instrument case. The Attribute can be realised in the sentence-final position, as in (166a), or it can be fronted, as in (166b):

(166) a. *Tomek denerwuję Marysię swoim zachowaniem.* (split stimulus alternant)

Tom.NOM anger.PRS Mary.ACC his behaviour.INS

'Tom angers Mary with his behaviour.'

b. *Swoim zachowaniem Tomek denerwuję Marysię.* (word order variation)

his behaviour.INS Tom.NOM anger.PRS Mary.ACC

'Tom angers Mary with his behaviour.'

The word order in which the Experiencer is extraposed is rejected by the majority of my informants.

(167) a. ?*Denerwuje Marysię Tomek swoim zachowaniem.*

anger.PRS Mary.ACC Tomek.NOM his behaviour.INS

- a. ?Marysię denerwuje Tomek swoim zachowaniem.

Mary.ACC anger.PRS Tomek.NOM his behaviour.INS

This may be interpreted as an indication that the Split Stimuli alternant forces an agentive interpretation, in which the Stimulus acts intentionally with the aim of causing a specific feeling in the Experiencer.

The Possessor Subject alternant appears to contain more psychological properties since it patterns with inanimate objects better than with the Split Stimuli alternant. The Split Stimuli alternant is a better syntactic candidate for forcing an agentive/eventive interpretation. Compare the following instances:

(168) Eventive OE verbs with inanimate subjects

- a. Wycie syreny strażackiej irytuje/złości Anię.

howl.NOM siren.GEN fire.GEN irritate.PRS/anger.PRS Ann.ACC

‘the howling of the fire siren irritates/angers Ania.’

- b. ?Syrena strażacka irytuje/złości Anię wyciem.

siren.GEN fire.GEN irritate.PRS/anger.PRS Ann.ACC howl.INS

‘The fire siren irritates/angers Ania due to its howling.’

- c. *Sukienka z tego sklepu zirytowała/zezłościła Anię swym kolorem.

dress.NOM from this shop.GEN Z.PFV-irritate.PST/ze.PFV-anger.PST Ann.ACC its colour.INS

‘The dress from this shop irritates/angers Ania.’

The same hold for stative OE verbs with inanimate subjects in both imperfective and perfective, as illustrated below:

(169) Stative OE roots with inanimate subjects

- a. Aura jesieni przygnębia Anię.

Aura.NOM autumn.GEN depress.PRS.PFV Ania.ACC

‘An aura of autumn depresses Ania’.

- b. ?Jesień przygnębiała Anię swą aurą.

autumn.NOM depress.PST.IPFV Ania.ACC its aura.INST

‘Autumn depressed Ania with its aura.’

- c. ?Jesień przygnębiła Anię swą aurą.

autumn.NOM depress.PST.IPFV Ania.ACC its aura.INST

‘The autumnal aura depressed Ania.’

It may be concluded that Split Stimuli alternant requires the presence of the anaphoric possessive pronoun *swój/a/e* to co-refer to the Possessor due to its distance from the subject.

This fact led Klimek and Rozwadowska (2004) to contending that Polish OE verbs participating in the Split Stimuli alternant are dyadic. The Possessor in the subject position is an independent external argument while the Subject Matter argument in the instrumental phrase is dependent and thus must be referential. Based on this observation, they claim that Pesetsky's (1995) T/SM restriction does not apply to OE verbs expressing the relation between the Possessor and its Attribute.³⁴ In these sentences, the Possessor in the subject position understood as a Causer can co-occur with its possession understood as a Subject Matter, be it alienable or inalienable. Building on Adger (2003), this representation features an optional functional category, the specifier of which merges with the Possessor and the splitting of the internal argument or Possessor-Raising from the complement of V to [Spec, v]. Given that the Stimulus marked for the instrument case takes the lower position than the Experiencer, this alternant depicts the Possessor of the Attribute as an initiator or creator of a Stimulus that affects the Experiencer. In this work's approach, the Possessor is not regarded as a Causer yet as the Possessor of the property that stimulates the Experiencer to feel in a certain way.

However, the Split Stimuli alternant does not have to require the presence of the anaphoric possessive pronoun. It does not need to be co-referential with the subject. Biały (2005) claims that stative OE verbs are more constrained than non-stative verbs as for the possibility of taking three different thematic arguments. It is exemplified in the Split-Stimulus construction, where one of the arguments is located in the instrumental case. With non-stative OE verbs, the instrumental argument needs not co-refer to the subject, as illustrated in (170):

- (170) a. Piotr przeraził Marię tym artykułem.
 Peter.NOM scare.PST.PFV Mary.ACC this.INS article.INS
 'Peter scared Mary with this article.'
- b. Zosia upokorzyła siostrę tym stwierdzeniem.
 Sophie.NOM humiliate.PST.PFV sister.ACC this.INS statement.INS
 'Zosia humiliated her sister with this statement.'

However, with stative OE verbs, the instrumental case has to be co-referential with the subject or else the sentences are considered odd, as in (171):

- (171) a. Historia zainteresowała Tomka (?tym zagadnieniem).
 history.NOM interest.PST.PFV Tom.ACC (this topic.INS)
 'History interested Tom with this topic.'

³⁴ This restriction states that the Causer and Subject Matter cannot appear together in one utterance.

b. Maria zafascynowała Tomka (?tym prezentem).

Mary.NOM fascinate.PST.PFV Tom.ACC (this.INS gift.INS)

‘Mary fascinated Tom with this gift.’

However, it is possible to invent reasonable contexts with stative OE verbs, where the argument headed by the instrumental case does not necessarily have to be an inherent property of the subject, as demonstrated below:

(172) a. Tomek zainteresował/zafascynował Anię muzyką jazzową.

Tom.NOM interest/fascinate.PST.PFV Ann.ACC music.INS jazz.INS

‘Tom interested/fascinated Ann with jazz music.’

b. Dokument na HBO zainteresował/zafascynował Tomka historią Hiszpanii.

Documentary.NOM on HBO interested/fascinated.PST.PFV Tom.ACC history Spain.GEN

‘The documentary on HBO interested/fascinated Tom with a history of Spain’

Regardless of the emergence of an eventive reading, the sentences with OE verbs are aspectually inceptive. The continuation of an emotion refers to the instrumental stimulus. Example (172a) implies that jazz music is still of interest to Ann but it does not imply that Tom is a source of her interest. He was just a provider. The argument marked for the instrumental case does not have to be someone’s attribute or an abstract thing, which example (173) illustrates.

(173) a. Adam zaskoczył Anię prezentem dla niej.

‘Adam surprised Ann with a gift for her.’

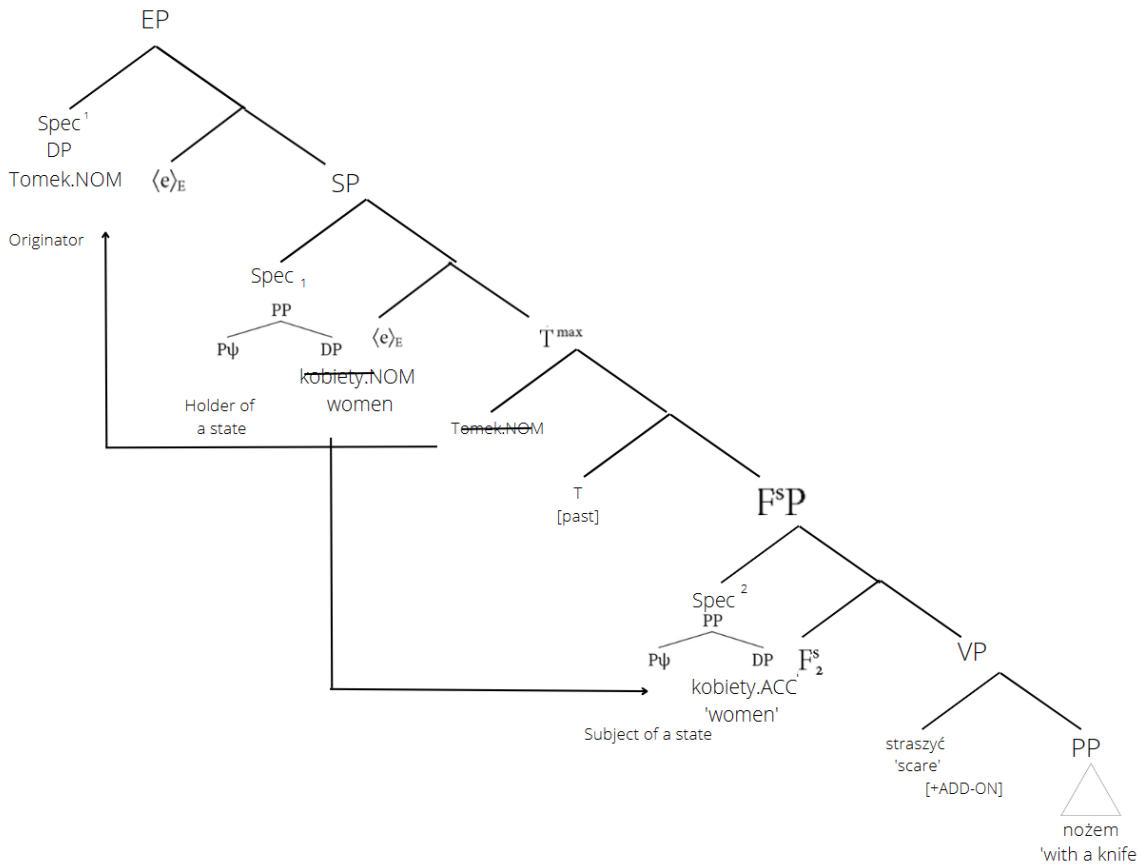
b. Marysia rozweseliła towarzystwo koniem, który przywlekła.

‘Mary cheered up the assembled company with a horse she dragged.’

Taking the above considerations into account, we propose the representation of the sentence *Tomek straszy kobiety nożem* ‘Tom scared women with a knife’, as in (174):

(174)

a.



b. $\exists e$ [unbounded state (e) & originator (Tom, e) & (women, e) & with (a knife, e) & love (e)]

As shown, the addition of the attribute denoting a tangible tool preceded by the *with* preposition or expressed by the instrumental case affects the interpretation of the verb. The verb is interpreted then as [+ADD-ON]. This instrumental argument is attached below the L-D because it does not exclude the presence of the Experiencer. However, the feature [+ADD-ON] points to a single occurrence and intentionality.

The grammatical properties of the Split Stimulus cannot be equated with the conative alternation (e.g., *Tom kicked at the stone*). The interpretation of a listeme as an argument in the conative alternation results from merging with a P, 'which in turn merges directly with the (copy) of V-head, thus being categorized, assigned inherent case, and interpreted through an appropriate preposition' (p. 91), for example *at*. The preposition blocks the emergence of the Asp_QP and the assignment of an accusative case, which is why, the conative structure is associated with an atelic interpretation. The presence of the preposition or bare instrumental

markedness in the Split Stimuli alternant does not lead to such aspectual modifications but resembles aspectual neutrality, as in the *spray-load* alternation (see Section 3.2.1). The argument that occupies the position of a direct object in the Split Stimuli bears either an existential interpretation or a generic interpretation. In recent corpus-based analyses (Poppek, Masioch and Kiss, 2023), a phrase external to the subject (often PPs) in the Split Stimuli alternant is treated as an adjunct, which also confirms the assumption that these elements should be placed in the lexical domain outside the event structure.

Another parallel may be drawn between the Split Stimuli and *spray/load* alternation. The *with* variant of *spray/load* variant is associated with a holistic effect on the direct object whereas the locative variant refers only to the partitive effect. This means that the sentence *Tom sprayed his car with blue paint* implies that the entire car was sprayed with blue paint whereas the sentence *Tom sprayed blue paint over his car* means that some parts of the car were sprayed with blue paint. In contrast, the Split Stimuli alternant can suggest the holistic effect (emotional affectedness) on the Experiencer. This is line with the approach adopted in this work that the Experiencer in the object position cannot be assigned a null partitive case.

In Poppek, Masioch and Kiss (2023), the Split Stimuli alternant is not only characterised by the use of the preposition *with* but also by the use of other prepositions such as *through* and *as*. In English, the preposition *as* in the split stimulus alternant is possible. The sentences below exemplify such a usage:

- (175) a. He impressed me as being very mature and well-rounded.
 b. Tom annoys me as a policeman.

The Split Stimuli alternant with the preposition *as* has a narrower meaning than with the preposition *with*. It usually indicates somebody's role that evokes emotions in the Experiencer. Therefore, this type of Split Stimuli alternant tends to be associated mainly with a stative interpretation. However, in Polish, the eventive interpretation is possible, as shown in (176):

- (176) a. Zaskoczył mnie jako nauczyciel.
 Z.PFV-surprise.3SG.M.PST me.ACC as teacher.NOM
 'He surprised me as a teacher.'
 c. Denerwuje mnie jako ksiądz.
 Irritate.3SG.M.PST.IPFV me.ACC as priest.NOM
 'He irritates me as a priest.'

From this discussion it emerges that the Split Stimuli alternant is sensitive to the semantics of subjects and the instrumental phase does not have to be the attribute of the Stimulus. OE verbs participating in this alternant can take various aspectual readings.

4.2.3 Attribute subject with a prepositional Possessor alternant

In this alternation, the possessor and the attribute take reverse grammatical functions compared to the Split Stimuli alternant. The possessor of the stimulus is expressed by the PP whereas its attribute takes the position of the subject. In Polish, two prepositions are possible, i.e., *w* or *u*.

(177) Przerwywanie prelegentom denerwowało mnie u Tomka.

Interrupting speakers.DAT anger.PST.IPFV me at Tom.GEN

‘Tom’s interrupting speakers annoys me.’

(178) Przeszkadza mi brak zdecydowania w Tomku.

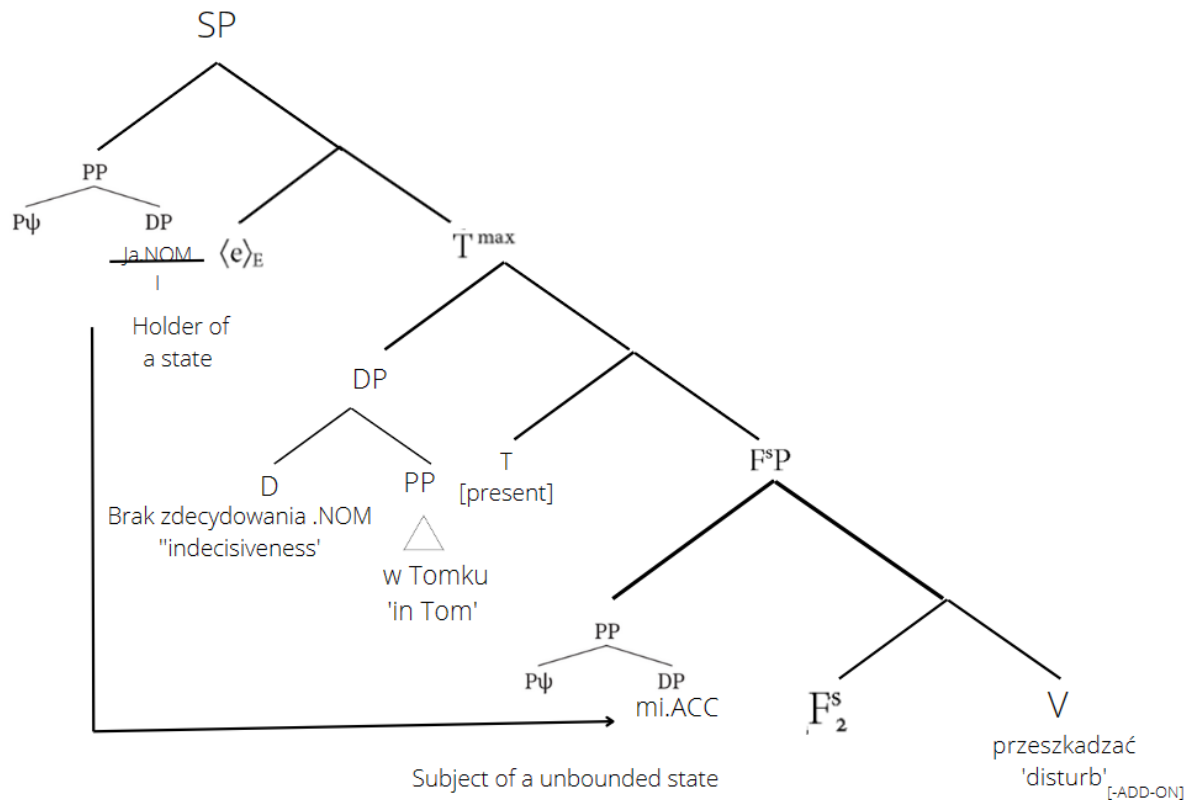
Disturb.PRS.IPFV lack.NOM decisiveness.GEN in Tom.LOC

‘The indecisiveness disturbs me in Tom.’

The attribute can be an inalienable or alienable property. Two arguments, i.e., possessor and attribute in this alternant, which resembles the attribute object alternant of SE verbs.

We suggest representing the sentence: in (179):

(179) a.



- d. $\exists e$ [unbounded state (e) & holder-of-a-state/subject-of-a-state (ja, e) & stimulus (brak zdecydowania, e)/(w Tomku, e) & przeszkadzać (e)]

The Possessor and Attribute arguments must be present in the event structure. Either of them should be relegated to the lexical domain. As Żychliński (2016) observed, in Adger and Ramchand (2006), Experiencers should be conceptualised as Possessors of mental experiences rather than mental locations, which is reinforced by their animacy. However, this alternation proves that the Possessor is a location. Two Possessors can be recognised in this alternation. On the one hand, there is a Possessor of an Attribute that annoys the Experiencer. On the other, there is an Experiencer who is a Possessor of that feeling. This relation may be roughly paraphrased into:

(180) Jest we mnie coś, co mi w nim przeszkadza.

Be.3SG.PRS in me.LOC something, what me.DAT in him.LOC disturb.3SG.PRS.IPFV

‘There is something about her that disturbs me.’

Additionally, in this alternation, it is visible that the Experiencer notices in herself the arousal of the psychological effects that a Stimulus has on her. This feeling does not necessarily have to be physically manifested. It is located in the Experiencer's internal world. This is confirmed by the impossibility of forcing an agentive reading and an eventive in this alternation.

(181) a. *Celowe wtrącanie się do rozmowy zdenerwowało nas u Janka.

Deliberate interfering to conversation.ACC z.PFV-irritate.PST US.ACC at John.LOC

‘Deliberate interfering in the conversation annoyed us in John.’

b. *His intentional tapping annoyed me in him.

If we want to say that John deliberately annoyed us by interrupting the conversation, we definitely employ another alternant. The Attribute Subject with a prepositional Possessor alternant is connected with a stative or marginally eventive reading but not with an agentive reading. In English, this alternant is not idiomatic.

(182) ?This type of behaviour annoys me in Jack.

Only a few examples of this alternant can be found in the corpus and they usually occur in pseudo-cleft or cleft sentences. In this case, the preposition *in* is in use. This also shows that this alternant in English is not used in agentive contexts.

(183) a. Perhaps this was what irritated me in Plato and Aristotle.

b. The one thing I noticed that irritated me in the debate was Obama constantly trying to slam Romney over his wealth.

c. What irritates me in so many reviews of “NCFOM” is (...)

4.2.4 Resultative alternation

The OE predicates can be augmented by resultative phrases, as illustrated by the following examples retrieved from Google and COCA by Grafmiller (2013):

(184) a. Facebook’s apps have annoyed me into not using them. (G)

b. The lines of the prose are what fascinated me into making the painting. (G)

c. Staff did not look happy. Almost depressed me out of buying a sandwich. (G)

d. It frightened you out of my study for the rest of that summer. (COCA)

e. I cannot explain to you why the trend of recent political society in the West depresses me to the point of introversion and withdrawal. (COCA)

The resultative phrase is introduced by the prepositions like *into*, *out of* and *to the point of* (see also Levin, 2019). The insertion of *into* lexicalises the state or activity the Experiencer is encouraged to have or do. The insertion of *out of* describes the state or activity the Experiencer is discouraged from having or doing. The addition of *to the point*, in turn, allows for introducing the noun phrase denoting the state triggered by the Stimulus. Note that in example (184), the Stimulus is inanimate and it is only the Experiencer who perceives a given emotion.

Nevertheless, the aspectual interpretation of psych resultative alternant is different from resultatives with dynamic verbs. In the non-psychological domain, resultatives describe an outcome of a finished action. The inference always refers to the culmination of an event that turns into a new state or another action, as shown below:

- (185) a. He talked me into buying this flat. Entails that he stopped encouraging me.
 b. They transformed him into an internationally renowned correspondent.
 Entails that they didn't transform him anymore.

The resultative alternants of OE verbs may imply the continuation of a feeling after the emergence of a resultant state.

- (186) The book fascinated me into reading more about that subject.
 Entails I am still fascinated by the book.

As is visible from the above examples, with the provision of the right context, the emergence of the result does not annul the continuation of a particular emotion felt by the Experiencer.

The examples found in the corpus contain inanimate subjects, which may indicate that it is the Experiencer who interprets the effect of a certain situation or thing as emotional and this emotional state forces her to undertake a particular activity. The uncontrollability of this state of affairs is expressed grammatically by placing the stimulus in the subject position and the Experiencer in the object position. In turn, the eventive interpretation coerces the meaning of *frightening* into a dynamic sense of threatening.

- (187) The police frightened the perpetrator into pleading guilty.

Apart from that, psych resultatives do not mirror the properties of resultatives with causative verbs. Study the examples in (188) and (189):

- (188) a. The boys broke the window into shards.
 b. *They depressed me into tears.
 (189) a. They walked their feet sore.
 b. *She annoyed me tired.

However, there are some idioms with OE verbs in which a resultative phrase is a NP headed by a PP; for instance: *bore somebody to death*.

Polish does not have a resultative construction that could resemble the English one discussed above. However, the meaning of such constructions may be translated into a descriptive manner with the help of the expression *do takiego stopnia, ze* 'to such a point that'.

- (190) Aplikacje Facebooka zirytowały go do takiego stopnia, że przestał
 Applications Facebook.GEN Z.PFV-irritate.PST him.ACC to such degree that stop.3SG.M.PST

z nich korzystać.

from them use.INF

‘Facebook’s apps irritated him to such a point that he stopped using them.’

This paraphrase shows that OE verbs cannot denote the right boundary of an eventuality. In the case of OE verbs, the culminating point is impossible to be established.

4.2.5 PRO-*arb* Object alternant – Stimulus’s characteristic property

OE verbs can be attested in the alternant labelled as PRO-*arb* Object (in the terminology of Levin, 1993, p. 37) or null drop, as shown below:

(191) That movie always shocks/wearies/worries.

In Polish, the Experiencer can also be dropped, as shown below:

(192) a. Tamten film nie przestaje szokować.

‘That film does not cease to shock’.

b. Ta książka mocno wkurza, ale i cholernie przygnębia. (NKJP)

‘This book irritates much, but it depresses abso-bloody-lutely.’

c. Dosłowność nędzy przeraża. (NKJP)

‘The literality of squalor horrifies.’

Inanimate arguments are mainly used in this alternant. This alternant is evaluative since inanimate subjects cannot weary or shock themselves. They must be assessed like that by the Experiencer. Therefore, despite the absence of the Experiencer in this alternant, the Experiencer is implied and SP must be projected in the derivation.

This PRO-*arb* Object alternant is not licit with non-psychological verbs, especially when the subject is inanimate and the object is implied as a group of people. (193a) does not accept an internal object and the tree in (193b) can generate its smell by itself.

(193) a. Ten długopis pisze.

This.M.NOM pen.NOM write.PRS

‘This pen writes.’

b. To drzewo pachnie kasztanem.

This.N.NOM tree.NOM smell.PRS chestnut.INS

‘This tree smells of chestnut.’

This alternant is claimed to involve verbs with affected arguments that are typically direct objects (Grafmiller, 2013, p. 50-52). Therefore, it may be taken as an argument against Landau’s

claim that Experiencers in the object position are obliques and their unaccusative derivation. As a reminder, we take the Object Experiencer to be a conceptual location visible for event structure. This means that there is no need for the Experiencer to be preceded by an overt preposition. In this work, OE verbs are not treated as unaccusatives, which is why the compatibility of OE verbs with this alternant is taken as an argument for this claim.

4.2.6 Reflexive diatheses alternant

The alternant called Reflexive Diatheses is taken to be a property of typical transitive verbs expressing a change of state and an agent in the subject position. Reflexive diatheses do not affect verb transitivity since the reflexive functions as an object co-referring with the subject of the sentence (Levin, 1993, p. 84).

- (194) a. The meat cuts itself.
 b. The window just opens itself.

This alternant points to an absence of a Causer and highlights the fact that the action takes place automatically or mechanically. This alternant is placed in a group of the argument deletion alternations because it requires only one participant, a participant who is the initiator and the affected argument at the same time.³⁵

We claim that OE verbs do not participate in this alternant because of a few reasons. Firstly, OE verbs do not exhibit the suppression of the subject in contrast to examples in (194). Secondly, derived subjects present in the reflexive diatheses alternant are inanimate while the instance in (195) express animate subjects. Finally, it is known who is responsible for the arousal of an emotion in sentences with OE verbs in (195) while examples (193) do not point to a concrete cause. This shows that OE verbs are not change-of state verbs.

- (195) a. He didn't want to frighten her the way he frightened himself sometimes.
 b. Then he felt very bad and he scared himself.

³⁵ None of the semantic components have been found to restrict the verbs' participation in this alternation. Levin (1993) only notices that the verb *melt*, being a change-of-state verb, does not figure in the reflexive diatheses. Similarly, *topnieć* 'melt' seems not to appear in this construction. Such a state of affairs might be owing to the interaction of world knowledge with the linguistic domain. Since there is only one source that is responsible for melting – warmth independently of whether it is produced by the sun, the hob burner or the fire, the verb *melt* or *topnieć* 'melt' occur in the inchoative alternant more often than in the causative one as if the source was a redundant element. Note that *topnieć* is not a reflexive verb and cannot be reflexivised but its use applies to the inchoative meaning.

c. He embarrassed himself with a story from his childhood.

OE verbs also differ from verbs that describe an action in which the Agent and the Patient are the same person like *wash* or *shave*. Their intransitive uses do not require the presence of a reflexive (e.g., *he shaved* or *they washed*). OE verbs in the said alternant require the use of a reflexive.

Additionally, the past participles of OE verbs can be merged with reflexives, as shown in (196). These structures emphasise that the Experiencer is preoccupied with a certain emotion.

(196) a. She felt a little worried herself.

b. I was scared myself.

In Polish, OE verbs can co-occur with the expression *sam(a)(i) siebie* ‘onself’. These structures indicate that the Experiencer is her own Stimulus, as illustrated in (197):

(197) a. Wtedy chłopiec przestraszył się sam siebie.

Then boy.NOM prze.PFV-scare.PST REFL himself

‘Then the boy frightened himself.’

b. Zainteresowała się sama sobą.

Za.PFV-interest.1SG.F.PST REFL herself

‘She was fascinated by herself.’

Unlike the reflexive *się*, the pronoun *siebie* acts as a complement and thus preserves transitivity. It can occur in topicalised contexts and in the preverbal position (e.g., *myję się* vs. *siebie myję* ‘I wash myself’).³⁶ In view of that, OE verbs are inherently transitive and thus need the holder of an emotion and the Stimulus. The Reflexive Diatheses alternant in Polish employs the pronoun *sam* and reflexive *się*. OE verbs do not occur in such a syntactic environment.

(198) a. Przy tej temperaturze jajka same się smażą.

At this.DAT temperature.DAT eggs.NOM themselves fry.PRS

‘At this temperature, eggs fry themselves’.

b. *Tomek przestraszył się sam.

Tom.NOM prze.PFV-scare.PST REFL alone

‘Tom scared himself.’

(199) a. Okno samo się otworzyło.

Window.NOM alone REFL open.3SG.N.PST

‘The window opens by itself.’

b. *Zszokowali się sami.

³⁶ The insertion of *siebie* is not possible with action verbs such as *tańczyć* ‘dance’ and *śpiewać* ‘sing’.

Z.PFV-shock.PST REFL alone
 ‘They shocked themselves.’

The structures where the Experiencer is the Stimulus at the same time are mainly linked to an existential interpretation, which means that the Asp_QP is projected over their complements.

4.2.7 Psych Dispositional Middle alternant in English

This Section is concerned with the dispositional middle alternant, which is also known under the term of the agentless active construction. Below are instantiations of such an alternant:³⁷

- (200) a. Those books slide across the table easily.
 b. Whole wheat bread cuts easily.
 c. Marble carves easily.
 d. Eggs mix well with cream.

(taken from Levin, 1994)

In this alternant, the external subject of an event is suppressed (implied or unexpressed) and then the object of an event is preposed. This means that the logical subject argument is syntactically absent although it is semantically present, as well as the grammatical subject is the logical object. Apart from that, there must be the presence of manner adverbials like *well* or *easily*. Middles point to the process (Hulk, A. & Cornips, L., 2000, p. 214; Fellbaum, 1986). and describe the crucial property of the preposed object. They highlight the property of the raised object.

Lekakou (2005, p. 99) recognises the following core qualities of dispositional middle construction:

- (201) a. The understood subject is ascribed a dispositional property.
 b. An otherwise eventive verb becomes a derived stative and, more precisely, receives a generic interpretation.
 c. The agent is syntactically suppressed and receives an arbitrary interpretation.

Not only are inanimate arguments allowed to be used in middles but also animate arguments, including humans can be embedded in these constructions.

- (202) a. Bureaucrats bribe easily for Sam.
 b. Obedient daughters raise more easily than disobedient sons.

(taken from Alexiadou, 2014, ex. 11, 13, respectively)

³⁷ The label *dispositional middle* is taken from Alexiadou (2014) because such constructions ascribe a dispositional property to the understood object (see also Lekakou, 2005).

Levin (1993) indicates that OE verbs like *cheer*, *enthuse*, *delight*, *gladden*, *grieve*, *madden*, *obsess*, *puzzle*, *sadden*, *sicken*, *thrill*, *tire*, *weary*, *worry* are readily found with this alternant.

Consider the following examples:

- (203) a. Little children amuse easily.
 b. Aunt Mary scares easily.
 c. He frightens easily.
 d. Little children amuse easily.
 e. Tom depresses easily.
 f. Tom bores easily.

Landau (2010, p. 50) makes an observation that stative OE verbs do not undergo middle formation due to their stativity, as exemplified by the ill-formedness of the sentence like **Great ideas elude/escape/concern/interest easily*. Nevertheless, examples (203ef) contradict this hypothesis (see also Fellbaum, 1986; Halliday, 1968).

Middles with OE verbs are ambiguous in meaning, as opposed to examples in (203). To illustrate, example (204) can mean that he has the capacity to scare others because he might have a menacing appearance or behave in an aggressive manner. It can also mean that he can be easily frightened. Apart from that, these interpretations are different from passive structures, as shown below:

- (204) a. She frightens easily.
 i. it is easy to frighten her.
 ii. she frightens everyone easily.
 b. She is easily frightened.
 i. there is always someone who can frighten her easily.

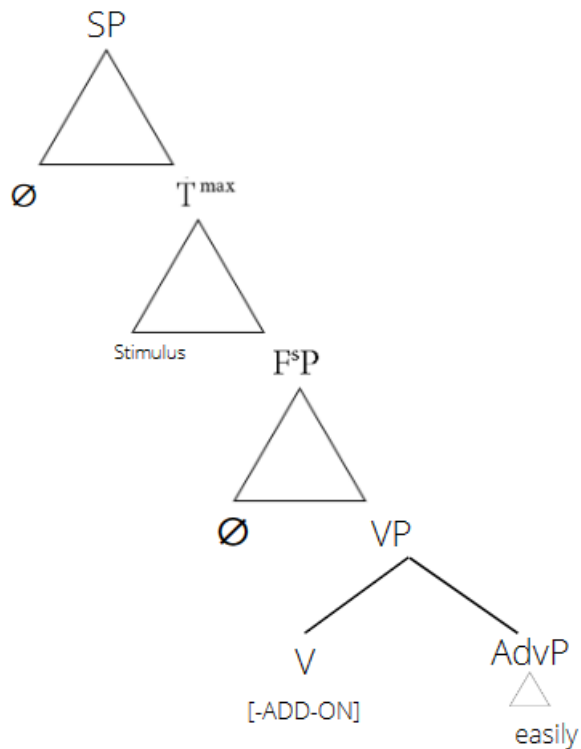
Probably due to this ambiguity, middles with OE verbs are not very felicitous with the argument augmentation in the form of the *for*-phrase.

- (205) ?She frightens easily for Sam.

Such a state of affairs calls for two distinct representations. Our model is able to capture these differences. The meaning in (204a) involves the presence of the overt Stimulus. In the stative interpretation, the Stimulus is placed in [Spec, TP] and is not promoted to EP. We claim that this meaning which refers to the trait of the Stimulus is inextricably linked with the stative reading of OE verbs.

(206)

a.

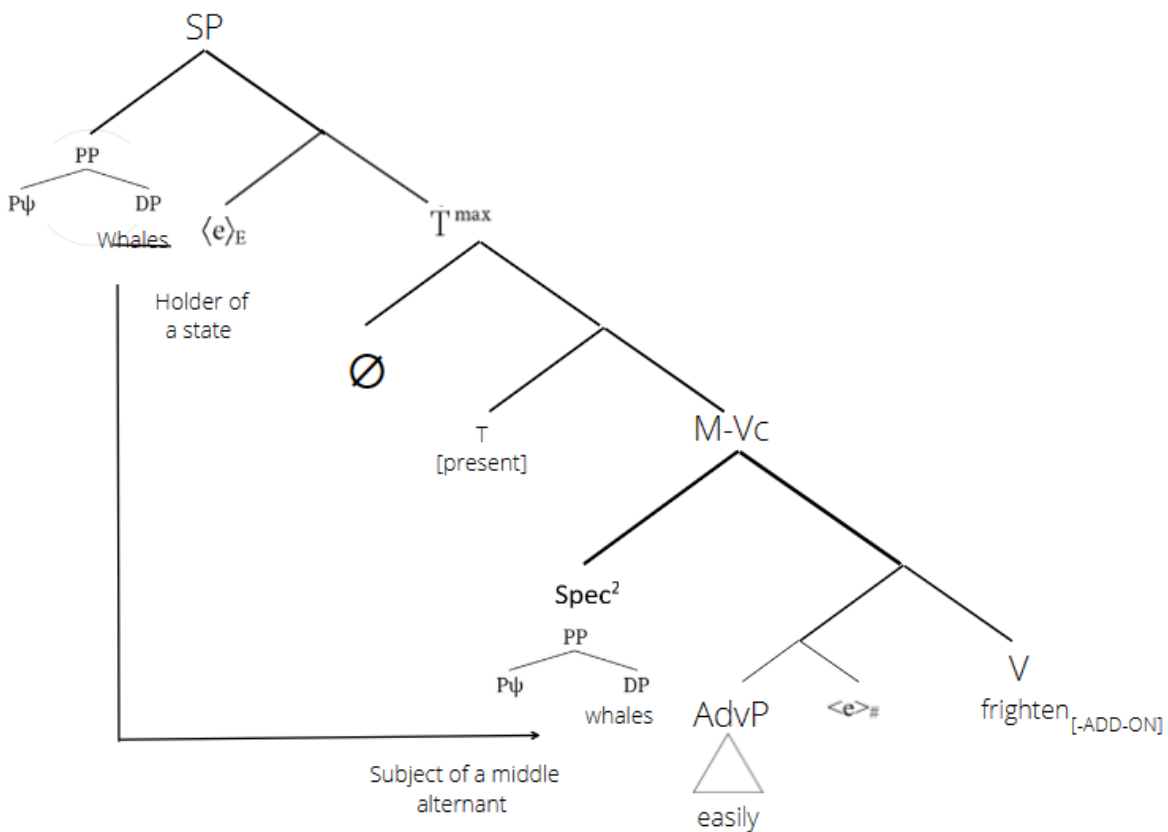


b. $\exists e$ [unbounded state (e) & Stimulus (whales, e) & frighten easily (e)]

The representation of OE verbs in the Dispositional Middles is much more difficult since we need to consider the structure of middle voice. Following Alexiadou (2014), English employs unergative structures in dispositional middles because it does not express genericity by aspectual morphology. That is why the expressed argument in middles is not base-generated in either FsP or AspP but it sits in the middle voice phrase (henceforth M-Vc). The projection of the M-Vc holds the obligatory adverb *easily* as a range assigner. The presence of this projection influences the specific behaviour and form of a verb within this structure. For English, the verb agrees with the grammatical subject, which is the Experiencer at the same time because it is moved from the specifier of the T^{\max} and then to the specifier of the SP. This alternant meets the criteria stipulated by Lekakou (2005) and quoted in (201).

(207)

a.



- b. $\exists e$ [unbounded state (e) & holder-of-a-state/subject-of-a-middle (whales, e) & frighten easily (e)]

Borer (2013, p. 225) claims that the middle formation is independent of quantity since some non-quantity events (208) are possible in this alternant while some quantity events exclude such contexts (209).

(208) a. This car drives easily.

b. This rope pulls with difficulty.

(209) a. *Schools build/construct easily.

b. *This concerto composes with difficulties.

c. *This ice cream consumes with difficulties.

Borer (2005b, p. 92) concludes that telicity (quantity) is neither necessary nor sufficient to define affectedness since the middle formation strongly associated with an affected argument cannot occur with verbs inherently telic like verbs of creation but occurs with activity verbs that

are atelic. This may be taken as an argument for viewing OE verbs as atelic since they can fall into the Dispositional Middle Alternant. This also means that the projection of either F^SP or AspQP is not required in the middle alternant.

4.2.8 Personal and Impersonal Middle alternants in Polish

Polish recognises at least two types of middles: personal and middle. The Personal Middle construction is characterised with the obligatory manner adverbs such as *łatwo* ‘easily’, the Patient argument in the nominative case and the verb agreeing with this argument in respect to number but not to gender.

(210) Ta bułka kroi się łatwo/szybko/dobrze.³⁸

This.NOM.F bread.NOM cut.PRS REFL easily/quickly/well

‘This bread cuts easily’

Regarding the Impersonal Middle construction, it represents an impersonal syntax because it lacks a nominative subject and has a default form of the verb marked for neuter gender. The argument upon which a given action is being performed is in the accusative case. This alternant also needs the presence of a manner adverb.

(211) Tę bułkę kroilo się łatwo.

This.ACC roll.ACC cut.3SG.N SE easily

‘This roll cut easily.’

Both the Middles describe the inherent property of a derived inanimate subject. However, the animate argument can also figure in this alternant and then it is marked for the dative case.

(212) Markowi mówiło się łatwo.

Mark.DAT speak.3SG.N SE easily

‘Mark found it easy to speak.’

(213) Łatwo się Markowi mówi.

Easily SE Mark.DAT speak.PRS

‘It easy for Mark to speak.’

The Dative Impersonal Middles (see 212) expresses subjective evaluation of specific VP-events or emotional attitude towards such events. The Experiencer must be the doer of the action described (see ‘direct experiencer requirement’ in Willim, 2020; Bylinnia, 2017).

³⁸ *Się* in middles is analysed as an indefinite pronoun. This is why we use a different gloss from REFL.

- (214) Przyjemnie (mu) się śpiewało tę piosenkę.
 Pleasantly (him).DAT SE sing.3SG.N this.ACC book.ACC
 ‘John enjoys singing this song.’

The construction in question also exhibits the obligatoriness of the reflexive *się* and an evaluative adverbial like *z przyjemnością* ‘with pleasure’, *z żalem* ‘with regret’, *ze wstydem* ‘with a shame’, *z trudem* ‘with difficulty’, *wesoło* ‘with joy’, *smutno* ‘sadly’, *dobrze* ‘well’, *wygodnie* ‘comfortably’ (see Willim, 2020).

The addition of the dative Experiencer is also possible in the Personal Middle construction, which is illustrated in (215):

- (215) Ta piosenka śpiewa się (mu) przyjemnie.
 This.NOM song.NOM. sing.3SG. SE him.DAT pleasantly
 ‘This song sings pleasantly for him.’

Personal and Impersonal constructions with a dative Experiencer exhibit information structure-related differences. The former focuses on the object while the latter stresses the emotional state of the dative Experiencer while he or she is doing something. According to Willim (2020), the dative Experiencer can be embedded by the applicative phrase in both Personal and Impersonal Middles, which expresses a subjective evaluation of events. We claim here that the possibility of inserting the Experiencer argument in these alternants shows special grammatical abilities of this argument, not only to change its grammatical function but also to attach to predicates featuring dynamic verbs. A potential representation of such middles in the spirit of the proposed model is left for future study.

Certainly, it is necessary to partition the middles in question from the agentive structures, as in (216):

- (216) Z przyjemnością zaśpiewał tę piosenkę.
 With pleasure za.PFV-sing.PST.3SG.M this.ACC song.ACC
 ‘He sang the song with pleasure.’

Despite the presence of an evaluative adverb, their inner aspect is that of dynamic verbs, in which the process and the endpoint with a resultant state are encoded. Polish psych verbs of all kinds are ungrammatical in this alternant. This ungrammaticality can be explained in reference to psych verbs’ aspectual properties. Psych verbs are states because they reject manner adverbials that usually describe dynamic events, which is especially evident in SE verbs and DE verbs.

- (217) a. *Tomkowi kochało/irytowało/imponowało się łatwo.
 Tom.DAT love.N.PST.IPFV/irritate.N.PST.IPFV/impress.N.PST.IPFV SE easily

(218) a. *Maria kocha/irytuje/imponuje się łatwo Tomkowi.

Mary.NOM love.PRS.IPFV/irritate.PRS.IPFV SE easily Tom.DAT

Instead, in Polish, OE verbs can express the same meaning as the above-mentioned Middles by another construction, which is presented in (219):

(219) a. Tomek denerwuję się szybko.

Tom.NOM anger.PRS REFL quickly

‘Tom angers quickly.’

b. Wzruszam się łatwo.

Move.1SG.PRS REFL easily

‘I come apart easily.’

e. Marysia zachwyca się łatwo.

Mary.NOM enthuse.PRS REFL easily

‘Mary enthuses easily.’

This construction describes the Experiencer’s psychological tendencies without her intention or planning. It obligatorily involves the reflexive *się* and the manner adverbs *łatwo* ‘easily’ or *szybko* ‘quickly’ and the psych verbs agree with the Experiencer argument. Some OE verbs are not compatible with the middle formation probably because they require the presence of an Object of Emotion. Consider the following sentences:

(220) a. ?Marysia martwi się łatwo.

Mary.NOM worry.PRS REFL easily

‘Mary worries easily.’

b. *Tomek interesuje się łatwo.

Tom.NOM interest.PRS REFL easily

‘Tom interests easily.’

This alternation appears to be available for only verbs denoting psychological states since sentences with non-psych verbs sound odd, as in (221):

(221) a. *Tomek mówi się łatwo.

Tom.NOM speak.3SG.PRS REFL easily

b.*Tomek gotuje łatwo.

Tom.NOM cook.3SG.PRS REFL easily

It has to be noted that this Psych Dispositional Middle alternant is different from the alternant in (210). In examples (219), there is no implication of an Agent. This also shows that the Experiencer is a sole participant in an eventuality (see Rozwadowska, 1997) and emotions that succumb to the Experiencer are located in this argument. Since this alternation points to the

Experiencer's traits, the perfective variant seems to be infelicitous and thus an eventive interpretation does not emerge.

Apart from the constructions discussed above, we also recognise another impersonal construction that is available for OE verbs. It consists of the non-inflecting verb *jest/było* 'is, was' and the manner adverb like *łatwo* 'easily'. The Experiencer argument is in the accusative case and the non-Experiencer argument is marked for the dative case.

(222) a. Łatwo jest nam ją zdenerwować.

Easy be.3SG.N her.ACC Z.PFV-anger.INF

'It is easy to anger her.'

b. Trudno jest Marii zaskoczyć Grzegorza czymś niezwykłym.

Hard be.3SG.N George.ACC za.PFV- shock.INF something.INS amazing

'It is difficult to surprise George with something extraordinary.'

This alternant highlights the ability of the non-Experiencer argument to cause the beginning of a feeling that arises in the Experiencer. This alternant is linked with stativity since the perfective variant is impossible. However, the predicate should be viewed as dynamic since the non-Experiencer has agentive properties in this alternant. It must do something to make the Experiencer angry or irritated. We argue that it is not the Experiencer because evaluative adverbials are not licit in this construction.

(223) *Z przyjemnością jest nam ją nudzić.

With pleasure be.N us.DAT her.ACC bore.INF

'It was pleasant for us to bore her.'

The use of SE verbs is not admissible in this impersonal construction since they do not undergo the Experiencer demotion at the level of event structure.

(224) a. *Łatwo się ją kochało.

Easy REFL her.ACC love.3SG.N.PST

'It was easy to love her.'

b. *Łatwo się to podziwiało.

Easy REFL this.ACC admire.3SG.N.PST

'It was easy to admire her.'

4.2.9 Passive alternant of OE verbs

In the literature, the passivisation of OE verbs has always been an unsettled point of disagreement. All of this began with Belletti and Rizzi's (1988) contention that Italian OE verbs do not form verbal passives. This proposal, however, immediately raised objections, especially in the anglophone linguistics, where scholars pointed at the ability of OE verb to form verbal passives. For example, Tenny (1998) documented data from Pittsburghese English showing that some OE verbs allow pseudopassives that require embedded eventive participles even if they are followed by a nonagentive *by* phrase. One of the vitally important discoveries was made by Pesetsky (1995) that in English a subset of OE verbs, notably stative OE verbs, do not figure in verbal passives. Contra this proposal, for English Grafmiller (2013) presented examples taken from corpora, testifying to the compatibility of all OE verbs with verbal passives, which suggests that they are syntactically transitive verbs. With a cross-linguistic approach to the passivity of psychological predicates, Landau (2010) proposed that while eventive OE verbs have the structure that of canonical transitives, stative OE verbs stand out with the structure that of unaccusatives. Also, Landau (2010) presents a universal Psych Passive Typology based on the assumption that languages vary as to the acceptance of verbal passives with psych-verbs. Landau divides languages into two types: Type A languages like English, Dutch or Finnish, which accept verbal passives with eventive OE verbs and Type B languages like French, Italian or Hebrew, which cannot have verbal passives (Hirsch, 2018). Bondaruk, Rozwadowska and Witkowski (2017ab) claim that Polish belongs to Type A languages.

We claim that the ability of OE verbs to participate in stative and eventive passives speaks for their special treatment in grammar. However, their natural syntactic environment is that of stative passives since they aspectually belong to states. Their eventivity is always elicited by coercion by functional items or the provision of the right context.

The majority of passive adjectival participles of psych verbs behave like statives because they can take a variety of prepositions and form adjectival passives, as shown below:

- (225) a. Tom is scared of spiders.
 b. He was bored of/with the countryside.
 c. I'm so annoyed at her.
 d. The travellers were maddened with hunger.
 e. I reckon your boss is quite put out with you after the way you behaved.
 f. Rabid racists were amazed at/by the police's intervention.

Non-Experiencer arguments are only inert participants and the arousal of a given feeling is on part of the Experiencer. Note that the type of a preposition involves a slight change in meaning. For instance, *bored with* results in a dismissive connotation of the whole sentence (e.g., *I'm bored with you*) while the combination of *scared of* or *afraid of* denotes a general emotional attitude to somebody or something but *sacred to* or *afraid to* means an intention to do something but it is bound up with the arousal of a certain feeling (e.g., *I'm scared to eat that grub*). Sometimes, the use of a preposition is determined by a specific grammatical environment, as in *I'm so annoyed about her stealing my phone*. Besides, a lot of grammar books report the difference between the use of some prepositions depending on the animacy of the object that they are linked with. Among other things, it is said that *annoyed at* favours inanimate objects whereas *annoyed with* favours animate objects. However, these distinctions do not obtain confirmation among a representative group of native speakers and thus the choice of a preposition varies by a speaker and sentence.

The corpus analysis carried out by Grafmiller (2013) shows that *by*-phrase with psych past participles is also acceptable, especially in eventive contexts, in which the arousal of an emotion emerges due to an external force independent of the Experiencer. This is an example how the functional lexical item can coerce the stativity of OE verbs.

Another support for the claim that OE verbs are states comes from the example in (226), in which the state of being scared need not be preceded by any event.

(226) Candy was scared although nobody had scared her.

This usage of past participles derived from OE verbs equates them with standard adjectives which do not necessarily have to imply a concrete Stimulus.

The active participles formed from OE verbs are evaluative and can take the predicative position, which is at odds with the active participles derived from dynamic verb roots (see also Ramchand, 2018).

(227) Evaluative participle

- a. Olive is (absolutely) fascinating. (evaluative participle)
- b. Ben is (really) irritating. (evaluative participle)

What is understood under the term 'evaluative' is that it refers to a conclusive assessment of someone's qualities. The subject is not emotionally affected.

According to the criteria for the verbal passives stipulated by Zabrocki (1981), OE verbs cannot be embedded in these passives.³⁹

(228) Verbal passives

- a. *Tomek został znudzony przez film.

Tom.NOM is Z.PFV-bore.PTCP vy film.ACC

‘Tom got bored by the film.’

- d. *Tomek jest nudzony przez film.

Tom.NOM is bore.IPFV.PTCP by film.ACC

OE roots do not usually form imperfective participles that occur in verbal passives: **martwiony* ‘worried’; **przygnębiany* ‘depressed’, **interesowany* ‘interested’, **fascynowany* ‘fascinated’, **smucony* ‘saddened’, **cieszony* ‘pleased’, **intrygowany* ‘intrigued’, **dziwiony* ‘surprised’. However, other stative OE verbs can surface in this grammatical environment; for instance: *łagodzony* ‘pacified’, *niepokojony* ‘upset’ or *inspirowany* ‘inspired’. For eventive OE roots like *złościć* ‘anger’ and *irytować*, it is not a standard syntactic environment. It is true that *straszony* and *obwiniany* occur in the corpus but their interpretation is clearly eventive.

OE predicates seem to be able to form either a resultant state passive or a target state passive in contradistinction to SE verbs (Bondaruk & Rozwadowska). They can license a different range of modifiers; for example: PPs headed by *na* ‘on’ (see *na chwilę* ‘for a while’) (Rozwadowska, 2003), which is compatible with the resultant state passive.

(229) Resultant state passive

Marysia jest sfrustrowana przez Tomka.

Mary.NOM is S.PFV-frustrate.PTCP by Tom.ACC

‘Mary was frustrated^{Pfv} by Tom.’

On the other hand, OE verbs accept the adverb ‘still’, which can be inserted in the target state passive but is banned from the resultant state passive (Bondaruk & Rozwadowska, 2019).

(230) Target state passive

Marysia jest wciąż zdenerwowana.

Mary.NOM is still Z-PFV.angered.PTCP

‘Mary is still loved^{Pfv}.’

³⁹ Bondaruk, Rozwadowska and Witkowski (2017ab) provide examples where stative OE verbs can form verbal passives, which let them conclude that stative OE verbs in Polish are syntactically special due to their polysemous nature, having other agentive and eventive readings. Besides, the shift from one reading to other changes the aspectual properties of an utterance. For instance, some stative OE verbs like *niepokoić* ‘concern’ found in *zostać* passives + perfective past participle shift from stative to inceptive predicates. This is also shown in different renditions of this verb in English: it changes its meaning from ‘concern’ to ‘bother’.

This demonstrates that OE verbs represent a unique case of stativity and do not behave in a way typical of regular transitive predicates.

Object Experiencers can alternate between verbal and adjectival passives. Verbal passives give rise to the disjoint reference effect (see Baker, 1989; García-Pardo, 2018) but disallows for the reflexive reading since there is no coreferentiality between the external and internal argument. Adjectival passives are licit with two possible readings.

- (231) a. Tom was kicked. (verbal passive)
 i. Somebody kicked him. (disjoint reading)
 ii. *He kicked himself. (reflexive reading)
- (232) a. The climber was secured with a rope. (adjectival passive)
 i. The climber was secured by someone. (disjoint reading)
 ii. The climber secured himself. (reflexive reading)

Object Experiencers can also lead to two interpretations, as shown below:

- (233) a. The journalist was scared. (psych past participle)
 i. Somebody scared the journalist. (disjoint reading)
 ii. The journalist scared himself. (reflexive reading)

In actuality, OE constructions can give rise to even three possible readings. Take a look at the examples from Polish.

- (234) a. Tomek był zdenerwowany.
 ‘Tom was annoyed^{Pfv}.’
 i. Ktoś zdenerwował Tomka.
 ‘Somebody annoyed^{Pfv} Tom.’
 ii. Tomek sam się zdenerwował.
 ‘Tom got annoyed^{Pfv} himself.’
 iii. Tomek zdenerwował się sam sobą.
 ‘Tom annoyed^{Pfv} himself’ or ‘He got annoyed^{Pfv} about himself.’

These interpretations are not possible with passives with locative verbs associated with a stative meaning.

- (235) a. The mountain is flanked (by the road).
 i. ?Somebody flanked the mountain.
 ii. *The mountain flanked itself.

Locative verbs with inanimate arguments have only a stative interpretation where the Causer of an event is not taken into account and where the suppressed subject cannot be the doer of an

action. Contrastingly, OE verbs with the Experiencer who is always animate can have a stative and eventive interpretation.

OE verbs do not behave homogeneously with respect to the compatibility of either passives. This is especially visible in OE verbs with an obligatory T/SM.

(236) a. Tomek był zafascynowany.

‘Tom was fascinated.’

i. Ktoś go zafascynował.

‘Somebody fascinated him.’

ii. ?Sam się zafascynował.

‘He fascinated himself.’

iii. ?Zafascynował się sam sobą.

‘He fascinated himself.’

4.2.10 Nominals derived from OE verbs

OE verbs also exhibit exceptional behaviours in reference to nominalisation. To begin with, the agent-producing nominalisation is not common amid OE verbs. There are only two possible *-er* nominals derived from OE verbs that preserve the meaning of the verb and the prefix, that is a *frightener* and a *pleaser* (e.g., *maybe they want to have a leader that is a frightener of white people; don't be such a people pleaser*⁴⁰). The word *scarer* occurs in compounds such as a *bird scarer* or a *dog scarer pistol*. Other combinations of OE verb roots with agent-producing endings bear completely no psychological meanings (e.g., a borer ‘drill’; a tongue depressor ‘spatula’; fascinator ‘headpiece’). Others are not in use like **saddener*, **maddener*, **angerer*, **irritator*, **worryer* or **concerner*). The low productivity of *-er* nominals formed of OE verbs suggests that it is the Experiencer that brings a given emotional state upon herself.

The nominals derived from OE verb roots behave in the same way as nominals derived from SE verb roots. Their Experiencer arguments occupies the position of the possessor both in English and Polish. Previously in this work, we have established that the Possessor role is associated with being a location.

⁴⁰ *Frightener* is also used in the expression *put a frightener on somebody/something* or *put the frightener on somebody/something*. It resembles structurally the expression *put a dampener on something/somebody*.

- (237) a. Neal's fright at ghosts
 b. Hill's interest in Carly
 c. Mike's concern for a political situation in the country
 d. Audrey's worry about Jessica's prom
 e. My team's grief at the match.
 f. Tom's anger at his daughter's disobedience
 g. Mary's disgust at his rude behaviour
 h. The public's delight in the book
 i. The people's disillusionment with the president
 j. John's amusement at the books
 k. his annoyance at the waste of time at school

- (238) a. Jana rozczarowanie meczem.

John.GEN disappointment.NOM match.INS

'John's disappointment of the match'

- b. Diany zafascynowanie obrazem

Diana.GEN za.PFV-facination painting.INS

'Diana's fascination^{PFV} of the painting'

The preposition the nominals in question select to introduce the stimulus is usually identical to the preposition they take as past participles in passive alternants. This may indicate that OE verbs preserve their aspectual properties across all word categories. This also may indicate that OE verbs are states since the nominals in question may be derived from adjectival passives (see Wasow, 1977).

Subjects in OE constructions have different grammatical properties from subjects in constructions featuring achievements. Achievement verbs cannot form the ING_{N[V]} nominals whereas OE verbs are felicitous with such nominals, as demonstrated in (239) – (240):

- (239) a. *Kim's reaching of the summit.
 b. *Pat's ending of the flood
 c. *Robin's finding of (the) oil
 d. *The bulldozer's hitting of (the) bedrock.

(Borer, 2005b, p. 239)

- (240) a. John's irritating of the dogs
 b. Mary's annoying of the children
 c. the cats' pleasing of Alexis and Bettina

(Borer, 2013, p. 620)

All this means that OE constructions should not be equated with achievements but rather with states with specific psych properties.

4.2.11 Information structure shifts

OE verbs show considerable flexibility in occurring in various syntactic configurations, which is taken to be their unique grammatical property. Grenall (2004) observes that there is a systematic alternation between pairs of intraposed and extraposed sentences like the following:

- (241) a. Tom irritated Mary by behaving awfully.
 b. That Tom behaves awfully irritates Mary. (extraposed that-clause)
 c. It irritates Mary that Tom behaves awfully. (intraposed that-clause)

Example (241c) contains an extraposed sentential complement (so-called postponed subject) and the expletive (so-called dummy or anticipatory subject). The extraposed structures turn out to be fully productive among OE verbs. As English acquires new psychological meanings of the verbs, including *freak out*, *weird out*, *suck*, or *bite*, it can be both extraposed and intraposed (cf. Jackendoff, 2002):

- (242) a. It really freaks/weirds me out that we invaded Iraq.
 b. That we invaded Iraq really freaks/weirds me out.
 (243) a. It really sucks/bites that we invaded Iraq.
 b. That we invaded Iraq really sucks/bites.

In the literature, the fact that OE verbs can surface with an expletive subject coupled with a clausal argument supports the claim for their unaccusative analysis. The non-thematic status of *it* indicates that OE verbs lack an external argument. However, such an alternation is not a property of other unaccusative verbs. Moreover, the clausal argument must be expressed so the presence of two arguments is obligatory. Rather, this alternation should be viewed as evidence for the movement of the Experiencer to the position of a holder of a state dominating the Stimulus.

Alternants with expletives presented in (242) – (243) indicate that the function of a real subject is taken over by the Experience argument, being, as it were, responsible for its state of mind, while the second argument introduced by the *that*-clause is not causal. The OE plays a role of the subject, which can be justified based on the pragmatic relationship between the topic and comment. The OE in this intraposed variant is a topic that is usually associated with

the subject while the clausal complement is that of a comment that is identified with the object. A support for this claim comes from the restriction, in which the clausal complement cannot be topicalized from extraposed position, as shown below:

- (244) a. That Kim would lose to Pat, nobody had expected_ (topicalised complement)
 b. *That Sandy snores, it bothers Kim more and more_

Polish OE verbs seemingly present similar properties when it comes to the application of (non-) extraposed sentential complements and expletive subjects. Study the examples in (245):

- (245) a. Tomek denerwuje Marysię tym, że zachowuje się okropnie.
 Tom.NOM annoys Mary.ACC this.INS that behaves REFL awfully
 ‘Tom angers Mary because he behaves awfully.’
- b. Marysię denerwuje to, że Tomek zachowuje się okropnie.
 Mary.ACC angers this that Tom.NOM behaves REFL awfully
 ‘It angers Mary that Tom behaves awfully.’
- e. To, że Tomek zachowuje się okropnie, denerwuje Marysię.
 This that Tom.NOM behaves REFL awfully annoys Mary.ACC
 ‘That Tom behaves awfully angers Mary.’
- f. To Marysię denerwuje, że Tomek zachowuje się okropnie.
 This Mary.ACC annoys that Tom.NOM behaves REFL awfully
 ‘Mary is annoyed that Tom behaves awfully.’
- e. Denerwuje Marysię to, że Tomek zachowuje się okropnie.
 Annoys Mary.ACC this that Tom.NOM behaves REFL awfully
 ‘It annoys mary that Tom behaves awfully.’

Bondaruk (2015) is of the opinion that the word *to* cannot be an expletive since it can receive focal stress, which can be reinforced by the addition of the adverb *właśnie* ‘just’ before the word *to* and hence cannot serve as evidence for associating Polish OE verbs with an unaccusative structure. However, the fact that the Experiencer marked for the accusative can be focused can point towards its initial prominence in the event structure. In our model, the Experiencer is first embedded in the Specifier of the State Phrase. Its special structure, that is PP, lets it be demoted to the FsP/AspqP, where it receives the non-nominative structure. Such a transformation in the event structure allows for a varied word order option. The word order implied in OE verbs may also result from emphasising a particular OE reading. To illustrate, the Experiencer in the initial position suggests an eventive reading whereas the Stimulus in the initial position may imply an agentive reading. This view involves further verification.

4.3 Aspectual variants of OE verbs

4.3.1 Progressive variant of OE verbs

OE verbs in the progressive tense are scarce in corpora. Like SE verbs, they are used in this context for the emphasis of an emotion borne by the Experiencer, especially such emotions that are being experienced at the specific moment.

- (246) a. It was the chaos and the imperfections that were fascinating me.
 b. You're angering these farm commodity groups.
 c. This idea will be worrying him.
 d. You are annoying me now.
 e. This is a solution that's interesting me.

The popular structures where progressive OE verbs occur are the pseudo-cleft clauses (e.g., *what's irritating me* or *what was frightening me*). When it comes to the verbs like *sadden*, *madden* and *anger*, they are often used as present participles (e.g., *it was immensely saddening to me* or *it's maddening to me*).

Like in SE verbs, the progressive use among OE verbs does not necessarily exclude the use of the simple tense, as shown below.

- (247) a. She's worrying them can entail that she worries them.
 b. It's troubling us can entail that it troubles us.

This shows that OE verbs behave aspectually in the same way as other psych verbs but in a different way from dynamic verbs.

4.3.2 Imperfective alternant of OE verbs

The subject 'cigarettes' in (248) should not be interpreted as the cause of Tom's death because the sentence implies that cigarettes have yet to kill Tom.⁴¹

- (248) Papierosy zabijały Tomka, ale ostatecznie go nie zabiły.
 cigarettes.NOM are killing Tom.ACC
 'Cigarettes were killing Tom, but they did not ultimately kill him.'

⁴¹ Klimek and Rozwadowska's (2004) observe that the grammatical subject of OE verbs changes its semantic value according to whether the verb is an imperfective or perfective form. The imperfective form suggests the Subject Matter while the perfective form implies the Cause.

The imperfective sentences containing OE verbs in (248) have a different interpretation in which the imperfective entails the perfective, because they lack a process leading up to a change of state in the past imperfective form. Therefore, these examples are logically contradictory.

(249) a. Losy świata martwiły Tomka, *ale go ostatecznie nie zmartwiły.

fates.NOM world.GEN worry.IMPFV.PRT Tom.ACC

‘The fate of the world worried Tom, but it did not ultimately start to worry him.’

b. Brak papierosów irytował Tomka, lack.NOM cigarettes.GEN
irritate.IMPFV.PRT Tom.ACC

*ale go jeszcze nie zirytował.

but him.ACC already not Z.PFV-irritate.PST

‘The lack of cigarettes irritated Tom, but it did not ultimately start to irritate him.’

In the dynamic sentence (248), Tom does not have to be aware of the ongoing process. He can be only physically affected without knowing about it. Examples (249) incontrovertibly point to Tom’s awareness of the problem. The problem could not have existed if Tom had not realised it.

(250) a. Papierosy zabijały Tomka, ale nie był tego świadomy.

‘Cigarettes were killing Tom, but he wasn’t aware of that.’

b. *Losy świata martwiły Tomka, ale nie był tego świadomy.

‘The fate of the world worries Tom, but he wasn’t conscious of that.’

Like other psych verbs, OE verbs are non-incremental, which may indicate that they are deprived of a process component in their denotation. Fascination or worry cannot be measured in quantifiable divisions. Their objects of fascination and worry are not parcelled into parts. They are treated as wholes. Therefore, it is only possible to establish degrees of experiencing a given emotion.

On the contrary, the incrementality of the sentences in (251) allows for the anticipation of an endpoint.

(251) a. Tomek zjadał czekoladę kawałek po kawałku.

‘Every pore of skin hurts Tom’

b. Marek rysował część domu.

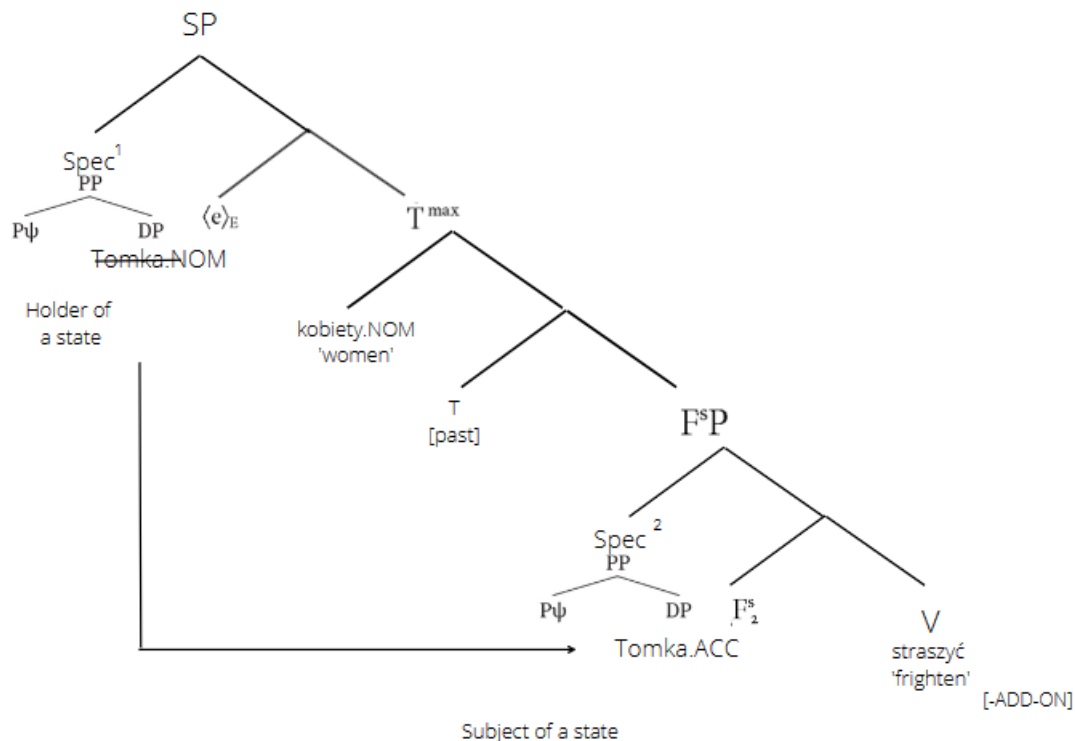
‘Aphids are eating our crops piece by piece.’

c. Losy świata martwiły Tomka coraz bardziej.

‘Aphids on leaves are worrying Tom more and more.’

In other words, the direct object of causative constructions can be of quantificational divisions. In turn, the direct object of OE verbs is homogeneous. As a result, manner adverbs can refer to the intensity of the experiencing mental conditions but not to the parts of the direct object. Below is the representation of the event structure of the sentence: *Kobiety straszyły Tomka* ‘Women frighten Tom.’

(252) a.



b. ∃e [state (e) & holder-of-a-state/subject-of-a-state (Tomek, e) & default participant (kobiety, e) & straszyć (e)]

It has to be pointed out that word order in Polish is much freer than in English due to overt inflectional endings. For instance, sentences with OE verbs often exhibit a scrambled order, in which the Experiencer occupies the surface subject position while the nominative argument is in the post-verbal position.⁴² However, the trees diagrammed here tally with the strict SVO order since the central preoccupation in this work are underlying sentential constructs without any pragmatic operations.

⁴² The questions arises whether such a scrambled position forces an eventive or stative interpretation and excludes an agentive one. This issue is left for future research.

It also must be noted that Polish OE verbs do not have an unaccusative structure. This finds confirmation in other works. On a syntactic note, Bondaruk (2020b) argues extensively that accusative Experiencers present in constructions with stative OE verbs are claimed to be projected VP-internally since they never bind anaphors and are generated higher than the Stimulus argument, which results from the Thematic Hierarchy. In addition, such Experiencers are taken not to form an unaccusative structure but rather be that of complex unergative structure as in Bennis (2004).

In Polish, perfective OE verbs, be they with a stative interpretation or with an eventive interpretation, denote the punctual beginning of a state borne by the Experiencer. Now attention is given to show how inceptivity is instantiated in the OE verb alternations.

4.3.3 Perfective alternant of OE verbs

Like other psych verbs, OE verbs have perfective forms, which refer to an onset to a state (Rozwadowska, 2020) and are hence taken to be eventive. Compare the following examples:

(253) *Papierosy zabiły Tomka i nadal go zabijają.

cigarettes.NOM kill.PRFV Tom.ACC

‘Cigarettes killed Tom’

(254) Losy świata zmartwiły Tomka i nadal go martwią.

that situation.NOM worry.IMPFV.PST me.ACC

‘The situation made me worried.’

As shown, the perfective forms of dynamic verbs describe complete actions without any entailment of continuation. OE verbs fail the tests for capturing telos, as argued in Rozwadowska (2020). The use of OE verbs in past participle clauses highlighting the sequence of events is really rare. This shows that the intentionality of the subject in OE verbs is not a salient interpretation. See example (255):

(255) Past participle clause

*Przygłębiwszy Tomka, Marysia pojechała nad morze.

like.PTCP.PFV board games.ACC, Tom.NOM organise.PST.PFV tournament.ACC

‘Having liked board games, Tomek set up a tournament.’

OE verbs also do not denote a process leading up to culmination or a preparatory stage or gradual onset due to the lack of secondary imperfective form (cf. Rozwadowska, 2020) as well as the failure of the following test:

(256) Presupposition of a process

a. *Zanim zdziwiła Tomka wojna musiała go dziwić.

Before z.PFV-surprise.PST Tom.ACC war.NOM must.3SG.M.PST him.ACC surprise.INF

‘Before he started to love the dogs, he must have been loving them.’

b. *Zanim zirytował Tomek Marysię musiał ją irytować.

Before z.PFV-irritate.PST Tom.NOM Mary.ACC must.3SG.M.PST him.ACC irritate.INF

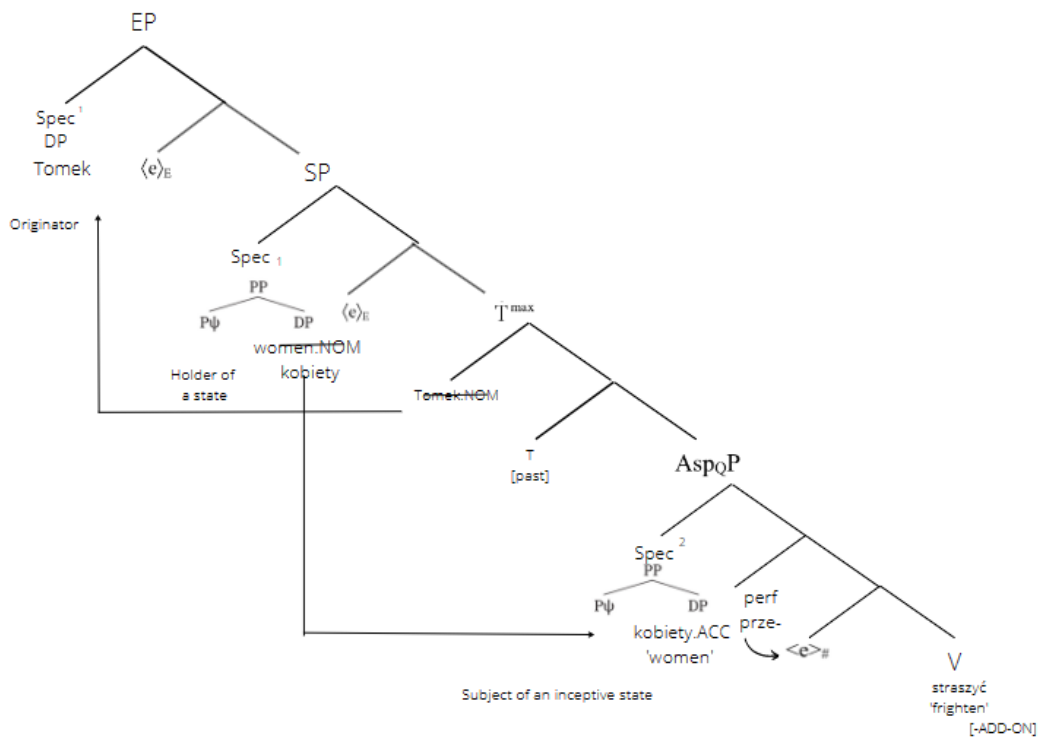
‘Before he started to like Mary, he must have been liking her.’

However, OE verbs pass all the tests for inceptive states such as event continuation test and culmination cancellation test.

Like in SE verbs, the inceptive entailment is encoded in the perfective form of OE verbs, which is represented at the level of the event structure (e.g., *Tomek przstraszył kobiety* ‘Tom frightened the women’) as follows:

(257)

a.



b. $\exists e$ [inceptive state (e) & subject-of-state; holder-of-a-state (kobiety, e) & originator (Tomek, e) & straszyc (perf, e)]

Perfective forms of OE verbs (be it a prefix or a vowel alternation) have always an eventive interpretation because they can co-occur with the verb *stać się* ‘to happen’ and can figure in the imperfective (see Bondaruk, 2020b).

The event structure adopted here shows the partition of eventive OE predicates in the perfective aspect, that is agentive and non-agentive. This partition is important since each projection is associated with a given role that each argument receives. The agentive interpretation indicates a volitional Originator because the non-Experiencer argument lands in [Spec, EP]. This interpretation of OE predicate is represented in (257).

In the spirit of Pylkkänen’s (1999) terminology, Biały (2005) divides some OE verbs in Polish into stative which prefer only stative contexts (e.g., *martwić* ‘worry’, *interesować* ‘interest’, *zdumiewać* ‘dumbfound’) and eventive that favour eventive contexts (e.g., *ekscytować* ‘excite’, *nudzić* ‘bore’, *straszyć* ‘scare’). In his view, stative OE verbs lead to only one possible entailment in respect to the perfective-imperfective alternation. They induce the interpretation that the emotion still continues, as shown in (258) – (259):

- (258) a. Historia starożytna zafascynowała Tomka.
 history.NOM ancient.1SG.F fascinate.PRS.PFV Tom.ACC
 ‘Ancient history started to fascinate Tom.’
- b. Historia starożytna fascynuje Tomka.
 History.NOM ancient.1SG.F fascinate.PRS.IPFV Tom.ACC
 ‘Ancient history fascinates Tom.’
- (259) a. Stan zdrowia Zosi zmartwił Tomka.
 Condition.NOM health.GEN Sophie.GEN worry.PST.PFV Tom.ACC
 ‘Sophie’s health condition started to worry Tom.’
- b. Stan zdrowia Zosi martwi Tomka.
 Condition.NOM health.GEN Sophie.GEN worry.PRS.IPFV Tom.ACC
 ‘Zosia’s health condition worries Tom.’

However, non-stative OE verbs do not necessarily imply the sentences in (260b, 261b):

- (260) a. Hałas przeraził Marię.
 noise.NOM frighten.PST.PFV Mary.ACC
 ‘The noise frightened Mary.’
- b. Hałas przeraża Marię.
 noise.NOM frighten.PRS.IPFV Mary.ACC
 ‘The noise frightens Mary.’
- (261) a. Tomek zdenerwował Zosię.

Tom.NOM anger.PST.PFV Zosia.ACC

‘Tom angered Sophie.’

b. Tomek denerwuje Zosię.

Tom.NOM anger.PRS.IPFV Zosia.ACC

‘Tom angers Sophie.’

These observations, among other things, let Biały (2005) conclude that non-stative OE verbs share aspectual properties with accomplishments and thus they are of complex event structure comprising two temporarily independent subevents. Stative OE verbs are viewed to have simple event structure, where the triggering subevent and the result subevent take place at the same time.⁴³

Later, Biały (2020) admits that this division into episodic and non-episodic psychological predicates is purely ontological and is not represented in syntax. In this work, the subdivision into stative and eventive OE verbs has no grammatical import. The obligatorily stative psych verbs such as *depress*, *concern* and *worry*, which lack an intentional meaning, can be easily converted into eventive interpretations by means of suitable context or the application of grammatically relevant functional items. OE verbs are often fused with interpretations drawn from eventive constructions since people translate observations from the external world into the perception of the internal mental states or processes or make analogies between these two domains. The theoretical slant adopted in this work is that each verb is flexible enough to appear in either eventive or stative constructions. World knowledge and discursive factors determine the acceptance of a given verb in a given construction.

4.3.4 Inceptivity in English OE verbs

Like SE verbs, OE verbs do not take a variety of particles.⁴⁴ Even if some of them do, then they are small in number. In the corpus only *scare* and *frighten* can be modified by the following particles:

(262) a. Terrorist activity in the area frightened most tourists away.

⁴³ Rozwadowska (2012) observes that Biały’s division among Polish psych verbs finds independent support in Marín and McNally’s (2011) division among Spanish reflexive psych verbs into nonpunctual represented by *aburrirse* class and punctual represented by *enfadarse* class. Spanish non-punctual reflexive SE verbs mirror the properties of Polish stative OE verbs in that both are atelic.

⁴⁴ For the time being, the shift from action verbs to psych verbs is excluded from the analysis (e.g., *take somebody* vs. *take to somebody*).

- b. The investors were scared off by the company's low profits that year.
- c. Let me see if I can scare something up for you to eat.

The particle *up* completely obliterates the verb *scare* of the emotional reading since example (262) means gathering food quickly. In turn, the particle *away* and *off* in examples (262) specifies the meanings of *scare* and *frighten* as being scared to such a point that the Experiencer gets discouraged and abandons their plans. The use of such verbs with the particles under consideration reinforced by the animate grammatical subject indicates a deliberate action (e.g., *Tom frightened the pigeons away from the market square*). These particles turn the psychological interpretation into an eventive one. The pigeons are not on the market square anymore and they are no longer frightened. The same holds for the Polish equivalent *odstraszyć* 'frighten away', in which the prefix *od-* modifies the meaning of the verb stem *straszyć* and fulfils the function of aspectual type-shifting.

The use of light verbs with psych verbs can lead to either a punctual interpretation, in which the continuation of experiencing an emotion of fear by the Experiencer is not necessarily entailed (see 263ab) or to a psychological interpretation, in which the endpoint of experiencing an emotion is indeterminate (see 263c).

- (263)
- a. You really gave us a scare.
 - b. I had a scare of becoming diabetic.
 - c. Our dog took fright at the noise of the fireworks and ran indoors.

The structure above can be equated with the Polish expressions such as *napędzać komuś strachu*, *narobić komuś stracha*, *obleciał kogoś strach*, *strach pada na kogoś* 'give somebody a fright' (263ac) and *mieć stracha* 'have a fright' (263b). As an aside, only a limited number of emotion nouns derived from verbs, both in English and Polish, form fixed and oft-used collocations. For instance, the nouns such as *zmartwienie* 'tribulation', *trwoga* 'trepidation', *irytacja* 'irritation' have much fewer collocates than *złość* 'anger' and *starch* 'fright'.

There are also colloquial expressions that aim to emphasise the high intensity of experiencing an emotion, as presented below:

- (264)
- a. Don't sneak up on me like that – you scared the life out of me.
 - b. The explosion scared the pants of everyone in the village.
 - c. The idea of opening an improv theatre scared me to death, absolutely.
 - d. That car accident seems to have frightened Janet out of her wits – she's still shaken by it.

They are similar to resultatives since they point to a culmination of a feeling and are eventive. However, the cessation of this feeling is not necessarily implied, which is exemplified by (264d).

It is possible for OE verbs to be preceded by the superaspectual verb like *start* or *begin*. However, such a use is not frequent as the number of hits in corpora is small.

- (265) a. He was looking so strangely at me that it started to scare me (...)
 b. A boy started to scare them by violently rocking back and forth against the chain.
 c. It started to shock people around the world.
 d. I want you to reveal all your secrets before I start to bore you.
 e. And that began to sadden my heart.

In contradistinction to SE verbs, OE verbs are not accompanied by light verbs such as *come*, *get* and *grow*.

In the anglophone literature, it is assumed that the sentence like *Tom frightened the women* is causative and telic (see Pesetsky, 1995; van Gelderen, 2018) and relates to a single experiencer because of the structural position of the Experiencer. The non-Experiencer argument in the subject position is treated as a Causer. If the emotion of frightening must be continuing, English seems to resort to passive constructions with OE verbs; for instance *Mary was frightened of Tom*. If on the right track, the model being developed here is able to accommodate this assumption. It might be the case that OE verbs, for example: *frighten*, in the agentive meaning are associated with the subject's actions done upon the Experiencer and then the feature [+ADD-ON] is assigned. However, it must be pointed out that without the provision of a suitable context the sentence *Tom frightened Mary* is ambiguous since the simple form of the verb may refer both to one single event and to a series of completed actions. The addition of the timespan adverbial turns the whole sentence eventive.

- (266) Tom frightened Mary in 10 hours.

This sentence entails that it took Tom 10 hours to frighten Mary, which indicates a preparatory stage. In this case, the resultant structure is eventive with entailments of a process and change of state. On the other hand, the use of durative adverbials highlights the durative effect of Tom on Mary and can be considered stative.

- (267) Tom frightened the women [on one occasion or on several occasions] for a long time.

Similarly to Polish OE verbs, English OE verbs are also incompatible with the tests used for indicating the final boundary of an eventuality and its preparatory stage.

- (268) Process leading up to a culmination

*Tom gradually frightened Mary until he started to frighten her.

- (269) Compatibility with the aspectual verb finish
 *Tom finished frightening Mary.
- (270) Perfective at time t entails imperfective at time $t' < t$
 *Tom frightened Mary but he didn't start to frighten her.
- (271) Presupposition of a process
 *Before Tom frightened Mary, he must have been frightening her.

Since English lacks the imperfective-perfective alternation, the application of tests recognising the initial boundary of an eventuality seems inadequate. However, the attempt to place the simple form of the OE verb *frighten* shows that such contexts are also available for OE verbs.

- (272) Event continuation test
 Tom frightened Mary and he still frightens her.
- (273) Culmination cancellation
 Tom frightened Mary and he didn't stop frightening her.
- (274) Co-occurrence with result-state adverbials (cf. Piñón 1999)
 Tom frightened Mary for a while.

This shows that OE predicates are able to denote the inceptivity of an event when the right context is provided.

4.4 OE-SE alternation

4.4.1 English data

This Section deals with the alternant hosting prepositional SE verbs derived from OE verb roots. Firstly, we summarise the views why OE verbs do not form inchoative sentences and check if they can be likened to the conative alternant. We also take a look at a variety of prepositions that some psych verbs can take and a diversity of syntactic patterns OE verbs can be embedded in. Besides, we check if this alternant gives rise to an existential-generic distinction and telic-atelic distinction. The overall conclusion drawn from this Section is that the OE-SE alternation is only a property of psych verbs and should not be equated with similar alternants available for dynamic verbs.

English OE verbs are regarded not to undergo the anticausative-causative alternation (see Alexiadou & Iordăchioaia, 2014) due to their contrasting morphosyntactic properties and

ambiguity between a change of state reading and stative reading.⁴⁵ Instance (276) shows that neither *frighten* nor *fear* can be embedded in the anticausative alternant because they need complements.

- (275) a. The wind broke the window. (causative alternant)
 b. The window broke (from the wind). (anticausative alternant)
- (276) a. Tom frightened Mary.
 b. *Mary frightened.

Nonetheless, Pesetsky (1995, p. 57) provides four examples of psych verbs alternating in a similar manner as causative verbs. One of these examples is presented below:

- (277) a. The television set worries John.
 b. John worries (about the television set).

As it turns out, the OE-SE verb alternation is quite limited if we take into consideration a small number of psych verbs participating in it. Alexiadou and Iordăchioaia (2014) illustrates that there are 220 transitive psych verbs that can undergo an OE-SE shift whereas Levin (1993, pp. 189-191) documents only 14 have SE cognates (p. 37). These are *cheer*, *delight*, *gladden*, *grieve*, *madden*, *sadden*, *sicken*, *thrill*, *tire*, *weary* and *worry*.

The SE cognates of OE verbs do not licence the preposition *from* marking Causers, as presented in (278) – (279):

- (278) John worries *from the television set.
- (279) a. Teaching in state universities wearies Tom.
 b. Tom wearies (of teaching in state universities).
 c. Tom wearies *(from teaching in state universities).

Instead, a variety of idiosyncratic prepositions are in use; for example, the verb *worry* selects the preposition *about* while the verb *weary* can be conjoined with the preposition *of*. What is more, OE verbs exhibit an ability to appear in a wide range of syntactic structures. By way of illustration, the verb *weary* can be embedded in many syntactic structures, as presented below:

⁴⁵ Research has shown that languages exhibit divergent tendencies. Alexiadou & Iordăchioaia (2014) claim that OE verbs in Romanian, Greek and German alternate like other change-of-state verbs between the causative and inchoative structures because they display causative morphology in the form of prepositions responsible for the introduction of causers. Besides, OE verbs in these languages demonstrate the same event complexity, consisting of two subevents: the causing event and the caused event, which has been supported by tests for telicity as well as for possible repetitive and restitutive readings. Moreover, it has also been indicated that not all OE verbs in Romanian, Greek and German can figure in the alternants under discussion. The OE verbs that are deprived of an eventive reading cannot participate in the causative alternation.

- (280) a. I never weary of hearing that. (prepositional SE construction)
 b. It wearies me. (OE construction)
 c. I grow weary of that. (adjectival predicate)
 d. He knew what was to be worn out and wearied. (past participle)

The ability to surface in various syntactic structures and accept many different prepositions also applies to the verb *grieve*.

- (281) a. I allowed myself to grieve the death of my mum. (SE construction)
 b. It grieves me to see you in such pain. (OE construction)
 c. We are so grieved for what you have suffered. (Past participle)
 d. We grieve for all those we have lost. (Prepositional SE construction)
 e. We continue to grieve over the attack. (Prepositional SE construction)
 f. The disciples would grieve at his death. (Prepositional SE construction)

By the same token, a multiple argument realisation can also be found in constructions featuring the verbs *delight*, *thrill* and *tire*.

- (282) a. This film delights me. (OE construction)
 b. I delight in your way of life. (prepositional SE construction)
 c. I have a delight in cutting all the clutter. (nominal)
 d. I'm very delighted. (past participle)
- (283) a. This story thrills me. (OE construction)
 b. Everyone thrills at that possibility. (SEC with PS)
 c. This is the book I am thrilled about. (passive alternant)
 d. I won't have a thrill at all. (nominal usage)
- (284) a. Looking at this cityscape tires me. (OE construction)
 b. I never tire of those amazing images. (prepositional SE construction)
 c. She is tired of working here. (past participle)

The most extreme case seems to be with the verb *obsess*, which can take a variety of prepositions, as shown in (285):

- (285) a. He obsesses over workout.
 b. Don't obsess about this matter.
 c. We obsess on strategic efforts.
 d. My neighbours obsessed around privacy. (marginal usage)

When it comes to other alternating SE verbs, they can also take more than one preposition (e.g., *sadden* (*over*, *at*), *gladden* (*about*, *at*) and *madden* (*about*, *at*)). They can also co-occur

with *to* infinitives (e.g., *I sadden to think*). However, these examples constitute a rarity in the corpus. These verbs favour passive contexts (e.g., *I was saddened over the divisions among Christians*). There is a significant change in meaning of the verb *sicken*, depending on whether it is embedded in the OE alternant or SE alternant, as well as depending on the type of preposition that is used. The OE expresses the meaning of *disgust* (e.g., *his talk sickened me*) whereas the prepositional SE together with the preposition *of* denotes losing an interest for something (e.g., *He finally sickened of the endless round of parties and idle conversation*⁴⁶). In turn, *sicken for* means starting to have an illness. Similarly, *enthuse about something* (e.g., *my role is to enthuse about poetry*) and *agonise over something* (e.g., *you can't agonise over everything*) are more like mental activities, denoting thinking about something very extensively or talking about something in an excited way, respectively. It seems that *cheer about* (e.g., *would we have anything to cheer about?*) and *puzzle over* (e.g., *Experts have continued to puzzle over it for more than a century*) have a similar semantics as well.

At first glance, some parallels may be drawn with the conative alternation that is presented in (286):

(286) **Conative alternant**

- a. I cut at the bread.
- b. Angelika hit at the fence.
- c. The mouse nibbed on the cheese.
- d. I pushed against the table.

This alternant reflects shifts between telic and atelic interpretation, which is also present in the OE-SE alternation. The conative alternation is always atelic. For example, *Philomena swatted at the fly* can entail that she didn't succeed in doing this. The fly may be alive (see Levin & Rappaport-Hovav, 2005, p. 216). In contrast, *I tired of her talk* does not entail I didn't become tired of her talk. Apart from that, this alternant is linked with a concrete set of prepositions, i.e., *at*, but marginally *on* and *against* and SE alternants of OE verbs are more flexible in the choice of prepositions.

Levin and Rappaport-Hovav (2005) mention shifts in affectedness. The direct object alternant exhibits the higher level of the object's affectedness than the oblique alternant. It is not the case with prepositional SE verbs, in which the Target of Emotion is by default unaffected. Besides, the OE-SE alternation exhibits the argument reversal, where the Experiencer is either in the subject or in the object position. This is not the case with the conative

⁴⁶ The sentence was taken from *Idoceanline.com* and retrieved on 26.07.2021.

and direct object variants, where the Patient arguments does not change its grammatical function. Apart from that, most of examples found in the conative alternation reveal the preference for inanimate objects whereas in prepositional SE constructions a variety of objects can function as a target of State. All this shows that psychological eventualities have their own set of syntactic alternations working in a different manner from other eventives.

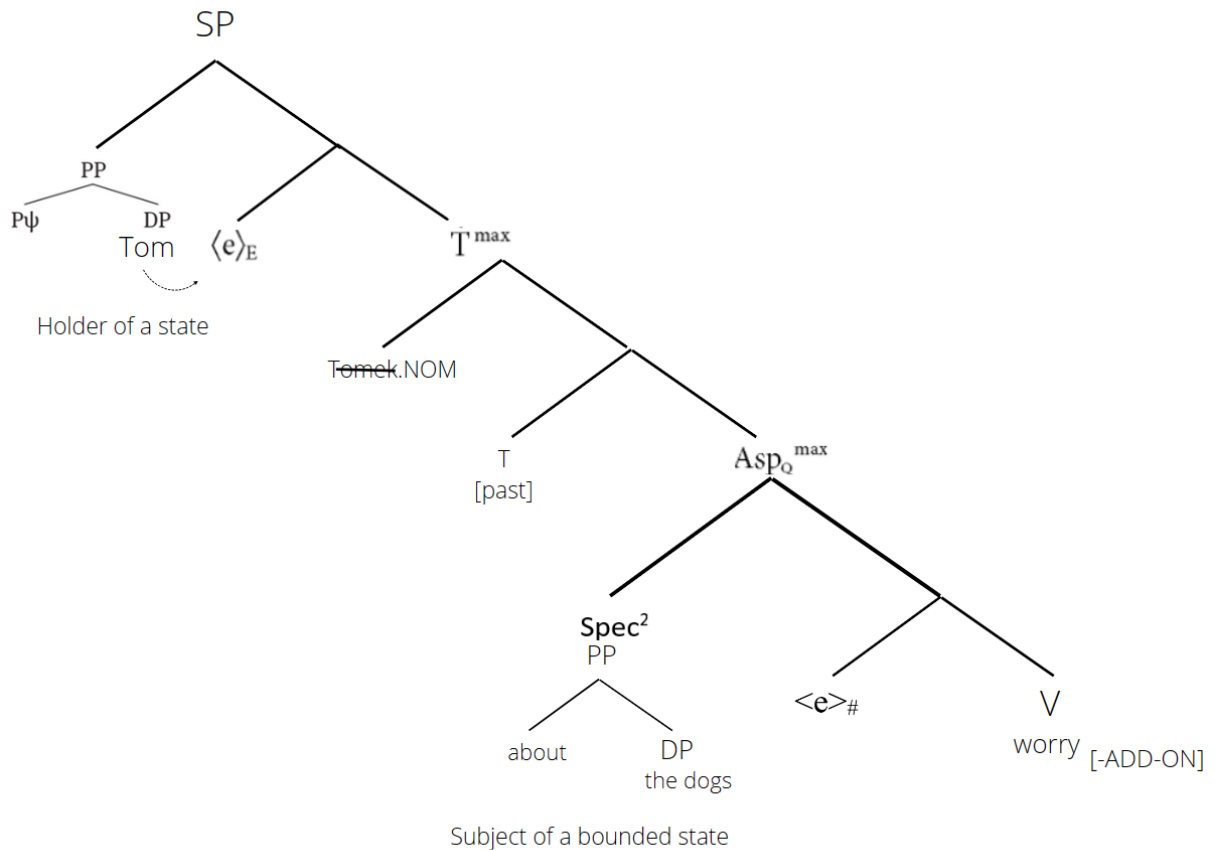
The SE cognates of OE verbs are considered to be atelic. Pesetsky (1995, pp. 56-59) shows that the delimitative time adverbials are not possible with prepositional SE verbs derived from stative OE roots (e.g., *John worried about the television set *in an hour*). This observation led him conclude that these verbs are not change-of-state verbs since they are not telic and their non-Experiencer arguments are not Causers but rather Targets of Emotion or Subject Matters in opposition to eventive OE verbs that express Causers. It was also confirmed by Alexiadou & Iordachioaia (2014), who tested other prepositional SE verbs according to their aspectual properties. For the purpose of the analysis carried out here, example (287) shows that prepositional SE verbs give rise to all the interpretations associated with psychological eventualities.

- (287) a. I worried about dogs. (generic reading, uninterrupted duration)
 b. I worried about the dog in the park. (existential reading, uninterrupted duration)
 c. Having heard about the accident, I worried about my husband
 and I haven't stopped worrying since. (inceptive reading)

The same as it was with the attribute object alternant of SE verbs and the prepositional possessor alternant of OE verbs, the prepositional SE verbs formed from OE verb roots present a relation between the Experiencer headed by an abstract preposition and the Stimulus headed by a grammatical preposition. As established earlier, such a combination of participants within an eventuality results in a stative reading. The Experiencer as a conceptual location is emotionally involved and is able to hold emotions towards another physical location.

Given the above background, the following event structure for prepositional SE predicates expressed by the sentence *Tom worried about the dogs* is submitted in (288):

(288) a.



b. $\exists e$ [bounded state (e) & holder of a state (women, e) & subject of a bounded state (about the dogs, e) & worry (e)]

The Experiencer licenced by a null P is always based-generated in SP. It cannot undergo the demotion to F^{SP} or Asp_QP compared to OE verbs. The Object of Emotion is licenced by the prepositional phrase but it does not block the emergence of an existential interpretation that is read off the Asp_QP projection. The quantity object determines the emergence of the Asp_QP projection.

It is compelling whether there is a clear semantic difference between the two alternants discussed in this Section. In other words, is it possible to extract the underlying contrastive interpretation of psych verbs used in different syntactic alternations without any discursive contexts. It seems to be a daunting challenge. Accordingly, an attempt might be made to assume that SE verbs describe the state that the Experiencer holds towards something. In turn, verbs

with nominativeless Experiencers describe the emotions that empower the Experiencer unexpectedly in reaction to a Stimulus. Prepositional alternation SE verbs refer to the manners of thinking about something. Note that heavily emotional-loaded statements like *I love you* and *I hate you* are expressed by the SE construction, which points to the highest level of the Experiencer's involvement and awareness but its intensity is not as high as in OE constructions, because they denote permanent emotional states. As seen, these generalisations are hazy and disputable and can be easily refuted through a recourse to particular contexts. It is much better to consider all psych constructions as states with possible eventive readings (both agentive or non-agentive), where a process and change of state are not entailments from their event structure.

4.4.2 Polish data

In this Section, we take a close look at the sentences with reflexive SE verbs derived from OE verbs. At first, we present all the possible ways of realising the Object of Emotion in this alternant, including the mention of idiosyncratic prepositions this argument can be preceded by and its obligatory presence in particular cases. Some attention is also given to the role of the obligatory reflexive *się* and its place in the event structure representation, which is being developed in this work. After that, we go on to the analysis of the perfective variants of the alternant in question and subsequently investigate whether all the prefixed SE verbs derived from OE verbs are inceptive states and how the perfective form affects their argument structure. We also see in which way the bifurcation of the Object of Emotion into the possessor argument and the attribute argument matters in this alternant. Finally, we show that reflexive alternating SE verbs can lead to the paraphrases where the Experiencer is placed in PPs, which confirms its status as a conceptual location.

Polish abounds in cases of the OE-SE alternation. Except for OE verbs like *przygnębiać* 'drepress', *oczarować* 'spellbind', *przytłaczać* 'overwhelm', OE verbs in Polish have SE alternants marked with *się*, which exhibit diverse subcategorizations. They co-occur with an obligatory instrumental DP (289a) or with an optional instrumental DP (289b).

(289) a. Marek zainteresuje się *(matematyką).

Mark_{NOM} interest.IPFV REFL *(maths.INS)/*(Mary.INS)

'Mark is interested in maths/in Mary'.

b. Ucieszyłem się (twoją obecnością).

Enjoy.1SG.M.PST REFL (your presence)

‘I enjoyed your presence.’

One of the arguments is that *interesować się* ‘interest’ can in fact drop its instrumental case-marked DP. See the examples below:

(290) a. Skąd wiesz? Zainteresował się Tomek.

From know? interest.PFV.PST REFL Tomek.NOM

‘How do you know? Tom got interested.’

b. Z Olszyn? Zainteresował się nagle przybysz.

From Olszyn? Interest.PFV.PST REFL suddenly newcomer.NOM

‘From Olszyn? The newcomer got suddenly interested.’

Examples (290) present the context used in literary texts, especially seen in dialogues. However, the verb *fascynować się* does not appear in this syntactic environment presumably because of its greater intensity of meaning. On second thoughts, it appears after that the subdivision of OE verbs into stative and eventive is not a factor that determines whether the reflexive alternant takes optional or obligatory object arguments. More often than not, it is more about the semantics of roots. Namely, the semantics of *interesować się* and *fascynować się* as well as their English cognates *interest* and *fascinate* call for the specification of an object of interest or fascination because the kinds of emotions they describe require the presence of external stimuli. That is why, the DP instrumental seems to be obligatorily expressed in constructions featuring these verbs. What is more, stative OE like *smucić* ‘sadden’ and *nużyć* ‘weary’ can occur without the object of emotion because these emotions can arise without any specific stimulus. For instance, melancholy, frequently described by the verb *smucić* ‘sadden’, is a condition in which the Experiencer falls into sadness without any reason.

Instead of instrumental DPs, alternating SE verbs can be accompanied by an idiosyncratic preposition introducing the Object of Emotion (291).

(291) a. Ucieszyłem się na twój przyjazd.

Enjoy.1SG.M.PST REFL for your arrival.ACC

‘I was looking forward to your arrival.’

b. Ucieszyłem się z jej powrotu.

Enjoy.1SG.M.PST REFL from her return.GEN

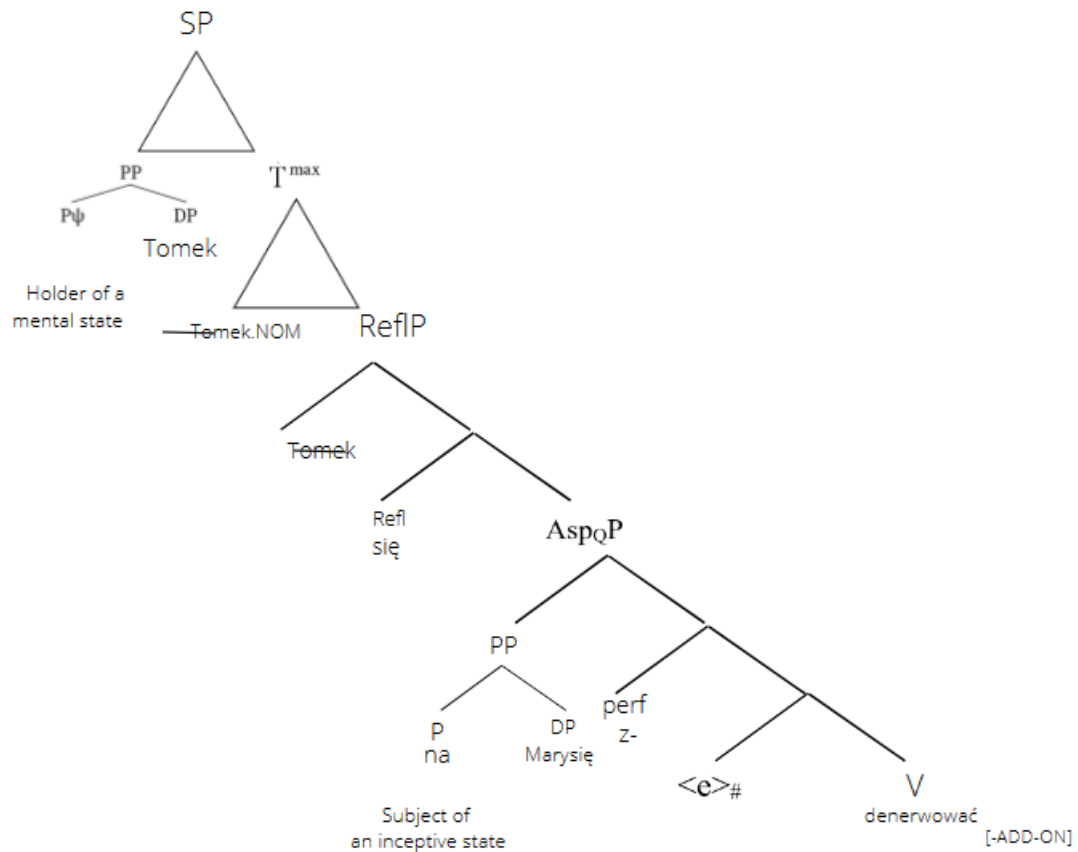
‘I’m glad to see her come back.’

The use of the preposition *na* leads to an interpretation, where the Experiencer looks forward to something, but the use of the preposition *z* states the reason of someone’s enjoyment.

Another important property of the alternant under discussion is the obligatoriness of reflexive marker *się*, which appears to have a different function from other syntactic structures. The optional reflexive in Polish is linked with three functions: (i) emphasizing that the Agent is a recipient of the described action (e.g., *myję się* ‘I wash’), (ii) stressing the intensity of an event (e.g., *Wrócił się bez potrzeby* ‘He came back needlessly’) or (iii) showing reciprocity (e.g., *Informują się nawzajem* ‘We inform each other’). None of these functions can be ascribed to the reflexive marker present in alternating SE verbs. Moreover, Bondaruk (2021) shows that the reflexive *się* co-occurring with SE cognates of OE verbs does not have the same syntactic functions as in reflexive passives, anticausatives, middles, impersonals because it does not reduce the verb valency. In addition, Rozwadowska & Bondaruk (2019) argue that the reflexive SE variants of OE verbs are devoid of a causative component in their denotation because their instrumental arguments are not a Cause but a T/SM. Therefore, they cannot be regarded as instances of anticausative alternant.

Among six classes of *się* proposed by Szymańska (2000), the flip class encompasses Experiencer verbs. In her opinion flips bear a close resemblance to inchoatives in that they present their sole argument as both an affected participant and a causer. Hence, the Experiencer argument is seen as a subject affecting itself. Of a different opinion is Bondaruk (2021), who claims that the reflexive marker with reflexive SE verbs simply relate to the state that the Experiencer is in. Taking this all into account, the special projection that hosts the reflexive *się* in SE alternants of OE verbs is postulated in this work, i.e., REFL, which is sandwiched between TP and F^{SP} or Asp_{QP}. Similarly to TP, the REFL projection is associated with a role of a default participant that remains neutral to an eventuality. Its function amounts to blocking the assignment of accusative case and instead licensing instrumental case or prepositions.

(292)



- b. $\exists e$ [inceptive state (e) & holder-of-a-state (Tomek, e) & subject-of-an-inceptive state (na Marysię, e) & denerwować (z-, e)]

Bondaruk (2021) observes that in the syntactic domain the reflexive *się* of SE verbs is an element without a theta role and hence not an argument. However, in the model of the representation of the event structure being developed here the reflexive marker in question cannot be attached in AspQP like *perf* because it is not aspectual, nor can it be attached to TP because it has no connection with the tense. It is also inadvisable to generate a quasi-argumental projection which does not hold any argument. The presence of the Experiencer argument in [Spec, REFL] shows that this argument is responsible for the arousal of an emotion.

As is visible from the derivation, the sentence hosting an alternating reflexive SE verb is not unaccusative. Following Reinhart (2001), Rozwadowska and Bondaruk (2019) assume that the reflexive SE verbs that can drop their instrumental DPs have a structure of unergatives. However, this approach should be extended to SE reflexive alternants of OE verbs with an

obligatory instrumental case-marked DP, regardless of their ontological distinction into episodic and non-episodic.

With the representation of the event structure of this alternant in place, let us proceed to the discussion of perfective variants. Like SE and DE verbs, OE verbs do not readily take a large number of prefixes in comparison to dynamic verbs, as illustrated below:

- (293) Martwić ‘concern’, **po**martwić, **zam**artwić, **nam**artwić, **z**martwić
 Cieszyć ‘please’, **po**cieszyć, **nac**ieszyć, **uc**ieszyć
 Smuć ‘sadden’, **po**smutnieć, **z**asmuć
 Fascynować ‘fascinate’, **z**afascynować
 Irytować ‘irritate’, **po**irytować, **nai**rytować
 Trwożyć ‘scare’, **z**atrwożyć
 Złościć ‘anger’, **rozz**łościć, **na**złościć, **ze**złościć
 Oczarować ‘spellbind’, **ro**zcharować
 Straszyć ‘frighten’, **po**straszyć, **za**straszyć, **na**straszyć, **prze**straszyć, **wy**straszyć
 Interesować ‘interest’, **z**ainteresować
 Frustrować ‘frustrate’, **s**frustrować
 Przygnębiać ‘depress’, -

Aspectual marking in OE verbs encodes the left boundary of an eventuality. In other words, OE roots which are non-dynamic in combination with verbal prefixes denote inceptive states.

Reflexive SE cognates of OE verbs are not final boundary eventualities because they do not lead to the following logical entailments.

- (294) Process leading up to a culmination
 *Tomek stopniowo cieszył się feriami aż się ucieszył.
 Tom.ACC gradually enjoy.PST.IPFV REFL holiday.INS until REFL u.PFV-enjoy.3SG.M. PST
 ‘Tom gradually enjoys holidays until he started to enjoy them.’
- (295) Compatibility with the aspectual verb *skończyć* ‘finish’
 *Tomek skończył nudzić się swoją pracą.
 Tom.NOM s.PFV-finish.PST bore.INF REFL his work.INS
 ‘Tom finished boring with his work.’
- (296) Perfective at time t entails imperfective at time $t' < t$
 *Tomek interesował się muzyką, ale się nie zainteresował.
 Tom.NOM interest.IPFV REFL music.INS, but REFL not za.PFV-interest.3SG.M.PST.PFV
 ‘The lack of money tired Tom, but it didn’t start to tire him.’

The use of the past participle clause, the function of which is to highlight the sequence of events, does not deprive reflexive SE verbs of the entailment of the continuing feeling after the second action comes to an end.

(297) Past participle clause

Zainteresowawszy się gramatyką generatywną, Marysia pojechała nad konferencję.

like.PTCP.PFV board games.ACC, Tom.NOM organise.PST.PFV tournament.ACC

‘Having liked board games, Tomek set up a tournament.’

The alternants in question do not pertain to a process since they are incompatible with the following entailment.

(298) Test for eliciting the preliminary stage of an event

*Zanim Tomek zdenerwował się na Marysię musiał się na nią denerwować.

Before z.PFV-surprise.PST Tom.ACC war.NOM must.3SG.M.PST him.ACC surprise.INF

‘Before he started to love the dogs, he must have been loving them.’

However, SE verbs derived from OE roots are licit with the contexts where onsets to states are highlighted.

(299) Event continuation test

Tomek zirytował się na Marysię i nadal się na nią irytuje.

Tom. z.PFV-bore.PST this.NOM.F book.NOM and still him.ACC tire.IPFV.PST

‘Tom started to love his house and still loves it.’

(300) Culmination cancellation

Tomek zasmucił się i nie przestał się smucić.

Tom.ACC po.PFV-excite.PST travel.NOM and not stopped.3SG.M him.ACC exite.INF

‘Tom started to like his house and didn’t stop liking it.’

(301) Co-occurrence with result-state adverbials (cf. Piñón 1999)

Tomek zmartwił się losami świata na chwilę.

Tom.ACC za.PFV-interest.PST history.NOM this.GEN.N city.NOM only for while

‘The history of this city interested Tom for a while.’

However, it has to be observed that some prefixes attached to some OE verbs have special semantic load. The table in (302) shows which combinations of psych verbs and prefixes occur only in constructions with reflexive SE verbs and which allow for the OE-SE alternation.

(302) OE alternants and SE alternants

Root	Only reflexive SE alternant possible	Both alternants possible
Martwić 'worry'	pomartwić się 'worry a little' zamartwić się 'worry' namartwić się 'worry a lot'	zmartwić 'worry.PFV'
Cieszyć 'enjoy'	nacieszyć się 'enjoy a lot'	ucieszyć 'enjoy.PFV' pocieszyć 'enjoy a little'
smuć 'sadden'	-----	zasmuć 'sadden.PFV'
złościć 'anger'	pozłościć się 'anger a little' nazłościć się 'anger a lot' wyzłościć się 'get mad at'	zezłościć 'anger.PFV'

The examples below show how this restriction works in practice. The perfective verb *nacieszyć* cannot form the OE alternant whereas the perfective verb 'zmartwić' can surface in both OE alternant and reflexive SE alternant.

(303) a. Nacieszyłem się twoją obecnością.

Na.PFV-enjoy.PST REFL your.INS presence.INS

'I enjoyed your presence a lot.'

b. *Twoja obecność nacieszyła mnie.

Your.N presence.NOM na.PFV-enjoy.PST me.ACC

'Your presence pleased me a lot.'

(304) a. Zmartwiłem się twoją sytuacją.

Z.PFV-worry.PST REFL your.INS situation.INS

'I started to worry about your situation.'

b. Twój sytuacja zmartwiła mnie.

Your.NOM situation.NOM Z.PFV-worry.PST me.ACC

'Your situation started to worry me.'

Apart from marking inceptivity when conjoined with OE verb roots, the prefix *po-* also has a delimitive meaning translatable into *a little bit* or *for a while*. The prefix *po-* is also associated with a distributive meaning translatable into (e.g., *each in turn*) but it is illicit with OE verb roots. The prefix *na-* is taken to have a cumulative meaning (*a lot*) or a saturative meaning (e.g., *to the full*). It is difficult to judge which meaning of this prefix is more compatible with OE verbs.

Similarly to the verb *kochać się* ‘love’ and the verb *martwić* ‘worry’ form aspectual triplets, as shown below:

- (305) a. *Martwić się* (imperfective)
 WORRY.IPFV REFL
 b. *Zmartwić się* (perfective)
 za.PFV-WORRY REFL
 c. *Zamartwiać się* (secondary imperfective)
 za.PFV-WORRY REFL

Example (305c) can only be used in the SE alternant and means that the Experiencer worries repeatedly about something or experiences repetitive onsets of the same state. The Experiencer comes back to the state of worrying about something. The use of secondary imperfective in OE verbs differs from secondary imperfective forms of dynamic verbs that point to repeated processes; for example, finishing one thing and then moving on to finish another one, as in the verbs *stwarzać* ‘create a lot’.

All in all, the analysis of aspectual forms of reflexive alternating SE verbs casts doubt on whether they accept only superlexical prefixes since the prefixes *za-* allows the verb to form secondary imperfectives, the prefixes *po-* and *na-* block the grammaticality of one of the alternants and the prefix *wy-*, as in *wyzłóśliwiać się* ‘scoff’ or *nazłościć się* ‘anger to the full’, changes the subcategorization of the verb. The verbs *pomartwić się* ‘worry for a while’, *namartwić się* ‘worry to the full’ and *wyzłóścić się* ‘scoff’ do not pass the tests for inceptivity unambiguously. This shows that some reflexive alternating SE verbs in combination with particular verbal prefixes do not necessarily mean inceptivity but rather the culmination of a state and its depletion or complete disappearance. This may be explained in reference to the association of these verbs with the feature [+ADD-ON], where the subject must be physically engaged. These verbs may suggest that the emotional culmination was preceded by a protracted duration or iterativity of a given emotion which involved certain physical manifestations.

Reflexive SE verbs derived from OE verbs exhibit some irregularities depending on the variant (i.e., imperfective or perfective) they receive. For instance, the perfective form of *martwić* turns the T/SM in PP ungrammatical. The most preferable is definitely the variant with the bare instrumental object.

- (306) a. *Tomek martwił się o Anię.*
 Tom.NOM WORRY.PST.IPFV REFL about Ann.ACC
 ‘Tom worried about Ann.’

- b. *Janek martwił się Anią.

John.NOM worry.PST.IPFV REFL Ann.INS

‘John worried with Ann.’

- (307) a. *Tomek zmartwił się o Anię.

Tom.NOM Z.PFV-WORRY.PST REFL about.ACC

‘Tom worried about Ann.’

Tom.NOM Z.PFV-WORRY.PST REFL about Ann.ACC

‘Tom started to worry about Ann.’

- b. Tomek zmartwił się Anią.

Tom.NOM Z.PFV-WORRY.PST Ann.INS

‘Tom worried about Ann.’

‘Tom started to worry about Ann.’

The same goes for the T/SM expressed by the possessor-attribute relation. The perfective variant bars the use of a preposition. Note that, however, the imperfective variant allows for transitive and intransitive uses of the verb *martwić* ‘worry’.

- (308) a. Tomek martwi się o zdrowie Ani.

Tom.NOM worry.PRS REFL about health.ACC Ann.GEN

‘Tom worries about Ann’s health.’

- b. Tomek martwił się zdrowiem Ani.

Tom.NOM worry.PST REFL health.INS Ann.GEN

‘Tom worries about Ann’s health.’

- (309) a. *Tomek zmartwił się o zdrowie Ani.

Tom.NOM Z.PFV-WORRY.PST REFL about health.ACC Ann.GEN

‘Tom started to worry about Ann’s health.’

- b. Tomek zmartwił się zdrowiem Ani.

Tom.NOM Z.PFV-WORRY.PST REFL health.INS Ann.GEN

‘Tom started to worry about Ann’s health.’

The verb *gniewać* ‘anger’ presents a reverse pattern when it comes to the perfective form. To be exact, the Object of Emotion without the presence of an Attribute can be realised only by PP when perfectivised, as in (310):

- (310) a. Tomek gniewał się na swojego brata.

Tom.NOM anger.PST REFL on his.ACC brother.ACC

‘Tom was angry with his brother.’

- b. *Tomek gniewał się swoim bratem.

Tom.NOM anger.PST REFL his.INS brother.INS

‘Tom was angry with his brother.’

- (311) a. Tomek rozgniewał się na swojego brata.

Tom.NOM ROZ.PFV-anger.PST REFL on his.ACC brother.ACC

‘Tom started to be angry with his brother.’

- b. *Tomek rozgniewał się swoim bratem.

Tom.NOM ROZ.PFV-anger.PST REFL his.INS brother.INS

‘Tom became angry with his brother.’

The Object of Emotion consisting of the possessor and the attribute can be realised in the imperfective form only by PP, as presented in (312) but in the perfective form by both the PP or bare NP, as shown in (313):

- (312) a. Tomek gniewał się na zachowanie swojego brata.

Tom.NOM anger.PST.IPFV REFL on behaviour.ACC his.GEN brother.GEN

‘Tom was angry with his brother’s behaviour.’

- b. *Tomek gniewał się zachowaniem swojego brata.

Tom.NOM anger.PST.IPFV REFL behaviour.INS his.GEN brother.GEN

‘Tom was angry with his brother’s behaviour.’

- (313) a. Tomek rozgniewał się na zachowanie swojego brata.

Tom ROZ.PFV-anger.PST REFL on behaviour his.GEN brother.GEN

‘Tom started to be angry with his brother’s behaviour.’

- b. Tomek rozgniewał się zachowaniem swojego brata.

Tom.NOM ROZ.PFV-anger.PST REFL behaviour.INS his.GEN brother.GEN

‘Tom started to be angry with his brother’s behaviour.’

Is it then the inherent property of each alternating SE verb falling into this alternation? The answer seems to be positive. Each child learns it and stores this knowledge.

As is also true about Experiencers present in other psych verbs, the Experiencer of reflexive SE verbs is contained in the locative structure since they can be paraphrased into sentences that indicate that a particular emotion is located in the Experiencer. These paraphrases are presented below:

- (314) a. Zasmucił się. – Wzbudził w sobie poczucie smutku.

‘He got saddened.’ – ‘He aroused in him a hint of sadness.’

- b. Radował się. – Czuł w sobie radość.

‘He rejoiced.’ – He felt joy in him

4.5 Concluding remarks

In this Chapter, we have described and analysed the alternants of OE verbs. As shown, OE verbs participate in the largest number of argument-structure alternations compared to other psych verbs. This is caused by the structural position of the Experiencer in English associated with the accusative case and the assignment of the accusative case to the Experiencer in Polish. The emotional affectedness of the Experiencer and the varying interpretational role of the Stimulus permit OE verbs to be ascribed various temporal and (non-)agentive readings. As shown in the Chapter, not all these readings correspond to all the analysed alternations. The alternants linked with a stative reading are the PRO-*arb* Object Experiencer alternant and psych middles in both languages under discussion, OE verb with a prepositional possessor in Polish and prepositional SE verbs derived from OE verbs in English. Additionally, we have demonstrated that the generic interpretation determined by homogeneous objects together with the imperfective aspect blocks an eventive reading.

In our model, the distinction between stative and eventive readings is reflected in the event structure. Each reading is associated with the existence of a distinct representation. In the stative reading, the Stimulus remains in TP to agree with the verb. This structural position is identified with a structural role of a default participant. In the case of an eventive reading, the Stimulus is moved to the Specifier of the EP projection, where the Stimulus functions as an Originator. In both readings, the Experiencer that originates in SP is demoted to AspQP/F^{SP}. This is the place where the Experiencer argument is assigned the structural accusative case and where its quantity-homogeneous status determines the accurate projection (AspQP or F^{SP}) associated with the right aspectual reading (state or inceptive state and generic or existential). In the literature, the term argument demotion has been used in reference to passive structures. Throughout this Chapter, we have argued that this syntactic phenomenon should be extended to the analysis of psych verbs in which the Experiencer is expressed in the object position or receives non-nominative case. The existence of regular OE-SE alternations is taken in this work as an argument for the downward movement of the Experiencer. Excluding pragmatic considerations such as information-structure load, OE alternants can be used as paraphrases of sentences with reflexive SE verbs derived from OE verb roots or vice versa. Additionally, the shift from OE predicates to predicates with prepositional SE shift results in the aspectual change (from eventive to stative).

We also claim that the eventive reading has two subtypes, i.e., agentive and non-agentive. These subtypes of an eventive reading are reflected at the level of the lexical domain

where the verb is associated with [+ADD-ON] feature of [-ADD-ON] feature. The agentive reading is identified with a deliberate action on part of an agent, which affects the temporality of an event, where dynamicity, endpoint and iteration are implied. We also show that OE verb alternations are different from argument-structure alternations of change-of-state verbs because of their inner aspect interpretations and their sensitivity to the possessor-attribute and animate-inanimate relationship between arguments. Besides, we have shown that the perfective variants of reflexive SE verbs formed from OE verb roots can affect these verbs' argument structure, which suggests that verbal prefixation applied to OE verbs is not only of a superlexical kind. What is more, marginally OE verbs have secondary imperfective forms, which in contrast to dynamic verbs do not imply an iteration of finished actions.

CHAPTER 5

ALTERNATIONS OF DE VERBS

5.1 Dative Experiencer verbs

This Chapter analyses DE verbs in both English and Polish from the angle of their argument-structure modifications and the status of the Experiencer argument as a mental location. Apart from that, the perfective variants of DE alternants together with their inner aspectual interpretations are under close scrutiny. Finally, the properties of DE alternants are compared against the alternants of other psych verbs that have already been discussed in the previous Chapters.

5.1.1 English Dative Experiencer verbs

Modern English does not morphologically mark dative arguments. However, it is standardly assumed that the arguments which are followed by prepositions are in the dative or locative case.⁴⁷ The Experiencers in (315) are in the locative case since they are headed by the preposition *to*, which confirms the introduction of the dative Experiencers as null P at the level of the event structure.

- (315) a. It's sad (to him).
 b. It's a shame (to me).
 c. The film became boring (to us all).⁴⁸
 d. This task was difficult (to students).

The referentiality of the oblique object does not make the sentence telic, as in (315abc). However, the grammatical form of the Experiencer determines either a generic or an existential reading. The addition of the Experiencer to clauses denoting states may be taken as an argument for associating the dative Experiencer with the projection of the State Phrase.

⁴⁷ Their recognition is ascribed to Belletti and Rizzi (1988), who labelled them as *piacere* verbs as members of the Class III of Italian psych verbs. However, the label DE verbs is more universal since it captures their structural properties across languages.

⁴⁸ It is noteworthy that the expression *to me* points to an opinion, which is best exemplified by the uses such as *she felt warm to him, it's hot to me or he's cold to us*. These sentences mean a subjective assessment of someone's attractiveness or friendliness.

Apart from the structures in (315), the dative Experiencer can be found in structures presented in (316), where they are also viewed as Agents. In this case, these sentences describe an attitude to an action done by an agent, as demonstrated below:

- (316) a. It was difficult (for students) to do this task.
 b. It is important (for us) to be there tomorrow.
 c. It's frustrating (for me) to deal with my aunt.
 d. It's disappointing (for them) to call off the meeting.

English has a small number of transitive DE verbs. Under the term *Appeal* verbs, Levin (1993) lists five verbs which meet the criteria of attributing the dative case to the Experiencer, that is *niggle*, *grate*, *jar*, *appeal* and *matter*. These verbs introduce the Experiencer by means of the idiosyncratic overt prepositions such as *at*, *on* and *to*. The instantiations of sentences with the use of DE verbs are presented below:

- (317) a. Her voice really jars on me.
 b. Money matters to me a lot.
 c. Your negative attitude really grates on me.
 d. The irritation niggles at Melinda.
 e. His book appeals to a broad audience. (COCA)

In describing this subclass of psych verbs, Levin (1993) concludes that 'these verbs do not show the range of behavior that either of the transitive types of psych verbs show' (p. 193). A quick corpus search at other DE verbs also shows that a pattern with an overt preposition is not the only one for *niggle*, *grate* and *jar*. Study the sentences in (318) – (319):

- (318) a. His words jarred Harriet.
 b. ...televised congressional hearings that jarred the nation's faith in the presidency.
 c. You shouldn't have too many colours in a small space as the effect can jar.
 (taken from collins dictionary)
- (319) a. Something's been niggling her all day. (longman dictionary)
 b. She niggled over every detail of the bill. (longman dictionary)
 c. Another thought niggled. (COCA)

As shown, the verb *jar* can appear in transitive and null object constructions. The same holds for *grate* and *niggle*. The intransitive use also applies to *matter*. Moreover, Grafmiller (2013, pp. 50-52) casts doubt on the assumption that DE verbs do not possess direct objects by presenting examples from Internet searches in which the verb *appeal* allows middle constructions and those with null objects, as in (320):

- (320) a. Young children appeal to easily. (possible middle construction)
 b. The idea of uniting families appealed. (possible null object construction)

DE verbs can also be found in the progressive tense, as in (321):

- (321) a. Owning rental properties is appealing to most people. (youglish)
 b. It's annoying. This is really grating on me. (youglish)

This use seems to be emphatic and does not exclude the interpretation that the Stimuli has a long-lasting effect on the Experiencer (i.e., the movie is appealing to me may entail the movie appeals to me). Apart from that, DE verbs undergo the same syntactic operations such as postponed subjects and pseudo-cleft sentences, as shown below:

- (322) a. What appealed to me about America was independence.
 b. I didn't understand why it mattered to me that I got a better present.
 c. It appealed to me that there would be no Lauren.

All this may be taken as an indication that DE verbs have a very similar event structure to the stative OE eventualities that are discussed in Chapter 4. The only difference is the presence of the preposition which has its interpretational role. It blocks the emergence of eventive and agentive interpretations in contradistinction to OE verbs, which is exemplified by the ill-formedness of *-ing* nominals that require the presence of an Originator. The non-Experiencer argument in DE eventualities is always inert. See (323):

- (323) a. *The film's appealing to Tom.
 b. *Religion's mattering to Pat.

Excluding dative-subject languages like Lezgian, DE verbs, as a homogenous class, are treated to be of an unaccusative structure, in which the dative-marked Experiencer originates in a position higher than the nominative-marked argument (frequently referred as to an extended intransitive structure). The reasons for such a treatment of this argument are that, among other things, DEs do not usually appear in imperatives, valency-changing derivations or as implicit arguments of complement clauses (see Haspelmath, 2001, pp. 67-75). In the literature, English DE verbs are also identified with an unaccusative structure (see Reinhart, 2001; Landau, 2010, p. 12).

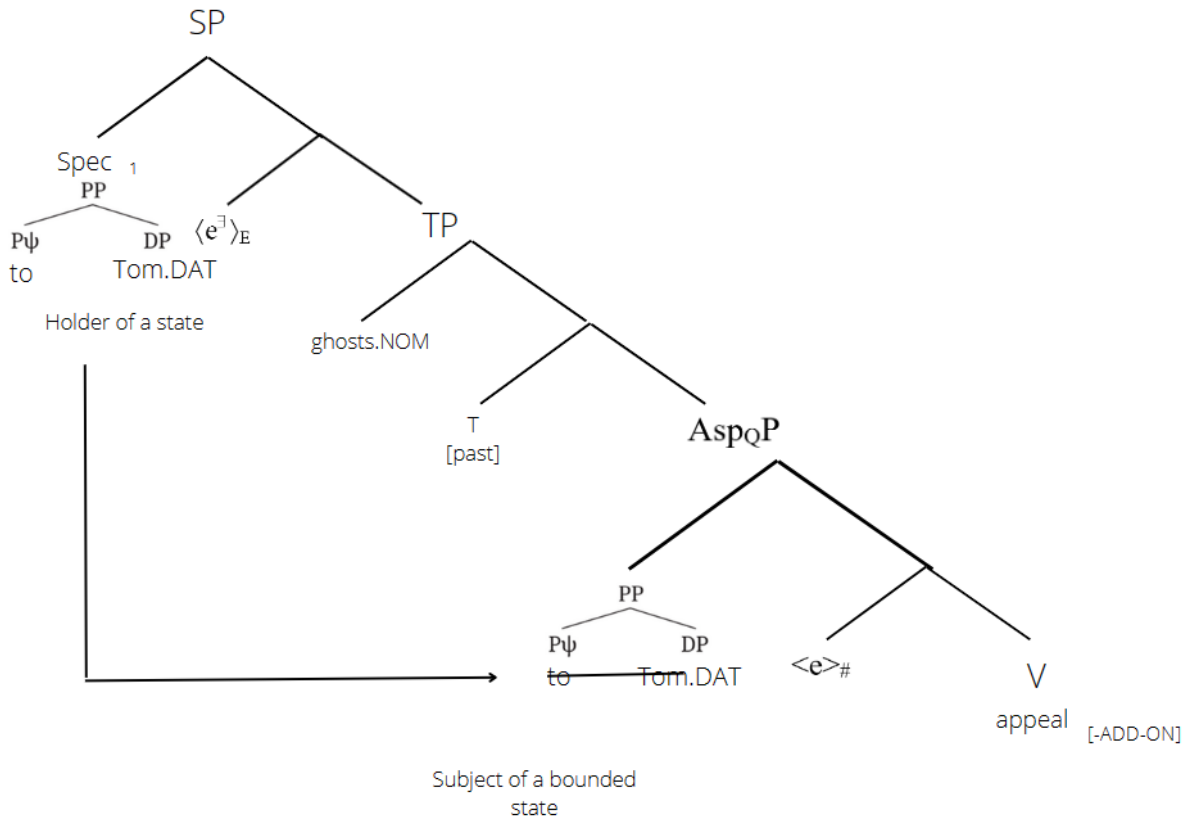
The unaccusative structure for English DE verbs is rejected in this work because they fail some tests for unaccusativity. To illustrate, in comparison to the standard unaccusatives (e.g., *the glass broke*), DE verbs in English are transitive and the Experiencer does not take the

nominative case. Also, they are not causative since they resist the periphrastic causative paraphrases (e.g., **Tom made Mary appeal to this film*). Besides, DE verbs do not form the adjectival participles in the prenominal position (e.g., **the appealed Mary*, **the mattered Jack*). Furthermore, they do not accept resultative adjuncts (e.g., *This album cover appealed to her stiff*). The more so that DE verbs do not denote events that are a telic and result in a dynamic change of state or location, which is the property of unaccusative verbs (cf. Dąbrowska, 2016).

For Borer (2005b) in the eventive domain, the unaccusative structure emerges when the argument from a quantity structure [Spec, Asp_QP] is moved to [Spec, TP]. This is a place when the nominative case is assigned to this argument. The presence of a preposition before the direct argument results in a non-quantity structure, as is the case with the conative alternation. This means that the direct arguments followed by a preposition bears the partitive case and thus cannot be embedded in an unaccusative structure. The Experiencer is always followed by a preposition in DE constructions in English. That is why it cannot have an unaccusative derivation. However, the Experiencer can be placed in a quantity structure [Spec, Asp_QP], which in states is responsible for the emergence of an existential interpretation but not for the emergence of a process and result. This assumption also leads to the conclusion that states, including psych verbs, cannot have an unaccusative structure.

Given the assumptions discussed above, the arrangement of the elements that make up the sentence *Ghosts appeal to Tom* is represented in this work as follows:

(324) a.



- b. $\exists e$ [bounded state (e) & holder-of-a-state/subject-of-a-bound state (to Tom, e) & default participant (ghosts, e) & appeal (e)]

The Stimulus has to be based-generated in [Spec, TP] because it displays full-subject-verb agreement but cannot be moved to the EP and thus be interpreted as an Originator. Instead, it remains in [Spec, TP] and hence it takes the interpretation of a default participant. Note that in the proposed derivation the Experiencer is associated with two projections because of its movement to [Spec, SP]. In the model of grammar pursued in this work, each projection hosting an argument gives rise to a particular role. This is why, the Experiencer is a holder of a state and a subject of a bounded state. This approach is not novel since the animate subject of some verbs of motion are identified with dual thematic roles; for instance, the subject Tom in the sentence *Tom runs* is claimed to have two roles: Agent and Theme (cf. Brinton, 2000). In our model, we consider only roles read off the structure. We do not refer to thematic roles.

5.1.2 Polish Dative Experiencer verbs

5.1.2.1 Non-inflecting DE verbs

Predicates of mental experiences and bodily sensations occur in copular clauses in Polish. We use the terminology applied by Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007) and divide these structures into an Experiencer DP with adverbial predicates and an Experiencer DP with noun-like predicates. At the outset, we discuss the structures with predicative adverbs of psychological experience that occur in copular clauses such as *przykro* ‘sorry’, *wesoło* ‘cheerfully’, *przyjemnie* ‘nicely’, *smutno* ‘sadly’, *nudno* ‘boring’, *obojętnie* ‘indifferently’, *dobrze* ‘well’, *niedobrze* ‘unwell’, *źle* ‘badly’, *nieswojo* ‘uncomfortably’, *dziwnie* ‘strangely’, *straszno* ‘fearfully’ and *tęskno* ‘wistfully’, etc. Such constructions are built of the impersonal verb *jest* in the present tense or *było* in the past tense, as demonstrated in (325):

(325) a. Jest Tomkowi smutno.

Be.PRES.3SG me.DAT sad.IMPERS

‘I am sad.’

b. Było mu przykro.

Be.PST.3SG him.DAT sorry.IMPERS

‘I am sorry.’

As mentioned at the beginning of this Section, dative Experiencers embedded in copulative clauses can co-occur with adverbs denoting physical states concerning human bodies.⁴⁹ However, they do not project an argument structure and hence cannot alternate in contradistinction to dative Experiencers expressing mental states. Instantiations (326)–(327) show that dative Experiencers describing somatic experiencers cannot accept infinitival clauses or that-clauses, respectively. In all cases, the dative Experiencer can be left unexpressed.

(326) a. *Zimno mi jest być w tym pokoju.

‘I’m cold to be in this room.’

b. Było mu przykro powiedzieć o tym koledze.

‘He found it difficult to tell his friend about it.’

(327) a. *Duszno mi, że idę do Nowaków.

⁴⁹ Interesting is the fact that other European languages attest the same semantically encoded adjectives or adverbs (e.g., in Czech *je mi zima*; in Russian *mne kholodno*, in German *mir is kalt*). Contrastingly, in the Romance languages and in English, sensation predicates occur with the agent-like experiencer construction (e.g., in French *j’ai froid*, in Italian *ho freddo*, in Spanish *tengo frío*).

‘I find it stuffy to go to the Nowaks.’

b. *Nieswojo mi, że idę do Nowaków.*⁵⁰

‘I find it uncomfortable to go to the Nowaks.’

According to Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007), the dative Experiencer may be conceived of a general location with mental sensations, viz., a person’s mind, or a specific location with physical sensations, viz., a person’s body, which is indicated by their examples:

(328) a. **Ciężko mi w głowie.*

‘It’s hard to me in the head.’

b. *Zimno mi w nogi.*

‘My feet are cold.’

They also observe that adverbs of place are permitted with adverbial predicates with dative Experiencers denoting mental states.

(329) a. *Smutno mi w tym mieście.*

‘I feel sad in this city.’

b. *Głupio mi w tej sytuacji*

‘I’m embarrassed in this situation.’

We want to add that in sentence (329a) the feeling of sadness is located in the Experiencer’s mind, but the Experiencer’s physical location is in a concrete city. This feeling arises in the Experiencer because of her being in this city. Sentence (329b) may be interpreted along the same lines. There is a feeling of embarrassment in the Experiencer triggered by a given situation. Like subject and accusative Experiencers, dative Experiencers are also conceptualised as mental locations since they can have paraphrases like *there is sadness in me* or *even though it isn’t cold outside, I am cold*.

Unlike SE constructions, the construction under scrutiny seems to describe more transient emotional and physiological conditions (e.g., *teraz jest mi smutno* ‘I am sad now’, *przez chwilę było mi zimno* ‘for a while I was cold’). The salient interpretation of the brevity, imminence and inevitability of an experiencing emotion results from the dative case of the Experiencer. The Stimulus disappears from an Experiencer’s perception, the emotion, previously aroused, subsides and then followed a return to an Experiencer’s mental equilibrium. In addition, the dative case-marking on the Experiencer combined with the impersonal form of a verb indicates that an emotional state arouses without the Experiencer’s control. This is

⁵⁰ The adverb *nudno* ‘boring’ seems to reject the augmentation by that-clause (e.g., **Nudno mi, że oglądam ten film* ‘it is boring for me to watch this film.’)

confirmed by these verbs' incompatibility with intentional interpretations. This grammatical combination gives rise to the same interpretation within the non-psychological domain. For instance, the clause *odbiło mu się* 'he belched' is less direct than *bęknął* 'he eructated'. The fact that impersonal constructions also describe weather conditions or human reactions to temperature or to health conditions indicate a lack of influence and control on part of the Experiencer.

- (330) a. Smutno mi przez Ciebie.
 'I'm sad because of you.'
 b. Wesoło mi z powodu wygranego meczu.
 'I'm joyful because of the won match.'

- (331) a. Ot tak zrobiło mi się smutno.
 'I just got so sad.'
 b. Bez powodu jest mi jakoś dziwnie.
 'I feel weird for no reason.'

Apart from adverbial predicates, dative Experiencers can be found in noun-like predicates containing nouns like *wstyd* 'shame', *żal* 'pity', *szkoda* 'shame' and *brak* 'lack'. To this list we can add the word *strach* 'fear', which is taken to be an archaic usage, according to Bortnicka (1972). These predicates also project an argument-structure with a set of possible syntactic modifications. They accept the introduction of the Stimulus argument, that-clauses or infinitival clauses or even a subjunctive marker (see Saloni, 1974), as shown below respectively. Dative Experiencers in these predicates may also be left unexpressed.

- (332) a. Brak nam trójki dobrych znajomych.
 Be.PRES.3SG US.DAT shame.NOM
 'We lack/miss three good friends.'
 b. Wstyd im za Adama.
 Shame.NOM them.DAT for Adam.ACC
 'I am ashamed of Adam.'
- (333) a. Szkoda mi, że nie mogłem się pojawić na waszym weselu.
 'I feel pity that I couldn't attend your wedding.'
 b. Wstyd mi, że nie pomogłem potrzebującemu.
 'I'm ashamed that I didn't help a person who needed help.'
- (334) a. Strach mi uczestniczyć w tym obrzędzie.
 'I am afraid to participate in this ritual.'
 b. Wstyd mi pójść do szkoły.

‘I’m ashamed to go to school.’

(335) a. Szkoda by było zmarnować tak życie.

Pity BY about it to think.

‘It would be a pity to think about it.’

b. Wstyd by było nam zapomnieć.

‘We would be ashamed to forget.’

What emerges from this is that psychological meaning is expressed by a unique structure, which is not available for dynamic verbs.

We also want to add that dative Experiencers are more similar to accusative Experiencers verbs than to nominative Experiencers verbs due to their abilities to alternate.⁵¹ In parallel to OE verbs that have reflexive SE alternants, non-inflecting DE verbs can be paraphrased resorting to the use of nominative Experiencers. Instance (336) shows how the meaning of an OE construction can be paraphrased through the reversal of arguments where an accusative Experiencer becomes a nominative Experiencer.

(336) a. Adam złości Marka.

‘Adam angers Mark.’

b. Marek złości się na Adama.

‘Mark is angry with Adam.’

In turn, instance (337) – (339) demonstrate that DE constructions can also have paraphrases where a dative Experiencer changes into a nominative Experiencer.

(337) a. Tęskno mi za mamą.

Wistfully me.DAT for mum.INS

‘I long for mum.’

b. Tęsknie za mamą.

Miss.1SG.PRS for mum.INS

‘I miss my mum’.

(338) a. Wstyd Adamowi za Marka.

Shame.NOM Adam.DAT for Mark.INS

‘Adam feels ashamed of Mark.’

b. Adam wstydzi się Marka.

Adam.NOM feel shame REFL Mark.ACC

⁵¹ Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007) also claim that dative Experiencers are not very distinct from accusative Experiencers. However, Żychliński (2016) is of a contrastive opinion.

‘Adam is ashamed of Mark.’

(339) a. Marii jest smutno.

Mary.DAT is sadly

‘Mary feels sad.’

b. Maria smuci się.

‘Mary.NOM saddens REFL

‘Mary is sad.’

This ability of the Experiencer to change its syntactic positions is accounted for by its abstract prepositional structure, which allows for downward movement in the covert event structure. In this work, dative Experiencers are also considered mental locations. Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007) point to the construction with *żal* ‘pity’, where the Experiencer is expressed by an overt P. In the corpus we can find other examples with the Experiencer with P.

(340) a. I tylko ja noszę wstyd w sobie. (NKJP)

‘And there’s a shame in me.’

b. Nagły żal w nim zaskowyczał. (NKJP)

‘A sudden pity in him whined.’

c. Biały strach nagle w nim ponoć mieszka. (NKJP)

‘Apparently, great fear suddenly lives in him.’

It seems that only the noun *żal* ‘pity’ can function as an argument structure nominal, as shown below:

(341) Żal Jana do Marka

Pity.NOM John.GEN to Mark.GEN

‘John’s rancour for Mark.’

This nominal patterns like other argument structure nominals derived from SE and OE verbs. The genitive case associated with the possessor is assigned to the Experiencer, which shows that the emotion is located in the Experiencer.

As we have established so far, defective DE verbs are non-dynamic since the emergence of emotions they describe is not connected with any physical movement. Further on, the arousal of emotions takes place in the Experiencer’s mind, which calls for its representation by a null prepositional phrase. As stipulated in case of other psych verbs. the base position of the Experiencer is in the Specifier of SP. In the initial stage of forming an event structure of non-inflecting DE predicates, the Specifier of Asp_QP/F^SP remains empty and the Specifier of TP is occupied by a Stimulus when present in a sentence. Next, the Experiencer is moved downward

from SP to AspQP/F^{SP} with a view to being assigned the dative case and filling in the empty position in the AspQP/F^{SP}. The functional projection AspQP/F^{SP} is linked with the objective case. The selection of the suitable non-nominative case depends on the verb chosen. We find a correlation with our claim with Dziwirek (1994), who contends that dative Experiencers originate as subjects but later they change their grammatical relation.

Our proposal of the Experiencer demotion within DE constructions is not without theoretical problems. The immediate problem arises as for how to explicate that defective verb *jest* can assign case. What comes to our rescue is Bondaruk and Szymanek's (2007) analysis in which they provide evidence for predicative adverbs with mental dative Experiencers to represent a special class of adverbs capable of projecting an argument structure. In addition, they contend that items like *żal* 'pity' and *wstyd* 'shame' should be viewed as verbs when embedded in non-inflecting DE construction. In our representation they take the position available for verbs from which they can assign case.

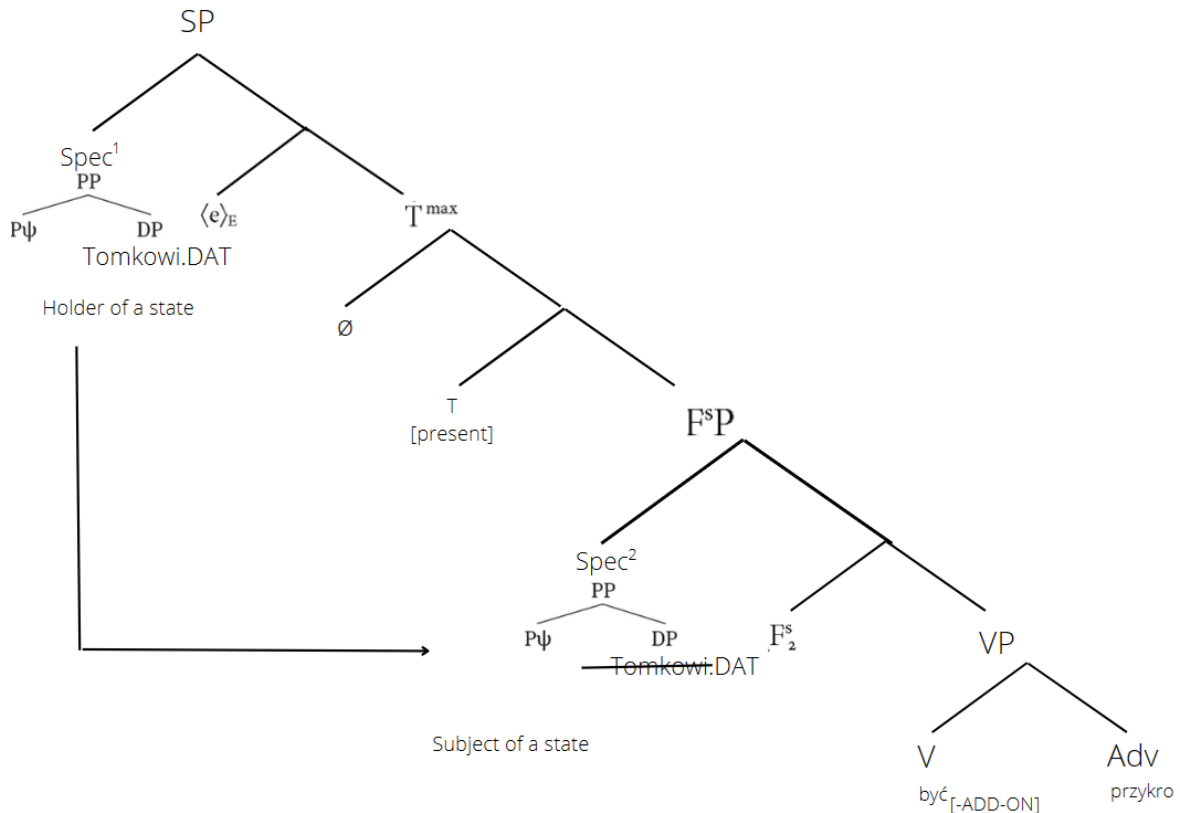
Another thing is that cases other than nominative and accusative are regarded as inherent case. NPs-bearing inherent case do not usually passivise but even if they do, they retain their inherent case marking. This is why inherent case is taken to be assigned prior to structural case. Given that, we want to stress that the dative case is assigned straightaway to an empty position, which waits to be filled by the Experiencer argument as the best candidate for movement. In Borer's model, the assignment of both structural and inherent cases corresponds to the concrete functional projections. The accusative case is assigned in [Spec, AspQP] while the inherent case like abstract partitive case is linked with the position [Spec, F^{SP}]. However, in Polish case marking that is morphologically manifested on nouns themselves represents a complex system and necessitates a special treatment.

Many approaches to the syntactic representation of dative Experiencers (but not representations of event structure that we undertake in this work) also derives this argument by a recourse to movement of various sort. In Landau (2010) the dative Experiencer originates in the specifier of VP and subsequently undergoes a locative inversion, which allows this argument to occupy the specifier of TP and c-command the Stimulus argument. In reference to Polish dative Experiencers, Bondaruk and Szymanek (2007) assert that this argument is topicalised to TP-adjoined position in order to disambiguate different information loads. Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska (2017) dative Experiencers embedded in intransitive structures are generated in VP in a position higher than the nominative subject. Then, they are moved to the spec-TP position to satisfy the EPP under T. This is contra other accounts where the canonical

subject position in non-inflecting DE verbs is taken to be filled with expletive *pro* (Bondaruk and Szymanek, 2007; Tajsner, 1990).

With this in mind, the sentence with a non-inflecting DE verb such as *Tomkowi jest przykro* ‘Tom feels sorry’ should be accommodated in the approach pursued here as follows:

(342) a.



b. $\exists e$ [unbounded state (e) & holder of a state, subject of state (Tom, e) & być przykro (e)].

Additionally, we claim that the imperfective variant of defective DE verbs may have eventive or stative reading but the perfective variant of these predicates, as in (128b), has an eventive reading. Unlike OE verbs, the EP does not have to be projected over SP since the Simulus does not have to be expressed. The agentive interpretation is not available for the predicates in question unless it is induced by a specific context. This feature aligns them more closely with SE verbs.

As it turns out, defective DE verbs can be eventive, as in (343b), by the use of the impersonal verb *zrobiło*, which can also have an imperfective form *robiło*, as in (343a).

(343) a. *Robiło mu się w takich chwilach trochę przykro.*

Make.PST.3SG.3SG.N him.DAT in such moments.LOC a little sorry.

‘He felt a little upset in such moments.’

b. Zrobiło się jej żal/wstyd.

Z.PFV-make.IMPERS REFL her sorry/shame.NOM

‘I started to feel pity/shame’.

Even though the sentences with the imperfective verb *robiło się* ‘make’ with psychological adverbs exist, they do not refer to any process but rather to the intensity of an emotion felt by Experiencer. This intensity cannot be measured in contrast to expressions such as *robiło się zimno* ‘it was getting colder’, where the suitable unit of measurement may be applied. Since the intensity of an emotion cannot be measured, the culmination point cannot be established. The ill-formedness of sentences provided in (344) – (345) is a case in point.

(344) a. Robiło mi się smutno (*aż w końcu zrobiło mi się smutno).

Make.PST.3SG.3SG.N me.DAT sad.IMPERS until at last Z.PFV-make.PST sad.IMPRES

‘I was getting sad until I finally felt sad’

b. Robiło mi się żal (*aż w końcu zrobiło mi się żal).

Make.PST.3SG.3SG.N me.DAT sorry.IMPERS until at last Z.PFV-make.PST REFL sorry

‘I was getting sorry until I finally felt sorry.’

(345) a. Zanim zrobiło mu się przykro (*to musiało robić mu się przykro).

Before Z.PFV-make.PST him.DAT REFL sorry.IMPERS this must.3SG.N.PST

‘Before he started to be sorry, he must have been sorry.’

b. Zanim zrobiło mu się smutno (*to musiało robić mu się smutno).

Before Z.PFV-make.PST him.DAT REFL sad.IMPERS this must.3SG.N.PST

Before he got sad, he must have been sad.

Perfective monadic DE verbs have the same inner aspect as other psych verbs. Their inner aspect is that of the onset to a state since they pass tests for inceptivity like the event continuation test, culmination cancellation test and co-occurrence with result-state adverbials and at the same time they fail tests for a process, endpoint and resultant state in their denotations like the compatibility with the adverb *stopniowo* ‘gradually’ and superaspectual verb *skończyć* ‘finish’. Instance (346) shows that the feeling of being sad may continue after he clammed up.

(346) Past participle clause

Zrobiwszy mu się smutno zamilknął.

him. REFL sad.IMPERS Z.PFV-silence.PST.3SG.N

‘Having felt cold, he clammed up.’

Another support for treating Dative Experiencers as subjects and associating them with a stative structure comes from their well-formedness with dative personal and impersonal middle constructions with an evaluative adverb. DEs can be added to structures which are atelic and in which the presence of dative Experiencer is identified with the doer of an action. Nevertheless, the use of the dative case suggests that the emotional experience derived from doing a certain action is not controlled or chosen by the Experiencer. The action itself may be intentional but the emotional judgement associated with this action is not determined by the volition of the Experiencer. McCawley (1976) also observed that the Experiencer in impersonal construction used to signal a human who: “is unvolitionally/unself-controllably involved in the situation (p. 194)”. Our model captures these properties of the dative Experiencer accurately since the dative Experiencer is base-generated in SP and considered as a subject but then is demoted to the position identified with affectedness.

5.1.2.2 Inflecting DE verbs

In this Section, we discuss the syntax and semantics of transitive DE verbs. Attention is also given to their perfective variants, followed by an analysis of possible alternations these verbs fall into. At the end of the Section, we represent an event structure of these predicates and compare it with other accounts.

There are also dyadic DE verbs in Polish, including *podobać się* ‘please/appeal to’, *imponować* ‘impress’, *obrzydzać* ‘disgust’, *przykrzyć się* ‘be tired of’, *przeszkadzać* ‘disturb’, *obojętnieć* ‘be indifferent’ and *brakować* ‘lack, miss’.⁵² Unlike defective DE verbs, transitive DE verbs agree with the Stimulus argument.

- (347) a. Markowi podoba się jego życie.
 Mark.DAT appeal.3SG.PRS.IPFV REFL his life.NOM
 ‘His life appeals to Mark.’
- b. Markowi przykrzy się jego życie.
 Mark.DAT tire.3SG.PRS.IPFV REFL his life.NOM
 ‘Mark is tired of his life.’
- c. Imponuje Markowi ich życie.

⁵² Other languages also have such an argumental realisation: for Italian *mi piace il libro* ‘I like this book’ or for German *mir gefällt das Buch* ‘I like this book’.

impress.3SG.PRS.IPFV Mark.DAT their life.NOM

‘His life impresses Mark’

d. Przeszkadza Markowi jego życie.

disturb.3SG.M.PRS.IPFV Mark.DAT their life.NOM

‘Mark’s life disturbs him.’

There is also a case of the verb *brakować* ‘miss’, which assigns a different case to the Stimulus than the three dative Experiencers presented above. This is a prime example of an impersonal construction, where neither of the arguments bears the nominative case and the verb is marked for the neutral gender. This verb can have two meanings according to whether its non-Experiencer is animate or inanimate.

(348) a. Brakuje nam pieniędzy. (stative)

lack.3SG.N.PRS.IPFV US.DAT money.GEN

‘We are running out of money’

b. Brakuje nam Marka. (psychological)

lack.3SG.N.PRS.IPFV US.DAT Mark.GEN

‘Tom misses Mary’

Another example of a DE verb that exhibits a diverse argument structure is *obrzydzać* ‘disgust’. The imperfective variant of this verb assigns the accusative case to the Experiencer whereas the perfective variant assigns the dative case. What is more, it can have a ditransitive entry since it can hold three arguments (see 349) and an eventive reading can also be forced.

(349) a. Marka obrzydza jego życie.

Mark.ACC disgust.PRS his life.NOM

‘Mark is disgusted by his life.’

b. Obrzydło Markowi jego życie.

disgust.PFV.PST Mark.DAT his life.NOM

‘Mark is sick of his life.’

c. Tomek obrzydza Markowi obiad.

Tom.NOM disgust.PRS Mark.DAT dinner.ACC

‘Tom disgusts Mark’s dinner.’

There is also another verb worth mentioning in the context of DE verbs, that is *obojętnieć* ‘become indifferent’. It can alternate as a SE verb with a transitive or intransitive entry.

(350) a. Opinia publiczna całkowicie zobojętniała na skandale i afery.

Public opinion.NOM completely z.PFV-weary.PST on scandals.ACC and sensations.ACC

‘Public opinion became completely indifferent to scandals and sensations.’

- b. Tomek zobojętniał.

Tom.NOM Z.PFV-weary.PST

‘Tom became indifferent.’

It can also function as a DE verb. According to our informants only the perfective variant is felicitous.

- (351) a. Hejnał zobojętniał krakowianom.

Bugle call.NOM Z.PFV-weary.PST Cracovians.DAT

‘The bugle call made Cracovians indifferent.’

- b. ?Hejnał obojętnieje krakowianom.

Bugle call.NOM weary.IPFV.PRS Cracovians.DAT

‘The bugle call is making Cracovians indifferent.’

Aside from the DE verbs mentioned above, Biały (2005, p. 96) also lists other DE verbs such as *dopiec* ‘to afflict’, *dokuczyć* ‘to harass’, *ubliżyć* ‘to disparage’. We claim that they should be treated as dynamic verbs. These verbs denote intentional actions directed at people who do not necessarily must be emotionally affected (see 352). They require some sort of movement on the part of the agent. In contrast to the Stimulus, the subject of these verbs must be present and engaged in the action (see 332b). These verbs can easily be augmented by an instrumental phrase, which is not the property of DE verbs, as the following examples show:

- (352) a. Marek dokuczył Tomkowi, ale w ogóle go to nie dotknęło.

‘Mark taunted^{Pfv} Tom, but he couldn’t care less.’

- b. *Marek ubliżał Tomkowi w czasie jego nieobecności w klasie.

‘Mark offended^{Ipfv} Tom during his absence from the classroom.’

- c. Tomek dopiekł Markowi kąśliwą uwagą.

‘Tom disparaged^{Pfv} Mark with a cutting remark.’

What is more, these verbs do not pass all the tests for inceptivity. Sentence (353a) implies that Tom didn’t offend Mary anymore. In turn, sentence (353b) cannot co-occur with resultant-state adverbials since it can denote a punctual event.

- (353) a. Po tym jak Tomek jej ubliżył, Marysia przestał się do niego odzywać.

‘After Tom had offended Mary, Mary stopped talking to him.’

- b. *Tomek dopiekł Mariuszowi na chwilę.

‘Tom taunted Mark in a while.’

This is not the case with DE verbs, though. The perfective forms of dyadic DE verbs encode inceptivity because they pass the tests for initial boundary eventualities discussed in Chapter 2 and 3. The incompatibility of some dyadic DE verbs like *przykrzyć się* ‘weary’ and *imponować*

‘impress’ with result-state adverbials displays a difference between them and copulative DE verbs, which easily take up meanings of short-lived states. Dyadic DE verbs very much resemble SE verbs in terms of temporal persistence.

In contrast to dynamic verbs but similarly to SE and OE verbs, DE verbs lack a variety of verbal prefixes. They also do not have aspectual triplets. The secondary imperfective form is not available for them.

- (354) *podobać się*^{Ipfv}/*spodobać się*^{Pfv} ‘please’; **spodobywać*
przykrzyć się^{Ipfv}/*sprzykrzyć się*^{Pfv} ‘weary’; **sprzykrzać się*
obrzydzać^{Ipfv}/*obrzydnąć*^{Pfv} ‘disgust’; **obrzydywać*
imponować^{Ipfv}/*zaimponować*^{Pfv} ‘impress’; **zaimponowywać*
brakować^{Ipfv}/*zabraknąć*^{Pfv} ‘miss, lack’; **zabrakowywać*
obojętnieć^{Ipfv}/*zobojętnieć*^{Pfv} ‘disregard’; **zobojętniać*

The verb *przeszkadzać* ‘disturb’ does not have a perfective variant. As seen, DE verbs belong to the same aspectual class as SE verbs and OE verbs because they exhibit the same aspectual properties.

Another argument for lumping DE verbs under psychological eventualities is concerned with the fact that sentences with DE verbs can be paraphrasable into clauses containing both SE verbs and OE verbs. This suggests that DE predicates describe states with their imperfective forms and inceptive states with their perfective forms.

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| (355) <i>podobać się</i> ‘appeal’ – <i>lubić</i> ‘like’ | (DE – SE) |
| <i>przykrzyć się</i> ‘weary’ – <i>nudzić</i> ‘bore’ | (DE – OE/RSE) |
| <i>obrzydzać</i> ‘disgust’ – <i>zrazić</i> ‘repulse’ | (DE – OE/RSE) |
| <i>imponować</i> ‘impress’ – <i>podziwiać</i> ‘admire’ | (DE – SE) |
| <i>brakować</i> ‘long for’ – <i> tęsknić</i> ‘miss’ | (DE – SE) |
| <i>obojętnieć</i> ‘disregard’ – <i>tracić zainteresowanie</i> ‘disengage’ | |

(DE – expression with SE)

The possibility of replacing the dative Experiencer with either the subject Experiencer or object Experiencer makes it difficult to determine the subjecthood of the dative Experiencer. With this in mind, psych verbs call for distinguishing subjects into syntactic and semantic. The syntactic subject is identified with the nominative case in Polish or with being positioned before the verb in English. In turn, the semantic subject is characterised as an argument that is somehow involved in the eventuality either by intentionally performing an action or at least thinking about an eventuality. There is no doubt that the subject Experiencer is a syntactic subject and semantic

subject alike. It is also evident that the object Experiencer and dative Experiencer are not syntactic subjects. As previously established, OE verbs lead, among other things, to the interpretation where the Stimulus argument (syntactic subject) is not aware of an effect it has on the Experiencer. Since it is the Experiencer who observes the existence of an eventuality, the Experiencer is considered a semantic subject. It is also the case that the Stimulus argument changes into the agent who is fully involved and aware of his doing and takes control over an eventuality and then ought to be regarded as a semantic subject. Regarding DE verbs, we argue that they do not imply the intentionality of the Stimulus argument, and as a result, the dative Experiencer is viewed as a semantic subject.

The inquiry arises if this distinction into two types of subjects is visible for the event structure considerations. In our approach to the syntax-semantics interface, the stative reading and the eventive reading are distinguished in the event structure. In other words, these readings are associated with two distinct functional syntactic structures at the level of the event structure representation. The agentive reading is a special property of OE predicates because, despite the projection of SP and the presence of the Experiencer in a null P, the verb receives the feature [+ADD-ON]. As a reminder, this feature imposes the meaning of finality in the quantificational contexts and the meaning of iteration in homogenous contexts.

As has been observed, in DE predicates, the concepts of syntactic subject and semantic subject do not align. There is then a conflict between two dimensions. However, given neo-constructionist principles, this is always the grammar that wins. In Borer (2005b), we can find the same conclusion about the labour between syntax and semantics: “it is in the nature of things that the two outputs will not always match, or at least, not in a straightforward way. In the event of a mismatch, the grammar will always prevail (p. 9).” This is why the Experiencer from SP must be demoted to Asp_QP/F^SP since this argument’s quantificational properties determine as to whether Asp_QP is projected. Additionally, the empty place in the Specifier of Asp_QP/F^SP must be filled in so as that the dative case could be assigned. The Experiencer demotion taking place in the event structure results in this argument’s ability to be embedded in a set of alternations.

The DE verbs are syntactically the most restrictive of all psych verbs. They can form neither a passive alternant nor a middle alternant in contrast to the OEC and SEC. This may be seen as a justification for treating the dative Experiencer as an external argument (see Bondaruk, 2020b).⁵³ However, inflecting DE verbs display an array of alternations as those observed in

⁵³ Note that the dative argument acts as an external argument and the accusative case is assigned to the internal argument, which may be taken as an indication that Burzio's Generalization (1981) does not fully apply to Polish.

OE verbs such as the object drop, where the object may be deduced as *wszystkim* ‘all’. The addition of the phrase *ale nie wiedział o tym* ‘he didn’t know about it’ does not lead to contradiction, which shows that the Stimulus should not be associated with the subject. Additionally, the drop of the Experience does not turn these sentences resultative, but they are still inceptive. Therefore, the establishment of the feature [-ADD-ON] to the verb is important.⁵⁴

(356) a. Marek zaimponował (ale nie wiedział o tym).

Mark.NOM S.PFV-appeal.PST, but not know.3SG.M about it.LOC

‘Mark impressed, but he didn’t know about it’

b. Film spodobał się.

Film.NOM S.PFV-appeal REFL

‘The film appealed to.’

Some DE verbs can fall into the possessor’s attribute alternant in which the subject is the Stimulus (see 357a) and the Split Stimuli alternant (see 357bc). Marginally, even the prepositional possessor alternant is acceptable for my informants, as in (357c):

(357) a. Tomkowi sprzykrzyło się gadanie Marka.

Tom.DAT S.PFV-weary.PST REFL lecture.NOM Mark.GEN

‘Mark’s gibber started to weary Tom.’

b. Tomkowi Marek zaimponował swoim postawą.

Tom.DAT Mark.NOM za.PFV-impress.PST his demeanour.INS

‘Mark impressed Tom with his demeanour.’

c. Adamowi spodobała się Marta jako nauczycielka.

Adam.DAT S.PFV-appeal.PST REFL Martha.NOM as a teacher.ACC

‘As a teacher Martha appealed to Adam.’

d. Podobało mi się w nim jego zaangażowanie.

Appeal.IPFV.PST me.DAT REFL in him.LOC his engagement.NOM

‘His engagement appealed to me in him.’

⁵⁴ English DE verbs can also be found in this alternant.

(i) There was just something about her that appealed.

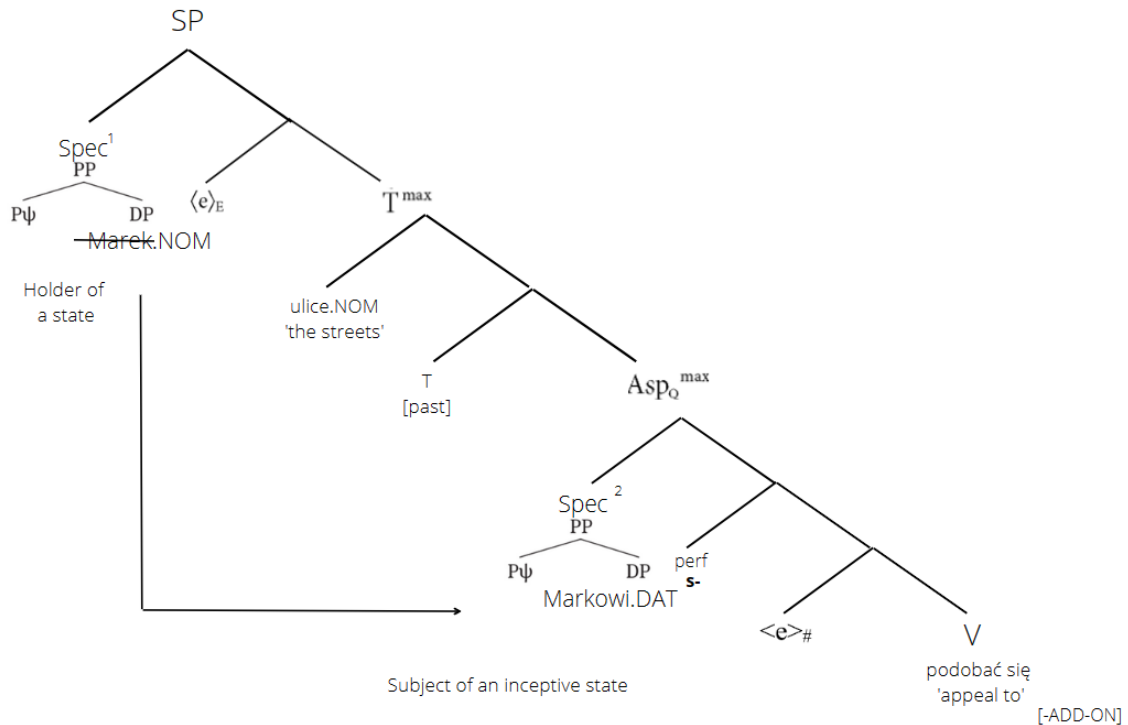
(ii) The idea of uniting families appealed.

(taken from Grafmiller, 2013, p. 51)

Given that they alternate like OE verbs, DE predicates should have a similar event structure. Below is a representation of the sentence *Markowi spodobały się ulice* 'The streets appealed to Mark':

(358)

a.



b. $\exists e$ [inceptive state (e) & holder-of-a-state; subject-of-a-state (Marek, e) & default participant (ulice, e) & podobać się (s, e)].

In the model we pursue in this work, it is assumed that dative case marking is an inherent property of verbs (or even nouns and adverbs regarding non-inflecting DE predicates). The assignment of the dative case to the Experiencer constitutes the blockage for passive and middle structures. However, accusative case marking results from the functional syntactic structure. The downward movement of the Experiencer is enough for accusative case to be assigned.

There is a disagreement about the accurate syntactic representation of the dative Experiencer. Many accounts treat the dative Experiencer as quirky subjects and point to their syntactic specialness. For example, Jiménez-Fernández and Rozwadowska's (2017) claim that the dative Experiencer in dyadic constructions does not possess subject properties. They are considered to move to the spec-CP to satisfy a topic feature in all-focus sentences. These assumptions are based on subjecthood tests like raising, anaphor, binding, control and

resumption, the reliability of which Haspelmath (2001) objects to. On the other hand, in Bondaruk (2020), predicates with the dative Experiencer do not have an unaccusative structure. Instead, the dative Experiencer merges externally since it can bind anaphors. As a result, the dative Experiencer cannot originate in the specifier of a high applicative phrase but rather they occupy a Spec (A position), vP position.

DE verbs also exhibit the same restrictions as other psych verbs regarding compatibility with certain lexical items. They fail to accept the presence of the word *sobie*, which emphasises an independent activity undertaken by the subject or goalless activity or unknown movement (e.g., *siedział sobie na kanapie* ‘he was sitting on a coach’). In addition, *sobie* pairs with verbs to mean satisfying someone’s needs and an enjoyable and pleasurable pastime (e.g., *pobiegalem sobie trochę* ‘I took a little jog’). Consider the following examples:

(359) a. *Pokochał sobie Marysię.

PRO.love.PFV.PRS REFL.DAT/LOC Mary.ACC

‘He loved himself Mary.’

b. *Przestraszył sobie Marysię.

PRO.frighten.PFV.PRS REFL.DAT/LOC Mary.ACC

‘He scared himself Mary.’

c. *Spodobał mu się sobie film.

please.PFV.PRS him.DAT REFL.DAT/LOC film.ACC

‘The film appealed to him himself.’

It has to be noted that the addition of *sobie* is possible with non-psych verbs such as *mieszkać* ‘live’, *leżeć* ‘lie’ or *żyć* (e.g., *żyli sobie dość spokojnie* ‘They lived quite peacefully’). This shows that psych verbs are grammatically special.

To express similar senses described above, English uses the particle *about*, *around* or *away* together with action verbs or the use of the light verb *go* (e.g., *We spent the whole day walking about town; he messed around on the farm; she sang away; go wash your hands; go and have a run outside*). The use of these words in the intended sense is ungrammatical with English psych verbs, which confirms their special grammatical status.

5.2 Concluding remarks

As demonstrated in this Chapter, both English and Polish recognise DE verbs. This verb class turns out not to be homogeneous since in Polish there are non-inflecting DE predicates and inflecting DE verbs and in English there is also a number of DE verbs in which the Experiencer is licenced by the preposition. In addition, we have observed the possibility of adding the Experiencer in a PP to copular clauses with emotional adjectives in English. In this use and in non-inflecting DE verbs, the Experiencer can be left unexpressed but implied. On a semantic note, defective DE verbs denote states in the imperfective aspect or inceptive states in the perfective aspect of temporary emotions or sensations while inflecting DE verbs denote states or inceptive states of permanent emotions or attitudes. In turn, the addition of the dative Experiencer to impersonal and personal middles gives another piece of support that the Experiencer is not a creator of a given feeling aroused in him but rather the Experiencer is a passive recipient of a mental state (see Trask, 1993). In contrast to Polish SE verbs and OE verbs, inflecting DE verbs have only superlexical prefixes and do not have secondary imperfective forms, which results in their limited ability to alternate among various argument structures.

Like OE predicates, DE predicates show a case where the concepts of semantic and syntactic subjects do not align. This conflict of mapping is resolved in favour of syntax, which is in accordance with neo-constructionism. Syntax overrides semantics in determining the aspectual meaning of an overall sentence. Therefore, the Experiencer undergoes downward movement from the Specifier of SP to the Specifier of AspQP/F^SP. This final position enables the Experiencer to participate in some alternations, which are also available for OE verbs. The analysis of the dative Experiencer alongside the object/accusative Experiencer as a null P explains the movement abilities of this argument at the level of the event structure developed in this work as well as allows for further modifications regarding the locative inversion or scrambling. However, the dative case, which is an inherent property of lexical items such as verbs, nouns and adjectives, prevents DE verbs of all kinds from forming passive and middle constructions.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation has been devoted to the analysis of argument-structure alternations of psych verbs in English and Polish. We have analysed the relation between syntax and semantics of these verbs, taking into account their aspectual properties. Our main aim was to verify if psych verbs participate in the same verb alternations as non-psych dynamic verbs or if their alternations are specific for psych verbs only. The results from such analysis contribute to the long-standing debate about the status of psych verbs in linguistic theory, i.e., the question whether psych verbs are special or whether their properties can be reduced to other well-known classes of verbs cross-linguistically. To this end, we have attempted to integrate various approaches to the lexicon-syntax interface that rely on event structure of events and states as well as various accounts of psych phenomena. As a point of departure, we assumed Borer's (2005a, b, 2012) Exo-Skeletal Model of the syntax-lexicon interface, which was originally devised to capture the aspectual properties of events. We tried to extend this model by integrating it with Husband's (2012) insights related to the aspectual heterogeneity of states based on the quantificational properties of their objects as well as with Rozwadowska's (2003, 2012, 2020) division of psych verbs into inceptive boundary eventualities followed by an unbounded state and unbounded states.

While integrating all these views, we have concluded that the main aspectual divide is between dynamic predicates and non-dynamic predicates. We have identified dynamicity with an event participant who must be in motion to make a given event happen. In this way, we have considered achievements to be dynamic events. In order to indicate distinct temporal entailments between dynamic and non-dynamic eventualities, we have resorted to Verkuyl's (1993) feature [+/-ADD-ON], which is sensitive to quantificational properties of object arguments. The [+ADD-ON] feature assigned to the verb located in the lexical domain corresponds to two possible entailments: existential and telic or generic and atelic. In turn, the [-ADD-ON] feature relates to non-dynamic eventualities which are atelic but can be either existential or generic. As established, (non-)dynamicity is not an inherent property of single verbs but results from the composition of the whole eventuality. The lack of the SP projection in the event structure signals the dynamicity of an event. What emerges from such assumptions is that quantity marked by functional items in language is responsible for the

aspectual meaning of an entire sentence. Having developed such a theoretical framework, we have carried out the analysis of argument-structure alternations of psych verbs.

The analysis of the argument-structure of psych verbs in Polish and English has helped us establish that psych verbs, from the aspectual perspective, are a subgroup of states because they entail uninterrupted duration (possess the subinterval property), or the continuation of an emotion held by the Experiencer at a given moment. Even OE verbs in English do not necessarily imply telicity. Likewise in states, psych verbs do not take as many verbal prefixes as dynamic verbs and marginally licence secondary imperfective forms. This analysis has shown that psych eventualities are not only different from dynamic events, but they also differ from non-psych states in some respects. This difference is argued here to lie in the presence of the Experiencer argument that holds emotional states. Following Fábregas and Marín (2015), we claim that this argument must be licensed by an additional complex phrase, that is a PP headed by a null P in the aspectual structure, which explains the exceptional grammatical behaviour of the verbs containing the emotional Experiencer. This grammatical specialness of psych verbs is correlated with their participation in specific argument-structure alternations together with their aspectual variants. These alternations are different from those that are available for dynamic verbs and non-psych state verbs. The Experiencer in psych verbs can alternate among various roles such as a holder of state, affected participant or a passive recipient of a mental state. Each language employs different morphosyntactic elements or relations to encode such roles. While in Polish each type of the Experiencer depends on distinct case marking, in English each type is expressed by specific word order or changes in verb valency. Additionally, the same psych verb root can co-occur with either the subject/nominative Experiencer or the object/accusative Experiencer, which has been discussed in the analysis of the OE-SE alternation. What is more, to a large extent, sentences hosting the emotional Experiencer can be easily paraphrased by dint of SE, OE, and DE verbs.

Such a variety of the Experiencer expression calls for the transformational tools applied to the event structure. Therefore, we argue that OE verbs together with DE verbs should be associated with a unique structure, in which the object/accusative and dative Experiencer, as well as the Experiencer headed by a preposition are demoted from their base position in SP to the aspectual phrase. This downward movement is brought about by purely syntactic reasons. A psych verb with such Experiencers must agree with the Stimulus argument and the range assignment in the domain of the aspectual phrase is dependent on the Experiencer's quantificational properties. OE verbs and DE verbs present a situation where the semantic subject does not align with the syntactic subject. This conflict is resolved by the Experiencer

demotion, which shows that syntax overrides semantics. Throughout the work, we have shown that the type of argument-structure alternations of psych verbs depend on structural position of the Experiencer or its distinct case-marking. For example, SE verbs do not participate in the split stimulus alternant or in the resultative alternant while OE verbs do not fall into the possessor object alternant and do not form verbal passives in Polish on their stative reading. Additionally, DE verbs are mostly resistant to argument-structure modifications due to inherent case marking in Polish and being headed by a preposition in English. The dative Experiencer can also be optionally inserted in impersonal and personal middles as well as impersonal constructions.

Another complexity is that psych verbs can receive episodic and non-episodic readings. We have claimed that these readings are reflected in the event structure since functional items and/or grammatical relations are responsible for their emergence, but they are not an inherent property of any psych verb. In English, SE verbs together with DE verbs are stative regardless of the quantificational properties of an Object of Emotion and Stimulus. However, OE verbs can be stative and eventive. The choice between these readings hinges on the (non-)animacy of the Stimulus and quantity marked on the noun. In Polish, perfectivity marked on the verb disambiguates the readings of psych verbs. Perfective variants of SE, OE and DE verbs are eventive (see also Bondaruk, 2020a). In both languages, the expression of quantity is correlated with the availability of an existential reading (Husband, 2012). Moreover, quantity also indicates an inceptive reading of stative verbs, including all subclasses of psych verbs. This shows that quantity is a linguistic primitive crucial for the interpretation of temporal properties of states and events which cuts across verb classes cross-linguistically. We have also recognised the subtype of the eventive reading, i.e., agentive reading (Arad, 1998), the presence of which is encoded in the lexical domain, where the eventuality is identified as dynamic. The identification of an eventuality as [+ADD-ON] is interpreted as telic in the perfective variant and as interrupted duration in the imperfective reading.

We have observed a partial correlation between the perfective variant of reflexive SE verbs and transitivity. The preposition-marked Object of Emotion is ungrammatical when the perfectivising prefix is attached to psych-verb roots, as is the case with some alternants featuring reflexive SE verbs in English and the OE alternant with a prepositional possessor. To account for it, we have referred to the conceptualisation of the Experiencer as a location. When we have a situation within a clause where the conceptually locative Experiencer occurs with an object headed by the locative case, then the reading that emerges is that of stativity. However, the eventive reading requiring punctuality (but not dynamicity) prefers the presence

of a direct object. There are also some alternations that correspond to generic and stative readings, for example, PRO-*arb* Object of Emotion alternant available for SE verbs and middles with OE verbs in both languages. As has turned out during the analysis carried out in this work, some alternations of psych verbs are language-specific; for instance; SE+*on* alternant or OE alternant with a prepositional possessor. Many alternations hosting all classes of psych verbs express the possessor-attribute relation. If the attribute is a possessor's inalienable trait, the aspectual reading can be either stative or eventive but if the attribute is an alienable possession, then it can correspond to an agentive reading. Psych-verb alternations are also sensitive to another semantic primitive, that is (in-)animacy. For example, the Split Stimuli alternant is not felicitous in many cases with the inanimate stimuli.

At this point, we wish to provide brief answers to the research questions posed in Chapter 1. The first two questions were (i) what is the correlation between the construction in which the verb appears and its lexical meaning? (ii) does verbal meaning change when the verb root gets inserted in different syntactic configurations? We have shown that the aspectual meaning is not verb-specific but construction-specific. The dynamic and non-dynamic status of verbs is established on the functional items present within a clause such as prepositions, verbal morphology, reflexivity and number of arguments. Obviously, the semantics of arguments should not be ignored but it is always grammar that prevails. The agentive reading of SE verbs is also read off the construction in which concrete prepositions are used (e.g., SE+*on* alternant; *kochać się z* 'make love with' vs *kochać się w* 'be in love with'). Inherently reflexive SE verbs do not undergo the same argument-structure modifications as other SE verbs because of the presence of obligatory reflexive. It is always the verb that must adapt to a specific construction. The role of the verb amounts to enriching the construction with specific meanings taken from world knowledge. Then we were interested in (iii) how variants and alternants modify the syntax and semantics of basic (regular) constructions? Argument-structure alternations are often used to elaborate the denotation of regular transitive sentences, as is the case with the possessor-attribute factoring alternation or Split Stimuli. However, there are also alternations, the role of which is to restrict the meaning of regular transitive sentences. For example, they describe generic statements about the Experiencer or the Stimulus, as in the PRO-*arb* object alternation. The function of perfective variants is to impose the meaning of eventivity within psych verbs. Question (iv) was concerned with which linguistic elements determines verbs' compatibility with selected alternation? We have established that each lexical item can fall into each syntactic structure but it is world knowledge that help us reject some combinations. The penultimate enquiry was about to what degree is the phenomenon

of psych-verb alternations is similar in both languages? Both English and Polish psych verbs are grammatically special in the way they undergo argument-structure alternations. In comparison to non-psych states and events, psych verbs exhibit different syntactic and interpretational properties, for example, in passive and middle structures, inchoative-causative alternation and resultative alternation and some more indicated in this dissertation. Finally, we posed the question about in which way psychological eventualities differ from non-psych states and events in relation to the phenomenon of verb alternations? We have demonstrated that English and Polish employ different morphosyntactic items in psych-verb alternations. Regarding inceptivity, Polish systematically grammaticalises this aspectual meaning by verbal morphology while English lexicalises it, resorting to light verbs or the provision of a right context.

Borer's representational model of event structure neatly captures aspectual relations such as existential-generic as well as telic-atelic. Nevertheless, it does not foresee the intricacies of psych verbs and their potential argument transformations. It seems that quantity is not the only primitive that affects the composition of aspectual structure. In this work it has been argued that other distinctions should be incorporated into and represented in event structure. Grammatical import is also present in the distinction between dynamic and non-dynamic predicates since each type leads to different temporal entailments. Whether a verb is dynamic or non-dynamic is contingent upon the (in-)animacy of the arguments involved. Additionally, in the domain of psych verbs, we need to consider the structural position of the Experiencer argument and its case marking and aspectual variants. All this is evidence that inner aspect is not an inherent property of particular verbs. Nor is it a property of predicates. It is the property of the whole clauses. The model developed in this work attempts to capture all these semantic, syntactic, and aspectual primitives present in clauses containing psych verbs. Although the assumptions made here are far from being conclusive and in places hasty and controversial, my hope is that this study has lifted the veil on at least a few secrets behind psych-verb alternations and sketched a road map for further research.

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Summary in English

The aim of this dissertation is a comparative analysis of argument-structure alternations of psychological verbs in English and Polish, along with their aspectual variants. The analysis conducted within the neo-neo-constructionist model of grammar developed by Borer (2005 a, b, 2013) and further expanded in this dissertation has shown that psych verbs can participate in many argument-structure alternations, depending on the structural position of the Experiencer, its case-marking and its conceptualisation as a mental location. The aspectual interpretations of sentences containing psych verbs are determined by quantificational properties of direct objects in English and by verbal morphology in Polish. It has also been demonstrated that the semantics of Stimulus and Object of Emotion, including the distinctions such as animate-inanimate or possessor-attribute, plays a role in the determination of temporal entailments and well-formedness of a concrete psych verb alternation. Additionally, the analysis of Polish psych verbs carried out in this dissertation supports the claim that in the domain of state verbs, imperfectivity entails perfectivity and that their perfective variants are initial boundary eventualities. Inceptivity is present in all the perfective variants of argument-structure alternations of psych verbs irrespective of the of the structural realisation of the Experiencer. All these systematic properties of psych verbs have led us to the conclusion that psych verbs differ grammatically from dynamic verbs.

Borer's (2005ab, 2013) approach to the lexicon-syntax interface has been further developed and refined to include Husband's (2012) views concerning the availability of an existential interpretation in states based on quantization, Rozwadowska's (2020) claim that perfective psych verbs are inceptive states and Fábregas and Marín's (2015) proposal that all types of Experiencers are represented as a prepositional phrase headed by a null preposition. The main refinements amount to the proposal that the emergence of the aspectual phrase (Asp_{QP}) within the event structures of states and events is determined by the same mechanism, i.e., the presence of quantificational divisions but leads to different temporal interpretations. The inceptive interpretation is encoded in the lexical domain by the assignment of feature [-ADD-ON] borrowed from Verkuyl (1993) that is read off the event structure containing the projection of the State Phrase. The ability of the Experiencer to take various grammatical realisations is explained on the assumption that the Experiencer is licenced in the event structure by a null preposition. It is further argued that the Experiencer is always base-generated in the State Phrase but when this argument is assigned objective case, it is demoted to the aspectual domain (Asp_{QP}/F^oP).

The thesis consists of 6 Chapters. Chapter 1 presents the object and aim of the study. It also clarifies and explains terminology and theoretical background employed in this dissertation. Chapter 2 outlines Borer's (2005ab, 2013) Exo-Skeletal Model to the lexicon-syntax interface and integrates it with approaches to stative predicates (Husband, 2012; Fábregas and Marín, 2015). Chapter 3 analyses the argument-structure alternations of Subject Experiencer verbs in Polish and English such as the possessor-attribute factoring alternation. Chapter 4 focuses on diverse realisations of OE verbs' arguments, whereas Chapter 5 explores verb alternations of monovalent and dyadic Dative Experiencer verbs. In Chapters 3, 4 and 5 representations of argument-structure alternations in question are provided together with their aspectual variants based on the theoretical model described in Chapter 2. Chapter 6 summarises and systematises the conclusions drawn from the key parts of the dissertation.

Summary in Polish

Celem niniejszej rozprawy doktorskiej jest analiza porównawcza alternacji struktury argumentowej czasowników psychologicznych w językach angielskim i polskim wraz z ich wariantami aspektowymi. Analiza ta wykazała, że czasowniki psychologiczne mają dużą zdolność do przekształceń swoich struktur argumentowych. Tworzenie ich jest zależne od cech gramatycznych argumentu zwanego nosicielem stanu (Experiencer), takich jak jego strukturalna pozycja, rodzaj przypadku gramatycznego oraz jego konceptualizacja jako mentalnej lokalizacji mentalnego zdarzenia. Interpretacje aspektowe zdań z czasownikami psychologicznymi zależą od właściwości kwantyfikacyjnych dopełnienia bliższego w języku angielskim oraz od budowy morfologicznej czasownika w języku polskim. Wykazano również, że semantyka argumentu zwanego bodźcem (Stimulus) lub obiektem emocji (Object of Emotion), a w szczególności podział na rzeczowniki żywotne i nieżywotne oraz relacja posiadacz-atrybut odgrywają istotną rolę w określaniu powiązań czasowych i gramatyczności danej alternacji struktury argumentowej czasownika psychologicznego. Co więcej, przeprowadzona w niniejszej rozprawie analiza potwierdza tezę, że tryb niedokonany czasowników opisujących stany implikuje dokonaność, a ich dokonane warianty wskazują na początek zaistnienia stanu. Ta interpretacja incepcyjna jest zakodowana we wszystkich perfektywnych wariantach alternacji struktury argumentowej omawianych czasowników niezależnie od funkcji gramatycznej nosiciela stanu. Wszystkie te osobliwości czasowników psychologicznych wskazują na to, że te czasowniki różnią się gramatycznie od czasowników dynamicznych.

W dysertacji podjęto próbę uwzględnienia specyficznych właściwości czasowników psychologicznych wynikających z ich możliwości alternacyjnych w modelu Borer (2005ab, 2013) w zakresie pogranicza składni i leksykonu. Model Borer derywujący strukturę zdarzenia został wzbogacony o założenia dotyczące predykatów opisujących stany. Zintegrowano w tym modelu propozycje Husbanda (2012) dotyczące interpretacji egzystencjalnej przypisanej do podmiotu w zdaniach opisujących stany zależnej od właściwości kwantyfikacyjnych dopełnienia bliższego oraz twierdzenie Rozwadowskiej (2020), że warianty dokonane (perfektywne) czasowników psychologicznych reprezentują początek stanu jak również hipotezę Fábregasa i Marína (2015), że argument nosiciela stanu na poziomie struktury zdarzenia jest wyrażony miejscownikiem bez względu na jego funkcję gramatyczną. Podczas analizy predykatów psychologicznych zaproponowano kilka zmian w przyjętym modelu. Projekcja frazy aspektowej w reprezentacji zdarzenia jest możliwa dzięki obecności w zdaniu elementów odpowiedzialnych za kwantyfikację (przedimki określone i nieokreślone lub przedrostki kodujące aspekt dokonany/perfektywny). Natomiast różnica między stanami i zdarzeniami polega na innych interpretacjach aspektowych dotyczących trwania, zakończenia i rezultatu zdarzenia. Interpretacja początku stanu jest zakodowana w domenie leksykalnej przez przypisanie cechy [-ADD-ON] zapożyczonej od Verkuyla (1993), która jest odczytywana ze struktury zdarzenia zawierającej projekcję frazy stanowej (State Phrase). Występowanie argumentu Experiencer w różnych relacjach gramatycznych jest tłumaczona założeniem, że ten argument jest wprowadzony do struktury zdarzenia jako dopełnienie zerowego przyminka lokatywnego. Dalej dowodzi się, że argument nosiciela stanu jest zawsze generowany bazowo we frazie stanowej, ale kiedy temu argumentowi przypisuje się przypadek inny niż mianownik jest on przesunięty za pomocą *downward movement* do domeny aspektowej (Asp₀P/F^sP).

Rozprawa składa się z pięciu rozdziałów. Rozdział pierwszy przedstawia temat pracy oraz jej główne założenia i cele. Nakreśla również model teoretyczny i stawia pytania badawcze, których rozwiązanie jest celem rozprawy. Rozdział drugi omawia podejście do pogranicza składni i semantyki zaproponowane przez Borer (2005ab, 2013). Pozostała część rozdziału drugiego omawia wnioski z badań nad predykatami opisującymi stany (Husband, 2012; Fábregas i Marín, 2015) w celu zanurzenia ich w modelu Borer. Rozdział trzeci analizuje alternacje czasowników psychologicznych z nosicielem stanu w pozycji podmiotu w polskim i angielskim. Rozdział czwarty zaś koncentruje się na różnych realizacjach czasowników psychologicznych z nosicielem stanu w pozycji dopełnienia w bierniku. Rozdział piąty bada zdolność przechodnich i nieprzechodnich czasowników psychologicznych z Experiencerem w celowniku do alternacji struktury argumentowej. Wszystkie alternacje tych czasowników są analizowane pod kątem założeń teoretycznych opisanych w rozdziale drugim. Ponadto w rozdziałach analitycznych zaproponowano możliwe reprezentacje struktury zdarzenia omawianych wariantów i alternacji czasowników psychologicznych. W rozdziale szóstym podsumowano i usystematyzowano wnioski płynące z kluczowych części rozprawy.