

Pronominal constructions of Object-Experiencer verbs – anticausatives or antipassives?

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Pronominal constructions of object-experiencer verbs (OE-verbs)

- (1) a. French: *Le garçon s' irrite.*
 The boy REFL upset-PRS.3SG
- b. Spanish: *El muchacho se enoja.*
 The boy REFL upset-PRS.3SG
- c. German: *Der Junge ärgert sich*
 The boy upset-PRS.3SG REFL
 'The boy gets/is angry.'

Reflexive constructions in the French example

- (2) a. Paul rase Pierre
 Paul shave-PRS.3SG Peter
- b. Paul se rase
 Paul REFL shave-PRS.3SG

Classifications

Anticausative	Acedo-Matellán & Mateu 2015; Hirsch 2018
Inchoative	Marín & McNally 2011; Caçado 2012, 2015; Cifuentes Honrubia 2015; Ganeshan 2015, 2019; Caçado et al. 2018; Melis 2019; Fábregas & Marín 2020 Medium Kutscher 2009; Bedkowska-Kopczyk 2014
Medium	Kutscher 2009; Bedkowska-Kopczyk 2014
Reflexive	Härtl 2001
Passive	Gross 1971, 1975, 2000
Antipassive	Cresti 1990; Massullo 1992; Herslund 1997; Kailuweit 2005

González Vergara (2009: 364): “intrinsic” *se*-constructions:

- (3) a. *Pedro se enojó.*
 Pedro REFL upset-PST.3SG
 'Pedro got angry.'
- b. *Pedro se levantó.*
 Pedro REFL rise-PST.3SG
 'Pedro got up.'
- c. *La puerta se cerró.*
 the door REFL close-PST.3SG
 'The door closed.'

Lexical rule (González Vergara 2009: 366)

- (4) [**do'** (x, Ø)] CAUSE [(BECOME/INGR) **pred'** (y)] ↔ [**do'** (Ø, Ø)] CAUSE [(BECOME/INGR) **pred'** (y)]
- (5) a. *Pedro ensució la camisa.*
 Pedro stain-PST.3SG the shirt
 'Pedro stained the shirt.'
 [**do'** (Pedro, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **dirty'** (camisa)]
- b. *La camisa se ensució.*

the shirt REFL stain-PST.3SG
 'The shirt got dirty.'
 [**do'** (Ø, Ø)] CAUSE [BECOME **dirty'** (camisa)]

Van Valin & LaPolla (1997: 402).

- (6) *The photo in the newspaper upsets James.*
 [**be-in'**(newspaper, photo)] CAUSE [**feel'**(James, [**upset-about'**(**be-in'**(newspaper, photo)))]]

Application to Spanish *enojar* ('upset')

- (7) *Los niños enojaron a Pedro.*
 The children upset-PST.3PL DOM Pedro
 [**do'** (children, Ø)] CAUSE [**feel'**(Pedro, [**upset-about'**(**do'** (children, Ø)))]
 'The children upset Pedro'

- (8) [**do'** (Ø, Ø)] CAUSE [**feel'**(Pedro, [**upset-about'**(**do'** (Ø, Ø)))]

Problems with this analysis:

- The PSA argument of the basic construction can always be expressed.
- Obligatory with e.g. German *sich stören an* ('to be bothered with').

- (9) *Michael se enojó con los niños* (CREA)
 Michael REFL upset-PST.3SG with the children
 'Michael got angry with the children'

- (10) *Ninguno de los chicos se enojó por la derrota*
 None of the boys REFL upset-PST.3SG about the defeat
 'None of the boys were angry about the defeat'

- Two prepositions introduce different participants: *por* => CORRELATE, *con* => POINT OF REFERENCE (Kailuweit 2005):

- (11) *Michael se enojó por los niños* (CREA)
 Michael REFL upset-PST.3SG about the children
 'Michael got angry about the children'

- The non- EXPERIENCER argument is not a "passive-agent".

Second problem: is EXPERIENCER of the pronominal construction causally affected?

Antipassive analysis

Cresti (1990) for Italian, Masullo (1992) for Spanish, Herslund (1997) for French: the EXPERIENCER is the more "active" argument (of the derived two-place construction).

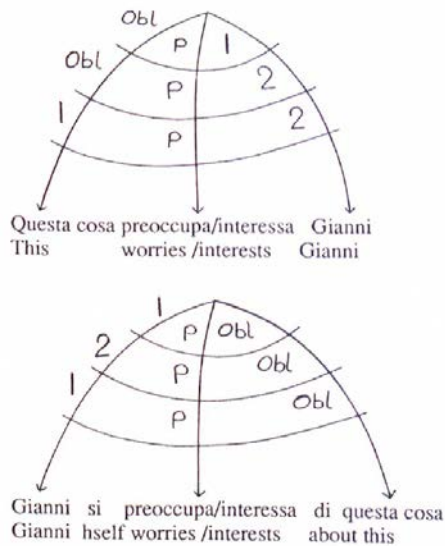


Table 1: Demotion and Promotion of the EXPERIENCER in RG (Cresti 1990: 62)

DS:	<i>e sorprendere_i Juan las noticias_j</i>
Incorporation:	<i>e sorprenderse_i t_i Juan las noticias_j</i>
NP-Movement:	<i>Juan_j sorprenderse_i t_i t_j las noticias_j</i>
Cliticization:	<i>Juan_j se_i sorprende t_i t_j t_j las noticias_j</i>
Case-Marking:	<i>Juan_j se_i sorprende t_i t_j t_j de las noticias_j</i>

Table 2: Derivation of pronominal psych-verb constructions (Masullo 1992: 185)

Herslund (1997: 84):

- “what happens is really a kind of promotion of the Patient: the demotion of the Patient-**rôle** is performed by the promotion of the Patient-**phrase** to the Agent-rôle and thereby to the subject relation”.

Cresti (1992: 63s): the EXPERIENCER of OE-verbs is not an initial 2.

- Evidence from participial absolutes:

- (12) a. *Temute le ripercussioni di questo atto, decidemmo convocare un'assemblea.*
 fear.PTCP the repercussions of this act decide-PST.1PL call an assembly
 ‘Fearing the repercussions of this act, we decided to call an assembly’
- b. **Preoccupata la mamma, Gianni tentava di riassicurarla.*
 worry.PTCP the mother Gianni try-PST.3SG to reassure-her
 ‘Having worried the mother, Gianni tried to reassure her’

Cresti (1992: 65): the EXPERIENCER of OE-verbs of the *preoccupare* (‘worry’) class has been a 1 at a former stratum:

- (13) a. *Questi pettegolezzi su di se_i preoccupano Gianni_i più di ogni altra cosa.*
 These gossips about himself worry-PST.3SG Gianni more than every other thing
- b. **Questi pettegolezzi su di se_i descrivano Gianni_i più di ogni biografia ufficiale.*
 These gossips about himself describe-PST.3SG Gianni more than every biography official

- Binding compatible with the analysis of episodic OE-verbs as causative states (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997: 402):

(14) *The photo of himself in the newspaper upsets James.*

[**be-in'**(newspaper, **be'** (photo, [**of'**(himself)]))] CAUSE [**feel'**(Jamesi, [**upset-about'**(**be-in'**(newspaper, **be'** (photo, [**of'**(himself)])))]

Evidence for the actor-interpretation?

- Herslund (1997: 84): “foregrounding” and “backgrounding” antipassives (= “PSA modulation” and “argument modulation” antipassives (Van Valin 2005)).
- Argument modulation antipassive (Herslund 1997, Masullo 1992):

(15) a. *Jean exprime ses opinions clairement.*

Jean express-PRS.3SG his opinions clearly
'Jean expresses his opinions clearly'

b. *Jean s' exprime clairement (sur ce sujet).*

Jean REFL express-PRS.3SG clearly on this subject
'Jean expresses himself clearly (on this subject)'

(16) a. *Juan confiesa sus pecados*

Juan confess-PRS.3SG his sins
'Juan confesses his sins'

b. *Juan se confiesa (de sus pecados)*

Juan REFL confess-PRS.3SG of his sins

- o Not productive. Idiosyncratic lexical alternations. Different syntactic and semantic properties (Masullo 1992).

- Semantics of pronominal OE-constructions differ from passives (Kailuweit 2005: 218):

(17) a. *Paul est irrité par Pierre*

Paul be-PRS.3SG irritate-PTCP by Peter
'Paul is irritated by Peter'

b. *Paul s' irrite contre Pierre*

Paul REFL upset-PRS.3SG against Peter
'Paul gets angry with Peter'

- o Semantic promotion with the anticausative *se*-construction (Kailuweit 2011).

(18) *Él prefirió empobrecerse poco a poco y continuar operando la cafetería*

he prefer-PST.3SG impoverish-REFL little by little and continue operating the coffee shop
a venderla y quedarse rico. (CREA)
to sell.it and remain-REFL rich

'He preferred getting poorer and poorer keeping the coffee shop open to becoming rich by selling it.'

- o PSA is “responsible”, but still affected (=> undergoer of a resulting state).

- Aktionsart

- o The EXPERIENCER does not act intentionally.
- o *Se*-constructions of Spanish OE verbs meet activity test: progressive (19a), adverbs like *vigourously* (19b) and *quickly* (19c).

(19) a. *Mi madre no me contestó. Apretaba los labios y comprendí*

My mother not me answer-PST.3SG purse-IPFV.3SG the lips and understood-PST.1SG

que se estaba enojando.

that REFL be-IPFV.3SG upset-PROG

'My mother did not answer me. She pursed her lips and I understood that she was getting angry.'

b. *Amy se enoja fuertemente con Sheldon quien no entiende la situación.*

Amy REFL upset-PRS.3SG strongly with Sheldon who not understand-PRS.3SG the situation'

c. *En Monterrey la gente tiene mal carácter. Se enojan rápidamente.*

In Monterrey the people have-PRS.3SG bad character REFL upset-PRS.3PL quickly.

'In Monterrey people have bad tempers. They get angry quickly.'

- Semantics: Focus on emotional behavior and the physical symptoms.
- Undergoer of a caused activity analogous to (20)?

(20) *A robber has been put to flight by a pensioner.*

[do' (pensioner, Ø)] CAUSE [(do' (robber, flee'(robber))
Linking algorithm syntax => semantics: step 1c, voice: passive.

- o (20) does not correspond to the semantic promotion of the EXPERIENCER.
- o The oblique argument is not a passive agent(-causer).

Are all episodic OE-verbs causative (Grimshaw 1990, Pesetsky 1995)? And if so, how to explain psych-properties like in (12b) (participial absolutes)?

- Alexiadou & Iordachioaia (2014):
 - o causative “eventive” and non-causative “stative” constructions of OE-verbs. Only the latter show psych-properties. The pronominal constructions derived from the eventive constructions are anticausatives.
 - o Some OE-verbs as exclusively stative. Some Romanian pronominal constructions of OE-verbs lacking an eventive reading are not anticausatives.
- Problem:
 - o Eventive = causative accomplishment.

Hypothesis: all episodic OE-verbs have a non-causative reading. Most verbs have a causative reading, too.

Evidence : Verbs of interest

- (21) a. Il m'intéressait à ce qui l'intéressait (Frantext)
 He me-interest-IPFV.3SG in what 3SG.ACC- interest-IPFV.3SG
 'He got me interested in what he was interested in'
- b. Je m'intéressais à ce qui l'intéressait
 I REFL-interest-IPFV.3SG in what 3SG.ACC- interest-IPFV.3SG
 'I was interested in what s/he was interested in'

- French *intéresser* ('interest') has a two-place non-causative construction, a three-place causativation of this construction and a pronominal construction meeting activity tests and showing a semantic and syntactic promotion of the EXPERIENCER.

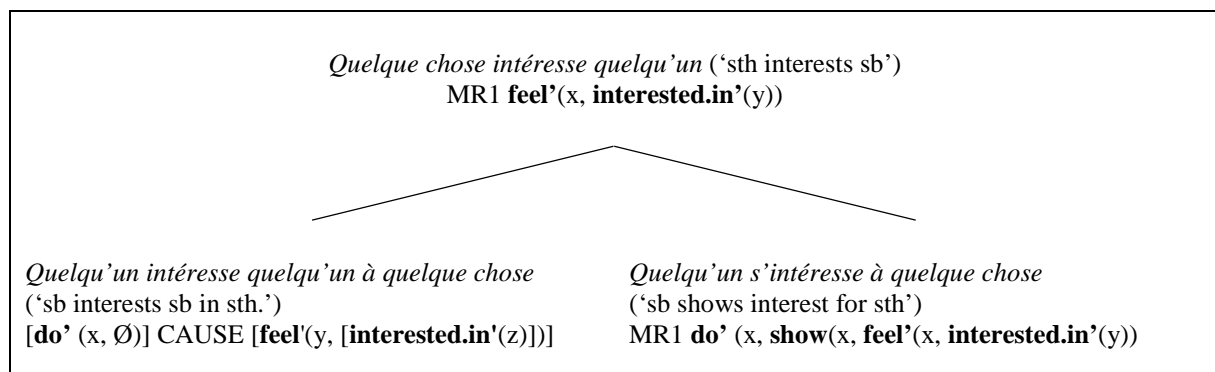


Table 3: Non-causative, causative and pronominal construction of French *intéresser* ('interest')

Linking

- Standard RRG: the argument of the predicate embedded under **feel'** is not accessible for macrorole assignment => “wrong” PSA argument for *intéresser*. (Correct for *Peter is angry*).
- My Proposal:
 - o The construction is macrorole intransitive (MR1).
 - o The undergoer macrorole can be assigned to the y-argument
 - o The undergoer is selected as PSA.
 - o The EXPERIENCER is not the direct core argument of a transitive construction.
 - Two-place verbs of interest refute passivation.
 - In Spanish, the EXPERIENCER shows a strong tendency towards a dative coding. Hence, the linking parallels with *gustar* (‘like’) in (22).

(22) Spanish : *gustar* = MR1 **like'**(x,y)

- Problem: The EXPERIENCER is not the rightmost argument of the causative construction.
- Marked undergoer choice for causative three-place constructions of interest => The constructions are slightly marked for some speakers.
- Most OE-verbs show what Pesetsky (1995) has called the “target/subject matter restriction”:

(23) [... y / *z...] CAUSE [**feel'**(x, [**pred'**(... y...))]

- The y-argument is selected as actor and cannot be selected as undergoer.
- Lexical representation for episodic OE-Verbs allowing for an “eventive” and a “stative” reading:

(24) [... y / *z...] CAUSE [**feel'**(x, [**pred'**(... y...)))] <=> 1MR [**feel'**(x, [**pred'**(... y...))]

- Psych properties appear only with non-causative readings (Bouchard 1995).

Should we consider the pronominal construction an antipassive construction in an accusative language?

- In standard RRG antipassive constructions are restricted to ergative languages.
- Heaton (2020, 2017): typological survey of 448 languages
 - o Antipassive constructions are very heterogeneous.
 - o Occur in accusative and ergative languages.
 - o 43% of ergative languages have antipassives, compared with 18% of nominative–accusative languages (Heaton 2017: 153).
 - o Heaton (2020: 148s): eleven features for antipassive.
 - o Among the 448 languages more than 100 different sets of features
 - o Only 64 of these sets of features not unique in the data.
 - o Most sets appeared only a few times (Heaton 2020: 137s).
 - o “Antipassives with oblique patients and primarily syntactic functions are rare” (Heaton 2020: 40).

Overview over the features that apply to *se*-constructions of pronominal OE-verbs in Spanish.

- [oblique] and [-patient] exclude each other.
- [syntax] only apply to ergative languages.
- Maximum number of nine features in an accusative language.

Feature	Description	<i>enojarse</i> ('show anger') / <i>interesarse</i> ('show interest')
[oblique]	The patient appears in an oblique phrase.	+ (<i>enojarse con/por; interesarse por/en</i>)
[mark]	Present antipassive marker that detransitivizes the predicate, preserves the agent, and demonstrably indicates voice.	+ (<i>enojarSE, interesarSE</i>)
[asymm]	The antipassive construction corresponds to an unmarked or less-marked bivalent transitive construction. It may also apply to ditransitives, intransitives, etc., as long as it acts primarily on bivalent structures.	+ (<i>María enoja / interesa a Pedro => Pedro se enoja / interesa por María</i>)
[intrans]	The resulting predicate is intransitive.	+ (<i>Pedro se enoja / se interesa por María</i>)
[ValDec]	The construction is valency decreasing, the patient argument must always be omissible	(+) (<i>Pedro se enoja / ??se interesa</i>)
[semantics]	Antipassive-like semantics / functions: nonindividuation, genericness, nonspecificity, or indefiniteness of the patient; the expression of partitive relationships; habitual or canonical action; incompletive aspect; promotion of the agent; and/or demotion or deletion of the patient from the discourse.	(+) Promotion of the EXPERIENCER to actor; demotion or deletion of the undergoer.

Table 4: Six out of eleven features (Heaton 2020: 148s) for antipassive applicable to Spanish *se*-constructions of OE-verbs

Feature	Description	<i>enojarse</i> ('show anger') / <i>interesarse</i> ('show interest')
[dedicated]	The antipassive marker is dedicated to the antipassive construction and does not have other uses beyond signaling the antipassive. (In many languages the antipassive marker has evolved from a middle marker or reflexive/reciprocal marker and still has that function as well, in which case the marker is not dedicated to the antipassive)	– (<i>se</i> has also the function of a middle marker and reflexive/reciprocal marker <i>inter alia</i>)
[–lexical]	The antipassive is nonlexical.	– restricted to a small number of semantic verb classes.
[productive]	The operation applies to (almost) all transitive verbs. Coupled with [–lexical], the presence of [–lexical] but not [productive] indicates that the construction is nonlexical, but not entirely productive.	(–) Productive only with OE-verbs.
[–patient]	The operation creates a predicate where there is no implication of any specific patient.	– The undergoer of the basis construction always remains expressible as an oblique.
[syntax]	The construction is used to circumvent various types of restrictions on nonabsolute Arguments. It participates in syntactic ergativity.	– Spanish is not an ergative language.

Table 5: Five out of eleven features (Heaton 2020: 148s) for antipassive non applicable to Spanish *se*-constructions of OE-verbs

The main problem: lexical restriction to episodic OE-verbs => pronominal construction outcome of a lexical rule and not of a basic voice operation.

Conclusion

- Pronominal constructions of episodic OE-verbs in Romance languages or German differ substantially from anticausatives and other “passive-like” pronominal constructions.
 - o The non- EXPERIENCER argument can always be expressed as an oblique.
 - o This argument is not the “cause” of the emotion.
- The EXPERIENCER seemed to be an actor and not an undergoer.
 - o Pronominal constructions meet activity tests.
 - o Non-prototypical activities focusing the emotional behavior of the EXPERIENCER
 - o They are not caused activities.
- Verbs of interest
 - o Basic construction non-causative and MR1.
 - Non-EXPERIENCER argument as undergoer and PSA.
 - EXPERIENCER gets “inherent” accusative.

- The construction shows psych-properties.
 - Causativation
 - EXPERIENCER = marked undergoer.
 - => Construction is marked for some speakers.
 - Pronominal construction
 - Change from state to activity.
 - Semantic and syntactic promotion EXPERIENCER.
 - Syntactic demotion of the undergoer.
- General lexical rule for episodic OE-verbs
 - “Target/subject-matter”-restriction (Pesetsky 1995).
 - 1MR **feel'**(x, [**pred'**(... y...)]) (basic construction)
 - => [... y / *z...] CAUSE [**feel'**(x, [**pred'**(... y...)])] (causativation)
 - no marked undergoer choice
 - => MR1 **do'** (x, **show**(x, **feel'**(x, [**pred'**(... y...)])) (pron. construction)
- Antipassive?
 - Several features characteristic for antipassive according to Heaton (2017, 2020).
 - Standard RRG restricts antipassive to ergative languages.
 - Construction limited to a particular semantic class (episodic OE-verbs) => lexical rule instead of a basic voice operation.

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