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Corpus-Based Analysis of OE/SE alternations in Ukrainian Reflexive Psych Verbs

Introduction. Psych(ological) verbs are widely discussed in linguistic literature because they differ much from other classes of verbs. They have been extensively investigated in such languages as: English (Grimshaw, 1990, Pesetsky, 1995, Arad, 1998), Spanish (Marin and McNally, 2005), Finnish (Pylkkänen, 1997), Polish (Biały, 2005; Rozwadowska, 2012, Rozwadowska & Bondaruk (R&B) 2019), French (Legendre, 1989), Italian (Belletti and Rizzi, 1988), European Portuguese (Mendes, 2004), Brazilian Portuguese (Cançado, 1995, 2002, 2012), or Japanese (Iwata, 1995). In Ukrainian, psych verbs have not been studied thoroughly and thus deserve an in-depth research. Psych verbs express a mental or emotional state or event and usually take two arguments: an experiencer and a stimulus. Cross-linguistically the experiencer can be a subject or an object, and accordingly two types of psych verbs have been identified: Subject Experiencer (SE) verbs and Object Experiencer (OE) verbs, the latter including also Dative Experiencer (DE) verbs. The most controversial and intriguing are OE verbs, because they are ambiguous between stative and eventive interpretations. Moreover, in Slavic and Romance languages, they systematically alternate with their inverse SE transpositions, marked with the reflexive morpheme (*-sia* or *-sb* in Ukrainian and *się* in Polish). Eventive interpretation is often argued to involve a causer argument and thus a question arises whether the morpho-syntactic properties of OE verbs are similar to those of causative change of state (COS) verbs or whether they form a class of their own, not reducible to other verb classes verbs. Recently, it has been debated whether the psych reflexive alternation is an instance of the causative alternation typical of COS verbs. Alexiadou & Iordachioaia (2014) claim that Romanian and Greek psych verbs participate in the psych causative alternation. In contrast, R&B (2019) argue that OE/SE alternation in Polish is not an instance of the causative alternation. Cançado et al. (2020) make similar observations for Brazilian Portuguese and Kovačević (2020) for Serbian.

Goals. Contributing to this debate our main aims are: to check if Ukrainian psych verbs participate in the causative alternation; to determine the semantic role of the Instrumental case marked DP co-occurring with psych verbs (is it a Cause or T/SM of Pesetsky 1995?); to check whether there are any differences between psych verbs with the positive meaning vs. verbs with the negative meaning in respect of the distribution of their arguments; to check whether the alternations which psych verbs participate in depend on the grammatical aspect of the verb (perfective/imperfective distinction); to confirm the hypotheses with the results of the quantitative corpus-based analysis.

Analysis. We have singled out two overarching groups of psych verbs: psych verbs with positive meaning (*cikavytysia* ‘to be interested’, *zaxopl’uvatysia* ‘to admire’, *nadyxatysia* ‘to get inspired’) and psych verbs with negative one (*oburiuvatysia* ‘to enrage’, *xyvlyuvatysia* ‘to worry’, *zasmučuvatysia* ‘to upset’), i.e. verbs which are SE inverse transposition of transitive OE verbs *cikavyty*, *zaxopl’uvaty*, *nadyxaty*, *oburiuvaty*, *xyvlyuvaty* and *zasmučuvaty*. Because quantitative corpus-based analysis has shown that verbs describing negative emotions are much more numerous in Ukrainian than those with a negative meaning, we explore 12 psych verbs with positive meaning and 21 psych verbs with a negative one, using the semantic classification of emotive verbs by Kriuchkova (1979). In example (1c) with a positive psych verb, the

instrumental DP can't be replaced with the causative PP headed by *čerez/ z pryvodu/ vid* ('because of'), in contrast to (2c), where a verb has a negative meaning and the Instrumental case can be replaced with such PPs. Example (1) suggests that the instrumental DP in psych verbs with positive meaning can't represent a CAUSE but a Target/Subject Matter of Pesetsky, because with a COS verb the Instrumental case is not acceptable – instead a special Cause PP is required, as in (3b). In contrast to (1b), where the Instrumental case is obligatory, in example (2b) the Instrumental DP can be omitted, but only when the verb is used in the Perfective form. Thus, psych verbs that allow such omission of Instrumental DP belong to the group of the psych verbs with the negative meaning. This suggests that the optionality of the Instrumental DP encoding T/SM participant in reflexive psych alternation depends on the meaning (positive or negative) of a psych verb. To confirm the use of psych verb in certain contexts we use corpus search results.

- (1) a. *Krasa ridnoho kraju nadychnula žudožnyka.*
 beauty-NOM native country-GEN inspired-PERF REFL artist-ACC
 The beauty of the native country inspired the artist.
- b. *žudožnyk nadychnuvsia *(krasoju ridnoho kraju).*
 artist-NOM inspired-PERF REFL because beauty-GEN native country-GEN
 The artist got inspired with the beauty of the native country.
- c. *žudožnyk nadychnuvsia (*čerez krasu/ z pryvodu krasy/ vid krasy ridnoho kraju).*
 artist-NOM inspired-PERF REFL because beauty-GEN native country-GEN
 The artist got inspired (*because/ from the beauty of the native country).
- (2) a. *Obmežennia robočyž misc' zasmutyly pracivnykiv.*
 Job reduction-NOM upset-PERF REFL employee-ACC
 Job reduction upset employees.
- b. *Pracivnyky zasmutylysia (obmeženniam robočyž misc').*
 employee-NOM upset-PERF REFL *(job reduction-INSTR)
 Employee got upset *(with the job reduction).
- c. *Pracivnyky zasmutylysia (čerez/ z pryvodu/ vid obmežennia robočyž misc').*
 employee-NOM got upset-PERF REFL because of/ from job reduction-GEN
 Employee got upset *(because of/ from the job reduction).
- (3) a. *Udar mjača rozbyv vikno.*
 kick-NOM ball-GEN broke-PERF window-ACC
 'The kick of the ball broke the window.'
- b. *Vikno rozbylos' (*udarom mjača) / (vid udaru mjača/ čerez udar mjača).*
 window-NOM broke-PERF (*kick ball-INSTR) / (with/ because of kick ball-GEN)
 'The window broke (*with the kick of the ball) / (from the kick of the ball/ because of the kick of the ball).'

Conclusion. The above examples prove that Ukrainian OE psych verbs do not participate in the psych causative alternation. The corpus analysis confirmed the hypothesis that all analyzed psych verbs with a positive meaning are most often used with the instrumental case, which cannot be maintained for psych verbs with a negative meaning. Some of those can be only used with prepositions of cause (e.g. *serdytysia, zlytysia* / 'to be angry' + *čerez ščo, z pryvodu čoho* / 'because of what') or without any additional information (e.g. *vin zlyvsia* / 'He was angry', *mama rozserdylasia* / 'mom got angry'). We put forward a hypothesis that 'anger' psych verbs behave differently. The conclusion that the lexical meaning of psych verbs influences its argument structure is supported with corpus material, and in line with other recent experimental evidence for finer lexical distinctions among OE verbs.

Selected references. Alexiadou, Iordăchioaia, (2014). *The psych causative alternation. Lingua 148* ● Arad (1999). *What counts as a class? The case of psych verbs* ● Biały (2005). *Polish Psychological Verbs at the Lexicon-Syntax Interface in Cross-Linguistic Perspective* ● Cañado, Amaral, Meirelles, Foltran (2020) *Psych Verbs in Brazilian Portuguese: causation and argument structure* ● Chagina (2009) *Vozvratnie glagoly v russkom yazike. Opisanie i upotreblenie* ● Kovačević, Peđa (2020). *Not all object experiencers are the same: the role of se and the argument structure of Serbian psych verb anticausatives* ● Pesetsky (1995). *Zero Syntax: Experiencers and Cascades* ● Rozwadowska, Bondaruk (2019). *Against the psych causative alternation in Polish*