

Subject agenthood and non-inception readings: Evidence from Spanish and Korean psychological verbs

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Accomplishment verbs (e.g. *awaken*) in the perfective show two types of readings: (a) a possible non-culmination interpretation with agent subjects, i.e. the result state does not take place; and (b) a culmination reading with inanimate causers, i.e. a change of state occurs. The Agent Control Hypothesis (ACH, Demirdache & Martin 2015) claims that one of the sources for the availability of non-culmination readings is the agenthood of the external argument. In the psych domain, we propose that experiencer-object (EO) verbs (e.g. *frighten*) allow non-inception readings (instead of non-culmination readings as in Martin & Schäfer 2015) due to the event-structural properties of these verbs. Psych verbs are seen as atelic and including in their denotation the inception of the experiential state they are associated with; i.e. they include an initial or left boundary (Piñón 1997) in their event structure (for Spanish reflexive psych verbs: Marín & McNally 2011; Korean experiencer-subject (ES) verbs: Choi & Demirdache 2014; Polish EO and ES verbs: Rozwadowska 2012). Consequently, inception (or onset of the state) may behave as a cancellable implicature with agent subjects but not with inanimate causers.

The aim of this talk is to present results of two parallel experiments on the availability of non-inception readings with EO verbs and the interference of the semantic properties of these predicates with such readings. We conduct our analysis on two typologically different languages, namely Spanish and Korean. In terms of the semantic properties of the verbs, we adopt Marín and McNally's (2011) classification of Spanish reflexive psych verbs and assume that their transitive alternants resemble their reflexive categories: *inchoative states* (e.g. *divertir* 'entertain') and *punctuals* (e.g. *sorprender* 'surprise'). In Korean, two groups of EO psych verbs can also be distinguished: *causative pure states* (e.g. *culkepkey hata* 'make pleased') and *causative inchoative states* (e.g. *nollakey hata* 'make get surprised') (Choi & Demirdache 2014). In line with the ACH, results revealed for both languages that the factor *subject animacy* had a significant effect on the acceptability of non-inception readings. Additionally, the interaction of the factors *subject animacy* and *verbal aspect* yielded a significant effect in the Spanish data such that cancelling the inception of the state was significantly more acceptable with verbs denoting *inchoative states* than with those denoting *punctual events*. We argue that the Spanish results can be explained by the event-structural properties of the tested psych verbs and for Korean the more specific stimulus theta-role (i.e. *agent* vs. *causer*, Pesetsky 1995).

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