

Psych epiphenomena. A typology of the interplay of valence orientation and syntactic canonicity.

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Outline

1. Introduction:

The psych alternation cross-linguistically

2. Method:

Feelings and how to make people talk about them

3. Results & Discussion

4. Conclusion & Outlook



1. Introduction

– Like other verbal domains, the psych domain is characterized by the existence of alternating stimulus- and experiencer-directed structures:

- (1) a. *Global warming preoccupies George.*
b. *George is preoccupied with global warming.*
(Landau 2010:54)

- (2) a. *Global warming worries George.*
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- (2)
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- Both arguments are governed by the verb
- These alternations seem to be widespread
- Languages differ with respect to the morphological structure of the verbal inventory in the psych domain

1. Introduction

- This seems to fall squarely within the parameters of valence orientation typology (Nichols et al. 2004):

1. Intransitivizing languages

- a. Greek mediopassive

x enđiaféri y 'x interests y'
y enđiaférete ja x 'y is interested in x'

- b. German reflexive, stative passive

x ärgert y 'x annoys y'
y ärgert sich über x 'y is annoyed by x'

2. Transitivity languages

- a. Turkish causativization

y x sevin-di 'y is happy about x'
x y sevin-dir-di 'x makes y happy'

- b. Yucatec causativization

chi'chnak ti' x y 'y is annoyed about x'
chi'chnak-kuns- y x 'x annoys y'

3. Underspecified (Double derivation, auxiliary change, conversion, mixed)

- a. Hungarian double derivation

megrém-ít x y 'x frightens y'
megrém-ül y x-tól 'y gets frightened by x'

- b. English conversion

x worries y
y worries about x

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- At least for languages with a directed alternation, established areal distributions seem to hold in the psych domain as well:

(3) **Icelandic (Europe – Intransitivizing)**

Transitive EO	→	Intransitive ES
<i>gleðja</i> 'please'		<i>gleðja-st</i> 'please-MID'
<i>heilla</i> 'fascinate'		<i>heilla-st</i> 'fascinate-MID'
<i>hryggja</i> 'sadden'		<i>hryggja-st</i> 'sadden-MID'

(4) **Korean (Asia – Transitivity)**

Intransitive ES	→	Transitive EO
<i>pwukkulepta</i> 'be.ashamed'		<i>pwukkulep-key hata</i> 'be.ashamed-ADVR do'
<i>nollata</i> 'be.surprised'		<i>nolla-key hata</i> 'be.surprised-ADVR do'
<i>sulphuta</i> 'be.sad'		<i>sulphu-key hata</i> 'be.sad-ADVR do'

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- Languages of the underspecified type and mixed-strategy languages present a more complex case

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(5) **Basque (Europe – Auxiliary change)**

Transitive EO	↔	Intransitive ES
<i>nazkatu (edun)</i> ‘enrage (AUX.TR)’		<i>nazkatu (izan)</i> ‘enrage (AUX.INTR)’
<i>poztu (edun)</i> ‘gladden (AUX.TR)’		<i>poztu (izan)</i> ‘gladden (AUX.INTR)’
<i>larritu (edun)</i> ‘worry (AUX.TR)’		<i>larritu (izan)</i> ‘worry (AUX.INTR)’

(6) **Cabécar (Central America – Double deriving)**

Transitive EO	↔	Intransitive ES
<i>suá-w-a</i> ‘fear-CAUS-INF’		<i>suá-n-a</i> ‘fear-MID-INF’
<i>katsẽ-w-a</i> ‘rejoice-CAUS-INF’		<i>katsẽ-n-a</i> ‘rejoice-MID-INF’
<i>shiá-w-a</i> ‘broken-CAUS-INF’		<i>shiá-n-a</i> ‘broken-MID-INF’

(7) **Marathi (Asia – Auxiliary change)**

Transitive EO	↔	Intransitive ES
<i>santāp āṅ-ṅē</i> ‘anger bring-INF’		<i>santāp yē-ṅē</i> ‘anger come-INF’
<i>ānanda dē-ṅē</i> ‘happiness give-INF’		<i>ānanda hō-ṅē</i> ‘happiness happen-INF’
<i>kiḷas āṅ-ṅē</i> ‘disgust bring-INF’		<i>kiḷas yē-ṅē</i> ‘disgust come-INF’

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(8) ***Finnish (Europe – Mixed strategies)***

Intransitive ES ↔ Transitive EO
ärsy-yntyä ‘irritate-INCH’ *ärsy-ttää* ‘irritate-CAUS’
huolest-ua ‘worry-INCH’ *huole-ttaa* ‘worry-CAUS’

Intransitive ES → Transitive EO
hermost-ua ‘nervous-INCH’ *hermost-u-ttaa* ‘nervous-INCH-CAUS’
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- Why focus on the psych domain?

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- Out of the two alternants created, EO verbs may show exceptional syntactic behavior:

(Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Pesetsky 1995, Haspelmath 2001, Reinhart 2002, Bayer 2004, Landau 2010, Verhoeven 2014, Temme & Verhoeven 2016, etc.)

- Linearization
- Passivization
- Extraction
- Binding
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- These are commonly referred to as “psych properties”

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– Crucially, they do not appear in all languages:

(9) **Passive**

a. Turkish:

Yaya (polis tarafından) üz-dür-ül-dü.

Pedestrian policeman by sadden-CAUS-PASS-PFV

b. Icelandic:

**Vegfarand-inn var gladd-ur (af lögreglumann-inum).*

Pedestrian-NOM.DEF was gladdened-NOM by policeman-DAT.DEF

((a) taken from Verhoeven 2008:88)

(10) **Forward binding**

a. Chinese:

Lǎoshī hé xuéshēng (wúyìjiān) xiānghù jīnù-le.

Teacher and student unconsciously each.other enrage-PFV

b. German:

**Peter und Paul wundern/interessieren sich gegenseitig.*

Peter and Paul astonish/concern REFL each.other

(Verhoeven 2010:112f.)²⁹

Further typological difference

Ls with a subclass of EO verbs
with exceptional syntactic properties

yes

German
Greek
Icelandic
Hungarian

no (at least for ACC EOs)

Chinese
Turkish
Yucatec Maya
Korean

(see Verhoeven 2010, 2014, Temme & Verhoeven 2016)

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transitivizing Ls

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Transitive EO predicates only exhibit psych phenomena in languages with a significant preference for an intransitivizing alternation in their psych domain.

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- Functional motivation due to semantics of overt causation (Pesetsky 1995)

Base ES: Most prominent argument in prominent position, causative EO has clearly allocated functions

Base EO: Prominent argument is “downgraded” (Bickel 2006) in unmarked variant

2. Method

- Core piece: A cross-linguistic database of alternating psych predicates

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- Issue of comparability: English translations as *tertium comparationis* are problematic

Every language imposes its own classification upon human emotional experience, and English words such as anger or sadness are cultural artifacts of the English language, not culture-free analytical tools.

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- Anthropological and psychological research suggests there may be a number of basic emotions elicited by *Universal Antecedent Events* (UAEs, see Boucher & Brandt 1981; Ekman 1999; Hupka et al. 1999)

2. Method

- Five basic emotion modes:
(Johnson-Laird & Oatley 1989, Ekman 1994, Turner 2007)

(11)	HAPPINESS	Sub-goals being achieved	<i>delight, like, enjoy, please, charm, enthuse, amuse, interest, fascinate, ...</i>
	SADNESS	Failure of major plan or loss of active goal	<i>sadden, mourn, afflict, depress, grieve, disappoint, bore,...</i>
	ANGER	Active plan obstructed	<i>annoy, anger, hate, irritate, bother, enrage, frustrate, ...</i>
	FEAR	Self-preservation goal threatened	<i>fear, frighten, worry, terrify, startle, shock, scare, dread ...</i>
	DISGUST	Gustatory goal violated	<i>disgust, nauseate, gross out, repel, offend, appall, horrify, ...</i>

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- Simple UAE scenarios are presented orally
- Semantic subcomponents guide elicitation
- Participants describe situations by referring to their own emotional ontologies

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- Pragmatic:
 - Usage restrictions (animacy, WO preferences)
 - Different registers

3. Results & Discussion

Table 1. Distribution of base orientation in sample (n = 470 pairs)

Language	Bases total	%ES	%EO	%Double
Icelandic	30	6.67	90	3.34
Spanish	119	0	100	0
Korean	59	96.61	0	3.39
Chinese	75	92	2.67	5.34
Tamil	20	85	10	5
Turkish	64	68.75	12.5	18.75
Cabécar	26	29.92	11.54	61.54
Basque	17	5.89	0	94.11
Finnish	60	48.34	33.34	18.34
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- Intransitivization in European languages vs. Transitivity in Asia (Nichols 2004, Cysouw 2011)

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(Özsoy 2009, Kutscher 2009, Verhoeven 2014)

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- Others have argued that at least Finnish passive is uninformative in this regard due to lack of comparability (e.g. Sakuma 2013)

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Antti sano-o, että mummo-a ilahdutt-i kirja.
Antti:NOM say-3.SG that granda-PTV delight-3.SG.PST book:NOM

‘Antti says that grandma was delighted by the book.’

b. **Intransitivizing:**

Heikki sano-o, että päällikkö-ä huvitt-i mainostaulu.
Heikki:NOM say-3.SG that boss-PTV amuse-3.SG.PST billboard:NOM

‘Heikki says that the boss was amused by the billboard.’

b. **Double deriving:**

Noora sano-o, että naapuri-a ärsytt-i maalaus.
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- Diffusion of psych properties from an “incipient set” in the base EO forms along established lines of event structure?
- Behavior of purely double deriving languages is not clear, but hypothesis predicts that there should be no psych effects

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- More languages coming: Hungarian, Tagalog, Georgian, Greek, Romanian, Yucatec Maya, Khoekogowab, Marathi, Nafsan, Mapudungun, Igbo, Persian

4. Conclusion & Outlook

- Hypothesis borne out for transitivity and detransitivizing languages (so far)
- May need modification for double deriving languages
- Dataset still largely limited to well-researched languages
- In particular, all intransitivizing languages in sample have close ties to Standard Average European
- Other phyla with similar structures needed
- More languages coming: Hungarian, Tagalog, Georgian, Greek, Romanian, Yucatec Maya, Khoekogowab, Marathi, Nafsan, Mapudungun, Igbo, Persian
- Goal: 30 languages from 5 macro-areas

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- Do “psych properties” as a concept hold up across a bigger language sample?
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- Statistical evaluation of hypothesis within and across sample languages
- Clear definition of relation to psych effects outside of valence orientation pairs
- Incorporation into a typologically adequate and empirically founded theory of psych expressions

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Tänan tähelepanu eest!
Thank you for your attention!
Vielen Dank für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit!

A vertical decorative bar on the right side of the slide, consisting of two stacked rectangular segments in shades of green.

Sample questionnaires

Target domain: SADNESS

Stimulus: inanimate

A girl loses her favorite toy and is unable to find it again.

1. [NOW] Which words would best describe the way the loss of his favorite toy makes the girl feel?
2. [SHORT LATENCY] Which words could be used to describe the way the girl felt in the very moment when she noticed that she had lost the toy?
3. [HIGH DEGREE] Which words could be used to best describe the way the girl felt if the toy she lost was not only her favorite, but also the only one she owned?
4. [ELSE] Which other words might be used to describe the way the girl feels when losing her toy?

Sample questionnaires

Target domain: FEAR

Stimulus: animate

A woman encounters a robber.

1. [NOW] Which words would best describe the way the loss of his favorite toy makes the girl feel?
2. [SHORT LATENCY] Which words could be used to describe the way the robber made the woman feel by suddenly appearing in front of her?
3. [HIGH DEGREE] Which words could be used to best describe the way the woman feels about the robber when he pulls a gun on her and threatens to kill her?
4. [ELSE] Which other words could be used to describe how the robber makes the woman feel?