A cross-linguistic perspective on the interaction of predicate structure, valence orientation and canonicity in psych expressions

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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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– 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 *enđiafér**ete 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. Transitivizing 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
gleðja ‘please‘		*gleðja-st* ‘please-MID‘
heilla ‘fascinate‘		*heilla-st* ‘fascinate-MID‘
hryggja ‘sadden‘		*hryggja-st* ‘sadden-MID‘

(4) ***Korean (Asia – Transitivizing)***

Intransitive ES	→	Transitive EO
pwukkulepta ‘be.ashamed’		*pwukkulep-key hata* ‘be.ashamed-ADVR do’
nollata ‘be.surprised’		*nolla-key hata* ‘be.surprised-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
nazkatu (edun) ‘enrage (AUX.TR)‘		*nazkatu (izan)* ‘enrage (AUX.INTR)‘
poztu (edun) ‘gladden (AUX.TR)‘		*poztu (izan)* ‘gladden (AUX.INTR)‘
larritu (edun) ‘worry (AUX.TR)‘		*larritu (izan)* ‘worry (AUX.INTR)‘

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

Transitive EO	↔	Intransitive ES
suá-w-a̱ ‘fear-CAUS-INF’		*suá-n-a̱* ‘fear-MID-INF’
katsẽ-w-a̱ ‘rejoice-CAUS-INF’		*katsẽ-n-a̱* ‘rejoice-MID-INF’
shi̱á̱-w-a̱ ‘broken-CAUS-INF’		*shi̱á̱-n-a̱* ‘broken-MID-INF’

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

Transitive EO	↔	Intransitive ES
santāp āṇ-ṇē ‘anger bring-INF‘		santāp yē-ṇē ‘anger come-INF’
ānanda dē-ṇē ‘happiness give-INF‘		ānanda hō-ṇē ‘happiness happen-INF’
kiḷas āṇ-ṇē ‘disgust bring-INF‘		kiḷas yē-ṇē ‘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'

Transitive EO	→	Intransitive ES
huvi-ttaa 'fun-CAUS'		*huvi-tt-ua* 'fun-CAUS-INCH'
innostaa 'excite'		*innost-ua* 'excite-INCH'

Intransitive ES	→	Transitive EO
ilaht-ua 'delight-INCH'		*ilahd-u-ttaa* 'delight-INCH-CAUS'
huolest-ua 'worry-INCH'		*huolest-u-ttaa* 'worry-INCH-CAUS'
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– Why focus on the psych domain?

– 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
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– These are commonly referred to as “psych properties”

– 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)

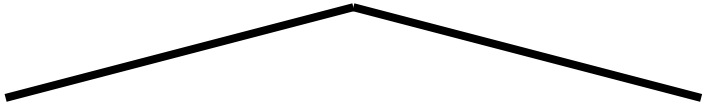
(10) **Forward binding**

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.)

Further typological difference

Ls with a subclass of EO verbs
with exceptional syntactic properties



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German	Chinese
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Icelandic	Yucatec Maya
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(see Verhoeven 2010, 2014, Temme & Verhoeven 2016)

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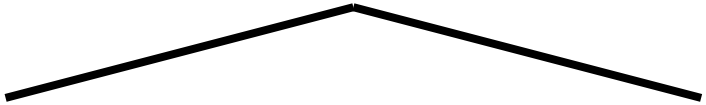

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intransitivizing Ls	**transitivizing Ls**

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

- Central hypothesis:
  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 alternant

- Additional research question:
  How does the internal morphological structure of psych expressions (derivational or otherwise) interact with valency changing operations?

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

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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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  - Citation form
  - Approximate translations
  - Emotion domains
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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*
Bété	0	0	0	0

base = morphologically less complex alternant (Nichols et al. 2004)

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– Intransitivization in European languages vs. Transitivization in Asia (Nichols 2004, Cysouw 2011)

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- Turkish: heterogeneous, but predominantly transitivizing
  → Canonicity observed in psych domain
  (Özsoy 2009, Kutscher 2009, Verhoeven 2014)

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anger PRF little.one sting (brother big POSS reason)

`The little brother is enraged because of the big brother.‘

b. *Dàgú kɑ́dɔ jɛ́ cícéjī jʊ́rʊ́ sɪ̄ɓ-à.*
brother big PRF little.one anger sting-CAUS

`The big brother has enraged the little brother.‘

(13) a. *Nɛ́ɲɛ́lù súrú gʊ́ mʊ́ná wʊ́.*
toy pour child joy onto.

`The toy pleases the child.‘

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- Derivations often entirely unavailable

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  - Verbs may convey emotion meaning via metaphor, e.g. ‘sting’ or ‘seethe’ for anger.
- Dyadic structure → No slot for a governed expression of the stimulus in transitive form?
- Although the language would provide the morphological means for alternating psych predicates, they do not occur

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- ES bases around 1.5 times as frequent as EO bases, but substantial number of double derived pairs

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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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– Finnish verb formation:

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Intransitive ES	↔	Transitive EO
ärsy-yntyä ‘irritate-INCH’		*ärsy-ttää* ‘irritate-CAUS’
huolest-ua ‘worry-INCH’		*huole-ttaa* ‘worry-CAUS’
Transitive EO	→	Intransitive EO
huvi-ttaa ‘fun-CAUS’		*huvi-tt-ua* ‘fun-CAUS-INCH’
innostaa ‘excite’		*innost-ua* ‘excite-INCH’
Intransitive ES	→	Transitive EO
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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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- Goal: 30 languages from 5 macro-areas

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- 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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Merci de votre attention!
Thank you for your attention!
Vielen Dank für Ihre Aufmerksamkeit!

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?