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Subject-experiencer verbs of emotion with the accusative complement in Slovene, Croatian and Polish

1. Introduction

From a psychological perspective, emotion is a mental state triggered by a personally significant matter or event (i.e., an external or internal stimulus). The specific quality of the emotion is determined by the specific significance of the triggering event. For instance, if the significance involves threat or violence, a person is likely to experience fear¹. In language, the specific quality of emotive experience is conveyed in various parts of speech, including emotion verbs². These verbs typically form two-argument constructions and assign a semantic role of the Experiencer, i.e., an entity that undergoes a change of mental state, to subject position, and the Stimulus, i.e., an entity that triggers the emotional state, to the object. Whereas the Experiencer is instantiated by an animate referent (usually a person), the Stimulus can be instantiated by any fact of reality, for instance a person, a thing, an abstract concept, or an event³. Slavic emotion verbs are

¹ “Emotion” in the APA Dictionary of Psychology, <https://dictionary.apa.org/emotion>, accessed 20 February 2022.

² Along with verbs of perception and cognition, they belong to the class of mental verbs, also referred to as “experiencer verbs” “psych verbs”, “psychological verbs”, “verbs of psychological state” or “psychological predicates”.

³ Cf. L.N. Iordanskaja, *Tentative Lexicographic Definitions for a Group of Russian Words Denoting Emotions*, [in:] *Trends in Soviet Theoretical Linguistics. Foundations of Language. Vol. 18*, ed. F. Kiefer, Dordrecht 1973, pp. 389–410.

studied in various methodological approaches both within a single Slavic language and also comparatively (see Section 2); yet, there is still space for an exhaustive comparative analysis of these verbs among Slavic languages.

The study presented in this paper investigates Slovene, Croatian⁴, and Polish transitive emotion verbs governing the accusative case without a preposition, as listed in (1)⁵.

(1)

a) Slovene: *ljubiti* ‘to love’, *imeti rad* ‘to like’⁶, *oboževati* ‘to adore’, *občudovati* ‘to admire’, *sovražiti* ‘to hate’, *mrziti* ‘to hate’, *prezirati*, *zaničevati* ‘to despise’, *pogrešati* ‘to miss’, *pomilovati* ‘to feel sorry for’, *obžalovati* ‘to feel sorry for’, ‘to grieve’, ‘to regret’ ‘to be sorry’, *objokovati* ‘to mourn’, ‘to grieve’, ‘to regret’.

b) Croatian: *voljeti* ‘to love’, ‘to like’, *ljubiti* ‘to love’, *simpatizirati* ‘to like’, *obožavati* ‘to adore’, *mrziti* ‘to hate strongly’, *prezirati* ‘to despise’, *sažalijevati* ‘to feel sorry for’, *žaliti* ‘to feel sorry for’, ‘to grieve’, ‘to regret’ ‘to be sorry’, *oplakovati* ‘to mourn’, ‘to grieve’.

c) Polish: *kochać* ‘to love, to like strongly’, *miłować* ‘to love’, *uwielbiać*, *ubóstwiać* ‘to adore’, *podziwiać* ‘to admire’, *lubić* ‘to like’, *opłakiwać* ‘to mourn’, ‘to grieve’, ‘to regret’⁷.

These verbs form two-argument structures and assign the Experiencer to subject position and the Stimulus to the object. In general, the members

⁴ The study is limited to the verbs attested in Croatian sources (see next footnote) although most of them can also be used in the Bosnian, Montenegrin and Serbian languages.

⁵ The lists were compiled on the basis of different sources including dictionaries: HJP, <https://hjp.znanje.hr/>; SSKJ2, www.fran.si/; WSJP PAN, <https://wsjp.pl/> (accessed from 10 December 2021 to 20 February 2022) and the following works: J. Zupan, *Pomenska mreža slovenskih glagolov*, Ljubljana 2013; A. Žele, *Vezljivostni slovar slovenskih glagolov*, www.fran.si/, accessed 10 December 2021; M. Birtić et al., *Valencijski rječnik psiholoških glagola u hrvatskome jeziku*, Zagreb 2018, Kiklewicz A., Korytkowska M., Mazurkiewicz-Sułkowska J., Zatorska A., *Zintegrowany opis semantyczno-syntaktyczny czasowników bułgarskich, polskich i rosyjskich. Część II.2 Verba sentiendi*, Warszawa 2019; *Walenty – słownik walencyjny predykatów polskich*, <http://walenty.ipipan.waw.pl/>, accessed 15 December 2021. Sentences that illustrate the usage of the verbs were extracted from three linguistic corpora: Slovene reference corpus Gigafida, v2.0 (1990–2018) without near duplicates), hrWaC (Croatian Web Corpus v2.2 (2014)) and NKJP for Polish, accessed from 10 December 2021 to 20 February 2022.

⁶ This is the only complex predicate in the list because there is no single verb expressing ‘to like’ in Slovene.

⁷ The list includes verbs in the imperfective aspect. Most of them do not form perfective counterparts; the exceptions are discussed in footnotes 25 and 53.

of this class denote long-term emotions⁸ that emerge from the Experiencer's evaluative attitude towards the Stimulus entity, or some property of it. However, these verbs are intriguing because they do not display the same morphosyntactic and semantic pattern within their class and across the Slavic languages in question. Semantically, most of these verbs express strong positive or negative emotions (e.g., verbs of loving and verbs of hating, respectively), but a few of them (e.g., Slo. *obžalovati* and Cro. *žaliti* 'to feel sorry for', 'to grieve', 'to regret', 'to be sorry'), are polysemous and depending on the context, can refer to different types of experience in the domain of emotion. All of them occur with a bare nominal complement in the accusative case but only in Slovene and Polish do some of them change the case marking into the genitive due to the negative marker (Slo. *ne*, Pol. *nie* 'not', e.g., Slo. *ne marati* and, Pol. *nie lubić* 'to dislike'). Moreover, all of them are able to form three-argument structures that include a prepositional phrase defining a causing event but only some of them, i.e., the verbs of loving and hating as well as the verbs expressing 'to be sorry', are able to be used intransitively in one-argument structures.

The main objective of the analysis presented in this paper is to account for the semantic and morphosyntactic similarities and differences between the verbs in question across all three Slavic languages. To reach this goal I will first discuss the semantic properties of the verbs that are categorized dichotomously, i.e., as expressing positive or negative emotions. Then I will focus on the cognitive motivation of the case marking of the Stimulus participant introduced in the object position and discuss how a causing event that triggers an emotion defined in the verb is introduced in three-argument structures and sentential complements. Next, it will be claimed that the referent encoded in the accusative case of the verbs that are polysemous can be conceptualized both as an object of emotion and its cause. Finally, I will investigate which additional senses are activated in one-argument structures in the case of selected verbs that can be used intransitively. To account for the scenarios evoked by the verbs of emotion under scrutiny, I will apply the notion of the "personal sphere"⁹. The study

⁸ Nowakowska-Kempna, following Iordanskaja, defines long-term emotions in terms of attitudes. I. Nowakowska-Kempna, *Konceptualizacja uczuć w języku polskim. Prolegomena*, Warszawa 1995; L.N. Iordanskaja, *Tentative Lexicographic Definitions for a Group of Russian Words Denoting Emotions*, [in:] *Trends in Soviet Theoretical Linguistics*, ed. F. Kiefer, Dordrecht 1973, p. 389–410.

⁹ E. Dąbrowska, *Cognitive Semantics and the Polish Dative*, Berlin–New-York 1997, pp. 16–17.

will show that the verbs can be divided into those that express a positive or negative evaluation of the object of experience, and those that indicate more complex scenarios in the domain of emotion in which someone's personal sphere is impacted. It can be the personal sphere of the Experiencer participant or the personal sphere of other people.

2. Verbs of emotion in Slavic languages

Verbs of emotion form structures with arguments that are assigned two semantic roles – the Experiencer and the Stimulus. Accordingly, two main classes of emotion verbs are distinguished depending on which noun phrase within a sentence the Experiencer is assigned to:

(2)

a) Object-experiencer causative verbs (henceforth ObjEx) with the Experiencer assigned to object position, e.g., Slo. *presenetiti*, Cro. *iznenaditi*, Pol. *zaskoczyć* 'to surprise'

b) Subject-experiencer stative verbs (henceforth SubjEx) with the Experiencer assigned to subject position, e.g., Slo. *ljubiti*, Cro. *voljeti*, Pol. *kochać* 'to love'.

In Slavic languages, both sets of emotion verbs combine with a noun phrase in the accusative case and they are syntactically transitive. However, the referent in the accusative complement governed by the ObjEx verbs enters an emotional state triggered by the referent encoded in the subject position (the Stimulus), hence, these verbs are also referred to as causative¹⁰. Although the accusative argument of the SubjEx verbs is assigned the semantic role of a Stimulus (defined as the entity that causes the Experiencer to enter the mental state in the case of ObjEx verbs)¹¹, the referent of the accusative case is perceived as an object of the emotion¹².

¹⁰ William Croft, *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations...*, p. 215.

¹¹ Ibidem.

¹² As pointed out in Levin, there are a variety of opinions as to the best characterization of the semantic (or thematic) role of the direct object that is ascribed a role of the Stimulus in this work. The other labels used include Theme, Target of emotion, Subject matter. See B. Levin, *English Verb Classes and Alternations...*, p. 192; J. Van Voorst, *The Aspectual Semantics of Psychological Verbs*, "Linguistics and Philosophy" 1992, Vol. 15, No. 1, pp. 65–92; D. Pesetsky, *Zero syntax: Experiencers and cascades*, Cambridge 1995.

As claimed by Croft¹³, the SubjEx verbs are purely stative because the Experiencer is characterized as simply being in a mental state regarding the Stimulus.

In Slavic languages, the set of SubjEx verbs is heterogenous and contains stative transitive verbs like those listed in (1), as well as intransitive verbs with the inherent clitic ‘self’¹⁴ (e.g., verbs of fear, such as Pol. *bać się*, Slo. *bati se*, Cro. *bojati se*, Rus. *bojat’ sja* ‘to fear’) and verbs formed by the clitic ‘self’ that alternate with their ObjEx counterparts (e.g., ObjEx *martwić* ‘to worry’ vs. SubjEx *martwić się* ‘to worry/to be worried’). None of the SubjEx verbs with ‘self’ combine with a bare noun phrase in the accusative case¹⁵; therefore, they are excluded from this study.

Slavic verbs of emotion are much debated among linguists who examine relations between their syntactic and semantic features, especially the variation in the subject and object assignment both within a particular Slavic language and comparatively¹⁶. SubjEx verbs, which are the subject of the analysis in this paper, are investigated with reference to the interplay of their semantics and complement types in Slavic languages. For instance, cognitive foundations reflected in the case marking of SubjEx emotion verb complements are extensively discussed in Belaj and Tanacković Faletar for Croatian¹⁷. A comparative corpus study of referent and complement types allowed by Polish and English transitive verbs expressing ‘to like/love/adore’ and ‘to dislike/hate’, such as direct objects, infinitives, gerunds, and complex sentences are presented in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk and Dziwirek¹⁸. Throughout this study, I refer to these works as well as to other

¹³ William Croft, *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations...*, p. 215.

¹⁴ These verbs are referred to as *reflexiva tantum* in Slavic linguistics.

¹⁵ They can govern the genitive, dative, and instrumental case or occur with a prepositional phrase.

¹⁶ See e.g., M. Birtić, S. Runjaić, *Sintaktičko-semantička podjela psiholoških glagola u hrvatskome jeziku*, “Filologija” 2019, No. 73, pp. 1–25; M. Birtić, I. Brač, *Basic characteristics and aspectual properties of Croatian ObjExp verbs*, “Rasprave. Časopis Instituta za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje” 2021, Vol. 47, No. 2 pp. 265–284; B. Rozwadowska, A. Bondaruk, *Against the psych causative alternation in Polish*, “Studies in Polish Linguistics” 2019, Vol. 1, pp. 77–97; A. Biały, *Polish Psychological Verbs at the Lexicon-Syntax Interface in Cross-linguistic Perspective*, Frankfurt am Main 2005; A. Kikiewicz, M. Korytkowska, J. Mazurkiewicz-Sułkowska, A. Zatorska, *Zintegrowany opis semantyczno-syntaktyczny czasowników bułgarskich, polskich i rosyjskich (verba cogitandi i verba sentiendi)*. Część I, Warszawa 2019.

¹⁷ B. Belaj, G. Tanacković Faletar, *Cognitive foundations of emotion verbs complementation in Croatian*, “Suvremena lingvistika” 2011, Vol. 37, No. 72, pp. 153–169.

¹⁸ K. Dziwirek, B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, *Love and hate. Unique transitive emotions in Polish and English*, [in:] B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, K. Dziwirek, *Studies in Cognitive Corpus Linguistics*, Frankfurt am Main 2009, pp. 297–317; see also Nowakowska-Kempna for complementation of emotion predicates in Polish (I. Nowakowska-Kempna, *Konstrukcje zdaniowe z leksykalnymi wykładnikami predykatów uczuć*, Katowice 1986).

works that discuss the cognitive motivations of the accusative and genitive case marking of ExSubj verbs¹⁹. In the cognitive framework, the notion of the personal sphere defined by Dąbrowska as comprising “the persons, objects, locations and facts sufficiently closely associated with an individual that any changes in them are likely to affect the individual as well”²⁰ is used to account for the semantics of Slavic cases (mostly Dative). It is assumed that the emotional experience expressed by ExSubj verbs of emotion results from the Experiencer participant’s evaluation of how the properties of the Stimulus entity impact his/her (or other people’s) personal sphere; hence, the notion of the personal sphere²¹ is adopted here to explain the scenarios evoked by the verbs of emotion.

3. The analysis

As noted in the Introduction, the verbs listed in (1) evoke a scenario in which the Experiencer referent manifests an evaluative attitude towards some property of the Stimulus event participant. In simple clauses, such as Pol. *Kocham cię* ‘I love you’, the property of the Stimulus is not overtly expressed; however, it is assumed that a person that experiences the emotion has mental contact with the object’s qualities. As observed by Kailuweit,

[L]oving someone or fearing someone and believing that they exist are different sub-acts, the first presupposing the last. What I love or fear in a person isn’t necessarily their very existence, but identified qualities that make that person endearing or terrifying. I thus do not love or fear a person as a spatiotemporal object as I can bump into or eat a spatiotemporal object. I either love or fear certain qualities in an item and, conversely, I can’t bump into or eat up certain qualities of an item. The person as a spatiotemporal object thus stands for their properties²².

On this basis, it is suggested in this work that each Stimulus participant of a scenario evoked by a SubjEx verb (i.e., not only humans but also any

¹⁹ Z. Kempf, *Próba teorii przypadków. Część II*, Opole 2007; E. Dąbrowska, *Cognitive Semantics...*; B. Rudzka-Ostyn, *Z rozważań nad kategorią przypadku*, translated by E. Tabakowska, Kraków 2000.

²⁰ E. Dąbrowska, *Cognitive Semantics...*, pp. 16–17.

²¹ See also the notion of “sphere of influence” in 3.3. Rudzka-Ostyn uses it to account for the semantics of the Genitive case; B. Rudzka-Ostyn, *Z rozważań nad kategorią przypadku...*, p. 190.

²² R. Kailuweit, *Linking. Syntax und Semantik französischer und italienischer Gefühlsverben*, Heidelberg 2005, p. 76 (translated from German by ABK).

fact of reality) can be accounted for as standing for their property, as represented by the metonymy A STIMULUS PARTICIPANT STANDS FOR THEIR PROPERTIES.

In the remainder of this section, the four types of argument structures formed by SubjEx verbs will be discussed, including those in which SubjEx verbs are used intransitively, i.e., appear without the object assigned to the Stimulus participant:

- NP_(Experiencer)-Nom + Emotion Verb_{trans.} + NP_(Stimulus)-Acc/-Gen²³
- NP_(Experiencer)-Nom + Emotion Verb_{trans.} + NP_(Stimulus)-Acc + PP_(Cause)
- NP_(Experiencer)-Nom + Emotion Verb_{intrans.}
- NP_(Experiencer)-Nom + Emotion Verb_{intrans.} + PP_(Cause)

3.1. Verbs expressing either positive or negative emotions

Apart from a few verbs that are discussed further in this paper, the verbs in (1) are semantically divided into two sets with a binary valence (i.e., positive vs. negative)²⁴ depending on whether they involve a positive or negative evaluation of the object. A positive judgment signifies that the entity is considered pleasant in the Experiencer's personal sphere, while a negative one signifies just the opposite. Table 1 contains verbal lexemes that are categorized dichotomously, i.e., as expressing positive or negative emotional states (love/hate, adoration/detestation, admiration/contempt, liking/disliking). Many verbs with a positive valence do not have negative lexical counterparts, therefore Table 1 includes verbs that express a negative evaluation by means of the negative particle that is inherently incorporated into the verb (Pol. *nienawidzić* 'to hate') or unbounded (Pol. *nie*, Slo. and Cro. *ne* 'not')²⁵.

²³ The genitive complement occurs only in Slovene and Polish verbs with the negative particle, see further.

²⁴ In psychology, the term "emotional valence" is defined as the value associated with a stimulus as expressed on a continuum from pleasant to unpleasant or from attractive to aversive, <https://dictionary.apa.org/emotional-valence>, accessed 4 February 2022.

²⁵ In Slovene and Polish, the verbs with the negative particle govern the genitive case; these are marked with an asterisk in Table 1 (see further). Verbs in Table 1 do not have perfective counterparts. The exception is verbs of love, liking, and hate that are perfectivized by means of prefixes: Slo. *vzljubiti*, Pol. *pokochać* 'to begin to love', *polubić* 'to begin to like' *zasovražiti*, *zamrziti*, Cro. *zamrziti*, Pol. *znenawidzić* 'to begin to hate'. In some cases, prefixation changes verb valency: Slo. and Cro. *ljubiti* as well as Pol. *kochać* 'to love' that occur with the prefix *za-* lit. 'behind', co-occur with the reflexive marker 'self' and the prepositional phrase. In Slovene and Croatian they govern the accusative construction with the preposition expressing 'into' (Slo. *zaljubiti se v* + Acc., Cro. *zaljubiti se u* + Acc 'to begin to love') whereas in Polish, the locative construction with the preposition expressing 'in' (*zakochać się w* + Loc. 'to begin to love').

POSITIVE VALENCE			NEGATIVE VALENCE		
Slovene	Croatian	Polish	Slovene	Croatian	Polish
to love			to hate		
<i>ljubiti</i>	<i>ljubiti, voljeti</i>	<i>kochać miłować</i>	<i>sovražiti, mrziti</i>	<i>mrziti</i>	<i>*nienawidzić (Gen.)</i>
to adore			to not bear / to not be able to stand		
<i>oboževati</i>	<i>obožavati</i>	<i>ubóstwiać uwielbiać</i>	<i>*ne prenašati *ne trpeti (Gen.)</i>	<i>ne trpjati</i>	<i>*nie znosić *nie cierpieć *nie trawić (Gen.)</i>
to admire			to despise		
<i>občudovati</i>	–	<i>podziwiać admirować</i>	<i>prezirati zaničevati</i>	<i>prezirati</i>	–
to like			to dislike		
<i>imeti rad</i>	<i>voljeti simpatizirati</i>	<i>lubić</i>	<i>*ne imeti rad *ne marati (Gen.)</i>	<i>ne voljeti</i>	<i>*nie lubić (Gen.)</i>

Table 1. SubjEx verbs of emotion with a binary valence²⁶.

The verbs in Table 1 can be used to express different types of mental experiences. With animate stimuli (particularly humans), they denote long-term emotional states with either a greater degree of intensity (e.g., love and hate) or a lesser one (e.g., liking and disliking)²⁷. Verbs expressing intense emotions of love, adoration²⁸, and hate can also be used in an expressive way to convey the Experiencer's attitude emerging from his/her negative or positive evaluation of any fact of reality²⁹:

(3)

a) Slo. *Bolnišnični vonj sovražim že od nekdej [...]* 'I've always hated hospital smells [...]

²⁶ In Croatian, the sense of 'to admire' is expressed in the verb *diviti se* that governs the dative case, and the sense of 'to despise' is covered by the Polish verb *gardzić* which takes instrumental complements; therefore these verbs are excluded from Table 1.

²⁷ See an overview of nominal objects that occur with Polish verbs from the domain LOVE and HATE in K. Dziwirek, B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, *Love and hate...*

²⁸ According to Dziwirek and Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk (Ibidem), Polish *uwielbiać* 'to adore' has the „,” hyperbolic quality in most examples in the Polish corpus PERCLA, although its literal sense ('to worship') is still preserved in religious contexts. The data from the Croatian and Slovene corpora confirm this observation.

²⁹ See footnote 3.

b) Cro. [...] *obožavao sam njegove igre u Manchester unitedu*. ‘I loved his games at Manchester United.’

c) Pol. *Ja nikoga i niczego nie kocham!* ‘I love nobody and nothing!’

Whereas Slovene and Polish have separate lexemes denoting ‘to love’ and ‘to like’, the Croatian verb *voljeti* denotes both loving (4a) and liking (4b).

(4)

a) Cro. *Onaj tko ne voli sebe, ne voli ni druge kako treba*. ‘He who does not love himself, does not love others properly.’

b) Cro. *Za one koji vole aktivan odmor, Omiš je uistinu savršena destinacija*. ‘For those who like an active holiday, Omiš is truly the perfect destination.’

A semantic difference between these senses infers from the type of Stimulus entity; this verb usually conveys ‘to love’ when occurring with animate referents in object position whereas it conveys ‘to like’ with all types of referents, including inanimate ones (e.g., activities, food, clothes, etc.)³⁰.

According to Dziwirek and Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, the Polish verb *kochać* is rarely used in direct statements to an addressee (*Kocham cię* ‘I love you’) because it is reserved for serious, emotionally laden contexts (the authors compare its usage to English *I love you*)³¹. The same can be argued about the usage of the Slovene verb *ljubiti* ‘to love’. Although the direct statement *Ljubim te* ‘I love you’ occurs frequently in the corpus, the sentence *Rad te imam*³² with the complex predicated *imeti rad* (m.) / *imeti rada* (f.) ‘to like’ can in an expressive way convey the meaning of ‘I love you’, see (5):

(5)

Slo. *Draga moja Lenčka! Rad te imam in ljubezen bo trajala še naprej*. ‘My dear Lenčka! I love you and my love will last forever.’

³⁰ B. Birtić et al., *Valencijski riječnik psiholoških glagola u hrvatskome jeziku...*, pp. 162–163.

³¹ K. Dziwirek, B. Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk, *Love and hate...*

³² Yet [*L*] *ljubim te* is prevailing in Gigafida v2.0 corpus. It has 1,604 occurrences whereas [*R*] *ad te imam* (m.) and [*R*] *ada te imam* (f.) have together 1,207.

In all three languages, the Stimulus entity of verbs expressing positive emotions is coded in the accusative case. In Slovene and Polish, there is a difference in case marking in verbs indicating a negative evaluation of the Stimulus entity with a negative particle. In Croatian, all these verbs govern the accusative case, whereas in Slovene and Polish they govern the genitive case, which is referred to as the genitive of negation in linguistics; see the verbs marked with an asterisk in Table 1 and the example in (3c) and (7).

3.2. *Semantics of the accusative case marker*

In line with Kempf³³ and cognitive studies that describe the cognitive motivation of the accusative case in Slavic languages³⁴, the semantics of this case indicates that the participant coded in the nominative case (a Figure) fully approaches the participant in the accusative (a Target), embraces its mass, and performs a holistic action on it. Kempf illustrates this meaning with two examples: (6a) refers to physical activity and (6b) denotes an emotional state:

(6)

a) Pol. *Jan je jabłko* ‘Jan-Nom is eating an apple-Acc’

b) Pol. *ojciec kocha syna* ‘the father-Nom loves his son-Acc’³⁵

These accusative constructions differ semantically with regard to the resulting event denoted by the verbs. In situations taking place in the spatial realm, as in (6a), the entity in the accusative is influenced by the Figure’s action and undergoes a physical change as a result. The entity in the accusative is ascribed the semantic role of Patient, and the participant that carries out the action is the Agent. The energy transfer from a volitional Agent to the Patient is a prototypical course of an action chain evoked in constructions with the direct object in the accusative case³⁶. As discussed in

³³ Z. Kempf, *Próba teorii przypadków...*, pp. 23, 43–44.

³⁴ E. Tabakowska, *Kognitywizm. Obrazki z polskiej sceny*, „Glossos” 2001, No. 1, https://slaviccenters.duke.edu/uploads/media_items/tabakowska.original.pdf accessed 24 February 2022; E. Dąbrowska, *Cognitive Semantics and the Polish Dative...*, p. 99, B. Belaj, G. Tanacković Faletar, *Cognitive foundations of emotion verbs complementation in Croatian...*, pp. 161–162.

³⁵ Z. Kempf, *Próba teorii przypadków...*, p. 23.

³⁶ The archetypal Agent is human, exercises volitional control, is conceptualized as the energy source, and directs action outward whereas the archetypal Patient is inanimate, has no volition, and serves as an energy sink, R. Langacker, *Concept, Image, Symbol. The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*, Berlin 2002, p. 238.

Dąbrowska for Polish, the prototypical course of action can be extended to cover a very wide range of situations including those in which the entity in the accusative: does not undergo any change of state; is the passive target of the Agent's activity; is affected non-physically; or is affected emotionally³⁷. In all these situations however, the Agent is perceived as a source of energy for the process designated by the verb. In (6b), on the contrary, the subject position is occupied by the participant who undergoes a change of mental state (the Experiencer) and the other participant of the scenario is merely an (unwitting) object of his or her experience (the Stimulus)³⁸. To conclude, the example in (6b) represents the furthest extension of the prototypical situation encoded by the accusative case because it is the nominative case, not the accusative, that designates the affected participant.

Despite there being no volitional energy transfer from the subject to the object of the verbs in (1), many authors³⁹ argue that the subject position of the Experiencer involves some initiatory characteristics and/or control, at least in engaging in some type of mental activity, e.g., directing one's attention to the Stimulus entity or, more precisely, their given property (cf. the metonymy A STIMULUS PARTICIPANT STANDS FOR ITS PROPERTIES)⁴⁰. Langacker suggests that constructions formed by SubjEx verbs display asymmetry found in constructions describing a prototypical action chain. While the asymmetry in the action chain arises from the direction of the energy flow described above, the asymmetry in the Experiencer-Stimulus relation arises from the fact that the Experiencer is a conscious and sentient participant and is thus responsible for establishing 'mental contact' with the Stimulus participant and for creating a cognitive representation of the experience⁴¹. Turning back to (6b), it is concluded that verbs of emotion requiring the accusative complement evoke a spatially-based scenario in which the Experiencer ('the father' in 6b) focuses his attention on the Stimulus ('the son's' in 2b) property and metaphorically embraces it

³⁷ E. Dąbrowska, *Cognitive Semantics and the Polish Dative...*, pp. 98–99.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 69.

³⁹ See *Ibidem* p. 69; W. Croft, *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations...*, p. 219; L. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics...*, p. 101, 134.

⁴⁰ In philosophical works "mental contact" is understood as intentionality. Mental contact can however result not in an emotional attitude but in a cognitive stance or opinion about the experienced (e.g., "I find this person disgusting but I do not disgust him or her"), see P. Goldie, *The Emotions. A Philosophical Exploration*, Oxford 2000.

⁴¹ R. Langacker, *Concept, Image, Symbol...*, p. 221; cf. V. Evans, M. Green, *Cognitive Linguistics. An Introduction*, Edinburgh 2006, p. 604.

with his own mind. The father's affectedness is accounted for as a result of this mental contact and the son's given property is regarded as causing an emotion denoted by the verb⁴². This is in line with Croft who states that

There are two processes involved in possessing a mental state (and changing a mental state): the experiencer must direct his or her attention to the stimulus, and then the stimulus (or some property of it) causes the experiencer to be (or enter into) a certain mental state⁴³.

Regardless of the initiatory characteristic of the subject position of the Experiencer, as argued by Talmy, the very emotional state “may be felt to arise autonomously and is directed itself outward toward a selected object”⁴⁴. In this respect, the verbs in (1) differ from other verbs that entail an evaluative attitude towards others, such as verbs expressing glorification⁴⁵ and disregard⁴⁶, which, on the one hand, imply some accompanying emotional state but, on the other, denote deliberate and overt actions expressing approval or disapproval. Therefore their participants in the subject position cannot be ascribed the role of Experiencer but one of Agent.

3.3. *The genitive of negation*

As pointed out in Section 3.1., Slovene and Polish verbs indicating a negative evaluation of the Stimulus entity occur with the negative particle, and thus, they require an argument in the genitive case (the genitive of negation), as in (7):

(7)

a) Slo. *Kdo ne mara ponedeljkov?* ‘Who does not like Mondays-Gen.?’

b) Slo. *Ne prenašam timskega dela.* ‘I cannot stand team work-Gen.’

c) Pol. *Nie lubię poniedziałków.* ‘I do not like Mondays-Gen.’

d) Pol. *Nie znoszę myśliwych.* ‘I cannot stand hunters-Gen.’

⁴² In (2b) the property is not overtly expressed; this issue will be discussed in Section 3.4.

⁴³ W. Croft, *Syntactic categories and grammatical relations...*, p. 219.

⁴⁴ L. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics...*, p. 101.

⁴⁵ E.g., Slovene *glorificirati, slaviti, povečevati, povzdigovati, idealizirati*; Croatian *glorificirati, adorirati, hvaliti, idealizirati*; Polish *gloryfikować, wielbić, adorować, czcić, ubóstwiać* (in a religious sense).

⁴⁶ E.g., Slovene *ignorirati, podcenjevati, omalovaževati*, Polish *ignorować, lekceważyć, deprecjonować*.

The conditions that have to be met in order for the genitive of negation to be used are that “the predicate verb has to be transitive and that the sentence has to be negative”⁴⁷. Although this type of genitive is present in Croatian it is contemporarily optional and only rarely used. Examples in (8) show that it does not apply to the negated verbs expressing emotional attitudes discussed here. In this respect, Croatian case marking of SubjEx verbs differs from Slovene and Polish.

(8)

a) Cro. *Ljutko ne podnosi feministice ni samostalne žene*. ‘Ljutko cannot bear feminists -Acc. nor self-confident women-Acc.’

b) *Jer Johnny ne trpi autoritete*. ‘Because Johnny cannot stand authorities-Acc.’

Miklosich already well argued that the genitive of negation is motivated by the partitive meaning of the genitive case; however, it can also be motivated by the ablative sense of withdrawal⁴⁸. The latter sense of the genitive case is advocated by Rudzka-Ostyn with respect to the Polish verb *nienawidzić* ‘to hate’⁴⁹. The author places this verb within a wider set of verbs with inherent semantic negation with the genitive valence (e.g., verbs of fear, shame, regret, avoidance, rejection, and forbidding). She argues that these verbs entail unintentional or intentional excluding of the object from the subject entity’s sphere of influence⁵⁰. This account seems to hold both for Polish *nienawidzić* ‘to hate’ as well as for other above-mentioned verbs with the negative particle that have the genitive valence in Slovene and Polish because they entail a negative evaluation of the Stimulus participant’s qualities.

3.4. A causing event

The properties of the Stimulus participant (the object of the emotion) are not overtly expressed in two-argument structures (see 3.2.). They are

⁴⁷ D. Stolac, *Genitive of negation in the Croatian language*, “Jezikoslovje” 2017, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 101–123.

⁴⁸ F. Miklosich, *Vergleichende Grammatik der slavischen Sprachen. Volume 4: Syntax*, Wien 1868–1874, p. 498.

⁴⁹ It is worth stressing that due to prefixation, this verb governs accusative complements in the perfective aspect, e.g., *znenawidził tę dziewczynę* ‘he began to hate this girl-Acc’ (this example comes from B. Rudzka-Ostyn, *Z rozważań nad kategorią przypadku...*, p. 194). Rudzka-Ostyn points out that perfective verbs derived from imperfective ones with the genitive distribution may be caused by the individualization role of the accusative case; however, this account is not discussed in detail in her work.

⁵⁰ B. Rudzka-Ostyn, *Z rozważań nad kategorią przypadku...*, p. 190.

introduced in three-argument structures formed by the SubEx verbs by means of prepositional phrases that include a causal preposition (*zaradi* ‘because of’ + Gen. in Slovene, *zbog* ‘because of’ + Gen. in Croatian, and *z powodu* + Gen. as well as *za* ‘because of’ + Acc in Polish⁵¹) and a noun that expresses a given property possessed by the Stimulus participant, as in (9). Such constructions are referred to as nominal causative constructions in Say⁵².

(9)

a) Slo. *Ljudje so ga ljubili zaradi njegove modrosti in blagosti [...]* ‘People loved him for his wisdom and gentleness [...].’

b) Cro. *Nikoga ne mrzim zbog nacije, vjere ili boje kože.* ‘I don’t hate anyone because of their nation, religion or skin colour.’

c) Pol. *Bardzo ją wszyscy kochali za jej dobre serce dla ludzi i dla zwierząt.* ‘Everyone loved her very much for her good heart for people and animals.’

It is argued that the property, e.g., someone’s wisdom and tenderness (9a), nationality, religion, skin colour (9b), and having a good heart (9c) is an external causing event, the perception and evaluation of which by the Experiencer participant triggers the emotion defined by the verb. Additionally, a property can also be expressed by means of sentential complements, for instance, in a causal (10) or adjectival subordinate clause (11):

(10)

a) Slo. *Mrzim ga, ker je [...]* *ciničen, rasističen [...]*. , I hate him because he is [...]. cynical, racist, [...].’

b) Cro. *Lola će reći da mrzi Lupitu jer joj je uzela ljubav njezina života.* ‘Lola will say that she hates Lupita because she took away the love of her life.’

c) Pol. *Jej zasadą jest: kocham cię, ponieważ spełniasz moje oczekiwania [...]*. ‘Her principle is: I love you because you meet my expectations.’

⁵¹ The causal sense of the Polish spatial preposition *za* ‘behind’ is discussed in R. Przybylska, *Polisemia przyimków polskich w świetle semantyki kognitywnej*, Kraków 2002, pp. 379–381.

⁵² С.С. Сай [S.S. Say], *Именные причинные конструкции: параметры типологической вариативности и исследовательская анкета*, [in:] *Типология причинных конструкций*, ed. Н.М. Заика [N.M. Zaika], Санкт-Петербург [St. Petersburg] 2021, pp. 1–41 (to appear).

(11)

a) Slo. *Obožujem ljudi, ki spoštujejo sami sebe.* ‘I adore people who respect themselves.’

b) Cro. *Obožavam sve te suradnje koje me duhovno obogaćuju [...].*
‘I love [lit. adore] all these collaborations that enrich me spiritually.’

c) Pol. *Podziwiam ludzi, którzy mają odwagę prowadzić własny biznes.*
‘I admire people who have the courage to run their own business.’

It is concluded that sentences (9) to (11) reflect more complex events than the two-argument constructions discussed before in that they inform us not only about who or what is the object of an evaluative attitude but also specify the object’s property that is perceived as a cause of the emotion.

3.5. Subject-experiencer verbs without a binary valence

The verbs discussed in this section evoke scenarios that imply an evaluation of the object’s property; however, unlike the verbs listed in Table 1, these verbs 1) do not express emotions that have a binary evaluative opposition, like love vs. hate. Moreover, it is argued that they evoke complex scenarios that include an evaluation of the personal sphere of the Experiencer participant or other people. This set comprises units that denote only one psychological state, such as Slo. *pogrešati* ‘to miss’ as well as Slo. *pomilovati* and Cro. *sažaljevati* ‘to feel sorry for’. The other verbs discussed here, such as Slovene *obžalovati* and Cro. *žaliti*, can express one of three states: ‘to feel sorry for’, ‘to grieve’, or ‘to regret’, depending on the nature of the Stimulus participant. We will also shed light on verbs, such as Slovene *objokovati*, Croatian *oplakivati*, and Polish *opłakiwać* ‘to mourn’ that figuratively express ‘to grieve’ or ‘to regret’⁵³.

Slovene *pogrešati* can be used in both a non-affective and affective context and has three senses covered by the English verb *to miss*⁵⁴. These are: 1) ‘to discover the absence or loss of’ (12a), 2) ‘to discover the absence or loss of’ (12b), and, 3), the affective sense ‘to feel the lack or loss of’ (12c):

⁵³ Cro. *sažaljevati* and verbs expressing ‘to mourn’ in all three languages have perfective counterparts (Slo. *objokati*, Cro. *oplakati*, Pol. *opłakać*). The perfective form derived from Cro. *sažaljevati* (i.e., *sažaliti se na* + Acc ‘to begin to feel sorry for’) co-occurs with the reflexive marker ‘self’ and the prepositional accusative construction with *na* ‘at’.

⁵⁴ <https://www.thefreedictionary.com/miss>, accessed 23 February 2022.

(12)

a) *Na področju Bohinja pogrešajo najmanj deset ljudi.* ‘At least ten people are missing in the Bohinj area.’

b) *Malce pogreša klimatske naprave [...].* ‘He/She misses air conditioners a bit.’

c) *Kogar ljubimo, ga pogrešamo, zlasti kadar ga ni.* ‘We miss the one we love, especially when they are gone.’

In affective contexts, this verb refers to a human Stimulus participant’s property and reflects a positive evaluation of them. It is suggested that *pogrešati* ‘to miss’ implicates a scenario in which the Experiencer participant realizes that a person is important for his/her wellbeing and, additionally, this person is inaccessible in his/her own personal sphere. In Polish this scenario is evoked by the verb *teżknić* ‘to miss’ which combines with a prepositional phrase including *za* ‘for’ (lit. ‘behind’) and a noun in the instrumental case referring to the object of the emotion. The Croatian language has the verb *nedostajati* ‘to miss’ which also occurs in both non-affective and affective contexts. In the affective sense, it forms a two-argument structure with the Experiencer participant expressed in the dative case and the Stimulus participant encoded in the nominative (e.g., *nedostaje mi mama* ‘I miss [my] mother’)⁵⁵.

Slovene *pomilovati* and Croatian *sažaljevati* ‘to feel sorry for’, ‘to pity’ evoke a scenario in which a person realizes that someone (a sentient Stimulus participant) underwent or is still undergoing an unpleasant situation. As in (9), the unpleasant situation can be expressed in a nominal causative construction referring to this situation that is perceived as an external causing event, e.g., an illness undergone by the object of the emotion in (13a) or a failed marriage in (13b):

(13)

a) Slo. *Pomilovali so ga zaradi nesrečne bolezni.* ‘They felt sorry for him due to an unfortunate illness.’

b) Cro. *Dječak Ivica posjeduje apratić za zube i misli da ga svi sažaljevaju zbog toga [...].* ‘The boy Ivica wears a brace and thinks that everyone feels sorry for him because of it [...].’

⁵⁵ M. Birtić et al. *Valencijski rječnik...*, p. 79–81.

The causing event can be introduced by means of sentential complements:

(14)

a) Slo. *Za trenutek sem jo pomiloval, saj dobro vem, kako je, če si osamljen.* ‘I felt sorry for her for a moment because I know very well what it’s like to be lonely.’

b) Cro. *U osnovi, ta izjava pokazuje da ih sažalijevate jer na takav način pristupaju stvarima.* ‘Basically, that statement shows that you feel sorry for them because they approach things that way.’

In Slovene the sense of ‘to feel sorry for’ is also covered by the verb *sočustvovati* which combines with a prepositional phrase including *s/z* ‘with’ and a noun in the instrumental case referring to the object of the emotion. In Polish the same scenario is evoked by the verb *współczuć* ‘to feel sorry for’ which takes a dative complement expressing the Stimulus participant. This verb can occur in a three-argument structure with the causing event expressed in the genitive case.

As mentioned above, depending on the nature of the Stimulus participant, Slo. *obžalovati* and Cro. *žaliti* can denote one of three psychological states:

(15) ‘to feel sorry for’

a) Slo. *Obžaluje ga, da ustvarja v malo znani slovenščini in da ga je težko prevajati ter da zato v svetu ni tako odmeven, kakor bi zaslužil.* ‘He/she feels sorry for him that he works in the little-known Slovenian language which is difficult to translate, and that, therefore, he is not as well-known in the world as he deserves.’

b) Cro. *Žalim stare ljude koji umiru u bolnicama.* ‘I feel sorry for old people dying in hospitals.’

(16) ‘to grieve over’

a) Slo. “[... vsi mi bomo obžalovali njeno smrt [...]]” ‘[...] all of us will grieve over her death [...].’

b) Cro. *Žalim smrt svakog čovjeka.* ‘I grieve over the death of every man.’

(17) ‘to regret’

a) Slo. *Fascetti je kasneje obžaloval rasistične besede, saj ima v svojem moštvu tudi sam temnopolte igralce.* ‘Fascetti later regretted the racist words, as he himself has black players in his team.’

b) Cro. [...] *morat ćete žaliti svoje riječi i djela kao zazor i sramotu?* ‘[...] will you have to regret your words and actions as contempt and shame?’

In (15), like in the case of Slo. *pomilovati* and Cro. *sažaljevati* ‘to feel sorry for’ discussed above, the cause of emotion infers from the fact that the Stimulus participant underwent or is still undergoing an unfortunate or unpleasant situation. This situation is introduced in the sentential arguments in (15). Whereas the Stimulus entity is a conscious and sentient participant in (15), it is instantiated by a noun that metonymically represents the causing event in (16) and (17). The difference between (16) and (17) is that in the first examples, the event (someone’s death triggering grief), is an external cause of emotion whereas the event in (17) (an inappropriate behaviour triggering regret) is caused by the Experiencer participant him/herself. The emotion of regret in (17) can be specified as ‘to feel sorry about my own mistake’ because the accusative complement is instantiated by a noun representing the Experiencer participant’s own action that is evaluated as a mistake by him or her. Regret can be caused also by an external event evaluated as undesirable for the Experiencer participant’s personal sphere, as illustrated in the Slovene sentence (18) in which the Stimulus entity is instantiated by a noun phrase representing the loss of family:

(18) ‘to regret’

Slo. *Otroci obžalujejo izgubo družine [...].* ‘Children regret the loss of their family [...].’

It is argued that the events expressed in the accusative argument in (16) to (18), which negatively impact the Experiencer participants’ personal sphere, are conceptualized as both an object of their evaluation and a cause of the psychological state, that is, respectively, grief in (16) and regret in (17) and (18).

In Polish, a sense of regret is expressed by the verb *żałować* ‘to regret’ which combines with the genitive complement expressing the cause. The

sense of grieving over is covered by a verbo-nominal construction *czuć żal* ‘to feel pity/grieve’ that occurs with the nominal causative construction in combination with the preposition *z powodu* + Gen ‘because of’.

The meanings ‘to grieve’ and ‘to regret’ are also denoted by Slo. *objokovati*, Cro. *oplakati* and Pol. *opłakiwać*. These verbs literally denote the expression of sorrow for someone’s death by crying. Where the Stimulus entity is instantiated by an event of death (19), they denote grieving due to the metonymical extension A REACTION STANDS FOR AN EMOTION (i.e. CRYING STANDS FOR GRIEVING) (19).

(19) ‘to grieve over’

a) Slo. *Rojaki so ga častili kot narodnega heroja, zato je njegovo smrt objokovala vsa država.* ‘His compatriots worshipped him as a national hero, so the whole country grieved over for his death.’

b) Cro. *Salamanca je dostojno oplakala smrt svoga propovjednika [...].* ‘Salamanca duly grieved over the death of its preacher [...].’

c) Pol. *Będziesz opłakiwać śmierć bliskiej ci osoby.* ‘You will grieve over the death of a loved one.’

Like the polysemantic verbs discussed above, these verbs can also reflect scenarios in which the Experiencer referent regrets his/her own mistakes (20) or a situation from the past that is evaluated as undesirable (21). These examples likewise reflect the metonymical extension A REACTION STANDS FOR AN EMOTION (i.e. CRYING STANDS FOR REGRETTING):

(20) ‘to regret’

a) Slo. *Ali pogosto objokujete storjeno, vas gloda vest?* ‘Do you often regret what you have done, does your conscience gnaw at you?’

a) Cro. *Oplāči svoje grijehe i žali Majku, koja za te toliko trpi.* ‘Regret for your sins and insults against your mother who suffers so much for you.’

b) Pol. *Może jedynie opłakiwać swoją pomyłkę.* ‘He can only regret his mistake.’

(21) ‘to regret’

a) Slo. *K sreči pa ni bilo v njeni naravi, da bi objokovala izgubljene priložnosti.* ‘Fortunately, it was not in her nature to regret lost opportunities.’

b) Pol. *Nie ma co jednak oplakiwać straconych lat [...].* There is no need, however, to regret the lost years.’

By analogy to Slo. *obžalovati* and Cro. *žaliti* (‘to feel sorry for’, ‘to grieve’, and ‘to regret’) discussed above, it is argued that the events expressed in the accusative argument in (20) and (21) are conceptualized as both an object of evaluation and a cause of the Experiencer’s psychological states, i.e., grieving and regret, respectively.

3.6. Constructions without the accusative complement

The SubjEx verbs of emotion discussed here always form constructions with an argument denoting an object of emotion. An exception to this is verbs of loving and hating that are used intransitively, i.e., in a one-participant structure without the direct object:

(22)

a) Slo. *Ljubijo in sovražijo pa samo živi.* ‘Only the living love and hate.’

b) Cro. *Voliti i biti voljen to vam je najljepša stvar na svijetu.* ‘Loving and being loved is the most beautiful thing in the world for you.’

c) Pol. *Nie wie jeszcze, czy umie kochać. Umie natomiast czasem nienawidzić – krótko, lecz prawdziwie.* ‘He does not know yet if he can love. On the other hand, he can hate sometimes – briefly but truly.’

Although an object of emotion in (22) is conceptually available (it can be any human being), it is not linguistically introduced⁵⁶. It is argued that one-argument constructions profile the person’s ability to undergo emotional states of love and hate, respectively.

Another exception is Slovene *obžalovati* and Croatian *žaliti* (‘to feel sorry for’, ‘to grieve’, and ‘to regret’) which are used intransitively but, in contrast to verbs of loving and hating, can combine with a nominal

⁵⁶ Cf. R. Kailuweit, *Linking...*, p. 111.

causative construction with the preposition *zaradi* (Slo.) and *zbog* (Cro.) ‘because of’ conveying the causing event:

(23)

a) Slo. *Globoko obžalujem zaradi posledic, ki jih je moje ravnanje povzročilo družinskim članom [...]*. ‘I am deeply sorry because of the consequences my actions have caused to family members [...].’

b) Cro. [...] *i mi žalimo zbog loših rezultata [...]*. ‘[...] and we also are sorry because of the results [...].’

In this argument structure, these verbs evoke a scenario in which a person feels sorry because of an event that negatively impacted the other participants’ (23a) or his or her own (23b) personal sphere. In Slovene, the causing event can be expressed also by means of a sentential complement:

(24) *Obžalujemo, da je zaradi tega nastal nesporazum med našo stranko in varnostno službo [...]*. ‘We are sorry that this caused a misunderstanding between our client and the security service [...].’

It is concluded that the sense of ‘being sorry’ is the fourth sense of the verbs *obžalovati* and *žaliti* (besides ‘to feel sorry for’, ‘to grieve’, and ‘to regret’ discussed above). In Polish, the sense of ‘to be sorry’ is covered by the adverbial construction *przykro mi* (‘sorry-adverb I-Dat’ ‘it is painful to me’)⁵⁷.

4. Conclusions

Slovene, Croatian and Polish SubjEx verbs of emotion discussed in this paper can be semantically divided into those that only express a positive or negative evaluation of the object of experience that metonymically represents its property, and into those that indicate more complex scenarios in which someone’s personal sphere is impacted. It can be the personal sphere of the Experiencer participant or the personal sphere of participants of the event. In the argument structure of the verbs that express a positive or negative evaluation (like verbs of loving, admiring, hating, despising, and the Slovene verbs denoting missing), the causing event that

⁵⁷ A. Wierzbicka, *A Culturally Salient Polish Emotion: Przykro* [pron. *pshickro*], [in:] *Emotions in Crosslinguistic Perspective*, eds. J. Harkins, A. Wierzbicka, Berlin–New York 2001, pp. 337–357.

influences someone's space is introduced by means of a causative nominal construction with the preposition of cause glossed as 'because of' and a noun that represents the cause. The causing event can also be introduced in a sentential complement.

This analysis shows that polysemy of some verbs expressing events in the domain of emotions, such as Slo. *obžalovati* and Cro. *žaliti* 'to feel sorry for', 'to grieve', 'to regret' 'to be sorry', as well as Slo. *objokovati*, Cro. *oplakati* and Pol. *opłakiwać* 'to mourn', 'to grieve', 'to regret', can be explained in terms of different scenarios. In a scenario including a causing event that negatively impacts the personal sphere of other participants, *obžalovati* and *žaliti* denote sorrow for the other. In two other scenarios evoked by these verbs, the object of emotion is at the same time its cause. With arguments denoting an event that has an external cause, such as the death of someone close, the verbs denote 'to grieve'; with arguments denoting a negative event caused by the Experiencer him/herself, the verbs denote 'to regret'. The verbs also denote 'to regret' with abstract nouns referring to an externally caused situation that is evaluated as unwanted. The analysis also shows that verbs expressing love and hate reveal additional senses when being used in intransitive one-argument constructions in all the languages under scrutiny, i.e., they convey the ability to love and hate.

Dictionaries

APA *Dictionary of Psychology*, accessed 20 February 2022, <https://dictionary.apa.org/emotion>.

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Agnieszka Będkowska-Kopczyk

Subject-experiencer verbs of emotion with the accusative complement in Slovene, Croatian and Polish

The aim of this paper is to compare semantic and morphosyntactic features of Slovene, Croatian, and Polish SubjEx verbs of emotion that govern bare nominal complements in the accusative case by applying the notion of the “personal sphere”. The study shows that these verbs can be divided into those that express a positive or negative evaluation of some properties of the object of emotion, and into those that indicate more complex scenarios in which someone’s personal sphere is impacted. It can be the personal sphere of the Experiencer participant or the personal sphere of other people.

Keywords: *emotion verbs, cognitive motivation of case marking, the personal sphere, Slovene, Croatian, Polish*

Słowa kluczowe: *czasowniki uczuć, motywacje kognitywne przypadków, sfera wpływów, słoweński, chorwacki, polski*