

Factive arguments of experiencer verbs

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Introduction

Cognate factives (1) and emotive factives (2) take factive propositional arguments. In Bosnian/Serbian/Croatian, only with emotive predicates facts can be syntactically introduced via special complementizer *što* (or *to što*).

- (1) a. Maja je saznala **da** nismo došli.
Maya aux learned C not-aux came.

Maya learned that we hadn't come.

- b. *Maja je saznala **što** nismo došli.
Maya aux learned C not-aux came.

Maya learned that we hadn't come

- (2) a. Maja žali **što** nismo došli.
Maya regrets C not-aux came.

Maya regrets that we did not come.

- b. *Maja žali **da** nismo došli.
Maya regrets C not-aux came.

Maya regrets that we did not come.

1. Factive arguments of psych predicates

1.1 Selection

Emotive/psych predicates do not exhibit uniform selectional properties. Subject experiencer (SE) verbs (3-4) and Dative object experiencer (DOE) (5) select for special *(to)što*- clauses exclusively.

SE verbs: *žaliti* (regret), *čuditi se* (be surprised), *radovati se* (be happy), *brinuti (se)* (worry), *voleti* (love), *mrzeti* (hate) *obožavati* (adore)

DOE verbs: *dosaditi* (bore) *svidjati se* (like), *prijati* (please/make feel good)

- (3) a. Maja se brine **što** nismo došli.
Maya se worry C not-aux came.

That we didn't arrive worries Maya

- b. *Maja se brine **da** nismo došli.
Maya se worry C not-aux came.

Maya is happy that we did not come.

- (4) a. Volim **(to) što** si me pozvao.
love it C aux me called

I love (it) that you called me.

- b. *Volim **da** si me pozvao.
love C aux me called

I love (the fact) that you called me.

- (5) a. Sviđa mi se **(to) što** si me pozvao.
pleases me-DAT se it C aux me called

I like it that you called me

- b. *Sviđa mi se **da** si me pozvao.
pleases me-DAT se C aux me called

I like it that you called me.

Acusative object experiencer (AOE) verbs that take both *da* (indicative) and *što* clauses: *radovati* (make happy), *iznenaditi* (surprise), *brinuti* (worry), *ljutiti* (anger) *boleti* (hurt).

- (6) a. Brine me **(to) što** si došao.
worries me-ACC it C aux came

It worries me that you came.

- b. Brine me **da** si došao.
worries me-ACC C aux came

It makes me happy that you came.

1.2 Distribution

SE verbs

- (7) Maja se brine (*to) **što** nismo došli.
Maya se happy C not-aux came.

Maya worries that we did not come

- (8) Volim **(to) što** si me pozvao. class I verbs (Landau 2010)
love C aux me called

I love that you called me.

OE verbs – Dative object experiencers and Accusative object experiencers

- (9) a. Sviđa mi se **(to) što** si me pozvao. class III verbs (DOE)
pleases me-DAT se C aux me called

I like that you called me

- b. **To što** si me pozvao mi se sviđa.
to C aux me called me-DAT se likes

- (10) a. Brine me **(to) što** si došao. class II verbs (AOE)
worries me-ACC it C aux came

It worries me that you came.

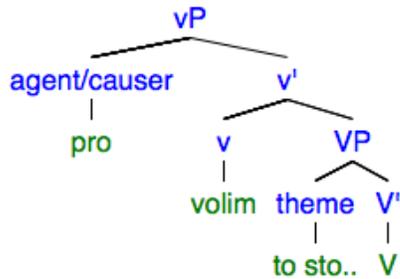
- b. **To što** si došao me brine.
to C aux came me-ACC worries

That you came worries me.

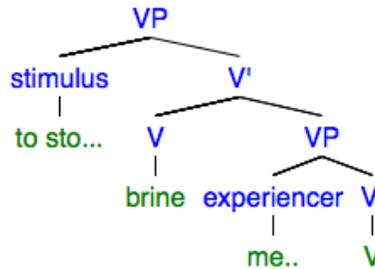
2. Proposal

- Factive *to-što* clause is a nominal projections (in line with Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1971). It is a light-headed relative clause which, following Arad (1998) can realize either a canonical *theme* with class I verbs or a *stimulus* (i.e. *inanimate causer*).
- Non-nominal factive *što* clause is a special CP (in line with De Cuba 2006) selected by simple states.

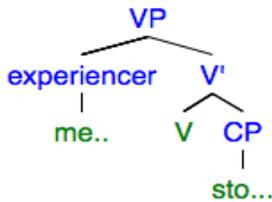
(11) class 1 non-stative



(12) class II and III stative



(13) subject experiencers - simple states



Passivization as a test for unaccusativity

- (14) a. Marko je voljen.
Marko aux loved

Marko is loved
- b. *Marko je brinut.
Marko aux worried.pass
- c. *Marko je radovan.
Marko aux made-happy.
- d. Marko je **ob**-radovan
Marko aux made-happy

Middles

- (15) a. Ljudi se lako zabrinu/obraduju
 people *se* easily worry/make-happy
 'People worry easily'

2.1 On light-headed relatives

- A light-headed relative (cf. Hartmann & Milićević 2015 for Serbian, Citko 2004 for Polish) is headed by impoverished, pronominal head. It is inanimate and cannot pick an individual as a referent.

- The clause itself is a complementizer relative clause (Brown 1986)

Fully headed relative clause

- (16) Taj prijatelj što si *(ga) preporučio je na vratima.
 that friend C aux him recommended is on door
 That friend that you recommended is at the door.

Light-headed relative - Pseudoclefts

- (17) a. Prijatelj/ je to što (*ga) želim.
 friend.nom is it.nom C him want.pres

A friend is what/the thing that I want.

- b. To što (*ga) želim je prijatelj.
 it.nom C him.acc want is friend

'What/the thing that I want is friend.'

3. Other Slavic languages

3.1. Polish (Bondaruk et. al 2017)

- (18) a. [To że Maria wydaje dużo pieniędzy] martwi go.
 it that Maria spends lots money worries him

That Maria spends a lot of money worries him.

- b. Martwi go [to że Maria wydaje dużo pieniędzy]
 worries him it that Maria spends lots money

'It worries him that Maria spends a lot of money'

Passivization

- (19) a. Został poruszony przez ostatnie wydarzenia polityczne
 became moved by latest events political

'He was moved by the latest political events.'

- b. Chłopak został zachwycony nową nauczycielką
 boy became enchanted new teacher instr.

'The boy was enchanted by the new teacher.'

Evidence for structural accusative

- (20) a. Problemy rodzinne martwiły Martę.
 problems family worried Martha.acc

'Family problems worried Martha.'

- b. Problemy rodzinne nie martwiły Marty.gen/*Marte.acc
 problems family not worried Martha

'Family problem did not worry Martha.'

Bulgarian

- Factive clause – a relative clause in disguise embedded into a PP, followed by deletion (cf. Krapova 2010) vs. bare clause (as argued for above)

(21) Sažaljavam/Jad me e/Radvam se [PP ~~za~~ [DP ~~tova~~ [CP deto...]]]

- Vebs taking *deto* factive clauses:

sažaljavam (regret), *vinoven sām* (be one's fault), *jad me e* (be sorry; regret), *radvam se* (be happy), *nedovolstvam* 'be dissatisfied', *pritesnjavam se* 'worry', *žal mi e* 'be sorry', *mačno mi e* 'be sad', *sram me e* 'feel ashamed'

On the current analysis this group of predicates represents simple states (13), selecting a bare CP.

The BSC facts related to extraction, and the distinct semantics of the bare factive clause show that it cannot be treated as embedded in a PP.

Bulgarian vs BSC (strong vs. weak island for extraction)

- (22) a. *Kakvo šazaljavaš deto Ivan e napravil t_{wh}
 what regret C Ivan aux done

What do you regret that Ivan has done?

- b. *Kade šazaljavaš deto Ivan e otišal t_{wh}
 where regret C Ivan aux gone (Bulgarian, Krapova 2010)

- (23) a. Koga se ljuti što vidi t_{wh} ?
 whom *se* angers C see

'Whom is he angry to see?'

- b. * Kako se ljuti što ga vidi t_{wh}
 how *se* angers C him see (BSC)
 How is he angry that he saw him?

Interpretation (circumstance vs. source)

- (24) a. On se naljutio za to [CP što nema dovoljno informacija]
 he refl. angered for it C not-has enough information

'He was angry because he does not have enough information.' *circumstance*

- (25) b. On se naljutio što nema dovoljno informacija
 he refl. angered C not-has enough information
 He was angry that he does not have enough information *source/subject matter of the anger*

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