Composing Emotive Factives with Sentential Complements  
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The Data  The discussion here centers around the data in (1). In these data, we see an emotive factive verb followed by both a sentential complement and an optional pronominal complement. The proposition denoted by the sentential complement is interpreted as the argument of the verb. The pronoun is not obviously interpreted as an argument, and is fully optional.

This pronoun has a number of unusual properties. Two are particularly striking. The first is that the pronoun does not have free reference when it appears with a that-clause, shown in (2); the pronoun could not refer to anything but the proposition denoted by the that-clause. This contrasts strongly with the case in (3), where an apparently identical pronoun may have free reference when it appears with a when-clause.

Second, the presence of the pronoun induces island effects. The complements of emotive factives are known as being factive islands; they allow only a few types of extractions (Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971). These are shown in (4). However, when the pronoun appears, they become strong islands, shown in (5).

The Pronoun  At first glance, the pronoun seems meaningless. Its presence or absence with emotive factives is not affected by a number of factors, including the first introduction of a proposition into the discourse and reference to a previously-introduced proposition (see (6)). However, this type of pronoun does not seem to be limited to emotive factives; it is seen with other verbs as well, including mention, believe, understand, and figure out. Importantly, the pronoun is not fully optional with these verbs; it is conditioned in particular discourses. In particular, the pronoun is possible when the proposition denoted by the sentential complement is in some way given (Bolinger 1977). This is shown in (7).

The Analysis  The islandhood effects suggest that the CP is a complement when no pronoun is present, and an adjunct when the pronoun is present. As we see in (8), the CP and the pronoun do not form a constituent. I propose that the CP is an adjunct to VP when the pronoun is present and a complement to V when the pronoun is absent, straightforwardly accounting for the islandhood data. The basic structures are in (9).

I take the pronoun to be translated, not as a variable, but as a property. In this case, it is a property of propositions (\(<s, t>>\), \(<s, t>>\)). Specifically, it is a givenness property, requiring that the saturating proposition be presupposed. This property combines with the predicate via Restrict (Chung and Ladusaw 2003). The lexical items for a derivation are given in (10), while the trees for composition with and without the pronoun are shown in (11). This not only accounts for the givenness effects of the pronoun, but prevents the pronoun from free reference; since the pronoun is not a variable, we do not expect it to refer.

(1) Milo loved (it) that the tacos were delicious.
(2) Lila loved it that the kitten was snuggly.
   a. Interpretation 1: Lila loved that the kitten was snuggly.
   b. #Interpretation 2: Lila loved \{the kitten, that her friend owned the kitten, . . .\}
(3) Lila loved it when the kitten was snuggly.
   a. Interpretation 1: Lila loved that the kitten was snuggly.
   b. Interpretation 2: Lila loved \{the kitten, that her friend owned the kitten, . . .\}
(4) Where did you regret that you left the book ?
(5) *Where did you regret it that you left the book ?
(6) a. Introduction of a proposition into the discourse
   A: What do you think about the fall weather?
   B: Well, I like (it) that the leaves are turning, but I’m not a fan of the cold.
   b. Reference to a previously-introduced proposition
   A: Why are you always late for our meetings?
B: I don’t know, but I really hate (it) that I’m always late for them.

c. Negation
He doesn’t like (it) that the dog jumps on guests.

(7) a. A: How did the rest of the meeting go?
   B: Well, Sam mentioned (*it) to me that he’s going to throw a party.
   b. A: How did you hear about Sam’s party?
   B: Well, Sam mentioned it to me that he’s going to throw a party.

(8) *Lila hated it that mice got into the kitchen and it that ants got into the freezer.

(9) a. \([V CP_{VP}]\)
b. \([[[V_{VP}] CP_{VP}]\)

(10) a. I like it that the kitten is snuggly.
   b. \(it = \lambda \varphi. \varphi \in cg\)
   c. that the kitten is snuggly = \(q\)
   d. like = \(\lambda \varphi. \lambda.e.like'(e)(\varphi)\)

(11) a. Composition without Restrict:

\[\begin{align*}
&v \\
&\quad \lambda.e.like(e)(q) \\
&\quad \text{like that the kitten is snuggly} \\
&\lambda.\varphi. \lambda.e.like'(e)(\varphi) \\
&\quad \text{like} \quad \text{that the kitten is snuggly} \\
&\end{align*}\]

b. Composition with Restrict:

\[\begin{align*}
&v \\
&\quad \lambda.e.like'(e)(q) \land q \in cg \\
&\quad \text{like it that the kitten is snuggly} \\
&\lambda.\varphi. \lambda.e.like'(e)(\varphi) \land \lambda.\varphi. \varphi \in cg \\
&\quad \text{like it} \quad \text{that the kitten is snuggly} \\
&\lambda.\varphi. \lambda.e.like'(e)(\varphi) \\
&\quad \text{like} \\
&\lambda.\varphi. \varphi \in cg \\
&\quad \text{it}
\end{align*}\]

References

