

Two Types of Emotive Factives and Conditional Marking

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October 31, 2025

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Introduction

Emotive factives

(be) surprised, regret, be sorry, (be) nice, (be) happy, ...

- (1)
- a. Amy is surprised that Maya came to the party.
 - b. Amy regrets that Maya came to the party.
 - c. It is nice that Maya came to the party.
 - d. Amy is happy that Maya came to the party.

Kiparsky & Kiparsky (1970); Karttunen (1971); Klein (1975);
Giannakidou (2006), etc.

Two classes of emotive factives

Lexical factives

(be) surprised,
regret,

...

Relational factives

(be) nice,
(be) happy,

...

Two classes of emotive factives

They differ with respect to their possible interpretations in an X-conditional frame.

What do we mean by “X-conditional frame”?

(2) CONSEQUENT.X IF-CLAUSE.X
 ↑
 emotive factive

Examples

- (3)
 - a. Amy would be surprised if Maya came to the party.
 - b. Amy would be sorry if Maya came to the party.

- (4)
 - a. It would be nice if Maya came to the party.
 - b. Amy would be happy if Maya came to the party.

Plan

1. Show how they differ in interpretation
= summarize what has been said in the literature on emotive factives in an X-conditional frame
2. Speculate on the conceptual differences between the predicates that could explain the difference in 1
3. Show that the conceptual differences are reflected in grammar in German, Italian, Spanish

Emotive factives in an X-conditional frame

Williams on *happy*

- (5) I would be happy if Bill was here.

(Williams, 1974, p. 157)

“ On one reading, the “logical” reading, my happiness is not necessarily related to my knowledge that Bill is here; it is simply a consequence of his presence. The other sense of this sentence is, ‘I would be happy that Bill was here, if he were.’ ”

Williams (1974, p. 157)

Paraphrases

Bill's being here = CAUSER $\Rightarrow$ logical reading

(6) 'If Bill was here, his being here would make me happy.'

Bill's being here = SUBJECT MATTER $\Rightarrow$ non-logical reading

(7) 'If Bill was here, I would be happy about his being here.'

“Complement fulfilling *if*-clauses”

Williams (1974)'s on the non-logical reading:

“ [The] *if* clauses are connected with the complement structure ”

(Williams, 1974, p. 159)

Extends to other emotive factives

- (8) Amy would be surprised if Maya came to the party.
~> 'If Maya came... , Amy would be surprised about it.'
- (9) Amy would be sorry if Maya came to the party.
~> 'If Maya came... , Amy would be sorry about it.'

SUBJECT MATTER is a known fact

(10) Conditional / Desire (C/D) pattern

- a. X-marked conditional: if p_{ant} , q_{cons}
- b. wishes: I want_{cons} that p_{ant}

(11) Querría que fuera más alto de lo
Want.cond that s/he be.pst.sbjv more tall than it
que es.
s/he is

‘I wish s/he was taller than s/he is.’ (Spanish)

von Fintel & Iatridou (2023)

Actual-world desires with counterfactual content,
not desires in a counterfactual scenario.

- (12) Szeretném ha Marcsi tudná a választ.
like-**nA**-1sg if Marcsi know-3sg-**nA** the answer-acc
'I wish Marcsi knew the answer.' (Hungarian)
von Fintel & Iatridou (2023)

“ Longenbaugh (2019) shows that (i)/(ii) are instances of clausal subordination, not conditionals, and that moreover, they display something like the C/D pattern in terms of morphology: the embedding predicate has consequent X-marking and the embedded predicate has antecedent X-marking (and strikingly the antecedent marker *if*):

- (i) I would be happy if you knew the answer.
- (ii) I would prefer if you left.

In addition, and crucially, Longenbaugh shows that (i)/(ii) are about actual-world preferences, not preferences in a counterfactual scenario. ”

(von Fintel & Iatridou, 2023, 1487)

Evidence

Additional evidence can be found in [Grosz \(2012\)](#); [Kaufmann \(2017\)](#); [Longenbaugh \(2019\)](#); [Sode \(2021, 2023b\)](#).

“ [...]

(13) It's not the case that I want John to be here,
but **if he were here, it would be nice that
he's here.**

(14) #It's not the case that I want John to be here,
but **it would be nice if he were here.**

This suggests that [Williams' account] may not be on the right track, i.e. more needs to be said in any case, supporting an alternative view where non-logical *if*-clauses may after all be complement *if*-clauses. ”

Grosz (2012, p. 84)

The idea

Not SUBJECT MATTER but TARGET:

“ The Target argument, however, is evaluated by the Experiencer as part of what Nissenbaum (1985) calls “the emotional episode.” In general, a negative emotion (like anger) entails a negative evaluation, a positive emotion (like *love*) entails a positive evaluation. ”

Pesetsky (1991, p. 56)

- (15) The paleontologist liked / loved / adored the fossil.
Pesetsky (1991, p. 56)

The idea

Predicates that can be used to express unattainable wishes and preferences like

(be) good, (be) nice, (be) happy, like, prefer...

are purely evaluative predicates.

cf. the semantics of desire predicates in Heim (1992)

⇒ X-marked *if*-clause can be the TARGET argument.

How can this be reconciled with Williams?

- Purely evaluative emotives do have factive readings. Facts can be TARGETS.
- Factive readings only arise in a construal with a *dass*-clause. They are TAM-dependent in a similar way as counterfactual readings; cf. [Sode \(2018, 2021, 2023a\)](#).
- We expect predicates like *(be) good*, *(be) happy*, etc. to also have non-logical readings in an X-marked conditional frame. (What should prevent them?)
- The difference is: TARGET instead of SUBJECT MATTER.
- They don't make a lot of sense with preference predicates.

(16) I would prefer that you were here, if you were here.

Summary

	non-logical reading	if-clause as argument
(be) surprised	✓	×
regret	✓	×
(be) good	✓	✓
(be) happy	✓	✓

Explanantion?

Explanantion?

- Predicates like *(be) good* and *(be) happy* are purely evaluative (= not lexically factive) emotives.
- Predicates like *(be) surprised* and *regret* presuppose acquaintance with the evaluated situation ($\Rightarrow$ lexically factive). That's why they only have non-logical readings.

Grammatical evidence?

German: V2

- (17) a. Mir wäre lieber, wenn du zu Hause bliebst.
me be **subx** dearer if you at home stay **subx**
b. Mir wäre lieber, du bliebst zu Hause.
- (18) a. Es wäre besser, wenn du zu Hause bliebst.
b. Es wäre besser, du bliebst zu Hause.
- (19) a. Ich wäre überraschter, wenn du zu Hause bliebst.
b. *Ich wäre überraschter, du bliebst zu Hause.
- (20) a. Ich würde es (noch) mehr bedauern, wenn du zu Hause bliebst.
b. *Ich würde es (noch) mehr bedauern, du bliebst zu Hause.

Generalization:

An X-marked *wenn*-clause used as a TARGET argument of a (purely evaluative) desire / preference predicate can be replaced by an X-marked V2-clause.

Under the assumption that *überrascht (sein)* ('(be) surprised') and *bedauern* ('regret') are lexically factive predicates the exclusion of V2-clauses is expected since V2-clauses are excluded from factive contexts, cf. [Reis \(1997\)](#); [Meinunger \(2004\)](#); [Truckenbrodt \(2006\)](#).

German: 'that' instead of 'if'

- (21) Mir wäre lieber, { dass / wenn } du zu Hause bliebst.
me be.**subx** dearer { that / if } you at home stay.**subx**
'I would prefer { that / if } you stayed at home.'
- (22) Es wäre besser, { dass / wenn } du zu Hause bliebst.
it be.**subx** better { that / if } you at home stay.**subx**
'It would be better { that / if } you stayed at home.'

German: 'that' instead of 'if'

- (23) Ich würde es (noch) mehr bedauern, { #dass / wenn }
it will.**subx** it (even) more regret { that / if }
du zu Hause bliebst.
you at home stay.**subx**
'I would regret it (even) more { #that / if } you stayed at home.'
- (24) Ich wäre überraschter, { #dass / wenn } du zu Hause
I be.**subx** more surprised { that / if } you at home
bliebst.
stay.**subx**
'I would be more surprised { #that / if } you stayed at home.'

German: Inflectionally impoverished complements

- (25) Ich finde, es **wäre** besser, **dass** wir die Dinge
I find it be.**subx** better that we the things
beim Namen **nennen**.
with the name call.**ind**

‘I think it would be better that we name things by their name.’ (literal translation)

- (26) Mir **wäre** lieber, **dass** alles über den Browser
me be.**subx** dearer that all over the browser
läuft und auch funktioniert
run.**ind** and also work.**ind**

‘I would prefer that everything runs in the browser and works’ (literal translation)

German: Inflectionally impoverished complements

- (27) Es **wäre** besser **gewesen**, **dass** sie erstmal ihre
it be.**subx** better be.**ppt** that she first her
Dinge **regelt** [...] **regelt**
things deal.**ind** with [...]

‘It would have been better that she first deals with her
things [...]’ (literal translation)

German: Inflectionally impoverished complements

- (28) Mir **wäre** lieber **gewesen**, **dass** er uns **verlässt**,
me be.**subx** dearer be.**ppt** that he us leave.**ind**
da seine Leistungen unterirdisch waren.
since his performance below zero was.

'I would have preferred that he leaves since his
performance was awful.' (literal translation)

Spanish and Italian

Although no V2-Test, we do see different syntactic behavior for each predicate type

- Different lexicalizations types, e.g., reflexive *regret*-type verbs with SUBJECT MATTER of emotions arguments vs. transitive *prefer*-type verbs with TARGET arguments
- Different behavior with regards to the pronominalization of the argument

Spanish and Italian

Different lexicalizations for each type of predicate, which in turn yield different underlying structures

regret / be surprised + about X (subject matter of emotion)		
Spanish	Italian	
<i>Te sorprenderías de la pizza</i>	<i>Ti sorprenderesti della pizza</i>	PP
<i>Te sorprenderías si/?que compra una pizza</i>	<i>Ti sorprenderesti se/?che io comprassi una pizza</i>	if/that clause
prefer + something (target)		
Spanish	Italian	
<i>Preferirías una pizza</i>	<i>Preferiresti una pizza</i>	NP
<i>Preferirías si/?que compra una pizza</i>	<i>Preferiresti se/?che io comprassi una pizza</i>	if/that clause
<i>Preferirías compra una pizza</i>	<i>Preferiresti io comprassi una pizza</i>	∅ clause

Spanish and Italian

regret-type verbs do not allow for pronominalization with 'lo' 'it'. *Prefer*-type predicates allow for pronominalization, typical behavior of direct object arguments.

be surprised		
Spanish	Italian	
<i>Te sorprenderías si/?que lloviera</i>	<i>Ti sorprenderesti se/?che piovesse</i>	'You would be surprised if/that it rained'
<i>*Lo te sorprenderías</i>	<i>*Lo ti sorprenderesti</i>	no full pronominalization of <i>if</i> clause
<i>Si lloviera (*lo) te sorprenderías</i>	<i>Se piovesse (*lo) ti sorprenderesti</i>	flexible word order
prefer		
Spanish	Italian	
<i>Tú preferirías si/que lloviera</i>	<i>Preferiresti se/che piovesse</i>	'You would prefer if/that it rained'
<i>Lo preferirías</i>	<i>Lo preferiresti</i>	pronominalization of <i>if</i> clause
<i>Tú lo preferirías si lloviera</i>	<i>Lo preferiresti se piovesse</i>	argument doubling
<i>Si lloviera *(lo) preferirías</i>	<i>Se piovesse *(lo) preferiresti</i>	word order requires pronominalization

Conclusion

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- We argued that there are two classes of emotive factives.
- They come apart when we look at their interpretation in X-conditional frames.
- While X-marked 'if'-clauses can be THEME arguments of purely evaluative desire and preference predicates (like *good*, *happy*, *prefer*), they cannot be arguments (*be*) *surprised* / *regret*-type predicates.
- We speculated that (*be*) *surprised* / *regret*-type predicates exclude X-marked 'if'-clauses as arguments due to their lexicalized factivity.
- We presented data from German, Italian and Spanish in support of this distinction.

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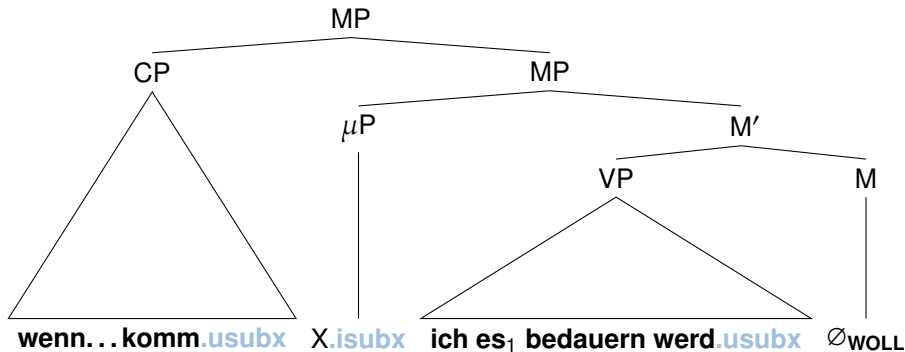
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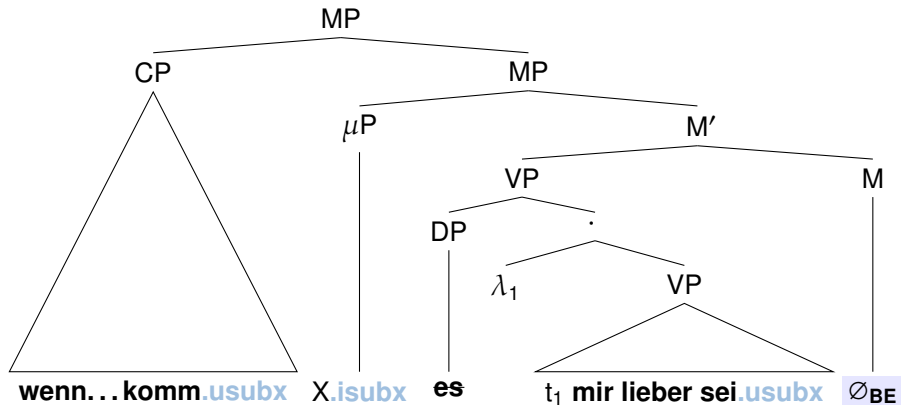
Appendix

Non-logical reading with lexical factives



- (29) Ich würde es bedauern, wenn du alleine kämst.
'I would be sorry if you came alone.'

If-clause-as-argument reading with desire predicates



- (30) Mir wäre es lieber, wenn du alleine kämst.
'I would prefer if you came alone.'