The left periphery of adverbial clauses

Liliane Haegeman

Department of English – University of Ghent

1. The data

(i) French temporal adverbial clauses allow C[litic]L[eft]D[islocation] (1a), English temporal adverbial clauses resist argument fronting (1b) (Hooper & Thompson 1973, Maki, Kaiser & Ochi 1999, Haegeman 2003, 2006):

(1)   a Fr.   Quand <u>cette   chanson</u> je l'ai entendue,
                  When   this song   I it have-1SG heard-PART-FEM,
                  j'ai   pensé à toi.
                  I have-1SG think-PART of you.
         b   *When <u>this song</u> I heard, I thought of you.

(ii) Stylistic inversion is licensed (at least for some speakers) in French temporal clauses (2a) (Lahousse 2003), while locative inversion is ungrammatical in English temporal clauses (2b):

(2)   a Fr.   %Quand avait débuté le salon Sainte-Euverte…
                  when have-PAST-3SG start-PART the salon Sainte Euverte (Lahousse 2003)
         b   *Helen and Jack had dinner before into the kitchen trooped the children.
                  (Hooper and Thompson 1973: 496 (their (251))

(3)   a   <u>preposing around *be*</u>
                  *The deputies could extort with impunity, as long as <u>no less corrupt</u> was
                  the ward boss. (Emonds 1976: 35, his (36))
         b   <u>VP preposing</u>
                  * When <u>passed these exams</u> you have, you'll get the degree.

English argument fronting & locative inversion: 'Main Clause Phenomena'/'Root phenomena': restricted to (finite) main clauses and a subset of embedded clauses:

> Though RTs may apply in some complements that are full sentences introduced by the complementiser *that, they may never apply in any complements that are reduced clauses*. By reduced clauses we mean *infinitives, gerunds, and subjunctive clauses*, i.e. those complement types which have *uninflected* verbs. (Hooper&Thompson 1973: 484-5, italics mine)

> As a positive environment we can say that [root] transformations operate only on Ss that are *asserted*. …some transformations are sensitive to more than just syntactic configurations. *It does not seem possible to define the domain of an RT in terms of syntactic structures in any general way*. However, …, even if it were possible to define in syntactic terms the conditions under which RTs can apply, … the question of why these transformations can apply in certain syntactic environments and not others would still be unanswered (Hooper &Thompson 1973: 495, italics lh)

2. Hypothesis I: crosslinguistic variation in discourse projections (Emonds 2004)

Structural difference between French (Romance) and English adverbial clauses:

> French dislocated elements are only allowed to appear at the edge of Discourse Projections. I follow Emonds (2004) in assuming that only root and root-like clauses contain a Discourse Projection… *the set of embedded cluase with root properties varies cross-linguistically*…
> The group of embedded clauses allowing a left-dislocated topic in Spoken French is *wider* than that which is commonly included in the 'embedded root clauses ' category…

As a preliminary conclusion, French embedded root clauses do not have exactly the characteristics of embedded root clauses as they have been defined in the literature. However, this might be due to the fact that embedded root phenomena have been mainly studied with respect to Germanic languages. Further research is clearly necessary to determine the extend of cross linguistics variation as to which embedded clauses can be endowed with root properties (De Cat 2008: 522)

Objections: French & English adverbial clauses make the same semantic contribution to the clause and they share other properties:
(i) French and English temporal adverbial clauses are similar in that both allow circumstantial adjuncts in their left periphery:

(4)   a Fr   Quand <u>la semaine dernière</u> elle s'est mise à la rédaction, …
                 when last week she herself –be-3SG put-FEM to the writing,
        b   When <u>last month</u> she began to write,….

(ii) Both French and English adverbial clauses are incompatible with epistemic adverbs and other speaker related modality markers (Rutherford 1970, Declerck & Depraetere 1995,Verstraete 2002, Nilsen 2004, Ernst 2008).

(5)   a Fr   * Quand <u>probablement</u> il fera plus chaud, nous n'aurons pas besoin de chauffage.
                 when probably it make-FUT more warm, we *ne* have-FUT not need for heating
        b   * When <u>probably</u> it will be warmer, we won't need the heating any more.

Hypothesis II: the difference between (1a) and (1b) follows from the syntactic differences between CLLD and argument fronting in English.
⇒ We cannot simply assume that the syntax of topicalised constituents in the left periphery is identical for English and French. We have to augment Rizzi's split CP hypothesis with additional mechanisms.

3. English argument fronting, adjuncts and clitic left dislocation (Lecture 1, section 3)

3.1. Starting point: English argument fronting, adjunct fronting, Romance CLLD
 (6)   a   When <u>last year </u>she began to write her regular column again, I thought she would be OK.
        b   *When <u>her regular column</u> she began to write again last year, I thought she would be OK.
        c   Quand <u>cette chanson</u> je l'ai entendue, je me suis souvenue de mon premier amour.
                 When this song I it-have heard, I me am reminded of my first love
                 'When I heard this song, I remembered my first love.'

3.2. Broadening the picture: Wh-Movement, topicalisation and CLLD

3.2.1. EMBEDDED INTERROGATIVES: ENGLISH ARGUMENT FRONTING VS CLLD
(7)   a   *Robin knows where , <u>the birdseed</u>, you are going to put. (Culicover 1991: 5 (6c))
        b   *I wonder who, <u>this book</u>, would buy around Christmas. (Rizzi 1997:307, (76a))
        c   *I don't know when <u>your text</u> we will be able to discuss.

(8)   a   J'aimerais savoir à qui <u>ton texte</u>, tu comptes le montrer d'abord.
            I like-COND-1SG know to whom your texte you count-2SG it show first
            'I would like to know to whom you are thinking of showing your text first.'
       b   Je ne sais pas quand, <u>ton texte</u>, on pourra le discuter.
            I *ne* know not when, your texte, one can-FUT-3SG it discuss
            'I don't know when we will be able to discuss your text.'

(9)   a   Eng   *wh_{INT}-constituent- topic…
       b   Rom   √wh_{INT}-constituent- CLLD…

3.2.2. EMBEDDED INTERROGATIVES: ENGLISH ARGUMENT/ADJUNCT ASYMMETRY
(10)   a   Lee forgot which dishes, under normal circumstances, you would put on the
            table. (Culicover 1991: 9, (17d))[1]
       b   Eng   √wh_{INT}-constituent- adjunct…

3.2.3. RELATIVE CLAUSES: ARGUMENT FRONTING VS CLLD
(11)   a   *a student to whom, <u>your book</u>, I will recommend
       b   ??He is a man from whom <u>money</u> we could never take. (Bianchi 1999: 188, her
            (76))
       c   ? lo studente a cui, <u>il tuo libro</u>, lo darò domani
            the student to whom, the you book , it give-FUT-1SG tomorrow
       d   Voici l'étudiant à qui <u>ton livre</u> je le donnerai.
            this is the student to whom your book I it will give
(12)   a   Eng   *wh_{REL}-constituent- topic…
       b   Rom   √wh_{REL}-constituent- CLLD…

3.2.4. RELATIVE CLAUSES: ARGUMENT /ADJUNCT ASYMMETRY IN ENGLISH:
(13)   a   *I met the author who, <u>this new column,</u> began to write last year.
       b   I met the author who, <u>last year</u>, began to write this new column.
       c   Eng   √wh_{REL}-constituent - adjunct

3.2.5. TOPIC ISLANDS: ENGLISH ARGUMENT FRONTING (14) VS. ROMANCE CLLD (15)[2] & ADJUNCT FRONTING (16) .
(14)   a   *Who did you say that <u>to Sue </u>Bill introduced? (Boeckx and Jeong 2004: (3))
       b   *On which table did Lee say that <u>these books</u> she will put? (Koizumi 1995: 140)
       c   *How do you think that, <u>this problem</u>, we can solve ?
       d   *These are the patients to whom Mary suggested that <u>the cooked vegetables</u> we
            should give in the present circumstances.

(15)   a   ?Chi credi che <u>Maria</u> la voterebbe?
            Who think-2SG that Maria her vote-COND-3SG (Alexopoulou et al 2004: 350:
            (64))
       b   ? Non so a chi pensi che, <u>tuo fratello</u>, lo potremmo affidare. (Rizzi 2002: his
            (64a))
            non know-1SG to whom think-2sg that your brother him can-COND-1PL entrust
            'I don't know to whom you think that, your brother, we could entrust'
       c   ?Non so a chi pensi che, <u>queste cose</u>, le dovremmo dire.
            Non know-1sg to whom think-2SG these things them must-COND-1PL say

               'I don't know to whom you think we should say these things.' (Rizzi 2004: 232,
               his (27b)

     d   ? Non so come pensi che, <u>tuo fratello</u>, lo potremmo convincere. (Rizzi 2002: his
         64b)
         non know-1SG how think-2SG that your brother him can-COND-1PL convince
         'I don't know how you think that, your brother, we could convince him'

     e   ?Non so come pensi che, <u>a Gianni</u>, gli dovremmo parlare.
         Non know-1SG how think-2SG that to Gianni him must-cond-1PL TALK

(16) a   These are the patients to whom Marty suggested that <u>in the present circumstances</u>
         we should give the cooked vegetables.

     b   ?How did they say that <u>two weeks ago</u> John had travelled to France?

(17) a   Eng   **wh*_{INT/REL}-constituent ....topic…
     b   Rom   √*wh*_{INT/REL}-constituent ....CLLD…
     c   Eng   √*wh*_{INT/REL}-constituent ....adjunct…

3.2.6. MULTIPLE TOPICS

(18) a   *<u>This book, to Robin</u>, I gave. (Culicover 1992).
     b   *<u>Bill, that house</u>, she took to for the weekend. (Emonds 2004: 95 (27b))
     c It.   <u>Il libro, a Gianni</u>, glielo daro   senz'altro.
         the book, to Gianni him-it give-FUT-1SG without doubt (Rizzi 1997: 290, (21))
     d Fr. <u>A Jean, ton livre</u>, il ne faut pas le lui montrer.
         To John, your book, it *ne* must not it him show-INF
.

(19) a   Eng   *argument topic – argument topic…
     b   Rom   √CLLD - CLLD…
     c   Eng   √adjunct -adjunct…

(20) a   *This book Lee says that , <u>to Robin</u>, I gave (Culicover 1991: (37), his (120))
     b   <u>Ce texte</u> Pierre dit que <u>à Jean</u> il ne faut pas le lui montrer.
         This text Pierre says that to Jean it NEG should not it him show
         'This texte, Pierre says you should not show it to Jean.'

     c   These patients Marty suggested that <u>in the present circumstances </u>we should not
         give any cooked vegetables.

(21) a   Eng   *argument topic   …   argument topic…
     b   Rom   √CLLD   …   CLLD…
     c   Eng   argument topic   …   -adjunct…

3.2.7. SUMMARY:

Fronted arguments in English: **interveners** for XP movement:

(22) a   Eng   **wh*_{INT/REL}-constituent   - argument topic…
     b   Eng   √*wh*_{INT/REL}-constituent   - adjunct
     c   Eng   **wh*_{INT/REL}-constituent ....   argument topic…
     d   Eng   √*wh*_{INT/REL}-constituent ....   adjunct…
     e   Eng   *argument topic   – argument topic
     g   Eng   *argument topic   ……….   argument topic

CLLD in Romance: not interveners for XP-movement:

(23)	a	Rom	$\sqrt{wh}_{INT/REL}$-constituent	- CLLD…	
	b	Rom	$\sqrt{wh}_{INT/REL}$-constituent ……………		CLLD…
	c	Rom	CLLD -	CLLD	
	d	Rom	CLLD	……………	CLLD

'Intervention' effects:
Fronted arguments are said to lead to intervention effects. Fronted arguments in English block the fronting of *wh*-constituents and of arguments, they create 'islands' for movement ('topic islands'). Fronted circumstantial adjuncts do not lead to intervention effects. CLLD constituents in Italian and French do not lead to intervention effects.
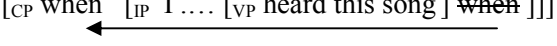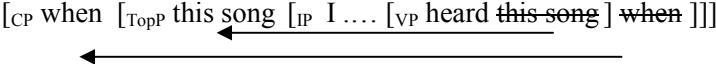

4. Hypothesis II: The movement analysis of temporal clauses

4.1. The proposal: (null) operator movement in temporal clauses

(24)(=6)a   When <u>last year</u> she began to write her regular column again, I thought she would be OK.

b   *When <u>her regular column</u> she began to write again last year, I thought she would be OK.

c   Quand <u>cette chanson</u> je l'ai entendue, je me suis souvenue de mon premier amour.
When this song I it-have heard, I me am reminded of my first love
'When I heard this song, I remembered my first love.'

The argument adjunct asymmetry in English temporal clauses (24) can also be ascribed to an intervention effect if such clauses are derived by the movement of a (temporal) operator to their left periphery.
In the literature such proposals have been made by, among others, Geis 1975, Enç 1987: 655, Larson 1987, 1990, Dubinsky & Williams 1995, Declerck 1997, Zribi-Hertz & Diagne 1999, Citko 2000, Demirdache & Uribe- Etxebarria 2004; Stephens 2007, Lecarme 2008. The proposal comes down to saying that temporal clauses are free relatives. In (25b) the fronted argument blocks the movement of *when*:

(25)   a   When I heard this song, …
[$_{CP}$ when   [$_{IP}$ I …. [$_{VP}$ heard this song] ~~when~~]]]

b   *When this song I heard, I remembered my first love.
[$_{CP}$ when [$_{TopP}$ this song [$_{IP}$ I …. [$_{VP}$ heard ~~this song~~] ~~when~~]]]

4.2. Arguments for the movement analysis of temporal clauses

Relative *when* clause with overt antecedent:

(26)   a   <u>At a time when</u> women still struggle for pay parity in the American workplace, a group of female entrepreneurs has proved that ... (*New York Times* 27.7.8 p. 7 col 1 (in *Observer*)) (Restrictive relative)

b   By 2050, <u>when</u> the world population will have risen to 9.2 billion, the sustainable population will be a third that, due to increasing per capita consumption. (based on *Guardian* 26.07.08 pag 44 col 2) (non-restrictive relative)

c   By 2050, <u>when</u> the UN predicts the world population will have risen to 9.2 billion, the sustainable population will be a third that, due to increasing per capita consumption. (*Guardian* 26.07.08 page 44 col 2) (non-restrictive relative)

c'   The UN predicts the world population will have risen to 9.2 billion <u>at that time</u>.

c''   By 2050, [when [$_{TP}$ the UN predicts
          [[$_{TP}$ the world population will have risen to 9.2 billion ~~when~~]]]],
          'long movement'

d   We know now that Oliver must have died shortly after eight, <u>when</u> you say you were testing the launch. (PD James, *The lighthouse*, Faber&Faber 2005, Penguin 2006: 358)

<u>Adverbial clauses: Long construal as a result of long movement</u>

(27)   I saw Mary in New York <u>when</u> [$_{IP}$ she claimed [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ she would leave.]]]

    (i)   high construal: 'I saw her at the time that she made that claim.'
            I saw Mary in New York [$_{CP}$ when$_i$ [$_{IP}$ she <u>claimed</u> [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$she would leave]]t$_i$]]

    (ii)   low construal   'I saw her at the time of her presumed departure.'
            I saw Mary in New York [$_{CP}$when$_i$ [$_{IP}$she claimed [$_{CP}$that[$_{IP}$ she would <u>leave</u> t$_i$]]]]

<u>Blocking long movement</u>

(28)   I saw Mary in New York <u>when</u> [$_{IP}$ she made [$_{DP}$ the claim [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ she would leave.]]]]

    (i)   high construal: 'I saw her at the time that she made that claim.'
            <u>when</u> [$_{IP}$ she made [$_{DP}$ the claim [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ she would leave.]]] t$_i$]

    (ii)   low construal: *'I saw her at the time of her presumed departure.'   *CNPC
            <u>when</u> [$_{IP}$ she made [$_{DP}$ the claim [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ she would leave t$_i$.]]]]

The contrast between (28a) and (28b) can be assimilated to that between (29a) and (29b): a relative pronoun (*which*) can be extracted from a complement clause ('CP') to the verb *claim* but it cannot be extracted from a complement clause to the noun *claim*:

(29)   a   This is the text [$_{CP}$ which [$_{IP}$ she claimed [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ she wrote ~~which~~]]]]

        b   *This is the text [$_{CP}$ which [$_{TP}$ she made
                         [the claim [$_{CP}$ that [$_{IP}$ she wrote ~~which~~]]]]]

Note:

In English high/low construal is also available with *before/after, until,* (temporal) *since* (Geis 1970, Larson 1987, 1990)

    (i)   a   I saw Mary in New York before/after John said that she left. (Larson 1987:261:(45a))
          b   I encountered Alice after she swore that she had left. (Larson 1990: 170: (2a))
          c   I can't leave until John says I can leave (based on Larson 1990: 170: (2b))
          d   I haven't been there since I told you I was there (Larson 1990: 170: (2d))

Low construal is unavailable with temporal *while:*

    (i)   c   I didn't see Mary in New York while she said she was there.
              (Geis 1970, Stump 1985, Larson 1990: 174, (11a))

For contrasts in high/low construal cf. also Norwegian (*når* (high construal) vs *da* (no high construal) (see Stephens 2006) , Hungarian (see Lipták 2005, see below), German (Larson 1988, Lipták 2005), Serbian (Lipták 2005: 171), Hindi (Bhatt & Lipták 2005).

4.3. Cross-linguistic support for movement analysis of temporal adverbial clauses

Formal similarity with *wh*-phrases: English: *when*, French: *quand*, Italian: *quando*, Catalan *quan*, Dutch: *wanneer*, Norwegian *når* (Stephens 2006).

Temporal adverbs doubling up as 'temporal conjunctions'

(30)	aDutch	Hij kwam <u>toen</u> aan.	a'	<u>Toen</u> hij aankwam was hij moe.
		he arrived then		when (='then') he arrived was he tired
	bNor	<u>Da</u> var det lettere	b'	<u>Da</u> jeg var korrespondent
		then was it easier		DA I was correspondent
				'when I was a correspondent'

         (Norwegian, Stephens 2006)

Hungarian: 'the *a*-marker is a morpheme that adorns relative *wh*-phrases in Hungarian' (Lipták 2005: 139)

(31)	a	A nap [amikor Anna megjött]	Hungarian
		The day REL-what-at Anna arrived	
		'The day when Anna arrived' (Lipták 2005: 142)	

Lipták (2005): Hungarian temporal clauses:

(32)	b	[(A)mikor Peter nincs otthon]	Hungarian
		REL-what-at Peter is.not home	
		'When Peter is not at home'	
	c	[(A)mióta ismeri Annát]	Hungarian
		REL-what-since knows Anna-ACC	
		'Since he knows Anna' (Lipták 2005:138)	

Relativization strategy for Polish temporal adjunct clauses: Citko (2000), for an LFG based implementation for Norwegian *når* Stephens (2006à), Hindi (Bhatt & Lipták 2005), Basque (Lipták 2005: 176), Scottish Gaelic (David Adger p.c) etc.

Zribi-Hertz and Diagne 1999: 23: on temporal clauses in Wolof:
L'ensemble de données présenté ci-dessus conduit à conclure que les syntagmes étiquetés plus haut 'circonstancielles de temps' ne sont autres que ce qu'on a pu appeler ailleurs des 'relatives indépendantes adverbiales', c'est-à-dire des DP incluant un circonstant relativisé dépourvu de contenu lexical.

> The data presented her lead to the conclusion that the constituents labelled 'temporal adverbial clauses' are no other than what are also labelled 'independent adverbial relatives', that is to say, DPs with a non-lexicalised relativised adverbial adjunct'. (Tr. LH)

Hengeveld & Wanders (2007: 3-4)
In the examples from Mokilese, the temporal adjuncts are actually noun phrases with a temporal noun as their head. These noun phrases furthermore contain a subordinate clause expressing the event with respect to which the main clause event is situated in time. In [i] the subordinate clause is a relative clause modifier of the temporal head noun *anjoau* 'time', and in [ii] it is the second argument of the relational noun *mwoh* 'front'. Strictly speaking, these are not cases of adverbial subordination, since the subordinate clause either modifies or is an argument of a noun. However, this type of construction is often the diachronic source of true conjunctions, …

> [i]   Ngoah suh-oang John **anjoau**-o ma ngoah in-la sidow-a.
>   I meet-ALL John time-REM REL I go-DIR store-DEF
>   'I met John when I went to the store.'
>   'I met John the time at which I went to the store.'
> [ii]   Ih dupukk-oang ngoahi **mwoh**-n oai japahl-do Mwoakilloa.

> he pay-ALL I front-POSS my return-DIR Mokil
> 'He paid me front of my returning to Mokil.'
> 'He paid me before I returned to Mokil.'
> *Mokilese* (Harrison 1976: 260)

4.4.. CLLD in Romance adverbial clauses

CLLD in adverbial clauses in French:

(33) a Fr.   Dès que <u>ton texte</u> je l'aurai   lu,   je t'appellerai .
                as soon as your text I it have-FUT-1SG read,   I you call-FUT-1SG
                'As soon as I have read your text, I'll call you.'
       b Fr.   Alors quand <u>ce salaud</u> je l'ai   surpris un soir en train d'ouvrir l'ordinateur du
                secrétariat, j'ai immédiatement téléphoné à la police.
                when that bastard I him have discovered one evening switching on my computer,
                I have immediately called the police
       c Fr.   ?Quand <u>ça</u> je l'ai appris, j'ai immédiatement téléphoné à la police.
                when that I it have-1SG hear-PART, I have-1SG immediately call-PART to the
                police

(34) a   *I don't know when <u>your text</u> we can discuss.
       b   Je ne sais pas quand, <u>ton texte</u>, on pourrait le discuter.
                I *ne* know not when your text we can it discuss

CLLD: reduced intervention effects (cf. Cinque (1990: 58), Oshima (2001), De Cat (2008),
Alexopoulou et al (2004))[3]. For French CLLD see also DeCat (2007)

(35) a It.[4] ?Non so a chi   pensi che,   <u>queste cose</u>, le dovremmo dire.
                Non know-1SG to whom think-2SG that these things them must-COND-1PL say
                'I don't know to whom you think we should say these things.' (Rizzi 2004: 232,
                his (27b)
       a' Fr   Je ne sais pas à qui tu penses que <u>ces choses-là</u> on pourrait les raconter.
                I *ne* know not to whom you think-2SG that these things-there one can-COND-3SG
                them tell

4.5. French stylistic inversion (cf. (2))

4.5.1. SI DEPENDENT ON LEFTWARD MOVEMENT (CF. KAYNE 1986, KAYNE AND POLLOCK 2001,
EMONDS 2004: 119)

(36) a Fr.   <u>Quand</u> est venue Marie? (Barbosa: 2001: 42 , her (77))
                when be-3SG come Marie
       b Fr.   *Est venue Marie?
                be-3SG come Marie
       c Fr.   Je me demande <u>quand</u> est venue <u>Marie</u>.[5] (Barbosa: 2001: 42, her (78))
                I myself ask-1SG when be-3SG come Marie

(37) a Fr.   Jean a parlé <u>de quoi</u>?   c Fr.   <u>De quoi</u> a parlé Jean?
                John has talked of what   of what has talked John
       bFr   *A parlé Jean <u>de quoi</u>?
                De quoi moves from a position in the clause to the left periphery, this licenses SI
(38) a Fr.   *? Jean a parlé <u>pourquoi</u>?   b. Fr.   *<u>Pourquoi</u> a parlé Jean?
                Jean has talked why   (Rizzi 1990: 47: his (48))
Pourquoi cannot occur in the clause (TP); it is always in the left periphery. Hypothesis: *pourquoi* it is not
moved to the left periphery from within the clause. Because it is not moved, it does not license SI.

Sentence initial temporal adjuncts may license SI :
(39)   a Fr.   <u>Là</u> se nouaient des relations…   b Fr.   et <u>soudain</u> surgirent six hommes noirs
                there were formed relationships   and suddenly emerged six black men
        c Fr.   <u>Derrière la maison</u> se trouve le jardin.
                behind the house itself finds the garden (Lahousse 2003a,b)

4.5.2. SI IN ADVERBIAL CLAUSES (LAHOUSSE 2003A,B)

If temporal adverbial clauses are derived by the leftward movement of a temporal
operator then we predict that this movement will also license SI . The prediction is
correct.
 (40)   a Fr.   <u>Quand</u> avait débuté le salon Sainte-Euverte…
                when had started the salon Sainte Euverte
                                        (Proust, Le Bidois 1952:302, Lahousse 2003)
        b Fr.   Il souffre <u>comme</u> souffriraient ses bêtes.
                he suffers like suffer-COND-3PL his animals   (Dorgelès, Le Bidois 1952:329)
        c Fr.   %Je voulais partir <u>quand</u> sont arrivés les enfants. (Lahousse 2003 : 280, her (1))[6]
                I wanted to leave when be-3PL arrive-PART the children
        d Fr.   %<u>Dès que</u> retentit la sonnerie, je me précipitai dans l'allée. (Lahousse 2003 :288
                (10c))
                as soon as ring-PAS-3SG the bell, I me hurry-PAS-1SG into the aisle

5. A brief excursion: 'Peripheral' adverbial clauses (Haegeman 2003a)

(41)   a   According to Smith, a group of Arkansas state troopers who worked for Clinton
                <u>while</u>₁ he was governor wanted to go public with tales of Clinton's womanising.
                (*Guardian*, G2, 12.3.2, page 3, col 2-3)   ('during the time that')
        b   <u>While</u>₂ [Dr Williams'] support for women priests and gay partnerships might
                label him as liberal, this would be a misleading way of depicting his
                uncompromisingly orthodox espousal of Christian belief. (*Guardian*, 2.3.2, page
                9, col 1-2) ('whereas')
        c   <u>While</u>₂ [the lawsuit challenging the legitimacy of lethal injections] probably
                won't stop the use of lethal injection altogether, it will certainly delay its use
                <u>while</u>₁ the supreme court decides what to do. (*Guardian* G2, 12.12.,3, page 4, c 4)

        There is a **secondary conjunctive interpretation** that all these connectives (*as, while, when*)
        shade into. They get an interpretation similar to *and* in these contexts. *And* is not a temporal
        connective, and these conjunctive interpretations do not tell against the theory [of temporal
        subordination and complex tense structures] (Hornstein (1993: 206: note 19))

Haegeman (2003): **'Central** adverbial clauses'** contribute to the proposition expressed in the
associated/main clause, '**peripheral** adverbial clauses' do not modify the event/state of affairs
expressed in the associated IP, they provide a background assumption for the main assertion.

Temporal *while* (42a) vs. contrastive *while* (42b):
(42)   a   I will listen to the news while I'm/*will be having breakfast.
        a'   It was while I was having breakfast that he called me.
        b   I am going to study in Ghent, while my sister is going to study in Leuven.
        b'   *It is while my sister is going to study in Leuven that I am going to study in
                Ghent.

Temporal *since* vs causal *since*:

(43)   a   I haven't seen him since he moved to France.
        b   Since he's moving next week, he won't be coming to the talk.

Hypothesis: Peripheral adverbial clauses do not involve movement of an operator from IP to CP:
[7]prediction: peripheral adverbial clauses compatible with argument fronting:

(44)   a   His face not many admired, while <u>his character </u>still fewer felt they could praise.
                 (Quirk et al 1985: 1378)
        b   It is amazing how this view could have spread about someone who changed the image of
                 causes like Aids and landmines, and in doing so showed a possible new role for the
                 royals. It is particularly ironic since <u>so much of what Diana did for her fellow humans</u>she
                 did with no concern for publicity whatsoever. (*Guardian*, G2, 31.8.4 page 9 col 2)
        c   We don't look to his paintings for common place truths, though <u>truths</u> they contain none
                 the less (*Guardian*, G2, 18.02.3, page 8, col 1)
        d   I think we have more or less solved the problem for donkeys here, because <u>those we
                 haven't got</u>, we know about. (*Guardian*, G2, 18.2.3, page 3, col 2).

6. Conditional clauses as free relatives (Bhatt & Pancheva 2002, 2006, Tomaszewicz to appear, Arsenijević (2006, to appear))

6.1. Conditional clauses incompatible with main clause phenomena

(45)   a   *If <u>these exams</u> you don't pass, you won't get the degree.
        b   If <u>on Monday </u>the share price is still at the current level then clearly their defence
                 doesn't hold much water. (*Observer*, 11.7.4, business, p. 22 col 5)
        c   *If <u>present at the party</u> are under age children, they won't be able to show the X-
                 rated films.
        d   *If <u>passed these exams</u> you had, you would have had the degree.

6.2. The movement derivation of conditional clauses

Bhatt and Pancheva (2002, 2006) 'Our proposal that [conditional clauses] are interpreted as free relatives amounts to the claim that they are definite descriptions of possible worlds.'(Bhatt & Pancheva 2006: 655). (46a) would be derived by the leftward movement of a World operator, as shown in representation (46b):

(46)   a   If John arrives late
        b   [$_{CP}$ OP$_w$ C° [John arrives late in w]]

6.2.1. TEMPORAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES AND CONDITIONAL CLAUSES: BOTH INTRODUCED BY WENN IN GERMAN

(47)   Wenn Steffi gewinnt,   wird   gefeiert.   German
        if Steffi wins   AUX- PASSIVE   celebrate-PART
        'If Steffi wins, there is a celebration.'

Bhatt and Pancheva (2006: 657): 'There seems to be no evidence suggesting that the syntactic behavior of *wenn* is different in conditional and in temporal clauses, i.e., it does undergo A′-movement in both cases. (Bhatt and Pancheva 2006: 657).

6.2.2. AN OPERATOR IN THE LEFT PERIPHERY OF CONDITIONALS

Conditional clauses: // *yes/no* questions

(48) a   I asked him if he had said that he would leave
      b   If he had said that he would leave…
      c   Had he said that he would leave?
      d   Had he said that he would leave….

The null operator in V2 languages:
(49) a   Morgen komt hij naar huis.
                Tomorrow comes he home
      b   Naar huis komt hij morgen   c   Hij komt morgen naar huis
      d   XP- finite verb
(50) a   Had hij gezegd dat hij zou   vertrekken?
                had he said   that he would leave
      b   [$_{CP}$ OP [$_{Vfin}$ had] [$_{TP}$ Subject … t$_{op}$]]
      c   Had hij gezegd dat hij zou vertrekken, ik zou teruggebeld hebben.
                Had he said that he would leave, I would back-called have
                'Had he told me he was leaving, I would have called him back.'
(50) a   I wonder if he said he would leave
      b   [$_{CP}$ Op if [he said he would leave t$_{op}$]] [8]

Cf. Barbiers (2007: 102-103 for arguments from Dutch), and Den Dikken (2006: 729). But see
Roberts and Roussou (2002:41) for a different viewpoint. Arsenijevic (2006) analyses
conditionals as the relative variant of *yes/no* questions: Arsenijević (2006: abstract)

6.3. Absence of low construal (cf. Geis 1970, Larson 1987, Citko 2000, etc) [9]

(51) a   I will leave if you say you will leave.   high/*low
                High: 'the condition for my leaving is your saying that you will leave';
                Low: 'the circumstances in I will leave are the same conditions in which you say that you
                        will leave'.
      b   Had he said he would leave, I would have left.   high/*low
                (cf. Bhatt & Pancheva 2002: 13, a-b based on their (50a,c), (51e), 2006: 655-6:
                based on their (47a,c, their (48b))

(52) a   I don't recall if he said he was leaving.   High/*low
      b   I don't recall when he said he was leaving.   High/low

6.4. Modal markers in conditional clauses

6.4.1. THE DATA
(53) a   ??*If <u>frankly</u> he's unable to cope, we'll have to replace him.   Speech act
      b   * If they <u>luckily</u> /fortunately arrived on time, we will be saved.   Evaluative
                (Ernst 2007: 1027, Nilsen 2004).
      c   *If George probably comes, the party will be a disaster.   Epistemic
      d   *If the students apparently can't follow the discussion in the third chapter, we'll
                do the second chapter.   Evidential
      e   * John will do it if he may/must have time. (Declerck & Depraetere (1995: 278)
                Heinämäkki 1978: 22, Palmer (1990: 121, 182)   Epistemic

 Lahousse (2008: 22) and Ernst (2008:10) for French; Ernst (2008: 10) for Dutch and Chinese.
Tomascewiz (to appear) for Polish.

(54)   The articulated TP (Lecture 1. 4.1.)
         MoodP$_{speech\,act}$>MoodP$_{evaluative}$>MoodP$_{evidential}$> ModP $_{epistemic}$ >TP (Past) > TP (Future)
         <u>>MoodP$_{irrealis}$</u> >ModP$_{alethic}$>AspP$_{habitual}$>AspP$_{repetitive}$>AspP$_{frequentative}$>ModP$_{volitional}$> AspP$_{celerative}$>TP
         (Anterior)> AspP$_{terminative}$ >AspP$_{continuative}$>AspP$_{retrospective}$ > AspP $_{proximative}$ >AspP$_{durative}$
         >AspP$_{generic/progressive}$ > AspP$_{prospective}$> ModP$_{obligation}$> ModP$_{permission/ability}$> AspP$_{completive}$
         >VoiceP>AspP$_{celerative}$ >AspP$_{repetitive}$ >AspP$_{frequentative}$ (Cinque 2004: 133, his (3))

6.4.2. INTERVENTION AND HIGH MODALS (CF. CINQUE 1999, RIZZI 2004)

(55)   a   Hij is helaas waarschijnlijk ziek   (Koster 1978: 205-209)
               MoodP$_{evaluative}$>…> ModP $_{epistemic}$
               he is unfortunately probably ill
         b   *Hij is waarschijnlijk helaas ziek
               *ModP $_{epistemic}$ >MoodP$_{evaluative}$
         c   Helaas is hij waarschijnlijk ziek..
               MoodP$_{evaluative}$>…> ModP $_{epistemic}$
         d   *Waarschijnlijk is hij helaas ziek
               *ModP $_{epistemic}$ >…MoodP$_{evaluative}$
         e(=d) *   MoodP$_{evaluative}$> ModP $_{epistemic}$ >TP (Past) > TP (Future
               ⟵―――――――――――――

6.4.3. ABSENCE OF HIGH MODALS IN CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

'F –Spec account [such as Cinque's account outlined above, LH] has nothing to say about why
SpOAs are usually bad in …the antecedents of conditionals.' (Ernst 2008: 7). 'Such facts may be
treated as a purely semantic matter (…) but for the F-Spec approach a semantic explanation must
be an add-on to the basic syntactic account' (Ernst 2008: 7).

My proposal: Bhatt&Pancheva's (2006) World operator = operator in SpecMoodIrrealis.
(Haegeman 2007 ; Tomaszewicz (to appear) for an application to Polish, Willmot(2007) and
Lahousse (2008:23) on the relevance of the realis/irrealis mood for conditionals).

The Irrealis operator belongs to the class of high modal markers in Cinque's approach, and hence
that it shares crucial features with these high modal markers.

(56)   [⟵[MoodP$_{speech\,act}$>MoodP$_{evaluative}$>MoodP$_{evidential}$> ModP $_{epistemic}$
              *   >TP (Past) > TP (Future) >MoodP$_{irrealis}$

Circumstantial adjuncts: - typically realised as PP or DP;
                                  - do not lead to intervention effects wrt to high adverbs (57);
                                   - can be clefted (58);
                                   - can be focus of *wh*-question (59)

If AdvPs proper occupy the specifier position of distinct functional projections above the VP…it
seems natural <u>not</u> to assume the same for circumstantial phrases. This is particularly natural if the
rigid ordering of AdvPs is a consequence of the rigid ordering of the respective functional heads.
(Cinque 1999: 29, also: pp. 15-16 and 28-30).)

(57)   a   Hij is (vandaag) helaas (vandaag) waarschijnlijk (vandaag) ziek.
               He is (today) unfortunately (today) probably (today) sick
         b   Waarschijnlijk/Helaas is hij vandaag ziek.

Probably/unfortunately is he today sick

(58) a   *It is probably/obviously/without any doubt that he left.
      b   It was yesterday/only recently that they discovered he had left.
(59) a   *How luckily has he won?
      b   *How probably will he arrive late? ('How probable is it that…')
      c   How recently have you done an energy audit of your site? (w*ww.chemical processing.com/ articles/* *2008/131.html - 59k*)

6.4.4. CONDITIONALS LACK LOW CONSTRUAL

I assume that B&P's World operator originates in the specifier of Mood$_{irrealis}$ Given the observed intervention effects, the Irrealis operator shares relevant features with the higher modal expressions in the Cinque hierarchy. In general the higher modal adverbs cannot undergo long movement (see Cinque 1999: 18 for discussion).

(60) a   Frankly, I do not understand that he wants to leave.   High/*low
      b   Probably he thinks that Mary will come.   High/*low
      c   Obviously he thinks that Mary will come.   High/*low
      d   Fortunately, he thinks that Mary will come.   High/*low

Circumstantial adjuncts: long movement possible (cf. Haegeman (2003b), Postal and Ross 1971, Cinque 1990: 93-95, Bouma, Malouf and Sag 2001, Hukari and Levine 1995) (61). Whatever excludes long movement of the high modal (speech act, evidential, evaluative, epistemic) operators also excludes high movement of the (irrealis) operator that derives conditional clauses.

(61) a   By tomorrow I think the situation will be clear.
      b.   Next year the President believes that there will be a definite improvement in the functioning of the financial system.

6.5. Echoic conditionals (and peripheral adverbials in general) allow high modals:

(62) [a] If Le Pen will probably win, Jospin must be disappointed. (Nilsen 2004: 811: note 5)
           (*if* = given that, if you say that, if it is true that, …)
      b   Data plays an important part in the story as usual while surprisingly a lot of characters fall to the background more than usual (internet review)
      c   While obviously fiction has qualities distinct from political prose, novelists do clearly respond to the political world of which they are part. .(based on MIT OpenCourseWare » Literature » 21L.471 Major English Novels: Reading Romantic Fiction, Spring 2002

closed P-clauses [≈ peripheral conditional clauses, lh] are always echoic in one sense or another. They can echo straightforward statements about the actual world, or they can echo Q-propositions about a nonfactual world. However, the claim that closed P-propositions are echoic need not mean that they have to be echoes of actual utterances. They may also be echoes of an internal or mental proposition (thought) such as the interpretation of an experience, perception etc. (Declerck and Reed, 2001:83)

Proposal: no operator movement (see section 5) in peripheral adverbial clauses.

(63)   If <u>some precautions</u> they have indeed taken, many other possible measures they have continued to neglect.

7. Emphatic polarity as an MCP

7.1. Emphatic polarity bien/si in the Spanish left periphery (Hernanz 2007a,b)

(64)   a   <u>Bien</u> me gustaría ayudarte, pero non puedo. (Hernanz 2007b : 113 (17b))
              Well CL-DAT would please help+CL-ACC, but (I) can't.
              'I would really like to help you, but I can't.'
        b   Como Julia (*<u>bien</u>) fuma, siempre se está quejando. (2007b : 130 : (51a))
              Since Julia (*well) smokes, she is always complaining
        c   Cuando Pepe (*<u>bien</u>) trabaja, ve la televiseón. (2007b : 130 : (51b))
              When Pepe (*well) works , he watches television
        d   Si Pepe (*<u>bien</u>) acaba a tiempo su tesis, ya te lo haré saber.[10]
              If Pepe (*well) finishes the thesis on time, I'll let you know

Hernanz (2007b: 131-139) : *bien/si* : *wh*-operator : moves from SpecPolP to specFocP.
Incompatibility with 'central' adverbial clauses: due to intervention effect.

7.2. Emphatic polarity igenis in Hungarian (Liptak 2003)

(65)   a.   Anna nem ment el moziba.
              Anna not went PART cinema.to
              'Anna didn't go to the cinema.'
              Anna <u>igenis</u> elment moziba. (Liptàk 2003: (38a))
              Anna yes-also PART went cinema.to
              'Yes, she did.'
        b.   Anna elment moziba.
              Anna PART+went cinema.to
              'Anna went to the cinema.'
              Anna <u>igenis</u> nem ment el moziba. (Liptàk 2003: (38b))
              Anna yes.also not went Part cinema.to
              'No she didn't.'
        c   [$_{VFocP}$ igenis   [$_{FocP}$ el [$_{Foc'}$ ment [moziba]]]]

(66)   a   Úgy gondolom, nem fognak panaszkodni a diákok, [11]
              I think   not will-3PL complain-INF the students
              de ha (*igenis) panaszkodnak,   majd megnézzük, mit tehetünk.
              but if (*igenis)   complain-3PL   then see-1PL   what do-potential-1PL
              'I think the students will not complain, but if they do, we will see what we can do.'
        b   János mindig csendes volt,
              János always quiet was
              de amikor (*igenis) megszólalt, furcsa dolgokat mondott.
              but when (igenis) begin.to.speak-3SG strange things-ACC said-3SG
               'János was always quiet, but when he began to speak, he said strange things'

7.3. Sentence final emphatic negation in the Pavese dialect (Zanuttini 1997, Poletto 2008)

(67)   a.   No ghe so ndà NO. (Poletto 2007)
              Not there are gone NOT
              'I did not go there'
        b   Dovrebbe finire il lavoro per stasera. *Se non lo finisce NO, lo faccio io.
              Must-COND-3SG finish the work for tonight. If *non* it finish-3SG NO it do-1SG I

(C. Poletto, pc. 22.10.08)

To account for the final position of NO in (67a) (her (9)), Poletto adopts the functional hierarchy in (67c) with four distinct projections to host expressions of sentential negation, each located at a different layer of the clause. The 'emphatic' negative marker *NO* is merged in the highest negative projection, NegP4. The sentence-final position of *NO* in (67a) is the result of leftward movement of the clause to SpecFocP. (67d)= (Poletto's (11)).

(67)   c   [CPNegP=NegP4 NO] [IP [PolP=NegP1 *non* [TP1 [Presupp=NegP2 *mia*
                     [TP2 [NegPol=NegP3 *nen* [Asp perf. [Aspgen/progr. [VP [DP=ExistP]]]]]]]]]]
                                        (Poletto 2007:5; (16))
        d   [CPFocus [CP1 no ghe so ndà] [CPNegP NO] [IP ~~no ghe so ndà~~]]]

Once again the ungrammaticality of NO in the conditional clause can be ascribed to an intervention effect.

7.4. Sentence final *ni* in Nupe (Kandybowicz 2007, to appear)

The semantic contribution of *ni:* 'to reinforce the polarity of the clause/add emphasis to the asserted truth or falsity of the sentence.' (to appear: chapter 2:33)
 Analysis: *ni:* is the expression of the left peripheral head Foc^0, which attracts □P to its specifier.

(68)   a   Musa ba nakàn ni:. (Kandybowicz 2008 : chapter 2 : (22))
                 Musa   cut meat   ni
                 'Musa actually cut the meat.'
        b   Musa ba nakàn à   ni:. (Kandybowicz 2008 : chapter 2 : (23))
                 Musa   cut meat   NEG ni
                 'Musa did not actually cut the meat.'
        c   [FocP [□P Musa ba nakàn [□ à] [Foc ni:] [□P…
        d   *Musa gá   ba nakàn ni:, Gana à du u: [12]
                 Musa COND cut meat FOC Gana FUT cook 3RD.SG
                 'If Musa DID cut the meat, then Gana will cook it.'

Note: not all cases of emphatic polarity are MCP. See Breitbarth & Haegeman (2008)
Distinction: emphasis on polarity/event vs. emphasis on assertion.

(69)   a   Oa't NIE en regent, moe-j de blommen woater geven
                 if it NOT *en* rains, must you the flowers water give (Breitbarth &Haegeman 2008)
        b   If it DOES rain, you should water the flower bed.

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Notes

[1]   See Browning (1996) and Delfitto (2002: 57-8).

[2]   See also Delfitto (2002: 58-9). But see Frascarelli 2000: 153, ex. (187-88-189) for different judgements. Delfitto (2002: 58-9, note 13) points out that Catalan is different.

[3]   CLLD does respect strong islands (cf. Cinque 1990: 59 for Italian).
(i) It.   *A Carlo, ti parlerò solo delle persone che gli piacciono.
          To Carlo, to you talk-FUT-1SG only about the people that him please
          (Alexopoulou et al 2004: 342)

[4]   Rizzi (2004 : 245) says: *Wh* extraction across a topic is slightly degraded in Italian (more severely in other languages), but with no manifestation of the argument/adjunct asymmetry which we have taken to be the earmark of RM effects.

[5]   SI is also triggered by the subjunctive: See Kayne and Pollock (2001) for one account.
(i) Fr.   Je voudrais que soient invités tous les étudiants de première année.
          I would-like that be-SUBJ invited-PL all the students of the first year

[6]   Not all speakers accept SI in adverbial clauses, perhaps because of its literary flavour. Speaker variation is perhaps also to be related to the fact that (among other things) *quand* is not a relative operator in French. I have nothing more to say about this.

[7]   The proposal can be implemented in at least 3 ways: (i) there is NO operator in the Left periphery of peripheral adverbial clauses, (ii) an operator is inserted directly in a high position, (iii) an operator moves from position that is higher than the landing site of fronted constituents.

[8]   For the movement analysis, cf. among others Larson (1985), Den Dikken (2006: 729), with evidence from the distribution of *either* in indirect question introduced by *whether* and *if*.

[9]   Low construal is available with conditionals formed by relativization:
 (i)   I will leave in any circumstance in which you say you'll leave.   high/low
(Bhatt & Pancheva 2002: 13, a-c their (50), d,e: their (51); 2006: 655-6: their (47))
I assume that such conditionals are genuine relative clauses.

[10]   Thanks to M. Lluisa Hernanz for help on the data.

[11]   Thanks to Aniko Liptàk and Barbara Ürögdi for judgements on Hungarian.

[12]   Thanks to Jason Kandybowicz for the data.