2.3. Central adverbial clause have a left periphery: Asymmetries in (temporal) adverbial clauses

2.3.1. Left peripheral adjuncts

a. When last month I thought she would be OK.

b. It's important that the book be read first.

c. If John is hungry, he yells at Bill.

d. John reported the rumour that if it rains, the party will be cancelled.

e. Instead the patriotic duty was dismissing 'random acts of criminality'.

2.3.2. Right peripheral adverbial clauses

a. *I really want that solution.

b. *The announcement that speaking at today's luncheon...

c. That a rabbit turned out to be false.

d. Among the guests, my antics upset as much as they did.

2.3.3. Rightward movements

a. His face not many admired, while his character is the decision of the local council.

b. He has to pass the exams and pass the exams.

c. We were all much happier when upstairs were the company directors, nothing of substance was ever...

d. The Brownes, you do, I will send you a check.
4

accounted for by assuming that such contexts select Max (I), not Max (C).'

Kuroda (1992: 350) : 'to be sure, some syntactic contexts exclude topic sentences, but that can perhaps be

TopP1 is available in Romance root questions (16); still: English argument fronting is *?? in (15)

gerunds, and subjunctive clauses, i.e. those complement types which have uninflected verbs. (Hooper and

- CLLD > FocP: 

-. By reduced clauses we mean infinitives,

... the question of why these transformations can apply in certain syntactic environments and not others

'Your texte, when will it be ready?' b. It. E la famiglia

However, …, even if it were possible to define in syntactic terms the conditions under which RTs can apply,

Illocutionary force is not always sufficient for licensing of argument fronting.

⇒ 

As symmetric CLLD/argument fronting and TopP1: (16) a. Fr. Ton texte

Il parte of majority

FSG -

why is 'high' topic degraded for many speakers?

⇒

Asymmetry CLLD/argument fronting and TopP1: (15) *??Those petunias


-constituent in (15) & if FocP is

wh

If FocP hosts the

2001: 14-15, italics mine)

force is available

⇒

Rizzi (1997): root

-constituents: Spec FocP

wh

Rizzi (1997): root clause property and strict left-peripherality [in Bavarian] are not surprising. (Bayer

fatta il partito di maggioranza, …

PART

3.3. Problems of implementation

CTLD –

√


(10) It. a. Mi sembra, il tuo libro

PART

(12) It. a. Avendo [tp]


(15) *??Those petunias
I libri che a Gianni ho dato sono questi. (Belletti & Rizzi 1988: 337)

når

wenn

Germann:

without doubt

-1

5. The movement derivation of temporal adverbial clauses

-2

6.1. 'Anecdotal' crosslinguistic support

232, her (72b))

-3

5.1. 'Anecdotal' crosslinguistic support

232, her (72b))

-2

b. Which surgeon did you tell me that during an operation

had a heart attack? (Bianchi 1999: 147, Breul 227, his (359))

-1

According to a tradition started by Geis (published as Geis 1970, 1975, cited in Ross 1967: 211) and continued in

-3


-2

b. Lee forgot which dishes, under normal circumstances

cannot be filled. Multiple fronting (Breul 2004: 1999 ff for discussion):

-1

but, as already stated, it is a byproduct of movement: in order not to 'hinder' the movement a number of positions in the LP

-3

also in terms of locality conditions on movement. Under this view: clausal truncation need not be stated:

-2

the degradations in (b-e) follow from locality conditions on movement, it is tempting to try to capture (a)

-1

in terms of locality: fronted arguments in English create islands for movement, LP adjuncts and CLLD do not. If

-3

in (a) 

-2

in (b) 

-1

in (c) 

-3

in (d) 

-2

in (e) 

-1

5.1. 'Anecdotal' crosslinguistic support

-2

6.1. 'Anecdotal' crosslinguistic support

-1

a. I honestly don't know who could review this book.'  (based on Cinque 1990: 58, (1b))

-3

b. These are the students to whom in the next semester

you are going to put. (Culicover 1992: 5, (6c))

-2

Table 1: A double asymmetry

-1

Table 1: A double asymmetry

-3

Table 1: A double asymmetry
Old English before clauses were 'light headed temporal relatives' (Citko 2004), with the D head overt.

the conjunction before has developed from a phrase of the form 'before the time that' (variously realized in Old English as toforan þam timan þe, foran to þam timan þe, and toforan þam þe) (Declerck 1998: 97-8).

Lipták (2005: 139): Hungarian temporal clauses are derived by a wh-strategy; Zribi-Hertz & Diagne (1999): Wolof temporal clauses are (free) relatives. Zentz (2011, 2012/GIST5): in Ak/uni0254/uni0254, a Bantu language, the finite verb in temporal clauses displays wh-agreement, also found in relative clauses.

5.2. Temporal "relative" clauses

(24) a. this was the moment [when I decided to write it].
b. When(ever) I am working on this book I forget the time. (see Declerck 1997: 46-7)
c. I'll buy what (ever) you want to sell.

5.3. High and low construal and island effects

(25) I saw Mary in New York when [TP she claimed [CP that [TP she would leave.]]]
(Larson 1987)

(i) high construal: 'I saw her at the time that she made that claim.'

I saw Mary in New York [CP when [i [TP she claimed [CP that [TP she would leave t]]] t i]]

(ii) low construal: 'I saw her at the time of her presumed departure.'

I saw Mary in New York [CP when [i [TP she claimed [CP t i that [TP she would leave t i]]] t i]]

(26) I saw Mary in New York when [TP she made [DP the claim [CP that [TP she would leave.]]]]

(i) high construal: 'I saw her at the time that she made that claim.'

(ii) low construal: CNPC *'I saw her at the time of her presumed departure.'


(27) a. Zooey had left at three o'clock ⇒ Temporal PP modifies (high) Reference time
OR (low) Event time.

(i) 'High' Event time  > Reference time  > NOW
  leave    3 o'clock

(ii) 'Low' Event time  > Reference time  > NOW
  leave = 3 o'clock

See also Geis 1970, Larson 1990, Johnson 1988 for adverbial clauses introduced by until, before, after, since.
6. Extending the movement derivation: Conditional clauses (Haegeman 2010)

6.1. Conditional clauses: the double asymmetry

(30) a. *If these exams you don't pass, you won't get the degree.
   b. *If also interesting are the Picasso paintings, we'll stay on. (Heycock et Kroch, 1997: 81).
   c. *If passed these exams you had, you would have had the degree.
   d. *If upstairs live his parents things will be much simpler.

(31) a. If on Monday 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)
   b. Si ce livre-là tu le trouves à la Fnac, achète le.

The double asymmetry in (30) and (31) will be accounted for if conditional clauses are derived by operator movement to the left periphery: as before fronted arguments (30a) in English interfere with wh-movement, while fronted adjuncts (31a) not. Romance CLLD also does not interfere with wh-movement.

Italian: focalisation (Bocci 2007), resumptive preposing (Cinque 1990, Cardinaletti 2009) and PP preposing without clitic (Garzonio 2008) are disallowed in conditional clauses. The movement account can attribute the ungrammatical cases to intervention.

6.2. The movement derivation of conditional clauses

Bhatt & 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).

(32) a. If John arrives late
   b. [CP OP w C° [John arrives late in w]]

Arsenijević (2006: abstract) conditionals as the relative variant of yes/no questions:

I analyze conditionals as yes-no relative clauses: a[as] restrictive relative clauses in which the truth value of a proposition is restricted. The proposition represented by the conditional clause restricts the set of worlds compatible with the proposition represented by the head clause.

Syntactically, the locus of modification is a functional projection called WorldP, the projection that specifies the truth value of clauses by containing the feature world with a value, [actual] or [possible].' (Arsenijević 2006)

6.3. Absence of high modal markers in conditional clauses

(33) a. ??*If frankly he's unable to cope, we'll have to replace him. Speech act
   b. *If they luckily/fortunately arrived on time, we will be saved. Evaluative
   c. *John will do it if he may/must have time. (Declerck & Depraetere (1995: 278)

6.3.1. An intervention account

Functional hierarchy (Cinque 1999):

MoodP > MoodP > MoodP > ModP > TP (Past) > TP (Future) > MoodP > ModP


The I ÛREALIS operator that is moved to derive conditional clauses belongs to the class of high modal markers in Cinque's approach ⇒ it shares crucial features with these modal markers and when it moves to the LP intervening high modals will give rise to intervention effects. (also Agouraki (1999: 30) for modals as interveners in operator movement. )

(34) FP (representation based on D&UE 2012) FP F' F WorldP Spec World'

6.3.2. Conditionals lack low construal: A problem becomes an argument in favour.

(36) I will leave if you say you will. high/*low construal

High: 'the condition for my leaving is your saying that you will leave';

See also a.o. Willmot (2007) and Lahousse (2008:23) on realis/irrealis mood and conditionals.
b. Next year the President believes that there will be a definite improvement in the situation.

a. By tomorrow I think the situation will be clear.


Haegeman, Liliane. 2010b. The movement derivation of conditional clauses.


Haegeman, Liliane and Barbara Ürögdi. 2010a. Referential CPs and DPs: An operator movement account.

Haegeman, Liliane and Ürogdi (2010a,b): factive complements: movement of a null (irrealis?) operator to the left of the verb.


Liu, Xiao and Chao Li. 2011. Contrastive focus.


