

1. Main Clause phenomena: Introduction

1.1. An inventory of MCP (Hooper and Thompson 1973, Emonds 2004: 77-78)

- (1)
 - a. These books(.) you should read first. (topicalization/focalisation)
 - b. He has to pass the exams and pass the exams; he will. (VP-preposing)
 - c. More important is the decision of the local council. (preposing around *be*)
 - d. Waiting on the platform was a delegation from the town council.
 - e. Among the guests was sitting my friend Jane. (locative inversion)
 - f. Never again will I talk to him. (negative inversion)
 - f. (Verb Second)

- (2)
 - a. Left dislocated phrases with commas: Left dislocation: sentential complement preposing, yielding clause-final parentheticals as in *Bill was late, it seems to me*.
 - b. Phrases in final position with comma intonation: Right dislocation ...: parenthetical PPs... English tag questions.
 - c. Phrases moved to clause-final position with comma intonation: Rightward movements over internal parenthetical and appositive relative clauses.

Additional MCP:

- *if... then* (Iatridou and Kroch 1992: 13, (62))²;
- left peripheral expressions of polarity emphasis (Hyman and Walters 1984, Danckaert & Haegeman 2012)
- 'Drama So': This is SO Iceland (Irwin 2011: 2, (2d))

1.2. Restrictions on the distribution of MCP

- (3) Bill warned us that flights to Chicago we should try to avoid. (Emonds 2004: 77)
such root-like indirect discourse embedding ("RIDE") is incompatible with most dependent clause positions. At least in the languages under discussion, RIDEs ... are always finite (see (17)). complements rather than adjuncts, and tend to be governed by V or A rather than a lexical N or P. RIDE is incompatible with most dependent clauses. (Emonds 2004: 77-78)

- (4)
 - a. *I really want that solution Robin to explore thoroughly. (Culicover&Levine 2001: 297, n.14, (ii))
 - b. *It's important that the book he study carefully. (Hooper&Thompson 1973: 485, (160))
 - c. *I regret that Mary, my antics upset as much as they did. (Altennga 2005: 179, (160))

- 1 This research is funded by FWO Belgium as part of project 2009-Odyssseus-Haegeman-G091409.
- 2 (1)
 - a. John believes that if it rains then the party will be cancelled. (Iatridou & Kroch 1992: 13, (62))
 - b. Mary is happy now that if she does a good job (*then) she gets recognition. (L&K 1992: 15, (66))
 - c. That if John is hungry (*then) he yells at Bill bothers Mary. (L&K 1992: 15, (67))
 - d. John reported the rumour that if it rains (?*then) the party will be cancelled. (L&K 1992: 15, (68))

- d. *That a rabbit he pulled out of the hat seemed to confuse him. (Green 1996: 6)
- e. *The announcement that speaking at today's luncheon will be our local congressman turned out to be false. (Hooper & Thompson 486: heir (173))

- (5)
 - a. *Mary used another company {since/until} flights to Chicago they could avoid. (Emonds 2004: 77)
 - b. *I ignored the boss who was so angry that only until five did we work. (Emonds 2004: 77)

Finitic domains incompatible with MCP:³

- (i) 'central' adverbial clauses (5)
- (ii) complements of factive predicates (4c) (section 8)
- (iii) sentential subjects (4d);
- (iv) complement clauses to nouns (4e).

2. A case study: temporal adverbial clauses

2.1. Adverbial clauses (Emonds 1969, 1976; Hooper & Thompson 1973)

- (6)
 - a. When she began to write her regular column again, I thought she would be OK.
*When her regular column she began to write again, I thought she would be OK.
*I thought she would be OK when her regular column she began to write again.
 - b. *When present at the meeting were the company directors, nothing of substance was ever said.
 - c. *When fix his last faucet, you do, I will send you a check. (Authier 2011: 209, (57c))
 - d. *We were all much happier when upstairs lived the Browns. (Hooper&Thompson 1973: 496 (their (253))

2.2. 'Peripheral adverbial clauses' are compatible with argument fronting

- (7)
 - a. His face not many admired, while his character still fewer felt they could praise. (Quirk et al 1985: 1378)
 - b. And yet some popular things are so brilliant, like *The Simpsons* and *the Angel of the North*, while other brilliant things hardly anyone buys – I'd put my friend's first novel and sherry in this category. (*Observer* 6.12.2009, page 34, col. 2)
 - c. Sophie would put Len between two women who would have to bear his halitosis, while Gillian she buried mid-table among the also-rans. (Faulks, Sebastian, *A week in December*, London: Vintage 2010, page 40)
 - d. Do I still want this? I don't think so! Whereas Walter you never have to get tired of, because you don't feel like kissing him You can just be close to him forever. (Franzen, Jonathan, *Freedom*, 2010, Fourth Estate paperback 2011: 182)
 - e. Instead the patriotic duty was dismissing 'random acts of criminality'. While criminal the noting indubitably was, random it was not. (*Guardian* 6.9.12, page 36 col 2)

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

2.3.1. Left peripheral adjuncts

- (8)
 - a. When last month she began to write her regular column again, I thought she would be OK.
 - b. I thought she would be OK when last month she began to write her regular column again. (see also Breul 2004: 212, (333) and *pace* Haumann (1997))

³ For relative clauses with MCP see a.o. Hooper & Thompson (1973: 489-91), Green (1976), Ogle (1981) and Bianchi (1999).

2.3.2. *Clitic left dislocation*

CLLD : allowed in adverbial clauses in French, Italian, Spanish, Catalan and Modern Greek (Haegeman 2006, see among others Bocci 2007, Cardinaletti 2009).

- (9)Fr a. Quand cette chanson je l'ai entendue,
when that song I it have-1SG heard-FEM,
j'ai pensé à mon premier amour.
I have-1SG think-PART to my first love
'When I heard that song, I thought of my first love.'
b. Quand cette chanson, il a dit qu'il l'aimait,
when that song he have-3SG say-PART that he it like-PART-3sg,
j'en ai été très surpris.
I of it have-1SG be-PART very surprised-FSG.
'When he said that he liked that song, I was astonished.'

- CLLD is not movement to SpecTP (contra Jiménez-Fernández (2010) on Spanish).

(i) control ($\sqrt{\text{CLLD}} - di \dots$) vs. raising complements ($*\text{CLLD}$):

- (10)It. a. Mi sembra, il tuo libro, [mi] di conoscerlo bene] (Rizzi 1997: 309)
me seems, the your book, di know-it well
b. *?Gianni sembra, il tuo libro, conoscerlo bene.
Gianni seems the your book know-it well

(ii) No CLLD with *c/te* deletion (Cardinaletti 1997, 2004, 2009, (16a))

- (11)It. a. Gianni crede (che) Maria abbia fatto quella proposta.
Gianni believes (that) Maria have-STUB make-PART that proposal
b. Gianni crede *(che) la stessa proposta la fece il partito di maggioranza.
Gianni believes (that) the same proposal it-make-PAST the party of majority

(iii) No CLLD with Aux-to-Comp (Cardinaletti 1997, 2004, 2009, (16b))

- (12)It. a. Avendo [r]p Maria fatto quella proposta...]
having Maria make-PART that proposal...
b. *Avendo[la] la stessa proposta fatta il partito di maggioranza...
having(it) the same proposal make-PART-FSG the party of majority

3. A first proposal: structural truncation (Haegeman 2003, 2006)

- 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, my underline)
- Though RTs may apply in some complements that are full sentences introduced by the complementizer *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 and Thompson 1973: 484-5, my underlining)

'Reduced clause': Structural deficiency? (various implementations)

cf. Kuroda (1992: 350)⁴, Bianchi (1999: 228-9), Benincà & Poletto (2001), Grewendorf (2002: 53), Ernouts (2004), McCloskey (2006), Meinunger (2004), Haegeman (2003a, 2006) (explored by Carliho (2005: 244-5, 2008), Munaro (2005), Hernanz (2007a,b), Bentzen et al (2007), Abels & Muringi (2008: 693-4), Cardinaletti (2009), Wiklund et al (2009)), for a minimalist reinterpretation in terms of Edge features: Basse (2008).

3.1. An implementation

- (13) ForceP TopP1 * ForceP TopP2* FinP
- SubP: 'ForceP' = 'subordinating' projection + (Illocutionary) Force projection (Bhatt&Yoon 1992, Rizzi 1997: n.6)
- ModP: adjunct position in the LP (Haegeman 2003b, Rizzi 2004)
- TopP1*: 'high' TopP English argument fronting & CLLD
- TopP2*: 'low' TopP *English argument fronting, OK CLLD
- (14) a. (SubP) ForceP TopP1*ForceP TopP2*ModP FinP
b. SubP TopP* ModP FinP ('truncated')

3.2. Dependence on illocutionary force

Hypothesis Haegeman 2003/2006: Availability of ForceP and TopP1: depends on ForceP

- Topic selection is a speech act itself, an initiating speech act that requires a subsequent speech act like an assertion, question, command, or curse about the entity that was selected. (Kritika 2001: 25)
- The generalisation ... is that internal topicalisation (and negative preposing) must be licensed by the presence of a c-commanding Force in the complementizer system. (Bianchi 1999: 229)
- ...if emphatic topicalization belongs to the class of grammatical means of force projection in the sense of Rizzi (1997), its root clause property and strict left-peripherality [in Bavarian] are not surprising. (Bayer 2001: 14-15, italics mine)

3.3. Problems of implementation

(15) *?Those peunias, when did John plant? (Bianchi & Frascarelli 2010: 12, (44f))

Rizzi (1997): root *w/wh*-constituents: Spec ForceP \Rightarrow If ForceP hosts the *w/wh*-constituent in (15) & if ForceP is licensed by Force \Rightarrow Force is available \Rightarrow why is 'high' topic degraded for many speakers?

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

Asymmetry CLLD/argument fronting and TopP1:

- (16) a.Fr. Ton texte, quand l'auras tu terminé?
your text, when it have-FUT-2sg you finish-PART.

b.It. E la famiglia, dove la lasci?
and the family where it leave-2SG

'And where do you leave your family?' (Frascarelli 2000 : 152, (184a))

- CLLD > ForceP:
 \Rightarrow TopP1 is available in Romance root questions (16): still: English argument fronting is *? in (15)

⁴ Kuroda (1992: 350): 'to be sure, some syntactic contexts exclude topic sentences, but that can perhaps be accounted for by assuming that such contexts select Max (I), not Max (C).'

⇒ CLLD/argument asymmetry is not (or not only) due to 'size' of LP.

Revised proposal: argument fronting in English is licensed by **assertive** illocutionary force. [uAss]⁵

But: - (movement to) FocP as such is not always dependent on assertion (cf. *wh*-fronting);
 - English gerunds allow argument fronting (perhaps marginally) and high modals and are usually taken not to be asserted (cf. Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1971)

(17) [That solution Robin having already explored *t* and rejected *t*, she decided to see if she could make in six moves with just the rook and the two pawns. (Culicover & Levine 2001:297, n.14, (i))

Argument/adjunct asymmetry in English:

(18) When you were in France, which newspaper did you read?
 ⇒Adjunct > FocP ⇒ Adjunct is not always in a 'low' ModP.

(14) c. SubP ForcP TopP1* ModP FocP TopP2* ModP FinP

4. The double asymmetry

Table 1: A double asymmetry

Central adverbial	CLLD	English argument fronting	Initial adjunct
	√	*	√

(19) a. *Robin knows where, the birdseed, you are going to put. (Culicover 1992: 5, (6c))
 b. Lee forgot which dishes, under normal circumstances, you would put on the table. (Culicover 1992: 9, (17d))
 So anyways, you can see how over the years the "right to carry" has grown, and correspondingly, violent crime has dropped.
<http://www.lovtechcombat.com/2010/01/25/0-year-trends-in-violent-crime-in-us.html>

c.It. *non so proprio chi, questo libro, potrebbe recensirlo.*
 non know-1SG honestly who, this book, can-COND-3SG-review-it

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

(20) a. *These are the students to whom, your book, I would recommend in the next semester.

b. These are the students to whom in the next semester I will recommend your book. That is how over the years Britain has gained so much of its industrial and business expertise. (*Observer* 18.11.12 page 4 col 5)

c.It. *I libri che a Gianni Maria gli ha dato sono questi.*⁶
 The books that to Gianni Maria him has given are these.
 (Cardinaletti 1995:84)

(21) a. *How did you say that the car Bill fixed. (Rochemont 1989: 147, Breul 227, his (359))

b. Which surgeon did you tell me that during an operation had a heart attack? (Bianchi 1999: 232, her (72b))

⁵ See Emonds (1976: 7, note 5) for an early suggestion of the use of [+ASSERTION].

⁶ See Zagona (2007) for the dependency of high modals on assertion. Cf. Section 6.3.

Without the clitic, such examples are degraded:

(i) ?? I libri che a Gianni ho dato sono questi. (Belletti & Rizzi 1988: 337)

Which book did Leslie say that for all intents and purposes John co-authored with Mary?
 (Bošković 2011: 34, note 34, his (i), cf. Culicover 1992)

c. It. *?Non so a chi pensi che, tu fratello, non know-1SG to whom think-2SG that your brother lo potremmo affidare.*
 him can-COND-1PL entrust
 I don't know to whom you think that, your brother, we could entrust. (Rizzi 2004: (64a))

(22) a. *?These are the patients to whom Mary suggested that the cooked vegetables we should not give in the present circumstances.

b. These are the patients to whom Marty suggested that in the present circumstances we should not give the cooked vegetables.

c. It. *?Il professore a cui penso [che, quello studente, the professor to whom think-1SG that that student lo potremmo affidare.]*
 him can-COND-1PL entrust

Table 1: a double asymmetry

(a)	temporal adverbial clauses	CLLD	Argument fronting	Initial adjunct
(b)	Embedded wh-question	√	*	√
(c)	Wh-relative	√	*	√
(d)	(long) Wh-movement	√	*	√
(e)	(long) Wh-relativization	√	*	√

Most accounts for the double asymmetry in (b-e) have been cast in terms of locality conditions on movement: fronted arguments in English create islands for movement, LP adjuncts and CLLD do not. If the degradations in (b-e) follow from locality conditions on movement, it is tempting to try to capture (a) also in terms of locality conditions on movement. Under this view: clausal truncation need not be stated: it is a byproduct of movement: in order not to 'thinler' the movement a number of positions in the LP cannot be filled.

Multiple fronting (Breul 2004: 1999 ff for discussion):

(23) a. *Bill, that house, she took to for the weekend. (Emonds 2004: 95 (27b))

b. Words like that, in front of my mother, I would never say. (Rizzi 2012, his (29))
 c. It. *Il libro, a Gianni, glielo davo senz'altro.*
 the book, to Gianni him-it give-FUT-1SG without doubt
 I will give Gianni the book without doubt. (Rizzi 1997: 290, (21))

5. The movement derivation of temporal adverbial clauses

According to a tradition started by Geis (published as Geis 1970, 1975, cited in Ross 1967: 211) and continued in work by Larson (1985, 1987, 1990), Declerck (1997), Demirdache and Uribe-Eckbarria (2004), Stephens (2007), Bhatt & Pancheva (2006), Tomaszewicz (2008), Zenit (2011, 2012) etc, temporal adverbial clauses are derived by movement of an TP-internal operator to the left periphery.

5.1. Anecdotal 'crosslinguistic support'

In many languages the 'conjunction' introducing temporal clauses is isomorphic with an interrogative (or relative) *wh*-operator. French: *quand*, Italian: *quando*, Spanish: *cuanndo*, Catalan: *quan*, Dutch: *wanneer*, German: *wenn* (Bhatt & Pancheva 2002), Norwegian: *når* (Stephens 2006).

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)

Lipka (2005: 139): Hungarian temporal clauses are derived by a *wh*-strategy: Zribi-Hertz & Digne (1999) : Wolof temporal clauses are (free) relatives. Zeniz (2011, 2012/GIST5): in Akose, 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.

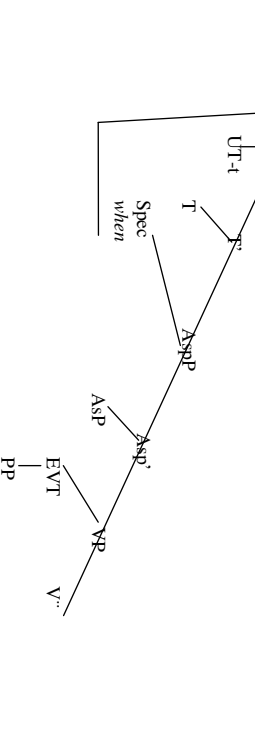
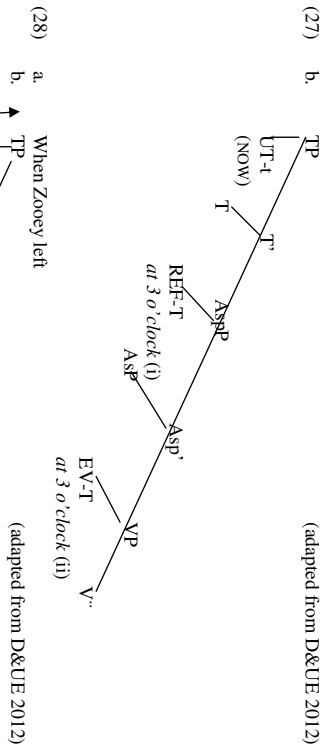
5.3. High and low construal and island effects⁷

- (25) I saw Mary in New York when [r_p she claimed [c_p that [r_p 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 [c_p when_i [r_p she claimed [c_p that [r_p she would leave] t_i]]
 - (ii) low construal: 'I saw her at the time of her presumed departure.'
 - I saw Mary in New York [c_p when_i [r_p she claimed [c_p t_i that [r_p she would leave t_i]]]]
- (26) I saw Mary in New York when [r_p she made [c_p that [r_p 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.'

5.4. Temporal modifiers in adverbial clauses: an intervention account (Demirdache and Uribe-Exenbarrtia (2004)

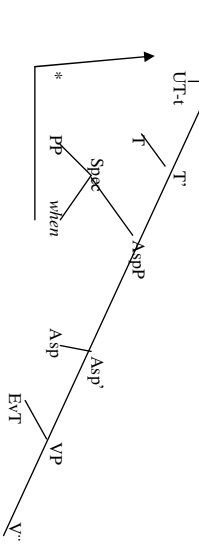
- (27) a. Zooey had left at three o'clock
 - ⇒ Temporal PP modifies (high) Reference time OR (low) Event time.
 - (i) High Event time > Reference time 3 o'clock > NOW
 - (ii) Low Event time > Reference time > NOW

⁷ See also Geis 1970, Larson 1990, Johnson 1988 for adverbial clauses introduced by *until, before, after, since*.

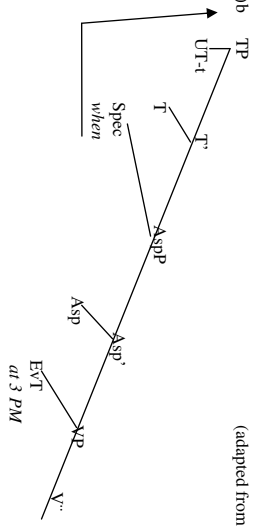


- (29) When Zooey had left at 3 PM (cf. Hornstein 1990), (everything was quiet).
 ⇒ In a temporal adverbial clause the reference time cannot be modified by a temporal adjunct.
 ⇒ In a temporal adverbial clause, a temporal PP can only modify (low) Event time, it cannot modify (high) Reference time.
- *(i) High Event time > Reference time 3 o'clock > NOW
- √(ii) Low Event time > Reference time

D&UE 2004/2012: The (high) temporal PP in SpecAspP blocks the movement of the operator from AspP:
 (29i): temporal specification at 3 PM:
 (29ii): temporal specification at 3 PM:
 * Reference time, in SpecAspP
 √ Event time: in SpecVP
 (adapted from D&UE 2012)



(29) b (adapted from D&UE 2012)



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 present at the party are under age children, they won't be able to show these films.
- d. *If passed these exams you had, you would have had the degree.
- e. *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. If this book-there you it find-2sg at the FNAC, buy it.

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 (Garzomo 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). (32a) is derived by the leftward movement of a World operator (32b):

- (32) a. If John arrives late
- b. [_{CP} OP_w C^o [John arrives late in w]]

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

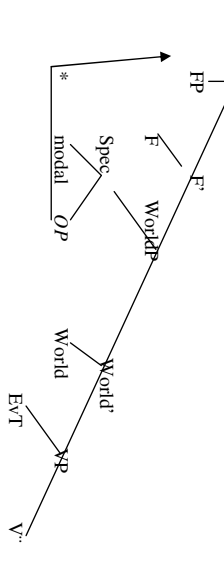
I analyze conditionals as *yes-no* relative clauses: al[s] restrictive relative clauses in which the truth value of a proposition is restricted. The proposition represented by the conditional clause restricts the set of worlds compatible with the proposition represented by the head clause. *Syntactically*, 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 clauses⁸

- (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) Heinämäki 1978: 22, Palmer (1990: 121, 182) Epistemic

6.3.1 An intervention account

(representation based on D&UE 2012)



A cartographic reinterpretation: WorldP = the projection that specifies the truth value of clauses by containing the feature World with a value, [actual] or [possible].⁹ (Arsenijević (2006: abstract))

Functional hierarchy (Cinque 1999):

MoodP_{speech act} > MoodP_{evaluative} > MoodP_{epistemic} > ModP_{epistemic} > TP (Past) > TP (Future) > MoodP > ModP_{speech act} > AspP_{factual} > AspP_{epistemic} > AspP_{epistemic} > ModP_{epistemic} > ModP_{epistemic} > etc

Hypothesis:

Bhatt&Pancheva's (2006) / 'Arsenijević (2006)'s World Operator = Cinque's (1999) (Ir)realis Operator in SpecMood_{base} (Haegeman 2007, 2012 ; Tomaszewicz (to appear) for Polish).⁹

The IRRREALIS 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 IP intervening high modals will give rise to intervention effects. (also Agouraki (1999: 30) for modals as interveners in operator movement.)

- (35) I MoodP_{speech act} > MoodP_{evaluative} > MoodP_{epistemic} > ModP_{epistemic} > TP (Past) > TP (Future) > OP MoodP_{speech act}

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';

⁸ Lahousse (2008: 22) and Ernst (2008: 10) for French; Ernst (2008: 10) for Dutch and Chinese; Tomaszewicz (to appear) for Polish.
⁹ See also a.o. Willmott (2007) and Lahousse (2008:23) on realis/irrealis mood and conditionals.

* Low: 'the circumstances in I will leave are the same conditions in which you say that you will leave'; this reading is not available
(cf. Bhatt & Pancheva 2002: 13, a-b based on their (50a, c) (51e), 2006: 655-6; based on their (47a, c, their (48b)) (cf. Geis 1970, Larson 1987, Citko 2000, etc)

Is absence of low construal evidence against the movement analysis? (Citko 2000). Not necessarily: Bhatt & Pancheva (2002, 2006): the moved World operator must locally bind its variable. Why?

IRREALIS operator which is, by hypothesis, moved to derive conditional clauses shares relevant features with the high modal expressions. In general high modal adverbs cannot undergo long movement (see Cinque 1999: 18 for discussion) (cf. (48)). The property that excludes long movement of the high modal (speech act, evidential, evaluative, epistemic) operators can be invoked to exclude long movement of the (MOOD_{IRREALIS}) operator that derives conditional clauses.¹⁰

- | | | | |
|------|----|--|-----------|
| (37) | 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 |

7. The movement derivation of factive complement clauses

Complements of factive verbs: derived by operator movement:

Factive operator (Melvold 1986, 1991, Bianchi 2000):

Movement derivation (Aboh 2005 for Gungbe, Kravova 2010 for Bulgarian).

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

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- ¹⁰ Note: Circumstantial adjuncts: long movement (cf. Haegeman (2003b), Postal and Ross 1971, Cinque 1990: 93-95, Bouma, Malout and Sag 2001, Hukari and Levine 1995):
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|-----|----|--|
| (1) | 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. |

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