

Movement in adverbial clauses: Evidence from Akɔ̀ɔ̀se *wh*-agreement

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Beginning with Geis (1970), several authors have provided syntactic, semantic, and etymological arguments for analyzing adverbial clauses as free relatives, involving movement of an (often null) operator (see Haegeman 2010 for a review). This paper provides morphological evidence for this view while arguing for separate extraction sites for the moved elements in temporal and conditional clauses.

The Bantu language Akɔ̀ɔ̀se (Hedinger 2008) exhibits *wh*-agreement (see Reintges, LeSourd, & Chung 2006 for a typological profile); that is, it marks its verbs with respect to whether an element has been extracted to the left periphery. The extraction of subjects is marked differently on the verb than the extraction of non-subjects. This extraction marking occurs not only in canonical *wh*-movement contexts (Chomsky 1977), such as constituent questions, relative clauses, cleft questions, and topicalization, but also in temporal and conditional adverbial clauses, suggesting that a free relative analysis of these clauses is warranted. Verbs in central temporal clauses take the non-subject extraction morphology, while verbs in central conditional clauses show the morphology found in subject extraction contexts. As would be expected from Haegeman's (2007) claim that peripheral adverbial clauses do not involve movement, these clauses show no extraction morphology in Akɔ̀ɔ̀se.

In order to probe the question of where the relativizing operators in central temporal and conditional clauses originate, this paper offers a novel syntactic account for the morphological patterns found in Akɔ̀ɔ̀se *wh*-agreement. According to this account, the temporal operator must originate within the VP layer, while the locus of extraction for the operator involved in central conditional clauses must be higher.

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