Diachronic sources of adverbial clauses. Implications for synchronic analyses

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Cross-linguistically, it has been argued for a large number of adverbial clauses that they should be derived through strategies of clause relativization, cf. Geis (1970), Larson (1987, 1990), Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2004) and Haegeman (2009) for temporal clauses, Bhatt & Pancheva (2006) and Arsenijević (2009) for conditional clauses, Sanfelici & Rodeghiero (to appear) for causal clauses, and Arsenijević (2021) for five distinct types of adverbial clauses in English and Serbo-Croatian.

In this talk, I provide an overview over different patterns showing how adverbial clauses emerge cross-linguistically, discuss their conditions of emergence, and show that their diachrony cannot be treated in a unified way. Based on the diachronic heterogeneity, I will then discuss cross-linguistic data showing that i) not all types of adverbial clauses involve a relativization strategy, ii) the operator movement analysis cannot account for the variation of adverbial clauses, and iii) the adjoin position of a particular adverbial clause is not sensitive to the relation between the proposition in the subordinate clause and the modified head.

Selected references:

Arsenijević, Boban. 2021. Situation relatives: Deriving causation, concession, counterfactuality, condition, and purpose. In Andreas Blümel, Jovana Gajić, Ljudmila Geist, Uwe Junghanns & Hagen Pitsch (eds.), *Advances in Formal Slavic Linguistics 2018,* 1–34. Berlin: Language Science Press.

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Larson, Richard. 1990. Extraction and multiple selection in PP. The Linguistic Review 7(2). 169–182.

Sanfelici, Emanuela & Sira Rodeghiero. to appear. From comparative to causal relations: The case of siccome 'because' in the history of Italian. Linguistics Vanguard, special issue Causal Clauses and Their Diachronic Suitability for Processes of Language Change ed. by Łukasz Jędrzejowski & Constanze Fleczoreck.