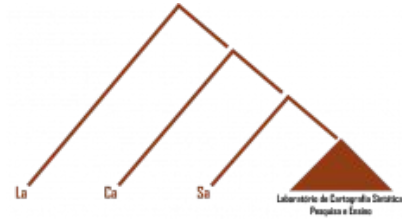


Central adverbial clauses are integrated in the structure right above vP

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ADVERBIAL CLAUSES BETWEEN SUBORDINATION AND COORDINATION

Goal

This paper aims to **propose a merge site to central adverbial clauses** (CACs) - **considering only their external syntax** - arguing that these types of adverbial clauses are constituents with the same function of circumstantial PPs - i.e., different forms of realization of functional categories - so **it might be merged in the same place PPs are - in Spec Circumstantial P** - following Schweikert (2005) and Cinque (2006, 2010).



Outline

- ❑ Types of adverbial clauses
- ❑ Merge proposals' for central adverbial clauses (Haegeman, 2012; Endo&Haegeman, 2019)
- ❑ Brazilian Portuguese (BP) CACs - tests (Haegeman, 2012)
- ❑ CACs and PPs are realizations of the same projection (Cinque, 1999, 2006; Haegeman, to appear)
- ❑ Coordination and co occurrence tests
- ❑ Schweikert's (2005) Hierarchy
- ❑ New configuration for CACs in the derivation
- ❑ What is next



Types of adverbial clauses

The ternary typology of adverbial clauses (Frey 2016, 2018, 2020a,b):

(i) Central adverbial clauses **CACs**
modify the matrix **event**: lower syntactic

attachment

(ii) Peripheral adverbial clauses **PACs**
modify the matrix **proposition**: higher syntactic

attachment

(iii) Non-integrated adverbial clauses **NonICs**
modify the **speech event**: outside narrow syntax

(Haegeman, 2020)

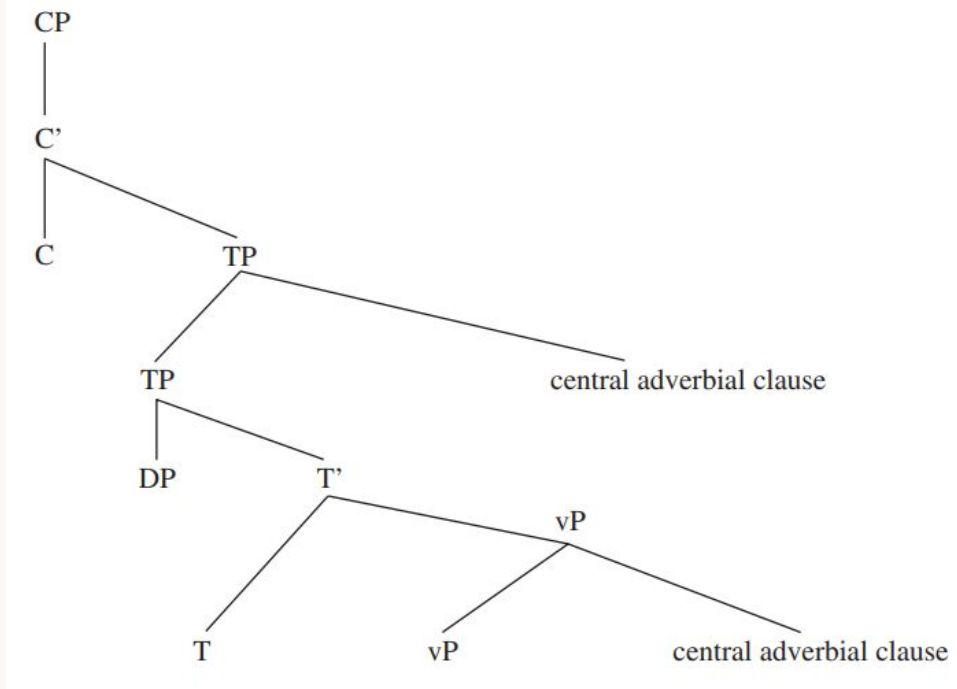
Degree of syntactic integration

. CAC > PAC > NonIC (Frey, 2021. Adapted)



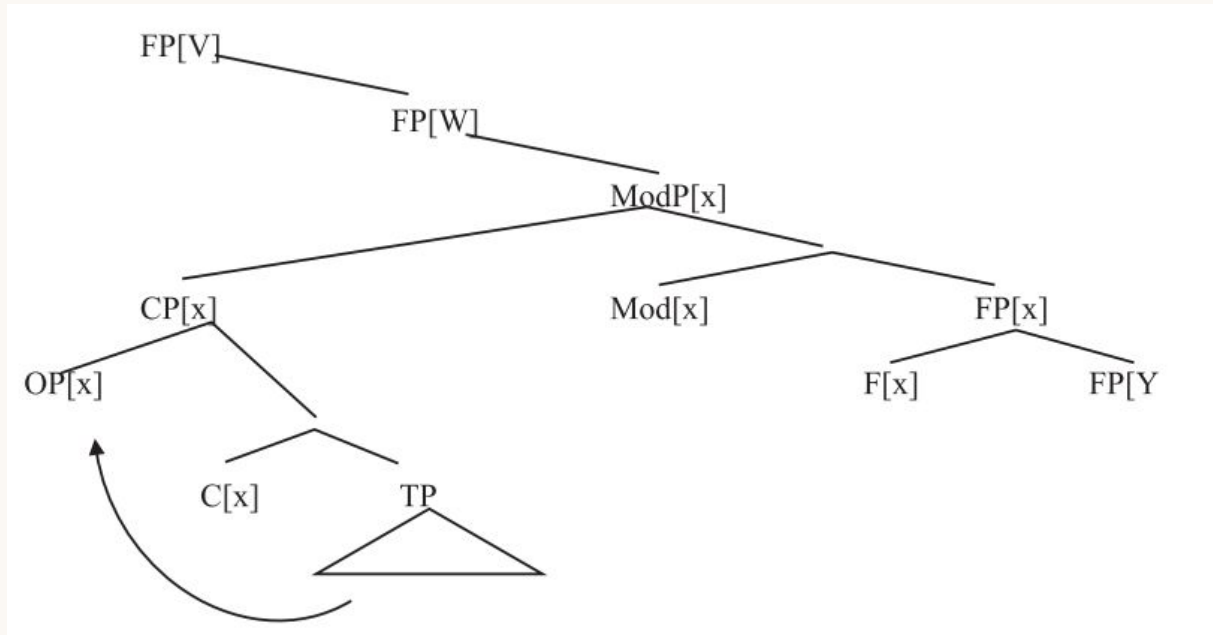
Merge proposals' for CACs

Haegeman (2012)



Merge proposals' for CACs

Endo & Haegeman (2019)



Brazilian Portuguese CACs

. can be *clefted*

- a) Foi [quando comecei a me amar_{temp}] que eu comecei a viver.
'It was [when I started to love myself] that I started to live.'
- b) É [se estudar muito_{cond}] que eu ingressarei na universidade.
'It is [if I study hard] that I will enter the university.'
- c) É [porque não me agasalhei adequadamente_{reason}] que estou resfriado.
'It's [because I haven't dressed up properly] that I have a cold.'
- d) É [à medida que conhecia sobre sua vida_{prop}] que eu me apaixonava por essa autora.
'It is [as I learned about her life] that I fell in love with this author.'

e) É [conforme constava no manual dos alunos_{conf}] que Joaquim realizou as tarefas.

'It is [as stated in the students' manual] that Joaquim performed the tasks.'

f) É [para que tudo saia perfeito_{goal}] que temos que chegar mais cedo no salão.

'It's [for everything to come out perfect] that we have to get to the salon early.'

g) Foi [sem que fizesse barulho_{mod}] que o ladrão conseguiu fugir.

'It was [without making a noise] that the thief managed to escape.'

h) É [onde se sente bem_{loc}] que Bruno fica.

'It's [where he feels good] that Bruno stays.'



. PB CACs introduced by **only** can be fronted

- a) Só [quando comecei a me amar_{temp}] que eu comecei a viver.
'Only [when I started to love myself] that I started to live.'
- b) Só [se estudar muito_{cond}] que eu ingressarei na universidade.
'Only [if I study hard] that I will enter the university.'
- c) Só [porque não me agasalhei adequadamente_{reason}] que estou resfriado.
'Only [because I haven't dressed up properly] that I have a cold.'
- d) Só [à medida que conhecia sobre sua vida_{prop}] que eu me apaixonava por essa autora.
'Only [as I learned about her life] that I fell in love with this author.'



e) Só [conforme constava no manual dos alunos_{conf}] que Joaquim realizou as tarefas.

'Only [as stated in the students' manual] that Joaquim performed the tasks.'

f) Somente [para que tudo saia perfeito_{goal}] que temos que chegar mais cedo no salão.

'Only [for everything to come out perfect] that we have to get to the salon early.'

g) Somente[sem que fizesse barulho_{mod}] que o ladrão conseguiu fugir.

'Only [without making a noise] that the thief managed to escape.'

h) Só [onde se sente bem_{loc}] que Bruno fica.

'Only [where he feels good] that Bruno stays.'



Typology of CACs and their connectors in BP			
	Cleft	Focusing operator	Interrogative operator
<i>Temporal</i>			
quando, enquanto, sempre que	✓	✓	✓
<i>Conditional</i>			
Se, caso, desde que	✓	✓	✓
<i>Reason</i>			
Porque	✓	✓	✓
<i>Proportional</i>			
à medida que, à proporção que	✓	✓	✓
<i>Conformative</i>			
Conforme, como, segundo	✓	✓	✓
<i>Goal</i>			
para que, a fim de que	✓	✓	✓
<i>Modal</i>			
sem que, como se, como	✓	✓	✓
<i>Locative</i>			
Onde	✓	✓	✓



CACs and PPs are realizations of the same functional projection

Haegeman et al. (to appear)

a temporal adjunct can be realised

- as an adverb (1a)

I will be meeting Mary **soon/later**

- as a prepositional phrase (PP) (1b)

I will be meeting Mary **after/before lunch**

- as a nominal constituent (DP) (1c)

I will be meeting Mary **this evening/tonight**

- as an adverbial clause, finite (1d)

I will be meeting Mary **when I have finished**

- a non-finite (1e)

I will be meeting Mary **while staying in London.**



CACs and PPs are realizations of the same functional projection

a temporal adjunct can be realised

- as an adverb (2a)

Eu conhecerei a Mary **hoje**.

- as a prepositional phrase (PP) (2b)

Eu conhecerei a Mary **em breve**.

- as a nominal constituent (DP) (2c),

Eu conhecerei a Mary **esta noite**.

- as an adverbial clause, finite (2d)

Eu conheci a Mary **quando terminei a apresentação**

- a non-finite (2e).

Eu conhecerei a Mary **quando terminar a apresentação**.



Cooccurrence test

Kayne (2005) - One Feature One Head principle

"UG imposes a maximum of one interpretable syntactic feature per lexical or functional element." (p. 15)

→ **Cinque (1999:79): The Universal Hierarchy of Functional Projections**

Perche le cose andassero a posto, questo si **dovrebbe poter** verificare presto.

'For things to go well, it should be the case that it were possible that this happened.'

→ **Scott (2002:99): Universal hierarchy of AP-related functional projections**

a. **pitkä lihava** mies (Finnish)

tall fat man

b. a **short skinny** woman

→ **Lima (2020:97): The cartography of wh-exclamatives in Brazilian Portuguese**

(176) *Felizmente, que bela é aquela mulher.

'Luckily, how beautiful that woman is.'



- a) *Eu comecei a viver [quando comecei a me amar_{temp}][nesta semana].
'I started to live [when I started to love myself][in this week].'
- b) *Eu ingressarei na universidade [se estudar muito_{cond}][com meus esforços].
'I will enter the university [if I study hard][with my efforts].'
- c) *Estou resfriado [porque não me agasalhei adequadamente_{reason}][por causa do frio].
'I have a cold [because I haven't dressed up properly][because of the cold].'
- d) *Eu me apaixonava por essa autora [à medida que conhecia sobre sua vida_{prop}][mês a mês].
'I fell in love with this author [as I learned about her life][month after month].'



e) *Joaquim realizou as tarefas [conforme constava no manual dos alunos_{conf}][de acordo com as orientações do portal do aluno].

'Joaquim performed the tasks [as stated in the students' manual][according to the student portal guidelines].'

f) *Temos que chegar mais cedo no salão [para que tudo saia perfeito_{goal}][para o cumprimento do horário].

'We must get to the salon early [for everything to come out perfect][for the schedule].'

g) *O ladrão conseguiu fugir [sem que fizesse barulho_{mod}][às pressas].

'The thief managed to escape [without making a noise][in a rush].'

h) *Bruno fica[onde se sente bem_{loc}][neste lugar].

'Bruno stays[where he feels good][in this place].'



Coordination (In Haegeman, 2012, p. 165)

“Following Huddleston and Pullum’s (2006) characterization cited below, I assume that constituents merged in different positions in the tree do not coordinate (see Citko 2008 for qualifications):

A coordination of α and β is admissible at a given place in sentence structure if and only if each of α and β is individually admissible at that place with the same function. (Huddleston and Pullum 2006 : 201, (3))”



a) ?Eu comecei a viver [quando comecei a me amar_{temp}] e [nesta semana].
'I started to live [when I started to love myself] **and** [in this week].'

b) Eu ingressarei na universidade [se estudar muito_{cond}] e [com meus esforços].
'I will enter the university [if I study hard] **and** [with my efforts].'

c) Estou resfriado [porque não me agasalhei adequadamente_{reason}] e [por causa do frio].
'I have a cold [because I haven't dressed up properly] **and** [because of the cold].'

d) ?Eu me apaixonava por essa autora [à medida que conhecia sobre sua vida_{prop}] e [mês a mês].
'I fell in love with this author [as I learned about her life] **and** [month after month].'

e) Joaquim realizou as tarefas [conforme constava no manual dos alunos_{conf}] **e** [de acordo com as orientações do portal do aluno].

'Joaquim performed the tasks [as stated in the students' manual] **and** [according to the student portal guidelines].'

f) Temos que chegar mais cedo no salão [para que tudo saia perfeito_{goal}] **e** [para o cumprimento do horário].

'We must get to the salon early [for everything to come out perfect] **and** [for the schedule].'

g) O ladrão conseguiu fugir [sem que fizesse barulho_{mod}] **e** [às pressas].

'The thief managed to escape [without making a noise] **and** [in a rush].'

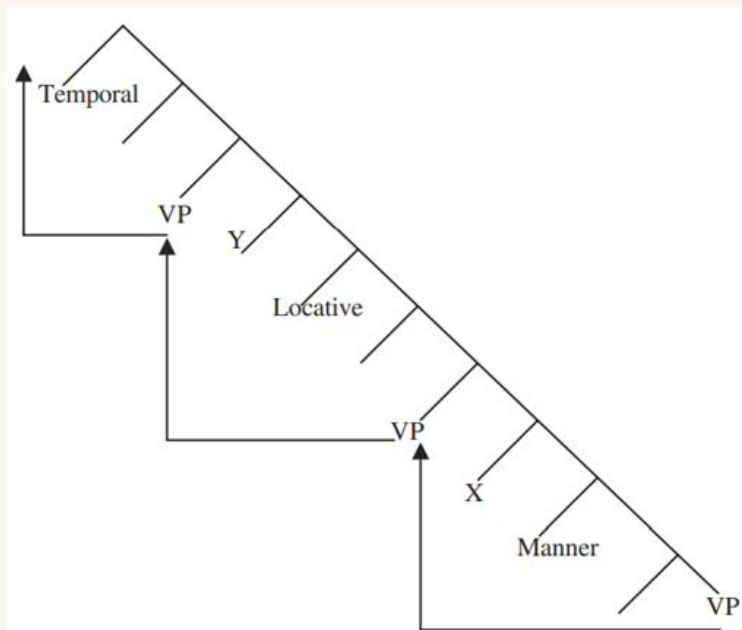
h) ?Bruno fica[onde se sente bem_{loc}] **e** [neste lugar].

'Bruno stays[where he feels good]**and** [in this place].'



Schweikert's (2004) hierarchy

Evidential > Temporal > Locative > Comitative > Benefactive >
Reason > Source > Goal > Malefactive > Path/Means >
Instrumental > Matter > Manner (Schweikert, 2004, p. 74)



The linear order is achieved due movement without *pied-piping*.

: Cinque, 2006, p. 155).

Pair-test (precedence and transitivity)

Temp > Loc

(i) Eu comprei o presente [quando cheguei em São Paulo] [onde sempre comprei]

'I bought the present [when I arrived in São Paulo] [where I always bought it]'

(ii) Eu comprei o presente [onde sempre comprei] [quando cheguei em São Paulo].

'I bought the present [where I always bought it] [when I arrived in São Paulo]'

Loc > Reason

(i) Eu comprei o presente [onde sempre comprei] [porque é mais barato].

'I bought the present [where I always bought it] [because it's cheaper]'

(ii) Eu comprei o presente [porque é mais barato] [onde sempre comprei].

'I bought the gift [because it's cheaper] [where I always bought it]'



Reason > Goal

(i) Eu comprei um presente [porque queria fazer uma surpresa] [para que ela ficasse feliz].

'I bought her a gift [because I wanted to surprise her] [so she would be happy].'

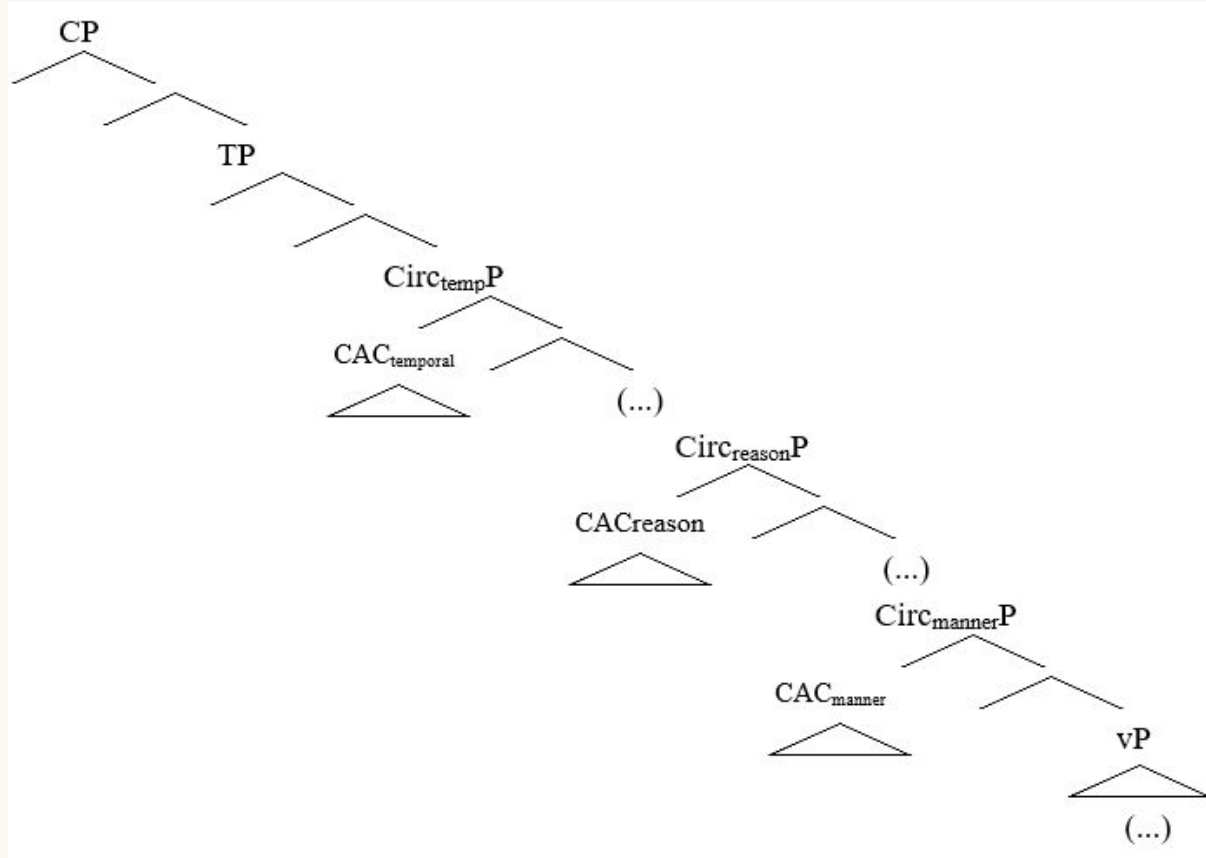
(ii) Eu comprei um presente [para que ela ficasse feliz] [porque queria fazer uma surpresa].

'I bought her a gift [to make her happy] [because I wanted to surprise her]'

Evidential > **Temporal** > **Locative** > Comitative > Benefactive >
Reason > Source > **Goal** > Malefactive > Path/Means >
Instrumental > Matter > Manner (Schweikert, 2005, p. 74)



New configuration for CACs in the derivation



Tescari Neto, 2017

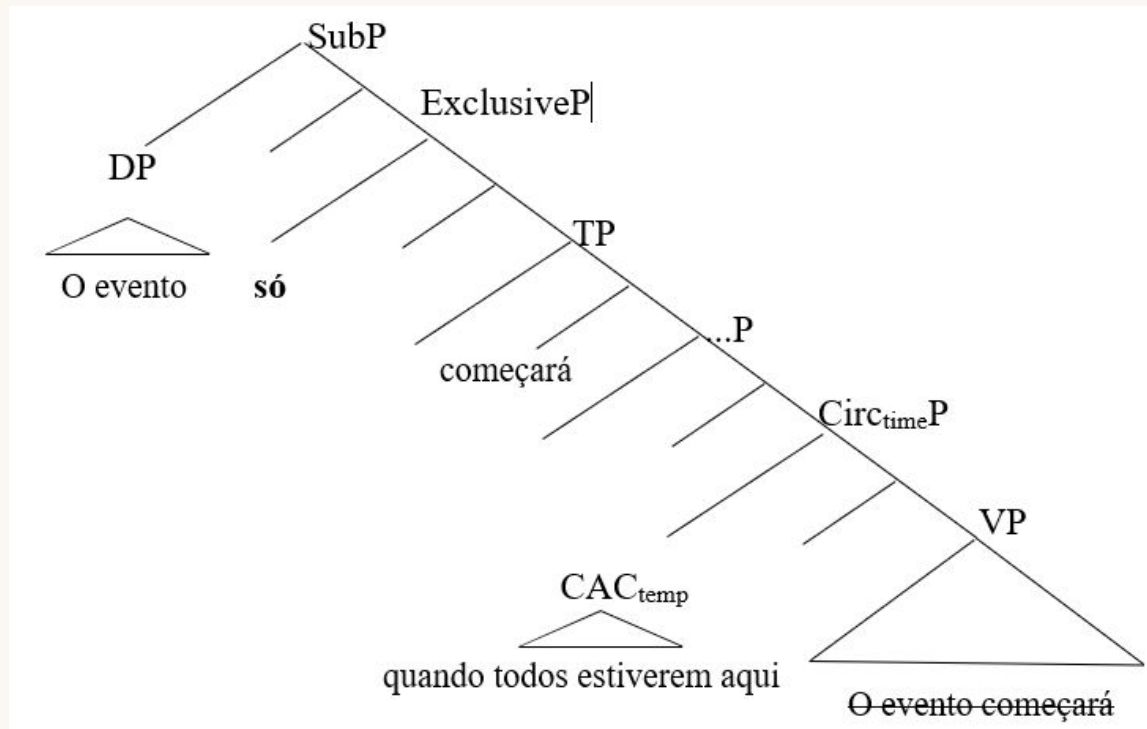
proposes a hierarchy for five classes of focusing AdvPs, by integrating this hierarchy into Cinque's one.

Stratum of the Universal Hierarchy of Cinque completed with the Focusing AdvPs:

[*geralmente* Asp_{Habitual} > [*finalmente* Asp_{Tardive} > [*tendencialmente* Asp_{Predispositional} > [*de novo* Asp_{Repetitive(I)} > [***inclusive Inclusion*** > [*particularmente* Particularizer > [***também Non-scalar additive*** > [***até Scalar additive*** > [***só Exclusive*** > [*frequentemente* Asp_{Frequentative(I)} > [*de gosto* Mod_{Volitive} > [*rapidamente* Asp_{Celerative(I)} > [*já* T_{Anterior} > ...

So the five classes of focusing AdvPs would enter in fixed positions between Asp_{repetitiveI} and Asp_{frequentativeI}.

On the position of CACs in relation to *focusing AdvPs*



Schweikert, 2005

“Another motive to changing the base order is giving by information packing. A higher PP can be passed by a lower in order to put it into informational focus.” (2005, p. 203)

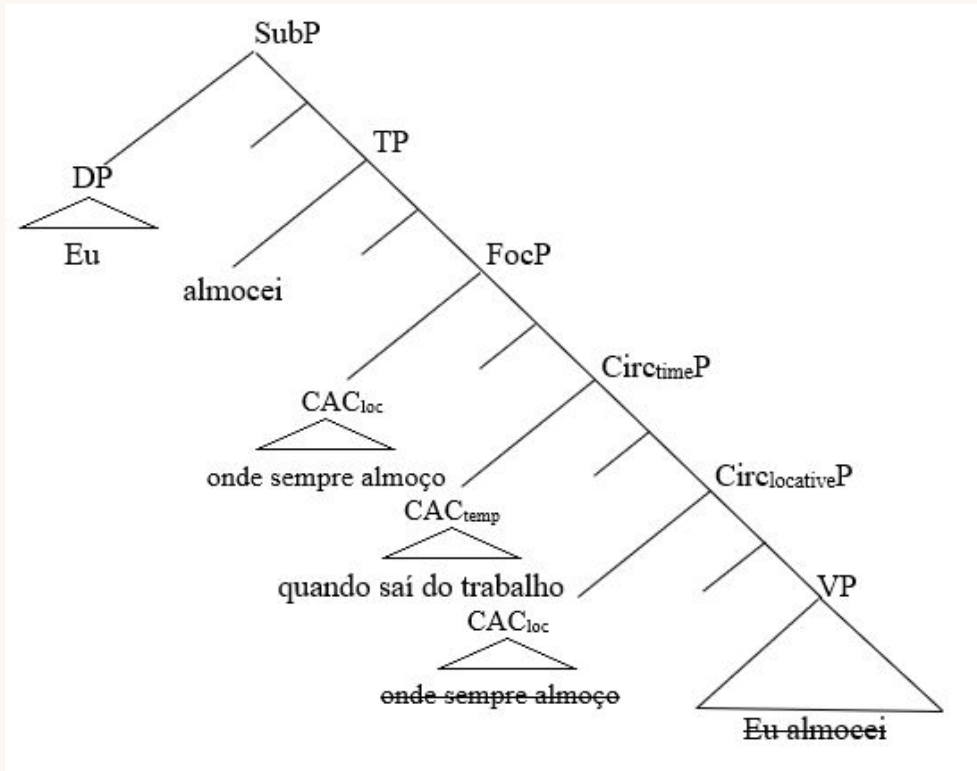
Evidential > **Temporal** > **Locative** > Comitative > Benefactive >
Reason > Source > Goal > Malefactive > Path/Means >
Instrumental > Matter > Manner (Schweikert, 2005, p. 74)

(i) Eu almocei [quando saí do trabalho_{temp}] [onde sempre almoço_{loc}]
'I had lunch [when I left work] [where I always have lunch]'

(ii) Eu almocei [onde sempre almoço_{loc}] [quando saí do trabalho_{temp}]
'I had lunch [where I always have lunch] [when I left work]'



On the opposite order of CACs taking into account FocP in VP periphery (Belletti, 2004)



Haegeman et al., (to appear)

“On the assumption that adverbial clauses are systematically merged with the domain they modify, CACs **would in fact be spread across a range of distinct projections**. For instance, conditional clauses would adjoin to **MoodP_{irrealis}** (see Haegeman 2010a,b, 2012), temporal clauses would adjoin to **TP(Past) or TP(Future)** (see Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria 2004, 2012), aspectual adverbial clauses would adjoin to one of the AspPs, and manner adverbial clauses would adjoin to a still lower projection.”

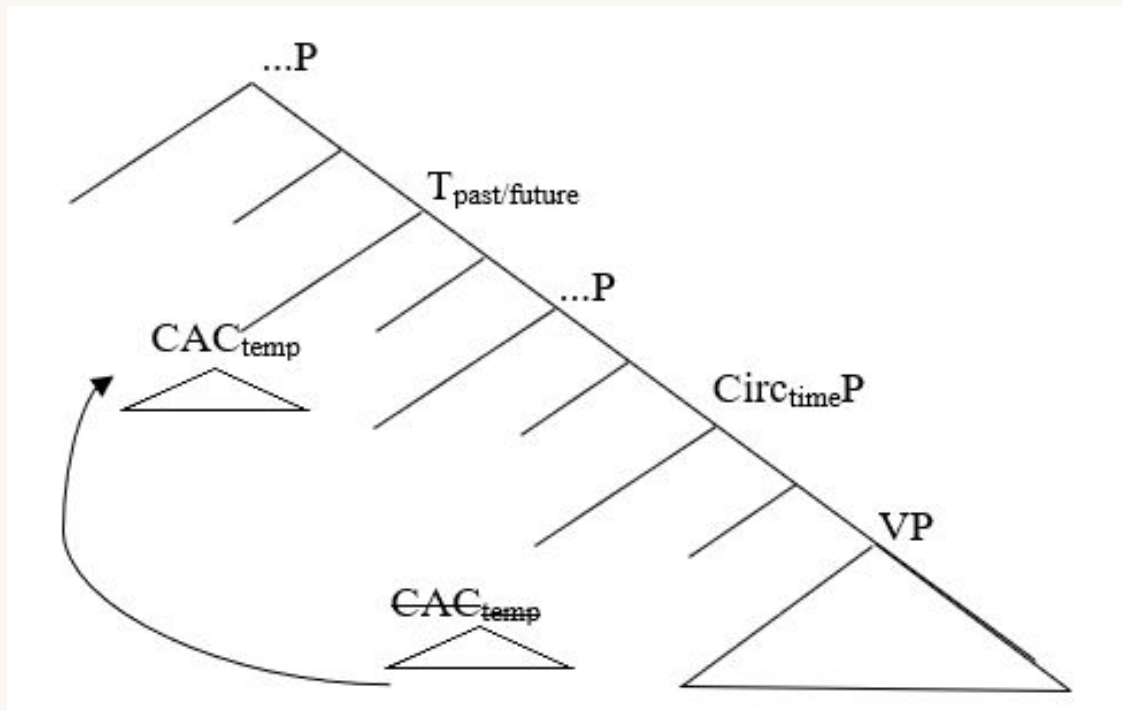


Bergamini-Perez & Tesconi Neto, 2019

“...we favor the hypothesis according to which the temporal adjunct does not have a dedicated, unique position in the hierarchical structure; rather, **temporal adjuncts do their first merge in the temporal circumstantial specifier ([Spec,TempP]) and further moves guarantee the valuation/checking of the features associated with the interpretation of the temporal adjunct**” (Adapted)



CACs across Cinque's Hierarchy due movement



What are the next steps?

- What is the internal syntax of CACs?
- What is the status of connectors that introduce CACs?
- Do CACs strictly follow Schweikert's hierarchy?
- Which categories of the Cinque Hierarchy are related to CACs? (Is it via movement?)



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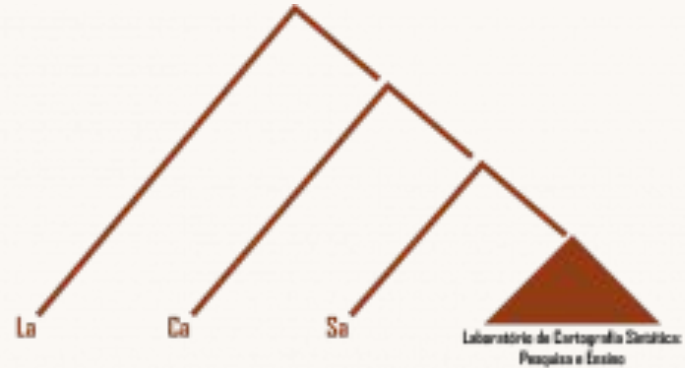
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Obrigado!



Thank you!

Vielen Dank!



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