

English adverbial clauses: a descriptive inventory

This survey presents a range of empirical data, mainly drawn from English that motivate a distinction between adverbial clauses both in terms of external and internal syntax. The data are almost exclusively drawn from English but the contrasts can be repeated cross-linguistically.

Reference

- Haegeman, Liliane. 2003a. Conditional clauses: External and internal syntax. *Mind and Language* 18:317-339.
Haegeman, Liliane. 2006a. Argument Fronting in English, Romance CLLD and the left periphery. In *Negation, tense and clausal architecture: Cross-linguistic investigations*, ed. by Raffaella Zanuttini, Hector Campos, Elena Herburger, and Paul Portner. 27-52. Georgetown University Press

1. 'Central' adverbial clauses vs. 'peripheral' adverbial clauses (Haegeman 2003, 2006)

1.1. Central adverbial clauses (event structuring) vs. peripheral adverbial clauses (discourse structuring)

- (1) a According to Smith, a group of Arkansas state troopers who worked for Clinton while₁ he was governor wanted to go public with tales of Clinton's womanising. (*Guardian*, G2, 12.3.2, page 3, col 2-3) ('during the time that')
- b While₂ [Dr Williams'] support for women priests and gay partnerships might label him as liberal, this would be a misleading way of depicting his uncompromisingly orthodox espousal of Christian belief. (*Guardian*, 2.3.2, page 9, col 1-2) ('whereas')
- c While₂ [the lawsuit challenging the legitimacy of lethal injections] probably won't stop the use of lethal injection altogether, it will certainly delay its use while₁ the supreme court decides what to do. (*Guardian* G2, 12.12.,3, page 4, col 4)
- (2) a The Germans have been trying to get the Rubens back since₁ a consortium of businessmen offered it for sale last year. (*Guardian*, 21.12.04 page 10, col 2)
- b His second is also placed in a recognisable world, but since₂ this world is perceived through the eyes of Sunless, a man with complex psychological disorders, the reader is entirely at the mercy of his delusions and reality is an elusive prospect. (*Observer*, review 09.01.05 page 11 col 1)

1.2. Conditionals: event conditional (central) vs. premise conditional (peripheral):

1.2.1. EVENT CONDITIONALS/CENTRAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES (≈IF AND WHEN)

- (3) a If your back-supporting muscles tire, you will be at increased risk of lower-back pain. (*Independent on Sunday, Sports*, 14.10.1, page 29, col 3)
- b If last week you had shown me the piece of pipe system that Laila and I built on Tuesday, I would never have believed it. (*Guardian*, G2, 27.2.4 page 8, col 3)
- c [President Bush and Mr Blair] will be taking even more [risks] if, and when, a land war starts. (*Independent on Sunday, Comment*, 14.10.1, page 25, Col. 2)
- d Air support for the marines will come from US navy fighter –bombers, some of which may be based at Kandahar airport if and when it is considered secure. (*Guardian*, 27.11.1, page 3, col 8)

1.2.2. PREMISSE CONDITIONALS/PERIPHERAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES (*≈IF AND WHEN)

Kearns (2006) 'conditional assertions'.

Handout 1

- (4) a If I'm no longer going to be arrested for possessing cannabis for my own consumption ('Cannabis laws eased in drugs policy shake-up', October 24), shouldn't I be able to grow my own? (Jason Cundy, , Letter to the editor *Guardian*, 25.11.1, page 9, col 8)
- b If we are so short of teachers ('Jobs crisis grows as new term looms', August 30), why don't we send our children to Germany to be educated? (Letters to the editor, Eddie Catlin, Norwich, *Guardian*, 31.8.1, page 9, col 5)
- c We are seeing a fall in the incidence of crime, particularly serious crime, and I think we're right to say 'What's going on?' If crime is falling, why are we seeing a continuing rise in the prison population. (*Guardian*, 1.11.1, page 2, col 6)

1.3. Survey: Table 1: two types of adverbial clauses¹

Conjunction	Central adverbial clause: Interpretation (a): Event structure	Peripheral adverbial clause: Interpretation (b): Discourse structure
<i>(al)though</i>		Concessive/contrast
<i>As</i>	Event time	Cause/premise
<i>Before/after</i>	Event time	
<i>Because</i>	Event Cause/reason	Explanation of utterance
<i>If</i>	Event-condition	Premise-conditional
<i>Since</i>	Event time	Cause/premise
<i>So that</i>	Purpose	Result
<i>Until</i>	Event time	
<i>When</i>	Event time	Concessive/Contrast ²
<i>Whereas</i>		Concessive/ Contrast
<i>While</i>	Event time	Concessive/Contrast

2. External syntax

2.1. Coordination

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 et Pullum in Aarts and McMahon, *A Handbook of English linguistics*, 2006, Blackwell, italics LH)

- (5) a The party is also in danger of alienating older people above the poverty line, Mr Cable argues. 'Both these groups will swing to the Conservatives if₁ the Tories are smart enough and if ₁ we have nothing much to offer them.' (*Guardian*, 11.2.2., page 6, col 5)
- b [Not only has [Sir Richard] failed to keep his warring department in check but he is claimed to have swerved from readiness to do a deal with Mr Sixsmith to fury at a government 'complete cock-up', before finally throwing in his lot with Mr Byers...]

¹ Obviously one finds the same contrasts cross-linguistically. For instance, at first sight, English *while*₁ corresponds to *lorsque* and *while*₂ corresponds to *alors que*. Les réanimateurs refusent cette distinction.

(i) **Lorsqu'ils** débranchent un cas désespéré, ou bien la mort se produit instantanément, ou bien certaines fonctions résistent. (*Le Figaro, magazine*, 20.4.5, page 54, col 2)

(ii) **Alors que** tant de peintres, de Titien à Monet, commettent des «péchés de vieillesse» qui sont de purs chefs-d'œuvre, Van Dongen, lui, se contente alors de faire l'effigie de ceux qu'il croise dans les réceptions où il passe ses soirées, ce qui lui vaudra le surnom, peu flatteur de 'peintre cocktail'. Les deux autoportraits les plus fameux qu'il nous a laissés (tous les deux présents à l'exposition) sont révélateurs de ce curieux changement dans son parcours qui embarrasse la critique. (*Le Figaro, magazine*, 20.4.5, page 71)

² (i) Ministers were told that Eurostar would carry 9,5 million passengers a year, when₂ in fact it only attracted 5,1 million. (*Guardian*, 21.03.02, page 5, col 8)

- But if₂ Sir Richard has been tainted by the affair, and if₂ Mr Sixsmith's role may not have been as entirely well-intentioned as he claims, the individual most damaged by the row remains Stephen Byers. (*Guardian*, 25.2.2, page 4, col 3)
- c [The Phoenix project] works with women while₁ they are still with an abusive partner, and while₁ they are seeking alternative accommodation during resettlement. (*Guardian*, 8.12.3, page 7, col 1)
- d(1c) *While₂ [the lawsuit challenging the legitimacy of lethal injections] probably won't stop the use of lethal injection altogether and while₁ the supreme court decides what to do, it will certainly delay its use .
- (6) a When₁ I was playing at fly half in 2001-02 and if₁ something went wrong behind the scrum, he'd turn and have a go at me. (*Observer* 15.5.5. page 13, col 5)
- b After₁ The Three Birds opened, and while₁ I wrote my second play, Five Gold Rings, I began to watch more theatre. (*Guardian*, G2, 11.12.3, page 11, col 3)

Proposal (informal): central adverbial clauses and peripheral adverbial clauses cannot coordinate because they do not occupy the same 'place'; their level of attachment is different.

2.2. Scope phenomena

A range of patterns suggests that central adverbial clauses are within the scope of TP operators while peripheral adverbial clauses are outside their scope.

2.2.1. TENSE RELATIONS

2.2.1.1. Central adverbial clauses are temporally subordinated to matrix domain

- (7) a(=2a) If your back-supporting muscles tire (present tense = future time),
-> you will be (future) at increased risk of lower-back pain
FUTURE (your muscles tire -> you be at risk of lower back pain)
- b(=2b) If last week you had shown me the piece of pipe system that Laila and I built on Tuesday (past perfect = IRREALIS),->I would never have believed it.

'if clause [central type] is *temporally subordinated*... the two clauses form one hypothetical domain' (Declerck 1991, italics lh); 'will deletion' (Jespersen 1909, Palmer 1965, /1974, Zandvoort 75, McCawley 1971, Leech 1971, Close 1979, Wekker 1976, 1977, Declerck 1991 for references):

When the Present Perspective System [= present tense with future meaning, lh] is used in the subclause [as in (7a), lh], the speaker makes a single (but complex) prediction: she presents the contents of the two clauses as forming a unit. [this] ... is therefore a sign that the two situations must be interpreted as related to each other. This relation may be purely temporal, but in most cases it is also a logical one: if there is no logical relation between two situations, there is as a rule no reason to relate them temporally to each other. ... (Declerck and Reed 2001: 131, italics lh)

- (7) c While₂ [the lawsuit challenging the legitimacy of lethal injections] probably won't stop the use of lethal injection altogether, it will certainly delay its use while₁ the supreme court decides what to do. (*Guardian* G2, 12.12.,3, page 4, col 4)

temporal adjuncts headed by temporal connectives such as *when*, *while*, *after*, *before*, *as*, *until*, and *since* **interact with the tense of the matrix clause**. ... There are rather specific tense-concord restrictions that obtain between the tense of the matrix clause and the tense of the **modifying** clause. These restrictions can be largely accounted for structurally in terms of the C[onstraint] on D[erived] T[ense] S[tructures] and the rule that combines these clauses into complex tense structures.' (Hornstein 1993: 43)

2.2.1.2. Peripheral adverbial clauses are not temporally subordinated to matrix domain

It follows that when the Future Perspective System [*will, be going to, lh*] is used in both clauses [as in (4a) *lh*], the *speaker makes two independent predictions*: there are, as it were, *two illocutionary speech acts*. (Declerck and Reed 2001: 131, italics *lh*)

- (8) a If₂ Tony Blair is worried about public confidence already, in this bright weather, he should think about what it's going to be like when we are huddled into the December winds. (*Independent*, Comment 01.11.01, page 5, col 1)
- b But if₂, in the past, the fungus-carrying beetle and the elm managed to co-exist, what happened in the Seventies to upset the balance? (*Independent*, 6.10.1, Review, p. 13, col 7-8)
- c I've always said that we wouldn't see real success until Athens. And while₂ I'm not going to promise gold medals in 2004 or event 2008, I will say that we're beginning to see the emergence of a generation of swimmers who might make the podium in Athens and will be among the medals in Beijing. (*Guardian*, 03.08.02, page 2, col 4)
- d While₂ [the lawsuit challenging the legitimacy of lethal injections] probably won't stop the use of lethal injection altogether, it will certainly delay its use while₁ the supreme court decides what to do. (*Guardian* G2, 12.12.,3, page 4, col 4)
- e While₂ on Sunday Dr Abdullah said the alliance had not discussed with Washington the possibility of US ground forces being deployed on alliance-held territory, yesterday he said that both sides were discussing possible US air cover for a mohajedin ground offensive, probably on Kabul. (*Guardian*, 9.10.1, page 3, col. 3)

There is a **secondary conjunctive interpretation** that all these connectives (*as, while, when*) shade into. They get an interpretation similar to *and* in these contexts. *And* is not a temporal connective, and these conjunctive interpretations do not tell against the theory [of temporal subordination and complex tense structures] Hornstein (1993: 206: note 19)

Peripheral adverbial clauses are not coordinated clauses: subject ellipsis³ and gapping

- (9) a John is doing a Ph.D. in Oxford but did his first degree in Cambridge.
b * John is doing a Ph.D. in Oxford while did his first degree in Cambridge.
- (10) a John reads the Guardian and Mary the Times.
b *?John reads the Guardian while Mary the Times.

2.2.2. ADJUNCT SCOPE

- (11) a If₁ I tell mum that I have to research the printing press, I am often greeted as₁ I arrive home by thousands of books from our library on the subject. (*Guardian*, G2 20.2.2, p11, col 5)

³ (*Although* causes may indeed be considered as coordinated, as suggested by subject ellipsis:

(i) a. I certainly agree with you, though [Ø] find it difficult to sculpt an irrefutable argument. (*Observer*, 6.8.2000, Review section: 4, col 3)

b. He has also studied, although [Ø] did not take exams in, divinity, chemistry, physics, art, music, design and PE. (*Times*, 17.6.2000, News section: 3, col 2)

c. He told them he didn't want re-negotiation of past treaties either, which is a big change from what was being spun around earlier in the year, though even now [Ø] is supported by ominously little detail. (*Guardian*, 21.12.1999: 8, col 2)

d. She takes her daughter to school every morning (although [Ø] drops her off in time to get across to the Brooklyn Diner for a quick power breakfast), she leaves the office at six every evening (although she starts working again between nine and midnight after the kids have gone to bed), and she refuses to go out more than one evening a week. (*Sunday Times*, 1.8.1999: 7, col 7)

Handout 1

- b 'When₁ a woman says she wants to go out and get a job, ' [Oliver Reed] once remarked, 'it usually means she's hopelessly behind with the ironing.' (*Observer*, 10.3.2, p 32, col 1)
- c The stories in the press grew. In general, I have been very lucky and if₂ the stories were often inaccurate, they were usually affectionate and harmless. (*Guardian*, 4.5.2, page 13, col 2)

2.2.3. NEGATION

- (12) There is no presumption that white professionals should set an example to young, white, working-class youths. If they fail, their failure is never understood in terms of racial disappointment. (*Guardian*, G2, 27.3.2, page 10, col 5) ('it is never the case that if they fail then...')

2.2.4. FOCUS (CLEFT/*ONLY*)

- (13) a It is only if your children refuse to come home that you will realise you miss them.
 b It's only while [TIME] you're alive that human selfishness, or whatever, is held against you. (*Independent on Sunday, Review* 14.10.1, page 9, col 1)
 c It's only when fashion tries to pass itself off as some sort of relevant real world art for, or even worse as 'caring', that its practitioners are in danger of becoming offensive and practically asking for a good, classic kicking. (*Guardian*, G2, 1.2.2. page 5, col 1)
 d *It is (only) while my mother is a doctor that my father used to work in a brickyard.

2.2.5. INTERROGATIVE SCOPE:

- (14) a Did you get to know Mary while_{1/*2} you were in Canada? (or did you meet her later)
 b When did you meet Mary? When_{1/*2}/while_{1/*2} I was staying with my sister in Canada.

On tags: H&T 1973: 471.

2.3. Prosody (comma intonation, break) & orthography

- (15) a Today the party's Treasury spokesman, Matthew Taylor, will commit the Liberal Democrats to entering the next election with a promise to pump more money into the NHS, possibly with a special health tax. **While** an emergency debate this weekend is likely to reaffirm Liberal Democrat scepticism about British involvement in a war with Iraq. (*Independent*, 9.3.2, p 8, 8)
 b Maybe Tyson should redirect his energies towards a sport less likely to bring out his violent side. Figure skating for example, or synchronised swimming. **Because** this week's ugly scenes probably won't be the last and every time the moral commentators become even more outraged: these boxers – they are behaving in a violent and aggressive manner ! (*Guardian*, 26.1.2, page 8, col 3)

Peripheral adverbial clause: independent phonological phrase. Central adverbial clause: part of matrix phonological domain (= matrix focus domain)

2.4 A syntactic account?

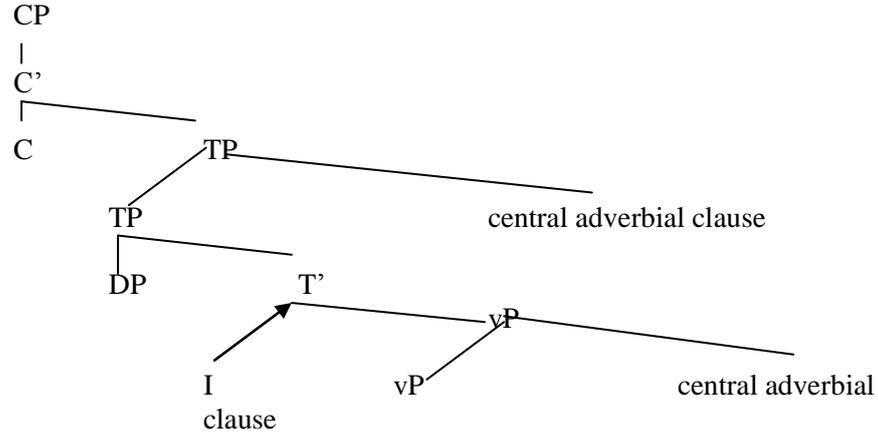
2.4.1. NO SYNTACTIC ACCOUNT?

a subordinate clause is a syntactically dependent clause. Such questions as the scope of negation, focusing, modality, etc.; in the head clause are immaterial to this, as they pertain, not to syntactic, but to semantic integration (Declerck and Reed 2001: 37-8)

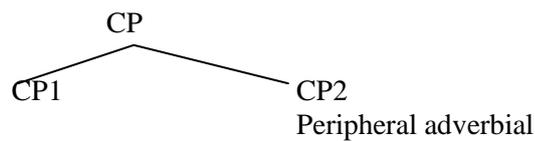
2.4.2. DEGREES OF SUBORDINATION: A REPRESENTATION (HAEGEMAN 1984A,B, 1991)

A first approximation:

(16) a Central adverbial clauses: event structure (cf Thompson 1994, Nissenbaum 2000)



b ‘Peripheral ‘ adverbial clauses:



Note:

- Under Emonds’s (1969) definition of ‘root clauses’, ‘either the highest S in a tree, an S immediately dominated by the highest S or the reported S in direct discourse’ (1969:6, cited in Heycock 2006) CP2 in (16b) qualifies as a ‘root clause’ and hence is expected to share the properties of root clauses.

Given an articulated TP structure along the lines of Cinque (1999) and an articulated CP along the lines of Rizzi (1997) many more finegrained distinctions are obviously conceivable. I leave this aside here.

2.5. VP substitution/ellipsis and strict/sloppy identity

- (17) a John will leave the meeting before/if his paper is discussed and so will Bill.
 (i) Bill will also leave the meeting before/if John’s paper is discussed.
 (strict identity)
 (ii) Bill will also leave the meeting before/if his (own) paper is discussed.
 (sloppy identity)
- b Jane has a well paid job, while her husband is unemployed, and so does Mary.
 (i) ‘Mary also has a well paid job’
 (ii) NOT: ‘Mary_i ‘s husband has been unemployed for a while’

- (18) We don’t put on a funny accent when we mention European place names- or, at least, most of us don’t [‘put on a funny accent when we mention European place names’], so why should broadcasters do it [‘put on a funny accent when they mention European place names’]?
 (Independent, Review, 6.10.1, page 2, col 6 (Christine Vincent, Stevenage, Hertfordshire, Letters to the editor))

2.6. Quantifier binding

- (19) a No student_i is at ease if/when his_i parents turn up at his digs.
 b No student_i is at ease while his_i parents are visiting campus.
 c ??*No student_i was at ease, while his_i parents were enjoying themselves.

3. Internal syntax: ‘Main clause phenomena’ in peripheral adverbial clauses

3.1. Illocutionary force

Peripheral conditionals

It follows that when the Future Perspective System [*will, be going to, lh*] is used in both clauses [as in peripheral conditionals *lh*], the *speaker makes two independent predictions*: there are, as it were, *two illocutionary speech acts*. ... (Declerck and Reed 2001: 131, italics *lh*)

Central conditionals

When the Present Perspective System [present tense with future meaning, *lh*] is used in the subclause [as in central conditionals, *lh*], the speaker makes a single (but complex) prediction: she presents the contents of the two clauses as forming a unit. The use of the Present Perspective System ... is therefore a sign that the two situations must be interpreted as related to each other. This relation may be purely temporal, but in most cases it is also a logical one: if there is no logical relation between two situations, there is as a rule no reason to relate them temporally to each other. ... (Declerck and Reed 2001: 131, italics *lh*)

closed P-clauses [\approx peripheral conditional clauses, *lh*] are always echoic in one sense or another. They can echo straightforward statements about the actual world, or they can echo Q-propositions about a nonfactual world. However, the claim that closed P-propositions are echoic need not mean that they have to be echoes of actual utterances. They may also be echoes of an internal or mental proposition (thought) such as the interpretation of an experience, perception etc. (Declerck and Reed, 2001:83)

- (20) a If we are so short of teachers (‘Jobs crisis grows as new term looms’, August 30), why don’t we send our children to Germany to be educated? (Letters to the editor, Eddie Catlin, Norwich, *Guardian*, 31.8.1, page 9, col 5)
- b And why, if dialogue is vital and inevitable in resolving conflicts, as Mr Blair insists, does the US refuse to talk to the Taliban? (*Guardian*, 3.11.1, page 9, col 2)
- c ‘This isn’t about Islam’...
 The trouble with this necessary disclaimer is that it isn’t true. If this isn’t about Islam, why the worldwide Muslim demonstrations in support of Osama bin Laden and al – Quaida ...? (Salmon Rushdie, *Guardian, Saturday review*, 3.11.1, page 13, col 1)
- (21) a She was thinking of how Phillip had buttoned up her fur coat on the platform at Paddington, saying that she mustn’t catch cold because what would they do then? (Ellis, Alice Thomas. *The other side of the fire*, Penguin 1985, 1986: 93)
- b No one would have been too upset about her bad behaviour, because wasn’t that what writers were put on earth to do? (*Observer*, 20.8.2000 page 27, col 8)
- c It surely says something- although who knows what – about our media-saturated culture that the topless shots in question are not of Jordan but the Prime Minister’s wife. (*Observer* 6.2.5. page 10 col 3)
- d Actually, I just made that last one up though, honestly, isn’t all this talk of ‘wibbling’ and ‘frubbling’ just a teensy-weensy bit infantile? (*Observer Magazine*, 10.4.5 p 5 col 1)
- e Oil and electricity are useful, while gold – what’s the point of that? (*Independent on Sunday, Business*, 30.4.6. page 4 col 2)

3.2. High adverbials

3.2.1. SPEECH ACT ADVERBIALS AND CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

- (22) MoodP_{speech act} > MoodP_{evaluative} > MoodP_{evidential} > ModP_{epistemic} >
 TP (Past) > TP (Future) > MoodP_{irrealis} > ModP_{alethic} > AspP_{habitual} > AspP_{repetitive} > AspP_{frequentative} >
 ModP_{volitional} > AspP_{celerative} > TP (Anterior) > AspP_{terminative} > AspP_{continuative} > AspP_{retrospective} > AspP_{proximative}

Handout 1

>AspP_{durative} >AspP_{generic/progressive} > AspP_{prospective} > ModP_{obligation} > ModP_{permission/ability} > AspP_{completive}
 >VoiceP >AspP_{celerative} >AspP_{repetitive} >AspP_{frequentative} (Cinque 2004: 133, his (3), I, Section 5, (108))

- (23) a. ??*If frankly he's unable to cope, we'll have to replace him.
 b. * If they luckily /fortunately arrived on time, we will be saved.
 (Ernst 2007: 1027, Nilsen 2004).
 c. *If George unfortunately/oddly comes, the party will be a disaster. (Ernst 2009: his (55c))
 d. *If George probably comes, the party will be a disaster.
 e. *If the students apparently can't follow the discussion in the third chapter, we'll do the second chapter.
 f. * John will do it if he may/must have time. (Declerck and Depraetere (1995: 278), Heinämäkki (1978: 22), Palmer (1990: 121, 182))

This pattern is not exclusive to English (see Ernst (2009) on French, Chinese and Dutch)

3.2.2. A SYNTACTIC ACCOUNT?

the “F-Spec account [such as Cinque’s (1999) account, lh] has nothing to say about why SpOAs are usually bad in ...the antecedents of conditionals.” (Ernst 2009: 504).

“Such facts may be treated as a purely semantic matter (...) but for the F-Spec approach a semantic explanation must be an add-on to the basic syntactic account” (Ernst 2009: 504).

3.2.3. HIGH ADVERBIALS IN PERIPHERAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

One can also find occurrences of *probably* in antecedents of conditionals which are not that bad.

[24] [a] If Le Pen will probably win, Jospin must be disappointed.

I take the slipperiness of some these [sic] intuitions to be comparable to that found with relative adverb ordering. Consequently I will try to stick to phenomena for which intuitions are sharper. (2004:811, note 5)

‘slipperiness’: due to fact that (24a) is peripheral, and allows high modals.

- (24) b. If it might be heads or it might be tails, then you should not place a bet. (Faller 2002: 217)
 c. Some appear to have been utilitarian knives and show evidence of use and resharpening, while others probably circulated as items of status and were included in burials. (John Charles Whittaker: Flintknapping: making and understanding stone tools (google))
 d. [A referendum on a united Ireland]...will be a ‘good thing, because frankly they need to be taken down a peg and come down to earth and be a little bit more sober in their approach to things. (*Guardian*, 22.7.2, page 4, col 4)
 e. Others cited include the rate at which one might expect postilions to be struck by lightning, the number of major earthquakes to be recorded in any one year; and even the number of copies of the Independent which a newsagent ought to order (though surely this newspaper’s sales can’t be as rare as that? (*Guardian*, 14.3.2, page 7, col 8)

3.2.4. CLITIC CLIMBING AND ITALIAN *SEMBRARE*3.2.4.1. *L-sembrare* vs. *F-sembrare*

Burzio (1986: 737) : Italian *sembrare*: control verb (25) (clitic climbing *→bi-clausal) or raising (26) (clitic climbing % *→biclausal; % OK: ‘reanalysis’ Cinque 2004: 171, note 27):

- (25) a Sembrava di vederlo. Control

- (it) seem-PAST-3SG to see it
'It seemed like he was seeing it.'
- b *Lo sembrava di vedere. (Zushi 2005: 737)
(Burzio 1986: 392, note 42, Benincà and Poletto 1994: 40 (9a-c))
- c Giovanni sembrava vederlo. 'Raising'
Giovanni seem- PAST-3SG see him
'Giovanni seemed to see him.'
- d %* / %√ Giovanni lo sembrava vedere.⁴ (Zushi 2005: 737)

For other speakers of Italian, though, raising *sembrare* ('seem') may also pattern with restructuring verbs and allow clitic climbing.). For such speakers, (25d) is grammatical (hence my: %√), and so are the examples in (26):

- (26) a Lo sembra fare volentieri.
it seem-3SG do willingly
'He seems to do it willingly.'
- b Ci sembrano andare.
there seem-3PL go.
'They seem to be going there.'
- c Gli sembravate parlare amichevolmente.
him-DAT seem-PAST-2PL talk friendly
'You seemed to be talking in a friendly way to him.'
(from Benincà and Poletto 1994: 40, their (9a-c)):

Cinque (2004): when *sembrare* allows clitic climbing: merged as a high modal MoodP_{evidential} head (cf. 22; such speakers have (i) lexical verb *sembrare* - without clitic climbing and compatible with EXPERIENCER argument, and (ii) functional ('restructuring') *sembrare*, with clitic climbing and incompatible with EXPERIENCER argument .

- (27) a Gianni non lo sembra apprezzare abbastanza.
Gianni *non* it seem-3SG appreciate enough
'Gianni does not seem to appreciate it enough.'
- b Gianni non ci sembra apprezzarlo.
Gianni *non* to-us seem-3SG appreciate it
'To us, Gianni does not seem to appreciate it.'
- c *Gianni non ce lo sembra apprezzare abbastanza.
Gianni *non* to-us it seem-3SG appreciate enough

Semantic difference: L-*sembrare* vs. F-*sembrare*:

Cinque (2004): Lexical verb *sembrare* 'literally means that a certain state of affairs seems to be true (to someone) (28a).' Functional *sembrare* is an evidential modal 'which (mildly) commits the speaker to a certain state of affairs.' (28b) (see Cinque 2004: 157).⁵

- (28) a Gianni sembra a tutti apprezzarlo molto, (ma io non credo che lo apprezzi.)
Gianni seem_L-3SG to everybody appreciate it much, (but I *non* believe that it appreciate-3SG)

⁴ Clitic climbing is restricted to third person clitics: see Cinque (2004: 141, footnote 27) for details and a tentative account.

Zushi (2005: 737) only reports on data with clitic climbing.

⁵ One might propose that functional *sembrare* has a modal reading, while lexical *sembrare* is more of a perception verb. In terms of Papafragou (2006) and Ernst (2008) lexical *sembrare* instantiates 'objective' evidentiality, and functional *sembrare* instantiates 'subjective' modality; following Nuyts (2000) one might make the distinction in terms of descriptive vs. performative modality.

- ‘Everyone seems to believe that Gianni appreciates it a lot, (but I don’t think that he does).’
- b #Gianni lo sembra_F apprezzare molto, ma io non credo che lo apprezzi.
Gianni it seem-3SG appreciate much, but I *non* believe that it appreciate-3SG
- (29) a MoodP_{speech act}>MoodP_{evaluative}>**MoodP_{evidential}**> ModP_{epistemic}>TP (Past) > TP (Future)
>MoodP_{irrealis} >ModP_{alethic}>AspP_{habitual}>AspP_{repetitive}>AspP_{frequentative}>ModP_{volitional}>
AspP_{celerative}>TP (Anterior)> AspP_{terminative} >AspP_{continuative}>AspP_{retrospective} >
AspP_{proximative} >AspP_{durative} >AspP_{generic/progressive} > AspP_{prospective}> ModP_{obligation}>
ModP_{permission/ability}> AspP_{completive} >VoiceP>AspP_{celerative} >AspP_{repetitive} >AspP_{frequentative}
(Cinque 2004: 133, his (3))
- b He might_{alethic} seem to understand it (but I think he has not understood a thing).
- c Potrebbe_{alethic} sembrare_L capirlo (ma io sono sicura che non abbia capito niente).⁶
may-COND-3SG seem understand it (but I am sure that he has not understood anything.)
- d *?Lo potrebbe_{alethic} (sembrare_F capire (ma io sono sicura che non abbia capito niente).
it may-COND- 3SG seem understand (but I am sure he has not understood a thing)

Note:

the analysis allows us to make additional predictions with respect to the distribution of clitic climbing with *sembrare*. For instance, if *sembrare* is embedded under the functional modal *volere* (‘want’), the hierarchy (29a) leads to the prediction that *sembrare* has to be lexical and hence it will resist clitic climbing, also for speakers for whom it can otherwise be functional. Thus (29e) below ought to be ungrammatical and (29f) should be grammatical. In Table 2 I reproduce the judgements of three speakers:

Table 2: *sembrare* embedded under *volere*

		Speaker A	Speaker B	Speaker C
(29e)	Non volevo sembrarla seguire. <i>Non</i> want-PAST-1SG seem her follow	*?	*	OK
(29f)	Non volevo sembrare seguirla.	OK	??	??

The contrasts found with speakers A and B are as predicted (though it is not clear why speakers B & C should not fully accept (ib)), but those of speaker C may seem unexpected. Speaker C’s judgements become compatible with the account here if we assume that *volere* may also take a CP (control) complement (Cinque 2004: 157).

- (29) e’ Non volevo [_{CP} sembrar_{evidential} la seguire]

In such an analysis *sembrare* would be able to be in the embedded Mood_{evidential} and would restructure with the lower verb. *Volere* itself would be in a higher clausal domain.

3.2.4.2. *Sembrare* and Adverbial clauses

- (30) a Se sembrano trovar-lo troppo difficile, faremo il secondo capitolo.
if seem-3PL find-it too difficult, do-FUT-1PL the second chapter
‘If they seem to find it too difficult, we’ll do the second chapter.’
- b *Se lo sembrano trovare troppo difficile, faremo il secondo capitolo.

⁶ Burzio’s (111b) (1986: 263), in (i), = lexical *sembrare*:

- (i) Potrebbe sembrargli che Giovanni sia qui.
could seem-to-him that Giovanni be here
(i) embedded under alethic *potere*
(ii) EXPERIENCER argument (*gli*).

if it seem-3PL find too difficult, do-FUT-1PL the second chapter
'If they seem to find it too difficult, we'll do the second chapter.'

- (31) a Anche se lo sembrano trovare difficile, non lo hanno trovato impossibile.
even if it seem-3PL find difficult, *non* it have-3PL found impossible
'Even if they seem to be finding it difficult, they have not found it impossible.'
- b Se le prime domande le sembrava capire, le successive invece non le capiva più.
if the first questions them seem-PAST-3SG understand, the later however, *non* them
understand-PAST-3SG more
'If the first questions, he seemed to understand, the later ones he did not understand
any more.'
- c Mentre la sua posizione su gay lo sembra danneggiare, la sua sincerità lo
avvantaggerà.
while the his position on gays him seem-3SG damage, the his sincerity him advantage-
FUT-3SG
'Whereas his position on homosexuals seems to put him at a disadvantage, his honesty
will be an advantage.'

The absence of clitic climbing with *sembrare* in central adverbial clauses is in line with the fact that high modals are also often problematic.

3.2.4.3. French *sembler* and the restriction on high modals

Cinque: F-*sembler* (32a) with *tous à gauche (L-tous)* as evidence for 'restructuring', but the fact that in this use French *sembler* ('seem') is compatible with central conditional clauses (32b) is an argument in favour of its status as a lexical verb and against Cinque's proposal (cf. Haegeman 2006b for more discussion).

- (32) a Ils ont tout semblé comprendre.
They have-3PL all seem-PART understand
'They had looked as if they understood everything.'
- b S'ils avaient tout semblé comprendre, je n'aurais pas dû reprendre mon cours.
.if they have-PAST-3PL all seem-PART understand, I have-COND-1SG have-part start
again my class
'If they had looked as if they understood everything, I would not have had to repeat
the course.'

3.2.5. POLARITY EMPHASIS AND ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

3.2.5.1. Emphatic *bien* in Spanish (Hernanz 2007a,b)

- (33) a Bien me gustaría ayudarte, pero no puedo. (Hernanz 2007b : 113 (17b))
Well CL-DAT would please help+CL-ACC, but (I) can't.
'I would really like to help you, but I can't.'
- b Como Julia (*bien) fuma, siempre se está quejando. (2007b : 130 : (51a))
Since Julia well smokes, she is always complaining
'Ever since Julia has been smoking, she has been complaining.'
- c Cuando Pepe (*bien) trabaja, ve la televisión. (2007b : 130 : (51b))
When Pepe (well) works, he watches television
'When Pepe is working, he watches TV.'
- d Julia no ha ido a trabajar porque (*bien) estaba enferma. (= *because* (4a))
Julia not has gone to work because indeed be-PAST-3SG ill (2007b : 131 (54a))
'Julian hasn't gone to work because (**indeed*) she's ill.'
- e Julia no debe de estar enferma, porque bien ha ido a trabajar. (= *because* (4b))
Julia *no* must *de* be ill, because *bien* has gone to work
'Julia must not be ill, because indeed she went to work.' (2007b : 131 (54b))

3.2.5.2. Emphatic *do* in English

- (34) a He never says anything but when he does speak up, he can be very aggressive.
b If we do find him, we'll call you immediately.

3.3. The double asymmetry

3.3.1. CENTRAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES: ARGUMENT ADJUNCT ASYMMETRY

No argument fronting

- (35) a When she began to write her regular column again, I thought she would be OK.
a' *When her regular column she began to write again, I thought she would be OK.
b While I was revising this paper last week, I thought of another analysis.
b' *While this paper I was revising last week, I thought of another analysis.
c I won't take time off until I have finished this handout.
c' *I won't take time off until this handout I have finished.
d If you don't pass these exams, you won't get the degree.
d' *If these exams you don't pass, you won't get the degree.

Adjunct fronting is available (and easy to come by):

- (36) 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 When last month she began to write a regular column for the Times (at a reported £ 250,000 a year), I thought, that's it – the parachute – she and Harry are bailing out and going home. (*Guardian*, G2, 21.1.2, page 8 col 5)
v Part of me thinks that when in times of crisis the police urge people not to travel unless absolutely necessary, theatres should help by closing down. (*Independent* 16.7.5 page 37 col 6)
f I used to listen to them dutifully in the car until one day the car was stolen and I thought: 'Well, I'm sorry to lose the car but there is one consolation...' (*Observer*, 27.3.5 page 1 review col 3)
e It recently took me 21 days to get round to replacing the lightbulbs in my kitchen, which for several weeks had been blowing one-by-one until finally the room was plunged into darkness. (*Guardian*, G2, 24.11.08, page 14 col 1)
f Next it was Kent Wood's turn, and we had yet more waffle about "ambiguous" evidence before finally⁷ he too put the point that there was no evidence for an effect beyond the placebo effect. (<http://www.layscience.net/node/828>)
g After finally he reaches Alaska, he enjoys the wilderness for a while. But as he gets poisoned and dies in the wilderness, he realizes that he wants to go back, not just because he is sick but because he is lonely.
(<http://room701.wordpress.com/2008/11/23/psychological-approach-to-the-movie-into-the-wild/>)
- (37) VP preposing: He told me to pass the exams and pass the exams, I did.
a *When passed the exams you have, you'll get the degree.
b *You won't allowed in until passed the exams you have.
c *If pass these exams, you do, you'll get the degree.

⁷ Observe that with *before* and *after*, only *-ly* adverbs are possible; PP & DP adjuncts are not possible, for reasons which I don't (yet) understand:

- (i) a *... before last week he put the point that...
b *... before during the meeting he put the point that...

Handout 1

- (38) Preposing around *be*: Present at the party were also a number of under age children.
 a *While present at the party were some under age children, they showed X-rated films.
 b *If present at the party are under age children, they won't be able to show the X-rated films.

3.3.2. CENTRAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES: ENGLISH ARGUMENT FRONTING VS ROMANCE CLLD

- (39) a. *Se gli esami finali non li superi, non otterrai il diploma.* (It)
 if the final exams *non* them pass-2SG, *non* obtain-FUT-2SG the diploma
 'If you don't pass the final exams, you won't get the diploma.'
 (Haegeman 2006: (22a))
 b. *Si aquest examen no l'aproves amb un cinc, perdràs el curs sencer.* (Cat)
 if this exam *no* it pass-2SG with a five, lose-FUT-2SG the course entire
 'If you don't pass this exam with a 5, you'll miss the whole year.'
 (Haegeman 2006: (23a))
 c. *Si este examen no lo apruebas con un cinco, perderás el curso entero.* (Sp)
 if this exam *no* it finish-2SG with a five, lose-FUT-2SG the course entire
 'If you don't pass this exam with a 5, you'll miss the whole year.'
 (Haegeman 2006: (24))
 d. %*Si ce livre-là tu le trouves à la Fnac, achète-le.*⁸ (Fr)
 if this book there you it find-2SG at the Fnac, buy-it.
 'If here you find this book at the FNAC, buy it' (Haegeman 2006: (25))
 e. *An afto to vivlio to vris stin dhimotiki vivliothiki,*⁹ (Gr)
 if this the book it find-2SG in-the local library
boris na to paraggilis stin kentriki vilviothiki.
 could-2SG- PRT it order-2SG in-the central library
 'If you find this book at the local library, then you can order it in the central library.'
 (Haegeman 2006: (26))
 f. *Quand cette chanson je l'ai entendue, j'ai pensé à mon premier amour.* (Fr)
 When that song I it have heard-fem I have thought of my first love

3.3.3.. PERIPHERAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES: ARGUMENT FRONTING: ATTESTED EXAMPLES

- (40) a It is amazing how this view could have spread about someone who changed the image of causes like Aids and landmines, and in doing so showed a possible new role for the royals. It is particularly ironic since so much of what Diana did for her fellow humans she did with no concern for publicity whatsoever. (*Guardian*, G2, 31.8.4 page 9 col 2)
 b And yet some popular things are so brilliant, like *The Simpsons* and the Angel of the North. While other brilliant things hardly any one buys – I'd put my friend's first novel and sherry in this category. (*Observer* 6.12.09 page 34 col 2)
 c I think we have more or less solved the problem for donkeys here, because those we haven't got, we know about. (*Guardian*, G2, 18.2.3, page 3, col 2).
 d Naturally, my carrots, peas, beans, potatoes, lettuces and tomatoes have a taste beyond compare, although whether it is because they are organic or just mine I am not sure. (*Guardian* 6.11.3. page 2, col 1)
 e We don't look to his paintings for common place truths, though truths they contain none the less. (*Guardian*, G2, 18.02.3, page 8, col 1)
 f If some precautions they did indeed take, many other possible measures they neglected.
 g His face not many admired, while his character still fewer felt they could praise.
 (Quirk et al 1985: 1378)

⁸ There is considerable variation among informants

⁹ Thanks to Anna Roussou for the MG data. For similar observations see also Anagnostopoulou (1997).

3.3.4. FOCUSING IN CENTRAL ADVERBIAL CLAUSES: IN SITU FOCUS/CLEFTING/HNPS

- (41) a He was always there ready with money but when I needed ADVICE he was nowhere to be found.
 He was always there ready with money but when it was ADVICE and HELP I needed he was not to be found.
- b. He promised us his support but as soon as we needed CASH, he was no longer interested.
 He promised us his support but as soon as it was CASH that we needed, he was no longer interested.
- c. Of course I wanted a left wing government. If I had wanted a RIGHTWING government, I would not have voted Labour.
 If it had been a RIGHT WING government that I wanted I would not have voted Labour.
- d. When CLINTON was involved in messy affairs we were supposed to forget it, but now that it is a Roman Catholic bishop we are all shocked.
 When it was CLINTON who was involved in messy affairs we were supposed to forget it, but now that it is a Roman Catholic bishop we are all shocked.
- e. I have two types of mosquito lotion...But I found that if you put in your pockets dryer sheets, ...it keeps them away. (Wallenberg 2009: 218: (14))
- f. I was quite surprised when I discovered among the documents a paper on adverbial clauses which he had written when he was only 18.

3.4. Stylistic inversion in French adverbial clauses

- (42) a Marie est arrivée hier. *Est arrivée Marie hier.
 Marie is arrived yesterday
- b Quand est arrivée Marie ?
 when is arrived Marie
- c A ce moment est arrivée Marie
 at that moment is arrived Marie
- d Quand avait débuté le salon Sainte-Euverte...
 when had started the salon Sainte Euverte
 When the Salon Sainte Euverte had opened'
 (Proust, Le Bidois 1952:302)

Table 3: SI in central adverbial clauses (based on Lahousse 2003a)

Temporal adverbials	Additional factors		No additional factor
	Adjunct in front of V	Other factor	
Source: Frantext (1995-2000)			
<i>Quand</i> ('when') : 289 examples	47 examples	114 examples	128 examples
<i>Pendant que</i> ('while') : 51examples	12 examples	18 examples	21 examples

Table 4: SI in peripheral adverbial clauses (based on Lahousse 2003a)

Temporal adverbials	Additional factors		No additional factor
	Adjunct in front of V	Other factor	
Source: Frantext (1995-2000)			
Causal adverbials			
<i>Parce que</i> ('because') :	9 examples	10 examples	

19 examples.			
<i>Puisque</i> ('since') : 15 examples.	10 examples	5 examples	
<u>Concessives</u>			
<i>Bien</i> ('even though') : 4 exemples	3 examples	1 example	

- (43) a Un nom prédestiné, parce que là renaîtrait le phénix. (Japrisot 1966, Lahousse 2005: (18b))
 a predestined name because there would be reborn the phenix
- b Bien que dans leur conversation résonnât une rumeur qui ne semblait pas nouvelle, ...
 even though in their conversation was reborn a rumour that did not seem novel
- c Là renaîtrait le phénix. (based on Japrisot 1966, Lahousse 2005: (18b))
 there would be reborn the phenix
- d Dans leur conversation résonnât une rumeur qui ne semblait pas nouvelle, ...
 In their conversation was reborn a rumour that did not seem novel

3.5. VP ellipsis with temporal clauses as antecedents (Takahashi 2008a,b)

- (44) Context:
 Shoichi works at a day care with three babies, John, Bill, and Jesse, each of whom has a certain problem. John only has good digestion when Agnes feeds him. Bill sometimes refuses to eat. Jesse is a loud crier.

Sally: How was your day at work?

- a S1: A nightmare!!! Lots of things went wrong. Agnes arrived after John ate lunch. Bill didn't eat lunch. Jesse cried for hours.
- b S1: A nightmare!!! Lots of things went wrong. Agnes arrived after John ate lunch. *Bill didn't <eat lunch>. Jesse cried for hours.

The ungrammaticality of VP-ellipsis in ...[44] above can be taken as revealing that there is a structural piece in the complement of temporal adverbials, such ... *after*, which is not present in root clauses (e.g. *Bill didn't eat lunch*) and has an effect on ellipsis licensing. ... (Takahashi 2008a: 446).

- (45) Context:
 Shoichi works at a day care with three babies, John, Bill, and Jesse, each of whom has a certain problem. John only has good digestion when Agnes feeds him. Bill sometimes refuses to eat. Jesse is a loud crier.

Sally: How was your day at work?

- a S1: A nightmare!!! Lots of things went wrong. Agnes was absent when John ate lunch. Bill didn't eat lunch. Jesse cried for hours.
- b S1: A nightmare!!! Lots of things went wrong. Agnes was absent John ate lunch. *Bill didn't <eat lunch>. Jesse cried for hours.

- (46) a John kept getting closer to the window while his father was arguing that the Patriots would win. In fact, they did <win>.
- b Bill got healthy after Sue went to the hospital, but John got sick after Mary did <go to the hospital>. (Takahashi 2008b:7, his (15))

- (47) a. John kept getting closer to the window although his father scolded him.

- But, his mother didn't <scold him>.
 b. John kept getting closer to the window although his father scolded him.
 So, his mother also did <scold him>. (Takahashi, 2008b: 2, (3))

Observe that the fact that VP ellipsis is freely available in embedded domains which are known to resist VP topicalisation (48) is problematic for those analyses that derive VP ellipsis via VP-movement (e.g. Johnson 2001).

- (48) a You should pass these two exams. If you do <pass these two exams>, you'll get the degree.
 b. You should pass these exams. *If pass these exams you do, you'll get the degree.

3.6. Some other contrasts

3.6.1. SUBJECT AUXILIARY INVERSION IN ENGLISH CENTRAL CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

- (49) a It is to your credit that you are concerned with your husband's future should you leave him. (*Guardian*, G2, 16.1.4, page 6, col 1)
 b Should the court refuse to set the judgement aside, and the Orams fail to comply, then we will try, within the spirit of EU regulations, to have the judgement registered in the UK and have it enforced that way. (*Observer*, 20.2.5 page 7 col 1)
 c Back in 1991 I was a very bad actor and would have been out of work had I not busked my way into a number of kitchens. (*Guardian*, G2, 31.3.4, page 14, col 2)
 d Had the money not been returned, the evidence would have pointed strongly to a conclusion that the NRCC 'financed' the Forum. (*Washington Post*, 29.4.3, page A18, col.3)
- cf e If you had already talked to him two weeks before the incident, why did you return yesterday?
 f *Had you already talked to him by then, why did you return later?

3.6.2. 'PUTATIVE SHOULD IN CENTRAL CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

- (50) a If you see him, tell him I want to talk to him.
 b If you should see him tell him I want to talk to him.
 c I crime is falling, why are our prisons full?
 d *If crime should be falling, why are our prisons full?

4. Overview

Table 5: Two types of adverbial clauses

	Central adverbial	Peripheral adverbial
<i>If=If and when</i>	+	-
Temporal subordination	+	-
In scope of matrix adverbials	+	-
In scope of matrix negation	+	-
In scope of matrix interrogative/focus	+	-
1 Prosodic domain with associated clause	+	-
Affected by VP ellipsis/substitution (Eng)	+	-
Matrix quantifier can bind pronoun in adverbial clause	+	-
Illocutionary force	-	+
High adverbs	- (esp conditionals)	+
Clitic climbing <i>sembrare</i>	-	+
Polarity emphasis: Emphatic <i>bien</i> (Hernanz)	-	+

Argument (+VP, etc) fronting: Eng	-	+
CLLD (Romance)	+	+
Adjunct fronting	+ (* <i>while</i> McCloskey 2006)	+
French Stylistic inversion without extra factor (Lahousse 2003)	+	-
Antecedent for VP ellipsis (Takahashi)	-	+
SAI (Engl)	+	-
Putative <i>should</i> (Eng)	+	-

5. Speech act conditionals: a separate case.¹⁰

5.1. The data

- (51) a David Davis even said he had been a personal friend of Mr Clarke for 30 years. He had just faced his greatest test. If I may say so, I commend how he has personally responded to, and risen to that occasion. (*Guardian*, 21.7.5 page 2 col 8)
- b 'If you don't mind me asking,' ventures the BAT press officer. 'Why are you particularly interested in Iran?' (observe: capital Why) (*Guardian*, 2.9.5 pa 24 col 1)
- c I was on CNN on Saturday, introduced as the Voice of Leeds... What they wanted to know from the Voice of Leeds was what people in my city, the city of the suicide bombers were talking about. I chuntered on a little about a sense of shock, about generally harmonious race relations and so on, but if I were being honest, what most of the people I met over the weekend were talking about was the Open bloody golf Championship. (*Guardian*, 18.7.5 page 28 Sport col 1)
- d Leasing out video-conferencing facilities was where it was at, if I recall – that and being some kind of ceremonial bag carrier for the Lord Lieutenant of Devon. (*Guardian*, G2, 18.10.5 page 14 cols 2-3)
- e Oh, and 'desquamation' means scaling of the skin cause by a surfeit of vitamin A, in case you were wondering. (*Guardian*, Review 16.7.5 p. 24 col 4)
- f In fact, poor old 't' is disappearing even in the middle of words – e.g. 'butters' is commonly said as 'buyers'. The most stable letters are 'm' and 'n', if you're interested: they're very unlikely to disappear from spoken language. (*Observer* 14.8.5 pa 8 col 3)
- g If Hughes and Oaten are anything to go by, it's a matter of time until Lib Dem Front-runner 'Ming' Campbell gets bogged down in Scandal. (*Independent* 2.1.6 p 34 col 3)
- h Just in case you're going to be busy on April 17, we present a (rather) short summary below. (*Guardian*, G2? 1.3.6 page 3 col 1)
- i Before you point it out, I know I am choosing an unrepresentative sample group, made up of middle class teenagers. (*Independent on Sunday* 5.11.6 page 40 col 2)
- j While we're on the subject of Robbie, a number of postings on the Popbitch gossip website have speculated about his future collaborators. (*Guardian*, The editor, 6.4.2., page 17, col 4) f And while we are in a crane mode, if someone puts 'long' on the board, slap an 'f' in front of it to make 'flong' – a papier-mache, plate making mould, long since disappeared from the industry, but still in the dictionary. *Observer*, 24?12.6 page 22 col 6 (on scrabble)
- k I possibly have rose-tinged memories because I'd just attained my first girlfriend and earned and spent my first own money (on a small bottle of Brut for Men by Fabergé, since you ask, and , yes, it still astonishes me how the acquisition of the second did not more violently militate against the acquisition of the first.) (*Observer* 6.11.5; page 18 col 1)

Interpretation: mostly \approx central (*if, before, in case, while*) but also *since*, \approx peripheral.

5.2. Some patterns

¹⁰ See Haegeman 1991 for a syntactic proposal. For some discussion see also Ros (2005).

Handout 1

- (52) a *It is while we're on the subject of Robbie, that a number of postings on the Popbitch gossip website have speculated about his future collaborators. (Guardian, The editor, 6.4.2., page 17, col 4)
- b When have a number of postings on the Popbitch gossip website speculated about his future collaborators ?
#While we're on the subject of Robbie.
- (53) a *The most stable letters are 'm' and 'n', if in this sort of things you're interested: they're very unlikely to disappear from spoken language.
- b *While Robbie we're talking about, a number of postings on the Popbitch gossip website have speculated about his future collaborators.
- c If for some reason you're interested, it's going to be in Paris this year.
- (37) a If you're interested, it's (not) going to be in Paris this year.
- b If you should be interested, it's (not) going to be in Paris this year.
- c Should you be interest, it's going to be in Paris this year.

5.3. Partial survey

Table 5: three types of conditional clauses (and of adverbial clauses)

	Central	Propositional/peripheral	Illocutionary/peripheral
<i>If and when</i>	+	-	-
Temporal subordination	+	-	- (anchored to present)
In scope of matrix adverbials	+	-	-
In scope of matrix negation	+	-	-
In scope of matrix interrogative/focus	+	-	-
Affected by VP ellipsis	+	-	-
Argument fronting	-	+	-
Adjunct fronting	+	+	+
SAI (Engl)	+	-	+
Irrealis <i>should</i>	+	-	+