TOWARDS A THEORETICAL TREATMENT OF LEFT-DISLOCATED SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

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1. INTRODUCTION

Among the many proposals put forth in the last decade in order to radically simplify and/or constrain grammars, the theory of Antisymmetry advocated in Kayne (1994) is both fascinating and frustrating. It is fascinating because of its reduction of all constituent structure to a basic phrase schema \([XP \ X^o YP]\), which can be enriched by means of one and only one instance of "adjunction", that of a single ZP to the left – what is traditionally known as a specifier –, yielding a variant of the canonical X-bar structure in which the intermediate level is also symbolized as XP, rather than X' \([XP \ ZP [XP \ X^o YP]]\) — in other words, both adjunction to the right, and multiple adjunction to the left, are forbidden, thereby drastically constraining syntactic representations. Kayne's theory is also frustrating, as said above, insofar as the derivation of structures which are otherwise – or were formerly – analysed as instantiating axiomatically ruled-out adjunction implies the (apparent or real) stipulation of

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1 This paper is a deeply revised version of the first half of the talk I gave at the Bayonne Conference organised by the CNRS (UMR 5478 "IKER") and the Basque Academy in Memory of Pierre Lafitte. The second half of it, which investigates in detail the morphology, syntax, and semantics of Basque correlative complex sentences, is addressed in Rebuschi (2001c).

The following abbreviations will be used: CL, [noun] class; COM, comitative; E, ergative case; IMP, imperative; LOC, locative; NEG, negation; PROSP, prospective aspect; SUBJ, subjunctive.
abstract or phonetically empty heads — and correlatively, in a good many cases, of (otherwise unmotivated) movement of various phrases to the Spec. position of those heads.2

This paper has two aims. First, it will show that the hitherto unexplained presence of coordinating or "copulative" conjunctions (typically eta 'and' in Basque and its counterparts in many other natural languages) in certain constructions is precisely the lexical realisation of the underlying heads postulated by the Kaynean framework. Second, it will also argue that the base-generation (or [direct] Merging, in Minimalist parlance) of ZPs in the specifier position of these heads is in many cases superior to a (multiple-) movement analysis.

2. SOME NON-CANONICAL USES OF ETA 'AND' IN BASQUE AND RELATED PHENOMENA IN OTHER NATURAL LANGUAGES

2.1. Lafitte's data

In Lafitte's *Grammaire basque [...]* (1962: 105), although the reference is not given in the index, at least two "unexpected" uses of the (otherwise?) coordinating conjunction eta are given, in relation with "left-hanging" free relatives like (1) below (Lafitte's own example). [Since the expression "left-dislocation" is traditionally associated with base-generation, adopting it would be begging the question of whether the left-peripheric free relatives are base-generated there, or transformationally raised, whence my more neutral choice here].

(1) Nork ere erran bautautari, gezurti bat da.

who *ere* said *bait*-he-has-it-to-you liar one he-is

'Whoever said so is a liar' lit. 'Whoever said so, he's a liar.'

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2 I will not address here the other consequence of Kayne's Axiom of Linear Correspondence or LCA, which basically reduces to the idea that linear precedence always means asymmetric c-command, and therefore implies that the basic order [Spec [Head-Complement]] is universal (although, as pointed out to me by Janne B. Johannessen, p.c., [[C-HJS] should also be allowed). For a vindication of this very strong claim as far as languages which are (apparently) partially, or totally "head final", see for instance Zwart (1993, 1994) on Dutch, and Whitman (2000) on Japanese.

1 *Ere* is best left untranslated, in spite of its resemblance to English *ever* is such contexts, and *bait-* is a suffixal C° that introduces both causal clauses (in all dialects) and certain relative clauses in the Northern dialects studied here (it also appears as a suffix in certain indefinite pronouns): see Rebuschi (2001c) for some discussion of those two items.
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The author comments: “Basque speakers like to represent the element expressed in a relative form in the subordinate clause by a demonstrative pronoun from the hura series, and the interrogative word may be followed by eta” (emphasis mine, GR), and illustrates:

(2) Non eta ere aukituko baituzu, han hil zazu.
where and ere find-PROSP bait-you-have-him there kill AUX[IMP]
‘Wherever you find him, kill him there.’

Next, he adds: “Often, this demonstrative element is preceded by eta, which strengthens it”, and provides the following example:

(3) Otoitz egin dezagun, nor ere penetan baita, eta harentzat.
prayer make AUX[IMP.IPL] who ere in-pain bait-is and for-him
‘Let’s pray for whoever is in sorrow.’

It is to be noted that if, on the one hand, these two instances of eta are indeed somewhat “special” (for reasons that will be discussed in 4.3 and 5.3), on the other hand, the occurrence of eta in between the free relative clause and the main clause, which, although optional [see the “Ø” in (6a)], is quite natural – and has been attested for centuries – is not even mentioned. Here are, then, a few examples:

(4) Mt, 6.21 For where your treasure is, there will your heart be also.
   a Ezen non ere baida zure tresora,
   for where ere bait-is your treasure
   eta han diteke zure bihotza. Haraneder (1740)
   and there will-be your heart

   b Zure ontasun non, eta zure bihotza han. Léon (1947)
   your treasure where and your heart there

(5) Mt, 7.12 — Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.

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1 “En basque, on aime bien représenter dans la proposition principale par un pronom démonstratif de la série hura l’élément exprimé sous forme relative dans la proposition subordonnée. L’INTERROGATIF PEUT ÊTRE SUIVI DE ETA”. The “demonstrative series” to which hura belongs is the paradigm of distal pronouns; in the dialects spoken in the province of Navarre, on the other hand, [-proximate,-distal] pronouns of the hori “series” are preferred.

2 Note here that the (generally parallel) movement of the Wh- phrase or pronoun and of the correlative element towards the left periphery of their own minimal clause has not take place (on this parallelism, see Izvorski 1996).
a Zer ere, beraz, nahi baiduzue egin what ere therefore want bait-you-have-it do diezazue[te]n zuei gizonek, eta hek guziak they-to-you[SUBJ] to-you men-E and those all egin diotzatzue zuuk ere hei... Haraneder (1740) do you-them-to-them[IMP] you too to-them

b Zer ere nahi baituzue beraz bertzeek zuentzat what ere want bait-you-it thus others-E-PL for-you-PL egitea eta hura bera egizue zuuk ere bertzeentzat. Léon (1947) do(ing) and that same do[IMP] you too for-the-others

(6) Mt, 18.4 — Whosoever therefore shall humble himself as this little child, the same is greatest in the kingdom of heaven.

a Nor ere, beraz, humiliatuko baida who ere thus humble-PROSP bait-AUX[INACC] eta eginen haur xume hau bezala, Ø hura and do-PROSP child little this like that-one diteke handiena zeruetako Erresuman. Haraneder (1740) will-be the-greatest skies-ko realm-LOC

b Nor ere eginen baita haurño hau bezain who ere do-PROSP bait-AUX[INACC] small-child this as-much xume, eta hura da zeruetako erresuman handiena. humble and he/that-on is skies-of realm-LOC the-greatest Léon (1947)

A spontaneous reaction to such examples consists in saying that the conjunction merely provides a (speaker-oriented) kind of adverbial modification translatable by also, too. Such a (purely) pragmatic analysis can certainly be maintained for (4) above, but as (5) shows, eta is compatible with ere ‘too’ – thus, more specifically, although eta cannot be considered to signal that the same “referent” is introduced in the main clause, it cannot either do the job of signalling that a second predicate is, contrary to expectations, introduced and predicated of the same (set of) entities, since it is ere in the apodosis that plays that rôle. What is more, such a “description” does not say anything concerning the syntactic status of eta.

* On this aspect of the use of too, see Fiengo & May (1991).
2.2. Cross-linguistic evidence

I would now like to underline the fact that what functions otherwise as a coordinating conjunction is widely attested cross-linguistically as also introducing the main clause whenever a relative is left-hanging (i.e. in complex sentences with a correlative protasis). Rebuschi (1999, 2001c) provides many examples from ancient or modern Indo-European languages (Hittite, Gotic, Russian, etc.). Here are some more examples, first from a language isolate, Burushaski (Tiffou & Patry 1995: 352-3 (29-30) & (35)):

(7) amenmoiNga bariN écam (ka) mo gusmoiNa gare sail ayét
    which-com words I-will-do and the woman-com with walk don’t
    ‘Dont give a walk with the woman with whom I’ll speak.’

(8) ane bim ka toya pat éten
    where he-was and there him they-left
    ‘They left him at the very place where he was.’

Next, from Swahili:

(9) Awaye yote, na aje.
    he-who-is whoever, and let-him-come[SUBJ]
    ‘Whoever he is, let him come.’

(10) Asiopo, na lake halipo.
    he-who-is-NEG-LOC and his-CL:5 NEG-be-LOC
    [lit.] ‘He who is not here, and his (business) is not here’
    ‘Out of sight, out of mind.’

Consider now the following Old French examples:

(11) Qui vuelt aveir guaagnier et conquerre, / si viegne tost...
    who wants wealth earn and conquer and come-SUBJ early
    ‘If anybody wants to earn and conquer wealth, let him come quick.’
    (Couronnement Louis, 1621-22)

(12) Dex est charitez, et qui vit / en charité, Selone l’escrit Sainz
    God is charity and who lives in charity according-to the-writ St
    Polz ou je le vi ET lui, / il meint an Deu et Deux en lui.
    Paul where I it saw and he he remains in God and God in him

\* Si was not the hypothetical or conditional particle it is to day (se was used instead, cf. (19-20) below), but a coordinating conjunction that triggered either subject inversion (with a full DP) or the presence of pro.
`God is love and he that dwelleth in love (according to St Paul's writ where I saw it) dwelleth in God, and God in him.'

Chrétien de Troyes (c1175, *Graal*, 45-48)

(13) Qui ne l'a les qu'il prie, / si mesdit d'Amour.
who NEG it has as-soon as he prays and calumniates of-love

‘Who(ever) does not obtain love as soon as he prays defames it.’

Adam de la Halle (end of 13th C., *Chansons* #11, 8-9)

2.3. Preliminary conclusions

The semantic or pragmatic rewording of *eta* as 'also, too' in (5a) or of the conjunctions in (11) - (13) makes no sense, and there is no natural way to account for their presence in ordinary Kaynean terms: if they are “adjoined” in other frameworks, they should then be reanalysed here as specifying a covert or silent functional head above AgrSP; in other words, in order to avoid granting *eta* and its likes (*et* or *si* and *ka* or *na*) the status of a functional head, one would have to place it in the specifier of another, unidentified, functional head — and this, in spite of their solid mono-morphemic status across languages.

On the other hand, considering that the conjunction in the Basque, Burushaski, Old French and Swahili examples above is a *functional head* that

\*\*\* The verse is in fact 1-Jn 4,16, wherefrom I borrowed the standard (King James') translation. Unfortunately, the Navarro-Labourdin translations I have consulted (Liçarrague 1571, Haraneder 1740 and Duvoisin 1855-65) only provide semi-free relative clauses, in -(e)n-a, which, owing to their DP status, are never explicitly linked to the main clause by a conjunction when they are left dislocated — for more on these SFR Clauses, see Rebuschi (2001b), written in a non-Kaynean framework.

Note in passing that in Old French, on the contrary, such examples as the following, although rare, are to be found:

(i) *Li un des barons qui vint a mon seignor Gauvain parler*  
the one of-the earls who came to my lord G. to-talk  
*si* fu *li* rois Yvons de Yrlande...  
*si* was the king Y. of Ireland  

\* Which would probably be hard put to explain why they are adjoined below the correlative CP, rather than above it, for instance...
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takes an IP (or AgrSP, or TP) as its complement and a (free) [+relative] clause or CP as its specifier greatly simplifies the description, and simultaneously renders it compatible with the most constrained version of X-bar theory, namely, Kayne’s – without having recourse to (too much) Movement.

What is more, as shown in Rebuschi (2001c), there are strong arguments in favour of a formal semantic translation of whatever lexicalized or non-lexicalized material such a head contains into a (standard or non-standard) connective; therefore, the “headness” of the conjunction will directly correspond to the rôle played by such a connective from a truth-conditional point of view.10

3. AGAINST MOVEMENT (I)

Several arguments can be provided which show that a base-generated account of complex sentences with left-hanging (subordinate) correlative clauses is superior to one based on movement. One is to show that the pronoun *hura* of examples (5) and (6) or *pro* of (1) and (2) is a real correlative pronoun, i.e. that it is not a resumptive pronoun in one of the two usual senses of the word. This is the question addressed in section 3.1; in 3.2, I will briefly discuss the case of correlative pronouns when two (or more) Wh-Ps appear in the correlative protasis, and will review the relevant part of Bianchi’s (2000) diachronic study in 3.3.

3.1. On resumptive and correlative pronouns

There are three series of facts which indicate that *hura* etc. are neither “intrusive pronouns” nor “true” resumptive ones.

First, as shown in Rebuschi (1998) and summarized in Rebuschi (2001c), 18th and 19th century Labourdin Basque possessed a special pronoun, *haina*, which contributed universal quantification to the root clause, and typically appeared after left-hanging free relatives (as well as Semi-free relatives, but this

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10 This argument, however, is only telling for those who hold that as much compositionality as possible should be allowed at the syntax/semantics interface.
is irrelevant here). Now clearly, if the correlative clause is extracted from somewhere within the “main” AgrSP, a resumptive pronoun will only be the spelling-out of a trace, and it is not expected that a trace should have any semantic import (apart from being translated into a variable). Likewise, the explicit universal quantification provided in the apodosis of examples like (5a) above (bek guziak lit. ‘they all’) seems hardly compatible with a translation of the pronominal correlate into a simple variable.11

Second, the sort of resumptive pronoun alluded to above (and relabelled “intrusive pronouns” by Demirdache (1997), following a distinction established in Sells (1984)) is typical of a well-identified (but, as far as I am concerned, not too well-understood), situation in which the spelling-out of a trace would somehow “salvage” a structure in which that trace is not properly bound. Note, however, that would-be resumptives like pro, hura and haina are perfect when they correspond to a subject position in the apodosis — obviously the one position out of which all the material it contains can be extracted, if any...

Third, there is another type of resumptive pronouns that has been well studied and identified so far; it is the one illustrated by Hebrew, where the demonstrative element (a “pure” resumptive pronoun) is in fact itself a relative pronoun12 that need not raise before “Spell-Out”, but simply may do so: see Demirdache (1997) for exemplification and detailed discussion. Now, here again, such “pure” resumptive pronouns just tend not to appear in subject position cross-linguistically, a fact clearly contradicted by the data discussed here.

3.2. Structures with Multiple Wh-Ps

Now, consider an example like (14), which has counterparts in a good many languages that exhibit correlative constructions (Hindi, Hungarian: see Rebuschi (2001c) for references and details).

11 See Rebuschi (2001c) against a systematic “maximizing” reading of the protasis – at least as far as Basque is concerned.
12 Other languages in which a relative pronoun may (seem to) be borrowed from a demonstrative paradigm are Dutch, German, Old English, and, outside the I.-E. domain, Tswana, for instance.
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(14) *Nork zertan* baitu bere burua bilhatzen alabainan,
who-LOC *bait*-he-has-it himself looking indeed
hartan ere du hark bere amodioa galtzen.
that-LOC also he-has-it he-HE his love losing
lit. 'Thus, in whatever whoever seeks himself, in this very thing he
loses his love too.'

≈ 'In whatever (thing) anybody seeks himself, he loses his love in
that very thing.'

Léon (1929, p. 148: 3.5.6)

Such sentences just cannot be transformationally derived,\(^9\) since extrac-
ting the correlative protasis from, say, the position later filled by the would-
be "resumptive" locative pronominal *hartan* 'there, in it', means that the other
pronoun (in this case *hark*, the ergative form of *hura*) will have to be inter-
preted in some other manner (and *vice versa*, of course).

3.3. V. Bianchi on ancient Indo-European languages

Bianchi (2000) reinterprets Haudry's (1973) findings under the
Antisymmetry hypothesis, and shows that the historically well-established fact
that ancient I.-E. languages first had left-hanging relative clauses, and only dis-
played DP-internal restrictive relatives later, can be reduced to the following.

(a) The correlative was indeed AgrSP-external (curiously, Bianchi does
not discuss the specific position it must have occupied, but the answer is
straightforward, at least from the point of view adopted in this paper), and did
bind a correlative pronoun.

(b) At some time, the relative CP to the left of the main clause happened
to be dominated by a DP node—in strict Kaynean terms, the CP became the
complement of a (possibly phonetically unrealised) $D^\circ$.

(c) One must also assume that left-dislocation as such was independently
available for DPs, with resumptive pronouns in the corresponding A-position
(although this is hardly a far-fetched stipulation, it is not explicitly made by
Bianchi).

(d) Given (b) and (c), the DP-dominated left-hanging relatives were rea-
alysed as just another instance of (usual) DP left-dislocation, being thereby

\(^9\) At least as far as the relationship between the left-hanging subordinate clause and the main
clause to its right is concerned, of course: I do not not intend to discuss here whether Basque
exhibits Wh-movement (as is generally assumed) or whether Wh-Ps are base-generated too,
as advocated by Oyharçabal (1989) and Etchegoyen (1997).
allowed to sit in the A position otherwise occupied by the correlative pronoun, now reanalysed as a resumptive one.

We shall see below that such an analysis is not only diachronically sound, but is also synchronically so, in the sense that deriving various other types of left-hanging subordinate clauses by extractions leads to a proliferation of heads and (sometimes remnant-) movements that are totally unnecessary on a base-generation analysis.

But in order to do so convincingly, I must first examine more closely the syntactic association of left-hanging adverbial clauses with the following "main clause".

4. ON NON-EMBEDDED ADVERBIAL CLAUSES

4.1. Basque indirect evidence for the presence of ETA

Let us consider again Lafitte’s example (2) above, repeated here for easier reference:

(2) Non eta ere akituko baituzu, han hil zazu
    where and ere find-PROSP bait-you-have-him there kill AUX[IMP]
    ‘Wherever you find him, kill him there’

Two questions come to the mind. First, how is it possible for the conjunction eta to appear to the right of the Wh-P within the correlative protasis? And second, is that always possible?

Let us start with the second question, whose answer is easy: in fact, eta only surfaces where it does in (2) when the left-hanging subordinate clause is interpreted, or interpretable, as an adverbial clause – this is most perspicuous with noiz eta ere..., lit. ‘when and ere’ which basically refers to one moment or instant, vs. noiz ere ..., eta... which is normally interpreted generically. Moreover, when the whole complex sentence is a comparative one, as in (15), eta may surface in both positions:

(15) Zenbat eta gehiago edaten bait du,
    how-many and more drinking bait he-has-it,
    hanbat eta zozokeria gehiago erraiten du."

"I must confess I do not know why the second conjunction is much better after the correlative quantifier than to its left (the same is true of the southern dialects, in which an adverbial item like gero lit. ‘later’ also typically precedes the second occurrence of eta in such cases). A possible solution might be found in the multiplicity of functional heads proposed by Beghelli & Stowell (1995), but this issue must be left for future research.
so-much and stupid-thing more saying he-he-has-it
'The more he drinks, the more stupid things he says.'

It is difficult to suggest that *eta* undergoes Raising (or copying plus optional deletion, if we are to take the two examples above into account) from the functional head position it occupies in the other examples (e.g. in (4-6)) to the head of its specifier (the protasis), as this movement would be to a non-c-commanding position: an indirect sort of checking such as the generalised Pied-Piping mechanism proposed by Koster (2000) would certainly fare better, but that is not the issue at stake: what is important here is that *eta* somehow also materializes in complex sentences where the left-hanging clause is basically adverbial. Fortunately, some other natural languages provide much more direct evidence that protactic adverbial clauses may be "associated" to the apodosis or main clause by means of a coordinating or copulative conjunction.

4.2. Direct evidence: Old French

Old French very clearly indicates that left-hanging adverbial clauses can be "connected" to the main clause by the same conjunctions as were shown to be used in correlative sentences – see (11-13) above. In the following examples, the two conjunctions *et* and *si* thus follow time adverbial clauses.

(16)  

a  Einsi est de ce monde: *quant* l'ung descent,
such is of this world when the-one goes-down
*et* l'autre monte.  

*(Proverbes #184, after Ménard 1989)*

and the-other goes-up

b  Or dit li conte *que quant* Lancelot fut venuz a l'eve
then said the tale that when L. was arrived at the-water
de Marcoise, *et* il se vit [...] 
of M. and he himself saw

*(Lancelot en prose, early 13th C., in Torterat 2000)*

c  *Quant* furent assanlé, *et* li pape souspire [...] 
when (they) were gathered and the pope sighs

*(Adam de la Halle, second half of 13th C., Roi de Sicile, 260)*

(17)  

a  Et *quant* el l'ot assés escouté, *si* commença a dire [...] 
and when she him-had enough listened *si* began to say

*(Anon., Aucassin et Nicolette, ±1200, ch. 12)*
Quant ceo ot dit, si se repent.

When that had said si repents
(Marie de France, ±1175, Eliduc, 322)

c Et quant il les vit en apert / que do bois furent
and when he them saw clearly that from-the woods were
discovert / Si li furent molt tres bel et gent
uncovered si to-him were very much beautiful and noble
(Chrétien de Troyes, ±1175, Graal, 123-6)

Note also the following rare example, in which the conjunction si is
directly associated with the *wh*-word, *just as in the Basque example* (2):

(18) Quant si l'aüstic orent pris /
when si the nightingale (they) had seized
Ø al seignur fu renduz tus vis
to-the lord was (it) given-back all alive
(Marie de France, ±1175, Lais de l'aüstic / Le rossignol, 101-102)

Interestingly, Old French used the *same* conjunctions to introduce the
apodosis of complex conditional sentences, as shown in (19) and (20):

(19) a S'en volt ostages, E vos l'en enveiez / U dis u vint
if he wants hostages, and you him send[IMP] or ten or twenty
(Roland, ±1080, 40)

b Se Bel Acuel est franset dous, /
if Noble Welcome is generous and gentle,
et ye be[subj] cruel and arrogant
ET vous soiés fel et estous
(G. de Lorris, ±1230-40, Roman de la Rose, 3697-98)

(20) a Se ele puet, sil retendra
if she can, si+him will-hold
(Marie de France, ±1175, Eliduc, 330 [sil= si+I(e)])

b Se j'estoie fix a roi / S'afferriés vos bien a moi
if I-were son to king, si would-match you well to me
(Aucassin et Nicolette, ±1200, ch. 25, 13-14)

To say that *e(t)* and *si* play the role of the (not temporally interpreted)
"adverb" *then* in a conditional sentence actually begs the question, which is

If was translated by *se*, not *si*, but both forms optionally contracted to *s' when followed
by a word beginning in a vowel.
basically the same one: where does this word come from, or, more technically, what is its position in an X-bar-theoretic representation?  

5. AGAINST MOVEMENT (II)  

5.1. Protactic adverbial clauses  

The question of a possible transformational account of left-hanging adverbial (and hypothetical) clauses is at least as acute as that of transformationally deriving correlative protases. This is so because in order to derive the superficial word order by extracting the subordinate clause out of an apparently right-adjoined position, one has to describe how such a superficial position might be built or derived in the first place.  

To begin with, then, it would be necessary to postulate that, within AgrSP, there is a first functional head H1 (probably identifiable to one of Cinque's (1999) many functional heads) that asymmetrically c-commands the VP (or vP, etc.): time adverbials, for instance, would sit in H1's specifier. But since the adverbial clause surfaces to the right of VP, and given that extraposition (a special instance of right adjunction) is banned, it would next be necessary to raise the adverbial clause from that position to the Specifier of a higher (and not so easily independently justified) covert head H2, which would sit higher than AgrSP. Third, AgrSP itself (i.e. containing the trace of the raised Adverbial clause) would have to raise further to the Spec of a still higher empty head H3. That three such heads and the associated movements are necessary seems unavoidable: although the complement of H1 has phrasal status in this framework (recall the introduction), it cannot undergo direct movement to the Spec position of a higher head H2', because this would result in stranding the subject DP, a devastating effect if any. When the adverbial clause is topicalized, then, one would finally have to posit the existence of a fourth head H4 (possibly materialized by e(t), si etc. in Old French, and eta in Basque), to the specifier of which the subordinate clause would ultimately raise.  

Needless to say, this a very complicated way of deriving what can be generated much more simply: it suffices to posit that there is one head above  

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16 See Rebuschi (2001c) for a defense of my answer: then is a Conjunctive head, just as eta is in Basque correlative sentences.
AgrSP – H2 in the scenario sketched above – to ensure that the main clause will follow the subordinate one, which means that the easiest thing to do consists in taking the complex sentences with a left-hanging adverbial clause as basic, with either a phonetically unrealized, or eta, et/si, (and possibly na in Swahili and ka in Burushaski) as the head of the whole complex construction: “left-hanging” will then mean “left-dislocated” in the technical sense of the word.

This, of course, does not exclude that a correlative position be occupied by some material (again, either phonetically realized or not), somewhere lower under AgrSP, in the specifier of the Cinquean head H1 — but in any case, a base-generation analysis is to be preferred to a raising approach even now, since there is no reason to consider that a hypothetical movement of the adverbial clause from the Cinquean adverbial position to the specifier of the conjunction might violate any known constraint, and because in certain correlative protases containing two Wh-Phrases, the second one must be interpreted as corresponding to such a position in the apodosis, but just cannot have originated there — as in (14), repeated here as (14’) with the relevant material in boldface:

(14’) Nork zertan baitu bere burua bilhatzen alabainan, who-LOC what-LOC bait-he-has-it his self looking indeed
hartzan ere du hark bere amodioa galtzen.
that-LOC also he-has-it he-E his love losing
lit. ‘Thus, in whatever whoever seeks himself, in this very thing he loses his love too.’ = ‘In whatever (thing) anybody seeks himself, he loses his love in that very thing.’ Léon (1929, p. 148: 3.5.6)

5.2. Sentence-final adverbial clauses

Given the analysis sketched above, one might be tempted to introduce just one more (covert) functional head above the Conjunction Phrase headed by eta (or et/si) when the adverbial clause is sentence final. However such a move (a) would be against the spirit of this paper, and (b), more importantly, would be difficult to reconcile with empirical data: (i) I know of no natural language in which this second head is explicitly (or lexically) realized — as

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It is a general effect of Kayne’s framework that some special mechanism has to be postulated whenever an adverbial clause is final (i.e. linearly follows the main clause) rather than initial.
against the examples studied here;\(^{(18)}\) (ii) moreover, if it can be agreed upon that there is at least some connection between syntax and prosody, it must also be noted that there is a pause separating the conjunction from the left-dislocated adverbial (or correlative) clause, but that there is precisely no pause when the adverbial "adjunct" follows the main clause; now, if the lower Conj. head triggers a pause, it is difficult to imagine that another head (whose effect would simply consist in reversing the direction of the connective that will translate the lower one) might have less prosodic effect than what is the first one, Fortunately, another solution is available, which consists in extending Koster's (2000) treatment of would-be "extraposed" relative clauses to the case under discussion. Although Koster's work was apparently made independently of Johannessen's (1998) on asymmetric coordination, there are strong similarities between the two approaches, so that I will use the latter's framework to expose the idea.

First, Kayne's (1994) approach to coordination is adopted, according to which conjoined elements are, respectively, the specifier and the complement of a Conj. head. Next, there is some mechanism whereby, in case both conjuncts do not share exactly the properties, it is (normally) the specifier that transmits its features to the Conj.P — Johannessen explicitly proposes that the first conjunct transmits the relevant features through Spec-Head Agreement, an operation followed by the percolation of those features to the Conj.P itself.\(^{(19)}\)

In the clausal domain, a typical example is provided by Höhle's (1990: 222) well-known pair of examples in (21).\(^{(20)}\)

\[(21)\]
\[
a \quad [[\text{Wenn jemand nach Hause kommt}] \text{ und } \text{when someone towards home comes and}]
\[
[da \quad \text{der Gerichtsvollzieher vor derTür steht}] \quad \text{[VF & VF]}]
\[
\text{there the bailiff at the door stands}
\]
\[
b \quad [[\text{Wenn jemand nach Hause kommt}] \text{ und }]
\[
[da \quad \text{steht der Gerichtsvollzieher vor derTür}] \quad \text{[VF & V2]}]
\[
\text{there stands the bailiff at the door}
\]

\(^{(18)}\) Or yet again as against the presence of a phonetically realized head in the case of the "copulative" association of relative clauses (and other nominal modifiers) and NPs in the scope of a D\(^{0}\) (see Rebuschi (2001a) on this issue).

\(^{(19)}\) Note that this approach entails that some heads are underspecified. Numerous other technical details are involved which I will not discuss here.

\(^{(20)}\) A variant in which a first clause exhibiting a V2 word-order would be followed by a V-final clause would of course be ungrammatical.
The feature [+subordinate] or whatever else is contained in the first C° and determines the word-order in the first clause may thus render the complex, coordinated, adverbial clause grammatical, although the second clause does not possess that characteristic.

Koster’s specific proposal, then, consists in using this strategy to deal with “extraposed” relative clauses in the following fashion: the would-be extraposed [+rel] CP is in fact the second conjunct of a Conjunctive Phrase whose first member is whatever XP contains the first conjunct as its specifier; this can be illustrated by the parallelism between the examples (22) - (24), where I use “&” for any underspecified conjunctive head, whether realized or not; thus, just as a Conj.P [en [DP Marie]] can take either an AgrOP as its specifier (and thus compositionally yield a Conj.AgrO.P) or a CP, a Conj.P [& CP[+rel]] can have an AgrO.P (etc.) as its specifier and yield a Conj.C.P:

(22) Hij heeft [&.AGROP [AGROP [DP Jan] AgrO° [VP gezien] [&.P [& en [DP Marie]]]
he has Jan t seen and Marie
‘He has seen Jan and Marie.’

(23) [&.CP [CP [DP Jan] heb ik gezien] [&P en [DP Marie]]
Jan have I seen and Marie

(24) Hij heeft [&.AGROP [AGROP [DP de vrouw] AgrO° [VP gezien]
he has de woman t seen
[&P & [CP die het boek schreef]]
that the book wrote
‘He has seen the woman that wrote the book.’

Finally, Koster proposes to check the second conjunct against the first one in the pre-minimalist way the [+Wh] feature in C° was, for instance, checked against a Wh-P contained in a DP or a PP in case of Piedpiping (whose book, against which...). Furthermore, he proposes some specific “content”, Colon (:), to account for the type of modification contributed by the relative clause.21

Likewise, then, a sentence final adverbial clause can be considered to be the complement (or second conjunct) of the Conj.P whose specifier (or first conjunct) is the projection of the adverbial, Cinquean, head H(1), as in:

(25) [&CHP [HP pro [HP H° VP]] [&P & CP]]

21 See Rebuschi (2001a) for a semantic approach to nominal modification that does not require any such new concept.
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The checking would be as in Koster's examples, and the semantics would clearly consist in localising the event in the segment of time denoted by the adverbial clause.22

5.3. On example (3) and free relatives in (would-be) argumental position

Let us finally return to example (3), repeated here with some (hypothetical) bracketing as (26):

(26) Otoitz egin dezagun, [xP [cP nor ere penetan baita], [eta [DP harentzat]].
     prayer make AUX[IMP.1PL] who ere in-pain bait- is and for-him
     'Let's pray for whoever is in sorrow.'

Apparently, the whole expression is in A-position, since it is to the right of the Verb complex (the lexical verb and its auxiliary), which has presumably raised towards the left periphery. This could be taken as evidence that ordinary (left-hanging) correlative protases might, after all and against everything I said above, be analysed as having raised from that A-position, the whole XP raising to the specifier of some covert conjunction, as in (27):

(27) [xP [cP nor ere penetan baita], [eta [DP harentzat]], otoitz egin dezagun t;
     who ere in-pain bait- is and for-him prayer make AUX
     lit. 'Whoever is in sorrow, let's pray for t.'

However, this would not account for the pause between baita and eta, which is clearly audible in (3'), and could not carry over to the analysis of correlatives with several wh-Phrases. Moreover, the fact that harentzat (like any other resumptive/correlative pronoun) is felt to be focused is also left without account. Finally, the translation of eta here would be particularly difficult, since the property expressed by the relative clause must be interpreted as a member of the set of properties denoted by the pronoun, but, at the same time, there is no pragmatic reason to justify this abstract "extraction" of one property among many – this, on the contrary, being the mechanism that I

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22 This of course means that the "content" of the conjunction is in fact functionally determined by the semantic content of its arguments, a fact I have independently established in the paper cited in the preceding note wrt. restrictive and appositive clauses: in the first case, we have set intersection, and in the second, after the shifting of the entity denoted by the DP into a generalised quantifier, we have set membership (the property denoted by the appositive relative being a member of the set of properties denoted by the DP).
think explains why appositive clauses are conjoined with their DP (see the last footnote) – all the more as *hura* (the absolutive form of *harentzat*) has no other known property!

On the other hand, suppose that the basic word order is, as argued for at length here, that of the correlative followed by the head conjunction *eta*, followed in its turn by the “main” clause (thereby rejecting the bracketing of (27)). If, as suggested above and advocated by Izvorski (1996), the correlative pronoun raises to the specifier of a focus head, the complement of that head will be the IP (or whatever “Finite” head has attracted the imperative verbal complex in the specific example discussed). It follows that a sentence like (3) will in fact be derived by Remnant movement of that IP, which contains the trace of the correlative pronoun, as in (28), where the covert higher Conjunction at least corresponds to a prosodic mark (see the comma after *dezagun* in (3/3')):

(28) \[ [\text{Conj.} \{ \text{oitoitz egi dezagun t}_i j \} \{ \text{Conj.} \, \emptyset \} \{ \text{Conj.} \, \text{CP nor ere penetan baita} \}, \{ \text{eta [ harentzat.]} \}] \]

6. CONCLUSIONS

The leading ideas of this paper can be summed up as follows.

(i) Functional heads are important, not necessarily because they host invisible and uninterpretable features that trigger movement so as to be eliminated in the course of the derivation, but because they go a long way towards helping to solve the problem of adjunction, which can be depicted as allowing far too many options in the description of many phenomena, and more generally as leaving grammars formally far too unconstrained.

(ii) However, those functional heads are just as little explanatory if they are allowed to proliferate whenever they’re needed: what is necessary is to find both empirical evidence across natural languages for their presence here or there, and what possible semantic import they can contribute to the structure they enrich by being present, projecting and taking arguments.

(iii) Finally, movement is also unsatisfactory if viewed as costless: whenever a representational account can be provided, other things being equal, it is certainly consonant with any normal interpretation of Ockam’s razor that a rival transformational description should be relinquished.
I have tried to implement these ideas here by showing there is strong evidence, in certain natural languages such as (Northern) Basque and Old French, that correlative protases, as well as left-hanging adverbial clauses, are in fact base-generated in the specifier position of a conjunctive head which is directly, or indirectly, observable at PF — the head of something that modern linguistic thought it could do without, namely, complex sentences.

In Rebuschi (2001c), I show that the translation of this conjunction is exactly that of a (conditional) connective in the case of Basque correlative sentences, and I have here reached the result that, as far as adverbial clauses are concerned, it is most probably a localising operator of sorts.23

One more point deserves to be made. In cases of asymmetric conjunction, I have followed Johannessen's (1998) theory that it is the structural specifier, rather than the complement, that transmits its features to the (underspecified) head, whence they percolate to the conjunctions's maximal projection. This, however, might seem to be contradicted by most of the examples discussed here, since a complex sentence will typically inherit its pragmatic force (assertive, injunctive, interrogative, etc.) from the apodosis or main clause. Or will it? In fact, it is quite possible that that “force” is in fact contributed by the contents of an external C°. Thus recall example (16b), repeated below as (29), where, as the bracketing shows, the completive status of the complex sentence is given by que ‘that’ — and the fact that the completive morpheme in Basque, -(e)la, is suffixal, and therefore appears at the end of the clause final finite verb form, should not lead anyone into believing that it belongs under the Focus Phrase: neither it nor the preceding correlative protasis have any “force” whatsoever.

(29) Or dit li conte [QUE [[quant Lancelot fut venuz a l'ève then said the tale that when L. was arrived at the-water de Marcoise,] [ET [il se vit ...]]]]
of M. and he himself saw

(Lancelot en prose, early 13th C., in Torterat 2000)

23 Which, in the long run, could even help us do away with the Cinquean adverbial head and the silent adverbial correlative mentioned in section 5.2.
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2. CORPUS

2.1. BASQUE


2.2. OLD FRENCH


Adam de la Halle, Roi de Sicile, ibid., 376-393.


