

Adjunct islands – the case of Mainland Scandinavian

Christiane Müller, Lund University

The Mainland Scandinavian (MSc.) languages Swedish, Norwegian and Danish have been argued to allow extraction from *strong islands*, constructions that are assumed to be opaque for movement operations and that do not permit extraction in other languages. One type of island extraction that has received very little attention so far is extraction from adjunct clauses, as exemplified in (i) for Swedish.

- (i) [Den filmen]_i grät jag [när jag såg _i].
this movie cried I when I saw
'I cried when I saw this movie.'

However, extraction appears to be possible only from a restricted subset of clauses. To identify the conditions that enable extraction from adjuncts in the MSc. languages, I have investigated semantic and syntactic restrictions on the possibility of extraction in Swedish. In my talk I will present the results of this study. I show that extraction from adjunct clauses in Swedish is constrained by several factors.

First, extraction possibilities are influenced by the semantic relation between the events described in the adjunct and in the matrix clause, a condition that has been shown to constrain extraction from non-finite adjuncts in English (see Truswell 2007). Truswell's approach predicts that extraction is more acceptable if the two events described by the matrix and the adjunct VP are related by a *contingent relation* such as causation or enablement, which makes it possible to subsume the matrix and the adjunct VP under a single event. I will show that semantic contingency has an impact on the possibility to extract from finite adjuncts in Swedish, and I will discuss different strategies to explain how a semantic factor such as contingency can interact with syntactic locality.

Second, extraction is constrained by the degree of syntactic integration of the adjunct clause. A distinction can be made between *central* and *peripheral adverbial clauses* (Haegeman 2012), where central adverbial clauses modify the matrix event and are merged low in the structure, whereas peripheral adverbial clauses have a discourse structuring function and are merged higher. Extraction is degraded when it occurs out of peripheral adverbial clauses, which are less integrated with the clause that they modify. Furthermore, differences in the internal syntax of adjunct clauses are shown to have an impact on extraction possibilities.

In sum, the possibility of adjunct clause extraction in Swedish is constrained by several conditions. Nevertheless, Swedish (and the other MSc. languages) still stand out in allowing extraction from at least a subset of finite adjunct clauses. This is considered to be impossible in other languages. The results of this study thus have consequences for different theories of island constraints, since any explanation of the Adjunct Island Constraint has to be flexible enough to accommodate the cross-linguistic variation regarding adjunct islands, as well as the variation between different types of adjuncts observed in my data.

References

- Haegeman, L. (2012). *Adverbial Clauses, Main Clause Phenomena, and the Composition of the Left Periphery*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Truswell, R. (2007). *Locality of Wh-Movement and the individuation of events*. (PhD. Dissertation).