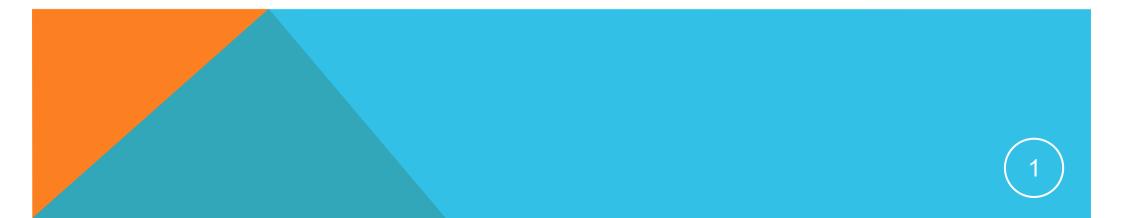# SUBJECTS AND FLOATING QUANTIFIERS
IN NON-RESTRICTIVE NON-FINITE MODIFICATION

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WHAT TYPE OF MODIFICATION?

– **Examples**

  – NP: *John*, <u>my best friend</u>, lives down the street.

  – AP: *John*, <u>happy about the report</u>, congratulated everyone on a job well done.

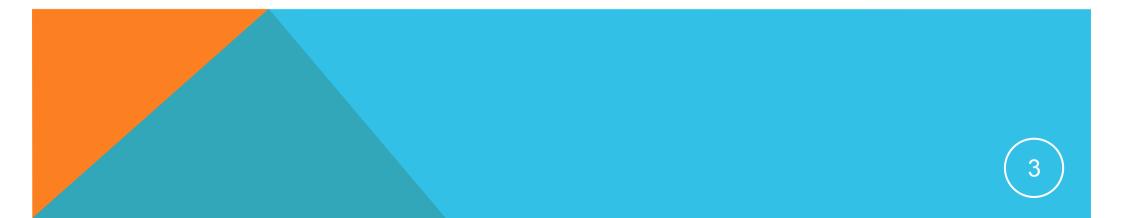 – PP: *John*, <u>in hospital with flu</u>, won't be coming to the meeting.

– **Characteristics**

  – Non-finite

  – Non-restrictive

  – Nominal antecedent

HYPOTHESES ABOUT STRUCTURE

1. Single constituent (e.g. DeVries 2006)

2. Predicate (e.g. Doron 1992)

3. Clause (e.g. McCawley 1995, Heringa 2011, O'Connor 2008)

EVIDENCE FOR CLAUSAL STRUCTURE

- **Adverbs** (McCawley 1995, O'Connor 2008)

  - Albert Swenson, *recently* the winner of the Illinois State Lottery, has just bought a house in Bermuda. (McCawley 1995: 197)

  - Fill out the form provided by your state's health department, *usually available from your doctor or local hospital*. (*New York Times* online, 'Personal health; Name a proxy early to prepare for the unexpected', 18/11/2003)

- **Floating quantifiers** *all, both, each* (Doron 1992, O'Connor 2008)

  - The men, *both/all* doctors, were awarded medals. (Doron 1992: 31)

  - Twelve wooden boxes, *each* smaller than a child's coffin, were lined up on green baize before the brief ceremony, conducted by Reverend Ray Jones, himself a former soldier and now chaplain of St. George's Memorial Church, Ypres. (*Guardian* 28/10/2000, page 5, column 4)

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FQS: WHAT POSITION?

- **Subject:**
  - **Both** are doctors.
  - **All** are doctors.

- **A position lower in the clause:**
  - They are **all** doctors.
  - They are **both** doctors.
  - They **all** are doctors.
  - They **both** are doctors.

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ADVERB POSITIONS IN THE CLAUSE

- Functional specifier approach (Alexiadou 1997, Cinque 1999, Laenzlinger 1996)
  - Adverbs located in dedicated functional projections
  - FPs found in IP layer

  ```
  _____IP_____
  |                       |
  CP > Adverbs > Subject > V+complements > Adverbials
  ```

  - Other elements move around adverbs
    - John *probably* has been sick. → *John* moved to a position above *probably*
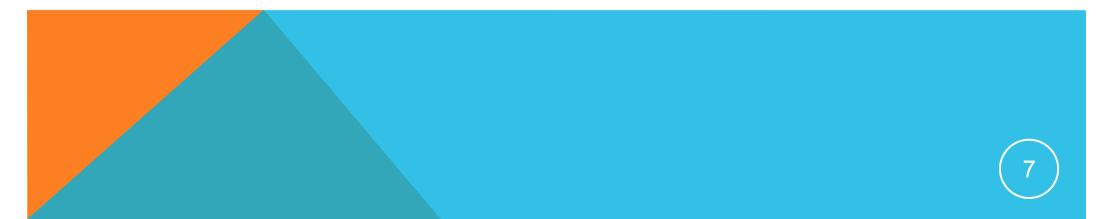   - John has *probably* been sick. → *John* and *has* moved to a position above *probably*

ADVERB HIERARCHY (CINQUE 1999)

High adverbs

frankly$_{MoodSpeechAct}$ > *fortunately*$_{MoodEvaluative}$ > *allegedly*$_{MoodEvidential}$ > *probably*$_{ModEpistemic}$ > *once*$_{T(Past)}$ > *then*$_{T(Future)}$ > *perhaps*$_{MoodIrrealis}$ > *necessarily*$_{ModNecessity}$ > *possibly*$_{ModPossibility}$ > *willingly*$_{ModVolitional}$ > *inevitably*$_{ModObligation}$ > *cleverly*$_{ModAbility/Permission}$ > *usually*$_{AspHabitual}$ > *again*$_{AspRepetitive(I)}$ > *often*$_{AspFrequentative(I)}$ > *quickly*$_{AspCelerative(I)}$ >

Low adverbs

already$_{T(Anterior)}$ > *no longer*$_{AspTerminative}$ > *still*$_{AspContinuative}$ > *always*$_{AspPerfect}$ > *just*$_{AspRetrospective}$ > *soon*$_{AspProximative}$ > *briefly*$_{AspDurative}$ > *characteristically*$_{AspGeneric/Progressive}$ > *almost*$_{AspProspective}$ > *completely*$_{AspSgCompletive(I)}$ > *tutto*$_{AspPlCompletive}$ > *well*$_{Voice}$ > *fast/early*$_{AspCelerative(II)}$ > *again*$_{AspRepetitive(II)}$ > *often*$_{AspFrequentative(II)}$ > *completely*$_{AspSgCompletive(II)}$

SUBJECT POSITIONS

- **Several available DP-related projections**
  - McCloskey (1997): Different positions encode different interpretations
  - Cardinaletti (1997, 2004): At least two subject positions

- **Located among adverb FPs (Cinque 1999: 109)**
  - <u>Probably</u> George will have read the book.
  - George <u>probably</u> will have read the book.
  - George will <u>probably</u> have read the book.

- **Obligatory and optional positions vary across languages**
  - Obligatory: Nominative case assigned
  - Optional: Check features linked to LF interpretation of scope between the subject and certain adverbs
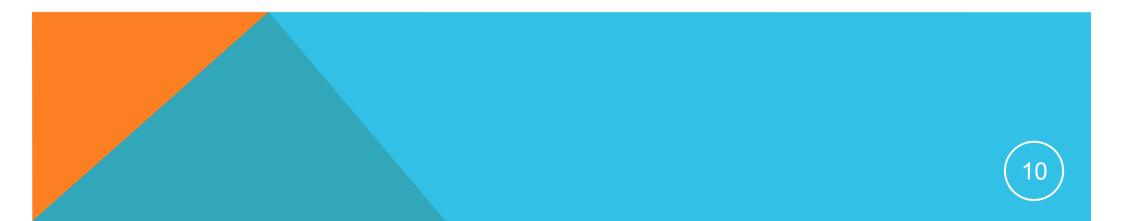
SUBJECT POSITIONS IN ENGLISH

- Obligatory: Higher than *already* and other Low Adverbs (Cinque 1999: 112)

  - *Already John has seen this film.

  - *Always John takes his holidays abroad.

  - *Well John did his homework.

- Optional: Positions located among High Adverbs (Cinque 1999: 110-112)

  - (Quickly) John (quickly) raised his arm.

  - (Stupidly) John (stupidly) agreed to come.

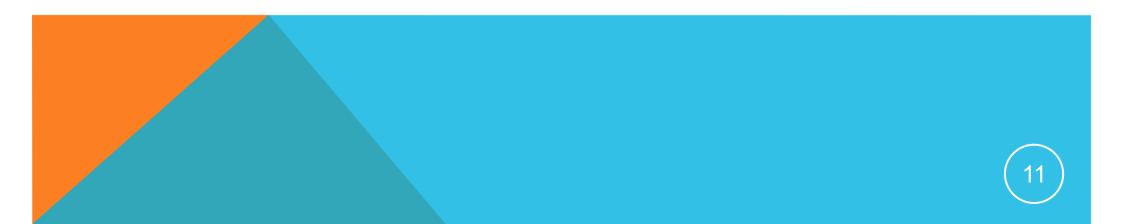 - (Unfortunately) John (unfortunately) has accepted.

PREDICTIONS

– FQs lower than *already* = Floated from a higher position

– FQs higher than *already* = Ambiguous between Subject and FQ

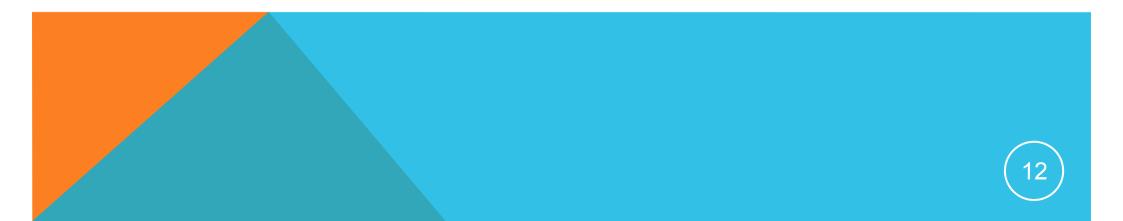# TESTING THE PREDICTIONS: HIGH ADVERBS

- FQs among High Adverbs
  - In addition to the ample salad, all entrees arrived with brown rice pilaf, assorted fresh vegetables, a variety of breads (all, *unfortunately* soft and spongy) and bread sticks…. (*New York Times* online, 27/6/1999)
  - In May 2005, astronomers discovered the two moons, each *probably* less than 100 miles wide, using the Hubble Space Telescope. (*New York Times* online, 23/6/2006)
  - …Two passengers –identified as S. Dzhebirkhanova and Amanta Nagayeva, both *evidently* Chechens – have drawn the scrutiny of investigators. (*New York Times* online, 28/8/2004)

TESTING THE PREDICTIONS: LOW ADVERBS

– **FQs among Low Adverbs**
  – The beneficiaries of the consolidation, *already* both Colgate agencies, are Young & Rubicam and Foote, Cone & Belding. (*New York Times* online, 2/6/1986)
  – In his 13 seasons with Chicago, Payton rushed for 16,726 yards on 3,838 carries, *still* both NFL records. (*New York Times* online, 2/11/1999)
  – The wage, not *always* all in cash, is far lower than urban or industrial levels of payment. (*New York Times* online, 15/12/2010)
  – Between them, the five members, *still* all under 25, have 1.1 million Twitter followers and have toured in the past two years with No Doubt and Green Day. (*Times* online, 15/11/2010)

ANALYSIS

- **FQs among High Adverbs**
  - Occupy DP-related positions available also for Subjects
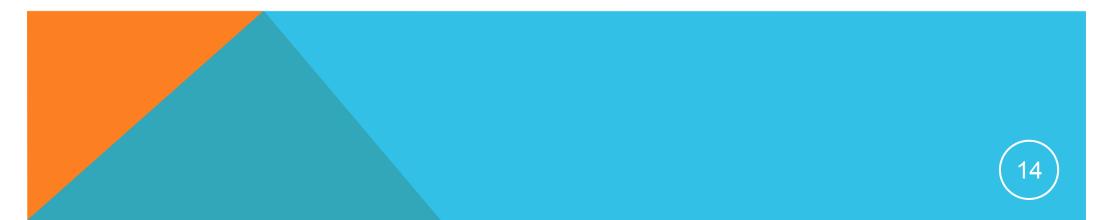
- **FQs among Low Adverbs**
  - PRO subject begins in lower position then moves up to check a PPE feature
    - Durrell — *himself a former diplomat* — was born in India to an English father and Anglo-Irish mother. (*Guardian*, 29/4/2002, page 1 column 2)
  - FQ quantifies trace left by PRO subject
  - Example: all happy about the proposal

    $[_{TP} \text{PRO}_i ... [_{FP} [_{QPj} t_i [Q \text{ all}] t_i] ... [_{PrP} t_j \text{ happy about the proposal}]]]$

IMPLICATION: CLAUSAL STRUCTURE

– DP-related positions: Host the Q Subject

– Lower DP positions: Host the FQ

– Adverb FPs

– Further evidence from conjunctions

  – Einstein biographers, *though* aware of Dr. Freundlich's role as a disciple and experimentalist, have made little or no use of this correspondence. (*New York Times* online, 24/3/1992)

– Non-floating quantifiers

  – The wines, *most* available by the glass, are almost all from Spain (*New York Times* online, 19/2/1988)

CONCLUSION

– **Appositives have a clausal structure**

– **Directions for further research**

  – More research on the extent of the structure

  – FQs in final position

    — Buttoned up in a white coat, BB guides the audience, <u>potential patients *all*</u>, through rules for a better life which may save the planet.

  – Use of adverbs for determining structure