ADVERBS AS EVIDENCE FOR HIGHER SYNTACTIC STRUCTURE
IN NON-VERBAL APPOSITIVES
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I Introduction

(1) Types of non-verbal appositives
      a. NP: *John*, <u>my best friend</u>, is a doctor.
      b. AP: *John*, <u>happy about his course schedule</u>, called up Bill for a drink.
      c. PP: *John*, <u>in hospital with flu</u>, isn't coming to the meeting.

(2) Appositives containing complementizers
      a. Einstein biographers, <u>*though* aware of Dr. Freundlich's role as a disciple and experimentalist</u>,.... (*New York Times* online, 'Letters to a supporter record Einstein's search for proof', 24/03/92)
      b. Penders, <u>*while* unhappy about the loss</u>,.... (*New York Times* online, 'Texas and SWC feeling new fire', 05/02/90)
      c. This overexposure, <u>*because* difficult to comprehend (like an overexposed photo)</u>,.... (Brett Levinson, 'Dictatorship and overexposure: Does Latin America testify to more than market?', *Discourse*, 25.1&2, pp. 98-118)
      d. In allowing that 11th-hour add-on to a $397 billion spending bill, Republican Congressional leaders handed the nation's real-estate brokers an important symbolic victory—<u>*if* perhaps a temporary one</u>—in their concerted push to keep banks at bay. (*New York Times* online, 'Business; Brokers to Bankers: "No trespassing"', 02/03/03)

II Adverbs and syntactic structure

(3) Two approaches to adverb placement
      a. The adjunction approach (e.g. Ernst, 2002; Frey, 2003; Haider, 2004; Shaer, 1998)
      b. The functional specifier approach (e.g. Alexiadou, 1997; Cinque, 1999; Laenzingler, 1996)

(4) Distribution of adverbs according to class (examples from Ernst, 2004: 757)
      a. Measure adverbs: (*Completely) She (*completely) will (*completely) be (completely) finishing her work (completely).
      b. Domain adverbs: (Politically) She (politically) will (politically) be (politically) be (politically) finishing her work (politically).

(5) Hierarchy of event types: speech act > fact > proposition > event > specified event

(6) Adverb types, event types and syntactic mapping (Ernst, 2002: 448)
      a. Pure Event-Internal Modification – Events and Specified Events
      • Adverb types: manner (*tightly*), measure (*completely*), domain (*politically*)
      • All types adjoin to PredP and VP

b. Event-External Modification – Propositions, Fact and Speech Acts
- Subject-oriented adverbs (*cleverly*): NegP, TP
- Evidential adverbs (*obviously*): NegP, TP, CP
- Modal (*probably*) and Evaluative (*fortunately*) adverbs: NegP, TP, CP
- Speech act adverbs (*frankly*): ModalP, NegP, TP, CP
- Domain adverbs (*politically*): All projections
- Exocomparative adverbs (*similarly*): VoiceP, AspP, ModalP, NegP, TP, CP
- Aspectual adverbs (*still*): AspP, ModalP, NegP, TP, CP
- Frequency adverbs (*often*): VoiceP, AspP, ModalP, NegP, TP
- Focusing adverbs (*just*): VoiceP, AspP, ModalP, NegP, TP
- Degree adverbs (*scarcely*): VoiceP, AspP, ModalP, NegP, TP

(7) Functional specifier approach (Cinque, 1999): Adverbs are located in the specifiers of strictly ordered functional heads relating to tense, aspect and modality.
- The order of adverbs is the same across languages and correlates with the order of markers of tense, aspect and modality
- Variation in order results from the movement of other elements around adverbs
- The functional projections are located above the IP space

(8) Cinque's (1999) hierarchy of adverbial projections

$frankly_{MoodSpeechAct} > fortunately_{MoodEvaluative} > allegedly_{MoodEvidential} > probably_{ModEpistemic} > once_{T(Past)} > then_{T(Future)} > perhaps_{MoodIrrealis} > necessarily_{ModNecessity} > possibly_{ModPossibility} > willingly_{ModVolitional} > inevitably_{ModObligation} > cleverly_{ModAbility/Permission} > usually_{AspHabitual} > again_{AspRepetitive(I)} > often_{AspFrequentative(I)} > quickly_{AspCelerative(I)} > already_{T(Anterior)} > no\ longer_{AspTerminative} > still_{AspContinuative} > always_{AspPerfect} > just_{AspRetrospective} > soon_{AspProximative} > briefly_{AspDurative} > characteristically_{AspGeneric/Progressive} > almost_{AspProspective} > completely_{AspSgCompletive(I)} > tutto_{AspPlCompletive} > well_{Voice} > fast/early_{AspCelerative(II)} > again_{AspRepetitive(II)} > often_{AspFrequentative(II)} > completely_{AspSgCompletive(II)}$

(9) Clausal structure in Cinque (1999)
CP > adverb projections > DP subject + V+complements

(10) Variation in adverb position
a. Adjunction approach: Multiple adjunction sites
b. Functional specifier approach: Other elements move around the adverbs

III Appositives: The data

(11) Examples of appositives with adverbs (see O'Connor (2008) for complete examples)
a. *completely*$_{AspSgCompletive(II)}$: Even as the waiters and hosts are friendly and the traditional music is pleasant, your water glasses will rarely be refilled, something you order will go missing, and the busboy, <u>*completely* unfamiliar with English</u>,.... (*New York Times* online, 'Save room for dessert', 29/08/08)
b. *often*$_{AspFrequentative(II)}$: Mr. Bertarelli, <u>*often* the navigator on the boat his team races</u>,... (*New York Times* online, 'Billionaires' yacht rivalry spills into courtroom', 30/08/08)
c. *again*$_{AspRepetitive(II)}$: The book, <u>*again* back on the shelf</u>, appeared never to have been moved.
d. *fast/early*$_{AspCelerative(II)}$: In his preface to "The Great Deluge," Douglas Brinkley writes, "My hope is that this history, <u>*fast* out of the gates</u>,...." (*New York Times* online, 'Hell and high water', 09/07/06)
e. *well*$_{Voice}$: Roberts, <u>*well* suited to the task</u>, seemed confident during the meeting.
f. *completely*$_{AspSgCompletive(I)}$: Robinson, <u>*completely* in the dark about the government project</u>,....
g. *almost*$_{AspProspective}$: The car, <u>*almost* out of control</u>, just missed hitting a pedestrian.
h. *characteristically*$_{AspGeneric/Progressive}$: Over the years he had worked with quite a few accomplices and there was one with him tonight, <u>*characteristically* silent</u>,.... (*The Perfect Crime*, Peter Balfe)
i. *briefly*$_{AspDurative}$: By that test the former Young Liberal, <u>*briefly* MP for Neath and 52 next month</u>,....
j. *soon*$_{AspProximative}$: Jerry Nielsen's South Pole saga, <u>*soon* in stores everywhere</u>,....

k. *just*~AspRetrospective~: It was July 2000 when the hospice trustees, <u>only *just* aware of a very large legacy</u>,.... (http://www.uphillvillage.org.uk /HospiceSupport.htm)

l. *always*~AspPerfect~: Within a week of his arrival Mr Morton, <u>*always* an interventionist in his economics</u>,....

m. *still*~AspContinuative~: But Rusedski, <u>a winner in Auckland last week and *still* a little tired</u>,....

n. *no longer*~AspTerminative~: He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, <u>now *no longer* his fiefdom</u>.

o. *already*~T(Anterior)~: Robin Saxby, <u>*already* one of the country's most successful entrepreneurs</u>,....

p. *quickly*~AspCelerative(I)~: For Maisara, <u>*quickly* out of breath</u>, it was a struggle merely to keep her feet in motion. (*New York Times* online, 'The day the sea came', 27/11/05)

q. *often*~AspFrequentative(I)~: But the tendency has accelerated recently as business travel has rebounded and hotels have invested heavily in their public spaces, expanding them and installing wireless Internet service — <u>*often* available at no charge</u> — in their lobbies and restaurants. (*New York Times* online, 'Let's meet in the lobby', 02/05/06)

r. *again*~AspRepetitive(I)~: Cluff, <u>*again* under criminal investigation by county prosecutors</u>,....

s. *usually*~AspHabitual~: Fill out the form provided by your state's health department, <u>*usually* available from your doctor or local hospital</u>. (*New York Times* online, 'Personal health; Name a proxy early to prepare for the unexpected', 18/11/03)

t. *cleverly*~ModAbility/Permission~: John, <u>*cleverly* up front about his role in the fiasco</u>,....

u. *willingly*~ModVolitional~: This noble life, <u>*willingly* sacrificed for love of God</u>,....(http://www.amazon.ca/Jungle-Pilot-Russell-Hitt/dp/1572930225)

v. *inevitably*~ModObligation~: Seemingly still in shock from his ordeal, Mr. Confortola gave a sketchy recollection of the events, <u>*inevitably* full of questions about what happened and what went wrong</u>. (*New York Times* online, 'Tragic toll after chaos on mountain', 06/08/08)

w. *possibly*~ModPossibility~: It is by far the longest short in the book, <u>*possibly* a novella to some</u>,.... (http://www.legendsmagazine.net/138/orbit.htm)

x. *necessarily*~ModNecessity~: The "Senior" following Peter Cornwell's name implies the existence of at least one other Peter Cornwell in the area, <u>not *necessarily* his son</u>, but one younger than he. (http://boards.ancestry.com/mbexec/message/an/localities.northam.usa. states.virginia.counties.fauquier/1714)

y. *perhaps*~MoodIrrealis~: Somewhere, a child, <u>*perhaps* a girl</u>,.... (http://www.rotarydoctorbank.org /99i/db_99_3b.htm)

z. *then*~T(Future)~: His clubhouse, <u>first on Pitkin Avenue and *then* in a brownstone on Eastern Parkway</u>,.... (*New York Times* online, 'An old-time kingmaker and his political legacy', 24/08/08)

aa. *once*~T(Past)~: [H]is father, <u>*once* a businessman himself</u>,.... (http://www.gradyhighschool.org /southerner/southerner1103/ pizza.html)

bb. *probably*~ModEpistemic~: His death, <u>*probably* a suicide</u>,....

cc. *allegedly*~MoodEvidential~: Smith, <u>*allegedly* unaware of the proposed amendment</u>, declined to comment.

dd. *fortunately*~MoodEvaluative~: Racial profiling, <u>*unfortunately* a frequent occurrence in American society</u>,....

ee. *frankly*~MoodSpeechAct~: *Mr. Minghella, <u>*frankly* not particularly excited by the prospect of the book</u>, was hooked by the time he finished it.

(12) He has had a terrible couple of weeks in Scotland, <u>now his fiefdom *no longer*</u>. (*The Guardian*, 20/11/01, page 9, column 2)

(13) Different meanings of *frankly*

 a. Speech act adverb: "I am being frank when I say X" (Bellert, 1977)

 b. Intensifier of an adjective (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech et Svartvik (1997: 447))

 John's guitar playing, <u>*frankly* sexual in its force and intensity</u>, and James, switching between bass and synth no. 2, really brought it all together.

 c. Sentential intensifier (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech et Svartvik, 1997: 583): Reinforces the truth value of the sentence

 During my time in Oakhurst, my brother, <u>*frankly* a racist</u> (he openly admits it), was telling me about the catastrophe called Southern California.

 d. Manner adverb: Describes how one speaks or thinks about something

 The facts are uncontroversial, but unacceptable, therefore turned into their opposite here with amazing regularity (<u>though discussed *frankly* in Israel</u>). (http://www.chomsky.info/articles/199601--.htm)
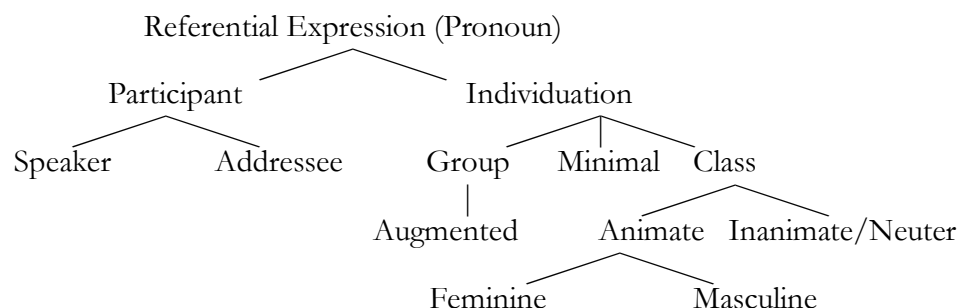
IV Absence of speech act adverbs

(14) Solution 1: Truncation below the speech act projection (Haegeman, 2004)
- Creates a paradox: Inconsistent with the presence of complementizers (see (2))
- Unmotivated by other principles of the grammar

(15) Solution 2: Absence of finiteness prevents the appearance of speech act adverbs

(16) Speech act adverbs disallowed in root infinitives (Grohmann and Extepare, 2003)
   a. *John frankly win the election?!
   b. *Frankly John win the election?!
   c. John win the election?!

(17) Speech act adverbs vs. other point of view adverbs
- Speech act adverbs describe the speaker him/herself and thus take the speaker as argument (Bellert, 1977)
- Speech act adverbs cannot express the point of view of a third person (Speas and Tenny, 2003: 13)
  Evidential: Rhett looked at Scarlett. Apparently she had used the curtains to make a dress.
  Evaluative: Rhett looked at Scarlett. Fortunately, Ashley was not in love with her.
  Speech Act: Rhett glared at Scarlett. #Frankly, he didn't give a damn.
- Speech act adverbs have a covert predicate *Express as their argument (Ernst, 2002)

(18) Relationship between finiteness and person features
- Finite verbs can assign person features to their subject (Jespersen, 1924)
- Verbs that express person features can also express tense and modality (Greenberg, 1963)
- Agr (phrase encoding person and number features) is only present when the verb is finite (Hornstein, 1990, 1995)
- Nominative case and subject-verb agreement manifest the link between verb inflection and the subject (Chomsky, 2001)
- Phi features depend crucially on the presence of a finite verb in the feature geometry (Cowper, 1998; Cowper and Hall, 1999)
- An affix expressing person features must be governed by a tense operator (Guéron and Hoekstra, 1992)
- Person features are a surface manifestation of temporal interpretation (Guéron, 2007)

(19) Examples from French (Bianchi, 2001, Kayne, 2000)
   a. *J'ayant résolu le problème, tout va bien.
    I having solved the problem, everything is fine
   b. Jean ayant résolu le problème, tout va bien.
    John having solved the problem, everything is fine

(20) Bianchi's (2001) formalization of the relationship between tense and person features
- The feature [+finite] is located in the head of a finiteness phrase (FinP; Rizzi, 1997)
- FinP also contains S, which represents the time of speech and encodes information on the participants.
- S is only present when FinP is [+finite]
- Person features are selected by a finiteness phrase when S is present
- When S is not present, no person features are selected and no discourse roles are represented
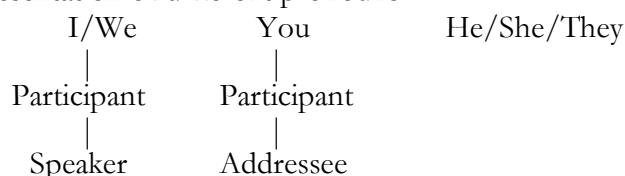
(21) Person features and discourse roles
- First person = speaker
- Second person = addressee
- Third person = non-participant

(22) Feature geometry of discourse roles (Harley and Ritter, 2002)

Referential Expression (Pronoun)

Participant   Individuation

Speaker   Addressee   Group   Minimal   Class

Augmented   Animate   Inanimate/Neuter

Feminine   Masculine

(23) Representation of different pronouns

I/We   You   He/She/They

Participant   Participant

Speaker   Addressee

V Conclusion

(24) Further evidence for higher structure in appositives
- Complementizers (see examples in (2))
- Floating quantifiers
  a. He sees geographical illiteracy as an obstacle to peace, so he packed his interactive globe with games and tens of thousands of geographic and cultural facts, <u>*all* available at the touch of a stylus</u>. (*New York Times* online, 'Eureka! It really takes years of hard work,' 03/02/08)
  b. Twelve wooden boxes, <u>*each* smaller than a child's coffin</u>, were lined up on green baize before the brief ceremony,.... (*Guardian*, 28/10/00, page 5, col. 4)
  c. Sauter is…living with his lawyer-wife, Kathleen—the daughter of Pat Brown and sister of Jerry Brown, <u>*both* former governors of California</u>. (*Parade*, 10/5/87; McCawley, 1995)

(25) Potential positions for floating quantifiers in finite clauses
     a. *All* are available at the touch of a stylus.
     a'. They are *all* available at the touch of a stylus.
     b. *Each* is smaller than a child's coffin.
     b'. They are *each* smaller than a child's coffin.
     c. *Both* are former governor's of California.
     c'. They are *both* former governor's of California.

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