MANNER ADVERBS WITHIN THE VP*

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Abstract: The current paper explores mechanisms of manner adverb licensing in Romanian. The purpose of this paper is to investigate issues concerning the syntax of the manner adverbs in Romanian. The paper also briefly discusses the structure of the clause in Romanian. One task is to examine how these adverbs distribute in the clause. My aim is to provide structural positions for manner adverbs that will account for the data presented.

Keywords: manner adverbs, word order, SVO, VSO, adverb generation

1. Introduction

Traditionally, manner adverbs are considered as modifying the verb predicate of a sentence without being obligatory constituents. In those terms they seem to behave as adjectives do towards nouns (see Higginbotham 1985 among others). Furthermore, they neither contribute to the temporal interpretation of the sentence (as temporal adverbials) nor do they link the sentence to the context surrounding it (e.g. by showing the speaker's attitude). Thus, semantically, they seem to belong to a well defined class. The problem is, however, how to understand them syntactically. Jackendoff (1972, 1977) was the first, to my knowledge, to provide a distributional classification of adverbs for English. Attempting the same for Romanian, the situation appears to be similar. I will start my discussion considering SVO (the most frequent word-order). I will take a sentence with a transitive verb given in (1a); the available positions are as in (1b):

(1) a. Ion a rezolvat problema.
Ion has solve-PERF problem-the
'Ion solved the problem.'

b. (ADV) Ion (ADV) a rezolvat (ADV) problema (ADV)
SUBJ V DO
1 2 3 4

Those positions are all available (with or without prosodic effects) for a large group of adverbs including those below:

(2) *corect* 'correctly', *frumos* 'beautifully', *inteligent* 'cleverly', *perfect* 'perfectly', *prost* 'badly', *reticent* 'reluctantly', *stângaci* 'clumsily', *tăcut* 'quietly', *uşor* 'easily'.

These adverbs have different distribution from others like *bine* 'well' or *mult* 'much' that are also considered to be manner adverbs (with qualitative or degree properties). Adverbs like *bine* and *mult* belong to another distributional class that is much more restricted; positions 1 and 2 are not available for them. This is shown by the examples in (2):

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(2) a. Maria iubeşte pisicile *mult*.
Mary loves cats-the much
'Mary loves cats a lot.'
b. Maria iubeşte *mult* pisicile.
c. *Maria *mult* iubeşte pisicile.
d. **Mult* Maria iubeşte pisicile.

Going back to our class in (2), it seems that the positioning presented in (1b) needs to be further clarified. In other words, I need to differentiate the positions that involve prosodic effects from those that do not. So, I will call positions 1 and 2 non-typical because they involve an intonational pause and extra stress respectively. The other two positions, namely 3 and 4 will be called typical as they are neutral in terms of stress.

My next task will be to represent the positions exemplified by (1) above in structural terms.

1.1 The scope of manner adverbs

Semantically, besides referring to the process denoted by the verb, manner adverbs may refer to other elements in the sentence, hence subject- or speaker-oriented readings.

(4) Maria mi-a vorbit *ferm*.
'Maria spoke to me determinedly.'
(5) Razele soarelui băteau *delicat* în geam.
'The rays of the sun pounded delicately in the window.'
(6) Studenții răspundeau *inteligent*.
'The students were answering intelligently.'
(7) Câinii mârâiau *amenințător*.
'The dogs were growling menacingly.'

Certain manner adverbs relate from the point of view of their interpretation to both the verb and its direct object.

(8) Ion aude *clar* vocea Mariei.
'Ion hears Maria's voice clearly.'
(9) Crainicul TV pronunță *greşit* numele străine.
'The TV anchor pronounces foreign names mistakenly.'

The reading of the manner adverb can be related to the verb, the subject and the direct object.

(10) Directorul formulează *violent* cererea.
'The manager formulates the request violently.'

1.2 Paraphrasing manner adverbs

This section provides examples of paraphrasing manner adverbs function of their interpretation.

(4') Maria mi-a vorbit *ferm*/*în mod ferm*.
'Maria spoke to me determinedly/in a determined manner.'

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(5') Razele soarelui băteau *delicat*/*în mod delicat* în geam.
'The rays of the sun pounded delicately/in a delicate manner in the window.'
(6') Studenții răspundeau *inteligent*/*în mod inteligent.*
'The students were answering intelligently/in an intelligent manner.'
(7') Câinii mârâiau *amenințător*/*în chip amenințător*.
'The dogs were growling menacingly/in a menacing way.'
(8') Ion aude *clar*/*în mod clar* vocea Mariei.
'Ion hears Maria's voice clearly/in a clear manner.'
(9') Crainicul TV pronunță *greşit*/*în mod greşit* numele străine.
'The TV anchor pronounces foreign names wrongly/in a wrong way.'
(10') Directorul formulează *violent*/*în mod violent* cererea.
'The manager formulates the request violently/in a violent manner.'

Certain manner adverbs whose interpretation is linked to the direct object cannot be paraphrased as the ones above:

(11) Ana vinde *ieftin*/**în mod ieftin* apartamentul.
'Ana sells the apartment cheaply/*in a cheap manner.'

Manner adverbs referring to the result of a process cannot be paraphrased by *în mod*:

(12) Mama frământă aluatul *tare*/**în mod tare*.
'Mother kneads the dough hard/*in a hard manner.'
(13) Ion închide borcanele *strâns*/**în mod strâns*.
'Ion closes the jars tightly / *in a tight manner.'
(14) Minerul dormea *adânc*/**în mod adânc*.
'The miner was sleeping sound / *in a sound manner.'

There are manner adverbs that can be paraphrased by *în mod* but not *din punct de vedere* (15–16), some of them also take the paraphrase *din punct de vedere* (17-18); while in (19-20) they can be paraphrased by *din punct de vedere*, but not by *în mod*:

(15) Maria a acționat *moral*/*în mod moral*/**din punct de vedere moral*.
'Maria acted morally.'
(16) Maria a lucrat *manual*/*în mod manual*/**din punct de vedere manual* fața de masă.
'Maria worked the table cloth manually.'
(17) Sistemul funcționează *electronic*/*în mod electronic*/*din punct de vedere electronic*.
'The system functions electronically.'
(18) Ipoteza nu a fost verificată *ştiințific*/*în mod ştiințific*/*din punct de vedere ştiințific*.
'The hypothesis has been checked scientifically.'
(19) Întâmplarea l-a dezorientat *moral*/*din punct de vedere moral*/**în mod moral*.
'The event made him disoriented morally.'
(20) Fizicianul cuplează *magnetic*/*din punct de vedere magnetic*/?**în mod magnetic* bobinele.
'The physicist couples the coils magnetically.'

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2. Clause structure in Romanian

2.1 The framework

The current analysis of manner adverbs is done in terms of the work outlined in Chomsky (2000). In this framework, functional heads are assumed to bear features which set up dependencies with formatives that the head c-commands. These dependencies are formed when the functional head concerned is specified with uninterpretable features. These features are called the *probe*. A probe essentially seeks matching features within its c-command domain (these matching features are the *goal*). The relationship between probe and goal is constrained by locality. Thus, the relevant kinds of structures are:

(21) [H{probe} […XP {goal}…]] (probe = goal) (Adger and Tsoulas 2004: 55)

Adger and Tsoulas (2004: 55) extend Chomsky's terminology by calling the relation between the head H specified with the probe, and the formative specified with the goal the H-associate relation. The formation of an H-associate relationship results in the deletion of the uninterpretable features involved in the relationship. Since it is the probe that is uninterpretable, the probe deletes. In addition to probes, heads may also be specified with EPP features. These features are selectional (i.e. involve category information) and are also uninterpretable. An EPP feature is satisfied when a category of the appropriate featural specification is merged with the head bearing the feature. The XP that is merged can be either the goal itself or some other phrase (for example, an expletive):

(22) [XP H{probe, EPP} […XP {goal}…]] (probe = goal) (Adger and Tsoulas 2004: 55)

The deletion of the EPP feature is, in general parameterized, so that some languages allow multiple subject constructions. The system can be thought of as a set of conditions on the deletion of the EPP feature: a language does not have EPP (VSO languages); has EPP but merge is into [Spec, HP] causes EPP to delete (SVO without Multiple Subject Constructions); has EPP but allows one element to merge without deleting EPP (SVO with Multiple Subject Constructions); or allows arbitrarily many merges without deleting EPP (polysynthetic languages).

Adger and Tsoulas (2004) extend Chomsky's idea that the deletion of EPP is an option UG allows variation for. When EPP is satisfied by an element which has not induced the H-associate relation, the EPP feature does not have to delete immediately. Deletion of features takes place at phase level.

2.2 Preliminaries: Word-order patterns

Romanian is taken to be a (relatively) free word-order language in the literature. This is so because all possible permutations of subject-verb-object are obtainable (i.e. SVO, SOV, VSO, VOS, OSV, OVS). Of these, SVO and VSO are the most neutral orders; they do not involve any prosodic effects (or any constituent dislocation). Consider the sentences in (23) as examples of SVO and VSO:

(23) a. Ion a mâncat prăjitura. SVO
Ion has eat-PERF cake-the
'Ion ate the cake.'

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b. A mâncat Ion prăjitura. VSO
has eat-PERF Ion cake-the
'Ion ate the cake.'

The discussion will focus on these two. SVO is considered to be the least marked word-order in the language and VSO the basic order. The assumption here is that in the SVO order the subject occupies its canonical position after movement (i.e. Specifier of AGRsP). In VSO, on the other hand, the subject remains in its base-position (i.e. Specifier of VP). The verb in both cases incorporates to the highest functional head after movement.

2.3 The clause structure

Following Chomsky (1994), I will assume that the clause in Romanian will have the basic structure in (24):

(24) [AGRsP ... AGRs [TP ... T [AGRoP ... AGRo [VP ... V]]]]

The subject by *merge* appears in [Spec, VP] (assuming the VP-internal hypothesis). In SVO the subject will move before SPELLOUT in order to check its morphological features. It will first go to [Spec, TP] for Case-feature checking and then to [Spec, AGRsP] for n-feature checking. The verb also will move overtly to AGRs through all other intervening functional heads for morphological reasons. The object, I will assume, moves after SPELLOUT to [Spec, AGRoP] for Case reasons.

I will assume that here the subject remains in [Spec, VP] and is co-indexed with a little *pro* argument licensed in [Spec, AGRsP]. Given that Romanian is a null-subject language with rich agreement, licensing of little *pro* is possible. Furthermore, the verb and the direct object occupy the same positions as with the SVO order. The adverb positions in the VSO order do not differ from those in the SVO, as the examples in (25) suggest:

(25) a. *REPEDE/*Repede* a mâncat Ion prăjitura
quickly has eat-PERF Ion cake-the
'Ion ate the cake quickly.'
b. A mâncat *repede* Ion prăjitura.
c. A mâncat Ion prăjitura *repede*.

For this reason I shall assume that the same analysis holds for the VSO distribution. The only difference is that the subject remains in its basic position [Spec, VP]. In other words, I will assume that in Romanian, adverbs have fixed positions in the clause. Word-order variation will result from argument movement (see Alexiadou 1997 for a similar conclusion).

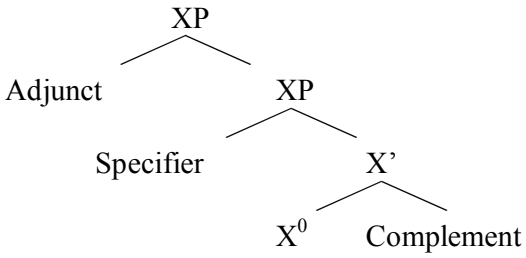
2.4 Clause structure and adverb generation

Before proposing the exact structural positions for adverbs, I need to say a few things about the way of representing an adverb in structural terms.

I noted earlier that manner adverbs of the type at hand are optional constituents of a sentence. An available way of representing such an optional constituent in the structure is as an adjunct to a maximal projection as in (26):

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(26)



I will tentatively assume that adverbs are maximal projections of the type AdvP; they are generated as adjunctions to XP as shown in (26) above. If we take into consideration the phrase structure theories of Kayne (1994) and Chomsky (1994), adjunction as a notion is still available. However, Kayne's theory is more restrictive in the number and direction of adjunctions than Chomsky's framework where multiple specifiers are allowed. Presumably, right adjunction simplifies cases that would ask for unmotivated movement of other constituents over the adverb.

3. Structural positions for manner adverbs in Romanian

3.1 Some preliminary assumptions

We saw, at the beginning of this paper, that there is a group of Romanian adverbs that distributes quite freely in the clause. We also saw that these adverbs can either occupy a typical or a non-typical position. I wish to claim that typical positions are original positions for adverbs (i.e. by *merge*). The same is also claimed in Chomsky (1994) whereby adverbs are "base-generated" in their positions since movement is not motivated. However, non-typical positioning is only available after movement, given the prosodic effects. So, for facilitating the discussion, I will label the positions presented in (1b) as in (27):

(27) (ADV) Ion (ADV) a rezolvat (ADV) problema (ADV)
SUBJ V DO
1 2 3 4
position 4: post-object
position 3: post-verbal
position 2: post-subject
position 1: pre-subject

Next I will discuss separately each typical and non-typical position to provide structural representations for them.

3.2 Post-object position

The post-object position (or position 4) is a typical position for manner adverbs in Romanian. It does not involve any extra stress assignment or any other distinctive phonological feature. Consider the data in (28) as an illustration:

(28) a. Ion a deschis robinetul *uşor*.
Ion has open.PERF tap-the easily
'Ion opened the tap easily.'

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b. Deținutul a scăpat *uşor*.
prisoner-the has escape-PERF easily
'The prisoner escaped easily.'

I would like to claim that the positions illustrated in (28) correspond to a single structural position. Moreover, I wish to argue that this structural position is a right adjunction to the VP node. I insist on using the VP projection for representing manner adverbs with the idea that the syntactic position of an adverb should reflect its semantics. Manner adverbs are closely related to the verb phrase and so they should appear adjoined to them. This parallelism is not new. It had been proposed in various ways by Chomsky (1965), Jackendoff (1972) among others. In the sentences in (29) more than one manner adverb is present (examples from Ernst 2002):

(29) a. John knocked on the door *intentionally twice*.
b. John knocked on the door *twice intentionally*.

Both examples in (29) have unambiguous meanings: (29a) means that there have been two instances of intentional knocking while (29b) means that there was one intentional instance of knocking twice. So, in (29a) the adverb *twice* will have scope over *intentionally* whereas in (29b) *intentionally* will have scope over *twice*. So, the respective structures will be as in (30):

(30) a. $John_i$ [VP t_i knocked on the door] intentionally] twice].
b. $John_i$ [VP t_i knocked on the door] twice] intentionally].

The adverbs can also appear pre-verbally. In this case, for the interpretation to be that of (29a) it must be that *twice* appears higher that *intentionally*. Accordingly, to obtain the interpretation of (29b) *intentionally* must be higher than *twice*. So, the corresponding structures are as in (31):

(31) a. ?$John_i$ [VP twice [intentionally [$_{VP}$ t_i knocked on the door]]]].
b. ?$John_i$ [VP intentionally [twice [$_{VP}$ t_i knocked on the door]]]].

Straightforward evidence that the adverbs in (31) indeed are adjuncts to VP comes from VP pre-posing facts as given in (32):

(32) I said that John would knock on the door intentionally twice and [$_{VP}$ knock on the door intentionally twice]$_i$ he did t_i.

As the trace shows the gap left behind correspond to the VP *knock on the door intentionally twice*. Thus, both adverbials are included in this VP. On the basis of these data from English, I would like to suggest that the structures corresponding to the Romanian sentences in (28) are as in (33):

(33) a. Ion_i a deschis$_k$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ t_i t_k robinetul] uşor].
'Ion opened the tap easily.'
b. Deținutul$_i$ a scăpat$_k$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ t_i t_k] uşor]
'The prisoner escaped easily.'

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3.3 Post-verbal position

The post-verbal position (or position 3) is the other typical position for manner adverbs in Romanian. Exactly as the post-object position, it does not involve any prosodic effects. The sentences in (34) below illustrate this position:

(34) a. Ion a deschis *uşor* robinetul.
Ion has open.PERF easily tap-the
'Ion opened the tap easily.'
b. Mama a pus *prost* vasele în chiuvetă.
Mother-the has put.PERF badly dishes-the in sink
'Mother placed the dishes in the sink badly.'

Following what was said above about the post-object position and the derivation of the SVO order, the suggestion is that this position should be structurally represented as a left adjunction to VP. I am choosing adjunction to VP for the same reasons as before. The structures corresponding to the sentences in (34) are given in (35):

(35) a. Ion_i a deschis_k $[_{VP}$ uşor $[_{VP}$ t_i t_k robinetul]].
'Ion opened the tap easily.'
b. Mama_i a pus_k $[_{VP}$ prost $[_{VP}$ t_i t_k vasele în chiuvetă]].
'Mother placed the dishes in the sink badly.'

3.4 Post-subject position

The post-subject position (or position 2) is the first of the two non-typical positions occupied by manner adverbs. At this point, we should recall what was said earlier that the adverb in this position comes with extra stress. Consider the examples in (36):

(36) a. Ion *(,) *CORECT/*corect* a rezolvat problema.
Ion correctly has solve-PERF problem-the
'Ion correctly solved the problem.'
b. Deținutul *(,) *UŞOR/*uşor* a scăpat
prisoner-the easily has escape-PERF
'The prisoner escaped easily.'

These examples show two important things. First, that if an adverb appears after the subject (in SVO order) it must obligatorily bear focal stress; second, that the subject is followed by an intonational pause. This suggests that the subject is a topic. Having both a topic and a focus in a sentence is possible in Romanian as it is shown by (37) and (38). In (37) the subject is topicalized and the direct object is focused:

(37) Ion, PRĂJITURA a mâncat (nu înghețata)
Ion cake-the has eat-PERF (not icecream-the)
'It is the cake that Ion ate.'

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In (38) the object is topicalised and the subject is focused:

(38) Prăjitura, ION a mâncat- o
cake-the Ion has eat-PERF CL3rd SG F
'It is Ion who ate the cake.'

Restricting the current discussion to adverbs, the line of analysis suggests that topicalization is an instance of movement to an A-bar position, namely to the [Spec, CP].

In order to recall the structure for the Romanian clause along the lines of Chomsky (1994) as given in (24) we repeat it in (39a) for convenience. Given the facts suggesting that topicalization and focus are instances of A-bar movement to [Spec, CP] and [Spec, FP] respectively; and given that CP appears to precede FP in the structure, (39b) is the structure that incorporates both CP and FP:

(39) a. $[_{AGRsP}$ ... AGRs $[_{TP}$ ... T $[_{AGRoP}$ ... AGRo $[_{VP}$ ... V]]]]
b. $[_{CP}$ ... C $[_{FP}$ ... F $[_{AGRsP}$ ... AGRs $[_{TP}$ ... T $[_{AGRoP}$ ... AGRo $[_{VP}$ ... V]]]]]]

Now let us go back to the sentences in (36). Recall that here the subject is topicalized and the adverb is focused. Therefore it would be safe to assume that there is movement involved with both constituents. The derivation for (40a) is illustrated by (40b):

(40) a. Ion, *CORECT* a rezolvat problema.
Ion correctly has solve-PERF problem-the
'John correctly solved the problem.'
b. $[_{CP}$ [Ion]$_i$ $[_{C'}$ $[_{C}$ +top] $[_{FP}$ [corect]$_j$ $[_{F'}$ $[_{F}$ a rezolvat$_k$] [AGRsP t_i [AGRs' t_k $[_{TP}$ ti $[_{T'}$ t_k $[_{AGRoP}$ Spec $[_{AGRo'}$ AGRo $[_{VP}$ t_j $[_{VP}$ t_i $[_{V'}$ t_k $[_{NP}$ problema]]]]]]]]]]]]].

The subject NP *Ion* moves from its original position [Spec, VP] to Spec, TP and AGRsP for morphological feature checking. Furthermore it moves to [Spec, CP] attracted by a [+topic] feature in C. The verb *a rezolvat* 'solved' starts its journey from within VP, it goes through T to AGRs; it further goes to F to check its [+f] feature. Finally, the adverb *correct* 'correctly' is moved from its original position (adjunction to VP) to the [Spec, FP] where it checks its [+f] feature with the head F.

3.5 Pre-subject position

The pre-subject position (or position 1) is the other non-typical position of manner adverbs. It is the one before the subject in the SVO order. This position obligatorily involves an intonational pause between the adverb and the subject. Consider the examples in (41):

(41) a. *Corect* *(,) Ion a rezolvat problema.
correctly Ion has solve-PERF problem-the
'Correctly Ion solved the problem.'
b. *Uşor* *(,) deținutul a scăpat.
easily prisoner-the has escape-PERF
'The prisoner escaped easily.'

The data suggest that this is another case of topicalization; here it is the adverb that has been topicalized. On the basis of what was said above on topicalization, the claim is that here the

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adverb moves from its original position (adjunction to VP) to the [Spec, CP] position in satisfaction of a [+top] feature. The subject is in its canonical position [Spec, AGRsP] and the verb in AGRs, both for checking overtly their morphological features. The structure in (42) illustrates the derivation for (41b):

(42) $[_{CP}$ uşor $[_{C'}[_{C}$ +top] [AGRsP [deținutul]$_j$ $[_{AGRs'}$ a scăpat$_k$ $[_{TP}$ t_j $[_{T'}$ t_k $[_{AGRoP}$ Spec $[_{AGRo'}$ AGRo $[_{VP}$ t_i $[_{VP}$ t_j $[_{V'}$ t_k]]]]]]]]]].

Here, the subject NP *deținutul* 'the prisoner' moves for feature checking to [Spec, TP] and [Spec, AGRsP]. The verb moves accordingly to AGRs. The adverb *uşor* 'easily' moves overtly from its base-position (VP-adjunct) to [Spec, CP] satisfying a [+top] feature in C.

4. Conclusions

The current paper discussed the distribution of certain manner adverbs. The findings showed that these adverbs can occupy four positions in the Romanian clause; two of them are typical and the other two are non-typical as they involve prosodic effects. Furthermore, we adopted Chomsky's (1994) clause structure in order to provide structural positions for the distribution of adverbs. We argued in favour of adjunction to the VP in accounting for the typical positions; thus reflecting the semantic relation of manner adverbs to the verb projection. We accounted for the non-typical positions by assuming that adverbs are either topicalized or focused and thus they are moved from their original position to the relevant A-bar position, [Spec, CP] and [Spec, FP] respectively.

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