On the syntax of manner adverbs in Modern Greek[*]

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1 Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to investigate issues concerning the syntax of the so-called 'manner' adverbs in Modern Greek (MG). My first task will be to examine how these adverbs distribute in the clause. After identifying their positions, I will briefly discuss the structure of the clause in MG. My aim will be to provide structural positions for manner adverbs that will account for the data presented. Finally, I will make a brief mention to subject-oriented adverbs and I will speculate about an analysis for them.

2 'Manner' adverbs: meaning and distribution

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 MG, 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)   O Janis elise tin askisi

the-John-NOM PAST-solve-3S the-exercise-ACC
'John solved the problem'

(b)   (ADV) O Janis (ADV) elise (ADV) tin askisi (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 in (2):

(2)   **'Manner' adverbs:** *efkola* (easily), *telia* (perfectly), *eksipna* (cleverly), *adeksia* (clumsily), *aprothima* (reluctantly), *orea* (beautifully), *omorfa* (nicely, beautifully), *asxima* (badly), *isixa* (quietly), *skopima* (purposefully), *sosta* (correctly) etc.

These adverbs have different distribution from others like *kala* (well) or *poli* (much) that are also considered to be 'manner' adverbs (with qualitative or degree properties). Adverbs like *kala* and *poli* 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 (3):

(3)   (a)   I Maria aghapai ta luludhja *poli*
              the-Mary-NOM loves the-flowers-ACC much
              'Mary likes flowers a lot'
       (b)   I Maria aghapai *poli* ta luludhja
       (c)   *I Maria *poli* aghapai ta luludhja
       (d)   **Poli* i Maria aghapai ta luludhja

   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) and (2) above in structural terms. In order to do that I would have first to assume a clause structure for MG.

3 Clause structure in MG

3.1 Preliminaries: word-order patterns

MG is taken to be a (relatively) free word-order language in the literature (see for example Joseph & Philippaki (1987)). 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 (nor any constituent dislocation). Consider the sentences in (4) as examples of SVO and VSO:

(4)　(a)　O Janis efaje to ghliko
　　　　　the-John-NOM ate the-cake-ACC　　　　　SVO
　　　　　'John ate the cake.'

　　　(b)　Efaje o Janis to ghliko　　　　　VSO
　　　　　ate the-John-NOM the-cake-ACC
　　　　　'John ate the cake.'

My discussion will focus on these two. SVO is considered to be the least marked word-order in the language and VSO the basic order (see Philippaki-Warburton (1985) or Tsimpli (1990) among others)).
I will assume 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. My assumptions will differ from the positions taken by Philippaki-Warburton (1985), Tsimpli (1990) and Alexiadou (1994) who argue that in SVO the subject is a base-generated topic. However, given space limitations and the scope of this paper, I will not provide any arguments in favour of the non-topic analysis. Next, I will assume a derivation for these orders in minimalist terms.

3.2 The clause structure

Following Chomsky (1992, 1994), I will assume that the clause in MG will have the basic structure in (5):

(5)　$[_{AGRsP} ... AGRs [_{TP} ... T [_{AGRoP} ... AGRo [_{VP} ... V]]]]$

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 φ-feature checking.[1] 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.

In accounting for the VSO order, for present purposes, I will follow the standard analysis based on Rizzi (1986). So, I will assume that here the subject remains in [Spec, VP] and is coindexed with a little *pro* argument licensed in [Spec, AGRsP]. Licensing of little *pro* is possible from the fact that MG is a null-subject language with rich agreement. 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 (6) suggest:

(6)   (a)   *KRIFA/*Krifa* efaje o Janis to gliko
            secretly ate-3S the-John-NOM the-cake-ACC
            'John ate the cake secretly'

      (b)   Efaje *krifa* o Janis to gliko

      (c)   Efaje o Janis to gliko *krifa*

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 adverbs, in MG, have fixed positions in the clause. Word-order variation will result from argument movement (see Alexiadou (1994) for a similar conclusion). However, for space reasons I am going to restrict myself to the discussion of the SVO distribution.

3.3 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.

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[1]The possibility of the subject checking its Case features in the Spec, TP is proposed as an alternative in Chomsky (1992) and Bobaljik & Carnie (1992) among others.

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 (7):

(7)
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                XP
               /  \
        Adjunct   XP
                 /  \
           Specifier    X'
                       /  \
                     X⁰    Complement
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I will tentatively assume that adverbs are maximal projections of the type AdvP; they are generated as adjunctions to XP as shown in (7) above. If we take into consideration the phrase structure theories of Kayne (1994) and Chomsky (1994, 1995) 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. Although I will opt for the former, I will differ from Kayne and his followers by not applying any restriction to the direction of the adjunction. That is, I will allow either left or right adjuncts to an XP. I believe that right adjunction simplifies cases that would ask for unmotivated movement of other constituents over the adverb (see Brody (1994) and Manzini (1994) for more discussion).[2]

4 Structural positions for 'manner' adverbs in MG

4.1 Some preliminary assumptions

We saw, at the beginning of this paper, that there is a group of MG adverbs that distributes 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 (1986, 1994) whereby adverbs are 'base-generated' in their positions since movement is not motivated. However, non-typical positioning, I will claim, is only available after movement, given the prosodic effects. So, for facilitating the discussion, I will label the positions presented in (1b) as in (8):

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[2]Note that for present purposes alone I shall keep the X-bar notation of the schema in (7).

(8)   (ADV) O Janis (ADV) elise (ADV) tin askisi (ADV)
                SUBJ   V   DO
       1   2   3   4

> **position 4**: post-object; **position 3**: postverbal; **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.

4.2 Post-object position (position #4)

The post-object position (or position 4) is a typical position for 'manner' adverbs in MG, as we saw earlier. It does not involve any extra stress assignment nor any other distinctive phonological feature. Consider the data in (9) as an illustration:

(9)   (a)   O Nikos ksevidhose to kapaki *adheksia*
           the-Nikos-NOM unscrewed the-tap-ACC clumsily
           'Nikos unscrewed the tap clumsily'

     (b)   O kratumenos drapetefse *efkola*
           the-prisoner-NOM escaped easily
           'The prisoner escaped easily'

     (c)   I Maria evale ta piata sto plindirio *aprothima*
           the-Mary-NOM put the-dishes-ACC in-the dishwasher reluctantly
           'Mary put the dishes in the dishwasher reluctantly'

I would like to claim that all three positions illustrated in (9) 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, 1977), Roberts (1985), Travis (1988), and Xydopoulos (1991) among many others. Now, a strong argument for postulating right adjunction as the structural representation for the sentence-final position of adverbs comes from Andrews (1983) and is recapitulated in Pesetsky

(1989). In the sentences in (10) more than one manner adverbs is present (data are from Andrews):

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

Both examples in (10) have unambiguous meanings. (10a) means that there have been two instances of intentional knocking while (10b) means that there was one intentional instance of knocking twice. So, in (10a) the adverb *twice* will have scope over *intentionally* whereas in (10b) *intentionally* will have scope over *twice*. So, the respective structures will be as in (11):

(11) (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 preverbally. In this case, for the interpretation to be that of (10a) it must be that *twice* appears higher that *intentionally*. Accordingly, to obtain the interpretation of (10b) *intentionally* must be higher than *twice*. So, the corresponding structures are as in (12):

(12) (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 (12) indeed are adjuncts to VP comes from VP preposing facts as given in (13):

(13)   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 MG sentences in (9) are as in (14):[3]

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[3]Alternatively, as suggested in Chomsky (1994), an adverb can be generated in the lower Specifier of a nested VP structure *à la* Larson (1988). However, I believe that this option is not available. In the Larsonian structure the specifier position of the embedded VP is where the direct internal argument of the verb receives its θ-role. This is shown by the ditransitive sentence in (ia), which has the partial structure in (ib) (example from Larson):
    (i)   (a)   John sent a letter to Mary

(14) (a)   O Nikos$_i$ ksevidhose$_k$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ t$_k$ to kapaki] adheksia]]
             Nikos unscrew the tap clumsily

      (b)   O kratumenos$_i$ drapetefse$_k$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ t$_k$] efkola]
             The prisoner escaped easily

      (c)   I Maria$_i$ evale$_k$ [$_{VP}$ [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ t$_k$ ta piata sto plindirio] aprothima]
             Mary put the dishes in the dishwasher reluctantly

4.3 Post-verbal position (position #3)

The post-verbal position (or position 3) is the other typical position for 'manner' adverbs in MG. Exactly as the post-object position, it does not involve any prosodic effects. The sentences in (15) below illustrate this position:

(15) (a)   O Janis ksevidhose *adheksia* to kapaki
             the-Nikos-NOM unscrewed clumsily the-tap-ACC
             'Nikos unscrewed the tap clumsily'

      (b)   I Maria evale *aprothima* ta piata sto plindirio
             the-Mary-NOM put reluctantly the-dishes-ACC in-the dishwasher
             'Mary put the dishes in the dishwasher reluctantly'

Following what I said above about the post-object position and the derivation of the SVO order, I want to suggest that this position should be structurally represented as a left adjunction to VP. I am choosing the adjunction to VP for the same reasons as before. The structures corresponding to the sentences in (15) are given in (16):

(16) (a)   O Janis$_i$ ksevidhose$_k$ [$_{VP}$ adheksia [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ t$_k$ to kapaki]]
             John unscrewed the tap clumsily

      (b)   [$_{VP}$ [$_{NP}$ John] [$_{V'}$ [$_v$ sent$_i$] [$_{VP}$ [$_{NP}$ a letter] [$_{V'}$ [$_v$ t$_i$] [$_{PP}$ to Mary]]]]]

(b)　I Maria$_i$ evale$_k$ [$_{VP}$ aprothima [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ t$_k$ ta piata sto plindirio]
Mary put the dish reluctantly in the dishwasher

4.4 Post-subject position (position# 2)

The post-subject position (or position 2) is the first of the two non-typical positions occupied by 'manner' adverbs. Recall, from what I said earlier, that the adverb in this position comes with extra stress. Consider the examples in (17):

(17)　(a)　O Janis *(,) *EKSIPNA/*eksipna* elise tin askisi
the-John-NOM　cleverly PAST-solve-3S the-exercise-ACC
'John cleverly solved the problem'

　　(b)　O kratumenos *(,) *EFKOLA/*efkola* drapetefse
the-prisoner-NOM easily escaped
'The prisoner escaped easily'

　　(c)　I Maria *(,) *APROTHIMA/*aprothima* evale ton dhisko sto pikap
the-Mary-NOM reluctantly put the record on-the record-player
'Mary reluctantly put the record on the record-player'

These examples show two important things. First, that an adverb to appear after the subject (in SVO order) must obligatorily bear focal stress; second, that the subject is followed by an intonational pause. I will assume that this suggests that the subject is a topic. Having both a topic and a focus in a sentence is possible in MG as it is shown by (18) and (19). In (18) the subject is topicalised and the direct object is focused:

(18)　O Janis, TO GLIKO efaje
the-John-NOM the-cake-ACC ate-3S
'It is the cake that John ate'

In (19) the object is topicalised and the subject is focused:

(19)　To gliko, O JANIS to efaje
the-cake-ACC the-John-NOM (it) ate-3S
'It is John who ate the cake'

However, it is impossible to have the reverse order. That is, to have a focused phrase followed by a topic phrase. Consider the ungrammatical counterparts for (18) and (19) in (20a) and (20b) respectively:

(20)   (a)   *TO GLIKO o Janis efaje
       (b)   *O JANIS to gliko efaje

   Restricting myself to adverbs, I will follow the line of analysis suggesting that topicalisation is an instance of movement to an A-bar position, namely to the [Spec, CP] (following Chomsky (1977) and Van Riemsdijk & Williams (1986)).
   As far as focused adverbs are concerned I will assume that focusing is also an instance of movement. Following Choe (1987), Brody (1990) and Tsimpli (1992) I will assume that the actual position where a focused adverb will move is the specifier position of a Focus Phrase (FP), an A-bar position. FP is headed by a functional head F. F bears a focus feature that can be either morphologically or phonologically realised across languages; in MG it is phonologically realised.
   Furthermore, empirical evidence suggests that we cannot assume that focused elements move to [Spec, CP]. Consider the example in (21a) from Tsimpli (1992: 18) where the focus phrase is embedded under C:

(21)   Su ipa oti [LEFTA edhosa sti Maria]
       to-you told-1S that money gave-1S to-the-Mary-ACC
       'I told you that I gave MONEY to Mary'

(21) suggests two things, first, that we must distinguish between the CP and the FP projection; second, that the CP projection will precede the FP projection (a thing also suggested by examples (18), (19) and (20)). Furthermore, (22) is an example that clearly suggests that the topicalised element *the book* is in [Spec, CP] (adapted from Tsimpli (1990)):

(22)   Mu ipe [CP to vivlio oti [AGRsP (to) edhose sti Maria]]
       to-me told-3S the-book-ACC that (it) gave-3S to-the-Mary-ACC
       'He/She told me that it was the book that he/she gave (it) to Mary'

   Moreover, observe that in all instances where we have a focused element, either an argument or an adverb, the verb should follow the focused element. Therefore we cannot have the order focus-subject-verb as it is shown in (23):

(23) (a) *TON KOSTA I Maria aghapai

(b) TON KOSTA aghapai i Maria
the-Kostas-ACC loves-3S the-Mary-NOM
Mary loves KOSTAS

This suggests that the focus feature in F must be checked prior to SPELLOUT, so the verb moves there overtly in MG. I will leave aside other cases including those of *in situ* focusing as they are irrelevant for this paper.[4]

Recall that earlier I assumed a structure for the MG clause along the lines of Chomsky (1992, 1994) as given in (5) and repeated in (24a) for convenience. Given the facts suggesting that topicalisation 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, (24b) is the structure incorporating CP and FP:

(24) (a) $[_{AGRsP} ... AGRs [_{TP} ... T [_{AGRoP} ... AGRo [_{VP} ... V]]]]$

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

Now let me go back to the sentences in (17). Recall that here the subject is topicalised and the adverb is focused. So, I will propose that there is movement involved with both constituents. The derivation for (25a) is illustrated by (25b):

(25) (a) O Janis, EKSIPNA elise tin askisi
the-John-NOM cleverly PAST-solve-3S the-exercise-ACC
'John cleverly solved the problem'

(b) $[_{CP} [o Janis]_i [_{C'} [_C +top] [_{FP} [eksipna]_j [_{F'} [_F elise_k] [_{AGRsP} t_i$

$[_{AGRs'} t_k [_{TP} t_i [_{T'} t_k [_{AGRoP} Spec [_{AGRo'} AGRo [_{VP} t_j [_{VP} t_i$

$[_{V'} t_k [_{NP} tin askisi]]]]]]]]]]]]]]]$

The subject NP '*O Janis*' 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 '*elise*' starts its journey from within VP,

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[4]In the cases of *in situ* focusing the verb and the focused element are assumed to check their features at LF.

it goes through T to AGRs; it further goes to F to check its [+f] feature. Finally, the adverb '*eksipna*' is moved from its original position (adjunction to VP) to the [Spec, FP] where it checks its [+f] feature with the head F.

4.5 Pre-subject position (position #1)

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 (26):

(26)   (a)   *Eksipna* *(,) o Janis elise tin askisi
             cleverly the-John-NOM solved-3S the-exercise-ACC
             'Cleverly John solved the problem'

       (b)   *Efkola* *(,) o kratumenos drapetefse
             easily the-prisoner-NOM escaped-3S
             'The prisoner escaped easily'

       (c)   *Aprothima* *(,) I Maria evale ton dhisko sto pikap
             reluctantly the-Mary-NOM put the record on-the record-player
             'Mary reluctantly put the record on the record-player'

The data suggest that this is another case of topicalisation; here it is the adverb that has been topicalised. On the basis of what I said above on topicalisation, I will claim that here the 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 (27) illustrates the derivation for (26b):

(27)   [$_{CP}$ efkola$_i$ [$_{C'}$ [$_C$ +top] [$_{AGRsP}$ [o kratumenos]$_j$ [$_{AGRs'}$ drapetefse$_k$ [$_{TP}$ t$_j$

       [$_{T'}$ t$_k$ [$_{AGRoP}$ Spec [$_{AGRo'}$ AGRo [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ t$_j$ [$_{V'}$ t$_k$]]]]]]]]]]]

Here, the subject NP *o kratumenos* (the prisoner) moves for feature checking to [Spec, TP] and [Spec, AGRsP]. The verb moves accordingly to AGRs. The adverb *efkola* (easily) moves overtly from its base-position (VP-adjunct) to [Spec, CP] satisfying a [+top] feature in C.
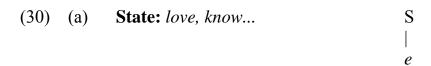
5 Some comments on subject-oriented adverbs

Before concluding, I would like to make some comments on the so-called 'subject-oriented' adverbs. Semantically, as their name suggests, they can show a property that the subject has; they can also function as ordinary 'manner' adverbs. Let me borrow an example from Jackendoff (1972) to illustrate the difference, consider (28):
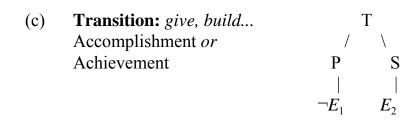
(28) (a) John *clumsily* dropped his cup of coffee.
      (b) Stanley *easily* ate his Wheaties
           (Jackendoff (1972: 49-50))

In (28a) the adverb *clumsily* may either mean that *John was clumsy in dropping his cup of coffee*, or that *he dropped his coffee in a clumsy manner*. However, in (28b) *easily* can have the meaning whereby *it was easy for Stanley to eat his cereal* or that *he ate them in an easy manner*. It cannot have the meaning that *Stanley was easy in doing the eating* or something else paraphrasing a subject-oriented reading. Adverbs like *clumsily* can also appear sentence-initially where they have only the subject-oriented meaning and sentence-finally where they have only the manner meaning; consider (29):

(29) (a) *Clumsily* (,) John dropped his cup of coffee
      (b) John dropped his cup of coffee *clumsily*.
           (Jackendoff (1972: 49))

The observations that I just presented were made by Jackendoff (1972, 1977) and were followed and extended by McConnell-Ginet (1982) among others. For them, the basic and only difference between manner and subject-oriented adverbs are their difference in meaning. Pustejovsky (1991) viewed this difference in terms of different scope assignment. He develops a theory of lexical semantics accounting for the structure of events. He conflates Vendler's (1967) aspectual classes and recognises three different event types to which he attributes different structural representations. The schemas in (30) illustrate this:

(30)   (a)   **State:** *love, know...*

$$S$$
$$|$$
$$e$$

(b)   **Process:** *run, push...*
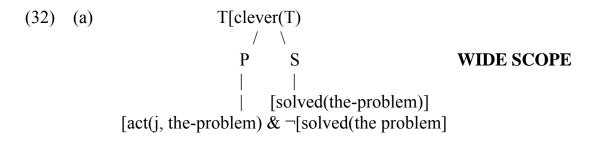
$$P$$
$$/\underline{\quad}\backslash$$
$$e_1 \ldots e_n$$

(c)   **Transition:** *give, build...*
Accomplishment *or*
Achievement

$$T$$
$$/\qquad\backslash$$
$$P \qquad S$$
$$| \qquad |$$
$$\neg E_1 \qquad E_2$$

So, if I take the accomplishment '*solve the problem*' in a sentence like in (31a) the event structure will look like in (31b):

(31)   (a)   John solved the problem

(b)

$$T$$
$$/\quad\backslash$$
$$P \qquad S$$
$$| \qquad |$$
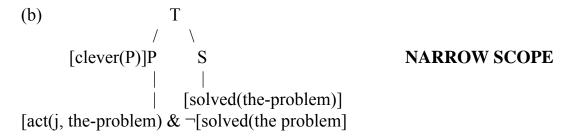$$| \quad [solved(the\text{-}problem)]$$
$$[act(j, the\text{-}problem) \& \neg[solved(the\ problem]$$

What (31b) says is that the event described by the predicate *solve the problem* is a transition from *a process* 'of *John* acting on *the problem* and a non-*solved problem*' to *a state* 'of a *solved problem*'.

If we add the subject-oriented/manner adverb *cleverly* to sentence (31a), then we will get different meaning according to the positioning. So, in sentence initial position and post-subject position we will get an event reading (or subject-oriented reading for Jackendoff) since the adverb will take wide scope with respect to the whole transition. If we place the adverb sentence- finally we will get the process reading (or manner reading for Jackendoff) since the adverb will take narrow scope with respect to the process. The structures in (32) illustrate the difference:

(32) (a)   T[clever(T)

                               /   \

                              P   S   **WIDE SCOPE**

                              | |

                              | [solved(the-problem)]

            [act(j, the-problem) & ¬[solved(the problem]

      (b)   T

                          /   \

            [clever(P)]P   S   **NARROW SCOPE**

                       | |

                       | [solved(the-problem)]

            [act(j, the-problem) & ¬[solved(the problem]

What Pustejovsky's theory captures is that, in any case, a subject-oriented adverb will occupy higher structural positions than manner ones. This is also obvious from the distinction expressed by (29a&b). So, subject-oriented adverbs will have wide scope with respect to the predicate and an eventive interpretation. Manner adverbs will have narrow scope with respect to the predicate and a manner/process interpretation.

A further observation that I need to make is that subject-oriented adverbs appear to have a restriction in that the subject of the sentence needs to be [+animate]/[+human]. This is shown by the grammaticality of (33a) versus the ungrammaticality or oddity of (33b):

(33) (a)   John *truthfully* answered the call.
      (b)   *!The answering machine *truthfully* answered the call

This is indirectly captured by Pustejovsky's framework in that the adverb, in all cases, takes scope over the animate actor involved in the event. The actor is animate here since he/she needs to act so as for the event to transit from non-event to event.

I believe that we can capture these observations by assuming that the subject-oriented adverb is related both to the predicate and to the subject of the sentence. A way of doing this is by assuming that adverbs are predicates with selectional requirements. They satisfy their requirements by selecting a phrase to modify. In those terms they are one-place predicates. Specifically, subject-oriented adverbs, I will assume, are two-place predicates selecting a modifiable phrase as their internal argument and the subject of the sentence as their external argument. This type of selection is to be understood as assignment of secondary thematic roles; as opposed to primary thematic roles assigned, say, by a transitive verb to its object and subject

(cf. Zubizarretta (1987)). I will leave out any other major or minor details concerning this part of the paper due to space limitations.

6 Conclusion

In this paper, I discussed the distribution of a subset of 'manner' adverbs. I found that these adverbs can occupy four positions in the MG clause; two of them are typical and the other two are non-typical as they involve prosodic effects. Furthermore, I adopted Chomsky's (1992, 1994) clause structure in order to provide structural positions for the distribution of adverbs. I argued in favour of left/right adjunction to VP in accounting for the typical positions; thus reflecting the semantic relation of 'manner' adverbs to the verb projection. I accounted for the non-typical positions by assuming that adverbs are either topicalised or focused and thus they are moved from their original position to the relevant A-bar position, [Spec, CP] and [Spec, FP] respectively. Finally, I presented some observations concerning subject-oriented adverbs and I speculated about how they should be analysed in order for the syntax to reflect these observations.

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