ADVERB RAISING IN DANISH AND ENGLISH

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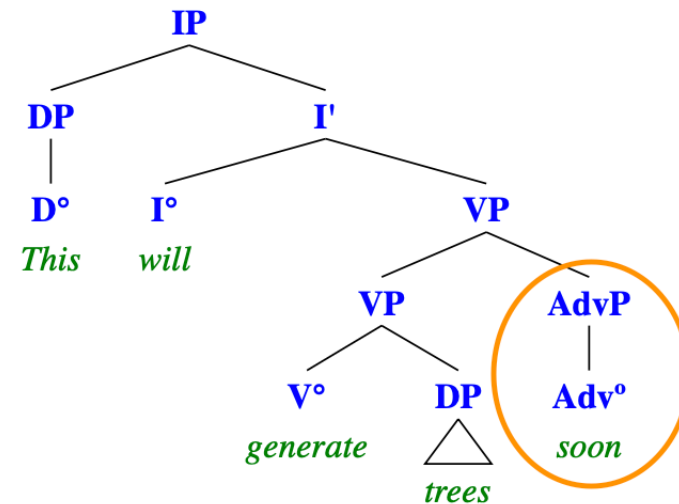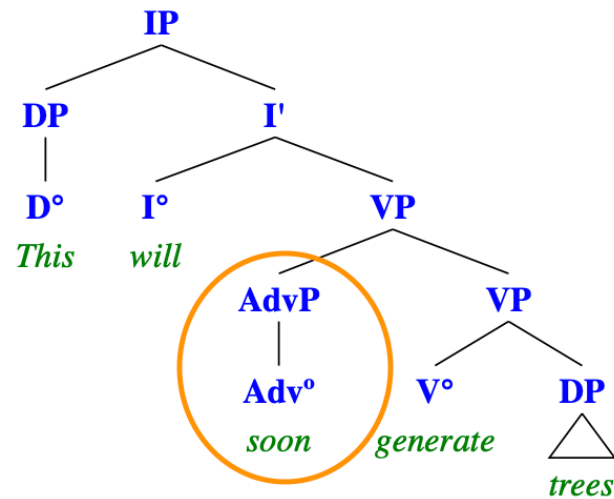
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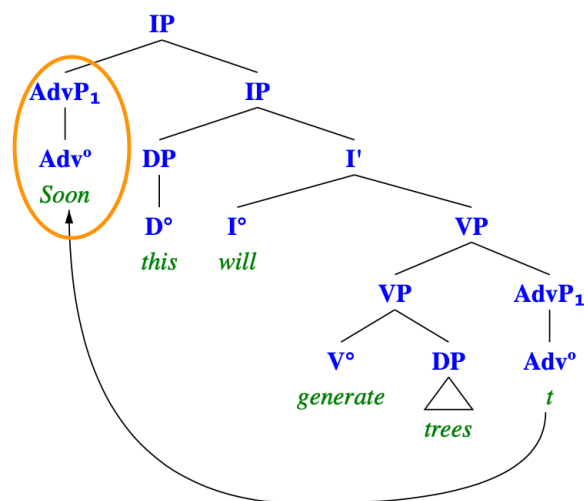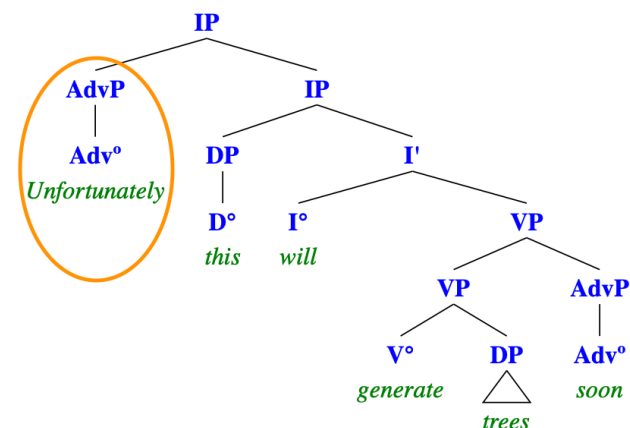
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THE STANDARD ADVP ANALYSIS

- VP-modifying, left- or right-adjoined

- Describes the VP

OTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR THE ADVP

- IP-modifying

- Comments on the sentence

- VP-modifying

- Describes VP, but is topicalised

SO WHAT IS THIS?

(1)

- Jeg **tror altid** [at han har kendt til mine følelser for ham].   (KorpusDK)
  *I think **always** [that he __ has known to my feelings for him].*

- Jeg **synes aldrig** [jeg er blevet mobbet med det].   (KorpusDK)
  *I think **never** [I __ am been bullied with it].*

- Jeg **føler altid**, [at jeg bag alt det har været ærlig].   (KorpusDK)
  *I feel **always** [that I behind all that __ have been honest].*

- Calvin did **not** believe [that Mona would __ move in until June].   (Collins and Postal 2014, 6)

- I **soon hope** [to finish my book].   (Edelstein 2013, 21)

AREN'T THOSE ADVP'S JUST BORN THERE?

- Nuh-uh.

- The pragmatics of the utterance speak against a literal reading of ...
  - Always thinking X/never thinking X/always feeling X/not believeinng X/soon hoping X

- There may be subtle diffreences between raised and non-raised negation (Lakoff 1969, 140-141)
  - *To not expect that* ... vs *to expect that not*....

- So, we need a different type of more robust test
- Three types of tests

CLEFTING

(1) Jeg tror altid   at han har kendt til mine følelser for ham. (KorpusDK)
I think always that he has known to   my   feelings for him.

(1a) *Det er **altid** tilfældet,   at jeg tror, han har kendt mine følelser for ham.
*It   is **always** case-the that I think he has known my feelings for him*

(1b) Det er tilfældet, at jeg tror, han **altid** har kendt mine følelser for ham.
*It   is case-the that I think he **always** has known my feelings for him*

-   The clefting in the (a) examples forces a matrix reading. The result being infelicitous points towards Adverb Raising.

-   Conclusion: the test points towards Adverb Raising in (1) & (2)

CLEFTING

(2) Jeg synes sjældent, det lykkes at male træ på skabslåger og skuffer. (KorpusDK)

I think rarely it succeeds to paint wood on cupboards and drawers.

(2a) *Det er **sjældent** tilfældet, at jeg synes, det lykkes at male træ på skabslåger og skuffer.

*It is **rarely** case-the, that I think it succeeds to paint wood on cupboards and drawers.*

(2b) Det er tilfældet, at jeg synes, det **sjældent** lykkes at male træ på skabslåger og skuffer.

It is case-the, that I think it rarely succeeds to paint wood on cupboards and drawers.

- The clefting in the (a) examples forces a matrix reading. The result being infelicitous points towards Adverb Raising.

- Conclusion: the test points towards Adverb Raising in (1) & (2)

DUPLICATING THE ADVERBIAL

(1) Jeg tror <mark>altid</mark> **at han har kendt til mine følelser for ham.** (KorpusDK)
  *I think **always** that he has known to my feelings for him.*

- Identical adverbial at the supposed origin site blocks trace.

(1a) * Jeg tror <mark>altid</mark> at han <mark>altid</mark> har kendt til mine følelser for ham.
  *I think **always** that he **always** has known to my feelings for him.*

- This should only block movement as identical adverbials can exists in both clauses, see (b) examples.

(1b) Jeg påstår <mark>altid</mark> at han <mark style="background-color:cyan">altid</mark> har kendt til mine følelser for ham.
  *I claim **always** that he **always** has known to my feelings for him.*

- Conclusion: the test points towards Adverb Raising in (1) & (2)

DUPLICATING THE ADVERBIAL

(2) Jeg synes `sjældent`, det lykkes   at male   træ   på skabslåger og skuffer. (KorpusDK)
*   I   think   rarely   it succeeds to paint wood on cupboards and drawers.*

(2a) *Jeg synes `sjældent`, det `sjældent` lykkes   at male træ   på skabslåger og skuffer.
*   I   think   **rarely**   it   **rarely** succeeds to paint wood on cupboards and drawers.*

(2b) Jeg siger `sjældent`, det `sjældent` lykkes at male træ på skabslåger og skuffer.
*   I   say   **rarely**   it   **rarely** succeeds to paint wood on cupboards and drawers.*

- Identical adverbial at the supposed origin site blocks trace.

- This should only block movement as identical adverbials can exists in both clauses, see (b) examples.

- Conclusion: the test points towards Adverb Raising in (1) & (2)

CONTRASTING SEMANTICS

(1) Jeg tror altid   at   han har kendt til mine følelser for ham. (KorpusDK)
   *I think **always** that he has known to my   feelings for him.*

(1a) *Jeg tror **altid**   at   han **aldrig** har kendt til mine følelser for ham.
   *I think **always** that he **never** has known to my   feelings for him.*

(1b) Jeg påstår **altid** at han **aldrig** har kendt til mine følelser for ham.
   *I think **always** that he **always** has known to my   feelings for him.*

- Adverbial of opposing semantic value at the supposed origin site results in an infelicitous reading due to clause containing opposite meanings, see: *I never always cook.*

- In contrast, it is possible for a matrix and a main clause to contain opposing adverbials, see (b) examples.

- Conclusion: the test points towards Adverb Raising in (1) & (2)

CONTRASTING SEMANTICS

(2) Jeg synes sjældent, det lykkes at male træ på skabslåger og skuffer. (KorpusDK)
I think   rarely   it succeeds to paint wood on cupboards and drawers.

(2a) *Jeg synes **sjældent**, det **ofte** lykkes   at male træ   på skabslåger og skuffer.
*I think   **rarely**   it **often** succeeds to paint wood on cupboards and drawers.*

(2b) Jeg siger **sjældent**, det **ofte** lykkes at male træ på skabslåger og skuffer.
*I say   **rarely**   it **often** succeeds to paint wood on cupboards and drawers.*

- Adverbial of opposing semantic value at the supposed origin site results in an infelicitous reading due to clause containing opposite meanings, see: *I never always cook.*

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WHAT'S HAPPENING?

In Danish:

- An opinion or utterance verb (e.g. *think*, *believe*, *seem*)

- Raises *some* adverbials (it seems that the shorter and more frequent the better, but *senere* or *hurtigt* still won't raise?)

  - *Vores reservation er om en halv time så/ men...*
    Our   reservation is in   a   half   our so/ but...

  - *... jeg synes* **egentlig** / **snart** /* **senere** /* **hurtigt**, *at vi skal gå.*
    ... I   think **actually** / **soon** / * **later** /   ***fast**, *that we should go.*

- Out of a finite embedded clause complement

WHAT'S HAPPENING?

In English:

- A raising verb (e.g. *seem*, *appear*)
- Raises an agent-oriented adverb (these are at least the ones that are obvious)

Out of a non-finite embedded clause

Alternatively in English:

- An epistemic or deontic modal
- Raises an agent-oriented adverb
- Out of a bare infinitive

a. *I **unknowingly** must have rolled my ancle* (EPISTEMIC)
b. *He **voluntarily** should resign from his position* (DEONTIC)

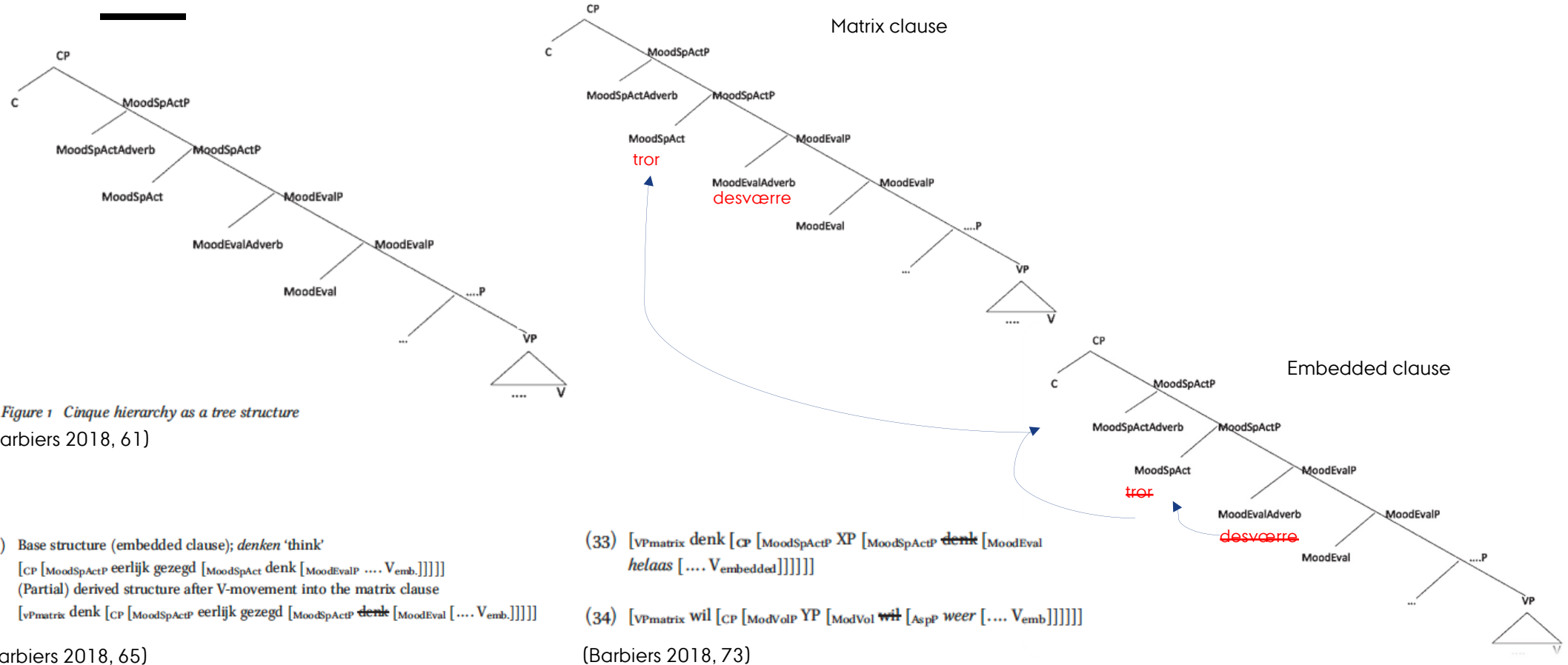(Edelstein 2013, 7. Adapted from examples found on the Internet)

IS ADVERB RAISING JUST ANOTHER FLAVOUR OF NEG RAISING?

- **A syntactic versus a pragmatic explanation of the phenomenon**
- Licensing of so-called **NPI's** (Lakoff 1969, 141)
    - a. *I didn't think* [*John would leave **until tomorrow***].
    - b. **I didn't say* [*John would leave **until tomorrow***].

- **Neg Raising is limited to a specific set of verbs** (non-factive verbs of mental state (Lakoff 1969, 140))
    - And there is cross-linguistic variation: E.g., English *feel* does not allow NR, whereas Danish *føle* 'feel' does.

- **The polarity contrast between embedded vs. matrix clause can be used to test for NR**
    - *Sarah does**n't** think Bob's interested, ... and **neither** does Sue! / does she?*
    - Negation is in the matrix clause, but the meaning is: → *Sarah thinks that Bob is **not** interested.*

    - *Karen did **not** figure **that the moon would disappear**. → Do you agree? (Yes, I agree that the moon will not disappear)*
    - *Karen did **not figure out** that the moon would disappear. → Do you agree? (Yes, I agree that Karen did not figure out that the moon would disappear)*

A POSSIBLE EXPLANATION:
A SEMANTIC ADVERBIAL HIERARCHY

Matrix clause

Embedded clause

Figure 1   Cinque hierarchy as a tree structure

(Barbiers 2018, 61)

(13) Base structure (embedded clause); *denken* 'think'
[CP [MoodSpActP eerlijk gezegd [MoodSpAct denk [MoodEvalP .... Vemb.]]]]]
(Partial) derived structure after V-movement into the matrix clause
[vPmatrix denk [CP [MoodSpActP eerlijk gezegd [MoodSpActP ~~denk~~ [MoodEval [.... Vemb.]]]]]]

(Barbiers 2018, 65)

(33) [vPmatrix denk [CP [MoodSpActP XP [MoodSpActP ~~denk~~ [MoodEval helaas [.... Vembedded]]]]]]]

(34) [vPmatrix wil [CP [ModVolP YP [ModVol ~~wil~~ [AspP weer [.... Vemb]]]]]]]

(Barbiers 2018, 73)

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WHY THIS DOESNT WORK

Functional head	Adverb (example)
Speaker-oriented domain	
$Mood_{speech\ act}$	eerlijk gezegd 'frankly'
$Mood_{evaluative}$	helaas 'unfortunately'
$Mood_{evidential}$	kennelijk 'allegedly'
$Mood_{epistemic}$	waarschijnlijk 'probably'
Referential Tense domain	
T(Past)	eens 'once'
T (Future)	dan 'then'
Epistemic modal domain	
$Mood_{irrealis}$	misschien 'perhaps'
$Mod_{aleth\ necessity}$	noodzakelijkerwijs 'necessarily'
$Mod_{aleth\ possibility}$	mogelijk 'possibly'
Root modal domain	
$Mod_{volition}$	per se 'definitely'
$Mod_{obligation}$	verplicht 'obligatorily'
$Mod_{ability/permission}$	qemakkelijk 'easily'

Aspectual domain	
$Asp_{repetitiveI}$	weer 'again'
$Asp_{frequentativeI}$	vaak 'often'
T(Anterior)	al 'already'
$Asp_{terminative}$	niet langer 'no longer'
$Asp_{continuative}$	nog steeds 'still'
$Asp_{perfect}$	altijd 'always'
$Asp_{prospective}$	bijna 'almost'
$Asp_{completiveI}$	helemaal 'completely'
vP domain	
NEG/AFF	niet/wel 'not/AFF'
Voice	goed 'well'
$Asp_{celerativeII}$	snel/vroeg 'quickly/early'
$Asp_{repetitiveII}$	weer 'again'
$Asp_{frequentativeII}$	vaak 'often'
$Asp_{completiveII}$	helemaal 'completely'

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DIFFERENT TYPES OF INFINITIVAL COMPLEMENT

- Raising verbs (e.g. *seem*) select for a specific (small) kind of infinitival clause that is particularly transparent for movement out of the clause. (Edelstein 2014)

- This limits AR to
    - Be licensed only by raising verbs
    - Only occur out of infinitival clauses

- It is an empirical question whether this holds for the English data, but we already see it does not account for the data in Danish
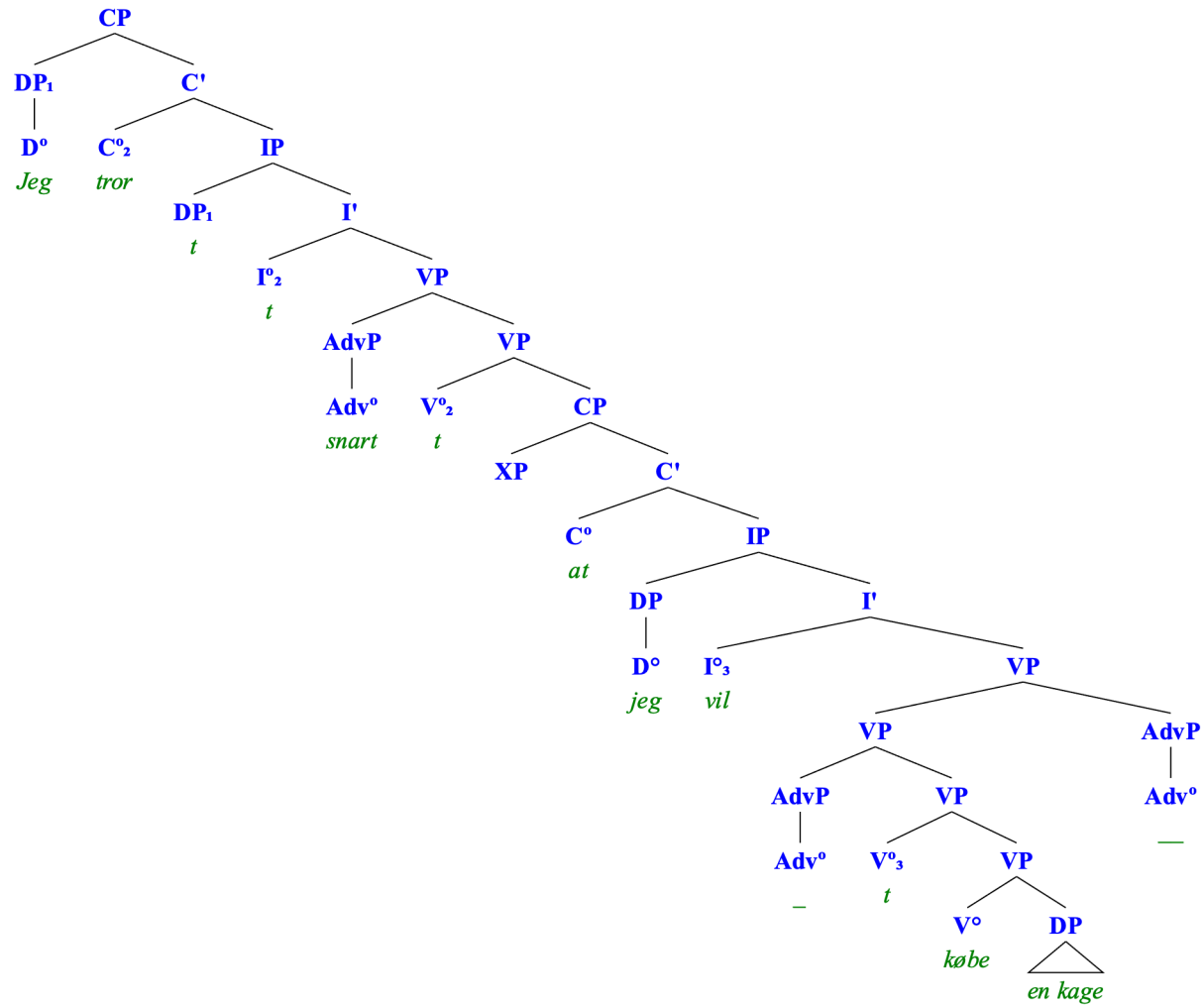
WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

-   Exploration of the occurence of AR in the wild (Danish/English)
-   **Does the frequency of the different lexical items correlate with the hypotheses?**
-   **What are the differences between the English and Danish data?**

-   Native judgements

-   Speaking of native judgements... what do you make of this?
    -   *Jeg synes faktisk, at vi skal gå*
    -   *Jeg synes snart, at vi skal gå*
    -   *Jeg synes med det samme, at vi skal gå*
    -   *Jeg synes senere, at vi skal gå*
    -   *Jeg hurtigt, at vi skal gå*

DISCUSS!(TING)

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