

UNIVERSITEIT GENT
Faculteit Letteren en Wijsbegeerte
Academiejaar 2004-2005

**FUNCTIONAL PHRASE STRUCTURE:
INTEGRATING FUNCTIONAL IDEAS IN
GENERATIVE ADVERBIAL SYNTAX**

Hilke Ros

Proefschrift ingediend voor het behalen
van de graad van doctor in de
taal- en letterkunde Latijn en Grieks

Promotor: Prof. Dr. Gunnar De Boel
Copromotor: Prof. Dr. Klaas Willems

Table of Contents

Preface	i
List of abbreviations	vi
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Functional and/or generative?	1
1.2 Structure of the dissertation	4
Chapter 2: Adverbials in Functional Grammar	5
2.1 The theory of layering	5
2.1.1 The base	5
2.1.2 Further upward layering	9
2.1.3 Distinction between grammatical and discourse module	10
2.1.4 A New Architecture for Functional Grammar	11
2.1.5 Round-up	12
2.2 Criteria for distinguishing arguments and satellites	14
2.2.1 Distinguishing arguments from satellites	14
2.2.2 Distinguishing σ_1 and σ_2 from σ_3 and σ_4	16
2.2.2.1 Intonation	16
2.2.2.2 Negation	16
2.2.2.3 Yes/no questions	17
2.2.2.4 Pro-form	17
2.2.2.5 Position	17
2.2.2.6 Focusing	18
2.2.2.7 Preposing	18
2.2.3 Distinguishing σ_1 from σ_2	19
2.2.3.1 Position	19
2.2.3.2 Negation	19
2.2.3.3 Argument-like behaviour of σ_1 satellites	20
2.2.3.4 Paraphrase possibilities	21
2.2.4 Distinguishing σ_3 from σ_4	22
2.2.5 σ_5 satellites	23
2.2.6 Conclusion	23
2.3 Subordinate clauses	24

2.4 Provisional conclusions	27
2.5 Word order in Latin	28
2.5.1 Methodology and research questions.....	28
2.5.2 Results.....	29
2.5.2.1 Position of satellites with respect to the verb	29
2.5.2.2 Position of satellites with respect to the first argument.....	31
2.5.2.3 Position of satellites with respect to the second argument	34
2.5.2.4 The order among satellites.....	37
2.5.4 Conclusions and further discussion	42
2.6 Summary.....	44
Chapter 3: Adverbials in Generative Grammar	45
3.1 Early accounts.....	45
3.2 Tight-fit theories	47
3.2.1 Cinque 1999.....	48
3.2.1.1 Overview.....	48
3.2.1.2 Criticism	51
3.2.2 Nilsen 2000.....	52
3.2.3 Barbiers 1995.....	54
3.2.4 Larson 1988, 1990; Stroik 1990	55
3.2.5 Alexiadou 1997.....	57
3.2.6 Rosengren 2003	59
3.3 Loose-fit theories	60
3.3.1 Travis 1988	60
3.3.2 Bowers 1993	62
3.3.3 Svenonius 2002.....	65
3.3.4 Ernst 1984, 2002	70
3.3.4.1 Overview of Ernst's framework	71
3.3.4.2 Ernst's presentation of arguments	74
3.3.4.3 PredP and the ban on left adjunction in VP	75
3.4 Domain theories.....	80
3.4.1 Frey & Pittner	80
3.4.2 Laenzlinger 1996, 1998, 2000	81
3.4.3 Tenny 2000	84
3.5 Summary.....	85

Chapter 4: Analyzing the left periphery	87
4.1 Peripheral vs. central adverbial clauses	89
4.1.1 Comma intonation	89
4.1.2 Questioning	89
4.1.3 Clefting	90
4.1.4 Scope of negation	90
4.1.5 Adverbial scope	91
4.1.6 Quantifiers and bound pronouns.....	92
4.1.7 Parasitic gaps	92
4.1.8 Summary.....	93
4.2 Propositional vs. illocutionary clauses	93
4.2.1 Constituent order	93
4.2.2 Coordination	94
4.2.3 Tags.....	95
4.2.4 <i>If-then</i> constructions	95
4.2.5 Causal links.....	96
4.2.6 Epistemic and illocutionary adverbials in the subordinate clause	97
4.2.7 Principle C effects.....	98
4.2.8 VP anaphora.....	100
4.2.9 Tense Dependencies	103
4.2.10 Summary	105
4.3 Left periphery and displacement	105
4.3.1 Truncated CP structure	105
4.3.2 Higher up in the left periphery.....	109
4.3.2.1 English	111
4.3.2.2 Italian	113
4.3.2.3 Greek.....	117
4.3.2.4 Summary and theoretical speculations	120
4.3.3 Truncation of CP in Barbiers (2002)	123
Chapter 5: Going lower in the structure	126
5.1 Instrument vs. manner	127
5.2 Locative/temporal vs. instrument	136
Chapter 6: Drawing a tree.....	142
6.1 Embedding the theory in the generative framework.....	143

6.2 Exploring the technical tools	148
6.2.1 Locating the adverbials: an adjunction position?	149
6.2.2 Locating the arguments: the double specifier analysis	155
6.2.3 What and how to move? A movement theory for Dutch.....	163
6.2.4 A movement theory for English	181
6.2.5 Adverbs as heads?.....	193
6.2.6 The incremental approach.....	199
6.2.7 Summary.....	213
Chapter 7: Conclusions.....	216
7.1 Overview.....	216
7.2 Comparison with Ernst (2002).....	220
7.3 Comparison with Cinque (1999)	222
7.4 Comparison with Laenzlinger (2000) and Tenny (2000)	223
7.5 The benefits for Functional Grammar	224
References.....	225