Adjuncts and Adjunctions
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Constituent structure mid 70's: [NP [det The] [N' destruction [?of [NP the [boat]]]]]
Possible Constituent structure eartly 90's (incorporating a combination of various ideas (Szabolcsi, 83, Abney, 87, Ritter 91, Valois, 91, Koopman, 93) and simplifying somewhat:

[$_{DP}$ [$_{D'}$ the][$_{NumP}$ [$_{Num'}$ [$_{Num}$ e] [$_{NP}$ [$_{N'}$ [destruct]i+ion [$_{VP}$ e [$_{V'}$ ei [$_{VP}$ [$_{DP}$ the boat [$_{V'}$ ei]]]

General Proposition:
 (1) <u>Syntactically, there are no adjuncts, there is no adjunction</u>.

(2) Three different aspects to this question:
(i) Base generated adjuncts;
(ii) Adjunction sites as ultimate landing site for movement or as
(iii) intermediate sites for movement

1. Base Generated adjuncts: adverbs of various sorts, various Prepositional Phrases

1.1. They are subject to distributional restrictions:
1.1.1. Some kinds occur pre or post VP: lentement/(slowly , soigneusement/ carefully (manner), habituellement/usually, rarement/rarely (frequency...)

(3) Il a soigneusement défait son paquet / il a défait son paquet soigneusement
      he has carefully unwrapped his package/ he has unwrapped his package carefully
(4) Il invite rarement ses ennemis / Il invite ses ennemis rarement
       he rarely invites his ennemies / he invites his ennemies rarely

1.1.2. Some kinds only occur in pre VP position beaucoup/a lot, trop/too much (quantity), toujours/always, jamais/never (frequency), pas/not (negation).

(5) Il a trop mangé à la fête / * il a mangé à la fête trop
     He ate too much at the party / *he ate at the party too much
 (6) Il ne va pas à Paris / *il ne va à Paris pas
      he does not go to Paris / *he does go to Paris not
(7) Il mange toujours des patisseries/ *Il mange des patisseries toujours
     he always eats sweets/ *he eats sweets always

1.1.3. Some other kinds only occur in post VP position: en de rares occasions/ on rare occasions (frequency) , avec soin/with care (manner),

 (8) *Il a avec soin défait son paquet / il a défait son paquet avec soin
      *He has with care unwrapped his package/ he has unwrapped his package with care

1.2. Semantically, these adjuncts can be seen informally
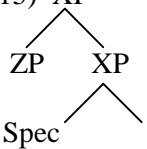1.2.1. predicate/argument type e.g. possibly manner adverbial qualify the "action" denoted by the VP:

(9) Jean a cuit la viande lentement / John cooked the meat slowly <--->
      La cuisson de la viande par Jean fut lente / John's cooking of the meat was slow
(10) Marie ira probablement ailleurs/ Mary will probably go elsewhere <--->
      Il est probable [que Marie ira ailleurs] / it is probable that Marie will go elsewhere
(11) Jean est rarement triste (triste rarement) /John is rarely sad <---> John's being sad is rare

1.2.2. or quantifier/restriction/nuclear scope type (e.g. de Swarts, 1991):
(12) [Quand Jean est malade,] Jean regarde toujours la télévision
        When John is sick, John always watches TV
(=the set of events meeting the description "John's being sick" type - or a relevant set determined
contextually if not specified - is a subset of the set of events of the "John's watching TV" type.
;(13) Tous [les enfants] regardent la télévision
          All [of the children] watch TV
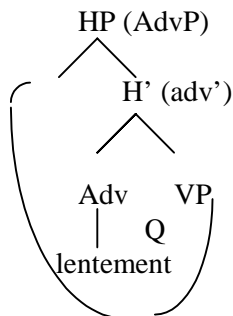(=the set of children - or of relevant entities- is a subset of the set of things watching TV)

1.3. Adjunction
 (14)
(i) optionality (does not interfere with basic structure of the clause whether present or absent)
(ii) transparency (does not interfere with government relations)
(iii) neutral for composition (A VP structure with an adjunct added to it behaves like a VP)
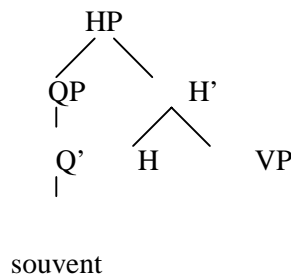
(15) XP   Adjunct left or right
                            (i) It is necessary to stipulate which elements are adjuncts.
    ZP   XP   (ii) It is necessary to devise the theory to derive transparency
                            (intervention is defined so that adjunction structures are transparent)
      Spec   (iii) It is necessary to stipulate left or right adjunct
                            (iv) Adjunct Phrases are to Phrases (Chomsky, 1986, unexplained)
                            (v) It is also necessary to stipulate what adjoins to what*
* This is because adjuncts impose selectional restrictions on their "adjoinee" giving rise to strict ordering
between adjuncts and non adjuncts and among adjuncts. This is clearly illustrated by the work of
Jackendoff, 72, Zubizarreta, 82, Sportiche, 88, Travis, 88, Rochette, 90).

1.4.   Type1   Type 2

         HP (AdvP)   HP

            H' (adv')   QP   H'

                                   Q'   Q'   H   VP

         Adv   VP
              Q
         lentement   souvent

For sake of illustration, assume the configuration as indicated above.(not really claiming that the
complement is VP, and leaving the identity of H undetermined (Ivana Lyon ,94, suggests it might be
related to E, the Davidsonian event argument).

1.5. Properties of adjuncts:
1.5.1. Transparency must be stipulated. From the point of view of Governement, they behave exactly as if
their associated projections was entirely absent.

1.5.2. Deriving the distributional properties:
1.5.2.1. Predicational adverbs are heads taking an argument as complement or specifier and assigning a (adjunct) theta role to it.
The -*ment* adverbs derived from adjectives can all be predicational: *probablement* (propositional), *lentement*, *soigneusement* (manner), *rarement*, *habituellement* (frequency),

(16) Il a [$_{AdvP}$ [$_{Adv'}$ soigneusement [$_{VP}$ défait son paquet]]]

   Il a [$_{AdvP}$ [$_{VP}$ défait son paquet] [$_{Adv'}$ [soigneusement] (ti)]

complex predicational adjuncts *en de rares occasions, d'une manière lente*,..(with a branching X'level).

(17) Il a [$_{PP}$ [$_{VP}$ mangé de la soupe] [$_{P'}$ [$_P$ en] [$_{XP}$ de rares occasions]]

1.5.2.2. If quantificational adverbs are specifiers as in type 2, they should not alternate between pre-VP and post VP position since there is no place for the argument to move to: *trop, beaucoup, jamais, pas*.

(18) Il a [$_{HP}$ [$_{QP}$ trop] [$_{H'}$ [$_H$ e] [$_{VP}$ mangé à la fête] / * il a mangé à la fête trop
      He ate too much at the party / *he ate at the party too much

(19) <u>Quand Marie vient</u>, Jean est rarement triste /*Jean est triste rarement
      (*under the reading: The number of times that John is sad during one of Mary'ss visit is very small)
(20) Quand Marie venait, Jean etait triste rarement.
      (OK, it was rare that John was sad during the general time period during which Marie used to come).

1.5.3.
(i) predicational adverbs should intervene as heads (blocking certain kinds of head movement: presumably only of like heads given Governement Transparency) .
(ii) quantificational adverbs should intervene as specifiers (presumably blocking certain kinds of XP movements)
1.5.3.1 Incorporation of manner adverbials and the bridge property

 (21)   ... [... H$_i$ ... [t$_i$ ... [... Y ...

 (22) Who$_i$ do you think+C$_j$ [t$_i$ t$_j$ [John saw t$_i$]]

(23) ... [$_{AdvP}$ [$_{Adv'}$ whisper [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ t [$_{CP}$ [$_{C'}$ C [.......
                    |
          [adv+V]

1.5.3.2. Intervention of quantificational adverbs in Weak island cases

(24) Combien d'amis a-t-il rarement /souvent invité / Combien a-t-il rarement /souvent invité d'amis
      How many friends has he rarely/often invited

(25) Combien d'amis a-t-il invité rarement /souvent / Combien a-t-il invité d'amis rarement /souvent
      How many friends has he invited rarely

(26) *Quand Marie vient, combien Jean invite-il souvent d'amis
The judgment is subtle here because it is only if you understand the adverb quantificationally that the sentence degrades. The *quand* clause is supposed to favor that reading.
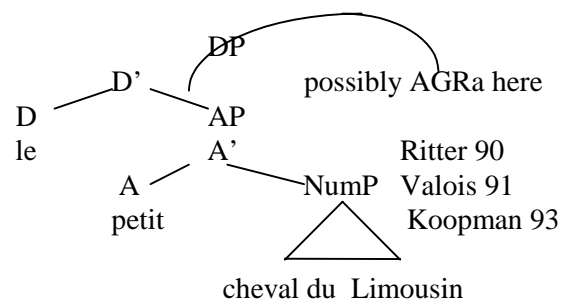
(27) *Quand Marie vient, combien Jean invite-il d'amis rarement

(28) Pourquoi$_i$ Jean dit-il souvent [que tu as demissionné t$_i$]
    Why does John often say that you resigned

(29) Pourquoi$_i$,quand Marie vient, Jean dit-il (*souvent) [que tu as demissionné t$_i$]
    Why, when Mary comes, does John (often) say that you resigned

1.6. In sum , some adverbs are more like determiners, and some adverbs are more like adjectives. We should then be able to extend some of these results to adjectives in their relation to NPs. (Valois, 91 syntax of adjectives and syntax of adverbs should be similar). Distributional facts are similar

(30) le (petit) cheval du Limousin (petit)
    the little horse from the Limousin
(31) *le petit de taille cheval du Limousin
    the small of size horse from the Limousin
(32) le cheval du limousin petit de taille
    the horse from the Limousin small of size

DP
D'   possibly AGRa here
D   AP
le   A'   Ritter 90
  A   NumP   Valois 91
  petit   Koopman 93
      cheval du Limousin

2. Adjunction site as landing site for Movement (XP-movement, Head movement?)

Sportiche (1993) - written version of GLOW 1992 - argues elsewhere (Sketch of a Reductionist Approach to Syntactic Variations and Dependencies) that all non stricly local binary dependencies involving c-command should be analyzed as substitution movement into Spec of some designated category. The case of Topicalization is illustrated below and the case of QR of universal *every* is argued to work accordingly by Stowell&Beghelli GLOW 94, Beghelli forthcoming Ph.D:

(33) Topicalization...:
[$_{IP}$ [John] [$_{IP}$ Mary likes t]
[$_{TopP}$ [John] [[$_{Top}$ e] [$_{IP}$ Mary likes t]]

(34) Quantifier Raising (Scope Taking)
[$_{XP}$ [Everybody] [$_{XP}$ Mary likes t]
[$_{ZP}$ [Everybody] [[$_{Z}$ e] [$_{XP}$ Mary likes t]]

3. Adjunction as intermediate site for movement (basically wh-movement).

(35) (I wonder) [$_{CP}$ [$_{DPi}$ who] [$_{IP}$ John will [$_{VP}$ t$_i$ [$_{VP}$ see t$_i$]]]]

 (36) (I wonder) [$_{CP}$ [$_{DPi}$ who] [$_{IP}$ John$_j$ will [$_{CP}$ t$_i$ [$_{IP}$ t$_j$ [$_{vP}$ see t$_i$]]]]]

General Principle: <u>one full clause per verb.</u>

3.1. Evidence for biclausal structures:
3.1.1. Analysis of English Modals as opposed to French Modals

(37) John [$_{I}$ can]   visit Paris
      [+Tnse]
      [-AGR]

(38) Jean peut visiter Paris / Jean pourra visiter Paris / Jean a pu visiter Paris

3.1.2. Some supporting evidence: Negation incorporation and scope of Negation (Spellmire, 1994)

(39)
John must not/ mustn't stay in in his room (deontic):　　　¬ (not obliged to)　*¬　(need not)
John must not/ mustn't be in his room (epistemic):　　　¬　　　　　　*¬
Jean ne doit pas être/rester dans sa chambre　　　　　¬　　　　　　*¬
Jean doit ne pas être/rester dans sa chambre　　　*　¬　　　　　¬

(40)
John cannot/can't stay in his room (deontic):　　¬ ◊ (not allowed to)　　* ◊ ¬ (allowed not to)
John cannot/ can't be in his room (epistemic):　　¬ ◊　　　* ◊¬
Jean ne peut pas être/rester dans sa chambre　　¬ ◊　　　* ◊¬

(41)
John can (just) not stay/be in his room　　　◊ ¬ (possibly not)　　*¬　◊ (not possibly)
John *cannot /*can't stay/be in his room　　with this reading? why not?
Jean peut ne pas être/rester dans sa chambre

3.2.1. Same question with aspectual auxiliaries
3.2.2. The work of Kayne on Italian Agreement suggest this.
3.2.3. [a [été [mangé]]] is a sequence of restructured clause with clitic climbing; restructuring
3.2.4. Position of Leftward floated *tous/tout*.
3.2.5. Independent evidence for treating auxiliary verbs as main verbs within full clauses: evidence for
CP: Kilega. (Kinyalolo, 1991, UCLA Ph.D., Carstens and Kinyalolo 1989 GLOW Utrecht)
Aspectual verbs: [AGR-V]   -kili *be still*, -sí *have already*, -sé *be about to*, -éte present progressive

(42) Extraction from simple clauses:
<u>Simple tenses</u>:
S Vagrs...　　　　　pro Vagrs　　　wh Vagrwh S　　　wh Vagrwh-agrs (pro)

<u>Complex tenses</u>:
S Vagrs Vagrs....　　　pro Vagrs Vagrs　　wh Vagrwh Vagrwh S　wh Vagrwh-agrs (pro) Vagrs

(43) Extraction from Embedded Clauses
<u>Simple tenses</u>
Wh$_i$ Vagrwh(-agrs) (pro/S) [$_{CP}$ that [t$_i$ Vagrs.......]] agrs class 1: à agrwh class1: u
who$_i$ said we/John　　　　that t$_i$　likes ....
Whi Vagrwh(-agrs) (pro/S) [$_{CP}$ Vagrwh S......]　no complementizer Wh: class17: locative
Where said we/John　　　　went....

<u>Complex tenses</u>
Wh$_i$ Vagrwh-agrs (pro) Vagrs [$_{CP}$ that [t$_i$ Vagrs.......]] agrs class 1: à agrwh class1: u
Wh$_i$ Vagrwh Vagrwh S　　　[$_{CP}$ that [t$_i$ Vagrs.......]] agrs class 1: à agrwh class1: u
When has said we/John　　that
Whi Vagrwh-agrs (pro) Vagrs [$_{CP}$ Vagrwh S......]　　　no complementizer Wh: class17: locative

Whi Vagrwh Vagrwh S [_{CP} Vagrwh S......]   no complementizer Wh: class17: locative

1. Not true that agreement is simply with wh-element (extraction from embedded clauses)
2. Agreement mediated by spec positions: spec must both be A (raising of subjects, raising of pro) and A-bar (since agreement may be triggered by adjunct wh-extractees from embedded tensed clauses).
3. An underspecified position would predict random mixture of wh and subject agreement
4. pro must raise to [spec,IP] (can do it only if sequence of clauses restructure) then all intermediate clause boundaries become transparent and wh-movemnt can go to the highest comp directly.