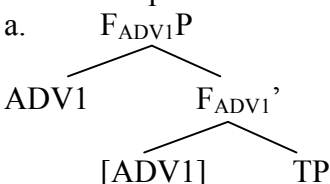
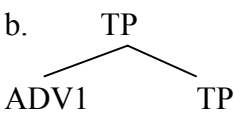


## The syntactic status of adverbials

**I.** Ever since Cinque (1999)'s seminal work on the adverbial hierarchy, the syntactic status of adverbials has occupied a central position in the study to the syntax-semantics interface (Ernst 2001, Starke 2001, Cinque 2002, Nilsen 2003). Cinque's core idea consisted of (at least) two components:

- (1) a. The distribution of adverbials is a result of a UG-based fixed clausal structure.
- b. Every adverbial occupies the specifier position of a designated functional projection.

The first component has been subject to much debate, as many scholars argued that the adverbial hierarchy should follow from semantic properties of adverbials rather than syntactic predestination (cf. Ernst 2001, Nilsen 2003). The second component received less attention, although Nilsen argued that such a clausal structure would not be motivated if the functional sequence was not part of syntax anymore. In my paper I want to address the question whether adverbials host a particular functional projection, even if their selection is only determined by semantic principles. **II.** The question whether an adverbial is hosted in a particular projection or is an adjunct of another projection, reduces to the possibility for the adverbial feature to project. Suppose ADV1 is an adverbial that modifies TP. In principle two different configurations are possible.

- (2) a. 
- b. 

In (2a) the adverbial feature [ADV1] is able to project, thus creating a functional projection with a specifier position that ADV1 may occupy. In (2b) there is no feature [ADV1] that is able to project and ADV1 does not project. The only way for ADV1 to modify TP is by adjoining to it. Hence, only if ADV1 has a feature [ADV1] that is able to project, an adverb may host a designated spec position, otherwise it is doomed to adjoin. The question now is what determines whether a feature is allowed to project. **III.** Note that the possibility of a feature to project introduces a *doubling effect*. In (2a) the feature [ADV1] is realised twice: both on the adverbial and on the head. In (2b) however, it is only realised once (on the adverbial). Such doubling effects remind of overt doubling effects, such as *negative concord*, *modal concord* and *focal concord*, in which a semantic operator is realised through more than one feature. These doubling phenomena are known to be subject to cross-linguistic variation. Ideally, the resemblance of doubling effects within a functional projection and concord phenomena traces back to one phenomenon: the ability of a feature to be manifested more than once. **IV.** In this paper I argue that languages cross-linguistically differ with respect to the grammatical status of functional features. A functional feature [F] can either be a semantic feature and always be interpreted as a semantic operator, or it is a formal feature. Formal features are either semantically interpretable [iF] or uninterpretable [uF] (Chomsky 2001). Concord phenomena are then syntactic relations between one [iF] and multiple [uF]s (adopting multiple agree in the sense of Haraiwa (2001)). The cross-linguistic variation w.r.t. concord phenomena demonstrates that only if a language exhibits concord with respect to some category G, the feature G is a formal feature [i/uG] and is allowed to project: such a language should thus also exhibit a projection GP: adverbials with a feature [i/uG] can therefore be realised in Spec,GP. If there is no 'G Concord' in a particular language, G cannot project and GP does not occur: an adverbial with feature [G] is then an adjunct. **V.** A consequence of this proposal is that in languages without 'G Concord', no overt syntactic head G° is expected to be found. This prediction has been born out in the case of negative concord (cf. Zeijlstra 2004). In my presentation I show that these predictions are also born out in the cases of modal and focal concord.

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