

## When manner adverbs cannot be interpreted as predicate modifiers

Elena Castroviejo Miró  
Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität

The purpose of this talk is twofold: first, I want to show that manner adverbs that surface as adjective modifiers in exclamatives fall in two different classes according to their semantic composition; and second, I want to propose an analysis for the class of manner adverbs that cannot be interpreted as predicate modifiers.

Manner adverbs that precede gradable adjectives in exclamatives cannot be treated as a semantically uniform word class. We can show this in three ways. First, we can compare the paraphrases of the examples that contain the two classes of manner adverbs. In order to observe the contrast, assume that the paraphrase of (1) is (2). In (3) we see the examples that include an adverb.

- (1) How tall Pau is!
- (2) Pau is tall enough to provoke a certain attitude (e.g., surprise) in the speaker.
- (3) a. How ethically dubious this comment is!
- b. How extremely tall Pau is!

Interestingly, in uttering (3a) we mean (4a), but (3b) cannot be paraphrased as (4b).

- (4) a. This comment is [ethically dubious] enough to provoke an attitude in the speaker.
- b. ??Pau is [extremely tall] enough to provoke an attitude in the speaker.

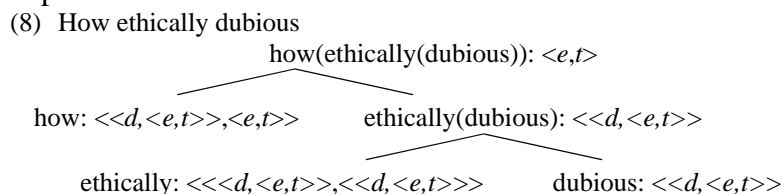
The second test has to do with the choice of the degree operator. In (5) we can see examples from Catalan where the interpretation of adverbs like (3b) differs depending on whether the exclamative is introduced by the degree operator *que* or *com*, which may both be translated as *how* in English. Even though they can be felicitously used in the same contexts, they involve different syntactic structures (e.g., *que* pied-pipes the AP to the left periphery whereas *com* leaves the AP stranded). The semantic composition between the adverb and the adjective is not analogous, either. This is illustrated in (5b), where the interpretation obtained is paraphraseable as in (4b), while there is no such restriction on adverbs as used in (3a) (cf. (6)).

- (5) a. Que extremadament alt que és en Pau!  
how extremely tall that is the Paul  
'How extremely tall Pau is!'
- b. ??Com és d'extremadament alt en Pau!  
how is of extremely tall the Paul
- (6) a. Que èticament dubtós que és aquest comentari!  
how ethically dubious that is this comment  
'How ethically dubious this comment is!'
- b. Com és d'èticament dubtós aquest comentari!  
how is of ethically dubious this comment

Third, APs like (3a) may be modified by degree operators in other constructions (e.g., the comparative), but it is not necessarily so in the case of (3b) for the same reason (4b) is deviant (cf. (7a) and (7b)).

- (7) a. Bartlet's proposal is more ethically dubious than Hoynes'.
- b. ??Pau is more extremely tall than Marc.

The contrast depicted above can be explained if we assume that there are two types of adverbs that may precede gradable adjectives in exclamatives, and only the type in (3a) composes semantically like a predicate modifier. The following tree represents its semantic composition:



These manner adverbs that behave like restrictive modifiers constitute APs that can be modified by the degree word in an exclamative as long as they are gradable expressions. Typically, these include APs that derive from NPs accompanied by a relational adjective (*ethically dubious* < *ethical doubt*) and APs whose head is a past participle (*beautifully phrased*, *badly injured*).

As for the case of (3b), I propose that *extremely* is a deadjectival adverb whose adjective describes a degree. Hence, it takes as argument not an entire adjective, but only one of its arguments, namely, <*d*>. Here is the proposed paraphrase for (3b):

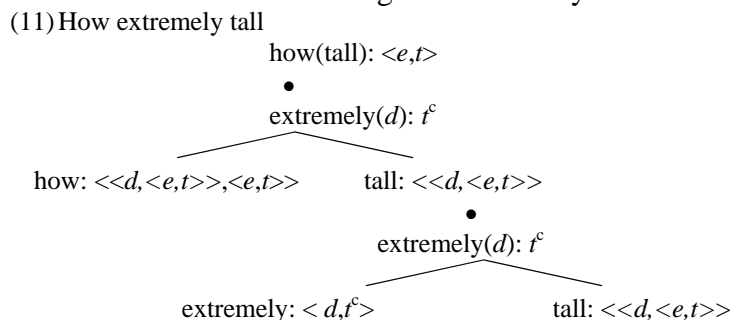
- (9) Pau is tall enough to provoke a certain attitude in the speaker & the speaker describes this degree as being extreme.

This paraphrase is reminiscent of the ones that are used to spell out the meaning of nonrestrictive modifiers, as in Morzycki (to appear):

- (10) The Titanic('s) *rapidly* sinking caused great loss of life.  
 a. Restrictive: 'The Titanic's sinking being rapid caused great loss of life.'  
 b. Nonrestrictive: 'The Titanic's sinking, which was rapid, caused great loss of life.'

Morzycki proposes to analyze nonrestrictive modifiers with the two-dimensional semantics introduced by Potts (2005), which is designed to capture both at-issue meaning and conventionally implicated meaning. Under this view, lexical items such as *damn* in *The damn machine didn't come with an electric plug* or nonrestrictive modifiers such as *rapidly* in (10) are analyzed as contributing a meaning that is independent of the asserted meaning of the sentence.

In the same vein, I propose that manner adverbs like the one in (3b) are nonrestrictive modifiers and, as such, they contribute an implicated meaning that is not processed in the same dimension as the meaning contributed by the rest of the construction ((11)).



In (11), the ordinary meaning of *tall* is passed up as the main content of the node corresponding to *extremely tall*, and it composes with *how*, whereas *extremely(d)* is treated like a side comment. The main difference between Morzycki's proposal and the one here is that the gradable adjective contains two arguments (i.e., a degree and an individual) and *extremely* takes only one of them, namely the degree one. This is analogous to Larson's (1998) analysis of certain classes of adjectival modification, where the adjective takes only the event variable of the noun (see also McNally & Boleda (2004) for a similar analysis of relational adjectives).

Manner adverbs that are interpreted nonrestrictively in exclamatives form a heterogeneous class, all of which are interpreted as speaker-oriented expressions. They include adverbs that describe a degree (*extremely tall*), attitude toward degree modifiers (*surprisingly smart*) and manner adverbs that evaluate the property denoted by the adjective's nominalization (*strangely beautiful*).

## References

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