

- c. Jill said Igor was headed... *that direction/the way you just came from*.
 ... *(on) this course/that bearing.
 ... *(down) the path of least resistance.

Modulo (3c), these examples are grammatical sentences without the adverbial modifier; in this sense, they are only optional thematic arguments, assigned theta-roles perhaps by the verb or by the semantics of the sentence.² These NP's pattern with PP, AdvP and S adjuncts in at least two other ways also: they conjoin readily with other adjunct phrases, and many co-occur with the intensifier *right*, as in (4) and (5) respectively:

- (4) a. The entire company will be arriving [[_{PP} at two o'clock] and/or [the next day]].
 b. Do it [this way] and [_{AdvP} carefully]!
- (5) a. I ran *right* [_{PP} to the store].
 b. He is arriving *right* now/then/this (very) day.
 c. Please step *right* this way!

(Larson 1985:599)

A major puzzle, however, is how do these NP's get Case? As Larson explains: "what prevents NPs from appearing as adverbials in general is the requirement that they must bear Case and the fact that they would have no way of obtaining Case in an adjunct site... what distinguishes bare-NP adverbs is that they have some special means of receiving Case."³

Another quirk of bare-NP adverbials becomes apparent from observing the contrasts in (3): the set of NP's permitted to head bare adverbials is lexically determined. There is no obvious semantic difference between, say, *that way* and *that manner* in (3a), yet the latter requires a preposition to be licensed while the former mysteriously does not. For each adverbial function, the possible NP heads are near-exhausted by the lists in (6):

- (6) a. MANNER: way
 b. LOCATION: place,⁴ here, there
 c. DIRECTION: way, direction
 d. TIME: time, then, moment, minute, hour, month, July, Sunday(/any month/day)

(Larson 1985:595-8)

A final interesting point, unmentioned in Larson (1985), involves the contrasts in (7):

- (7) a. The announcer pronounced my name that way/the way *(my mother does).
 b. I saw the burglar leave that way/the way *(she came).

² Larson (1985:605) cites McConnell-Ginet (1982) and Roeper (1983) as putting forward the former option, whereby adjuncts are implicit arguments of predicates. He attributes the latter possibility to Barwise&Perry (1983), for whom adjuncts may be taken to specify the semantic *dimensions* of space/time, individuals, locations, etc., of a sentence/situation.

³ Larson (1985:606)

⁴ 'place' is peculiar in that it seems to require a quantificational determiner such as 'some,' 'every,' etc. given 'you've lived (*the)/*(some)place warm before.'

- c. My cat always wants to perch someplace high-up/the (same) place *(she hides her mice)

It is beyond the sophistication of this squib to make more than a brief remark here – bare-NP adverbial heads seem from (7) to require specification/modification of some sort. It is tempting to suggest that *the way* on its own in (7a) is not “informative” enough to warrant being included. This must not be entirely correct, however, since it is perfectly acceptable for me to say “when lots of people are over, my cat likes to hide someplace,” which is no more informative. My intuition is that the ungrammatical adverbials in (7) are incomplete on parallel to “Jill hit;” I return to this point with regards to relative roots.

3. RELATIVE ROOTS

Alongside the usual obligatory arguments of a given predicate, Algonquian languages have morphological means to add extra arguments to the verb phrase. These morphemes known as relative roots occur mainly as preverbs, and the arguments they introduce are termed relative root complements. In coordination with their complements, relative roots are understood as adverbials of location, direction, manner, etc., as indicated by the list from Ottawa Ojibwe given in (8):

- | | | |
|-----|----------------|--|
| (8) | <i>akw-</i> | ‘a certain length, so long’ |
| | <i>apiit-</i> | ‘a certain extent, so much’ |
| | <i>daN-</i> | ‘in a certain place’ |
| | <i>das(w)-</i> | ‘a certain number, so many’ |
| | <i>iN-</i> | ‘in a certain direction, in a certain way’ |
| | <i>ond-</i> | ‘from a certain place, for a certain reason’ |

(Rhodes 1998:5)

When a relative root appears in the verb-complex, an NP in the sentence (or understood from context) corresponds to its function.⁵ That is, a predicate preceded by *akw-* licenses an NP argument specifying an appropriate length or duration; one with *iN-* as its preverb licenses an NP specifying a direction or manner.

Looking back at the bare-NP adverbial functions in (6), each has a correspondent in the list of relative roots in (8). Like relative roots also, bare-NP adverbials have two identifiable parts: a semantically simple morpheme/word designating an adverbial function, and an argument for this function adding the “specifics” to the adverbial. The example in (9) demonstrates the most direct take on this parallel; the location adverbial in (9a) could be similarly expressed in English as (9b) using a bare-NP adverbial:

- (9) a. N-qecimul-ku-n ‘Tolitolli [_{CP} n-**toli**-nomiu-a-n **Malikons-ok**].
 1-ask-Inv.-N T. 1-**there**-see-Dir-N **Mulligan’s-Loc**
 ‘Tolitolli asked me to meet her at Mulligan’s.’
 b. ‘Tolitolli asked me to meet her someplace called Mulligan’s.’⁶

⁵ Rhodes (1998:8)

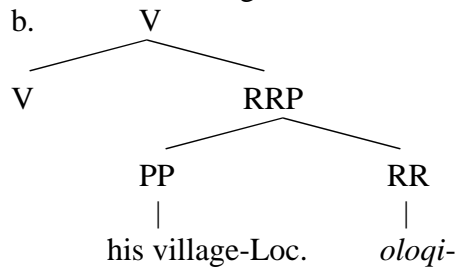
⁶ Although ‘someplace’ in this example seems to imply unfamiliarity with Mulligan’s on the part of the speaker, this is the only option given that, as mentioned in fn. 4, ‘place’ seems to require a quantificational determiner.

According to Rhodes, “Algonquian languages have a very restricted set of true nominal oblique relations... *locatives*, *temporals*, and *instrumentals*.”⁷ However, he argues throughout that these obliques are distinct from relative roots on at least one important point: relative roots have “*understood definite reference*.”⁸ The true obliques, on the other hand are of two types: the first type are those selected by individual predicates (without any relative root), similar to *put* in English; the second type overlaps in function to the temporal and locative relative roots, but cannot receive an understood definite reading when the NP is left out. Explaining this adequately is not possible at present, but seems intuitively to relate to the specification/modification required by bare-NP adverbials. I leave this for future research, however.⁹

4. ANALYSIS OF SORTS

Bruening (2001) analyzes relative roots and their complements as a constituent, the Relative Root Phrase, which attaches within the VP below the core arguments of subject, primary and secondary objects. He gives the (lower) tree in (10b) for the sentence in (10a):

- (10) a. On yatte wen ‘t-oloqi-ya-n ‘t-utene-k.
 then each someone 3-**that.direction**-go-N 3-**village-Loc**
 ‘Then each one goes toward his own village.’



(Bruening 2001:170)

As Bruening explains “a full prepositional phrase generally raises, either to a higher specifier or to adjoin to VP. The remnant RRP moves to a preverbal position, from which the preverb attaches phonologically to the verb stem.”¹⁰

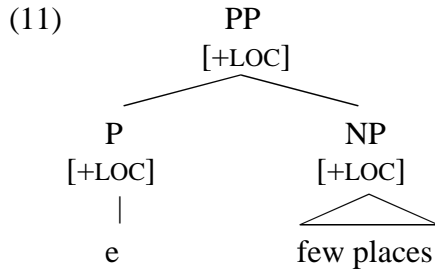
One obvious wrinkle in a direct relative root—bare-NP adverbial comparison is that the NP argument licensed by the relative root is not bare; it appears with a locative marker/preposition. However, that bare-NP adverbials involve a null (or deleted) preposition has indeed been suggested several times in the literature (Emonds 1978, Bresnan&Grimshaw 1978, a.o.). The structure proposed by Bresnan&Grimshaw is as in (11), where bare-NP adverbials are NPs occurring in a PP with an empty P head:

⁷ Rhodes (1998:2)

⁸ Rhodes (1998:8)

⁹ Another interesting point for future research is that instrumentals in both languages do not appear as relative roots or bare-NP adverbials. Given the difference also between certain temporal/locative obliques and the PPs found in relative roots, it seems that not all PP adjuncts have equal syntax – those in a relative root look syntactically very much like other adverbs, as they are analyzed recently. This is also beyond the scope of this paper.

¹⁰ Bruening (2001:170)



(Larson 1985:601, citing Bresnan&Grimshaw 1978)

According to Larson's take on Bresnan&Grimshaw, bare-NP adverbial heads carry a [+F] feature, specified as [+TEMP], [+LOC], [+MANNER] etc.; these features agree (check off) with a similar feature on the null preposition. The P node is then deleted before an NP that agrees with its [+F] feature by the rule in (12):

(12) $P \rightarrow \emptyset / \text{ ______ } NP$
 [+LOC] [+LOC]

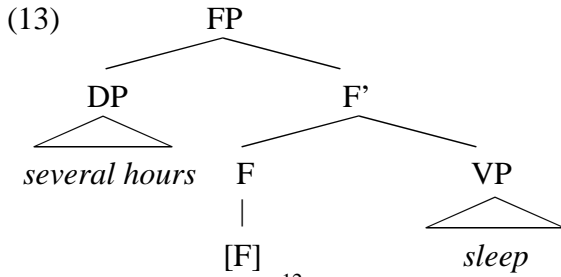
This is not exactly the analysis I will follow, but Bresnan&Grimshaw's proposal has a couple features that are insightful and explanatory. By positing a [+F] feature on the head NP of the adverbials explains why the set of possible head NPs is restricted: this feature is lexically specified, and the items (recall 'that manner,' 'that vacation,' 'that location') not compatible as adverbial heads simply lack this feature. With the structure in (11) bare-NP adverbials pattern with other adverbials (and unlike other NPs) because they are in fact PPs; the overt NP receives case from the head P, solving the case mystery as well. What this structure does not explain, is the specification/modification requirement on bare-NP adverbials, as well as distributional asymmetries *within* varieties of bare-NP adverbial, observed by Morzycki (2005).¹¹

The approach taken by Morzycki looks, in fact, very much like Bruening's for relative roots, modulo certain details. Morzycki argues, following recent work by Cinque, Ernst, and many others, that adverbial modification is mediated by functional heads in the syntax. He proposes (13) for the measure-NP adverbials ('sleep several hours' in this case):

¹¹ These distributional asymmetries divide between strong-NP adverbials (every day, all year, that way) and weak ones (an hour, a direction, etc), and involve scope ambiguities, homogeneity effects, and other phenomena I cannot elaborate on here. Morzycki shows that while many varieties of NP-adverbial pattern with PPs, weak measure-NP adverbials are much more restricted. As a brief example, the measure-NP adverbial in (ia) can only scope underneath negation, while the equivalent PP has ambiguous scope:

- (i) a. Clyde didn't sleep an hour. Neg >> *an hour*, only.
 b. Clyde didn't sleep for an hour. Neg >> an hour, or, *an hour* >> Neg.

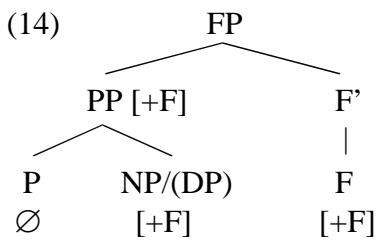
(Morzycki 2005:148).



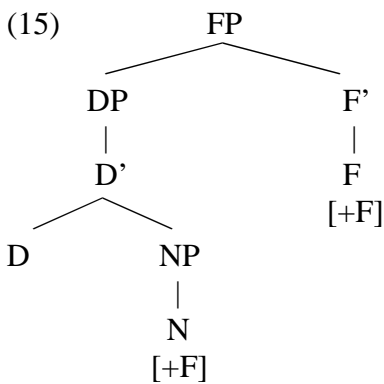
(Morzycki 2005:161)¹²

The structure in (13) is specifically meant to capture the distribution peculiarities of measure-NP adverbials, and Morzycki agrees also that a null-preposition approach might be the correct approach for the other bare-NP adverbials.¹³

Taking these insights and proposals all in step, the strong hypothesis of a parallel syntax for the two constructions is as in (14):



Despite Bruening and Bresnan&Grimshaw's proposals, the PP structure seems largely unnecessary for English in combination with a higher functional projection. The strong parallel-syntax hypothesis of (14) is rejected in favour of a simpler English structure, as in (15):



The proposal that (15) suggests is that relative root preverbs are the spell-out of the null head that licenses bare-NP adverbials in English. The [+F] feature is akin to that of

¹² As we see here, Morzycki places the relevant projection above the VP, while Bruening's RRP is posited to merge within the VP. I am not in a position presently to make any motivated decision between the two (Morzycki assumes the analysis of English verb movement in Johnson (1991) a.o., and so the correct surface order is obtained with a high or low projection).

¹³ Morzycki (2005:155)

Bresnan&Grimshaw, although I mean it to represent a more complex bundle of features of which [+LOC/MANNER/DIR/etc], and [+SPECIFIC] might be a part (or [+DEFINITE] following Rhodes' observations).¹⁴ The bare-NP/DP checks structural case with the functional head F. We could of course still follow Bresnan&Grimshaw a.o.'s suggestions that bare-NP adverbials involve a null preposition, and posit that for certain varieties FP is in fact a PP (accepting Morzycki's argument that not all bare-NP adverbials can be PPs).

5. CONCLUSION

The proposal offered here is only a tentative one at best, and leaves many questions open and ends loose for future research. The chief goal of this squib, however, was to observe the cross-linguistic similarities in adverbial classification and licensing. It was shown that both English and the Algonquian languages can license specific durations, times, places, manners, directions, etc., as event-modifiers by using a "light" element to identify the role/function, and an argument specifying the values. The difference lies in which elements and features are spelled-out, and on which morphosyntactic parts.

¹⁴ Using a DP structure here, I have to assume that the [F] features of the NP percolate up to the DP in order for it to agree with the higher functional projection.

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