



The syntax of correlative adverbs

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Abstract

The status of words like *either*, *both* and *neither*, here referred to as “correlative adverbs” or “correlatives”, is controversial. Using relevant data from Germanic languages, I shall show that the analyses of Schwarz (1999) and Larson (1985) are inadequate. Instead, I will suggest an analysis based on the assumptions in Hendriks (2001a,b, 2002): that correlatives are focus particles. Their syntactic position is discussed with the hypothesis that focus particles are adverbs, and I suggest, inspired by the adverb hierarchies of Cinque (1997), that there is a designated Correlative Phrase position. My analysis includes overt and covert movement, which explains some correlations between different interpretations of scope and syntactic positions, as discussed also by Larson (1985) and Bayer (1996). My analysis not only gives an account of this kind of scope ambiguity, but also accounts for the fact that each correlative is associated with only one conjunction; that with phrasal coordination, the correlative can be displaced from the conjunction phrase; and that with sentential coordination, the correlative can be part of the first conjunct.

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1. Introduction

There is little consensus in the literature with respect to the status of correlative words like *either*, *both* and *neither*. Even their epithets are subject to disagreement, with at least the following in common use: “conjunctions”, “initial conjunctions”, “discontinuous conjunctions”, “double conjunctions”, “ConjP adverbs”, “conjunctive adverbs”, “correlative adverbs”. The latter term, or “correlatives” for short, will be used in this paper.

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Schwarz (1999) and Larson (1985) give an account of some correlative adverbs (mainly *either*) in terms of reduction and movement, respectively. I shall show their analyses, as they stand, cannot account for the data from Germanic languages, and further, that there is evidence for Hendriks's (2001a,b, 2002) idea that correlatives are focus particles. I shall present a syntactic analysis that includes both overt movement and covert movement (akin to QR), inspired by Larson (1985), as well as by Bayer (1996).

The paper is structured around the following points: Each correlative is associated with only one conjunction (Section 2). With phrasal coordination, the correlative can be displaced from the conjunction phrase (Section 3). With sentential coordination, the correlative can be part of the first conjunct (Section 4). Correlatives are focus particles (Section 5). The extent to which correlatives influence scope ambiguity on the interpretation of the ConjP varies with their syntactic position (Section 6).

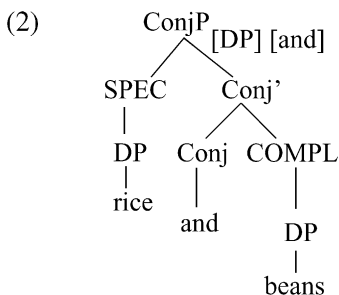
The discussion in Section 6 will lead to an overview of relevant data in Germanic languages (Section 7), and a presentation of Schwarz and Larson's analyses, neither of which can accommodate all the data (Section 8). Finally, I discuss some puzzling differences and similarities between correlatives from a cross-linguistic perspective (Section 9).

2. Correlatives and their conjunctions

It is clear that the dependency between the correlative and its conjunction is absolute. For each correlative, there is a choice of exactly one conjunction:

- (1) I like *both* pears *and*^{*} or bananas

This means that there must be some local connection between the correlative and the conjunction. Following the analysis of Johannessen (1998), I shall take the conjunction to be the head of a ConjP, which has the conjuncts in the specifier and complement positions, respectively.¹ The relevant information from the conjuncts (such as part of speech and grammatical features, as well as information about which conjunction is a head) is inherited to the top projection via spec-head agreement (unification):



¹ For a critical discussion of this analysis, see Borsley (this volume).

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