

**Two Subject Positions in English:  
An analysis of the position of Speaker Oriented Adverbs**

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A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Lieke', with a stylized flourish at the end.

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**Abstract**

English is often assumed to be a language with a simple IP with only one subject position available outside of the VP domain: Spec-IP. Diesing's (1992) and Kiss' (1996) proposals on there being two subject positions, however, suggest differently. Kiss' (1996) proposal is said to account for five phenomena of which one concerns the positioning of sentence adverbials. Ernst (2009) analysed the position of Speaker Oriented Adverbs (SpOAs) on the basis of their lexical semantics. This thesis presents a study which investigates the position of Speaker Oriented Adverbs (SpOAs) with regard to the specificity of the subject in order to get more insight into the syntactic structure of Standard English. Corpus research was carried out to analyse the position of SpOAs in both the linear order as well as in syntactic structure in detail. Although no instances of non-specific subjects were found in the corpus, the current study was still able to provide a fair indication of the validity of Kiss' (1996) argument regarding sentence adverbials. The primary goal of this thesis was to provide evidence for Kiss' (1996) proposal of there being two VP-external subject positions in present day English when taking Ernst's (1996) analysis of the lexical semantics of SpOAs into account.

*Keywords:* SpOAs, sentence adverbials, adverb placement, two subject positions, subject specificity, RefP.

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## Introduction

Subject positions in English and its many varieties have been a topic of research that has been investigated quite extensively for the past few decades. English varieties have for example been investigated by means of a phenomenon called singular concord (e.g. Henry, 1995; Tortora & Den Dikken, 2010). Singular concord allows plural subject DPs to occur with a verb ending on an -s, which is known as the agreement morpheme for the third person singular in English. Both Henry (1995) and Tortora and Den Dikken (2010) have analysed this phenomenon in the English varieties Belfast English and Appalachian English, and both suggest that the possibility of having singular concord is the result of the availability of multiple subject positions. Differential subject positions are the result of having a complex, split IP according to Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998). Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) proposed the Split-IP parameter (SIP) which is said to account for the properties of allowing verb-raising, having rich verb-morphology, and having multiple specifier positions. Languages that do not have these properties are called simple, unsplit IP languages and an example of such a language according to them is Standard English. The literature thus far seems to suggest that Standard English has only one subject position as opposed to some English varieties that are argued to have multiple (e.g. Henry, 1995; Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998; Tortora & Den Dikken, 2010). There is, however, a body of literature that suggests that English Standard does have more than one subject position (e.g. Diesing, 1992; Kiss, 1996). The current study will shed light on the availability of two subject positions rather than one in Standard English.

Diesing (1988, 1992) addresses the possibility of having multiple subject positions in English by analysing bare plural subject NPs. Bare plural subject NPs are interesting as they can have more interpretations depending on the type of predicate: stage level predicates and individual level predicates.

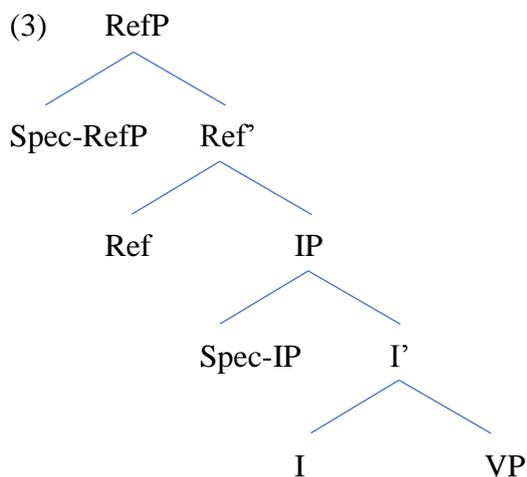
- (1) Brussels sprouts are not suitable for eating.
- (2) Carpenter ants destroyed my viola da gamba.

(Diesing, 1992, p. 108)

In sentences with an individual level predicate, such as (1), the subject receives an “generic” interpretation. This means that it is a general attribute of brussels sprouts that they are not suitable for eating. Sentences such as (2) contain a stage level predicate which indicates that the subject receives an “existential” interpretation. This means that it is the case that some

specific group of carpenter ants destroyed my viola da gamba; it is not a general statement about the carpenter ants. Diesing (1992) describes how the contrast between these two types of predicates can be explained by a difference in the subject position at the level of Logical Form (LF). At the level of S-Structure, then, there is one subject position: Spec-IP. At LF, subjects can remain in Spec-IP, or they can be lowered into a subject position inside of the predicate. Diesing (1992) thus argues for two subject positions in English at the level of LF: one subject external to the predicate phrase (Spec-IP) and one internal to the predicate phrase. Subjects in the predicate external position receive a generic interpretation, while subjects in the predicate internal position receive an existential interpretation.

Similar to Diesing (1992), Kiss (1996) assumes English to have two subject positions to explain the contrast between stage level and individual level predicates. Kiss' (1996) proposal, however, differs from Diesing's (1992) proposal as Kiss argues that a positional distinction is made at both LF and S-Structure, but also because Kiss argues that the two proposed subject positions are situated outside of the VP: Spec-RefP and Spec-IP. Subjects are distributed between the two subject positions according to their subjectivity (Kiss, 1996). If subjects receive a generic interpretation, they are called specific and will be placed in Spec-RefP. Subjects with an existential interpretation are called non-specific and will be placed in Spec-IP.



(Kiss, 1996, p. 136, adapted by L.H.)

The structure in (3) is said to account for five phenomena that are explained in detail by Kiss (1996). One of these phenomena is the occurrence of sentence adverbials with regard to the specificity of the subject. Sentence adverbials modify predicates and must therefore always take scope over the predicate phrase. Kiss (1996) assumes that the predicate phrase is IP and thus

sentence adverbials are at least adjoined to the left edge of IP. As specific subjects reside in Spec-RefP, they are assumed to precede sentence adverbials. Non-specific subjects reside in Spec-IP which means that sentence adverbials are assumed to always precede non-specific subjects. The sentences in (4) and (5) illustrate Kiss' (1996) proposal regarding the sentence adverbials.

- (4) A. Boys luckily know the novels of Karl May.  
 B. Luckily boys were born.
- (5) A. Boys in most cases have known the novels of Karl May.  
 B. In most cases boys have been born.

(Kiss, 1996, p. 129, adapted by L.H.)

Kiss (1996) takes sentence adverbials to be one class whereas Ernst (2009) makes a fine-grained distinction between them. Ernst (2009) analyses Speaker Oriented Adverbs<sup>1</sup> (SpOAs) and categorises them into strong and weak SpOAs based on their lexical semantics. Strong SpOAs (e.g. unfortunately) are subjective as they are emotive and express strong emotional reactions to a proposition, whilst weak SpOAs (e.g. obviously) are objective as they are more descriptive (Ernst, 2009, p. 512). A positional distinction is also made as Ernst (2009) assumes that SpOAs with subjective readings are mapped higher in the syntactic structure than SpOAs with objective readings.

This thesis contributes to previous research as it aims to find more evidence for the existence of two subject positions outside the VP in Standard English by doing corpus research. The current study will take Ernst's (2009) analysis of the lexical semantics of sentence adverbials into account and present further evidence for Kiss' (1996) claim by analysing the argument concerning sentence adverbials in detail and by investigating the implications of Ernst (2009) on Kiss (1996). The position of SpOAs will be thoroughly examined by means of corpus research in the domain of Leisure within the British National Corpus Sampler. More specifically, the influence on the position of SpOAs of the type of text, type of sentence, type of SpOA, and specificity of the subject will be looked at critically.

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<sup>1</sup> Sentence adverbials are assumed to include subject oriented adverbs and speaker oriented adverbs according to Kiss (1996). Ernst (2009) only focuses on the speaker oriented adverbs.

## Literature overview

### English as VO language with an unsplit IP

The basic word order parameter subdivides the Germanic languages into two groups: VO (verb-object) languages and OV (object-verb) languages. The Germanic languages that have a VO word order are Scandinavian languages (e.g. Danish) and English. The other Germanic languages, including German and Dutch, have an OV word order. That English is a VO language can be seen in (6) as the object typically follows the verb. In (7), on the other hand, it can be seen that in Dutch the object precedes the verb, showing that Dutch is an OV language.

(6) John has read *the book*.

(7) Jan heeft *het boek* gelezen.

Jan has the book read.

(Koster, 1999, p.8)

There are also examples of Dutch sentences in which the object follows the verb. This is the result of Dutch having *V2 effects* in main clauses (Koster, 1999). If a language has V2 effects, it means that the verb moves out of its base position into the second position of the sentence and will directly follow the initial XP constituent, as in (8) (Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998).

(8) Hij dacht aan zijn vader tijdens de pauze.

He thought of his father during the break.

(Koster, 1999, p. 16)

Among Germanic VO languages, English is the only one that lacks V2 effects in simple matrix clauses (Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998). This means that English matrix clauses will always be non-V2 environments except in questions. These kinds of environments were investigated by Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) in order to find out if a language has verb-raising. Verb-raising is the movement by which the verb raises out of the VP in order to check features on the subject as well as to have its own  $\phi$ -features checked. A verb only has to move to check features on the subject when these features cannot be checked in situ as assumed by Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998). In English, the verb checks the features on the subject in situ, thereby making it unnecessary for the verb to move. This is the reason why (9A) is considered to be grammatical (/acceptable).

- (9) A. I often eat cuttlefish.  
 B. \*I eat often v cuttlefish.  
 [IP subject Infl [VP adverb [VP V object]]]

(Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998, p. 46)

In the syntax of sentence (9A), the phrase in which the subject is, IP, directly dominates the phrase in which the verb is, VP (Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998). Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) therefore claim that there are no intervening functional heads between IP and VP in English, meaning English has a *simple* IP. This indicates that it is impossible to spell out tense and agreement separately in English as these compete for one and the same position (complementary distribution). Agreement and tense can, however, be spelled out if they form one ending together. In other words, English does not have the possibility of having “multiple inflectional morphemes on the verb stem” (Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998, p. 67). This is also visible in (10B) as the third person singular in the present tense expresses agreement and the third person singular in the past tense expresses tense, but these are not expressed simultaneously.

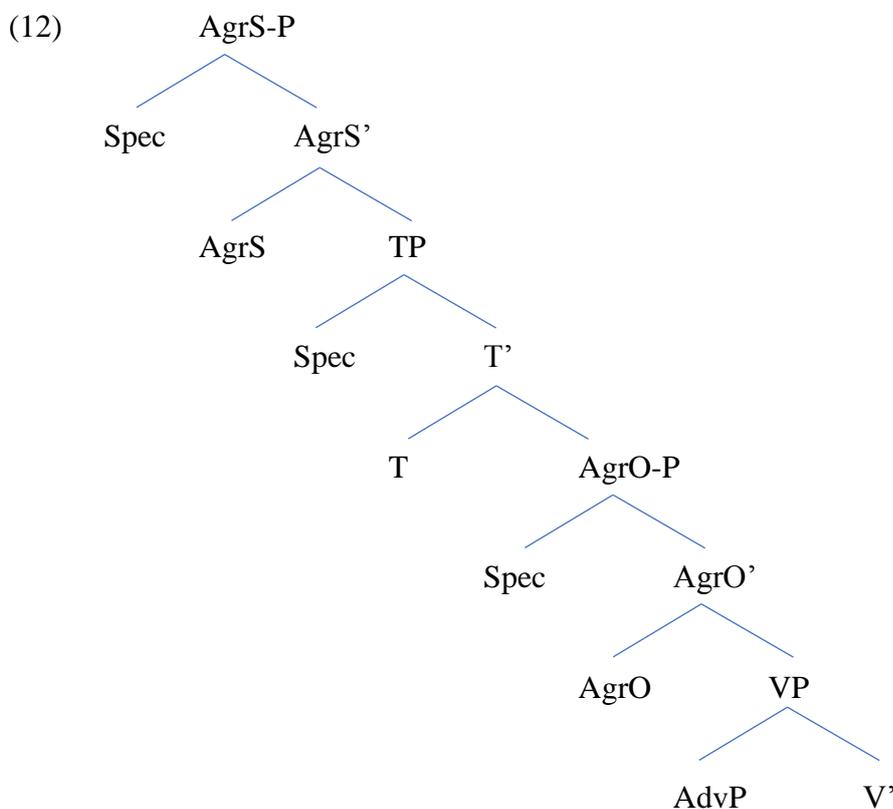
As Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) take movement to be the sole result of feature-checking, they predict that languages that do show verb-raising also allow multiple inflectional morphemes. This prediction seems to be borne out when looking at Icelandic: there is a correlation between verb-raising and multiple inflectional morphemes.

- |      |   |  |
|------|---|--|
| (10) | A. <i>Icelandic</i>                                 | B. <i>English</i>                                    |
|      | Inf. <i>kasta</i> ‘to throw’                        | Inf. <i>tremble</i>                                  |
|      | Present      Past                                   | Present      Past                                    |
|      | 1 <sup>st</sup> SG <i>kasta</i> <i>kasta-ð-i</i>    | 1 <sup>st</sup> SG <i>tremble</i> <i>tremble-d</i>   |
|      | 2 <sup>nd</sup> SG <i>kasta-r</i> <i>kasta-ð-ir</i> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> SG <i>tremble</i> <i>tremble-d</i>   |
|      | 3 <sup>rd</sup> SG <i>kasta-r</i> <i>kasta-ð-i</i>  | 3 <sup>rd</sup> SG <i>tremble-s</i> <i>tremble-d</i> |
|      | 1 <sup>st</sup> PL <i>köst-um</i> <i>köstu-ðu-m</i> | 1 <sup>st</sup> PL <i>tremble</i> <i>tremble-d</i>   |
|      | 2 <sup>nd</sup> PL <i>kast-ið</i> <i>köstu-ðu-ð</i> | 2 <sup>nd</sup> PL <i>tremble</i> <i>tremble-d</i>   |
|      | 3 <sup>rd</sup> PL <i>kast-a</i> <i>köstu-ðu</i>    | 3 <sup>rd</sup> PL <i>tremble</i> <i>tremble-d</i>   |

(Koenenman & Zeijlstra, 2014, p. 594)

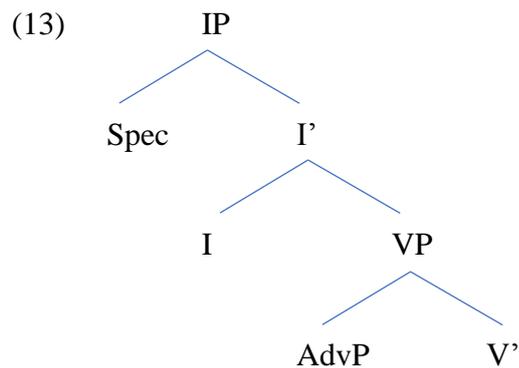
- (11) A. ... [CP af hverju [IP<sub>x</sub> Helgi hefði [VP oft lesið þessa bók ]]]  
 Why H. had often read this book
- B. \*... [CP af hverju [IP<sub>x</sub> Helgi [VP oft hefði lesið þessa bók ]]]  
 Why H. often had read this book
- C. \*... [CP af hverju hefði [IP<sub>x</sub> Helgi [VP oft lesið þessa bók ]]]  
 Why had H. often read this book
- (Vikner, 1994, 1995b, p. 139, as quoted by Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998, p. 48)

(10A) shows the inflection system of Icelandic. The past tense reveals the possibility of having multiple inflectional morphemes on the verb stem in this language: tense and agreement are realised simultaneously. The possibility for multiple inflections arises from the possibility of verb-raising in Icelandic as presented in (11). The verb has to move out of the VP in order to check all present features (Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998). Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) argue that the richness of the verb-morphology correlates with a more complex clause structure Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998): the IP is *complex* meaning it has split into AgrS-P and TP. The syntactic structure of a *complex, split* IP language such as Icelandic, then, is expected to look like (12).



(Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998, p. 62, adapted by L.H.)

Having a split IP means there are multiple head positions, namely AgrS and T rather than only I (Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998). As was seen in (10A), Icelandic is rich in terms of verb-morphology: it expresses agreement and tense simultaneously. The agreement morpheme of the third person singular in the past tense, “i”, will reside in AgrS and the tense morpheme, “ð”, will reside in T. Multiple head positions thus explain allowing rich verb-morphology. English, on the other hand, does not allow simultaneous spell-out of tense and agreement as there will only be one head, I, available as shown in (13).



The third person singular in the present tense has an agreement morpheme, “s”, which occupies I. In the past tense, this agreement morpheme is replaced by a tense morpheme, “ed”. Since there is only head position available, “s” and “ed” compete for the same position. Having a simple, unsplit IP thus indicates poor verb-morphology.

Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) note that a complex split IP structure accounts for more than allowing both verb-raising and multiple inflectional morphemes. The syntactic structure in (12) indicates multiple head positions, but also multiple specifier positions: Spec-AgrS-P, Spec-TP, and Spec-AgrO-P. Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) describe three properties which seem to indicate whether a language has a split IP or not. The first one is allowing multiple subjects to occur at the same time. This is possible in split IP languages, (14), as two positions, Spec-AgrS-P and Spec-TP, are available, but impossible in unsplit IP languages, (15), as only Spec-IP is available.

(14) *Icelandic*

- A. Það hefur verið einhver köttur í eldhúsinu.  
 B. Það hefur einhver köttur verið í eldhúsinu.  
 EXPL has (some cat) been (some cat) in kitchen-the.  
 ‘There has been a cat in the kitchen.’

(Bobaljik &amp; Thráinsson, 1998, p. 55)

(15) *Norwegian*

- A. Det har vore en katt i kjøkenet.  
 B. \*Det har en katt vore i kjøkenet.  
 EXPL has (a cat) been (a cat) in kitchen-the.  
 ‘There has been a cat in the kitchen.’

(Bobaljik &amp; Thráinsson, 1998, p. 55).

The second one is quite similar to the property of allowing multiple subjects at the same time: allowing Transitive Expletive Constructions (TECs). This type of construction allows expletives to occur in transitive sentences. An example of a language that allows such constructions is Icelandic:

(16) *Icelandic*

- A. Það hefur einhver köttur étið mýsna.  
 B. Það hefur étið einhver köttur mýsna.  
 EXPL has (some cat) eaten (some cat) mice-the.  
 ‘A cat has eaten mice.’

(Bobaljik &amp; Thráinsson, 1998, p. 56)

Languages that do not have a split IP will only have one specifier position available. The expletive in TECs will occupy Spec-IP and thus having another element that resides in specifier positions is impossible:

(17) *Norwegian*

- A. \*Det har en katt ete mysene.  
 B. \*Det har ete en katt mysene.  
 EXPL has (a cat) eaten (a cat) mice-the.  
 \*'There has a cat eaten the mice.'

(Bobaljik &amp; Thráinsson, 1998, p. 56)

The third property described Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) is object shift. Object shift is the leftwards displacement of the verb across an element which is taken to “mark the left edge of VP”, e.g. negation (Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998, p. 53). This phenomenon is observed to only be possible in languages with a split IP. Again, Icelandic seems to provide a clear example as in (18).

(18) *Object shift in Icelandic*

- A. Ég las þrjár bækur; ekki t<sub>i</sub>.  
 I read three book-pl not  
 ‘I didn’t read three books.’  
 B. Ég las ekki þrjár bækur  
 I read not three book-pl  
 ‘I didn’t read three books.’

(Bobaljik &amp; Thráinsson, 1998, p. 53)

The object in Icelandic in (18) can occur on both sides of negation which indicates that there must be a specifier position available for the object on the left side of negation: Spec-AgrO-P (Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998, p. 62). A language that does not have Spec-AgrO-P, thereby not allowing object shift, will most likely have an unsplit IP, for example Swedish.

(19) *Swedish*

A. \*Jag läste boken<sub>i</sub> inte t<sub>i</sub>  
 I read book-the not  
 'I have not read the book.'

B. Jag läste inte boken  
 I read not book-the  
 'I didn't read the book.'

(Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998, p. 54)

By having observed verb-raising, richness of verb-morphology, and multiple specifier positions, Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998) provide one unified account by proposing the Split-IP Parameter (SIP). This parameter is explained as follows:

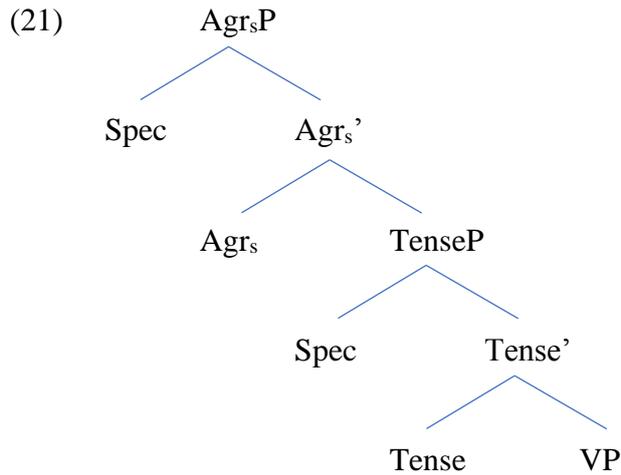
(20) Languages that have a positive value for the SIP have AgrS-P and TP as separate functional projections. Languages with a negative value of the SIP are characterised by an unsplit IP.

(Bobaljik & Thráinsson, 1998, p. 38, adapted by L.H.)

According to the SIP and the arguments given by Bobaljik and Thráinsson (1998), English can be said to have a simple, unsplit IP. Even though the examples for this phenomenon were given in Norwegian and Swedish, multiple subject positions seem to not be possible in English: English has only one subject position which is Spec-IP. There is, however, a body of literature that suggests otherwise.

### **Singular concord and its subject positions**

Henry (1995) suggested two subject positions for a variety of English, Belfast English. Henry's (1995) 'Two Subject Positions Hypothesis' predicts that plural DPs that obligatorily trigger subject-verb agreement are in a higher position than plural DPs that do not trigger this. The suggested structure is as follows:



Henry's (1995) proposal is said to account for the phenomenon 'singular concord' in Belfast English. Singular concord is a syntactic phenomenon in which a plural subject DP may occur with a verb ending on an -s, which in Standard English is known as the agreement morpheme for the third person singular in the present tense (Henry, 1995):

- (22) A. These cars go/goes very fast.  
 B. The eggs are/is cracked.

(Henry, 1995, p. 16)

It is mentioned by Henry (1995) that singular concord is available in "all tenses of the verb which marks agreement" (p. 17). This means that singular concord is also possible with the verb "to be" in the past tense:

- (23) The students was late.

There are, however, a few restrictions. Singular concord is impossible when the subject is a personal pronoun, (24), when the verb is inverted, (25), and when an element such as an adverb intervenes between the subject and a raising-verb, (26) (Henry, 1995, p. 19). A raising-verb raises out of its base-generated position in the VP into Agr<sub>s</sub>P (Henry, 1995, p. 17).

- (24) A. \*They goes very fast.  
 B. \*They is cracked.

(Henry, 1995, p. 16)

(25) \*Is the eggs cracked

(Henry, 1995, p. 16)

(26) A. The children really are late.

B. \*The children really is late.

(Henry, 1995, p. 19)

The possibility of singular concord in Belfast English according to Henry (1995) is the result of complete lack of agreement. If it were not, first person plural subjects should occur with a first-person singular verb in order to check  $\phi$ -features. As can be seen in (27), this is not the case indicating there is no such thing as agreement at all when it comes to singular concord (Henry, 1995).

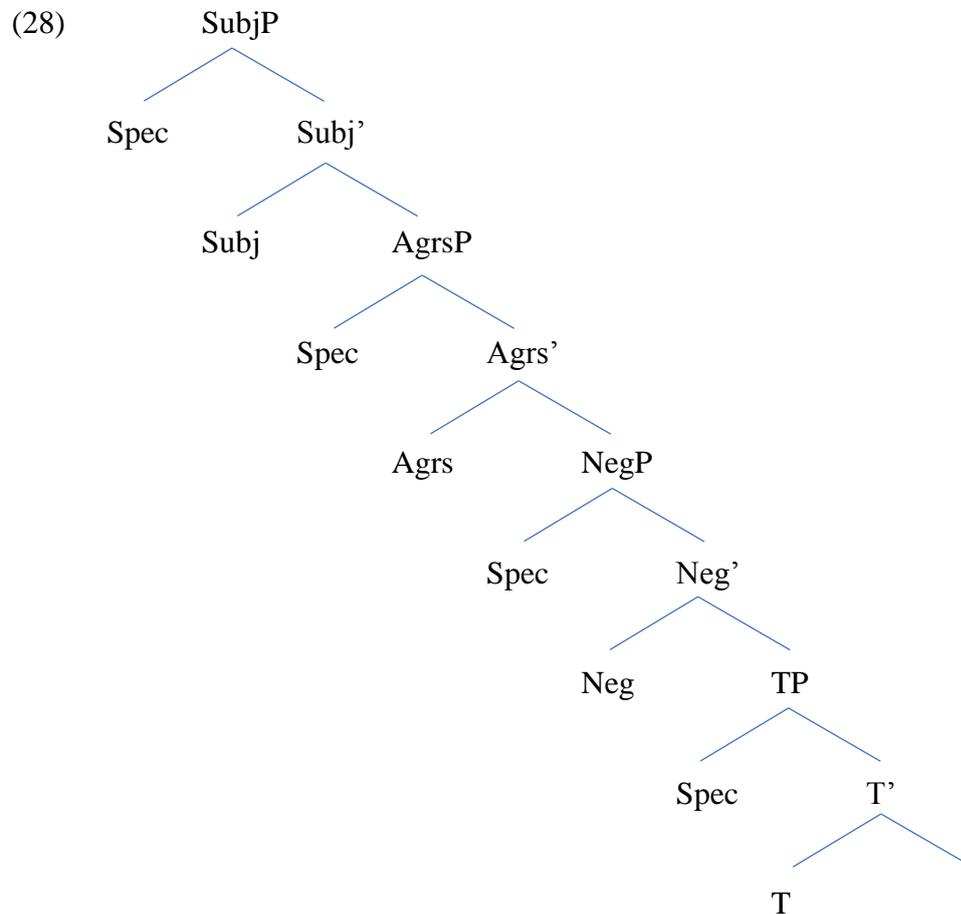
(27) A. \*John and me am going.

B. John and me is going.

The third person singular form on the verb, then, can be seen as a kind of “default agreement” which occurs when there is no full subject-verb agreement (Henry, 1995, p. 21). Singular concord verbs will only raise to TenseP and not to Agr<sub>s</sub>P as they are unmarked for agreement (Henry, 1995, p. 43). Due to this, subjects will only have to raise to Spec/TenseP in order to be checked for tense by the verb. There are, however, subjects that will always need agreement checking: personal pronouns. Personal pronouns in English are not just nouns as they contain functional information (Weerman & Evers-Vermeul, 2002). In order to present this functional information on the surface, English personal pronouns need to receive case. When in subject position, personal pronouns will always have to occur in the nominative case. This specific case can only be checked by Agr<sub>s</sub>P and not TenseP which means that personal pronouns will always have to raise to Spec/Agr<sub>s</sub>P (Henry, 1995, p. 44). As a result, sentences in which singular concord occurs with personal pronouns are ungrammatical (/unacceptable) due to the need for full agreement rather than default agreement. In order to be able to account for singular concord in Belfast English, Henry (1995) thus needs there to be two different subject positions which are based on different types of agreement.

Henry’s Two Subject Positions Hypothesis was critically analysed by Tortora and Den Dikken (2010) which led them to propose the ‘Multiple Subject Positions Hypothesis’. The Multiple Subject Positions Hypothesis suggests the existence of three different subject positions:

Spec-SubjectP, Spec-AgrsP, and Spec-TP. Tortora and Den Dikken's (2010) proposal is illustrated in (28).



(Tortora & Den Dikken, 2010, p. 1100)

The structure in (28) is said to account for the analysis of singular concord in Belfast English given by Henry (1995) as well as their own analysis of singular concord in another variety of English: Appalachian English (Tortora & Den Dikken, 2010). Henry (1995) led Tortora and Den Dikken (2010) to come up with this structure as Henry's Two Subject Positions Hypothesis cannot account for singular concord in Appalachian English. Belfast English and Appalachian English do seem to pattern alike a lot as both allow singular concord with full DPs and both do not allow nominative plural pronouns to occur with the -s ending (Tortora & Den Dikken, 2010, p. 1092). They differ, however, in what specifically accounts best for their data. Belfast English, according to both Henry (1995) and Tortora and Den Dikken (2010), is best accounted for by the nominativity of the subject. The difference between the grammatical (/acceptable) sentences in (22) and the ungrammatical (/unacceptable) sentence in (24) is explained by the fact that (24) contains a personal pronoun as a subject that requires full subject-verb agreement due to its

case: nominative. The subject in (24) must therefore be in Spec/Agr<sub>s</sub>P rather than Spec/TenseP. Having a subject in Spec/Agr<sub>s</sub>P makes singular concord impossible and thus the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Further evidence for the nominativity-account is given in (29) and (30).

(29) \*They is going.

(Henry, 1995, p. 33)

(30) Us and them's going.

(Henry, 1995, p. 33)

Sentence (29) is ungrammatical as “they” is nominative, whereas the accusative case in (30) does not pose any problems to singular concord. The same account, however, is not the best account for Appalachian English. This is visible in the following sentences:

(31) A. We'uns is planning a picnic.

B. We'uns is mighty good to our friends.

(Tortora & Den Dikken, 2010, p. 1093)

The subject in (31), “We'uns”, is described to be a pronoun that is “unambiguously nominative and complex” (Tortora & Den Dikken, 2010, p. 1093). If nominativity were to be the best explanation for singular concord in Appalachian English, both (31A) and (31B) would have to be considered ungrammatical (/unacceptable) even though this clearly is not the case. Tortora and Den Dikken (2010) thus argue for something else to account for the Appalachian English data: the morphological complexity of the subject DP. It is expected that in Appalachian English subject DPs have to be complex: if the subject DP is simplex, singular concord will be impossible. DP complexity, then, would expect both sentences in (31) to be grammatical as the subject “We'uns” is a complex DP, and this prediction is borne out (Tortora & Den Dikken, 2010, p. 1093).

It is mentioned by Tortora and Den Dikken (2010) that subject DPs in Agr<sub>s</sub>P are the only ones that trigger agreement on the verb (p. 1100). This means that for Belfast English, subject DPs that have to be nominative (personal pronouns) are in Spec-Agr<sub>s</sub>P. In Appalachian English, on the other hand, Spec-Agr<sub>s</sub>P is occupied by simplex subject DPs. The subject position at which the subject DP that is allowed in singular concord, however, differs for each variety as suggested by Tortora and Den Dikken (2010). The Multiple Subject Positions

Hypothesis suggested the existence of three subject positions. Languages are said to differ in terms of which of these subject positions are active (Tortora & Den Dikken, 2010, p. 1100). Following Henry (1995), Tortora and Den Dikken propose that only AgrsP and TP are active in Belfast English, whereas in Appalachian English Spec-SubjectP and AgrsP are active. The Multiple Subject Positions Hypothesis seems to provide an account for the Belfast English data by Henry (1995) and the Appalachian English data. There thus seems to be quite convincing evidence for the existence of multiple subject positions in varieties of English.

### **Bare plural subject NPs**

Apart from English varieties, Standard English itself and its subject positions have also been investigated. Diesing (1988, 1992) addresses multiple subject positions in English by analysing bare plural subject NPs. Bare plural subject NPs are “plural noun phrases” that do not have an “overt determiner” present (Diesing, 1988, 108). What makes bare plural subject NPs interesting is the fact they appear to have more than one interpretation. They might be interpreted “existentially”, but also as something like a “universal” (Carlson, 1999, p. 149).

- (32) A. Curious people crowded around the site of the accident. (i.e. Some curious people)  
 B. Curious people like to travel a lot. (All, or nearly all, curious people; curious people in general)

(Carlson, 1999, p. 150)

Even though the bare plural subject NP is exactly the same in both (32A) and (32B), it is interpreted differently. [Curious people] in (32A) is interpreted “existentially” meaning it refers to some specific group of curious people, whereas [Curious people] in (32B) is to be interpreted in a more general kind of way (e.g. a universal). Bare plural subject NPs, however, do not seem to be ambiguous themselves. It seems to be the case that the context in which they appear accounts for the different interpretations. Carlson (1977) observed a correlation between two types of interpretation, namely existential and generic, and the classification of the predicates, namely stage level and individual level. More specifically, stage level predicates typically have an existential interpretation while individual level predicates tend to have a generic interpretation (Carlson, 1977).

Diesing (1988) critically examined bare plural subject NPs but also the correlation that was put forward by Carlson (1977). She, too, noted that the interpretation of a bare plural subject NP seems to depend on the context.

- (33) Brussels sprouts are not suitable for eating.  
 (34) Carpenter ants destroyed my viola da gamba.

(Diesing, 1988, p. 108)

The sentences in (33) and (34) have two different types of readings: a generic reading and an existential reading (Diesing, 1988, p. 108). In (33), the bare plural subject NP [Brussels sprouts] has a generic reading as there are no particular Brussels sprouts that are unsuitable for eating. Instead, it is meant that Brussels sprouts are not suitable for eating in *general* (Diesing, 1988, p. 108). As opposed to the example in (33), the bare plural subject NP in (34) has an existential reading. In this sentence, it is not the case that carpenter ants in general destroyed the viola da gamba. Rather, the existence of some *particular* carpenter ants is asserted which means that there is no general statement made about the *general* class of carpenter ants (Diesing, 1988, p. 108). The difference between the two readings, then, depends on whether the predicate is an individual level predicate or a stage level predicate. Individual level predicates presuppose the “existence of the referent of its subject” and will derive a generic reading (Kiss, 1996, p. 122). Stage level predicates, on the other hand, assert the existence of the subject and will derive an existential reading (Diesing, 1988; Kiss, 1996).

Diesing (1992) describes how the contrast between stage level predicates and individual level predicates can be explained by the difference in where the subjects can appear in the logical representation:

(35) *Stage-/Individual-Level distinction*

In a logical representation, subjects of stage level predicates can appear in either the nuclear scope (to be bound by existential closure) or the restrictive clause. Subjects of individual level predicates can only appear in the restrictive clause.

(Diesing, 1992, p. 357, adapted by L.H.)

Diesing (1992) indicates that there thus must be two positions: one inside of the nuclear scope<sup>2</sup>, and one outside of it. As Standard English only has one position in which subjects can appear, namely [Spec,IP], it is impossible for this contrast to be visible at S-Structure (Diesing, 1992). S-Structure, however, is not the only level of representation available in which this contrast can be made. Diesing (1992) argues that a distinction between stage level predicates and individual

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<sup>2</sup> The nuclear scope is another term used for the predicate phrase which, according to Diesing (1992a), is the VP.

level predicates can be made at the level of Logical Form (LF) (pp. 359, 368). At the level of LF, a positional distinction between the subjects of the two predicate types can hold (Diesing, 1992, p. 359). The subjects of both stage level predicates and individual level predicates are in [Spec,IP] at S-Structure as they need to receive nominative case (Diesing, 1992, p. 359). In order to explain what happens next, Diesing (1992) proposes the LF mapping principle:

(36) *LF Mapping Principle (English)*

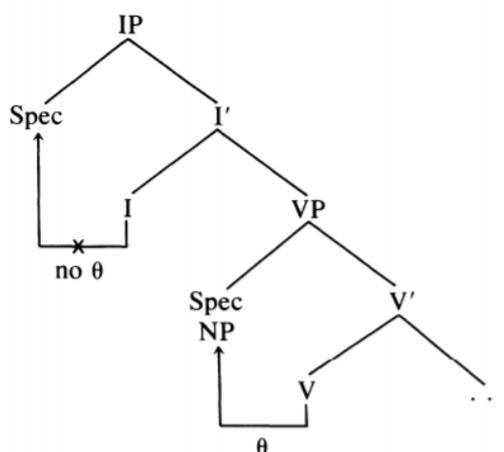
Subjects of stage level predicates can be mapped into either [Spec,IP] or [Spec,VP].

Subjects of individual level predicates must stay in [Spec,IP].

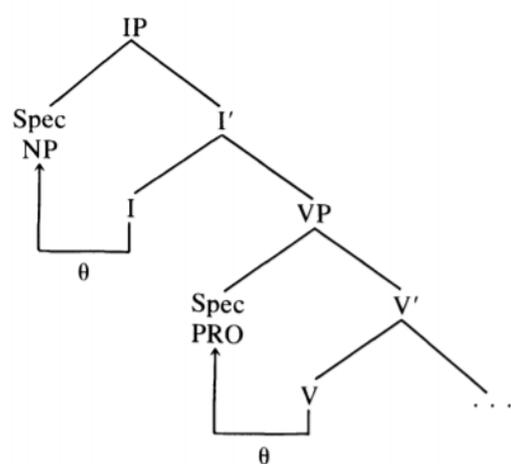
(Diesing, 1992, p. 359)

The LF Mapping Principle entails that the subjects of stage level predicates can stay in their S-Structure position or they can be lowered into [Spec,VP] in the mapping from S-Structure to LF. The subjects of individual level predicates do not have the option of “lowering” and thus a positional distinction can be made at LF (Diesing, 1992, p. 359). Diesing (1992) explains that the two predicate types should differ in this way, because of the association of two types of Inflection (Infl) with these two predicate types. Diesing (1992) illustrates the following structures:

(37) *Stage-level predicate*



*Individual-level predicate*



(Diesing, 1992, pp. 361, 363)

The Infl with stage level predicates is said to be an unaccusative, indicating that Infl will not assign a  $\theta$ -role to [Spec,IP], and base-generated position of the subject is internal to the VP: [Spec,VP] (Diesing, 1992, p. 360). The Infl with individual level predicates, however, does

assign a  $\theta$ -role to [Spec,IP]. In order to receive a  $\theta$ -role, the subject will thus be in [Spec,IP]. [Spec,VP] also needs to assign a  $\theta$ -role and this is done to a PRO subject which is controlled by the subject in [Spec,IP] (Diesing, 1992, p. 362). These two positions, [Spec,IP] and [Spec,VP], can account for the different interpretations of subjects. Bare plural subject NPs will always have a generic reading when in [Spec,IP], whereas they will have an existential reading in [Spec,VP]. As the subjects of individual level predicates can only occur in [Spec,IP] at LF as they need to be assigned a  $\theta$ -role there, these subjects will always have a generic interpretation. The subjects of stage level predicates can occur in both positions, so in principle both interpretations are possible. Most of the time, however, the subjects of stage level predicates tend to be positioned in [Spec,VP] at LF as they are most likely to have an existential interpretation (Diesing, 1992).

## **Subject positions in Standard English**

### *VP-external subject positions*

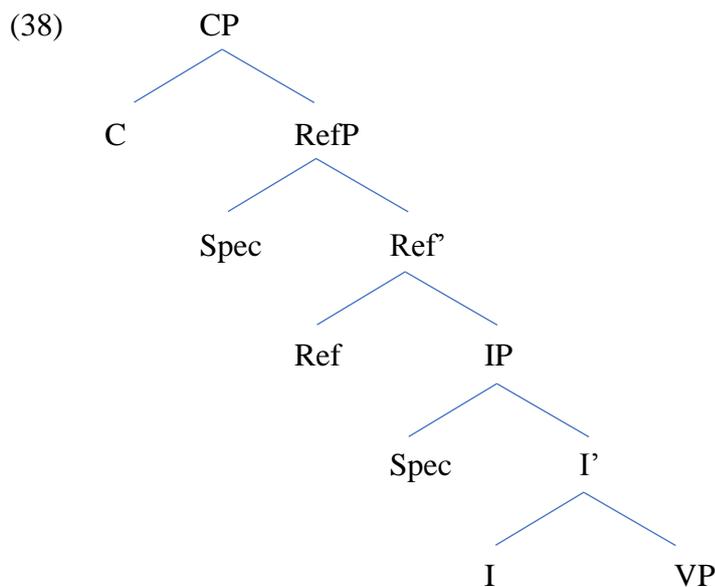
In 1996, Kiss proposed the idea of having two subject positions outside of the VP in Standard English. Her main idea is that there is one subject position in Spec-IP which is occupied by non-specific subjects, and one subject position in a higher position, namely Spec-RefP (Kiss, 1996). RefP is a projection between CP and IP which offers a specifier position for specific or referential subjects. This does not necessarily mean that Kiss (1996) argues against Bobaljik and Thráinsson's (1998) SIP: Kiss (1996) does not propose Standard English to have a complex, split IP. Instead, she argues that there is an additional projection dominating IP that offers an extra subject position.

In terms of distribution, Diesing (1992) and Kiss (1996) argue for largely the same idea. Both suggest there is a lower subject position that is occupied by bare plural subjects of stage level predicates which Diesing (1988, 1992) calls subjects that have an existential reading and which Kiss (1996) refers to as non-specific subjects. They also both suggest a higher subject position that is occupied by bare plural subjects of mostly individual level predicates. This type of subjects is what Kiss (1996) calls specific or referential subjects and which Diesing (1988, 1992) refers to as subjects that have a generic reading. The higher subject position can also be occupied by bare plural subjects of stage level predicates. The subjects of stage level predicates nevertheless tend to have an existential interpretation and it is thus expected that these subjects will appear in the lower subject position most of the time<sup>3</sup>. There are two main differences

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<sup>3</sup> This prediction is borne out for Kiss (1996).

between Diesing (1992) and Kiss (1996) to be observed. The first one is that Diesing (1992) assumed the lower subject position to be inside the VP (PredP) and the higher subject position outside of it, while Kiss (1996) assumed both subject positions to be positioned outside of the VP. The second one is that Diesing (1992) argues that the positional distinction between subjects of stage level predicates and individual level predicates can only be made at the level of LF in Standard English. This is because, according to her, English only has [Spec,IP] available as a subject position at S-Structure. Kiss (1996), on the other hand, argues that a positional distinction can also be made at S-Structure in Standard English as there are two subject positions rather than only one: Spec-RefP and Spec-IP. Subjects of which the existence is presupposed (specific or referential subjects<sup>4</sup>) will always be placed in the higher subject position, Spec-RefP. Subjects of which the existence is asserted (non-specific subjects) will be placed in the other, lower subject position, Spec-IP. The English sentence structure in (38) demonstrates Kiss' (1996) main assumption.

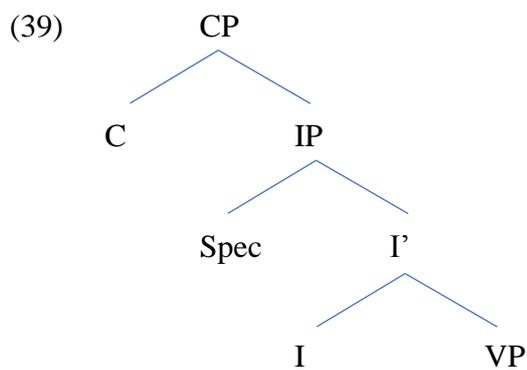


(Kiss, 1996, p. 136)

Both Spec-RefP and Spec-IP are realised in the structure given in (38). Kiss (1996) mentions, however, that the additional projection RefP is only realised in sentences that express predication as opposed to sentences that express a “non-predicationalthetic judgement” (p. 137). Kuroda (2012) explains thatthetic judgements are “mere positive” recognitions of a reality (p. 69). These positive recognitions of reality, then, are given to a subject only as a “component of a situation” and not as a general attribute (Kuroda, 2012, p. 69). In terms of Diesing (1992) and

<sup>4</sup> These subjects *refer* to subjects of which the existence is presupposed.

Kiss (1996), a non-predicationalthetic judgement is expressed by non-specific subjects as these have an existentially bound interpretation. Sentences that contain a non-specific subject are thus said to not realise RefP as an existential (non-specific) feature is present and so there is no need or a referential (specific) feature<sup>5</sup>. The structure in (39) presents Kiss' (1996) proposed structure of sentences that contain non-specific subjects.



(Kiss, 1996, p. 136, adapted by L.H.)

Diesing's (1992) argumentation for the idea of a positional distinction at LF for subjects of stage level and individual level predicates was fundamental to Kiss (1996) as she refutes Diesing's arguments to support her own assumption. Kiss' (1996) two subject positions assumption is said to account for five phenomena which are all described in detail.

The first is the occurrence of particles *only*, *even*, and *also* with regard to the specificity of the subject (Kiss, 1996). Kiss (1996) explains that it is only possible for these particles to act as sentence adverbials in sentences with a non-specific subject. In sentences with specific or referential subjects (henceforth: specific subjects), *only*, *even*, and *also* can only be understood as "applying to the subject NP alone" (Kiss, 1996, p. 134). In the examples (40) and (41) that Kiss (1996) gives, it can be seen that it is impossible for the particles to take sentential scope when paired with a specific subject as opposed to a non-specific subject (here: a singular indefinite subject).

<sup>5</sup> In sentences with specific subjects, the feature <+referential> is present so RefP has to be realised. In sentences with non-specific subjects, on the other hand, the feature <-referential> is present and thus RefP is not realised.

- (40) A. \*Only [JOHN READ A NOVEL BY KARL MAY]; nothing else happened.  
 B. \*We were very active on Sunday: I made a cake, and also [JOHN READ A NOVEL BY KARL MAY].  
 C. \*We were very active on Sunday: I made a cake, and even [JOHN READ A NOVEL BY KARL MAY].

(Kiss, 1996, p. 134)

- (41) A. Only [A BABY WAS BORN]; nothing else happened.  
 B. It was an eventful trip; also [A BABY WAS BORN].  
 C. It was an eventful trip; even [A BABY WAS BORN].

(Kiss, 1996, p. 134)

It is possible for *only*, *even*, and *also* to occur in sentences with specific subjects as can be seen in the example sentences of (42) as given by Kiss (1996).

- (42) A. [Only [JOHN]] took off his hat.  
 B. [Even [JOHN]] took off his hat.

(Kiss, 1996, p. 133)

The particles can thus occur with specific subjects. The main difference between the function of the particles in (42) in comparison to the particles in (41) is that in (42) the particles modify only an NP rather than the entire predicate. Modifying an entire predicate is impossible for the particles when paired with specific subjects as was seen in (40). The phenomenon of the particles *only*, *even*, and *also* are to be placed either adjoined to the IP, where it can take scope over the predicate, or adjoined to an NP. The only reason for explaining this phenomenon is the presence of RefP (Kiss, 1996). RefP explains why the particles adjoined to IP are not taking scope over the entire predicate as they are c-commanded by specific subjects, thereby explaining the ungrammaticality (/unacceptability) of (40) on a syntactic basis.

A second phenomenon is the possibility of PP and CP extraposition with regard to the specificity of the subject (Kiss, 1996). PP (and CP) extraposition is impossible with specific subjects, and the explanation for this impossibility supports the existence of RefP as well as the existence of two subject positions outside of the VP (Kiss, 1996). The Complement Condition states that  $\beta$  is a “potential complement of  $\alpha$ ” if  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  are in a “government relation” (Kiss, 1996, p. 131). This indicates that it is possible for an extraposed phrase that is adjoined to VP

to be governed by a constituent in IP, thereby allowing PP extraposition with non-specific subjects (as these reside in Spec-IP). A government relation between an extraposed phrase adjoined to VP and a specific subject (residing in Spec-RefP) is expected to be impossible as Spec-RefP cannot govern the extraposed phrase across the IP boundary. This prediction is borne out as can be seen in (43).

(43) A. ??Boys KNOW the novels of Karl May who like adventure.

B. Boys have been born to Mary who resemble her a lot.

(Kiss, 1996, p. 131)

The verb [know] in (43A) is an individual level predicate meaning that it requires a specific subject, [Boys]. The sentence is ungrammatical as the PP [who like adventure] is adjoined to the VP, but [Boys] can never be in a government relation with that PP as its position in the syntax is too high. This can only be explained if there is an additional projection, RefP, that offers an extra subject position outside of IP (Kiss, 1996).

VP-deletion and tag formation form another phenomenon that is accounted for by assuming two subject positions outside of the VP as described by Kiss (1996). As can be seen in (44), VP-deletion is only possible if the underlying phrase is identical to the actual phrase in the original sentence (Kiss, 1996).

(44) A. \*A riot occurred and then a flood did.

B. John will probably be reading a book on the balcony, and Mary will, too.

(Kiss, 1996, p. 133)

Kiss (1996) prefers to use the term IP-deletion for VP-deletion as that term manages to capture the details of what happens more neatly. English sentences, except for imperatives, always need a subject even in sentences where IP-deletion occurs. The subject position for non-specific subjects is Spec-IP which indicates that IP-deletion in sentences with a stage level predicate will also delete the non-specific subject as it is inside of the IP. This, then, is exactly what happens. As expected, IP-deletion is fully grammatical (/acceptable) in sentences with specific subjects as these are positioned outside of the IP. The IP might be deleted, but Spec-RefP will be left untouched and thus IP-deletion is only possible with specific subjects. A similar explanation is given for tag formation (Kiss, 1996, p. 133). The reason is that tag formation involves deletion of the IP; tag formation is only possible with specific subjects as these are positioned in the subject position outside of the IP: Spec-RefP.

The fourth phenomenon that Kiss (1996) described is the occurrence of negation with respect to the specificity of the subject. There have to be at least two subject positions in order to account for the following examples, (45) – (48):

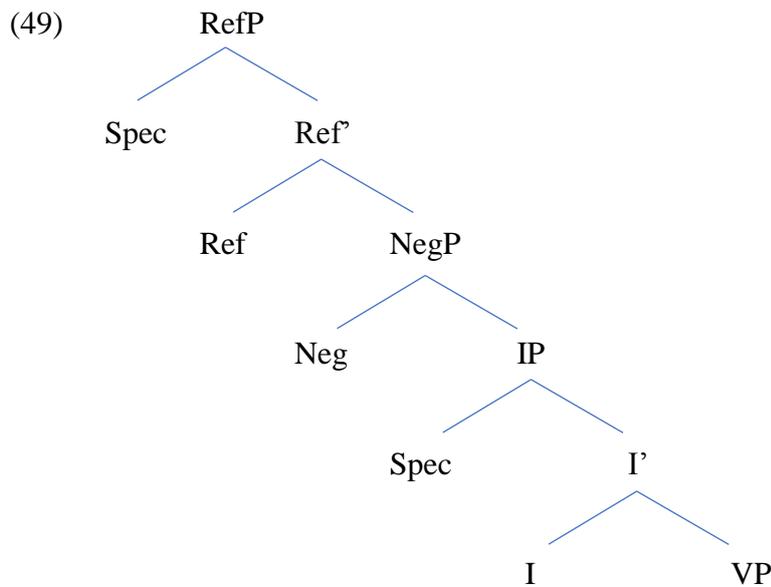
- (45) \*A man did not appear. (Kiss, 1996, p. 132)
- (46) Not a boy has been born. (Kiss, 1996, p. 132)
- (47) \*Not John knows the novels of Karl May but Mary. (Kiss, 1996, p. 132)
- (48) John does not know Mary. (Kiss, 1996, p. 132)

Sentences (45) and (46) contain the verbs “appear” and “be born” which tend to be stage level predicates. According to Kratzer (1995), predicates can be classified although a precise distinction between stage level and individual level predicates cannot be made “once and for all” (p. 136). This means that a verb is not *always* a stage level predicate for example, but that the additional context determines the type of predicate (Kratzer, 1995, p. 126). In general, a stage level predicate asserts the existence of the subject which means that it presents a truth of a temporal stage of its subject (Kiss, 1996). An individual level predicate, on the other hand, presupposes the “existence of the referent of its subject” meaning it presents a truth that is true throughout the existence of its subject (Kiss, 1996, p. 122). The verbs “appear” and “be born” in (45) and (46) are stage level predicates as the verbs in these sentences assert the existence of the subject. In other words, a truth of a temporal stage of the subject is presented: it is true for a temporal stage that a man did not appear in (45), but this is not true throughout the existence of the man. The subjects in (45) and (46) are therefore non-specific<sup>6</sup>. The verb “know” in sentences (47) and (48) presupposes the existence of the referent of the subject and thus is an individual level predicate in both sentences. In other words, it is for example true that John does not know Mary in (48) throughout the existence of John: it is not a truth of a temporal stage. The subjects in (47) and (48) are thus specific subjects.

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<sup>6</sup> Please note that the subjects of stage level predicates can also be specific.

The only way to account for the difference in grammaticality (/acceptability) in sentences (45) – (48) is to assume that there are two subject positions outside of the VP: Spec-RefP and Spec-IP (Kiss, 1996). This assumption would then explain the ungrammaticality of (45) and (47). The negation phrase, NegP, is said to be external to IP yet internal to RefP, as presented in the tree in (49).



(Kiss, 1996, p. 136, adapted by L.H.)

Following the syntactic structure in (49), specific subjects are predicted to precede negation whereas non-specific subjects are predicted to follow negation. As can be seen in the example sentences (45) – (48), this prediction is borne out (Kiss, 1996). The grammaticality (/acceptability) of negated sentences with specific and non-specific subjects is thus accounted for by the existence of RefP.

The last yet most important phenomenon for the current study concerns the placement of so-called sentence adverbials (Kiss, 1996). According to Kiss (1996), sentence adverbials<sup>7</sup> are supposed to always precede non-specific subjects and they can either precede or follow specific subjects. Sentence adverbials can only adjoin to RefP and IP as they need to take scope over the entire predicate<sup>8</sup>. When a sentence adverbial is adjoined to the IP, which is the lowest it can be in the tree, it is still higher in the tree than Spec-IP which is why sentence adverbials are assumed to always precede non-specific subjects if Kiss is right. (50) is an exact copy of the example sentences that Kiss provides to support her claim for this phenomenon.

<sup>7</sup> Subject oriented adverbs and speaker oriented adverbs.

<sup>8</sup> PredP is understood as IP for Kiss (1996)

- (50) A. Boys luckily know the novels of Karl May.  
 B. ??Boys luckily were born.  
 C. Luckily boys were born.

(Kiss, 1996, p. 129)

In terms of the syntactic structure, [Boys] in (50A) will occupy Spec-RefP as it is a specific subject because [know] in this sentence is an individual level predicate. The sentence adverb [luckily] in (50A) is adjoined to IP which causes the sentence adverb to follow the subject rather than preceding it. The sentence adverb is in the same position in (50C), but here the (non-specific) subject resides in Spec-IP as [were born] (“be born”) in this sentence is a stage level predicate. The sentence remains to be grammatical as [luckily] is still taking scope over the entire predicate. The non-specific subject in (50B) is also in Spec-IP due to [were born] also being a stage level predicate in this sentence. The sentence adverb cannot be adjoined to IP, because then it would have preceded the non-specific subject. Instead, the sentence adverb occupies a position lower than Spec-IP which makes it impossible for [luckily] to take scope over the entire predicate. The result is that (50B) is ungrammatical (/unacceptable). Kiss (1996) gives another few example sentences with another sentence adverb [in most cases] for which the exact same explanation as (50) seems to hold:

- (51) A. Boys in most cases have known the novels of Karl May.  
 B. ??Boys in most cases have been born.  
 C. In most cases boys have been born.

(Kiss, 1996, p. 129)

Kiss (1996) also addresses the position of sentence adverbials in the presence of modals or auxiliaries (henceforth: auxiliary). Auxiliaries are base-generated in I but can move to Ref. This kind of head movement has to be assumed for independent reasons (Kiss, 1996, p. 130). When the sentence adverbial follows the auxiliary that is positioned in Ref as in (52), the sentence adverbial is assumed to be adjoined to IP where it “m-commands the whole proposition” (Kiss, 1996, p. 130).

- (52) [<sub>RefP</sub> Boys [<sub>Ref</sub> will [<sub>IP</sub> in most cases [<sub>IP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> know the novels of Karl May]]]]].

(Kiss, 1996, p. 130)

As Kiss (1996) assumes that RefP is only realised in sentences containing specific subjects, auxiliaries can only raise out of their base-generated position in IP in the presence of a specific subject (p. 137). Sentence adverbials will thus always precede auxiliaries in sentences with a non-specific subject as shown in (53).

(53) [IP In most cases [I' boys [I' will [VP have been born]]]].

### *SpOAs and their distribution*

The prediction that Kiss (1996) makes about the position of sentence adverbials with regard to the specificity of the subject seems to be borne out. Nevertheless, Kiss (1996) does not seem to go into further detail on the lexical semantics of sentence adverbials. In other words, Kiss takes sentence adverbials to be one category with the same purpose. Ernst (2009), on the other hand, makes a fine-grained distinction between them. Kiss (1996) mentions once that by adverbials with a sentential scope she means at least speaker-oriented and subject-oriented adverbials (p. 129). Ernst (2009) only goes into detail on speaker-oriented adverbs (SpOAs) which is why the main focus will be on SpOAs.

Ernst (2009) describes three main types of SpOAs: discourse-oriented adverbs, evaluatives, and epistemics (modals and evidentials). Example sentences of these three types are given in (54).

- (54) A. Honestly, I don't know what you mean. (Honestly = discourse-oriented adverb)  
 B. Karen is probably going to dance a tango. (Probably = epistemic modal)  
 C. Luckily, Aaron did not fall off his bicycle. (Luckily = evaluative)

(Ernst, 2009, p. 498)

Discourse-oriented adverbs modify the “representation of speech acts” which determines their position to be near the left edge of sentences. They normally occur in the highest position available (Ernst, 2009, pp. 500-501). Ernst (2009) mentions that discourse-oriented adverbs are significantly different from the other two classes<sup>9</sup>. They also pose fewer problems for the syntactic analysis of SpOAs. Ernst (2009) therefore chose to only spend little time explaining this type of SpOA and did not incorporate this type of SpOA in the remaining of his analysis of SpOAs.

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<sup>9</sup> Ernst (2009) does not go into much more detail on why this is the case.

As sentence adverbials modify propositions, SpOAs must take scope over the entire predicate, which according to Kiss (1996) would be IP. SpOAs can thus either be adjoined to RefP and occur in sentence initial position, as in (54A) and (54C), or be adjoined to IP and occur in either sentence initial position or medial position, as in (54B). The exact position of the SpOA is dependent on the lexical semantics of the adverb itself and the sentence that it is in (Ernst, 2009). These lexical semantics are the reason why Ernst (2009) further divides the SpOAs (except for discourse-oriented adverbs) into two groups: strong SpOAs and weak SpOAs (p. 512). In order to categorise the evaluatives, these need to be subcategorised into strong and weak evaluatives due to the large lexical differences within the group but also because they seem to have positional differences. Strong evaluatives such as “unfortunately” are emotive and express a speaker’s “strong emotional reaction to a proposition” and will thus be categorised as strong SpOAs (Ernst, 2009, 512). Weak evaluatives such as “mysteriously”, on the other hand, are descriptive rather than emotive which is why these will be categorised as weak SpOAs. Epistemic modals such as “probably” and evidentials such as “obviously” are weak SpOAs as they are descriptive, too. In general, Ernst (2009) takes strong SpOAs to be exclusively subjective, and weak SpOAs to have a more descriptive or objective reading. An overview of the classification of the SpOAs along with some examples of the classes is given in (55).

(55) A. Strong Positive Polarity Items<sup>10</sup> (PPIs)

Examples: *unfortunately, luckily, amazingly, unbelievably, sadly, oddly, bizarrely*

B. Weak PPIs

Examples: Weak evaluatives: *mysteriously, appropriately, famously, conveniently, significantly, mercifully*

Modals: *probably, possibly, certainly, maybe, perhaps, assuredly, surely*

C. Non-PPIs

Examples: *obviously, clearly, transparently, seemingly, evidently*

(Ernst, 2009, p. 512, adapted by L.H.)

In terms of the syntactic structure, Ernst (2009) assumes that elements with subjective readings are to be “mapped to higher structural positions than those with objective readings”

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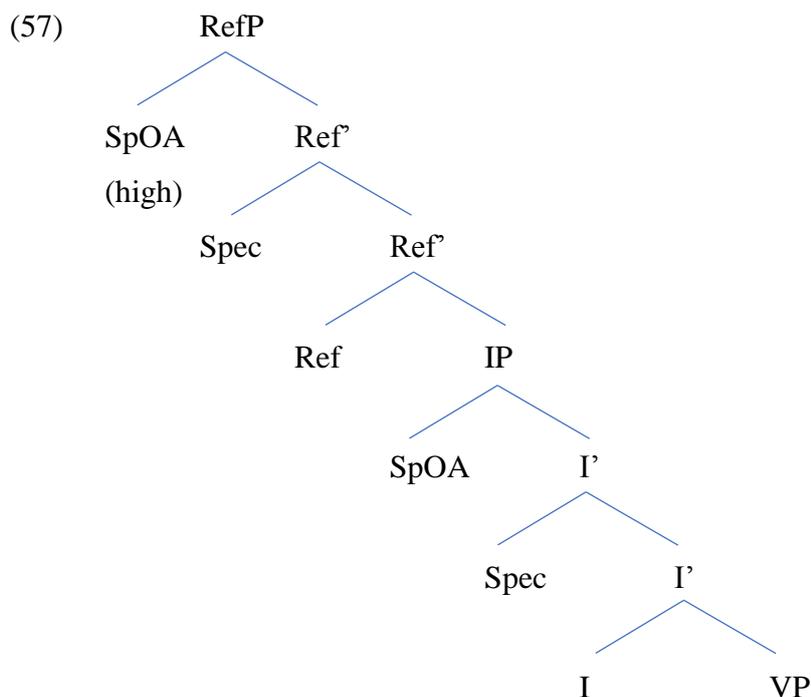
<sup>10</sup> Positive polarity items are restricted from occurring within the scope of negation (Ernst, 2009, p. 499).

(p. 541). This means that strong SpOAs will typically be higher within the syntax than weak SpOAs. Ernst (2009) also extends the subjective / objective distinction amongst the SpOAs to their position in the linear order. He explains that, due to the lexical semantics, strong evaluatives will *always* be subjective which means that they will occur before weak evaluatives as these will *always* be objective. Epistemic modals and evidentials can be either subjective or objective. Epistemic modals nevertheless have a preference for a subjective reading and will therefore most likely occur higher than evidentials as they prefer to have an objective reading (Ernst, 2009, 534). The following order is assumed regarding the positional preference in terms of the lexical semantics of the SpOAs:

(56) Strong evaluatives > epistemic modals > evidentials > weak evaluatives

***A combination of two analyses: Kiss (1996) and Ernst (2009)***

Ernst's (2009) analysis of the lexical semantics of SpOAs has implications for Kiss' (1996) analysis of the positioning of sentence adverbials with regard to the specificity of the subject. SpOAs, as mentioned before, can be adjoined to RefP or IP as they *need* to take scope over the entire predicate. The highest and the lowest position possible for the SpOAs are added into the proposed structure by Kiss (1996) and illustrated below:



Strong evaluatives are generally placed the highest amongst all SpOAs due to their subjectivity as mentioned by Ernst (2009). The chances of a strong evaluative occurring in sentence initial position, adjoined to RefP, are thus extremely high. Kiss (1996) takes the positioning of sentence adverbials to be dependent on the specificity of the subject. It is, however, hard to argue as such for strong evaluatives as they tend to have a strong preference for sentence initial position.

- (50) A. Boys luckily know the novels of Karl May.  
 B. ??Boys luckily were born.  
 C. Luckily boys were born.

(Kiss, 1996, p. 129)

Kiss (1996) argued sentence (50B) (presented again above) to provide support for her claim as it shows that having [Boys], a non-specific subject, precede [luckily], a strong evaluative as listed in (55), is rather unfavourable. It is true that (50B) does not seem to be a favourable sentence in comparison to (50A) and (50C). This might, however, also be the result of the strong evaluative [luckily] having an overall preference for clause initial position: adjoined to RefP. Apart from the example in (50), (51) was also given by Kiss (1996) to support her claim (presented again below).

- (51) A. Boys in most cases have known the novels of Karl May.  
 B. ??Boys in most cases have been born.  
 C. In most cases boys have been born.

(Kiss, 1996, p. 129)

The sentence adverb in this example, [in most cases], can be categorised as an evidential according to Ernst's (2009) analysis (p. 512). Evidentials, as opposed to strong evaluatives, are placed quite low due to their objective status (Ernst, 2009, p. 541). It is thus more likely for [in most cases] to be in the lower SpOA-position adjoined to IP (visible in (57)). Having a preference for medial position rather than sentence initial position, evidentials can as a matter of fact contribute to Kiss' (1996) analysis as they can say something about the position of the subject. Assuming that [in most cases] is thus adjoined to IP, Kiss (1996) expects that the subject will be in Spec-RefP if it precedes the SpOA and it will be in Spec-IP if it follows the SpOA. The verb "know" in (51A) is an individual level predicate due to existential

presupposition of the referent of the subject which means that if the (specific) subject precedes a SpOA that is assumed to be adjoined to IP, (51A) provides evidence for the existence of a subject position other than Spec-IP: Spec-RefP. This prediction is borne out as the subject indeed precedes the SpOA in (51A). The verb “be born” in (51C), on the other hand, is a stage level predicate as the existence of the subject is asserted. Kiss’ (1996) theory would predict the (non-specific) subject to follow the SpOA. Again, this seems to be the case as the subject follows the SpOA in (51A). It is important to also take (51B) into account as this sentence shows that non-subjects<sup>11</sup> cannot precede SpOAs even when these are placed relatively low (adjoined to IP).

Just like Kiss (1996), Ernst (2009) also provides the reader with example sentences that include SpOAs, for example (58) and (59).

(58) Apparently, John must be upset.

(Ernst, 2009, p. 515)

(59) They unfortunately withdrew their funds.

(Ernst, 2009, p. 511)

At first, it might seem like analysing these sentences would give further insight into how SpOAs are positioned with regard to the specificity of the subject. Unfortunately, Ernst’s (2009) example sentences all contain specific subjects regardless of the type of predicate. As was mentioned by Diesing (1992), subjects of stage level predicates can also occur in the higher subject position rather than just the lower subject position. This explains why the subject is specific even though the verb “be upset” is a stage level predicate in (58). Some of Ernst’s (2009) example sentences thus might contain stage level predicates yet all subjects in these sentences are specific rather than non-specific. This indicates that nothing can be said about the exact position of non-specific subjects in the presence of both strong and weak SpOAs. There is, however, something to say about the position of strong and weak SpOAs in relation to specific subjects. The following sentences illustrate the findings:

(60) Luckily, the plan will probably work.

(Ernst, 2009, p. 501)

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<sup>11</sup> The verb in this sentence is also a stage level predicate, as in (51C).

(61) They obviously have cleverly been siphoning off little bits of cash.

(Ernst, 2009, p. 501)

The position of the specific subjects in both (60) and (61) should according to Kiss (1996) be Spec-RefP. Applying Ernst's (2009) analysis of the lexical semantics of SpOAs, it is expected that strong SpOAs, including a strong evaluative such as [luckily], will precede specific subjects as these will be adjoined to RefP. Another expectation is that weak SpOAs, including evidentials such as [obviously], will follow specific subjects. (60) as well as (61) show that this is exactly the case as [luckily] precedes [the plan] in (60) while [obviously] follows [they] in (61). The example sentences in (60) and (61) thus support Kiss' (1996) claim on the position of sentence adverbials in relation to specific subjects.

There does not seem to be a lot of evidence for how sentence adverbials act when paired with a non-specific subject: the only convincing argument was given by Kiss (1996) in (50). The sentence in (51) contains a sentence adverbial that has a preference for clause initial position according to Ernst's (2009) analysis. Additionally, the examples of Ernst (2009) do not contain non-specific subjects at all. One could, on the one hand, say that the absence of non-specific subjects in Ernst (2009) confirms Kiss' claim as no instances of non-specific subjects preceding SpOAs were found. This nevertheless might just be a coincidence.

It seems like the argument of sentence adverbials that Kiss (1996) gives for the existence of two subject positions outside of the VP thus is quite convincing even when taking Ernst's (2009) implications of his lexical semantics analysis for Kiss into account. The question remains, however, whether this really supports Kiss' analysis: does Standard English indeed have two subject positions available outside of the VP and if so, are these positions Spec-RefP and Spec-IP? In order to find an answer to this question, the current study will attempt to find evidence for Kiss (1996) by doing corpus research. More specifically, the current study will explore the British National Corpus (BNC) Sampler to see if more can be found on the position of SpOAs with regard to the specificity of the subject.

## Corpus research

### Material

#### 1. *British National Corpus*

The corpus that will be used in the current study to carry out corpus research is the British National Corpus (BNC). The full BNC consists of a hundred-million-word collection of samples of both written and spoken English. The BNC was created to represent a “wide cross-section” of only British English in the late twentieth century, which means the corpus is both synchronic and monolingual (“What is the BNC,” n.d.). Two subsets of the BNC have also been released: BNC Baby and BNC Sampler. The BNC Sampler will be used in the current study as it mirrors the composition of the full BNC, yet it is more compact. It comprises two million words rather than a hundred-million like the full BNC. Furthermore, the BNC Sampler, similar to the full BNC, comprises two samples of written and spoken material (“BNC Products,” n.d.).

#### 2. *Domain of Leisure*

The current study selected a domain of both the written and the spoken sample of the BNC Sampler to investigate as examining the entire BNC Sampler goes beyond the scope of this thesis. As both the written and the spoken sample contained it, the domain of “Leisure” was chosen to be studied. Another reason for choosing this domain is because the written and spoken sample include a relatively similar amount of digital information within this domain as can be seen in Table 1.

*Table 1: digital information BNC Sampler*

	Number of files in “Leisure”	Amount of digital information in bytes
Written sample	10 files	2046 kB
Spoken sample	15 files	2307 kB

#### 3. *AntConc*

In order to analyse the data of the BNC Sampler, the current study will make use of the concordance programme AntConc. AntConc is a “freeware, multiplatform tool for carrying out corpus linguistics research” (Anthony, 2019).

## **Aim**

The aim of doing corpus research is to find evidence for Kiss' (1996) claim of there being two subject positions external to the VP-domain in Standard English. By looking into the BNC Sampler, more insight will be obtained into the actual usage and placement of SpOAs in written and spoken texts. Written texts will be used as these indicate the monitored use of language of monolinguals. Spoken texts, on the other hand, are incorporated as these indicate the exact opposite, namely spontaneous speech. The contrast between written and spoken texts offers insight into how people use language prescriptively as well as descriptively. In written texts, people tend to apply the grammar rules they learned while language is used more freely in spoken texts. Taken together, written and spoken texts illustrate exactly how language is actually used by people. Another reason for using spoken texts is because language acquisition mainly happens via spoken language.

In general, written and spoken texts will differ in terms of which types of SpOAs might occur due to the type of language that is used. Spoken texts tend to be more emotional and subjective and written texts tend to be more descriptive and objective. As SpOAs are categorised by their lexical semantics (subjective or objective), different SpOAs will be used in written texts as opposed to spoken texts because of the type of language used. The incorporation of both written and spoken texts excludes the possibility of a certain type of SpOA not being analysed simply because of the type of text that is used. The actual findings of the corpus research will hopefully provide an answer to whether the use of SpOAs can support the idea of there being two subject positions outside of the VP: Spec-RefP and Spec-IP.

## **Expectations (and indications)**

### ***1. Written vs spoken texts***

The first expectation is that subjective SpOAs will occur more in the spoken texts than the written texts. This is thought to be the case as subjective SpOAs express a speaker's "emotional reaction to a proposition" and spoken language use tends to be more emotional than written (Ernst, 2009, p. 512). That being said, written texts are expected to contain more objective SpOAs as written texts tend to be more descriptive rather than emotive (Ernst, 2009, p. 512). Due to the lexical semantics of SpOAs, the SpOAs that occur in spoken texts are expected to generally occur higher than in written texts.

### ***2. Auxiliary placement***

In many of his examples, Ernst (2009) uses auxiliaries. Auxiliaries are base-generated in IP, but Kiss (1996) mentions they can also raise out of IP into RefP (p. 130). If an auxiliary is able

to stand in Ref, it means that the subject has to be specific as Kiss (1996) assumes that RefP is not realised in sentences with a stage level predicate (p. 137). The possibility of the auxiliary occurring in either Ref or I indicates that the exact position of the SpOA is unclear when the SpOA precedes the auxiliary. The sentence in (62) shows that an evidential such as [in most cases] can either precede or follow an auxiliary:

- (62) A. Boys in most cases will know the novels of Karl May.  
 B. Boys will in most cases know the novels of Karl May.

(Kiss, 1996, p. 130)

Kiss (1996) explains that [in most cases] is adjoined to IP when it follows [will]. Kiss (1996), however, does not explain if the SpOA is adjoined to RefP or IP when it precedes the auxiliary as in (62A). The assumption for this study is that when the SpOA precedes the auxiliary, the latter has raised to Ref and the former will adjoin to RefP in between Spec-RefP and Ref. The reason for assuming this is the position of auxiliaries in negated sentences. Kiss (1996) assumes NegP, in which negation resides, to be external to IP yet internal to RefP. Since auxiliaries *always* precede negation, they have to be in RefP. Negated sentences in which the SpOA precedes the auxiliary, for example in (63), are then the reason why auxiliaries are assumed to always be in Ref in sentences with a specific subject.

- (63) Karen luckily / probably has not left.

(Ernst, 2009, p. 501)

### 3. *Negation*

The position of SpOAs is thought to be influenced by the type of sentence as the types of SpOAs differ in polarity according to Ernst (2009): evaluatives (both strong and weak) and epistemic modals are PPIs, while evidentials are non-PPIs (p. 512). PPIs cannot occur in the scope of negation as this will violate the adverb's polarity requirement (Ernst, 2009, p. 499). Following Ernst (2009), evaluatives and epistemic modals are expected to *always* precede negation. Since Kiss (1996) assumes NegP to be external to IP yet internal to RefP, PPI SpOAs are assumed to adjoin to RefP in negated sentences. As a result, PPI SpOAs should precede negation in the linear order. Evidentials, on the other hand, can either precede or follow negation as this type of SpOA is not restricted from occurring within the scope of negation (Ernst, 2009). The example that Ernst (2009) provides for this assumption is presented in (64).

(64) Well, the board has not {obviously / clearly} committed itself to any one candidate.

(Ernst, 2009, p. 512)

#### 4. General placement of SpOAs

Ernst's (2009) analysis explains that the distribution of SpOAs between adjoining to RefP or adjoining to IP depends on the lexical semantics of the SpOA and of the sentence that it is in. Ernst (2009) assumes that subjective SpOAs generally occur higher than objective SpOAs (p. 541). The current study takes on Ernst's (2009) assumption and will thus expect strong SpOAs to occur higher than weak SpOAs. This means that in the BNC Sampler, strong SpOAs will occur in sentence initial position (preceding the subject) more often than weak SpOAs. On the basis of Kiss (1996) and Ernst (2009), predictions can be made for each type of SpOA.

##### 4.1 Strong SpOAs

The strong evaluatives are expected to occur in sentence initial position most of the time. The specificity of the subject is assumed to not have any influence on the position of the SpOA as the strong evaluatives are most likely to be placed adjoined to RefP. The specific place at which the strong evaluatives are adjoined to RefP is thought to be the highest position possible which means it will precede both Spec-RefP and Spec-IP. In the linear order this would mean that the strong evaluatives precede both specific as well as non-specific subjects.

##### 4.2 Weak SpOAs

###### 4.2.1 Weak evaluatives

Out of all of the listed types of SpOAs, Ernst (2009) assumes weak evaluatives to be the most objective. It is therefore expected that weak evaluatives will be adjoined to IP and that it is not likely that weak evaluatives will adjoin to RefP. This means that weak evaluatives will be placed in medial position rather than in sentence initial position in the linear order. In terms of the specificity of the subject, it is thought that for weak evaluatives it *does* matter whether the subject is specific or non-specific. As their position is thought to be adjoined to IP, weak evaluatives are placed lower than Spec-RefP yet higher than Spec-IP. The prediction, then, is that weak evaluatives will follow specific subjects, but will precede non-specific subjects.

###### 4.2.2 Epistemic modals

Overall, epistemic modals tend to be more subjective than objective (Ernst, 2009). Since Ernst (2009) does categorise this type of SpOA as weak, epistemic modals are still thought to generally occur more often in a lower position. The assumption is that epistemic modals are adjoined to IP, but they are not excluded from adjoining RefP. In terms of the linear order, epistemic modals are therefore expected to occur in medial position most of the time. The

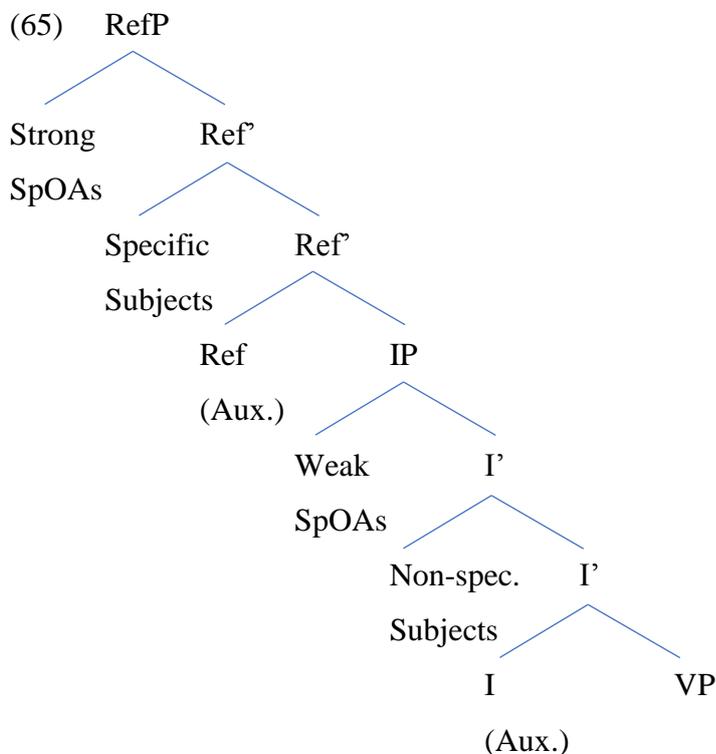
specificity of the subject is thought have an effect on the occurrence of epistemic modals in linear order when the SpOAs are adjoined to IP. If the epistemic modal is adjoined to IP, specific subjects will precede epistemic modals as Spec-RefP dominates the SpOA while non-specific subjects will follow the SpOA as the SpOA will dominate Spec-IP.

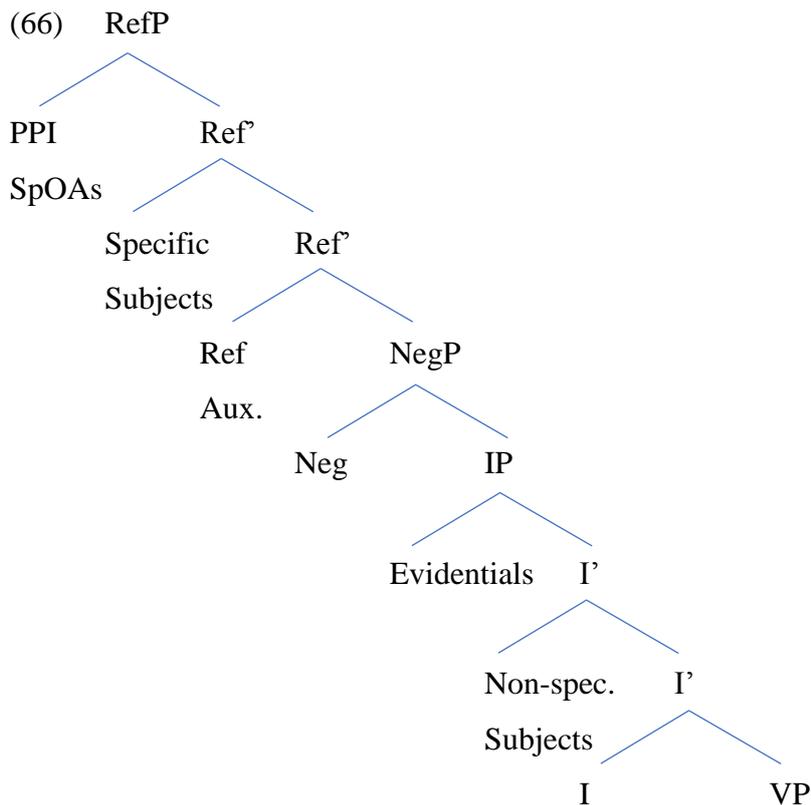
#### 4.2.3 Evidentials

The last type of SpOA, the evidentials, tend to be more objective rather than subjective as opposed to the epistemic modals (Ernst, 2009). For that reason, evidentials are thought to be placed similar to weak evaluatives: weak evaluatives will generally be adjoined to IP. It is possible for evidentials to adjoin to RefP, yet this is not expected to happen. This type of SpOA is thus very likely to occur in medial position in the linear order. Just as with weak evaluatives and epistemic modals, the specificity of the subject is expected to influence the position of evidentials. More specifically, specific subjects will precede evidentials whereas non-specific subjects will follow them.

### 5. Diagram

The following structures illustrate an overview of the expectations with regard to the type of SpOA as well as the specificity of the subject (Kiss, 1996; Ernst, 2009).





### Analysis

The search method that was used to search for SpOAs is as follows. The written sample of the domain of Leisure was analysed first. All files were loaded into AntConc as this enables the concordance programme to search through the data. All SpOAs listed in Appendix A were searched for by entering the SpOA's name into the Search Term bar. In order to be able to look at the SpOA in its context, the Search Window Size was set to 250 (instead of 50). The other functions were put on the (automatic) settings that were already present in AntConc.

All Concordance Hits were all individually analysed and evaluated (by me). Based on my analysis and evaluation, I selected the relevant Concordance Hits which are listed in Appendix B. A Concordance Hit was relevant if it satisfied all of the following requirements:

- the SpOA in the context was positioned either in sentence initial position or medial position;
- the SpOA took scope over an entire predicate rather than over a constituent;
- the SpOA was not modified by another SpOA (or adverb);
- the SpOA did not modify another SpOA (or adverb);
- the sentence was either an affirmative or negated sentence, not a question.

After having done this analysis and evaluation for the written texts, the exact same was done for the spoken texts.

## Results

Many SpOAs were found in the written as well as the spoken sample. Table 2 presents the found results in the different types of SpOAs.

*Table 2: SpOA findings in BNC Sampler*

Type of SpOA	Number of Concordance Hits	
	Written sample	Spoken sample
<i>Strong evaluatives</i>	4	8
<i>Weak evaluatives</i>	0	0
<i>Epistemic modals</i>	28	61
<i>Evidentials</i>	7	7
Total	39	76

Overall, more SpOAs were found in the spoken texts in comparison to the written texts. In terms of the types of SpOAs, more Concordance Hits with strong evaluatives and epistemic modals were found in the spoken texts. As many Concordance Hits containing evidentials were found for written and for spoken texts. No instances of weak evaluatives were found in the written sample, but the same is true for the spoken sample.

SpOAs were also categorised by means of their position within the linear order. A SpOA was listed as sentence initial if it occurred before the subject, auxiliary (if present), negation (if present), and main verb. Besides sentence initial position, SpOAs also occurred in medial position. A distinction was made between three specific medial positions. The first one - medial following aux. – categorises SpOAs that follow both the subject as well as the auxiliary. The second one – medial preceding aux. – lists SpOAs that precede the auxiliary but do follow the subject. The last one – medial following specific subject – categorises the rest of the SpOAs that seemed to follow the subject but preceded the main verb. Table 3 presents the places in which the SpOA occurred in the linear order across the different types of SpOAs.

Table 3: SpOA positions in linear order

	Sentence initial	Medial – following aux.	Medial – preceding aux.	Medial – following specific subject (no aux.)
<b>Written</b>				
Strong PPI SpOA strong evaluatives	4	-	-	-
Weak PPI SpOA epistemic modals	6	21	1	-
Non-PPI SpOA evidentials	2	5	-	-
<b>TOTAL</b>	12	26	1	0
<b>Spoken</b>				
Strong PPI SpOA strong evaluatives	8	-	-	-
Weak PPI SpOA epistemic modals	31	23	4	3
Non-PPI SpOA evidentials	4	1	1	1
<b>TOTAL</b>	43	24	5	4

In the written sample, most SpOAs were in medial position following the auxiliary, whereas this was sentence initial position in the spoken sample. The strong evaluatives in both samples showed a strong preference for sentence initial position. The epistemic modals, on the other hand, were more widespread across the different positions. This type of SpOA occurred more in medial position following the auxiliary in written texts, while it appeared more in sentence initial position in spoken texts. The non-PPI SpOAs, the evidentials, favoured medial position following the auxiliary in the written sample. In the spoken sample, evidentials occurred more in sentence initial position.

Negated phrases were also found. Table 4 lists the position of PPI SpOAs and non-PPI SpOAs with regard to negation. Three different positions were found. In most cases SpOAs preceded both the auxiliary and negation regardless of their polarity status. One instance in which a PPI SpOA followed negation was found, whereas no such instances were found with non-PPI SpOAs.

*Table 4: Position of PPI SpOAs and non-PPI SpOAs in negations*

	SpOA – aux. – neg.	Aux. – SpOA – neg.	Aux. – neg. - SpOA
PPI SpOAs	8	2	1
Non-PPI SpOAs	1	1	-
<b>Total</b>	9	3	1

The SpOAs were listed accordingly to their type in all Tables: an instance of for example the strong evaluative “unfortunately” was listed as an instance of a strong evaluative. Table 5 presents how many different SpOAs of each type were found. The number of the different SpOAs of each type<sup>12</sup> that was searched for in the corpus research is also listed to provide a clearer overview.

*Table 5: Different SpOAs within types of SpOAs*

	Number of different SpOAs found	Total number of SpOAs of this type searched for
Strong evaluatives	2	7
Weak evaluatives	-	6
Epistemic modals	6	7
Evidentials	2	5
<b>Total</b>	10	25

In total, 25 different SpOAs (listed in Appendix A) were searched for in the corpus, yet only 10 different SpOAs were found. Only one epistemic modal was not found in the corpus: “assuredly”. “Unfortunately” and “sadly” were the strong evaluatives found, and “obviously” and “clearly” were the evidentials found. No instances of weak evaluatives were found<sup>13</sup>.

### ***Additional analysis***

A thorough analysis of all Concordance Hits revealed that no instances of non-specific subjects were found. This means that no results can be presented in which the position of the SpOAs is contrasted between specific and non-specific subjects. In order to see if non-specific subjects

<sup>12</sup> All listed SpOAs by Ernst (2009). These are to be found in Appendix A.

<sup>13</sup> This finding is also presented in Table 2.

appeared with any type of adverb in the domain of Leisure in the BNC Sampler, another search technique was applied in AntConc.

Kratzer (1995) mentioned that a distinction between stage level and individual level predicates cannot be made in the lexicon of a language “once and for all” (p. 136). This is because the distinction between the two types of predicates is operative in natural language: it is context-dependent (Kratzer, 1995, p. 126). Predicates *can* be classified, but the fact that these classifications can be problematic must be kept in mind. The following predicates were listed by Kratzer (1995):

(67) Stage level predicates: hit, dance, fall, die.

(68) Individual level predicates: know, be altruistic, belong, be known to.

(Kratzer, 1995, p. 136)

As the aim of this (extra) investigation was to see if non-subjects occurred with any type of adverb in the BNC Sampler (domain of Leisure) at all, an advanced search technique had to be used. The Search Term was filled with “RR” as this is the tag used by the BNC to label a general positive adverb (“List of Tags in the BNC Enriched Tagset,” n.d.). Examples of such verbs are SpOAs, but also manner adverbs (e.g. well). By using the Advanced Search option, the predicates listed in (67) could be added to the Context Word list. This means that an instance of a general positive adverb will only be listed as a Concordance Hit if it one of the listed Context Words occurs in the sentence, too. In order to get as many Concordance Hits as possible, conjugations of the predicates listed in (67) were also entered into to the Context Words. The exact terms that were used are listed in Appendix C.

### ***Additional results***

Thirteen Concordance Hits were found in the written sample, and also thirteen Concordance Hits in the spoken sample. This indicates that stage level predicates do occur with general positive adverbs in the chosen domain within the BNC Sampler. The combination of stage level predicates and non-specific subjects, and SpOAs, however, was not represented in the domain of Leisure.

## Discussion

### Findings corpus research

The corpus research showed that SpOAs tend to occur more in spoken texts than written texts at least in the domain of Leisure within the BNC Sampler. This finding is in line with the previously stated expectation and can be accounted for by the fact that SpOAs represent a speaker's "commitment to the truth" of what he or she says (Ernst, 2009, p. 504). A speaker's commitment is more likely to be expressed in subjective speech as in spoken texts since spoken texts tend to be more personal and emotive than written texts. In terms of the types of SpOAs that occurred, however, subjective SpOAs unexpectedly do not seem to occur relatively more in spoken texts as compared to written texts. Even though strong evaluatives form the only purely subjective type of SpOA, epistemic modals were also seen as more subjective than objective (Ernst, 2009). When comparing the number of subjective SpOAs to the number of objective SpOAs that occurred in the BNC Sampler, the subjective SpOAs outnumber the objective SpOAs in both samples by far: for the written sample 84% of the SpOAs in the Concordance Hit list was subjective, and for the spoken sample this percentage was 90%. For the BNC Sampler, the lexical semantics (subjectivity and objectivity) of the type of text do not seem to influence the selection of either subjective or objective SpOAs.

In both spoken and written texts, epistemic modals occurred most. An explanation might be that epistemic modals are used more often in general. In other words, a quite convincing reason might be that the epistemic modals that were searched for are more frequent in the investigated domain of the BNC Sampler in comparison to the other types of SpOAs. The opposite explanation could be used to account for the absence of weak evaluatives in the present study. It might be the case that weak evaluatives in general are less frequent, yet this might also be the case *only* for the investigated domain of Leisure.

A lot of auxiliaries are included in the list of Concordance Hits. The SpOAs that are relevant for finding out the position of the auxiliary (Ref or I) are SpOAs that occur in medial position. Most of the time, SpOAs followed the auxiliary, but instances in which the SpOAs were in medial position yet still preceded the auxiliary also occurred (Table 3). Taking into account that SpOAs must always take scope over the entire predicate, the lowest position a SpOA can be in is adjoined to (the left edge of) IP (Kiss, 1996). As the auxiliary preceded the SpOA in most cases, this must indicate that the auxiliary is placed in a higher position than the SpOA and the auxiliary's position must thus be external to IP at least. If auxiliaries mostly followed SpOAs, then not much can be said about their position and they might as well just be

positioned in I. Knowing that the SpOA is at the left edge of IP, however, shows that this clearly cannot be the case if auxiliaries tend to precede SpOAs. Kiss' (1996) proposal offers a feasible solution for where this position could be: the auxiliaries move out of I into Ref and the sentence adverbial is adjoined to IP. The example in (52), presented again below, illustrates the assumption.

(52) [<sub>RefP</sub> Boys [<sub>Ref'</sub> will [<sub>IP</sub> in most cases [<sub>IP</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> know the novels of Karl May]]]]].

(Kiss, 1996, p. 130)

It could, however, also be the case that the SpOA is adjoined to RefP even when following an auxiliary. Evidence for this comes from negated sentences as in (64)<sup>14</sup>:

(69) [<sub>RefP</sub> Scotland's defeat in Italy [<sub>Ref'</sub> was [<sub>Ref'</sub> certainly [<sub>NegP</sub> not [<sub>IP</sub> [<sub>I'</sub> [<sub>VP</sub> unexpected]]]]]]].

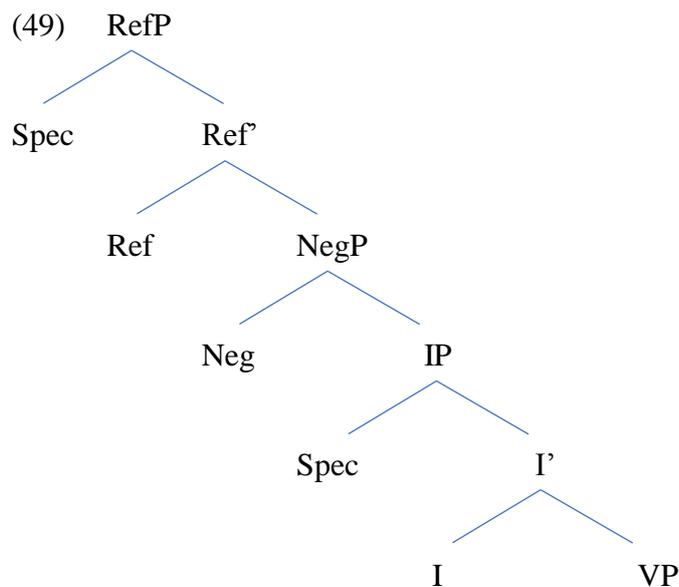
(Concordance Hit, written sample, Appendix B)

In sentence (69) the SpOA follows the auxiliary yet precedes negation. Kiss (1996) assumes NegP to be external to IP, indicating that the SpOA in sentence (69) cannot be in IP. Instead, the SpOA is adjoined to the next lowest position available: adjoined to the lowest position in RefP. Whether the SpOA follows or precedes the auxiliary does not have any influence on the subject: the subject *always* preceded the auxiliary. The position of the subject, then, must be external to IP because of the position of auxiliaries with regard to negation. If negation is external to IP and auxiliaries *always* precede negation, there must be an additional projection that offers a position to which these auxiliaries escape to from IP: Ref.

The structure that Kiss (1996) proposes that was presented in (49) is repeated below.

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<sup>14</sup> The subject has raised out of IP, and the auxiliary has raised out of I.



(Kiss, 1996, p. 136, adapted by L.H.)

In all of the listed negated Concordance Hits, the SpOA either follows or precedes the auxiliary, yet it *always* precedes negation (with the exception of one instance<sup>15</sup>). Ernst's (2009) explanation for this is that evaluatives and epistemic modals are PPIs and occurring within the scope of negation violates their polarity requirement. All instances of evidentials found in the current study preceded negation even though Ernst (2009) assumes that the position of this type of SpOA is not affected by the presence of negation. This assumption, however, becomes quite questionable when examining Ernst's (2009) negated example in (64) in detail. Ernst's (2009) example, presented again below, contains both negation and an evidential.

(64) Well, the board has not {obviously / clearly} committed itself to any one candidate.

(Ernst, 2009, p. 512)

Instead of negating the entire sentence, the negation in (64) seems to only negate the evidential(s). It cannot be assumed that evidentials can follow negation as opposed to PPI SpOAs, as it thus seems like negation behaves differently when an evidential directly follows it: negation negates the adverb phrase rather than the entire predicate.

Besides type of sentence, predictions were also made for each specific type of SpOA. Strong evaluatives occurred solely in sentence initial position. The prediction of strong

<sup>15</sup> "You wouldn't maybe go over the score, (...)". This instance was found in the spoken sample. It seems to be the case that the negation in this sentence negates the SpOA rather than the entire sentence. This instance is therefore disregarded.

evaluatives only occurring in the highest position, adjoined to RefP, thus is borne out for the examined domain of the BNC Sampler. A lot of epistemic modals and evidentials occurred in sentence initial position as well, as could be seen in Table 3. Overall, though, epistemics occurred more in medial position than in sentence initial position, which was expected to be the case. Evidentials seemed to occur as much in sentence initial position as in medial position following the auxiliary. This result is rather unexpected as evidentials were expected to occur more often in the lower position. It should be noted, however, that evidentials do seem to differ in preferred positions between the two types of texts (written and spoken): evidentials in written texts prefer medial position, whereas in spoken texts they had a slight preference for sentence initial position. The reason why evidentials occur more in sentence initial position, then, might be because SpOAs in the spoken sample are generally placed higher due to the lexical semantics of the type of text.

Strong SpOAs were thus found to generally occur higher in the linear order than weak SpOAs which is in line with Ernst (2009). Weak SpOAs, however, did occur in sentence initial position quite often. Table 3 showed that SpOAs tend to occur in sentence initial position regardless of their lexical semantics status: strong evaluatives, epistemic modals, and evidentials all occurred most in sentence initial position when only looking at the spoken sample. Spoken texts were expected to be more emotive and the more emotive a SpOA, the higher it is expected to be in the linear order. This finding, then, is in line with Ernst (2009) as it confirms the influence of lexical semantics of the context on the position of the SpOA.

The corpus research conducted in this thesis thus provided insight into the positions of SpOAs with regard to the type of text, type of sentence, and the type of SpOA itself. Unfortunately, no instances of non-specific subjects were found. This means that no concrete evidence is provided for the expected implications of Ernst's (2009) lexical semantics analysis on Kiss' (1996) argument of the position of sentence adverbials with regard to the specificity of the subject.

The results found, however, can nevertheless give an indication. Kiss (1996) did not go into detail on the lexical semantics of sentence adverbials: she assumed sentence adverbials to behave as one and the same category. The current study, however, refutes this assumption. SpOAs were found to have a preference for certain positions in the linear order, which is in line with Ernst (2009). Kiss (1996) provided examples in which she showed how two sentence adverbials were expected to behave in the presence of specific and non-specific subjects. These sentences, (50) and (51), are repeated below.

- (50) A. Boys luckily know the novels of Karl May.  
 B. ??Boys luckily were born.  
 C. Luckily boys were born.

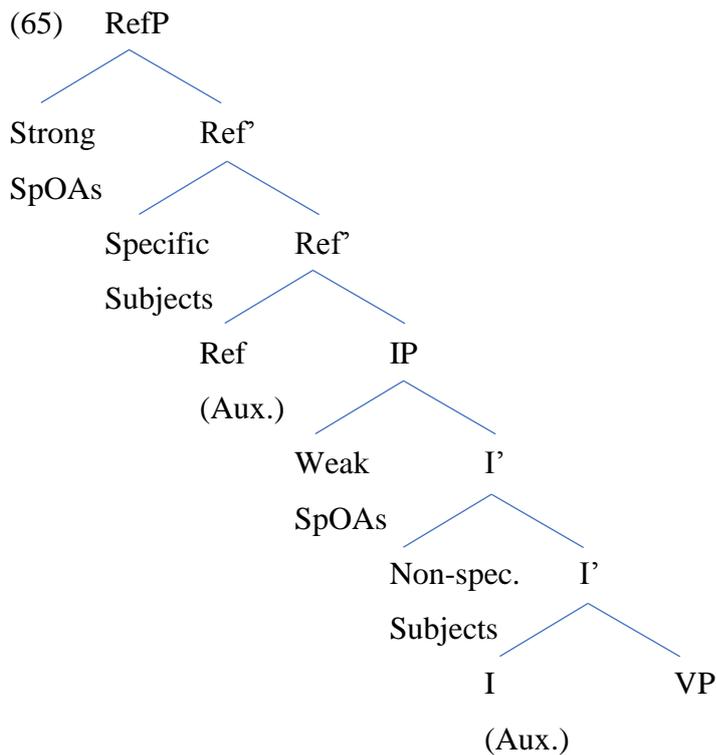
(Kiss, 1996, p. 129)

- (51) A. Boys in most cases have known the novels of Karl May.  
 B. ??Boys in most cases have been born.  
 C. In most cases boys have been born.

(Kiss, 1996, p. 129)

[Luckily] was listed by Ernst (2009) as a strong evaluative in (55). The corpus research found that *all* strong evaluatives found occurred in sentence initial position, regardless of the type of text. It can be concluded that the results found along with the assumptions of Ernst (2009) indicate that strong evaluatives will always occur as high as they possibly can. This conclusion does not have any implications for the position of non-specific subjects as these were expected to follow sentences adverbials, and thereby SpOAs, in any way (Kiss, 1996). If, however, a subject such as [boys] in (50A) can be placed even higher than a strong evaluative and the sentence remains grammatical (/acceptable), this indicates that there should be an extra position available for subjects: an additional subject position outside of IP. This is assumed to be the case as SpOAs always have to take scope over the entire predicate and should thus at least be adjoined to the left edge of IP (Kiss, 1996). The additional position outside of IP, then, can *only* be occupied by specific subjects as sentences such as (50B) are ungrammatical (/unacceptable). Kiss' (1996) argument on the behaviour of sentence adverbials with regard to the specificity of the subject hence seems to be correct for at least strong evaluatives. Weak SpOAs, on the other hand, seem to be a bit more complex in terms of positioning. They nevertheless also have to take scope over the entire predicate and thus have to be adjoined to the left edge of IP at least.

Combining Kiss' (1996) sentence adverbial positions in syntactic structure and Ernst's (2009) assumptions for SpOA's linear ordering, the following syntactic structure was proposed in affirmative sentences:

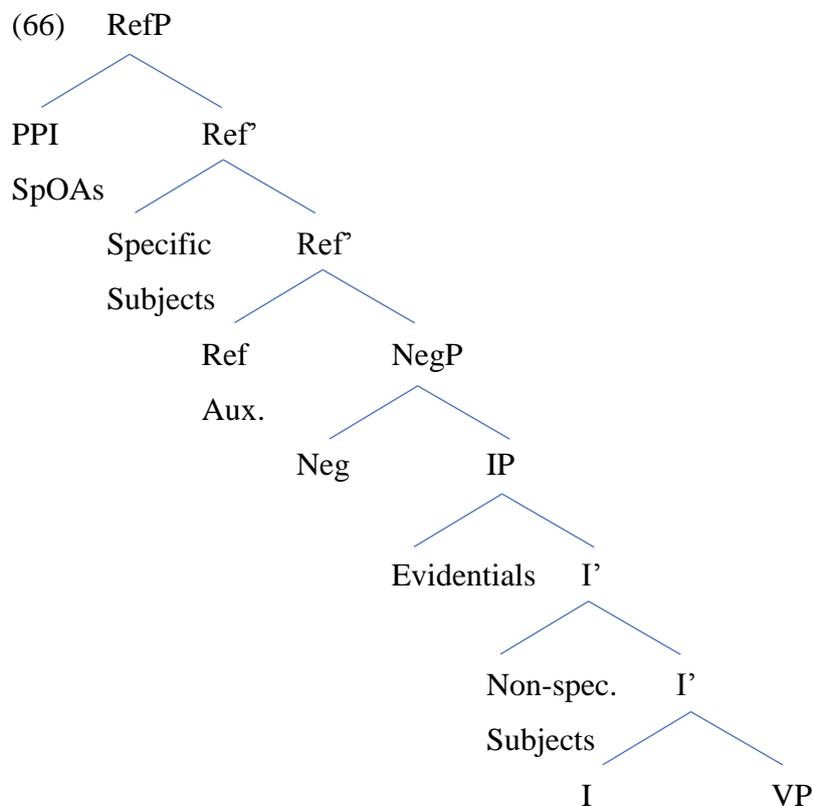


Assuming that Standard English only has one subject position available outside of the VP (Spec-IP), as opposed to the structure in (65) that offers two positions, might be able to account for the results found just as the structure in (65) can. A structure with only an IP is namely still able to demonstrate both positions of the SpOA in (50A) and (50B). Accounting for why the sentence in (50A) is grammatical (/acceptable) and the one in (50B) is not, however, is more difficult for such structures: it might offer enough positions, but it cannot account for why one subject can precede a strong evaluative and why another cannot. The structure in (65) therefore offers an advantage over such structures as it can account for the grammaticality (/acceptability) of (50A) and at the same time the ungrammaticality (/unacceptability) of (50B). By proposing two subject positions, Kiss (1996) is able to explain that only specific subjects standing in Spec-RefP are able to precede SpOAs as in (50A) and at the same time explain that non-specific subjects standing in Spec-IP are unable to do so. Kiss' (1996) proposed structure in (65) thus seems to offer an advantage over structures that merely project IP (as proposed by e.g. Diesing (1992)<sup>16</sup>).

No evidence was found in the current study that violates the proposed structure in (65). The same goes for the proposed structure in negated sentences (also repeated below). The only thing that is a little troubling about the proposed structure in (66) is that the evidentials are not

<sup>16</sup> Diesing (1992) argued that two subject positions were available at LF, and only one at S-Structure.

proven to be able to occur within the scope of negation without negation scoping over only the evidential rather than the entire predicate.



The structure in (66) is able to account for the same as the structure in (65) but can also explain the results found with regard to negation.

Even when the lexical semantics of sentence adverbials are taken into account, Kiss' (1996) argument on the position of specific and non-specific subjects in the presence of sentence adverbials seems to be irrefutable. The current research showed that SpOAs differ in positioning according to the type of SpOA (strong vs. weak), type of text (written vs. spoken), auxiliaries, and type of sentence (affirmative vs. negated). It nevertheless seems to be the case that specific subjects are able to precede even the highest-standing SpOAs, strong evaluatives, as was seen in (50). This supports the idea that there is an additional subject position outside of IP and it is quite likely that this position is indeed Kiss' (1996) assumed additional position outside of IP: Spec-RefP.

### Suggestions for further research

In terms of the type of SpOAs, the current study was able to give a rough indication of the linear ordering among the different types. The corpus research that was conducted, however,

only investigated one specific domain within the BNC Sampler as investigating more domains simply goes beyond the scope of this thesis. Further investigation into more domains in the BNC Sampler (or other corpora) is therefore needed in order to draw conclusions on the preferred positions amongst the different types of SpOAs. These positions should also be investigated by looking at SpOAs that were not searched for yet. The current study only examined the SpOAs that were listed by Ernst (2009). This does not mean that these SpOAs are the *only* SpOAs out there, but rather that this thesis has only looked at a limited set of all existing SpOAs. This is also expected to be a reason why no instances of weak evaluatives were found. More corpus research should therefore be conducted into other SpOAs. Looking into other domains of the BNC Sampler could also provide further evidence for the occurrence of SpOAs with regard to the type of text (written vs. spoken), auxiliaries, and the type of sentence (affirmative vs. negated).

The corpus research conducted in this thesis unfortunately did not find any instances of non-specific subjects. The contrast between specific and non-specific subjects could therefore be further investigated by means of a questionnaire. This questionnaire could find out if people have different interpretations that depend on the specificity of the subject. These possible future findings would be crucial to Kiss (1996) as it might provide irrefutable evidence for her claims.

## Conclusion

This thesis aimed to find evidence for Kiss' (1996) claim of there being two subject positions external to the VP-domain in Standard English. Kiss (1996) proposed this idea to account for the behaviour of specific subjects as opposed to non-specific subjects. She described five different phenomena in which specific subjects behaved differently than non-specific subjects and vice versa. One of these phenomena concerned itself with the positioning of sentence adverbials within the syntax. As sentence adverbials have to take scope over the entire predicate, they have to be adjoined to at least the left edge of the predicate phrase which according to Kiss (1996) is IP. Ernst (2009) described how the lexical semantics of such sentence adverbials, or SpOAs, as well as the lexical semantics of the sentence that SpOAs are in influence the positioning of SpOAs. Ernst's (2009) analysis of the lexical semantics of SpOAs was expected to have implications on Kiss' (1996) proposal. These implications, then, formed the basis of the corpus research that was conducted in this thesis.

Corpus research was conducted into the domain of Leisure within a subset of the BNC: the BNC Sampler. Several predictions were made on where SpOAs would occur with regard to the different types of text (written vs. spoken), auxiliaries, different types of sentences (affirmative vs. negated), the type of SpOA itself (strong vs. weak), and the specificity of the subject. It was found that SpOAs generally occurred more in spoken texts as opposed to written texts. The type of text did not influence which type of SpOA occurred. Overall, subjective SpOAs were found to occur more in both the written and the spoken sample. The strong subjective SpOAs, strong evaluatives, were found to solely occur in sentence initial position regardless of the type of text. This also indicates that strong evaluatives preceded auxiliaries and negation at all times. The same cannot be said for the weak subjective SpOAs: epistemic modals. In spoken texts, epistemic modals showed a slight tendency to occur in sentence initial position: adjoined to the highest position available in RefP. They, on the other hand, preferred to be placed in medial position following the auxiliary in written texts. Evidentials showed a similar division of preference between written and spoken texts.

In terms of the positioning of SpOAs with regard to the specificity of the subject, the conducted corpus research unfortunately could not provide further direct insight into this as no non-specific subjects were found in the BNC Sampler's domain of Leisure. The domain of Leisure was chosen as the written sample and the spoken sample included a similar amount of digital information in this domain. The results found on the positioning with regard to the type of SpOA, however, did seem to indirectly provide support for Kiss (1996). As strong

evaluatives were found to have a preference to stand as high in the structure as they can, there can only be one explanation for why subjects that seem to have a generic interpretation can precede them: the existence of an additional subject position. Even though strong evaluatives are adjoined to RefP, subjects standing in Spec-RefP are able to precede strong evaluatives. The idea that these subjects stand in RefP rather than IP is supported by the finding of how SpOAs behave in the presence of negation. SpOAs have to at least be adjoined to IP, and negation is said to be external to IP yet internal to RefP. Since PPI SpOAs were found to always precede negation, they *must* be adjoined to RefP rather than IP. In order to further support the findings of this thesis, more corpus research should be conducted into the positioning of SpOAs. Furthermore, the contrast between specific and non-specific subjects could be investigated by a questionnaire that examines whether people have different interpretations depending on the specificity of the subject. Future research might then be able to prove that Kiss (1996) was on the right track all along and that there indeed are two subject positions outside of the VP: Spec-IP and Spec-RefP.

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## Appendix

### Appendix A

This appendix provides an overview of all of the SpOAs that were searched for in the corpus. All listed SpOAs were taken from Ernst (2009).

<b>Strong PPI SpOAs</b>	Strong evaluatives	Unfortunately Luckily Amazingly Unbelievably Sadly Oddly Bizarrely
<b>Weak PPI SpOAs</b>	Weak evaluatives	Mysteriously Appropriately Famously Conveniently Significantly Mercifully
	Epistemic modals	Probably Possibly Certainly Maybe Perhaps Assuredly Surely
<b>Weak non-PPI SpOAs</b>	Evidentials	Obviously Clearly Transparently Seemingly Evidently

## Appendix B

This appendix provides an overview of the relevant Concordance Hits. Even though AntConc does give more context, only the relevant parts of the sentences are listed to clarify the results.

### Written sample – Leisure

<b>Strong PPI SpOA</b> - <b>Strong evaluatives</b>	Unfortunately	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Unfortunately</u>, the problem increases with multiple-width curtains.</li> <li>2. <u>Unfortunately</u>, difficulty is often experienced in getting fertilizer down the roots without lifting and (...)</li> <li>3. <u>Unfortunately</u>, a blue of milky cloudiness is not so easily corrected.</li> </ol>
	Sadly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Sadly</u>, I know there is less work today and many have turned to drugs and drink.</li> </ol>
<b>Weak PPI SpOA</b> - <b>Epistemic modals</b>	Probably	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. (...) it was <u>probably</u> the worst since I took over.</li> <li>2. (...) it is <u>probably</u> easier and more accurate to take a pattern of half the arch, and (...)</li> <li>3. I'd <u>probably</u> be quicker only I'm still half asleep.</li> <li>4. (...) a meeting of its five-man doping commission would <u>probably</u> be held in a fortnight.</li> <li>5. (...) though they'd <u>probably</u> argue that I do all!</li> <li>6. They will <u>probably</u> breed with some new measure of success of their own accord (...)</li> <li>7. (...) the package would <u>probably</u> look as though it contained a designer gazebo for the centre of the potager.</li> <li>8. He will <u>probably</u> tell you to dig a hole to the desired shape and (...)</li> <li>9. (...) you'd <u>probably</u> wave your arms.</li> </ol>
	Possibly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Short layered cuts are <u>possibly</u> the easiest and most versatile.</li> </ol>
	Certainly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. They were <u>certainly</u> a long way below their best against struggling Middlesbrough at Portman Road last night.</li> <li>2. It is <u>certainly</u> a good idea to do this job now.</li> <li>3. <u>Certainly</u> the atmosphere from a full house on Saturday will be very different to last night.</li> <li>4. Dr Fothergill's new lettuce is <u>certainly</u> worth trying.</li> <li>5. Chelmsford could <u>certainly</u> have done with a bigger pool of layers.</li> <li>6. Scotland's defeat in Italy was <u>certainly</u> not unexpected.</li> </ol>

		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>7. These beliefs have <u>certainly</u> proved successful for Ralph and his team.</li> <li>8. We are <u>certainly</u> bearing in mind Nathan Munson (...)</li> <li>9. Autumnalis <u>certainly</u> does not fit into this category.</li> </ol>
	Maybe	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Maybe</u> you would prefer to relax in one of the many wine cellars of bars.</li> </ol>
	Perhaps	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Perhaps</u> it's a case of money talking and the fans coming second.</li> <li>2. <u>Perhaps</u> it would be overhung by trees or shaded by nearby buildings.</li> <li>3. <u>Perhaps</u> she could visit us in England.</li> <li>4. <u>Perhaps</u> we could swap cuttings and propagating material.</li> </ol>
	Surely	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Their eating and living habits are <u>surely</u> no worse than those of our two dogs.</li> <li>2. Your 17 day holiday to Czechoslovakia and Hungary must <u>surely</u> be the travel bargain of the nineties.</li> <li>3. The finest of all the variegated grasses must <u>surely</u> be <i>Holcus mollis</i>, with snow white stripes.</li> <li>4. The wonderful and varied scenery and marvellous historic cities will <u>surely</u> make this country one of the most popular tourist destinations of all.</li> </ol>
<b>Non-PPI SpOAs</b> - <b>Evidentials</b>	Obviously	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Obviously</u>, this is because the natural balance has been disturbed.</li> <li>2. Fiberglass pools are <u>obviously</u> entirely rigid and free-standing.</li> <li>3. A purpose-build waterfall will <u>obviously</u> have to conform to visually to the site and fulfil its function of (...)</li> <li>4. Jenny and Michael Aldous (...) have <u>obviously</u> hit upon the secret colour throughout summer.</li> </ol>
	Clearly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Clearly</u> (...) the answer is not to wrap it at all.</li> <li>2. He is <u>clearly</u> a far superior keeper.</li> <li>3. The 40-year-old off-spinner is <u>clearly</u> not the bowler he was back in 1982 (...)</li> </ol>

## Spoken sample – Leisure

Strong PPI SpOA - Strong evaluatives	Unfortunately	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Unfortunately</u> you can't do it now.</li> <li>2. Well <u>unfortunately</u> it was the practice of shipyards for a long number of years.</li> <li>3. <u>Unfortunately</u> some of them might even die.</li> </ol>
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		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. <u>Unfortunately</u> the element of surprise was lost and the operation still went forward.</li> <li>5. Well <u>unfortunately</u> the lady who lives in the top cottage is now in hospital.</li> <li>6. <u>Unfortunately</u> something is wrong with the equipment or something.</li> <li>7. <u>Unfortunately</u> (...) they hadn't got it.</li> </ol>
	Sadly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Sadly</u>, much of that global resource is contaminated by mercury.</li> </ol>
Weak PPI SpOA - Epistemic modals	Probably	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. First language is <u>probably</u> Brazilian Portuguese.</li> <li>2. (...) she was <u>probably</u> a nervous kind of person.</li> <li>3. And <u>probably</u> the best thing to do is say (...)</li> <li>4. <u>Probably</u> the local people would help raise the fare.</li> <li>5. (...) this is <u>probably</u> the idea behind the thinking (...)</li> <li>6. (...) <u>probably</u> the next trend is going to be in lighting fittings.</li> <li>7. (...) you were <u>probably</u> one of the only shops in Harlow that (...)</li> <li>8. There'd be <u>probably</u> three companies to a battalion.</li> <li>9. (...) <u>probably</u> children were the least affected by it.</li> <li>10. <u>Probably</u> I had kind of personal experience of that (...)</li> <li>11. (...) that's <u>probably</u> quite true.</li> <li>12. There's <u>probably</u> quite a few of them around.</li> <li>13. We could <u>probably</u> do it cheaper.</li> <li>14. They would <u>probably</u> have to join the queue like everybody else.</li> <li>15. We'll <u>probably</u> have to go to war with Saddam again.</li> <li>16. It <u>probably</u> can look a little clinical.</li> <li>17. We've <u>probably</u> got actually quite a bit of other stuff already.</li> </ol>
	Possibly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. (...) we should <u>possibly</u> stop blaming the media (...)</li> </ol>
	Certainly	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <u>Certainly</u> we don't operate.</li> <li>2. <u>Certainly</u> the final stages of the playgroup were with (...)</li> <li>3. <u>Certainly</u> large hotels could afford to pay a bigger collective bill than (...)</li> <li>4. <u>Certainly</u> regular listeners will know.</li> <li>5. It's <u>certainly</u> more flexible (...)</li> <li>6. I <u>certainly</u> never felt under any threat or any danger from people in the flats.</li> <li>7. He's <u>certainly</u> made a lot of it (...)</li> </ol>

	<p>8. We can <u>certainly</u> substitute for these (...)</p> <p>9. They <u>certainly</u> did nothing wrong.</p> <p>10. I <u>certainly</u> do not want to stay in Scotland because (...)</p> <p>11. There's <u>certainly</u> not much in the way of play area for children.</p>
Maybe	<p>1. There's <u>maybe</u> a counter for drapery and a counter for gents.</p> <p>2. <u>Maybe</u> some of them felt it would be a waste of time.</p> <p>3. <u>Maybe</u> there's other things which just aren't there for them just now.</p> <p>4. <u>Maybe</u> there's nothing wrong with that.</p> <p>5. <u>Maybe</u> people would see me as sort of having deserted them and joined them.</p> <p>6. <u>Maybe</u> someone would come to your door and say (...)</p> <p>7. They would <u>maybe</u> lay it by for two or three weeks and (...)</p> <p>8. You wouldn't <u>maybe</u> go over the score, (...)</p> <p>9. It <u>maybe</u> took a wee bit of hard work out of it.</p> <p>10. The attitudes <u>maybe</u> haven't changed that much.</p> <p>11. (...) you could <u>maybe</u> get a good wage.</p> <p>12. <u>Maybe</u> we'd be a long distance away from the school (...)</p>
Perhaps	<p>1. <u>Perhaps</u> the next tale of Edinburgh's Premier League football grounds may be about to move on.</p> <p>2. (...) <u>perhaps</u> elderly people were quite afraid living on the deck level.</p> <p>3. <u>Perhaps</u> something like that is gonna happen to you in a fortnight's time (...)</p> <p>4. <u>Perhaps</u> there's one in one of the youngsters' bedrooms.</p> <p>5. It's <u>perhaps</u> clear the way they're thinking.</p> <p>6. <u>Perhaps</u> it might be an idea to (...)</p> <p>7. (...) <u>perhaps</u> something's gone wrong.</p> <p>8. <u>Perhaps</u> he was the man for the job.</p> <p>9. <u>Perhaps</u> they've left them with someone who has done that.</p> <p>10. <u>Perhaps</u> I ought to ask the provost.</p> <p>11. <u>Perhaps</u> we need a little more water to make a bit more lather.</p> <p>12. <u>Perhaps</u> you could first start by answering this question.</p> <p>13. <u>Perhaps</u> you'd like to reminisce and (...)</p>

		<p>14. I could <u>perhaps</u> take a little bit of toilet paper like that (...)</p> <p>15. We could <u>perhaps</u> play that again.</p> <p>16. They <u>perhaps</u> starve themselves to sort of like (...) get across these emotions.</p>
	Surely	<p>1. <u>Surely</u> they shouldn't have to watch other people who struggling.</p> <p>2. <u>Surely</u> those have been scaled down.</p> <p>3. <u>Surely</u> the wife is gonna have more control over the money that she earns and (...)</p> <p>4. (...) <u>surely</u> that would suit everybody.</p>
Non-PPI SpOAs - Evidentials	Obviously	<p>1. <u>Obviously</u>, they'd been known to come and try and have a meeting.</p> <p>2. <u>Obviously</u> most of them had them marked or had their name on them, so (...)</p> <p>3. It's <u>obviously</u> for the benefit of Saddam.</p> <p>4. The poll tax <u>obviously</u> goes towards the (...)</p> <p>5. It <u>obviously</u> has a lot in common with other inner city areas.</p> <p>6. <u>Obviously</u> they took a wee bit of pride in them and looked after them.</p> <p>7. (...) <u>obviously</u> they wanted nice clothes and things like that.</p>

## Appendix C

This appendix provides an overview of the conjugations of the stage level predicates given by Kratzer (1995) in order to look for any combination of a general positive adverb (RR) with a Context Word from this list.

Present simple <i>1<sup>st</sup> &amp; 2<sup>nd</sup> person SG</i> <i>1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> &amp; 3<sup>rd</sup> person PL</i>	Present simple <i>3<sup>rd</sup> person SG</i>	Past simple
Hit	Hits	(Hit)
Dance	Dances	Danced
Fall	Falls	Fell
Die	Dies	Died