

---

## IP-area adverbials with an attitude

---

Daniel Hole

Universität Stuttgart

holedan@gmail.com

A hitherto unknown regular opposition is observed between aspectual adverbials that neutrally describe an aspectual relationship, and others which additionally load the same description with expressive or attitudinal content. Examples from English are provided in (1).

- (1)
- |                           |                                      |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| English                   |                                      |
| a. <i>not...yet</i>       | <i>still not</i>                     |
| b. <i>still/continue</i>  | <i>STILL</i>                         |
| c. <i>repeatedly</i>      | <i>again and again</i>               |
| d. <i>in the meantime</i> | <i>already</i>                       |
| e. <i>no longer</i>       | <i>already no longer</i>             |
| f. <i>eventually</i>      | <i>finally</i>                       |
| g. <i>for a long time</i> | <i>forever</i> <sup>colloquial</sup> |

All expressions in the right column, in addition to encoding their respective aspectual relationships, also express an attitude of surprise, annoyance, or other shades of heightened emotional involvement. Parallel examples from German and Chinese are left out here for reasons of space.

The contrasts in (2) and (3) point to a relationship across a distance that the expressive opposition members partake in. (6a) is bad with unmarked *schließlich* ‘eventually’ in the presence of higher exclamative operators.

- (2)
- a. *Wann wird Sertab schließlich den Müll runterbringen?*  
‘When will Sertab eventually take out the garbage?’
- b. *Wann wird Sertab endlich den Müll rausbringen?*  
‘When will Sertab finally take out the garbage?’
- (3)
- a. *Wann wird Sertab (\*nur) schließlich den Müll runterbringen?*  
‘When the hell will Sertab eventually take out the garbage?’
- b. *Wann wird Sertab nur endlich den Müll rausbringen?*  
‘When the hell will Sertab finally take out the garbage?’

I will develop a first partial account of these interactions, but I will limit myself to the morphosyntactic side of it, thereby balancing the prominent trend of semantic approaches to attitudinal and expressive items.

**References:** • Chou, C. T. T. (2012). ‘Syntax-pragmatics interface: Mandarin Chinese wh-the-hell and point-of-view operator’. *Syntax* 15(1), 1–24. • Huang, C.-T. J. & M. Ochi. (2004). ‘Syntax of the hell: Two types of dependencies’. In: *Proceedings of the North East Linguistic Society* 34, 279–294.