

Aušra Dičpinigaitytė

Vilnius University
 Institute of Foreign Languages
 Universiteto g. 5, LT-01513 Vilnius, Lietuva
 Tel.: +370 5 268 7264
 E-mail: ausra.dicpinigaityte@uki.vu.lt
 Research interests: generative syntax,
 adverb placement

Julija Korostenskienė

Vilnius University
 Institute of Foreign Languages
 Universiteto g. 5, LT-01513 Vilnius, Lietuva
 Tel.: +370 5 268 7264
 E-mail: julija.korostenskienė@uki.vu.lt
 Research interests: generative syntax, free
 word order languages

MANNER ADVERB PLACEMENT IN ENGLISH, SPANISH AND LITHUANIAN: A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH

In generative tradition, the adverb is regarded to be the most stable part on the syntactic tree, relative to which the position of other members of the sentence, primarily the verb, may be examined. The present study explores the position of six manner adverbs in English and their equivalents in Spanish and Lithuanian. Following Rochette's (1990) classification, three adverb positions are distinguished: Initial, VP-external, and VP-internal. The findings reveal that manner adverbs in Spanish and Lithuanian may take different positions from their English counterparts and can therefore be assigned to different adverb classes. For example, English and Spanish manner adverbs belong to Class IV in Rochette's classification, whereas their Lithuanian counterparts exhibit features of Class I adverbs. The study shows that English and Spanish manner adverbs most frequently appear in two positions, pre- and post verbally, whereas their distributional diversity is greatest in Lithuanian, which might be due to issues related to the information structure of the language.

KEY WORDS: manner adverb, placement, corpus, English, Spanish, Lithuanian.

Introduction

After the generative syntactic approach emerged in the late 1950's, there seemed to be a renewed interest in the linguistic comparison of the properties of various languages and their grammatical systems. The adverb, however, has long remained one of the least studied parts of speech. While some linguists (Keyser 1968, Emond 1976) claimed that the distribution of adverbs is rather free or is confined to "stating where they can't appear" (Carnie 2006, p. 42), others (Jackendoff 1972, Travis 1988, Cinque 1999) have argued that adverb placement is fairly restricted. Currently, the position of adverbs in a sentence is of great importance, playing an essential role in determining the deep structure of a sentence and the potential behavior patterns of its constituents.

The generative approach has since then been applied to a number of languages, e.g. English (Jackendoff 1972, Cinque 1999, Potsdam 1997), Russian (Dyakonova 2009), French (Abeillé, Godard 1997), Italian (Delfitto 2005), Greek (Xydopoulos 1995), Spanish (Bok-Bennema 2001), but very limited attention has been paid to adverbs in Lithuanian.

The present study focuses on manner adverb placement in three languages – English, Spanish and Lithuanian – which manifest a certain hierarchy in terms of word order.

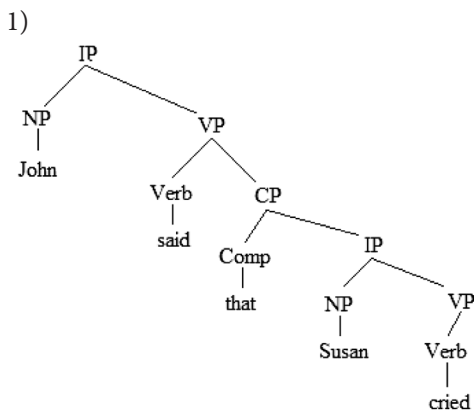
English, as the topmost language with strictly determined word order and long-standing generative framework, will be taken as the basis to investigate and compare manner adverb placement in Spanish and Lithuanian, characterized as flexible or mixed and free word order, respectively.

Theoretical overview

Generative approaches to adverb study

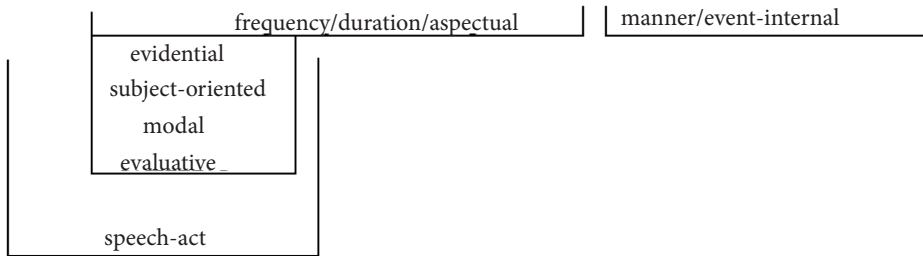
The adverb is one of the basic parts of speech, frequently “distinguished on intuitive meaning grounds” (Delfitto 2005, p. 89). In traditional grammatical accounts, adverbs are primarily seen as modifiers of verbs, while identification of additional properties, such as their possibility to modify adjectives and other adverbs, is of secondary importance (Catinelli 1969, Delfitto 2005). It is after the pioneering linguistic work by Jackendoff (1972), Cinque (1999), and Pollock (1989) that the position of an adverb in a sentence has come to be a criterion when defining the structure of a given phrase and the possible position of its constituents (Wyner 1998, Shaer 1999). As the very term implies, the adverb serves as a modifier of a verb; consequently, it was of no surprise when attempts to determine verb movement possibilities by means of adverb placement in the sentence were introduced in the generative approach. The adverb placement test has become a means of determining movement in the sentence, taking place from V(erb) position to the higher position of I(nflection), across various languages.

Contrary to the traditional approach, Jackendoff (1972) argues that the adverb does not enjoy free distribution and that its placement is strictly determined. He classifies adverbs into six major classes according to their frequency and ability to appear in different sentence positions, distinguishing three main positions: initial, auxiliary and VP-final position. Similarly, Baltin (1982) and Wenger (2009) claim that the function and distribution of adverbs is largely confined to three major domains of the sentence – CP (complementizer phrase), IP (also abbreviated as Infl; inflectional phrase, either finite or non-finite independent element in the sentence) and VP (verb phrase) – the hierarchically organized landing sites to which the adverb can move and whose co-occurrence with adverbs ultimately determines their fixed order and position in the clause. A sample sentence is given below:



Two other well-known classifications focusing on positional features and setting adverbial hierarchy, with manner adverbs figuring among the lowest, are proposed by Ernst (2002) and Cinque (1999), listed as (2) and (3), respectively:

2) Comp Tense Neg Modal Asp Voice Pred V



3) Speech act > Evaluative > Evidential > Modal > Time > Aspectual >
Voice-related (well) > Manner > Aspectual (event-internal)

(cited from Dyakonova 2009, p. 27)

Thus most generative approaches agree that the adverb is highly dependent on its position in the sentence, which follows from a simple principle of domination by S (subject) or VP (verb phrase) corresponding to the traditional division of adverbs into sentence operators and predicate operators, respectively. This distinction is largely stipulated by Jackendoff's (1972) inclusion of the semantic component and distinction of three major adverb classes: speaker-oriented, subject-oriented and manner adverbs. The present study focuses on the latter category.

Manner adverbs and their placement in English

Manner, or resultative, adverbs (Geuder 2000) modify verbs and give additional information regarding the way, or manner, in which a particular action is realized. Manner adverbs neither contribute to the meaning of temporality in the clause, nor link the clause to a larger context, e.g., by showing the attitude or opinion of the speaker. Being optional in a sentence (Delfitto 2005), semantically manner adverbs form a relatively well-defined class. Meanwhile their placement in the clause is significant since they are used in a crucial diagnostic test determining the position of Infl and V.

In English, manner adverbs can easily be noticed because of their common ending *-ly* and low position relative to the verb. However, it has also been noticed that manner adverbs can appear higher on the syntactic tree, preceding the VP (Shaer 2000), which could also correspond to the surface auxiliary position in a sentence, as determined by Jackendoff (1972). Examples of the two are represented in (4 a-b) respectively:

- 4) a) Luisa departed rudely.
b) Luisa rudely departed.

(McConnell-Ginet 1982, p. 161)

What differs these given examples is not only the placement of the same adverb, but also the interpretation of the sentences where in (a) the event is restricted by the adverb “rudely” and in (b) where the adverb explains the event designated by the VP. This ambiguity was interpreted as polysemy holding between subject-oriented and manner adverbs (Piñón 2009); and extended the limits of each category suggesting that agent-oriented adverbs are also manner adverbs in a way and that the latter are best analyzed as predicates of events (e.g., Moore 1995, Geuder 2000, McConnell-Ginet 1982; cf. Gutiérrez-Rexach 1996). In the present study, the narrow interpretation will be followed, focusing on the formal properties of manner adverbs and their placement within an established phrase only.

Jackendoff (1972) attributes manner adverbs to four out of his proposed six classes of adverbs according to their ability to occur in three basic sentence surface positions: initial position, auxiliary position between the subject and the main verb or “between elements of the auxiliary” (Jackendoff 1972, p. 67), and final position without a pause. This distributional classification of all adverb types was later on revised and summarized by Rochette (1990) as follows:

5)

Table 1. Rochette’s (1990) classification of adverbs

Class I	Initial, Aux, VP-final (meaning change) <i>e.g. cleverly, clumsily, carefully, carelessly, happily, truthfully.</i>
Class II	Initial, Aux, VP-final (no meaning change) <i>e.g. quickly, slowly, reluctantly, sadly, quietly, frequently.</i>
Class III	Initial, Aux <i>e.g. evidently, probably, certainly, unfortunately, naturally.</i>
Class IV	Aux, VP-final <i>e.g. completely, easily, totally, handily, badly, mortally.</i>
Class V	VP-final <i>e.g. hard, well, early, fast, slow, terribly.</i>
Class VI	Aux <i>e.g. truly, virtually, merely, simply, hardly, scarcely.</i>

(cited from Gutiérrez-Rexach 1996, p. 606)

Therefore, manner adverbs can easily be associated with classes I, II, IV, V and adverb placement in a sentence in Initial, Aux (hereinafter referred to as VP-external), and VP-final (classes I and II), VP-external and VP-final (class IV), and VP-final (class V) positions. However, this particular form of classifying adverbs is not uniformly used among linguists, which, therefore, suggests that the results depend on whether the analysis is carried out on the purely distributional or semantic level.

Manner adverbs in Spanish and Lithuanian

In Spanish, which is traditionally considered to be a mixed language in terms of the verb movement parameter (verb movement is easily applicable and thus does not represent strictly exclusive parameter settings) (Ayoun 2005), the most common manner adverbs

are arguably those with the Latin suffix ending *-mente*. Manner adverbs in Spanish usually occupy the lower VP-external position preceding the finite verb. According to Alarcos (1978), Spanish adverbs can be of two subtypes: *situacionales* (S-adverb or speaker-oriented adverb equivalent in English) and *nocionales* (VP-adverb equivalent in English), of which the latter ones will be examined.

In Lithuanian, adverbs do not change and are primarily seen as modifiers of the categories of verb and adjective.

Given the categories of focus and topicalisation, which relate the position of the relevant element to its importance in the clause in both Spanish and Lithuanian and the fact that Lithuanian is a language with rich inflection system, it is interesting to see whether English-based classes of adverbs are maintained in languages where word order is not so strict. What is more, since the scope of the adverb is determined by its position in the clause, it will also be interesting to see how the classification of manner adverbs proposed for English is manifest in Spanish and Lithuanian.

Methodology

To explore manner adverb position in English, Spanish and Lithuanian, a corpus-based study was conducted. The following six manner adverbs in English and their 7 translation equivalents in Spanish and Lithuanian were selected:

6)

Table 2. Selected manner adverbs in English and their correlates in Spanish and Lithuanian

English	Spanish	Lithuanian
<i>slowly</i>	<i>lentamente; despacio</i>	<i>lėtai; pamažu</i>
<i>carefully</i>	<i>cuidadosamente</i>	<i>atsargiai</i>
<i>correctly</i>	<i>correctamente</i>	<i>teisingai</i>
<i>well</i>	<i>bien</i>	<i>gerai</i>
<i>fast</i> <i>rápido</i>	<i>greitai</i>	
<i>easily</i>	<i>fácilmente</i>	<i>lengvai</i>

All data were collected from the following corpora: the British National Corpus (BYU-BNC) for English, *El corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA) for Spanish, and the Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language for Lithuanian.

For each manner adverb, at least 50 examples of sentences in each language were found. All of the examples were later grouped in terms of whether the adverb occupied the Initial, VP-external or VP-internal position, corresponding to the three surface positions. Depending on the number of translation equivalents, five to six examples with the mentioned manner adverb positions were given. Throughout the study, about 1000 phrases were collected.

Then a comparative method of investigation was used: at least two most typical and representative examples in terms of the most frequent position taken by the adverb were selected in each language and compared with Rochette's (1990) classification presented above. Finally, a chart summarizing all of the results regarding the appearance of manner adverbs in different sentence surface positions was compiled.

Findings and discussion

Sentences below illustrate the most characteristic positions of manner adverbs in English, Spanish and Lithuanian. Spanish examples are followed by a translation in English.

a) Slowly

7)

En <i>slowly</i>	Sp <i>lentamente; despacio</i> Lt <i>lėtai; pamažu</i>	
1. He drank and let the burn of the whisky pass slowly down his gullet.	Ya vestido, bebió lentamente dos tazas de café y fumó el primer cigarrillo del día. (Already dressed up, he slowly drank two cups of coffee and smoked the first cigar of the day.)	Ėjo lėtai , tarsi būtu išėjęs pasivaikščioti.
2. The guests were crowding slowly past the wedded couple, kissing them, shaking their hands. Sacó despacio el tabaco y el mechero sosteniendo la mirada vigilante de Malcolm y encendió un cigarrillo. (Keeping Malcolm's watchful eye, he slowly took the tobacco and the lighter out and lit up a cigar.)	Diena slinko pamažu , o tirštas ir drėgnas oras sunkiai gulė ant plaučių.	
3. As I hold them I slowly sink to the deep dark bottom. Y lentamente engullirá y volatizará a Mercurio, y engullirá y volatizará a Venus... (And it will slowly gobble up and volatelize Mercury, and then gobble up and volatelize Venus...)	Lėtai atsigręžia į Beritą ir tvirtai ją apkabina.	4. One girl wanted to cover him in whipped cream and honey and then slowly lick off every bit.
5. Slowly the animals turned away and his friends managed to run to the safety of their Land Rover. Archio žodžiai pamažu smelkėsi į mano sąmonę.	- Lėtai atsigręžia į Beritą ir tvirtai ją apkabina.	
6. Slowly the tears subsided and gradually I began to pull myself together.	-	Pamažu lūpos atgavo rausvumą, o oda – natūralią spalvą.

Sentences (1) and (2) demonstrate the behavior of manner adverbs appearing in the so-called lower or VP-internal position, while the examples given in (3) and (4) already correspond to the higher, or, in other words, external position in an established verb phrase. Both English and Lithuanian (4 and 6) examples suggest that adverb sentence-initial position (corresponding to IP or Infl) is also possible and, therefore, does not imply any meaning change. The only manner adverb that seems to be lacking both the Initial and VP-external behavior properties is the Spanish one *despacio*, which, as we can assume, acts in

the same way as the distributionally restricted class of manner adverbs, such as *fast*, *hard*, *well*. What is more, the Spanish manner adverb *lentamente* does not appear in the Initial position in any of the 50 selected examples. Consequently, the manner adverb *slowly* and its correlates in Lithuanian (*lėtai*, *pamažu*) can be assigned to Class II in the classification as proposed by Rochette (1990). The Spanish manner adverb *despacio*, however, would then be assigned to Class V, appearing only in the VP-final position and *lentamente* could only be assigned to Class IV.

b) Carefully

8)

En <i>carefully</i>	Sp <i>cuidadosamente</i>	Lt <i>atsargiai</i>
1. Ask this question of our sportsdesk, and they will answer very slowly and carefully .	Humedezca cuidadosamente un paño y utilícelo para limpiar la superficie del disco. (Carefully moisten a piece of cloth and use it for cleaning the surface of the CD.) <...> priglaudė pirštą prie lūpų – girdi, turime kalbėtis atsargiai .	
2. She bent down, undid the zipper, and felt carefully inside the layers of clothing before kicking the bag to one side. <...> hay muchas personas generosas y caritativas que, no obstante, cierran cuidadosamente sus casas. (<...> there are a lot of kind and charitable people who, nonetheless, carefully close their houses.)	Povilas kilnojo kojas atsargiai , saugodamasis, kad neišmuktų į kokią duobę <...>.	3. And we carefully chose some unusual groceries, such as mango chutney and batteries, as well as the obvious basics, so that it was a really thorough test.
4. Doctors were today carefully monitoring the progress of Siamese twin boys who have been successfully separated after a 16-hour operation. Tik po valandėlės atsargiai nusiimu savo skrybėlaitę. La madre cuidadosamente rompe la bolsita <...>. <...> el embolsado tesoro impera sobre la mesa de la cocina y cuidadosamente lo deposita en el bolsillo izquierdo de la americana <...>. (<...> the collected treasure is lying on the table and you carefully place it in the left pocket of your jacket <...>.) (The mother carefully tore the tea bag up.)	Aš jį atsargiai išprašiau lauk.	
5. Very carefully Mrs. Fanshawe marshalled her thoughts and her memories.	-	Atsargiai pakėliau galvą, pažvelgiau į dešinę, į kairę.

The adverbs *carefully* and *atsargiai* in Lithuanian can appear in all three positions and hence belong to Class I of adverb classification. Although at times the VP-external and VP-final readings might cause some difficulty when deciding upon the interpretation of the adverb as either subject-oriented and manner adverb, in the examples provided this is not the case. Still, at the present stage of research, it is impossible to state where exactly the relevant manner adverb is located relative to the subject of the sentence in Spanish (5) and Lithuanian (4, 5), given the fact that in both languages the subject can be omitted; consequently only the formal criterion of the sentence leftmost position may be applied. Sentences in (5) show that *carefully* and *atsargiai* can figure in the Initial position; however, sentence-initial position was never the case for their Spanish counterpart *cuidadosamente*, which, therefore, implies that it belongs to Class IV adverbs appearing either in the VP-external or VP-final position in the sentence.

c) Correctly

9)

En <i>correctly</i>	Sp <i>correctamente</i>	Lt <i>teisingai</i>
<p>1. Now it is important for me to tell the story correctly. Etiquetar correctamente una botella de vino es un requisito legalmente establecido <...>. (Correctly labeling a bottle of wine is one of legally established requirements so that it could be put on the market and better inform the consumer.)</p>	<p>Po kelių kartų šunininkas padeklamavo beveik teisingai.</p>	<p>2. When he was satisfied they were doing it correctly he picked up the head of the dead buffalo and carried it to the river.</p>
<p>3. She clasped her hands together, and cast a look of entreaty at him – which he correctly interpreted.– Aš suskaičiavau teisingai, – tvirtai pareiškė Kha.Nunca sería capaz de aprendérsela correctamente. (He will never be able to understand her correctly.)</p>	<p>La primera razón es que no estaban clara y correctamente escritos su nombre y apellidos <...>. (The first reason is that his name and surname was not correctly written.)</p>	<p>Pavėluotai, užtat teisingai ir nuobodžiai Danielė man ėmė aiškinti, <...>.</p>
<p>5. Correctly feeling that Miranda thought she was being tiresome, she added, 'What counts in this tiff – as you call it – is the principle of the thing.'Nino Gutiérrez y toda su parentela están bien estudiados y correctamente dibujados; <...>. (Nino Gutiérrez and all of his relatives are all well studied and correctly drawn; <...>) <...> kaip ji besvarstyty – jis teisingai pasirinko darbą: uždąbis tvirtas, garantuotas.</p>	-	<p>Teisingai jis darė, kad bėgo, bet jo baimė mane tik siundė.</p>
<p>4. Chuck guffawed uncontrollably and Joseph laughed too, but a little uncertainly, wondering whether he correctly understood the French boy's irreverent humour.</p>		

According to the selected examples, the adverb *correctly* and its Lithuanian counterpart are to be assigned to Class II. As can be seen, in English and Lithuanian, the adverb can take either Initial (5), VP-internal (1 and 2) or VP-external (3 and 4) positions. Even when the adverb occupies the Initial position in a sentence (5), there is no significant change in meaning. However, in none of the examples analyzed did the Spanish adverb *correctamente* appear in the Initial position. Therefore, we could assume that this particular manner adverb would belong not Class II, but Class IV with its suggested VP-external and VP-final positions.

d) Well

10)

En <i>well</i>	Sp <i>bien</i>	Lt <i>gerai</i>
1. I myself felt the meeting had gone pretty well – the house itself was nice and we all seemed to get on very well together.	Todo fue bien hasta el momento en que el ayudante del Caudillo pronunció en voz alta el nombre de los tres candidatos. (Everything went well until the moment when Caudillo's assistant pronounced the names of the three candidates out loud.)	Į ketvirtą aukštą užlipo gerai , o duris rakinant visai nedrebėjo rankos.
2. No doubt they mean well where the arts are concerned, he wrote, but for that reason they are the biggest menace.	No obstante, reaccionó bien . (Nevertheless, he/she reacted well .)	Jie sveiki ir stiprūs, valgo ir miega gerai , nėra aikštingi.
4. <...> I was well advised not to expect too much if I did decide to try the social security people. Qué gran importancia y qué gran simbolismo tienen los caminos del y qué bien lo saben los andaluces. (What a great importance and symbolism do Rocío routes have and how well do Andalusians know about it.) Norai jų dideli, aiškiai dideli, tą tai jis gerai permatė, jautė.	Es bien sabido que aquellos años, llamados triunfales, fueron de gran penuria económica, <...>. (It is well understood that all those so-called triumphal years were actually of great economic hardship, <...>.)	Dalytė labai gerai išlaikė egzaminus, mokytoja ją gyrė.
3. There were traces of the same fine-boned look about him, but his features were already well masked by what was likely in the course of time to become a solid layer of self-indulgent fat.		
5. -	-	Gerai slapščiausi – pakrūmėmis, grioviais, krūmeliais.

Examples in this table suggest that *well* and its correlates in Spanish and Lithuanian belong to a distributionally restricted class. Preliminarily it was assumed that manner adverbs belonging to this category can only be assigned to Class V of adverb positional classification (Klima 1965, Jackendoff 1972), that is, they could only be considered as lower adverbs appearing VP-finally. However, the data show that, in structures like sentences (3) and (4), this particular manner adverb can also appear in the VP-external position and function as a higher constituent of a sentence.

e) Fast

11)

En <i>fast</i>	Sp <i>rápido</i>	Lt <i>greitai</i>
1. Pat's recovery, miraculously initiated, had not proceeded miraculously fast .	Sin embargo, esto último no me satisface plenamente ya que no contestan tan rápido como yo. (However, the last one does not completely satisfy me since they do not really respond as fast as I can.)	O atskristi jie gali labai greitai .
2. Course there is, pet, said Mrs Beavis, and Archie, moving fast and silently, ghosted up the stairs to the landing.	Y el restante 40% debía aprender rápido si no quería aburrirse rápidamente y ser relegado por el resto de la comunidad. (The remaining 40 percent has to learn fast not to get bored quickly and be set aside from the rest of the community.)	Eskalatorius leidosi greitai .
3. The time is fast approaching when a more accurate division of mankind will be between those who are patients, <...>.	<...> todo una forma rarísima y muy rápido hablan. (<...> all in a very strange form and they speak really fast .)	
	Liepsnos greitai pasiekė pirmojo sandėlio stogą.	
4. I was well aware that the man in the bushes was not Mrs Browning's only worry, and that she lived on interest from a small amount of capital fast diminishing in value.	<...> los cielos hienden y rápido descende, <...>. (<...> heavens crack open and descend fast , <...>.)	Jis lėtai pasuko galvą, bet ji greitai nuleido akis.
5. -	Rápido fue a la cama con su esposo. (Quickly went to bed with her husband.)	Greitai užu daržinės pasikinkė ir išlėkė.

The distribution of the manner adverb *fast* and its corresponding readings in Spanish (*rápido*) and Lithuanian (*greitai*) are similar to that of *well* and its correlates. As can be seen, the relevant manner adverbs not only appear low and take the VP-final position, but

can also appear in VP-external position and hence be assigned to a higher adverb. Both Spanish and Lithuanian examples given in (5) suggest that the relevant manner adverb can be assigned to Class II of adverb positional classification.

f) Easily

12)

En <i>easily</i> Sp <i>fácilmente</i>	Lt <i>lengvai</i>	
1. But Arabella Buckley, with a murderer who was not 'one of us' almost under her thumb, was not going to let him go so easily .	No es una obra que se escuche fácilmente . (It is not a piece of art that you can easily listen to.)	Jų atsikratyti sekėsi labai lengvai .
Pavasario paakinta plona akiplėšiška žolė lengvai plėšo daugiasluoksnį asfaltą, <...>. 2. In practice, however, he found that Karen couldn't be provoked easily.	Se comprende fácilmente en la isla, es la consigna. (It is easily understood on the island; it's a slogan.)	Todėl pokalbis mezgėsi lengvai .
4. 'Ladies and gentlemen,' he said, his voice easily overriding the hum of conversation. Y una cierta ternura puede fácilmente un padre sentir por la hija restante cuando la primera acaba de marchar. <...> el lector o el usuario pueda fácilmente encontrar el libro o la materia que él desea estudiar. (<...> the reader or the user could easily find the book or the material that he/she wants to study.) (A father can easily feel some certain tenderness to his remaining daughter when the first one has just left.) 3. Something like that could easily backfire on you if you're not careful.	Saulcerytė prikiša ją Grybų Šefui prie akių ir lengvai papurto.	
5.	-	Lengvai tyvuliuoja žaliosios kvapas, kiek salsvas.

The examples suggest that *easily* and its Spanish correlate belong to Class IV: both appear either in the VP-final (1 and 2) or VP-external (3 and 4) positions in the selected examples. What differs the most is Lithuanian examples and the distribution of *lengvai*: it can appear in all three positions – Initial, VP-external and VP-final, and hence be assigned to Class II positional classification.

Relative positional frequencies in English, Spanish and Lithuanian

Tables 3-5 below summarize the possible positions of manner adverbs in English, Spanish and Lithuanian. As expected, Spanish examples suggest the language to have more flexible word order than English, while Lithuanian word order is the most flexible.

As the tables suggest, the general tendency between English and Spanish is similar: in both languages, we can hardly find any examples of manner adverbs appearing in the Initial position, whereas VP-external and VP-internal positions, even with differences in frequency, are possible. As regards Spanish manner adverbs in particular, contrary to the established positional classification suggested by Rochette (1990), the VP-internal position features as the most frequent one, at least in the current selection.

Lithuanian exhibits the greatest variety of the possible positions for manner adverbs. While the general tendency to prioritise the VP-external position is the same, there are far more results showing that even the Initial position of the sentence is quite commonly occupied by a manner adverb.

Table 3. Frequency of appearance of manner adverbs in English

Frequency of appearance of manner adverbs in English	Positions		
	Initial /50	VP-external /50	VP-internal /50
Slowly	7	16	27
Carefully	2	25	23
Correctly	1	10	39
Well	0	6	44
Fast	0	2	48
Easily	0	21	29

Table 4. Frequency of appearance of manner adverbs in Spanish

Frequency of appearance of manner adverbs in Spanish	Positions		
	Initial /50	VP-external /50	VP-internal /50
Lentamente	0	2	48
Despacio	0	2	48
Cuidadosamente	0	3	47
Correctamente	0	4	46
Bien	0	5	45
Rápido	2	4	45
Fácilmente	0	6	44

Table 5. Frequency of appearance of manner adverbs in Lithuanian

Frequency of appearance of manner adverbs in Lithuanian	Positions		
	Initial /50	VP-external /50	VP-internal /50
Lėtai	12	25	13
Pamažu	18	26	6
Atsargiai	7	35	8
Teisingai	1	30	19
329Gerai	8	33	9
Lengvai9 Greitai	6	37	7

Finally, Table 6 summarises the most frequent classes manner adverbs in English, Spanish and Lithuanian belong to.

Table 6. The distribution of manner adverbs across classes, following Rochette's (1990) classification

Class	English /300	Spanish /350	Lithuanian /350
I	50	0	100
II	100	50	300
III	0	0	0
IV	150	300	0
V	0	0	0
VI	0	0	0

As can be seen, English and in particular Spanish manner adverbs predominantly belong to Class IV, which implies that manner adverbs in the two languages are likely to occur either in VP-external or VP-internal position. Meanwhile Lithuanian demonstrates greater variety: manner adverbs are frequent in all three positions, both with and without change in meaning, and hence are to be located as Class I or Class II manner adverbs.

Conclusions

The study focused on the placement of a selected group of manner adverbs in English, Spanish, and Lithuanian. Since manner adverbs have long been seen as a diagnostic tool in determining the position of major constituents in an English sentence, the cross-linguistic investigation of their positional frequency might provide further support for the established idea as well as extend analysis to other languages. As the findings revealed, English and Spanish are rather similar in terms of manner adverb placement in a sentence and may, therefore, be both defined as syntactically strict, with Spanish exhibiting less variation, contrary to the initial expectations. The preliminary hypothesis of Lithuanian showing the greatest flexibility in word order, however, was supported: all selected manner adverbs freely appear in Initial, VP-external and VP-internal positions.

Some discrepancies were also observed between English manner adverbs as appearing in the corpus and their established positional classification, the most prominent being the ability of the adverbs *well* and *fast* to figure VP-externally contrary to the classical restriction to VP-internal position, which suggests that these adverbs can also function as higher constituents in a sentence.

It was also noticed that the translation equivalents in Spanish and Lithuanian did not always belong to the same class as their English counterparts. In particular, while the same English and Spanish manner adverbs belong to Class IV in the positional classification, their translation equivalents in Lithuanian are more likely to be assigned to Class I, which suggests that Lithuanian exhibits greatest positional variety. On the other hand, this fact is suggestive of the possible interference of pragmatic factors that need be considered in their own right. To conclude, it is hoped that the present study will help define the most frequent positions of manner adverbs in English, Spanish and Lithuanian as well as invite further inquiry into the information structure of the three languages.

References

- AYOUN, D., 2005. *Verb Movement Phenomena in Spanish: "Mixed Languages" and Bilingualism*. Available at: <http://www.lingref.com/isb/4/010ISB4.PDF> (accessed 10 May 2014).
- BOK-BENNEMA, R., 2001. *Evidence for an aspectual functional head in French and Spanish*. Available at: <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/books/progressinggrammar/bok-bennema.pdf> (accessed 16 March 2014).
- CARNIE, A., 2006. *Syntax: A Generative Introduction*. Blackwell Publishers, Oxford.
- DELFITTO, D., 2005. Adverb Classes and Adverb Placement. In: *Blackwell Companion to Syntax*, 83–120. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- DYAKONOVA, M., 2009. *A Phase-based Approach to Russian Free Word Order*. PhD Dissertation. Amsterdam. Available at: <http://dare.uva.nl/document/146392> (accessed 14 March 2014).
- ERNST, 2002. *The Syntax of Adjuncts*. CUP.
- GEUDER, W., 2002. *Oriented Adverbs: Issues in the Lexical Semantics of Event Adverbs*. PhD Dissertation. Universität Tübingen. Available at: <http://d-nb.info/964908301/34> (accessed 12 March 2014).
- GUTIÉRREZ-REXACH, J., 1996. Notes on the Thematic Properties of Manner and Subject-Oriented Adverbs. *International Journal of Basque Linguistics and Philology*, XXX-2. Available at: <http://www.ehu.es/ojs/index.php/ASJU/article/viewFile/8661/7829> (accessed 13 March 2014).
- JACKENDOFF, R., 1972. *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*. MIT Press.
- KIM, R., 2000. A Minimalist Account of the Distribution of Adverbs. Available at: <http://www.dbpia.co.kr/Journal/ArticleDetail/3138469> (accessed 20 March 2014).
- KREIDLER, C. W., 1998. *Introducing English Semantics*. London and New York: Routledge.
- PIÑÓN, C., 2009. Agent-oriented adverbs as manner adverbs. *Ereignisseantik-Workshop, Humboldt-Universität, 11–12 December*. Available at: http://pinon.sdf-eu.org/work/pinon_aoama_ho.pdf (accessed 18 March 2014).
- POLLOCK, J.-Y., 1989. Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry*, Vol. 20, No. 3. Available at: <http://babel.ucsc.edu/~hank/pollock.pdf> (accessed 18 March 2014).

POTSDAM, E., 1997. A Syntax for Adverbs. In: *The Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Western Conference on Linguistics*. Available at: <http://www.clas.ufl.edu/users/potsdam/papers/WECOL27.pdf>. (accessed 12 March 2014).

WENGER, N., 1999. Cinque's Functional Hierarchy. Available at: http://www.words-in-world.de/mediapool/36/361457/data/SRC_Part_I/Neven_-_Cinque_s_Functional_Hierarchy.pdf (accessed 11 March 2014).

XYDOPOULOS, George J., 1995. *On the Syntax of Manner Adverbs in Modern Greek*. Available at: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/psychlangsci/research/linguistics/publications/wpl/95papers/XYDOPOUL> (accessed 15 March 2014).

Corpora

BYU-BNC: *British National Corpus (online)*. Available at: <http://corpus.byu.edu/bnc/> (accessed 15 March 2014).

Dabartinės lietuvių kalbos tekstynas. – The Corpus of the Contemporary Lithuanian Language. Available at: <http://tekstynas.vdu.lt/tekstynas/> (accessed 15 March 2014).

Real Academia Española: Banco de datos (CREA). Corpus de referencia del español actual (online). Available at: <http://corpus.rae.es/creanet.html> (accessed 20 March 2014).

Aušra Dičpinigaitytė

Vilniaus universitetas, Lietuva

Moksliniai interesai: generatyvinė sintaksė,rieveksmiai

Julija Korostenskienė

Vilniaus universitetas, Lietuva

Moksliniai interesai: generatyvinė sintaksė, kalbos su laisva žodžių tvarka

BŪDO PRIEVEIKSMIŲ POZICIJA ANGLŲ, ISPANŲ IR LIETUVIŲ KALBOSE: TEKSTYNO TYRIMAS

Santrauka

Straipsnyje tiriama šešių būdorieveksmių pozicija anglų, ispanų ir lietuvių kalbose. Remiamasi generatyvinės sintaksės metodologija, pagal kuriąrieveksmis sintaksiniame medyje yra laikomas viena stabiliausių kalbos dalių, padedančių nusakyti veiksmažodžio poziciją sakinyje. Taip pat remiamasi Anne Rochette (1990)rieveksmių klasifikacija, pagal kuriąrieveksmiai gali užimti vieną ar kelias iš šių pozicijų: pradinę (angl. *initial*), už veiksmažodžio grupės ribų (angl. *VP-external/Aux*) arba veiksmažodžio grupės viduje (angl. *VP-internal*). Tekstyno duomenų tyrimas atskleidė, jog žemiausią vietąrieveksmių hierarchijoje užimantys anglų kalbosrieveksmiai *well* ir *fast* ne visada eina veiksmažodžio grupės viduje, bet gali eiti ir prieš veiksmažodį, tai leidžia manyti, kad jie gali būti ir aukštesnę vietą sakinio narių hierarchijoje užimantys vienetai.

Taip pat buvo pastebėta, jog būdorieveksmiai ispanų ir lietuvių kalbose kartais užima skirtingas pozicijas sakinyje nei jų angliški atitikmenys ir todėl priklauso skirtingomsrieveksmių klasėms. Pavyzdžiui, anglų ir ispanų kalbųrieveksmiai priklauso IVrieveksmių klasei, o lietuvių kalbos atitikmenų pozicija sakinyje leidžia juos priskirti I klasei. Straipsnyje pabrėžiama, kad anglų ir ispanų kalbųrieveksmiai dažniausiai eina tik dviejose pozicijose, t. y. iš karto prieš veiksmažodžio grupę ir jos viduje. Lietuvių kalbojerieveksmių pozicinė įvairovė yra didžiausia, kuri, manytina, yra susijusi su perteikiamos informacijos kalbančiojo požiūriu svarba.

REIKŠMINIAI ŽODŽIAI: būdorieveksmiai, pozicija sakinyje.

Aušra Dičpinigaitytė

Vilnius University, Lithuania

Research interests: generative syntax, adverb placement

Julija Korostenskiė

Vilnius University, Lithuania

Research interests: generative syntax, free word order languages

**MANNER ADVERB PLACEMENT IN ENGLISH, SPANISH AND LITHUANIAN:
A CORPUS-BASED APPROACH****Summary**

The present study is concerned with a quantitative analysis of six manner adverbs in English and their translation equivalents in Spanish and Lithuanian. As is known, within the generative syntactic framework, manner adverb placement is regarded as a basic diagnostic tool used to define the position of the verb on the syntactic tree. The study uses Rochette's (1990) classification of adverbs into six classes, depending on a range of possible positions: Initial, VP-external/Aux, or VP-internal. The corpus study of the selected group of manner adverbs has revealed that, traditionally regarded as the lowest, the English manner adverbs *well* and *fast* are not confined to VP-internal position and can also precede the verb, which suggests that they might be positioned higher in the adverb hierarchy than traditionally assumed.

The findings also reveal that manner adverbs in Spanish and Lithuanian may take different positions from their English counterparts and can therefore be assigned to different adverb classes. For example, English and Spanish manner adverbs belong to Class IV in Rochette's classification, whereas their Lithuanian counterparts exhibit features of Class I adverbs. The study shows that English and Spanish manner adverbs most frequently appear in two positions, pre- and post verbally, whereas their distributional diversity is greatest in Lithuanian, which might be due to issues related to the information structure of the language.

KEY WORDS: manner adverb, placement, corpus, English, Spanish, Lithuanian

Įteikta 2015 metų liepos 15 d.