

Three Types of Oriented Adjuncts in English and Swedish

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1 Introduction

In this paper an account is given of three well-defined subtypes of oriented adjuncts in two Germanic languages, namely English and Swedish.

In general, oriented adjuncts constitute a particular type of sentence level adjunct that is characterized by a notable duality in that it can have an orientation either towards a participant or towards the whole proposition (the event). In other words, oriented adjuncts may be ambiguous between a manner and a depictive reading (de Groot 2007: 2).

It should be noted, however, that the dual reading only arises if the syntactic position is preverbal, i.e. between the subject and the main verb, at least for English, as illustrated in (1) (de Groot 2007).

- (1) John stupidly answered the question.

Stupidly in (1) is a sentence adverbial, which can either have a manner reading (i.e. ‘John answered the question in a stupid way’) or a depictive reading (i.e. ‘It was stupid of John to answer the question’).

The Swedish counterpart of this example would be as in (2) where the adverb *nog* (lit. ‘enough’) is added to a manner adverb to build a sentence adverb. As for the

syntactic position of oriented adjuncts in Swedish, the sentence adverbial necessarily follows the finite verb (middle field position).

- (2) *John svarade dumt nog på frågan.*
John answered stupidly enough on question-DEF
'John stupidly answered the question.'

A study of the adjuncts in these two closely related languages reveals a number of notable similarities as well as subtle differences that make them interesting to study from a comparative point of view. In highlighting a number of peculiarities of oriented adjuncts in the two languages the study will hopefully also show its relevance for pedagogical purposes at an advanced level. The delineation of the subtypes in this paper is based on the general typology of oriented adjuncts as put forward in Taverniers & Rawoens (in preparation).

The structure of this paper is as follows. Following this introductory section we will present a concise typology of the subtypes of oriented adjuncts as discerned in the literature (Section 2). The subsequent sections will present an in-depth account of the three main subtypes, viz. the *WISELY*-type (Section 3) and *ANGRILY/WILLINGLY*-types (Sections 4 and 5 respectively). The paper will round off with a summary of the main findings.

2 Subtypes of oriented adjuncts

In this section we present a typology of subtypes of oriented adjuncts as discerned by a number of scholars, viz. Quirk et al. (1972, 1985), Huddleston & Pullum (2002), Ernst (1998, 2000, 2002, 2003), Geuder (2002), Frey & Pittner (1998, 1999).

The different subtypes are presented in Figure 1. The labels used refer to the most prominent adjunct representing each category as recognized in the literature.¹

It appears from the figure that the group of oriented adjuncts covers four subareas two of which are recognized by all of the authors mentioned, viz. the *WISELY*-type and *ANGRILY/WILLINGLY*-type. These can therefore be denoted as the central types of oriented adjuncts and are highlighted by double outlining in the figure. However, two other categories, namely the *FORTUNATELY*-type and the *HEAVILY*-type, flanking the central columns are recognized by only a few authors and are therefore considered as peripheral. Note that Geuder (2002) is the only scholar to recognize a *HEAVILY*-type and the only one not to discern a *FORTUNATELY*-type.

¹ The blank areas in the figure indicate areas overlapping with other categories, not mentioned here, whereas the grey areas indicate that no category is provided in the typology by the author at hand.

type example		FORTUNATELY	WISELY	ANGRILY/WILLINGLY	HEAVILY
Quirk et al. 1985	content disjuncts			item subjuncts	
		value judgement of content		subject-oriented manner adverbials	
		[1] judgement does not apply to subject: <i>amazingly, regrettably, fortunately</i>	[2] judgement applies to subject: <i>foolishly, wisely, sensibly</i>	[1] general group: <i>resentfully, bitterly, sadly, proudly</i>	
				[2] volitional group: <i>intentionally, reluctantly, willingly</i>	
Frey & Pittner 1998, 1999	sentence adjuncts			event-internal adjuncts	
		(attitudinal) sentence adjuncts: <i>fortunately, apparently</i>	subject-oriented sentence adjuncts: <i>stupidly</i>	mental attitude adjuncts: <i>willingly</i>	
Ernst 2000 onwards	predicational				
	speaker-oriented		subject-oriented		
		evaluative: <i>luckily, unbelievably, oddly</i>	agent-oriented: <i>cleverly, stupidly, wisely, tactfully, foolishly</i>	mental-attitude: <i>reluctantly, willingly, calmly, gladly</i>	
				(1) state (2) intention.	
Geuder 2002				oriented	
			agentive: <i>intelligently, carefully</i>	transparent psychological adverbs: <i>sadly, angrily</i>	resultative: <i>heavily</i>
Huddleston & Pullum 2002				act-related adjuncts	
		evaluative adjuncts: <i>fortunately, amazingly, shamefully</i>	[1] subjective: <i>cleverly, wisely, foolishly, tactfully, stupidly</i>	[2] volitional: <i>willingly, purposely, reluctantly</i>	
				secondary manner adjuncts: <i>angrily, bitterly, serenely</i>	

Figure 1: Subtypes of oriented adjuncts

The following sections will present a detailed account of the central types of oriented adjuncts. In doing so, we will discern three subgroups following more fine-grained distinctions that have been proposed in the literature in order to be able to give a full account of their profile. We will mainly be concerned with the semantics of these types and discuss them from an English-Swedish comparative point of view. For each of the subtypes, we will also discuss a number of features that show up in possible paraphrase patterns and their syntax. All examples illustrate authentic language use and are taken from the British National Corpus (BNC) for English and from verified web sites for Swedish, as indicated in the source references.

3 The *WISELY*-type

3.1 General features

The type of oriented adjunct denoted as the *WISELY*-type is situated at the left of the central area because it is regarded by some authors as a subtype of a larger category of ‘attitudinal’ adjuncts. Quirk et al. (1985), for instance, recognize the *WISELY*-type as a subgroup of content disjuncts where the judgement expressed also applies to the subject, unlike the other subgroup containing disjuncts of the *FORTUNATELY*-type where the judgement does not apply to the subject. Frey & Pittner (1998, 1999) denote this subtype as subject-oriented sentence adjuncts and classify them within the larger group of sentence adjuncts which also comprises the other subtype, denoted as attitudinal sentence adjuncts (the *FORTUNATELY*-type). Ernst (2000 onwards) defines the *WISELY*-type as agent-oriented adverbs. In his view they constitute a subtype of subject-oriented adverbs (as opposed to speaker-oriented) within the larger category of predicational adjuncts due to their inherent subjective nature. In Geuder (2002) the *WISELY*-type is represented by agentive adverbs, constituting one of three subgroups of oriented adverbs. Finally, in Huddleston & Pullum (2002) this type of adjunct is referred to as subjective adjuncts constituting a subtype of act-related adjuncts.

We will refer to the *WISELY*-type as **evaluative oriented adjuncts**. These adjuncts express the speaker’s value judgement of the event (the act) — which is a feature these adjuncts share with the larger category of attitudinal adjuncts — and of the agent of the event simultaneously.

The use of this type of oriented adjunct is illustrated in the examples in (3) where the oriented adjuncts can clearly be interpreted as expressing the speaker’s judgement of the event as well as of the agent of the event. In (3)a, for instance, allowing the legislators to choose was a wise thing to do, and the Government was wise to allow them to choose. In (3)b the event of attributing the programme to that channel is denoted as wrong, and it was wrong of the subject referents to do

so. In (3)c the act of avoiding seeking out the company of other women is denoted as careful, and also is the subject *he* denoted as careful in doing so.

- (3) a. The Government has wisely allowed legislators to choose between this approach and one of the Warnock minority alternatives. <BNC A5A>
We wrongly attributed the programme to Channel Four. <BNC CBC>
He has carefully avoided seeking out the company of other women. <BNC CH6>

As for Swedish, we have tried to find counterparts that are reminiscent of the constructions in the English examples. It should be noted, however, that, whereas the adverbial *klokt nog* ‘wisely (enough)’ in (4)a can be denoted as oriented adjuncts (*talarorienterat satsadverbial* ‘speaker-oriented sentence adverbial’), this is more problematic for the adverbials *felaktigt* ‘wrongly’ in (4)b and *försiktigt* ‘carefully’ in (4)c which are to be interpreted as manner adverbials.

- (4) a. *Regeringen har klokt nog valt den sistnämnda vägen.*
<expressen.se/ledare>
government-DEF has wisely enough chosen the latter way-DEF
‘The Government has wisely chosen the latter option.’
Vi uppgav felaktigt att Edluar blivit godkänt som generika, vilket inte är korrekt. <www.redeye.se/analys>
we stated wrongly that Edluar has been approved as generic, which not is correct
‘We wrongly stated that Edluar has been approved as generic, which is not correct.’
Den borgerliga alliansen har försiktigt undvikit frågan, men nu [...] <vasterbygden.se>
the centre-right alliance-DEF has carefully avoided question-DEF, but now [...]
‘The centre-right alliance has carefully avoided the question, but now [...].’

From these Swedish corpus examples and the ones to follow it will gradually become apparent that the type of adverbials denoted as oriented adjuncts is not quite comparable to the one in English, or not available to the same extent as in English.

3.2 Lexical meanings

In terms of lexical meaning, a more fine-grained distinction can be made within the larger category of evaluative oriented adjuncts. More specifically, three groups of evaluative oriented adjuncts can be distinguished (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 621; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 677). The subgroups of evaluative oriented

adjuncts are similar in that they each express the speaker's judgment of the event. They are different, however, in their evaluation of the event itself. Each of these subgroups will be discussed in turn and illustrated with various representative lemmas as found in the literature. Note that these lists are not limitative.

In the first subgroup we find adjuncts which express the speaker's judgment of the event and the agent in the event in terms of wisdom. In other words, a certain degree of wisdom or cleverness — or the lack of it — is attributed to the event and its agent. In English, this is typically expressed by means of the following adverbials: *cleverly, cunningly, foolishly, immaturely, stupidly, wisely, unwisely*. For an example with the adverbial *wisely* see (3)a above.

In Swedish the counterparts to the English adverbials of this semantic subcategory would follow the construction pattern adverbial + *nog*, as *klokt nog* 'wisely' in example (4)a. Other examples that fit in here are *fånigt nog* 'foolishly', *dumt nog* 'stupidly'.

The second subgroup contains adjuncts which express the speaker's judgment of the event and the agent in the event as right or wrong. Typical examples of this subgroup are the following English adverbials: *correctly, incorrectly, justly, mistakenly, rightly, unjustly, wrongly*. A corpus example with the adverbial *wrongly* can be found above in (3)b.

As indicated above, Swedish counterparts with the same value of oriented adjuncts seem to be more difficult to find. One example is *felaktigt* 'wrongly' as in (4)b whose status as an oriented adverb is questionable. A few others would take a pattern with the modifier *nog* such as *riktigt nog* 'rightly'.

The third subgroup is characterized by adjuncts which express the speaker's appraisal of the event and the agent in the event based on manner. Examples include: *artfully, carefully, carelessly, considerately, delicately, discreetly, nonchalantly, prudently, reasonably, rudely, sensibly, shrewdly, tactfully, tactlessly, unreasonably*.

Even here, it is difficult to find Swedish counterparts of this type of oriented adjunct; the equivalents are rather to be considered as manner adverbials such as *försiktigt* 'carefully' in (4)c. A few more examples are *taktlöst* 'tactlessly' and *vårdslöst* 'carelessly'.

3.3 Paraphrase tests

A number of paraphrase tests have been put forward by a number of scholars to check the validity of evaluative oriented adjuncts as such.

Since *WISELY*-type adjuncts are clause (or sentence) adjuncts, constructions with *WISELY* allow the paraphrase *it is/was ADJECTIVE that* (cf. Davies 1967). In addition, Davies (1967) mentions two extra paraphrase tests for *WISELY* which distinguish this type from other clause adjuncts: since it is agent-oriented, the agent can be highlighted in a construction with the adjective from which the adverb is derived, in two ways. The first is by means of the paraphrase *X is/was ADJECTIVE to* and the second is the paraphrase *it is/was ADJECTIVE of X to* (see also Geuder 2003: 175). These paraphrase tests are applied to a corpus example in (5) where the paraphrase tests described are found in (5)b–d.

- (5) a. She quite wisely doesn't call it garbage. <BNC CH1>
It is wise that she doesn't call it garbage. (*it is/was ADJ that*)
She is wise not to call it garbage. (*X is/was ADJ to*)
It is wise of her not to call it garbage. (*it is/was ADJ of X to*)

The paraphrase test can be used in Swedish as well, as appears from the setup in (6) based on example (4)a. It can be noted that the modifier *nog* is added to the adjective in (6)b.

- (6) a. Det är klokt att regeringen har valt den sistnämnda vägen.
(*det är/var ADJ att*)
Regeringen har varit klok nog att välja den sistnämnda vägen.
(*X är/var ADJ att*)
Det har varit klokt av regeringen att välja den sistnämnda vägen.
(*det är/var ADJ av X att*)

3.4 Syntactic features

As for the syntactic features of evaluative oriented adjuncts, one is that they cannot fall within the scope of an interrogative (7) or of a contrastive negation (8) (cf. Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 677), at least not in their oriented meaning – if they do occur in such constructions, e.g. in the interrogative as in (7), then they can only have a manner reading.

- (7) Did he close the door carefully? [Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 677]
(8) *He didn't answer two questions foolishly but wisely.
[Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 677]

The same goes for Swedish where the oriented adjunct *försiktigt* in (9) – based on the example in (4)c – gets the unambiguous reading of a manner adverb in the interrogative.

- (9) Har den borgerliga alliansen undvikit frågan försiktigt?

Another syntactic feature which distinguishes the English *WISELY*-type from the other two types of oriented adjuncts, i.e. the *ANGRILY*- and *WILLINGLY*-types, is that it can precede a clause with an emphatic auxiliary (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 578) as illustrated in (10).

- (10) Wisely, he DID accept the proposal. [Quirk et al. 1985: 578]

This test cannot be applied to Swedish where another type of emphatic periphrasis would have to be used (for instance by means of the adverb *faktiskt* ‘actually’).

4 The *ANGRILY*-type

4.1 General features

A second type of oriented adjunct, with *angrily* as a type example, will be referred to as **mental-state oriented adjunct** because it represents the mental (psychological) state of the first participant in relation to (simultaneous with, just before, or as a consequence of) the event expressed in the clause. Some English examples are given in (11).

- (11) a. She gladly gave her blood for a substantial blood transfusion.
<BNC G3A>
They angrily deny any such hidden agenda in their own ranks.
<BNC A1Y>
I needed them as much as they needed me and I happily took the rough with the smooth. <BNC CA9>

The adjuncts in sentences in (12) can be seen as Swedish counterparts of the English examples.

- (12) a. *Stadsbon hyvade upp sin plånbok och gav gladeligen bonden pengarna.* <viska.se>
citizen-DEF pulled up his wallet and gave gladly farmer-DEF money-DEF
‘The citizen pulled out his wallet and gladly gave the farmer the money.’
Men företaget förnekar ilsket uppgiften och hävdar att det betalat allt själv. <privataffarer.se>
but company-DEF denies angrily information-DEF and claims that it (has) paid everything itself
‘The company, however, angrily denies the information and claims that it has paid everything itself.’
Statsministern log stillsamt och kände i djupet av sitt hjärta att Rosengren hade haft rätt. <schlaug.blogspot.com>
prime minister-DEF smiled serenely and felt in depth-DEF of his heart

that Rosengren had had right
'The prime minister serenely smiled and felt at the bottom of his heart
that Rosengren had been right.'

As can be seen from Figure 1 these adjuncts are most clearly recognized as a separate group by Quirk et al. (1985) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002), whereas the other authors assemble them in one group together with the *WILLINGLY*-type. More specifically, in Quirk et al. (1985) they are denoted as the general group of subject-oriented manner adverbials, whereas Huddleston & Pullum (2002) refer to them as secondary manner adjuncts.

Among the authors who make no distinction between the *ANGRILY* and *WILLINGLY*-type, Frey & Pittner (1998, 1999) speak of mental attitude adjuncts, Ernst (2002) delineates a group of mental attitude adjuncts, whereas Geuder (2002) speaks of transparent psychological adverbs.

Mental-state oriented adjuncts not only refer to the way in which an event is carried out or takes place, but also indicate that this manner centrally involves a psychological state of the major participant in the event. The element of manner is incorporated in Quirk et al.'s (1985) and Huddleston & Pullum's (2002) terms for the category.

4.2 Lexical meanings

As for the lexical meanings of this type of adjunct, it can be said that the adjuncts of the *ANGRILY*-type denote the psychological state of the agent during an event (that is, simultaneously with, just before or after the event) and hence are very diverse in terms of their lexical meanings. Some English examples of this open class are: *angrily*, *bitterly*, *gladly*, *happily*, *proudly*, *resentfully*, *sadly*, *serenely*. Swedish examples include *ilsket* 'angrily', *bittert* 'bitterly', *gladeligen* 'gladly', *stolt* 'proudly', *sorgset* 'sadly'.

4.3 Paraphrase tests

In terms of paraphrase tests, the relationship of the mental-state oriented adjunct to the participant it applies to can be shown in a paraphrase with a copula clause and the event in a temporal subclause, as shown in the English example in (13):

- (13) a. Bitterly Alan pulled the blanket up around him, and went to the kitchen. <BNC HJH>
Alan was bitter when he pulled the blanket around him, and went to the kitchen.

This also works for Swedish, e.g. when applied to example (12)a, repeated here in (14)a and rewritten in (14)b as ‘... and was glad when he gave the farmer the money.’

- (14) a. *Stadsbon hyvade upp sin plånbok och gav gladeligen bonden pengarna.*
Stadsbon hyvade upp sin plånbok och var glad då han gav bonden pengarna.

4.4 Syntactic features

As for specific syntactic features, English mental-state oriented adjuncts tend not to precede a negative clause (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 577):

- (15) *Resentfully, they didn’t send him the money. [Quirk et al. 1985: 577]

The same applies to Swedish as shown in the following asterisked example building on the sentence in (12)a.

- (16) **[...] gladeligen gav han inte bonden pengarna.*

However, as pointed out by Quirk et al. (1985: 577), a negative clause is possible if it expresses negative willingness (i.e. refusal) as in (17)b.

- (17) a. ?*Proudly, he didn’t accept the award.
b. Proudly, he wouldn’t accept the award. [Quirk et al. 1985: 576-577]

Another syntactic feature of mental-attitude oriented adjuncts in English is that they cannot modify clauses with an emphatic auxiliary (Quirk et al. 1985: 578):

- (18) *Proudly, he DID accept the award. [Quirk et al. 1985: 578]

5 The WILLINGLY-type

5.1 General features

The third central subtype of oriented adjuncts is referred to here as **volitional oriented adjunct**.

As is shown in Figure 1 this subgroup is clearly outlined as a volitional group by Quirk et al. (1985) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002), whereas it belongs to the mental attitude adjuncts with Frey & Pittner (1998, 1999) and Ernst (2002).

As reflected in the terminology used to indicate this subgroup, the adverbials here refer to the willingness or intentions of the major participant in relation to the event expressed in the clause. English examples include the sentences in (19).

- (19) a. Japanese nationals cooperated with Koreans wishing to change the status quo, and willingly offered them asylum. <BNC EE2>
However, since Austria voluntarily adopted this status she was not neutralised in the traditional sense. <BNC GVK>
The Court reluctantly allowed his appeal. <BNC HXE>

A number of Swedish counterparts are listed in (20).

- (20) a. *Indien, som också villigt erbjudit USA sina tjänster i kriget mot terrorismen, kom därmed i skottlinjen för samma terrorism.* <sydasien.se>
India which also willingly offered USA its services in war-DEF against terrorism-DEF came herewith in firing line-DEF for same terrorism
'India, which had also willingly offered the USA its services in the war against terrorism ended up in the firing line of the same terrorism.'
- b. *Sverige [...] har frivilligt antagit en strategi att minska utsläppen med fyra procent.* <nyteknik.se>
Sweden [...] has voluntarily accepted a strategy to decrease exhaust gases-DEF with four percent
'Sweden [...] has voluntarily accepted a strategy to decrease the emission of exhaust gases with four percent.'
- c. *Lagstiftningen var inte lika sträng då så myndigheterna tillät motvilligt detta.* <forum.skalman.nu>
legislation-DEF was not as strict then so authorities-DEF allowed reluctantly this
'The legislation was not as strict then so the authorities reluctantly allowed this.'

In addition to the general features of oriented adjuncts, the following features that are specific of volitional oriented adjuncts can be mentioned.

5.2 Lexical meanings

As for lexical semantics, all the adjuncts of the *WILLINGLY*-type express some degree of willingness or volition on the part of the agent in the event (see Quirk et al. (1985: 574) and Huddleston & Pullum (2002: 677) for lists) as reflected in the following English adjuncts: *deliberately, freely, inadvertently, intentionally, knowingly, reluctantly, unwittingly, voluntarily, wilfully, willingly*. In Swedish we

find examples such as *frivilligt* ‘voluntarily’, *motvilligt* ‘reluctantly’, *villigt* ‘willingly’.

5.3 Paraphrase tests

Similar to mental-state oriented adjuncts, constructions with volitional oriented adjuncts can be paraphrased by a copula clause with an adjective from which the adjunct is derived and a subclause describing the event, as in (21)b, and (21)c, based on the example in (19)c.

- (21) a. Mr. Gilbert deliberately hung around at closing time to give the three men a chance to go away. <BNC FCY>
Mr. Gilbert was quite deliberate in hanging around at closing time.
The Court was reluctant in allowing his appeal.

The same can be applied to the Swedish example in (22) based on (20)c.

- (22) *Lagstiftningen var inte lika sträng då så myndigheterna var motvilliga att tillåta detta.*

5.4 Syntactic features

As for the syntactic features, volitional oriented adjuncts contrast with evaluative oriented adjuncts, in that they can be the focus of an interrogative or of a contrastive negation (Quirk et al. 1985: 577; Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 677) as in (23) and (24) respectively.

- (23) Did he go willingly? [Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 677]
(24) He didn't mislead us inadvertently but quite deliberately. [Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 677]

This test also works for the Swedish example in (20)b, which still features as an oriented adjunct in the interrogative as in (25).

- (25) *Har Sverige frivilligt antagit en strategi att minska utsläppen?*

Just like mental-attitude adjuncts, but unlike evaluative oriented adjuncts, English volitional adjuncts cannot precede a clause with an emphatic auxiliary (Quirk et al. 1985: 578) as illustrated in (26).

- (26) a. *Purposely, he DID leave the proposals vague. [cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 578]

Unlike mental-state oriented adjuncts, English volitional oriented adjuncts can precede negative clauses (Quirk et al. 1985: 575) as in (27).

- (27) a. He purposely didn't write to me about it.
Deliberately, they didn't send him the money.

[Quirk et al. 1985: 575-576]

6 Conclusion

In this paper we have given an account of the intricacy of the type of adjunct denoted as oriented adjuncts in English and Swedish and highlighted their most prominent feature, which lies in the duality they display between a manner and an oriented reading. Subsequently, we have given a typology of subtypes of oriented adjuncts and discussed the central types as they have been delineated in the literature.

As a case in point, the paper has zoomed in on the two main central types, namely the *WISELY*- and *ANGRILY/WILLINGLY*-types. In order to provide a more fine-grained account of the subtypes, we have discerned three subgroups and discussed each of them in terms of semantics, paraphrasing and syntax. In the discussion of the subtypes an attempt has been made to draw a parallel between the two languages concerned. In doing so, it has become clear that, in spite of the apparent similarities, the construction in the two different Germanic languages is somehow of a different nature.

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