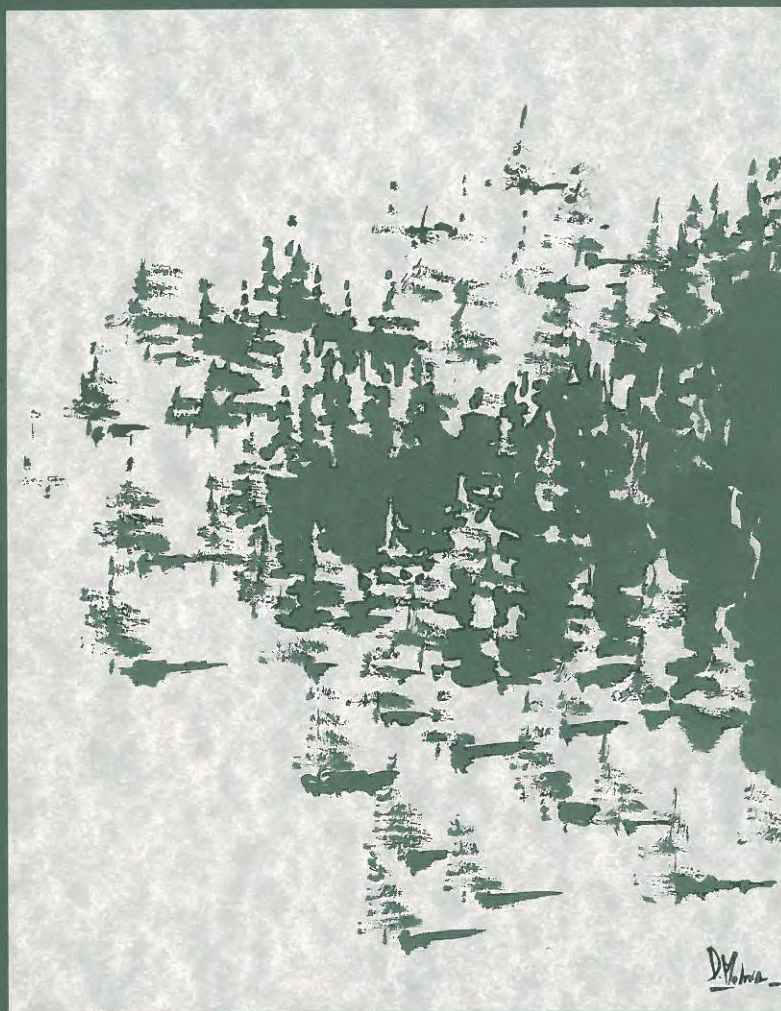


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# A CORPUS-BASED PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW OF NOUN- PREMODIFYING ADVERBS, OR *ADVERB SHIFT*

*Rosa María Viera Huertas  
Antonio Vicente Casas Pedrosa  
Ramón Mesa Carmona*

## Abstract

*This paper aims to describe the basics of the relationship between nominal heads and their premodifying adverbs (adverb shift). Our study is partly based on Levi's (1978) study of the rule adjective shift in complex nominals. An overview of adverb shift is then attempted from examples taken from the LOB corpus. The resulting classification of ten predicates shows a range of syntactico-semantic relationships between the noun and the premodifying adverb.*

## 1. Introduction

This paper aims to provide a syntactico-semantic description of those structures in which an adverb premodifies a noun, i.e., sequences of "adverb + noun", as in the following instances:

- (1) [...] we do not consider the resolutions adopted by the consultation as in principle incompatible with the **above** statement [...] (D17:36)
- (2) [...] **downward** movement may in some forms start as a passive sinking [...] (J06:42)<sup>55</sup>.

---

<sup>55</sup> All the examples occurring in this paper have been taken from the LOB Corpus. The source of those examples which do not belong to the LOB corpus is also specified.

In particular, we are concerned with specifying the semantic relation existing between the adverb and the noun.

We will leave aside all those cases in which an element occurs between the adverb and the noun, such as *quite* in: *We had quite a party, rather in It was rather a mess, or such in He is such a fool*,<sup>56</sup> that is, we will not take into account those adverbs which modify noun phrases. Thus, we are only interested in those adverbs which premodify the noun (not the whole noun phrase) and express a quality (not a quantity). For this reason, we will also leave aside the cases of *more, less, only, most, etc.*, which perform the role of quantifiers:

(3) In **most** constituencies it may go down [...] (A05: 56)

(4) There was **less** excitement in the gilt-edged market (A16: 56).

We base our study on evidence obtained from the LOB Corpus<sup>57</sup> and from specialized literature. For the examples obtained from the LOB Corpus, two different search lists were created: one consisting of all the units tagged as adjectives premodifying nouns (`_jjb`); and a second list created by combining two different morphological labels: the list of all units tagged as adverbs in LOB (`_rb, _rbr, ...`) with the list of all units tagged as nouns (`_nn, _nns, ...`).

This evidence was used to provide an accurate paraphrase of adverbs premodifying nouns, and an ensuing classification of the resulting range of paraphrases.

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<sup>56</sup> Examples taken from Greenbaum (1990:150).

<sup>57</sup> The *Tagged LOB Corpus* is composed of 500 printed texts of 2,000 words, classified into 15 text categories (namely press (reportage), press (editorial), press (reviews), religion, skills (plus trades and hobbies), popular lore, belles lettres (plus biographies and essays), learned and scientific writings, and a miscellaneous category (government documents, foundation and industry reports, college catalogue, industry house organ), general fiction, mystery and detective fiction, science fiction, adventure and western fiction, romance and love story, and humour). These make up a total of approximately one million words of printed prose English of the British variety published in 1961.

## 2. Theoretical foundations

Bibliographical research shows that the structure under study has been described only occasionally, and seldom in detail. Some scholars have mentioned that adverbs can premodify nouns, but due to their low productivity (as far as their use is concerned) they do not devote much attention to them, sometimes leaving them aside and/or raising questions that have never been answered. Such is the case of Christophersen & Sandved (1969), Matthews (1987, 1989), and Brown & Miller (1991), among others. In their descriptions, the prevailing view is that noun-modifying units are adjectives, or are closer to the category adjective than they usually are in other contexts.<sup>58</sup>

Other scholars, such as Sweet (1891-98, vol. II:18), Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik (1979:453), Huddleston (1984:91), and Greenbaum & Quirk (1990:151), just mention that adverbs can premodify a noun, but they consider these constructions as not very productive, and therefore do not go deeper into their structure. Some examples are provided but none of them explains in depth the relationship between these adverbs and nouns.

Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:353-359) makes the most detailed description about the topic, providing us with a wide range of examples. We will take into account the different semantic kinds of adverbs he establishes,<sup>59</sup> although he leaves unexplained the semantic relationship between the noun and its premodifying adverb.

These grammars (except, perhaps, Jespersen's), therefore contribute but little to our approach to the semantics of these structures of modification. However, there are two scholars whose contributions about the semantics of some structures of modification prove particularly useful for our approach: Chomsky (1957) and Levi (1978).

---

<sup>58</sup> This idea is also dominant in Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:353-359), Jacobsson (1961:240-247), Zandvoort (1972:276), Schibsbye (1973:148), Strang (1974:153-159), and Dixon (1992:79).

<sup>59</sup> Basically, adverbs of time and place.

In 1957 Chomsky (1957:72) presented a transformational rule that Ross (1967) called “adjective shift” and that had the value of explaining some obscure points like, e.g., why adjective phrases can both premodify a noun and function as subject or object complement, i.e., why one same word-class can realize such dissimilar functions. This rule is based on a syntactic transformation, which follows the clause pattern “Subject + Verb + Subject Complement”, for those adjectives which premodify the head of a noun phrase:

- (5) a long journey  
> [a journey that IS long].<sup>60</sup>

Later revisions of this hypothesis reached the conclusion that, contrary to what was first thought, this transformation could not explain all cases of premodification of heads of noun phrases by adjective phrases. This can be seen in examples such as:

- (6) a musical comedy  
\* > [a comedy that IS musical]  
(7) solar generators  
\* > [generators that ARE solar].

In 1978, Levi provided an overall classification of noun-modifying adjectives on the grounds of the transformation they allow.<sup>61</sup> This was based on Chomsky’s general view, but it was free of its original inconsistencies, and to a large extent, settled the question of these structures of modification. Some examples taken from Levi (1978:3) are:

- (8) a beautiful princess  
> [a princess who IS beautiful]  
(9) a musical comedy  
> [a comedy that HAS music]  
(10) solar generators  
> [generators that USE solar energy].

---

<sup>60</sup> Example taken from Chomsky (1957:72).

<sup>61</sup> For further information about this classification see Levi (1978:77).

Levi thus provides useful explanations about modification in nominal groups. She refers to compound nouns, nominalizations and non-predicating adjectives as complex nominals. Their underlying structure contains both a nominal head and a complement sentence, and the surface structure is dominated by a noun. These complex nominals are derived by two syntactic processes: *predicate deletion* and *predicate nominalization*. In connection with the former, the notion of *Recoverably Deletable Predicate* (hereafter RDP) was introduced. Thus, all complex nominals not derived by nominalization processes had their origin in semantic structures from which nine predicates (CAUSE, HAVE, MAKE, USE, BE, IN, FOR, FROM, and ABOUT) may be deleted. Some examples are:

- (11) apple cake<sup>62</sup>  
       > [cake that HAS apples]
- (12) office friendship<sup>8</sup>  
       > [friendship IN the office]
- (13) industrial equipment<sup>63</sup>  
       > [equipment FOR industry].

We share Levi's view of these structures of modification in noun phrases, and will therefore assume her aims and methods; following her, we try to make a classification of noun-premodifying adverbs based on the various predicates that allow the syntactic transformation provided by the rule that, owing to its similarities with that of the "adjective shift", we will call *adverb shift*.

### 3. Discussion

This study involves the distinction between "adverbial character" and "adjectival character". The adjectival character, that allows adjectives to express a quality, lets us recover a more complex structure (the so-called

<sup>62</sup> Example taken from Levi (1978:88-97).

<sup>63</sup> Example taken from Levi (1978:88-97).

“deep structure”) from a less complex structure (“surface structure”) represented by “adjective + noun”. One example taken from Levi (1978:78) is:

- a. virus cause infection
- b. infection is caused by virus (Passive)
- c. infection is virus-caused (Compound Adjective Formation)
- d. infection which is virus-caused (Relative Clause Formation)
- e. infection virus-caused (*Wh-be* Deletion)
- f. virus-caused infection (Predicate Preposing)
- g. virus infection (RDP Deletion: CAUSE)
- h. viral infection (Morphological Adjectivalization).

Secondly, we consider that a structure “adverb + noun” has “adverbial character” when we can recover the “Subject + Predicator + Adverbial” pattern.<sup>64</sup> Some examples of this are:

- (14) [...] at a recent service in a **nearby** church we had the further joy of having three of our congregation admitted into the order of lay readers at the same service [...] (D13: 49)  
> [at a recent service in a church that is **nearby** we had the further joy of having three of our congregation admitted into the order of lay readers at the same service]
- (15) [...] a kinesis resulting in an **upward movement** by Daphnea has also been demonstrated in the laboratory at particularly low light intensities [...] (J06: 38)  
> [a kinesis resulting in a movement that directs **upward** by Daphnea has also been demonstrated in the laboratory at particularly low light intensities].

Sometimes, the nuances of meaning that allow us to distinguish between adjectival and adverbial character are not clear. As Krusinga wrote,

---

<sup>64</sup> From now onwards, SPA and SPC will stand for “Subject + Predicator + Adverbial”, and “Subject + Predicator + Subject Complement”, respectively.

A great many words are used both as adjectives and as adverbs. Usually, however, it is difficult if not impossible to decide whether the word is primarily an adjective or an adverb. Hence we must be content to state the fact that one form serves for the adjective and the adverb functions. (Kruisinga 1931-32:119)

However, we must point out that this distinction is not of our interest, as a number of other processes (homomorphy, conversion, homonymy, polysemy, ...) may play a role here.<sup>65</sup>

Thus, in the following two examples we notice two different characters in the word *backward*:

(16) [...] the work of our special homes, linked with boarding schools for the **backward** [...] handicapped has continued steadily [...] (H25: 26)

> [the work of our special homes, linked with boarding schools for the handicapped that are **backward**]

(17) [...] taking several **backward** steps before going to the canvas near to the ropes [...] (E17: 110)

> [taking several steps that direct **backward** before going to the canvas near to the ropes].

In the first case, *backward* is an adjective because we can recover a copulative structure (SPC<sup>s</sup>) and there is an intensive relationship between the noun and the adjective (in the transformation they become Subject and Subject Complement respectively). For these reasons, *backward* has an adjectival character and means "having made or making less than normal progress".<sup>66</sup> On the other hand, in the second example, *backward* is an adverb because we can recover an SPA structure, and because the relationship between the noun and the adverb is not an intensive one. So, this word has an adverbial character. In this case it means "directed behind".

<sup>65</sup> For further information, see Valera (1996:32-48).

<sup>66</sup> All definitions cited in this paper have been taken from Crowther (1995).

Taking into account all the concepts mentioned above we will provide a classification of the examples obtained from our corpus based on ten predicates: BE, BE AT, BE OBTAINED, COME, COME FROM, DIRECT, GO, MOVE, OCCUR, and RISE.

- BE

The pattern “subject + *be* + adverbial” is the most frequently used when providing the transformation for our examples. When the structure “adverb + noun” is paraphrased, “the subject” stands for “noun” and the “adverbial” for “adverb” (this will be applied to all the examples). The following is a list of all the adverbs admitting this predicate in the examples obtained from our corpus: *above*, *beneath*, *downstairs*, *downtown*, *far-away*, *far-off*, *here*, *nearby*, *off and on*, *offside*, *outside*, *overhead*, *overseas*, *there*, *under*, *underground*, *underwater*, *upstairs*, and *well*.

*above*:

- (18) [...] we understand that the addition of detention centre inmates to the **above** list is being considered [...] (H08: 2)  
> [we understand that the addition of detention centre inmates to the list that is **above** is being considered]
- (19) [...] it is felt that the **above** correction is not entirely satisfactorily as it is based on fixed wing theory [...] (J73: 60)  
> [it is felt that the correction that is **above** is not entirely satisfactorily as it is based on fixed wing theory]

*beneath*:

- (20) this **beneath** world<sup>67</sup>  
> [the world that is **beneath**]

*downstairs*:

- (21) [...] the scope of **downstairs** breakfast [...] is as wide as your purse can make it [...] (E26: 22)  
> [the scope of breakfast that is **downstairs** is as wide as your purse can make it]

---

<sup>67</sup> Example taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:356).

- (22) [...] if she opened a **downstairs** window the moment the dogs rushed round to snarl at the tradesman [...] (L22: 35)  
 > [if she opened a window that is **downstairs** the moment the dogs rushed round to snarl at the tradesman]

*downtown:*

- (23) [...] St James's, Newcastle, another famous **downtown** church, combines a fairly square plan with an unusual sense of dignity [...] (D02: 52)  
 > [St James's, Newcastle, another famous church that is **downtown**, combines a fairly square plan with an unusual sense of dignity]

*far-away:*

- (24) [...] visits **far-away** places as she sleeps [...] (F12: 170)  
 > [visits places that are **far-away** as she sleeps]  
 (25) [...] he never can go nor a boat's prow cut through a crown renewed without end of mercurial metal from **far-away** gap [...] (K12: 60)  
 > [he never can go nor a boat's prow cut through a crown renewed without end of mercurial metal from gap that is **far-away**]

*far-off:*

- (26) [...] perhaps this afternoon I would get to know the **far-off** friends who hovered towards her [...] (G26: 13)  
 > [perhaps this afternoon I would get to know the friends that are **far-off** who hovered towards her]  
 (27) [...] the landscape must have looked very different in those **far-off** days. (M03: 75)  
 > [the landscape must have looked very different those days that are **far-off**]

*here:*

- (28) this **here** boy<sup>68</sup>  
 > [this boy that is **here**]

<sup>68</sup> Example taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:356).

*nearby:*

(29) [...] a very similar version of the May song used to be current in the **nearby** villages [...] (F37: 48)

> [a very similar version of the May song used to be current in the villages that are **nearby**]

(30) [...] offering a packet of cigarettes to the first man to reach the top of a **nearby** hill [...] or sending them out in pairs [...] (G23: 90)

> [offering a packet of cigarettes to the first man to reach the top of a hill that is **nearby** [...] or sending them out in pairs]

*off and on:*

(31) **off and on** relation<sup>69</sup>

> [relation that is **off and on**]

*offside:*

(32) [...] next Pat netted an **offside** one [...] (A41: 27)

> [next Pat netted one that is **offside**]

*outside*<sup>70</sup>:

(33) [...] with Marion's dowry, walls were repaired, rooms added, and an **outside** stair built. (F29: 18)

> [with Marion's dowry, walls were repaired, rooms added, and a stair that is **outside** built.]

(34) [...] in locations where an **outside** aerial is necessary [...] (H22: 49)

> [in locations where an aerial that is **outside** is necessary]

*overhead:*

(35) [...] the East German restriction which caused to-day's trouble concerned the issuing of permits for west Berliners wishing to travel to the east on the **overhead** railway. (A29: 38)

<sup>69</sup> Example taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:356).

<sup>70</sup> "Outside", "overseas", and "underwater" occur in several different groups because they are related to different predicates. We can see the difference in the following examples:

"[...] outside noise [...]" (H03: 16) > [noise that comes from outside]

"[...] an outside aerial [...]" (H22: 49) > [an aerial that is outside].

> [the East German restriction which caused to-day's trouble concerned the issuing of permits for west Berliners wishing to travel to the east on the railway that is **overhead**]

(36) [...] the simple tone of the girl's clothes is pleasing [...] while the **overhead** lighting helps to dramatize [...] (E10: 63)

> [the simple tone of the girl's clothes is pleasing [...] while the lighting that is **overhead** helps to dramatize]

*overseas:*

(37) [...] other **overseas** commitments [...] should be re-examined (A20: 109)

> [other commitments that are **overseas** [...] should be re-examined]

*there:*

(38) that **there** boy<sup>71</sup>

> [that boy that is **there**]

*under<sup>72</sup>:*

(39) [...] this is due [...] to the loss of its lead loading from the large cavity on the **under** side [...] (F09: 28)

> [this is due [...] to the loss of its lead loading from the large cavity on the side that is **under**]

(40) [...] the conveyor is broken at this point to enable the sand to be applied to the **under** surface of the column [...] (H06: 91)

> [the conveyor is broken at this point to enable the sand to be applied to the surface that is **under** in the column]

*underground:*

(41) [...] its waters [...] only reached the sea by an **underground** channel [...] (G39: 48)

<sup>71</sup> Example taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:356).

<sup>72</sup> The adjectival or adverbial character of units like "under" depends on the metaphorical or literal sense of that word. Such is the case of "the under surface" (H06: 91) as opposed to "under Secretary" (G08: 1). The former shows the literal sense ("below"), and it is an adverb; the latter has a metaphorical sense ("lower in position or rank"), and it is an adjective.

> [its waters [...] only reached the sea by a channel that is **underground**]

(42) [...] he picked it up, took a last look around the **underground** gallery, [...] (L03: 102)

> [he picked it up, took a last look around the gallery that is **underground**]

*underwater:*

(43) first steps in **underwater** swimming (C14: 53)

> [first steps in swimming that is **underwater**]

*upstairs:*

(44) [...] these courses take place at Langside College in a house [...] which has a comfortable classroom and two good **upstairs** lounges. (F02: 47)

> [these courses take place at Langside College in a house [...] which has a comfortable classroom and two good lounges that are **upstairs**]

(45) I [...] pictured the **upstairs** room as a study [...] (K15: 46)

> [I [...] pictured the room that is **upstairs** as a study]

*well:*

(46) the **well** passengers<sup>73</sup>

> [the passengers that are **well**]

(47) the **well** men<sup>21</sup>

> [the men that are **well**].

- BE AT:

This group shares the verb BE with the previous one, but in this case the preposition AT is required. This group could be included within that of BE, but we have created a new group because we required the preposition AT in order to provide a more accurate paraphrase. Adverbs admitting this predicate are: *back*, *bottom*, *front*, and *top*.

---

<sup>73</sup> Examples taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:358).

*back:*

(48) [...] the mysterious Mr. X sat drinking coffee in the **back** room of his modest Charterhouse-street, London, office [...] (A07: 78)

> [the mysterious Mr. X sat drinking coffee in the room that is at the **back** of his modest Charterhouse-street, London, office]

(49) [...] he couldn't build a chicken-house in his **back** garden [...] (D16: 77)

> [he couldn't build a chicken-house in his garden that is at the **back**]

*bottom:*

(50) [...] I made a **bottom** tray from hardboard and beading. (E14: 21)

> [I made a tray that is at the **bottom** from hardboard and beading]

(51) [...] the magnitudes of the vertical velocities measured [...] are less in the 600-200 mb. layer than in the **bottom** layer. (J10: 26)

> [the magnitudes of the vertical velocities measured [...] are less in the 600-200 mb. layer than in the layer that is at the **bottom**]

*front:*

(52) [...] a wire basket of flowers hung over the **front** door. (L23: 104)

> [a wire basket of flowers hung over the door that is at the **front**]

(53) [...] he opened the folder, started on the **front** page. (M05: 109)

> [he opened the folder, started on the page that is at the **front**]

*top:*

(54) [...] I stood, leaning on the **top** bar of the fence [...] (L09: 19)

> [I stood, leaning on the bar that is at the **top** of the fence]

- (55) [...] he was holding a paper booklet, the **top** sheet of which bore [...] the words metropolitan monotechnic Institute advanced accountancy course no. 3. (R02: 57)  
> [he was holding a paper booklet , the sheet that is at the **top** of which bore [...] the words metropolitan monotechnic Institute advanced accountancy course no. 3.]

- BE OBTAINED:

The examples that can be included within this group are *overnight*, *since*, and *underwater*.

*overnight*:

- (56) [...] the good trade unionist is asked to give up his chance of an **overnight** fortune by boycotting football pools, too. (B18: 50)  
> [the good trade unionist is asked to give up his **chance** of a fortune that is obtained **overnight** by boycotting football pools, too]

*since*:

- (57) my **since** experience<sup>74</sup>  
> [my experience that is obtained **since**]

*underwater*:

- (58) [...] even a comparative beginner can try **underwater** photography (C14: 60)  
> [even a comparative beginner can try photography that is obtained **underwater**]
- (59) [...] **underwater** films suggest that the footrope of a trawl does this. (E06: 35)  
> [films that are obtained **underwater** suggest that the footrope of a trawl does this].

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<sup>74</sup> Example taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:354).

- COME:

The adverbs whose paraphrases require this verb are “*after*” and “*hereafter*”.

*after*:

(60) [...] ‘fortunately’ wrote Clarence in **after** years [...] (G06: 83)  
 > [‘fortunately’ wrote Clarence in years that came **after**]

(61) [...] the theories are unable to account for the **after** effect of seen motion [...] (J25: 53)  
 > [the theories are unable to account for the effect that comes **after** of seen motion]

*hereafter*

(62) **hereafter** ages<sup>75</sup>  
 > [ages that come **hereafter**].

- COME FROM:

Sometimes an adverb requires the preposition FROM after the verb COME. One example of this is *outside*:

(63) [...] the importance for the development of good oral work of allocating to modern language teachers rooms which are relatively free from **outside** noise [...] has not always been sufficiently appreciated. (H03: 16)  
 > [the importance for the development of good oral work of allocating to modern language teachers rooms which are relatively free from noise that comes from **outside** [...] has not always been sufficiently appreciated]

(64) [...] the group itself [...] provided a sufficient body of **outside** opinion to bring to bear in this task. (H24: 61)  
 > [the group itself [...] provided a sufficient body of opinion that comes from **outside** to bring to bear on this task].

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<sup>75</sup> Example taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:354).

- DIRECT:

Most of the adverbs presenting the predicate with the verb DIRECT end in *-ward*, such as *abyssward*, *backward*, *downward*, *eastward*, *heavenward*, *landward*, *northward*, *onward*, *outward*, *skyward*, *streetward*, and *upward*. But we can also find other examples not ending in this suffix; some examples are *hither*, *overseas*, and *thither*. Not surprisingly, these may share a directional meaning too.

*abyssward*:

(65) the **abyssward** drift<sup>76</sup>

> [the drift that directs **abyssward**]

*backward*:

(66) [...] without a **backward** glance, Vera tiptoed downstairs to wait. (L22: 41)

> [without a glance that directs **backward**, Vera tiptoed downstairs to wait]

(67) [...] the amount of the **backward** tilt [...] is left to personal choice [...] (E04: 16)

> [the amount of the tilt that directs **backward** [...] is left to personal choice]

*downward*:

(68) [...] the vents are claimed to direct strong **downward** thrust of air [...] (E18: 20)

> [the vents are claimed to direct strong thrust that directs **downward** of air]

(69) [...] **downward** migration is not sinking as the result of an inhibition of movement [...] (J06: 58)

> [migration that directs **downward** is not sinking as the result of an inhibition of movement]

*eastward*:

(70) [...] the **eastward** movement [...] was forecast to be a little

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<sup>76</sup> Example taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:356).

less than actually occurred [...] (J10: 31)

> [the movement that directs **eastward** [...] was forecast to be a little less than actually occurred]

*heavenward:*

(71) the **heavenward** altar-fire<sup>77</sup>

> [the altar-fire that directs **heavenward**]

*landward:*

(72) [...] Ambler's specimens were liable to be licked by cows on the **landward** side [...] (J77: 19)

> [Ambler's specimen were liable to be licked by cows on the side that directs **landward**]

*northward:*

(73) [...] the **northward** journey brought the insect to Frankfurt [...] (E07: 16)

> [the journey that directs **northward** brought the insect to Frankfurt]

(74) [...] they described the apparent **northward** thinning of the upper Corallian[...] (J11: 13)

> [they described the apparent thinning that directs **northward** of the upper Corallian]

*onward:*

(75) [...] the future was sufficiently open [...] to receive the now so fierce **onward** rush of my purpose [...] (K15: 4)

> [the future was sufficiently open [...] to receive the now so fierce rush that directs **onward** of my purpose]

*outward:*

(76) [...] the **outward** journey was halted for morning coffee [...] (A37: 106)

> [the journey that directs **outward** was halted for morning coffee]

<sup>77</sup> Example taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:355).

- (77) [...] the rim has an **outward** slope [...] (J67: 42)  
> [the rim has a slope that directs **outward**]

*skyward:*

- (78) **skyward** stare<sup>78</sup>  
> [stare that directs **skyward**]

*streetward:*

- (79) **streetward** sitting-room  
> [sitting-room that directs **streetward**]

*upward:*

- (80) [...] the reductions [...] were designed to check the **upward** trend in prices [...] (A15: 79)  
> [the reductions [...] were designed to check the trend that directs **upward** in prices]
- (81) [...] the complete absence of light does not generally result in a downward sinking but rather in a station-keeping maintained by a characteristic hop-and-sink behavior comprising alternate phases of **upward** swimming [...] (J06: 59)  
> [the complete absence of light does not generally result in a downward sinking but rather in a station-keeping maintained by a characteristic hop-and-sink behavior comprising alternate phases of swimming that directs **upward**]

*hither:*

- (82) the **hither** end<sup>79</sup>  
> [the end that directs **hither**]
- (83) the **hither** shore  
> [the shore that directs **hither**]

*overseas:*

- (84) [...] the first stage of the **overseas** expansion of Europe can be regarded as beginning with the capture of Ceuta [...]

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<sup>78</sup> Example taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:355-356).

<sup>79</sup> Examples taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:356).

> [the first stage of the expansion of Europe that directs **overseas** can be regarded as beginning with the capture of Ceuta]

*thither:*

(85) the **thither** side

> [the side that directs **thither**].

- GO:

Adverbs admitting this predicate are: *aft*, *fore*, *headlong*, and *inland*.

*aft:*

(86) [...] the stroboscope flashed when a particular blade was parallel to the longitudinal body axis either in a fore or **aft** direction. (J73: 19)

> [the stroboscope flashed when a particular blade was parallel to the longitudinal body axis either in a fore direction or in a direction that goes **aft**]

*fore:*

(87) [...] the stroboscope flashed when a particular blade was parallel to the longitudinal body axis either in a **fore** or **aft** direction. (J73: 19)

> [the stroboscope flashed when a particular blade was parallel to the longitudinal axis either in a direction that goes **fore** or **aft**]

*headlong:*

(88) [...] an urgent peace move [...] could stop soccer's **headlong** flight into a strike. (A07: 51)

> [an urgent peace move [...] could stop soccer's flight that goes **headlong** into a strike]

*inland:*

(89) [...] all details [...] were one further step towards the 'elimination' of the **inland** waterways. (A29: 65)

> [all details [...] were one further step towards the 'elimination' of the waterways that go **inland**].

- MOVE:

One of the adverbs that are paraphrased with this verb is *sideways*.

*sideways*:

(90) [...] the effect of cross draughts on the **sideways** entrainment of dust-bearing air currents from the depressed velocities zone into relatively higher exhaust air velocities [...] (J75: 27)

> [the effect of cross draughts on the entrainment that **moves sideways** of dust-bearing air currents from the depressed velocities zone into relatively higher exhaust air velocities].

- OCCUR:

The examples belonging to this group are *hence*, *often*, *seldom*, and *step by step*.

*hence*:

(91) my **hence** departure<sup>80</sup>

> [my departure that occurs **hence**]

*often*:

(92) **often** diseases

> [diseases that occur **often**]

*seldom*:

(93) **seldom** pleasure

> [pleasure that occurs **seldom**]

*step-by-step*:

(94) [...] Russia is eventually forced to participate with us in a **step-by-step** programme. (G75: 81)

> [Russia is eventually forced to participate with us in a programme that occurs **step-by-step**].

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<sup>80</sup> Example taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:353-355).

- RISE:

One of the adverbs presenting the predicate with the verb RISE is *sheer*.

*sheer*:

- (95) [...] any horse [...] will not be found short of **sheer** pace with half a mile further to go [...] (A23: 16)  
 > [any horse [...] will not be found short of pace that rises **sheer** with half a mile further to go].

There are some cases in which the adverb requires a more complex paraphrase. Such is the case of “the then state” (Jespersen, 1909-49, vol. II:353) > [what was a state then]. So, the clause pattern “subject + verb + adverbial” has been converted into “subject + verb + subject complement + adverbial”. The adverbs that we will include in this group are: *aforetime*, *erewhile*, *evermore*, *hitherto*, *now*, *once*, *sometimes*, and *then*.

*aforetime*:

- (96) the **aforetime** vicar<sup>81</sup>  
 > [the person who was the vicar **aforetime**]

*erewhile*:

- (97) an **erewhile** bondsman  
 > [the person who was a bondsman **erewhile**]

*evermore*:

- (98) my **evermore** delight  
 > [what will be my delight **evermore**]

*hitherto*:

- (99) these **hitherto** seditions  
 > [what have been these seditions **hitherto**]

*now*:

- (100) the **now** captain  
 > [the person who is the captain **now**]

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<sup>81</sup> Examples taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:353-355).

*once:*

(101) her **once** sacrifice

> [what was her sacrifice **once**]

(102) the **once** husband

> [the person who was the husband **once**]

*sometimes:*

(103) thy **sometimes** brothers

> [the people who are thy brothers **sometimes**]

*then:*

(104) the **then** state<sup>82</sup>

> [what was the state **then**]

(105) the **then** duke

> [the person who was the duke **then**]

There is also a special case in which a specific adverb requires a specific predicate<sup>83</sup>.

#### 4. Conclusion

As a result of our research, the following classification of noun phrases with adverb-premodified heads is proposed:

To sum up, the realization of the function of premodifier in nominal groups when realized by an adverb is the result of the transposition to prenominal position of an element that, in an underlying structure, is linked to the function of Adverbial.

<sup>82</sup> Examples taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:353).

<sup>83</sup> We are referring to *through*, which requires the verb EXTEND.

[...] various means have been adopted to provide for access from the front to the back - a tunnel between pairs of houses; a **through store** [...]

> [various means have been adopted to provide access from the front to the back a tunnel between pairs of houses; a **store that extends through**].

PREDICATES	DEEP STRUCTURES	EXAMPLES <sup>84</sup>
BE	the room is upstairs	the upstairs room
BE AT	the door is at the front	the front door
BE OBTAINED	a fortune is obtained overnight	an overnight fortune
COME	the effect comes after	the after effect
COME FROM	noise comes from outside	outside noise
DIRECT	stare directs skyward	skyward stare
GO	waterways go inland	inland waterways
MOVE	the entrainment moves sideways	the sideways entrainment
OCCUR	diseases occur often	often diseases
RISE	pace rises sheer	sheer pace

Some of the bibliographical references consulted establish a relationship between this behaviour and the process of conversion from the category of adverb to that of adjective (Zandvoort, 1972:276); but our task is not to include this kind of structures within a particular process. Therefore, this paper does not answer all the questions about this topic. In fact, some of the transformations provided may not always seem accurate because we have tried to make a general and systematic classification which in turn has obliged us to consider a wide range of meanings (both in the category adverb and in the category noun).

Throughout this paper, we have also attempted to emphasize the relevance of the syntactico-semantic interface between the different linguistic units of a language by considering a particular structure of modification.

<sup>84</sup> All the examples in the chart taken from the LOB corpus, except for *skyward* and *often*, taken from Jespersen (1909-49, vol. II:354-356).

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