1. Factive Predicate Approach (Schreiber 1971), (Bellert 1977)

- The factive predicate approach takes evaluative adverbs (EAs; fortunately, oddly, surprisingly, etc.) to be FACTIVE PREDICATES: EAs take facts (true propositions) as their arguments.

(1) Surprisingly, John has arrived.
   a. Asserted proposition 1: John has arrived.
   b. Asserted proposition 2: It is surprising that John has arrived.

- According to this approach, this factivity is the reason why EAs cannot appear in questions.

(2) *Has John surprisingly arrived? (Bellert 1977:(15))

- Sawada (1978) claims that Japanese EAs are also unacceptable in questions.

(3) *Saiwai sono madaramo fuuki-ga machijiu no nezumi no obikidasita no desu ka?
   Fortunately that pied piper-NOM whole-town GEN rat-ACC lured away it.is Q
   ‘Did that pied piper fortunately lured rats in the town away?’ (Sawada 1978:(86))

- However, for Sawada (1978), this is not because of factivity, but multidimensionality: while the question operator takes a content (proposition) in the ‘propositional stratum’, EA meanings belong to the ‘attitudinal stratum’, thus cannot be incorporated into the question sentence.

2. Conditional Approach (Bonami & Godard 2008)

- Bonami & Godard (2008) note that EAs in French can appear in questions (4) and the antecedent of conditionals (5). (See also Mayol & Castroviejo (2013) for Catalan and Spanish.)

(4) Paul est-il, bizarrement, arrivé en retard?
   ‘Did Paul oddly arrive late?’ (Bonami & Godard 2008:(49-b))

(5) Si Paul est malencontreusement en retard, le patron sera furieux.
   ‘If Paul is unfortunately late, the boss will be furious.’ (Bonami & Godard 2008:(15))

- Bonami & Godard (2008) propose that EA meanings are conditional (‘p → unfortunate(p)’; not just ‘unfortunate(p)’).

(6) Marie est malheureusement venue. ‘Unfortunately, Marie came.’
   a. Main assertion: came(Marie)
   b. Ancillary commitment: came(Marie) → unfortunate(came(Marie))

- They further argue that an EA conveys an ANCILLARY COMMITMENT of the speaker, which is independent of the assertion and the presupposition.

3. Japanese EAs

- Japanese EAs, like French EAs, are acceptable in questions (7) (contra Sawada 1978, cf. (3)) and in the antecedent of conditionals (8).

(7) A: ‘The Little Mermaid was told that she would melt into bubbles and disappear if she didn’t kill the prince.’
   However, she didn’t kill the person she loved.
   B: Ja, fulkomi-ko kanojo-wa shindeshimau n-desu ka?
   ‘Then, unfortunately she-top die. it.is Q
   ‘Is she going to die, then’ + ‘If she is going to die, that is unfortunate.’

(8) Mo shi zanenmagara shunen- ni maniswanakattara takushii- ni norisai.
   ‘If unfortunately last, train-DAT make:IT NEG:CONDITION inacc:CONDITION ride:IMP
   ‘If you unfortunately don’t make it for the last train, take a taxi.’
   → You don’t make it for the last train.

- Japanese EAs can be better analyzed by Bonami & Godard’s (2008) conditional approach than the factive predicate approach. However, . . .

4. Proposal: Conditional Presuppositional Account

- I take EA meanings to be a particular type of presuppositions, i.e., CLASS C OF PROJECTIVE CONTENTS, according to Tonhauser et al.’s (2013) diagnostics (10).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CLASSES</th>
<th>STRONG</th>
<th>CONTESTUAL FELICITY</th>
<th>OBLIGATORY</th>
<th>LOCAL EFFECT</th>
<th>EXAMPLES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Anaphores, too (existence of alternative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Expressive, appositive (Potts’s (2005) Cls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>no (see (11))</td>
<td>yes (see (12))</td>
<td>stop (prestate implication), know (factivity)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>Focus (salience of alternatives)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-

(10) [koounni-no] = λp,x,A,λys : yw’ ∈ Accw,p(w’) → fortunate(p), p(w)

(11) Context: Two strangers are chitchatting. One of them mentions that the weather these days has been unusually cool for this time of year. The other person agrees, and continues: ]

| [Demo raishuu-wa saiwi atsuku-naru rashii-node bii-shiiku-iiku-tsumorina n-desu yo. but next.week-TOP fortunately hot-become I.hear-so beach-to go-intend it.is SFP
   ‘But I heard that it’s going to be hot next week, fortunately, so I’m thinking of going to the beach.’

(12) #John-wa saiwi kinno-wa hareta-to omoteiru-ga, ame-ga futte hoshikatta-to John-TOP fortunately yesterday-TOP was.sunny-COMP think-but rain-NOM fall-wanted-COMP omoteiru.
   think #John thinks that it was fortunately sunny yesterday, but he hopes it rained.’

5. Implications

- There has been an intuition that EA meanings are not part of the main assertion, but it was not clear what they really are. Analyzing EAs contributes to the understanding of “perhaps the most heterogeneous” (Tonhauser et al. 2013) class C, which includes a wide range of phenomena from standard cases of presuppositions to more controversial kinds of implications. There is another group of adverbs (agent-oriented adverbs, e.g., stupidly) which the proposed analysis is potentially applicable to. Finding out the distinctive property of class C adverbs will deepen our overall understanding of the nature of adverbs in general.

References