Prototypical adverbs
From comparative concept to typological prototype

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A prototype approach to parts of speech

- **NOUN**: reference to an object
- **VERB**: predication of an action
- **ADJECTIVE**: modification by a property
- **ADVERB**: modification by a property
A prototype approach to parts of speech (Croft 2001: 88)

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A marked item is encoded by *at least as many morphemes as* an unmarked item

(1) *I ate a sweet apple.*

(2) *I tasted the sweetness of the apple.*

(3) *The apple was sweet.*
Extensive typological research in the area of adjectives, e.g:
- Dixon (1977)
- Wetzer (1996)
- Dixon & Aikhenvald (2004)

A comparative concept following Haspelmath (2010: 670):

"An adjective is a lexeme that denotes a descriptive property and that can be used to narrow the reference of a noun."
Semantic types of adjectives
(Dixon 1977, 2004)

- **Core** semantic types:
  - a. DIMENSION - *big, small, long*
  - b. AGE - *new, young, old*
  - c. VALUE - *good, bad, lovely*
  - d. COLOR - *black, white, red*

- **Peripheral** semantic types:
  - e. PHYSICAL PROPERTY - *hard, soft, heavy*
  - f. HUMAN PROPENSITY - *jealous, happy, kind*
  - g. SPEED - *fast, quick, slow*
Prototypical adverbs?

What about adverbs?

(4) *The athlete ran* fast.
Adverb as a comparative concept:

*An adverb is a lexeme that denotes a descriptive property and that can be used to modify a verb.*
Applying adverb as a comparative concept

- Genealogically diverse sample of around 60 languages
- Languages types:
  - Non-derived adjectives and adverbs
  - Non-derived adverbs only
  - Non-derived modifiers - function both adjectivally and adverbially
  - Unmarked adverbials
Languages with non-derived adjectives and adverbs

- Kham (Sino-Tibetan)
- Mian (Nuclear Trans New Guinean)

(5) a: nikələini zə gehppa ṭələtə badə le, syā:da le. ah very EMP big slumber go be sleep be
‘Aah, he has gone into a very deep slumber, he is sleeping.’
Kham: non-derived adverbs
(Watters 2002: 143)

Few adverbs (at least three): sip ‘together’, koba:h ‘indiscriminately’, cã:do ‘quickly’

(6) cã:do ba-ke
   quickly go-pfv
   ‘He went quickly.’
Large open class of adjectives, e.g. *alu* ‘old’, *mikík* ‘new, unused’, *ayai* ‘gigantic’, *kengkeng* ‘tiny’, *sūm* ‘big, loud’, *ngáamein*, ‘yellow’, etc.

(7) \[ íl=e \quad sūm=e \]
\[ \text{dog=SG.M} \quad \text{big=SG.M} \]

‘a big dog’
Some adjectives can be used both adjectivally and adverbialey:

(8) āns=o  ayam=o  ngaan-b-o=be
song=N2  good=N2  sing.IPFV-IPFV-3SG.F.SBJ=DECL
‘She is singing (a) beautiful song(s).’

(9) āns=o  ayam  ngaan-b-o=be
song=N2  good  sing.IPFV-IPFV-3SG.F.SBJ=DECL
‘She is singing a song/songs beautifully.’
Near forty non-derived adverbs, e.g. beténg ‘carefully’, hebmamsâb ‘fast, quickly’, fiab ‘slowly’, dim ‘in vain, infelicitous’, kweimiki ‘deliberately’, etc.

(10) naka=e hebmamsâb wen-b-e=be
    man=SG.M fast eat.IPFV-IPFV-3SG.M.SBJ=DECL

‘The man is eating fast.’
Languages with non-derived adverbs

- Kambera (Austronesian)
Property words commonly found as verbs:

(11) Na=pi=nya  
    3sg.nom=know=3sg.dat  
    ‘He knows it.’

(12) Anakeda pingu  
    child know  
    ‘a smart child’
Kambera (Austronesian): non-derived adverbs

(Klamer 1998: 120)

- **Pre-verbal:**
  - *kawàra* ‘both, together’
  - *lalu* ‘too (much)’
  - *ana* ‘a little’
  - *lú* ‘hardly, quickly’
  - *tika* ‘almost’
  - *pas* ‘exactly’

- **Post-verbal:**
  - *jua* ‘just, only’
  - *ai lulu* ‘too, very much’
  - *ànga* ‘uselessly’
  - *lia* ‘maybe’
  - *pàku* ‘only; firstly’
  - *kàdi* ‘just’
  - *mema*(ng) ‘immediately’
  - *mànu* ‘always’
(13) Eha! Jàka-ambeningga — ina-nggu, jàka nda lú
EXC if-be.angry mother-1SG.GEN if NEG quickly
abeli jia hi wa-nda, ai?
return exist CNJ say/do.1PL.GEN TAG
‘Hey! If my mother gets angry with me, when I don’t return quickly, then we’re in trouble (idiomatic expression), don’t you think?’
Languages with non-derived modifiers

- Sango (Atlantic-Congo)
Modifiers of both nouns and verbs, e.g. **VALUE:**

(14) mbéni *sioní* kobéla asára á-mbéni zo ñkɔ ñkɔ certain *bad* sickness make PL-certain person one one

‘A certain *bad* disease is afflicting a few people.’

(15) apíka lo *sioní* beat him *bad*

‘They beat him *terribly.*’
COLOR modifies nouns only:

(16) lo kɛ bingbá yãma
    it be brown animal
    ‘It’s a brownish animal.’
Sango (Atlantic-Congo): non-derived modifiers
(Samarin 1967: 80)

- **SPEED** modifies verbs only:

  (17) mbétí ní akè sí na í ge híó pèpè paper the.one be arrive with us here quickly not ‘The letters don’t reach us here quickly.’
Languages with unmarked adverbials

- Lezgian (Nakh-Daghestanian)
- Swahili (Atlantic-Congo)
Derivation from adjectives by -dakaz or -diz/-z: gürčeg-dakaz ‘beautifully, k’ewi-dakaz ‘strongly’, düz-diz ‘correctly’, etc.

(18) Mirzebega k’ewi-z haraj-na: Jusuf xalu!  
Mirzebeg(ERG) strong-ADV shout-AOR Jusuf uncle  
‘Mirzebeg shouted loudly: uncle Jusuf!’
Some adjectives can be used adverbially as they are:

(19) Raq.inĩ gzaf pis čra-zwa.
    sun(ERG) much bad burn-IPFV
    ‘The sun is burning very badly.’
One property item used adverbially only:

(20) Čimi č’aw.u-z weq’-er fad q’ura-da.
hot time-DAT grass-PL quickly dry-FUT
‘In the hot time grass dries quickly.’
Nouns can be used adverbially when the class marker is exchanged, e.g. *m-toto* ‘1-child’:

(21) To-sema ki-toto!
    2SG:NEG-speak 7-child
    ‘Don’t speak *childishly!*’
Certain nouns keep their original marker when used adverbially, e.g. *u-pesi* 11-speed ‘speed’, ‘fast’:

(22) A-li-fanya kazi *u-pesi*.
3SG-PST-do 9:work *11-fast*

‘He worked *fast.*’
Languages with non-derived SPEED adverbs

- Sango (Atlantic-Congo)
- Maltese (Afro-Asiatic)
- Kham (Sino-Tibetan)
- Lahu (Sino-Tibetan)
- Marathi (Indo-European)
- Turkish (Turkic)
- Lezgian (Nakh-Daghestanian)
- Kambera (Austronesian)
- Kilivila (Austronesian)
- Mian (Nuclear Trans New Guinea)
- Kewa (Nuclear Trans New Guinea)
- Alamblak (Sepik)
- Yimas (Lower-Sepik Ramu)
- Bukiyp (Nuclear Toricelli)
- Imonda (Border)
- Bininj Gun-Wok/Gunwinggu (Gunwinyguan)
- Ojibwa/Nishnaabemwin (Algic)
- Kiowa (Kiowa-Tanoan)
- Mam (Mayan)
- Koasati (Muskogean)
- Mapudungun (Auracanian)
- Waiwai (Cariban)
- Ainu (Isolate)
Languages with unmarked adverbials denoting SPEED

- Swahili (Atlantic-Congo)
- Georgian (Kartvelian)
- Dutch (Indo-European)
- Bora (Boran)
Cross-linguistic spread of non-derived Adverbs and unmarked adverbials denoting SPEED
## Semantic types in modification

(Cf. Croft (2001: 88))

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Summary

- Non-derived adverbs of certain semantic types (SPEED, VALUE) in unrelated languages
- Unmarkedness patterns for the same semantic types
- A tendency for certain property words to be unmarked when functioning adverbially
- Instances of prototypical adverbs
Discussion

- Starting point: adverb as a comparative concept
- Result: a prototype pattern for adverbs
- The comparative concept implies a hypothesis:
  \textit{there is an adverb prototype}
- The prototype pattern validates the use of the comparative concept
THANK YOU!


