

Prototypical adverbs

From comparative concept to typological prototype

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A prototype approach to parts of speech

(Croft 1991, 2001, 2003)

- 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)

	Reference	Modification	Predication
Objects	UNMARKED NOUNS	genitive, adjectivizations, PPs on nouns	predicate nominals, copulas
Properties	deadjectival nouns	UNMARKED ADJECTIVES	predicate adjectives, copulas
Actions	action nominals, complements, infinitives, gerunds	participles, relative clauses	UNMARKED VERBS



- 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)
 - Wetzler (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*



- 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



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



Kham (Sino-Tibetan): non-derived adjectives

(Watters 2002: 120, 421)

- Few adjectives (3-5 depending on dialect): *gehppa* 'big', *zimza* 'small', and *twi:za* 'short'; *dehmza* 'low' and *cu:za* 'narrow'

(5) a: nikələini zə **gehppa** ɲəhltə badə le, syã:də 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**.'



Mian (Nuclear Trans New Guinean): non-derived adjectives

(Fedden 2011: 114)

- Large open class of adjectives, e.g. *alu* 'old', *mikík* 'new, unused', *ayai* 'gigantic', *kengkeng* 'tiny', *sūm* 'big, loud', *ngáamein*, 'yellow', etc.

(7) *tíl=e* *sūm=e*
dog=SG.M **big=SG.M**
'a **big** dog'



Mian: non-derived adjectives

(Fedden 2011: 116)

- Some adjectives can be used both adjectivally and adverbially:

(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**.'



Mian: non-derived adverbs

(Fedden 2011: 121)

- 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**.'



- Kambera (Austronesian)



Kambera (Austronesian): no adjectives

(Klamer 1998: 115-116)

- 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'



Kambera: non-derived adverbs

(Klamer 1998: 391)

- (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?'



- Sango (Atlantic-Congo)



Sango (Atlantic-Congo): non-derived modifiers

(Samarin 1967: 61)

- Modifiers of both nouns and verbs, e.g. **VALUE**:

(14) mbéni **sioní** kobéla asára á-mbéní zo óko óko
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**.'



Sango: non-derived modifiers

(Samarin 1967: 60)

- COLOR modifies nouns only:

(16) lo kε **bingbá** yāma
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 akε sí na í ge **hío** pεpε
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)



Lezgian (Nakh-Daghestanian): Adverb derivation

(Haspelmath 1993: 113)

- Derivation from adjectives by *-dakaz* or *-diz/-z*: *gürčeg-dakaz* 'beautifully', *k'ewi-dakaz* 'strongly', *düz-diz* 'correctly', etc.

(18) Mirzebeg.a k'ewi-z haraj-na: Jusuf xalu!
Mirzebeg(ERG) **strong-ADV** shout-AOR Jusuf uncle
'Mirzebeg shouted **loudly**: uncle Jusuf!.'



Lezgian: unmarked adverbials

(Haspelmath 1993: 115)

- Some adjectives can be used adverbially as they are:

(19) Raq.inĩ gzaŋ **pis** čra-zwa.
sun(ERG) much **bad** burn-IPFV
'The sun is burning very **badly**.'



Lezgian: one adverb?

(Haspelmath 1993: 89)

- 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**.'



Swahili: unmarked adverbials

(M. Thanassoula (p.c.))

- 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!**'



Swahili: unmarked adverbials

(M. Thanassoula (p.c.))

- 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

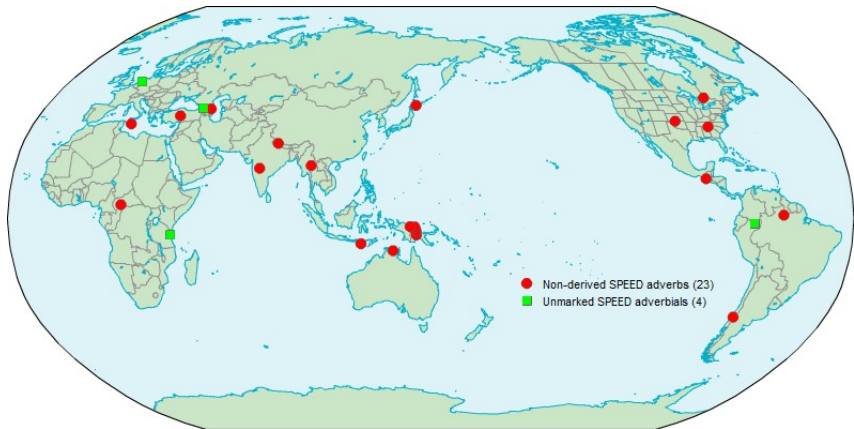
- Sango (Atlantic-Congo)
- Maltese (Afro-Asiatic)
- Kham (Sino-Tibetan)
- Lahu (Sino-Tibetan)
- Marathi (Indo-European)
- Turkish (Turkic)
- Lezgian (Nakh-Daghestanian)
- Kambera (Austronesian)
- Kilivila (Austronesian)
- Mian (Nuclear Trans New Guinea)
- Kewa (Nuclear Trans New Guinea)
- Alamblak (Sepik)
- Yimas (Lower-Sepik Ramu)
- Bukiyip (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)



- 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))

	Reference	Modification referent	Modification predicate	Predication
Objects	UNMARKED NOUNS	genitive, adjectivizations, PPs on nouns	PPs on verbs	predicate nominals, copulas
Properties:				
DIMENSION	deadjektival nouns	UNMARKED ADJECTIVES		predicate adjectives, copulas
AGE				
COLOR				
VALUE			UNMARKED ADVERBS	
SPEED				
Actions	action nominals, complements, infinitives, gerunds	participles, relative clauses	participles, converbs	UNMARKED VERBS



- 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



- Starting point: adverb as a comparative concept
- Result: a prototype pattern for adverbs
- The comparative concept implies a hypothesis:
there is an adverb prototype
- The prototype pattern validates the use of the comparative concept



THANK YOU!



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