



# **Adverbial Classes and Adjective Classes**

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# The Lexical Roots of Adverbial Classes



Different semantic classes of event adverbs have been proposed:

a. Manner adverbs

**Lexically diverse?**

*Jones buttered his toast slowly / carefully*

**Scopal and event-external modifiers: Lexically defined classes?**

b. “Scope-taking manner adverbs” (e.g. Parsons 1972; Piñón 2007):

*He painstakingly wrote illegibly.*

c. Mental-attitude adverbs (Landman 2000, Ernst 2002):

*Jones intentionally burnt his toast / reluctantly threw away the toast.*

d. Mental-state adverbs (Ernst 2002, Geuder 2004):

*Jones angrily threw away his toast*

e. Agentive adverbs (Ernst 2002, Geuder 2002) [e-relatedness is controversial]:

*Jones stupidly threw away his toast*

# Adjective Classes

- For instance, GermaNet (based on Hundsnurscher & Splett 1982):

Adjective Class				
Perceptual (Perzeption)	lig	Body-related (Körper)	life (Belebtheit)	lebendig, tot
	co		constitution (Konstitution)	stark, schwach
	so		affliction (Gebrechen/Krankheit)	krank, gesund, taub
	tas		desire/feeling (Körpergefühl)	hungrig, satt, müde
	sm		sex (Geschlecht)	männlich, weiblich
Spatial (Ort)	su	Mood-related (Gefuehl)	body state (Körperzustand)	schön, häßlich, hübsch
	dir		feeling (Empfindung/Gefühl)	schwanger, geschlechtsreif
	dir		stimulus (Reiz)	froh, traurig, bewegt
	loc		intelligence/attention (Intelligenz/Aufmerksamkeit)	angenehm, traurig, bewegend
	ori		knowledge/experience (Wissen/Erfahrung)	klug, dumm, aufmerksam
Temporality- related (Zeit)	sp (R	Spirit-related (Geist)		erfahren, fähig, gebildet
	for			
	ex			
	tin	Weather-relat (natPhaenom		
	ve			
	ag			
	ha			

emotional / motivational states,  
EXP subject

IL  
SL

# Adjective Classes

Behaviour-related (Verhalten)	behaviour/character (Verhalten/Charakter)	böse, faul, höflich	
	animal specific tierspezifisch	zahn, wild	
	discipline	streng, nachgiebig (Zucht/Erziehung)	cf. above: <i>intelligent</i> (different class)
	skill (Geschicklichkeit)	geschickt, unbeholfen	cf. <i>feindselig</i> (hostile)
	relations (Beziehung)	feindlich, verliebt	EXP subject again
	sympathy (Sympathie)	beliebt, verachtet	
	inclination (Neigung)	naschhaft, gesprächig	
(social)	stratum (Schicht)	arm, reich, erwerbstätig	
...	General (Allgemein)	comparative	enorm, riesig, stattlich
		evaluation	gut, schlecht, übel
		norm	sonderbar, grotesk

# Adjective Classes

- Are such notional classes of any help in deriving adverbial classes, i.e. here: the non-manner types of event adverbs?

- For example, which adjectives are able to occur with the adverbial affix *-weise* in German? (said to mark sentential adverbs, but including agentive ones).

Note that apparently similar adjectives may behave differently:

*He arrogantly/proudly will display all his knowledge.*

*Er hat arroganterweise seine Liebesbriefe ins Netz gestellt.*

*? stolzerweise*

(tbc.)

# The Basis of Adverb Classes:

## Lexical features in the terminology for adverb classes

b. "Scope-taking manner adverbs" (e.g. Parsons 1972; Piñón 2007):

*He painstakingly wrote illegibly.*

c. Mental-attitude adverbs (Landman 2000, Ernst 2002):

*Jones intentionally burnt his toast / reluctantly threw away the toast.*

d. Mental-state adverbs (Ernst 2002 ("state reading"), Geuder 2004):

*Jones angrily threw away his toast*

e. Agentive adverbs (Ernst 2002, Geuder 2002) [e-relatedness is controversial]:

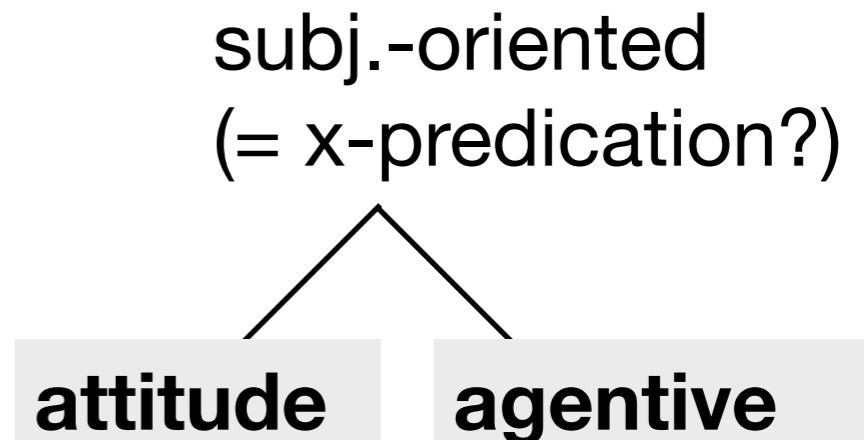
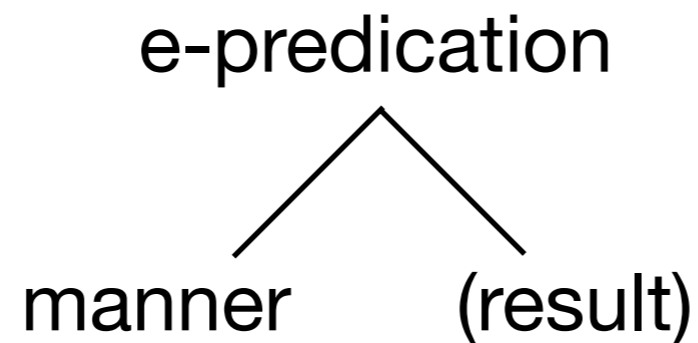
*Jones stupidly threw away his toast*

Hence, when deriving (non-manner) adverbs:

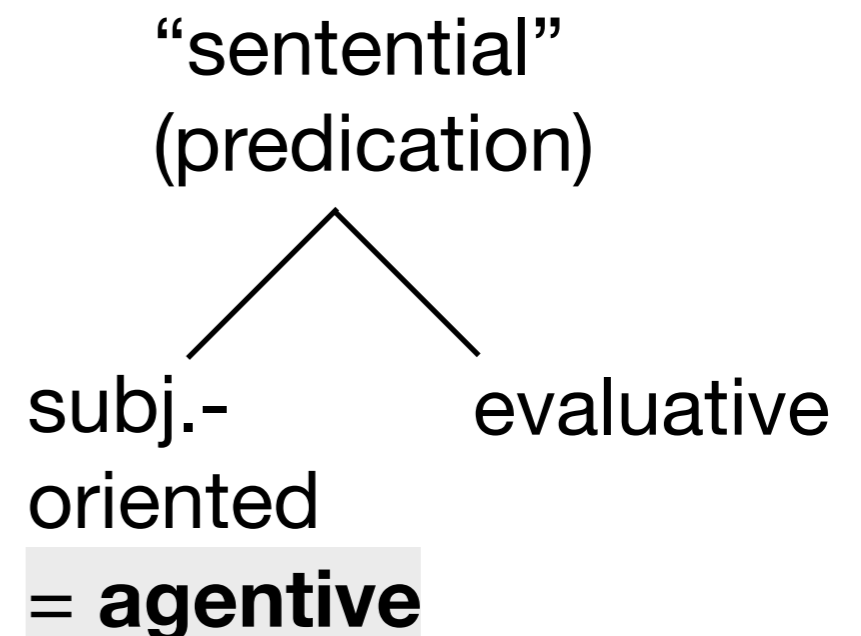
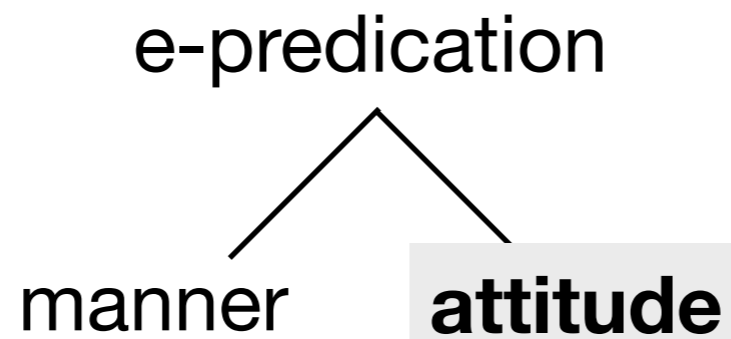
- Do adjectives denoting attitudes automatically go into class c.?
  - Do state-denoting adjectives (esp. emotional states) automatically go into class d.?
  - Do adjectives with an agentive *of*-argument go into class e.?
- (But what are agentive adverbs anyway?)

# “Predicational adverbials”: Different systems in the literature

Morzycki (2016)



Maienborn & Schäfer (2011)



**Conclusion: "Attitude" / Expression of an attitude object is an unstable feature of various adjective & adverbial classes**

**a. Manner adverbs**

*Jones buttered his toast carefully*

**no object of attitude expressed**

**b. "Scope-taking manner adverbs" (e.g. Parsons 1972; Piñón 2007):**

*He painstakingly [wrote illegibly].*

**object: intended action?**

*He carefully [picked every worm out of the salad]*

**c. Mental-attitude adverbs (Landman 2000, Ernst 2002):**

✓ *Jones intentionally [burnt his toast]*

**but cf.: burnt it intentionally**

*reluctantly [threw away the toast].*

**d. Mental-state adverbs (Ernst 2002, Geuder 2004):**

*Jones angrily threw away his toast (none?)*

**cf. J sadly [discovered the solution to be incorrect] attitude?**

**e. Agentive adverbs (Ernst 2002, Geuder 2002) [e-relatedness is controversial]:**

*Jones stupidly threw away his toast*

**no attitude**



# Adverb Classes (I): What is a mental-attitude adverbial?

Buscher (2013): 2 types of mental-attitude adverbs:

- Type A “reluctantly” (*freiwillig, widerwillig*)
  - Strictly require a volitional agent argument,
  - only combine with actions (not with unaccusative / nonagentive verbs), cannot be saved via inferences to an agent external to the described situation,
  - “have an evaluative component”.
- Type I “intentionally” (*absichtlich, versehentlich, vorsorglich*)
  - May combine with nonagentive verbs, bearer of intention can be accommodated via inferences,
  - focus on the “intentional initiation” of an action.

**Interpretation:**  
autonomous (motivational)  
state of an individual

**Interpretation:**  
a constitutive property of an event (~ “manner”)

# Adverb Classes (I): What is a mental-attitude adverbial?

2 types of mental-attitude adverbs:

- Type A “reluctantly” (*freiwillig, widerwillig*)

*He reluctantly threw away the toast*

# *It was reluctance / readiness...*

√ *in a state of reluctance / readiness*

**Interpretation:**  
**autonomous (motivational)**  
**state of an individual**

- Type I “intentionally” (*absichtlich, versehentlich, vorsorglich*)

*He unintentionally threw away the toast.*

√ *It was intention / a mistake / a precautionary measure*

**Interpretation:**  
**a constitutive property of an event (~ “manner”)**

## Adverb Classes (II): States vs. Non-states

- Ernst (2002): In (b), the state denoted by the adjective must literally hold for the individual, but it need not in a “manner” reading. Hence, a different modifier type in (b.): “state” adjunct.

*Though her emotions were in a turmoil...*

a. *...she managed to leave the room calmly.* [manner]

b. ?? *...she calmly had left the room.* [state]

- Semantics: A state that overlaps the event, plus an interpolated relation between **s** and **e** (Geuder 2004):

*He angrily forwarded the letter to his solicitor.* [anger = motive for e]

*He angrily read the review.* [anger = effect of e]

- “Transparent” predication of an individual as an indicator of the existence of a state. — Manners are not states, they are **attributes of an event.**

# Adverb Classes (II): States vs. Non-states

“Transparent” predication of an individual as an indicator of the existence of a state.

- Next question: Which modifiers are „stative adjuncts”?
  - Only with orientation towards an individual
  - only “stage-level” properties...
- Example of a lexical field: affective predicates (*sad, angry, ...*)  
Three parameters:
  - **Affective quality** (good/bad, pleasant/unpleasant)
  - **Attitude towards an object:** individuated in terms of the object
  - **Time-course** of a state (onset; durativity; change potential)

# Adjective Classes and “The Affective Realm” (Ben Ze'ev 2000)

←  
evaluative attitudes  
towards a specific object

generic object

no object individuated  
→

↑  
*occurrent*  
emotion (*angry*)

feeling (*pain*)

emotional episode  
(“*still angry*”)

mood (*cheerful*)

sentiment (*hate*)

[G. Haltung]  
(*Güte / kindness*)

*dispositional*  
↓

trait of character  
(*shy*)

# Adjective Classes and “The Affective Realm” (Ben Ze'ev 2000)

Hypothesis:  
**Stative** adjuncts  
(event-external)  
cannot take the  
*-weise* affix in German

- Back to the puzzle

“He arrogantly/proudly put his love-letters on the web”:

*Er hat arroganterweise seine Liebesbriefe ins Netz gestellt.*

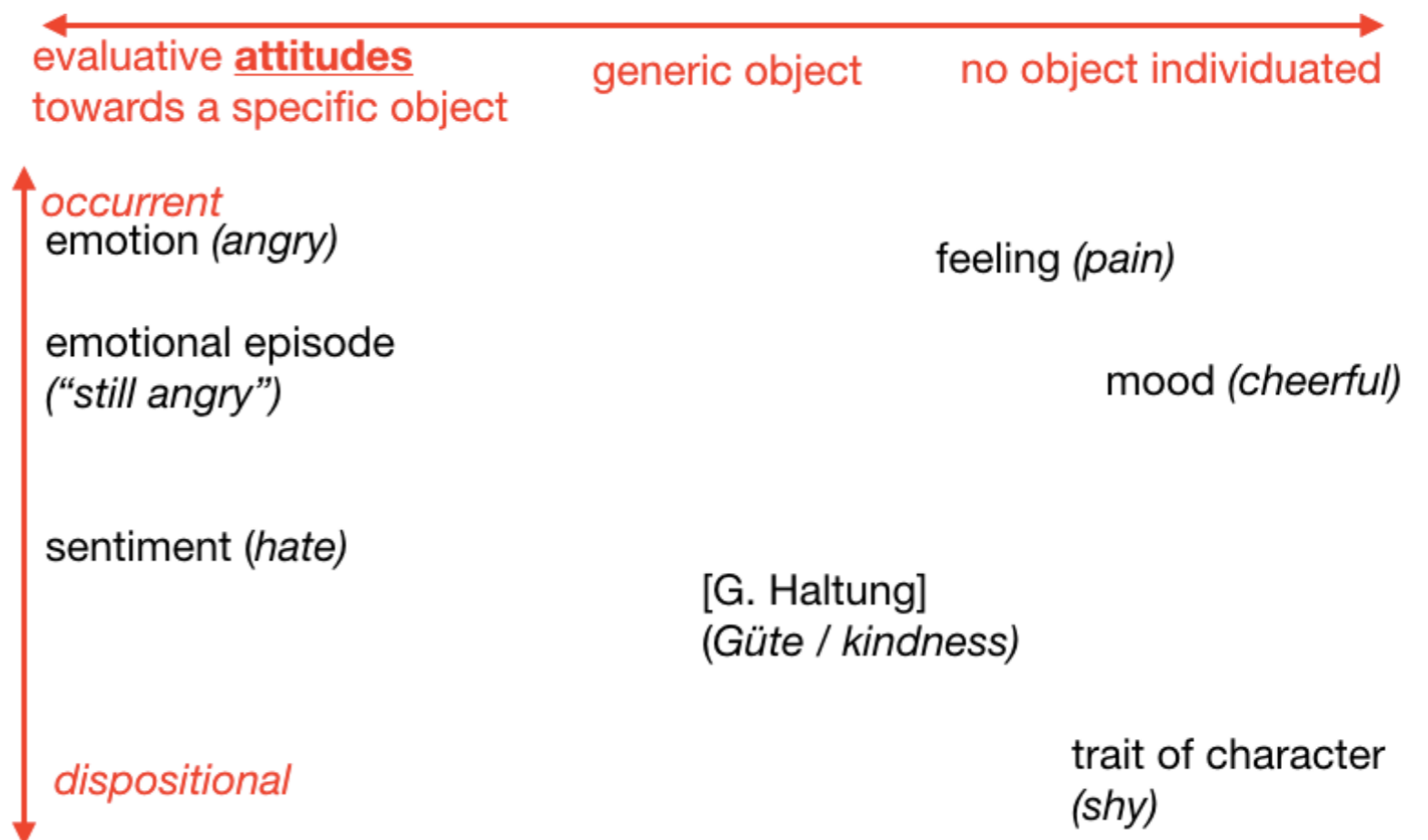
? *stolzerweise*

√ *stolz*

*proud / arrogant*

:

emotion / trait of character



# The German affix(oid) "-erweise"

- Contrary to widespread belief, the affix does not exclusively mark sentential adverbs (cf. Elsner 2015):
  - a) Epistemic / evidential / modal adverbs (lexicalised)  
*möglicherweise* ('possibly')
  - b) (Purely) Evaluative adverbs (lexical, but frequent)  
*glücklicherweise* ('fortunately')
  - c) Agentive (evaluative) adverbs (productive)  
*unverschämterweise* ('impertinent')
  - d) Various agent-related event properties: (easily)  
*unabsichtlicherweise, vorsichtigerweise* ('unintentional, cautious')
  - e) Circumstantial adverbs ? (productive, often colloquial)  
*Ich bin parkplatzsuchenderweise da herumgekurvt*  
~ I was cruising around "[searching-for-a-parking-space]-ly"

# The German affix(oid) "-erweise": Uses as a circumstantial event adverb

Krank gemeldet, einkaufen gegangen - Kündigung ...

Außerdem hätte Dein Mann auf's Kind aufpassen können und Du hättest eingekauft - das geht auch **schwangererweise** und mit öffentlichen Verkehrsmitteln.

 [rund-ums-baby.de/forenarchiv/baby-und-job/Krank-gemeldet-e...](http://rund-ums-baby.de/forenarchiv/baby-und-job/Krank-gemeldet-e...)

*"Shopping can also be done (when) in the state of pregnancy  
**and** using public transport"*

- Coordination with instrumental PP!



## ? “*stolz-erweise*”

Zählt ein Gartenteich auch als Aquaristikhobby ? Ich kann **stolzerweise** nämlich berichten, dass unsere Kois in diesem Jahr den ersten eigenen Nachwuchs verzeichnen.

[webpla.net/tiere-pflanzen/unterwassertalkrunde.44780...](http://webpla.net/tiere-pflanzen/unterwassertalkrunde.44780...)

= *Ich kann stolz berichten*

"I can proudly report... / I am proud to report...)

### **Note however:**

- Attestations of *stolzerweise* with strong tendency towards 1st person and addition of a modal verb.

- Word order constraints

(i) Ich kann stolzerweise nämlich berichten

(ii) \* Ich kann stolz nämlich berichten

(iii) ✓ Ich kann nämlich stolz berichten

**Hypothesis:** *-erweise* has created a speaker-oriented modifier here.

## # “*dankbar-erweise*”

Test: Yamaha HS8, Studiomonitore - Seite 2 von 4 - AMAZONA.de

<https://www.amazona.de/test-yamaha-hs8-studiomonitore/2/> ▼

★★★★★ Bewertung: 5/6 - Bewertung von Gregor Scherer

Die Anleitung liefert *dankbarerweise* detaillierte Angaben über die korrekte Aufstellung der Lautsprecher. Füße oder ähnliches gibt es nicht, idealerweise stellt ...

*dankbarerweise* = *dankenswerterweise*

(speaker is grateful, not the subject is grateful)

cf. E. *thankfully*

Meinen besonderen Dank möchte ich aussprechen:

- den Tausenden von Lesern meines ersten Buches „MegaLiving!“, die sich *dankbarerweise* die Zeit genommen haben, mir zu schreiben und mir über ihre Erfolge zu berichten. Sodann allen, die an meinen Seminaren teilgenommen haben. Danke für eure grenzenlose Unterstützung und Zuneigung. Ihr habt mich zu dem inspiriert, was ich schreibe.

Context indicates it is rather the speaker who is grateful

# The German affix(oid) *-erweise*

Hence, the point was not trivial... :

## Generalisation (I):

Stative adjuncts (event-external), esp. those expressing emotional states, cannot take the *-weise* affix in German

*arroganterweise* — ?? / (#) *stolzerweise*

[arrogant - proud]

*undankbarerweise* — ? / # *dankbarerweise*

[ungrateful - grateful]

*proud / grateful* are **emotions**,  
*arrogant / ungrateful* are **traits of character**

# The German affix(oid) *-erweise*

*proud / grateful* are **emotions**,  
*arrogant / ungrateful* are **traits of character**

*Er hat stolz / dankbar die Briefe ins Netz gestellt.*

*Er hat arroganterweise / undankbarerweise [die Briefe ins Netz gestellt]*

*[That] was so arrogant of him / ?? That was so proud of him*

*[That] was ungrateful of him / ?? That was grateful of him*

(Note meaning difference: **I was** so proud/grateful of him)

## **Generalisation (II):**

A paraphrase that predicates the syntactic scope of the adverb on the adjectival form predicts the availability of *-weise* (cf. Elsner 2015, Schäfer 2013)

 (III): Agentive adverbs

# The lexical roots of agentive adverbs

- Is there a single lexical class that underlies agentive adverbs?
- Can it be diagnosed from the *-weise* affix?

Adjectives denoting occurrent mental states do not take the affix *-weise* (as a higher adverb).

Pure evaluatives (e.g. *unglücklicherweise* ‘unfortunately’) cannot drop the affix.

But: **some** “agentive adverbs” allow dropping the affix.

↳ Criterion: paraphrase *that was <adj.> of <agent>*

## Die Entdeckung des Lichts: Roman - Google Books-Ergebnisseite

<https://books.google.de/books?isbn=3832185100>

Ralf Bönt - 2010 - Fiction

Davy lächelte: »In den nächsten Jahren wird sich das auch nicht ändern. ... seine Professur, die er arroganterweise und leichtfertig zurückgegeben hatte, um die ...

‘His professorship, which he arrogantly and frivolously had resigned from’

# The lexical roots of agentive adverbs

- Existing views on the lexical foundations of agentive adverbs:
  - They introduce a manifestation of a disposition (Geuder 2002, cf. a. Martin 2013).
  - A subgroup of adverbs making an evaluative predication on a state of affairs (Eckardt 1998).
- Note:
  - “Disposition of an agent” is not enough: Minimal contrast  
*... geschwätzigerweise / ?? gesprächigerweise*  
‘talkative (pej.)’                      ‘in the mood for conversation; approachable’
  - There are also adjectives that evaluate **actions** without having the agent argument and without denoting a disposition:  
*illegal, verwerflich* (‘morally wrong’), *(in)appropriately*

# The lexical roots of agentive adverbs

There are also adjectives that **only evaluate** actions without having the agent argument and without denoting a disposition:  
*illegal, verwerflich* ('morally wrong'), *(in)appropriately*

*[Das Geld anzunehmen] war illegal \* von ihm*

Accepting the money was illegal ? of him

– Evaluative meaning component:

Compare the described action with descriptions listed as punishable by the law. If the action can be subsumed there, it is illegal.

– The evaluation of the action does not depend on any factors internal to the agent.

# The lexical roots of agentive adverbs

*[Das Geld zu spenden] war großzügig von ihm*

‘Donating the money was generous of him.’

- Here, the evaluation of the action does depend on factors internal to the agent: It is understood that it is his/her own free will (and is accompanied by a benevolent attitude?).
- Evaluative component in more detail:
  - A comparison is made of what someone has decided to give, and what they can afford giving. If the donation represents a large part of the latter, it is *generous*.



# The lexical roots of agentive adverbs

*[Das Geld auszuschlagen] war dumm **von ihm***

*Refusing the money was stupid of him*

- Evaluative component:
    - Comparing what someone wants (in the present context), and what the action leads up to. If the outcome does not match the agent's actual preferences, it is stupid, i.e. a mistake.
  - Additionally, there is an explanative component: the mistake is due to lack of insight. (Geuder, 2002).
- 
- In general, the evaluative component in many agentive adverbs seems to involve an *ordering source* (known from the semantics of circumstantial modality, cf. Kratzer 1991):
    - illegal* – i.e. in view of what the law provides
    - generous* – i.e. in view of the agent's abilities
    - stupid* – i.e. in view of the agent's desires.

# The lexical roots of agentive adverbs

However, there also seem to be adjectives that only describe a property of the agent in the event:

*The visitor absent-mindedly put his empty glass to his lips*  
*How absent-minded of him*

- Problem: Shouldn't absent-mindedness be a state? But perhaps the agentive interpretation is based on some flexibility of meaning, cf. German:

*Wie zerstreut von ihm / ? Wie geistesabwesend von ihm!*

*“zerstreuter Professor”* = trait of character

*“geistesabwesender Professor”* = SL

- Unclear whether there is an evaluation; does [*absent-mindedly P*] entail that P is the wrong thing to do?

- A question for further research: does the class of “agentive adverbs” extend from evaluations to explanations of actions, with a different mix of these components in each adjective?

# The lexical roots of agentive adverbs

## Tentative differentiation of agentive adjectives:

- Adjectives in which cause-oriented, explanative features have more weight (: mostly about decisions and choices)

*klug, intelligent, taktvoll, leichtfertig, faul*

- Adjectives in which evaluative features (relating to an outcome of an action) have more weight:

*idiotisch, unhöflich, (un)anständig, freundlich, lebenswürdig*

**Also to be checked:** Could it be that the first group allows omission of the affix *-weise* more easily than the second?

[Die Entdeckung des Lichts: Roman - Google Books-Ergebnisseite](https://books.google.de/books?isbn=3832185100)

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Davy lächelte: »In den nächsten Jahren wird sich das auch nicht ändern. ... seine Professur, die er arroganterweise und leichtfertig zurückgegeben hatte, [arrogantly and inconsiderately]



# Conclusion

*Scopal and event-external modifiers: Lexically defined classes?*

**b. Scope-taking manner adverbs**

*He painstakingly wrote illegibly.*

**c. Mental-attitude adverbs**

*Jones intentionally burnt his toast / reluctantly threw away the toast.*

**d. Mental-state adverbs**

*Jones angrily threw away his toast*

**e. Agentive adverbs**

*Jones stupidly threw away his toast*

The classes may be blurred, involving various constellations of features like:

± Occurrent mental state (vs. IL-property, abstract property)

± Transitivity / existence of an object of attitude, an object to be characterised.

± Evaluation of an action according to a scale of preferences

± Causal explanation of an action (from a condition internal to the agent)

This is expected if the classification is basically one of lexical meanings: lexical fields are expected to overlap and blur into each other.

# Conclusion



- ± Occurrent mental state (vs. IL-property, abstract property)
- ± Transitivity / existence of an object of attitude, an object to be characterised.
- ± Evaluation of an action according to a scale of preferences
- ± Causal explanation of an action (from a condition internal to the agent)

event attribute

agent orientation / predication of agent

state reference

attitude towards P

explanation of P

evaluation of P

👉 We (will) have to decompose adjectives in order to understand their adverbial uses.

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