



**Adverbial Classes  
and  
Adjective Classes**

# The Roots of Adverbial Classes

Apart from the classic distinction "sentence adverb / event adverb", different semantic classes of event adverbs have been proposed:

**a. Manner adverbs**

*Jones buttered his toast slowly / carefully*

**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*

# A Proposed Re-classification

Frame-related adjuncts /  
"e-internal modifiers" (cf.  
Maienborn 2003)

## a. Manner adverbs

*Jones buttered his toast slowly / carefully*

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

*He painstakingly wrote illegibly.*

## c. (Scope-taking) intentional adverbs (Landman 2000, Ernst 2000)

*Jones intentionally burnt his toast*

unclear  
relation wrt.  
frame

## d. e-related stative adjuncts

*Jones angrily threw away his toast*

## e. Agentive adverbs (evaluative)

*Jones stupidly threw away his toast*

"e-related", i.e.  
"event-external"  
modifiers  
(relates to the  
occurrence of e)

# Adverb Classes

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## a. Manner adverbs

*Jones buttered his toast slowly / carefully*

Diagnostics:

- Explicit reference to manners: "*in a ... manner*";  
Relative clauses: E. *how* / G. *wie*. Demonstratives: G. *so*
- Low syntactic position, attract sentence accent.  
(E.: final position possible; G.: close to the predicate complex)
- No scope effects, (normally) below sentential negation.

Representation: (not a topic for today)

- Manner modifiers denote attributes in the Frame representation of an event, or restrict the values of such attributes via correlation.

# 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.*

*# Jones had the intention to burn his toast*

*# J. was reluctant to throw away the toast*

- b/c) as a special problem:

- They take scope, e.g. over manner adverbs, over negation,

- but describe an integral component of the event (cf. c.#).

- **Alternate** with position of manner adverb, with little meaning difference apart from scope effects: *...burnt it intentionally / reluctantly*

# Adverb Classes

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

*Jones angrily threw away his toast*  
( ~ *out of anger*)

- Denote a state that must hold true of the subject ("transparent" wrt. adjectival base), unlike the manner use of the same adverb. (Ernst 2002, Geuder 2004)
- May prefer preverbal position, may sometimes precede negation. Often distressed.
- Interpretation: [A] denotes motive for doing [e], or emotional effect of involvement in [e].
- Apparently no substitution by demonstrative or relative pronoun.
- They all **alternate with manner uses.**

# Adverb Classes

e. **Agentive adverbs** (Ernst 2002, Geuder 2002):

*Jones stupidly threw away his toast*

- "Sentential" (or infinitival, gerundive) paraphrases:

*it was stupid of x to do this.*

- Event-relatedness has been disputed, but:

- Predication of (deictic) demonstratives possible: *THAT was stupid!*
- May scope over negation or conjunction, but not over disjunction.
- Can appear inside gerunds: "*I was horrified at...*

*John's stupidly (/ \*probably) driving the car off the cliff."*

- Analysis perhaps as: predication of an event that has independently been introduced as a discourse referent (Geuder 2002).

- They always **alternate with a manner use**; difference clearly marked, in E. VP-external position, G. affixation with *-erweise*

# Summary on Adverb Classes

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- Event adverbs are typically ambiguous between
  - a "manner" or "intentional" use
  - and exactly one "event-external" use.

## **Relating adverb types to adjectival lexemes:**

- The range of non-manner uses of an adjective is predictable from its lexical class, while the manner use is (more) generally available (Geuder 2002, similarly Ernst 2002, 2016).
- Hypothesis: The event-external (and perhaps other scope-taking) uses show the adjective in its underlying meaning, the event-internal use involves a construal in which the A's meaning is used to constrain frame attributes.



# Event-internal and -external uses of adjectives

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- **Hypothesis:** The pattern of alternations points to the existence of two basic strategies for using an adjectival lexeme as an adverbial modifier:
  - 1) Recruit the concept expressed by an adjective to modify (i.e., alterate) the event concept (= frame) expressed by the verb.  
: Manner adverbs
  - 2) Let the adjective have its usual denotation (state, property), and find a link that connects it to (the occurrence of) an event.  
: Non-manner event adverbs – 'autonomous' adverbs?

# The (Lexical) Roots of Adverbial Classes



## a. Manner adverbs

*Jones buttered his toast slowly / carefully*

diverse lexical  
classes

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

*He painstakingly wrote illegibly.*

attitudes?

## c. (Scope-taking) intentional adverbs (Landman 2000):

*Jones intentionally burnt his toast*

## d. e-related stative adjuncts

*Jones angrily threw away his toast*

e.g. emotions?

## e. Agentive adverbs (evaluative)

*Jones stupidly threw away his toast*

IL-adj., dispositions?

# Adjective Classes

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

Adjective Class				
Perceptual (Perzeption)	lig	Body-related (Koeper)	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: the cross-classification problem

- GermaNet:

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 in "Stative adjuncts"

- Ernst (2002: 63) on a class he calls "mental-attitude adverbs":

M-A adverbs include *calmly, anxiously, absent-mindedly, eagerly, sadly, attentively, willingly, reluctantly, obstinately, and vigilantly*. They describe, most fundamentally, a state of mind experienced by the referent of the subject of the verb. They seem to fall into two groups, which I term state and intentional according to their preferred reading, but it appears that either type of M-A adverb may take the reading characteristic of the other subgroup (depending on the meaning of the verb). That is, state M-A adverbs tend to have a state reading but may sometimes have an intentional reading in the right context; intentional M-A adverbs tend toward an intentional reading but may have a state reading in the right context. Both types also may have manner readings. (2.60)–(2.62) provide examples of the state group, and (2.63)–(2.64) the intentional group.

(2.61) a. She calmly had left the room.

(2.64) a. Willingly, the sailors sang a few of the chanteys.

# Adjective Classes in "Stative adjuncts"

- A finer classification of "states of mind" (of an EXP): major semantic traits include
  - **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)
- Note [contra Ernst] that there is a class of adjectives which invariably describe an attitude, even when syntactically scopeless:
  - John intentionally burnt his toast.*
  - John burnt his toast intentionally.*
- : Mental-attitude adverbs in a strict sense
- What about attitudes recovered from contextual knowledge?
  - (i) *John delightedly watched the robot doing all the work.*
  - (ii) *John calmly left the meeting*

# Adjective Classes: "The Affective Realm"

(Ben Ze'ev 2000)

1. specific intentionality, occurrent state—emotions, such as envy, anger, guilt, and sexual desire;
2. specific intentionality, dispositional state—sentiments, such as enduring love or grief;
3. general intentionality, occurrent state—moods, such as being cheerful, satisfied, "blue," and gloomy;
4. general intentionality, dispositional state—affective traits, such as shyness and enviousness.

- Defining **emotions**:

- A cluster made up of (bodily) feeling and three intentional components:



- Short-lived, highly energetic states of the organism.
- They serve to alert the organism to those changes in the (perceived!) environment which touch on its vital interests, and enable it to react.

# Adjective Classes: "The Affective Realm" (Ben Ze'ev 2000)

←  
evaluative attitudes  
towards a specific object

generic object

no object individuated  
→

↑  
*occurrent*  
emotion (*happy*)

feeling (*pain*)

emotional episode

*mood (cheerful)*

*sentiment (nostalgia)*

[G. Haltung]  
(*Güte / kindness*)

*dispositional*  
↓

trait of character  
(*shyness*)



# Adjective Classes: "The Affective Realm"

←  
evaluative attitudes  
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no object individuated  
→

↑  
*occurrent*

*emotion (happyness)*

feeling (*pain*)

*emotional episodes*

Linguistic correlate: emotion and mood adjectives differ in terms of argument structure:

*I am glad [that you are calling] (emotion)*

*I am cheerful ??[that you are calling] (mood)*

*mood (cheerful)*

↓  
*dispositional*

trait of character  
*(shyness)*

# Adjective Classes in "Stative adjuncts"



- Interpretation of emotion adjectives uses knowledge about rise of emotions and resulting motivation:
  - Following this insult, John angrily stood up and left the room*  
(~ out of anger, link = motivation)
  - John angrily reread the terms of the contract*  
(anger increased on rereading, link = evaluation)
- However, the emotion must be present in the action described by the verb
  - John discovered angrily [that someone stole his bicycle]*  
(= The emotion arises on discovering the theft)
  - ?? John angrily had his bicycle stolen*  
cf.: *John is angry [that someone stole his bicycle]*

Arg. structure alone is not sufficient to license adverbial construal

# Adjective Classes in "Stative adjuncts"

- Similar states that are not emotions (or not even affective states) require even more vague connections to the event:
  - The barman cheerfully opened the bottle.*
  - She calmly had left the room*
- Summary on stative adjuncts:
  - They denote an occurrent mental state and depict a relationship between this state and (the occurrence of) an event.
    - (In contrast, manner adv. denote the value of some event attribute).
  - The precise readings are inferred from the ways in which the mental state typically comes about, or in which it motivates a behaviour (or colours a behaviour).
    - In Ernst's (2002) account, there seems to be confusion of "attitude / intention / motivation".
  - They differ from adjectives that lexically express an attitude.

# Adjective Classes in "Agentive adverbs"

## Agentive adverbs: Paradigm cases

- (a) *Lisa rudely departed.* (McConnell-Ginet 1982, Ernst 2002, Piñón 2010)
- (b) *Sandy inappropriately kissed Jill on the lips.* (Wyner 1994)
- (c) *The defender stupidly passed back.* (Geuder 2002)

- Are such adverbs all alike?

- Paraphrase: *it was <adj.> of <agent>*
- Differences in lexical classes

- There is a different lexical class that yields (propositional) evaluative adverbs:

- *fortunately: it was <adj.> for <speaker / exp>*
- Note ambiguity of German *dumm* (*stupid*) in this respect

*Dummerweise hatte er seinen Schlüssel vergessen*

*Stupidly he had forgotten his key.*

- (a) "his mistake" (agentive) ; (b) "too bad for us" (p-evaluative)

# Agentive adverbs in German: The affix(oid) "-erweise"

- Combines with an adjectival stem; historically derived from an NP (N = *Weise*) in an adverbial genitive:  
e.g. *törichterweise* 'foolishly' <

*töricht-er*      *Weise*      (*hat er dafür gestimmt*)  
*foolish-GEN*   *way-[GEN]* (*he voted in favour of it*)

*Weise* = way, method, manner; tune (... 'course of events'?)  
Yielding a 'commentary adverbial', not a manner modifier.

- (Distinct from *-weise* + nominal base:)

*probe<sub>N</sub>-weise*      (*as a test*)  
*eimer<sub>N</sub>-weise*      (*'by the bucket', sth. measured in buckets*)

# The German affix(oid) "-erweise"

• Contrary to widespread belief, the affix does not exclusively mark sentential adverbs (Elsner 2015) — cf. d):

a) Epistemic / evidential / modal adverbs (lexicalised)

*möglicherweise* 'possibly'

b) (Purely) Evaluative adverbs (lexical, but easily available)

*glücklicherweise* 'fortunately'

c) Agentive (evaluative) adverbs (productive)

*unverschämterweise* ('unashamed, impertinent, brazen, ...')

d) 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

## Suche werdende Mamis aus MÜNCHEN! - forum.gofeminin.de

Wie gehts Dir denn so **schwangererweise** und wie war es beim FA? Ist Julischa Dein richtiger Name? Er hört sich sehr ungewöhnlich an, woher kommt er denn?


 [forum.gofeminin.de/forum/matern1/\\_\\_\\_f4740\\_matern1-Suche-...](https://forum.gofeminin.de/forum/matern1/___f4740_matern1-Suche-...)

Weitere Ergebnisse

*"How are you doing, now you are pregnant"*

## 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...](https://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 shows e-internal status.

# The German affix(oid) "-erweise"

- The distribution problem:

With different adjectives / adv. readings, the affix may be

**(a) obligatory**

(b) optional

(c) excluded

(a)

*...dass sie tōrichterweise* (*/?tōricht*) *für "Leave" stimmten.*

they foolishly

voted "Leave".

*...dass er unanständigerweise* (*/?unanständig*) *die Hose offen ließ*

*inappropriately, indecently*

*left his trousers open*



# The German affix(oid) "-erweise"

- The distribution problem:

With different adjectives / adv. readings, the affix may be

(a) obligatory

**(b) optional**

(c) excluded

(b) (to be continued)

*...dass er vorsichtig(erweise) die Tür offen ließ*

[carefully / cautiously] left the door open

*...dass er taktvoll(erweise) nichts dazu sagte*

[tactfully                      didn't comment on it]

etc.: *listig(erweise), umsichtig(erweise), ...*

[cunning/artful,    canny/thoughtful]

**Füchse feiern beim 42:24 einen Einstand nach Maß - Füchse Berlin**

[www.fuechse.berlin/o.red.r/news.php?id=416](http://www.fuechse.berlin/o.red.r/news.php?id=416) ▼

10.09.2006 - Anstatt jedoch hochzusteigen legte er intelligent den Ball auf den frei am Kreis positionierten Konrad Wilczynski ab, der zum 25:15 traf.

*"intelligently passed the ball to W., who scored"*

# The German affix(oid) "-erweise"

- The distribution problem: **(c) affix is excluded**

## Generalisation (I):

With adjectives that denote emotions, the affix "-erweise" does not appear (...in the same reading).

(The picture is less clear for some other adjectives in stative adjuncts.)

Some minimal contrasts:

*arroganterweise* / ? *stolzerweise*

[arrogant / proud]

*undankbarerweise* / ? # *dankbarerweise*

[ungrateful / grateful]

## ? "*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"

## Generalisation (I):

With adjectives that denote emotions, the affix "-erweise" does not appear, or at least does not allow the same reading.

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

[arrogant - proud]

*undankbarerweise* — ? / # *dankbarerweise*

[ungrateful - grateful]

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

*Cf. 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)

# The lexical roots of agentive adverbs

## Back to the distribution problem:

- Adjectives denoting occurrent mental states do not take the affix.
  - Pure evaluatives cannot drop the affix.
  - Some "agentive adverbs" allow dropping the affix, some don't.
    - ↳ Criterion: paraphrase "*that was <adj.> of <agent>*"
- ☞ Is there a single lexical class that underlies "agentive adverbs"?
- (☞ Is there one single meaning to the paraphrase?)

### 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 ...

[inconsiderate/frivolous]

# 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]
  - Adjectives may denote evaluations of actions without denoting a disposition (an intermediate case?):  
*verwerflich* (morally wrong), (in)appropriately

# The semantics of agentive adverbs

- The paraphrase shows that agentive adverbs are doubly predicative: *that was* <adj.> of <agent>

*target of evaluation*

*"subject orientation"*

- Beginning with Ernst (2002), the first parameter has often been called a "comparison class" in the literature – however, it does **not** always represent a norm of comparison.
- There is a recurring intuition that the agentive variant and the manner variant differ in "the comparisons made", e.g. Morzycki (2016):

Manner:

*Floyd departed rudely*

$\lambda e. \text{depart}(e) \ \& \ \text{agent}(e) =$   
 $\text{Floyd} \ \& \ \text{rude}(e)$

Agentive:

*Floyd rudely departed*

$\lambda e. \text{depart}(e) \ \& \ \text{agent}(e) = \text{Floyd}$   
 $\ \& \ \text{rude}(e)$  ( $\lambda e. \text{depart}(e) \ \&$   
 $\ \text{agent}(e) = \text{Floyd}$ )



# The semantics of agentive adverbs

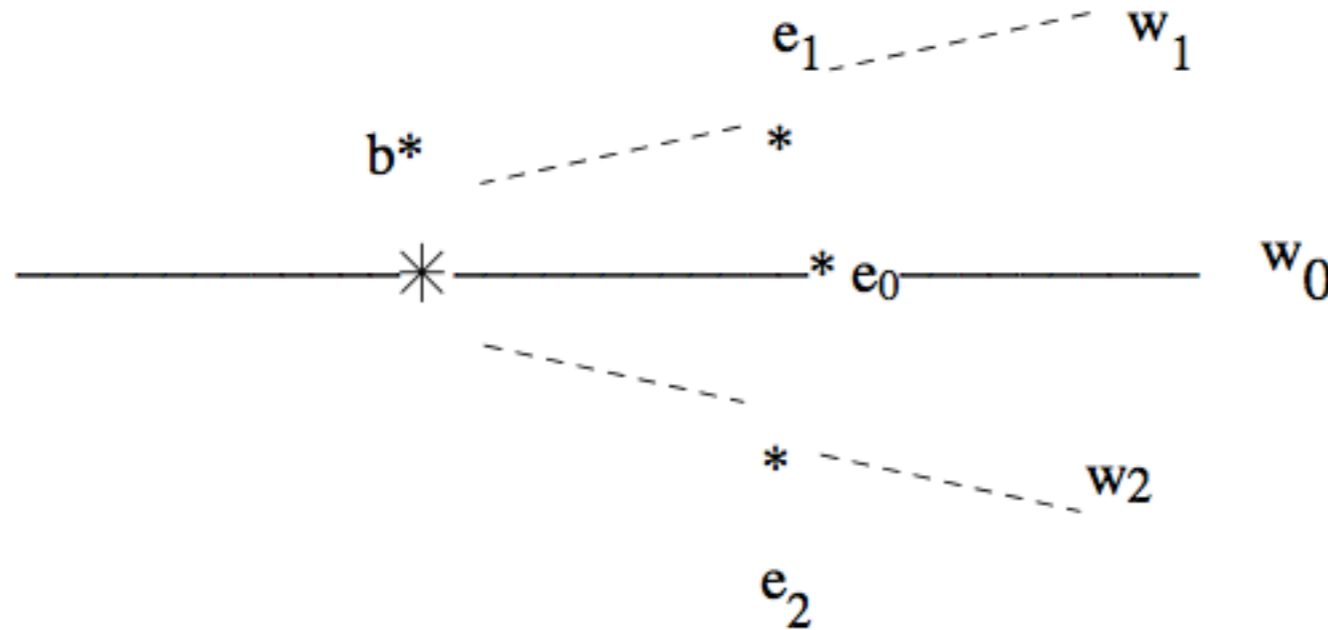
*rudely* as an agentive adv.: *Floyd rudely departed*

$\lambda e. \text{depart}(e) \ \& \ \text{agent}(e)=\text{Floyd}$   
&  $\text{rude}(e)$  ( $\lambda e. \text{depart}(e) \ \& \ \text{agent}(e)=\text{Floyd}$ )

- The underlined part corresponds to the syntactic scope of the adverb and to the "sentential" argument of the adj. paraphrase.
  - Let us call this argument the "**E-parameter**" of the adjective.
- *Rudely* (agentive): "An event with description "E" has occurred in the context – retrieve its focus alternatives – ...etc."
- Crucially, the E parameter may be used in different ways by different adjectives.

# The semantics of agentive adverbs: *stupidly*

- Geuder (2002): retrieving an event in a specific course of events:



*Stupidly passed back....:*

- The comparison involves the causal efficacy of a specific event in one specific context (i.e., what constitutes a mistake in C, given the agent's aims).
- "Inclusion of the agent" is a by-product here, because the complete e-description has to be accessed

In the real world, after  $b^*$  the action  $e_0$  has occurred — this is the event described by the clausal subject of *stupid*. The alternatives are worlds in which other possible events  $e_n$  have happened (which are incompatible with the presence of  $e_0$  in that world) — these are the events described by the set of focus alternatives of the same clause. What the adjective now says is that the occurrence of  $e_0$  is characteristic for a world in which the agent has the mental property *stupidness* (a disposition). All alternative continuations

# The semantics of agentive adverbs: *generously*

- However, adjectives differ in whether they invoke an event property as "E":

*He generously [donated something].*  
*He generously donated [1000 €].*

Comparison in terms of:  
- *whether or not* (propositions)  
- amount

- Note that the manner reading is connected to the assumption of an implicit amount:

(a) Agentive:

*The government generously had contributed towards the costs  
... though only a small amount*

(b) Manner:

*The government had contributed *généreusement* towards the costs  
...?? though only a small amount*

# The semantics of agentive adverbs and other scope-taking event adverbs

*The government generously contributed 2000 \$*

*The government contributed generously (i.e. by giving 2000\$)=E*

*He rudely left without good-bye.*

*He left rudely<sub>E</sub> (i.e., without good-bye)=E*

*He cleverly passed to W.*

*He passed cleverly<sub>E</sub> (i.e., by passing to W.)=E*

*White illegally moved a pawn diagonally*

*White moved illegally<sub>E</sub> (i.e. moved the pawn diagonally)=E*

Commonality:

The E-parameter is what **explains the manner use** — i.e. specifies a **correlation** between the adjective's E-parameter and **values of some event attribute**.

# The semantics of agentive adverbs and other scope-taking event adverbs

*The government generously contributed 2000 \$*

*The government contributed generously (i.e. by giving 2000\$)<sub>=E</sub>*

*She carefully closed the door gently*

*She closed the door carefully<sub>E</sub> (i.e., by closing it gently)<sub>=E</sub>*

*White illegally moved a pawn diagonally*

*White moved illegally<sub>E</sub> (i.e. moved the pawn diagonally)<sub>=E</sub>*

Differences:

An adjective in this pattern may denote a disposition, or perhaps an intention, an evaluation, ... (or any other event property?)

⇒ The **semantic classes of modifiers actually form a continuum** between "lower" (manner-like) and "higher" modifier types, namely to the extent that the respective lexical fields shade into each other.

# The lexical roots of agentive adverbs

**Tentative observations on adjectives that allow the omission of the affix *-erweise* (while retaining a very similar meaning):**

- Adjectives that have a stative component: *geduldig, stur, tapfer, (ruhig) / patient, stubborn, brave, calm*
- Adj. that contain event attributes ("manners"): *vorsichtig, penibel / cautious, meticulous*
- <Very tentatively>:

Adj. in which cause-oriented, explanative features have more weight than result-oriented, evaluative features

*klug, intelligent, großzügig, taktvoll, leichtfertig, brav, heldenhaft, faul* (: mostly about decisions and choices)

vs. *idiotisch, unhöflich, (un)anständig, freundlich, liebenswürdig*

(Problems: *dumm, arrogant*)

# The lexical roots of agentive adverbs

- **Generalisation II (tentative):**

With agentive adverbs, *-weise* is obligatory if the adjective's meaning is strongly evaluative and strongly context-dependent.

The agentive component in an adjective's meaning can vary in weight vis-à-vis the evaluative component.

- There may be a blurred distinction, with intermediate cases, between manner and agentive adverbs.

- Manner adverbs denote event attributes.

- Dispositions of an agent cannot count as an attribute of the event.

- Event attributes, as targeted e.g. by *careful*, cannot be converted to autonomous state predications, but nevertheless must not be confused with "dispositions".

# The boundaries of the classification are blurred...

Frame-related adjuncts /  
"e-internal modifiers" (cf.  
Maienborn 2003)

## a. Manner adverbs

*Jones buttered his toast slowly / carefully*

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

*He painstakingly wrote illegibly.*

## c. (Scope-taking) intentional adverbs (Landman 2000, Ernst 2000)

*Jones intentionally burnt his toast*

unclear  
relation wrt.  
frame

## d. e-related stative adjuncts

*Jones angrily threw away his toast*

## e. Agentive adverbs (evaluative)

*Jones stupidly threw away his toast*

"e-related", i.e.  
"event-external"  
modifiers  
(relates to the  
occurrence of e)



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