

Adverbial Constructions
in the Languages of Europe



Empirical Approaches to Language Typology



EUROTYP 20-3

Editors

Georg Bossong
Bernard Comrie

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Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe

edited by

Johan van der Auwera

in collaboration with

Dónall P. Ó Baoill

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General preface

The present volume is one of a series of nine volumes in which the results of the European research project "Typology of Languages in Europe" (EURO-TYP) are published. The initiative for a European project on language typology came from a proposal jointly submitted to the European Science Foundation (ESF) by Johannes Bechert (University of Bremen), Claude Buridant (University of Strasbourg), Martin Harris (University of Salford, now University of Manchester) and Paolo Ramat (University of Pavia).

On the basis of this proposal and following consultations with six experts the Standing Committee for the Humanities of the ESF decided to organize a workshop (Rome, January 1988), in which this idea was further explored and developed. The results of this workshop (published by Mouton de Gruyter, 1990) were sufficiently encouraging for the Standing Committee to appoint a preparatory committee and entrust it with the tasks of drawing up a preliminary proposal, of securing interest and participation from a sufficiently large number of scholars and of finding a suitable programme director. The project proposal formulated and sent out by Simon Dik (University of Amsterdam) as chair of this committee met with very supportive and enthusiastic reactions, so that the Standing Committee for the Humanities recommended the funding of a planning stage and the General Assembly of the ESF approved a year zero (1989) for an ESF Programme in Language Typology.

During this planning phase all major decisions concerning the management structure and the organisation of the work were taken, i. e., the selection of a programme director, the selection of nine focal areas around which the research was to be organized, the selection of a theme coordinator for each theme and the selection of the advisory committee.

The first task of the programme director was to draw up a definitive project proposal, which was supplemented with individual proposals for each theme formulated by the theme coordinators, and this new proposal became the basis of a decision by the ESF to fund the Programme for a period of five years (1990–1994).

Language typology is the study of regularities, patterns and limits in cross-linguistic variation. The major goal of EURO-TYP was to study the patterns and limits of variation in nine focal areas: pragmatic organization of discourse, constituent order, subordination and complementation, adverbial constructions, tense and aspect, noun phrase structure, clitics and word prosodic systems in the languages of Europe. The decision to restrict the investigation to

the languages of Europe was imposed for purely practical and pragmatic reasons. In the course of the project an attempt was made, however, to make as much sense of this restriction as possible, by characterizing the specific features of European languages against the background of non-European languages and by identifying areal phenomena (*Sprachbünde*) within Europe. More specifically, the goals of the EUROTYP project included the following:

- to contribute to the analysis of the nine domains singled out as focal areas, to assess patterns and limits of cross-linguistic variation and to offer explanations of the patterns observed;
- to bring linguists from various European countries and from different schools or traditions of linguistics together within a major international project on language typology and in doing so create a new basis for future cooperative ventures within the field of linguistics. More than 100 linguists from more than 20 European countries and the United States participated in the project;
- to promote the field of language typology inside and outside of Europe. More specifically, an attempt was made to subject to typological analysis a large number of new aspects and domains of language which were uncharted territory before;
- to provide new insights into the specific properties of European languages and thus contribute to the characterization of Europe as a linguistic area (*Sprachbund*);
- to make a contribution to the methodology and theoretical foundations of typology by developing new forms of cooperation and by assessing the role of inductive generalization and the role of theory construction in language typology. We had a further, more ambitious goal, namely to make a contribution to linguistic theory by uncovering major patterns of variation across an important subset of languages, by providing a large testing ground for theoretical controversies and by further developing certain theories in connection with a variety of languages.

The results of our work are documented in the nine final volumes:

Constituent Order in the Languages of Europe (edited by A. Siewierska)

Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe (edited by J. van der Auwera)

Word Prosodic Systems in the Languages of Europe (edited by H. van der Hulst)

Actance et Valence dans les langues de l'Europe (edited by J. Feuillet)

Clitics in the Languages of Europe (edited by H. van Riemsdijk)

Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe (edited by Ö. Dahl)

Noun Phrase Structure in the Languages of Europe (edited by F. Plank)

Pragmatic Organization of Discourse in the Languages of Europe (edited by G. Bernini)

Subordination and Complementation in the Languages of Europe (edited by N. Vincent)

In addition, the EUROTYP Project led to a large number of related activities and publications, too numerous to be listed here.

At the end of this preface, I would like to express my profound appreciation to all organizations and individuals who made this project possible. First and foremost, I must mention the European Science Foundation, who funded and supported the Programme. More specifically, I would like to express my appreciation to Christoph Mühlberg, Max Sparreboom and Geneviève Schauinger for their constant and efficient support, without which we would not have been able to concentrate on our work. I would, furthermore, like to thank my colleague and assistant, Martin Haspelmath, and indeed all the participants in the Programme for their dedication and hard work. I finally acknowledge with gratitude the crucial role played by Johannes Bechert and Simon Dik in getting this project off the ground. Their illness and untimely deaths deprived us all of two of the project's major instigators.

Berlin, September 1995

Ekkehard König, Programme Director

Preface

The times, they are a-changin' – always, but it seemed that they were changing for the better in 1989. That year, at least in Europe, walls and curtains of stone and iron were being dismantled. It had the disadvantage of ending the *Pax Sovietica* and preparing for conflicts in Yugoslavia, Abkhazia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Ossetia, and Chechnya. But we did not know that yet. The EUROTYP project only profited from the new openness. Before 1989 a project aiming to study the languages of Europe, from the Urals to the Atlantic, would not have been realistic; after 1989, it became a real possibility. The adverbialist group tried to exploit this possibility to the utmost. As the acknowledgments to the individual chapters will show, we had contacts with experts and native speakers for many of the more inaccessible languages of Europe. Colleagues from Eastern Europe became regular attendants at the meetings, and contributed to the *Working Papers*.

Personal histories also changed. I want to dedicate this book to Simon Dik, the chairman of the scientific committee of the EUROTYP project, and to Johannes Bechert, one of the initiators of the project, both of whom did not live to see the project end, and to the children who were born or adopted in the families of group members, viz., Ursina Saskia Bisang, Anastasia Eseleva, Thomas Patrick Haberland, Anna Maria and Elisabeth Hengeveld, Leonie Paula Kortmann, Teresa Michaelis-Haspelmath, Kai Ulrich Müller-Bardey, Anastasia Nedjalkova, and Douglas and Pedro van der Auwera Woodward. The dedication also goes to Oda Buchholz, as a symbol of the group's support in her coping with an embittering side-effect of the German unification.

The work reflected in this book is to a high degree a result of collaboration, especially and most intensively between the core members Walter Bisang, Oda Buchholz, Hartmut Haberland, Martin Haspelmath, Kees Hengeveld, Ekkehard König, Bernd Kortmann, Juan Carlos Moreno Cabrera, Thomas Müller-Bardey, Igor' Nedjalkov, Dónall P. Ó Baoill, Paolo Ramat, and Davide Ricca. Everyone pledged to collect and analyze for several languages and lived up to this pledge in a unique way. We also had a wonderful time together, which those present at the last group meeting will remember most strongly when they sing the Björstorp version of *The yellow submarine*, or relive the Björstorp meals or Markaryd saunas. To all group members I offer my warmest gratitude.

If one compares the acknowledgments in the individual chapters, one notices that some names crop up repeatedly. Given the group's commitment to a sampling strategy, such expert help was a *sine qua non*. Among the expert colleagues, I hereby thank most sincerely Mikhail Y. Alekseev (Moscow), Mario

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Brussels, October 1995

Johan van der Auwera

Contents

Contributors	xiii
Abbreviations	xv
<i>Johan van der Auwera</i>	
1 Introduction	1
<i>Johan van der Auwera</i>	
2 Phasal adverbials in the languages of Europe	25
<i>Juan Carlos Moreno Cabrera</i>	
3 Adverbial quantification in the languages of Europe: theory and typology	147
<i>Paolo Ramat and Davide Ricca</i>	
4 Sentence adverbs in the languages of Europe	187
<i>Martin Haspelmath with Oda Buchholz</i>	
5 Equative and similative constructions in the languages of Europe . . .	277
<i>Kees Hengeveld</i>	
6 Adverbial clauses in the languages of Europe	335
<i>Igor' V. Nedjalkov</i>	
7 Converbs in the languages of Europe	421
<i>Bernd Kortmann</i>	
8 Adverbial subordinators in the languages of Europe	457
<i>Martin Haspelmath and Ekkehard König</i>	
9 Concessive conditionals in the languages of Europe	563
<i>Walter Bisang</i>	
10 Adverbiality: The view from the Far East	641
<i>Johan van der Auwera</i>	
11 Conclusion	813

Index of names	837
Index of languages	844
Index of subjects	848

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Abbreviations

ABL	ablative case	CONV	converb
ABS	absolute case	COP	copula
ACC	accusative case/ alternative concessive conditional	COV	coverb
		CSC	complex stative con- struction
ACT	active voice	D	derivation(al index)/ deictic
ADEL	adelative case		
ADESS	adessive case	DAT	dative case
ADJ	adjective	DECL	declarative mood
ADP	adposition	DEF	definite
ADV	adverbial	DEM	demonstrative
ADVR	adverbializer	DEP	dependent
AG	agentive case	DES	desiderative
ALL	allative case	DEST	destinative case
ANAPH	anaphoric pronoun	DIR	direct evidence
AOR	aorist aspect	DIS	distal
aq	lexical adverbial quantifier	DISCONT	discontinuative
AQ	adverbial quantifier	DM	distributive modifier
AQPh	adverbial quantifica- tion phrase	DS	different subject
AQW	adverbial quantifica- tion word	DTR	dependent time refer- ence
ART	article	DU	dual number
AS	adverbial subordi- nator	DUR	durative
		ELAT	elative case
ASP	aspect	EMPH	emphatic
ATTR	attributive	EQ	equational particle
AUX	auxiliary	EQC	equative case
B	borrowing	EQD	equative degree
CAUS	causative	ERG	ergative case
CL	numeral classifier	ESS	essive case
CMP	comparee	ETH	entity type hierarchy
CMPR	comparative	EXCL	exclamative/exclusive
CO	coordinator	F	feminine gender/ frequency
COM	comitative	FAH	factuality hierarchy
COMP	complementizer	FIN	finite
COMPL	completive	FOC	focus
CONC	concessive	FREQ	frequentative
COND	conditional	FUNC	functive case
CONJ	conjunction	FUT	future tense
CONT	continuative	G	genitive
CONTNEG	continuative negative	GEN	genitive case
		GENR	generic

GER	gerund	PARA	parameter
H	human gender	PART	participle
HAB	habitual aspect	PASS	passive
HON	honorific	PAUC	paucal
I	idiosyncratic	PER	periphrasis
IB	index of idiosyncratic formation	PF	perfect
IMP	imperative mood	PFV	perfective aspect
IMPF	imperfective aspect	PL	plural number
INCH	inchoative	POL	polite
IND	indicative mood	POSS	possessive
INEL	inelative case	POSTESS	postessive case
INESS	inessive case	POT	potential
INF	infinitive	PP	prepositional phrase
INST	instrumental case	PREF	prefix
INT	interrogative	Prep/PREP	preposition
IR	interclausal relation	PrepP	prepositional phrase
ITR	independent time reference	PREV	preverb
LOC	locative case	PRH	presupposedness hier- archy
M	masculine gender	PRO	pronoun
MAN	manner	PROSP	prospective
MASD	masdar	PRS	present
Max.	maximal	PRTV	partitive case
MDL	modal	PST	past
MID	middle	PTL	particle
Min.	minimal	PURP	purpose
MM	monomorphemic	Q	quantifier/quotative
MOD	modification/modal case	QUANT	quantifier
MULT	multal	QUEST	question
N	noun	QUOT	quotative
NEG	negation, negative	RAR	rarity
NEUTR	neutral with respect to TAM	RDP	reduplicative
NOM	nominative case	RECP	reciprocal
NOML	nominalizer	REL	relative
NP	noun phrase	RELN	relational noun
NPST	nonpast	RES	resultative aspect
NR	nominalizer	RFL	reflexive
NT	neuter gender	S	subject/simultaneity
O	object	SA	sentence adverb
OBJ	object	SAE	Standard Average European
OPT	optative mood	SBJ	subject
P	paratactic/ preposition	SBST	substantivizer
PA	predicate adverb	SCC	scalar concessive con- ditional
PAM	parameter marker	SEQ	sequential
		SG	singular number
		SIM	simultaneity

SIMV	similative	Asr	Assyrian
SS	same subject	Avr	Avar
STAN	standard	Azb	Azerbaijani
STAT	stative	Bdkh	Budukh
STM	standard marker	Bgl	Bagvalal
SUB	subordinate	Blg	Bulgarian
SUBJ	subjunctive mood	Blr	Belorussian
SUPEL	superlative case	Bsh	Bashkir
TA	tense-aspect	Bsq	Basque
TAM	tense-aspect-mood	Btl	Botlikh
TDH	time dependency hier- archy	Brt	Breton
TEMP	temporal	Bzht	Bezhta
TENT	tentative	Che	Chechen
TOP	topic	Chu	Chuvash
TR	transitive	ClGrk	Classical Greek
TRNSL	translative case	Ctl	Catalan
UCC	universal concessive conditional	Cz	Czech
UGR	undergoer case	Dan	Danish
V	verb	Drgw	Dargwa
VA	verbal affix	Dut	Dutch
VN	verbal noun	Eng	English
VOL	volitional	Est	Estonian
WH	interrogative pronoun	Far	Faroese
WO	word order	Fer	Fering
1, 2, 3	first, second, third person	Fin	Finnish
&	adjective/adverb	Fr	French
°	quasi- satellite	Frln	Friulian
σ		Frs	Frisian
Superscripts		Gdb	Godoberi
C	complementizer	Ggz	Gagauz
M	modifier	Glc	Galician
Language names		Goth	Gothic
Abkh	Abkhaz	Grg	Georgian
Abz	Abaza	Grk	Greek
Adg	Adyghe	Grm	German
Agl	Agul	Hng	Hungarian
Alb	Albanian	Hnz	Hunzib
Arc	Archi	Ice	Icelandic
Arm	Armenian	Ingr	Ingrian
Aru	Arumanian	Ir	Irish
		It	Italian
		Kbr	Kabardian
		Khnl	Khinalug
		Klm	Kalmyk
		Kmk	Kumyk
		Kom	Komi
		Krch	Karachai-Balkar
		Krl	Karelian

Krm	Karaim	Rmns	Romansh
Krmn	Kirmanji	Rtl	Rutul
Lak	Lak	Rum	Rumanian
Lat	Latin	Rus	Russian
Laz	Laz	Sam	Sami
Lith	Lithuanian	ScGl	Scottish Gaelic
Liv	Livonian	SCr	Serbian/Croatian
Ltv	Latvian	Slva	Slovak
Lud	Ludic	Slve	Slovene
Lzg	Lezgian	Spn	Spanish
Mar	Mari	Srb	Sorbian
Mcd	Macedonian	Srd	Sardinian
Mgr	Megrelian	Svn	Svan
MHG	Middle High German	Swd	Swedish
Mlt	Maltese	SwG	Swiss German
Mns	Mansi	Tbs	Tabasaran
Mnx	Manx	Tls	Talysh
Mrd	Mordvin	Trk	Turkish
Nnts	Nenets	Tskh	Tsakhur
Nog	Nogai	Tsz	Tsez
Nor	Norwegian	Tti	Tati
Occ	Occitan	Ttr	Tatar
OCS	Old Church Slavonic	Ubkh	Ubykh
OE	Old English	Udm	Udmurt
OHG	Old High German	Ukr	Ukrainian
OPrs	Old Prussian	USrb	Upper Sorbian
Oss	Ossetic	Vot	Votian
Pol	Polish	Vps	Vepsian
Prt	Portuguese	Wls	Welsh
Rmni	Romani	Yid	Yiddish