Прилагательные в ЖЯ

# Две цитаты про прилагательные и ЖЯ

[...] it is not clear whether adjectives form a separate part of speech in RSL – no research has been done on this issue so far.

Kimmelman, V. (2018). Basic argument structure in Russian Sign Language. Glossa: a journal of general linguistics, 3(1).

Arabic sign languages' word correspondence (i.e., signs) is limited to two basic classes, nouns/adjectives and verbs.

Abdel-Fattah, M. A. (2005). Arabic sign language: a perspective. Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education, 10(2), 212-221.

Отсутствие прилагательных как отдельной части речи в принципе не удивительно
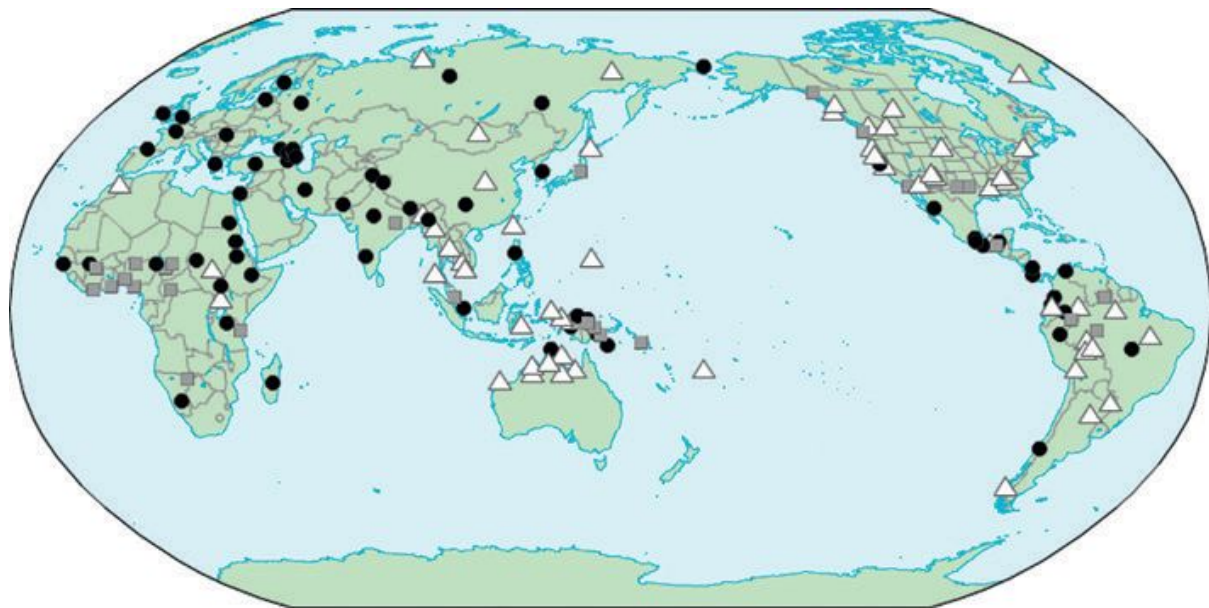
Black dots: open class (66 languages);
grey squares: closed class (30 languages);
white triangles: no separate class (57 languages)

Velupillai, V. (2012). An introduction to linguistic typology. John Benjamins Publishing.

Типа логия

В языках, где прилагательных нет или они представляют закрытый класс, их функции могут брать на себя как существительные, так и глаголы:

Hausa (Afro-Asiatic (West Chadic): Nigeria)

a. mutum   mai   alheri
    person   having   kindness
'a kind person'

b. mutum   mai   doki
    person   having   horse
'a person having a horse'

c. yana   da   alheri
    he.is   with   kindness
'*He is kind.'*

d. yana   da   doki
    he.is   with   horse
'He has a horse.'

Bemba (Niger-Congo (Bantoid): DR Congo)

a. umuuntu   ùashipa
    person   who.is.brave
'a brave person'

b. umuuntu ùalemba
    person   who.is.writing
'a person who is writing'

c. umuuntu áashipa
    person   is.brave
'The person is brave.'

d. umuuntu áalemba
    person   is.writing
'The person is writing.'

Типа логия

Properties 'dimension', 'colour', 'age' and 'value' are those most likely to be found in a closed class of adjectives, while other properties, such as position (high, low), human character (kind, evil), speed (fast, slow) and physical characteristics (hard, soft) are more likely to be expressed with either nouns or verbs in languages with a closed class of adjectives. [Velupillai, V. (2012)]

(!) у нас с Аней "прилагательные" цвета вели себя странно

DGS

(8)	dimension	GROSS ('large')
	value	GUT ('good')
	colour	ROT ('red')
	age	NEU ('new')
	physical property	KALT ('cold')
	human propensity	FRECH ('cheeky')
	speed	SCHNELL ('fast')

В основном что-то пишут про gradable прилагательные:

Grammatically adjectives may be specified for degree (the extent to which a property holds), either morphologically or syntactically, and may combine with degree words that cannot combine with nouns or verbs.

В USL (Ugandan Sign Language) у некоторых прилагательных (в основном цвета) грамматически выражен attenuative. Любопытно, что жест, его выражающий, не самостоятелен и не грамматикализовался из полнозначного жеста. И жест и аффикс при этом сопровождаются немануальным компонентом (высунутый язык)
В ASL эта же категория выражается за счёт изменения компонента движения (trilled movement).

Высокая степень признака может выражаться как немануально (в USL - пищуром и/или поднятием бровей), так и за счёт изменения компонента движения (the intensive inflection of adjectives in Israeli SL imposes lengthening of the movement on the base sign)

Padden (1988): adjectives can inflect for intensive aspect

НО!

Изменение компонента движения и/или появление немануальных маркеров для выражения сильной/слабой степени выраженности признака чем-то напоминает модификацию глаголов за счёт изменения тех же компонентов жеста: так могут выражаться как аспектуальные противопоставления, так и manner

Более того, некоторые модификации (continuative, iterative, protractive) возможны как на глаголах, так и на прилагательных в предикативной позиции. Возможно, сами эти модификаторы больше привязаны к синтаксическим позициям, чем к частям речи.

Ещё проблемы с морфологическими тестами:

- Морфологические процессы не всегда распространяются на всех представителей той или иной части речи
- Морфологические процессы не всегда продуктивны (словоизменение vs словообразование?)
- Морфологические процессы наталкиваются на фонологические ограничения
- Zeshan 2000: классификация исключительно по фонологическим и морфологическим критериям. В категорию "signs that cannot move in space at all" попали жесты ПОНИМАТЬ, ЖЕНЩИНА и Я

Взаимодействие со служебными частями речи

Padden (1988): имена (и только они) can be modified by quantifiers.

nouns are more likely to co-occur with pointing signs (often termed index or ix), and can serve as antecedents for pronouns. Verbs are more likely to co-occur with auxiliary verbs.

The Israeli SL negative suffix, which is glossed as not-exist, can attach to adjectives and nouns and invariably gives an adjective as a result – from a semantic point of view, it essentially functions like the English suffix -less: interesting^not-exist ('of no interest') (Israeli SL, Meir 2004: 115) important^not-exist ('of no import') (Israeli SL, Meir 2004: 115) shame^not-exist ('shameless') (Israeli SL, Meir 2004: 115)
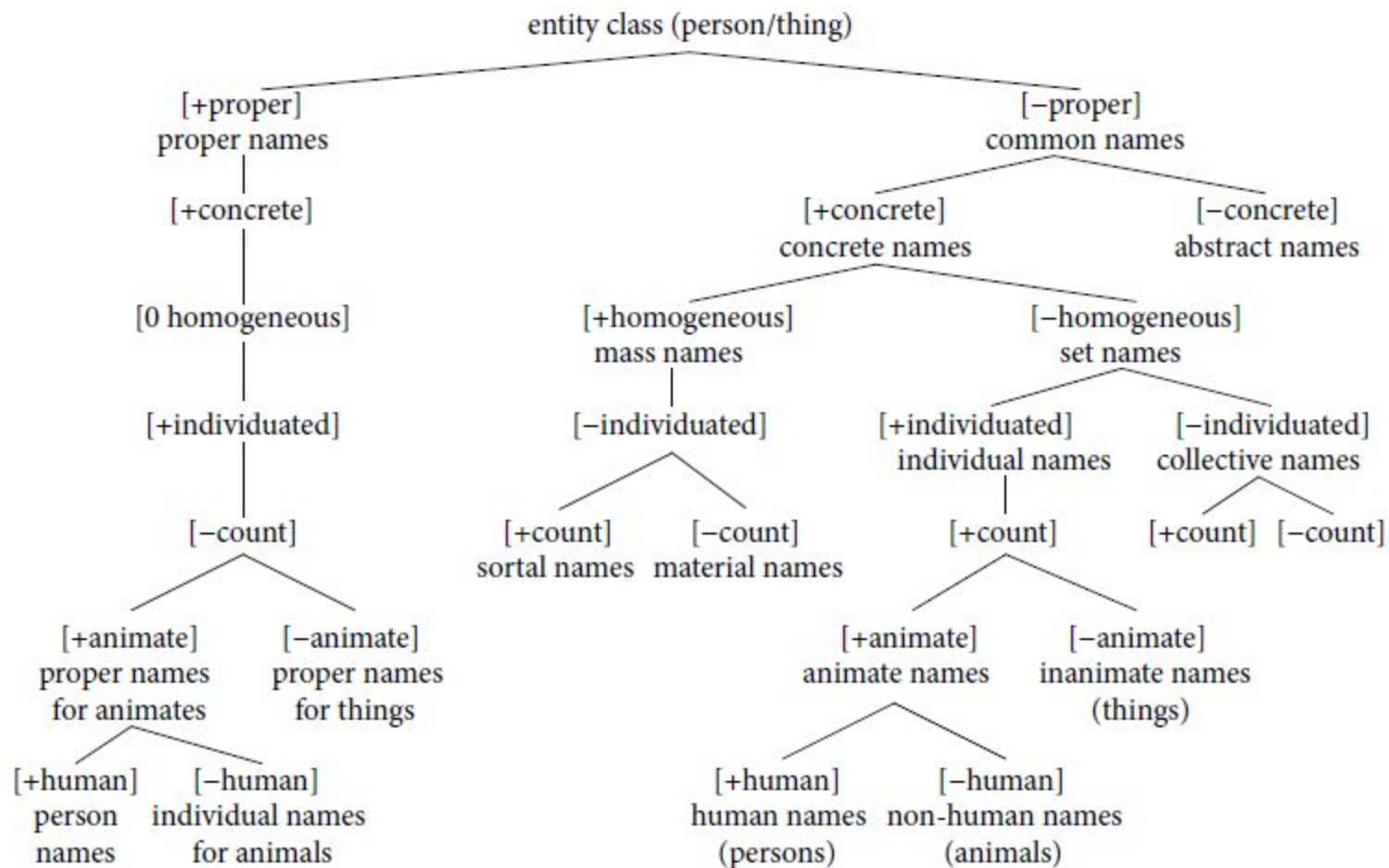
Tab. 5.2: Main diagnostics used for word classification in different sign languages
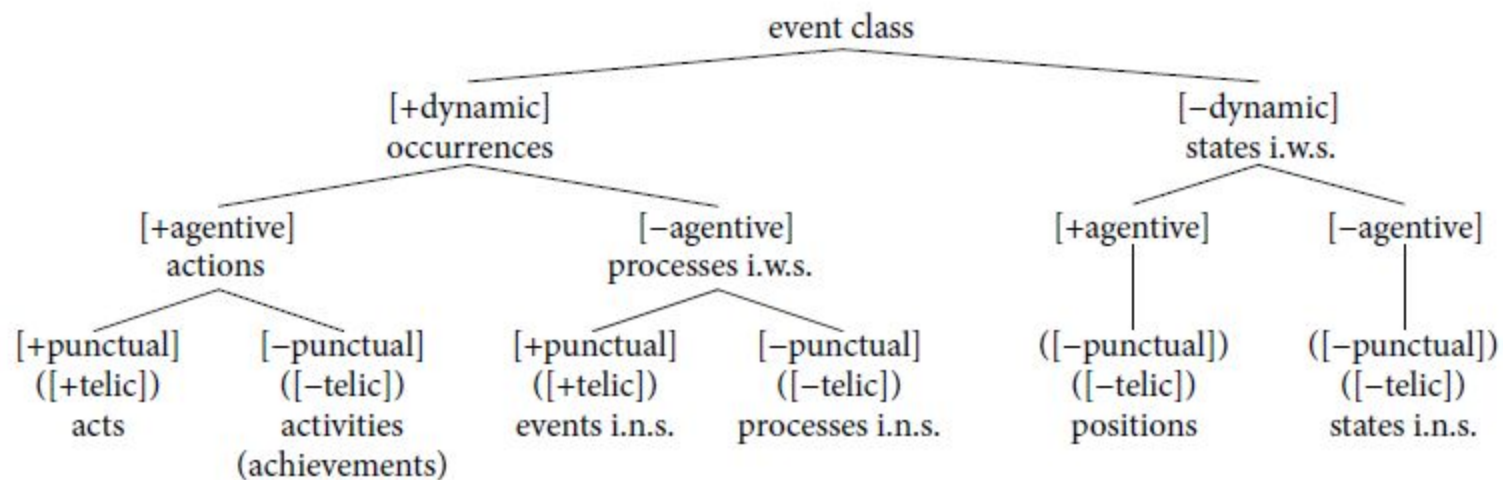
		Nouns	Verbs	Adjectives
semantic	Concept class	Entity	Event	Property
syntactic	Syntactic position	Argument Predicate	Predicate	Modifier Predicate
	Syntactic co-occurrences	Quantifiers Specific negators Determiners	Specific negators Pronominal object clitic	
morphological	Formational characterization	Short and/or reduplicated movement (with respect to comparable verbs)	Longer non-reduplicated movement (with respect to comparable nouns)	
	Inflectional modulations	Plurality	(a) Encoding arguments: verb agreement; reciprocal; multiple; exhaustive. (b) Aspect: habitual; durational; continuative; iterative; protractive; delayed completive; gradual.	Predispositional; susceptative; continuative; intensive; approximative; iterative; protractive.
	Word-class determining affixes	SASS suffixes	'sense'-prefixes	Negative suffix ('not-exist')
	Co-occurrence with facial expressions	Mouthing	Adverbial facial expressions	

Schwager, W., & Zeshan, U. (2008). Word classes in sign languages: Criteria and classifications. Studies in Language. International Journal sponsored by the Foundation "Foundations of Language", 32(3), 509-545.

- По-видимому, самое актуальное и полное исследование по теме
- German Sign Language + Kata Kolok + RSL
- Semantic criteria should be determined language-independently and are used as a first step towards PoS differentiation. Syntactic, morphological, and discourse-pragmatic criteria should be determined language-specifically.
- cf. Haspelmath (2001): define word classes on a language-particular basis using morpho-syntactic criteria, and then use semantic criteria for labeling these classes.
- property class is more problematic then event and the entity classes

- Semantic mapping of individual lexical units is of course language-specific, and also sometimes culturally determined, but the minimal semantic features such as [human], [concrete], [individuated], etc., are cognitive-linguistically and, so to speak, pre-categorically based, and can therefore be taken to be language-independent.
- At the semantic level, concept classes such as concrete entities, abstract entities, properties, states, actions, etc, can be posited. Expanding on Stassen (1997), Anward (2000, 2001) defines a total of eight semantic classes: person/thing, event, property, place, time, relation, quantity and situation.
- Another step: consider bundles of minimal semantic features that characterise a semantic class, as well as inherent properties of the semantic features

entity class (person/thing)

[+proper]
proper names

[−proper]
common names

[+concrete]

[+concrete]
concrete names

[−concrete]
abstract names

[0 homogeneous]

[+homogeneous]
mass names

[−homogeneous]
set names

[+individuated]

[−individuated]

[+individuated]
individual names

[−individuated]
collective names

[−count]

[+count]
sortal names

[−count]
material names

[+count]

[+count] [−count]

[+animate]
proper names
for animates

[−animate]
proper names
for things

[+animate]
animate names

[−animate]
inanimate names
(things)

[+human]
person
names

[−human]
individual names
for animals

[+human]
human names
(persons)

[−human]
non-human names
(animals)

```
                                    event class
                   ┌────────────────────┴────────────────────┐
              [+dynamic]                                  [−dynamic]
             occurrences                                  states i.w.s.
        ┌────────┴────────┐                          ┌────────┴────────┐
   [+agentive]        [−agentive]                [+agentive]      [−agentive]
    actions          processes i.w.s.                 │                │
   ┌────┴────┐       ┌────┴────┐                       │                │
[+punctual] [−punctual]  [+punctual] [−punctual]   ([−punctual])   ([−punctual])
([+telic])  ([−telic])   ([+telic])  ([−telic])    ([−telic])      ([−telic])
  acts      activities    events i.n.s.  processes i.n.s.  positions   states i.n.s.
          (achievements)
```

It is more difficult to posit minimal semantic features in the domain of property concepts. The property class can partially be defined on the basis of Dixon's (1982) pioneering work on adjectives inasmuch as there are more or less prototypical semantic types designating properties. Dixon (1982) identifies the following, listed here with DGS signs instantiating each of the types:

	DGS
(8) dimension	GROSS ('large')
value	GUT ('good')
colour	ROT ('red')
age	NEU ('new')
physical property	KALT ('cold')
human propensity	FRECH ('cheeky')
speed	SCHNELL ('fast')

Table 1. Distribution of semantic features across entity, event, and property classes.

binary semantic features	entity	event			property
		action	process	state	
[proper]	±	0	0	0	0
[concrete]	±	0 / −	0 / −	0 / −	0 / −
[homogeneous]	± / 0	0	0	0	0
[individuated]	±	0	0	0	0
[countable]	±	0	0	0	0
[animate]	±	0	0	0	0
[human]	±	0	0	0	0
[dynamic]	0	+	+	−	0 / −
[agentive]	0	+	−	±	0 / −
[punctual]	0	±	±	−	0
[qualitative]	−	−	−	−	+
[gradable]	−	±	±	±	±

Syntactic criteria for PoS differentiation

- [entity; argument] Noun
- [event; predicate] Verb
- [property; argument modifier] Adjective
- [property; predicate modifier] Adverb

- predicate use (p): items can, without special marking, be used as a predicate,
- argument use (a): items can, without special marking, be used as an argument,
- argument modifier use (am): items can, without special marking, be used as an argument modifier,
- predicate modifier use (pm): items can, without special marking, be used as a modifier of a predicate or of another modifier.

Table 2. Occurrences of entity, event, and property concepts in syntactic functions.

semantic classes	sign examples	DGS				Kata Kolok			
		p	a	am	pm	p	a	am	pm
entity	DEAF / HEARING	+	+			+	+		
	FEMALE	+	+				+		
	CAR		+				+		
	FRIEND	+	+				?		
	QUESTION		+						
	FOOD		+				?		
event	SIGN-TALK	+				+			
	ASK/REQUEST	+				+			
	STAY	+				+			
	DIE	+				+			
	CAR-DRIVE	+				+			
	EAT	+				+			
	WORK	+	+			+			
property	DEAF / HEARING			+					
	SMALL	+	+			+		?	
	BAD / GOOD	+	+		+	+			
	BLACK	+	+			+			

KK

INDEX$_1$ FRIEND GOOD

a. 'My friend is good/nice.'
b. 'I am befriending (someone), that is good.'
c. 'I have a friend.'

KK

a. DEAF COME
   'A deaf person came.'
b. *FEMALE DEAF COME
   'A deaf woman came.'

DGS

DEAF FRIEND $_x$PERSON-CL$_y$:'one comes here'
'A deaf friend comes to me.'

KK

a. CHICKEN INDEX$_x$ SMALL, DEAD
   'There was a chicken there, which was small. It was dead.'
b. *SMALL CHICKEN DEAD
   'A small chicken is dead.'

DGS

POSS$_1$ WIFE WORK GOOD
'My wife works well.'

DGS

INDEX$_1$ BEEN GOOD RESTAURANT $_1$VISIT$_x$
'I have been to a good restaurant.'

KK

INDEX$_1$ DEAF GATHER, GOOD
'It is nice when I get together with deaf people.'

DGS

a. DEAF FRIEND
   'a deaf friend'
   *'a deaf person, a friend'
b. INDEX$_x$ DEAF
   'S/he is a deaf person.'

Criteria and classification on the morphological level

Table 3. Outline of morphological criteria in DGS, RSL, and KK.

concept classes	grammatical categories	morphological processes	DGS	RSL	KK
event	subj./obj. agreement	(1) affixation	+	+	−
		(2) featural alteration	+	+	−
	distributive	(3) reduplication	+	+	−
	reciprocal	(4) reduplication	+	+	−
	negation	(5) affixation	+	+	−
		(6) suprafixation	+	-	−
	aspect	(7) reduplication	+	+	−
		(8) affixation	−	+	−
		(9) featural alteration	−	−	−
	intensive	(10) featural alteration	+	+	+
	diminutive	(11) featural alteration	?	+	?
	mood	(12) suprafixation	+	+	+
	class agreement	(13) affixation	+	+	+
entity	number	(14) reduplication	+	+	?
	locus (agreement)	(15) affixation	+	+	−
property	comparative	(16) featural alteration	+	+	+
		(17) suprafixation	+	+	+