MANNER AND ADVERB: FUZZY CATEGORIAL BOUNDARIES IN COLLOCATIONS

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Abstract. It is a well-known fact that natural languages do not correspond to the linguistic categories without trouble. Regarding the category of word classes, one of the most challenging groups in Estonian is the adverb, characterized by continuing supplementation by case forms of nouns. This article explores the notion of *nominal adverb* from the perspective of another prototype-based category, manner. The analysis of manner expressions follows Virtanen's (2008) 'manner plus' idea, assuming semantic blends of manner and some other category. This study is induced by work with the Estonian collocations dictionary and the data the compilation is based on. The analysis explicates the collocational behaviour and the types of semantic blends of the selected nominal adverbs in the inner local cases illative, inessive and elative, focusing on adverb-verb combinations.*

Keywords: lexicography, word classes, Estonian

1. Introduction

Identification of the boundaries between word classes is a question that has preoccupied linguists since ancient Greek. It is impossible to avoid the boundary problem of lexical categories in part-of-speech tagging and lexicographic procedures, and one of the most striking issues is that lexical units may occur in more than one word class. A classification of lexical categories must consider the semantic-pragmatic, syntactic and morphological behaviour of a word. These domains do not necessarily display one-to-one correspondence, and one word may relate to several lexico-grammatical combinations. Categorization of word classes is determined by the properties of the language, but also by the purposes of the linguistic description. The discussions about the Estonian word classes in recent years have been related to different language varieties: contemporary written language (Kaalep et al. 2000) and old written language (Habicht et al.2011), dialectal language (Lindström et al. 2006) and (contemporary) spoken language (Hennoste 2002), to mention some of

them. The most recent classification is elaborated by Mati Erelt (2017: 57–61), who divides Estonian words into autonomous content words (verbs, nouns, adjectives, numerals and adverbs), autonomous functional or substituting words (pronouns, proadverbs), non-autonomous functional words or auxiliaries (auxiliary verbs, affixal adverbs, adpositions, conjunctions) and syntactically independent pragmatic words or particles (modal adverbs, interjections).

Reuse of a linguistic unit in different functions, an appearance of the economy principle, is a phenomenon posing categorization problems particularly for lexicographers. One of the most problematic word classes in Estonian is the adverb (Habicht et al. 2011: 22–23). A characteristic feature of Estonian is the partial productivity of the adverb class and its continuing supplementation by case forms of nouns, as the boundary between nominals and adverbs (and adpositions[1]) is rather unclear. Historically, most of the Estonian adverbs have developed via petrification of a case form of a noun and abstraction of its meaning (Erelt et al. 1993: 38), e.g. *kõrv* 'ear' > *kõrva-l* [ear-ADE] 'nearby'. As this process is dynamic and continuous, there are words in modern Estonian currently in a transition stage, appearing both as standard nouns and with more abstract and specific meanings. Compare the examples in (1a), (1b) and (2a), (2b), where the a-examples refer to nominal and b-examples to adverbial use of the same word:

(1a) *majade*   ***rivi***
     house.PL.GEN   line
     'a row of houses'

(1b) ***rivi-s***   *marssima*[2]
     line-INE   march.mINF
     'to march in line'

(2a) *kostab*   *masinate*   *ühtlast*   ***mürina-t***
     sounds   engine.PL.GEN   even   rumbling-PART
     'a continuing rumbling of engines is heard'

(2b) ***mürina-l***   *naerma*
     thunder-ADE   laugh.mINF
     'to laugh rumblingly'

The questions of this study have emerged from work with the Estonian Collocations Dictionary, revealing a wide range of potential adverbs that presently are tagged as nouns[3] in dictionaries. These words are analysed as substantives by Sketch Engine, the software processing the corpus material, but in certain collocational patterns, questions arise regarding the lexical category of the word. The main aim of this study is to examine the semantic properties of 26 nouns in inner local cases expressing manner in co-occurrence with certain verbs. The analysis will focus on the following questions: What kind of collocational combinations activate the adverbial functions and what is the influence of the collocate verbs on these words? What kind of semantic relationships do these words display? What is the effect of

[1] Riho Grünthal (2003: 26) states that there are no absolutely clear boundaries between adpositions, nouns and adverbs in Finnic languages.
[2] In the Estonian tradition of linguistics, the basic form of a verb is represented by the *ma*-infinitve form.
[3] The Explanatory Dictionary of Estonian (Langemets et al. 2009) marks some of the studied words with the note *adverbilaadne* 'adverb-like'.

case semantics on the nominal adverbs? As these words occur regularly in similar functions to adverbs, I use the term *nominal adverbs* (NA). Since manner is also far from a clear-cut category, the article is a case study of the peripheral areas of two categories with fuzzy boundaries. A motivating hypothesis of this study is the idea that the manner category functions as the prototype, attracting new members of adverbs from the class of substantives.

The background to the study is given in sections 2 and 3, giving an overview of the Estonian Collocations Dictionary and its compilation principles, and a short résumé over the concepts of manner and (manner) adverbs (and very briefly also manner adverbials) in Estonian. The analysis of NAs in inner local cases follows in section 4. The results are discussed in the final section 5.

2. The Estonian Collocations Dictionary

The impulse for this study comes from the compilation process of the Estonian Collocations Dictionary, a project currently being carried out at the Institute of Estonian Language (2014–2018). The collocations dictionary is a learner dictionary (appropriate for the B2–C1 level), with also L1 users as the target audience. The main goal of this project is to help (advanced) language learners and language users choose linguistic forms that express their thoughts idiomatically.

The collocations dictionary is an e-lexicographic pilot project of the Institute, employing automatic content recognition of large corpora. The compilation process is based on the automatically generated database using the corpus lexicographic software Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al. 2004). The corpora applied for Estonian by the Sketch Engine system are the 463 million-word Estonian Reference Corpus[4] (containing 75% newspaper texts, also fiction, science and legislation texts from 1990 onwards) and the 260 million-word web corpus etTenTen13[5] (also including spontaneous language use). The word sketch rules for Estonian (the grammatical relations that the Sketch Engine system searches from the corpus) are written by Jelena Kallas (2013). Collocations are in this project defined as lexicogrammatical constructions – semantically and statistically significant combinations of content words with other lexical and grammatical items, for instance:

(3) *lahina-l   nutma*
    roar-ADE   cry.mINF
    'cry loudly'

(4) *silmanurga-st   märkama*
    corner_of_eye-ELA   notice.mINF
    'notice from the corner of the eye'

The headwords (about 10,000 entries) are grouped according to word classes – substantives, adjectives, verbs, selected adverbs, particularly manner adverbs – and morphological and syntactic categories. (Kallas et al. 2015.) Word class definition helps the language user in the searching process and gives information about the morphosyntactic properties of the word. Adverbs as collocates of verbs are important

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4   Available via https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/estonian-reference-corpus/ (31.3.2018).
5   Available via https://the.sketchengine.co.uk/auth/corpora/ (30.3.2018).

distinguishers of verb polysemy: the adverb may indicate if there is a question of concrete or figurative meaning of the verb, cf. *sukelduma sügavale* 'dive deep into smth.' (both concrete and figurative meanings are possible) and *sukelduma jäägitult* 'dive entirely' (only the figurative meaning is activated). The set of manner adverbs a verb collocates with is significant collocational information about the verb's semantics for the language learner.

3. Manner and adverb

There seems to be an (implicit or explicit) assumption that adverbs of manner are prototypical in terms of morphology, syntax and semantics (i.a. Ernst 2002, Ravid, Shlesinger 2000, Swan 1997, Virtanen 2008). At a closer look, however, manner adverbs prove to be a rather heterogeneous and open group, and in Estonian, there exists a fair number of nouns attracted to this class. Adverbs are in Estonian grammars defined as uninflected words occurring in adverbial functions and modifying the meaning of an adjective, verb, or other adverb (Erelt et al 1995: 23, Veismann, Erelt 2017: 417). Most Estonian adverbs are morphologically complex, mainly inflected forms or derivatives. The typical Estonian manner adverb is derived by the suffix *-lt*[6] or *-sti*, and it modifies the verb and specifies how, in what way or manner the event in question takes place. The adverb *rõõmsa-lt* in *Ta naeris **rõõmsalt*** 'He laughed **merrily**' hence corresponds to the English adverb *merri-ly*, and we can paraphrase the adverb as 'in a merry manner'. There are also other (less productive) suffixes in Estonian, and in addition to derived adverbs, there are a few simple adverbs in Estonian (*otse* 'straight', *viltu* 'awry'). (About the forms of adverbs in Estonian, see Kasik 2015: 381–405.)

Estonian is characterized by relatively free word order (see Lindström 2017: 547), hence the position of the adverbial in a clause cannot be considered as a measure for classification of adverbs. The typical adverb cannot modify a noun (*üksinda vend 'alone brother')[7] but allows for intensifiers (*väga kiiresti* 'very fast'), and it usually lacks nominative and genitive forms (as for instance the pair *rikki* [defect. ILL] '(go) broke' and *rikkis* [defect.INE] '(be) broken' without any further forms in contemporary Estonian). There are also no agreement relations between adverb and verb. (About the criteria for adverbs, see Veismann et al. 2017: 417–418.)

Manner adverbs are in Estonian grammar (Erelt et al. 1995: 24) discussed under a united category with sc. state (*seisund*) adverbs, comprising words encoding the way an event is occurring or the state/posture of the participant in an event, both answering the question *how?* In the recent treatment of adverbials (Veismann et al. 2017: 357–367), manner and state adverbials are classified as separate groups, but the difficulty of splitting these concepts apart is recognized. Consider some examples of the multifaceted group of manner/state adverbs:

(5) *hästi* 'well'
vapralt 'bravely'
kiiresti 'fast'
üksinda 'alone'
sosinal 'under one's breath'

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[6] The suffix *-lt* is the most productive adverbial suffix in contemporary Estonian (Erelt et al. 1995: 599).
[7] It is, however, possible for an adverb to modify deverbal nouns, e.g. *üksinda olemine* 'being alone'. (I thank the anonymous reviewer for this observation.)

segamini 'disorderly'
kõhuli 'flat on one's belly'
ülestikku 'layering'

Diverse semantic subclasses have been proposed for manner, overlapping with other close categories (means, instrument, degree etc.). The Estonian grammar mentions manner adverbs expressing a state, time flow and qualitative difference or similarity (Erelt et al. 1993: 265, 26, 137). Rodney Huddleston and Geoffrey K. Pullum (2002: 670) note that manner, means and instrument can all be questioned by *how*; also, the Estonian *kuidas* 'how' may cover in addition to manner e.g. cause, reason and means (Metslang 1981: 83). Considering manner adverbials (where manner adverbs occur), these can be seen as part of the adverbial class expressing circumstances of an event (alongside local, temporal, quantity and state adverbials, see Erelt 2017: 82). The broad term 'process adjuncts' includes concrete manner (means and instrument: *surgically*), non-concrete manner (*cleverly*), comparison (*like a vacuum cleaner*), accompaniment (*I jog **with my friends***) and agent adjuncts (*scratched **by thorns***) (Quirk et al. 1991: 776–778). Oliver Bonami, Daniele Godard and Brigitte Kampers-Manhe (2004: 177–181) also take into consideration the semantic object the adverb is associated with and distinguish four types of manner: agent-oriented[8] manner adverbs (*skillfully – X has been **skillful** in doing Y*); mental states (psychological adverbs, *calmly/sadly*); resultative object-oriented adverbs (*Luc furnishes **comfortably** his studio*); V-adverbs modifying the event (*profitably*).

The approaches to manner prove the difficulty of isolating it from the near-standing phenomena. As a solution, Tuija Virtanen proposes that there is a continuum of 'manner plus' phenomena, i.e. semantic blends between manner and some other category. Consider some possible "hybrids" suggested by Virtanen (2008: 273–276):

a) manner + result (*irreversibly*, *productively*)
b) manner + degree of perfection (*successfully*, *poorly*)
c) manner + time (*at first blush*, *gradually*)
d) manner + motion (*sidewise*, *tottering*)

Following the 'manner plus' approach of Virtanen, assuming that manner is a basically fuzzy prototype-based category, the focus in next section is on semantic blends of manner from the point of view of collocational patterns of the NAs collected during the compilation process of the Estonian collocations dictionary. The aim of the analysis is to establish the subtypes of manner related to the NAs and to examine the semantic properties characterizing these words.

4. Nominal adverbs expressing 'manner plus' elements

The analysis below is grounded on the explanation of manner adverbs as defined in Estonian grammar (Erelt et al. 1995), i.e. manner and state adverbs are not separated. Structurally, the analysis covers the NAs in inner local cases, forming a semantic and morphological microsystem. The NAs are analysed in the collocational company of the salient verbs. The verb selection is based on the word sketches of

8   In the literature discussing adverbs, the notion 'agent-oriented' usually relates to 'subject-oriented', proposed by Ray Jackendoff (1972).

Sketch Engine; examples are mostly taken from the database used by Sketch Engine. The frequency numbers are given in the analysis only where the use of a NA form is salient. Some representative examples are taken additionally from the web using Google search. The authentic examples may be slightly modified, leaving only the relevant parts for the analysis.

4.1. The local cases in Estonian

The preliminary examination of substantives in adverbial function suggests that there are NAs in all 11 semantic cases of the altogether 14 cases of Estonian, both spatial and special ones (leaving out the grammatical cases, i.e. nominative, genitive and partitive). There is a non-productive instructive case explicitly indicating manner in Estonian[9], occurring in certain idiomatic expressions. The semantic cases can be further classified as interior local cases (illative, inessive, elative), exterior local cases (allative, adessive, ablative) and other oblique cases (essive, translative, comitative, abessive, terminative). Both interior and exterior local cases split up into a tripartite distinction of lative (moving toward), locative or static (being at) and separative (moving away from) relations. (About the case system in Estonian, see Erelt et al. 1995: 48–51.) The lative and separative cases express path-relations, involving direction (which implies the presence of the semantic features source, route and goal, see Nikanne 2000), and the local cases express place-relations. All the local cases in Estonian have other, often quite abstract uses beside the spatial senses. The grouping of inner local cases in Estonian is found in Table 1:

Table 1. Inner local cases in Estonian

Lative	Locative	Separative
Illative	Inessive	Elative
raamatu-sse	*raamatu-s*	*raamatu-st*
'into a/the book'	'in a/the book'	'from a/the book'

The tripartite local case system also makes it possible to divide adverbs into three corresponding groups: lative (transition into a state), locative (being in a state) and separative (departure from a state) (see Veismann et al. 2017: 363). Reet Kasik (2013: 193) notes that the incomplete case paradigm is quite common when it comes to adverbs in local cases, involving usually two or three forms (*ette* 'to the front' : *ees* 'at the front' : *eest* 'from the front') and in the case of state adverbs usually a bipartite paradigm (*purju* '(become) drunk' : *purjus* '(be) drunk'). In the following subsections I will discuss the NAs in interior local cases incorporating a manner component and the other possible semantic elements.

4.2. Illative

The illative case refers typically to the goal the theme's referent is moving into (or into close contact with). The NAs with an illative ending encode this basic meaning, involving direction and result, which implies the occurrence of (spatial or abstract)

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9   Traces of the instructive case in Estonian reveal in connection with some rare noun stems, mostly expressing body parts (Ross 1988: 38), e.g. *paljajalu* 'barefoot(ed)'.

motion. All these components plus the elements of shape and speed are represented in the NAs presented in Table 2; the salient collocate verbs of each NA are presented in the right column. The verbs are divided further according to presence or absence of the causative[10] component, in order to determine the semantic properties of the NA in different local cases and its collocate verb. Causation is here understood as the relation between two events if the occurrence of one event, the cause, leads to the occurrence of another event, the result. Reflexive self-induced activity is analysed as non-causative (as e.g. the verb *võtma* 'take' in *võtma haneritta* 'gather into single line'). Causative verbs are marked with a (*c*), while non-causatives are left unmarked. If a verb occurs with the NA both in a causative and a non-causative meaning, the optionality is marked with the brackets < >.

Table 2. Combinations of manner + path + motion + (collective shape) + (speed) + result

haneritta [lit. goose_line.ILL] 'into single file'	*võtma* 'take'; *ajama* 'impel' (c), *koondama* 'assemble' (c)
sappa [tail.ILL] 'to the end of the line'	*võtma* 'take'; *haakima* 'hook' (<c>), *panema* 'put' (c)
rivvi [line.ILL] 'into a row/line'	*võtma* 'take', *naasma* 'return'; *saatma* 'send' (c)
lendu [flight.ILL] '(move) fast (upwards)'	*minema* 'go', *tõusma* 'rise'; *saama* 'get (c)', *saatma* 'send' (c)

The notion of 'collective shape' is due to the nature of the first three NAs in Table 2, *haneritta* 'into single file', *sappa* 'to the end of the line' and *rivvi* 'into the row/ line'. These words imply a movement into a line or a file formed typically of (two or more) humans; in case of *rivvi*, both back-to-back and side-by-side orderings are possible. The motion component may involve, in addition to the basic event (motion into the basically static figure/place) as in the example (6a), an overall motion event (6b), where the whole figure shaped by the multiple agents is moving as well. The illative ending of the NA may coerce even a stative verb into a situation involving motion (6c):

(6a) *Mängijad   võtavad   võistkonna   kaupa   **haneritta**.*
    players   take.3PL   team.GEN   PP   goose_line.ILL
    'The players gather **into single file** by team.'

(6b) *Ratturid   **võtavad** läbi   linna   sõites   **haneritta**.*
    cyclists   take.3PL PP   city.GEN   drive.CONV   goose_line.ILL
    'The cyclists gather **into single file** while cycling through the city.'

(6c) *Rühmad   seisavad   **haneritta**.* (Google)
    groups   stand.3PL   goose_line.ILL
    'The groups gather **into single file**.'

Of the three first NAs, *haneritta* collocates with two causative verbs, *ajama* 'impel' and *koondama* 'assemble'; the only causative collocate verb of *rivvi* is *saatma* 'send'. An ambiguous collocate verb of *sappa* is *haakima* 'hook', altering between

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[10] I consider transitivity a syntactic notion and leave it out of this analysis.

non-causative and causative readings (7b), (7c). The significant difference between the causative and non-causative reading is that the adverb has either an agent-oriented or a patient-oriented reading, depending on the verb the adverb modifies. A non-causative verb thus links the adverb with the agent and a causative verb with the patient (7a).

(7a) *kurjategijaile*   *pandi*   ***sappa***   *politseikoerad.*
    criminal.PL.ALL   put.IPS.PST   tail.ILL   police_dog.PL
    'The police dogs were set **after** the criminals.'

(7b) *Ühest*   *sillast*   *ülesõitmise* *järel haagib* ***sappa*** *politseitsikkel.*
    one.ELA bridge.ELA crossing.GEN after hooks tail.ILL police_motorcycle
    'After crossing a bridge, a police bike hooks **behind** us.'

(7c) *Otsustavad* *sündmused* *toimusid* *kolmandal* *ringil,*
    crucial.pl   events   happened third.ADE   lap.ADE
    kui   *Aus*   *viis*   *meest*   ***sappa***   *haakis.*
    when   Aus   five   man.PART   tail.ILL   hook.PST.3PL
    'The crucial events happened in the third lap, when Aus hooked five men **after** him.'

The last NA, *lendu* 'flight', is derived by conversion from the verb *lendama* 'fly'. This NA differs from the others in that the shape component falls out and the focus is on the speed of the mover argument, emphasizing a fast and swift movement (sometimes also a movement through the air (8b)). This movement can also be abstract (8c):

(8a) *Hobune*   *läks*   ***lendu.***
    horse   went   flight.ILL
    'The horse took **off**.'

(8b) *Sain*   *palli*   ***lendu.***
    get.PST.1SG   ball.GEN   flight.ILL
    'I got the ball **into (fast) motion**.'

(8c) *Ta*   *saadab* ***lendu***   *särava*   *naeratuse.*
    s/he   sends   flight.ILL   bright.GEN   smile.GEN
    '(S)he shoots a smile **into the air**.'

A special case of the mutual semantic influence between verb and case ending appears by the verb *jääma* 'stay': the motion and result components fall off and the collocational unit expresses stative meaning. The verb semantics hence overrules the adverbial meaning, showing an opposite tendency compared to example (6c). However, this is quite rare regarding the NAs in illative, and motion may still be involved (9a). Notably, other stative verbs (e.g. *püsima* 'remain') do not combine with the NAs in illative case.

Table 3. Combinations of manner + place + state

rivvi [line.ILL] 'into a line/row'	
sappa [tail.ILL] 'to the end of the line'	*jääma* 'stay' (in the line/tail/single file/place)
haneritta [lit. goose.line.ILL] 'into single line'	

(9a) [taha jäänu]   *jääb* ***sappa*** *sõitma* (Google)
[the one that has to drive behind another] stays tail.ILL drive.mINF
'[the one that has to drive behind another] stays driving **at the end of the line**'

(9b) [soomuslaev]   *sai*   *kaks tabamust, kuid jäi*   ***rivvi***
[ironclad battleship] get.PST.3SG two hit.PART but stay.PST.3SG line.ILL
'[ironclad battleship] got two hits, but stayed **in formation**'

4.3. Inessive

The inessive is clearly the most productive case of the NAs among the interior local cases in the materials of the Estonian Reference Corpus and etTenTen13. Since the basic function of the inessive is interior location, being within or in close contact with something, one can expect the NAs in inessive to refer to states. However, if the collocates are action verbs, for instance motion verbs, the NAs in inessive are part of activities in a Vendlerian sense (about the aspectual verb classes, see Vendler 1967: 606–610). Depending on the collocate verb's characteristics, the activity takes place on a path with undefined source or goal boundaries (encoding the route only), or when the verb inclines the situation towards a state, it is located at a concrete or abstract place. A common feature for this group in general is that causative verbs seem not to form collocational pairs with manner NAs in inessive.

Table 4. Combinations of manner + place/path + (motion) + (shape) + (speed)

kamba-s [gang-INE] 'in cahoots, together'	*tegutsema* 'act', *tegema* 'do', *liikuma* 'move', *marssima* 'march'
hanerea-s [goose_line-INE] 'in single file'	*liikuma* 'move', *minema* 'go', *kepsutama* 'skip', *paterdama* 'waddle', *komberdama* 'hobble'
saba-s [tail-INE] 'in the end of the line'	*seisma* 'stand, *käima* 'go', *jooksma* 'run', *sörkima* 'trot', *lohisema* 'draggle', *jõlkuma* 'loaf'
rivi-s [line-INE] 'in line/row'	*seisma* 'stand', *istuma* 'sit', *püsima* 'stay', *ootama* 'wait', *marssima* 'march', *minema* 'go', *tantsima* 'dance'
esirea-s [forefront-INE] 'at the forefront'	*asuma* 'be located', *istuma* 'sit', *seisma* 'stand', *sammuma* 'tread', *marssima* 'march'

The NA *kambas* 'in cahoots' collocates specifically with general activity verbs such as *tegutsema* 'act, operate', *tegema* 'do' (10a), or with general motion verbs. The NA *hanereas* 'in single file' in inessive occurs with diverse motion verbs, including verbs encoding a manner component themselves, e.g. *kepsutama* 'skip', *paterdama* 'waddle', *komberdama* 'doddle, hobble'; no stative verbs collocate with *hanereas*. A similar tendency also characterizes the NA *sabas* 'in the end of the line', collocating

with *sörkima* 'jog', *lohisema* 'trail, draggle', *jõlkuma* 'linger'. However, the most salient collocate verbs of *sabas* are the stative verbs *seisma* 'stand', *ootama* 'wait' and *püsima* 'stay'. Intuitively, I would have expected the NA *kambas* to collocate with rather "unorganized" activity verbs, such as *jõlkuma* 'linger' or *luusima* 'prowl', yet the corpus material points to controlled, organized activities (*marssima* 'march'). The search *jõlguvad kambas* '(they) linger in cahoots' gives several results in Google. The NA *rivis* 'in line/row' refers in addition to the spatial configuration (10b) also to the normal state of affairs – someone or something is in order or in good shape and ready to fulfil its basic function (10c). The stative collocates prevail, but motion verbs are possible, too.

(10a) *Taskuvargad   tegutsevad   **kambas**.*
pickpockets   operate.3PL   gang.INE
'Pickpockets operate **in cahoots**.'

(10b) *Kaks   võistkonda   istuvad   **rivis**   üksteise   vastas.*
two   team.PART   sit.3PL   row.INE   each_other   across
'Two teams are sitting **in rows** across from each other.'

(10c) *Kuni   veel   viis   meest   **rivis**   püsib,*
as_long_as   yet   five   man.PART   line.INE   stays
saab   ja   peab   mängima.
can.3SG   and   must.3SG   play.mINF
'As long as at least five men stay **in line,** (we) can and must play.'

The NA *esireas* 'in the forefront' collocates mainly with stative verbs, but motion verbs are possible, too. This NA makes an antonymous pair with *sabas* 'in the end of the line', as both give an estimation of the location of the agent in some ranking: *esireas* puts the agent on the first position in a scale and *sabas*, on the contrary, to the backmost part. This enables an assessment of the successfulness of the respective positions (11a), (12a). Both forms function also as postpositions (11b), (12b).

(11a) *Eesti   on   tulesurmade   arvukuselt   **esireas***
Estonia   is   fire_death.PL.GEN   multitude.ABL   forefront.INE
'Estonia is **at the forefront** in deaths caused by fire.'

(11b) *Suhkru   hinna   **esireas**   sammub   kaubamaja.*
sugar.GEN   price.GEN   forefront.INE   treads   emporium
'**At the forefront** of sugar prices [sugar.GEN price.GEN] treads the emporium.'

(12a) *Kas   sörgime   **sabas**   või   oleme   tegijad?*
Q   'trot.1PL   tail.INE   or   be.1PL   players
'Are we trotting **behind** or being players?'

(12b) *Meie   **sabas**   jõlkusid   pikalt   kolm   noormeest.*
we.GEN   tail.INE   loaf.PST.3PL   for_a_while   three   lad.PART
'Three lads were loafing **at our tail** for a while.'

There are a couple of NAs relating to music terms and expressing motion and repetitiveness. These adverbs take mainly motion verbs as collocates:

Table 5. Combinations of manner + motion + recurrence (rhythm)

marsitakti-s [march.time-INE] 'in march time'	*liikuma* 'move', *sammuma* 'tread', *plaksutama* 'applaud'
valsitakti-s [waltz.time-INE] 'in waltz time'	*kulgema* 'proceed', *mööduma* 'elapse', *liikuma* 'move'

The word sketches of *marsitakt* and *valsitakt* reveal that both words are mainly used in the inessive case (*marsitakt* 'march time' has altogether 23 hits, 20 of them inessive; *valsitakt* 'waltz time' has altogether 32 hits, 31 inessive). By comparison, *polkatakt* 'polka time' has only 6 results, all in inessive, while for instance *samba-/rumbatakt* 'samba-/rumba time' get 0 hits. The meaning of *valsitaktis* can be defined as 'lightly, carelessly'; *marsitaktis* expresses an antonymous relation 'peremptorily, bossily':

(13a) *Esimesed   minutid   rattasõitu   mööduvad   valsitaktis.*
first.PL   minutes   cycling.PART   elapse.3PL   waltz.time.INE
'The first minutes of cycling elapse **in waltz time**'

(13b) *Kuid ega   kõik   alati   heljuvas   valsitaktis   kulgenud.*
yet   nor   all   always   soaring.INE   waltz.time.INE   pass.PST.PTC
'Yet everything did not always pass **in** soaring **waltz time**.'

(14a)

Mõnel	*on*	*raske*	*aru*	*saada,*
some.ADE	is	difficult	mind	get.dINF
et	kodanikuühiskond	ei	käi	ainult
CONJ	civil_society	NEG	go	only
seadusetähe	*ja*	*seadusesilma*	*järgi*	*marsitaktis* ---
law_letter.GEN	and	law-eye.GEN	according_to	march.time.INE

'It is difficult for some people to understand that civil society does not solely go **in march time** according to the letter of the law ---'

The next NAs relate to semantic expressions of concrete or abstract means. The first three, *täisvarustuses* 'in panoply', *paraadvormis* 'in full dress uniform', and *rahvarõivais* 'in national costume' refer to an outfit, and similarly to the previous inessive NAs, collocate mainly with action verbs. The substantive *vaimusilm* ('the mind's eye') has a prominent use of inessive case in different constructions: 1338 of 1675, 80%. Its collocate verbs reflect this perspective, belonging to the groups of (visual) perceptual and imagination verbs.

Table 6. Combinations of manner + (state) + means

täisvarustuse-s [panoply-INE] 'in panoply, in full range'	*marssima* 'march' ('yomp'), *suunduma* 'head', *minema* 'go'
paraadvormi-s [full_dress_uniform-INE] 'in full dress uniform'	*marssima* 'march', *kogunema* 'gather', *valvama* 'guard'
rahvarõivai-s [national_costume-INE] 'in national costume'	*esinema* 'perform', *tantsima* 'dance'
vaimusilma-s [mind's_eye-INE] ' in the mind's eye'	*nägema* 'see', *kujutama* 'depict', *kujutlema* 'imagine', *kangastuma* 'loom', *terendama* 'loom'

(15a) *Ilm* *oli* *meie* seiklustele omane
weather was our adventure.PL.ALL appropriate
ja *nii* *suunduti* **täisvarustuses** *märga* *metsa*.
and so head.IPS.PST full_equipment.INE wet.ILL forest.ILL
'The weather was appropriate for our adventures
and off we headed **in panoply** into the wet forest'

(15c) **Vaimusilmas** *näeb* *ta* *end* *toreda* *pere*
mind_eye.INE sees (s)he self.PART great.GEN family.GEN
emana, *kes* *joogatab* *ja* *kirjutab*.
mother.ESS who yoga.CAUS.3SG and writes
'**In her mind's eye**, she sees herself as a mother to lovely family,
who practices yoga and writes'

There is a semantically "true" manner expression group among the inessive NAs, sometimes interchangeable with the adverbs derived by the ending -*lt*. These words refer to the mental state of an experiencer and occur with quite a wide range of verbs – motion verbs, perception verbs, cognitive verbs, speech act verbs etc. An (incomplete) list of both negative and positive emotion NAs in inessive is presented in Table 7.

Table 7. Combinations of manner + mental state

sõgeduse-s [folly-INE] 'in foolishness'	*uhkeldama* 'vaunt', *pillama* 'waste'
meeleheite-s [desperation-INE] 'in desperation'	*karjuma* 'shout', *hüüdma* 'shout', *paluma* 'beg'
ahastuse-s [despair-INE] 'in despair'	*nutma* 'cry', *karjuma* 'shout', *tormama* 'rush'
kabuhirmu-s [panic-INE] 'in horror'	*põgenema* 'flee', *pagema* 'fly', *jooksma* 'run', *taganema* 'retreat', *haarama* 'grasp'
hämmelduse-s [confusion-INE] 'in confusion'	*vaatama* 'look', *pilgutama* 'blink', *tarduma* 'freeze'
usaldushoo-s [confidence_fit-INE] 'in a rush of confidence'	*pihtima* 'confess'
vaimustuse-s [enthusiasm-INE] 'in a rush of enthusiasme'	*ütlema* 'say', *plaksutama* 'applaud'

The argument against a classification of this group as adverbs is that they all have frequently used nominative and genitive forms (although the inessive may prevail; *kabuhirm* has altogether 457 hits in Sketch Engine, from which 255 are inessive forms). Also, some of these NAs can modify nouns (*hämmelduses laps* 'a child in confusion', but **usaldushoos laps* 'a child in a rush of confidence'). A slight semantic difference between the two synonymous emotion expressions is that the inessive emotional state construction means basically 'be in a mental state' and the *lt*-adverbs emphasize a more active position in the event, meaning roughly 'act in the manner denoted by the root adjective'. A crucial distinction seems to lie in the semantic feature of control – the experiencer of the inessive NA construction does not have control over the emotion ((s)he is surrounded by it), but the experiencer of the *lt*-adverb is slightly more agentive. It is also important to note that some of the inessive mental state NAs have a counterpart *lt*-derivative, but not all: *sõgeduses* 'in foolishness' / *sõgedalt* 'mindlessly', *hämmelduses* 'in confusion' / *hämmeldunult* 'confusedly', but *kabuhirmus* 'in horror' / **kabuhirmunult* 'panicky', *usaldushoos* 'in a fit of confidence' / **usaldushoogsalt* 'confidently'[11]. Some examples of such pairs are presented in (16)–(18).

(16a) *Ta   karjub **meeleheites**: "Inimesed, tulge   mõistusele!"*
   (s)he shouts desperation.INE people   come.IMP.2PL sense.ALL
   '(S)he shouts **in desperation**: "People, come to your senses!"'

(16b) *Ta [---] karjub **meeleheitlikult**: "Inimesed, tulge   mõistusele!"*
   (s)he   shouts desperate-lt   people   come.IMP.2PL sense.ALL
   '(S)he shouts **desperately**: "People, come to your senses!"'

(17a) *Mõtlesin   **ahastuses**[12], kust   ma   selle*
   think.PST.1SG   despair.INE   where.from   I   this.GEN
   õmblusmasina   võtan.
   sewing_machine.GEN take.1SG
   'I thought **in despair**, where should I get the sewing-machine from.'

(17b) *?Mõtlesin   **ahastavalt**, kust   ma   selle*
   think.PST.1SG   despair-lt   where.from I   this.GEN
   õmblusmasina   võtan.
   sewing_machine.GEN   take.1SG
   'I thought **despairingly**, where should I get the sewing-machine from.'

(18a) *Rahvas   plaksutas   **vaimustuses**.*
   people   applaud.PST.3SG   enthusiasm.INE
   'People applauded **with enthusiasm**.'

(18b) *Rahvas   plaksutas   **vaimustunult**.*
   people   applaud.PST.3SG   enthusiasm-lt
   'People applauded **enthusiastically**.'

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11 The lack of the corresponding *lt*-form could be seen as an argument for including the inessive form into e.g. bilingual dictionaries.
12 The form *ahastuses* ('in despair') could here be replaced with the comitative form *ahastusega* ('with despair') – the comitative case can be used to form similar constructions overlapping with both inessive emotion constructions and *-lt* adverbs. An analysis of this group and its relationship with the corresponding inessive forms remains a topic for future research.

4.4. Elative

The elative case expresses movement from the exterior – from within (or from close contact with) something. The separative state adverbial is less frequently used than the lative and locative adverbials, and adverbs are the main expressions of this type (e.g. *haagist* 'off the hook', *riidest* 'off the clothes' – *Ta võtab riidest lahti* 'S(he) takes off her clothes') (Tiits 1982, Veismann et al. 2017: 363, 367). The forms in Table 8 complement the list of separative adverbs, consisting of NAs encoding a path and concrete or abstract motion. Note that *hanerida* 'single line', *saba* 'tail', *esirida* 'forefront' and *kamp* 'gang', discussed in connection with illative and inessive NAs, do not have significant adverbial uses in elative, while *rivi* 'line' occurs in all three inner local case groups.

Table 8. Combinations of manner + path + (motion) + (causation) + (result)

paiga-st [place-ELA] 'from place'	*nihkuma* 'shift', *minema* 'go'; *nihutama* 'shift' (c), *lööma* 'hit' (c)
rivi-st [line-ELA] 'from line/row'	*langema* 'fall', *(välja) minema* 'go', *väljuma* 'go out'

The NAs in Table 8 express that the subject argument is separated from its "normal" state. The collocate verbs illustrate the way of the transition, varying from *nihkuma* 'shift' to *langema* 'fall'. The NAs *paigast* 'from place' and *rivist* 'from line/row' imply both concrete motion and abstract variations of going out of balance; *rivist* is specialized on breakdowns of technical aggregates (19a), (19b).

(19a) *Kui*   *lähisuhe*   **paigast**   *nihkub,* *hakkab*
       when   close_relationship   place.ELA   shifts   starts
       peagi   *ka*   *tööl*   *viltu*   *vedama.*
       soon   as_well   work.ADE   wrong   pull.mINF
       'When the close relationship goes **out of balance**,
       the work life starts to go wrong as well.'

(19b) *Juhul*   *kui* *üks*   *füüsilistest*   *ketastest*   *väljub*
       in_case   if   one   physical.PL.ELA disc.PL.ELA   goes_out
       ***rivist**,*   *siis*   *lähevad* *andmed*   *kaduma.*
       row.ELA   then   go.3PL   data   lose.mINF
       'In case one of the physical disks goes **out of action**, the data gets lost'

The next group of NAs in elative are body part words, specifying the perceptual or/and cognitive means of the activity. The first of them, *silmanurgast* 'out of the corner of one's eye' has altogether 1843 results in the Sketch Engine database, 1226 of them (66.5%) elative constructions. The collocate verbs involve a wide range of visual perception verbs that in combination with the NA form a general meaning of 'being aware of something' (as in example 20a). The NA *peast* 'from memory, by heart' collocates with different types of cognition verbs and some speech act verbs (*lugema* 'read aloud', *tsiteerima* 'cite'), see the example (20b). In both cases, the meaning centres around the notion of 'awareness'.

Table 9. Combinations of manner + body + awareness + means

silmanurga-st [corner_of_the_eye-ELA] 'out of the corner of one's eye'	*nägema* 'see', *vaatama* 'watch', *jälgima* 'track', *märkama* 'notice', *piiluma* 'peek'
pea-st [head-ELA] 'from memory'	*teadma* 'know', *oskama* 'can', *mäletama* 'remember', *lugema* 'read aloud', *tsiteerima* 'cite'

(20a) *Nägin*   **silmanurgast**   *miskit*   *liikumas.*
see.PST.1SG   eye.corner.ELA   something.PART   move.mINF.INE
'I saw something move **out of the corner of my eye**.'

(20b) *Poiss*   *teab*   **peast**   *iga*   *bussi*   *sõidugraafikut.*
boy   knows   head.ELA   every.GEN   bus.GEN   timetable.PART
'The boy knows **by heart** the timetable of every single bus.'

5. Discussion and conclusions

This study addresses two fundamentally fuzzy categories – adverb and manner – from the point of view of collocational adverb-verb patterns. A sample of nominal adverbs marked with the inner local cases (illative, inessive and elative) is analysed according to manner and its blends with other semantic categories. The results reveal that most of the analysed NAs are in fact semantic blends, except for the mental state expressions in inessive, which are the closest to the "core manner". Interestingly, these "pure" manner expressions are perhaps the most transparent and least adverb-like nouns among the selected NAs – hence, the most prototypical manner expressions do not necessarily yield clear adverbs. In addition to the main eventive frames (state vs activity, path and place properties), the blends involve the categories of shape, motion, speed, recurrence, result, causation, means, mental state, and awareness. Some NAs have clearly dominating use in certain inner local cases (*silmanurgast* 'out of the corner of one's eye', *marsitaktis* 'peremptorily', *valsitaktis* 'lightly'), pointing to a quite established adverbial use. One NA, *rivi* 'line, row', has the representation of the whole local paradigm; *saba* 'tail' and *hanerida* 'single file' have bipartite paradigms of illative and inessive forms.

Examining the NAs in their collocational context allows us to capture their nature and also sheds light on the characteristics of the surrounding context. The range of verbs varies regarding both their amount and their semantic-syntactic properties. A causative collocate verb alters the NA from an agent-oriented type into a patient-oriented type (cf. *Lapsed võtavad haneritta* 'The kids gather into single file' vs. *Õpetaja koondab lapsed haneritta* 'The teacher assembles the kids into single file'). Remarkably, the inner local NAs in the directional cases illative and elative collocate with both non-causative and causative verbs, while the studied inessive NAs do not collocate with causative verbs. On the other hand, inessive forms are clearly the most productive group of NAs of the three cases.

The examples discussed in this article seem to display a development based on the analogy in the form of existing adverbs in local cases, a process of semantic change and departure of the productive rules, characteristic of lexicalization (Anttila 1989 [1972], Habicht 2001). The occurrence of the semantic blends at least

in the case of manner + phenomena seems to be a clue that the NA in question displays adverb-like behaviour – after all, fuzziness is a characteristic feature of adverbs. The lexicographer has to make the decisions about class membership of an NA on a case-by-case basis, and in the absence of research on actual NAs, base the judgements on the materials found in the databases. The collocation dictionary should consider idiosyncratic phenomena and recognize the recycling of units as part of the description of the language. It could be expedient to make a distinction between *theoretical* and *applied* word class criteria, the first being an "idealization" of the criteria and the second a "practical" approach to the ideal representative[13], weighing the parameters in light of language usage. The word sketches of Sketch Engine are an immense aid in analysing a word's semantic and syntactic behaviour in each case. The particular criteria for manner NAs should be frequency of a certain (semantic) case in a certain (manner + possibly other semantic components) function in addition to the traditional parameters for adverbs (uninflected words occurring in adverbial functions and modifying the meaning of an adjective, verb, or other adverb). A question for future lexicographic applications is whether the corpus analysis tools could be developed further to assess a word's "adverbial degree", to ease and hasten the lexicographic decision-making process.

Abbreviations

< >	optional	IMP	imperative
1, 2, 3	1st, 2nd, 3rd person	INE	inessive
ABL	ablative	IPS	impersonal
ADE	adessive	mINF	*ma*-infinitive
ALL	allative	NA	nominal adverb
c	causative verb	NEG	negation
CAUS	causative suffix	PART	partitive
CONJ	conjunction	PL	plural
CONV	converb	PP	adposition
dINF	*da*-infinitive	PST	past tense
ELA	elative	PTC	participle
ESS	essive	Q	question
GEN	genitive	SG	singular
ILL	illative		

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13 I thank the anonymous reviewer for pointing out this important distinction.

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VIIS JA ADVERB: HÄGUSAD LIIGIPIIRID KOLLOKATSIOONIDES

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Üks eesti keele kollokatsioonisõnaraamatu koostamise probleeme on seotud nn avatud klassidega. Näiteks määrsõnad ongi tüüpiliselt tekkinud noomeni mingi käändevormi kivinemise ning tähenduse abstraheerumise tulemusel (*kõrval – kõrv*). Kuna see protsess on dünaamiline ja jätkuv, on ka tänapäeva eesti keeles olemas nn üleminekustaadiumis sõnu, mis esinevad nii täistähenduslike nimisõnade kui ka mingis kasutuses kinnistunud muutumatute ehk suhtesõnadena. Üks selline dünaamiline rühm sõnu on viisimäärsõnad. Käesoleva artikli eesmärk on vaadelda lähemalt leksikograafilise tarkvara Sketch Engine'i mõnede nimisõnadena analüüsitud sõnu. Analüüs on piiritletud sisekohakäändeliste substantiivadverbidega, mis väljendavad viisi või sellele lähedasi tähenduselemente. Vaadeldavad sõnad on *rivvi* : *rivis* : *rivist, haneritta* : *hanereas, sappa* : *sabas, lendu, esireas, kambas, marsitaktis, valsitaktis, täisvarustuses, paraadvormis, rahvarõivais, vaimusilmas, sõgeduses, meeleheites, ahastuses, kabuhirmus, hämmelduses, usaldushoos, vaimustuses, paigast, silmanurgast, peast*. Neid sõnu käsitletakse artiklis verbikollokatsioonide kombinatsioonides, lähtudes Virtaneni (2008) esitatud viisi ja teiste lähedaste tähenduselementide koosesinemiste oletusest.

Analüüs näitab, et üldisi sündmusstruktuuri omapärasid kõrvale jättes võib viis kombineeruda (kollektiivse) kuju, liikumise, kiiruse, korduvuse, tulemuse, põhjustamise, vahendi, psüühilise seisundi ning teadlikkusega. Praktiliselt kõik käsitletud noomenadverbid sisaldavad lisaks viisile mõnd muud tähenduselementi. Verbi mõju adverbi käitumisele avaldub nii semantiliste kui ka süntaktiliste omaduste kaudu, näiteks muudab kausatiivne verb adverbi tüübi subjektile suunatust (ingl *subject-oriented*) objektile suunatuks (*object-oriented*). Kausatiividega ei moodusta kollokatsioone aga inessiivsed substantiivadverbid, mis tegevust väljendavate verbidega esinedes väljendavad aspektuaalselt piiritlemata tegevussündmust (*activity* Vendleri 1967 mõistes).

Kollokatsioonisõnaraamatu peamist sihtrühma, keeleõppijat silmas pidades tuleks pürgida keele omapärade esitamise suunas võimalikult selgelt ja arusaadavalt. Nimisõnalisi mitmes kategoorias esinevaid viisiadverbe on semantilisest vaatenurgast ilmselt kõige kasulikum esitada adverbirühmas, mitte noomenite seas, kuhu kuuluvad paljud erinevaid käändetähendusi väljendavad vormid. Iga juhtum nõuab mõistagi eraldi lähenemist.

Võtmesõnad: leksikograafia, sõnaliigid, eesti keel