

THE PROBLEMATIC OF CINQUE'S ADVERBIAL TYPOLOGY IN KWA LANGUAGES: THE CASE OF ADVERBS OF TENSE

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Abstract: This article raises the issue of the typology of adverbs of tense in Kwa languages. In Cinque's work on adverbs, he analysed a group of adverbs termed adverbs of tense which are generated in [Spec, TP]. But, Kwa languages are said to be tenseless languages. Even if this view is not shared by all specialists of kwa languages, it is worth noting that, contrary to English and French, Kwa languages do not display grammatical morphemes of tense. Tense is expressed by adverbs of time and periphrases. From this view, advocates of the tenseless approach of Kwa languages suggest an AspP projection in replacement of a TP one. However, TP is admitted in the cartography of IP in Kwa languages for universality sake. If so, what adverbs of tense would be accommodated in [Spec, TP], knowing that there is no grammatical morpheme of tense? What would then be the functional elements of tense that would systematically match with the adverbs of tense? In my analysis, I admit that there is a TP in the cartography of IP in Kwa languages. Therefore, there are adverbs of tense in kwa languages.

Keywords: Adverb, typology, tense, IP, aspect

LA PROBLÉMATIQUE DE LA TYPOLOGIE ADVERBIALE DE CINQUE DANS LES LANGUES KWA : LE CAS DES ADVERBES DE TEMPS

Résumé : Cet article soulève la question de la typologie des adverbes de temps dans les langues Kwa. Dans ses travaux sur les adverbes, Cinque a analysé un groupe d'adverbes appelés adverbes de temps qui sont générés dans [Spec, TP]. Cependant, les langues Kwa sont considérés comme des langues sans temps grammaticaux. Même si ce point de vue n'est pas partagé par tous les spécialistes des langues kwa, il convient de noter que, contrairement à l'anglais et au français, les langues kwa ne présentent pas de morphèmes grammaticaux de temps. Le temps est exprimé par des adverbes de temps et des périphrases. De ce point de vue, les partisans de l'approche de l'absence de temps grammaticaux dans les langues kwa suggèrent une projection AspP en remplacement d'une projection TP. Toutefois, le TP est admis dans la cartographie de l'IP des langues kwa par souci d'universalité. Dans ce cas, quels adverbes de temps se logeraient dans [Spec, TP], sachant qu'il n'y a pas de morphème grammatical de temps ? Quels seraient alors les éléments fonctionnels du temps qui seraient en corrélation systématique avec les adverbes de temps ? Dans mon analyse, j'admets qu'il existe un TP dans la cartographie de IP des langues kwa. Par conséquent, il existe des adverbes de temps dans les langues kwa.

Mots-clés : Adverbe, typologie, temps, IP, aspect

Introduction: «In the literature of generative grammar, perhaps the least studied and most maligned part of speech has been the adverb. This is to some extent understandable considering the variety of semantic and syntactic roles adverbs play in English [...]» R.Jackendoff, (1972: 47) Jackendoff's (opt.cit.) statement well illustrates all the challenges relating to the analysis of adverb some years back. Those difficulties are still encountered by grammarians as stated by C. Guimier (1991:11) «C'est un truisme de dire que

de toutes les parties de discours reconnues par la grammaire traditionnelle, l'adverbe est l'une de celles qui, de tout temps ont posé le plus grand nombre de problèmes aux grammairiens. »¹ Despite all the difficulties raised by the analysis of adverbs in natural languages, the literature about it is abundant, especially in Indo-European languages. However, much work remains to be done in Kwa languages, especially the syntactic aspect, as pointed out by Aboh et Essegbey (2010:46): A domain that remains virtually unexplored in Kwa syntax is that of adverbs. So, with the purpose of contributing to the syntactic analysis of adverbs in Kwa languages, I have decided to investigate them within a Minimalist perspective as stated by N. A. Chomsky (1993) and D. Adger (2003) followed by the Cartography of adverbs developed by G. Cinque (1999). This work raises the question of tense adverbs in Kwa languages. In fact, after analysis, I suggest the existence of a T(ense) P(hrase) in the IP of Kwa languages and hence tense adverbs in Kwa languages. So, contrary to D. Creissels (2002:16)², I claim the existence of adverbs in Kwa languages. The unphonetic realization of grammatical tense markers in Kwa languages does not ipso facto make them tenseless languages. The languages used to illustrate our analysis are Baule and Ebré³. The work is organized as follows: After stating the problem, I will present briefly the theoretical framework followed by the analysis of data. Before analyzing the data, I will present two approaches concerning tense.

1. Problem

According to Cinque (opt.cit.), there is a systematic correlation between the functional elements of IP and adverbs. This systematic correlation is said to be universal. In that line, he suggested the genesis of adverb of tense⁴ into ([Spec, TP]). However, Kwa languages are analysed as tenseless languages (J. Bogny, 2013, R. Defina, 2009) or aspectual languages C. Hager (2014). They are analysed so, because they have no grammatical morphemes to express tense. Tense is expressed with periphrases or adverbs of time. In other words, there are no functional elements for tense expression in Kwa languages. Therefore, given the systematic correlation between functional elements of IP and adverbs, what are the functional elements whose specifiers host the adverbs of tense in Kwa languages? This question triggers the following one: do adverbs of tense exist in Kwa languages? For C. Hager (opt.cit), the possible occurrence of temporal adverbs such as /càsè/ « hier », /kpàni⁵ « demain » could suggest the existence of a TP node in the IP of Kwa languages and the the specifier of that node could license the abovementioned adverbs. The stance of C. Hager (loc.opt.cit) is a bit problematic for two reasons. The first reason is that, C. Hager does not confirm the existence of a TP node in the Kwa languages' IP. He is doubting about it. Further study must confirm it or not. The second reason and the most striking one is Cinque's approach regarding the aforementioned adverbs. Those ones are analysed as nominals by Cinque (1999). They are therefore not part of the suggested hierarchy of adverbs. Consequently, they cannot be admitted in Kwa languages as adverbs generated in [Spec, TP]. Furthermore, the study carried out by L. Bohoussou (2018) couldn't prove the existence of adverbs of tense in both Baule and Ebré languages.

Another problem encountered in dealing with adverbs in Kwa languages is Creissel's (opt.cit.) view about adverbs in Sub-Saharan languages. Contrary to noun and verb, Creissel

¹ It is an obvious truth that from all parts of speech recognised by traditional grammar, the adverb is one of those that have always created the greatest number of problems for grammarians. [Our translation]

² Creissels denies the existence of adverb category in Sub-Saharan languages to which belong Kwa languages.

³ Baule and Ebré are Ivorian Kwa languages (For more details, see).

⁴ The English language makes a difference between tense and time. Tense is grammatical whereas time is semantic e.i. extra linguistic. Cinque makes a difference between adverb of tense and adverbs of time. The former correlates with the grammatical morphemes of tense while the latter has no correlation in the inflectional domain.

⁵ These examples are taken from C.Hager's work. They are in Abidji which is a Kwa language, a sister language of Baule and Ebré.

(opt.locit) claims the non-existence of adverb category in Sub-Saharan languages. From all of the above, the issue of the adverbs of tense in Kwa languages remains unsolved and needs to be addressed with new approaches to find a satisfactory answer to it. A minimalist approach based on the theory of features developed by D. Adger (2003) can yield a satisfactory answer to that issue.

2. Brief presentation of Cinque's theory

Cinque's cartography theory is derived from Generative Grammar. The focus of Generative Grammar is about the nature of language and the mechanism by which linguistic expressions are generated. Cartography, on the other hand focuses on the identification and hierarchization of linguistic units in order to define the possible and impossible structures. Cartography is therefore a research approach which uses Generative Grammar as its raw material. It has several branches. There is the cartography of CP developed by Rizzi and that one of IP developed by Cinque (opt.cit.). The latter has been chosen for this study. Cinque's approach of adverbs is based on two basic theories. The first concerns adverbs. According to Cinque, adverbs have a fixed and rigid order in the proposition. He has also shown that the fixed and rigid order of adverbs depends on the fixed and rigid order of the functional categories of the Inflectional domain. The fixed and rigid order of the functional categories of the Inflectional domain constitutes Cinque's second theory regarding the analysis of adverbs. According to him, the hierarchy of functional elements in IP is universal i.e. the order of functional elements of IP is the same in all the world's natural languages.

The general and universal order of functional categories of IP are presented in (1) as follows:

1) *Mood speech act* > *Mood evaluative* > *Mood evidential* > *Mood epistemic* > *T(Past)* > *T(Future)* > *Mood irrealis* > *Asp habitual/T(Anterior)* > *Asp perfect* > *Asp retrospective* > *Asp durative* > *Asp progressive* > *Asp prospective / Mod root* > *Voice* > *Asp celerative* > *Asp completive* > *Asp (semel) repetitive* > *Asp iterative* [Cinque 1999:76]

The rigid and fixed order of adverbs (Cf 2) presented below derive from the hierarchy of functional elements of IP.

2) *frankly* > *fortunately* > *allegedly* > *probably* > *once/then* > *perhaps* > *wisely* > *usually* > *already* > *no longer* > *always* > *completely* > *well* > ...

There is a systematic matching between different classes of adverbs and different functional categories of the inflectional domain.

3. Notion of tense in natural languages

As far as tense is concerned, there are two approaches. There is Cinque's approach which admits future tense (T(future)) in English and languages lacking verb desinence for future. There is also the approach developed by linguists such as H. Adamczewski who rejects Cinque's approach.

3.1 Adamczewski's approach

For H. Adamczewski (1982: 27), there is a clear distinction between time referring to chronological time and tense referring to grammatical tense. According to him, traditional grammar makes a confusion between time and tense and uses both expressions to refer to the same reality. In fact, that time is an extralinguistic fact while tense is a grammatical one. Tense is marked by grammatical morphemes or desinence. Therefore, languages lacking desinence to mark tense are described as tenseless languages. In accordance to that approach, English has only two tenses. The present tense and the past tense. There is no future tense in English, for there is no verbal desinence to mark future in English. Advocators of the tenseless approach in

Kwa languages analyse data within this perspective, because there is no verbal desinence to mark tense in Kwa languages. This approach is not shared in all its aspects by Cinque.

3.2 *Cinque's approach*

Contrary to H. Adamczewski's (opt.cit.) approach, Cinque analyses the modal *will* in English and other modals like *na* in Gungbe which express future as T(future). I will adopt this approach to analyse facts in Kwa languages.

4. Presentation of facts

This section presents facts in both Baule and Ebré languages. Sub-section 4.1 deals with the functional elements of the inflectional domain and the systematic matching between adverb of tense and functional categories of IP in Baule. Sub-section 4.2 concerns Ebré language. Since the challenge is at the level of adverb of tense and Tense Phrase, the ordering of functional elements will focus on aspect markers, modal and tense respectively in Baule and Ebré.

4.1 *Hierarchy of functional elements in Baule*

Baule language displays three aspects which are: progressive, continuation and perfected aspects. The progressive aspect is higher than tense as illustrated in (3b).

3)

a. kófi sú dí áljè

Kofi/Prog/eat/food

«Kofi is eating food»

b. kófi sú wá dí áljè

Kofi/Prog/Fut/eat/food

"Kofi be-eating will food"

« Kofi will be eating the food»

c. *kófi wá sú dí áljè

Kofi/Fut/Prog/ eat/food

« Kofi will be eating the food»

The aspects of continuation and perfected cannot co-occur with the morpheme *wa'* which is used as the future marker⁶ (Cf 4).

4)

a. *kòfi té wá kó

Kofi/cont/fut/go

«Kofi will continue going »

b. * ó wá lálì wà

3Sg/will/coucher-perf/

«Il will slept here »

When the tense future co-occurs with the alethic modal *klwa*, the latter follows tense future as observed in (5).

5)

a. kòfi wá klwá kó

Kofi/ fut/can/Go

«Kofi will can go »

⁶ Future is not analysed as a tense marker in English, but as a modality to express future. However, in Cinque's theory, the modal *will* is used as a morpheme of tense in English and classified along with present and past tense. Similarly to *will*, I use all morphemes in Kwa languages be a modality or not which express future as future tense markers.

b. *kòfi klwá wá kó
Kofi/can/fut/Go

Structures (3b) and (5) yield the following order in (6) for the functional categories presented so far.

6)

a. sù>wá> klwá >V

« Progressive Aspect > T(future)>Modal>verbe»

It is worth noting that no two aspects can co-occur in the same clause in Baule language. Only two examples in (7) are sufficient to illustrate it.

7)

a. *kòfi sù tè kò

Kofi/Prog/cont/go

« Kofi is continuing going »

a')*kòfi tè sù kò

Kofi/cont/Prog/ go

« Kofi is continuing going»

b)*kòfi à tè kò

Kofi/Perf/cont/go

« Kofi continue gone »

b')*kòfi tè à kò

Kofi/cont /Perf/go

«Kofi continue gone »

Since two aspects cannot co-occur in the same clause, the general fixed order for functional elements in Baule language is presented in (7) as follows:

7) Asp>T> modal>V

Because of the systematic matching between the fixed and rigid order of functional categories of IP and the one of adverb, one could state that adverbs in Baule do have a fixed and rigid order in a clause. The fixed order of T compared to Asp which systematically infers a fixed order of adverb tense in the Baule adverb system will be tackled in (section 4). The difference between the universal order recalled in (1) and the one of Baule in (7) is not at stake in this work. Therefore, I will not make any comment about it⁷. Having said so, let us pass to the hierarchy of functional elements in Ebrie.

4.2 Hierarchy of functional elements in Ebrie

Ebrie language which is a sister language to Baule is not different as such in terms of the functional elements hierarchy. The relative hierarchy of functional elements of IP in Ebrie language has been given by L. Bohoussou (2018: 163). I will base my analysis upon that relative fixed order for the remainder of this work. Hierarchy (8) given by Bohoussou (opt.cit.) brings about the general fixed order in (9). The morpheme *ǰá* which expresses future tense is also of the same category with *will*. (See footnote 6).

8)

/e-/>ǰá> lé>gɛ'

«progressive Aspect/e-/>Tense(ǰa)>Negation(lé) >modal(gɛ) »

9)

Asp>T> modal>(Neg) >V

⁷ For more explanation about the difference, see Bohoussou (2018)

Still, the position of Asp(ect) to T(ense) in (9) which seems contrary to the suggested order in (1) is not at stake in this work. What one can bear in mind is that, there is a fixed order for functional elements of IP in Ebie. So, following Cinque (1999:193) who stated that the rigid ordering of adverbs proper is a consequence (via Spec/head agreement) of the rigid ordering of the respective functional heads, I state that there is indeed an adverb of tense in the Ebie adverb system just like in Baule. What is then the adverb of tense in Baule and Ebie languages? Is it only adverb of tense for future which exists in the Kwa languages system since only T(future) is observed in the Kwa languages (Cf section 4)?

5. A search for adverb of tense in Kwa languages

For D. Creissels (opt.cit.), there is no use talking about adverb of tense in particular and adverb in general in kwa languages. Creissels' approach to adverbs in Kwa languages reveals the problem of treating Sub-Saharan languages on the basis of patterns designed for Indo-European languages. Even the notion of tense is treated upon that basis this is the reason why Kwa languages are described as tenseless languages. If we comply with that stance, there is no adverb of tense in Kwa languages because unlike English (Cf 10), tense is not observed on verb in Kwa languages (See 11).

10)

- a. John play^s a football match
- b. John play^{ed} a football match
- c. I went to the stadium

11)

- a. tótó sù kó' ndè
toto/Prog/go/today
«Toto is going Today »
- b. tótó sù kó' síé(ljè)
toto/Prog/go/now
«Toto is going now »
- c. tótó sù kó' á'jimà
toto/Prog/go/Tomorrow
«Toto is going Tomorrow»
- d. *tótó wóli á'jimà
toto/go-perf/Tomorrow
«Toto is going Tomorrow»
- e. tótó wó'li á'lumà
toto/go-perf/Yesterday
«Toto went Yesterday»

Though there is no need to mention the adverb of time before locating the event in time, example (11) indicates that tense is subsumed in adverbs of time in Kwa languages. The ungrammaticality of (11d) indicates that adverb of time matches with aspect. Unfortunately, those adverbs of time are not part of Cinque's hierarchy because they function as DP. Although those adverbs of time function as DP, they can work as adverb of tense as well. In fact, tense and adverb are a semantic reality. In that, what is relevant are not the phonetic realization of the morpheme. What seems to be relevant are the features of the notion. Since any word is made of syntactic, phonological and semantic features, the morphological property alone can neither account for the existence of tense nor for the existence of adverb of tense. Given that syntactic,

phonological and semantic features are universal, the adverb of tense in Kwa languages is a set of features similar to the features of adverb of tense in English. So does tense. Thus, Kwa languages can use any word or morpheme which is a collection of the same universal features to express its notions. For this reason, adverbs of time in kwa languages have [past], [pres] and [fut] features, i.e. they interpret tense. They are therefore adverb of tense, though they function as DP.

Conclusion: The problem that posits the analysis of adverbs in general, and particularly in Kwa languages has been once again exposed in this study. Adverbs of tense which are said to match with the functional category T(ense) of IP seemed to be inexistent in Kwa languages. Basically, because those languages are described as tenseless ones. The comparative analysis of T(future) in English with its counterparts in Kwa languages proved the existence of T(ense) in Kwa languages. Therefore, we posited the existence of adverbs of tense in Kwa languages. Thus, contrary to some languages which do have adverb of tense different from adverb of time, Kwa languages do not. However, out of the theory of features universality, we admit the adverbs of time in Kwa languages as adverb of tense. Although, those adverbs seem awkward in Cinque's hierarchy of adverbs, they do function as adverb of tense because they encompass T(ense) features. This study raises a need to modify Cinque's approach of adverb of time in some way. Should all of adverb of time in natural languages be rejected from adverb hierarchy on the basis of their DP function?

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