Introduction

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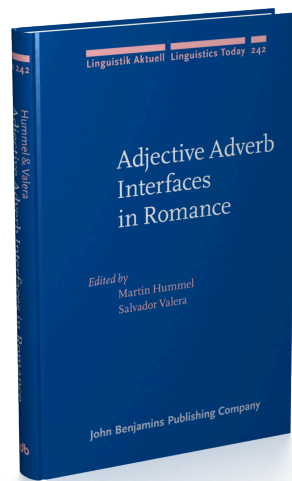
Introduction

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The general topic of this volume concerns word-class based approaches to modifiers in Romance. Modification is a linguistic function that refers to a semantic change operated on a primary unit, e.g. a word or a sentence. It is hard to pursue this functional linguistic viewpoint without referring to word-classes. Adjective and adverb are major realizations of modifiers, at least if we refer to attributive adverbs, excluding circumstantial adverbs of time or space. It is precisely the interfaces of these word-classes and modifying functions where the difficulties of linguistic analysis arise.

A possible starting point in the clarification of this interface could be the canonical definition of adjectives as noun-modifying units as opposed to adverbs as verb-modifying units. Semantically, adjectives may therefore be defined as words denoting properties of entities, while adverbs refer to properties of events. Such radical semantic approaches encounter cases such as *beautiful dancer*, where *beautiful* can be read either as modifier of the person 'the dancer is beautiful' or as a modifier of the event 'the way he dances is beautiful'. But analysis also has to deal with cases such as *She drives slow*, where 'the adjective is used as an adverb', if we use a traditional expression. In addition, the same morphological and syntactic structure appears to modify the subject participant in *She drives cool*. To say that *slow* is an adverb and *cool* an adjective is not fully satisfactory, also because *cool* can be read as a modifier referring to both the attitude of the driver and her driving. This volume deals with problems word-class based approaches have to tackle if these categories are used as heuristic tools for the analysis of modification in Romance.

In view of the fact that English and Romance show similar problems at the functional interfaces of adjective and adverb, a conference on *The Interfaces of Adjective and Adverb in Romance and English* was held at the University of Graz in June 2014. As a product of this conference, the present volume concentrates on Romance. All major Romance languages but Portuguese are tackled in monographic papers. However, Portuguese and other Romance languages, such as Catalan or regional varieties, are also described, in papers focussing on Romance in general. In sum, the volume offers the first broad pan-Romanic discussion of the adjective

adverb interface. Moreover, one of the editors being specialized in Romance linguistics and the other in English linguistics, we have tried to situate the debate in a broader context.

The problems outlined above are not limited to the clause level. If we look at the English language, modifiers of adjectives such as *wide* in *wide-open* or sentential modifiers such as *More important(ly), this is dangerous* can also be adduced. However, the verb phrase certainly displays the most complex scenario inasmuch as participants are part of the event. The main combinatorial possibilities in this area are graphically summarized in the following table:
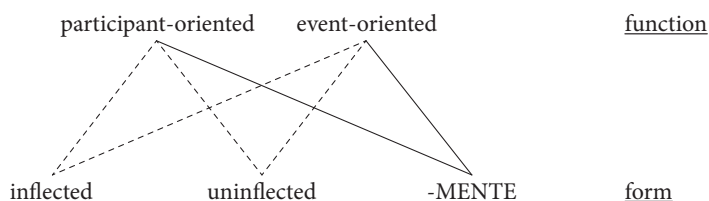
This chart illustrates that adjectives (or copulative, predicative or participant-oriented elements) and adverbs (or adverbials, adverbial adjuncts or event-oriented elements) gain access to positions where the presumed or expected association between word-class and syntactic function is not found, but rather its opposite. Specifically, the emphasis is on what can be described as adjectival forms that perform (partly) adverbial functions at the clause level or, in other words, attributive forms that perform adverbial functions at the clause level. The opposite, i.e. adverbial forms that perform (partly) adjectival functions at the clause level are discussed elsewhere (e.g. Guimier 1991; Valera 1998). Other possible cases, such as adjectival forms that perform entirely adverbial functions at the clause level are discussed by Hummel (this volume). In the chart, the dotted lines foreground the structures discussed here (plus an additional paper on the interface at the phrase level by Medina Gómez & Alarcón Neve).

One notable difference between English and Romance languages is that, in English, the inflectional morphology of the category that realizes the participant-oriented function does not inflect for number or gender as in Romance languages (hence the emphasis on both options in the chart). The result of the description is, however, surprisingly similar in some cases despite the different conditions cited above and despite the different languages involved.

The book first considers Romance languages in general (in Hummel, in Ledgeway and in Cruschina & Remberger) and then four languages: French (in Abeillé, Bonami, Godard & Noailly and in Van Raemdonck), Italian and varieties of Italy (in Silvestri), Romanian (in Chircu and in Mîrzea Vasile & Croitor) and

Spanish and varieties of Spanish (in Company Company, in Medina Gómez & Alarcón Neve, in Ortiz Ciscomani and in Suñer).

Hummel opens the book with a comprehensive review of the interface of adjectives and adverbs in Romance languages. The term 'comprehensive' applies here to the categories adjective and adverb in a range of structures and with a range of morphological realizations, and to their specificities in the languages considered in this book (Catalan, French, Italian, Portuguese, Romanian, Spanish, and in some of their dialects) in both the spoken and the written language, in the registers in which they may occur, and also diachronically and synchronically, referring as far back as the description of the structures of Latin and their influence on Romance languages (illustrated below with some of Hummel's examples for French):

(1)   a.   Les hommes travaillent *dur*
            'The men work hard'
      b.   Les hommes travaillent *durement*
            'The men work hard'

(2)   J'aime bien les traces dans la neige qui nous amène *droits* vers les maisons [sic]
      'I like the tracks in the snow which bring us direct to the way home'

(3)   Je suis sur le point d'arrêter *nette* ma conso de cannabis
      'I'm about to stop cold my cannabis use'

The paper justifies its final argument for flexibility on account of the intricacy of interlocking variables that are at play here. More importantly, it insists in particular on the fact that the interfaces of adjectives and adverbs are not restricted to the clause level, and helps in understanding the intrinsic difficulty of this area of grammar by raising awareness of the complex variables that have affected not only the use but also the metalinguistic/grammaticographic description of adjectives and adverbs. Hummel presents data arranged as types of structures, and uses theory-neutral labels such as Type A, Type B, Type C and Type D for unbiased identification and also to avoid theoretical bias.

Like Hummel, Ledgeway (*Parameters in Romance adverb agreement*) takes a cross-linguistic approach for a review of adjectives in adverbial function at the clause level. This chapter starts with Italian but then takes into consideration both major Romance languages, such as French, Italian, Portuguese or Romanian, and Romance languages with a smaller speaking community, such as Catalan, Sicilian and smaller varieties in Italy. Ledgeway discusses concepts that have been described for some time for French and for English, such as orientation (Guimier 1991) and the type of small clauses that lie behind Allerton's (1982) account of what are much the same structures in English. This chapter thus also goes into the so-called

adverbial inflection or adverbial agreement anticipated in the previous chapter by Hummel (here illustrated with Ledgeway's examples for Italian):

(4) Maria parla *svelta/svelto*
     'Maria is a quick-talker/is talking quickly'

(5) (?)da Forgione pagherai <u>queste scarpe</u> *salatamente/salate*
     'You'll pay for these shoes dearly at Forgione's'

The resulting overview brings to light a dissimilar spread of adverbial agreement across Romance, ranging from varieties where it is not recorded to others with varying degrees of morphological realization of agreement marks, all of which make up a system of four basic patterns labelled 'Pattern 1', 'Pattern 2', 'Pattern 3' and 'Pattern 4'. This chapter also remarks that languages that maintain forms with and without adverbial marks like *-ment* in French or *-mente* in Spanish appear to behave similarly to varieties where the so-called adjectival adverbs are in frequent use.

   Cruschina and Remberger's chapter (*Before the complementizer: Adverb types and root clause modification*) widens the scope of the book to the sentence level and also to a contrastive approach in Romance. Set within a generative theoretical framework, it contrasts complemented sentence-initial adjectives and adverbs. The grammaticalization of these structures also affects the function of the complementizer, which can no longer be interpreted as a marker of subordination (here illustrated with examples from Italian, Spanish, English and French):

(6) (It.)
     Certo che potevamo impegnarci un po' di più
     'We could have certainly made a greater effort.'

(7) (Sp.)
     Claro que no tiene ningún interés
     'He clearly doesn't have any interest.'

(8) (En.)
     Obviously that the Achilles was giving him a bit of a problem

(9) (Fr.)
     Probablement que ce n'est pas leur faute
     'It probably isn't their fault.'

The structures are classified as types (A, B) according to their adverbs. The generative approach offers a description of all these structures under one label, 'C-constructions', as root clauses consisting of an element displaying various degrees of grammaticalization and scoping over a sentence. The various degrees of grammaticalization entail various outcomes. In fact, the chapter carries further relevant implications beyond those that can arise from the study of these specific

structures by examining grammaticalization not only in these structures in the languages considered but also in general. Grammaticalization may thus be interpreted, in some cases, as upward reanalysis along the syntactic tree.

Two chapters contribute towards the discussion of what happens in the interface between adjective and adverb in French. The first of these, Abeillé, Bonami, Godard & Noailly's *Adjectives and adverbs in the* Grande grammaire du français, relies on examples taken from the grammar (in preparation) cited in the title to draw a strict division between adjectives and adverbs. This strict division is based on the inflectional capacity of adjectives for number and gender distinctions, on their structural capacity to take infinitival complements, and on the positional capacity of adverbs to occur between verbal operator auxiliaries and their lexical verbs, or before infinitival forms:

(10)   a.   Une réponse *juste*, des réponses *justes*
            'a right answer', 'right answers'
       b.   *juste* un peu, *juste* amoureuses
            'just a little', 'just in love'

This paper reviews the categories and functions contained in the abovementioned grammar and then goes into the formal, syntactic and semantic types of both adjectives and adverbs according to the grammar. This review of the standard identity of each of these categories may contribute a starting point for the identification of what happens when any of these standard conditions fail, e.g. when adjectives do not take inflection for gender or number agreement or when they occur in positions that the review ascribes typically to adverbs.

The latter is precisely the focus of Van Raemdonck's chapter *Are intrapredicative adjectives adverbs?* Van Raemdonck reviews the various uses of adjectives that, contrary to expectations, appear to be oriented towards the predicate rather than towards a participant – again, to cite an expression used for French by Guimier (1991):

(11)   Pierre mourra *vieux*
       'Pierre will die old'

(12)   Il mange *italien*
       'He eats Italian'

His model of genetic syntax concludes that, regardless of the possible variants that can be considered, these adjectives remain essentially adjectival in nature despite their apparent adverbial properties. This description is, therefore, close to the description presented by Allerton (1982) for English subject adjuncts, even if Van Raemdonck honestly admits limitations as regards some of the structures

considered. Rather than hide these problems under the carpet, Van Raemdonck presents them openly, and the resulting picture, which is very similar to the picture in English (including the slippery ground that is also noted in English, starting with Matthews 1980), seems to point in the direction of inherent difficulties of this area of syntax.

The second language under study is Italian. Silvestri (*Adverb agreement in the dialects of the* Lausberg Area) pursues hints outlined in the chapter by Ledgeway in Southern Italian dialects. The chapter argues for empirical evidence of adverbial agreement in these dialects, such that manner adverbs agree for gender and number with preceding nominals, again as a result of orientation towards those nominals:

(13)   Piətrə aggiustavəd a camməra *pulita*
       'Pietro was tidying up the room nicely'

(14)   Maria parla *buənə/bòna*
       'Mary speaks well'

This chapter raises questions concerning the actual correspondence between syntactic functions and grammatical categories, especially if surface structure is given priority over the syntactic processes that may give rise to that surface structure. The chapter includes a semantic analysis of adverb agreement with respect to compound verb forms, and also of modifiers. The results of the latter bring up contrasts between the occurrence of (pseudo-)resultatives in the dialects under study in this chapter with respect to other varieties.

The third language under study is Romanian. In a paper that resembles Hummel's for the attention paid to extralinguistic and to diachronic variables and for its clarifying value, Chircu's contribution (*Historical overview of the Romanian adverb*) explains not only the separation between the use of older and newer forms across registers in present-day Romanian, but also why Romanian differs from other Romance languages as regards use of adverbial suffixes by reviewing the evolution of Romanian from the 16th to the 18th century in respect of the use – or rather, the lack of use – of the adverbial suffix *-eşte*:

(15)   *hrebor* si dulcse me veszeleszk
       '*courageously* and sweetly I frolic'

(16)   16 ani *neprestan*, cu o împărăţie mare
       '*continuously* for 16 years, with a kingdom greater'

The chapter is an exhaustive attestation of simple and derived adverbs inherited from Latin in over 20 different sources, and relates the properties of the current use of adverbial forms to the dissimilar influences (Latin vs. Slavic) that have given shape to Romanian. Chircu's chapter has the added value that timelines can be

extracted from the records listed, thus being a first step in studies of the same issue at a larger scale.

In their paper *Properties of Romanian adverbs and adjectives from a categorial status perspective*, Mîrzea Vasile and Croitor contribute a very different description of the adjective – adverb interface in Romanian. This description goes into the properties of adjectives inflected for agreement with nouns, adjectives that are not inflected for agreement (under the term 'adverbial configurations'), and adverbs, and lays emphasis on the formal identity between most adjectives and adverbs:

(17) După doi ani de practică, fetele dansează *corect*
      'After two years of practice, the girls dance correctly'

(18) Lucrul *corect* este să își ceară scuze
      'The correct thing for him would be to apologize'

This proves particularly relevant for the discussion of the separation of adjectives and adverbs as two categories vs. their merging as one category. Mîrzea Vasile and Croitor also lay emphasis on the contrast between the distribution of adjectives and that of adverbs. Like Hummel, Mîrzea Vasile and Croitor then discuss adverbial inflection as regards adverbs derived with *-ește* and adjectives derived with *-esc*. The conclusion is that neither the morphology nor the syntax of Romanian adjectives and adverbs allows clear and sufficient criteria for their identification or for their separation. Their orientation towards either a participant or an event appears a more relevant criterion, but again in general terms. Thus, unlike Abeillé, Bonami, Godard and Noailly for French, Mîrzea Vasile and Croitor conclude that no clear separation is possible for Romanian adjectives and adverbs even if tendencies can be identified at the syntactico-semantic level.

Four chapters discuss the interface between adjectives and adverbs in Spanish. Company Company's chapter (*Adverbial adjectives and -*mente *adverbs face to face. Diachronic evidence from Spanish*) discusses Spanish counterparts to the structures considered in several preceding chapters (Hummel and Ledgeway for Romance in general, Van Raemdonck for French, Silvestri for Italian dialects and Mîrzea Vasile and Croitor for Romanian). The diachronic approach is also present in this chapter by virtue of the comparison of the use of five minimal pairs of units with and without the suffix *-mente* in the 18th and 21st centuries (here illustrated with examples of only one of the pairs):

(19) ¡Váyase *rápido*!
      'Go quick!'

(20) ¡Váyase *rápidamente*!
      'Go quickly!'

The comparison shows that the forms in -*mente* gain a wider access to contexts, to structures, and to event relationships than their non-affixal counterparts. The chapter puts these differences down to the traces of the original class that are still present in the non-affixal forms compared with the -*mente* forms: the former display a specialized syntax whereas the latter do not. Remarkably, this results in a markedness binomial where the morphologically unmarked term is the syntactically marked term, whereas the morphologically marked term is syntactically the unmarked term.

Similarly to Cruschina and Remberger for Italian, two papers expand the scope of the discussion in Spanish in two senses. In their chapter *Descriptive and functional analysis of the* solo-solamente *adverbial pair in spoken Mexican Spanish*, Medina Gómez and Alarcón Neve review syntactic, semantic and pragmatic properties of this adverbial pair as well as their use in two corpora of spoken Mexican Spanish:

(21)   *Solo* María escucha discos de música clásica
       'Only María listens to classical music discs'

(22)   *Solamente* mis tres hermanos, ellos compran todo
       'Only my three brothers, they buy everything'

The chapter ponders a number of possible variables and discards them as they do not turn out to be statistically significant. Those results which are statistically significant stand out not only for their attestation of near-synonymy in a number of respects (syntactic, distributional, and especially semantically with respect to the expression of exclusivity), except that the form without -*mente* shows a tendency towards exclusion, while the form with -*mente* shows a stronger tendency towards its use for nuancing. The results also support other relevant findings, e.g. the high frequency of *solamente* in spoken language compared with what is usually the case with other -*mente* forms.

Ortiz Ciscomani (*From adjective to adverbial modal locutions in Spanish*) also moves the discussion of the interface to the development of locutions in Spanish of the type *a* Adj/N-*as*:

(23)   Dixo Moysen al Nuestro Sennor: "Non puedo *a solas* levar esta carga"
       'Said Moses to Our Lord: "Not (I) can unaided/by myself carry this load"'

(24)   y ahora hablamos *a ciegas*
       'and now (we) speak unthinkingly/blindly'

A rather obscure formation, it is researched here both synchronically and diachronically (spanning from the 12th to the 20th century) based on corpus data. The synchronic research contributes both quantitative and qualitative data, especially on the semantic value of this type of structures. The diachronic side of the

study reveals a range of types. The adverbial sense of these structures developed in the 15th century from prepositional phrases as a result of grammaticalization. In the process of grammaticalization, the original meaning of the prepositional phrase shifts in the adverbial locution in a number of directions: from referential to abstract, from objective features to subjective positions and from descriptive to evaluative meaning.

Suñer examines the same subject in her chapter on *Adverbial adjectives and the decomposition of event predicates*. Although the approach is cross-linguistic and considers comparable structures in Catalan, French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, the argumentation focuses on examples of European and American Spanish (here illustrated with examples of Mexican and Argentinian varieties, respectively):

(25) (Mex.)
       Entrecierra los ojos y sonríe *breve*
       '(S)he squints and smiles briefly'

(26) (Riopl.)
       Durmió *corto y profundo*
       '(S)he slept shortly and deeply'

Set in a framework of syntactic decomposition of event predicates, Suñer proposes a hierarchy of units termed *adverbial adjectives* according to their relation to levels of the argument structure of the predicate. In a second part of the chapter, Suñer discloses the conditions that govern the alternation between adverbial adjectives and secondary predicates, and weighs the arguments cited by the literature contra an analysis of adverbial adjectives as adverbs. Suñer closes the chapter with a description of the four types of modification found in these structures and highlights the role of subjects in the use of agreeing and non-agreeing forms.

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