

Adjectives and adverbs in the *Grande grammaire du français*

Anne Abeillé | LLF, University Paris Diderot & CNRS

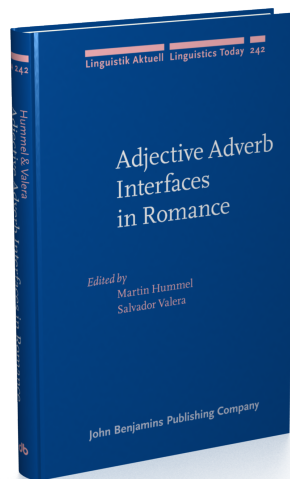
Olivier Bonami | LLF, University Paris Diderot & CNRS

Danièle Godard | LLF, University Paris Diderot & CNRS

Michèle Noailly | University of Bretagne Occidentale

doi <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.242.o5abe>

Open Access Available under a CC BY-NC-ND 4.0 license.



Pages 113–139 of

Adjective Adverb Interfaces in Romance

Edited by Martin Hummel and Salvador Valera

[*Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, 242]

2017. vi, 374 pp.

© John Benjamins Publishing Company

This electronic file may not be altered in any way. For any reuse of this material, beyond the permissions granted by the Open Access license, written permission should be obtained from the publishers or through the Copyright Clearance Center (for USA: www.copyright.com).

For further information, please contact rights@benjamins.nl or consult our website at benjamins.com/rights

Adjectives and adverbs in the *Grande grammaire du français*

Anne Abeillé,* Olivier Bonami,* Danièle Godard*
and Michèle Noailly**

* LLF, University Paris Diderot & CNRS /

** University of Bretagne Occidentale

The distinction between adjectives and adverbs is a traditional issue in French grammars:

1. many adverbs are derived from adjectives, usually with a *-ment* suffix (*facile* ‘easy’ > *facilement* ‘easily’) but not always (*juste* > *juste* ‘just’)
2. many adjectives may modify verbs without being inflected (*voir clair* ‘see clear’) with a manner or result interpretation.

We show how the principles of the *Grande grammaire du français* (Abeillé & Godard 2012, to appear) allows one to draw a strict division, based on morpho-syntactic criteria, for modern French:

1. only adjectives may vary in gender and number
2. only adverbs may occur between the auxiliary and the past participle (*a clairement*/**clair vu* ‘has clearly seen’), or before the infinitive (**clair voir*), with an integrated prosody.

1. The distinction between French adjectives and adverbs

The distinction between adjectives and adverbs is a traditional issue in French grammars (Moignet 1963; Noailly 1999 among others). Most adverbs are derived from adjectives by *-ment* suffix, but some authors have proposed that they belong to the same category, *-ment* being an inflexional rather than derivational suffix (Dal 2007).¹

1. See Giegerich (2012) for a similar proposal for English *-ly* derived “adverbs”.

For simple adverbs, most French dictionaries distinguish homonyms such as *fort* ('strong', 'highly'), *juste* ('right', 'just'), *soudain* ('sudden', 'suddenly'). The adjective may vary in number and gender (1a), not the adverb (1b):

- (1) a. *Une réponse juste, des réponses justes*
 INDF.FSG answer.FSG right.FSG, INDF.FPL answer.FPL right.FPL
 'a right answer', 'right answers'
- b. *juste un peu, juste amoureuses*
 right.MSG a-little, right.MSG in-love.FPL
 'just a little', 'just in love'
- c. *un homme fort, une femme forte*
 INDF.MSG man.MSG strong.MSG, INDF.FSG woman.FSG strong.FSG
 'a strong man', 'a strong woman'
- d. *fort bien, fort belle*
 strong.MSG well, strong.MSG beautiful.FSG
 'highly well', 'highly beautiful'

There may also be a meaning difference between both: the adjective *juste* means 'fair' or 'right' (1a), while the degree adverb means 'barely', 'just' (1b). Similarly, *fort* can be a degree adverb ('highly') (1c) or an adjective ('strong') (1d).

Further more, non agreeing adjectives may occur in the French verbal phrase, usually with a manner or a result interpretation (Guimier 1989).

- (2) a. *Elle travaille dur*
 3FSG works hard.MSG
 'She works hard'
- b. *Marie mange chinois*
 Marie eats chinese.MSG
 'Marie eats Chinese food'

Their status has been debated among linguists: Moignet (1963), for example, analyses them as adverbs (with a truncated *-ment* suffix), while Guimier (1989), Noailly (1994) analyse them as adjectives. After Sandmann (1942), Hummel (2014) proposes a *continuum* between adjectives and adverbs and sees the distinction in contemporary standard French as the result of standardization imposing adjectival invariability and *-ment* forms with verbs, quoting Vaugelas:

Monsieur de Malherbe dit, *Allez tout beau*. Cette façon de parler ne vaut rien pour dire *tout doucement, tout bellement* ('Mr de Malherbe says *Allez tout beau*, This way of speaking is worth nothing to say *tout doucement, tout bellement*').

(Vaugelas 1647, *Remarques sur la langue française*)

He challenges the distinction for contemporary spoken (or informal) French (see Section 5 below).

We show how the redefinition of categories and functions in the *Grande grammaire du français* (Abeillé & Godard 2012) allows one to draw a strict division between adverbs and adjectives, on the basis of morphosyntactic criteria for contemporary French:

1. only adjectives may vary in gender and number
2. only adverbs may occur between the auxiliary and the past participle, or before the infinitival verb, with an integrated prosody.

2. Categories and functions in the *Grande grammaire du français*

The *Grande grammaire du français* (GGF) is an international project, gathering more than 50 linguists,² which has started in 2002 (Abeillé *et al.* 2007, 2012). It will be published in 2019 by *Actes Sud*, and similar to what exists for many European languages: the *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española* (Bosque & Demonte 1999), the *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione* (Renzi *et al.* 2001), the *Cambridge Grammar of the English language* (Huddleston & Pullum 2002), the *Gramàtica del Català contemporani* (Solà *et al.* 2008). Nothing of the sort exists for French, despite good descriptive grammars, such as Damourette & Pichon (1911–1946), Grevisse & Goosse (2008) or Riegel *et al.* (2014).

It aims at a comprehensive description of the syntactic phenomena of contemporary French (after 1950), while taking into account morphological, lexical, semantic, pragmatic and prosodic aspects.

As the focus is on “ordinary” French (Gadet 1989), the data come from a variety of sources, including sizable corpora, both written (newspapers, novels, internet) and spoken (radio, interviews), and constructed examples for simple cases and ungrammatical variants. They also include some regional variation (esp. Belgium, Switzerland, Quebec) and non standard data (Blanche Benveniste 1997).

Syntactic categories in the GGF

To ensure maximal coherence and readability, the GGF is based on a surfacist phrase structure grammar with a fixed set of categories and functions. It relies on eleven morphosyntactic parts of speech (see Table 1).

2. O. Bonami is coordinator of the Adverb chapter, and M. Noailly of the Adjective chapter. A. Abeillé and D. Godard are coordinators of the whole

Table 1. The parts of speech in the GGF

POS	Examples
Adjective	cardinal (<i>trois</i> ‘three’...), ordinal (<i>premier</i> ‘first’...), intensional (<i>supposé</i> ‘supposed’...), qualifying (<i>rouge</i> ‘red’...), relational (<i>national</i> ‘national’...)
Adverb	associative (<i>aussi</i> ‘also’...), degree (<i>très</i> ‘very’...), frequency (<i>souvent</i> ‘often’...), manner (<i>bien</i> ‘well’...), negative (<i>pas</i> ‘not’...)
Complementizer	<i>comme</i> ‘as’, <i>quand</i> ‘when’, <i>que</i> ‘that’, <i>si</i> ‘if’...
Coordinating conjunction	<i>et</i> ‘and’, <i>mais</i> ‘but’, <i>ni</i> ‘nor’, <i>ou</i> ‘or’...
Determiner	definite (<i>le</i> ‘the’...), indefinite (<i>un</i> ‘a’...), quantifier (<i>chaque</i> ‘each’...)
Interjection	<i>bravo</i> ‘congratulations’, <i>bon</i> ‘well’...
Noun	common (<i>table</i> ‘table’...), predicative (<i>faim</i> ‘hunger’...), proper (<i>Jean</i> ...)
Participle	past (<i>dormi</i> ‘slept’...), passive (<i>aimé</i> ‘loved’...)
Preposition	weak (<i>à, de</i>), locative (<i>dans</i> ‘in’...), temporal (<i>pendant</i> ‘during’...)
Pronoun	demonstrative (<i>ceci</i> ‘this’...), indefinite (<i>quelqu’un</i> ‘someone’...), interrogative (<i>quoi</i> ‘what’...), negative (<i>personne</i> ‘no one’...), personal (<i>lui</i> ‘him’...), quantifier (<i>tout</i> ‘everything’...), relative (<i>lequel</i> ‘which’...)
Verb	auxiliaries (<i>avoir, être</i>), intransitives (<i>dormir</i> ‘sleep’...), transitive (<i>laver</i> ‘wash’ ...), ditransitive (<i>donner</i> ‘give’ ...)

Past and passive participles are defined as a specific category with both verbal and adjectival properties: like verbs (3a), and unlike adjectives (3c), they may occur in an impersonal construction with a nominal complement (3b); like adjectives, and unlike verbs, they may agree in gender and number (3d). Present participles, on the other hand, are purely verbal (Abeillé & Godard 2002).

- (3) a. *Il arrivera un accident*
 3.MSG arrive.FUT.SG INDEF.MSG accident
 ‘There will arrive an accident’
- b. *Il sera utilisé un sac en plastique*
 3.MSG AUX.FUT.SG used.PASS.MSGINDEF. MSG bag in plastic
 ‘One will use a plastic bag’
- c. **Il sera utile un sac en plastique*
 3.MSG AUX.FUT.SG usefull. MSG INDEF.MSG bag in plastic
- d. *une poire cuite, un abricot cuit*
 INDEF.FSG pear.FSG cooked.PASS.FSG, INDEF.MSG apricot.MSG cooked.PASS.MSG
 ‘a cooked pear, a cooked apricot’

For syntactic phrases, six phrasal categories are defined:

1. Adverbial phrase (AdP): *très bien* ‘very well’
2. Adjectival phrase (AP): *très content* ‘very happy’
3. Noun phrase (NP): *un enfant* ‘a child’
4. Preposition phrase (PP): *à Paris* ‘in Paris’
5. Verb phrase (VP): *aller à Paris* ‘go to Paris’
6. Clause: *Paul est là* ‘Paul is here’

Clauses may be headed by a verb (4a) or by some other part of speech (4b). They may be introduced by a complementizer (4c).

- (4) a. *Le soleil brille*
 ART.MSG sun.MSG shine.3SG.
 ‘The sun is shining’
- b. *Tous dehors!*
 ‘Everyone outside!’
- c. *Qu’ il vienne!*
 COMP 3.MSG come.SBJV.3SG.
 ‘Let him come!’

We do not make use of determiner phrases: nouns are considered the head of the noun phrase, and so-called predeterminers are adjuncts to the whole NP (*tous [les enfants]* ‘all the children’) or to the numeral adjective (*[jusqu’à trente] enfants* ‘up to thirty children’).

Syntactic functions in the GGF

The GGF uses more syntactic functions than most French grammars (e.g. Grevisse & Goosse 2008; Riegel et al. 2014). For instance, it introduces an explicit function “head”, for nouns in NP, prepositions in PP, verbs in VP etc., and a specifier function for the determiner or another element introducing an NP. It relies on eleven syntactic functions for words and phrases (see Table 2).

Grammatical functions are defined by syntactic criteria, and carefully distinguished from semantic roles. The subject relation for example is characterized by verb agreement, canonical preverbal position, possibility of weak proforms such as *il* and *ce*, and impossibility of others such as *en*. Direct complements, on the other hand, are defined by using different weak proforms (*le*, *la*, *les* for definite objects, *en* for indefinite objects) and canonical postverbal position. With this definition, NP subjects can play different semantic roles: agent for *son fils* in (5a), location for *ce tiroir* in (5b), goal for *Paul* in (5c).

Table 2. The syntactic functions in the GGF

Syntactic function	Examples
Adjunct	<i>grand chien</i> ('big dog'), <i>très bien</i> ('very well'), <i>courir vite</i> ('run fast')
Coordinate	<i>Paul et Marie</i> 'Paul and Marie', <i>rouge et noir</i> 'red and black'
Oblique complement	<i>J'habite à Paris</i> 'I live in Paris', <i>Paul va bien</i> . 'Paul is doing fine'
Predicative complement	<i>Il est intelligent</i> 'He is smart' <i>Je trouve Paul intelligent</i> . 'I find Paul smart'
Extract	<i>Un ami avec qui parler</i> 'a friend with whom to talk' <i>Combien ça vaut?</i> 'How much does it cost?'
Direct complement	<i>Paul regarde le ciel</i> 'Paul watches the sky'
Head	<i>le livre</i> 'the book', <i>très bien</i> 'very well', <i>Paul viendra</i> . 'Paul will-come'
Marker	<i>commencer à lire</i> 'begin to read', <i>Que Paul vienne!</i> 'Let Paul come!'
Peripheral	<i>Tu le connais, Paul?</i> 'Do you know him, Paul?'
Specifier	<i>le livre</i> 'the book', <i>trois questions</i> 'three questions'
Subject	<i>Les enfants sont là</i> . 'The kids are there'

- (5) a. *Son fils travaille*
 POSS.MSG son.MSG work.3SG
 'His son works'
- b. *Ce tiroir contient de l'argent*
 DEM.MSG drawer.MSG contains INDF.MSG money
 'This drawer contains money'
- c. *Paul a reçu des livres*
 Paul AUX.3SG received.MSG INDF.PL book.MPL
 'Paul has received books'

The postverbal NPs in (6a, c) on the other hand, are analysed as direct complements, even though they correspond to the first semantic argument of the verb *venir* in (6a) and of *travailler* in (6c); they contrast with inverted subjects, which have non canonical placement properties but still agree with the verb and resist the use of object proforms (6e, f).

- (6) a. *Il est venu des visiteurs*
 3.MSG AUX.SG come.MSG INDF.PL visitors.MPL
 'There came visitors'
- b. *Il en est venu*
 3.MSG PRO AUX.3SG come.MSG
 'There came some'

- c. *Paul fait travailler son fils*
 Paul makes work.INF POSS.MSG son.MSG
 'Paul makes his son work'
- d. *Paul le fait travailler*
 Paul PRO.3MSG makes work.INF
 'Paul makes him work'
- e. *Quel livre ont lu deux étudiants?*
 Which book AUX.3PL read.MSG two student.MPL?
 'Which book have two students read?'
- f. **Quel livre en ont lu deux?*
 Which book PRO AUX.3PL read.MSG two?

3. Adverbs in the *Grande grammaire du français*

The GGF definition of adverbs

French adverbs have been studied extensively (cf. Schlyter 1977; Guimier & Larcher 1991a, b; Guimier 1996; Molinier & Lévrier 2000) but the category itself is not always well defined. Adverb definitions usually rely on the following criteria:

1. adverbs are not inflected, unlike adjectives
2. adverbs cannot take a direct nominal complement, unlike prepositions
3. adverbs adjoin to verbal categories

We follow the first two criteria and extend the third one: adverbs may adjoin to verbs (7a), but they may also adjoin to various categories. Degree (7b) and manner (7c) adverbs, for example, may adjoin to all major categories (Abeillé & Godard 2003):

- (7) a. *Dors bien!*
 sleep.IMP.2SG well
 'Sleep well !'
- b. *manger assez* 'eat enough', *assez gentil* 'nice enough', *assez facilement* 'easily enough', *assez peur* 'enough fear'
- c. *réussir facilement* 'succeed easily', *facilement timide* 'easily shy', *facilement à l'heure* 'easily on time', *facilement ministre* 'easily minister'

The distinction between prepositions and adverbs

French dictionaries usually split forms such as *après* ('after'), *avant* ('before'), *depuis* ('since') into adverbs (8a), prepositions (8b), and subordinating conjunctions (8c), depending on their complementation.

- (8) a. *C' était mieux avant*
 DEM.3SG was better before
 'It was better before'
- b. *Je viendrai avant le dîner*
 1SG come.FUT.1SG before ART.MSG dinner
 'I'll come before dinner'
- c. *Je viendrai avant d' avoir fini /*
 1SG come.FUT.1SG before to AUX finished /
avant que tu rentres
 before COMP 2SG return.SBJV.2SG
 'I'll come before having finished/ before you return'

Following Piot (1995), we analyse them uniformly as prepositions with different complementations: just like verbs, they may have no complement (9a), a nominal complement (9b), an infinitival or a sentential complement in (9c).

- (9) a. *J' attendrai*
 1SG wait.FUT.1SG
 'I'll wait'
- b. *J' attendrai le dîner*
 1SG wait.FUT.1SG ART.MSG dinner
 'I'll wait for the dinner'
- c. *J' attendrai d' avoir fini/ que tu rentres*
 1SG wait.FUT.1SG to AUX finished COMP 2SG return.SBJV.2SG
 'I'll wait to have finished/ for you to return'

A further test for French adverbs

We follow Bonami (1999), Abeillé & Godard (2004) who add a distributional test: adverbs may appear between tense auxiliary and past participle (10a, b, c), or before the infinitival (10d), without a prosodic break.

- (10) a. *Paul est souvent allé en Espagne*
 Paul AUX.3SG often gone.MSG to Spain
 'Paul has often gone to Spain'

- b. *Paul a facilement réussi ses examens*
 Paul AUX.3SG easily passed.MSG POSS.MPL exams
 ‘Paul has easily passed his exams’
- c. *Paul s’ est bien comporté*
 Paul REFL AUX.3SG well behaved.MSG
 ‘Paul has well behaved’
- d. *Paul a décidé de bien se comporter*
 Paul AUX.3SG decided.MSG to well REFL behave.INF
 ‘Paul has decided to well behave’

This test is useful for distinguishing adverbs from NPs (11a) and PPs (11c). *Plusieurs fois* (‘several times’) cannot appear between the auxiliary and the past participle without a prosodic boundary, and is thus an NP (11c). *Jusqu’à présent* (‘until now’) cannot either and is thus a PP (11d).

- (11) a. *Paul est allé plusieurs fois en Espagne*
 Paul AUX.3SG gone.MSG several times to Spain
 ‘Paul has gone several times to Spain’
- b. *Paul est, plusieurs fois, allé en Espagne*
 ‘Paul has, several times, gone to Spain’
- c. *Paul a réussi ses examens jusqu’à présent*
 Paul AUX.3SG passed.MSG POSS.MPL exams up to present
 ‘Paul has passed his exams until now’
- d. *Paul a, jusqu’à présent, réussi ses examens*
 ‘Paul has, until now, passed his exams’

Prosodic boundary, indicated here with commas, corresponds to an incidental prosody. It may have different phonetic realizations: a pause, lengthening or higher register at the left edge... (Delais-Roussarie 2008).

As noted by Bonami and Godard (2007), this test does not apply to forms which always have a prosodic boundary such as speech act adverbs (12a, b). In (12c), without a prosodic boundary, it can only have a manner interpretation: ‘really, and not ‘frankly speaking’.

- (12) a. *Franchement, Paul a dépassé les bornes*
 Frankly, Paul AUX.3SG passed.MSG ART.FPL limits
 ‘Frankly, Paul has passed the limits’
- b. *Paul a, franchement, dépassé les bornes*
 ‘Paul has, frankly, passed the limits’
- c. *Paul a franchement dépassé les bornes*
 ‘Paul has frankly passed the limits’

But it clearly sets apart forms which are often considered as adverbs in French dictionaries or grammars, such as prepositions with an implicit complement (13a, b).

- (13) a. *Paul est allé en Espagne depuis*
 Paul AUX.3SG Gone.MSG to Spain since
 ‘Paul has gone to Spain since’
 b. *Paul est, depuis, allé en Espagne*
 ‘Paul has, since, gone to Spain’
 c. *Paul a refusé d’aller en Espagne depuis*
 Paul AUX.3SG refused.MSG to go.INF to Spain since
 ‘Paul has refused to go to Spain since’
 d. **Paul a refusé de depuis aller en Espagne*
 Paul AUX.3SG refused.MSG to since go.INF to Spain

As a consequence, we have no locative adverbs. Forms such as *ailleurs*, *ici*, *là-bas*... cannot appear between the auxiliary and the past participle (14a) nor before the infinitive (14b) without a prosodic boundary and are thus analysed as intransitive prepositions.³

- (14) a. *Paul est allé ailleurs/ *est ailleurs allé*
 Paul AUX.3SG gone.MSG elsewhere/ AUX.3SG elsewhere gone.MSG
 ‘Paul has gone elsewhere’
 b. *Paul a décidé d’aller là-bas/ *de là-bas aller*
 Paul AUX.3SG decided.MSG to go.INF there/ to there go.INF
 ‘Paul has decided to go there’

The subclasses of adverbs in the GGF

Adverbs are an open class in French. Some are simple adverbs: *bien* (‘well’), *mal* (‘badly’), *vite* (‘fast’)... while most of them are *-ment* derived: *dernièrement* (‘last’), *gentiment* (‘kindly’), *politiquement* (‘politically’)... or compounds: *quand même* (‘nevertheless’), *un peu* (‘a little’), *tout de suite* (‘right away’)...

3. There may be some speakers variation in the respect: some may accept *ici* or *ailleurs* after the auxiliary without prosodic boundary, and thus treat them as adverbs: *Nous sommes ici parvenus au dernier barreau de l’échelle des climatocceptiques*. (23dd.fr/climat June 7th 2012). ‘we have here reached the last bar of the climatocceptists’ scale’.

While most adverbs do not take complements, some may take a prepositional complement (15a) and some a sentential one (15b, c).⁴ In (15b, c), the adverb is the head of a verbless clause (Bonami & Godard 2007). They do not take infinitival complements.

- (15) a. *relativement à votre demande* ('regarding your request'), *indépendamment de vous* ('independently from you')
- b. *Peut-être que Paul viendra*
Perhaps COMP Paul come.FUT.3SG
'Maybe Paul will come'
- c. *Ces temps-ci, il arrête pas de râler contre le*
DEM.PL times DEM, 3MSG stops NEG to bitch.INF against the
plastique. Soi-disant qu' il y aurait
plastic. Alleged COMP 3MSG PRO have.COND.3SG
recrudescence (Jean Vautrin, *Bloody Mary*, 1979: 103)
recrudescence
'These times, he keeps on bitching against plastic. There is supposed to be a recrudescence'

Adverbs also vary with respect to their syntactic function. Although most adverbs can be adjuncts, some may also be complements. Manner adverbs are obligatory complements with verbs like *se comporter* (16a). Comparative adverbs are also complements of some transitive verbs (16b, c): they are obligatory and alternate with nominal complements (*d'avantage d'argent* 'more money' in 16b, *quelque chose de mieux* 'something better' in 16c).

- (16) a. *Paul se comporte bien*
Paul REFL behaves well
'Paul behaves well'
- b. *On peut proposer davantage*
'One can propose more'

4. As adverbs, they may occur between the auxiliary and the past participle without a prosodic boundary:

Paul a relativement perdu la face. ('Paul has relatively lost face')

Paul a soi-disant réglé le problème. ('Paul has allegedly solved the problem')

- c. *il arrive souvent qu' on en ait assez de*
 3MSG arrives often COMP one PRO AUX.SBJV.3SG enough with
sa première guitare [...], surtout si on a
 POSS.FSG first guitar.FSG [...], especially if one AUX.3SG
acheté mieux par la suite
 bought.MSG better.MSG by the following
 'One may often have enough with his first guitar [...], especially if one has
 bought better thereafter' (forum.zonemetal.com/, July 16th 2008)

Adverbs cannot be subjects (**Mieux a été acheté*. 'Better has been bought') but may introduce headless NP subjects (*Davantage sera fait*. 'More will be done').

The semantic subclasses of adverbs in the GGF

From a semantic point of view, adverbs are divided into eleven subclasses (Bonami et al. 2004):

1. Speech act adverbs: *franchement* 'frankly'...
2. Connective adverbs: *pourtant* 'nevertheless'...
3. Evaluative adverbs: *heureusement* 'fortunately'...
4. Modal adverbs: *probablement* 'probably'...
5. Agent-oriented adverbs: *intelligemment* 'cleverly'...
6. Aspectual adverbs: habitual (*habituellement* 'usually'), phase (*déjà* 'yet')
7. Domain adverbs: *légalement* 'legally'...
8. Temporal adverbs: duration (*longtemps* 'for a long time'), localisation (*bientôt* 'soon'), frequency (*souvent* 'often')
9. Manner adverbs: *silencieusement* 'silently', vite 'fast'...
10. Degree adverbs: *beaucoup* 'a-lot', *trop* 'too'...
11. Additive/restrictive adverbs: *seulement* 'only', *aussi* 'also'

The first five subclasses are often called "sentential adverbs" (Schlyter 1977; Molinier & Lévrier 2000) because they may occur in the initial position of a negated clause (17). Semantically, they modify the proposition expressed by a clause (17a, b) or the speech act associated to it (12a).

- (17) a. *Malheureusement, Pierre n' est pas parti à Rome*
 Unfortunately, Pierre NEG AUX.3SG NEG gone to Rome
 'Unfortunately, Pierre has not gone to Rome'
- b. *Peut-être Pierre n' est pas parti à Rome.*
 Maybe Pierre NEG AUX.3SG NEG gone to Rome
 'Maybe Pierre has not gone to Rome'

- c. *Intelligemment, Pierre n' est pas parti à Rome*
 Cleverly, Pierre NEG AUX.3SG NEG gone to Rome
 'Cleverly, Pierre has not gone to Rome'

Semantically, agent-oriented adverbs (17c) modify both the situation and the agent ('Peter was clever not to go to Rome').

The monosyllabic manner and degree adverbs are the only ones which usually give rise to liaison forms:

- (18) a. *Paul est plus amusant que Jean* [plyzamuzã]
 'Paul is more amusing than Jean'
 b. *Paul est très ami avec Jean* [trezami]
 'Paul is very friend with Jean'

4. Adjectives in the *Grande grammaire du français*

The GGF definition of adjectives

In the GGF, adjectives are defined with the following criteria (Noailly 1999):

1. adjectives may vary in gender and number
2. they agree in gender and number with their first argument
3. they cannot take a direct nominal complement, unlike participles
4. they cannot be subjects, unlike nouns

Most adjectives vary in gender and number in written French, although some, especially the recent ones (*chic*) do not.

When an adjective takes a complement, this complement can be a PP (19a), an infinitival VP or a subordinate clause (19b), but it cannot be an NP (19c). This last property differentiates adjectives from participles (19d):

- (19) a. *fier de lui* 'proud of him', *attentif à ses amis* 'devoted to his friends'
 b. *fier d'avoir réussi* 'proud of having succeeded', *content que tout soit fini*
 'happy that all is finished'
 c. *un garçon amoureux de Marie/ *amoureux Marie*
 INDF.MSG boy.MSG in-love.MSG with Marie/ in-love Marie
 'a boy in love with Marie'
 d. *un garçon aimant Marie*
 INDF.MSG boy.MSG loving Marie
 'a boy loving Marie'

The distinction between nouns and adjectives

The distinction between nouns and adjectives is a traditional problem in French (Noailly 1990 among others), since many current adjectives come from converted nouns (*chic, chouette, orange...*). Usually, subjects are NPs (20a), but sometimes bare nouns can be subjects too (20b). Unlike nouns, adjectives cannot be subjects (20c):

- (20) a. *Une grosse somme a été risquée dans
INDEF.FSG big.FSG sum.FSG AUX.3SG been risked.FSG in
cette affaire
DEM.FSG business
'a large sum has been risked in this business'*
- b. *Hommage sera rendu aux victimes
Tribute MSG AUX.FUT.3SG paid.MSG to.ART.PL victims
'Tribute will be paid to the victims'*
- c. **Gros a été risqué dans cette affaire
big.MSG AUX.3SG been risked.MSG in DEM.FSG business*
- d. *Les petites sont venues
ART.PL small.FPL AUX.PL come.FPL
'The small ones have come'*

Adjectives can only occur in subject position when they belong to a nounless, anaphoric NP (20d).

Some nouns, such as color nouns, are reanalysed as adjectives when they agree (*des bottes oranges* 'orange boots') or when they may occur prenominally (*un chic type* 'a nice fellow').

But the ability to be used as a noun modifier does not automatically turn a noun into an adjective, since the noun + noun construction is productive in French (Noailly 1990). In (21), the first noun is the head and the second noun, an adjunct: contrary to an attributive adjective, it does not agree in number nor gender with the head noun (21a, b), and may be a proper name (21c).

- (21) a. *un passage piétons
INDEF.MSG crosswalk.MSG pedestrians.MPL
'a pedestrian crosswalk'*
- b. *un gâteau maison
INDEF.MSG cake.MSG home.FSG
'a home-made pie'*
- c. *des lunettes Dior
INDEF.PL glasses.FPL Dior
'Dior glasses'*

Adjectives inside the Noun Phrase

In the NP, adjectives are usually adjuncts, prenominal (22a) or postnominal (22b). They modify the head noun and agree with it in number and gender. Cardinal and similarity adjectives may also introduce the NP, with the same specifier function as determiners (22c).

- (22) a. *un nouveau type* ‘a new guy’, *un agréable voyage* ‘a pleasant journey’
 b. *une voiture rouge* ‘a red car’, *un voyage agréable* ‘a pleasant journey’
 c. *Pareille aventure arrive rarement*
 Similar.FSG adventure.FSG occurs seldom
 ‘Similar adventure seldom occurs’

Prenominal adjectives usually give rise to a liaison form (23a). In the singular, the liaison form is generally assumed to be the same as the feminine form (23b), but a few adjectives (*grand*, *gros*...) have a special liaison form (23d), while others resist liaison (23f).

- (23) a. *de bons amis* [bōzami]
 INDF.PL good.MPL friend.MPL
 ‘good friends’
 b. *un bon ami* [bonami]
 INDF.MSG good.MSG friend.MSG
 ‘a good friend’
 c. *une bonne amie* [bonami]
 INDF.FSG good.FSG friend.FSG
 d. *un gros ennui* [grozānyi]
 INDF.MSG big.MSG trouble.MSG
 ‘a big trouble’
 e. *une grosse envie* [grosāvi]
 INDF.FSG big.FSG desire.FSG
 ‘a strong desire’
 f. *un fort accent* [foraksā] /*[fortaksā]
 INDF.MSG strong.MSG accent.MSG
 ‘a strong accent’

As proposed by Bonami & Boyé (2005), the spoken prenominal form of the singular adjective is the masculine one if it ends with a phonetic consonant, like *fort* (‘strong’), the feminine one, or a special one, if it ends with a phonetic vowel like *bon* (‘good’), *petit* (‘small’) or *gros* (‘big’).

Adjectives inside the Verbal phrase

Agreeing adjectives inside the VP

In the VP, predicate adjectives are complements of verbs and agree with the subject (24a) or the object (24b). They are masculine singular when the object is omitted (24c), or when their argument is an infinitive or a subordinate clause (24d).

- (24) a. *Marie semble contente*
 Marie.FSG seems happy.FSG
 'Marie seems happy'
- b. *Je trouve Marie heureuse*
 1SG find.1SG Marie.FSG happy.FSG
 'I find Marie happy'
- c. *Cette musique rend sourd*
 DEM.FSG music.FSG makes deaf.MSG
 'This music makes one deaf'
- d. *Je trouve important de continuer le projet*
 1SG find.1SG important.MSG to continue the project
 'I find it important to continue the project'

Predicative adjectives which are not complements may also agree with the subject (25a, e) or the complement (25b): semantically, they modify the subject or the object, but syntactically, they are adjuncts to the verb or the sentence and are optional (25c, d).

- (25) a. *Marie vivait heureuse dans cet endroit*
 Marie.FSG lived happy.FSG in DEM.MSG place.MSG
 'Mary was living happy in this place'
- b. *Ils ont coupé la jupe trop courte*
 3MPL AUX.PL cut.MSG ART.FSG skirt.FSG too short.FSG
 'They cut the skirt too short'
- c. *Marie vivait dans cet endroit*
 'Mary was living in this place'
- d. *Ils ont coupé la jupe*
 'They have cut the skirt'

Some agreeing adjectives may also occur in sentence initial position, thus outside the VP (26). They modify the subject but are often associated also with a clause-like interpretation: temporal ('when they were young' in 26a), conditional ('if she had been silent' in 26b).

- (26) a. *Très jeunes, ils ont décidé de devenir cinéastes*
 Very young.MPL, 3MPL AUX.PL decided to become filmmakers
 ‘Very young, they decided to become filmmakers’
 b. *Silencieuse, elle les aurait mieux convaincus*
 Silent.FSG, 3FSG PRO.3PL AUX.COND.FSG better convinced.MPL
 ‘Silent, she would have convinced them better’

Non agreeing adjectives inside the VP

Non agreeing adjectives can occur inside the VP (27a, d). Following Noailly (1994), Abeillé & Godard (2004), Abeillé & Mouret (2010), we analyse them as complements when they are obligatory (27b, e) and commute with an NP complement (27c, f).

- (27) a. *Elle risque gros*
 3FSG risks big.MSG
 ‘She risks a lot’
 b. **Elle risque*
 3FSG risks
 c. *Elle risque sa place*
 3FSG risks POSS.FSG position.FSG
 ‘She risks her position’
 d. *Ces livres coutent cher*
 DEM.MPL books.MPL cost.PL expensive.MSG
 ‘These books are expensive’
 e. **Ces livres coutent*
 DEM.MPL books.MPL cost.PL
 f. *Ces livres coutent une fortune*
 DEM.MPL books.MPL cost.PL INDF.FSG fortune.FSG
 ‘These books cost a fortune’

As noticed by Noailly (1993), comparative adjectives easily occur in this position (28a, b). They are not reanalysed as NPs since they cannot occur in subject position (28c), unless they combine with a specifier (28d).

- (28) a. *J’ ai pris trop grand*
 1SG AUX.1SG taken.MSG too big.MSG
 ‘I have taken one too big’
 b. *J’ ai acheté plus petit*
 1SG AUX.1SG bought.MSG more small.MSG
 ‘I have bought a smaller one’
 c. **Plus petit a été acheté récemment*
 More small.MSG AUX.3SG been bought recently

- d. *Un plus petit a été acheté récemment*
 INDF.MSG more small.MSG AUX.3SG been bought recently
 'A smaller one has been bought recently'

As complement, the adjective denotes a distinctive property of the unexpressed noun.

But non agreeing adjectives may also occur as verbal adjuncts (29a, b). In such contexts, they are optional (29c), and may sometimes cooccur with a complement (29d).

- (29) a. *Marie travaille dur / creuse profond*
 Marie works hard.MSG / digs deep.MSG
 'Marie works hard/ digs deep'
 b. *L'Elysée apprécie moyen* (Libération, July 7th 1989: 8)
 The Elysee appreciates average.MSG
 'Elysee does not appreciate this much'
 c. *Marie travaille / creuse*
 'Marie works / digs'
 d. *L'Elysée apprécie moyen cette initiative*
 The Elysee appreciates average.MSG DEM.FSG initiative.FSG
 'Elysee does not appreciate this initiative much'

They have a manner (*travailler dur*), a result (*creuser profond*), or a degree (29b) interpretation (Guimier 1989). They are masculine singular since they do not have any NP to agree with.

Many verbal collocations include such adjectives: *boire sec* ('drink heavily'), *laver blanc* ('wash clean'), *filer doux* ('toe the line'), *refuser net* ('refuse sharp')...

Depending on the verb, the same adjective may occur as a complement or as an adjunct.

Pareil ('similar') is a complement of *faire* ('do') in (30a) and an adjunct to the verb in (30b). *Terrible* ('awful') is a complement of *risquer* ('risk') in (30c) and an adjunct to the verb in (30d).

- (30) a. *Paul chante à tue-tête et moi, je fais pareil*
 Paul sings at kill-head and me, 1SG do similar.MSG
 'Paul sings loudly and I do the same'
 b. *J' ai l' impression que ma vie s'*
 1SG have ART.SG impression.FSG COMP POSS.FSG life.FSG REFL
est déformée pareil.
 AUX.3FS distorted.FSG similar.MSG
 (Sébastien Japrisot, *Un long dimanche de fiançailles*, Paris: Gallimard: 76)
 'I have the impression that my life has been distorted similarly'

- c. *Les cours martiales n' existaient plus, il*
 ART.FPL courts.FPL martial.FPL NE existed no-longer, 3MSG
risquait pas terrible, il aurait un
 risked NEG awful-MSG, 3MSG have.COND.3SG INDF.MSG
avocat. (id. 91)
 lawyer.MSG
 'The martial courts did not exist any more, he was not risking much, he would have a lawyer'
- d. *Ça canardait probablement terrible à la tombée*
 DEM.MSG sniped probably awful.MSG at the fall
du jour (id. 160)
 of.ART.MSG day.MSG
 'There was probably awful sniping at nightfall'

5. The GGF distinction between adjectives and adverbs

Adjectives and adverbs with adjectives and nouns

Typically adverbs modify adjectives and adjectives modify nouns (31a). But various adverbs may modify quantity or role denoting nouns (31b, c).

- (31) a. *excessivement chaud* 'extremely hot', *une chaleur excessive* 'an extreme heat'
 b. *la presque totalité des participants* 'the almost totality of participants'
 c. *le désormais ex-président de France Inter* 'the now ex-president of France Inter'
 d. *un excellent départ* 'an excellent start', *un examen rapide* 'a rapid examination'

However, only adjectives may modify event denoting nouns with a manner interpretation (31d).⁵

The case of *tout*

The quantifier *tout* is analysed as an adjective in predeterminer position (32a): it agrees in number and gender with the following noun or pronoun. The same form is sometimes analysed as an adverb when premodifying an adjective (32b). We

5. *Bien* as a manner adverb (**un départ bien* 'a departure well'), must be distinguished from its adjectival homonym restricted to human nouns: *un homme bien* ('a decent man').

also analyse *tout* as an adjective in this position, since it agrees in gender (32b). When it modifies an adverb or a PP (32c), it is not inflected and we analyse it as a degree adverb.

- (32) a. *tout le voisinage, toute la famille,*
 all.MSG ART.MSG neighbourhood.MSG, all.FSG ART.FSG family.FSG,
tous ceux-là
 all.MPL DEM.MPL
 ‘the whole neighbourhood, the whole family, all of these’
- b. *un avocat tout vert, une pomme*
 INDF.MSG avocado.MSG all.MSG green.MSG, INDF.FSG apple.FSG
toute verte
 all.FSG green.FSG
 ‘a completely green avocado, a completely green apple’
- c. *tout doucement* ‘all slowly’, *tout près de la rivière* ‘all near to the river’

According to the written norm (Gougenheim 1962; Grevisse & Goosse 2008), *tout* only agrees with a feminine adjective starting with a consonant (33c, d), and is not inflected before a vowel initial or masculine adjective (33a, b).⁶

- (33) a. *un couloir tout petit, un couloir*
 INDF.MSG corridor.MSG all.MSG small.MSG, INDF.MSG corridor.MSG
tout étroit
 all.MSG narrow.MSG
- b. *des couloirs tout petits, des couloirs*
 INDF.PL corridor.MPL all.MSG small.MPL, INDF.PL corridor.MPL
tout étroits
 all.MSG narrow.MPL

6. This norm, which violates the free phonology syntax principle (Miller *et al.*, 1997), aims at blocking the combinations **tous étroits* et **toutes étroites*, since [z] liaison is not possible with such plural forms (**[tuzetrwat]*, **[tutzetrwat]*). In spoken French, only two forms do exist: [tut] before a feminine (*toute petite, toutes petites*) or vowel initial masculine (*tout étroit, tout étroits*) adjective, and [tu] in all other cases (*tout petit, tout petits*). This is why Miller *et al.* propose to change the orthography and agree preadjectival *tout* in gender, not in number:

<i>un couloir tout petit</i>	<i>un couloir tout étroit</i>
<i>des couloirs tout petits</i>	<i>des couloirs tout étroits</i>
<i>une galerie toute petite</i>	<i>une galerie toute étroite</i>
<i>des galeries toute petites</i>	<i>des galeries toute étroites</i>

- c. *une galerie toute petite, une galerie*
 INDEF.FSG gallery.FSG all.FSG small.FSG, INDEF.FSG gallery.FSG
tout étroite
 all.MSG narrow.FSG
- d. *des galeries toutes petites, des galeries*
 INDEF.PL galleries.FPL all.FPL small.FPL, INDEF.PL galleries.FPL
tout étroites
 all.MSG narrow.FPL

Adjectives and adverbs with verbs

Adjectives which occur outside an NP but modify a subject or an object do agree (34a) (see above Section 4.1). Unlike adverbs, they cannot occur between the auxiliary and the past participle (34b), or before the infinitival (34c) without a prosodic break.

- (34) a. *Marie a vécu heureuse dans cet endroit*
 Marie.FSG AUX.SG lived happy.FSG in DEM.MSG place.MSG
 ‘Mary was living happy in this place’
- b. **Marie a heureuse vécu dans cet endroit*
 Marie.FSG AUX.SG happy.FSG lived in DEM.MSG place.MSG
- c. *Marie voudrait vivre heureuse/ *heureuse vivre*
 Marie.FSG want.COND.3SG live.INF happy.FSG/ happy.FSG live.INF
 ‘Mary would like to live happy’

Non agreeing adjectives in the VP are not analysed as adverbs since they do not meet the distributional criterion (Abeillé & Godard 2004): contrary to related *-ment* adverbs (35a, d), they do not occur between the auxiliary and the past participle with an integrated prosody (35b, c).⁷

- (35) a. *Ma vie s’ est pareillement déformée*
 POSS.FSG life.FSG REFL AUX.SG similarly distorted.FSG
 ‘My life has similarly distorted’
- b. **Ma vie s’ est pareil déformée*
 POSS.FSG life.FSG REFL AUX.SG similar.MSG distorted.FSG

7. See Suñer in this volume for the same criteria applied to uninflected adjectives modifying verbs in Spanish.

- c. *Marie a travaillé dur/ *a dur travaillé*
 Marie AUX.SG worked hard.MSG/ AUX.SG hard.MSG worked
 'Marie has worked hard'
- d. *Marie a durement travaillé*
 Marie AUX.SG hardly worked
 'Marie has worked hard'

Similarly, the adjective *net* in (36a, b) contrasts with the adverb *nettement*, which may occur between the auxiliary and the past participle or before the infinitive without a prosodic boundary (36c, d).⁸

- (36) a. *Paul a refusé net votre proposition/ *a*
 Paul AUX.SG refused sharp.MSG POSS.2SG proposal.FSG/ AUX.SG
net refusé votre proposition
 sharp.MSG refused POSS.2SG proposal.FSG
 'Paul has sharply refused your proposal'
- b. *Paul a décidé de refuser net votre*
 Paul AUX.SG decided to refuse.INF sharp.MSG POSS.2SG
*proposition/ *de net refuser votre proposition*
 proposal.FSG/ to sharp.MSG refuse.INF POSS.FSG proposal.FSG
 'Paul has decided to sharply refuse your proposal'
- c. *Paul a nettement refusé votre proposition*
 Paul AUX.SG sharply refused POSS.2SG proposal.FSG
 'Paul has sharply refused your proposal'
- d. *Paul a décidé de nettement refuser votre proposition*
 Paul AUX.SG decided to sharply refuse.INF POSS.2SG proposal.FSG
 'Paul has decided to sharply refuse your proposal'

The case of *fort*, *juste*, *soudain*

In case of homophonous forms (*fort*, *juste*, *soudain*...), the adjective may modify a verb (37a), but only the adverb may occur between the auxiliary and the past participle (37b, c) or before the infinitive (37d):

- (37) a. *Elle a visé juste*
 3FSG AUX.SG aimed right.MSG
 'She aimed right'

8. As noted by Noailly (1994), some adjectives may premodify a passive participle (*plutôt cher payé*. 'rather expensive paid'). We analyse them as Adj-Part compounds, like *raide mort* ('stone dead') or *court-vêtu* ('short dressed').

- b. *Elle a juste visé*
 ‘She has only aimed’
- c. *Elle a soudain disparu*
 3FSG AUX.SG sudden.MSG disappeared.MSG
 ‘She has suddenly disappeared’
- d. *Elle a décidé de soudain disparaître*
 3FSG AUX.SG decided.MSG to sudden.MSG disappear.INF
 ‘She has decided to suddenly disappear’

Similarly, the adjective *fort* can modify a verb (38a), but cannot occur between the auxiliary and the past participle (38b), contrary to the adverb (38c). In addition, the adverb (38c) can give rise to liaison ([*fortapresye*]), but not the adjective (23f) (Bonami & Boyé 2005).

- (38) a. *Elle a serré fort sa main*
 3FSG AUX.SG shaken strong.MSG POSS.3SG hand.FSG
 ‘She has shaken his hand strong’
- b. **Elle a fort serré sa main*
 3FSG AUX.SG strong.MSG shaken POSS.3SG hand
- c. *Elle a fort apprécié votre proposition*
 3FSG AUX.SG strong.MSG appreciated POSS.2SG proposal.FSG
 ‘She has highly appreciated your proposal’

Adjective and adverb distinction in contemporary informal registers

In informal registers (39a, b), or in the media, many adjectives are used to modify verbs (*voter utile* ‘to vote useful’, *laver plus blanc* ‘to wash whiter’...).

- (39) a. *J’ai fait ça facile*
 1SG AUX.1SG done DEM.SG easy.MSG
 ‘I did this easily’
- b. *Tu me dis ça sérieux?*
 2SG 1SG tell DEM.SG serious.MSG ?
 ‘Are you telling me this seriously?’
- c. *A partir de là, elle s’est grave énervée*
 At starting from then, 3FSG REFL AUX.3SG serious.MSG
 become-upset.FSG (forum bladi.net, August 4th 2005)
 ‘From then, she got seriously upset’

- d. *J' ai moyen avancé sur mes dossiers*
 1SG AUX.1SG average.MSG advanced on POSS.1PL files
 'I have mildly advanced on my files.' (BIBA, June 2007, p. 80)

Following our criteria, most are still adjectives (*facile, sérieux...*) but some (*grave* 'serious', *moyen* 'medium'...) are currently reanalysed as degree adverbs, with the criterial preverbal position (39c, d).

In the diachrony of French, verb modifying adjectives used to occur before the verb: *Vil acheter et vendre chier* 'bad buying and selling expensive' (Anonyme, *La Clef d'Amors*, XII, quoted by Hummel & Gazdik 2014). In informal registers, especially on the internet, Hummel and Gazdik 2014 notice cases where verb modifying adjectives are inflected (40a).⁹

- (40) a. [...] *votre progression, qui va s'arrêter nette*
 POSS.2SG progression.FSG, which will REFL stop sharp.FSG
<http://egeria.overblog.com/faites-taire-votre-gremlin> (Dec 6th.2013)
 'your progression, which will stop short'
- b. [...] *votre progression, qui va net s' arrêter/*
 POSS.2SG progression.FSG, which will sharp.MSG REFL stop/
**qui va nette s' arrêter*
 which will sharp.FSG REFL stop
 'your progression, which will stop short'
- c. *Les discussions se sont vites élargies*
 ART.FPL discussions.FPL REFL AUX.PL fast.PL widened.FPL
 'The discussions have widened fast'
 (*Les Echos*, Feb 1st 2013) (Hummel & Kröll 2015)
- d. *Les deux Russes étaient vraiment plus vites que moi*
 ART.MPL two Russian.PL were really more fast.PL than 1SG
 'The two Russian were really faster than me'
 (*Le Droit*, Feb, 12th 2014) (Hummel & Kröll 2015)

In (40a), the adjective may be analysed as modifying the subject. In that case, we do not expect it to occur before the past participle or the infinitive, unless it is uninflected and modifies the verb (40b). But as such plural endings are not pronounced, spelling mistakes (or hypercorrections) are also possible as in (40c). As noticed by Hummel and Kröll (2015), *vite* ('fast') is for some speakers an adjective, especially in sports, and as such, may be a predicate agreeing with the subject (40d). According

9. A complete study is under way as part of the project *Dictionnaire historique de l'adjectif-adverbe* (DHAA). See Hummel & Gazdik (this volume).

to the GGF criteria, it should not occur preverbally as an adjective. In (40c), no liaison is acceptable with the past participle *[vitzelarʒi].

6. Conclusions

The distinction between adjectives and adverbs is often a hot debate for contemporary French since a lot of adjectives modify verbs (*voter utile* ‘to vote useful’) and some do not vary in number or gender even with nouns (*chic* ‘hype’). In the *Grande grammaire du français*, we draw a strict division between adverbs and adjectives. They may share some common properties:

1. They may take prepositional or sentential complements; contrary to verbs and prepositions, they cannot take a direct nominal complement
2. They cannot be subjects
3. They may be complements of verbs (*risquer gros* ‘risk a-lot’, *risquer davantage* ‘risk more’)
4. They can be adjuncts: while adjectives commonly adjoin to nouns (*un refus net* ‘a clear refusal’), nothing prevent them from adjoining to verbs (*refuser net* ‘to refuse sharp’); likewise, while adverbs frequently adjoin to verbs (*rire souvent* ‘often laugh’), most may also adjoin to other major categories as well (*souvent malade* ‘often sick’, *souvent ministre* ‘often minister’)

Three criterial properties distinguish adjectives from adverbs:

1. Only adjectives may vary in gender and number
2. Only adjectives agree with the category they modify
3. Only adjectives may take an infinitival complement
4. Only adverbs may occur between the auxiliary and the past participle, or before the infinitive, without a prosodic break

References

- Abeillé, Anne & Godard, Danièle. 2002. The syntactic structure of French auxiliaries. *Language* 78: 404–452. doi:10.1353/lan.2002.0145
- Abeillé, Anne & Godard, Danièle. 2003. The syntactic flexibility of French degree adverbs. In *Proceedings of the 10th international conference on Head-Driven Phrase Structure Grammar*. Michigan State University, Stefan Müller (ed.), 26–46. Stanford CA: CSLI.
- Abeillé, Anne & Godard, Danièle. 2004. Les adjectifs invariables comme compléments légers en français. In *L'adjectif en français et à travers les langues*, François Jacques (ed.), 209–244. Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen.

- Abeillé, Anne, Delaveau, Annie & Godard, Danièle. 2007. La grande grammaire du français: principes de construction. *Revue roumaine de linguistique* 52–54: 419–436.
- Abeillé, Anne & Mouret, François. 2010. Les compléments adjectivaux des verbes transitifs en français, in *Les Tables. La grammaire par le menu, Cahiers du Cental* 6: 1–10.
- Abeillé, Anne & Godard, Danièle. 2012. La grande grammaire du français et la variété des données. *Langue Française* 176: 47–68. doi:10.3917/lf.176.0047
- Abeillé, Anne & Godard, Danièle (eds). To appear. La grande grammaire du français. Arles: Actes Sud.
- Blanche-Benveniste, Claire. 1997. *Approches de la langue parlée en français*. Gap: Ophrys.
- Bonami, Olivier. 1999. Les constructions du verbe: Le cas des groupes prépositionnels argumentaux. Thèse de doctorat, Paris 7.
- Bonami, Olivier & Boyé, Gilles. 2005. Construire le paradigme d'un adjectif. *Recherches Linguistique de Vincennes* 34: 77–98. doi:10.4000/rlv.1370
- Bonami, Olivier, Godard, Danielle & Kampers-Manhe, Brigitte. 2004. *Adverb Classification*. In *Handbook of French Semantics*, Francis Corblin & Henriette de Swart (eds), 143–184. Stanford CA: CSLI.
- Bonami, Olivier & Godard, Danielle. 2007. Quelle syntaxe, incidemment, pour les adverbes incidents? *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* CII: 255–284. doi:10.2143/BSL.102.1.2028206
- Bosque, Ignacio & Demonte, Violeta (eds). 1999. *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*. Madrid: Espasa.
- Dal, Georgette. 2007. Les adverbes de manière en *-ment* du français: Dérivation ou flexion? In *Morphologie à Toulouse, 4e décembre*. Nabil Hathout & Fabio Montermini (eds), 121–147. Munich: Lincom.
- Damourette, Jacques & Pichon, Edouard. 1911–1946. *Des Mots à la Pensée; essai de grammaire de la langue française*. Paris: Editions Vrin.
- Delais-Roussarie, Elisabeth. 2008. Prosodie incidente et structure prosodique. *Verbum* 30(1): 37–52.
- Gadet, Françoise. 1989. *Le français ordinaire*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Giegerich, Heinz J. 2012. The morphology of *-ly* and the categorical status of 'adverbs' in English. *English Language and Linguistics* 16(3): 341–359. doi:10.1017/S1360674312000147
- Gougenheim, Georges. 1962. *Système grammatical de la langue française*. Paris: Editions d'Artrey.
- Grevisse, Maurice & Goosse, André. 2008. *Le Bon Usage*, 14th edn. Louvain-la-Neuve: DeBoeck-Duculot.
- Guimier Claude. 1989. Sur l'adjectif invarié en français. *Revue des Langues Romanes* 93: 109–120.
- Guimier, Claude & Larcher, Pierre (eds.) 1991a. *Les états de l'adverbe. Travaux linguistiques du CERLICO*, 3. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Guimier, Claude & Larcher, Pierre (eds.) 1991b. *L'adverbe dans tous ses états. Travaux linguistiques du CERLICO*, 4. Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes.
- Guimier, Claude. 1996. *Les Adverbes du Français: Le Cas des Adverbes en -ment*. Paris: Ophrys.
- Huddleston, Rodney & Pullum, Geoffrey K. (eds) 2002. *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. doi:10.1017/9781316423530
- Hummel Martin. 2014. The adjective-adverb interface in Romance and English. In *Adjectives in Germanic and Romance* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 212], Petra Sleeman, Van de Velde, Freek & Perridon, Harry (eds), 35–71. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/la.212.02hum

- Hummel, Martin & Gazdik, Anna. 2014. Le dictionnaire historique de l'adjectif-adverbe: De *aimer haut* à *baiser utile*. In *Actes du 4^e Congrès Mondial de Linguistique Française*, Berlin, 19–23 juillet. doi:10.1051/shsconf/20140801132.
- Hummel, M. & Kröll, Andrea. 2015. Vite et vitemment. Etude diachronique variationnelle d'une exception. *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 313–314: 39–91.
- Miller, Philip, Pullum, Geoffrey K. & Zwicky, Arnold. 1997. The principle of phonology-free syntax: Four apparent counter-examples from French. *Journal of Linguistics* 33: 67–90. doi:10.1017/S0022226796006305
- Molinier, Christian & Lévrier, Françoise. 2000. *Grammaire des adverbes: Description des formes en -ment*. Genève: Droz.
- Moignet, Gérard. 1963. L'incidence de l'adverbe et l'adverbialisation des adjectifs. *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature* 1: 175–194.
- Noailly, Michèle. 1993. Sur un étrange privilège des adjectifs au comparative. *L'information Grammatical* 58: 47–51. doi:10.3406/igram.1993.3155
- Noailly, Michèle. 1994. Adjectif adverbial et transitivité. *Cahiers de Grammaire* 19: 103–114.
- Noailly, Michèle. 1990. *Le substantif épithète*. Paris: PUF.
- Noailly, Michèle. 1999. *L'adjectif en français*. Gap: Ophrys.
- Piot, Mireille. 1995. Composition transformationnelle de phrases par subordination et coordination. Thèse d'Etat, University Paris 7. Lille: Presses du Septentrion.
- Renzi, Lorenzo, Salvi, Giampaolo & Cardinaletti, Anna (eds). 2001. *Grande grammatica italiana di consultazione, nuova edizione*, 3 Vols. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Riegel, Martin, Pellat, Jean-Christophe & Rioul, René. 2014. *Grammaire méthodique du français*, 5th edn. Paris: PUF.
- Sandmann, M. 1942. Remarques sur la genèse d'adjectifs en fonction d'adverbes. *Revue de Linguistique Romane* 14: 257–278.
- Solà, Joan, Lloret, Maria Rosa, Mascaró, Joan & Pérez Saldanya, Manuel. 2008. *Gramàtica del català contemporani, last edition*, 3 Vols. Barcelona: Empúries.
- Schlyter, Suzanne. 1977. La place des adverbes en *-ment* en français. PhD Thesis, Konstanz.