CHAPTER 5
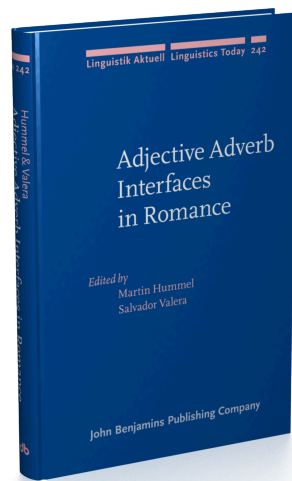
Are intrapredicative adjectives adverbs?

Dan Van Raemdonck | Université Libre de Bruxelles, Vrije
Universiteit Brussel, LaDisco, Gramm-R

Are intrapredicative adjectives adverbs?

Dan Van Raemdonck

Université Libre de Bruxelles, Vrije Universiteit Brussel, LaDisco, Gramm-R

Traditionally, the adjective/adverb opposition is part of a larger structural framework, where these parts of speech are differentiated by the type of parts of speech with which they have a relationship of dependency. The adjective is said to be related to the noun, and the adverb to the adjective, the verb or another adverb, and each time in relationships systematically described as T1 ← T2, where T2 is related to T1.

In this paper we investigate in French the case of intrapredicative adjectives, i.e. adjectives within the predicate which, counter to prevailing assumptions, appear to be related to the verb. We will try to shape a coherent functional system within which all the different uses of intrapredicative adjectives take place.

1.   Introduction[1]

The constructions of theoretical models remain often dependent on constant speech development since school which, following the example of *Nos ancêtres, les Gaulois*, becomes a constituent part of our culture and, therefore, of our mental plans. In the best case of grammatical memories, the adjective would hence be a variable word associated with the noun and the adverb an invariable word associated with the verb, the adjective or another adverb.

2.   Is there such a thing as adverbialized adjective?

The traditional opposition adjective/adverb according to the above contrast belongs in a larger structural framework, where these parts of speech are differentiated in use by the type of parts of speech with which they have a relationship of dependency. The above association between adjectives and nouns, and adverbs and verbs,

---

adjectives or other adverbs takes the form of relationships systematically described as T1 ← T2, where the term T2 is related to the term T1.

In this paper we investigate the case of intrapredicative adjectives in French, i.e. adjectives within the predicate which, counter to prevailing assumptions, appear to be related to the verb. We will try to shape a coherent functional system within which the range of uses of intrapredicative adjectives (not taking into consideration those within noun phrases) will find a place.

The initial hypothesis assumes that the adjective is not limited to the adnominal space assigned to it by traditional grammar. Indeed, adjectives can be related to other adjectives, as in the following examples:

(1) *une porte bleu **foncé***
     'a dark blue door' (the blue is dark)

(2) *des fenêtres **grandes** ouvertes*
     'wide open windows'

(3) *des enfants **derniers**-nés*
     'last born children'

More problematically, what is one to say of the following cases, where adjectives appear in relation with verbs:

(4) *Pierre est **gentil**.*
     'Pierre is nice.'

(5) *Il fait **beau**.*
     'The weather is nice.'

(6) *Marie tombe **enceinte**.*
     'Marie becomes/gets pregnant.'

(7) *Pierre mourra **vieux**.*
     'Pierre will die old.'

(8) a. *Il mange **italien**.*
             'He eats Italian.'
     b. *Il vote **utile**.*
             'He casts a useful vote.' (intended as: 'He votes tactically.')

(9) *Ça sent **bon** la rose.*
     'It smells good, like roses.'

(10) *On dit Pierre **amoureux**.*
     'Pierre is said to be in love.'

(11) *Pierre rend sa femme **malheureuse**.*
     'Pierre is making his wife unhappy.'

(12)   *Sylvie a les yeux **bleus**.*
       'Sylvie has got blue eyes.'

(13)   *Pierre mange son steak **saignant**.*
       'Pierre eats his steak rare.'

(14)   On l'a retrouvée morte.
       'She has been found dead.'

The above examples illustrate not only the case of the predicative complement often described as "subject complement" (French traditionally labelled *attribut du sujet*, (4), cf. Van Raemdonck 2010) but also cases that are poorly described for French, ((5) and (6)), and others whose possible descriptions will be summarized in what follows, according to the interpretations available in the literature ((7) to (14)).

The counterpart to the subject complement, i.e. the objective predicative complement or object complement (French traditionally labelled *attribut de l'objet*), is illustrated in (10) to (13), and can be divided into three broad categories according to the type of relationship with the verb and/or the object:

1.   Clausal nexus, actant of the verb (*nexus propositionnel actant de verbe*), as in (10) (cf. Riegel 1996; Muller 2000),
2.   Obligatory object complement (*attribut de l'objet obligatoire*), as in (11) and (12) (Rémi-Giraud 1991; Riegel 1996; Noailly 1999; Muller 2000; Goes 2008; Wilmet 2010), and
3.   Facultative object complement (*attribut de l'objet facultatif*), as in (13) and (14) (Rémi-Giraud 1991; Riegel 1996; Noailly 1999; Muller 2000; Goes 2008; Wilmet 2010; Havu & Pierrard 2014).

The so-called uninflected adjectives (*adjectifs invariés*) in Examples (8) and (9) are usually explained in terms of the adverbialization of the adjective (Le Goffic 1993; Noailly 1999; Riegel, Pellat & Rioul 2009; Wilmet 2010). Yet, some authors qualify the automatic adverbialization of all *adjectifs invariés* (Grundt 1972; Guimier 1989; Le Goffic 1993; Noailly 1999; Abeillé & Godard 2005), but generally make the adjectival interpretation dependent on the identification of a noun within the verb. Damourette & Pichon (1911–1940) even claim that there is a case of nominalization for all *adjectifs invariés*; Wilmet (2010) seems to agree, but for a subset of them (*miser **gros*** 'to bet a big bet').

The concept of adverbialization offers those who believe that the adjective can only be related to the noun a way out against the odds raised by the many attested examples. Related to a verb, the adjective would in fact be an adverb or work as such.

This discussion echoes the Hengeveld's typology (Hengeveld 1992; Hengeveld & van Lier 2010), which divides languages between those with only adjectives and those with adjectives and adverbs. Some linguists (e.g. Hummel 2014) consider that

the basic French system works with one word-class: the adjective. But, importantly, a solution is only possible if one separates the word class from syntactic function. Then, an adjective might have a syntactic function traditionally called "adverbial".

We'll try to show in our contribution that and how the adjective mostly remains an adjective with adjectival functioning. And hence register French within the set of languages with both adjectives and adverbs.

3.   Towards a genetic syntactic system: Incidence, determination and predication

We designed a double system:[2] a system of natures of word, system of parts of language, organized by the criterion of *extension* borrowed from Wilmet (1986), that doubles a system of parts of speech or functions organized by the criterion of *incidence* borrowed from Guillaume (1964) (see Van Raemdonck 1998; 2010 and 2011 for further details on the system).

In this first system, the parts of language are distinguished by the way the word gives access to its extension (the set of objects of the conceivable world to which the word can be applied). In this system, a noun, or a pronoun, gives a direct access to its extension (*table* can only be said of a table); adjectives and verbs give indirect access to their extension (they are normally said of something that can be used as their support (*une belle chemise* 'a nice **shirt**'; *Cet homme mange* '**this man** eats'); adverbs are said of a relation processed between two terms (their support is double; *Il range la liste alphabétiquement* 'He **arranges the list** alphabetically': **the arrangement** of **the list** is alphabetical).

Secondly, as part of a syntax inspired by Gustave Guillaume (Van Raemdonck 2011), we have proposed to include the syntactic functions into a system where they are all defined using the same criterion, namely *incidence* (the relationship between *import* and *support* of signification). Besides the *support/core* of the sentence (French traditionally labelled *sujet*), characterized by internal incidence, and the *imports* to terms of the sentence (determiner of the noun, the verb, the adjective, the adverb…; predicate of a term), characterized by first-degree external incidence, one still distinguishes *imports* (determiner or predicate) to relations between two terms, imports that are unified by this common feature even if they are morphologically diverse (from the word to the clause): the second-degree external incidence.

Coupled with the pair of mechanisms determination vs. predication, the criterion of the incidence enables to define a complete systemic set of functions of the

---

sentence. These functions may take a range of realizations: determinative phrase, (nominal, verbal…), predicative phrase (primary, secondary).

By "determination", it is here meant that the general grammatical mechanism by which an element is related (imported) to another element or to a relation not only reduces the *extension* or gives an indication onto the *extensité* (effective quantity of elements (Wilmet 1986; 1997 and 2010[5])) of the determined element, but also reduces the extension of the relation on which it is imported. We shall thus speak about determiners of the noun (*la table de la cuisine*, '**the kitchen** table'), of the pronoun (*celui qui part*; 'the one **who leaves**'), of the verb (*manger une pomme*, 'to eat **an apple**'), of the adjective (*plein d'espoir*, 'full **of hope**'), of the adverb (*loin d'ici*, 'far **from here**'), of the subordinative connector (*avec moi*, 'with **me**'), as well as of determiner of a relation (predicative relation, *À Paris, il pleut*, '**In Paris**, it rains'), relation between the determiner and the nominal core (*une fille très jeune*, 'a **very** young girl'), between the determiner and the verbal core (*Il mange ses frites avec les doigts*, 'He eats his fries **with his fingers**'). The hierarchical group of word(s) which gathers around a support/core its imports by means of relations of the determinative kind will be labelled "determinative phrase" (DXPh; nominal, if the core is a noun, DNPh; verbal if the core is a verb, DVPh; etc.).[3]

By contrast, by "predication" it is here meant the general grammatical mechanism by which an element is related (imported) to another element or to a relation without reducing its extension. The predicate intervenes on a term or a relation of the sentence, and does so after all the operation of determination and the constitution of the phrase, that is after the closure of this one. To avoid the confusion with the primary predication which is essential because it is constitutive of the sentence, when the same mechanisms are implemented without the intervention of a verb conjugated to a finished tense (or personal mood), we shall speak of "secondary predication" (Melis 1988; Furukawa 1996; Cadiot & Furukawa 2000; Havu & Pierrard 2009). It will be in particular the case for the appositional phrase (French traditionally labelled "appositions", nominal or adjective, including the predicative relative clause: *Philippe, roi des Belges*, … ('Philippe, **King of Belgium**'), *La jeune fille, très jolie*, … ('The young girl, **very pretty**, …'), *Une très jeune fille, qui passait par là*,… ('A very young girl, **who passed by**,…'), for certain adverbial imports, that predicate without an intervening verb (*Heureusement, il est parti* '**Fortunately**, he's gone') and for the complements of the determiner of the verb or object complement (French traditionally labelled *attributs de l'objet*: *Le bureau l'a élu Président* 'The board elected him **President**'). The organized and hierarchical group of word(s)

---

3.   The term 'determinative phrase' (DPh) is used here for a clearer opposition with the term 'predicative phrase' (PPh) (see below). The relation of determination will be drawn in schemas by means of a simple arrow.

which gathers around a support/core its imports by means of relations of predicative kind will be labelled "predicative phrase" (PPh1 for the sentence (main clause), organized around the primary predication (*Pierre mange une pomme* '*Pierre eats an apple*'); PPh1' for the sub-clause (*Je pense que Pierre viendra* 'I think **that Pierre will come**'); PPh2 for the predicative group whose core's import is a secondary predicate (P2); PPh2 with core Ø (PPh2 whose core's position is not saturated), integrative structure between the PPh2 and the DNPh or the DAdjPH).[4]

Refining their analysis, we agree, with the option of the "nexus" developed by Jespersen (1924), endorsed by Eriksson (1993), and Hanon (1989) ("absolute constructions"). The PPh2 concerns examples as the former *propositions infinitive et participe* ("infinitival or participial clauses"): *J'entends **les enfants chanter*** ('I hear **the children singing**'), *Le chat parti, les souris dansent* ('**The cat's away**, the mice will play'), or *Il marche **la tête haute*** ('He walks **head high**'), *On dit **Pierre amoureux*** ('Pierre is said **to be in love**'), … We described this kind of structure (see Van Raemdonck, 2007) as an integrative structure, carrying a syntactic function, intermediary between the determinative phrase (DPh inside which determination operates) and the sentence, or the sub-clause (PPh1 or PPh1' inside which primary predication operates). In the binomial integrative structure PPh2, secondary predication operates. For there to be a PPh2 with core Ø (Van Raemdonck 2011), the core of the PPh2 must be recoverable, either co-textually (referential identity of the core of the PPh2 and that of the sentence or the determiner of the verb: *Je pense **venir*** 'I think **coming**'), or con-textually (recovery by identification to one of the interlocutors or to an already evoked element: *Enfant, la nourriture manquait* 'When **a child**, food was missing'; memory recovery or recovery by generalization: *L'appétit vient en **mangeant*** 'Appetite comes with **eating**'; in the latter case, the core corresponds to *whoever*).

Finally, and more specifically for the question which is the main subject of study here, inside the DVPh ("determinative verbal phrase"), we distinguish three levels in the relation between a determiner of the verb and its verbal core: the valency corresponds to the scheme of the lexico-semantic comprehensiveness of the verb (the *required element* is a constitutive element of it: in *Pierre range alphabétiquement la liste* 'Pierre arranges the list alphabetically', *Pierre* and *la liste* are considered as required); the *governed element* is the one whose incidence, at the syntactic level, falls on(to) the verb (in *Pierre range alphabétiquement la liste, la liste* and *alphabétiquement* are governed; *Pierre* is not governed even if required; *la liste* is required and governed; *alphabétiquement* is governed but not required); and the *selected element* is the one whose form, construction and/or meaning are

---

4.   The relation of predication will be drawn in schemas by means of a double arrow.

commanded by the verb (in *Marie tombe* **enceinte** 'Marie becomes **pregnant**', the verb *tomber* means '*devenir*' 'to become' only when followed by few selected adjectives: *enceinte, malade, amoureuse,...*) (Van Raemdonck 2010).

This model is part of a genetic syntax. Therefore, we claim the existence of two types of incidence (Van Raemdonck 2002): "effective incidence" (in solid line in schemas), which connects the import of signification to its support, and "prospective incidence" (in dashed line in schemas) which prefigures and thus precedes, in the genesis of the sentence, the actual incidence prior to its implementation. Every term or every constituted group, before being actually put in relation with other elements, can be declared to expect either a support, or an import (by determination or predication). For instance, the verb *ranger* 'to arrange', just out of the dictionary, before being actually put in relation with other elements of the sentence (e.g. the core of the sentence and its determiner), can be declared to expect either a support (this future core, e.g. *Pierre*), or an import (this future determiner, e.g. *la liste*), both of these elements being part, in this case, of its valency. As Figure 1, where T is a functional term of the sentence:

$$T1 \longleftarrow \qquad \longrightarrow T2$$
$$\longleftarrow - - - - - - - - - (T2) \qquad (T1) \longleftarrow - - - - - - -$$
$$(Rel$$
$$\longleftarrow$$
$$T3$$
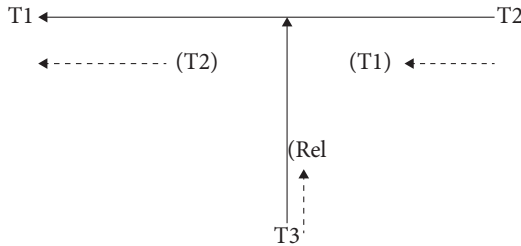
Figure 1. Microsystem of relations

We propose here to system(at)ically register in this frame all the cases cited above in Examples (4) to (14). The resulting description is thus intended to contribute to a redefinition of the respective roles of the categories adjective and adverb, in their identity as parts of speech just as in their syntactic function.

4. Description of items

4.1 Determiner of the verb (= determiner of the core of the DVPh)

(15) Pierre est gentil.
      'Pierre is nice.'

The verb (*manger* 'to eat') is always susceptible to receiving a determiner (*une pomme* 'an apple') as an import of information (Van Raemdonck 2002; 2010), and the determiner fulfils this functional position. When no element saturates the functional position of determiner, this position is said to be "non-saturated", the determiner is represented as "determiner Ø", and the verb is declared to be in intransitive use (*Pierre mange Ø* 'Pierre eats Ø').

The function *determiner of the verb* appears, in our system, as a function positively characterized by an external incidence of the first degree on the governing verb: it is a term of the verbal term. It proceeds by determination of the verb as far as it reduces its extension. Indeed, there are fewer occurrences of *manger* (V) *une pomme* (Det) ('to eat an apple') than of *manger* ('to eat').

This view of the determination and the function of determiner of the verb makes the question of the kind of governing verb (which is no more to be seen as a quasi-nature of verb, but as a subclass of uses) be of secondary importance. There are thus no ontological (and insoluble in a clear-cut way) questions any more on to the copulative, transitive or intransitive nature of the verb.

As far as we conceive the adjective as the prototype of the term of a term, it is hence necessary to consider the subject complement (*attribut du sujet*) as a determiner of the verb in copulative use. Its normal basis is adjectival, but it can also be taken care by a noun. In this case, we are usually in the presence of an article Ø, sign of the link between the noun and the adjective. Thus, for the example in (4), the DVPh (determinative verbal phrase) can be represented as Figure 2:

(Core)	← = :	Core	← ——————————————————————— Det
(Core)	← = :	(V) ← - - - - - (Det)	(Core) ← - - - - - - - - - - (DAdjPh)
		est	*gentil*

Figure 2. *(Pierre) est gentil*

The intrapredicative adjective displays the following characteristics here:

1. it is under the scope of the negation (*Pierre n'est pas gentil*),
2. its anteposition is possible, but not frequent (*Gentil Pierre est*; *Gentil est Pierre*); its interposition between the auxiliary and the participle is not possible (**Pierre a gentil été*),
3. it is an import to the core of the sentence (*Pierre*) through its relation to the verb in copulative use (it is not selected by the verb, except that *être* 'to be' in copulative use accepts as determiner a DAdjPh),
4. it is governed by the verb and is part of its valency,
5. it is, from the above, not deletable, otherwise *être* 'to be' would lose its copulative use and would take on an existential meaning (*Pierre est*),

6. it agrees with the core of sentence (*Pierre*, masculine singular),
7. despite the above, it pronominalises in the neutral (it has in fact no direct
    contact with the core of the sentence; the pronominalization intervenes before
    there was any contact with the core of sentence) (*Pierre l'est*), and
8. there is no set phrase nor lexicalization with the verb.

4.2 Determiner of the relation [Dét (or Dét Ø) → CoreDVPh], not included in verbal valency

(16) *Pierre kiffe **fort/grave** cette fille*; *je le termine **juste***.
      'Pierre likes very much/badly this girl; I just end it.'

Some intrapredicative adjectives are really in adverbial use. They have a particular characteristic: the possibility of taking the position between the auxiliary and the participle, this being the exclusive defining criterion of the adverb in Abeillé, Delaveau & Godard (to appear). If this defining criterion says nothing of what is an adverb, it allows all the same to bound a class of commutation which includes the adverbs (almost all: *si* and *très*, for example, will not fit in) and certain pronouns, but in any case no adjectives. We can hence infer that there is an adverbial use of the adjective as determiner of the relation between the determiner of the verb and the core of the DVPh. As Figure 3:
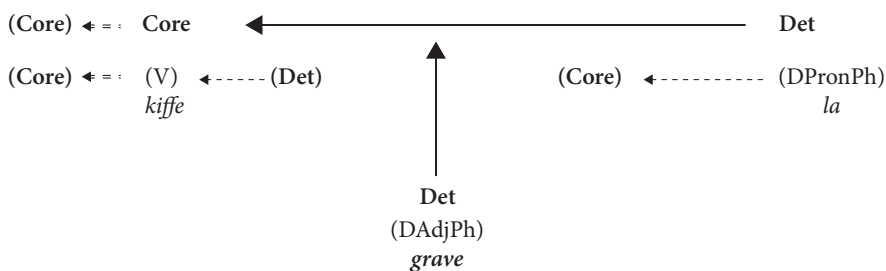
Figure 3. (*Pierre*) *la kiffe grave*

We find the same kind of examples with a determiner Ø of the verb:

(17) *Ça déchire **fort/grave***; *ça a **fort/grave** déchiré*; *ça a déchiré **fort/grave***; *je termine **juste***; *j'ai **juste** terminé.*[5]
      'That tears badly; that has badly torn; that tore badly; I just end; I just ended.'

The intrapredicative adjective has here the following characteristics:

---

5. *J'ai terminé **juste*** would have a different meaning: 'just in time'.

1. It is under the scope of the negation (*Ça ne déchire pas grave*),
2. its movement is possible, as its interposition between the auxiliary and the participle (*Ça a grave déchiré*),
3. it is an import to the relation [Dét (or Dét Ø) → Core of theDVPh],
4. it is not selected by the verb, apart from the selection of a quantifying, intensive meaning: we do not find any characterization,
5. it is governed by the verb but is not part of its valency,
6. there is no agreement because the import is related to a relation,
7. pronominalization is not possible (it is therefore not a determiner of the verb) (**Ça **le** déchire*, with *le = grave*),
8. there is no set phrase nor lexicalization with the verb, and
9. it is deletable (*Ça déchire)*.

4.3   The secondary predicates

Inside the predicate, only the determiners of the verb appear to have the possibility to receive an import characterized by an external incidence of the first degree of predicative kind. This kind of predicative incidence characterizes, in particular, the imports traditionally described as object complement (*attribut de l'objet*, even *attribut du complément d'objet direct (COD)*, labels which cover examples as *Il a rendu sa voiture cabossée* 'He returned his car dented'). Some analysts have joined this structure to examples as (18), (19) and even (20) below:

(18) *Il a rendu sa femme malheureuse.*
      'He has made his wife unhappy.'

(19) *On le dit pressé.*
      'They say he is in a hurry.'

(20) *Il mourra vieux.*
      'He will die old.'

However, these examples do not react in the same way to various morphosyntactic tests. To report these differences, we shall distinguish these structures by using the abovementioned notion of prospective relation as well as that of valency.

4.3.1   *Secondary predicate of the core inside a PPh2 determiner of the verb*

(21) *On dit Pierre **amoureux**.*
      'We say Pierre is in love.'

(22) *Pierre trouve la situation **sérieuse**.*
      'Pierre finds the situation serious.'

(23) *On l'a jugé **coupable**.*
'We considered him guilty.'

(24) *Pierre veut son steak **saignant**.*
'Pierre wants his steak rare.'

In (21), *amoureux* is hardly deletable, and yet it will not be object complement or secondary predicate of the determiner of the verb, whether prospected or effective. In fact, the determiner of the verb is here the whole PPh2 '*Pierre + amoureux*'. In this case, the whole PPh2 is indeed the determiner of the verb (the predication is that 'he is in love'). The internal structure of this PPh2 can be described as a secondary predication of *amoureux* onto the core *Pierre*. As Figure 4:
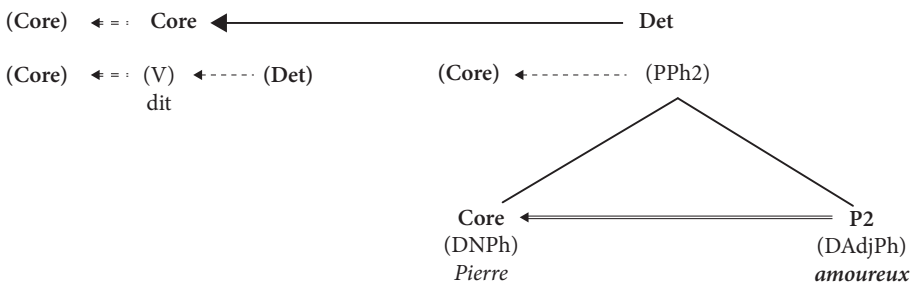

Figure 4. (*On) dit Pierre amoureux*

The intrapredicative adjective has here the following characteristics:

1. it is under the scope of the negation (*On ne dit pas Pierre amoureux*),
2. its movement is possible but with difficulty (ˀ*On dit amoureux Pierre et Marie*),
3. its interposition between the auxiliary and the participle is impossible (**On a amoureux dit Pierre*),
4. it is an import to the core of the PPh2 (*Pierre*),
5. it is not selected by the verb,
6. the global group PPh2 is governed by the verb and part of its valency (*On dit),
7. the adjective agrees with the core of the PPh2 (*Pierre*, masculine singular),
8. there is no pronominalization of the adjective alone (*On le dit Pierre), but the pronominalization in the neutral of the global PPh2 (as for a sub-clause '*On le dit*') is possible, as well as the pronominalization of the core alone with preservation of the secondary predicate (*On le dit **amoureux***),
9. there is no set phrase nor lexicalization with the verb,

10. it is not deletable (??*On dit Pierre*);[6] The PPh2 appears as the reduction of a sub-clause (PPh1') in *que* ('that': On dit **que** Pierre est amoureux).

4.3.2   *Secondary predicate of the core Ø, inside a PPh2 determiner of the relation [Dét → Core DVPh]*

(25)   *Pierre mange son steak **saignant**.*
'Pierre eats his steak rare.'

(26)   *Pierre rend sa voiture **cabossée**.*
'Pierre returns his car dented.'

(27)   *Pierre mourra **vieux**.*
'Pierre will die old.'

(28)   *Pierre vote **utile**.*
'Pierre casts a useful vote.'

The first three examples have often been labelled secondary predicate on the object or the subject (*attribut du complément d'objet direct (COD) ou du sujet*). For (28), the role of quasi-adverb of the adjective is often highlighted, and some descriptions use the term "adverbialized adjective" (*adjectif adverbialisé*). We suggest here taking advantage of the structure PPh2 with core Ø to explain how, from the schema describing the DVPh, we can refine the analysis and establish differences within some of the cases of the use of the intrapredicative adjective.

4.3.2.1   *Pierre mange son steak saignant ('Pierre eats his steak rare')*
In the case of (25) *Pierre mange son steak **saignant***, the rare character of the meat appears as a condition for ingestion by Pierre: the sentence can be glossed as 'Pierre eats his steak provided that it is rare'. There is a determination of the relation between the verb and its determiner. The PPh2 with core Ø, as reduction of a sub-clause, sets a clear example to explain this sequence: the core of the PPh2 is referentially identical to the determiner of the verb (*steak*; moreover *saignant* shows concordance with it), and can thus be the subject of ellipsis. As Figure 5:

---

6.   Deletion of the adjective is possible, but it causes a change of meaning (for *dire, trouver* et *vouloir*, for example). For *juger*, deletion changes the meaning less markedly, but still relates to another analysis that is proposed below.
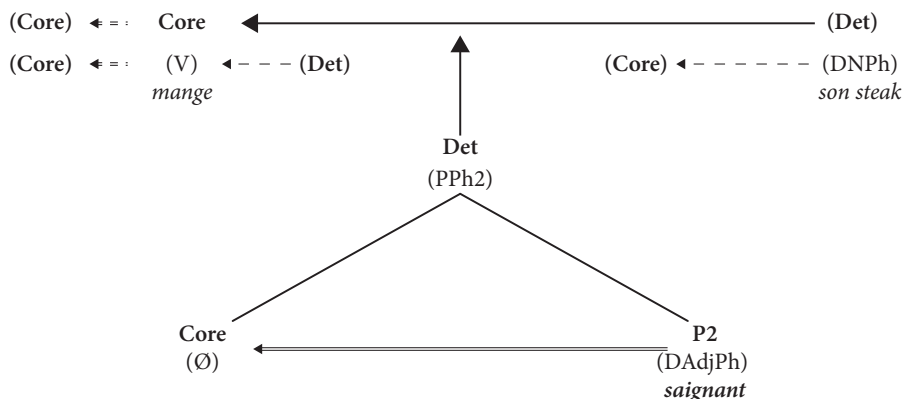
Figure 5. (*Pierre*) *mange son steak saignant*

The intrapredicative adjective displays the following characteristics here:

1. it is under the scope of the negation (*Pierre ne mange pas son steak saignant*),
2. its movement is possible (*Pierre mange saignant son steak*),
3. its interposition between the auxiliary and the participle is impossible (**Pierre a saignant mangé son steak*),
4. it is an import to the core Ø of the PPh2 (the core is not saturated, because its reconstruction is possible from the immediate context (*steak*)), with PPh2 being determiner of the relation [Dét → Core of the DVPh], so as to mark that it is the frame of the current process (the steak must be rare so that Pierre can eat it),
5. it is not selected by the verb,
6. it is governed by the verb and is not part of its valency,
7. it agrees with the non saturated core of the PPh2, which would be referentially equivalent to the determiner of the verb (*steak*, masculine singular),
8. there is no pronominalization of the adjective alone, but the pronominalization of the determiner of the verb alone with preservation of the secondary predicate is possible (*Pierre **le** mange saignant*),
9. there is no set phrase nor lexicalization with the verb,
10. it is deletable (*Pierre mange son steak*), and
11. it has a rather process meaning.

4.3.2.2 *Pierre a rendu sa voiture cabossée ('Pierre returned his car dented: non processual meaning')*
In this Example (26), the explanation seems appreciably the same: the core of the PPh2 is referentially identical to the determiner of the verb (its car; and *cabossé* also shows concordance with it); it can therefore be the subject of ellipsis. Things being

what they are, we can imagine that, from the structure above, P2 shifts towards the position of P2 of the determiner of the verb.

This typical case of object complement corresponds in fact to a secondary predication of *cabossée* on the Determinative Nominal Phrase (DNPh) determiner of the verb *sa voiture*, after shifting from the position described previously. This secondary predicate is not obligatory: it is deletable without substantial modification of the meaning of the verb. It intervenes, from the previous schema, as a supplement of meaning on the determiner of the verb (it agrees with it) and is related to it once this determiner is constituted as a DNPh (that is, once the operations of determination inside the DNPh are complete). Inside the predicate, it is the non processual meaning, which is different from the former case, that allows this movement: *dented* denotes a characteristic of the restituted car but is not a condition for its restitution. Apart from these differences with regard to the former case, the intrapredicative adjective displays the same characteristics. As Figure 6:
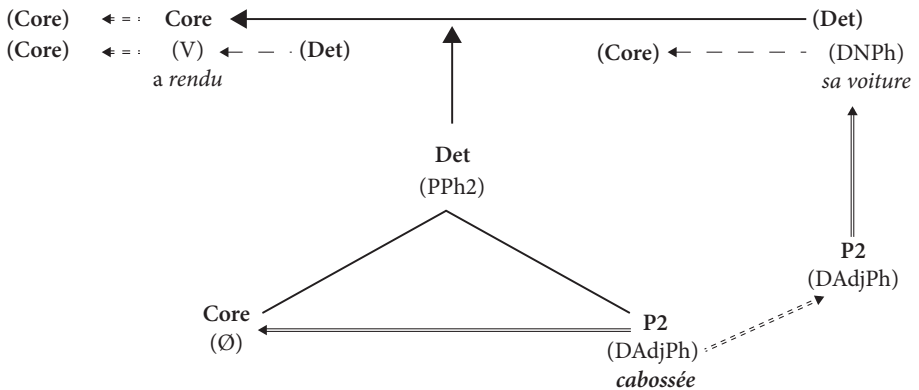

Figure 6. (*Pierre*) *a rendu sa voiture cabossée*

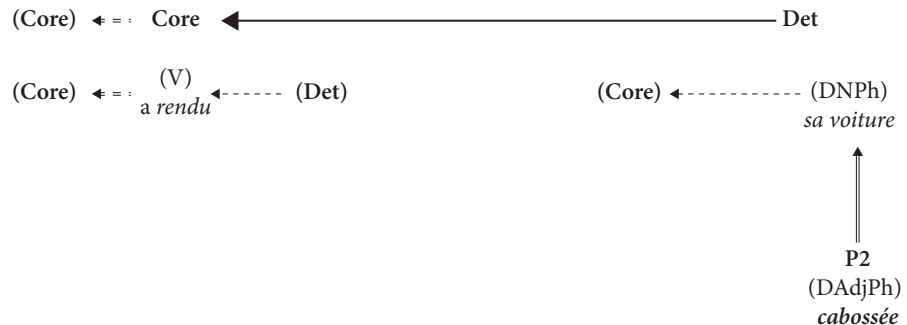From there, the following reduction follows, as Figure 7:

Figure 7. (*Pierre*) *a rendu sa voiture cabossée*

4.3.2.3 *Pierre vote utile*

(28) *Pierre vote **utile**; mange **sain, italien**; mise **gros**; roule **japonais**; bronze **idiot**; parle **net**.*
'Pierre casts a useful vote; eats healthy, Italian; bets a big amount; drives in a Japanese car; tans stupidly; speaks clear.'

In Example (28), there is no determiner of the verb, no possible cotextual co-referentiality. In this and in the other examples of this set, some linguists have seen an adverbial use of the adjective, while specifying that a potential support could be found inside the verb (the "internal object", or the idea contained in the verb). Thus, Pierre eats an Italian *meal*, votes a tactical *vote*, drives in a Japanese *car* and tans in a *way which makes* stupid (the last two items being in French under intransitive construction).

The absence of real determination of a support leaves the adjective invariable. Still, we do not see an adverbial meaning, except maybe in *bronze idiot*. The analysis in PPh2 with core Ø allows to explain these examples. A more explicit gloss, but undoubtedly somewhat unnatural, would use another integrative structure (the PPh2) with complete predication (including core and P2):

1. 'Pierre eats, his meal being Italian'
2. 'vote, his vote being useful'
3. 'tans, his tanning making stupid'
4. 'drives, his car being Japanese'

The PPh2 with core Ø (recoverable from the verb) would be determiner of the relation between the verbal core and the not saturated position of determiner of the verb. Because of the recurrence of these constructions where the position of determiner of the verb is not saturated, the absence of saturation of this position can result in a reading where the PPh2 with core Ø would shift from its position of determiner of relation to that of determiner of the verb, in order to function as such,[7] this occurring more easily as the verb has transitive uses (*manger, voter, miser…*). As Figure 8, for *vote utile*:

---

7. According to a mechanism described in Van Raemdonck (2003) for structures with 'obligatory adverbial phrase':

1. *Pierre va **à la mer***
2. 'Pierre goes to the sea'
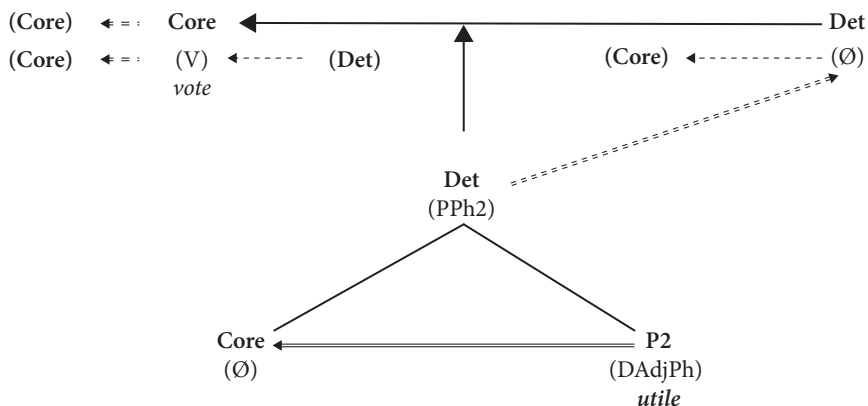
Figure 8. (*Pierre*) *vote utile*

Consider now the following pair:

(29)   *Il parle clair*.
       'He speaks clear.'

(30)   *Il parle clairement*.
       'He speaks clearly.'

In order to see if we can really speak, in the first case, of an adverbialization of
the adjective and if the answer to this question is positive, both sentences must be
synonymic. In our system, in (29), *clair* would relate syntactically to the verb after
shifting towards the position of determiner of the verb. Its semantic import would
be related to the *word* contained in the verb *parler* (its internal object). The invar-
iability of the adjective would result from the fact that this hypothetical internal
object is not marked for gender or for number, as a usual nominal support would be.
There are hence no marks to be passed on the adjective. We could paraphrase it as:

(29)   a.   *Il parle un langage clair; ses paroles sont claires*.
            'He speaks a clear language; his words are clear.'

In (30), it is not the *word* (internal object) that is characterized, but the relation
(and the process of which it is the sign) between the verb *parle* and its determiner
Ø of the verb. We could paraphrase it as:

(30)   a.   Il parle de manière articulée.
            'He speaks in a articulated way.'

The differences between the glosses clearly highlight that the implemented mechanisms are different, cannot be likened or confused and, therefore, cannot be analyzed as if the two constructions were identical. In the first case (*clair*), it is the result which is targeted by the characterization, which clearly corresponds to the idea of determiner of term, even if this term is not saturated (Ø), it being recoverable from the verb (its internal object). In the second (*clairement*), it is the process which is targetted, represented by the relation characterized by the adverb. In this description, the analytical structure clearly highlights the semantic differences between both constructions. Why go without such a profit, if it is not because it strikes the grammatical fairy tales which rocked our schooling?[8]

The intrapredicative adjective has the following characteristics here:

1. it is under the scope of the negation (*Pierre ne vote pas utile*),
2. its anteposition is difficult (??*Utile Pierre vote*; *Utile vote Pierre*),
3. its interposition between the auxiliary and the participle is impossible (**Pierre a utile voté*),
4. it is an import to the internal object of a verb usually in transitive use (*manger, voter*),
5. it is not selected by the verb,
6. it is governed by the verb and is not part of its valency,
7. it can however also be found with a verb in intransitive use (*bronzer, rouler*),
8. it does not show any concordance because it is an import to a core Ø, the reconstruction of which involves, apart from co- or con-textual element explicitly available, either the internal object in the verb (without any mark for gender or number), or the idea contained in the verb in intransitive use,
9. it is not pronominalizable (*Pierre le vote),
10. there is no set phrase nor lexicalization with the verb, and
11. it is deletable (*Pierre vote, mange*…).

4.3.2.4 *Pierre la coupe net*

(31) *Pierre la coupe **net**, s'arrête **net**, porte **haut** les couleurs, discute **ferme** la vente; le gouvernement creuse **profond** la dette; ça sent **bon** la rose.*
'Pierre cuts it net, stops dead, carries proudly the colours, discusses hard(ly) the sale; the government digs deep the debt; that smells good, like roses.'

---

8. Moignet (1974) defended this point of view, but still preferred to keep an adverbialized view of the adjective in these structures.

In these examples, the occurrence of a determiner of the verb changes the situation compared with the cases discussed above. Besides, adjectives are semantically strongly selected by the verb (almost at the dictionary level). This explains the inscription at the level of the valency of the verb and of the system of prospective relations. Nevertheless, as the adjective is deletable without modification of the meaning of the verb, the PPh2 will not be a part of the aforementioned valency (we draw it in solid lines). As Figure 9:
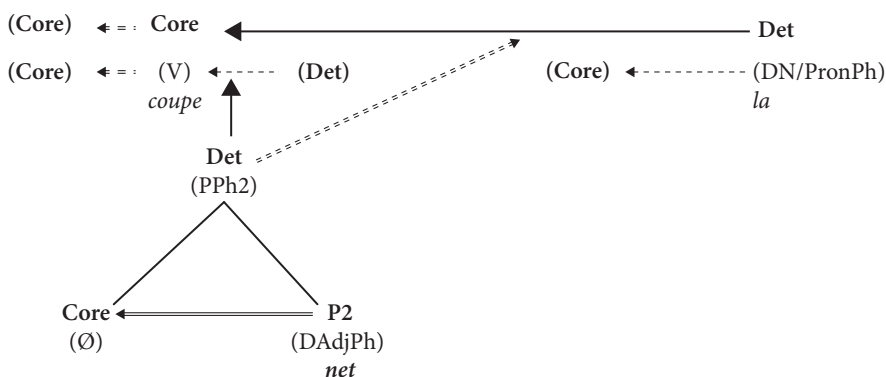
Figure 9. (*Pierre*) *la coupe net*

The intrapredicative adjective displays here the following characteristics:

1. it is under the scope of the negation (*Pierre ne la coupe pas net*),
2. its movement is possible, but its position before the determiner of the verb seems more natural (*Pierre coupe net la discussion/la discussion net*),
3. its position between the auxiliary and the participle is impossible (**Pierre l'a net coupée*),
4. it is P2 of the determiner expected by the verb (*discussion/elle*),
5. it is selected by the verb, with final government by the verb, and is not part of its valency,
6. it does not agree with the determiner of the verb, because the import is made onto the verb because of the selection (to its internal object: in *Pierre la coupe net*, it is the cut that is clear, not the referent of the pronoun *la*),
7. there is no pronominalization of the adjective alone, but the pronominalization of the determiner of the verb alone with preservation of the secondary predicate is possible (*Pierre **la** coupe **net***),

8. there is a set phrase/lexicalization with the verb (*couper net*): the selection of the adjective by the verb is very strong (not much freedom in the choice of the possible adjectives),[9] and
9. it creates with the verb as a new lexical item (*couper net*).

Nevertheless, we cannot speak about a necessary integration in the valency of the verb, as the adjective appears to be deletable. In case of non-saturation of the position of determiner of the verb ((32) *Ça sent bon*), the shift is possible from the position in the schema above towards this position of determiner of the verb. As Example (32) and Figure 10:

(32) *Ça sent **bon**.*
      'It smells good.'
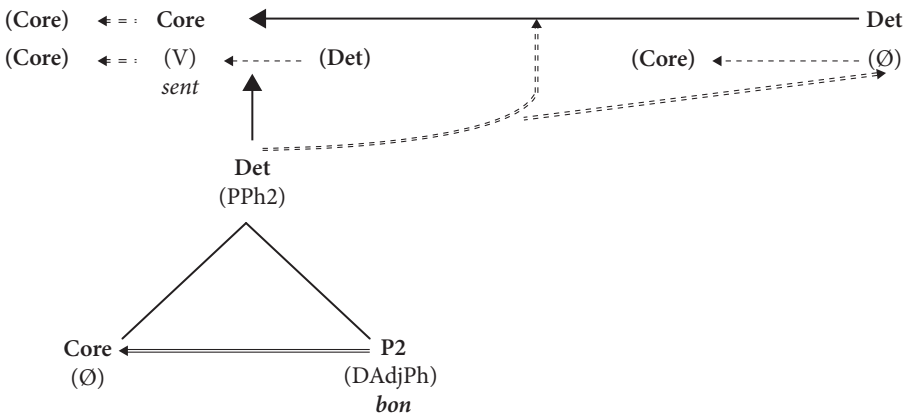
Figure 10. (*Ça*) *sent bon*

4.3.2.5 *Il fait beau*

(33) *Il fait **beau***
      'The weather is nice.'

This case, in impersonal voice, is close to the former, apart from the fact that the adjective is not deletable (*??Il fait*) without modification of the meaning of the verb (*faire* is here 'meteorological'). From then on, it will be considered as being part of

---

9. In some cases, the link verb/adjective may seem even stronger: postposition of the adjective seems very difficult, even impossible, in the following example:

> *Ça sent **bon** la rose.*
> 'That smells good, like roses.'

the valency of the verb (and, thus, the whole PPh2 determiner will be represented as dashed lines). Given the non-saturation of the position of the determiner of the verb, a shift towards this position is possible as above. As Figure 11:
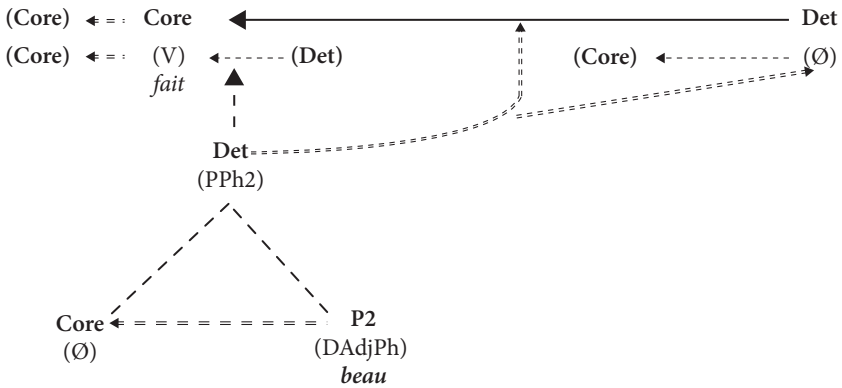
Figure 11. (*Il*) *fait beau*

This adjective is not deletable, the same way that the determiner of the verb in the copulative use is not deletable. Still, significant differences can be found: the agreement with the core of the sentence or the pronominalization is impossible here.

4.3.2.6 *Pierre mourra vieux*

(27) *Pierre mourra **vieux**.*
      'Pierre will die old.'

Sometimes considered as subject complement, sometimes as secondary predicate of the subject or as adjective in adverbial use as manner phrase, *vieux* is described by Riegel (1996) by means of an underlying structure of the following kind:

(27) a. *Pierre mourra [et il sera vieux].*
          'Pierre will die [and he will be old].'

Here *vieux* appears as a subject complement in the underlying sentence. Goes (2008), in the same vein, speak about a completive extension (*extension attributive*). But, to the latter, the syntactic anchoring is not explained.

    Vieux could not be used adverbially as it concords for gender and number:

(27) b. *Marie mourra **vieille**.*
          'Marie will die **old**.'

Vieux could not be a secondary predicate of the subject because, in a negative sentence, it would be under the scope of the negation, and would thus be integrated in the predicate:

(27)   c.   *Pierre ne mourra pas **vieux**.*
           'Pierre will not die **old**.'

A real secondary predicate of the subject would stay out of scope of the negation:

(27)   d.   ***Cardiaque**, Pierre ne mourra pas vieux.*
           '**Having a heart condition**, Pierre will not die old.'

The option of subject complement is not possible given that *mourir* is an intransitive verb: it never appears in copulative use.

In linguistics it is usually preferred to follow the marks which guide the linguist rather than to try to guess what could be behind an implicit structure. The tests available indicate that *vieux* has to find a syntactic anchoring in the predicate, and to be at the same time in touch with the subject, with which it shows concord. This position exists in our system: We consider that the description of this case corresponds to Example (25), *Pierre mange son steack saignant*, except that the not saturated core of the PPh2 determiner of the relation [Dét Ø → Core DVPh] refers not to the determiner of the verb (which is in any case missing), but to the core of the sentence, support of this verb. The non-saturation of the position of the core of the PPh2 is allowed due to the easy reconstruction of the missing sequence by means of the immediate context.

Taking those features into account, and by following the arrows which indicate the direction of the imports towards their support, and hence the dynamics of the construction of the meaning, we can refine our analysis and describe *vieux* as a secondary predicate which would be incidental to the core expected by the verb.

The intrapredicative adjective displays here the following characteristics:

1.   it is under the scope of the negation (*Pierre ne mourra pas vieux*),
2.   its movement is difficult (^(??)*Vieux Pierre mourra*),
3.   its interposition between the auxiliary and the participle is impossible (**Pierre est vieux mort*),
4.   it is an import to the core Ø of the PPh2 (the core is not saturated: the ellipsis results from the possible reconstruction from the immediate context (*Pierre*), with PPh2 determiner of the relation [Dét Ø → Core DVPh], marking that it is about framing the current process (*Pierre will die **while he is old***),
5.   it is not selected by the verb,
6.   it is governed by the verb and is not part of its valency,

7. it agrees with the not saturated core of the PPh2, which refers here to the core of sentence (*Pierre*, masculine singular), support of the verb,
8. there is no pronominalization of the adjective (**Pierre le mourra*, which differentiates it from the determiner of the verb in copulative use (*Il est gentil*; *Il l'est*)),
9. there is no set phrase nor lexicalization with the verb, and
10. it is deletable (*Pierre mourra*).

The adjective secondary predicate relates to an expected core. But this P2, which cannot be moved, falls in reality onto a component of the verb (the component "core expected by the verb", which is inside the predicate). Hence we choose to conclude that *vieux* is also a part of the verbal government.

However, *vieux* is not required nor selected and will hence not be a part of the valency of the verb (and is hence represented by a solid line). Indeed, numerous verbs in intransitive use can be found in this type of construction:

(34) a. *Il est né **riche***
          'He was born rich'
      b. *a vécu **adulé***
          'lived adulated'
      c. *et est mort **couvert d'honneurs**.*
          'and died covered with honor.'

Deletion of the secondary predicates, if it can sometimes give the impression of improper constructions, does not alter the meaning of the verb, or at least does not substantially. As Figure 12:
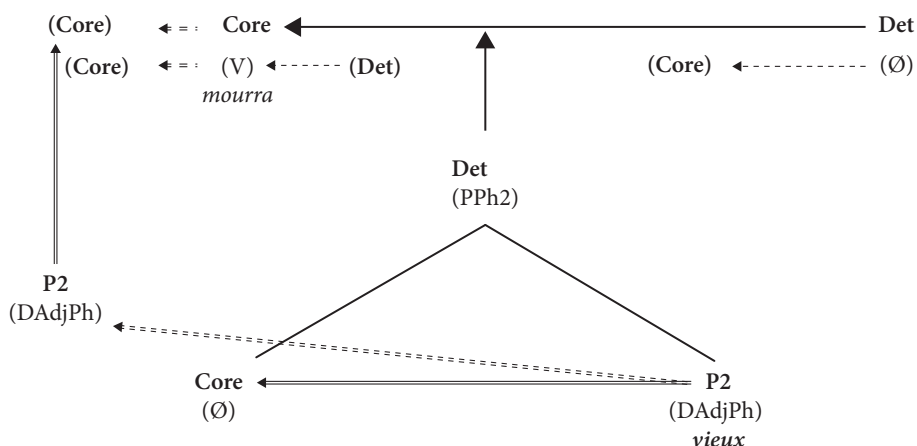
Figure 12. (*Pierre*) *mourra vieux*

4.3.3   *Secondary predicate of the determiner expected by the verb, not
             included in the verbal valency*

Let us consider now the following examples:

(35)   *On l'a jugé **coupable**.* (for the second reading, see Example (23))
       'We considered him guilty.'

(36)   *On l'a nommé **Directeur**.*
       'We appointed him General Manager.'

(37)   *On l'a étiqueté **incapable**.*
       'We labelled him unable.'

In these cases, the adjective has the function of P2 of the determiner expected by the
verb, without being a part of its valency: it can be deleted. This type of structure is
close to the one illustrated by (26), *Pierre Pierre rend sa voiture cabossée*, except that
the shift towards the position of P2 of the determiner of the verb that can be seen
here does not proceed from a processual structure of the kind "PPh2 determiner
of relation": it proceeds from a position where P2, selected by the verb of judgment
or label, reaches prematurely, because of this selection, the determiner expected by
the verb (and is thus represented by solid lines). As Figure 13:

Figure 13. (*On*) *l'a jugé coupable*

The intrapredicative adjective displays here the following characteristics:

1.   it is under the scope of the negation (*On ne l'a pas jugé coupable*),
2.   its movement is possible (*On a jugé coupable cet homme*),
3.   its position between the auxiliary and the participle is impossible (**On l'a coup-
     able jugé*),
4.   it is P2 of the determiner expected by the verb,
5.   it is selected (wide selection: adjective with meaning of judgment or label) by
     the verb, with final government by the verb, and is not part of its valency,

6. it agrees with the determiner of the verb (*l'*), because it relates to it,
7. there is no pronominalization of the adjective alone, but the pronominalization of the determiner of the verb alone with preservation of the secondary predicate is possible (*On l'a jugé **coupable***),
8. there is no set phrase nor lexicalization with the verb, and
9. it is deletable (*On l'a jugé*).

4.3.4 *Secondary predicate of the determiner expected by the verb, included in the verbal valency*

The following case is illustrated by:

(38) *Pierre rend sa femme **malheureuse**.*
       'Pierre is making his wife unhappy.'

In this case, *malheureux* cannot be deleted without altering substantially the meaning of the verb: from '*faire devenir*' ('to make become'), it would shift to '*restituer*' ('to return'). We hence observe a closer solidarity between the verb and the secondary predicate, as if, to maintain the intended meaning of the verb, the secondary predicate had to be a part of its valency. Hence *rendre* in this meaning of a word would not have the same valency profile as *rendre* meaning 'to return'.[10] To account for this, we suggest an analysis of this structure where *malheureux* is secondary predication on the determiner expected by the verb, this secondary predicate being included in the valency of the verb (and is thus represented by dashed lines). As Figure 14:

Figure 14. (*Pierre*) *rend sa femme malheureuse*

---

10. We can find *L'amour rend fou* ('Love drives crazy'), with determiner Ø of the verb, which seems to confirm the constitution of a quasi-lexical item of the verb '*rendre* + adjective'.
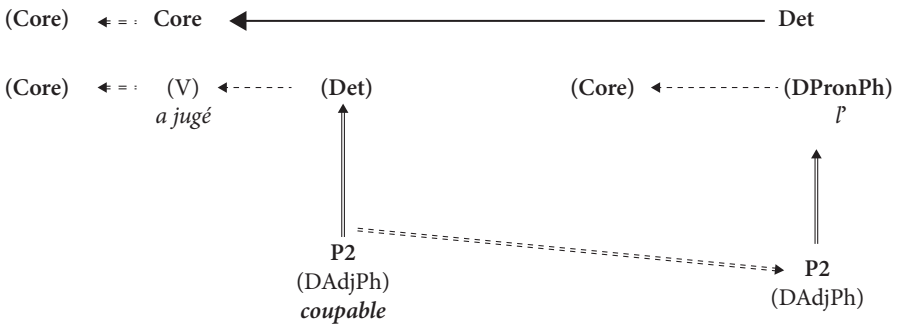
The intrapredicative adjective displays here the following characteristics:

1. it is under the scope of the negation (*Pierre ne rend pas sa femme malheureuse*),
2. its movement is possible but unusual ([?]*Pierre rend malheureuse sa femme*),
3. its position between the auxiliary and the participle is impossible (**Pierre a malheureuse rendu sa femme*),
4. it is P2 of the determiner expected by the verb,
5. it is selected (wide selection: adjective with potentially resultative meaning) by the verb, with final government by the verb, and is not part of its valency,
6. it agrees with the determiner of the verb (*sa femme*, feminine singular), because it relates to this determiner,
7. there is no pronominalization of the adjective alone, nor altogether with the determiner of the verb, but pronominalization of the determiner of the verb alone with preservation of the secondary predicate is possible (*Pierre **la** rend malheureuse*),
8. there is a set phrase/lexicalization with the verb, which changes the verb meaning or sets a particular meaning (*rendre X* has the particular meaning to 'make become X' and forms a lexical item from then on), and
9. it is not deletable without modifying the meaning ((*)*Pierre rend sa femme*, would have another meaning of restitution).

4.3.5 *Secondary predicate of the core inside a PPh2 determiner expected by the verb, included in the verbal valency*

The following type is a is well-known case of meronymical *avoir* (see in particular Furukawa 1987 and Hanon 1989):

(39) *Marie a les yeux **bleus**, le cheveu **rare**, la main **leste**.*
       'Marie has blue eyes, rare hair, agile hand.'

This is analyzed here as a verb selecting for this particular meaning a determiner of PPh2's kind with, as core, the part (*les yeux* 'the eyes') semantically and referentially connected to the core of sentence (*Marie*, support of *a*, and which represents the whole to which the part is connected), and a P2 relating to it. This PPh2 is as a whole a part of the valency of the verb: its absence would modify the meaning of the verb. As Figure 15:
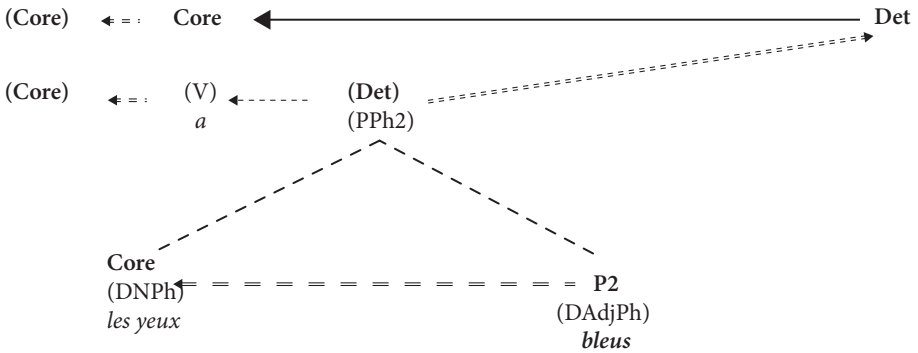
Figure 15. (*Marie*) *a les yeux bleus*

The intrapredicative adjective displays here the following characteristics:

1. it is under the scope of the negation (*Marie n'a pas les yeux bleus*),
2. its movement is possible but unusual (ˀ*Marie a bleus les yeux*),
3. its interposition between the auxiliary and the participle is impossible (**Marie a bleus eu les yeux*),
4. it is P2 of the core inside a PPh2 determiner expected by the verb, included in the verbal valency,
5. it is selected by the verb (wide selection of the determiner (part + free P2)), with final government by the verb, and is part of its valency,
6. it agrees with the core of the PPh2 (*yeux*, masculine plural),
7. there is no pronominalization of the adjective alone, but the pronominalization of the global PPh2 (*Les yeux bleus, ça, pour sûr, Marie **les** a*, 'Blue eyes, that, for sure, Marie has it'), or of the core alone with preservation of the secondary predicate is possible (*Marie **les** a bleus*, 'Marie has **them** blue'),
8. there is a set phrase/lexicalization with the verb, which changes the verb meaning or sets a particular meaning, and
9. it is not deletable (*Marie a les yeux).

4.3.6 *Secondary predicate of the core expected by the verb,
included in verbal valency*

The last type of structure considered here is illustrated as follows:

(40) *Marie tombe **enceinte**.*
'Marie gets pregnant.'

This case is similar to (27), *Pierre mourra vieux*, apart from the fact that the absence of the secondary predicate would radically change the meaning of the verb. There is no preliminary transit by a structure of PPh2 with core Ø: it would mean that the verb *tomber* would have at first its meaning '*chuter*' ('to drop'). The secondary predicate, incidental to the component "core expected by the verb", is required and is hence not only part of the verbal government, but also of the valency of the verb, so that the figurative meaning of *tomber* can be generated, as in (38), *Pierre rend sa femme malheureuse*, (and is thus represented by a dashed line). As Figure 16:

Figure 16. (*Marie*) *tombe enceinte*

The intrapredicative adjective displays here the following characteristics:

1. it is under the scope of the negation (*Marie ne tombe pas enceinte*),
2. its movement is impossible (**Enceinte Marie tombe*),
3. its position between the auxiliary and the participle is impossible (**Marie est enceinte tombée*),
4. it is an import to the core expected by the verb,
5. it is selected by the verb (*tomber* + some selected adjectives),
6. it is governed by the verb and is part of its valency,
7. it agrees with the core of sentence (*Marie*, feminine singular),
8. there is no pronominalization of the adjective (**Marie **le** tombe*), which differentiates this case from that of the determiner of the verb in copulative use (*Il est gentil*; *Il l'est*)),
9. there is a set phrase/lexicalization with the verb (*tomber enceinte*), and
10. it is not deletable without modifying the meaning ((*) *Marie tombe*, would have another meaning of falling).

5.   Conclusion

All in all, and in the theoretical framework of the genetic syntax outlined here, the intrapredicative adjective sees its adjectival integrity strengthened and secured. We have mapped the various uses of intrapredicative adjectives, and have hence indexed each of them to a specific functional position, participating in that way to a redefinition of the limits of the class.

The result is that in all the examples we analyzed, the adjective is almost always used in compliance with the features that define its class: the fact of being a term of a term, characterized by an external incidence of the first degree. If we except the very few examples in 4.2, all the items can find a description within the scope of this definition. What has sometimes been considered as an adverbial use, can be analized more finely in considering that the adjective is used as a secondary predicate of a core within a PPh2 structure, this core being saturated or not. The PPh2 structure on the whole can be used as an import determining a relation, which is the characteristic of an adverbial use. Hence, our two-level analysis allows to give full account of the features observed and the meanings generated: the adverbial use of the phrase (PPh2) which entails the meaning of frame of the relation; within this phrase, the adjective in predicative use keeps all the features of its class.

Key to abbreviations

DAdjPH:	determinative adjectival phrase
DNPH:	determinative nominal phrase
DPronPH:	determinative pronominal phrase
DVPH:	determinative verbal phrase
Det:	determiner
PPH (1/2):	(primary/secondary) predicative phrase
P2:	secondary predicate
Rel:	relation
T:	term
V:	verb

References

Abeillé, Anne, Delaveau, Annie & Godard Daniele. Forthcoming. *La grande grammaire du français.*

Abeillé, Anne & Godard, Danielle. 2005. Les adjectifs invariables comme compléments légers en français. In *L'adjectif en français et à travers les langues*, Jacques François (ed.), 209–224. Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen.

Cadiot, Pierre & Furukawa, Naoyo. 2000. Présentation. *Langue Française* 127: 3–5.

Damourette, Jacques & Pichon, Edouard. 1911–1940. *Des mots à la pensée: Essai de grammaire de la langue française*. Paris: Editions d'Artrey.

Delsaut, Maxence. 2013. La tradition obère-t-elle la question de l'adjectif invarié jusqu'à un point de non-retour? *Travaux de linguistique* 67: 25–60. doi:10.3917/tl.067.0025

Eriksson, Olof. 1993. *La phrase française: Essai d'un inventaire de ses constituants syntaxiques*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Furukawa, Naoyo. 1987. Sylvie a les yeux bleus: Construction à double thème. *Lingvisticae Investigationes* XI(2): 283–302. doi:10.1075/li.11.2.03fur

Furukawa, Naoyo. 1996. *Grammaire de la prédication seconde*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Duculot.

Goes, Jan. 2008. Les prédications secondes à prédicat adjectival. *Travaux de Linguistique* 57: 23–41. doi:10.3917/tl.057.0023

Grundt, Lars Otto. 1972. *Études sur l'adjectif invarié en français*. Bergen: Universitetsforlaget.

Guillaume, Gustave. 1964. *Langage et science du langage*. Paris and Québec: Nizet/Presse de l'Université de Laval.

Guimier, Claude. 1989. Sur l'adjectif invarié en français. *Revue des Langues Romanes* 93(1): 109–120.

Hanon, Suzanne. 1989. *Les constructions absolues en français moderne*. Louvain: Peeters.

Havu, Eva & Pierrard, Michel. 2009. La prédication seconde: Essai de mise au point. *Travaux de Linguistique* 57: 7–21. doi:10.3917/tl.057.0007

Havu, Eva & Pierrard, Michel. 2014. *Les co-prédicats adjectivants: Propriétés et fonction des adjectifs et des participes adjoints*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Hengeveld, Kees. 1992. *Non Verbal Predication. Theory, Typology, Diachrony*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. doi:10.1515/9783110883282

Hengeveld, Kees & van Lier, Eva. 2010. An implicational map of parts of speech. *Linguistic Discovery* 8(1): 129–156. doi:10.1349/PS1.1537-0852.A.348

Hummel, Martin. 2014. The adjective-adverb interface in Romance and English. In *Adjectives in Germanic and Romance* [Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today 212], Petra Sleeman, Freek Van de Velde & Harry Perridon (eds), 35–71. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. doi:10.1075/la.212.02hum

Jespersen, Otto. 1924. *The Philosophy of Grammar*. Chicago IL: University of Chicago Press.

Le Goffic, Pierre. 1993. *Grammaire de la phrase française*. Paris: Hachette supérieur.

Melis, Ludo. 1988. La prédication seconde: Présentation. *Travaux de Linguistique* 17: 7–12.

Moignet, Gérard. 1974. Sur la "transitivité indirecte" en français. *Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature* XII(1): 281–299.

Muller, Claude. 2000. Les constructions à adjectif attribut de l'objet, entre prédication seconde et complémentation verbale. *Langue Française* 127: 21–36. doi:10.3406/lfr.2000.996

Noailly, Michèle. 1999. *L'adjectif en français*. Paris: Ophrys.

Rémi-Giraud, Sylvianne. 1991. Adjectif attribut et prédicat: approche notionnelle et morpho-syntaxique. In *À la recherche de l'attribut*, Marie-Madeleine De Gaulmyn & Sylvianne Rémi-Giraud (eds), 151–207. Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon.

Riegel, Martin. 1996. Les constructions à élargissement attributif: Double prédication et prédicatifs complexes? In *Dépendance et intégration syntaxique: Subordination, coordination, connexion*, Claude Muller (ed.), 189–197. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Riegel, Martin, Pellat, Jean-Christophe & Rioul, René. 2009. *Grammaire méthodique du français*, 7th edn. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Van Raemdonck, Dan. 1998. Sous mon arbre, volait un esthète. In *La Ligne claire. De la linguistique à la grammaire. Mélanges offerts à Marc Wilmet*, Annick Englebert, Michel Pierrard, Laurence Rosier & Dan Van Raemdonck (eds), 237–252. Louvain-la Neuve: Duculot.

Van Raemdonck, Dan. 2002. En attendant l'incidence: La relation d'attente. In *Le système des parties du discours. Sémantique et syntaxe*, Ronald Lowe (ed), 408–419. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Van Raemdonck, Dan. 2003. COI: Complément Objectivement Inutile. In *Actas del XXIII Congreso Internacional de Lingüistica y Filologia Romanica, Salamanca 2001, II/2, Seccion 3: Sintaxis, semantica y pragmatica*, Fernando Sanchez Miret (ed.), 473–486. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Van Raemdonck, Dan. 2007. Syntaxe de la phrase et structures intégratives: L'exemple par T et Θ. In *Psychomécanique du langage et linguistiques cognitives. Actes du XIe Colloque international de l'Association internationale de Psychomécanique du langage*, Jacques Brès, Marc Arabyan, Thierry Ponchon, Laurence Rosier, Renée Tremblay & Henriette Vachon-L'Heureux (eds), 311–320. Limoges: Lambert-Lucas.

Van Raemdonck, Dan. 2010. La rection verbale à l'aune de l'incidence: L'incidence autour et alentour du verbe. *Travaux de Linguistique* 60: 45–64. doi:10.3917/tl.060.0045

Van Raemdonck, Dan. 2011[2015]. *Le sens grammatical. Référentiel à l'usage des enseignants*, with M. Detaille and L. Meinertzhagen, 2nd edn. Bern: Peter Lang.

Wilmet, Marc. 1986. *La détermination nominale*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Wilmet, Marc. 1997[2010]. *Grammaire critique du français*, 5th edn. Paris, Louvain-la-Neuve & Bruxelles: Hachette, Duculot & De Boek.