

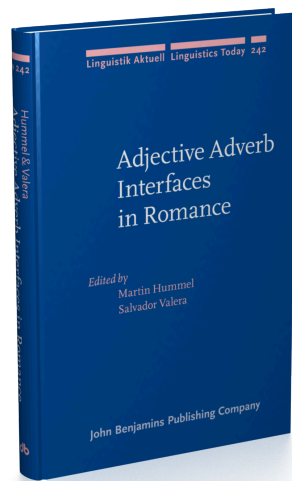
Properties of Romanian adverbs and adjectives from a categorial status perspective

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 <https://doi.org/10.1075/la.242.09mir>

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Pages 227–253 of

Adjective Adverb Interfaces in Romance

Edited by Martin Hummel and Salvador Valera

[*Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today*, 242]

2017. vi, 374 pp.

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Properties of Romanian adverbs and adjectives from a categorial status perspective

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In this article we discuss some properties of Romanian adverbs and adjectives from the perspective of their categorial status and, as part of this issue, the distinction between inflection and derivation within the subclass of derived adverbs. In Romanian the majority of adverbs are homonymous to their adjectival counterparts, a possible argument in favour of the single category claim. Romanian adjectives display agreement with the nouns, while adverbs remain invariable (with some exceptions, considered incorrect by normative grammars). However, it is possible to use non-agreeing adjectives in postverbal positions (usually described as adverbial configurations). We examine the distributional properties of adverbs, non-agreeing adjectives and variable (agreeing) adjectives and also the inflectional vs. derivational nature of the adverbial suffix *-ește*.

1. Introduction

Whether adjectives and adverbs are two different categories or form one major category is an ongoing debate (see Payne et al. 2010 and the references therein; Pinkster 1972: 64–70; Hengeveld 1992; Giegerich 2011; Hummel 2014, among others). The arguments in favour of the single category hypothesis are generally related to their distributional properties: typically, adjectives modify nouns, while adverbs modify other categories: verbs, sentences, other adverbs, etc. (see Payne et al. 2010 for an introductory review of these arguments).

In the first part of the article, we present some properties of Romanian adverbs and adjectives that are related to the issue of the categorial status, especially distributional properties and agreement. Romanian data may be of interest to this topic as most Romanian adverbs are homonymic to their adjectival counterparts and adjectives agree in gender, number and, sometimes, in case with the noun. In the final part of the article we discuss whether the formation of adverbs with the

suffix *-ește* (the most productive one) is an inflectional or a derivational process. Even though the mixed, inflectional and derivational, features of derived adverbs are a common topic in the literature (for English, Zwicky 1995; Haspelmath 1996; Ciszek 2002; Payne et al. 2010: 60–5; for Italian, Scalise 1990; for French, Dal 2007; for Spanish, Torner 2005, etc.), the case of Romanian adverbs in *-ește* has been discussed only briefly (Van Eeden 1985; see also Chircu in this volume).

This article is organised as follows: a general presentation of Romanian adverbs from a formal point of view in Section 2, a presentation of non-typical patterns of adverbialisation in Section 3, an analysis of the distributional properties of homonymic adverbs and adjectives in Section 4, a presentation of the contexts with adverbs as noun modifiers in Section 5, a note on parenthetical positions in Section 6, a presentation of the suffixes *-ește* and *-esc* and the properties of the adverbs derived with *-ește* with respect to the inflectional vs. derivational distinction in Section 7; in Section 8, we make some final remarks and draw some conclusions.

2. Types of Romanian adverbs

Most Romanian adverbs are morphologically non-analysable, from a derivational or inflectional point of view (see 2.1), and some of them are analysable as formed with a suffix from a noun, adjective, verb or adverb (see 2.2). We make a short description of these types below.

2.1 Non-analysable adverbs

We could divide this class into two main types, according to the origin of the adverbs and the relation to the adjectival counterparts:

1. adverbs identical to their adjectival counterparts, traditionally described in Romanian grammars as obtained by conversion of adjectives (see 2.1.1);
2. primary adverbs, which are neither derived nor converted from (homonymous with) adjectives (see 2.1.2 below; GALR 2008, I: 585–605):

2.1.1 *Adverbs homonymous to adjectives*

Most Romanian adverbs (1a) are formally identical with the adjective (1b, c), in the masculine/neuter singular form:

- (1) a. După doi ani de practică, fetele
 after two years of practice, girl.F.PL.DEF
 dansează *corect*.
 dance.PRES.3PL correct.ADV \equiv ADJ.M.SG
 ‘After two years of practice, the girls dance correctly.’
- b. profesorul *corect*
 teacher.M.SG.DEF correct.M.SG
 ‘the correct teacher’
- c. Lucrul *corect* este să își
 thing.N.SG.DEF correct.N.SG is SĂ_{SUBJ} CL.REFL.3SG
 ceară scuze.
 ask.SUBJ apologies
 ‘The correct thing for him would be to apologize.’

In Romanian, the adjective inflects for gender, number and case. The nouns have three genders: masculine, feminine, and neuter (with inflectional endings for each gender in the plural). The neuter forms of the adjective are homonymous to the masculine in the singular, and to the feminine in the plural (for the Romanian neuter, see Croitor & Giurgea 2009; Maiden 2015). The masculine singular form of the adjective is also used as an unmarked (default) form, in various situations when the agreement controller does not have gender and number features (Croitor 2012), for instance when it is a clause, as in (2a), or an anaphoric pronoun whose semantic antecedent is non-nominal, as in (2b); in the second sentence, the semantic antecedent of the pronoun *asta* ‘this’ is a clause; although it is morphologically a feminine singular pronoun, *asta* does not trigger feminine agreement on the adjective; the adjectives agrees in gender in (2c), as the subject is a feminine singular noun:

- (2) a. Este *corect* să muți calul. vs.
 is correct.M.SG SĂ_{SUBJ} move.SUBJ.2SG knight.DEF
 ‘It is correct to move the knight.’
- b. Am văzut că ai mutat calul,
 AUX.PERF.1SG see.PPLE that AUX.PERF.2SG move.PPLE knight.DEF
 nu știu dacă *asta* este *corect*.
 not know.PRES.1SG if this.F.SG is correct.M.SG
 ‘I saw you that you moved the knight, I don’t know if this is correct.’
- c. Mutarea este *corectă*.
 move.F.SG.DEF is correct.F.SG
 ‘This move is correct.’

2.1.2 Primary adverbs

Primary adverbs are inherited from Latin (or based on elements inherited from Latin), borrowed from Slavic, Turkish, Greek, etc.:

1. from Latin: *acolo* 'there' (< ECCUM ILLŌC), *acum* 'now' (< ECCUM MODO), *așa* 'this way' (< ECCUM SIC), *atunci* 'then' (< **ad-tuncce*), *azi* 'today' (probably < **hadie* (= HODIE)), *bine* (< BENE), *chiar* 'really' (< CLARUS), *și* 'also' (< SIC), *unde* 'where' (< UNDE);
2. from Slavic: *da* 'yes' (< *da*), *lesne* 'easily' (< *lesno*);
3. from Hungarian: *mereu* 'always' (< *merö*), *musai* 'necessarily' (< *muszáj*);
4. from Turkish: *bașca* 'separately' (< *başka*), *taman* 'just' (< *tamam*);
5. from Greek: *agale* 'slowly' (< *αγάλη(α)*), *anapoda* 'topsy-turvy' (< *ἀνάποδα*);
6. late borrowings from other Romance languages: *deja* 'already' (< Fr. *déjà*), *eventual* 'likely' (< Fr. *éventuel*), *vizavi* 'opposite; across from...' (< Fr. *vis-à-vis*) (GR 2013:432).

Members of this class are mainly spatial and temporal adverbs, deontic, relative, or focus adverbs.

2.2 Suffixed adverbs

Some Romanian adverbs are analysable as composed of a stem and a suffix (Mîrzea Vasile 2012:92–112). In some cases, the derivational process did not take place in Romanian; the analysable adverb was borrowed as such, but the speakers recognize the base (which exists as an independent word in Romanian), so from a synchronic point of view, the adverb appears to be a derived formation. All the adverbs in *-mente* fall into this category, as they are neological borrowings found only in the literary language. The adverbial suffixes are *-ește/-icește*, *-iș (-âș)*, and *-mente* (examples below). For some of these analysable adverbs, their use is rather limited and tends to become idiomatic.

Among the suffixed forms, *-ește* and *-icește* adverbs are the most numerous: over 550 units in a thesaurus inventory (DI 1957), which takes into account all the words from old Romanian and from regional varieties, as well as from modern standard Romanian. In standard contemporary language, there are about 200 formations. The bases are nouns or adjectives:

1. *frățește* adv. 'like a brother, fraternally' < *frate* n. 'brother' or < *frățesc* adj. 'brotherly';
2. *nebunește* adv. 'like a fool; foolishly' < *nebun* n. 'mad' or < *nebunesc* adj. 'foolish';
3. *sufletește* adv. 'spiritually' < *suflet* n. 'soul' or < *sufletesc* adj. 'spiritual';
4. *numericește* adv. 'numerically' < *număr* n. 'number' or *numeric* adj. 'numerical'.

The suffix *-iș* (*-âș*) is less productive: 25 adverbs in current dictionaries (and 88 in a thesaurus inventory; see Rădulescu Sala 2015: 523–32). The suffix is no longer productive in contemporary language. Usually, *-iș* (*-âș*) adverbs are adjuncts to verbs of motion, localization, and intentional visual perception. The bases are nouns or verbs:

1. *cruciș* adv. ‘crosswise; slantwise, aslant; obliquely’ < *cruce* n. ‘cross’;
2. *târâș* adv. ‘crawling, on all fours’ < (*a se*) *târi* vb. ‘to crawl’.

The suffix *-iș* is not exclusively used to derive adverbs; it is also used for the derivation of adjectives and nouns. Some derivatives can have both adverbial and adjectival uses (i.e. they can modify verbs or nouns), as in (3).

1. *fățîș* adj., adv. ‘outright; frank(ly)’ < *față* n. ‘face’ (from idiomatic phrases like *pe față* ‘straight forwardly, frankly’, literally ‘on face’);
2. *acoperiș* n. ‘roof’ < (*a*) *acoperi* vb. ‘to cover’;
3. *mărunțiș* n. ‘change; coins’ < *mărunt* adj. ‘small’.

- (3) a. Ion a criticat fățiș guvernul.
 Ion AUX.PERF.3SG criticise.PPLE outright government.DEF
 ‘Ion criticised the government openly.’
- b. agresiune fățișă împotriva țării
 aggression.F.SG outright.F.SG against country.DEF.GEN
 ‘outright aggression against the country’ (www.facebook.com)

The adverbs in *-mente* are borrowed from the Romance languages (especially French and Italian) starting with mid-19th century. There are about 20–35 adverbs with *-mente* recorded in the current modern dictionaries of Romanian. The bases are adjectives found in Romanian, but the derivational process took place in French or Italian, where these words are borrowed from.

1. *actualmente* ‘at present’, *realmente* ‘actually’, *literalmente* ‘literally’, *finalmente* ‘finally’, *moralmente* ‘morally’, *necesarmente* ‘necessarily’, etc.

3. Non-typical adverbialisation

In addition to the conversion of the adjectives (the prototypical pattern of adverbialisation in Romanian), other lexical-grammatical classes of words may be a source of adverbs: the participial or the supine verbal forms and some nouns.

3.1 Participial or supine forms

A special type of adverbialisation by conversion or zero derivation is that of the participial/supine forms (the participial and the supine forms are homonymous in Romanian, therefore the categorial status of the form is ambiguous). The main verbs which occur in these structures are transitive (see *a întreba* ‘to ask’ in (5b)) or intransitive (*a merge* ‘to walk’, *a vorbi* ‘to speak’). There are several types of contexts:

1. after motion verbs:

- (4) Pisica merge *șchiopătat*.
 cat.F.SG.DEF walk.PRES.3SG limp.PPLE/SUP
 ‘The cat limps when she walks.’

2. after verbs denoting types of speaking:

- (5) a. Maria a vorbit *răstit* cu el.
 Maria AUX.PERF.3SG speak.PPLE shout.PPLE/SUP with him
 ‘Maria spoke harshly to him.’
 b. Ea m- a întrebat *deschis*...
 she CL.1SG.ACC AUX.PERF.3SG ask.PPLE open.PPLE/SUP
 ‘She asked me openly...’
 c. *Maria a vorbit *zâmbit* cu el.
 Maria AUX.PERF.3SG speak.PPLE smile.PPLE/SUP with him
 ‘Maria talked to him and smiled.’

There are semantic and syntactic restrictions on the type of participial/supine forms which can undergo adverbialisation (Vasile 2013: 32–37). They must be semantically related to the main verb (‘to walk’ – ‘to limp’ in (4), ‘to speak’ – ‘to shout’ in (5a)), otherwise the sentence is ungrammatical (‘to speak’ – ‘to smile’ in (5c)). The participial/supine form occurs in postverbal position, adjacent to the main verb.

3. in a type of intensifying structures, denoting the highest degree; the participle/supine is preceded by the negative prefix *ne-* and, optionally, the adverbial clitic *mai* ‘more’:

- (6) a. țară *nespus* de frumoasă
 country.F.SG not-tell.PPLE/SUP of beautiful.F.SG
 ‘very beautiful country’ (literally: ‘unmentionably beautiful’)
 b. Această prăjitură este *nemaipomenit* de bună.
 this.F.SG cake.F.SG is not-more-mention.PPLE/SUP of good.F.SG
 ‘This cake is very good.’ (literally, ‘unmentionably good’)

In the three structures above the participial/supine is homonymous to the masculine, singular (the unmarked/default) form. The fact that agreement in (4 to 6) is

ungrammatical is considered in Romanian grammars as an argument in favour of the adverbial interpretation (for the contrast with the variable, agreeing adjective in postverbal position, see 4 below). Agreement is the most widely used criterion in Romanian grammatical tradition in order to distinguish adverbs from adjectives, but it could not be used for a language like German; in German adjectives inflect, but inflection does not appear in predicative use, in both copula constructions and secondary predication, even if the modification concerns a noun.

4. after the preposition *pe* ‘on’ (Mirzea Vasile 2012: 121–8); the participial/supine form denotes the manner in which the event is performed (or, more rarely, the time); the forms employed are either homonymous to the feminine/neuter plural (7) or the masculine singular form (8):

- (7) a. Dimineața citesc presa *pe sărite*.
morning.F.SG.DEF read.PRES.1SG press.DEF on jump.PPLE/SUP
‘In the morning I read the newspapers selectively.’
b. Băiatul mănâncă *pe alese*.
boy.M.SG.DEF eat.PRES.3SG on choose.PPLE/SUP
‘The boy eats what he wants.’
- (8) Am plecat la bunica *pe înserat*.
AUX.1SG leave.PPLE to grandmother.DEF on dusk.PPLE/SUP
‘I went to my grandmother’s [house] when it was getting dark.’

3.2 Nouns

There are two general types of noun adverbialisation: different types of singular bare nouns and temporal nouns. In the colloquial registry, single bare nouns are used in postverbal modifier positions, with an “adverbial value” according to Romanian grammars (GA 1966 I: 302); they express comparison (9a), intensity or degree (9b).

- (9) a. Pisica doarme *covrig*.
cat.F.SG.DEF sleeps pretzel.M.SG
‘The cat sleeps in a curved shape [like a pretzel].’
b. Maria e frumoasă *foc*.¹
Maria is beautiful.F.SG fire.N.SG
‘Maria is very beautiful.’

1. Other examples of nouns that can express intensification: *beton* ‘concrete’, *trăsnet* ‘thunder’, *tun* ‘cannon’, etc. (GALR 2008, I: 603–4). Their grammaticalization as intensity markers is facilitated by their meaning (their semantics comprise a feature of the type “strong/powerful” or “high degree”).

In standard language, the nouns which denote temporal units can acquire an ‘adverbial’ meaning when they modify a VP (GALR 2008, I: 603–4; Vasile 2013: 37, 72–86). If they have the definite article, they may denote iteration or duration of events (10a, b). If they are used as plural bare nouns, they have a quantitative meaning (10c):

- (10) a. *Verile* *merg* *la mare.*
 summer.F.PL.DEF go.PRES.1SG to sea
 ‘Every summer I go to the seaside.’ / ‘Usually in the summer I go to the seaside.’
- b. *Iau* *mic-dejunul* *la cafenea* *dimineața.*
 take.PRES.1SG breakfast.DEF at coffee-shop morning.F.SG.DEF
 ‘Usually, I have breakfast at the coffee-shop in the morning.’
- c. *Am* *așteptat* *ore* *până am*
 have.AUX.1SG wait.PPLE hours until have.AUX.1SG
luat *formularul.*
 take.PPLE form.DEF
 ‘I waited for hours to take the form.’

Analysable (derived) adverbs (see above, 2.2) cannot be used in “adjectival contexts”; they can modify nouns only if the latter are derived from verbs, as in (11); therefore, the ability of these nouns to be modified by an adverb is an indication of their verbal properties and it is not a “diagnostic” context for the categorial status of the adverbial form. Notice that in (11a) the adverbial form remains morphologically invariable, it does not mark agreement with the noun:

- (11) a. *o uitătură* *cruciș* – *a se*
 a look.F.SG crosswise.ADV A_{INF} CL.3REFL.ACC
uita *cruciș*
 look.INF crosswise.ADV
 ‘a cross-eyed look’; ‘to look cross-eyed’
- b. *mersul* *târâș* – *a merge* *târâș*
 walk.N.SG.DEF crawling.ADV A_{INF} walk.INF crawling.ADV
 ‘a crawling walk’; ‘to go crawling’

In Sections 2 and 3 above, we examined adverbs in Romanian from a morphological and etymological point of view. We showed that most adverbs are homonymous to adjectives, an argument in favour of a single adverb-adjective category. In Section 4 we will present the distributional properties of homonymous adverbs and adjectives.

4. Homonymic adverbs and adjectives and their distributional properties

The most productive class of adverbs in Romanian is the one described in 2.1.1 above, with forms homonymous to adjectives (in the masculine, singular form, described as the unmarked or the default form). From the traditional class of “proper” adjectives (those which are not obtained by conversion from other categories, like nouns), almost all of them can be converted into adverbs, be they qualifying or classifying adjectives (GR 2013: 417–20; see also Examples (1)–(2) above). The adjectives which cannot be converted into adverbs generally are: semantically defective adjectives (*bondoc* ‘dumpy’), pronominal adjectives which are non-restrictive, non-intersective, non-predicative (*fost* ‘ex-, former’, see GR 2013: 427–8) or adjectives derived with the suffix *-esc* (but many of these have a corresponding adverb in *-ește*, see 7.1 below).

Traditionally, in Romanian grammars the adverbs which are homonymous with the adjectives are labelled as adverbs solely based on their distributional properties: generally speaking, adjectives modify nouns (12) and adverbs (13) refer to VPs, AdjP, AdvPs, PPs, or sentences (therefore, anything else but a noun; the same observation was made for other languages, e.g. English, in Payne et al. 2010: 34). Adjectives agree in gender, number and case with the head noun in (12), the markers of these three categories being fused into one inflectional ending (e.g. *-ă* in 12b):

- (12) a. munte frumos
 mountain.M.SG beautiful.M.SG
 ‘beautiful mountain’
 b. o dată sigură
 a.F.SG.NOM≡ACC date.F.SG.NOM≡ACC sure.F.SG.NOM≡ACC
 ‘a sure date’
- (13) a. Fata vorbește sigur.
 girl.F.SG.DEF speak.PRES.3SG surely
 ‘The girl speaks confidently.’
 b. o fată sigur frumoasă
 a.F.SG girl.F.SG surely beautiful.F.SG
 ‘a surely beautiful girl’
 c. Ion pleacă sigur departe.
 John leave.PRES.3SG surely far
 ‘John goes surely far away.’
 d. Ion e sigur împotriva deciziei.
 Ion is surely against decision.DEF.F.SG.GEN
 ‘Ion is surely against the decision.’
 e. Sigur Maria va cânta diseară.
 Surely Maria AUX.FUT.3SG sing.INF tonight
 ‘Surely Maria will sing tonight.’

In the tradition of Romanian grammars (GA 1966, I: 301–2; GALR 2008, I: 585–605), these adverbs are described as obtained from their homonymous adjectives through conversion or zero derivation with a null, non-visible suffix (for this type of word formation process, see Bauer & Valera 2005). In Romanian, conversion is not very productive, with the exception of adverbs. The conversion of the adjective (in the masculine singular form) to an adverb is the most common, productive and regular pattern. Other types of zero derivation or conversion include:

1. nouns derived from adjectives, quite frequently (*muncitor* ‘worker’, *roșu* ‘red’, *român* ‘Romanian’, *petrecăreș* ‘someone who loves to party’), especially with the adjunction of the definite article;
2. some locative and temporal prepositions are derived from adverbs with the addition of an ending which is homonymous with the definite article: *înaintea* < *înainte* ‘before’, *înăuntrul* < *înăuntru* ‘inside’, *împrejurul* < *împrejur* ‘around’, *dedesubtul* < *dedesubt* ‘under’; for conceptual reasons, the grammars hesitate to label this ending as ‘definite article’ (GR 2013: 463–4);
3. more rarely, common nouns can be converted from proper nouns (“secondary word class conversion”, see Leech 1974), with an extension of the meaning (*Xerox* ‘copy machine’ < *Xerox* [company], *adidași* ‘sport shoes’ < *Adidas* [sports brand], *converși* ‘sport shoes’ < *Converse* [shoe brand], etc.);
4. a few nouns can be converted from pronouns (*eu* ‘I’ > ‘the nucleus of someone’s personality; the conscious part of someone’s psychology’, *nimeni* ‘nobody’ > ‘an unimportant person’).

Unlike in Romanian, where the conversion adjective to adverb is very frequent and regular, in the standard variety of other Romance languages these homonymic forms are used only in some restricted contexts (for instance, after verbs meaning ‘to cost’, ‘to sell’, ‘to fly’):

- (14) a. French: *vendre cher*
 Italian: *vendere caro*
 Spanish: *vender caro*
 Portuguese: *vender caro*
 Catalan: *vender car*
 Provençal: *vendre car*
 ‘to sell expensively’
- b. Romanian: a vinde *scump* (see Vasile 2013: 31 and the references therein)

However, in dialectal or in non-standard varieties of Romance languages, the homonymy adverb-adjective is more extended (in centre-meridional dialects of Italy, Sardinian, Louisiana French, informal oral American Spanish and Portuguese). It was shown that the standards of the written language privileged derived adverbs,

while the homonymic forms were more frequent in spoken varieties (for more on this issue, see Hummel 2013). As Romanian did not have a strong written tradition, it is perhaps not surprising that in standard language the conversion of adverbs from adjectives is more productive than derivation.

The use of invariable adjectives as adverbs in French has been related to the existence of a (hidden) complement. Goes (1999: 219–24) distinguished 4 groups: (1) adverbial adjectives after a transitive verb which has a direct object (*les cheveux noués lâche*), (2) adverbial adjectives after an intransitive verb (*tourner court*), (3) adverbial adjectives after a transitive verbs without an overt direct object (*écrire gros et lisiblement*) and (4) adjectives which are ‘adverbial’ rather than adverbial (*acheter beau*). The adjectives in (1) to (3) qualify especially a semantic feature of the verb, while in (4) the adjective has a function close to a direct object (see also Mîrzea Vasile 2012: 63).

The Romanian grammars are unanimous in considering that, if the form is invariable, it should be considered an adverb and, if it is variable (agreeing with a noun which is an argument or an adjunct of the verb), it is an adjective.

In Romanian, invariable adjectives are rarely used in postverbal (‘adverbial’) contexts in the absence of an overt (explicit) object. By ‘invariable adjectives’ we refer to non-agreeing adjectives which are morphologically variable, but do not mark agreement in certain syntactic configurations (therefore, they appear with the unmarked, masculine singular form). From a morphological point of view, Romanian has four classes of adjectives, according to the number of specific ending for gender and number, and some of them have only one form for all genders, all number (i.e. they are morphologically invariable). Some grammatical contexts are given in (15) below, with verbs meaning ‘to eat’, ‘to cook’, ‘to sell’, ‘to buy’, and ‘to drink’:

- (15) a. Maria mănâncă gras.
 Maria eat.PRES.3SG fat.M.SG
 ‘Maria eats her food fat.’
- b. Ana gătește sărat.
 Ana cook.PRES.3SG salted.M.SG
 ‘Ana cooks her meals very salted.’
- c. Producătorii locali vând scump.
 Producer.M.PL.DEF local.M.PL sell.PRES.3PL expensive.M.SG
 ‘Local producers sell their products expensively.’
- d. Bunicul a făcut avere cumpărând ieftin toamna și vânzând scump primăvara.
 Grandfather.DEF AUX.PERF.3SG make.PPLE fortune buy.GER cheap.M.SG autumn.DEF and sell.GER expensive.M.SG spring.DEF
 ‘My grandfather made his fortune by buying cheap in the autumn and selling expensive(ly) in the spring.’

- e. Nu bea rece, te va
 not drink.IMPER.2SG cold.M.SG CL.2SG.ACC AUX.FUT.3SG
 durezza gâtul!
 hurt.INF throat.DEF
 'Don't drink cold drinks, you'll have a sore throat!'

The invariable adjectives in the contexts from (15) denote a property associated with the direct object, they do not characterize the event; therefore, they could be interpreted as adjectives. However, the logical reference to the inner object does not exclude a manner interpretation at a more general level.

The agreement is allowed only when the direct object is overt / explicit (16):

- (16) a. *Producătorii locali vând scumpe.
 Producer.M.PL.DEF local.M.PL sell.PRES.3PL expensive.N.PL
 'Local producers sell their products expensively.'
 b. Producătorii locali vând produsele
 Producer.M.PL.DEF local.M.PL sell.PRES.3PL product.N.PL.DEF
 lor scumpe.
 their expensive.N.PL
 'Local producers sell their products expensively.'

There are postverbal contexts in which both the variable (agreeing) and the invariable form can be used, with different interpretations. The invariable form is interpreted as a verbal modifier (an adverb), while the variable form is interpreted as an attributive modifier of the noun in subject or in object position (an adjective).

- (17) a. Ana merge grăbit.
 Ana walk.PRES.3.SG hasty.M.SG
 'Ana walks hastily.'
 b. Ana merge grăbită.
 Ana walk.PRES.3.SG hasty.F.SG
 'Ana walks and she is hasty.'
- (18) a. Feliile le tai subțire.
 Slices.F.PL.DEF CL.3F.PL.ACC cut.PRES.1SG thin.M.SG
 'I cut the slices thinly.'
 b. Feliile le tai subțiri.
 Slices.F.PL.DEF CL.3F.PL.ACC cut.PRES.1SG thin.F.PL
 'I cut the slices thin.'

The adjective in Examples (17) and (18) are secondary predications with a descriptive (17b) or a resultative (18b) reading. Secondary predications occur in various contexts, and the argument they predicate about is usually the subject or the direct

object of the main verb (see (17) and (18) above, respectively); more rarely, they predicate about the indirect object, the prepositional object, a subjective predicative complement, a committative adjunct or a *by*-phrase (see GR 2013: 497–503).

With respect to the adverb/adjective in postverbal position, two important distinctions should be made: between secondary predication adjectives and invariable adjectives on the one hand, and between the invariable adjective and the adverb on the other hand (for other Romance languages, see Ledgeway, in this volume). Secondary predication adjectives should be distinguished from the invariable adjectives in postverbal contexts from (15) above. The former agree in gender and number with the noun they predicate about and this noun is overt, whilst the latter are non-agreeing (invariable). The distinction between invariable adjectives and adverbs is based on their semantics: adjectives predicate about an entity (an implicit noun), while adverbs predicate about the event.

So far, we have made some remarks regarding the distribution and interpretation of variable adjectives, invariable adjectives and adverbs from the class of homonymous lexemes. As we have shown, not all adjectives can be converted into adverbs, for various semantic or contextual reasons. In other cases, there are different lexical forms for the adverb – adjective pair: *bine* ‘well’ vs. *bun* ‘good’ (both inherited from Latin). The qualifying adjectives are the typical class which undergoes adverbialisation (by conversion or zero-derivation). In addition, some relative adjectives (which have an identificational or a classifying function, see GR 2013: 418–9) can be converted into adverbs:

- (19) a. Această procedură nu este *legală*.
 this.F.SG procedure.F.SG not is legal.F.SG
 ‘This procedure is not legal.’
- b. Asociația nu a fost
 association.F.SG.DEF not AUX.PERF.3SG be.PPLE
 legal constituită.
 legal.M.SG constituted.F.SG
 ‘The association was not legally constituted.’

The distributional properties of adjectives and adverbs described above concern the postverbal position, where we can place adverbs, agreeing adjectives or non-agreeing adjectives. There are other syntactic positions where both adverbs and adjectives can occur, thus making difficult to use distributional properties as a criterion for categorial distinction: noun modifiers and parenthetical positions.

5. Adverbs as noun modifiers

We have mentioned above that the distributional properties of adverbs and adjectives is an issue generally discussed in relation to their categorial status. Adjectives typically modify nouns, while adverbs modify everything else. However, this generalization should be amended with two observations:

1. Invariable adjectives can appear in postverbal position in the absence of an overt direct object noun (see above, (15)) and adjectives can modify other adjectives (20a, b). The modifier adjectives in (20) are invariable. Moreover, the compound adjectives they form with the adjective they modify are also invariable, as we see in (20b). Nouns can also modify adjectives in this type of chromatic contexts, with a comparative interpretation (20c):

- (20) a. roșu închis / deschis
 red.M.SG dark.M.SG light.M.SG
 ‘dark red / light red’
 b. rochie galben fosforescent
 dress.F.SG yellow.M.SG phosphorescent.M.SG
 ‘phosphorescent yellow dress’
 c. rochie verde praz
 dress.F.SG green.M.SG leek
 ‘a dress green like the leek’

2. Some adverbs can occur as noun modifiers, in some configurations (21). They are non-analysable primary adverbs (the class in 2.1.2) which maintain their morphological invariability (i.e. they do not show agreement with the noun they modify). Notice that the nouns in (21a–c) are not verb-related, the one in (21d) is a nominalized supine and the one in (21e) is a long infinitive converted into a noun:

- (21) a. un eseu anapoda
 a.N.SG essay.N.SG topsy-turvy.ADV
 ‘a badly construed essay’
 b. o drumetrie agale
 a.F.SG trip.F.SG slowly
 ‘a slow trip’
 c. o femeie bine
 a.F.SG woman.F.SG well
 ‘a good looking woman’ / ‘a woman who looks well’
 d. mersul agale
 walk.N.SG.DEF slowly
 ‘the slow walk’

- e. plecarea devreme
 leaving.F.SG.DEF early
 ‘the leaving early’

However, most non-analysable primary adverbs cannot have adjectival uses (they cannot modify nouns), such as *deja* ‘already’, *măine* ‘tomorrow’, *acum* ‘now’, *când* ‘when’, etc. This restriction does not include postverbal nouns, which retain some combinatorial properties of the verb they are derived from (see, for instance, the postverbal nouns in 21d, e).

In English, place and time adverbs can modify nouns, in contexts like *the concert tomorrow*; *the room upstairs*; *the use temporarily of Australian troops to defend Ceylon*; *with the addition soon of an indoor riding and show arena* (the last two examples are attested in the British National Corpus, from Payne et al. 2010: 42). According to Payne et al. (2010), the semantic classes of adverbs which can occur as postnominal modifiers, according to the quantitative data provided by the corpus, are: (1) temporal, location and extent, frequency, aspectual and serial order; (2) spatial; (3) domain adverbs; (4) distributional; (5) maximal degree. In Romanian, examples like *the concert tomorrow*, *the room upstairs* are not possible: the preposition *de* ‘of, from’ intervenes between the noun and the adverb (*concertul de mâine* ‘the concert tomorrow’).

6. Parenthetical positions

In parenthetical, left-dislocated positions both adverbs and adjectives can be used. The adverb (the non-agreeing form) has an event related interpretation, while the adjective has an entity related reading:

- (22) a. *Politicos*, Dana a vorbit cu toți invitații.
 polite.M.SG Dana AUX.PERF.3SG speak.PPLE with all.PL guest.PL.DEF
 ‘As it was the polite thing to do, Dana spoke to all the guests.’
 b. *Politicoasă*, Dana a vorbit cu toți invitații.
 polite.F.SG Dana AUX.PERF.3SG speak.PPLE with all.PL guest.PL.DEF
 ‘Since she is polite, Dana spoke to all the guests.’

In Sections 4 to 6 we have described the overlapping distributional properties of homonymic adverbs and adjectives in Romanian. In Section 7, we take a look at derived items.

- ## 7. Derived adverbs and adjectives

Many adverbs ending in *-ește* express, basically, *comparison* and related meanings developed from the meaning of the base noun (see 2.2 and also: *iepurește* ‘like a rabbit’ < *iepure* ‘rabbit’; *mișelește* ‘meanly’ < *mișel* ‘villain’; *păgânește* ‘like a heathen, ruthlessly’ < *păgân* ‘heathen’; *sălbăticește* ‘wildly, cruelly’ < *sălbatic* ‘savage’).

Most of the adverbs ending in *-icește* and some of those ending in *-ește* express the *point of view* or the *domain*:

- (24) a. Stă prost bănește.
be.PRES.3SG bad.M.SG money-*ește*.ADV
‘He’s badly off, *money-wise*.’
b. *Istoriește*, evenimentul este important.
historical-*ește*.ADV event.N.SG.DEF be.PRES.3SG important.N.SG
‘*From a historical point of view*, the event is important.’

The *modal-evaluative* function of *-ește* adverbs in contexts like (25a, b) is found in old Romanian (16th to 18th centuries) as well as in contemporary language:

- (25) a. Este *omenește* să greșești.
be.PRES.3SG human-*ește*.ADV SĂ_{SUBJ} err.SUBJ.PRES.2SG
‘To err is human.’
b. fată *drăcește* de frumoasă
girl.F.SG devil-*ește*.ADV of beautiful.F.SG
‘devilishly beautiful girl’

The derivatives with *-ește* based on ethnic adjectives or nouns (e.g. *englez(esc)* ‘English’, *evreu* ‘Jew’, *român(esc)* ‘Romanian’) can fill the direct object position of verbs like *a vorbi* ‘to talk’, *a înțelege* ‘to understand’, *a ști* ‘to know’, *a învăța* ‘to learn’, etc.; in these contexts, the adverbs denote the language:

- (26) a. El învață *românește*.
he learn.PRES.3SG Romanian-*ește*
‘He learns Romanian.’
b. El vorbește corect *românește*.
he speak.PRES.3SG correctly Romanian-*ește*
‘He speaks Romanian correctly.’

In contemporary Romanian, these ethnic adverbs denoting language can be headed by prepositions, mostly *în* ‘in’, *pe* ‘on’, and *din* ‘from’:

- (27) Secretara traduce documentul în / din *turcește*.
secretary.DEF translates document.DEF in from Turkish-*ește*
‘The secretary translates the document into / from Turkish.’

Romanian resembles Latin with respect to the possibility of employing a derived adverb denoting languages:

- (28) *quod loqui Graece et Osce et Latine sciret*
 (Aulus Gellius, 17.17.1, in Ricca 2010: 133)
 ‘because he (Ennius) was able to speak Greek and Oscan and Latin’

Other languages have this type of structure: Albanian, Old Church Slavonic and other Slavic languages, with a similar suffix, like Czech, Upper and Lower Sorbian (Mëniku, Campos, 2011: 19; Lunt 2001: 80; Short 1993: 478; Stone 1993: 631).

The prepositional use of ethnic adverbs is also found in Slavic languages like Russian, Polish, Sorbian (Rothstein 1993: 705; Stone 1993: 631; Wade 2011: 396). Therefore, this type of use in Romanian (see (27)) could be the result of Slavic influence. Romanian was influenced by Slavic languages to some extent, by language contact and via Old Church Slavonic, especially in the vocabulary, but also in grammar to some extent (mostly in old religious texts, many of them translated from Old Church Slavonic).

7.2 The adjectives in *-esc*

The suffix *-esc* is one of the most productive adjectival suffixes in Romanian (see FCLRV 2007: 104–11). It can be traced back to the Thracian *isk-* (Graur 1936: 84) or the Latin suffix *-iscus* (a conflation from Ancient Greek *-ισκος* and descendants of Proto-Germanic *-iskaz*). This suffix is also present in Aromanian (*-escu*) and in other Romance languages (Italian *-esco*, Spanish *-(e)sco*, Catalan *-esc*, French *-esque* and partially *-ais* and *-ois*). In Romanian, it attaches to nominal bases, very rarely to adjectival ones:

- (29) a. *prietenesc* < *prieten*
 ‘friendly’ ‘friend’
 b. *înțeleptesc* < *înțelept* (FCLRV 2007: 107)
 ‘wise’ ‘wise (man)’

As we have already mentioned, Romanian adjectives agree for gender (masculine, feminine, neuter), number (singular, plural) and case (Nominative≡Accusative, Genitive≡Dative). Taking into account the homonymies, there are four morphological classes of adjectives: with four forms (the richest class), with three, with two and with one form. The adjectives in *-esc* have three forms:

- (30) *românesc* *românească* *românești*
 Romanian.M./N.SG Romanian.F.SG Romanian.M.≡F./N.PL

The adjectives formed with *-esc* express the type / nature (*câinesc* ‘dog’s, doggish’ < *câine* ‘dog’), comparison (*vulpesc* ‘sly’ < *vulpe* ‘fox’), possession (*țara românească* ‘Romanian country’ < *român* ‘Romanian’), the origin (*cai turcești* ‘Turkish horses’ < *turc* ‘Turkish’), destination or purpose (*manual școlăresc* ‘textbook (for pupils)’ < *școlar* ‘pupil’), conformity (*pravilnicesc* ‘legal, according to the law’ < *pravilnic* ‘legal, according to the law’) or the constitutive elements (*mediul judecătoresc* ‘in judicial circles’ < *judecător* ‘judge’).

7.3 The properties of the adverbs with *-ește*, between inflection and derivation

There is an extremely rich bibliography on the relation between inflection and derivation (Plank 1994; Stump 1998: 14–19; Plag 2002: 18–22; Haspelmath & Sims 2010: 90–9, among others). A general distinction would be that inflection is claimed to be relevant to syntax, whereas derivation is not. The main criteria pertaining to the differences between derivation and inflection are: lexical category, productivity and paradigmaticity, obligatoriness and replaceability, affix ordering, and meaning.

7.3.1 *Lexical category*

In inflectional operations, the lexical category of the word does not change, whereas in derivational operations it does. We have shown that the adverbs in *-ește* can be derived from nouns or from adjectives. Most adverbs in *-ește* have an adjectival counterpart in *-esc*,² but there are adverbs clearly derived from nouns: *fânește* ‘like the hay (to the ground)’ < *fân* ‘hay’ (there is no adjectival counterpart in *-esc*); *morțește* (obsolete) ‘as you do around dead people, at a funeral’ < *mort* ‘dead’ (the adjective *morțesc* is attested later than the adverb and is rarer), among others. Therefore, the suffix *-ește* can change the category of the derivative. As regards the derivation of adverbs in *-ește* from adjectives, especially from those with the suffix *-esc*, we cannot really say whether it changes the categorial status of the words since the categorial status of adverbs and adjectives is controversial.

7.3.2 *Productivity and paradigmaticity*

Inflection is very productive, and it gives rise to words of the same type, expressing the same concept as the base. Derivation is less productive, and it can give rise to words of a different category, expressing a new concept as compared to the base.

2. It is difficult to say whether every adverb with *-ește* has a correspondent adjective with *-esc*, as the current dictionaries do not register all the forms, exclusively. In the thesaurus inventory from DI (1957), there are approximately 550 adverbs with *-ește* and 950 adjectives with *-esc*.

Inflection forms paradigms, derivation does not. It is hard to say whether the process of forming *-ește* adverbs is productive or not in modern Romanian. There are about 550 forms in DI (1957), a dictionary which contains a thesaurus inventory, including old language and regional varieties; some words even have only one attested occurrence in the texts. Therefore, this number is very questionable with respect to the productive potential. In current dictionaries of standard contemporary Romanian there are about 200 forms, some of them rare or found only in idiomatic contexts (DEX). The number of adjectives with *-esc* is considerably higher. Dictionaries of neologisms (some of them very recent), such as MDN and DCR, do not list any words with *-ește*. This means that the suffix is not productive in contemporary language (leaving aside some accidental-expressive contexts), and existing formations are from older stages of the language.

7.3.3 *Obligatoriness and replaceability*

This criterion pertains to the complementary distribution of the adverbs in *-ește* and the corresponding adjectives in *-esc* (one of the arguments discussed in relation to the categorial status of adverbs and adjectives). In general, the derivatives with *-ește* cannot occur in typically adjectival contexts, i.e. as noun modifiers (31); the nouns in (31) cannot accept the forms with *-ește* (the adverbial form), even if the meaning is verb-related, like *mers* ‘walk(ing)’ (a nominalized supine of (a) *merge* ‘to go’), and *înot* ‘swim’ (a back-formation from (a) *înota* ‘to swim’). The adjectival derivatives with *-esc* cannot occur in the verbal domain, as verb modifiers ((32), (33a)). Compare (32), where the inflected verb takes an adverbial modifier in *-ește*, with (31c), where the related noun takes an adjectival modifier in *-esc*:

- (31) a. un stil *câinesc* / **câinește*
 a.M.SG style.N.SG dog-*esc*.ADJ.N.SG dog-*ește*.ADV
 ‘a paddling style’
- b. mersul *voinicesc* / **voinicește*
 walk.N.SG.DEF sturdy.ADJ.N.SG sturdily
 ‘a sturdy walk’
- c. (un) înot *câinesc* / **câinește*
 a.M.SG swim.N.SG dog-*esc*.ADJ.N.SG dog-*ește*.ADV
 ‘a swim like a dog’
- (32) Copilul înoată *câinește* / **câinesc*.
 child.M.SG.DEF swim.IND.PRES.3SG dog-*ește*.ADV dog-*esc*.ADJ.M.SG
 ‘The child swims like a dog (paddling).’

Similar examples are given in (33). The verb can only take as a modifier the form with *-ește*, and the noun can only be modified by the form with *-esc* (the suffix has the form *-ească* in the feminine, singular):

- (33) a. El a luptat *vitejește* / **vitejesc*.
 he AUX.PERF.3SG fought bravely / brave.M.SG
 ‘He fought bravely.’
 b. o luptă *vitejească* / **vitejește*
 a.F.SG fight.F.SG brave.F.SG / bravely
 ‘a brave fight’

This complementary distribution is present in many contexts; specific forms are required in specific syntactic contexts, therefore we could say that the adverbial affix resembles inflectional morphemes rather than derivational ones. However, the distributional distinction between the two types of forms is not so clear-cut. The adverbial forms with *-ește* can be replaced by the adjectival forms ending in *-esc* in several situations:

1. in the verbal contexts, when they express evaluation, in constructions with the copula *a fi* ‘to be’:

- (34) a. E tipic *românește* să dai 10.000 euro (...) pe
 is typically Romanian-*ește* să_{SUBJ} give.2SG 10.000 euros on
 o mașină. <vwforum.promotor.ro>
 a car
 ‘To pay ten thousand euro on a car is typically Romanian / is typical of Romanian people.’
 b. E tipic *românesc* să dai vina pe alții.
 is typically Romanian-*esc* să_{SUBJ} give.SUBJ.2SG blame on others
 ‘Blaming others is typically Romanian / is typical of Romanian people.’
 <www.designerul.ro>
 (35) a. Nu e *creștinește* să spui așa ceva.
 not is Christian-*ește* să_{SUBJ} say.SUBJ.2SG this something
 ‘It is not a Christian thing to say something like this.’
 <https://books.google.ro>
 b. Lia, nu e *creștinesc* să ai superstiții.
 Lia.VOC not is Christian-*esc* să_{SUBJ} have.SUBJ.2SG superstitions
 ‘Lia, being superstitious is not a Christian trait.’
 <forum.desprecopii.com>

There are exceptions: some derivatives with *-ește* cannot appear in this post-copular, evaluative position. With the pair *firesc* ‘natural’ / *firește* ‘naturally’, derived from *fire* ‘(human) nature; character; being’, the form in *-esc* (the “adjectival” form) is allowed in this position, but not the form in *-ește* (the “adverbial” form):

- (36) Nu e *firesc* / **firește* să aștepti atât.
 not is natural naturally sĂ_{SUBJ} wait.SUBJ.2SG so long
 'It is not normal to wait for so long.'

2. in intensifying structures, expressing a high degree:

- (37) a. echivalentul unei poșete *prostește* de mare
 equivalent.DEF a.GEN purse.GEN stupidly of big
 'the equivalent of a stupidly big bag' <www.eva.ro>
 b. Casa Poporului, *prostesc* de mare
 house.F.SG people.GEN stupid-esc of big.ADJ.F.SG
 'The People's House [monument in Bucharest], stupidly huge'
- (38) a. Țara e *drăcește* de frumoasă sub zăpezile de
 country.F.SG is devil-*este* of beautiful.F.SG under snow.PL of
 spumă. <www.informatiahd.ro>
 foam
 'The country is devilishly beautiful under the foamy snow drifts.'
 b. Amândouă scriu *drăcesc* de bine. <cafegradiva.ro>
 both.F.PL write.PRES.3PL devil-esc of well
 'They both write devilishly well.'

7.3.4 Affix ordering

Nothing can follow inflectional morphemes. By contrast, a derived form can undergo another derivational operation or/and can be inflected. The adverbs with *-ește* do not allow further affixation; neither do adjectives with *-esc*.³ Therefore, these suffixes seem to behave, with respect to affix ordering, as inflectional endings.

The test of affix ordering may be used in languages that express the comparative and the superlative by affixes, such as English (*-er* for comparative, *-est* for superlative), Italian (*-issimo/a/i/e* for the "absolute superlative" – *il superlative assoluto*), Spanish (*-ísimo* and its variants), French (*-issime*), etc. In Romanian, the comparative and the superlative markers are adverbs, not suffixes: *mai* 'more', *foarte* 'very' (e.g. *mai înalt* 'taller', *foarte înalt* 'very tall'). A few derived superlative adverbs exist, but they are borrowed from Neo-Latin or Romance: *rarisim* 'very rare' (< French *rarissime*), *clarisim* 'very clear' (< Latin *clarissimus*), etc.

There are some diminutive suffixes, usually adjoined to nouns, which can attach to non-analysable adjectives and adverbs in order to express a lower degree of intensity ('a little...'): *-i(ș)or*, *-(ic)el*, *-leț*, *-ț*.

3. Unless we accept the hypothesis that the adverbial suffix *-ește* is derived from *-esc* followed by an adverbial suffix *-e* inherited from Latin, but unproductive in Romanian (see 7.1).

(39) <i>bine</i>	> <i>binișor</i>
‘well’	‘pretty well’
<i>ușor</i>	> <i>ușurel</i>
‘light/not heavy’	‘not very heavy’
<i>greu</i>	> <i>greuleț</i>
‘difficult(ly)’	‘a little difficult’

Neither of these diminutive suffixes can attach to the adverbs in *-ește* or to the adjective in *-esc*.

7.3.5 *Meaning*

The meaning of inflectional affixes is abstract, grammatical (number, gender, etc.), and syntactically conditioned. The meaning of derivational affixes is lexical, relatively ‘concrete’. The meaning of inflectional affixes is regular, whereas the meaning of derivational affixes is often not. The broad, general meaning of the adverbs with the suffix *-ește* is not different from the meaning of their adjectival counterparts with *-esc*. Both types of forms express *manner* or *relation*. Some lexemes (both in *-esc* and *-ește*) can undergo a semantic evolution to a modal-evaluative meaning.

We consider both suffixes (*-esc*, *-ește*) to be derivational/lexical, as they have a concrete meaning (manner, point of view, modal-evaluative, etc.), unlike inflectional suffixes which typically express abstract, grammatical notions (gender, number, aspect, tense, etc.). This is the main criterion which can distinguish between derivational and inflectional affixes, along with the one pertaining to the lexical category of the formations.

8. Conclusions

We have shown that in Romanian the great bulk of adverbs are homonymous to their adjectival counterparts. In this respect, Romanian differs from other languages which prefer derivation to formation of adverbs from other types of words. For instance, in English a large number of adverbs are derived by *-ly* from their adjectival counterparts; in French, many adverbs are derived with *-ment* from the corresponding adjectives, but in non-standard varieties, the homonymy adverb/adjective is more extended.

A smaller amount of Romanian adverbs are ‘primary adverbs’, non-homonymous with adjectives (e.g. *acum* ‘now’, *mâine* ‘tomorrow’) and most of them without an adjectival counterpart (an exception would be *bine* ‘well’ vs. *bun* ‘good’). Some Romanian adverbs are derived, with the suffixes *-ește* and *-iș* (the ones in *-ește*

have an adjectival counterpart with the suffix *-esc*), generally denoting manner and point of view.

Extensive homonymy between adverbs and adjectives could be an argument in favour of the single category hypothesis. We have examined the distributional properties of adverbs, invariable adjectives and variable (agreeing) adjectives in Romanian, as distribution is the main issue generally discussed in relation to the categorial status of adverbs and adjectives. We have shown that adjectives can appear in postverbal contexts (typical adverbial contexts), in certain configurations, and that, in restricted contexts, adverbs can appear as noun modifiers. Therefore, the frequently mentioned generalization that adjectives modify nouns and adverbs modify verbs and other categories must be nuanced. The overlapping distributional properties of homonymic adjectives and adverbs (Sections 4 to 6 above) show us that syntactic distribution cannot be used as a clear-cut criterion for differentiating between the two categories. What really differentiates the two classes in similar syntactic environments is agreement, but again, this criterion does not help us make clear-cut distinctions. We have shown that sometimes adjectives do not agree, if the noun they predicate about is covert (implicit), as in (15). Note that there are NP-internal adverbs which agree, in non-standard language (as normative grammars reject adverbial agreement in all environments):

- (40) a. copii *noi-născuți*
 child.M.PL new.M.PL=born.M.PL
 ‘new(ly) born children’
 b. lângă ușile *largi* deschise
 near door.F.PL wide.F.PL open.F.PL
 ‘near the wide(ly) open doors’ (see Chircu 2008: 127)

For homonymous pairs of adverbs and adjectives, agreement is a consequence of the semantic properties (event related vs. noun-related). Non-homonymous adverbs cannot agree even if they modify nouns (Section 5 above), but this can be more of a morphological restriction than a consequence of their categorial status.

In the last part of the paper we examined the relation and contrast between the adverbs derived with *-ește* and the adjectives derived with *-esc*, and the derivational vs. inflectional nature of the adverbial suffix *-ește*. We have shown that often there are pairs of derivatives with *-ește* and derivatives with *-esc* (with the same base) and their distributional properties as well as semantic properties overlap. The other suffix used to derived adverbs, *-iș*, can also derive adjectives and nouns (often, the derived items can have both adverbial and adjectival uses) and is not really productive (see 2.2).

We can conclude that the syntactic, morphological and semantic criteria we can use to distinguish adverbs from adjectives in Romanian are not so clear-cut.

Their distributional properties overlap, both for homonymic adverbs and non-homonymic (suffixed) ones. Agreement can be found with adverbs in non-standard varieties, if they modify a noun or an adjective inside a NP (see (40) above), whilst adjectives may not agree (see (15)). Intuitively, what distinguishes adverbs from adjectives is their semantics, as adjectives predicate about nouns (entities), while adverbs predicate about events, very generally speaking, but we have seen that adverbs can modify nouns as well (Section 5 above).

In this paper, we have brought some Romanian data into the on-going debate about the categories of adverbs and adjectives, from a syntactic and morphological perspective, and we have seen that their properties overlap. This general description could be completed with a systematic research of a corpus, in order to reveal the extent of some phenomena (like the agreeing adverbs in (40) or the non-agreeing adjectives in (15), among others).

Acknowledgements

This work was supported by a grant of the Romanian Ministry of Education, CNCS – UEFISCDI, project number PN-II-RU-PD-2012-3-0490.

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