

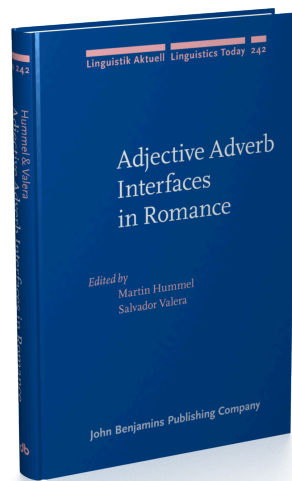
# Adverbial adjectives and *-mente* adverbs face to face

Diachronic evidence from Spanish

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**Adjective Adverb Interfaces in Romance**

**Edited by Martin Hummel and Salvador Valera**

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## Adverbial adjectives and *-mente* adverbs face to face

### Diachronic evidence from Spanish

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The paper compares five minimal pairs of adverbial adjectives (AA) and *-mente* adverbs in two periods of Spanish, the 18th and the 21st centuries. The hypothesis is that AA keeps “traces” or “memory” of its original adjective category, and for that reason, to recategorize as an adverb, AA needs to exhibit more cohesion with the verb, a rigid relative V-AA order, appearing in contexts having a greater number of nominals than *-mente*, and appearing in sentences or paragraphs with lesser event complexity, as compared to *-mente* forms. *-Mente* has surpassed the NP status from old times, it is a true adverb, able to enter in more contexts than AA, and able to enter in more complex sentences and event relationships.

#### 1. Introduction: An intriguing relation

In Spanish, as in many Romance languages, adverbial adjectives (e.g., *hable claro* ‘speak clear(ly)’, literally ‘speak clear’) (hence AA) and *-mente* adverbs (e.g., *hable claramente* ‘speak clearly’) (hence *-mente*) have an intriguing relation to one another, because they have both remarkable similarities, and, at the same time, remarkable differences, leading to the idea that they are the “same category”, but are “not the same category”.

On the one hand, they seem to be the same category for several reasons. First, both are formed from Latin adjectives, but each one selects a different Latin case: AA comes, basically, from the nominative-accusative neuter case; it is known as *adverbial accusative* in Latin grammatical tradition (Bassols 1956 I: 174–5): *multum te amamus* ‘we love you very much’, *dulce ridere* ‘to smile sweetly’, while *-mente* comes from an ablative construction: *ille traversa mente mihi hodie tradidit repagula* ‘he with surprising attitude/ surprisingly gave me the keys today’ (Cicero, *apud* Company 2014a). Second, syntactically, both may enter in very similar or, even, the same contexts, forming strict minimal pairs, as examples in (1) to (3) below show.

Third, semantically, both fill the category “adverb”, coding the same functional space of manner-modality. Fourth, both have lived together in the history of Spanish from very old times, as (4) and (5) below show, and continue to live in synchronic variation in all dialects of Spanish up to now. The resemblances are so considerable that some linguists assert that “no hay ninguna diferencia sustancial entre ‘los invitados regresaron alegres a sus casas’ y ‘los invitados regresaron alegremente a sus casas’” ‘There is no substantive difference between ‘the guests went back happy to their homes’ and ‘the guests happily went back to their homes’” (Bassols 1956 I: 176).

- (1) a. *Váyase rápido*  
‘go quick.’  
b. *Váyase rápidamente*  
‘go quickly.’
- (2) a. *Entremos directo* al problema  
‘go direct to the problem.’  
b. *Entremos directamente* al problema  
‘go directly to the problem.’
- (3) a. *Cierto*, no me había percatado  
‘certain(ly), I was not aware of it.’  
b. *Ciertamente*, no me había percatado  
‘certainly, I was not aware of it.’
- (4) a. que por ningun casso dexe venir en esta flota, *especial* por venir en conpañia  
de nuestra hermana [Venezuela, 16th c., 1584, *CORDIAM*]  
‘don’t let any obstacle, and come in this [Spanish] fleet, special(ly) to come  
accompanied by our sister.’  
b. no se le ponga ninguna cossa por delante, *specialmente* haviendo agora tan  
vuena ocasion [Mexico, 16thc., 1568, *CORDIAM*]  
‘don’t let any obstacle, especially having a very good occasion at this  
moment.’
- (5) a. digalo Francisco Marchel que *actual* se hallaba en dicho parage cuando  
llegamos [Venezuela, 18th c., 1787, *CORDIAM*]  
‘and also Francisco Marchel confirms it because he was actual(ly) / cur-  
rent(ly) in that place when we arrived.’  
b. declaro por mis bienes las casas en que *actualmente* bibo en este dicho valle  
[Bolivia, 18th c., 1709, *CORDIAM*]  
‘I declare that the houses where I currently live in this valley are my goods.’

On the other hand, they do not seem to be the same category, for various reasons. First, in many contexts, they cannot fill the same structural syntactic slots, as examples in (7) to (9) below show. Second, they have different functional capacities

at the discourse level: AA, in general, has more flexibility than *-mente* to become a discourse marker (6a). Third, in some cases they do not have the same meaning, even when displaying the same distribution, as in (9). In (9a) *seguro* ‘sure’ means ‘complete certainty’, while in (9b) *seguramente* ‘surely’ means ‘probability’. Fourth, each one is specialized for different textual and register traditions: AA is more used in orality and popular speech, and *-mente* is more used in writing and learned speech (Hummel 2000: Chapter 3; 2012: Chapter 2, 2014: § 7.2).

- (6) a. *Listo*, ya está agendado  
‘ready, it is already scheduled.’  
b. \**Listamente*, ya está agendado  
\*‘readily, it is already scheduled.’  
‘All right, it is already scheduled.’
- (7) a. *Respire hondo*  
‘breathe deep.’  
b. \**Respire hondamente*  
‘breathe \*?deeply.’
- (8) a. *Hable (más) alto*  
‘speak loud(er).’  
b. \**Hable (más) altamente*  
‘speak\*(more) loudly.’
- (9) a. *Seguro* te haces con ello en unos cuantos días  
‘sure, you may control the situation in a few days.’  
b. *Seguramente* te haces con ello en unos cuantos días  
‘probably, you will control the situation in a few days.’

In sum, they seem exchanging adverb forms, as in (1) to (5), but, at the same time, they do not seem exchanging adverb forms, as in (6) to (9).

The aim of this paper is to compare five pairs of AA and *-mente* in two periods of Spanish: the 18th and the 21st centuries and to examine some of the causes for such an intriguing, even puzzling, functioning between the two classes. The paper is focused on the internal, syntactic conditions which are responsible for similarities and differences between AA and *-mente*, leaving aside external and textual variables, such as the Spanish dialect, the textual genre, the degree of elaboration of text, the origin of writers, etc. There is no work, as far as I know, comparing internally these two adverb classes, confronting minimal lexical pairs of AA and *-mente*, pair by pair, and analyzing their distribution, syntax, and selection of contexts, in a strict

comparison.<sup>1</sup> Such a strict comparison may shed light on the adverbial adjective / -mente adverb interface.

The five pairs are the following: *claro* ‘clear’ ~ *claramente* ‘clearly’; *firme* ‘firm’ / ‘strong’ ~ *firmente* ‘firmly’ / ‘strongly’; *igual* ‘equal’ ~ *igualmente* ‘equally’ / ‘anyway’; *infinito* ‘infinite’ / ‘immense’ ~ *infinitamente* ‘infinitely’ / ‘immensely’, and *rápido* ‘quick’ ~ *rapidamente* ‘quickly’. They are exemplified in (10) to (14).

- (10) a. Bolívar no tiene *claro* con qué equipo afrontará el clásico de mañana  
[*La Prensa*, 01-02-2003, Bolivia, *CREA*]  
‘Bolívar does not have clear(ly) the team formation for tomorrow’
- b. La publicidad de la época habla *claramente* de la irrupción de la oferta del ocio  
[Ángel Bahamonde, *El Real Madrid en la historia de España*, 2002, Spain, *CREA*]  
‘the publicity of that time speaks clearly about the breaking of leisure culture.’
- (11) a. para conservar el respeto y mantener *firme* la representación  
[Conde de Superunda, *Relación de los principales sucesos de su gobierno*, 1745–1756, Peru, *CORDE*]  
‘in order to preserve respect and to maintain firm(ly) the [government’s] representation.’
- b. Baxaron todos las cabezas al tiránico decreto, y empezaron a creer *firmente* muchas máximas  
[Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, *Theatro crítico universal*, 1730, Spain, *CORDE*]  
‘everybody bowed the tyrannical law, and they begun believing firmly many [popular] maxims.’
- (12) a. Los árbitros le piden a la Liga que realice una reunión con todos los réferis para interpretar *igual* las reglas [El Deber, 24-09-2003, Bolivia, *CREA*]  
‘Referees ask the League to call for a meeting to interpret equal(ly) the rules.’
- b. Es razonable suponer que este desarrollo, ..., ocurrirá *igualmente* en otro sitio donde resida vida inteligente [Daniel Roberto Altschuler, *Hijos de las estrellas. Nuestro origen, evolución y futuro*, 2002, Uruguay, *CREA*]  
‘this development will take place equally in another place where there is intelligent life.’

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1. The only exception is the pair *solo-solamente* ‘only’, of which a long section in Hummel (2014) is dedicated. It has been also studied by Medina, Alarcon and De la Mora (2014). Medina and Alarcón (2013) have compared some adverbial adjectives and -mente adverbs in Mexican formal speech. In these two last works the analysis basically controls quantitative differences of external sociolinguistic variables, with no syntactic-semantic analysis of the contrast.

- (13) a. Holgárame *infinito* de tener el libro que escribíó  
[Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, *Theatro crítico universal*, 1730, Spain, CORDE]  
‘I will enjoy infinite(ly) to have the book that you wrote.’
- b. mas quando se desembarca, y se comiensa á vér la mierda, y porqueria que cubre las calles, casas &c... la idea disminuíe *infinitamente*  
[Francisco de Miranda, *Diario de viajes*, 1785–1786, Venezuela, CORDE]  
‘when one sees the dirty streets, the idea lessens infinitely.’
- (14) a. Mi madre decía que los hijos de los pobres comen más y crecen *más rápido* que los de los ricos  
[Gabriel García Márquez, *Vivir para contarla*, 2002, Colombia, CREA]  
‘my mother said that the poor men’s sons grow up more quick(ly) than the rich ones.’
- b. El gobierno francés de Jospin es el que *más rápidamente* se dio cuenta de que la economía moderna multiplica el destino del trabajo  
[Carlos Fuentes, *En esto creo*, 2002, Mexico, CREA]  
‘the Jospin’s French Government more quickly realized that the modern economy multiplies.’

I chose these pairs because they are very different in adjective nature, forming a kind of continuum from adjective to quasi noun: (1) The pairs *claro* ~ *claramente* ‘clear-clearly’ and *rápido* ~ *rápidamente* ‘quick-quickly’ are very adjectival in nature; for instance, they easily allow gradation: *muy claro* ‘very clear’, *muy claramente* ‘very clearly’, *muy rápido* ‘very quick’, *muy rápidamente* ‘very quickly’, *más rápido que...* ~ ‘more rapid than...’, *más rápidamente que...* ‘more rapidly than...’. (2) The pairs *firme* ~ *firmeramente* ‘firm-firmly’ and *igual* ~ *igualmente* ‘equal-equally’ are less adjectival: *firme* ~ *firmeramente* resist gradation: ??*consideralo tan firme / tan firmeramente como te sea posible* ‘??consider it as firm / as firmly as you can’, and *igual* ~ *igualmente* reject gradation in most cases, because the forms themselves are a kind of quantifier: \**admitió su culpa muy igual / muy igualmente* ‘\*(s)he accepted her/his guilt very equal(ly) / very equally’. (3) Finally, the pair *infinito* / *infinitamente* ‘infinite-infinately’ is quasi non-adjective, it does not allow gradation: \**muy infinito*, \**muy infinitamente* ‘\*very infinite’, ‘\*very infinitely’, and, even, the word *infinito* ‘infinite’ behaves nowadays more as a noun than as an adjective (RAE-ASALE 2013: s.v. *infinito*).

The paper is organized in five sections besides this Introduction. Section 2 is a brief state of the art devoted to revise the general findings and major problems related to AA and *-mente*, as a starting point to identify the specific contribution of this paper. Section 3 contains the corpus and the quantitative criteria to construe it. In Section 4, I draw up the research questions and the hypothesis which guide the analysis. Section 5, the largest one, is the analysis of corpus, controlling four independent variables. Section 6 contains the conclusions.

## 2. State of the art

In the abundant specialized literature about AA and *-mente*, it is possible to set four main perspectives of analysis with various major problems inside each of them: (1) Synchronic grammar, (2) diachrony, (3) sociolinguistics, text genre and register, and (4) dialectology.

### 2.1 Synchronic grammar

The following eight differences are probably the major topics on AA and *-mente*, being identified by almost all synchronic grammars and by synchronic and diachronic specialized works.

#### 2.1.1 *Category*

With no doubt, the greatest problem concerns which grammatical category AA belongs to. It is not clear whether it is an adverb, an adjective, a special kind of adjective, or a special kind of adverb. A direct consequence of this problem is that AA has received many category labels, at least fourteen: “adjective” (Hummel 2015), “adjectival adverb” (Kovacci 1999: 707–19; RAE-ASALE 2009: § 13.4; Ledgeway 2011: 35), “adverbial adjective” (Hummel 2012: Chapter 2; 2014: § 7.1), “adverbialized adjective” (Hummel 2007; 2014; Medina & Alarcón 2013), “adjective for adverbial function” (Kühner & Stegmann 1912–1914 I: 234; Bassols 1956 I: 174; Hengeveld 1992: 62–5; Tarriño 2009), “bare adjective” (Suñer & Di Tullio 2001), “deadjectival adverb” (Medina, Alarcón & De la Mora 2014), “invariable adjective” (Abeillé & Godard 2004; Abeillé & Mouret 2010), “simple adverb” (Medina, Alarcón & De la Mora 2014), “short adverb” (RAE-ASALE 2009: § 13.8f; Medina & Alarcón 2013), “underived adverb” (Giegerich 2012: 344), “uninflected adverb” (Hummel 2013a; 2014), “uninflected adjective” (Giegerich 2012: 343); “weak complement” (Abeillé & Godard 2004). So many names are a symptom of uncertainty or ambiguity about the word class of this class of word.

On the contrary, *-mente* does not have problems of category adscription. It has always been analyzed as ‘adverb’, having reached the status of manner adverbs *par excellence* in Spanish grammars and specialized works. It has received four labels only: “derived adverbs” (Medina, Alarcón & De la Mora 2014),<sup>2</sup> “long adverb” (Company, 2014a; Medina, Alarcón & De la Mora 2014), “manner adverb” (Kovacci 1999: 700ff; Katz 2008; RAE-ASALE 2009: § 30.7; Company 2014a, and many other authors because is the most usual label), *-mente* adverb (Company 2014a: § 6.3).

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2. This label is specially used in the non-Romance tradition.

The scarce number of category names is a symptom of no uncertainty about its word class. In sum, there is uncertainty for AA vs. certainty for *-mente* in category adscription, as evidenced by 14 labels vs. 4 labels, respectively.

### 2.1.2 *Types of adverbial adjective*

Some works identify two subtypes of AA. One of them functions as an adverb properly, modifying the verb, as in *ver claro* ‘to see clear(ly)’, *correr rápido* ‘to run quick(ly)’, a manner of seeing / a manner of running. The other one basically functions as a predicative adjective of a non-explicit direct object, a kind of internal accusative, as in *comer picante* ‘to eat spicy’, *vivir sano* ‘to live healthy’, where *spicy* and *healthy* would be a secondary predication of an internal accusative: ‘to eat something which is spicy’ / ‘to live a healthy life’. The borderline between these two subtypes are fuzzy as regards their adverbial properties, and the specialized literature recognizes that ambiguity exists when applying tests to distinguish them (Abeillé & Godard 2004; Abeillé & Mouret 2010; Hummel 2015).

### 2.1.3 *Scope*

A main grammatical difference between AA and *-mente* is that AA has basically two scopes: intrapropositional over the verb and extrapropositional over the discourse, functioning in this case as a discourse marker,<sup>3</sup> while *-mente* has more flexibility in scope, because it may modify other word classes besides the verb, such as the noun, the adjective, the adverb, or the whole verb phrase, and it may also function as a discourse marker (Kovacci 1999; Rodríguez 2003; Company 2014b). Related to discourse scope, all works describe AA as more flexible than *-mente* when filling discourse functions. Authors that analyze AA as simple adjectives (Hummel 2015) consider that AA may modify any word and function.

### 2.1.4 *Cohesion and distribution*

AA usually shows strong cohesion with the verb and frequently forms lexicalized constructions: *respirar hondo* ‘to breathe deep’, *saltar alto* ‘to jump high’. It easily forms formulaic or fixed expressions of generic, atemporal reading: *votar libre es la clave de la democracia* ‘to vote free is the key of democracy’ (Hummel 2015). As for *-mente*, it does not form collocations or constructions with such a strong degree of lexicalization (Company 2014a). The relative order with the verb is more rigid in the case of AA (almost always behind the verb), than in the case of *-mente*. They also function differently in extraction and focalization tests (Suñer & Di Tullio 2001; Abeillé & Godard 2004).

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3. I will use the label “discourse marker” as a general operative term, without entering into the various discourse and connective functions that both AA and *-mente* may fill (Company 2014b).

### 2.1.5 Grammaticality

Judgments about grammaticality are very variable in the case of AA; instead, *-mente* does not usually generate problems about grammaticality. For instance, in Suñer & Di Tullio (2001), the use of AA is ungrammatical in the following sentences, but the use of *-mente* is grammatical: *¿Citaste aquellos párrafos? \*Sí, textual/Sí, textualmente* ‘Did you quote those paragraphs? ‘Yes, \*literal/Yes, literally’; *\*Te estoy agradecido infinito/Te estoy agradecido infinitamente* ‘I am grateful \*infinite/I am grateful infinitely’. However, the above AA, and others, are completely grammatical in many American Spanish dialects. Indeed, in Mexican Spanish, *agradecer infinito* ‘to be grateful infinite(ly)’ is a very learned, almost formulaic use, while *agradecer infinitamente* ‘to be grateful infinitely’ is less frequent.

### 2.1.6 Lexical restrictions

Both AA and *-mente* are heavily restricted by the lexical basis of their adjective etymon, and because of that, not all adjectives allow recategorization as AA nor generate *-mente* adverbs. Also, the complex internal classifications of AA and *-mente* are determined by the lexical and aspectual meaning of the adjective basis and by the lexical and aspectual verb classes co-occurring with AA and *-mente* (Moreno 1998; Kovacci 1999; Rodríguez 2003; Katz 2008, among many others).

### 2.1.7 Basic meaning, polysemy and the role of context

There is a strong disagreement in the specialized literature regarding whether AA and *-mente* have a basic, abstract, general meaning (separately AA and *-mente*), and polyfunctionality comes from the context (Hummel 2012, 2013a; Company 2014a, 2014b), or whether the various meanings of each one of these forms are a case of polysemy (Kovacci 1999; Rodríguez 2003). In consequence, for the authors defending a basic, general meaning, the internal classification of each adverb relies on context, exclusively or, at least, to a great extent (Hummel 2012, 2014; Company 2014a). For the authors postulating polysemy, the context plays a minimal role in the classification of these two forms.

### 2.1.8 Morphological and semantic problems

As for *-mente* ending, there are various morphological and semantic disagreements: whether it has lexical meaning, grammatical meaning or does not have any meaning at all; whether it is a derivational affix or it is functioning as a compound formative; whether it is a true affix or a phrase affix (Torner 2005; Company 2014a: § 6.5 for a *status quaestionis* of these aspects).<sup>4</sup>

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4. The English bound form *-ly* displays very similar morphological problems; cf. Giegerich (2012) for an extensive discussion on it.

## 2.2 Diachrony

In diachronic perspective, there is less research about these two forms, however, many aspects of the evolution of these forms are already well known.

### 2.2.1 *Historical depth*

In Latin, adjectives in accusative case, recategorized as adverbs in certain contexts, that is, AA, are the oldest and the most common strategy to code manner adverbs (Karlsson 1981; Ricca 2010; Hummel 2013b, 2014; Company 2014a). This strategy was inherited by all Romance languages and continues to have great vitality in all of them. On the contrary, *-mente* is a Romance innovation; almost all Romance languages created *-mente*, except old vernacular Romanian, and other non-standard Italian dialects. Nevertheless, the historical depth of *-mente* is also very old: there are some bridge contexts (NP with *mens-mentis* in ablative having two readings, as noun and as adverb) from Plautus; there are some adverbial occurrences of *mente* in Virgilius and Seneca; there are many bridge contexts and switch contexts in Patristic texts. The first attestation of *-mente* as adverb appears in *Reichenau Glosses*, France, from the 8th century (Company 2014a).

### 2.2.2 *Status of -mente adverbs*

In Spanish, the affix *-mente* is a learned form, phonologically and morphologically. In this language, *-mente* was attested in very learned texts at first (sapient-moral textual genre), and was spread over less learned texts quickly (Company 2012, 2016).

### 2.2.3 *Type of change*

The creation of *-mente* is a paradigmatic case of grammaticalization with a very complex process intervening several reanalysis. Nevertheless, there is still discussion about the degree of grammaticalization of *-mente* adverbs in Ibero Romance languages, especially in Portuguese and in Spanish.

### 2.2.4 *Capacity to subjectivize*

Both AA and *-mente* are prone to undergo subjectification *via* metonymic inferential processes, giving rise to discourse markers and other forms of epistemic modality from the Middle Ages to current times.

## 2.3 Sociolinguistics, text genre and register

Numerous papers from Hummel (2012, 2013c, 2014) have shown that AA and *-mente* construe a binomial complementary system in Spanish and in other Romance

languages. Firstly, both forms display a quite neat sociolectal distribution: AA is much more frequent in popular speech whereas *-mente* is more frequent in learned speech. Secondly, AA and *-mente* have a quite separated register distribution: the first one is much more frequent in oral language/*-mente* is more frequent in written language; in written language, the first form usually appears in dialogue-oral textual zones. In sum, AA and *-mente* form a complementary specialized system: AA for oral and popular registers/*-mente* for written and learned ones.

## 2.4 Dialectology

There is a consensus in the specialized literature that AA is much more frequent in American than in European Spanish. In Latin America, the farther south one goes, the more frequently a dialect uses AA, both in oral and written texts, and both in popular and learned speech also (Company 2008, 2012; Hummel 2012, 2014).

## 2.5 Summary

Summing up, AA and *-mente* have been traditionally studied separately in the Spanish grammar, both synchronically and diachronically. The comparison, whenever is made, has been made usually from an external perspective: by dialect, by register or by grade of literacy.

There are no works comparing AA and *-mente* from an internal, grammatical point of view. This internal comparative analysis is the proposal of this paper. As for the label AA, I decided to use ‘adverbial adjective’, because the adjective-attributive etymological nature of AA, partly, determines the syntax and context selection of these forms, as we will see below (§ 6).

## 3. Corpus

The electronic corpora on which the analysis is based on are the *Corpus Diacrónico del Español* (CORDE) for the 18th century and the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA), for the 21st century, both from Real Academia Española (www.rae.es). Occasionally, I have taken examples from the *Corpus Diacrónico y Diatópico del Español de América* (CORDIAM) from Academia Mexicana de la Lengua <www.cordiam.org>, in order to get some additional American evidence. The quantitative analysis was made on the first two corpora, CORDE and CREA, only.

I chose only adjectives with no agreement, recategorized as adverbs (15), and attestations of *-mente* as adverb with any scope (16). It is important to note that

it is very difficult, almost impossible in some cases, to attest AA unambiguously. Often it had two potential readings, as a predicative adjective or as a true adverb. This was particularly true in the case of *firme* ‘firm(ly)’ ‘strong(ly)’. Two readings are possible for many examples of almost all AA, the context deciding the best possible interpretation. Hummel (2000: Chapter 2, 2013a, 2013b, 2014: § 7.3) has mentioned repeatedly that this kind of ambiguity is intrinsic to AA, because the original attributive adjective meaning is present. Even, Hummel (2015) analyzes AA as true adjectives, recategorized *via* the context.

- (15) a. Los versos que leí en el gabinete *bien claro manifiestan* que yo soy el desgraciado objeto de su amor [Ignacio García Malo, *Voz de la naturaleza. Memorias o anécdotas curiosas e instructivas*. 1787, Spain, *CORDE*]  
‘lyric verses that I read so clear(ly) manifest that I am...’
- b. Amor las cuerdas de oro/ me dio, y el plectro, / porque cante en ellas/ a la que *firme adoro*/ dulcísimas querellas  
[Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *Poesías completas*, 1778, Spain, *CORDE*]  
‘Love gave me the instruments to sing with them the woman who I firm(ly) adore.’
- c. Ved por las cumbres del cielo cuál alzándose *camina rápido* el sol  
[Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *La derrota*, 1789, Spain, *CORDE*]  
‘the sun walks quick(ly).’
- (16) a. como los acreedores eran muchos y cada uno se consideraba en mas alto grado de merito que los demás, no habiendo con que *poderlos remunerar* á todos *igualmente*, era indispensable huviessen de quedar muchos quexosos  
[Conde de Superunda, *Relación ... de los principales sucesos de su gobierno*, 1745–1756, Peru, *CORDE*]  
‘not having a way to remunerate equally everybody, it was indispensable...’
- b. Este método de reproducción asexual permite a las salpas *reproducirse rápidamente* y en grandes cantidades cuando el alimento abunda  
[Aquanet. *Revista Virtual de Buceo*, 34, 04–2002, Spain, *CREA*]  
‘this method allows salpas [sea fish] to reproduce quickly.’

The sample was construed as follows: I took any country and any textual genre in the two periods, but only written texts for the 21st century in *CREA*, to allow a comparison under “similar” register conditions in the two centuries.<sup>5</sup> I selected the complete 18th century, 1700–1799, and only two years for the 21st century,

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5. Written texts in the 21st century reproduce dialogue and oral speech very frequently; the 18th century texts only occasionally reproduce dialogue. This is an external variable which rests equilibrium to the strict diachronic comparison that I am intending to do in this paper. It must be controlled in a future work.

2002–2003, because *CREA* has more than 30,000 attestations of these adverbial pairs in the 20th–21st centuries (1976–2004). The sample was formed with all AA attested in the 18th and 21st centuries, except *claro* ‘clear’, *rápido* ‘quick’, and *igual* ‘equal’ in the 21st century, because there are 2095 forms of these three adverbs in *CREA* in 2002–2003. I took 100 examples of each one by random sampling. There is no attestation of *infinito* ‘infinite(ly)’ as adverb in *CREA* in 2002–2003, confirming the nominal nature that most dictionaries attest in present-day Spanish for this word. As for *-mente*, the corpus was formed with 75 examples in each century for each lexical pair, by random sampling also, except *infinitamente* ‘infinitely’ in the 21st century, because *CREA* only has 72 occurrences of this adverb in 2002–2003. The analysis is based on 1723 examples, constituting a strong empirical base to explore similarities and differences between these two kinds of adverb forms.

Table 1 displays the corpus, showing important quantitative differences in AA: 657 occurrences in a whole century (1700–1799) and 319 in only two years (2002–2003), even with the quantitative restriction for *claro* ‘clear(ly)’, *rápido* ‘quick(ly)’ and *igual* ‘equal(ly)’ in this period, mentioned above. That is, the number of cases in two years is equal to half of the cases in one hundred years, signifying that diachronically AA has increased extensively in the Spanish written language. However, it is necessary to keep in mind that *CREA* contains many more documents and countries for the 20th–21st centuries than *CORDE* for the 18th century.

Table 1. Corpus

	AA	<i>-mente</i>	Total
18th	657	375	1032
21st	319	372	691
Total	976	747	1723

#### 4. Research questions and hypothesis

The research questions guiding the analysis are the following: (1) What is the grammatical motivation for a speaker-writer to choose AA on some occasions and *-mente* on others at the same stage of language? (2) Do AA and *-mente* construe grammatically a complementary system, and which kind of it? (3) Are there significant diachronic changes in 200 years? (4) Why does *-mente*, generally, need more context than AA to display the complete function of the constituents and the complete meaning of its sentence? This last question was motivated by the data of corpus, while I was collecting them. I realized that the context I needed for *-mente* was (very) long, but much shorter in the case of AA. Examples in (17) and (18)

- (17) a. Ni su hijo Salomón pudo decirlo mas claro.  
[Francisco Garau, *El sabio instruido de la Gracia*, 1703, Spain, *CORDE*]  
'not even his son, Solomon, could tell it more clear(ly).'
- b. *He subido rápido*, pero este puerto tiene lo que tiene.  
[As, 22-09-2003, Spain, *CREA*]  
'I have climbed [the mountain pass] quick(ly), but this height has its difficulties.'
- (18) a. No como que reciva de Vuesa Señoría la Real Audiencia en esa entrega alguna cosa que ya no tenía antes, por lo que mira á Vuesa Señoría, sino como en voluntaria demostración que quiera hacer con aquella material entrega del bastón, vervigracia, para que todos *vengan á entender más claramente* que ya no está en Vuesa Señoría solo como aora la Superior authority, que tan á Gloria de Dios, veneficio universal había estado Vuesa Señoría hasta aquel entonces ejerciendo, como lo está aora.  
[Simón de Anda y Salazar, *Carta-circular al Provincial de dominicos*, 1763, Philippines, *CORDE*]  
'in order that everybody comes to understand more clearly that your lordship is not alone.'
- b. El público está totalmente desorientado y a los que se acercan por primera vez a los toros, les *captan rápidamente* para que nunca lleguen a conocer realmente los cánones del toreo clásico, el puro, verdadero y a la postre, eterno.  
[*La Voz de la Afición*, 19, 05-2002, 2002, Spain, *CREA*]  
'they attract them rapidly in order that they[the last ones]never know the art of classic bull fighting.'

My starting point in diachronic analysis is that any linguistic form maintains its basic, general, and abstract meaning for centuries. Forms also retain traces of their original category values. In general, current synchronic grammatical behaviour reflects earlier patterns, because continuity plus discontinuity, together, are inherent to language change. It is the context which allows diversity of functions, which in turn leads to weakening of the etymological referential meaning, and which allows that the form slowly acquires new functions along its diachrony. That is, polyfunctionality comes from the context and not from the form itself (Company 2012, 2014a, 2014b; Hummel 2012, 2013a; Trousdale 2012; Waltéreit 2012).

This approach to diachrony allows me to pose the following hypothesis: AA will keep “traces” or “memory” of its original adjective category. For that reason, to recategorize as an adverb, AA will need to exhibit more cohesion with the verb and a rigid relative V-AA order, the non-marked position of a manner adverb (Company 2014: § 6.5). Because of that adjective “trace”, it will appear in contexts having a greater number of nominals than *-mente*, because an adjective is typically related to nominals. Because of that adjective “trace”, its ability to appear in complex sentences/events will be (somewhat) restricted, and it will appear in sentences or paragraphs with lesser event complexity, as compared to *-mente* forms, because AA is focused on nominals.

In its turn, *-mente* has surpassed the noun phrase (NP) status from old times, it is not a nominal anymore, it is an adverb, able to enter in more contexts than AA, and able to enter in more complex event relationships.

The speaker-writer will opt for AA when (s)he wants to focus on some relevant nominal in an event, and such a focalization requires less event complexity and less complex distribution. *-Mente* will be chosen for any type of event, complex or not, and for any kind of nominal, relevant or not. In sum, both forms, AA and *-mente*, construe a binominal complementary system in terms of markedness: AA is the marked form, having syntactic-semantic restrictions, because it is not an adverb when it lacks the appropriate context. *-Mente* will function as the unmarked or indifferent form, with no restrictions as to the relative order with the verb, as to the selection of nominals, or as the complexity of the event. In sum: AA = restrictions / *-mente* = no restrictions.

## 5. Analysis

The dependent variable for the analysis is AA vs. *-mente*. I analyzed the frequency of four independent variables, seeking to test the hypothesis: (1) Adjacency to the verb; (2) Relative order verb-adverb; (3) Nominal binding, and (4) Structural event complexity.

Z-Scores<sup>6</sup> were then computed on the frequency of each variable in order to measure whether the differences between AA and *-mente* were significant or not. Z-scores were applied both synchronically for each century separately and diachronically comparing the proportions of each type of adverb between centuries.

The data of the corpus show some interesting general findings, when comparing AA and *-mente*, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the five AA among them

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6. In <<http://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/ztest/Default2.aspx>>

and the five *-mente* among them, separately. I will discuss these general findings before entering into the specific analysis of variables.

1. In the corpus, the only absolute difference between AA and *-mente* is that AA takes prepositions, while *-mente* does not:<sup>7</sup> *racione pampangos y tagalos por igual* ‘ration out those tribes equal(ly)’ (1763, Philippines, CORDE); *las personas que allí habitaban de firme* ‘people lived there of firm’ (1789, Ecuador, CORDE); *un cóndor que de rápido se levanta un cabrito* ‘a condor that of quick picks up a small goat’ (1762, Peru, CORDE). The only AA that never takes preposition is *infinito* ‘infinite(ly)’.
2. In the corpus, there are no strict minimal pairs, with the same contexts and the same distribution, like those exemplified in (1)–(3) above, so many times repeated in the specialized literature. Obviously, there are attestations of AA and *-mente* with the same lexical basis and the same verb (*ver claro* ‘to see clear(ly)’ / *ver claramente* ‘to see clearly’; *decir igual* ‘to say [it] equal(ly)’ / *decir igualmente* ‘to say [it] equally’; *mantenerse firme* ‘to remain firm(ly)’ / *mantenerse firmemente* ‘to remain firmly’), but they appear in different contexts, dealing with different topics or themes and different communicative or textual situations. Therefore, the potential-abstract system of the language gives us different information than the language in its actual use, or, in other words, Corpus Linguistics provides new insights of the interface between AA and *-mente*.
3. As expected, there are important grammatical differences according to lexical meaning, but grammatical differences among AA are greater than those among *mente*. For instance, *igual* ‘equal(ly)’ behaves in a very different way from *rápido* ‘quick(ly)’ and from *claro* ‘clear(ly)’, but the five *-mente* adverbs behave in a similar way grammatically, in spite of their semantic differences. The reason is, in my opinion, that *-mente* is morphologically marked as adverb and thus internal differences must be lesser.
4. The well-known diachronic adverbial cline: verb scope > sentential-intrapropositional scope > discourse particle (V-ADV > IP-ADV > DP) (Traugott 1995; Hummel 2013b) is not filled by every AA. For example, *claro* ‘clear(ly)’ and *firme* ‘firm(ly)’ never appear in the corpora as a sentential-intrapropositional adverb, IP-ADV. Both work as VADV in the two centuries, and *claro* ‘clear(ly)’, but not *firme* ‘firm(ly)’, emerges as a discourse particle, DP, of evidentiality in modern Spanish, without passing by IP-ADV. *Infinito* ‘infinite(ly)’ never functions as DP. *Rápido* ‘quick(ly)’ and *igual* ‘equal(ly)’ run along the three stages of the cline.

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7. In Early Medieval Spanish, some *-mente* adverbs took preposition: “quantas liebres veyra, prendi de buena mente” (Arcipreste de Hita, *Libro de buen amor*, 14th c., *apud* Company, 2014a) ‘[the wolf] took all hares of willingly’/‘the wolf caught so many hares as he could’.

By adjacency, I mean that there is no interruption between the verb and the adverb. The adjacent adverb may be a pre- or a, more frequently, postverb. The adverb is also considered adjacent when it stands between the constituents of a verb periphrasis. In (19) the three possibilities of adjacency are exemplified: preverb (19a), postverb (19b) and between the auxiliary verb and the auxiliated verb (19c). By non-adjacency, I mean cases in which one or more constituents interrupt the syntagmatic sequence of verb and adverb, as in (20). Clitics do not interrupt adjacency.

- (19) a. ¿Cómo no?, dice Taydor, *bien claro lo dije*  
[Pedro Montengón, *Eusebio*, 1786, Spain, *CORDE*]  
‘what do you mean? Taylor says, clear(ly) enough I said it.’  
*Tan firme pisa* el pie izquierdo, como el derecho  
[Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, *Cartas eruditas y curiosas, en que por la mayor parte se continúa el designio de el Theatro Crítico*, 1742, Spain, *CORDE*]  
‘So firm(ly) he walks the left foot like the right one.’
- b. Atendíase al gusto, y se escusaba el gasto. Ahora todo se atropella. *Se aumenta infinito* el gasto, aun sin contemplar el gusto  
[Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, *Theatro crítico universal*, 1728, Spain, *CORDE*]  
‘nowadays everything is in chaos. The spending increases infinite(ly).’  
*Queda muy claro* que al estamento taurino no le interesa  
[*La Voz de la Afición*, 19, 05–2002, Spain, *CREA*]  
‘it is very clear that authorities of bullfighting are not interested in.’  
porque vamos a cenar como la gente normal, la que *trabaja de firme*, tiene los pies en la tierra y vive como Dios manda  
[Alfonso Rojo, *Matar para vivir*, 2002, Spain, *CREA*]  
‘let’s go to dinner like normal people, she works firm(ly) having her feet on the ground...’

- c. Durante el proceso digestivo, las bacterias intestinales separan la molécula de carbohidrato de la isoflavona, que *es rápidamente absorbida*  
[José Antonio Argente, *Frutoterapia y sojaterapia. Frutas y soja para la energía y la salud*, 2003, Argentina, CREA]  
‘during digestion, isoflavona is quickly absorbed.’
- (20) a. me he valido de ellas en varios pazmos rectos, ótotales, que son los que rectamente *embaran* todo el cuerpo *por igual*, dejandole inmoble y tenso  
[Pedro Montenegro, *Materia médica misionera*, 1710, Argentina, CORDE]  
‘spasms make stiff the body equal(ly) [totally].’
- b. ¿Lo *ve* usted *claro*? Me alegre, Pepe  
[Ramón de la Cruz, *La niñería*, 1768, Spain, CORDE]  
‘do you see clear(ly)? I am glad.’
- c. cada individuo busca la manera de *hacerse rico rápido*, a la buena o a la mala  
[Listín Diario, 31-12-2003, República Dominicana, CREA]  
‘everybody seeks the way to become rich quick[ly].’
- d. por lo cual nos arrimamos a la otra costa de donde *vimos* la dicha casa *mas claramente* [Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Itinerario de la armada del rey católico a la isla de Yucatán*, 1793, Mexico, CORDE]  
‘we saw the aforementioned house more clearly.’
- e. porque no hay madera ni aun resina alguna que haga *detonar* el salitre *tan rápidamente* como el carbon puro [Luis Proust, *Anales del Real Laboratorio de Química*, 1791, Spain, CORDE]  
‘there is no wood nor resin which make to explode the nitre so quickly.’
- f. Los primeros árboles eran de variedades de fruto muy áspero y astringente, por lo que *rápidamente* el juicio popular los *dejó condenados*  
[C. Donoso, *Fruticultura ecológica*, 2002, Spain, CREA]  
‘quickly, popular opinion condemned those trees.’

Specialized literature about AA postulates adjacency as a definitory feature of AA: “la unidad que forma el verbo con el adjetivo desnudo no se puede romper” ([verb and bare adjective form an unbreakable unit], my translation, Suñer & Di Tullio 2001; for French, the same opinion in Abeillé & Godard 2004). However, corpus linguistics shows that AA allows flexibility when regarding cohesion V-AA, as Examples (20a)–(20c) above show.<sup>8</sup>

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8. Non-adjacency with AA is not uncommon in CREA: “Si *hacemos* el diagnóstico *rápido* y le suministramos la medicación correspondiente, podemos reducir este porcentaje” (ABC Color, 31-10-2000, Spain, CREA) ‘if we make the diagnosis quick(ly), and we give her / him the corresponding medication, we can...’.

Table 2 measures adjacency.<sup>9</sup> It shows that both in the 18th and in the 21st-centuries, AA and *-mente* are almost categorically adjacent to the verb, being more than 90% the average of adjacency, although *-mente* has some more freedom to be non-adjacent. It means that the basic position of an adverb having scope on the verb is adjacent to this one.

**Table 2.** Proportion of sentences containing verb adjacency

	AA	<i>-mente</i>
18th	.93 (611/657)	.90 (337/375)
21st	.98 (312/319)	.89 (331/372)

Statistic results are diachronically very interesting: the hypothesis does not work for the 18th century, but works for the 21st one. It means that AA became more different from *-mente* over time in regards to adjacency. In the 18th century, the proportion of AA with adjacency (.93) is not significant compared to the proportion of *-mente* with adjacency (.90),  $z = 1.69$ ,  $p = .089$ . On the contrary, in the 21st century the difference in proportion is statistically significant (.98 vs. .89,  $z = 4.67$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Diachronically, AA increased notably, 93% > 98%, while *-mente* did not change. Z-test confirms the significance of that change when comparing AA in the 18th and 21st centuries,  $z = 3.25$ ,  $p < .001$ . Therefore, the hypothesis that AA is required to be closer to the verb than *-mente* is supported diachronically and for the last century.

In case of non-adjacency, transitive verbs allow some more interruption than intransitive ones. The constituents interrupting the adjacency between the verb and *-mente* may be both argument and non-argument; direct object is more common than other constituents, as examples in (20a, d, e) show. The corpus also shows that the lexical meaning of adjective basis impacts distribution: *claramente* ‘clearly’ and *rápidamente* ‘quickly’ have much more freedom in position than *firmemente* ‘firmly’ or *igualmente* ‘equally’; the least flexible adverb is *infinitamente* ‘infinitely’, which always is adjacent and postverb. *Clear* ‘clear(ly)’ and *rápido* ‘quick(ly)’ are more flexible in adjacency than the other AA.

## 5.2 Relative order of verb and adverb

There are also important differences between AA and *-mente* in regards to the relative position of the verb, AA being more rigid than *-mente* across the two centuries. AA prefers the postposition in more than 90% of occurrences, while *-mente* only

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9. Tables are given in proportions (.93) and not in percentages (93%), because z-test calculates proportions.

occupies a postverbal position in 75% of cases. That means that almost categorically AA needs to keep the non-marked position of a manner adverb (Company 2014a) in order to function as an adverb, because it is not marked as an adverb morphologically, while *-mente* is morphologically marked, and because of that it has more arrangement freedom. Examples (19) and (20) above show the possibilities of relative order of AA and *-mente*.

Table 3 below shows the quantitative differences between these adverbs in relative position; v-v means that the adverb is between the constituents of a periphrasis. Table 3 indicates that both adverbs may stand in pre- and postverbal order, but that AA is excluded from v-v, a position where *-mente* may easily appear in the corpus, even in the 21st century: *debe claramente consignarse* (El Salvador, 2002, CREA), *está firmemente decidida* (Spain, 2003, CREA). The table also shows significant differences in preverbal position, where *-mente* amply doubles the proportion of AA.

**Table 3.** Proportion of sentences containing each relative order

	AA			
	V-ADV	ADV-V	V-V	Total
18th	.92 (611)	.08 (46)	–	657
21st	.95 (303)	.05 (16)	–	319

	<i>-mente</i>			
	V-ADV	ADV-V	V-V	Total
18th	.75 (281)	.20 (75)	.05 (19)	375
21st	.76 (282)	.11 (41)	.13 (49)	372

Statistic results confirm the proposed hypothesis. In the 18th century, the proportion of AA in the non-marked position v-ADV (.92) was much higher than the proportion of *-mente* in that position (.75,  $z = 7.53$ ,  $p < .001$ ), suggesting that AA needs to maintain the non-marked position of manner adverbs in order to function as a true adverb. This was also true in the 21st century (.95 vs. .76,  $z = 6.92$ ,  $p < .001$ ), meaning that relative order is also a significant variable in the second century. Diachronically, AA increased v-ADV order very slightly,  $.92 > .95$ , while *-mente* actually did not change,  $.75 > .76$ . Z-test indicates that both increases were not significant (AA:  $z = 1.72$ ,  $p = 0.085$ ; *-mente*:  $z = 0.31$ ,  $p = 0.748$ ). On the contrary, the increase of 5% > 13% of *-mente* in v-v position is statistically significant,  $z = 3.82$ ,  $p = .085$ . However, this increase, in my opinion, does not reflect a new capacity of *-mente* but a general increase of periphrastic constructions in the Spanish of 21st century as compared to the 18th one.

### 5.3 Nominality binding

By nominality binding I mean that in the sentence where the adverb is (AA or *-mente*), there is a relevant noun and usually other nouns related to it. By relevant noun, I mean, operatively, an important or a main entity that constitutes the theme on which the story is focused on. That entity usually has referential persistence. This definition is akin to that of “topic” in the literature,<sup>10</sup> but I use the term “relevant noun” to make explicit the relation of AA to nominality. The concept “nominality binding” is taken here in a very similar sense to “nominality boundedness” from Paradis (2001).

The expected fact is that there will be more relevant nouns in a sentence with AA than with *-mente*, and there will be more nominal persistence with AA than with *-mente*, because, according to the hypothesis, AA “attracts” nominals, inasmuch as it keeps “traces” of its adjective original category. The corpus shows that AA appears more frequently in examples where there is a topical noun as well as other nominals related semantically to it, creating a kind of nominality binding in the sentence where AA is.

The Example (21), with *rápido* ‘quick(ly)’, displays the typical nominality binding associated to AA. The main nominal in (21) is a singular personal pronoun, *él* ‘he’, which is the theme of that text section. It is also the grammatical subject of the verb modified by the AA, *travesando* ‘crossing’, and also is the subject of the other verbs, *tendió* ‘applied’ and *vio* ‘saw’. Therefore, the main nominal *él* ‘he’ persists referentially across three sentences. It is important to notice that the pronoun *él* ‘he’ is linked semantically to two nominals: one body part, *experta vista* ‘his expert eyes’, and one coreferential possessive pronoun, *los suyos* ‘his men’ (literally ‘the his’), and there is another nominal, *las armadas filas* ‘his army’ which contextually is the army possessed by the pronoun *él* ‘he’. In sum, there are three nominals related to the subject-topic of the verb modified by the AA *rápido* ‘quick(ly)’. The adverb is subject-topic oriented,<sup>11</sup> because *rápido* ‘quick(ly)’ refers a quality or a capacity of the topic *él* ‘he’: ‘he is rapid crossing a place.’

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10. Cf. Givón (1988), Buring (1999), and Jacobs (1999), among many others, for bibliographical revisions and definitions of “topic”.

11. By subject-oriented adverb I mean the same concept of traditional grammar of an adverb that predicates some property or capacity of the nominal functioning as subject (Kovacci 1999).

- (21) Entonces *él* por *las armadas filas* tendió *la experta vista*, y *travesando rápido* los inmensos batallones, vio el orden de *los suyos*  
 [Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, *Traducción del primer canto*, 1768–1778, Spain, CORDE]  
 ‘then, he, along the army lines, applying his expert sight (eyes), and crossing quick(ly) the immense army, saw the military disposition of his men.’

Similar features are displayed in the Example (22) with *infinito* ‘infinite(ly)’. Again, there is a main nominal *fuego* ‘fire’ that is the theme of the text, and is the subject of the verb modified by the AA, *enardeció* ‘to inflame’, and is also the subject of the other two verbs *fue dirigido* ‘[fire] was directed’ and *se hizo* ‘[fire] was made’. The nominal *fuego* ‘fire’ has referential persistence because it appears twice in the form of two anaphors: *éste* ‘this [fire]’ and *el poco* ‘the little [fire]’. The adverb *infinito* ‘infinite(ly)’ refers to the psychological impact of the fire, mentioned previously in three different ways. Therefore, AA appears in a context with nominal relevance and nominality binding.

- (22) tuvieron que hacer *fuego*. Aunque *éste* fue dirigido de modo que más sirviera de espanto que de daño, *el poco* que se hizo *enardeció infinito* al pueblo  
 [Conde de Fernán Núñez, *Vida de Carlos III*, 1790, Spain, CORDE]  
 ‘they had to make fire, this was directed more as fear than as damage; the little [fire] which was made inflamed [psychologically] infinite(ly) (to) the people.’

In turn, *-mente* adverb is indifferent both to nominal binding and to nominal relevance; that is, *-mente* may or may not appear in those marked contexts. Usually, the sentence where *-mente* appears has more than one nominal, even many nominals interacting in the event, but they are separated nominals, not linked to a main nominal only. Example (23) displays the interaction of various nominals that are not semantically related. In the context there are two different buckets, *dos cubos de cobre* ‘two copper buckets’, and one person, *Christoval*, who is trying to drink from them. Each bucket is placed at different heights, one of them is empty, the other one is being filled rapidly with water, the water is poured out, and the other bucket unbalances and falls down quickly, *se hundió rápidamente* ‘it sank so quickly’, knocking out the person who was trying to drink. As it occurs in this example, as in many sentences with *-mente* adverb, it is not possible to set up clearly a relevant nominal or referential persistence of one entity. In some cases, it is possible of course, because, as it was said above, *-mente* is unmarked or indifferent to nominality binding.

- (23) para lo cual tenía dos cubos de cobre, puesto cada uno al extremo de la sogá; sucedió que quiso beber de uno de ellos, para lo cual le supesó un poco, y en este tiempo se llenó de presto el de abajo y *se hundió tan rápidamente* que, arrebatando el cubo de arriba, le dió tal golpe a Christoval en la garganta con el borde [Palomino y Velasco, *El Parnaso español pintoresco laureado*, 1724, Spain, CORDE]

‘[two nominals slightly related between them...] one of them sank so quickly that it hit a person...’

Examples in (24) and (25) confirm the very different relationship to nominals that AA and *-mente* have. Examples (24a) and (24b) exemplify *rápido* and *rápidamente*, ‘quick(ly)’ and ‘quickly’, respectively; (25a) and (25b), *claro* and *claramente*, ‘clear(ly)’ and ‘clearly’, respectively. In (24a), with AA, all nominals in italics are semantically linked to a main noun, confirming the nominality binding effect of sentences with AA. Furthermore, the various nominals in italics of (24a) are different ways to refer to the same entity, the god Apollus. *Rápido* ‘quick(ly)’ is a subject-oriented adverb, which predicates properties or capacities of nominals referring to the god Apollus, who is similar to *éter* ‘ether’ in lightness. On the contrary, in (24b), with *-mente*, there are so many different nominals in the context (*santones* ‘blessed men’, *rotaciones del cuerpo* ‘body’s rotations’, *estatuas* ‘statues’) that it is impossible to establish any direct relation of any of the nominals to the verb and to the *-mente* adverb; for that reason, there are no italics in the example.

- (24) a. El *numen belígero*, embrazando *el égida* sobre *cruento plaustro*, vagaba iracundo, fatigando *los ejes fervidos* y agitando, *flagelífero, cuadriga indómita*. No de otra manera, fulgurando *el éter*, *se precipita rápido*. – Calla, calla, maldita criatura – dijo Apolo [Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *La derrota de los pedantes*, 1789, Spain, CORDE]  
 ‘in the same way [as the previous nominals qualifying the god Apollus], the ether shines and falls down quick(ly).’  
 b. donde refiere innumerables prodigios de algunos de estos santones, como son violentas y dilatadas rotaciones del cuerpo, inimitables a todos los demás hombres, *girando rápidamente* y a compás por mucho tiempo, como si fuesen estatuas maquinalmente movidas [Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, *Theatro crítico universal*, 1729, Spain, CORDE]  
 ‘[many entities with a slight semantic relationship between them...], some of them spinning quickly and with rhythm...’

In (25a) below, the nominality binding is again very clear with the AA *claro* ‘clear’. The nominals in italics establish a kinship relationship between *Jesús* ‘Jesus’, the God-son, and his father, God, both being the same person in Catholic religion.

At the same time, there is a whole-part relationship, *Jesús* ‘Jesus’, the whole, and *sus manos* ‘his hands’, the part, confirming the nominality binding effect in a sentence with AA. In turn, in (25b) there are so many separated nominals (*licenciado Arias* ‘lawyer Arias’, *disturbios* ‘riots’, *derramamientos de sangre* ‘bloodsheds’, *dichos autos* ‘aforementioned writings’, etc.), that it is impossible to establish any direct relationship of any specific nominal to the verb and the *-mente* adverb; again, for that reason, there are no italics in the example. The adverb *claramente* ‘clearly’ does not have scope on any specific entity, but it is event-oriented, modifying all actions occurring in the complex sentence.

- (25) a. *Mas claro reconoce Jesús, que todo se lo a puesto en sus manos su Padre*  
           [Francisco Garau, *El sabio instruido de la Gracia*, 1703, Spain, CORDE]  
           ‘more clear(ly) Jesus recognizes that his Father has left everything in his hands.’
- b. Por el dicho Licenciado Arias de Aponte *se conoce claramente* haber habido en el mes de marzo de este sobredicho año mayores disturbios y derramamientos de sangre que el pasado, porque en dichos autos está una rigurosa sentencia contra Don Julián de Cupide, Sancho de Aristi, Antonio de Oporto... [Bartolomé Arzans de Orsúa y Vera, *Historia de la villa imperial de Potosí*, 1702–1736, Peru, CORDE]  
           ‘by Arias it is known clearly that in March of this year there were riots, bloodsheds, because in the aforementioned writings...’

Specialized literature has affirmed that a distinctive feature of AA is that it frequently co-occurs with imperative verbs, *respire hondo* ‘breathe deep’, *coma lento* ‘eat slow’ (Suñer & Di Tullio 2001; Abeillé & Godard 2004; Hummel 2015). Although imperative lacks an overt subject nominal, it is always directed to a hearer-reader, the second person being highly prominent, topical, and actually present in the event, and because of that the second person has pragmatic relevance. Then, the nominality binding associated to AA works even with imperative utterances.

Table 4 below measures the nominality binding with the two adverbs. It shows that both types of adverbs are associated with a high percentage of nominality. This is expected, because almost any event (except purely impersonal ones) has nominal arguments and nominal complements. However, the percentile differences between AA and *-mente* are significant in the 18th century: AA appears 14% more than *-mente* in contexts with greater nominality in the 18th century (.94 vs. .80,  $z = 6.88$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Diachronically, AA weakens its relationship to nominality and gets closer to *-mente*, but the difference between the two types of adverb in the proportion of nominality continues being significant in the 21st century (.86 vs. .79,  $z = 2.39$ ,  $p = .016$ ).

**Table 4.** Proportion of sentences containing nominality binding

	AA	-mente
18th	.94 (616/657)	.80 (300/375)
21st	.86 (274/319)	.79 (294/372)

Diachronically, AA significantly decreased nominality binding,  $.94 > .86$  ( $z = 4.17$ ,  $p < .001$ ), while *-mente* did not change,  $.80 > .79$ , and, in consequence, the statistic result is not significant,  $z = 0.33$ ,  $p = 0.727$ . It means that over time AA weakens its presence with relevant nominals becoming more adverbial.

There are slight differences based on lexical meaning in regards to nominality binding. As I said before, there are more discrepancies among AA than among *-mente*. *Claro* ‘clear(ly)’ and *rápido* ‘quick(ly)’ are more easily related to relevant nominals than *igual* ‘equal(ly)’ and *firme* ‘firm(ly)’, whereas *infinito* ‘infinite(ly)’ is the AA least associated to relevant nominals. This continuum is logical, because *clear* ‘clear(ly)’ and *rápido* ‘quick(ly)’ have more adjectival properties than the other examples, and *infinito* ‘infinite(ly)’ is quasi non-adjectival in its properties. *-Mente* (*claramente* ‘clearly’, *firmente* ‘firmly’, *igualmente* ‘equally’, *rápidamente* ‘quickly’ and *infinitamente* ‘infinitely’) does not show significant contrasts among them.

In sum, AA is usually associated to one main nominal and there may be other nominals related to that one in the sentence, whereas *-mente* usually lacks association with specific nominals. For that reason, AA is frequently a subject-oriented adverb, while *-mente* is frequently an event-oriented adverb. Subsequently, a sentence having AA is usually less complex and shorter than a sentence containing *-mente* (cf. below § 6.4). And, finally, for that same reason, AA has additional semantic complexity, because it is a form simultaneously associated to both to a verb and to a nominal; that is, nominality binding causes, in many cases, an ambiguous reading in AA between attribute and adverb.<sup>12</sup> In contrast, *-mente* is not restricted to such a specific dual focalization.

5.4 Complexity of the event

Complexity of the event is defined by two related features: how many sentences are syntactically related to the sentence where the adverb appears (AA or *-mente*), and the grammatical type of those sentences. Following the hypothesis of this paper, AA is predicted to appear in less complex sentences because it is not focused on the event per se, but, instead, on some relevant nominal of that event. In contrast,

12. Hummel (2015) has pointed out the special semantic complexity of AA because the adjective nature of this kind of adverb generates two readings almost permanently.

*-mente* is predicted to appear in both simple and complex sentences. The criteria for less and more complexity are the following: by *less complexity*, I consider one simple sentence, juxtaposition, or coordination. By *more complexity*, I take complex sentences, either with a completive subordinate sentence or sentences linked by a subordinating nexus of any kind.

Table 5 below measures the degree of event complexity, focusing on less complexity. The table shows that this independent variable has the highest quantitative percentile differences between AA and *-mente*: 25% favoring less complexity in AA. Diachronically, AA decreases its presence in less complex events slightly: 87% > 85%; *-mente* also decreases complexity in the same percentage: 62% > 60%.

**Table 5.** Proportion of examples with less complexity

	AA	<i>-mente</i>
18th	.87 (572/657)	.62 (232/375)
21st	.85 (271/319)	.60 (223/372)

Statistic results are very interesting, because synchronically the *z*-test is significant in both centuries but diachronically there were no changes, meaning that the complexity of the event is a very stable variable, yielding a high difference between the two adverbs in the two periods. The hypothesis is supported in the 18th century ( $z = 9.31, p < .001$ ), and the same is true in the 21st century ( $z = 7.26, p < .001$ ). Diachronically, neither AA nor *-mente* changed; for AA,  $z = 0.85, p = .395$ ; for *-mente*,  $z = 0.56, p = .575$ . In sum, AA prefers appearing in very simple sentential constructions, while *-mente* usually selects complex events.<sup>13</sup>

Examples in (26) and (27) display the typical contexts where AA and *-mente*, respectively, usually appear. The very different degree of structural complexity is remarkable. Generally, AA is present in very short sentences: *vuela rápido Idomeneo* ‘Idomeneo flies quick(ly)’, *amanecio claro* ‘it got light clear(ly)’, *padezco infinito en el verano* ‘I suffer infinite(ly) in the summer’, etc. The dot at the end of the examples with AA means that the example really ends there, and another theme, related or not to the previous one, begins in the text. Instead, *-mente* usually appears in long and complex sentences, with various sentences related to it or embedded in other phrases, as all examples of (27) show. *-Mente* may appear also in simpler sentences, as (27a, b) show, because it is an unmarked adverb compared to AA.

13. The very different way of writing Spanish in the 18th and in the 21st centuries is probably a conditioning factor crossing the significance of this variable. In fact, in the 18th century, written language was generally construed with much longer paragraphs and longer sentences than in present-day Spanish.

- (26) a. Día 30, *amaneció claro* y con viento por el SE fresco.  
 [Máximo Rodríguez, *Relación diaria que hizo el intérprete Máximo Rodríguez de la ysla de Amat, alias Otagiti, 1774–1776, Peru, CORDE*  
 ‘it got light clear(ly) in the morning.’
- b. Los resultados anteriores señalan la importancia del estudio de la infección, y *deja bien claro* que esta enfermedad no discrimina entre hombre y mujer.  
 [Revista *Vitae*, 10–2002, 2002, Venezuela, CREA]  
 ‘it puts very clear(ly) that this disease does not discriminate...’
- c. y creo se ven oy, varios sugetos, que con manejar grandes y importantísimos negocios *mantuvieron firme* su fervorosa pasión.  
 [Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, *Teatro Crítico Universal*, 1736, Spain, CORDE]  
 ‘some persons stood firm(ly) in their fervent passion.’
- d. Truenos, y *vuela rápido* Idomeneo. [Eusebio Vela, *Comedia nueva de Si el amor excede al arte*, 1713, Mexico, CORDE]  
 ‘thunders [sound], and Idomeneus flies quick(ly).’
- e. Luego *rápido vuelve*, y alegre por los valles no hay planta que no toque.  
 [Juan Meléndez Valdés, *Poesías*, ca. 1786, Spain, CORDE]  
 ‘then [the river] comes back quick(ly), and...’
- f. mis nervios me quieren mal, y aun con el gran cuidado que tengo, *padezco infinito* en el verano.  
 [Leandro Fernández de Moratín, *Cartas*, 1796, Spain, CORDE]  
 ‘my nerves love me badly,... I suffer infinite(ly) in the summer.’
- (27) a. José Luis *es claramente* uno de los hombres de futuro en el PSOE y terminará por irse a vivir a Madrid. [Gonzalo López Alba, *El relevo. Crónica viva del camino hacia el II Suresnes del PSOE*, 2002, Spain, CREA]  
 ‘Jose Luis is clearly one of the main men of the future PSOE.’
- b. A Santiago Álvarez no le pude dar la sorpresa, pero le *pedí igualmente* que escuchase el himno que iba a sonar a continuación.  
 [Eduardo Sotillos Palet, 1982. *El año clave*, 2002, Spain, CREA]  
 ‘I ask equally him to listen to the national anthem.’
- c. y hinchadas las aguas de aquel río con la cantidad que recibió de la mucha nieve y liquidada con las llamas *corriendo rápidamente* por el mismo río Napo, destruyessen el pueblo llevando entre sus ondas las cosas que lo formaban. [Antonio de Ulloa, *Viaje al reino del Perú*, 1748, Peru, CORDE]  
 ‘[a lot of events] flames running quickly along the Napo river.’
- d. Pero lo que me *importa infinitamente más* es que las Sagradas Letras nos insinúan lo mismo que en el *assumpto* dixerón los antiguos filósofos.  
 [Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, *Cartas eruditas*, 1753, Spain, CORDE]  
 ‘for me, it matters infinitely more that Holy Writings...’

Differences inside AA are lesser for this variable than in the three variables previously analyzed. Differences among *-mente* adverbs are really non-significant also,

although *claramente* ‘clearly’ frequently appears in shorter and less complex sentences than the other *-mente* adverbs.

The simplicity of the event in AA motivates fixed VP, fixed constructions V-AA, diachronically routinized as (*quasi*) formulae: *respire hondo* ‘breathe deep’; *váyase derecho* ‘go straight’, *hable más alto* ‘speak louder’, etc. Very probably, the simplicity of the event of AA created a kind of structural pattern along the history of Spanish, promoting more AA with more simpler sentences, acquiring even the character of fixed constructions, as I described above. At the same time, this textual tradition blocked *-mente* for those simplest structural sentential patterns.

Summing up, there are two routines for choosing AA or *-mente* in context selection, well differentiated in the history of Spanish: the speaker-writer chooses AA when (s)he desires to emphasize or profile a specific relevant nominal into a structurally simple event. In all other cases, (s)he usually chooses *-mente*, although the latter adverb may appear in simpler syntactic contexts.

A circular problem arises at this point, related to the external factors textual genre and sociolinguistics. Do the simpler grammatical conditions of AA cause that AA appears preferably in oral, low level of education, and popular speech?, or vice versa, is it the popular and oral speech which causes a tradition or a pattern of simpler grammatical complexity in AA? That is, what causes what? Given that the corpus is construed from written texts, I think, by now, that the internal grammatical simplicity of AA motivates its use in oral and popular speech, and not vice versa. The same issue, obviously, can be raised for the bigger complexity of texts where *-mente* appears: is bigger complexity a property of *-mente* adverbs, or is it a consequence of the inherent complexity of those texts? Probably, it is a reciprocal attraction, but I do not yet have a definitive answer. More analysis is needed, crossing this internal independent variable with external ones, like the textual genre, the textual support (oral vs. written), the writer-speaker’s degree of literacy, etcetera.

## 6. Conclusions

We have postulated that AA retains “memory” or “traces” of its original word class, and that fact determines the syntactic selection that it makes. AA is specialized for a certain kind of syntax while *-mente* is not. AA has more cohesion with the verb, a quasi-fixed postverb order, it is focused on important nominals, and the sentences where it appears are simpler in complexity, both qualitatively (simple sentences, juxtaposition or coordination) and quantitatively (fewer linked sentences). In contrast, the *-mente* adverb usually has more distributional freedom and it appears in more complex syntax constructions (compound sentences), although it may appear also in simpler sentences.

Both adverbs make up a complementary system, construing a markedness binomial: AA is the marked member of the pair, *-mente* is the unmarked one. That is, AA and *-mente* are not actually disputing the “same” functional-distributional space, but they are specialized to profile, perspectivize, different grammatical aspects.

We have analyzed four independent variables, measuring statistically the quantitative differences between AA and *-mente*. For each variable, the results were statistically significant, confirming that AA is a very specialized adverb and *-mente* is not specialized for a certain type of syntax. Our results also suggest that, in general, AA changed more than *-mente* comparing the two centuries.

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