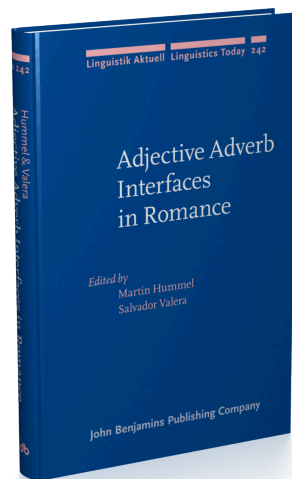


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Adverbial adjectives and the decomposition of event predicates

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This article provides an analysis of the so-called “adverbial adjectives” in Romance on the basis of a theory of syntactic decomposition of the event predicate by using Hale & Keyser’s *Configurational Theory of Argument Structure*. The first part establishes a hierarchy of adverbial adjectives according to the different levels of the argument structure of the predicate they are related to. The last section analyses the structural conditions determining the alternation between adverbial adjectives and secondary predicates. The article claims that the non-agreeing properties and the particular semantic interpretation of adverbial adjectives are the result of the interaction between their own lexical and semantic features and the portion of the internal structure of the event predicate they are associated with.

1. Introduction

A well-known fact is that in some Romance languages, the masculine singular default form of the adjective may appear as a VP-internal modifier as shown in (1).

- (1) a. (Sp.)
Ella duerme *profund-o*.
She sleeps deep-MSG
‘She sleeps deeply.’
- b. (Cat.)
La meva filla condueix *ràpid*.
My daughter drives fast-MSG
‘My daughter drives fast.’
- c. (Fr.)
Elle a parlé *clair*
She spoke clear-MSG
‘She spoke clearly.’

- d. (It.)
Anna labora *dur-o*.
Anna works hard-MSG
'Anna works hard.'
- e. (Pt.)
A Maria trabalha *dur-o*.
The Maria works *hard-MSG*
'Maria works hard.'

These elements have received different names such as "bare adjectives" (Bartra & Suñer 1997; Di Tullio & Suñer 2001, 2011, 2013; Suñer & Di Tullio 2014), "invariable adjectives" (Abeillé & Godard 2003, 2004) and "adverbial adjectives" (Luján 1980: Chapter V; Noailly 1994), all of them suggesting that these elements are the default base form of the corresponding adjective.

In Romance languages, where adjective secondary predicates morphologically agree with their controller nominals, these default forms have sometimes been ascribed to the extensive category of adverbs,¹ which has been no doubt reinforced by the possibility for many of them to be replaced by adverbs productively forged through suffixation of the Latin feminine noun *-mente* (< MENS 'mind-ABL-FSG') to the feminine form of the predicative adjective, as we can see in (2).

- (2) a. (Sp.)
Ella duerme *profundamente*.
'She sleeps deeply.'
- b. (Cat.)
La meva filla condueix *ràpidament*.
'My daughter drives fast!'
- c. (Fr.)
Elle a parlé *clairement*.
'She spoke clearly.'
- d. (It.)
Anna labora *duramente*.
'Anna works hard.'
- e. (Pt.)
A Maria trabalha *duramente*.
'Maria works hard.'

However, the selection of examples such as (1) and (2) suggest a biased vision of equivalence between adverbial adjectives and *-mente* adverbs. In fact, the distribution of the two options depends on multiple factors. From a diachronic perspective,

1. See RAE-ASALE (2009: § 30.3) for additional information.

the former are the result of a productive syntactic pattern in all spoken Romance languages, while the latter emerged with the establishment of a shared written tradition, see Grevisse (2008: § 963), Company (2012, 2014) and Hummel (2014a, 2014b).

Furthermore, each form often specializes in a different meaning. Take the case of the adjective *profundo* ‘deep’ in Spanish, which produces the adverbial adjective *profundo* and a derived adverb *profundamente*. The first one is used when denoting the physical dimension of “deep” and combines with actions that can define measures in that dimension (*cavar* ‘to dig’, *sembrar* ‘to sow’, *enterrar* ‘to bury’, *aspirar* ‘to inhale’, *respirar* ‘to breathe’, among others, see REDES 2004, s.v. *profundo*), while the second one has a metaphorical meaning and tends to combine with mental processes (*sentir* ‘to feel’, *lamentar* ‘to regret’, *deplorar* ‘to deplore’, *enamorarse* ‘to fall in love’, *implicarse* ‘to get involved’, *conmoverse* ‘to be moved/to be touched’, *pensar* ‘to think’, *amar* ‘to love’, *respetar* ‘to respect’, among others, see REDES 2004: s.v. *profundamente*).²

- (3) a. (Sp.)
 cavar {*profund* -o/?*profund-a-mente*}
 to dig deep-MSG /deep-ly
 ‘to dig deep’
 b. *sentir* {**profund*-o /*profund-a-mente*}
 to feel deep-MSG /deep-ly
 ‘to feel deeply’

Conversely, some adverbial adjectives are lexically restricted to specific verbs. Thus, the Spanish adjective adverb *sano* ‘healthy’ can be associated to the verb *comer* ‘to eat’ as shown by (4a), but the same form is rejected when combined with verbs such as *alimentarse* ‘to feed on’ and *nutrirse* ‘to nourish’, which are very similar from a semantic point of view but display various syntactic configurations. In contrast, the corresponding *-mente* adverb *sanamente* ‘healthy’ does not show the same restrictions.

2. A similar explanation accounts for the Italian examples in (i), where the adverbial adjective *forte* is equivalent to ‘loud’ whereas *fortemente* is interpreted as ‘vehemently’ (see Migliorini 1952).

- (i) a. (It.)
 parlare forte
 ‘to speak loudly’
 b. *parlare fortemente*
 ‘to speak vehemently’

- (4) a. (Sp.)
 comer *sano* vs. comer *sanamente*
 ‘to eat healthy’
 b. ??alimentarse *sano* vs. alimentarse *sanamente*
 ‘to feed on healthy’
 c. *nutrirse *sano* vs. nutrirse *sanamente*
 ‘to nourish healthy’

Main differences are also found with regard to the degree of syntactic cohesion that these elements establish with the verb. While the traditional assumption has long been that *-mente* adverbs are adjuncts,³ adverbial adjectives behave similarly to verbal arguments.⁴ Therefore, the unit formed from a verb and some adverbial adjectives cannot be broken by the presence of an object nor by applying grammatical processes like extraction or focalization (Bosque 1989: § 6.3; Abeillé & Godard 2003, 2004; Di Tullio & Suñer 2001, 2011, 2013), witness the contrast between *lourdement* and *lourd* in the following French examples.

- (5) a. (Fr.)
 Cette incertitude pèse *lourdement* sur l'économie.
 ‘This uncertainty weighs heavily on the economy.’
 b. Cette incertitude pèse sur l'économie *lourdement*.
 c. C'est *lourdement* qu'elle pèse sur l'économie.

 (6) a. (Fr.)
 Cette incertitude pèse *lourd* sur l'économie.
 ‘This uncertainty weighs heavily on the economy’
 b. ??Cette incertitude pèse sur l'économie *lourd*.
 c. ??C'est *lourd* qu'elle pèse sur l'économie. [*apud* Abeillé & Godard 2003: 17]

3. This is assumed to be consistent with their iterability, optionality, and restrictions on their extraction. We refer the reader to Cinque (1999 and subsequent work) for an alternative analysis of adverbial phrases as Specifiers of functional projections.

4. Significantly, the existence of idioms consisting of a verb and an adverbial adjective rather than a verb and a *-mente* adverb, is a strong argument in favor of the idea that there is a strict local relationship between adverbial adjectives and the verbal form (Sp. *hilar fino* ‘to draw it fine’, Sp. *picar alto* ‘to set yourself ambitious plans’, Cat. *jugar net* ‘to fair play’, Cat. *fer curt* ‘to calculate below expectations’, Fr. *chanter faux* ‘to sing a wrong note’, Fr. *filer doux* ‘to keep a low profile’, It. *giocare sporco* ‘to behave dishonestly, specially by cheating in a game’, It. *parlare schietto* ‘to talk without mincing words’). In contrast, the only interpretation accepted by *-mente* adverbs is the compositional one.

Abeillé & Godard (2003, 2004) account for these facts by proposing that all (integrated) adverbs in post-verbal position should be analysed as complements of the verbal head. Indeed, as they observe, adverbs (especially manner adverbs) can be subcategorised for by a verb, as shown by the Spanish examples in (7).

- (7) a. (Sp.)
 Mi perro se porta **(bien/horrible)*.
 ‘My dog behaves well/horrible.’
 b. Ana viste **(bien/elegante)*.
 ‘Ana dresses well/elegantly.’

Abeillé & Godard implement their analysis in the Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPPS) framework. In particular, they propose that a lexical rule can extend the argument structure to include a number of adverbs, if the verbal head has the same features and key relation that such adverbs require of the verbal projection they modify.

On the basis of the Configurational Theory of Argument Structure (Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002 and related work), Bartra & Suñer (1997), Di Tullio & Suñer (2011) and Suñer & Di Tullio (2014) relate the degree of syntactic cohesion that adverbial adjectives establish with the verbal head with their lack of agreement. More specifically, Bartra & Suñer (1997) argue that the default agreement can be derived from the fact that these elements are predicates of an empty category selected by the V at Lexical Conceptual Structure. Di Tullio & Suñer (2011) and Suñer & Di Tullio (2014), in turn, suggest that the lack of agreement is due to the fact that adverbial adjectives cannot check their agreement features against the gender and number features of their respective subjects before Spell-Out.⁵

The aim of this article is to argue that the distribution of adverbial adjectives within the VP domain displays a hierarchical order, which correlates with the different levels of the argument structure of the predicate they are related to.⁶ Hence, the alleged adverbial behavior that adverbial adjectives show, i.e. their lack of productive agreement, can be syntactically derived from the relationship they establish with different portions of the subeventive structure in which the main verbal predicate is decomposed.

The structure of the paper is as follows. In the second part of this article, it is argued that adverbial adjectives follow similar structural patterns than those

5. In Minimalist Theory, Spell-Out is the operation that removes material from the syntax and feeds it to the interpretive components of Logical Form and Phonetic Form.

6. In this article we do not discuss sentential adverbial adjectives and “tertiary attributes” (modifiers of adjectives and adverbs). See Hummel (2012) for a detailed description of sentential adverbial adjectives in Spanish.

suggested by Bosque & Masullo (1998) for adverbial quantifiers. Section 3 is devoted to analysing some cases of ambiguity when different adverbial adjectives co-occur in a single clause. In the fourth section some of the syntactic and interpretive differences between secondary predicates and adverbial adjectives will be accounted for. The final section provides an overview of the main points put forward in this paper.

2. Adverbial adjectives and the syntactic decomposition of event predicates

As has been claimed by Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002), Mateu (2002, 2014) and Ramchand (2008), among others, argument structure and event structure can be represented in a layered syntactic structure of the VP. According to these proposals, VP heads are light (cf. CAUSE, DO, CHANGE, etc.) and always select a complement. Take for example the case of the denominal verb *trabajar* ‘to work’. Its initial lexical projection contains an empty verb which selects the nominal root TRABAJO. Hence, the verbal form *trabajar* is obtained by *copying* the relevant set of features of the nominal root TRABAJO into the null verb, as illustrated in (8).⁷

- (8) a. $[_V [_V \emptyset] [_N \sqrt{\text{TRABAJO}}]]$
 b. $[_V [_V \text{trabaj}_i\text{-ar}] [_N \sqrt{\text{TRABAJO}}]]$

Following Hale & Keyser’s work, Bosque and Masullo (1998) argue that the ambiguity of the Spanish quantifier *mucho* ‘a lot’ in (9) can be accounted for by using a layered VP structure. Indeed, the Spanish sentence in (9) can convey four possible readings, illustrated by the paraphrases in (10), where *mucho* expresses an inherent quantification in (10a), an eventive quantification in (10b), a temporal or durative quantification in (10c) and, finally, an argumental quantification in (10d).

- (9) (Sp.)
 #Corrió *mucho*.
 Ran *a lot*-MSG
 ‘(S/he) ran a lot.’

- (10) a. Corrió *a mucha velocidad*. IQ
 ‘(S/he) ran very fast.’
 b. Corrió *muchas veces*. EQ
 ‘(S/he) ran many times.’

7. The verbal form is obtained via *incorporation* conceived as a head-movement (Baker 1998; Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002).

- | | | |
|----|--|----|
| c. | Corrió <i>mucho tiempo</i> .
'(S/he) ran for a long time.' | DQ |
| d. | Corrió <i>mucha distancia</i> .
'(S/he) ran a long distance.' | AQ |

In short, the different interpretations that the sentence in (9) can express are due to the fact that the quantifier *mucho* 'a lot' may be systematically associated to different scalar arguments or dimensions of a predicate susceptible to being quantified.⁸ In the following sections, I will propose that similar semantic nuances can be established by using adverbial adjectives, although they have a much more restricted distribution than quantifiers because they express a lexically governed predication.⁹

2.1 Adverbial adjectives and inherent modification

According to Bosque and Masullo (1998: 31–8), the inherent quantification (IQ) is systematically allowed in Spanish when a quantifier such as *mucho* 'a lot', *poco* '(a) little' or *demasiado* 'too much' has scope over a predicative element in the verb's sublexical structure.

As the examples (11) to (13) illustrate, most unergative verbs are I-quantifiable

- | | | |
|------|--|----------------|
| (11) | (Sp.)
Pablo trabaja/piensa/camina/ríe/duerme <i>mucho</i> .
'Paul works/thinks/walks/laughs/sleeps a lot.' | Activity verbs |
| (12) | Su herida sangraba/olía/supuraba <i>un poco</i> .
'His/her wound bled/smelled/oozed pus a little.' | Emission verbs |
| (13) | Está lloviendo/nevando/granizando <i>demasiado</i> .
'It is raining/snowing/hailing too much.' [apud Bosque & Masullo 1998: 43] | Weather verbs |

This is to be expected if we assume, following Hale & Keyser's work, that unergative predicates are obtained by incorporating a non-delimited noun into the light verb, as illustrated in (8).

In the case of adverbial adjectives, the inherent reading may be obtained when a dimensional adjective (Bierwisch 1989; Kennedy 1999; Demonte 1999: § 3.4.2.2)

8. Some adverbial modifiers such as *again* can also convey multiple interpretations that arise because of differences of scope, see von Stechow (1995).

9. Additional information about the differences between quantification and modification in Doetjes (1997: Chapter 5).

predicates a relevant dimension of the mass noun that has been previously incorporated into the light verb.¹⁰

- (14) a. (Sp.)
 trabajar *duro*
 ‘to work hard’
 [_{VP} [_V trabaj_i-ar][_{NP} $\sqrt{\text{TRABAJO}}$ [_{AP} *duro*]]]
 b. (Cat.)
 nevar *fort*
 ‘to snow heavily’
 c. (Fr.)
 sentir *bon/mauvais*
 ‘to smell good/badly’
 d. (It.)
 piover *fitto*
 ‘to rain heavily’
 e. (Pt.)
 falar *forte*
 ‘to speak loudly’

In this way the default agreement (masculine singular) that these forms display can be derived from the fact that they cannot check their gender and number features against the mass noun because it has been previously incorporated into the light verb. Significantly, the same adjective shows productive agreement under the scope of the corresponding mass noun in a nominal domain (15).

10. In addition, Bosque and Masullo (1998:35) argue that the implicit mass noun that unergative verbs contain must be a QP instead of being an NP. Thus, the head Q can function as a variable whose value can be determined by the adjunct quantifier *mucho* as seen in (i):

- (i) (Sp.)
 sangrar *mucho*
 [_{VP} [_V V+sangre_i-ar][_{QP} [Q° [_{NP} t_{ij}]]] *mucho*_j]
 ‘to bleed a lot’ [adapted from Bosque & Masullo 1998: 35]

Postulating a Q as the head of an unbounded mass NP complement can justify, according to Bosque and Masullo (1998:35), the fact that nominalizations of unergative verbs denoting products or results as (iia) are I-quantifiable, as shown in (iib).

- (ii) a. (Sp.)
 trabajar *mucho*, sangrar *poco*, nevar *demasiado*
 ‘to work a lot’, ‘to bleed a little’, ‘to snow too much’
 b. *mucho* trabajo, *poca* sangre, demasiada *nieve*
 ‘a lot of work’, ‘a little blood’, ‘too much snow’

- (15) a. (Cat.)
 nevada *forta*
 snowfall-FS heavy-FS
 ‘heavy snowfall’
- b. (Fr.)
 bonne/mauvaise odeur
 good-FS/ bad-FS smell-FS
 ‘good/bad smell’
- c. (It.)
 pioggia *fitta*
 rain-FS thick-FS
 ‘heavy rain’

It is common ground that some transitive verbs behave like unergative predicates when used as intransitives. Therefore, they can also be combined with different adverbial adjectives conveying an inherent modification of the noun included in the verbal predicate (16) to (19).

- (16) a. (Sp.)
 saltar *alto*
 [_{VP} [_V salt_i-ar] [_{NP} √ ~~SALT~~_{Θ_i} [_{AP} *alto*]]]
 ‘to jump high’
- b. golpear *fuerte/flojo*
 ‘to hit hard/softly’
- (17) a. (Cat.)
 comptar *curt/llarg*
 ‘to underestimate/to overestimate’
- b. cavar *fondo*
 ‘to dig deep’
- (18) a. (Fr.)
 viser *haut*
 ‘to aim high’
- b. frapper *fort*
 ‘to hit hard’
- (19) a. (It.)
 tagliare *corto*
 ‘to cut short’ ‘to come straight to the point’
- b. colpire *forte*
 ‘to hit hard’

Notice that in the previous examples the adverbial adjective expresses a degree – usually relatively high but sometimes also low – on a certain property that can be predicated of the noun that has been incorporated into the light verb. This is what occurs, for example, with the Spanish adjective *alto* ‘high, loud’, which expresses a positive value of a dimensional property (*high/low, loud/quiet*) but this value is interpretable according to two different parameters (height or loudness) depending on the meaning of the verb it modifies, cf. REDES (2004: s.v. *alto*).

- (20) a. volar *alto*
 [VP [V vuelo_i-ar] [NP √VUELO_i [AP *alto*]]]
 ‘to fly high’
 b. cantar *alto*
 [VP [V canción_i-ar] [NP √CANCIÓN_i [AP *alto*]]]
 ‘to sing loudly’

Similar contrasts can be observed in Catalan (21), and Italian (22).

- (21) a. (Cat.)
 llaurar *fondo*
 ‘to plow deep’
 b. respirar *fondo*
 ‘to breathe deeply’
 (22) a. (It.)
 andare *piano*
 ‘to walk slowly’
 b. parlare *piano*
 ‘to speak in a low voice’

The most relevant properties of inherent adverbial adjectives are described below.

In the first place, as the inherent interpretation is obtained from the incorporation of the object into the light verb, strict adjacency between the V and the adverbial adjective is required, as shown by the Examples (23) to (25).¹¹

11. Notice that, although some adverbial adjectives generally require strict adjacency with the verb, they can be split out when their relative weight increases, usually with elements that express degree, as diminutive suffixes (Spanish: *hablaban entre ellos bajito*/?*bajo*, ‘talked among themselves quiet’/?‘little quiet, in a low voice’), superlatives (Sp.: *hablaban entre ellos muy alto*/?*alto* o *gritó lo más fuerte que pudo* ‘they talked among themselves loudest’/‘as loud as he could’) or comparative codas (Sp.: *En este súper me venden los yogures más barato que en el otro* ‘In this supermarket they sell yogurts cheaper than in the other one’).

- (23) a. (Sp.)
 Habló claro en la reunión.
 Spoke-3SG clear-MS at the meeting
 ‘(S)he spoke clearly at the meeting.’
 b. *Habló en la reunión claro.
 Spoke-3SG at the meeting clear-MS
 ‘(S)he spoke at the meeting clearly.’
- (24) a. (Cat.)
 L’avió vola alt sobre la selva amazònica.
 The plane flies-3SG high-MS over the Amazon jungle
 ‘The plane flies high over the Amazon jungle.’
 b. *L’avió vola sobre la selva amazònica alt.
 The plane flies-3SG over the Amazon jungle high-MS
 ‘The plane flies over the Amazon jungle high.’
- (25) a. (It.)
 Nicola parla chiaro con i suoi superiori.
 ‘Nicola speaks-3SG clear-MS with his superiors.’
 ‘Nicola speaks clearly with his superiors.’
 b. *Nicola parla con i suoi superiori chiaro.
 Nicola speaks-3SG with his superiors clear-MS
 ‘Nicola speaks with his superiors clearly.’

Secondly, since adverbial adjectives express the extension of the event, they are in complementary distribution with delimited objects of transitive predicates (26), which also measure the time interval where the action takes place, as shown in the Spanish examples in (26).¹²

- (26) a. (Sp.)
 Saltó {la valla/alto}.
 Jumped {the fence/high-MSG}
 ‘(S)he jumped {(over) the fence/high}.’
 b. Cantó {un bolero/bajo}.
 Sang {a bolero/soft-MSG}
 ‘(S)he sang {a bolero/softly}.’
 c. Corrió {la maratón/lento}.
 Ran {the marathon/ slow-MSG}
 ‘(S)he ran {the marathon/ slowly}.’

12. The idea that some arguments of verbs (also known as “Incremental Themes”) are used to show to what extent the event denoted by the verb progresses dates back to Tenny (1987, 1992), Dowty (1991) and Krifka (1992).

The same restriction holds for QP phrases measuring the time span where the event is carried out (27).

- (27) a. (Sp.)
Saltó {*dos metros/alto*}.
Jumped {two meters/high-MSG}
'(S)he jumped {two meters/high}.'
b. Cantó {*diez minutos/bajo*}.
Sang {ten minutes/soft-MSG}
'(S)he sang {(for) ten minutes/softly}.'
c. Corrió {*cinco horas/lento*}.
Ran {five hours/slow-MSG}.
'(S)he ran {(for) five hours/slowly}.'

Finally, despite the incompatibility with internal arguments in (26) and measure phrases in (27), inherent adverbial adjectives do not alter the aspectual character of the activity. For this reason, their constructions do not admit temporal expressions with *en* 'in' which are only compatible with telic predicates, in sharp contrast to structures with delimited internal arguments which denote telic accomplishments, as seen in (28) and (29).

- (28) a. (Sp.)
 *Cantó *bajo* en tres minutos. Activity (Non telic)
 Sang-3SG soft-MS in three minutes
 ‘(S)he sang soft in three minutes.’
 b. Cantó *un bolero* en tres minutos. Accomplishment (Telic)
 Sang-3SG a bolero in three minutes
 ‘(S)he sang a bolero in three minutes.’
- (29) a. (Sp.)
 *Corrió *lento* en cinco horas. Activity (Non telic)
 Ran-3SG slow-MS in five hours
 ‘(S)he ran slow in five hours.’
 b. Corrió *la maratón* en cinco horas. Accomplishment (Telic)
 Ran-3SG the marathon in five hours
 ‘(S)he ran the marathon in five hours.’

Conversely, structures containing inherent adverbial adjectives can be associated to temporal expressions with *durante* 'for' which delimit a portion of the temporal extent of an atelic event.

- (30) a. (Sp.)
 Cantó *bajo* durante diez minutos. Activity (Non telic)
 Sang-3SG soft-MS for ten minutes
 ‘(S)he sang soft for ten minutes.’
- b. #Cantó un bolero durante diez minutos.¹³ Accomplishment (Telic)
 Sang-3SG a bolero for ten minutes
 ‘(S)he sang a bolero for ten minutes.’
- (31) a. (Sp.)
 Corrió *lento* durante cinco horas. Activity (Non telic)
 Ran-3SG slow-MS for five hours
 ‘(S)he ran slowly for five hours.’
- b. *Corrió la maratón durante cinco horas. Accomplishment (Telic)
 Ran-3SG the marathon in five hours
 ‘(S)he ran the marathon in five hours.’

2.2 Adverbial adjectives and eventive modification

According to Bosque and Masullo (1998:25), eventive quantification is obtained when a quantifier is combined with an event predicate as in (32), where quantifiers such as *mucho* ‘a lot’, *demasiado* ‘too much’ and *poco* ‘(a) little’ express repetition or iteration.

- (32) a. (Sp.)
 Pablo viaja *mucho*.
 Pablo travels a lot-MS
 ‘Pablo travels a lot (= many times).’
- b. Julio va *poco* al cine.
 Julio goes rare-MS to the cinema
 ‘Julio rarely goes to the cinema.’
- c. Eva telefona *demasiado* a los amigos.
 Eva phones too much-MS to the friends
 ‘Eva phones her friends too often.’

In these cases, the quantifier is supposed to extend the scope over the hidden eventive argument <e> in the sense of Higginbotham (1985) and others.¹⁴

13. The iterative reading must be excluded.

14. The idea that verbs have an argument corresponding to a spatio-temporal location (eventive argument) where the event takes place has been argued for by Davidson (1967). This idea re-emerged in neo-davidsonian hypotheses, see Higginbotham (1985) and Parsons (1990), among others. In accordance with these approaches, in the sentence in (i), the verbal head *cut* selects

- (33) a. (Sp.)
viajar *mucho* (= viajar muchas veces) Eventive quantification
'to travel a lot (= to travel many times)'
b. [_{VP} [_V [_{VP} [_V viaje_i + V] $\sqrt{\text{viaje}_i}$] <e> mucho]

Similarly, some eventive adjectives (Demonte 1999: § 3.6.4) such as Sp. *seguido*¹⁵ 'often', Mex. *mensual* 'monthly', Riopl. *salteado* 'on and off', Mex. *constante* 'constantly', Riopl. *tupido* 'often', Mex. *frecuente* 'frequently', Mex. *diario* 'daily' or Mex. *occasional* 'occasionally/from time to time' have an iterative interpretation when they are predicated of the eventive argument of action verbs (34).

- (34) a. (Riopl.)
Laburan *salteado*.
'They work on and off.'
b. (Sp.)
Juegan a cartas *seguido*.
'(They) often play cards.'
c. (Riopl.)
Habla *tupido* de él.
'(She) often talks about him.'
d. (Mex)
Visito *frecuente* este restaurante.
'(I) often go to this restaurant.'
e. (Mex)
¿Qué es lo máximo que puedes pagar *mensual* por tu casa nueva?
'What is the most you can afford to pay monthly for your new home?'

its external and internal arguments (*Seymour* and *the salami*, respectively) as well as an eventive argument <e> which can be modified by an (optional) adverbial or PP adjuncts, such as instrumentals (*with a knife*), locatives (*in the kitchen*), temporal or manner expressions, among others.

- (i) a. [[Seymour cut the salami] <e> with a knife in the kitchen]
Agent Theme
b. θ -grid cut (x, y, e)
where, x = external argument (*Seymour*)
y = internal argument (*the salami*)
e = eventive argument (modified by the predicates *with a knife* (instrumental) and *in the kitchen* (locative)).

For further information we refer the reader to Bosque and Gutiérrez-Rexach (2009: § 5.5.2) and Mendikoetxea (2009).

15. As we will see in the next section (§ 3), the adverbial adjective *seguido* 'often/constantly' may express both eventive and durative readings depending on the aspectual properties of the predicate with which it is combined.

If this analysis is appropriate, the default agreement that the adverbial adjectives in (34) display can be derived from the fact that the eventive argument lacks gender and number features.

The most relevant properties of eventive adverbial adjectives are described below:

First, since eventive modification is obtained when an eventive adjective is predicated of the (hidden) eventive argument, all types of events (activities, accomplishments and achievements) are expected to license this interpretation, unlike stative predicates (35).

- (35) a. (Riopl.)
 *Conoci *salteado* a María
 Knew-1SG on and off-MSG Mary
 ‘I knew Mary on and off.’
 b. (Sp.)
 *Odió *seguido* a su hermano
 Hate-3SG often-MSG his/her brother
 ‘(S)he often hated his/her brother.’
 c. (Mex.)
 *Sabe latín *continuo*
 Know-3SG Latin continuous-MSG
 ‘(S)he continuously knows Latin.’
 d. (Mex.)
 *Teme *diario* a la muerte
 Fear-3SG daily-MSG death
 ‘(S)he daily fears death.’

Secondly, as the eventive adverbial adjective modifies the whole event, strict adjacency between the verbal head and the adjective is not necessarily required (36), unlike what happens with inherent modification.

- (36) a. (Sp.)
 viajar (*seguido*) a Graz (*seguido*)
 to travel (often) to Graz (often)
 b. (Mex.)
 ir (*frecuente*) al baño (*frecuente*)
 to go (often) to the toilet (often)

Finally, given that eventive adverbial adjectives express an iterative interpretation, it is expected that these forms be in complementary distribution with frequentative expressions such as *x veces* ‘x times’ (see Doetjes 1997: Chapter 5) or *otra vez* ‘again’ (see von Stechow 1995).

- (37) a. (Sp.)
 viajar {*seguido/dos veces/otra vez*} a Graz
 to travel {often/two times/again} to Graz
 b. ir {*seguido/muchas veces/otra vez*} al baño
 to go {often/many times/again} to the toilet

2.3 Adverbial adjectives and durative interpretation

According to Bosque and Masullo (1998:26), adjunct quantifiers such as *mucho* ‘a lot’, *poco* ‘a little’, *bastante* ‘enough’ can also convey a durative interpretation. Durative interpretations are licensed whenever the quantifier has scope over a part of the internal development of an activity (38).

- (38) a. (Sp.)
 esperar *bastante*
 ‘wait long enough’
 b. dormir *un poco*
 ‘sleep a little bit’
 c. no permanecer *mucho* en un lugar
 ‘not to stay in a place for too long’ (apud Bosque & Masullo 1998:26)

A similar semantic effect is obtained when an adverbial adjective denoting spatial or temporal length such as Sp. *largo* ‘long’, Mex. *constante* ‘constantly’, Mex. *corto* ‘shortly’, Sp. *largo y tendido* ‘at length’, Old Sp./Am. Sp. *breve* ‘briefly’ modifies the temporal extension in which an activity is carried out.

- (39) a. (Sp.)
 Hablaron *largo y tendido*.
 Talked-3PL long-MS and lying-MS
 ‘(They) talked at length.’
 b. (Riopl.)
 Mateaba *largo* sobre un tronco.
 Drank-3SG mate long-MS on a log
 ‘(S)he drank mate long on a log.’
 c. (Mex.)
 Entrecierra los ojos y sonríe *breve*.
 Half-close-3SG the eyes and smiles brief-MS
 ‘(S)he squints and smiles briefly.’
 d. (Riopl.)
 Durmió *corto y profundo*.
 Slept-3SG short-MS and deep-MS
 ‘(S)he slept shortly and deeply.’

- e. (Mex.)
 El actual gobierno federal habla *constante* de seguir
 The current Federal Government speaks constant-MS about moving
 con paso firme hacia adelante.
 resolutely forward
 ‘The current Federal Government is constantly speaking about moving
 forward resolutely.’ [url:<<http://www.notasdelmedioambiente.com>>]

The most salient properties of durative adverbial adjectives are described below.

First, *durative* readings can only appear when durative adjectives modify atelic predicates. For this reason, some semantically-related verbs such as attention verbs (which denote atelic activities) and perception verbs (which denote telic achievements) display an asymmetric behaviour, as shown by the contrasts between examples a and b in (40) and (41), see Bosque & Masullo (1998: 26).

- (40) a. (Sp.)
 La miró *largo*. Activity (Atelic)
 ‘(S)he looked at her long enough.’
 b. *La vio *largo*.
 ‘(S)he saw her long enough.’
- (41) a. (Sp.)
 La escuchó *largo*. Achievement (Telic)
 ‘(S)he listened to her long enough.’
 b. *La oyó *largo*.
 ‘(S)he heard her long enough.’

Secondly, in contrast with quantifiers such as *mucho*, which can be systematically associated with different aspectual types of predicates, some durative adjectives are lexically restricted to a particular class of verbs. This is the case for *largo y tendido* ‘at length’ which can only be combined with speech verbs such as *hablar* ‘to talk’, *charlar* ‘to chat’, *conversar* ‘to converse’, *responder* ‘to reply’ etc., see Alcina & Blecua (1975: 709), Bosque (1989: § 6.3.) and REDES (2004: s.v. *largo* ‘long’).

Finally, given that durative adjectives express the temporal extent in which an atelic event is carried out, they cannot co-occur with durative complements denoting the same concept (42a) nor with QPs measuring the time in which the event takes place (42b), see Bertinetto (1986: 273–85).

- (42) a. (Sp.)
 */?? Hablaron durante dos horas *largo y tendido*.
 (They) talked for two hours at length
 b. *Sonrió *breve* tres segundos.
 (S)he smiled briefly for three seconds

2.4 Adverbial adjectives and argumental interpretation

According to Bosque and Masullo (1998), argumental quantification is obtained when the internal argument of a transitive verb is lexicalized by a quantifier such as *mucho* ‘a lot’ or *poco* ‘little’ as in (43).

- (43) a. (Sp.)
 Comió [_{QP} *mucho* [_{NP} Ø]].
 ‘S(he) ate a lot (of Ø).’
 b. Bebió [_{QP} *poco* [_{NP} Ø]].
 ‘(S)he drank little (Ø).’

Notice that the empty noun in (43) can be semantically recovered through two different grammatical procedures. On the one hand, by establishing an anaphoric relation with an antecedent previously mentioned in discourse as in (44).

- (44) a. (Sp.)
 Luis come [_{QP} *poco* [_{NP} chocolate_i]] pero Julio come [_{QP} *mucho* [_{NP} Ø_i]].
 ‘Luis eats little chocolate but Julio eats a lot.’
 b. Yo bebí [_{QP} *mucho* [_{NP} vino_i]] pero el conductor bebió [_{QP} *poco* [_{NP} Ø_i]].
 ‘I drank a lot of wine but the driver drank little.’

On the other hand, sentences such as (43) can also be uttered out-of-the-blue. In these cases, quantificational complements are interpreted as partitive neuter forms which can be paraphrased as ‘a big part of something eatable’ in (45a) and ‘a small part of something drinkable’ in (45b).

- (45) a. (Sp.)
 Come [_{QP} *much-o* (de) [_{NP} algo comible]].
 ‘S(he) eats a lot of something eatable’
 b. Bebe [_{QP} *poco* (de) [_{NP} algo bebible]].
 ‘(S)he drinks little of something drinkable’

As a result, the default agreement (masculine singular) that the Spanish quantifiers in (44) display can be derived from the fact that they surface as neuter forms. By contrast, since the empty noun can be contextually recovered in (46), quantifiers may emerge displaying productive gender and number agreement.

- (46) a. (Sp.)
 Luis come [_{QP} *poc-a* [_{NP} carne_i]] pero Julio come
 Luis eats little-FSG meat-FSG but Julio eats
 [_{QP} *much-a* [_{NP} Ø_i]]
 a lot-FSG
 ‘Luis eats little meat but Julio eats a lot.’

- b. Yo bebí [_{QP} much-a [_{NP} cerveza_i]] pero él bebió
 I drank a lot-FSG of beer-FSG but he drank
 [_{QP} poc-a [_{NP} Ø_i]]
 little-FSG

‘I drank a lot of beer but he drank little.’

Similar contrasts can be obtained when an implicit internal argument is modified by an adjectival adverb under its scope. Unsurprisingly, when the meaning of the implicit internal argument can be anaphorically recovered from the previous context, adjectives show productive agreement (47).

- (47) a. (Sp.) [Context: A group of friends are in a pub]

A: ¿Te apetece una Guinness?

‘Do you fancy a Guinness?’

B: No, yo solo bebo rubi-a.

No, I only drink blond-FSG

‘No, I only drink lager (beer).’

- b. A: ¿Quieres leche?

‘Do you want some milk?’

B: No, yo solo bebo desnatad-a.

No, I only drink skimmed-FSG (milk)

‘I only drink skimmed (milk).’

Conversely, the adjectives directed to the implicit object in (48) manifest default agreement in masculine singular.

- (48) a. (Sp.)

comer sano/ligero/sabroso/graso/salado/picante

‘to eat healthy/light/savoury/fatty/salty/spicy (food)’

- b. beber tinto/blanco

‘to drink red/white (wine)’

- c. bailar clásico/moderno

‘to dance classical/modern (dance)’

- d. votar socialista/demócrata/verde

‘to vote socialist/democrat/green (vote)’

- e. fumar negro/rubio

‘to smoke black/Virginian (tobacco)’

The syntactic nature of the non-agreeing adjectives in (48) is a controversial issue. To begin with, the adverbial adjectives described in the previous sections denote dimensional properties whereas the ones in (48) are classifying adjectives and they do not usually admit gradation (49), nor can they be replaced by adverbs with *-mente* (50):

- (49) a. (Sp.)
 *Pepe cocina muy japonés
 Pepe cooks very Japanese-MSG (food)
- b. *Mi abuelo fumaba negr-ísim-o
 My grandfather used to smoke black-SUPERL-MSG (tobacco)
- (50) a. (Sp.)
 *Fuma negra-mente/rubia-mente.
 (S/he) smokes black-ly/Virginian-ly
- b. *Come picante-mente/salada-mente.
 (S)he eats spici-ly/salti-ly

Interestingly enough, these adjectives modify bivalent transitive verbs such as *comer* ‘to eat’ and other verbs of consumption, creation, execution and excretion in their absolute use (without overt direct objects). However, they cannot be combined with other transitive verbs such as *zamparse* ‘to gobble down’ or *tragar* ‘to swallow’ (51), which are very similar from a semantic point of view but always require an overt direct object, as shown in (52).

- (51) a. (Sp.)
 *zamparse san-o
 to gobble down healthy-MSG (food)
- b. *tragarse san-o
 to swallow healthy-MSG (food)
- (52) a. (Sp.)
 Eva se zampó *(un donut).
 ‘Eva licked *(a donut).’
- b. El niño se tragó *(una moneda).
 ‘The child swallowed *(a coin).’

As we have seen above, absolute transitive verbs such as *bailar* ‘to dance’, *comer* ‘to eat’ and *leer* ‘to read’ have been analysed as a result of the incorporation of a cognate object into a light verb.¹⁶ In fact, they are all “false” transitive verbs since, if they

16. Cognate object constructions have received widespread attention in lexical-semantics literature. Indeed, there is a traditional disagreement on the question whether the cognate object must be seen as an argument or an adjunct. In general terms, three proposals have been put forth: (i) those who analyse cognate objects as arguments (Massam 1990; Hale & Keyser 1997; among others), (ii) those who argue that they are adjuncts (Jones 1988; Zubizarreta 1987; Mittwoch 1998) and, finally, those who consider that there are both argumental and adjunct cognate objects (Pereltsvaig 1999a, 1999b; Nakajima 2006). We will not pursue here in such debate, but we refer the reader to Real Puigdollers (2008) for detailed information about it.

admit objects, they morphologically reiterate the content that is expressed by the verb (53), or they are hyponyms of such nouns (Jones 1988:89), as illustrated in (54).

- (53) (Sp.)
- | | | | |
|----|----------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| a. | bailar (baile) | to dance (dance) | Cognate Object Construction |
| b. | comer (comida) | to eat (food) | |
| c. | leer (lectura) | to read (reading) | |
- (54) (Sp.)
- | | | | |
|----|------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| a. | bailar (tango) | to dance (tango) | Hyponymic Object Construction |
| b. | comer (galletas) | to eat (cookies) | |
| c. | leer (novela) | to read (novel) | |

As pointed out by Baron (1971), Jones (1988), Massam (1990), Pereltsvaig (1999a, 1999b) and Real Puigdollers (2008), argumental cognate objects do not have a referential ability, nor do they have a lexical meaning independent from the verb. Furthermore, they can be interpreted as a variable categorized for a range of entities defined by the meaning of the verb. Let us suppose that this nominal variable lacks specific gender and number features and can be lexicalized by a neuter pronoun such as *algo* ‘something’ in (55).

- (55) a. (Sp.)
- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| Lee | <i>algo</i> | (legible). |
| Read | something-MSG | (readable-MSG) |
| ‘(S)he reads something (readable).’ | | |
- b. Come *algo* (comible).
- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| Eats | something-MSG | (eatable-MSG) |
| ‘(S)he eats something (eatable).’ | | |

If this assumption is correct, adverbial adjectives predicated to the (covert) neuter object will emerge showing default agreement as illustrated in (56).

- (56) a. (Sp.)
- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Baila | (<i>algo</i>) | <i>lent-o</i> . |
| Dances | (something-MSG) | slow-MSG |
| ‘(S)he is dancing (some) slow dance.’ | | |
- b. Comió (*algo*) *salad-o*.
- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| Ate | (something-MSG) | salty-MSG |
| ‘(S)he ate something (salty).’ | | |

By contrast, when they are under the scope of a hyponym, they manifest productive agreement (57).

- (57) a. (Sp.)
 Baila *una rumb-a lent-a*.
 Dances a rumba-FSG slow-FSG
 ‘(S)he is dancing a slow rumba.’
 b. Comió *dos galletas salad-a-s*.
 Eats two cookie-FPL salty-FPL
 ‘(S)he ate two salty cookies.’

These inflectional differences are related to semantic nuances: whereas the NP objects in (57) refer to individualized entities, the neuter pronoun in (56) denotes a set of uncountable elements that cannot be put in one-to-one correspondence with the set of natural numbers. Interestingly enough, in these cases the main contrast is linked to the number feature: while number has the ability to individualize entities, neuter is unable to express plurality.

Moreover, despite being portions of the internal argument, adjectives directed to the neuter cognate object differ from full overt objects in some respects:

First, they can never function as the grammatical subject of a passive clause (58a).

- (58) a. (Sp.)
 *Primero fue comido *san-o*.
 First was eaten healthy-MSG
 ‘Healthy (food) was eaten first.’
 b. Primero fue comida *la comida san-a*.
 First was eaten the food-FSG healthy-FSG
 ‘Healthy food was eaten first.’

Similarly, they cannot be topicalized (59a), pronominalized (60a) nor replaced by an interrogative pronoun (61a).¹⁷

- (59) a. (Sp.)
 **Sano*-MSG, *nadie* comió.
 Healthy-MSG, nobody ate

17. Nevertheless, in certain contexts argumental adjectival adverbs may behave as true internal arguments, namely they can be coordinated with singular mass nouns or plural count nouns:

- (i) a. (Sp.)
 Fuma *negr-o y puros*.
 Smokes black-MSG and cigars
 ‘S/he smokes black (tobacco) and cigars.’
 b. Bebe *tinto y coñac*.
 Drinks red-MSG and brandy
 ‘S/he drinks red (wine) and brandy.’

- b. La comida *san-a*, nadie *la* comió.
 The food-FSG healthy-FSG, nobody it-CL-FSG ate
 'Healthy food, nobody ate it.'
- (60) a. (Sp.)
 *Laura comió *sano* y su hermano *lo* comió también.
 Laura ate healthy-MSG and her brother it-MSG ate too
 'Laura ate healthy (food) and her brother ate it, too.'
- b. Laura comió comida *san-a* y su hermano *la*
 Laura ate food healthy-FSG and her brother it-FSG
 comió también.
 ate too
 'Laura ate healthy (food) and her brother ate it, too.'
- (61) a. (Sp.)
 A: ¿Qué come Laura?
 What eats Laura
 'What does Laura eat?'
 B: **San-o*.
 Healthy-MSG
 'Healthy (food).'
- b. A: ¿Qué come Laura?
 What eats Laura
 'What does Laura eat?'
 B: Comid-a *san-a*.
 Food-FSG healthy-FSG
 'Healthy food.'

From an aspectual perspective, argumental adverbial adjectives do not delimit the temporal extent of the predicate as incremental themes do. Consequently, temporal expressions with *en* 'in', which are only compatible with telic predicates (62b), cannot be added (62a).

- (62) a. (Sp.)
 Comió *salad-o* (*en dos minutos). Atelic
 Ate salty-MSG in two minutes
 '(S/he) ate salty (things) (*in two minutes).'
- b. Comió *dos gallet-as* *salad-as* en dos minutos. Telic
 Ate two cookies-FPL salty-FPL in two minutes
 '(S/he) ate two salty cookies in two minutes.'

Unsurprisingly, argumental adverbial adjectives can co-appear with durative complements (63a), whereas full overt objects cannot (63b).

- (63) a. (Sp.)
 Comió *salad-o* durante dos minutos. Atelic
 Ate salty-MSG for two minutes
 ‘(S/he) ate salty (things) for two minutes.’
- b. Comió *dos gallet-as* *salad-as* (*durante dos minutos). Telic
 Ate two cookies-FPL salty-FPL in two minutes
 ‘(S/he) ate two salty cookies (*for two minutes).’

Additionally, as non-delimited processes, sentences with argumental adverbial adjectives such as (64a) reject the aspectual operator *se* in sharp contrast with overt objects (64b).¹⁸

- (64) a. (Sp.)
 *Se comió *salad-o*.
 She-ASP ate up salty-MSG
 ‘(S/he) ate salty (food).’
- b. Se comió *dos galletas* *salad-as*.
 Se-ASP ate up two cookies salty-FPL
 ‘(S/he) ate up two salty cookies.’

To sum up, in this section several arguments have been provided to support the hypothesis that the distribution of adverbial adjectives within the VP domain follows a hierarchical order which correlates with the four different portions of the subeventive structure of the predicate they can be related to.

3. Some ambiguities

As seen in the previous sections, adverbial adjectives may be predicates of different portions of the sub-lexical structure of an event predicate. On the basis of this premise, it may be expected that some adverbial adjectives may convey multiple interpretations according to differences in scope. It is also predictable that more than one adverbial adjective may co-occur in the same sentence provided that they are associated to different structural levels. As we shall see below, these predictions hold true.

Accordingly, the sentence in (65) is ambiguous: in the first reading, the adverbial adjective expresses a type of dance (66a), whereas in the second interpretation it indicates a way of dancing (66b).

18. See De Miguel & Fernández Lagunilla (2000) and Rodríguez Ramalle (2003) for further details regarding aspectual *se* in Spanish.

- (65) (Sp.)
 #Ana baila *lento*.
 Ana dances slow-MSG
- (66) a. (Sp.)
 Ana baila *lento* Argumental
 Ana dances [\emptyset _{NEUTER} [_{AP} slow-MSG]]
 ‘Ana dances a slow(dance).’
- b. Ana baila *lento*. Inherent (Manner)
 Ana [_{VP} dance-s [~~dance~~] slow-MSG]
 ‘Ana dances in a slow manner.’

In the argumental reading, the classifying adverbial adjective *lento* ‘slow’ modifies the neuter cognate object, while in (66b) *lento* is predicated of the relevant dimension of the mass noun that has been previously incorporated into the light verb. The fact that (65) has two different structures can explain why the two interpretations in (66a) and (66b) require two different interrogative words:

- (67) a. (Sp.)
 ¿Qué baila Ana? ¿*Lento* o *rápido*? Argumental
 What dances Ana Slow-MSG or fast-MSG
 ‘What does Ana dance? Slow (dance) or fast (dance)?’
- b. ¿Cómo baila Ana? ¿*Lento* o *rápido*? Inherent
 How dances Ana Slow-MSG or fast-MSG?
 ‘How does Ana dance? Slowly or fast?’

The same distinction can also be seen in relative or in cleft sentences, in particular in the selection of the relative particle:

- (68) a. (Sp.)
 Fue *lento* *lo* *que* bailó. Argumental
 Was slow-MSG it-ACC-MSG that danced
 ‘It was slow (dance) what (s)he danced.’
- b. Fue *lento* *como* *lo* bailó. Inherent
 Was slow-MSG how it-ACC-MSG danced
 ‘It was slow how (s)he danced it.’
- (69) a. (Sp.)
 Fue *lento*-o/**lenta*-mente *lo* *que* bailó. Argumental
 Was slow-MSG/slow-ly it-ACC-MSG that danced
 ‘It was slow (dance) what (s)he danced.’
- b. Fue *lento*-o/*lenta*-mente *como* *lo* bailó. Inherent
 Was slow-MSG/slow-ly how it-ACC-MSG danced
 ‘It was slow *how* (s)he danced it.’

A similar contrast is obtained in their respective agentive nominalizations. Whereas the argumental reading requires the presence of the preposition *de* 'of', the inherent interpretation needs an adjectival modifier.

- (70) a. (Sp.)
un bailarín de *lento* Argumental
a dancer of slow-MSG
'a dancer of slow music'
- b. un bailarín *lento* Inherent (Manner)
a dancer slow-MSG
'a slow dancer'

Moreover, adverbial adjectives which express argumental modification can be resumed by a partitive clitic in languages that possess such anaphoric elements such as Catalan:

- (71) a. (Cat.)
 Abans menjava *picant* però ara no *en* puc menjar.
 Before ate spicy-MSG_i but now no en-PART_i can eat
 'I used to eat spicy (food) but I cannot do it anymore.'
- b. Abans fumava *ros* però ara no
 Before smoked Virginian lit. blond-MSG_i but now no
en fumo.
 en-PART_i smoke
 'I used to smoke Virginian tobacco but I do not do it anymore.'

However, Catalan adverbial adjectives with a manner interpretation must be resumed by the adverbial clitic *hi* 'there/like this':

- (72) a. (Cat.)
[#]L'Anna balla *lento*. Inherent/Argumental
 The Anna dances slow-MSG
 'Anna dances slow.'
- b. L'Anna *hi* balla. Inherent (Manner)
 The Anna hi-OBL dances
 'Anna dances (this way).'
- c. L'Anna *en* balla. Argumental
 The Anna en-PART dances
 'Anna dances (this type of dance).'

Similarly, the adverbial adjective *seguido* may be a source of ambiguities. As we have seen in Section 2.2, when it is predicated of the eventive argument of a telic event it expresses an iterative meaning. Instead, when it has scope over the internal

development of an atelic activity, it conveys the meaning that the process is developed with no interruptions during the time interval in which it occurs, as shown in (73).

- (73) a. (Sp.)
Trata de ayunar *seguido*.
'Try to fast constantly.'
- b. (Sp.)
Hacer dieta *seguido* hace engordar más durante el embarazo.
'Following constantly a diet makes you gain weight during pregnancy.'
- c. (Sp.)
Mi bebé de siete meses no duerme *seguido* toda la noche.
'My seven-month-old baby does not sleep all through the night.'
- d. (Sp.)
Llovió *seguido* horas y horas.
'It rained constantly for hours and hours.'
- e. (Riopl.)
La mina no labura *seguido*, solo unos días a la semana.
'The girl does not work constantly, only a few days a week.'

As argumental and inherent (manner) adverbial adjectives occupy different structural positions, it is expected that they can co-occur. This is what actually happens in the next sentence, where the Spanish adverbial adjective *lento* 'slow' is a portion of the internal object and *rápido* 'quick' modifies the whole event.

- (74) (Sp.)
Baila *lent-o* *rápid-o* Argumental + Inherent
danced slow-MSG quick-MSG
'(S)he dances slow (dances) quickly.'

Likewise, in (75), the adverbial adjective *sano* 'healthy' is predicated of the neuter cognate object while *seguido* 'often' is directed to the eventive argument.

- (75) (Sp.)
Comemos *san-o* *seguid-o* Argumental + Eventive
Eat healthy-MSG often-MSG
'(We) often eat healthy (food).'

Finally, in (76) *claro* 'clear' expresses the way in which the activity of *hablar* 'to speak' is carried out while *largo y tendido* 'for a long time' refers to the temporal extent of the event *hablar claro* 'to speak clearly'.

(76) (Sp.)

Hablaron *clar-o* *largo* *y* *tendid-o*. Inherent + Durative
 Spoke clear-MSG long-MSG and widespread-MSG
 ‘They spoke clearly for a long time.’

In conclusion, although most adverbial adjectives are lexically restricted to specific verbs, some of these elements may convey multiple interpretations according to differences of scope.¹⁹

4. Adverbial adjectives and secondary predicates

As stated above, adverbial adjectives may be directed to different portions of the sub-lexical structure of the predicate but they cannot be attributed to the subject. In this section we shall briefly discuss the behaviour of a restricted group of adverbial adjectives which can alternate with secondary predicates displaying productive gender and number agreement with the formal subject.²⁰ Significantly, when both options are possible in the same context, speakers of Spanish identify subtle changes in meaning for each form. Consider the examples in (77).

(77) a. (Sp.)

La anciana camina *rect-o*. Adverbial adjective
 The old woman walks straight-MSG
 ‘The old woman walks straight.’

b. La anciana camina *rect-a*. Secondary predicate
 The old woman walks erect-FSG
 ‘The old woman walks erect.’

Notice that, whereas the masculine singular default form *rect-o* in (77a) is predicated of the shape of the path which can be deduced from the activity verb *caminar*, the secondary predicate *rect-a* in (77b) expresses a quality attributed to the subject *the old woman*.²¹

19. This is particularly the case of elative adverbial adjectives (Sp. *sensacional* ‘sensational’, *estupendo* ‘wonderful’, *horroroso* ‘horrific’, among many others) and adverbial adjectives expressing (ine)quality, which are supposed to be lexical comparatives (Sp. *igual* ‘(a)like’, *parecido* ‘alike’, *distinto* ‘differently’, *diferente* ‘differently’, among others). The structural conditions determining the adverbial use of both types of adjectives deserve further investigation.

20. In such cases, the adjectival base must be lexically compatible with both the subject and the predicate.

21. The same contrast is also found in the Italian forms *dritt-o* / *dritt-a* (Laura Brugè p.c.).

Similar considerations apply to the contrasts in (78).

- (78) a. (Sp.)
 Lola camina *rápido*-o. Adverbial adjective
 Lola walks quick-MSG
 ‘Lola walks quickly.’
 b. Lola camina *rápido*-a Secondary predicate
 Lola walks quick-FSG
 Lola walks prompt/efficient
 ‘Lola is a quick walker.’

As Antrim (1994) and Ledgeway (2011: 39–40) observe, some Italian Southern dialects show exactly the same alternation as the Spanish examples in (78). According to Ledgeway (2011), the distribution between agreeing and non-agreeing forms is sensitive to the *active/stative split* distinction²² and, consequently, discriminates between transitive/unergative subjects and unaccusative subjects. Similarly, in (78a), where the adjective fails to agree with the subject, the verbal head *camina* ‘walks’ behaves as an unergative predicate performed by an agent, while in (78b), it is interpreted as an unaccusative predicate expressing a quality/property (‘to be a quick walker’) that holds for an undergoer subject.

As expected, only the unergative verb + adverbial adjective is compatible with an imperative sentence which require an agentive subject (79).

- (79) a. (Sp.)
 Lola, camina *rápido*-o!
 Lola, walk-IMP-2SG quick-MSG
 ‘Lola, walk quickly!’
 b. *Lola, camina *rápido*-a!
 Lola, walk-IMP-2SG quick-FSG
 ‘Lola, walk quickly!’

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- (i) a. (It.)
 Laura cammina *dritto*-o. Adjectival Adverb
 Laura walks straight-MSG
 ‘Laura walks straight.’ ≠ (ib)
 b. Laura cammina *dritto*-a. Secondary Predicate
 Laura walks erect-FSG
 ‘Laura walks erect.’ ≠ (ia)

22. The fact that some intransitive verbs may allow both unergative and unaccusative readings has been observed by Burzio (1986: 122–126), Sorace (2000), Bentley (2006: 230–242), among many others.

Likewise, the secondary predicate *rápida* ‘quick’ is excluded in (80b) because obligation verbs such as *obligar* ‘to oblige’, *forzar* ‘to force’, and *persuadir* ‘to persuade’ select an agentive event as internal argument.²³

- (80) a. (Sp.)
 He obligado a caminar *rápid-o* a Lola.
 Obligated to walk-INF quick-MSG to Lola
 ‘(I) obliged Lola to walk quickly.’
 b. *He obligado a caminar *rápid-a* a Lola.
 Obligated to walk-INF quick-FSG to Lola
 ‘(I) obliged Lola to walk quickly.’

A similar contrast is obtained by adding a subordinate clause of purpose to (81a) and (81b) because this type of subordinates requires an agent in the matrix clause that could be the controller of the empty subject of the infinitive.

- (81) a. (Sp.)
 Lola caminó *rápid-o* para llegar a su casa temprano.
 Lola walked quick-MSG to get to her home early
 ‘Lola walked quickly to get to her home early.’
 b. *Lola caminó *rápid-a* para llegar a su casa temprano.
 Lola walked quick-FSG to get to her home early
 ‘Lola walked quickly to get to her home early.’

In contrast with examples such as (77) and (78), where the alternation between adverbial adjectives and secondary predicates conveys different interpretive and structural properties, there are no significant differences between the two options when these elements are directed either to an unaccusative subject (e.g. sensorial perception verbs) as in (82) to (83), or the internal argument of a transitive verb (84)–(85).

- (82) a. (Sp.)
 Esta cerveza sabe *rar-o*.
 This beer-FSG tastes strange-MSG
 ‘This beer tastes strange.’
 b. Esta cerveza sabe *rar-a*. (less frequent)
 This beer-FSG tastes strange-FSG
 ‘This beer tastes strange.’

23. See Bosque & Gutiérrez-Rexach (2009: § 5.6.2.2).

- (83) a. (Sp.)
 Esta colonia huele *divin-o*.
 This cologne-FSG smells divine-MSG
 'This cologne smells divine.'
- b. Esta colonia huele *divin-a*. (less frequent)
 This cologne-FSG smells divine-MSG
 'This cologne smells divine.'
- (84) a. (Sp.)
 Pica *muy fin-o* la ceboll-a²⁴
 Chop very fine-MSG the onion-FMS
 '(S)he finely chops the onion.'
- b. Pica *muy fin-a* la cebolla
 Chop very fine-FSG the onion-FMS
 '(S)he finely chops the onion.'
- (85) a. (Sp.)
 Vende *barat-o* la fruta.
 Sells cheap-MSG the fruit-FSG
 '(S)he sells the fruit cheap.'
- b. Vende *barat-a* la fruta.
 Sells cheap-FSG the fruit-FSG
 '(S)he sells the fruit cheap.'

24. Nevertheless, notice that the precedence of the nominal controller over the adjective, as in (i) and (ii), increases the probability of agreement, cf. (84) and (85).

- (i) a. (Sp.)
^{??}Picó la ceboll-a *muy fin-o*
 Chopped the onion-FMS very fine-MSG
 '(S)he chopped the onion very fine.'
- b. Picó la ceboll-a *muy fin-a*
 Chopped the onion-FMS very fine-FSG
 '(S)he chopped the onion very fine.'
- (ii) a. (Sp.)
^{??}una ceboll-a picad-a *muy fin-o*
 an onion-FMS chopped-FMS very fine-MSG
 'a finely chopped onion'
- b. una ceboll-a picad-a *muy fin-a*
 an onion-FMS chopped-FMS very fine-FSG
 'a finely chopped onion'

In sum, although the mentioned alternation between adverbial adjectives and secondary predicates is not always clear-cut, we can see that the distribution of agreement is sensitive to the distinction between external agentive subjects (unergatives/transitives) and derived subjects generated as internal arguments of unaccusative verbs.

5. Conclusion

In this paper several arguments have been provided to support the claim that adverbial adjectives should not be analysed as adverbs despite they lack productive agreement and that they can alternate with *ment(e)* adverbs in many contexts. Indeed, their apparent adverbial behavior must be seen as a collateral effect of the fact that they are outside of the scope of a noun with which to check their agreement features. It has also been shown that adverbial adjectives may lexicalize four types of modification according to the different portions of the lexical conceptual structure in which the event predicate is decomposed. Finally, it has been argued that the alternation between agreeing and non agreeing forms in the same context discriminates between transitive/unergative subjects and unaccusative subjects.

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