Adverbial modification in Spanish[1]

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The aim or this paper is to analyze the relationship between formal and functional features of adverbial modifiers. As Rijkhoff (2014: 135-138) has highlighted in the case of noun modifiers, there is no direct correspondence between form and function of basic linguistic constituents, so a given formal procedure can be used to play several functional roles and *vice versa*. As a first stage of this research, I will focus on data from Spanish. It is expected that the conclusions may have a wider cross-linguistic validity, though.

As it is customary in FDG literature, the functional characterization of the modifiers under consideration will take into account two main parameters: scope, concerning the structural layer that constitutes the target of modification, and domain, related to the type of content expressed by every modifier. The resulting cross-classification essentially coincides with Hengeveld's (subm) proposal about English *-ly* adverbs. Nevertheless, some adjustments are required in order to include a wider range of modifiers; at least the following:

a) It is necessary to distinguish two kinds of relative location values: event-oriented relative location (*superficialmente* 'superficially') and context-oriented relative location (*lejos* 'far'), which is frequently expressed by indexical adverbs (cf. Kaplan 1989: 489f; Heal 1997: 627), like *aquí* 'here'. Similarly, I differentiate between event-oriented relative time (*posteriormente* 'subsequently') and context-oriented relative time (*ayer* 'yesterday', *ahora* 'now'). In (1), *posteriormente* 'subsequently' is an event-oriented relative time adverb because it indicates that the modified SoA occurs at a time after another SoA, whereas *ayer* is a context-oriented relative time adverb because it denotes that the modified SoA happened the day before the day this particular discourse act takes place:

(1) *Ayer   fue   a   la   compra   y*
     yesterday   go.3.SG.PST   PRP DEF.F.SG buying   and
     posterior-mente   prepar-ó   la   cena
     subsequent-ADVR   prepare-3.SG.PST DEF.F.SG dinner
     'Yesterday (s)he went shopping and subsequently prepared dinner'

b) The semantic domain *perspective*, normally expressed by adverbs derived from the so-called *relational adjectives*[2] (De Molina 2011: 25-28), not only operate at the layer of the Propositional Content, but also at the layer of the Lexical Property. It would explain cases like (2), where the property *sano* 'healthy' is understood just from a restricted, *metabolical* perspective:

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(2)   *Los   obes-o-s   metabólic-a-mente   san-o-s*
        DEF.M.PL obese-M-PL metabolic-F.SG-ADVR healthy-M-PL
        present-an   un   riesgo elevad-o   de   alteracion-es
        present-3.PL.PRS INDF.M.SG risk   high-M.SG PRP alteration-PL
        'Metabolically healthy obese people are at high risk of disorders' (Internet)

As far as the categorial status of adverbial modifiers is concerned, I think that the primary distinction must be established between lexical and non-lexical items. A lexical modifier corresponds to a single word at the Morphosyntactic Level, which has a lexeme as its counterpart at the Representational Level. Non-lexical modifiers cannot be directly identifiable with single words at the Morphosyntactic Level.

Lexical modifiers can also be subdivided in terms of their functional potentiality. Some of them are polyfunctional, as they may directly perform two or more propositional functions in Croft's (2000) terms; in contrast, others are specialized in the adverbial modification only, as basic or derived adverbs, the last being the result of a morphosyntactic adaptation of non-adverbial lexemes.

As it is well known, most of the Spanish adverbs derive from adjectives in its singular feminine form, adding the adverbializer suffix *-mente* (derived from the VL feminine noun *mente(m)* 'mind') '-ly': *ligero* 'light' > *ligeramente* 'lightly'. However, there is also a small set of monofunctional basic adverbs (*bien* 'well'; *hoy* 'today'). There are also some noun or prepositional phrases such as *todavía* 'still; yet' (< *toda vía* "all way"), *deprisa* 'quickly' (< *de prisa* "of hurry"). It is more accurate to consider the resulting adverbs as synchronically basic rather than derived, because lexicalization processes, frequent though, are neither regular nor predictable. Finally, polyfunctional modifiers correspond to the so-called *adverbialized adjectives* or *short adverbs*, which are able to modify both nouns and verbs. They occur in a significant proportion, but conditioned by several factors. Their presence is more frequent in American Spanish than in European Spanish, as well as in informal registers than in formal ones. There are semantic restrictions, too; rather than intrinsic qualities, they tend to express properties susceptible to quantitative measurement, like speed, intensity, or price (Salazar 2007: 320-323).

In non-lexical modifiers, I differentiate between simple and complex items. At least theoretically, the former could include both inflectional and derivational morphemes,[3] directly applied to the lexical head; the latter take the format of syntactically construed units, such as adpositional phrases or subordinate clauses. In practice, Spanish non-lexical adverbials generally correspond to prepositional phrases. Derivational morphology, for its part, just applies to the expression of elative degree.

I will exemplify these assessments by means of the linguistic expressions included in (3). Despite differing in their modification patterns, they share the same conditions of truth. Thus their dissimilarities are not semantic actually, but rather sociolinguistic, dialectal, and stylistic. Example (3a) shows the polyfunctional lexical modifier *rápido* 'quick, fast', which in this case

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[3] There is a debate on whether Spanish appreciative affixes (including elative markers) are derivational or inflectional in nature (cf. Serrano-Dolader 2019: 280-281). In FDG terms, a derivational interpretation is clearly preferable.

plays the role of an adverb, but that is still able of assuming an adjectival function. (3b) and (3c) include lexical monofunctional modifiers, which are respectively a basic adverb (*deprisa* 'quick, fast') and a derivational one (*rápidamente* 'quickly'). Finally, (3d) makes use of a syntactically-construed modifier; specifically, a prepositional phrase with a nominal head. All these sentences are perfectly correct in current Spanish:

(3)   a. *David camin-a*   *rápido*
        David walk-3SG.PRS   fast
    b. *David camin-a*   *deprisa*
        David walk-3SG.PRS   fast
    c. *David camin-a*   *rápid-a-mente*
        David walk-3SG.PRS   fast-F.SG- ADVR
    d. *David camin-a*   *con*   *rapid-ez*
        David walk-3SG.PRS   PRP   fast-NR
    'David is walking fast'

I defend the hypothesis that such a formal and functional diversity of Spanish adverbial modification is not a mere case of grammatical redundancy, but a direct consequence of the social and communicative dynamism that is inherent to every human language. Additionally, it may also improve the efficiency of the interfaces that intervene between formulation and encoding. For instance, Spanish language is reluctant to include two or more *-mente* adverbs in the same linguistic expression, especially in a contiguous position (cf. 4a).[4] Such a circumstance is solved by a combined use of alternating modification procedures. In (4b), there is just one lexical derived adverb expressing manner, whereas direction is expressed by a Prepositional Phrase; in (4c), the situation is the opposite. Both (4b) and (4c) are grammaticaly valid and essentially synonymous linguistic expresssions:

(4)   a. ?? *Cort-ó*   *la*   *tela*   *cuidados-a-mente diagonal-mente*
          cut-3.SG.PST DEF.F.SG fabric   careful-F.SG-ADVR diagonal-ADVR
    b. *Cort-ó*   *la*   *tela*   *cuidados-a-mente* *en*   *diagonal*
        cut-3.SG.PST DEF.F.SG fabric   careful-F.SG-ADVR   PRP   diagonal
    c. *Cort-ó*   *la*   *tela*   *con cuidado diagonal-mente*
        cut-3.SG.PST DEF.F.SG fabric PRP care   diagonal-ADVR
    '(s)he cut the fabric carefully diagonally'

Finally, I will try to capture the categorization of Spanish adverbial modifiers in light of the so-called *Amsterdam Model* of parts-of-speech systems. Its standard version (Hengeveld *et al.* 2004), adopted by Hengeveld & Mackenzie (2008: 217-230), restricts its remarks about adverbs to one specific semantic domain only: manner. I will argue that a different perception of the concepts of *flexibility*, *differentiation*, and *rigidity* would offer a more comprehensive treatment of this category (cf. Salazar 2008: 706-708), bearing in mind not only the interlinguistic (cf. Hengeveld & Lier 2010; Hengeveld 2013), but also the intralinguistic interaction among several parts-of-speech systems (Hummel 2012; 2017).

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[4] This fact could be motivated by syntactic (heaviness) or phonological (internal rhyme avoidance) factors. Anyhow, a detailed analysis of such an issue is beyond the aim of this paper.

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