

Gerhalter, Katharina (2020): “Elaboración, variación y selección en el paradigma de los adverbios de exactitud: El caso de *al justo* y *al cabal*”. In: *Studia Linguistica Romanica* 3, 28–67.

This paper describes the diachrony of the adverbial locution *al justo*, and its marginal variants *a lo justo* and *al cabal* (prepositional adverbials of the pattern “Preposition + Adjective”). These adverbials are seen as competing counterparts to adjective-adverbs (*justo*) and derived adverbs (*justamente*, *cabalmente*). In addition to the data found in Gerhalter (2020, dissertation thesis “*Paradigmas...*”), this paper relies on more data compiled from *CORDE*, as well as from *Frantext* for the French prepositional adverbial *au juste*.

The creation of *al justo*, *a lo justo* and *al cabal* is related to the elaboration of variants, i.e., to the lexical “enrichment” tendency of 16th century Spanish. The adverbial *al justo* originates during the 16th century as a synonym for the short adverb *justo*, ‘exactly’. It is used as manner adverbial, as well as a focus adverb. Its creation is closely connected to the elaboration of written language (“*Sprachausbau*”) in technical texts, especially on handicraft-skills. These texts contain instructions for calculating and constructing tools, e.g. for navigation, goldsmithing, or architecture. They are written in an “intermediate” register, which is at the same time elaborated and understandable, since these “manuals” need to be transparent and clear. This may explain why the pattern [a + article + adjective expressing exactness] is only productive with inherited adjectives or those which enter the popular tradition: the locution *al justo* is copied, during the 16th century, by its former synonym *cabal* (> *al cabal*), but not with the learned (and more recently borrowed) adjectives *preciso* or *exacto*.

The adverbial locution *al justo* expands to other text-types (religious and administrative prose, narrative texts, and poetry) and develops new meanings (‘appropriate, adequate’), especially within the collocation *venir al justo*. The quantitative corpus data shows a short upward trend at the end of the 16th century. *Al justo* remains the most frequent variant of the lexical group *al justo – justo – justamente* until the middle of the 17th century. Nevertheless, the frequency of *al justo* falls during the second half of the 17th century, and the adverbial *al cabal* even disappears completely. The marginalization of these prepositional adverbials is caused by the competition and selection between several variants that form the paradigm of exactness-adverbs. Since derived adverbs were selected and favored by normative tendencies in 17th and 18th century Spanish, *al justo* was overtaken and outdated by *justamente*, which becomes the most frequent adverbial of the lexical group *al justo – justo – justamente*. Consequently, *al justo* and *al cabal* were also omitted during the development of discourse functions led by the adverbs ending in *-mente* (e.g., *justamente*, *precisamente*, *cabalmente*). Nevertheless, the corpus data shows that the imposition of adverbs ending in *-mente* had less impact in Latin American Spanish: the prepositional adverbial *al justo* is still more vital in contemporary Latin American Spanish than in European Spanish.

The contrastive study with French *au juste* shows that, starting from a similar initial panorama of enriching the adverbial paradigm with new formations, the selection between (synonymous) variants may lead to diverging semantic-functional developments in different languages. French *au juste* was originally used in the same contexts and with the same meanings as Spanish *al justo*. Nevertheless, French *au juste* was not ruled out, since the normative selection-process in French favored “periphrastic adverbs” in order to compensate the excess of adverbs ending in *-mente*. Therefore, French *au juste* developed stable uses (e.g. in questions and with epistemic verbs), whereas Spanish *al justo* was reduced almost exclusively to collocations which do not exist in French (e.g. *venir/estar/vivir al justo*). As a result, present-day Spanish *al justo* and French *au juste* are cognates but not equivalents, because they occupy different functional-semantic “parcels” inside the complex of adverbial functions of the exactness-domain.