THE ADJECTIVE-ADVERB INTERFACE IN ROMANCE AND ENGLISH[*]

MARTIN HUMMEL
University of Graz

Abstract

Hengeveld classifies English as a 'differentiated' language that uses two morphological word-classes for adjective and (manner) adverb. The paper shows that English is instead a language where 'differentiation' coexists and competes with 'flexibility' (one word-class for adjective and adverb). English shares this feature with Romance, whereas it is distinctive with regard to other Germanic languages. The paper therefore aims at investigating the parallels that can be seen between English and Romance in both, synchrony and diachrony. It will be shown that variationist data are crucial for the understanding of this situation. Shared traditions of linguistic standardization in English and Romance explain common features that cannot be reduced to the typological and functional aspects.

1. *Introduction*

Hengeveld (1992:68-69) classifies English typologically as a "specialized language" ("differentiated" in Hengeveld *et al.* 2004) because this language has a separate word-class for both adjectives and manner adverbs, English having developed the adverbial suffix *–ly*. This feature distinguishes English from other Germanic languages, where the unmarked (e.g. Dut. *snel*, Ger. *schnell* 'fast') or neuter (e.g. Sw. *roligt* 'funny') form of the adjective is used for adverbial functions. To put it in the words of Hengeveld (1992:65; cf. Hengeveld & van Lier 2010), Dutch (and other Germanic languages) "combines the functions of adjectives and manner adverbs". They are therefore called "flexible languages". The generalized usage of a suffix for the derivation of English adverbs from adjectives is a striking parallel to Romance, where the successors of Lat. *mente* 'spirit, mind, intention' are used. Other word classes are marginally concerned, as Sp. *perramente* (< *perro* 'dog'), MexSp. *nuncamente* (< *nunca* 'never'). In English *oftenly* and *soonly* are diachronically attested (Nevalainen 1994:244). In Latin, final *–ē*

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or *–iter* were used to mark the adverbial function of adjectival stems. Hence, Latin, Romance and English are typologically similar in this domain. Despite the numerous parallels that can be drawn between English and Romance deadjectival adverbs, the semantic origin of Old English *lic* is 'body' not 'mind' (Guimier 1985). Hence, *-mente* and *–ly* were originally nouns with antonymous meaning, and both passed through the stage of instrumental cases on their way to an adverbial suffix.

The morphological status of Lat. *–iter*, Engl. *–ly* and Romance *-ment(e)* has been controversially discussed (e.g. by Pinkster 1972:64-70, Haspelmath 1996, Ricca 1998, Dal 2007; Giegerich 2012; Štekauer forthc.). Some argue that they are inflections, others classify them as suffixes, and, finally, adverbs in *-mente* have been analyzed as compounds for historical reasons (this suffix is derived from the ablative case of the feminine Latin noun *mens, mentis* 'spirit, mind, intention', which explains why the feminine form of the adjective is still used today: Lat. *sola mente* > Sp. *solamente* 'only') and for synchronic features such as separability (e.g. Sp. *Habla tranquila y pausadamente* 's/he speaks calmly and slowly'). I will not tackle this rather dogmatic question here, but will simply classify all adverbs that are morphologically marked for this function as *Type B*, whereas the usage of the unmarked or neuter form of the adjective for adverbial functions will be referred to as *Type A*.

This nice picture of 'differentiated' languages becomes distorted by the fact that English and Romance do not only use Type B adverbs but also Type A. In some cases, Type A is the standard variant (e.g. Engl. *to work hard / *hardly*, Sp. *hablar alto* 'to speak loud' / **altamente*), in other cases, Type A belongs to a substandard variety or register (e.g. Engl. *real good* vs. standard *really good*, ChileanSp. *terrible malo* 'very bad' vs. standard *terriblemente malo*). Type A is generally neglected, underestimated or restricted to a limited set of exceptions, as the following typical example: "There are only a handful of exceptions [from Type B]" (Diepeveen & Van de Velde 2010:382). An impressive number of studies reduce manner adverbs to those ending in *–ly* or *–ment(e)* (e.g. Greenbaum 1969, Huang 1975, Buysschaert 1982, Koktova 1986, Ramat & Ricca 1998, Hennemann 2012, Liu 2012, to mention but a few). Diepeveen & Van de Velde (2010:381) simply stipulate: "English marks the distinction between adjectives and adverbs with an adverbial suffix, whereas Dutch and German allow adjectives to be used adverbially without extra morphology". In particular, sentential adverbs in English and Romance are generally analyzed or illustrated with Type B adverbs. However, Sp. *bueno* 'well', *claro* 'of course, clearly', *igual* 'perphaps, instead', *total* 'in sum', *cierto* 'sure', etc. are highly frequent uninflected discourse markers that occupy the same functional domain, the main difference being that Type B forms prevail in written texts and Type A forms in informal oral communication. If we include spoken language, varieties and registers Type A appears to be commonplace. Even more, Type A is the only pan-Romanic type of manner

adverb since Romanian, Sardinian and southern Italian dialects recur exclusively or almost exclusively to it as a productive rule. In a certain sense, the same holds for Germanic. In fact, Type A belongs to a common Indo-European background. From this perspective, the generalization of Type B for adverbial functions is more accurately seen as an exception.

This paper intends to show that the perception of English and Romance as "differentiated" languages is one-sided. In fact, these languages are characterized by the systematic coexistence and competition of Type A and Type B in synchrony and throughout their history. It will be argued that their coexistence coincides with traditions of speaking (henceforth *orality*) and traditions of writing (henceforth *literacy*). Since literacy is naturally superimposed on orality, the osmotic relation between Type A and Type B is marked by this process. More concretely, Type B is closely tied to the development of the written standard. The purpose of the present paper is to show that drawing parallels from Romance to English is a valuable heuristic device that allows us to posit good or even better questions about the synchrony and diachrony of the domain under scrutiny. Answers to these questions would require corpus based research that will not be undertaken here, but hopefully stimulated. However, the representative quantitative data on present-day English provided by Douglas Biber and Opdahl (2000), the diachronic corpus analyses by Donner (1991) and Nevalainen (1994, 1997), as well as the sociolinguistic study on present-day York English by Tagliamonte & Ito (2002) are good points of reference.

First, this paper will give a commented phenomenology of Type A and Type B in English and Romance from the point of view of present-day synchrony (Section 2) and diachronic development (Section 3). Section 4 outlines common features that distinguish English and Romance varieties in the New World from those in Europe. Section 5 discusses the consequences of these observations for linguistic theory. Since this paper starts from previous research on Romance in order to shed new light on English, the sources for the examples in Romance are not always indicated for reasons of space. Detailed information can be found in the publications of the Research Group on "The Interfaces of Adjective and Adverb in Romance" (see http://sites.google.com/site/rsgadjadv).

2. *Type A and Type B in present-day English and Romance*

In the following, *attribute* will be used as a cover term for modifiers. Section 5 will deal with categorial aspects of units with attributive function.

2.1 *Verb-modifying attributes*

In Dutch (1) and German (2), the use of the unmarked form of the adjective for adverbial functions is canonical for speaking and writing:

(1)	a.	Een *snelle vrouw*. 'A fast woman'	NP-modifier (+ infl.)
	b.	De vrouw *loopt snel*. ‚The woman runs fast'	VP-modifier (- infl.)
(2)	a.	Eine *schnelle* Frau. ‚A fast woman'	NP-modifier(+ infl.)
	b.	Die Frau läuft *schnell*. 'The woman runs fast'	VP-modifier (- infl.)

In English (3) and in Romance (4), Type A is generally tied to informal speaking, except for Romanian and Sardinian, where it is standard:[1]

(3) The men *work hard*.

(4)	a.	Els homes *treballen dur*.	(Catalan)
	b.	Les hommes *travaillent dur*.	(French)
	c.	Gli uomini *lavorano duro*.	(Italian)
	d.	Os homens *trabalham duro*.	(Portuguese)
	e.	Los hombres *trabajan duro.*	(Spanish)
	f.	Oamenii lucrează *greu.*	(Romanian)
	g.	Sos omine *trabagliana folte.*	(Sardinian)

In formal speaking and writing, morphologically marked adverbs are generally preferred, that is, adverbs ending in *–ly* for English (5) and adverbs ending in *–ment(e)* for Romance (5):

(5) *The men work *hardly*.[2] (English)

(6)	a.	(?) Els homes *treballen durament.*	(Catalan)
	b.	Les hommes *travaillent durement*.	(French)
	c.	Gli uomini *lavorano duramente.*	(Italian)
	d.	Os homens *trabalham duramente*.	(Portuguese)
	e.	Los hombres *trabajan duramente*.	(Spanish)

My attempt to find corresponding examples for these languages already provides interesting insights into the relevance of linguistic variation. In the case of Engl. *hard* (adv.), the verb-modifying Type B variant *hardly* (5) is unusual. In fact, *hardly* has become specialized as a quantifier, as shown by

[1] The sentences in (4) and (6) are equivalent to (3). Engl. *hard* (adv.) < OEngl. *hearde* (adv.), Sp. *duro* 'hard' < Lat. *durus, dura,* ***durum***, Rom. *greu* < Lat. *gravis, gravis,* ***grave*** 'heavy', Sard. *folte* < Lat. *fortis, fortis,* ***forte*** 'strong'. Lexicalization may play a role: Engl. *hard* and Cat. *dur* are standard, but this does not hold for other adjectives.

[2] Engl. *hardly* < OEngl. *heardlice* (adv.).

many jokes such as *Working hard, or hardly working?*[3] It should be noted, however, that in Romance a few Type B adverbs belong to a popular substandard: e.g. Fr. *malement* 'badly', *vitement* 'fast', *petitement* 'a few', *chichement* 'poorly'. Hence, adverbs are lexical items that may develop individually (see Hummel & Kröll 2011), but the general tendency is to use Type B in standard or refined style.

The fact that Type A and Type B forms that are based on the same adjective undergo differentiating specialization mirrors the coexistence and competition of both mechanisms. Consequently, Salazar García (2007) convincingly suggests replacing Hengeveld's classificatory approach by (possibly coexisting) "flexible", "differentiated" and "rigid" strategies for attributive (modifying) functions. Type A is named *flexible modifier* (Salazar García 2013). In order to complete the typology, we should add Type C for adverbs with an own underived form (Engl. *well*, Fr. *bien* 'well', etc.) and periphrastic solutions (Type D). The latter would be a 'rigid' strategy in languages without adjectives and manner adverbs (cf. Hengeveld 1992:65).

As an additional feature, we may note that Type A tends to be used in attribute-verb-compounds, as in Bolinger's examples from American English (1972:272):

(7) a.	He *works* so *hard*.	He is so *hard-working*.
b.	Those people *talk loud*.	Those people are *loud-talking*.
c.	They *suffer long*.	They are *long-suffering*.
d.	The wax *melts* so *readily*.	The wax is so *ready-melting*.
e.	This meat *cooks easily*.	This meat is *easy-cooking*.

In the last two examples the compound form 'loses' the adverbial suffix. Romance parallels the tendency to lexicalize the unmarked form of the adjective in what might be called *complex verbs.* Complex verbs tend to develop metaphorical meanings (e.g. Fr. *couper court* 'to interrupt', *voir grand* 'to think big (lit. 'to see big')', etc.; see Hummel & Stiegler 2005, with 13,000 attestations). Hence, Romance and English converge again for the building of compounds or complex verbs with the unmarked Type A attribute.

2.2 *Tertiary attributes (modifiers of adjectives or adverbs)*

Use of Type A is not restricted to VP. Their belonging to informal spoken language, and even slang, is particularly evident with tertiary adverbs, that

[3] I do not tackle here the processes of functional and conceptual differentiation of Type A and Type B, as well as their internal development. This domain is highly relevant for the interface of syntax and semantics (e.g. the development of sentential adverbs *naturally* 'in a natural way' > 'obviously') and the rise of polyfunctionality and polysemy.

is, modifiers of modifiers (adjectives or adverbs), according to Jespersen's (1992:96-103) terminology. *Really good* is canonical, but *real good* is used in substandard. The following examples stem from Bolinger (1972) or my own data):

(8) real good, little disposed, dead drunk, mighty weak, right back, precious few, awful good, bitter cold, crazy quick, stark mad, pretty tall, terrible rainy, perfect blue, full glad, less important, wide open, pure white, good deep

According to Bolinger (1972) most of these collocations are more frequent in American English, more frequent in "dialect", and some of them are now perceived as archaic. Present-day speakers' evaluations vary from 'frequent in substandard', to 'never heard' or 'odd', according to the phrase. Hence, the phrases tend to be confined to oral substandard varieties, especially in the New World, and, diachronically, tend to get out of use (with exceptions in colloquial or written standard like *wide open, less important, pretty tall*). *Crazy quick* stems from an Australian speaker. Importantly, *awful quick* and similar phrases are attested in Middle English (Pinsker 1969:167; cf. Peters 1994). This shows that present-day substandard variants are not innovative 'corruptions', as Bolinger believes, but belong to old traditions of English. According to Bäcklund's (1973) corpus analysis of contemporary English, these groups occur nearly exclusively in conversational data, and many of them are pejorative. Both observations match with the hypothesis that Type A adverbs are closely tied to the oral tradition.

In Romance, most tertiary adverbs of Type A are typical for rural language, slang and elder Romance:

(9) a. Esa película es *terrible mala.* (Spanish, Chile)
'This movie is terribly bad'
b. Ehte es terreno *pobre completo.* (Spanish, Canaries)
'This area is completely poor'
c. *típico sureño* (Spanish, Chile)
'typical(ly) southern'

(10) a. C'était *grave bon.* (French, Quebec)
'It was very good'
b. Elle était *grave belle.* (Parisian slang)
'She was very nice'

Fr. *fort* (adv.), as in *fort important* 'very important', is standard. The following examples for French are documented in Hummel & Stiegler 2005:

(11) ras tondu 'short cut', fin(e) bonne 'very good', fin droit 'very straight', frais levé 'just gotten up', fraîche cueillie 'freshly

> picked', toute bonne 'very good', grandes ouvertes 'wide open', clair-voyant 'clairvoyant', menu serré 'tightly locked', large baillant 'wide open', étroit cousu 'closely sewn', doux coulant 'smoothly gliding', nouveau venu 'newcomer', nouveaux mariés 'newly married', clair-semé 'widely sewn', raide mort 'dropped dead', etc.

Examples from Italian are *rendere pazzo furioso* 'to turn completely crazy' and *innamorato pazzo* 'crazy in love'.

The inflection of tertiary adverbs is frequent in popular substandard, especially in the rural variants of American Portuguese and Spanish (e.g. Sp. *medios tontos* 'half crazy', *de pura tonta* 'in a completely crazy way'). In informal oral European Portuguese *muita bom* 'very good' combines the feminine form of the quantifier with the masculine of the adjective. In French, a long discussion on the so-called 'illogical' inflection in *toute contente* 'so happy' and *fenêtres grandes-ouvertes* 'wide open windows' has taken place in grammaticography (cf. variants in (11)), but these alternatives are fully accepted now, as It. *tutta contenta* 'so happy' or, to a lesser degree, Pt./Sp. *toda contenta.* In Italian, adverb agreement occurs in standard, and it is very frequent in meridional dialects (Rohlfs 1954:127, Ledgeway 2000, 2011).

According to Van Goethem (2010), Fr. *nouveau* 'new' has undergone grammaticalization as an (inflected or uninflected) prefix with past participles. The productivity of this process in Modern French supports this analysis. As far as diachrony is concerned, Van Goethem points out the shortcomings of the traditional analysis of *nouveau* as a simple adverb. The diachronic process would indeed be more coherently explained within the framework of the Type A system with spontaneous inflection, as it implicitly appears in the following appreciation:

> Dans les adjectifs composés, chaque terme était traité par l'ancienne langue comme un adjectif. De là les formes : *Portes* ***grandes*** *ouvertes, fleurs* ***fraîches*** *écloses. Les oreilles* ***pures*** *françaises.* (Montaigne.) Le français moderne au contraire tend à considérer le premier terme comme un adverbe et à le laisser invariable : *Une petite fille* ***nouveau****-née,* ***court****-vêtue,* ***demi****-morte.*
> (Radouant 1922:145)[4]

[4] In composed adjectives each member was treated as an adjective by the ancient language. This explains the following forms: *Portes grandes ouvertes* 'wide open windows', fleurs *fraîches écloses* 'flowers just starting to bloom'. *Les oreilles pures françaises* 'purely French ears' (Montaigne). By contrast, Modern French tends to consider the first member an uninflected adverb: *Une petite fille nouveau-née* 'a new born girl', court-vêtue 'wearing short dresses', *demi-morte* 'half-dead'.

It should be noted that the diachrony of such forms should not be analyzed without taking into account the orality-literacy interface, since the intense debate on the correct orthography of the data in (11) clearly biases Van Goethem's implicit assumption of a simple grammaticalization process on a monolithic vision language.

If we look at the semantics of tertiary attributes, we see that the qualifying function of manner adverbs is overlaid, and in most cases dominated, by quantification or intensification. In (9c), for example, Sp. *típico sureño* is a quality of being 'southern *par excellence*', but the phrase simultaneously means 'very southern', the same as *typical(ly) German* means 'typically and very German'. Consequently, tertiary attributes are situated in a continuum that begins with substandard variants such as ChilSp. *terrible mala* 'terribly bad' and ends on canonical paradigms for Type A quantifiers:

(12) a. *molto* 'very', *quanto* 'how', *tanto* 'so', *tutto* 'completely (Italian)
b. *tão/tanto, muito, quão/quanto, todo*[5] (Portuguese)
c. *tan/tanto, muy/mucho, cuan/cuanto* (Spanish)

Interestingly, productive extensions of these paradigms belong to popular substandard (see (11), (12)). In standard literacy, productivity is ensured by Type B, e.g. Fr. *terriblement grand* 'terribly big' which uses the concept 'terrible' as a metaphor for the intensification of an adjective (cf. Engl. *terribly big*). As in individual cases such as Engl. *to work hard* (verb-modification) and Fr. *fort bien* 'very well' (adverb-modification), the high degree of implementation of the canonical quantifiers (12) in the old language was the reason why they have resisted the ascension of Type B quantifiers in diachrony. Bolinger was not aware of the fact (noted by Hummel 2010 for Spanish) that most new members of the open list of intensifiers on *–ly* belong to elaborate literacy or elaborate oral rhetoric (e.g. *It should be incandescently clear,* Martin Luther King; example from Bolinger).

2.3 *Sentential adverbs and discourse markers*

An analogous situation characterizes the domain of sentential adverbs and discourse markers:[6]

(13) *sure / surely* (English)

(14) a. *sûr / sûrement* (French)

[5] Pt. *quão* and Sp. *cuan* are archaic.
[6] (14) and (15) are equivalent to (13).

b.	*sicuro / sicuramente*	(Italian)
c.	*seguro / seguramente*	(Portuguese)
d.	*sigur* / ----	(Romanian)
e.	*seguro / seguramente*	(Spanish)

(15) *sigur* (Papiamentu creol)

In Romanian Type A is canonical. Therefore, no adverbs ending in *–mente* are used for sentential functions. It is noteworthy, however, that during the standardization of Romanian in the 19th c. according to the model of Romance (especially French and Italian), intellectual promoters of the process tried to introduce the suffix *–mente* as linguistic standard. Similarly to the individual cases of Type A resistance mentioned in 2.1 and 2.2, Type A was too well established in orality for being replaced by learned *–mente* (Chircu 2008:124-125, 2011:53-58). Adjective based discourse markers form longer lists in Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish (e.g. Sp. *bueno, claro, cierto, total, fijo, igual,* etc.; see Hummel 2012a), but have lower type frequency in French and English. According to Crystal (1995:347), adjectives are routinely used as adverbs in English-based creoles, as it is also the case in Romance based Papiamentu (15).

Germanic languages like Dutch and German sometimes morphologically mark sentential adverbial functions, as in Dutch *begrijpelijkerwijs* 'understandably' and Ger. *begreiflicherweise* (Ramat & Ricca 1998:204). If we look at informal spoken German, adverbs ending in *–weise* '-wise' (16a) appear to be a simple alternative to Type A (16b) (cf. Dürscheid & Hefti 2006, Giger 2011):

(16) a. Klarerweise / merkwürdigerweise kommt er.
'Clearly / strangely, he comes'
b. Klar / merkwürdig, er kommt.

Interestingly, grammars usually introduce the German suffix *-weise* without drawing attention to the current colloquial Type A alternatives (*Duden:*§ 868; cf. Eisenberg 2002:70-71).

In English, discourse markers tend to be taken from other word classes than adjectives, Type B adverbs or phrases (Engl. *well,*[7] *obviously, I mean, of course,* etc.). In Greenbaum's (1969:92) list of "style disjuncts" figure only the following cases: *seriously, in all seriousness, to be serious.* The variant *Serious, do you really mean this?* is not indicated (cf. *good, great, excellent,* etc. in Biber *et al.* 1999:520). The adjectival alternative is briefly mentioned at the end of Greenbaum's book (1969:213-215).

[7] It is noteworthy that in English the Type C adverb *well* has developed a similar polyfunctionality to the Spanish adjective *bueno* in the domain of discourse functions (see Lutzky 2012 and Hummel 2012a).

Tagliamonte & Ito (2002:248,253-254) observe that no study was dedicated to Type A sentential adverbs, although *absolute, definite, funny* and *honest* are used for this purpose in their oral York Corpus.

(17) a. I was an angel. *Absolute.*
b. And she usually baby-sits once a week. *Definite*.
c. *Funny enough* we had a telephone call.
d. *Honest* they did.

Similarly, Engl. *sure* is a partial alternative to *surely* in the domain of sentential functions, but Downing (2006) only compares Engl. *surely* to Sp. *seguro* and *seguramente*. Pounder (2001:307) cites an example from the 17th c.: "You will lough sure when I shall tell you".

It is noteworthy that these cases, which were brought to light by systematic corpus analyses, provide evidence for the productive use of Type A attributes with sentential functions. In the same vein, Hummel (2012a) finds sentential functions for Sp. *terrible* and *horrible* which may be considered as productive extension of the above mentioned series of lexicalized Type A discourse markers (*bueno, claro,* etc.). The exploration of written corpora would not bring to light the productive usage of Type A sentential attributes. In spoken Romance Type attributes with sentential functions are uninflected (cf. above *bueno, claro, horrible,* etc.). By contrast, written language uses inflected parenthetical adjectives (e.g. Sp. *Cansada, la chica se duerme* 'Being tired, the girl falls asleep'). These constructions are almost exclusive for very elaborated, literary style, not only in Romance (Martínez 1994:230), but also in English (Strang 1978:140, Biber *et al.* 1999:520-521).

The preference of written standard English for the Type B sentential attributes does not hold when the attribute itself is modified. The following example stems from Erdmann's (1997) study on what Quirk *et al.* ([13]1995:424-428) call "supplementive adjective clause": "None of these solutions is satisfactory. *More important,* what is going to happen is unpredictable". Erdmann analyzes a sample of written American English texts, where he finds the following units that convey the speaker's evaluation on a predication:

(18) as bad, better yet, more bizarre, most critical, most crucial, curious, more dangerous, utterly despicable, most essential, least forgivable, more galling, more important, even more important, most important, most impressive, even more intriguing, very likely, more likely, most likely, more ominous, most sad, most scary, more serious, more significant, more telling, even more unsettling, worse, even worse, worse still, worse yet

We obviously could argue that these are adjectives, but the identification of sentential adverbs with the test "*importantly → it is important that / I find it important that*" (note: **in an important way* or **it is importantly that*) blurs the edges of the ADJ/ADV distinction. We might even think that the functional basis of using *importantly* is rather weak. As in the case of (16) and (17), single Type B forms such as *importantly* are specifically preferred in written texts and elaborated oral communication, except if the attribute is itself modified (with some dual forms, e.g. *more importantly*). All this shows that Type A is more important than we generally learn and believe it.

2.4 *Type A and traditional Type C adverbs (*good *vs.* well*)*

In English and Romance, current manner adverbs may have independent forms, as Engl. *well,* Fr. *bien / mal,* etc. (Type C). Interestingly, in Romance and English substandard adjectives may 'replace' Type C adverbs. In fact, *good* can have the same function as its adverbial counterpart *well* (Bolinger 1972; cf. Biber *et al.* 1999:543):

(19) a. a *good deep* breath
b. *spank* him *good*
c. This ride *shook me up, but good.*
d. *good-looking*

Bolinger describes this usage as an American English innovation: "with verbs of a certain class *well* is no longer used in contemporary American English, but gives way to *good*". According to the corpus data analyzed by Biber *et al.* (1999:542-543) frequency of adverbial *good* is several times higher in American English, and adverbial *real* (e.g. *real good*) in AmE. conversation is as frequent as *really* in British English. Interestingly, Bolinger suggests the idea of *well* being 'replaced by' *good,* and Biber *et al.* allude to the 'omission' of *–ly*. While this could be discussed for *real / really,* no one would suggest explaining adverbial *good* as a truncation of *goodly*, *bad* (adv.) from *badly*, or, to take sentential functions, *first* as a marker for discourse organization from *firstly*, not even from a synchronic point of view. This analysis is biased by literacy and corresponds to the way teachers sometimes 'explain' colloquial or dialectal variants as "corruptions" of 'good' (allegedly primary and older) language. In fact, it is far from being evident that, from a diachronic point of view, canonical adverbs like *well* were used before Type A *good*. It is probable that both variants always existed simultaneously. The possibility to alternate *to feel well / good* has been widely discussed for English (for a survey see Martínez Vázquez 1991:93). Surprisingly, the discussion does not take into account that the antonym *bad* is currently used as adverb: *to sleep bad* (with *badly* being a hypercorrect variant), *bad looking*. Even if *bad* does not have a corresponding adverb with a proper form the same as *well*, it is obvious that

the use of *good* and *bad* with adverbial function has to be placed within the same Type A tradition that developed independently from Type B.

Interestingly, Romance provides similar examples where dialects use the adjective 'instead of' canonical Type C adverbs derived from Lat. *bene* and *male* (left column: dialect; right column: standard):

(20) a. *huele feo* vs.*huele mal* 'smells bad' (Spanish)
b. Que te *vaya bonito*! vs.
¡*Que te vaya bien*! 'it may be well with you

(21) a. Ça *va moche.* vs. *Ça va mal.* 'It's going bad' (French)
b. Il *fait ça moche.* vs. *Il fait cela mal.* 'He is doing it badly'

(22) Tu sa' *lèggiri bonu.* vs. *Sai leggere bene.* 'You can read well' (Italian)

2.5 *Comparative and superlative*

In present-day English, the adverbial suffix *–ly* does not allow for synthetic comparative or superlative forms (e.g. **loudlier*), whereas Type A may be found if analytical alternatives are not preferred (examples from Valera Hernández 1996:24):

(23) a. So would she mind speaking a *little louder*?
b. The people *hardest hit* by this suspicion […]
c. This newspaper *speaks clearest* of all.

In Latin, the neuter of the adjective was systematically used for adverbial functions (e.g. *melius* 'better'). In Romance, the synthetic forms have normally been replaced by the followers of Lat. *plus* (Fr. *plus important* 'more important', It. *più importante*) or *magis* (Pt. *mais importante,* Sp. *más importante*) but in lexicalized cases such as Pt. *melhor* and Sp. *mejor* 'better', the form is the comparative of both the adjective and the adverb. Consequently, in both English and Romance, Type B did not penetrate the comparative and superlative domain, where Type A was deeply rooted.

3. *The diachrony of Type A and Type B in Romance and English*

In order to give more space to English, Section 3.1 provides a short synthesis of the development from Latin to Romance. A detailed account can be found in Hummel (2000:364-481, and 2013).

3.1 *Romance*

In Classical Latin, two standard rules were used to transcategorize adjectives into adverbs, the first for the a/o-declension, the second for the i-declension:

(24) *longus, longa, longum* 'long' (adj.) → *longē* (adv.)
(25) *fortis, fortis, fortĕ* 'strong' (adj.) → *fortiter* (adv.)

Both rules provide marked adverbs that can be classified as Type B. The morpheme *–iter* was a suffix, whereas long *–ē* [e:] was an old instrumental case of the adjective, but in Classical Latin it was only productive for adverb formation (Karlsson 1981:38).

In addition, the neuter nominative-accusative case was used as well:

(26) *longus, longa, longum* (adj.) → *longum* (adv.)
(27) *fortis, fortis, fortĕ* (adj.) → *fortĕ* (adv.)

The use of the neuter form of the adjective for adverbial functions corresponds to the criteria of Type A. Unlike (25), this rule uses short *–ĕ* [e] for the adverb. Some Type A adverbs are mentioned in manuals, but rather as occasional exceptions composing a heterogeneous list of fossilized units.

On the way to Romance, the canonical rules (24) and (25) were lost, whereas (26) and (27) survived. The first to be lost was *–ē,* since Latin had a tendency to replace canonical *–ē* by *–iter* with adjectives of the a/o-declension (e.g. *humanē* 'in a human way' by *humaniter*; see Karlsson 1981:31; cf. Ramat 2008:15-16) or to use the ablative case (e.g. *commodō* instead of *commodē* 'conveniently'; see Adams 2007:210-212). In the long run, Type A was reinforced by syncretism with the latter, since instrumental ablatives used as adverbs such as *certō* 'certainly', *multō* 'very much', etc. phonetically converged with *–um* > *-o.* In Romance, canonical *altē* did not survive, but the followers of *altum* 'high', etc. are systematically used as Type A adverbs. The following list shows the continuity of some Type A forms from Latin to Romance:

Latin	**meaning**	**French**	**Italian**	**Portuguese**	**Spanish**
multum	'much'	Ofr. *moult*	*molto*	*muito*	*mucho*
altum	'high' / 'loud'	*haut*	*alto*	*alto*	*alto*
**bassum*	'low'	*bas*	*basso*	*baixo*	*bajo*
rapidum	'fast'	(*vite*)	*rapido*	*rápido*	*rápido*
firmum	'firm'	*ferme*	*fermo*	*firme*	*firme*
tranquillum	'calm'	*tranquille*	*tranquillo*	*tranquilo*	*tranquilo*
falsum	'wrong'	*faux*	*falso*	*falso*	*falso*
clarum	'clear'	*clair*	*chiaro*	*claro*	*claro*
paucum	'few'	*peu*	*poco*	*pouco*	*poco*

According to Löfstedt (1967), Type A adverbs prevailed in Late Latin, although *–iter* was still appreciated for writing. Even more, Type A is the only rule that Latin inherited from Indo-European and transmitted to Romance (Löfstedt 1967:109, Karlsson 1981:5-16, Fortson IV:132-133). Löfstedt goes so far as to shed a doubt on the full productivity of the canonical rules (24) and (26) in times of Classical Latin. If this is true, these rules were essentially used for writing. From this point of view, Type A appears to be an oral tradition that was temporarily submerged by the standardization of literacy known as Classical Latin, and consequently reemerged when the political driving force of standardization, the Roman Empire, collapsed. Interestingly, Old Greek knew a similar situation, since canonical *–ωϛ* coexisted with Type A adverbs. In Modern Greek, only the latter survived as a productive rule, but *–ωϛ* can still be fund in erudite words ending in *-ηϛ*, often as a stylistic alternative to Type A, which (curiously) uses the neuter plural of the adjective (see Dietrich 1995:112, Ruge 1997:50).

Consequently, there is a common Indo-European background of using Type A that Romance shares with the Germanic languages. Type B appears to be a cultural phenomenon that recurrently occurs in socio-historical contexts of standardized literacy. By contrast, Type A is profoundly rooted in the oral tradition(s) and consequently reemerges where the impact of literacy fails or weakens. The most striking case is Romanian. The crucial fact that explains why Romanian only has Type A adverbs is Dacia's split from Rome in the 3rd c. A.D., yet before Latin replaced Greek in Christian liturgy. In contradiction with the general belief that *–mente* is a pan-Romanic suffix, this is only true for those languages that have first developed a 'vulgar' Romance literacy: French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish (as well as early texts of Catalan). Hence, not the common oral tradition, but instead the shared tradition of literacy in a catholic western context explains the rise of Type B.

The history of *–-mente* is complicated and still partially unknown. On the one hand, there is a popular tradition of using grammaticalized forms like *solamente* 'only' (8th c.), with variants such as OSpan. *–miente / -mientre* that were later readapted to the orthography Lat. *-mente* during the process of standardization, more concretely, by the reintroduction of etymologic spellings according to the model of Classical Latin during the Renaissance. On the other hand, Christian authors used the Latin paraphrase with *mente* for the propagation of religion, where the dialectic of body and mind (*mens*) played a prominent role. As Banniard (1992) convincingly states, the communication of Christian messages obliged its promoters to mediate between the erudite written tradition, where the messages were conserved, and the spoken language of the illiterate addressees. This is probably the reason why *-mente* was more successful than other solutions

(e.g. Lat. *in modo* 'in a way').

3.2 *English*

3.2.1 *Internal linguistic development in Old and Middle English*

As in Romance, the diachrony of manner adverbs runs along two major axes of development. The first one starts from inflected adjectives in Old English (OE; until 1100) and ends with the morphological identity of adjective and adverb in Middle English (ME; until 1500) and Modern English (ModE). This axis will be referred to as *Type A-string*. The second axis begins with the OE suffix *–lice* which developed to *–ly* in ModE (*Type B-string*).

In OE, the bound morpheme *–e* that marked adverbial functions (e.g. *hearde* 'hard', *gode* 'good', *blinde* 'blind') was (identical with) the neuter singular of the instrumental case of the adjective. However, the instrumental case was only marked in the strong declension, whereas in the weak declension *–e* was the nominative-accusative singular neuter (e.g. *blinde*; see Campbell 1977:§ 656).[8] The comparative followed the patterns of weak declension, whereas the superlative was declined weak or strong (Campbell:§ 657). OE *-e* is thus in line with the Indo-European features of using a neuter form of the adjective for adverbial functions, with an option to develop the neuter instrumental case, as with OLat. instrumentalis *humanē* (adv.) or ClassLat. *commodō*. With the general loss of declension in ME, final *–e* was lost as well. Consequently, in ME the adjective and the adverb developed into the same form. Thus if it is possibly problematic to consider OE *hearde* simply as a Type A adverb because it was indeed marked for instrumental functions, there can be no doubt that the development to ME reduced the distinctive morphological marks for different functions of the adjective to a single morphological category.

The rise of the modern Type B mark *–ly* for adverbs indeed parallels the decadence of the OE case system. As in Romance, the Type-B-string is more complex and still partially opaque in its development. OEngl. *–lic* was a suffix for adjectives that was added to nouns or adjectives (e.g. *dæglic* 'daily', *heofonlic* 'heavenly', *tidlic* 'temporary'; see Campbell:§ 642), as in ModE *kingly, knightly, masterly*. While it seems to be natural to use a suffix in order to transcategorize nouns to adjectives, there must have been semantic reasons to add *-lic* to an adjective in order to derive another adjective, as in ModE *sick* / *sickly*, where the latter weakens the concept. In this respect, the OED (*s.v. –ly*, suffix[1]) observes: "When *–ly* is appended to an adj., the resulting derivative adj. often connotes a quality related to or resembling that expressed by its primary; cf., e.g., Old English *léof* 'dear'

[8] Cf. the Germanic tradition of using this case of the adjective for adverbial functions (Krahe & Meid 1969:86). For example, the situation in Old High German was similar to OE. For a concise diachronic comparison of English and German and excellent details see Pounder (2001). For this author, their diachronic drift apart is essentially due to efforts of standardization (cf. Maas' (2012) seminal study).

with *léoflic* 'lovely' (or, as it might be rendered, 'such as becomes dear')".[9]

According to the standard description in manuals, the OE adjectival suffix *–lic* regularly adopted the morphology *-lice* when it was used as an adverb. In other words, it behaved in exactly the same way as adverbs like OE *hearde.* Hence, *-lic* was an adjectival suffix, with *–lice* being its adverbial extension. The functional change of OE *–lic* from an adjectival suffix to and adjectival and adverbial suffix seems to be a genuine development that starts in OE (OED:*s.v. –ly,* suffix[2]; cf. Jespersen 1974, vol. 6:408):

> In Old English, however, there are several instances (e.g. *bealdlíce* boldly, *swétlíce* sweetly) in which an adv. in *–líce* has been formed directly from a simple adj. without the intervention of an adj. in *–lic.* In Middle English the number of these direct formations was greatly increased […].

This means that OE already used *–lice* as an independent suffix to derive adverbs from adjectives. Campbell (§ 664) specifies more precisely that *-lice* was used as an alternative to regular-*e*:[10]

> Since adjs. in *–liċ* normally formed advs. in *–liċe*, this ending early became regarded as an adverbial suffix, which could be used beside or instead of *–e*, *heardliċe, holdliċe, hwætliċe, lætliċe* (beside *hearde, holde, late*), the advs. of *heard, hold, hwæt, læt.*

Uhler (1926:3) provides substantial evidence for the fact that there was no semantic between dual forms such as *gelome/gelomlice* 'steadily', *georne/geornlice* 'eagerly', *rihte/rihtlice* 'rightly', etc. All this shows that *–lice* was not simply the adverbial case of adjectives in *–lic,* but an almost independent adverbial suffix available for all adjectival stems.

According to Strang (1970:272), *-e* had become unproductive by 1170, in contrast to the high productivity of *–lice.* As indicated in the OED entry for the adjectival suffix *–ly*, the Germanic etymology of *–lic* is 'having the appearance or form indicated by the first element of the word' (cf. Guimier 1985). This semantic concept suits manner qualities in general. In Modern German attributes such as *affengleich* 'like a monkey' apply to adjectival and adverbial functions. In English, an example like **to feel*

[9] The development of the *adjectival* suffix *–ly* is generally connected with Scandinavian influence (OED:*s.v. –ly,* suffix[1]). This Scandinavian influence apparently favored a natural tendency of already front spelled OE *-liċ* that repeats in the etymology of *I* and *every.* Hence, it operated in the sense of favoring a specific variant. But all this does not explain the functional change of *–ly* from an adjectival to an adverbial suffix. This would presuppose that the equivalent Scandinavian suffixes were specifically adverbial, which is not the case.

[10] *Holdlice* 'faithfully', *hwætlice* 'lively, courageously', *lætlice* 'slowly'.

kingly free is not accepted by usage, but it would be functionally and semantically possible. Hence, the semantics of *–lic* did not intervene selectively with regard to the choice of adjectival or adverbial function, and this is still the case for *–ly* in Modern English, even if the frequency and productivity of the latter as an adverbializing suffix is more salient today. From a semantic point of view, *-lice* did not really need the instrumental ending *–e* when used as a verb modifier (if syntactically identified as such).

3.2.2 *The way to Modern English: external influence and linguistic norm*

Adverbs ending in *–ly* considerably expanded in ME. In Early Middle English, their frequency was already superior to that of Type A (Donner 1991, Nevalainen 1997). Its usage was even fashionable. As a consequence, in the 17th c. adverbial *-ly* was also attached to adjectives ending in *-ly* such as *earlily, godlily, kindlily, livelily, verily,* etc. which are avoided in ModE (cf. Pounder 2001:339). In French, there was a similar tendency to excessively use *–ment* in the 16th and 17th c., with particular enthusiasm by the *Précieuses* (Hummel 2012a:310-315). According to Onions (1983), the development of English Type B adverbs was consciously encouraged by language policy which followed the French model. This would explain the striking lexical parallels between English and Romance languages in the domain of sentential adverbs, e.g. Fr. *apparemment,* It. *apparentemente,* Pt. *apparentemente,* Sp. *aparentemente,* Engl. *apparently* (Hummel 2012a:257-258). The OED implicitly stresses a French influence in the development of English Type B adverbs in the case of ordinal numbers: "From the early part of the 16th c. the suffix has been added to ordinal numbers to form advs. denoting serial position, as *firstly*, *secondly*, *thirdly*, etc. (cf. French *premièrement* 'firstly', etc.) (OED:*s.v. –ly*, suffix[2])". The exaggerated usage of Type B adverbs during the 16th and 17th centuries explains why in cases such as Engl. *first / firstly* (Baugh & Cable 1986:385; Jespersen 1974, vol. 6:415; cf. also *oftenly, soonly*), Sp. *primero / primeramente* 'first / firstly', etc., where Type A is standard, Type B tends to be perceived as hypercorrect, more refined or extremely affected. Their present-day perception traces to the same sociocultural background.

Hence, we can hypothesize that these languages were involved in a common effort to use Type B adverbs for the organization of written discourse. This was already the case in translations from Latin. OE *witudlike* 'truly' is twice attested with sentential function in the 8th c. (translation of the Gospel of Matthew 26:51-52, *apud* Maas 2012:451-452). This could be a first influence of Latin on English literacy, but there is no direct equivalent in the *Vulgata.* Breivik & Swan (1994) provide a longer list of sentential adverbs in Old English. From the Renaissance onwards, the intellectual efforts concerning language policy belong to the same universe of discourse (cf. Miller 2012:192-227). English shares with Romance languages the search for linguistic enrichment in the Renaissance, the subsequent desire of linguistic purification in order to eliminate the exaggerations of savage

linguistic enrichment (definition of linguistic rules or acknowledgement of the *bon usage*), followed by increasing popularization and liberalization from the 19th c. until today. In the case of sentential adverbs, the parallel development must have been a specific movement of literacy, since studies on discourse markers in informal spoken communication show that informal orality tends to avoid Type B (see Section 1).

French influence in the 16th and 17th c. obviously calls to mind that French could have played a role in the centuries after the Norman Conquest in 1066, when French was the language of the upper class and the educated (together with Latin), at least until the period when the intimate relations with France were cut off (loss of Normandy in 1204, Hundred Years' War (1337-1453)), and in administration, law and school until the second half of the 14th c. (Baugh & Cable 1986:143-152)). By this time, French was more and more a language of the educated. In writing, where French paralleled or followed Latin, English replaced the former only during the 15th c. Despite the importance of French until the 15th c., no direct influence on the development of *–ly* can be detected: First, the morphological and functional development of *–ly* is exclusively English-Germanic. Second, if French was used by the elites, there was no policy directed to the English language or cultivation of English (Baugh & Cable 1986:113, 117). Hence, the French influence on the English grammar was at best likely to occur when English was re-established as the linguistic standard for oral and written communication (cf. Baugh & Cable 1986:166-167).[11] Now, the development of the adverbial function of OE *–liċe* > ME *–liċ* > ME > *-ly*, was already accomplished by the end of the 14th c. All French loan adjectives in this period were immediately used as adverbs ending in *–ly* (*ibid.*:178, Miller 2012:177). Consequently, the French model was not responsible for the early development of *–ly*. It was rather a grammatical instrument for the integration of foreign elements into the English language.

It appears likely that traditional Type A adverbs like *hard* offered more resistance to *–ly* than new adjectives. Hence, *-ly* could have followed the expansion ('enrichment') of the English vocabulary, especially in literacy. According to Marchand (1969:364-365), before 1300 "French words were fore [sic] some time felt to be foreign elements and were not 'converted' with the same ease as native stems were". This could in turn have favored the usage of *–ly* for French words. Conversely, Type A was

[11] Prins (1952) suggests the following examples of French influence in Middle English: Engl. *to cry high* with Fr. *crier (en) haut, to cut short : couper court, to look hard : regarder durement, to stop short : s'arrêter court, to take seriously : prendre sérieusement, to turn short : tourner court*. Clearly, if there was influencing, it activated rules that already existed in English. Moreover, the examples show that the influence was exerted on both Type A and Type B. The relevant fact seems to be that English authors observed what happened in French. Consequently, they should have been aware of the clear preference for Type B adverbs during the standardization of French. For French influence on sentential adverbs in Middle English see Breivik & Swan (1994:17-20).

confined to the traditional core lexicon. It is a striking fact that Type A adverbs in present-day Romance (Hummel 2000:417-481) and English still prototypically belong to the core group of inherited short old items that are current in every day oral communication: ModE. *bright, deep, fair, fast, loud, quick, right, sharp, slow, straight, strong, thick, hard, high, ill, long, wide* (listed by Nilsen 1972:81; cf. the thorough account by Nevalainen 1994:246-252). None of these has Latin or French roots. In Jespersen's longer list (1974:48-51), only *direct, just* and *plain* stem from Latin or Old French. Nevalainen (1997:168) indicates *just, sure, tender, very*.

In order to understand the competition of Type A and Type B, prescriptive linguistic norm is relevant as well, especially when schooling becomes compulsory (see Pulgram 1968, Pounder 2001). Bolinger (1972:24) observes that the prestige of Type A quantifiers vanished in the first half of the 19th c.:

> These were once preferred, according to Pegge's *English Language* (1803) […]: "The best of us, gen. use the adj. for the adv., where there is any degree of comparison to be expressed. *How extreme cold the weather is*". The 1843-44 edition of the same has the note "Quite out of date now".

Nevalainen (1994:244) cites Lowth's *A short introduction to English grammar* (1762) as follows: "Adjectives are sometimes employed as adverbs: improperly, and not agreeably to the genius of the English language".

Regardless of this, the 'positive' action of grammars, as I would call it by analogy to *positive law* in legislation, was still more decisive. As Pounder (2001:336-337) convincingly shows, the critiques directed to Type A were occasional; the systematic fact was that grammars simply ignored it and posited Type B as "the" mechanism of adverb formation. Hummel (2013) observes a similar situation in Romance.

Schoolmasters actively promoted the replacement of Type A by Type B (Kruisinga 1927:107-108; cf. Tagliamonte & Ito 2002:240):

> If the use of the shorter forms is less frequent nowadays than it is in earlier English, it is probably due to the modern schoolmaster. This personage is undoubtedly responsible for the restriction in the use of unchanged adjectives as adjuncts of degree as in *wide open, clean gone*, etc. It would be quite superfluous to show examples in earlier English, as any reader will be able to find them, not only in familiar writings such as the Verney papers or Pepys, and later in the Diary of Fanny Burney, but also in more dignified writing such as the Spectator and the novels of Jane Austen, and even in Dryden (e.g. *so exceeding vain* […]).

Kruisinga's remark may appear to be exaggerated, but if we take into account that prescriptive language policy was not always as liberal as today, we can hypothesize that this influence could have been stronger in former times. In light of the preceding paragraphs, we might say that Pegge's turn-around shows that the attempts to purify the English language were being successful. Kruisinga's description mirrors the fact that the schoolmaster's discourse inherited the purist discourse, certainly until today. The normative control acted selectively on adverbial functions to the disadvantage of Type A.

Schoolmasters may have accelerated the marginalization of Type A, but they did not originate it. The corpus data explored by Nevalainen (1994, 1997) show that the decline of Type A is a long term phenomenon, since its proportion with regard to the corresponding Type B forms fell from 21 percent of the adverbs in Early Modern English (1350-1420) to 13 percent in Early Modern English (1640-1710), approaching the oral present-day data of York English (15 percent; Tagliamonte & Ito 2002:249). These results are not biased by the expansion of Type B at the level of type frequency since Nevalainen observes a given number of alternative forms (e.g. *slow / slowly*). On the other hand, her data do not represent the whole amount of Type A forms. Nevalainen also relates type frequency with the size of the corpora in these epochs, suggesting a rather stable situation of Type A usage, but her data are not entirely clear and biased by the option to only consider dual forms. Importantly, token frequency provides clear evidence for the omnipresence of Type A: In the same period, about 40 percent of the attested adverb tokens belong to Type A (*ibid.*:172-183). This easily explains how the frequency of Type A may increase under certain conditions (single authors, youth language, trendy usage of single items (e.g. *real*), etc.).

The assumption that the proportion of Type A could have been rather stable is indirectly confirmed by the sociolinguistic research of Tagliamonte & Ito (2002:238), since the quantitative relation between Type A and Type B "is a stable sociolinguistic marker in the local vernacular", which "can be traced to the earliest stages in the development of variation between *–ly* and zero". Sociolinguistic variation seems to be low and secondary to this tradition, although the frequency of Type A is higher with men with a low level of education. To put it in the authors' words (p.260): "it is not the case that the zero adverb is being used in a new way, but in the same old way". The relevance of the historical impact is corroborated by the fact that Type A is a common feature of substandard in English dialects, Cockney and New World varieties (see survey by Tagliamonte & Ito 2002:242-243).

The stability and high frequency of Type A corroborate their belonging to the fundamental, essentially Germanic attributes that ensure the necessities of every-day communication (see above). Conversely, the expansion of Type B appears to be the correlate of "Sprachausbau" (cf. Kloss 1967, Maas 2008, 2010, Pountain 2011), with dual forms overlapping

the traditional ones (e.g. *fastly*, *soonly*) and a bulk of new forms with no corresponding Type A adverb, especially for writing. Hence, the striking fact is not so much the decay of Type A, as it is generally assumed, but the "Ausbau" of Type B in literacy and the language of the educated, with secondary osmotic effects on the tradition(s) of speaking (see above *direct*, *just* and *plain*).

Inferentiality is a major feature in informal oral communication that works on the basis of shared knowledge, whereas literacy tends to be explicit, not only in order to compensate the lack of shared knowledge in written communication between speakers that do not know each other, but also because full explicitness has become a normative imperative of writing, at least in terms of prototypicality. Descriptive linguistic devices such as attributes are crucial for making qualities and circumstances explicit (cf. Drieman 1962, Chafe 1982:41-42, Biber 1988:50-51, 104-105, 139-141, Biber *et al.* 1999:504-507, Maas 2010:27, 106). Consequently, the enormous expansion of Type B adverbs is the natural correlate of the increasing importance of literacy (more and more speakers are literate; literacy occupies and creates new domains, etc.). Regardless of this, there are no functional reasons for preferring Type B adverbs to Type A adverbs for the "Ausbau" of literacy since Type A works perfectly in Dutch, German, and Romanian. Consequently, the priority given to Type B in literacy is a cultural phenomenon that requires an historical explanation. Once Type B is preferred by literacy, it naturally follows the expansion of descriptive devices, overrunning Type A at the level of type frequency. As a consequence, Type A progressively appears to be restricted to the small number of frequent adjectives that belong to the basic vocabulary of colloquial orality.[12]

Attempts to 'purify' the standards of writing reinforce this cultural process. As far as the impact of cultural traditions for Sprachausbau is concerned, the attempt to clearly separate adjectives from adverbs runs as a common thread through normative efforts (cf. Pounder 2001:336), especially with authors who prefer *rules* to *usage* in the spirit of Illumination. In *The philosophy of rhetoric* (1776), George Campbell (vol. 1, 374-375) defines as his "first canon" that homographs with different functions should as far as possible be morphologically distinguished. He then illustrates this rule for adjectives and adverbs:

[12] In both English and Romance, poetry tends to avoid Type B for reasons of stylistic cumbersomeness, suffix repetition (monotony), and rime. Moreover, there is a straight tradition of favoring Type A from Classical Greek and Latin to the Renaissance (Hummel 2013, Tagliamonte & Ito (2001:237), Pounder (2001:337). For OE *–lice* see Uhler (1926:3). This is a nice micro-scenario of "Sprachausbau" where natural conditions (limited space, rime, expressiveness) and cultural traditions specifically interact. In addition, secondary predication and the power of imagination related with underspecified Type A attributes (e.g. *to think big*) are natural prolongations of Type A at the interface of what is traditionally called 'adjective' and 'adverb'.

> By the same rule we ought to prefer *scarcely,* as an adverb, to *scarce,* which is an adjective; and *exceedingly,* as an adverb, to *exceeding,* which is a participle.

According to Strang (1970:139), in the period from 1550 to 1770 "a sense of correctness […] prescribed that forms with the appearance of adjectives" should not be used as tertiary modifiers such as *pretty, extraordinary, pure, terrible, dreadful, cruel, plaguy,* and *devilish,* was responsible for their replacement by the corresponding adverb in *–ly* and favored *very,* which was rather unusual in the 17th c[13]. *Very* had no adjectival function that could have been criticized. Moreover, the "sense of unease about adverbs homophonous with an adjective […] has been felt at all periods, and there has been a steady progress from plain to *-ly* forms" (*ibid.:*273; cf. Nevalainen 1994:244). Strang does not specify, however, if and by whom (the educated?) unease was felt, if with regard to orality and literacy, or only to the latter.

Similarly, Ger. *-erweise* ('-ly' with sentential adverbs) and Dut. *-erwijs* have colloquial Type A alternatives (see (16)) that are avoided in standard literacy. According to the corpus analyzed by Diepeveen (2012:165-174), evaluative Dut. *–erwijs* expands from the 17th c. on, with particular acceleration during the 19th c. (cf. Diepeveen & Van de Velde (2010:394-396). This means that its expansion starts with the standardization of Dutch (cf. Maas 2012:188).

In the case of English, the important work of Biber clearly documents the result of "Sprachausbau" favoring Type B:

> Conversation and academic prose represent opposite extremes of use: in conversation, over 60% of the common adverbs are simple forms, and only about 20% *-ly* forms; in academic prose, about 55% of the common adverbs are *–ly* forms, and slightly over 30% simple forms.
> (Biber *et al*. 1999; 540; cf. Pullum & Huddleston 2002:567)

"Simple forms" refers to all underived adverbs, including *well, soon,* etc.

4. *The Old-World-New-World gap*

In the Portuguese or Spanish speaking parts of America, Type A is the overall standard in informal oral communication, not only in the verb-modifying functions but in all functions listed in Section 2 (see Hummel

[13] According to Nevalainen's (1997:174) analysis of the Helsinki Corpus, *very* was currently used as early as in the 16th c. The raise of *very* paralleled the decline of adverbial *full* and *right.*

2002, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012a). This is also the case for Lousiana French and Acadian French (Hummel 2000, 2013). This means that all American varieties of Romance share the feature of prevailing Type A usage in informal oral communication. In Europe, Type A is used where the historical impact of standardization was low (southern Italian dialects, Sardinian) or came late (Romanian). This places the situation in America in line with the traces left by the oral traditions in Europe. In those European languages which introduced standards of writing early on, the impact of using, recommending and teaching Type B surfaces clearly. In spoken European Spanish, Type B correlates with education and formal speaking, being about three times more frequent with educated speakers and formal oral discourse (Kraschl 2008). In French, Type B is most frequent in written standard, whereas frequency of alternative solutions increases in both refined literary style and slang (Kofler 2007). The former diverges from the norms of written standard because literary style is liberal and develops variants ("Sprachausbau"), elegant solutions such as *Il parle les yeux fermés* 'He talks with closed eyes'. *Il marche le pas lent* 'He walks at a slow pace'. being very appreciated. The latter uses Type A systematically. In Italian and French, the highest frequency of Type B has been observed in standard texts (newspapers) (Bischoff 1970). Consequently, there is a strong correlation of Type B usage with written standard in those Romance languages where Type B has been implemented. Europe and America converge in literacy, although the osmosis from the oral Type A standard to literacy is naturally more developed in America than in Europe. In orality, however, one could not say that Type A is the informal standard in spoken French, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish, where the impact of education and the attitude to linguistic norms catalyze the usage of Type B, especially in the case of French. As a consequence of this, a considerable gap separates the American oral standard in Romance from oral standards in Europe.

The case of Romance clearly parallels the differences that have been observed between American and British English (see Biber *et al.* 1999:542-547; cf. Pullum & Huddleston 2002). The "colonial lag" (Görlach 1991) is a topic in linguistic discussion. American linguists are clearly aware of Type A usage as a distinctive feature from British English (see here in 2.4). This awareness is somehow distorted by two factors. On the one hand, British English is not perceived for its substandard varieties, where Type A plays a major role, but for its standards of writing. On the other hand, Type A is often perceived as a 'corruption' of language, that is, as phenomenon by which the allegedly primary suffix *–ly* is dropped. This means that educated speakers reinterpret Type A as a truncation of Type B. In their excellent study, Tagliamonte & Ito (2002:238) provide an adequate analysis of this reinterpretation by the educated. The topic is also commonplace in linguistic studies. To give an example, Diepeveen & Van de Velde (2010:382) argue that in "informal spoken English, *–ly* may be left out" (see also 2.4). The topic of linguistic 'corruption' was a general topic in American English

grammars until the 20th c. (and who knows whether or not it survives in the discourse of teachers). Laberge & Sankoff (1979:424) quote a nice example for the same attitude by a francophone speaker in Montreal: "Le joual, c'est une déformation, comme tu as des patois en France". It comes as no surprise that French linguists have explained Type A adverbs as truncations of 'correct' Type B adverbs, even if this does not morphologically work in cases such as *hautement* > **haute* (adv.) (e.g. Moignet 1981, vol. 1:52). Neither Bolinger nor the French linguists base their impressions on objective linguistic data (Bolinger's data come from Borst 1902 and Kirchner 1955, with data from AmE and BrE). Hence, the source of the peculiar perception has to be located in linguistic education. This discourse systematically confounds normative linguistic standard with the origin of language, as if former generations of dialect speakers had used standard before. As in Romance, the frequency patterns of Type B in written American and British English share significant similarities (Ramat & Ricca 1994:316-318), displaying a common tradition of writing. This means that the gap does not exist in a significant way at the level of 'correct' standard writing, although the osmotic relation of orality and literacy naturally favors the usage of Type A for writing in America.

To sum up, the diachrony of Type A and Type B has to be situated at the interface of orality and literacy. While this is true for both, America and Europe, a secondary feature appears if we compare the varieties of English and Romance in America with those in Europe: in the former the oral tradition of using Type A is stronger than in the latter. While Type A was stigmatized in British English, as we have seen in 3.2, it was defended by Noah Webster and others in America (see bibliography in Tagliamonte & Ito:240-241). As in present-day American Portuguese and Spanish, where Type A is standard in the informal communication of all speakers (if they do not personally insist on using a 'better language'), Type A "was constantly heard in the professional and social conversation of cultured people" (Mencken 1961:389). The attitude of Webster and others clearly parallels the argumentation of their influent contemporary Venezuelan-Chilean colleague, Andrés Bello, and other eminent Hispano-american linguists, who did not accept the European standard in those cases where the American usage was etymologically justified, even if they did not use this argument in favor of Type A. Hence, in spite of sharing the same Western culture with Europe, a secondary process of shared American attitudes began to favor American traditions from North to South. Historically, this process has to be related with the shared struggle for political independence and cultural identity in the second half of the 18th and the first half of the 19th c. In both cases, the immigrants brought to the New World oral traditions where Type A was profoundly anchored. It is obviously not adequate to use the term 'colonial lag' since America simply conserved the genuine tradition, showing more resistance to linguistic models and prescriptive norms.

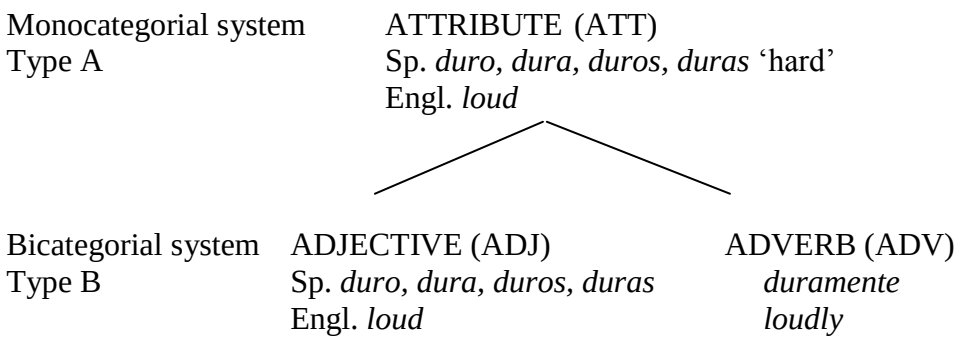
A final point is (un)productivity. Type A is generally considered as unproductive in English (Nevalainen 1994:243). Manuals of present-day English tend to illustrate manner adverbs with Type B, describing Type A as a limited set, e.g. "of limited application to idioms (Strang 1978:188)". In the same vein, Bolinger characterized Type A adverbs as archaic (see 2.2). As shown in 2.5, a closer look at substandard, and especially at dialects, may uncover the productivity of Type A against the expectation of the educated, whose linguistic education tends to be their 'second nature' (Maas 2012:25). Possibly, Type A in British English gets closer to the idiom-description (Strang), whereas it could be more productive in American substandard. Importantly, the fact that the series of Type A adverbs is rather limited in current corpora does not imply a lack of productivity. The necessity of using descriptive attributes is limited in every day communication. This is probably the reason why Type A has resisted in the core domains of short, old, Germanic adjectives, whereas Type B follows innovation. Consequently, the limited number of Type A adverbs has to be related to the limited necessities of informal every-day communication. Moreover, the productivity of Type B in standard French and standard Spanish is limited as well (cf. Company Company forthc.), whereas more productivity is observed in specialized languages. Roughly speaking, the set of Type A adverbs tends to be adapted to the necessities of informal oral communication, whereas the set of Type B adverbs deserves the imperatives of standard literacy. The former becomes saturated with a small number of attributes, the latter needs a rather huge number, with constant innovation in specialized languages.

5. *One or two word-classes?*

As we have seen, the traditional separation of the word-classes of adjective and adverb clearly fails to provide an adequate account of the data in English and Romance. In fact, in both cases a 'flexible' word-class (Type A) coexists and competes with 'differentiated' word-classes: Type B (manner adverbs) as opposed to Type A restricted to noun modification (adjectives). The analysis of Type A as a word-class which covers adjectival and adverbial attributes (modifiers) is supported by Hengeveld's (1992) typological approach to part-of-speech systems in a sample of languages of the world. According to Hengeveld, in "flexible" languages one word-class covers the attributive functions of adjective and manner adverb. This analysis is fundamentally correct and adequate for Type A in English and Romance. The only thing I have criticized in the Introduction is the classification of English as a "differentiated language". Even if Hengeveld's typology only refers to "a strong tendency towards one of the types" (1992:69), from the point of view of language variation there are varieties of English which tend to use Type A for everyday communication (e.g.

informal spoken American English), and others which prefer Type B (written standard).[14] The same holds for Romance, at least for Type A, since Type B is not available in all Romance languages and varieties. In sum, the coexistence and competition of Type A and Type B attributes in Romance and English crucially support Evans & Levinson's (2009) claim for considering "language diversity" as starting point for typology. If we abandon the variationist perspective and consider the language as a whole, English and Romance 'hesitate' between the monocategorial and the bicategorial system. Hengeveld's classification is apparently biased by the common vision of standard English as a language that forms adverbs with the suffix *–ly*. The coexistence of Type A and Type B in English and Romance can be schematized as follows:

Fig. 1: Monocategorial and bicategorial systems of attributive word-classes



In contrast to Hengeveld, I do not use *adjective* (ADJ) but *attribute* (ATT) for the monocategorial level. Hengeveld's solution is probably better from the typological and functional point of view of word-class hierarchy, but using *adjective* for the monocategorial level is a permanent source of confusion in studies on Romance, where adjectives are considered to be inflected modifiers of nouns.[15] In other words, I use ATT for simple reasons of understandability. The fact that in the Germanic grammaticographic tradition the term *attribution* is used for syntactic function as opposed to

[14] Another problem of word-class separation is the extension of the attributive function of Type B adverbs to the modification of a NP (see discussion of participant-oriented adverbs in Romance *–ment(e)* and Engl. *-ly* by Molinier (1985), Guimier (1991), Bartsch (1976:141-148), Valera Hernández (1998), Broccias (2011). By contrast, Hummel (2000:111-122) argues that 'adverbial' NP-modification is not based on linguistic function but on contextual inference (except for early stages of grammaticalization, when Lat. *mente* still referred to a mental disposition of the subject).

[15] In her study on the interfaces of adjectives, Ramaglia (2011) includes all functions that canonically require inflection in Romance, but not the adverbial functions, which instead constitute a major feature of the adjectives' interface with syntax, especially with regard to the discussion on iconicity (pp. 2-6). In the same vein, Teyssier (1968) dedicates its study on the syntax of the English adjective to the noun phrase. The adjective-adverb interface does not exist.

word-class might be a source of confusion, but in this case I argue with Hengeveld that ATT refers to a word-class in the sense of a morphologized function, which is attribution (modification). As pointed out by Hengeveld, this approach implies a division of the traditional category of adverbs since it is restricted to those of manner, adverbs of time and space being excluded. Given the heterogeneity of the word-class of adverbs (see e.g. Guimier 1996:1, Pullum & Huddlestone 2002:563, Sonntag 2005), it seems to be legitimate to follow Hengeveld since this approach provides a better description and explanation of the linguistic data. In the case of English, supplementary evidence comes from diachrony since the forerunner of Type A is the instrumental case of the adjective in Old English.

This origin seems to be one reason why Type A adverbs in English do not figure as instances of conversion in older studies on conversion (e.g. Biese 1941) or in historical studies (e.g. Robertson & Cassidy 1954:134). It is unclear to me why most recent studies on conversion do not mention it either, while most grammars recognize the usage of adjectives as adverbs. This is possibly related to their perception as a limited set of lexicalized exceptions. Amongst those who use the term conversion for Type A adverbs,[16] Nist (1966:54) goes as far as to misinterpret adjectival *–ly* in *lowly* and *sickly* as adverb→adjective conversion: "from *adjective* to *adverb* in *drive slow, hold tight, think straight*; […] from *adverb* to *adjective* in *lowly job, sickly child*". He apparently ignores the function of *–ly* as an adjectival suffix.

To be honest, I profoundly share all skepticism about the validity of word-classes and their heuristic value as an explication for linguistic data. A specialist like Croft (1990:13) clearly stipulates: "The main problematic categories for cross-linguistic identification are the fundamental grammatical categories: noun, verb and adjective, subject and object, head and modifier […]". The present paper has provided considerable evidence against the traditional word-classes of adjectives and adverbs. So why should a redefinition of word-classes solve the fundamental problems pointed out by Croft? In the first place, more than word-classes itself, it is the obsession to impose them on all instances we observe in syntax which poses a problem. In German and Dutch the unmarked form of the adjective is used for adverbial functions (see examples in (1)). Consequently, there are good reasons to argue that the distinction of manner-adverbial and adjectival functions is a matter of syntax, not of word-class. However, grammars of German and Dutch systematically have two chapters on adjectives and adverbs as parts of speech, and school trains students to separate these two classes (Diepeveen 2012:30-36). We all learned to completely analyze sentences in terms of word-classes. The reason for this is so is our western grammaticographic tradition that follows models

[16] E.g. Mustanoja (1960:648-649); cf. the critical overview by Bauer / Valera (2005). Ježek & Ramat (2009) analyze Type A in terms of "transcategorization".

elaborated for Latin (see Maas 2012:165-183, 269-300). The fact that Figure 1 replaces this tradition certainly is a point of progress. In the second place, even if morphologized paradigms are not universals, they have to be considered a possibility. In our case, Type A and Type B clearly display features of morphologicization. The important point is that this does not exclude their coexistence with other strategies, e.g. Type C and Type D (see the excellent synthesis by Salazar García 2013). Historically, languages develop preferences with regard to such strategies, with possible internal differentiations according to their variationist structure. Moreover, the suffix *-mente* has developed from the Latin paraphrases such as *sola mente*. In addition, many Type C adverbs are univerbations of phrases (e.g. Sp. *entonces* > Lat. *in tunc*). All these aspects make Figure 1 an operational point of reference for linguistic analysis.

However, as useful as such a differentiated point of view may be, we have to counterbalance it with the only universal we can rely on, that is, linguistic function. All units we observe in a successful communication have a function. In our case, we may reduce linguistic function to syntactic function. To put it in other words, word-classes may be adapted to series of functions and functions may be realized by series of linguistic solutions. This is the reason why some authors define *conversion* in terms of changed syntactic categories (e.g. Plag forthc.). On the other hand, when a given language displays a tendency to develop attributive word-classes, conversion may be perceived as a strong change. Hence, it seems to be more adequate to consider the data with regard to two extremes: strong paradigmaticization and linguistic function in an utterance.

In the following example, Sp. *bastante* ‘quite a lot’ occupies different syntactic positions and functions:

(29) a. *bastante grande* ADJ modifier (- inflected)
‘quite big’
b. *bastante bien* ADV modifier(- inflected)
‘quite well’
c. *habla bastante* VP modifier (- inflected)
‘s/he speaks quite a lot’
d. *bastantes casas* NP modifier (+ inflected)
‘quite a few houses’

Rather than manifestations of an *invariant* adverb, (29a-c) can be considered as uninflected manifestations of a single word-class. The traditional binary classification of *bastante* in (29a-c) as an adverb and in (29d) as an adjective imposes a dichotomy that does not mirror the fact that (29a-c) show different functions of this word, that is, not a single adverbial function. Belonging to an inflectional category (Type A), *bastante* displays number agreement when modifying a noun (29d). Hence, inflection depends on syntax. To the difference of verb-noun-conversion, where semantic

adaptation is necessary (e.g. Engl. *to walk* > *a walk*), no conceptual difference can be observed in (29) or in cases such as *a loud song* / *to sing loud*. This is the reason why Quirk *et al.* (1995:71) use the term *homomorphs* for *hard* (adj.) and *hard* (adv.) (see the thorough discussion by Valera Hernández 1996). However, this term suggests a rather arbitrary relation between these units, by analogy to the term *homonymy* in semantics. In the same vein, syntactic analyses often use or implicitly apply the notion of *syntactic homonymy* (e.g. Jespersen 1974, vol. 6:84; Greenbaum, 1969:6). However, it clearly appears that in many cases we must analyze the data in terms of motivated *polyfunctionality* (by analogy to *polysemy*), including simple change of syntactic function, as in (29), and motivated conceptual differentiation, as in Fr. *un homme pauvre* 'poor man' vs. *un pauvre homme* 'pitiable man' (see details in Hummel 2012b).

Unlike English, the adjective is inflected in Dutch and German. As in Romance, the extension of the domain of inflection is subject to variance and hesitation ('adverbial agreement' in Romance). As Diepeveen & Van de Velde (2010) convincingly show, Dutch and German draw the demarcation line between inflected adnominal attributes, on the one hand, and uninflected predicative attributes and adverbs, on the other, whereas Romance languages conserve the inflection of the latter (copula constructions, secondary predication). The division line in Dutch and German conflicts with the adjective-adverb distinction, since the predicative attributes are usually not considered as adverbs (cf. Eisenberg 2002:63). Hence, there are some attributes that are not adverbs but still uninflected.

The clear division pointed out by Diepeveen & Van de Velde was probably reinforced by the purifying process of standardization of writing. In the case of Romance, uninflected predicative attributes can be found in substandard French: Bauche (1951:93) cites cases such as *Ma femme est jaloux* [sic] 'my wife is jealous' in popular French, and similar examples can still be found in Louisiana French, which indicates a common oral tradition (Hummel 2000:427-433). These cases are often considered 'corruptions', but it seems more plausible to me that standardization has marginalized such spontaneous possibilities. Similarly, Diepeveen & Van de Velde (2010:385) explain the "proleptic inflection" of Dut. *een hele mooie periode* 'a very nice period' as an innovation in Modern Dutch, but the hypothesis that the phenomenon could be a remnant of traditional inflectional liberty or hesitation in spoken language should not be excluded.

Be this as it may, the hypothesis of a Type A system provides an adequate framework for these variationist phenomena. On the one hand, at the level of word-class, Type A attributes are inflectional units in Dutch, German and Romance. On the other hand, inflectional morphemes are activated or not activated only when they enter a syntactic structure, that is, when they are used in utterance. Consequently, the appearance of such morphemes is a spontaneous process. While there is considerable control for this process in writing, informal oral communication lacks systematic

planning. Moreover, spontaneous orality possibly tends to use inflection for the marking of the semantic coherence of a phrase (e.g. Sp. *medios tontos* 'half crazy', Dut. *een hele mooie periode*), whereas literacy sticks to the dogma that inflection should reflect the modification of a noun, which restricts inflection to so-called adjectives. Interestingly, predicative attributes display two contradictory features with regard to inflection: In *Charles is tall* the attribute belongs to VP but modifies NP. Dutch and German chose the option of uninflected usage, whereas Romance cultivates inflection, underlining the noun-modifying function of the attribute. To sum up, the assumption of a rather general Type A word-class that meets specific syntactic conditions with specific syntactic and semantic conditions for the usage of inflection explains the emergence of the variants we observe in the data.

6. *Conclusion*

It has been shown that English shares with Romance the fact that synchrony and diachrony are characterized by the coexistence and competition of two systems that cover adjectival and adverbial functions. The first (Type A) covers both domains with a single word class, while the second uses a suffix for the adverbial functions (Type B), restricting Type A to noun modifiers.

Methodologically, the comparison of Romance and English proves to be a heuristic device that brings to light

- the common Indo-European tradition of using Type A
- a shared Western Culture that specifically promotes Type B in standard literacy

Consequently, Type A tends to be conserved where the impact of standardization is lower. This is the reason why the American varieties of English and Romance better conserve the oral tradition of Type A. In Romance, Type B alternatives regularly emerge in the context of literate standardization. This tradition can be traced back to Late Latin (*-iter*), Classical Latin (*-ē, -iter*), and even Old Greek (*–ως*). In Romance, Type A clearly belongs to an old oral tradition that systematically reemerges when literacy decays, lacks or comes late, as in the case of Romanian. By contrast, in English Type A is closely tied to both the oral and written traditions since it was standard in Old English with unbroken tradition through Middle English until today. Consequently, the superimposed nature of *–ly* becomes more salient in English (cf. Robertson & Cassidy 1954:133-134). The fact that Type A has never been standard in the written tradition of Romance (with the exception of Romanian) poses specific methodological problems since Type A scarcely appears in the written sources we can use for diachronic research.

The oral tradition of using Type A is intimately related to the necessities of every-day oral communication. In both English and Romance,

the series of Type A adverbs is limited to the domain of words that were inherited via oral tradition from Germanic (English) or Latin (Romance). These words tend to be are short and frequent. They do not belong to the fund of learned words, which were systematically integrated into the Type B system. In English, there are some exceptions that can be explained by the historical impact of French (*just, sure,* etc.).

Research could be considerably improved if the interface of oral and written traditions were taken into account. This is generally not the case. The theory of "Sprachbau" provides an adequate framework for this concern. To give a last example, it is simplistic to explain the increase of sentential adverbs in *–ly* with the general expansion of this suffix (Swan 1991), without taking into account the natural (code specific) and cultural conditions and models that intervene in the techniques and traditions of writing.

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