BARE ADJECTIVES AS SYNCRETIC FORMS[*]

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Traigo buenas noticias. Murió el adverbio.
La gente dice: *Salga despacio, que le vaya lindo,*
en lugar de *Salga despaciosamente, que le vaya lindamente.*
(A. Bioy Casares, 2006. *Borges* p.1091. 20.11.1965)

ABSTRACT. The goal of this paper is to discuss the categorical *status* and semantic properties of the so-called *adjective adverbs* (*NGRALE* 2009: 2295-2301). As these forms are actually real adjectives lacking productive gender and number agreement, we will call them here *bare adjectives*. We will argue that the default agreement (masculine, singular) which characterize such forms naturally follows from the fact that they cannot check their agreement features against the gender and number features of the noun to which they refer. Therefore we propose that these words are the syncretic correlate of standard agreeing adjectives in certain contexts. Accordingly, the alleged adverbial behaviour that such predicative elements display can be seen as an epiphenomenon instead of a basic syntactic feature. Likewise, we will explain the syntactic and interpretive properties of these adjectives according to their qualitative or quantitative meaning and the different levels of the VP area they are associated with.

Keywords. adjective, adverb, default agreement, secondary predication, manner, *Aktionsart*

RESUMEN. El propósito de este estudio es discutir el estatus categorial y las propiedades semánticas de los llamados adjetivos adverbiales (*NGRALE* 2009: 2295-2301). Como estas formas son, en realidad, verdaderos adjetivos que carecen de concordancia productiva en género y número, los denominaremos adjetivos desnudos. Argumentaremos que la concordancia de defecto (masculino singular) que caracteriza a los adjetivos desnudos se deriva naturalmente del hecho de que estos elementos predicativos no pueden cotejar sus rasgos de concordancia con los rasgos de género y número del nombre al cual se refieren. Por eso, propondremos que estas palabras son los correlatos sincréticos de los adjetivos concordados en ciertos contextos. En este sentido, el supuesto comportamiento adverbial que muestran estas formas debe ser visto como un epifenómeno en vez de un rasgo sintáctico básico. Explicaremos, asimismo, el comportamiento sintáctico e interpretativo de estos adjetivos en función de su significado cualitativo o cuantitativo y, también, de los distintos niveles del área SV a los que están asociados.

Palabras clave: adjetivo, adverbio, concordancia defectiva, predicación secundaria, manera, *Aktionsart*

1. Introducción

In romance languages some adjective heads may appear in syntax as agreeing adjectives (1a), as adverbs associated to –*mente* suffix (1b), or as *bare adjectives* (1c)[1]. As bare adjectives lack the agreement properties that characterize (1a) and the adverbial suffix of (1b)[2], different labels have been assigned to them, such as "short adverbs", "adverbs with an adjectival form" or "adjectival adverbs".

(1)   a.   Llegaron *puntual-es*.
                Arrive$_{3\,PL.PAST}$ [$_A$ punctual $_{MASC./FEM.PL.}$]
                '(They) arrived on time'
        b.   Llegaron *puntualmente*.
                Arrive$_{3\,PL.PAST}$ [$_{ADV}$[$_A$ punctual]-ly]
                '(They) arrived on time'
        c.   Llegaron *puntual*.
                Arrive$_{3\,PL.PAST}$ [$_A$ punctual]
                '(They) arrived on time'

The underlined lexical items in (1) are predicated of the event of the clause and additionally in (1a) of the external argument. The reduced inflection of these adjective forms is the result of inability to check their inflectional features with a name. For this reason they were included in the wide category of adverbs; this inclusion was supported by the alternations of some forms with adverbs in –*mente,* which are the preferred ones in written language (Hummel, 2012 and 2013; Grevisse 1936/1989 § 926; Company, 2012 and in press):[3]

(2)   a.   Juan habló *claro/ claramente* en la reunión.
                Juan spoke *clear/ clearly* at the meeting.
        b.   Aquí se trabaja *duro/ duramente*.
                Here people work *hard/ hardly*.
        c.   Estoy citando *textual/ textualmente*.
                I am quoting *textual/ textually*.
        d.   No hay que volar *tan alto/ *tan altamente*.
                People must not fly *so high/ *so highly*.
        e.   Camine *derecho / *derechamente*.
                Walk *straight /*straightly*

Bare adjectives, known in Latin (*abruptĕ, strenuĕ, facilĕ, gravĕ, tranquillum, falsum, firmum, horrendum, primum*), have survived in the coloquial register of the

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[1] The name of 'bare adjective' first appeared in Bartra and Suñer, 1997.

[2] The three possibilities are registered in *Google* (18.06.13), but with different frequencies: 25,000 examples, 32,600 and 2,500, respectively.

[3] As pointed out by a reviewer, the similarity between adjectives and adverbs is also reflected by the fact that in certain contexts they can be coordinated (*habla claro y lentamente cuando dejes un mensaje* 'Speak clear and slowly when you leave a message'; *todavía hay gente que trabaja duro y honradamente por el bien del país* 'There are still people working hard and honestly for the benefit of the country'). See also section 1.

Romance languages, as seen in (3). Therefore, it is a panromance phenomenon, also present in other linguistic families, as Germanic ones: ingl. *to hit hard,* al. *hartgetroffen,* nor. *hartrammet*:

(3) a. Spanish: hablar *claro,* caminar *derecho,* volar *alto,* trabajar *duro,* golpear *fuerte (*speak clear, walk straight, fly high, work hard, hit hard*)*
  b. Catalan: parlar *clar*, caminar *dret*, volar *alt*, treballar *dur*, colpejar *fort*
  c. French: parler *clair*, marcher *droit*, travailler *dur*, frapper *fort*
  d. Italian: parlare *chiaro,* camminare *diritto*, volare *alto,* colpire *forte,* lavorare *duro*
  e. Portuguese: falar *claro*, voar *alto*, trabalhar *duro*, golpear *forte*
  f. Romanian: a vorbi *clar*, a merge *drept*, a munci *dur*, a lovi *tare*

Grammars often observe that these forms are documented in both European and American Spanish, but are more productive in the second one, see Kany (1945:53ss), *GDLE,* (1931:§11.1.2.2) and *NGRALE* (2009:§30.3c)[4].

Besides the alternation between adjectives and adverbs, as illustrated in (2), bare adjectives have the same distribution of bare noun phrases, as in (4); also this alternation is known in Romance languages, as seen in (5):

(4) a. En casa se come *sano* / se comen *cosas sanas*.
    At home we eat *healthy* / we eat *healthy things*.
  b. Hay gente que piensa *diferente*[5] / piensa *cosas diferentes*.
    There are people who think different / think different things.
(5) a. Spanish: comer *sano*, pensar *diferente*.
    eat *healthy*, think *different*.
  b. Catalan: menjar *sa*, pensar *diferent*.
  c. French: manger *riche*, penser *différent*.
  d. Italian: mangiare *sano,* pensare *diverso*.
  e. Portuguese: comer *saudável*, pensar *diferente*.
  f. Romanian: amânca *sănătos*, a gândi *diferit*.

Therefore, bare adjectives have defective inflection *(claro, fijo, fuerte, fácil, sano, diferente*). This feature distinguishes them from the subject predicative, cf. (1a), as shown by the difference in meaning of (6a), depending on whether the adjective modifies either only the event or also the external argument, thus the agrammaticality of the agreed forms in (6b):

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[4] Kany (1945/1976) was the first linguist in linking the productivity of these forms with a dialectal region –the American Spanish- and a register, the local saying or mimetic literature. This connection became commonplace, a fact that future research must test.

[5] French Wikipedia attributes this meaning to the expressions in (4): «*Think different. "Think different*, qui se traduirait en français par *Penser différent*, peut apparaître comme une erreur grammaticale. En effet *Penser différemment - Think differently* semble grammaticalement plus correct. Cependant, le mot « différent » n'est pas destiné à être un adverbe qui module la signification du verbe. Il agit comme l'objet du verbe « penser », indiquant que penser et non comment penser » (underlining added).

(6) a. Respondió *rápido* ('de prisa') ≠ Respondió *rápida* ('diligente', 'expeditiva', 'rauda'[6]).
(She) answered quickly ≠ She answered prompt ('efficient', 'fast', 'speedy').
  b. Me miraba *fijo* /*fija
She looked at me fixed (=stared at me) / fixed$_{FEM.SING.}$
Hablaron *claro* / *claros.
They spoke clear / clear$_{MASC.PL.}$

Defective flexion in Latin agrees with neuter gender, but in Spanish with masculine singular. The same inflectional forms are found in a predicative context of impersonal sentences, but both cases should not be confused because the feminine is not impossible and plural is the normal inflection in Italian impersonal sentences, as shown in (7b) and (7d):

(7) a. Spanish: Para vivir *tranquilo /a,* hay que pagar los impuestos.
To live peaceful$_{MASC,SING,}$, people have to pay taxes.
  b. Italian: Per vivere *tranquilli /e*, bisogna pagare le tasse.
To live peaceful$_{MASC,PL,}$, people have to pay taxes.
  c. Spanish: Aquí se come *sentado*.
Here (people) eat seated$_{MASC,SING,}$
  d. Italian: Qui si mangia *seduti*.
Here (people) eat seated$_{MASC.PL.}$

In short, defective inflection shows that bare adjectives are outside the scope of a noun with which to check their agreement features, especially when it is the external argument, as in the examples above. With the internal argument, the alternation is possible, although marginal, only when the adjective precedes the object, as in (8):

(8) a. Venden *barato*$_{MASC.SING}$/ *barata*$_{FEM.SING}$ la fruta.
Sell cheap$_{MASC. /FEM.}$ the fruit
(cf. Venden la fruta **barato/ barata*)
  b. Tal vez pague *caro*$_{MASC.SING}$ / *caras*$_{FEM.PL.}$ esas veleidades.
Perhaps I will pay dearly for these follies.

Instead, this alternation is not possible in generic sentences (as *middle constructions*) where bare adjectives are predicated of null objects, as in (9); in this case, bare adjectives denote the state resulting from the action or process[7]:

(9) a. Este detergente lava Ø *blanquísimo* / *a.
This detergent washes Ø very white (masc. OK / *fem.)
  b. Hay que batir Ø *firme* / *s.
You have to beat firm (sing OK /*pl).

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[6]As we shall see in section 1, there are different degrees of lexicalization between bare adjectives and the verb. Accordingly, there is a contrast between *raudo* and *rápido*, which are synonymous. While *rápido* is commonly used since the Fifteenth Century as bare adjetive, *raudo* has less cohesion with the verbal form and tends to agree with the subject.
[7]As we shall see in section 3.3., the presence of a null object induces a generic interpretation of the sentence.

  c. Mi marido plancha Ø *impecable* /*s*.
    My husband irons Ø impeccable (masc. OK / *fem).

  The above examples show the versatility of the bare adjectives, which alternate with heads or phrases of other categories in different contexts. In this paper we shall describe the properties of these unagreed adjectives and of the syntactic environments that house them, specifically focusing on bare adjectives that are within the SV domain. Moreover, we will explain the syncretic and epiphenomenal character of these forms, which appear in many different constructions, despite being subjected to specific syntactic and semantic restrictions because of the negative features of their defective inflection. In the first part we will show the differences from –*mente* adverbs, with which some of them alternate in certain contexts. The second part is devoted to verbal quantification that many bare adjectives can express, in all the meanings recognized by Bosque & Masullo (1998): the inherent ones, which depend on the combination with the verb, the frequency and duration associated with mensurable dimensions within VP and, finally, the argumental one. Precisely the possible ambiguity between the manner and the argumental interpretation will be discussed in the third part of this work, where we will pay particular attention to the type of noun phrase that the bare adjectives form. The conclusions will link these different types of bare adjectives with the projections they modify to justify the epiphenomenal and syncretic character attributed to these elements.

2. Bare adjectives versus adverbs with –*mente*

  Bare adjectives have traditionally been considered as adverbs because of their defective inflection and of their possible alternation with real adverbs, such as –*mente* adverbs, (10). However, bare adjectives and –*mente* adverbs are different grammatical categories, project different syntactic phrases and behave differently in a significant number of contexts, as we will show below.

  The bare adjectives in the examples in (10) look like short forms of the respective –*mente* adverbs: *Estoy citando textual/ textualmente* (2c). However, the alleged adverbial behavior of the former ones does not always coincide with –*mente* adverbs. As can be observed in the following examples, differences are found with regard to the degree of cohesion that these elements establish with the verb, see Bosque, 1989; Bartra and Suñer, 1997; Di Tullio and Suñer, 2011. Thus, the unit formed by a verb and a bare adjective cannot be broken by the presence of an object, (10b), nor by applying grammatical processes like extraction or focalization, (11)-(14).

(10) a. Estoy citando el párrafo *textualmente*.
     (I) am quoting the paragraph literal-LY
     'I am quoting the paragraph literally.'
   b. *Estoy citando el párrafo *textual*.
     '(I) am quoting the paragraph literal$_{MASC.SING}$'
(11) a. *TEXTUALMENTE* estoy citando.
     LITERAL-LY am quoting
     'LITERALLY, I am quoting.'
   b. **TEXTUAL* estoy citando.
     LITERAL$_{MASC.SING}$ (I) am quoting.'
(12) Es *textualmente*/ *textual como estoy citando el párrafo
   'It is literal-LY/ *literal how (I) am quoting the paragraph.'

(13)   Si tengo que citar estos párrafos, será *textualmente* / *textual*.
         If (I) have to quote these paragraphs, (it) will be literal-LY / *literal$_{MASC.SING.}$

(14)   Citaré estos párrafos y lo haré *textualmente* / *textual*.
         Will quote these paragraphs and will do it literal-LY / *literal$_{MASC.SING.}$
         '(I) will quote these paragraphs and (I) will do it literally/ literal.´

Notice that, although bare adjectives generally require strict adjacency with the verb, they can be split out when their relative weight increases, usually with elements that express degree, as diminutive suffixes (*hablaban entre ellos bajito*/ $^{??}$*bajo*, talked among themselves quiet /$^{??}$ little quiet, in a low voice), superlatives (*hablaban entre ellos muy alto*/ $^{?}$*alto* o *gritó lo más fuerte que pudo* they talked among themselves loudest /$^{?}$as loud as he could) or comparative codas (*cantan/ bailan el waka waka igualito que Shakira* 'they dance the waka waka just like Shakira'), see section 2.

Likewise, bare adjectives can only appear within verbal projections. Furthermore, they cannot modify adjectival and adverbial heads. This contrasts with the behavior of some adverbs with –*mente*, which, in these contexts, behave as a degree or modality quantifier:

(15)   a.   Habló *claro / claramente*
                Talked clear$_{MASC.SING.}$ / clear-LY
                '(S/he) talked clear/ clearly.'
         b.   *claro / claramente* limpio; * *claro / claramente* sinónimas
                clear$_{MASC.SING.}$ / clearly clean; clear$_{MASC.SING.}$ / clear-LY synonymous
         c.   *claro / claramente* lejos
                clear$_{MASC.SING.}$/ clear-LY far away

A similar behavior is found with past participle forms, which admit –*mente* adverbs placed either in a preceding position or, in a much more marked way, after the participle head, (16a). In contrast, bare adjectives, are only allowed after the head.

(16)   a.   atado *firmemente*/ *firmemente* atado
                tied firm-LY/ firm-LY tied
                'firmly tied'
         b.   atado *firme* /*firme* atado
                tied firm$_{MASC.SING.}$ / firm$_{MASC.SING.}$ tied
                'firmly tied'

Moreover, the existence of idioms formed by a verb and a bare adjective (*hilar fino* `lit. to spin thin; to draw it fine´, *pisar fuerte* `lit. to tread hard; to be brave', *picar alto* `lit. to aim high; to be overambitious´, etc.), rather than a verb and a –*mente* adverb, is another strong argument in favor of the idea that there is a close relationship between the bare adjective and the verbal form. This is so since only elements that maintain a strict local relationship can be lexicalized[8]. Therefore, the

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[8]Apart from the idiomatic interpretation, it must also be noted that the majority of these expressions do also accept the meaning that is obtained compositionally. This is the interpretation that we get, for example, when *pisar fuerte* `lit. to tread hard; to be brave´ and *hilar fino* `lit. to spin thin; to draw it fine´ are followed by an object like *the pavement* and a type of *wool*, respectively. The compositional interpretation is the only one accepted with adverbs ending in -*mente*.

properties described above allow us to speculate that the appropriate structures for bare adjectives and –*mente* adverbs should be the ones we sketch informally in (17).

(17)   a.   [Hablé *claro*] de mi vida]
       b.   [Hablé de mi vida] *claramente*]

Another strong argument supporting the distinction between –*mente* adverbs and bare adjectives is the fact that only the latter may appear in the diminutive form, as shown by the contrasts in (18).

(18)   a.   hablar *clarito/ *claritamente*
            to speak *clear-it*$_{DIM.}$*-o*$_{MASC.SING.}$*/ clear-it*$_{DIM.}$*-a*$_{FEM.SING.}$*-mente*
       b.   caminar *rapidito/ *rápiditamente*
            to walk *fast-it*$_{DIM.}$*-o*$_{MASC.SING.}$*/fast-it*$_{DIM.}$*-a*$_{FEM.SING.}$*-mente*
       c.   vender *baratito/ *baratitamente*
            to sell *cheap-it*$_{DIM.}$*-o*$_{MASC.SING.}$*/ cheap-it*$_{DIM.}$*-a*$_{FEM.SING.}$*-mente*

Likewise, bare adjectives and –*mente* adverbs differ also in the different subevents that a complex event can be divided. Shortly, the one that corresponds to the agent, the one that has something to do with the process, and the one that characterizes the result. Each one of them can be modified by a –*mente* adverb, as can be seen in the following examples:

(19)   a.   Ana escribió *inteligentemente* el informe.
            Ana wrote intelligent-LY the report
            'Ana wrote the report intelligently.'
       b.   Ana escribió *rápidamente* el informe.
            Ana wrote quick-LY the report
            'Ana wrote the report quickly.'
       c.   Ana escribió *ilegiblemente* el informe.
            Ana wrote illegib-LY the report
            'Ana wrote the report illegibly.'

It is interesting to note that the adverbs with –*mente* (-ly) that are predicated of the agent can alternate with a secondary predicate that agrees in number and gender with the subject:

(20)   a.   María caminaba *distraída*.
            María$_{FEM.SING.}$ was walking inattentive$_{FEM.SING.}$
            'María was walking inattentively.'
       b.   María caminaba *distraídamente*
            María$_{FEM.SING.}$ was walking inattentive-LY
            'María was walking inattentively.'

Conversely, bare adjectives cannot be affirmed of the agent. Instead they are predicated of either the process (cf. (21a)) or the result (cf. (21b)). If they alternate with an adjective, this latter will not be able to function as a predicate of the subject, but as a predicate of the object (cf. (21c)).

(21)   a.   La disertante miró *fijamente/ fijo / *fija* al periodista.
              The_{FEM. SING.} expert_{FEM .SING.} stared fixed-ly /fixed_{MASC.SNG.} / fixed_{FEM.SING.} at the reporter
              'The expert stared fixedly at the reporter'
        b.   La disertante escribió *confusamente / confuso / *confusa* en la pizarra
              The   expert_{FEM.SING.}   wrote   confused-ly/   confused_{MASC.SING.}   /
              confused_{FEM.SING.} on the blackboard
        c.   Este verdulero vende *barata/ barato* la fruta
              This greengrocer sells the fruit_{FEM. SING.} cheap_{FEM. SING.} / cheap_{MASC.SING.}

The syntactic differences pointed out above have clear lexical correspondences. Thus, whereas the *–mente* adverbs are formed from adjectives that are predicated of people, objects or events, bare adjectives cannot be directed at people, but only at processes or at the resulting state of the process. In the former case, we find dynamic adjectives like the ones that indicate speed (*rápido* `fast´/ *lento* `slow´) or the ones that designate the relevant dimension for the quantification of a certain event (*hablar alto/ bajo,* 'to talk high, loud/ low', *cavar hondo* 'to dig deep', *trabajar duro* 'to work hard'). In the latter case, we find static adjectives (*torcido* `twisted´, *illegible* `illegible´, *blanco*` white´, etc.). The following examples illustrate both types:

(22)   a.   correr *rápido*, saltar *alto*, respirar *hondo*, hablar *quedo*
              to run *fast*_{MASC.SING.}, to jump *high*_{MASC.SING.}, to breathe *deep*_{MASC.SING.}, to talk *soft*_{MASC.SING.}
              'to run *fast*, to jump *high*, to breathe *deep*, to talk *soft*.'
        b.   lavar *blanco*, escribir *torcido*, picar *fino*, cortar *corto*
              to wash *white*_{MASC.SING.}, to write *twisted*_{MASC.SING.}, to grind *fine*_{MASC.SING.}, to cut *short*_{MASC.SING.}
              'to wash *white*, to write *twisted*, to grind *fine*, to cut *short*.´

Furthermore, some *-mente* adverbs that surface in preverbal position are base generated in the specifier position of different clausal functional projections located between the Left Periphery (CP) and argumental (vP) areas, like, for instance, the one linked to the speech act (23a), the evaluative (23b), or epistemic modalizers (23c).

(23) a. {*Francamente / *Franco; Sinceramente / *Sincero; Honestamente /*Honesto*}, este café está horrible.
          {Frank-LY/ Frank_{MASC.SING}; Sincere-LY / Sincere_{MASC.SING}; Honest-LY / Honest_{MASC.SING}.}, this coffee_{MASC.SING.} is horrible
          '{Frankly/ Sincerely/ Honestly}, this coffee is horrible.'
     b. {*Lamentablemente / *Lamentable; Afortunadamente / *Afortunado*}, Juan tiene razón.
          {Regretful-LY / Regretful_{MASC.SING}; Fortunate-LY / Fortunate_{MASC.SING.}}, Juan_{MASC.SING.} is right
          'Regretfully/ Fortunately, Juan is right.'
     c. {*Probablemente / *Probable*}, Juan_{MASC.SING} tiene razón.
          Probab-LY / Probable_{MASC.SING}, Juan is right
          'Probably, Juan is right'.

On the other hand, bare adjectives function as verbal modifiers which normally occur in postverbal position.[9] In section 2, we will propose that they are base-generated at different levels of the lexical structure of the verb.

In sum, although the mentioned differences between bare adjectives and *–mente* adverbs are not always clear-cut, we can see a greater freedom in the position of the second ones. In addition, these adverbs are formed from a wider range of classes of adjectives since they can modify not only the event but also include participants of the speech act. By contrast, bare adjectives are more limited than *–mente* adverbs in three ways: in their positions, lexically, and in relation to the segment of the event that can modify. These differences are tied to the respective morphology and in particular to the respective inflectional features. Indeed, while -*mente* adverbs are saturated predications, as the frozen singular feminine features from Latin show, bare

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[9] Nevertheless, some of them can be moved up to the specifier of different functional projections in the left periphery (Rizzi 1997, and others) if they undergo a grammaticalization process whereby these elements partially lose their lexical meaning and turn into a more functional particle that surface in preverbal position. As seen in (ia), the manner modifier $claro_1$ has its literal meaning 'clearly'. In contrast, the holophrastic statement $claro_2$ (yes/ sure) in (ib) can be felicitously uttered in response to the previous question. That is to say, $claro_2$ in (ib) is predicated to the whole sentence.

(i)   a. Manuel habla   *clar-o₁*.
         Manuel speaks$_{3\ SING.PRES.IND.}$ [$_A$*clear*$_{1MASC.SING.}$=clearly]
         'Manuel speaks clearly'
      b.--¿Entendés lo que te digo?
         Understand$_{2\ SING.PRES.IND.}$what (I)'m   you$_{CL}$ saying?
         '--Do you understand what I'm telling you?'
         --*Clar-o₂*.
         [$_A$ clear$_{2MASC.SING}$= yes/ sure]
         'yes/sure'

If this is the right way to explain these cases, $claro_2$ is derived from $claro_1$ through a grammaticalization process that implies movement from the argumental VP area to the CP field as illustrated by (ii).

(ii) [$_{CP}$ [$_A$*claro₁*] C [$_{IP}$I [$_{VP}$V [$_A$ *claro₂*]]]]

Similarly, some elative bare adjectives such *fantastic* ('fantastic'), *estupendo* ('great'), *fenomenal* ('terrific') or *bárbaro* ('*smashing'/ 'fantastic'*) are also polysemic: they have a literal meaning as verbal modifiers in postverbal position (iiia) and also a more functional reading when they occur as a response or as a holophrastic utterance (25b).

(iii) a. Baila   *fantastic-o₁/ estupend-o₁/ fenomenal₁/ bárbar-o₁*
         Dances$_{3\ SING.PRES.IND.}$ [$_A$fantastic/ great/ terrific/ *smashing*$_{MASC.SING}$ = very well]
         '(S)he dances very well'
      b. ─Mañana   vamos   al cine.
         Tomorrow   will go   to the cinema
         'We will go to the cinema tomorrow'
         ─*Fantástic-o₂ / Estupend-o₂, Fenomenal₂/Bárbar-o₂*.
         [$_A$ fantastic-/ great-/ terrific-$_{MASC.SING.}$= OK]

Elative bare adjectives instantiate the same gramaticalization pattern followed by *claro* which we have just discussed above: the functional elements *fantástico₂, estupendo₂, fenomenal₂, bárbaro₂* are derived from their literal counterparts through a semantic bleaching that entails movement from the argumental VP area to the CP field. As these bare adjectives convey an additional modal value because they express subjective speaker's judgment regarding an assertion, they are probably associated to the Specifier of ForceP. We will leave this question open for further research.

adjectives do contain agreement features but these are defective ones as saturated only when predicated of the event or of the outcome of the event, as in the examples in (22).

3. Bare adjectives and levels of verbal quantification

In this section we well argue that a bare adjective can instantiate a degree argument associated with different levels of the sub-lexical structure of an unbounded predicate. Such a situation entails a particular interaction between the properties of the verb involved, on the one hand, and the properties of the adjectives, on the other hand.

3.1. Types of verbal quantification expressed by bare adjectives

As indicated in Bosque and Masullo (1998), the phenomenon of the quantification that operates on verbal predicates is not by any means a unified issue. Bosque and Masullo distinguish four possible interpretations for the quantifiers that are linked to a verb. These are the inherent, the eventive, the temporal or durative, and the argumental quantification. Thus, according to these authors, the sentence in (23) can have four possible readings, cf. (24):

(23)   Corrió *mucho*.
        Ran a lot$_{MASC.SING}$
        '(S/he) ran a lot'
(24)   a.   Corrió *a mucha velocidad*.   Inherent
              '(S/he) ran very fast.´
        b.   Corrió *muchas veces*.   Eventive
              '(S/he) ran many times.´
        c.   Corrió *mucho tiempo*.   Durative
              '(S/he) ran for a long time.´
        d.   Corrió *mucha distancia*.   Argumental
              '(S/he) ran a long distance.´

As we will see, the same differences can be established by using bare adjectives.

a)   *Inherent quantification*: According Bosque and Masullo (1998:2), "the inherent type is systematically allowed by verbs associated with lexical structures containing an unbounded predicate". With bare adjectives this interpretation may be obtained through the combination of an adjustable depictive adjective with a predicate that has been obtained by incorporating a non-delimited noun into the verb in a cognate verb structure:

(25)   *respirar hondo* `to breathe deep´, *correr rápido*` to run fast´, *saltar alto* `to jump high´, *dormir profundo* `to sleep deep´, *trabajar duro*` to work hard´, *pisar firme* `to tread steady´, *pegar fuerte* `to hit hard´

In these cases, the bare adjective expresses a relevant dimension (intensity, direction or manner) in order to quantify an atelic process. The inherent quantification requires strict adjacency between the verbal head and the bare adjective (**saltó la valla alto* '(S)he jumped the fence hight', **cantó el himno bajo, '(S)he sang the anthem low' *golpeó la pelota duro, '(S)he hit the ball hard'*).

b)   *Eventive quantification*: This iterative interpretation is obtained through the combination of a sequence of telic events with an eventive bare adjective such as *seguido* 'often', *salteado* 'on and off' or *tupido* 'thick'. As we can see in (29), *viajar seguido* is understood as a more or less regular succession of travel, while *trabajar salteado* is not a regular succession of the event *trabajar*. Finally, *toser tupido* is an iterative event where microevents are indistinguishable.

(26)   *trabajar salteado* `to work on and off´, *viajar* (*a Europa*) *seguido* `to travel (to Europe) often´, *toser tupido* `to cough thick´

Since this interpretation is licensed by an eventive argument in the sense of Higginbotham (1985) and others, only activities, accomplishments and achievements) are expected to allow this quantification, unlike stative predicates, as shown in (27).

(27)   *ser de París salteado, *tiene el pelo corto seguido, *estar triste tupido.

It should be noticed that eventive quantification, unlike inherent quantification, does not require strict adjacency between the verbal head and the bare adjective.

c)   *Temporal or durative quantification*: The durative reading is licensed whenever a bare adjective with an aspectual value (*largo* 'long', *largo y tendido* 'long') quantifies over the temporal extension in which an activity is developed, cf. Bosque and Masullo (1998:26):

(28)   a.   hablar *largo y tendido*
                to talk full-length
                'to talk full-length´
        b.   mateaba *largo* sobre un tronco
                drank mate long on a log
                '(S)he drinked mate long on a log.

Temporal or durative quantification can only be combined with durative predicates (activites and achievements).[10]

d)   *Argumental quantification*: According to Bosque and Masullo (1998), the argumental reading is obtained when a verbal argument is lexicalized by a quantifier such as *mucho* 'a lot' or *poco* 'little' in (29).

(29)   a.   Comió [$_{NP}$ mucho (chocolate)].
                'S(he) ate a lot (of chocolate)'
        b.   Bebió [$_{NP}$ poco (vino)].
                '(S)he drank little (wine)'

We propose that this reading can also be obtained when a cognate object is modified by a bare adjective under its scope. Given this situation, the bare adjective

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[10] When combined with accomplishments, the results are odd (*[??]Pintó largo este cuadro* 'He painted long this picture')

shows up default agreement in masculine singular because it cannot check its agreement features against the noun that has been previously incorporated to the verb, (30).

(30)   [$_{VP}$ *comer* [$_{NP}$ *Ø sano*]] `to eat healthy´, [$_{VP}$ *beber* [$_{NP}$ *Ø tinto*]] `to drink red (wine)´, [$_{VP}$ *bailar* [$_{NP}$ *Ø clásico*]] `to dance classical (dance)´.

As we will see in section 3, phrases such as (30) are complex predicates with an individual or characterizing reading; therefore, the resulting sentences are generally interpreted as generic or habitual events.

3.2. Types of adjectives
    Bare adjectives usually belong to the class of gradable predicates; as such, they lexicalize a degree to which a given property occurs, (34).

(31)   a.   Habló *claro/ muy claro/ clarísimo/ más claro que el presidente.*
                ((S)he) Spoke clear/ very clear/ clearest/ clearer than the president.
        b.   Golpeó *fuerte, muy fuerte/ fortísimo/ más fuerte de lo que cabía suponer a partir de su aspecto.*
                ((S)he) hit hard, very hard/ hardest/ harder/ harder than one could have been assumed by the look of him.

The bare forms just mentioned in (31) are depictive adjectives. This class contains elements such as *alto* `high, loud´, *bajo* `low´, *suave* `soft´, *quedo* `soft´, *recio* `hard, tough´, *fuerte* `strong´, *hondo* `deep´, *profundo* `deep´, which quantify the extensional degree of a process. These gradable adjectives point out a degree, usually relatively high (*fuerte, recio, alto, hondo, profundo, tupido*) but sometimes also low (*suave, quedo, bajo*) on a certain scale that can be deduced from the meaning of the verb. This is what occurs, for example, with the adjective *alto* `high, loud´, which expresses a positive value of a dimensional property (high/ low, strong/ weak, etc) but this value will be interpreted according to different parameters – height or loudness – depending on the verb that this adjective combines with: *volar alto* `to fly high´, *hablar alto* `to talk loud´. The same happens with *profundo* `deep´ in *cavar/ respirar/ dormir profundo* `to dig/ to breathe/ to sleep deep´.
    In contrast, bare adjectives cannot be obtained from relational adjectives because they are neither predicates nor gradable elements.

(32)   a.   *Habló *cerebral/ cerebralísimo/ más cerebral que tú.*
                *((S)he spoke bright/ most bright/ brighter than you.
        b.   *Golpeó *manual/ manualísimo/ más manual de lo que suponíamos.*
                *((S)he hit manual/ most manual/ more manual than we supposed.

Elative adjectives express inherently the maximum degree of a property; these adjectives are a lexicalized quantifiable dimension associated with a predicate, as seen in (33); therefore, they don't support additional degree quantifiers (*very fantastic, *most brilliant, *more wonderful than before,* etc.):

(33)   a.   Con esos zapatos camino *fantástico.*
                With these shoes I walk fantastic.

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  b.   A mí estos consejos me vinieron *genial*
          These pieces of advice came in great for me.
                                    [*Google*:www.srtalimon.19.04.13]
  c.   Te quedan *regio* tus canas (*Google*: El Comercio. Perú. 01.04.09)
          Your grey hair suits you.

Elative adjectives such *fenomenal* `terrific´, *fantastic* `fantastic´, *regio* `great´, *bárbaro* `lit. barbarous; great´, *divino* `divine´, *excelente* `excellent´, lexically express positive extreme degree; whereas forms such *fatal* `disastrous´, *desastroso* `disastrous´ are the negative counterpart. All of them are evaluative bare adjectives because they express the speaker´s assessment regarding the degree in which a specific process is developed. Bare adjectives like *passable* `passable´, *regular* `regular´ or *normal* `normal´, are also evaluative adjectives but indicate an intermediate degree, and are not elative ones.

Eventive and durative adjectives (as stated in Demonte 1999), as *seguido* `often', *tupido* `thick, dense´ (Rioplatense)*, continuo* `continuous´, *diario* `daily´ (Peru)*, salteado* `on and off´*, largo (y tendido)* 'at (great) length', etc, express repetition or duration of the event.

These different classes of adjectives are associated with different levels in VP. Therefore, they can occur simultaneously in some cases, as in the examples of (34).

(34) a.   [[Baila *lento*] *fenomenal*].
              [[He dances slow] great].
      b.   [[Fuma *negro*] *tupido*]
              [[She smokes black] thick/ continuous].
      c.   [[Me miró *fijo*] *diferente*]
              [[(S)he) looked at me fixed (=stared at me)] different].
      d.   [[Comemos *sano*] *seguido*]
              [[We eat healthy] daily].
      e.   [[Hablaron *claro*] *largo y tendido*]]
              [[They spoke clear] at (great) length].

Likewise, the taxonomy of the quantification linked to the verbal boundaries that has been presented allows us to explain why the sentences in (35a) or (36a) are ambiguous:

(35) a.   Baila   bastante   lento.
              Dance₃ SING. PRES.IND.   rather   slow
      b.   Baila de manera bastante lenta. (manner interpretation)
              '(S)he dances in a rather slow manner.´
      c.   Baila a menudo (baile) lento. (cognate object interpretation)
              '(S)he often dances slow dances.´
(36) a.   Come   mucho   picante.
              Eat₃ SING.PRES.IND. a lot   spicy
      b.   Come a menudo (comida) picante.
              '(S)he eats often spicy (food)'
              (eventive + cognate object interpretation)
      c.   Come muy picante (cognate object interpretation)
              (S)he eats very spicy (food).

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In (35) the quantifier *bastante* `rather´ can be included within an adjectival projection – in the manner interpretation (cf. 35b) or as an eventive quantifier by itself. The same applies to *mucho* `a lot´ in (36a), because it can function as a neuter quantifier expressing *many times* or else be the quantifier of the adjective 'spicy'. Differently, *muy* `very´, (36b), can only modify the bare adjective associated to the cognate object.

In sum, while neuter quantifiers like *mucho, poco, demasiado* ('a lot', 'a bit', 'too much') can lead to ambiguities because of the various dimensions within the VP that can be quantified, the combination possibilities of bare adjectives are more restricted because of their specific lexical meaning. For example, in (37a) the quantifier *mucho* ('a lot') can express the four kinds of quantification listed in this section according to Bosque y Masullo (1998); in contrast, bare adjectives of (37b)-(37d) are not ambiguous; each of them is associated with a specific type of quantification:

(37) a.   Escribe *mucho*.
            '(S)he writes a lot.´
     b.   Escribe *fantástico*.
            '(S)he writes fantastic.´
     c.   Escribe *pausado*
            '(S)he writes slow.´
     d.   Escribe *fenomenal*.
            '(S)he writes great.´
     e.   Escribe *ilegible* / *torcido*
            '(S)he writes on a slant.´

The grammatical quantifier in (37a) generates several types of ambiguity, as in the cases already examined. The bare adjective in (37b) can be either a classifier, in which case it modifies the cognate object ('fantastic literature'), or evaluative, which triggers the manner interpretation. This latter reading can also be observed in (37c) and (37d). In (37e), conversely, the bare adjective is a pseudo-resultative predicate since it refers to the resulting state of the silent object *pro*.

4. Argumental bare adjectives and manner bare adjectives asserted of the process

The sentence in (38) is ambiguous. In the first reading, the adjective expresses a type of dance (cf. (39a)), whereas in the second interpretation it indicates a way of dancing (cf. (39b)).

(38)   Juan baila *lento*.
       Juan dances slow-$_{\text{MASC.SING}}$
       'Juan dances slow.'
(39) a.   Juan [$_{\text{VP}}$baila [$_{\text{NP}}$[$_{\text{N}}$Ø] [$_{\text{AP}}$lento]]] = Juan baila *un baile lento*.
            'Juan dances a slow$_{\text{MASC.SING}}$ dance.´
     b.   Juan [$_{\text{VP}}$baila [$_{\text{AP}}$ lento]]= Juan baila *de manera lenta*.
            'Juan dances in a slow manner.´

The fact that (38) has two different structures can explain why the two interpretations in (40a) and (40b) require two different interrogative words:

(40) a. *¿Qué* baila Juan? ¿Lento o rápido?
          What does Juan dance? Slow~MASC.SING.~ or fast~MASC.SING~?
          '¿What does Juan dance? ¿Slow or fast?´
      b. *¿Cómo* baila Juan? ¿Lento o rápido?
          How does Juan dance? ¿Slow~MASC.SING~ or fast~MASC.SING~?
          'How does Juan dance? Slow or fast?'

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

(41) a. Fue lento *lo que* bailó.
          It was slow~MASC.SING.~ *it*-ACC~MASC.SING.~ that danced
          'It was slow that s/he danced.´
      b. Fue lento *como* lo bailó.
          It was slow~MASC.SING~ *how* (s/he) danced it
          'It was slow *how* s/he danced it.´

A similar contrast is obtained in their respective agentive nominalizations. Whereas the first reading requires the presence of the preposition *de* `of´, the second one, namely the one that indicates manner, requires an adjectival modifier.

(42) a. un bailarín de lento   Argumental
          a dancer of slow-~MASC.SING~
          'a dancer of slow music'
      b. un bailarín lento   Manner
          a dancer slow-~MASC.SING~
          'a slow dancer´

The first interpretation in (39a) is obtained from a structure in which the adjective is included within the internal argument selected by the verb. This reading is also obtained in *comer sano/ liviano/ nutritivo/ sabroso/ picante/ salado* `to eat healthy/ light/ nutritious/ tasty/ spicy/ salty´; *bailar clásico/ moderno* `to dance classical/ modern (dance)´; *cantar melódico/ romántico* `to sing melodic / romantic´; *fumar negro/ rubio* `to smoke black (tobacco) / Virginia (tobacco)´; *beber tinto / blanco* `to drink red (wine) / white (wine)´. For these constructions we adopt the analysis proposed for cognate objects, among others, in Jones (1988), Massam (1990), Mittwoch (1998) and Pereltsvaig (1999). In these two latter works, it is demonstrated that, in languages like Hebrew or Russian, the construction with a cognate object can be the source of both an argumental interpretation of the cognate object and an interpretation as an adjunct of manner.[11] These are just the two interpretations that we have pointed out above with regard to the bare adjectives.

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[11] A similar interpretation was proposed in the accademic grammar of 1931: "In the expressions *ver claro* ('see clear')*, golpear recio* ('knock tough') the words *claro y recio* don't function as indefinite pronouns because they don't refer to direct objects of the verbs *ver y golpear;* neither are they adjectives because they don't have any nouns to refer to. These adverbial adjectives are explained by ellipsis, but not of the accusative direct object, but the internal accusative, that can be implied in transitive or intransitive verbs. So, *golpear recio* equals to *golpear golpes recios* ('knock tough

The argumental interpretation and the interpretation as an adjunct of manner that we find in the example in (38) can be formalized as in (43) and (44), respectively:

(43)   a.   [$_{VP}$ [$_V$ hacer] [$_{NP}$[$_N$baile] [$_{AP}$lento$_{MASC.SING.}$]]]
                make   dance   slow
        b.   [$_{VP}$[$_V$hacer+baile$_i$] [$_{NP}$[$_N$~~baile~~$_i$] [$_{AP}$lento$_{MASC.SING.}$]]
                make + dance   ~~dance~~   slow
(44)   a.   [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$[$_V$ hacer] [$_{NP}$ baile]] [$_{AP}$lento$_{MASC.\ SING.}$]]
                make   slow   dance
        b.   [$_{VP}$ [$_{V'}$ [$_V$ hacer + baile$_i$][$_{NP}$ ~~baile~~$_i$]] [$_{AP}$ lento]]
                make + dance   slow

The structure in (43a) shows that the verb *bailar* `to dance´ is understood à la Hale and Keyser (1992) (1994) as a complex predicate composed of a functional verb and the selected object *baile*. The incorporation of the noun into the functional verb leaves the adjective in the object position. This gives rise to the default values MASC SING of the inflectional morphology associated to the adjective *lento* since the adjective cannot check these features with the noun *baile*. In the manner reading in (44), the adjective *lento* `slow´ does not form a constituent with the object. In fact, it is predicated of an event and an event shows up in a neuter form, and in this case, the inflection of the adjective also has the default values in this case.

4.1. Bare adjectives asserted of the cognate object

Spanish is a language that has no neuter nouns, but has neuter pronouns, such as *lo, ello, eso, qué, algo, nada, mucho*; these forms are invariably singular and the adjectives agree with them in masculine:

(45)   a.   Este es divertido / Esta es divertida / Estos son divertidos / Estas son divertidas.
            This is funny (masc, fem); These are funny (masc, fem)
        b.   Esto es divertido /*a / *-s.
            This (neuter) is funny (masc, *fem, *pl).

The same inflectional features are found in internal arguments with bare adjectives as already mentioned: *comer sano/ liviano/ nutritivo/ sabroso/ picante/ salado* (`to eat healthy/ light/ nutritious/ tasty/ spicy/ salty´); *bailar clásico / modern* (`to dance classical / modern (dance))´; *cantar melódico / romantic* (`to sing melodic/ romantic´); *fumar negro / rubio* (`to smoke black (tobacco) / Virginia (tobacco))´; *beber tinto / blanco* (`to drink red (wine)/ white (wine)´). They are invariable in gender and number, in contrast with the DP of the following examples:

(46)   a.   comer sabroso/ comer un guiso sabroso
            eat tasty/ eat a tasty stew (masc. sing)
        b.   bailar clásico/ bailar una danza clásica
            dance classic/ dance a classic dance (fem. sing)

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knocks') as *caminar mucho* ('walk a lot') a *mucho camino* ('walk a long *way*)" (*GRAE* 1931: §228,c-d; text translated by the authors)

c.   fumar negro/ fumar cigarrillos negros
        smoke black/ smoke black cigarettes (masc. pl)

These inflectional differences are tied to semantic ones: the masculine or femenine DP refer to individualized entities, while neuter denotes a set of not human and not count (Bosque and Moreno Cabrera, 1990). The contrast is linked ultimately with the NUM feature. While Num has the ability to individualize entities, as seen in the contrast between (47a) and (47b), neuter is unable to express the plural morphologically and has a massifier effect, which is shown in (47c):

(47)   a.   masculino / femenino →sustantivos + /- contables, + /- animados.
                masc /fem → Nouns + /- count, + /- animate
        b.   neutro→[+ masa]; [- animado]
                neuter→[+ mass]; [- animate]
        c.   [(Ø) $_{masa}$ + adjetivo clasificador]
                [(Ø) $_{mass}$ + classifier adjective]

Bare adjectives cannot be arguments of a verb by themselves, but the projection that includes them can, when some conditions are satisfied. For a bare adjective to be predicated of a cognate object a set of conditions must be satisfied. To begin with, the verbs involved in these constructions must be verbs of consumption, creation or execution and excretion. They are all false transitive verbs since, if they admit objects, these objects morphologically reiterate the content that is expressed by the verb (*bailar (baile)* `to dance (dance)´, *beber (bebida)* `to drink (drink)´, *cantar (canción)* `to sing (song)´) or they are hyponyms of such nouns (*bailar (tango)* `to dance (tango)´, *beber (té)* `to drink (tea)´, *cantar (bolero)* `to sing (bolero)´).

Likewise, a bare adjective predicated of a cognate object categorizes its object by means of a property that determines a kind or a type. Thus, *picante* `spicy´, *tinto* `red´, *blanco* `white´, *rubio* `Virginia´, etc. classify types of nouns like *comida* `food´, *vino* `wine´ or *tabaco* `tobacco´. And they do it through permanent properties (individual level predicates). They are classificatory adjectives. Therefore, the examples in (48) are ungrammatical. The deviance can derive from both the nature of the verb and the nature of the adjective:

(48)   a.   *comprar inútil / *vender limpio
                to buy useless$_{MASC.SING}$/ to sell clean$_{MASC.SING}$
                'to buy useless / to sell clean´
        b.   *usar viejo/ *conseguir sucio
                to use old$_{MASC.SING}$/ to get dirty
                'to use old' / 'to get dirty'

Even though they all admit the same type of periphrasis that we have just seen before –*comprar cosas inútiles* `to buy useless things´, *vender cosas limpias* `to sell clean things´, *usar cosas viejas* `to use old things´, *conseguir cosas sucias* `to get dirty things´- the adjectives *limpio* `clean´, *viejo* `old´ and *sucio* `dirty´ do not satisfy the condition of being relational of a classificatory type. On the other hand, verbs like *usar* `to use´ or *conseguir* `to get´ are not verbs of cognate object because the lexical value of the verb does not restrict the type of entities that the object can designate.

As pointed out by Baron (1971), Jones (1988), Hale and Keyser (1994), cognate objects do not have a referential ability, nor do they have a lexical meaning independent of the verb. Furthermore, it can be interpreted as a variable categorized for a range of entities defined by the meaning of the verb. Despite all this, this object keeps its nominal features, has an argumental value, and it takes part in atelic predicates, as it will be shown below.

These bare adjectives are included in a nominal proyection, that has a null head $[(\emptyset)_{mass}+$ adjective]. This phrase is different from a DP *lo* (neuter article) + adjective and from a neuter QP, as seen in (49):

(49) a. Marta solo *come salado.*
          Marta eats only salty.
      b. Solo comió *lo salado*/ Come *lo justo*.
          (She) ate only the salty part of something / eats the enough (measure).
      c. Solo comimos *algo salado*.
          (We) only ate something salty.

Argumental constructions with bare adjectives share some properties with constructions that are formed by a verb followed by a determinerless nominal phrase. Such a parallelism is evident in the following pairs of examples:

(50) a. Anna solo come *carne*/ *picante*.
          Anna eats [$_{NP}$meat]/ [$_A$spicy-$_{MASCSING}$]
          'Anna eats meat / spicy (food).´
      b. José fuma *puros*/ *rubio*.
          José smokes [$_{NP}$ cigars] /[$_A$blond-$_{MASCSING}$]
          'José smokes cigars/ Virginia (tobacco).´

In fact, as noted in the previous section, the bare adjective is the remaining part of a NP whose head is not expressed. For this reason, both types of structures have the same selective restrictions. For instance, both trigger the ungrammaticality of the sentence when an emotive verb shows up:

(51) a. *Me encanta *comida sana*/ *sano*
          me$_{CL.DAT}$ love [$_{NP}$ [$_N$food$_{FEM\ SING.}$][$_A$healthy$_{FEM.SING.}$]]/ [$_{NP}$ [$_N$ $\emptyset$][$_A$healthy-$_{FEM.SING.}$]]
          'I love healthy food/ healthy´
      b. *Me entusiasma *tabaco negro*/ *negro*
          me$_{CL.DAT}$ love [$_{NP}$ [$_N$tobacco$_{MASC.SING.}$][$_A$black$_{MASC.SING.}$]]/[$_{NP}$ [$_N$ $\emptyset$][$_A$black$_{MASC.SING.}$]]
          'I love black tobacco/ black´

While this bare adjectives are included within a NP domain, they can be coordinated with singular mass nouns, plural count nouns or neuter pronouns:

(52) a. Fuma *negro y puros*.
          Smokes [$_A$black$_{MASC.SING.}$] and [$_{NP}$cigars]
          'S/he smokes black (tobacco) and cigars.'

b.   Bebe *tinto y coñac*.
             Drinks [$_A$red$_{MASC.SING.}$] and [$_{NP}$ brandy]
             'S/he drinks red (wine) and brandy.´

c.   Marta solo come *sano y variado*, pero *picante*.
             Marta eats only salty and varied, but spicy

d.   Lo que come Marta es *sano y variado*, pero *picante*.
             What Marta eats is salty and varied, but spicy

Likewise, they can be modified by a classificatory adjective:

(53)   a.   Bebe *tinto nacional*.
             Drinks national [$_A$red$_{MASC.SING.}$]
             'S/he drinks national red (wine).´

        b.   Fuma *rubio americano*.
             smokes American Virginia (lit. blond)
             'S/he smokes American Virginia (tobacco).´

Bare adjectives have an argumental value and they cannot be replaced by adverbs with *–mente* (-ly), as we can see in (54):

(54)   a.   *Fuma *negramente/ rubiamente*.
             (S/he) smokes black-LY/ Virginian-LY

        b.   *Come *picantemente/ saladamente*.
             (S)he eats spici-LY/ salti-LY

Moreover, they are always internal arguments that never can function as the grammatical subject of the clause.

(55)   a.   Primero fue servido *lo salado/ *salado*.
             First was served art neuter salty/*salty
             'Salty food was served first'

        b.   Primero fue servida *la carne/ *carne*.
             First was served the meat / *meat.
             'Meat was served first'

On the other hand, a bare adjective can be resumed by a partitive clitic in languages that possess such anaphoric elements as Catalan:

(56)   a.   Jo abans menjava *picant* però ara no *en* puc menjar.   Catalan
             I before ate [$_A$spicy$_{MASC.PL.}$]$_i$ but now no *en*$_{iCL.PART.}$ can I eat
             'I used to eat spicy (food) but I cannot do it anymore.'

        b.   Jo abans fumava *ros* però ara no *en* fumo.
             I before smoked Virginia/lit. [$_A$blond$_{MASC.PL.}$]$_i$ but now no *en*$_{iCL.PART.}$ smoke
             'I used to smoke Virginia tobacco but I do not do it anymore.'

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

(57) a. En Joan balla *lent*.
          The Joan dances slow$_{MASC.SING.}$
          'Joan dances slow.´

     b. En Joan *hi* balla.   manner
          The Joan *hi*$_{CL.OBL.}$ dances
          'Joan dances (this way).'

     c. En Joan *en* balla.   argumental
          The Joan *en*$_{CL.PART.}$ dances
          'Joan dances (this type of music).'

On the other hand, manner and argumental bare adjectives possess the property that they typify or stereotype, in the sense that they supply habitual interpretations that constitute an individual or characterizing predicate.

(58) a. Juan fuma negro/ puros. = Juan es fumador de negro / de puros.
          J. smokes [$_A$black$_{MASC.SING.}$]/ cigars = J. is a smoker of [$_A$black$_{MASC.SING.}$] / of cigars´
          'J. smokes black (tobacco)/ cigars = J. is a smoker of black tobacco / of cigars.'

     b. Juan bebe tinto/ coñac. = Juan es bebedor de tinto / de coñac.
          Juan drinks [$_A$red$_{MASC.SING.}$]/ brandy=Juan is a drinker of [$_A$ red-$_{MASC.SING.}$]/ of brandy
          'Juan drinks red (wine)/ brandy.´ `Juan is a drinker of red (wine) / of brandy.'

Just like argumental NPs / DPs do not alter the aspectual character of process (or activity in Vendler (1967) and Verkuyl´s (1993) terms) in their constructions, bare adjectives do not delimit its development. Therefore, they do not admit delimitative temporal expressions with *en* `in´, cf. (59), which are only compatible with telic predicates:

(59) a. Comió manzanas/ salado (*en dos minutos).
          Ate [$_{NP}$ apples]/ [$_A$salty$_{MASC.SING.}$] in two minutes
          '(S/he) ate apples/ salty in two minutes.'

     b. Comió dos manzanas/ dos galletas saladas en dos minutos.
          Ate [$_{NP}$ two apples]/ [$_{NP}$two salty cookies] in two minutes
          '(S/he) ate two apples/ two salty cookies in two minutes.'

What sets them apart, however, is that, in the NP/ DP cases, the incorporation does not have any visible effect, either lexical or syntactic: as non-delimited processes, they both reject the aspectual operator *se* (De Miguel-Fernández Lagunilla (2000)).

(60) a. Se comió *lo salado/ la carne/ dos manzanas/ dos galletas saladas*.
          ((S)he) $_{SE}$ ate up the (neuter art) salty/ the meat/ two apples/ two salty cookies

     b. $^{??}$ Se comió *algo salado/ algo de carne/ alguna galleta*.
          $^{??}$((S)he) $_{SE}$ ate up something salty/ some meat/ some cracker.

     c. *Se comió *salado/ carne/ manzanas*.
          *((S)he) $_{SE}$ ate up salty (meat)/ meat/ apples.

4.2. Bare adjectives with a manner interpretation and pseudo-resultative bare adjectives

In (61), both *impeccable* `impeccable´ and *blanquísimo* `very white´ are bare adjectives in the sense that they lack a noun in an accessible position for them to be able to check agreement features. So they have default gender and number agreement (masculine, singular).

(61) a.   Pablito plancha *perfecto*.
              Pablito irons [AP perfectMASC.SING.]
              'Pablito irons perfect.'
      b.   Este detergente lava *blanquísimo*.
              This detergent washes [APvery whiteMASC.SING.]
              'This detergent washes very white.'

Likewise, both verbs (*planchar* `to iron´ and *lavar* `to wash´) are truly transitive, and can appear either with overt objects not lexically determined by the verb (*planchar* o *lavar la camisa/ las sábanas* `to iron or to wash the shirt/ the sheets´) or with covert objects.   The object of these verbs is, then, an optional argument whose theta role is saturated in the lexicon. It corresponds to a null *pro* with a universal quantification interpretation (*toda la ropa* 'all the clothes').

Despite all these similarities, the interpretations that correspond to each example in (62) are different, and they are derived from the following structures (cf. (63)):

(62) a.   [<e>plancha *pro*] <e>impecable
              Irons pro   impeccable
      b.   [<e>lava *pro*ᵢ] [Øᵢ blanquísimo]]
              washes   very.white

First, in (62a) the bare adjective possesses a value of manner, as its replacement by an adverb with *–mente* (*-ly*) demonstrates (cf. (63a)). In (62b), however, *blanquísimo* `very white´ does not accept this type of commutation (cf. (63b)):

(63) a. Pablito plancha *impecablemente*.
              `Pablito irons impeccably.´
      b. *Este detergente lava *blanquísimamente*.
              `This detergent washes very whitely.´

Blanquísimo `very white´ in (62b), then, is not interpreted as a way to wash, but as an optional secondary predication affirmed of the implicit object, and it makes reference to the resulting state of the process. This explains why Demonte and Masullo (1999) have called them "false resultatives." Even though they do delimitate an event which is inherently atelic, they do not entail the inversion of the predicate that is found in the resultatives in English (*They hammered the metal flat*), see Levin and Rappaport (1988) and (2010).

The same behavior can be observed with *cortar corto*, to cut [Ashort MASC.SING.] `to cut short'; *picar bien picado/ fino,* to grind [Afine MASC.SING.] `to grind well ground/ fine´, *dibujar torcido* to draw [Atwisted MASC.SING.] `to draw on a slant', etc. These examples show that the cognate relationship is not established here with the direct

object as in (44), but with the false resultative predicate. Since they are perfective adjectives, the duplication of the lexical value of the verb acts in the sense of emphatically quantifying the achievement of this result. Hence the fact that these constructions improve substantially when the adverb *bien* 'well, really' is added (*bien corto* 'really short', *bien picado* 'well ground', *bien líquido* 'really liquid', etc.).

Moreover, the bare adjectives that refer to the resulting state of a process contrast with the ones that possess a value of manner. Whereas the former ones are only predicated of the object, these latter are predicated of the whole event. This distinction can be clearly seen in the pair of examples in (64).

(64)   a. Juan plancha fatal pero Pablito *lo hace impecable*.
         Juan irons pretty bad but Pablito does it [$_A$impeccable$_{MASC.SING.}$]
         `Juan irons pretty bad but Pablito does it impeccable.´
    b.*Este detergente lava bien pero este otro *lo hace blanquísimo*.
         This detergent washes well but this other one does it very [$_A$white$_{MASC.SING.}$]
         `This detergent washes well but this other one does it very white.´

In (64a) the scope of the bare adjective – with the manner interpretation – includes the whole event. So it can be combined with the verb *hacer* `to do´ plus the clitic *lo* `it´, which anaphorically resumes the wholeness of the process. Nonetheless, (64b) is deviant because the bare adjective does not work as a modifier of the verb of process, since that adjective must only make reference to the resulting state.

4.3. The habitual or characterizing quantification

So far we have been referring to bare adjectives that function as (parts of) arguments of a verb, like pseudo-resultative predicates or adjuncts of manner. Frequently these adjectives favor a habitual interpretation in which a characterizing property is attributed to the subject. This phenomenon can be observed in the following examples:

(65)   a.   Juan baila *lento*.
         Juan dances$_{3PRES.SING.}$ [$_A$slow$_{MASC.SING.}$]
         'Juan dances slow.'
    b.   Pepe fuma *negro*.
         Pepe smokes$_{3PRES.SING.}$ [$_A$black$_{MASC.SING.}$]
         'Pepe smokes black (tobacco).'
    c.   Pablo plancha *impecable*.
         Pablo irons$_{3.PRES.SING.}$ [$_A$impeccable$_{MASCSING}$]
         'Pablo irons impeccable.'
    d.   Este detergente lava *blanquísimo*.
         This detergent washes$_{3PRES.SING.}$ very [$_A$white$_{MASC.SING.}$]
         'This detergent washes very white.'

Even though an overt quantifier does not show up in any of these examples, the habitual reading is mandatory (cf. Lenci 1995). The causes that favor this are various: The present tense can be the only feature that triggers it, as in (65a), or it can just be one of these causes, as in (65a), in which the universally quantified covert argument also plays a part. Therefore the change to a perfect tense produces different results, in

the former cases, the change from a habitual reading to an episodic one. In (66d), on the other hand, we obtain an ungrammatical sentence.

(66) a. Juan bailó *lento*.
          Juan danced$_{3\ PRES.SING.}$ slow
          'Juan danced slow.'
      b. Pepe fumó *negro*.
          Pepe smoked$_{3\ PRES.SING.}$ black
          'Pepe smoked black (tobacco).'
      c. Pablo planchó *impecable*.
          Pablo ironed$_{3PRES.SING.}$ impeccable
          'Pablo ironed impeccable.'
      d. *Este detergente lavó *blanquísimo*.
          This detergent washed$_{3PRES.SING.}$ very white
          'This detergent washed very white.'

As already mentioned in the analysis of the bare adjectives that modify cognate objects (see note 6), the habitual interpretation is linked to a characterizing reading. Hence the eventive predicates that appear in all examples become static, yielding a characterizing, generic or individual reading.

The habitual operator that has scope in each one of these sentences binds a variable that can be temporal or aspectual. It is temporal when we get an interpretation of manner (cf. (65a) and (65c)), whereas it is aspectual in (65b), where the atelicity derives from the continuous nature of the mass noun that functions as a cognate object. We also obtain an aspectual interpretation in (65d), where the atelic reading entails a non-delimited succession of telic events.

Finally, in sentences like *Esto se dice/ hace/ lava/ traduce/ escribe/ corrige fácil* 'lit. This $_{SE}$ says/ does/ washes/ translates/ writes/ corrects [$_A$easy]; This is easily said/ done/ washed/ translated/ written/ corrected' there appear the conditions that characterize the middle constructions, like the generic temporal framework, the eventless reading in which a property is attributed to the subject and the universal interpretation of the agent. Even though the adverb with –*mente* (-ly) is possible here, the converse is not true. That is, when the tense or some other condition involved is changed, the interpretation is that of an episodic sentence: **Juan lo dijo fácil*, Juan said it easy$_{MASC.SING.,}$ 'Juan said it easily'.

5. Conclusion

In this paper, we have attempted to analyze, both syntactically and semantically, the behaviour of the so called adjectival adverbs in Spanish. Although these elements lack productive agreement and can alternate with –*mente* adverbs, their alleged adverbial behaviour is an epiphenomenon; therefore, they are real but bare adjectives. In section 1, we have argued that bare adjectives are base generated at different levels of the lexical structure of the verb. Therefore, they are subject to strong locality restrictions and always surface in postverbal position, in sharp contrast with –*mente* adverbs, which can be placed in different positions of the argumental structure (SV). Other evidence of their functional nature is shown by the fact that bare adjectives may lexicalize four types of quantification in the verbal domain: inherent, eventive, durative and argumental. Throughout this work, clear arguments have been provided

that demonstrate the close relationship that is established between manner and aspect, on the one hand, and the argument structure, on the other.

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