FIXED ADJUNCTS IN SPANISH

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Abstract

In Spanish there is a subcategorized adjuncts group. These syntactic forms are required semantically by the verb and they are not optional modifiers of the core, they strictly modify it, the sentence is ungrammatical if a fixed adjunct is omitted. These fixed adjuncts display distributional restrictions: they do not have mobility and must always appear adjacent to the verb; they are restricted to modify just to the core's predicate and consequently they cannot modify any other layer of the clause. The fixed adjuncts do not have the status of the syntactic core arguments, nor core adjunct-argument, nor oblique core argument, nor core movement verb arguments which are adpositionally marked. Semantically, the fixed adjuncts status is similar to all these syntactic units, they are subcategorized by the verb. The main idea which I aim to develop in this paper is the following: it is possible that the fixed adjuncts occur in the core or simply they are an adjunct class which occurs in the periphery.

Keywords

Adjuncts, fixed, Spanish, core, obligatory, periphery

1. Introduction

Adjuncts in Spanish can be classified into two groups: in the first one, those adjuncts that modify the predicate's nucleus, sentence adverbs, and adjunct adjective modifiers (Mora-Bustos 2009 and Rodríguez Romalle 2003). Periphery subsumes no arguments of the predicate. *Frecuentemente* 'frequently' in (1a) is an adjunct or a periphery; it is an optional modifier of the core, as in (1b). This sentence is represented in Figure 1.

(1) a. María   compra   el pan   frecuentemente
         Maria   buy-3SG.PRS   DET bread   frequently
         'Maria buys the bread frequently'

     b. María   compra   el pan
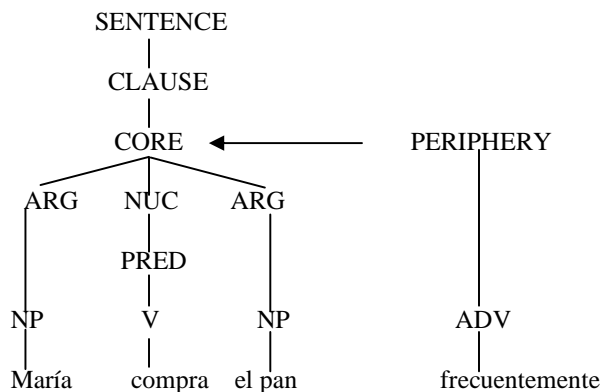   Maria   buy-3SG.PRS   DET bread
         'Maria buys the bread'

Figure 1 The layered structure of the clause (core + periphery)

In the second group, I have placed the fixed or subcategorized adjuncts (Hernanz & Brucart 1987, Grimshaw 1990, Grimshaw & Vikner 1993 and Goldberg & Ackerman 2001). Semantically, these fixed adjuncts denote different

meanings, such as: manner, time, aspect, place, frequency, etc, as in (2a). I will call all lexical units found in group one free adjuncts or peripheral adjuncts and I have decided to label adjuncts of the second as fixed adjuncts. Fixed adjuncts are nor optional modifier of the core, as in (2b). In sentence in Figure 2, *mal* 'badly' is a fixed adjunct and *en la fiesta* 'at the party' is a periphery.

(2)   a. El niño   se=comporta   mal   en la fiesta
         DET boy CL.PRN=behave-3SG.PRS   badly   at the party
            'The boy misbehaves at the party'

      a'. *El niño   se=comporta   en la fiesta
          DET boy   CL.PRN=behave-3SG.PRS   at the party
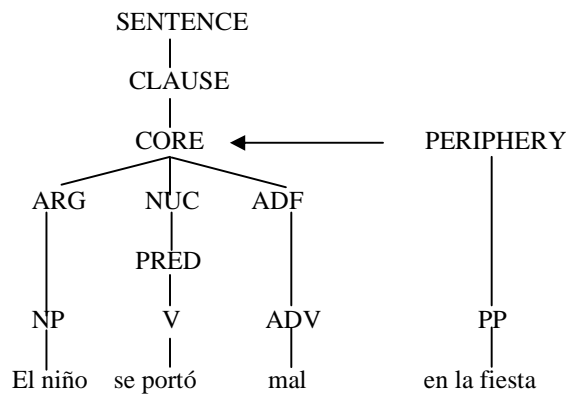   'The boy behaves at the party'

Figure 2 The layered structure of the clause (core + fixed adjunct+ periphery)

In this dissertation, I am going to explore and identify syntax and semantic parameters which govern the possibility that fixed adjuncts occur in the core. This exploration will proceed as follows: general properties, fixed adjuncts and logical structure, fixed adjuncts and periphery and conclusion.

2.   General properties

In Spanish, there are intransitive, as in (3), or transitive verbs, as in (4), which subcategorize or require fixed adjuncts. These verbs can only express a specific state of affairs if a fixed adjunct appears as a complement. The syntactic form of these adjuncts can be a prepositional phrase, as in (3a); an adjectival phrase, as in (3b); a bare-NP adverbs, as in (3c); and an adjunct subordinate clause, as in (3d) (Larson 1985, Cinque 1999, Ernst 2002 and Mora-Bustos 2011)

(3)   a. La gente   procede   con cautela
         DET people   proceed-3SG.PRS with caution
         'The people proceed cautiously'

      a'. * La gente   procede
           DET people   proceed-3SG.PRS
          'The people proceed'

      b. María   se=siente   enferma
         Maria   CL.REFL=feel-3SG.PRS   sick
         'Maria feels sick'

      b'.* María   se=siente
          María   CL.REFL=feel-3SG.PRS
          'Mary feels'

c. Pedro   vivió   una tarde   perfecta
Pedro   live-3SG.PST   DET afternoon perfect
'Pedro lived a perfect afternoon'

c'. * Pedro vivió
Pedro   live-3SG.PST
'Pedro lived'

d. La corte   actuó   cuando llegó   el   acusado
DET court   act-3SG.PST   when   arrive-3SG.PST DET defendant
'The court acted when the defendant arrived'

d'. *La corte   actuó
DET court   act-3SG.PST
'The court acted'

On the other hand, if the verb is transitive, as in (4), a fixed adjunct can also replace the direct object argument. Direct object like fixed adjunct are nor optional modifier of the core. Fixed adjunct are non-arguments but semantically the core contains the nucleus, the arguments and fixed adjuncts.

(4)   a. La actriz   viste   un traje rojo/ elegantemente
DET actress   wear-3SG.PRS   DET dress red / elegantly
'The actress wears a red dress / dresses elegantly'

a'.*La actriz   viste
DET actress   wear-3SG.PRS
'The actress wears'

b. Las FARC   asesinan   policies / en la noche
DET FARC   murder-3PL.PRS policemen / at night
'The FARC murders policemen / at night'

b'.*Las FARC   asesinan
DET FARC   murder-3PL.PRS
'The FARC murders'

In these clauses, (3) and (4), a nuclear predicate verb only has meaning if it has a complement in the form of a fixed adjunct. In clauses (3) and (4), the lexical verb features obligatorily require a fixed adjunct as complement. Nevertheless, there are constructions' classes which cannot express the complete meaning of a state of affairs, as in (5). These clauses are also grammatical only with a fixed adjunct. The set of sentences in (5) shows different types of constructions, like a periphrastic passive in (5a), middle voice in (5b), impersonal with unaccusative verb in (5c), secondary predication in (5d), and short adverbs or naked adjectives in (5e). Notice that in each case, the fixed adjunct occurs as an obligatory constituent.

(5)   a. El Puente   fue-construido   por el gobierno/ ayer
DET bridge   AUX.be-3SG.PST-build-PTCP   by DET government/ yesterday
'The bridge was built by the government / yesterday'

a'.*El puente   fue-construido
DET bridge   AUX.be-3SG.PST-build.PTCP
'The bridge was built'

b. El libro de Rulfo   se=vende   en las tardes / rápidamente
DET book of Rulfo   CL.MV=sell-3SG.PRS   in DET afternoons / quickly
'Rulfo's book gets sold in the evenings/ quickly'

b'.*El libro de Rulfo   se=vende
  DET book of Rulfo   CL.VM=sell-3SG.PRS
  'Rulfo's book gets sold'

c. Se=nace   con poco pelo
  CL.IM=born-3SG.PRS with little hair
  'We get born with little hair'

c'.*Se=nace
  CL.IM=born-3SG.PRS
  'We get born'

d. El jugador considera   injusta la decisión
  DET player   consider-3SG.PRS unfair DET decision
  'The player considers the decision unjust'

d'.??El jugador considera   la decisión
  DET player   consider-3SG.PRS DET decision
  'The player considers the decision'

e. El disco   suena   horrible
  DET album sound-3SG.PRS horrible
  'The album sounds horrible'

e'.*El disco   suena
  DET album sound-3SG.PRS
  'The album sounds'

The linguistic properties of these adjuncts may be lexical or structural; so I decided to appoint them *fixed adjuncts* because they have special syntactic and semantic features.

3. Grammatical properties

Fixed adjunct generally occurs in intransitive sentences. Syntactically, the clauses in which they occur have three basic structures: subject, verb, and fixed adjunct. The adjuncts may occur in any clause position, principally in post-verbal adjacent position, but they also can appear before the verb, even if the subject moves to a post-verbal position. Intransitive verbs in clauses may occur in the initial position but not at the end of the clause, as in (6).

(6) a. Mariana   actuaba   compulsivamente / a mis espaldas
   Mariana   act-3SG.CO compulsively / to my backs
   'Mariana acted subreptitiously / hiding from me'

  b. Compulsivamente/ a mis espaldas actuaba   Mariana
   compulsively / to my backs   act-3SG.CO Mariana
   'Mariana acted subreptitiously / hiding from me'

  c. Actuaba   Mariana compulsivamente/ a mis espaldas
   act-3SG.CO   Mariana compulsively / to my backs
   'Mariana acted subreptitiously / hiding from me'

  d. ?? Mariana   compulsivamente/ a mis espaldas actuaba
   Mariana   compulsively / to my backs act-3SG.CO
   'Mariana acted subreptitiously / hiding from me'

In sentences with peripheral adjuncts which are not subcategorized by the verb, their movement is flexible and they may occupy different positions, even if the nuclear verb occurs in the final position in the clause, as in (7).

4

(7) a. Pedro   se=afeita   cuidadosamente
        Pedro   CL.REFL=shave-3SG.PRS   carefully
        'Pedro shaves carefully'

    b. Cuidadosamente Pedro   se=afeita
       carefully   Pedro   CL.REFL=shave-3SG.PRS
       'Pedro shaves carefully'

    c. Pedro cuidadosamente   se afeita
       Pedro carefully   CL.REFL=shave-3SG.PRS
       'Pedro shaves carefully'

As already mentioned, fixed adjuncts are obligatory constituents, particularly in well formed clauses. Moreover, fixed adjuncts, as in (8), as well as peripheral adjuncts, as in (7), may occur in cleft sentences. This fact implies that the grammatical units' information can constitute a focus or emphatic constituent.

(8) a. La senadora   se=expresa   libremente
        DET senator   CL.PRN=express-3SG.PRS freely
        'The senator expresses herself freely'

    b. Libremente   es   como   se=expresa   la senadora
       freely   be-3SG.PRS   how   CL.PRN=express-3SG.PRS DET senator
       'The senator freely expresses herself'

(9) a. El paciente   está   sangrando   internamente
        DET patient   be-3SG.PRS   bleed-GD   internally
        'The patient is bleeding internally'

    b. Internamente   es   como   el paciente   está   sangrando
       internally   be-3SG.PRS   how   DET patient   be-3SG.PRS   bleed.GD
       'Internal bleeding is harming the patient.'

The set of sentences in (8) and (9) encodes different characteristics. In (8b) is not exactly the clefted counterpart of the canonical clause in (8a), because the verb *expresarse* 'express oneself' can only denote a meaning if a fixed adjunct is a clause's constituent. Meanwhile (9a) is clefted in (9b), *sangrar* 'bleed' denotes a meaning by itself. The periphery *internamente* 'internally' is an optional modifier of the core.

    Besides, fixed adjunct has the nucleus and core in its scope. In order to justify this point, the scope of negation and interrogation is over these fixed adjuncts. The fixed adjuncts only modify the nucleus and core, so in a particular context, when the negation modifies the nucleus, as in (10a), it has scope over the fixed adjunct; otherwise, the clause could not be grammatical, as in (10b). On the other hand, if a sentence is modified by a free adjunct or a periphery that takes a core in its scope, as in (10c), negation has scope over the core where the adjunct is one of its constituents; or this adjunct may not be over the negation's scope, as in (10d), because this peripheral adjunct is a clause modifier. It can be noticed that in (10c) and (10d) express different meaning. In the former, the sentence's meaning may be restated as the cyclist doesn't finish the race so well after having some complications; in the second one, fortunately, the cyclist does not finish the race.

(10) a. El deslizamiento no   sucedió   inesperadamente
       DET gliding   NEG   happen-3SG.PST unexpectedly
       'The gliding didn't happen unexpectedly'

    b. *El deslizamiento no   sucedió,   inesperadamente
       DET gliding   NEG   happen-3SG.PST unexpectedly
       'The gliding didn't happen, unexpectedly'

    c. El ciclista   no   terminó   la competencia afortunadamente
       DET cyclist   NEG   finish-3SG.PST   DET race   luckily
       'The cyclist didn't finish the race as well as he had hoped'

5

d. El ciclista   no   terminó   la   competencia, afortunadamente
   DET cyclist   NEG   finish-3SG.PST DET race   luckily
   'Fortunately, the cyclist didn't finish the race.'

Negation is the only operator that occurs at all three levels: nuclear negation has only the nucleus in its scope, core negation has one or more core arguments in its scope, and clausal negation has the entire clause in its scope (Van Valin 2005). The scope of negation is evident in these sentences because only an adjunct that takes a nucleus or core in their scope may provide an additional comment about the referential topic, as in (11a); whereas adjuncts or periphery as those in (11b) may not.

(11) a. El deslizamiento   no   sucedió   inesperadamente, de hecho,   ha
        DET gliding   NEG   happen-3SG.PST unexpectedly   in fact   AUX.have-3SG.PRS
        sucedido   *progresivamente*
        happen.PTCP   progressively
        'The gliding did not happen suddenly, in fact, it occurred progressively'

     b. ??El ciclista   no   terminó   la competencia, afortunadamente, de hecho,
        DET cyclist   NEG   finish-3SG.PST DET race   luckily   in fact
        ha   terminado   desgraciadamente
        AUX.have-3SG.PRS   finish.PTCP   unluckily
        'The cyclist did not finish the race, well, in fact, he finished very poorly.'

Interrogation has also scope over fixed adjuncts, as in (12a). It is not possible with sentence peripheral adjuncts, as in (12c). In (12b), interrogation has the fixed adjunct in its scope; this adjunct may be in an initial or final position. While on the contrary, clause peripheral adjuncts have not interrogation's scope, and may not occupy neither in the initial nor the final position, as in (12d).

(12) a. ¿El deslizamiento no   sucedió   inesperadamente?
        DET gliding   NEG   happen-3SG.PST unexpectedly
        '¿Didn't the gliding happen unexpectedly?'

     b. (*inesperadamente)   ¿(inesperadamente) el deslizamiento no   sucedió   (inesperadamente)?
        unexpectedly   unexpectedly   DET gliding   NEG   happen-3SG.PST unexpectedly
        (*Inesperadamente)
        unexpectedly
        '¿Didn't the gliding happen unexpectedly?'

     c. ¿El ciclista   no   terminó   la competencia? Afortunadamente
        DET cyclist   NEG   finish-3SG.PST DET race   luckily
        '¿Didn't the cyclist finish the race well? Luckily he didn't'

     d. ¿(* Afortunadamente)   el ciclista   no   terminó   la competencia, (afortunadamente)?
            luckily   DET cyclist   NEG   finish-3SG.PST DET race   luckily
        '¿*Fortunately the cyclist didn't finish the race, luckily?'

Besides, these two tests, both fixed adjuncts and the core modifiers or periphery occur in the interrogative utterance; it is introduced by *cómo* 'how', as in (13a); both adjuncts appear as the answer to how question. On the other hand, in (13b) the question utterance has not sentence adjuncts or periphery in its scope.

(13) a. ¿Cómo   sucedió   el deslizamiento?   -Inesperadamente
        how   happen-3SG.PST DET slide   unexpectedly
        '¿How did the slide happen?'   -'Unexpectedly'

b. ¿Cómo   terminó   el   ciclista   la   competencia?   -*Afortunadamente
   how   finish-3SG.PST   DET cyclist   DET race   luckily
   '¿How did the cyclist finish the race?'   -*'Unfortunately'

Next, as shown in (14), *desgraciadamente* 'unfortunately' and *afortunadamente* 'fortunately', as well as nucleus and core adjuncts like *inesperadamente* 'unsepectedly' or *puntualmente* 'punctually', can occur in a sentence; therefore, the semantic and syntactic status is different because they are constrained by the layers of the operator projection.

(14) a. Desgraciadamente,   el   deslizamiento   sucedió   inesperadamente
        Unfortunately   DET gliding   happen-3SG.PST   unexpectedly
        'Unfortunately, the gliding happened unexpectedly'

    b. Afortunadamente, el   ciclista terminó   puntualmente   la   competencia
       luckily   DET cyclist finish-3SG.PST   punctual   DET race
       'Fortunately, the cyclist finished the race in time'

Finally, examples of aktionsart classes with fixed adjuncts are given in (15). State in (15a), accomplishment in (15b), achievement in (15c), active accomplishment in (15d), and activity in (15e). It is important to make sure that predicate classes lacks restrictions with fixed adjuncts.

(15) a. La   propuesta final   permanece   en   la   mesa de negociaciones
        DET proposal final   remain-3SG.PRS on   DET table of negotiation
        'The final proposal is still on the negotiation table'

    b. Se=desarrolló   completamente   el   proyecto de investigación
       CL.PASS=develop-3SG.PST   completely   DET project   of investigation
       'The investigation was fully completed'

    c. Otra   amenaza   ocurrió   a las 10:39
       another threat   occur-3SG.PST   at DET 10:39
       'Another threat occurred at 10:39'

    d. Los atletas   se=dirigen   a   la   meta
       DET athletes   CL.PRN=address-3PPL.PRS   to DET goal
       The athletes head toward the goal'

    e. En la película   actuaba   Orson Welles
       in DET film   act-3SG.CO   Orson Welles
       'Orson Welles acted in the film'

In sum, verb classes may appear with temporal, manner, place, aspectual, and locative fixed adjuncts. In intransitive form, these verbs occur in a sentence with a fixed adjunct. Each predicate can take a fixed adjunct according to their meaning. It is important to say that a class of verbs in Spanish subcategorizes fixed adjuncts.

4. Fixed adjuncts and logical structure

So far, the semantic and syntactic features of fixed adjuncts have been shown. Hereafter, I am going to argue why these adjuncts must not be represented on the clause margin. Fixed adjuncts are not an optional modifier of the core. So, the clause must consist of the core with its arguments and its fixed adjuncts.

The Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) notion of clause structure, called the layered structure of the clause, is based on two fundamental contrasts: between the predicate and non-predicating elements, on the one hand, and among the non-predicating elements, between arguments and non-arguments, on the other. From this point of view, the primary constituent of the clause is the 'nucleus', which contains the predicate, the 'core', which contains the nucleus and the arguments of the predicate, and a 'periphery', which subsumes non-arguments of the predicate (Van Valin 2005). Since the adjunct group is very heterogeneous and this has not the same syntactic or semantic status, semantically I consider that the core subsumes not only nucleus and arguments but also the fixed adjuncts. Semantic elements and syntactic unit is given in Table.

Table 1 Semantic units underlying the syntactic units of the layered structure of the clause

Semantic element(s)	Syntactic unit
Predicate	Nucleus
Argument in semantic representation of predicate	Core argument
Non-arguments	Periphery
Predicate + Arguments	Core
Predicate + Arguments (Fixed adjuncts) + Non-arguments	Clause (= Core (Fixed adjuncts) + Periphery)

Given that their syntactic status is different from direct object, indirect object or prepositional complement, fixed adjuncts do not constitute themselves as arguments of the verb. Nevertheless, these syntactic units are demanded by the lexical features of the nuclear verb, i.e., despite their non-argument status, fixed adjunct is obligatory unit of the core. It is not an optional modifier of the core; it is not, rather, an element in the periphery of the clause. Fixed adjuncts have a particular status which is different both the arguments such as the peripheral adjuncts. All fixed adjuncts' features are coded in a set of grammatical constituents, such as prepositional phrase, bare-NP adverbs, adjunct subordinate clause, and lexical adverbs.

The RRG conception of the layer structure of the clause is thus a semantic based theory of non-relational syntactic structure; in other words, the fundamental units in the hierarchical organization of the sentence and the clause are semantically motivated by contrast between predicate and argument, on the one hand, and that between XPs, i.e NPs and PPs, which are related to the predicate and those which are not, on the other (Van Valin 2001, 2005). In this way, the verbs which demand fixed adjuncts select complements which are notionally encoded as peripherals or peripheral adjunct complements. PPs and bare-NP adverbs are treated as units which refer to concepts such as place, temporality, manner, mood, instrument, etc. These constituents are usually seen as external elements to the subcategorization, but this is due to a logical semantic more than to a syntactic use.

Fixed adjuncts do not have the same syntactic status of the core arguments, as in (16a), nor core adjunct-argument, as in (16b), nor oblique core argument, as in (16c), nor core movement verbs argument which are appositionally marked, as in (16d). But semantically, the fixed adjuncts status is similar to all these syntactic units, because they are subcategorized by the verb.

(16). a. Juan   golpeó   la ventana
       John   hit-3SG.PST   DET window
       'John hit the window'

  b. José   puso   el libro en la   mesa
      Joseph put-3SG.PST   DET book on DET table
      'Joseph put the book on the table'

  c. Rosa   le=da   el libro a Juan
      Rose   CL.DAT.3SG=give-3SG.PRS   DET book to John
      'Rose is giving the book to John'

  d. Juan   fue   a la   casa de Luisa
      John   go-3SG.PST   to DET house POSS Luisa
      'John went to Luisa's house'

The direct object argument may be replaced by a fixed adjunct in a simple sentence, as in (16a), as well as in *Juan golpeó certeramente* 'Juan hit accurately', which means that arguments and fixed adjunct are semantically similar because the predicate demands a unit as a complement. The same fact occurs with predicative adpositions, because they occur like predicates; they add substantial semantic information to the clause in which they occur; this, in terms of their own meaning and of the meaning of the argument that they govern. An example of a predicative adposition is a peripheral core locative (setting) preposition (Van Valin 2005), as in (17a). The decomposed logical structure representation is given in (17b).

(17) a. Juan   limpió   el carro después del   trabajo
        Juan   clean-3SG.PST   DET car after   of.DET   work
            'John cleaned the car after work.'

    b. **be-after'** (work,[[**do'** (Juan, ∅)] CAUSE [BECOME **cleaned'** (car)]])

Fixed adjuncts also contribute with essential semantic information to the clause. They denote different meanings and their basic role is setting the verb's sense on a specific communicative context, as in (18a). In the logical structure the argument and predicate are modified according to a temporal or spatial referential point, as in (18b). This is, in the formal representation the logical structure of the event is treated as an entity being located with respect to a spatial or temporal reference point, on the one hand, or an entity modified by a manner adjunct, on the other.

(18) a. Los alumnos   conviven   armoniosamente / diariamente   / en la   ciudad
        DET students   coexist-3PL.PRS   harmoniously   / daily   / in DET city
            'The students hang out together harmoniously / daily/ in the city'

    b. **be-in** (city [**harmoniously'/daily'** (do' (students, [**coexist'** (students)]))])

The predicative prepositional phrase in (18), *en la ciudad* 'in the city', may co-occur with a manner or temporal adjunct in the same clause. This peripheral phrase typically takes the logical structure of the core as its argument, as in (18b). It takes the core in its scope. However, this grammatical unit may appear as a fixed adjunct, as in *los alumnos conviven en la ciudad*, 'the students hang out together in the city'. It depicts a specific state of affairs type; its semantic status encode this constituent as obligatory rather than optional. About this point, Van Valin (1997, 2005) and Ibáñez (2005, 2009) argue that this kind of prepositional phrase has argument status if they occur typically with motion, creation or consumption verbs. In this dissertation, it is not possible yet to argue about their argument syntactic status. Up to this point, it is just feasible to say that these grammatical units occur as fixed adjuncts.

    There is one more type of predicative PP which is also semantically related to fixed adjuncts. This is the argument-adjunct PP of the core, as in (19a). Its logical structure is given in (19b). The PP can mark an argument of the verb and add its semantic properties to the clause. A verb *poner* 'put' requires a locative expression, but the choice of locative preposition is not determined by the verb (Jolly 1993 and Van Valin 1997, 2005) as in *Yolanda puso el libro en/ sobre/ junto/ detrás/ encima/ bajo de la caja* 'Yolanda puts the book in / on / next to / behind / on top of / under the box'. This grammatical behavior is similar with fixed adjuncts, as in (18). The nuclear verb requires a temporal expression and the selection of the temporal preposition is not determined by the verb, as in *el accidente se produjo en / durante / hacia / hasta / por el mes de marzo* 'the accident happened in / during / *towards / *until / * by the month of March'; the clause in (19b), is just the opposite; this is, in (18b) the PP doesn't mark the verb argument; it is basically a grammatical constituent which contribute its semantic meaning to the clause. The logical structure of (19a) is presented in (19b).

(19) a. Yolanda puso   el libro en la   caja
        Yolanda put-3SG.PST   DET book in DET box
            'Yolanda puts the book in the box'

    a'. ([**do'** (Yolanda, ∅) CAUSE [BECOME **be-in'** (box, book)])

    b. El accidente   se=produjo   en el mes   de marzo
       DET accident   CL.VP=occur-3SG.PST   in DET month of march
            'The accident occurred in the month of March.'

    b'. BECOME (**be-in'**(March (**occurred'** (accident))))

In English, a verb like *put* does not always take three arguments; if it combines with an intransitive preposition as *down*, the result is a two-argument core, e.g. *Yolanda put the book down* ([**do'** (Yolanda, ∅)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-down'** (book)]). The preposition lacks an object but is linked to the third argument position in the core. These intransitive prepositions can fill core slots (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997 and Van Valin 2005). The argument reduction in verbs like *put* is similar to Spanish; a fixed adjunct fills the core slots of an intransitive preposition, as in *Yolanda puso el libro allá* ([**do'** (Yolanda, ∅)] CAUSE [BECOME **be-loc'** (book)]).

9

So far, semantic similarities between fixed adjuncts and core arguments have been presented. Fixed adjuncts are essential constituents in the semantic configuration of the clause; in spite of, noticeably, having not the same syntactic status as core arguments. In the same way that core arguments correlate with the semantic structure of the core, fixed adjuncts do.

5. Fixed adjuncts and periphery

Now I present a short contrast between free or periphery and fixed adjuncts. As it has already been said in other studies (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997), adverbs, in this presentation, free adjuncts or peripheries, are not restricted to the periphery and may modify any layer of the clause. Semantically, Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) treat them as one-place predicates which take a logical structure or subpart of a logical structure as their argument. The peripheral bare NP adverbs like *mañana* 'tomorrow' or *ayer* 'yesterday', as in (20a), take the logical structure of the core as their argument. The logical structure is given in (20b)

(20) a. Rosa baked a cake yesterday.
    b. **yesterday'** ([**do'** (Rosa, ∅)] CAUSE [BECOME **baked'** (cake)])

When a predicative prepositional phrase functions as an adjunct modifier, they take the logical structure of the main verb as one of their argument, as in (21a) (Van Valin 2005). The logical structure is illustrated in (21b).

(21) a. Rosa   corre   en el   parque
        Rose   run-3SG.PRS   on DET park
        'Rose runs in the park'

    b. **be-in**' (**park'**, [**do'** (Rose, [**run'** (Rose)])])

In (21), *el correr de Rosa* 'Rosa's running' takes place in the park, and the logical structure of the predicative, as in (21b), preposition *in* is the highest predicative element in the logical structure. It takes *en el parque* 'in the park' and the logical structure of *correr* 'run' as its two arguments. This contrasts with the logical structure of an active accomplishment, as in (22b), where the PP expresses the location of the reference of *Ana*, as in (22a), not the location of the event of *running*, so this PP functions as an argument-adjunct.

(22) a. Ana ran to the park
    b. (**do**' (Ana, [**run**' (Ana)]) & INGR **be-at'** (park, Ana))

Manner adjuncts modify primary activity predicates, while place adjuncts can modify any kind of durational predicates, as in (23a). Aspectual adjuncts modify the basic state or activity predicates, as in (23b) (Van Valin 2005). Logical structure are given in (23a') and (23b') respectively.

(23) a. Pedro elegantly closed the door slowly
    a'. [**elegant'** (**do'**(Pedro, ∅))] CAUSE [**slow'** (BECOME **closed'** (door))]

    b. The ice melted completely
    b'. BECOME (**complete'** (**melted'** (ice)))

Van Valin's description of adverbs and adpositions is relevant because the form of the fixed adjunct may be a PP, a bare-NP adverb or a lexical adverb. Fixed adjuncts always occur in clauses with one argument; the argument and the nuclear verb of the core do not express the full meaning of the state of affairs by themselves. As shown before, they may combine with quite diverse *aktionsart* verb classes, as in (24). Hence, the meaning of the fixed adjunct modifying the verb is semantically correlated with core units.

(24) a. El paro   duró   una semana
        DET strike   last-3SG.PST   one week
        'The strike lasted one week'

    a'. BECOME (**lasted'** (**one week'** (the strike)))

b. El niño   se=comporta   mal
   DET child   CL.PRN=behave-3SG.PRS bad
   'The child misbehaves'

b'. (**do'** (children, [(**behave' badly'** (children)))]))

c. El feto   se=desarrolló   completamente
   DET fetus   CL.REFL=develop-3SG.PST completely
   'The fetus developed completely'

c' BECOME (**developed' complete'** (fetus)))

d. Ese secuestro   sucedió   hoy
   DET kidnapping   occur-3SG.PST   today
   'That kidnapping happened today'

d' INGR (**occur' today'** (kidnapping)))

Temporal fixed adjuncts, as in (24a) and (24d), manner, as in (24b), aspectual, as in (24c), modify the predicate. They take a specific position in the logical structure, as in (24a'), (24b'), (24c') and (24d'). Adverbs or free adjuncts are represented in logical structure as one-place predicates, these modify different parts of a logical structure. Fixed adjuncts in the logical structure occur over the *aktionsart* scope operator, because they modify any layer of the clause, nucleus or core, and they are a basic constituent of the verb. On the other hand, two peripheral adjuncts may co-occur in a clause, as in (25); any of them, by exclusion, has the possibility to become a fixed adjunct, as in *hoy sucedió un secuestro* 'the kidnapping occurred today' or *inexplicablemente sucedió un secuestro* 'A kidnapping occurred inexplicably'.

(25) a. Hoy   inexplicablemente   sucedió   un secuestro
   Today inexplicably   occur-3SG.PST   DET kidnapping
   'Today, inexplicably a kidnapping occurred'

b. **today'** (INGR (**occurred' inexplicable'** (kidnapping))))

If there are multiple adjuncts, fixed or free (peripheral), they are necessarily layered, and the last one must be represented as the highest predicate, as in (25). In the logical structure, as in (25b), they appear as one-place predicate, for example, *hoy* 'today' takes the logical structure of the core as its argument, and *inexplicablemente* 'inexplicably' modifies any achievement or accomplishment logical structure. The last adjunct in the clause is over INGR scope and it modifies the nuclear verb. This fixed manner adjunct must be represented as a constituent of the core in the constituent projection and as a modifier of the core in the operator projection. This point will be developed in detail in a forthcoming paper.

6. Conclusion

Peripheral adjuncts are not restricted to the periphery and may modify any layer of the clause; but fixed adjuncts must be represented as constituents of the core. Van Valin & LaPolla (1997) describe the peripheral adjuncts as one-place predicates which take a logical structure or a subpart of a logical structure as their argument. I decided to conceive fixed adjuncts as grammatical units which modify the logical structure. Their scope depends on their semantic features, so NP bare adverbs take the logical structure, temporal adjuncts take scope over the core, manner adjuncts modify activity logical structure, place adjuncts modify any durative or dynamic logical structure, and aspectual adjuncts modify the basic state or activity predicates themselves (Van Valin & LaPolla 1997). Besides, fixed adjuncts complete the nuclear verb meaning. This adjunct class is not an optional modifier of the core.

List of Abbreviations

ADF	fixed adjunct		
ADV	adverb	PASS	passive
ARG	argument	PL	plural
AUX	auxiliary	POSS	possessive
CL	clitic	PP	prepositional phrase
CO	copreterit	PRED	predicate
COP	Copula	PRN	pronominal
DAT	dative	PRS	present
DET	determinant	PST	past
GD	gerund	PTCP	participle
IM	impersonal	PTCP	participle
MV	middle voice	REFL	reflexive
NEG	negation	SG	singular
NF	nominal phase	V	verb
NUC	nucleus		

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