



2017-04-01

"Language Attitudes in Alcalá de Henares towards Immigrants" and "Adverbial Adjectives: A Usage-based Approach"

Lauren Elaine Truman
Brigham Young University

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd>

 Part of the [Spanish and Portuguese Language and Literature Commons](#)

BYU ScholarsArchive Citation

Truman, Lauren Elaine, "'Language Attitudes in Alcalá de Henares towards Immigrants" and "Adverbial Adjectives: A Usage-based Approach"' (2017). *All Theses and Dissertations*. 6324.
<https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/etd/6324>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by BYU ScholarsArchive. It has been accepted for inclusion in All Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of BYU ScholarsArchive. For more information, please contact scholarsarchive@byu.edu, ellen_amatangelo@byu.edu.

“Language Attitudes in Alcalá de Henares Towards Immigrants” and
“Adverbial Adjectives: A Usage-Based Approach”

Lauren Elaine Truman

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Scott Alvord, Chair
Jeff Turley
Orlando Alba

Department of Spanish and Portuguese
Brigham Young University

Copyright © 2017 Lauren Elaine Truman

All Rights Reserved

ABSTRACTS

“Language Attitudes in Alcalá de Henares Towards Immigrants”

Lauren Elaine Truman
Department of Spanish and Portuguese, BYU
Master of Arts

This study is part of the IN.MIGRA-2 CM project, which studies the sociolinguistic integration of the immigrant population of Madrid. The present study focuses on the language attitudes of 16 residents of Alcalá de Henares, a community of Madrid. The participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with the following affirmations: (1) The Spanish of Madrid is more correct than the forms of speech of Latin American immigrants; (2) Mastery of the Spanish language is the principal demonstration of the integration of immigrants; (3) Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language. The study finds a connection between higher levels of contact with immigrants and lower ratings of agreement with the affirmations. This investigation supports others that show connections between social networks and language attitudes, and it adds to the sparse research on language attitudes in Madrid.

Keywords: immigrants, integration, language attitudes, Alcalá de Henares

“Adverbial Adjectives: A Usage-Based Approach”

Adverbial adjectives modify both a verb and the subject of that verb. Their purpose is to describe a quality that pertains to both the subject and the way the subject is performing the verb. Because they modify both the verb and the noun, adverbial adjectives agree with the noun in number and gender. The generativist approaches to this linguistic phenomenon do not provide a sufficient explanation of verb + adverbial adjective constructions nor do they predict which subjects and predicates that can be used in these constructions. This paper takes a usage-based approach to adverbial adjectives. It explores the token frequencies of use of different verb + adverbial adjective phrases and attempts to categorize the components of these phrases based on these frequencies.

Keywords: adverbial adjectives, generative grammar, usage-based grammar, categories, chunking, token frequencies

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE	i
ABSTRACTS	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES	v
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
Introduction.....	1
Language Attitudes	1
Methodology.....	3
Results and Analysis	5
General Results	5
Personal and Social Factors	6
Madrid Spanish is more correct than the forms of speech of Latin American immigrants	7
Mastery of the Spanish language is the principal demonstration of the integration of immigrants	14
Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language	19
Discussion.....	23
Limitations	25

Conclusion	26
Works Referenced.....	28
APPENDIX A.....	31
Introduction.....	32
Generative Approaches.....	34
Predicate Complements	34
Features and Trees	36
Reduced Gerund Phrase.....	39
The Need for a New Explanation.....	41
A Usage-based Approach	42
Chunking.....	42
Token Frequencies	43
The Adjective.....	55
The Verb	56
The Subject	57
Conclusion	58
Works Referenced.....	59

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table 1.1 Sex</i>	7
<i>Table 1.2 Birthplace</i>	8
<i>Table 1.3 Years of residence in Alcalá</i>	9
<i>Table 1. 4 Employment situation</i>	10
<i>Table 1. 5 Traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries</i>	10
<i>Table 1. 6 Belongs to an association related to immigrants</i>	11
<i>Table 1. 7 Has regular professional contact with immigrants</i>	12
<i>Table 1.8 Has immigrant friends</i>	13
<i>Table 2.1 Sex</i>	14
<i>Table 2.2 Birthplace</i>	14
<i>Table 2.3 Years of residence in Alcalá</i>	15
<i>Table 2.4 Employment situation</i>	16
<i>Table 2.5 Traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries</i>	16
<i>Table 2.6 Belongs to an association related to immigrants</i>	17
<i>Table 2.7 Has regular professional contact with immigrants</i>	17
<i>Table 2.8 Has immigrant friends</i>	18
<i>Table 3.1 Sex</i>	19
<i>Table 3.2 Birthplace</i>	19
<i>Table 3.3 Years of residence in Alcalá</i>	20
<i>Table 3.4 Employment situation</i>	20
<i>Table 3.5 Traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries</i>	21

Table 3.6 Belongs to an association related to immigrants 22

Table 3.7 Has regular professional contact with immigrants 22

Table 3.8 Has immigrant friends 23

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1..... 39

Introduction

During the past decade, the immigrant population of Spain has hovered around 10% of the total population. The capital, Madrid, hosts a large number of these immigrants. As of January 2016, the immigrant population of Madrid was 13.2%. The community of Madrid with the second highest concentration of immigrants (19.1%) is Alcalá de Henares. (*Informe de Población de Origen Extranjero*, January 2016).

With almost 20% of the population being immigrant —“immigrant” being defined as someone from a foreign country who moves permanently to a host country—the residents of Alcalá de Henares are consistently exposed to foreign peoples, cultures, and ways of speaking. This makes Alcalá an excellent community for studies of language attitudes. The present study aims to explore the attitudes of the residents of Alcalá towards immigrant speech and immigrant integration. Before further explanation of the study, I will dedicate a few paragraphs to a brief review of the importance of language attitude studies and the need for more of these studies in the Madrid community.

Language Attitudes

The motivations for the linguistic conduct of a speaker are centered in their language attitudes—the beliefs about and attitudes towards a form of speech and the acceptance or rejection of variations of such form (Cestero, 2014). Lopez Morales (1989) states that language attitudes are the source of not only the execution of language, but also the treatment of foreign languages, language learning, language discrimination, and the formation of speech communities. Moreno Fernández (2005) also supports the idea that language attitudes are the source of explanations for the actions and beliefs of speech communities. The diffusion of linguistic variations and the prestige of certain speech forms over others are directly related to

linguistic attitudes (Carranza, 1982). Language attitudes are an intrinsic part of a speech community and they contribute to the worldview of that community (Alvar, 1976). Thus, in order to understand the linguistic behavior of a person or group of people, we must first understand their linguistic attitudes.

However, despite the support for the study of language attitudes that I have found, in reality, there are comparatively few studies of this type. The majority of language attitude studies are dedicated to bilingual or plurilingual communities.¹ Fewer are the studies that focus on the language attitudes of certain communities towards variations of the same language.²

In the community of Madrid in particular there are almost no studies of residents' attitudes towards different varieties of Spanish.³ For this reason a project was created to study the sociolinguistic integration of the immigrant population in the Madrid community and language attitudes towards those immigrants: IN.MIGRA-2 CM. The present study forms part of IN.MIGRA-2 CM and studies specifically the attitudes of residents of Alcalá de Henares, in the autonomous community of Madrid. With this study, I will be investigating whether connections exist between certain personal and social variables of the residents of Alcalá and their attitudes towards immigrant speech and integration.

¹ As examples, see Agueyisi and Fishman, 1970; Giles and Ryan, 1982; Rubín, 1968; Lagabaster, 2007; Sima Lozano, 2011

² See examples such as Alvar, 1972; Alvar and Quilis, 1984; Lope Blanch, 1986; López Morales, 1983

³ The few that exist include Moreno Fernández, 2004; Sanz Huéscar, 2010; Cestero, 2014; and Sancho, 2014.

Methodology

Data for this study were collected using a questionnaire (see Appendix A for a link to the online version) designed by Dr. Florentino Paredes, linguist at the University of Alcalá. I administered the questionnaire to 16 residents of Alcalá de Henares. Fourteen of the residents filled out a hard copy of the questionnaire, one filled out an electronic version that contains the same questions, and one participant requested the questionnaire to be given orally.

The questionnaire consists of three sections. The first collects personal data, including questions related to the participant's sex, age, level of education, birthplace, place of residence (Alcalá for all participants), time of residence in Alcalá, other places of residence, profession, employment situation, monthly income, and languages spoken. Participants are also asked if they have traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries, if they have traveled to non-Spanish-speaking countries, and with what frequency they have traveled to each.

The second section of this questionnaire contains three questions designed to collect information about the type of association that participants have with immigrants. The three questions in this section are listed below:

1. Do you belong to any association related to immigrants? If so, please indicate which one.
2. Do you have any professional relationships with immigrants? If so, what nationality are these immigrants? Describe briefly this relationship.
3. Do you have immigrant friends? If so, what nationality are they? Tell briefly how long you have been friends.

The third and final section of this questionnaire consists of 32 affirmations that have to do with the attitudes of the participants towards immigrants. For each affirmation, the participant is asked to choose the level to which they agree. There are four options: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, strongly agree.

After collecting all 16 questionnaires, the relevant data was tabulated in SPSS. The data included the answers from all 16 participants to the first two sections of the questionnaire, as well as their answers to the following three affirmations:

1. The Spanish of Madrid is more correct than the forms of speech of Latin American immigrants. (El castellano de Madrid es más correcto que las formas de hablar de los inmigrantes hispanoamericanos.)
2. Mastery of the Spanish language is the principal demonstration of the integration of immigrants. (*La forma de hablar de los madrileños ha cambiado por el contacto con los inmigrantes.*)
3. Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language. (El dominio de la lengua española es la principal muestra de la integración de los inmigrantes.)

Mean scores were calculated for each independent variable group within each dependent variable. Mean differences between the independent variable groups were compared using independent samples t-tests.

Results and Analysis

General Results

As mentioned above, this study focuses on the following three of the 32 affirmations that participants were asked to respond to:

4. The Spanish of Madrid is more correct than the forms of speech of Latin American immigrants.
5. Mastery of the Spanish language is the principal demonstration of the integration of immigrants.
6. Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language.

I chose these three questions as the focus of my study because I am interested in knowing whether there is any relationship between the type of association that participants have with immigrants and their language attitudes towards immigrant speech, especially as it pertains to integration. These questions work well together to provide insight into this area of focus.

Below are listed the responses of the participants to each of the three affirmations. Each level of agreement has been assigned a number: strongly disagree = 1, disagree = 2, agree = 3, strongly agree = 4. The means presented in this study correspond to these numbers.

1. The Spanish of Madrid is more correct than the forms of speech of Latin American immigrants. (Mean: 2.3)
 - a. Strongly disagree: 7 (43.8%)
 - b. Disagree: 2 (12.5%)
 - c. Agree: 2 (12.5%)

- d. Strongly agree: 5 (31.3%)
2. Mastery of the Spanish language is the principal demonstration of the integration of immigrants. (Mean: 3.1)
- a. Strongly disagree: 1 (6.3%)
 - b. Disagree: 2 (12.5%)
 - c. Agree: 7 (43.8%)
 - d. Strongly agree: 6 (37.5%)
3. Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language. (Mean: 2.6)
- a. Strongly disagree: 1 (6.3%)
 - b. Disagree: 8 (50%)
 - c. Agree: 4 (25%)
 - d. Strongly agree: 3 (18.8%)

Personal and Social Factors

In this study, I will analyze the three questions above according to the following factors: sex, place of birth, years of residence in Alcalá, employment situation, whether the participant has traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries, whether the participant belongs to some association related to immigrants, whether the participant has regular professional contact with immigrants, and whether the participant has immigrant friends. Each of these factors, with perhaps the exception of sex, has implications for the level of association the participant has with immigrants. Thus, each of these questions can tell us something about the relationship between level of contact and the language attitudes of the participants.

Many of the mean differences that were calculated are not statistically significant ($\alpha=0.05$). In these cases, definitive conclusions cannot be drawn about the effect of the independent variables on the responses of the participants. However, it is possible to see trends in responses under all variables by looking at the distribution of answers. Thus, all variables will be analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. This study acts as one that can be used to support further investigation of language attitudes towards immigrants. One possible reason that many of the mean differences are not statistically significant is the small sample size; future studies should use a larger sample size in order to have more confidence in the statistical analysis.

Madrid Spanish is more correct than the forms of speech of Latin American immigrants. In looking at the results of the group as a whole, there seems to be quite a division between the responses. The majority of respondents either strongly agree or strongly disagree (31.3% and 43.8%, respectively). Those that answered simply “disagree” or “agree” only make up 12.5% for each category. It seems that, in general, the participants have strong feelings about whether the Madrid Spanish is more correct than other forms. Analyzing the responses to this affirmation through the lens of the personal and social variables listed above may give us more insight into the feelings of the participants.

Table 1.1 Sex

Sex	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Male (8)	37.5%	12.5%	12.5%	37.5%	2.5	1.414	0.597
Female (8)	50%	12.5%	12.5%	25%	2.1	1.356	

The male participants show the same type of division in their answers that is seen with the whole group, while the female participants seem to disagree more strongly that the Spanish of Madrid is the superior form of the Spanish language. It could be that female residents of Alcalá are more doubtful than male residents that the Spanish of Madrid is the most correct form, but a larger sample size of participants is necessary to examine this further.

Table 1.2 Birthplace

Birthplace	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Madrid (9)	33.3%	22.2%	11.1%	33.3%	2.4	1.333	0.674
Other (7)	57.1%	0%	14.3%	28.6%	2.1	1.464	

I have divided the responses to this question into “Madrid” and “Other.” It is worth noting that the distribution of the percentages corresponding to natives of Madrid is more uniform than the distribution of percentages corresponding to the other participants. Of the participants in the Other category, more than half responded “strongly disagree.” The Madrid Spanish is unique; the participants born outside Madrid (Other) will most likely speak a different form of Spanish. Because those in the Other category identify with a different speech community than that of Madrid, it is possible that these participants recognize the Spanish of Madrid as simply a variation of Spanish and therefore do not see it as superior to the forms of speech of Latin American immigrants. It seems to me that there is a possible tendency here that is not born out in the statistics, but is worth examining in future research.

Table 1.3 Years of residence in Alcalá

Years of Residence	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
0-3 years (2)	100%	0%	0%	0%	1	0.000	0.241
4-19 years (3)	66.7%	0%	0%	33.3%	2	1.732	
20+ years (10)	20%	20%	20%	40%	2.8	1.229	

One participant did not respond, so the chart below represents only those 15 participants who responded. Looking at the means, it appears that the following trend may be true: the more time a participant lives in Alcalá de Henares, the more he believes the Spanish of Madrid is superior to the forms of speech of Latin American immigrants. It is possible that the longer a person lives in Alcalá de Henares the more he identifies with that speech community. They are now part of the Alcalá social network and, as Alfaraz (2010) states, “social networks have a normative influence, dictating appropriate group behavior, attitudes, and ideology” (p. 29). Edwards (1992) supports this by stating that “a member’s physical rootedness in his or her community is the principal determinant of vernacular linguistic and cultural behavior” (p. 95).

As mentioned in the previous section, it appears that those participants who were born within the autonomous community of Madrid may be more inclined to think that Madrid Spanish is a superior form of speech. However, as a new resident of Alcalá accrues more time in the city, he becomes more socially rooted in the community of Madrid, creating stronger relational ties and likely adopting the same beliefs as his surrounding network. Thus it follows that with more time in Alcalá a resident could be more inclined to view Madrid Spanish as superior.

Table 1. 1 Employment situation

Employment situation	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Active (12)	50%	16.7%	8.3%	25%	2.1	1.311	0.254
Inactive/Paused/Retired (4)	25%	0%	25%	50%	3	1.414	

It appears that those who are active in the workforce and those who are not may have fairly different opinions about the most correct form of Spanish. While half of those who are actively working strongly disagree, half who are inactive, paused, or retired strongly agree that Madrid Spanish is the best form. It may be that those who are actively working have more frequent contact with immigrants than those who are not and that this influences their beliefs about the most correct form of Spanish.

Table 1. 2 Traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries

Traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (4)	75%	0%	25%	0%	1.5	1.414	0.552
No (12)	33.3%	16.7%	8.3%	41.7%	2.6	1.368	

Of those who have traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries, only 25% agree in any measure that the Spanish of Madrid is superior. Of those participants who have not traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries, 66.6% agree to some degree that the Spanish of Madrid is the best form. However, since the sample size is only 16, these numbers correspond to only one and

eight, respectively. Since the mean differences for each of the variables was found not to be significantly different ($F=0.372, 1; p>0.05$), I can only speculate why the answers are distributed as they are.

It is logical to think that those participants who have traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries have been exposed to other forms of Spanish in a different way than their counterparts. Those who have been in other Spanish-speaking countries have been the visitors. Though they spoke the same language as those living in the host country, their pronunciation, vocabulary, etc. was different, so they have felt what it is like to be a linguistic minority. On the other hand, those who have not visited other Spanish-speaking countries are likely only personally familiar with foreign forms of Spanish through their interactions with immigrants to Spain. The perception of speech forms when one is a minority is very different than when one is part of the majority group. This may well contribute to the answers of the participants for this affirmation.

Table 1. 3 Belongs to an association related to immigrants

Belongs to association	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (4)	75%	0%	25%	0%	1.5	1.000	0.173
No (12)	33.3%	16.7%	8.3%	41.7%	2.6	1.379	

It is curious to note that the distribution of answers to this question are exactly the same as the previous question. It would be interesting to investigate whether traveling to other countries or participating in associations that work with immigrants has a bigger influence on respondents' answers. The participants who answered "yes" to this question are not the same as answered "yes" to having traveled to another Spanish-speaking country. They have not been put in a minority position like those in the previous question, so there must be some other reason

these participants have the same distribution of answers. The most obvious and most likely reason is simply the level of exposure to immigrants and immigrant culture and language. Going back to the notion of social networks, the participants who belong to an association related to immigrants have made their social network more heterogeneous through their contact with immigrants. Several studies indicate that a heterogeneous social network leads to attitude change and variation (Alfaraz, 2010; Edwards, 1992; Milroy, 1980). Thus it is likely that those respondents who participate in organizations that work with immigrants are influenced by these organizations and by their association with immigrants to be more doubtful than their counterparts that Madrid Spanish is superior.

Table 1. 4 Has regular professional contact with immigrants

Professional association	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (11)	54.5%	18.2%	18.2%	9.1%	1.8	0.944	0.024
No (5)	20%	0%	0%	80%	3.4	1.342	

This is the first independent variable with a statistically significant mean difference ($F=6.393, 1; p<0.05$). It is likely that the social networks of participants play a role in the results seen in this factor as well. The mean answer for those with regular professional association with immigrants falls under “strongly disagree,” while the mean for those without regular professional association falls under “agree.” It is interesting to note, too, that only one respondent who does not have professional contact with immigrants answered anything other than “strongly agree” for this affirmation. Comparing that with the fact that more than half of those who associate professionally with immigrants answered “strongly disagree,” it seems that professional

association plays a large role in a respondent’s attitude towards immigrant Spanish versus the Spanish of Madrid.

Table 1.5 Has immigrant friends

Immigrant friends	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (10)	50%	10%	10%	30%	2.2	1.398	0.143
No (4)	0%	25%	25%	50%	3.3	0.957	

Two participants did not respond to this question; I have included the data for only those 14 participants who responded. Looking at the trends in responses, having immigrant friends also appears to be a possible factor in respondent attitudes. Though the difference in means for this question is not statistically significant ($F= 2.264, 2; p>0.05$), one factor that may have affected participants’ response to this question is the number of their immigrant friends that come from Spanish-speaking countries compared to the number that do not. Only two of the participants reported having immigrant friends who come from Spanish-speaking countries, which may have affected their responses. Another interesting trend is that participants seem to have more association with Spanish-speaking immigrants in a professional setting; three respondents reported working with Latin American immigrants and three more reported working with immigrants “from everywhere,” which likely includes some Spanish-speaking countries. Though the sample size of the current study is too small to draw any conclusions, this trend could be a factor in the participants’ responses to the affirmations.

Mastery of the Spanish language is the principal demonstration of the integration of immigrants . The previous section showed that the amount of contact a participant has with immigrants from other Spanish-speaking countries seems to influence their perceptions of the superiority of Madrid Spanish. In this section I will see if contact with immigrants continues to be a factor in participants' answers to the affirmation "Mastery of the Spanish language is the principal demonstration of the integration of immigrants." The mean for the responses of the group as a whole for this affirmation is 3.1.

Table 2.1 Sex

Sex	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Male (8)	0%	12.5%	62.5%	25%	3.1	0.641	1.000
Female (8)	12.5%	12.5%	25%	50%	3.3	1.126	

Sex does not appear to be a strong indicator of whether a resident of Alcalá believes that mastery of the Spanish language is the principal demonstration of the integration of immigrants.

Table 2.2 Birthplace

Birthplace	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Madrid (9)	11.1%	22.2%	33.3%	33.3%	2.8	1.054	0.239
Other (7)	0%	0%	57.1%	42.9%	3.4	0.535	

There is not a great difference in the means between these two groups. However, it is interesting to note that, according to the distribution of answers, those born in Madrid seem less inclined to believe that mastery of Spanish is the best demonstration of integration. This may be

due to the diversity of Madrid compared to other areas of Spain. Madrid is the community with the third largest population of immigrants, so those born in Madrid have been exposed to a fair amount of immigrant people, perhaps more than those born outside this community (INE, 2016). If this is true, it seems that more exposure to immigrant groups may affect participants' perceptions of what truly indicates integration.

Table 2.3 Years of residence in Alcalá

Years of residence	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
0-3 years (2)	0%	0%	100%	0%	3	0.707	0.779
4-19 years (3)	0%	0%	66.7%	33.3%	3.3	0.577	
20+ years (10)	10%	10%	30%	50%	3.2	1.033	

What stands out most under this variable is that no one who has lived in Alcalá for less than 20 years responded “strongly disagree” or “disagree.” Though the means of the responses of these three groups are very close and the mean for the 0–3 years group is lowest, looking at the distribution of percentages, it appears that the longer a person lives in Alcalá, the more they begin to doubt that mastery of Spanish is the best demonstration of integration. Again, this could be related to the large immigrant population in the Madrid community (especially in Alcalá) and a higher level of exposure to immigrants due to more time living in this area.

Table 2.4 Employment situation

Employment situation	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Active (12)	8.3%	16.7%	50%	25%	2.9	0.900	0.104
Inactive/Paused/Retired (4)	0%	0%	25%	75%	3.8	0.500	

The difference in the means between these two groups is likely due to a difference in the level of interaction with immigrants, as suggested in the previous section. Those who are likely to have more interaction with immigrants—active workers—seem to be more doubtful about mastery of Spanish indicating integration.

Table 2.5 Traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries

Traveled to Spanish-speaking countries	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (4)	25%	25%	25%	25%	2.5	1.304	0.339
No (12)	0%	8.3%	50%	41.7%	3.3	0.647	

Within the group of those who have traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries, it seems that this fact might not make a difference in the participants' responses; each of the four participants in this group responded differently. However, between the groups, those who have traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries seem to be less in agreement with this affirmation than those who have not. It is possible that these participants, having been strangers in a foreign country, intuit that there are other factors in integration beyond simply speaking the same language and that this contributes to the trend in their responses.

Table 2.6 Belongs to an association related to immigrants

Belongs to association	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (4)	25%	0%	50%	25%	2.8	1.258	0.345
No (12)	0%	16.7%	41.7%	41.7%	3.3	0.754	

Though there is not a great difference in the means between these two groups, it does appear that those who belong to an organization that works with immigrants may be less likely to believe that integration into Spanish society is best shown by mastery of Spanish. As with those who have regular professional contact with immigrants and those who have lived in Alcalá the longest, if this is true, this doubt could be due to the heterogeneity of the social network of these respondents. To explore this possible causality, it would be necessary to determine whether those who belong to an association that works with immigrants in fact have a more heterogeneous social network than those who do not.

Table 2.7 Has regular professional contact with immigrants

Has professional contact	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (11)	9.1%	18.2%	45.5%	27.3%	2.9	0.944	0.154
No (5)	0%	0%	40%	60%	3.6	0.548	

The interesting result here is that all of the participants who do not have a professional contact with immigrants responded with “agree” or “strongly agree.” Again, this group likely has less regular contact with immigrants and so are not presented with as many opportunities to consider factors in the integration of immigrants beyond their ability to speak Spanish.

Table 2.8 Has immigrant friends

Immigrant friends	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (10)	10%	0%	70%	20%	3	0.816	0.651
No (4)	0%	25%	0%	75%	3.5	1.000	

The means between these two groups are fairly close. However, it is interesting to note that of the participants who do not have immigrant friends, only one has any doubt that mastery of Spanish is not the best demonstration of integration. Also, only 20% of those who have immigrant friends strongly agree that mastery of Spanish is the best demonstration. This means that 80% of those who have immigrant friends have at least a little doubt about this affirmation. While the difference in means is not statistically significant enough to draw conclusions from these observations ($F = 0.443, 2; p > 0.05$), it appears there may be a trend of more-contact-more-doubt. In the next section I will determine whether this trend continues further with the third affirmation and will discuss possibilities about why or why not.

Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language. The mean response of the group as a whole for this affirmation is 2.6. In other words, those who were interviewed tend to disagree that immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language.

Table 3.1 Sex

Sex	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Male (8)	0%	62.5%	12.5%	25%	2.6	0.916	0.790
Female (8)	12.5%	37.5%	37.5%	12.5%	2.5	0.926	

As seen with the other affirmations, sex does not seem to be much of a factor in the opinions of the participants. It does appear, however, that the distribution of the answers of the female respondents is more uniform than those of the male respondents; more than half of the male respondents answered “disagree” to this affirmation.

Table 3.2 Birthplace

Birthplace	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Madrid (9)	33.3%	55.5%	22.2%	11.1%	2.3	0.866	0.258
Other (7)	0%	42.9%	28.6%	28.6%	2.8	0.900	

Looking in the trends of responses, it seems that those who were born in Madrid may be less inclined to agree that Latin American immigrants are integrated into Spanish society because they speak the same language. If this is true, as mentioned before, this opinion could be related to the high number of immigrants in Madrid and the possibility that those who were born in Madrid

have had more exposure to immigrants. Those who have more contact with immigrants may see integration in a different way than those who do not, and through personal experience they may have come to believe that there is a more influential factor than language in the integration of Spanish-speaking immigrants.

Table 3.3 Years of residence in Alcalá

Years of residence in Alcalá	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
0-3 years (2)	0%	50%	0%	50%	3	1.414	0.814
4-19 years (3)	0%	66.6%	33.3%	0%	2.3	0.577	
20+ years (10)	10%	40%	30%	20%	2.6	0.966	

Years of residence in Alcalá does not seem to be a strong factor in this affirmation.

Looking at the means, there is no apparent trend in opinion. However, note that no participant who has lived in Alcalá for less than 20 years answered “strongly disagree.”

Table 3.4 Employment situation

Employment situation	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Active (12)	8.3%	58.3%	16.7%	16.7%	2.4	0.900	0.272
Inactive/Paused /Retired (4)	0%	25%	50%	25%	3	0.816	

This factor shows the same trend seen with the previous two affirmations: those who are currently in the work force display more doubt about the affirmation. Again, this may stem from more interaction with immigrants and personal experiences that lead these participants to believe

that Latin American immigrants do not automatically integrate into Spanish society just because they speak Spanish.

Table 3.5 Traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries

Traveled to Spanish-speaking countries	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (4)	0%	75%	25%	0%	2.3	0.548	0.640
No (12)	8.3%	41.7%	25%	25%	2.7	1.027	

Though the trend here is the same as that in the first two affirmations, it is important to note that there is not as stark a contrast between the groups here. For the first affirmation, the difference in the means between those who have traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries and those who have not was 1.1. For the second, the difference was 0.8. The difference for the third affirmation is only 0.4. Looking at this trend in terms of the response categories, it is telling to observe that the mean of those who have traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries fell under “strongly disagree” for the first affirmation and “disagree” for the second, while those who have not traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries fell under “disagree” for the first and “agree” for the second. However, in the third affirmation, both groups fall under “disagree.” I will discuss later on what might account for the apparent increase in doubt of the “No” group for this third affirmation.

Table 3.6 Belongs to an association related to immigrants

Belongs to association	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (4)	0%	50%	25%	25%	2.8	0.957	0.644
No (12)	8.3%	50%	25%	16.7%	2.5	0.905	

Again, the difference between the means of these two groups is smaller than in the previous two affirmations (0.3 versus 1.1 and 0.5, respectively), with the “No” group displaying more doubt than before.

Table 3.7 Has regular professional contact with immigrants

Has professional contact	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (11)	9.1%	45.5%	27.3%	18.2%	2.5	0.934	0.914
No (5)	0%	60%	20%	20%	2.6	0.894	

In this factor also, both groups fall under “disagree” and there is a very small difference between the means of the two groups (only 0.1). According to the trend in answers, it seems that whether a participant has traveled to another Spanish-speaking country, whether they belong to an association related to immigrants, and whether they have regular professional contact with immigrants may make very little difference in his opinion about the integration of Latin American immigrants being primarily dependent upon their speaking Spanish. I will discuss possible explanations for this further on.

Table 3.8 Has immigrant friends

Immigrant friends	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Std. Deviation	Sig. Between Groups
Yes (10)	10%	70%	10%	10%	2.2	0.789	0.034
No (4)	0%	0%	50%	50%	3.5	0.577	

The difference between the mean for each answer under this variable is statistically significant ($F= 4.429, 2; p<0.05$), so having immigrant friends does seem to be a definitively influential factor in a respondent’s opinion of how integrated Latin American immigrants are. Those who do not have immigrant friends all answered “agree” or “strongly agree,” while those who do have immigrant friends mostly disagree with this affirmation. It is interesting to note that only three of the respondents who have immigrant friends reported being friends with immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries. Other respondents reported that their friends come from Romania, Georgia, Africa, and the United States. It may be that simply having immigrant friends—no matter where they come from—influences a respondent’s perceptions of integration.

Discussion

From the results and analysis above, it seems that the more contact a resident of Alcalá de Henares has with immigrants, the more doubt they display in their responses to the affirmations considered in this study. It is likely that these responses depend also on what level of immigration a participant finds immigrant acquaintances and friends in. As Sancho (2014) points out, integration is a process, and time of residence in an area is a factor in how much an immigrant has adapted to the society. Further studies are necessary to determine the influence of this factor on the residents of Alcalá de Henares.

Before concluding, it is crucial to look at one interesting connection between these three affirmations. It seems that those participants who were born in Madrid, those who have lived in Alcalá de Henares the longest, those who have traveled to other Spanish-speaking countries, those who are active in the workforce, those who belong to an organization that works with immigrants, those who have regular contact with immigrants at work, and those who have immigrant friends are more doubtful than other participants that mastery of Spanish is the best demonstration of integration. The common thread in the doubt displayed towards this affirmation, as with the first affirmation, seems to be level of contact with immigrants.

However, this trend does not appear as clear in responses to the affirmation “Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language.” Under this third affirmation both groups tend to disagree. What could be the cause of this disagreement if not level of contact with immigrants?

One clue is found in the term “mastery,” used in the second affirmation. If the majority of respondents believe that mastery of the Spanish language is the best demonstration of integration into Spanish society but disagree that Latin American immigrants are integrated because they speak Spanish, it may be that the majority believes that these immigrants have not mastered the correct form of Spanish. In other words, the way Latin American immigrants speak is not considered mastery of the Spanish language.

To consider this possibility, I will look at the relationship between those who doubt that Latin American immigrants are integrated and those who believe that the Spanish of Madrid is superior to the forms of speech of Latin American immigrants. I have repeated below the statistics for the group as a whole for affirmations 1 and 2:

Affirmation 1: The Spanish of Madrid is more correct than the forms of speech of Latin

American immigrants. (Mean: 2.3)

- a. Strongly disagree: 7 (43.8%)
- b. Disagree: 2 (12.5%)
- c. Agree: 2 (12.5%)
- d. Strongly agree: 5 (31.3%)

Affirmation 3: Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language. (Mean: 2.6)

- a. Strongly disagree: 1 (6.3%)
- b. Disagree: 8 (50%)
- c. Agree: 4 (25%)
- d. Strongly agree: 3 (18.8%)

To determine the relationship between these two affirmations, I will look at the number of those who doubt the integration of Latin American immigrants (third affirmation) who also believe the Spanish of Madrid is the best form (first affirmation). The total number of those who responded either “strongly disagree” or “disagree” to the third affirmation is nine. Of that number, only 33.3% answered either “agree” or “strongly agree” to the first affirmation. Thus, it is possible that some participants disagreed with the third affirmation because they believe that the Latin American form of speech is not mastery of Spanish, but they are the minority.

Limitations

There is slight ambiguity in the wording of the last affirmation. The phrase “Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language” (in Spanish “Los

inmigrantes de origen hispanoamericano están integrados, porque hablan la misma lengua”) could actually be interpreted as “Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the same language as each other” rather than “Immigrants of Latin American origin are integrated because they speak the host country language.” The latter is the intended interpretation. While it is unlikely that participants interpreted the affirmation as the former, should they misinterpret it, this might affect their answer.

Further studies should collect information from a larger sample of the community. The small sample size of the current study creates a few limitations in the analysis. For example, because of the small sample size, the distributions of age, level of education, and income for these participants were slanted enough to prevent these factors being used in the analysis. Age is often a factor in sociolinguistics studies and should be considered. Level of education and income are known to be factors in language attitudes and in social networks; a person’s social network, in turn, seems to be a factor in the present study in relation to the level of doubt shown towards these affirmations (Coulmas, 1997). So analysis of age, level of education, and income could provide additional insight into the linguistic attitudes towards immigrants in Alcalá de Henares. Additionally, a larger sample size may provide researchers with more statistically significant mean differences, which would improve the analysis.

Conclusion

Though only two of the independent variables have differences in means that are statistically significant, the trend that stands out is that the participants’ responses seem to be influenced by the level of contact they have with immigrants. This contact may be regular association with immigrant friends or coworkers or a significant experience—either through

travel or volunteer work—with nationalities of people who tend to be immigrants to Spain. Participants who have had these kinds of interactions seem less inclined to think that the Spanish of Madrid is superior to other forms of Spanish. They appear more doubtful that mastery of Spanish is the best demonstration of integration into Spanish society. And, though the margin is small, they seem less convinced that Spanish-speaking immigrants are integrated into Spanish society because they speak Spanish.

It seems possible, then, that when a resident of Alcalá's social network includes immigrants—and thus becomes more heterogeneous and uniplex—this affects their attitudes towards the sociolinguistic integration of immigrants. This trend supports principles found in studies such as Alfaraz, 2010; Edwards, 1992; Milroy, 1980; and Crisp, 2009. This study also supports other language attitude studies realized in the Madrid community, including Sancho (2014) and Sanz Huéscar (2010). There is not yet a large amount of information on the language attitudes of the residents of the Madrid community towards immigrants, so the present study, as part of the larger IN.MIGRA-2 CM project, contributes to this new area of research

Works Referenced

- Agueyisi, R. and Fishman, J. (1970). Language Attitudes Studies: A Brief Survey of Methodological Approaches. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 12. 137–157.
- Alfaraz, G. (2010). The Influence of Social and Linguistic Factors on Spanish Dialect Contact in the U.S.: A Look at Mexican and Cuban Spanish in Lansing, Michigan. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 29(2). 27–54.
- Alvar, M. (1972). Niveles socio-culturales en el habla de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular.
- Alvar, M. (1976). Attitude of the Speaking Subject and Sociolinguistics; Attitude du Sujet Parlant et Sociolinguistique. *Travaux de Linguistique et de Litterature*, 14(1). 67–83.
- Alvar, M. and Quilis, A. (1984). Reacciones de unos hablantes cubanos ante diversas variedades del español. *Lingüística Española Actual*, 4. 229–265.
- Baker, C. (1992). *Attitudes and Language*. Bristol, PA: Multilingual Matters.
- Carranza, M. A. (1982). Attitudinal Research on Hispanic Language Varieties. Ryan, E. and Giles, H. (Eds.). *Attitudes towards Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts*. London, UK: Edward Arnold.
- Cestero, A. and Paredes, F. (2015). Creencias y actitudes hacia las variedades normativas del español actual: Primeros resultados del Proyecto PRECAVES-XXI. *Spanish in Context*, 12(2). 255–279.
- Cifras de Población. (2015). *Estadística Migraciones 2015*. Madrid: Instituto Nacional de Estadística.

- Coulmas, F. (Ed.). (1997). *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Crisp, R. and Turner, R. (2009). Can Imagined Interactions Produce Positive Perceptions? Reducing Prejudice through Simulated Social Contact. *American Psychologist*, 64(4). 231–240.
- Edwards, W. (1992). Sociolinguistic Behavior in a Detroit Inner-City Black Neighborhood. *Language in Society*, 21(1). 93–5.
- Garrett, P. (2010). *Attitudes to Language*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Giles, H. and Ryan, E. (Eds.) (1982). *Attitudes towards Language Variation: Social and Applied Contexts*. London, UK: Edward Arnold.
- Lasagabaster, D. (2007). Language Use and Language Attitudes in the Basque Country. In Lasagabaster, D. and Huguet, A. (Eds.). *Multilingualism in European Bilingual Context: Language Use and Attitudes*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Lope Blanch, J. (1986). *El estudio del español hablado culto: historia de un proyecto*. México, UNAM.
- López Morales, H. (1983). *Estratificación social del español de San Juan de Puerto Rico*. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.
- Lopez Morales, H. 1989. *Sociolingüística*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Milroy, L. (1980). *Language and Social Networks*. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers.
- Milroy, L. and Margrain, S. (1980). Vernacular Language Loyalty and Social Network. *Language in Society*, 9(1). 43–70.

- Moreno Fernández, F. (2005). *Principios de sociolingüística y sociología del lenguaje*.
Barcelona: Ariel.
- Observatorio de Inmigración-Centro de Estudios y Datos. (2016). *Informe de población de origen extranjero empadronada en la comunidad de madrid*. Madrid: Comunidad de Madrid.
- Rona, J. (1974). A Structural View of Sociolinguistics. In Garvin, P. y Lastra, Y. (Eds.)
Antología de estudios de etnolingüística y sociolingüística. México: UNAM.
- Rubin, J. (1968). *National Bilingualism in Paraguay*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Sancho, A. (2014). *Integración sociolingüística de los inmigrantes ecuatorianos en Madrid*
(Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from
dspace.uah.es/dspace/bitstream/handle/10017/.../TESIS_SANCHO_PASCUAL.pdf.
- Sanz Huéscar, G. (2010). Actitudes lingüísticas. Rumanos en Alcalá. *Lengua y migración*,
2(2). 97–111.
- Sima Lozano, E. G. (2011). Actitudes de monolingües de español hacia la maya y sus
hablantes en Mérida. *Ketzalcalli*, 2, 61–80. Mérida: UNAM.

APPENDIX A

CUESTIONARIO SOBRE ACTITUDES LINGÜÍSTICAS

MADRILEÑOS

https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLScYzsmTGHZ7M4rMOeaTMV6xhTnM-Ic0sqNQGvV_fUlmR7bfng/viewform?c=0&w=1

Introduction

While adjectives and adverbs, of course, typically have separate functions within a sentence and are formed differently, they are similar in one key way: they each modify the nucleus of their phrase. Adjectives modify nouns and adverbs modify verbs, adjectives, and other adverbs. However, there is a type of adjective that seems to perform the function of both an adjective and an adverb, aptly known as the adverbial adjective.

Some authors refer to these adjectives as predicative complements (Hernández Carbó, 1988) or descriptive predicative complements with subject orientation (Demonte, 1999). For the purpose of simplicity, I will refer to these adjectives as adverbial adjectives. This term is consistent with its use by Luján (1980).

Adverbial adjectives modify both the verb and the subject of that verb. Their purpose is to describe a quality that pertains to both the subject and the way the subject is performing the verb. Because they modify both the verb and the noun, adverbial adjectives agree with the noun in number and gender.

(1) Las chicas duermen *tranquilas*.

(2) Los trabajadores llegaron *cansados*.

It is crucial to fully understand the role of adverbial adjectives in order to know how to treat them, especially in light of the fact that there also exist adjectives that function in some contexts as adverbs of manner and so appear to function similarly.

(3) Ella corre *rápido*.

(4) Ellos hablaron muy *claro*.

These adverbs are called adjectival adverbs by some authors (Demonte, 1999) and simply adverbs by others (Luján, 1980). Here I will refer to them as adverbs because, though they have the form of an adjective, they modify only the verb and do not agree in gender or number with the subject. In sentence (3) for example, “*rápido*” refers only to the way the subject ran, not to the subject herself. By way of contrast, in sentence (2), the adverbial adjective “*cansados*” refers both to the state of the workers (“*están cansados*”) and to the way they are arriving (“*cansadamente*”).

Sometimes the difference between the adverb and the adverbial adjective serves to create different meanings (Butt, 1988). For example, the pairs of sentences below have distinct meanings:

(5) Las niñas dormían *tranquilas*.

(6) Las niñas dormían *tranquilamente*.

(7) Pilar canta *alegre*.

(8) Pilar canta *alegremente*.

Sentence (5) means the girls were feeling peaceful and the girls slept in a peaceful way. The quality “*tranquil*” applies to both the girls and to how they were sleeping, so the adverbial

adjective is used. The second sentence, however, means the girls were sleeping peacefully. This sentence implies, in most contexts, that the girls are sleeping peacefully because the girls in fact feel peaceful, grammatically this is not what the sentence expresses. In the same manner, example (7) means Pilar sang happily; Pilar is happy and this is reflected in the way she is singing. However, in example (8), “alegremente” only modifies the way Pilar is singing; she may or may not be feeling happy, despite the fact that she is singing happily.

A few grammarians have attempted to explain the phenomenon of adverbial adjectives, most through the lens of generative grammar. In this paper, I argue that a usage-based construction grammar approach provides a better explanation of how adverbial adjectives behave. Additionally, I utilize a usage-based approach to attempt to create a category for adverbial adjectives and the verbs they are used with in order to better understand why these grammatical features are chunked together. To the best of my knowledge, there does not yet exist a usage-based explanation like this for adverbial adjectives.

Generative Approaches

Predicate Complements

Before taking a look at a usage-based explanation, a few generative explanations need to be considered in order to provide a foundation for a usage-based approach and to understand the need for one. I will start with the interpretation outlined by Demonte and Masullo (1999).

According to their research, only certain adjectives can be used adverbially. Demonte and Masullo refer to these as adjectives of manner. Some examples include *innocente*, *confuso*, *feliz*. These adjectives can modify a noun as well as a verb: *Yo estoy feliz*, *Habla feliz(mente)*.

Adjectives like *azul* would not work as adverbial adjectives because they only modify nouns: *El*

cielo es azul, **Habla azul*. In addition, Demonte and Masullo note that these adverbial adjectives are episodic or stative. In other words, they refer to situations and properties that are transitory, that imply change, and that have limited aspect. Being *innocente*, *confuso*, or *feliz*, for example, can change. However, adjectives like *azul*, though they can change, describe qualities or properties that are generally considered inherent, permanent, or stable.

As far as the types of verbs that adverbial adjectives can be used with, Demonte and Masullo state that this classification of adjectives can only occur in sentences with verbal predicates of event, not with ones of state. For example, we could say *Corre feliz* but not **Sabe feliz*. The verb must be one of process, realization, or accomplishment—i.e. non-stative—rather than stative, or the sentence will be ungrammatical.

However, for some verbs of state there appears to be a little leeway. For example, while **Joaquín sabía la noticia contento* is ungrammatical, ?*Marta ama deprimida* seems to be more acceptable. While *amar* is stative when it is considered alone, when considered in the context of a whole predicate, it may become, as in the case of ?*Marta ama deprimida*, slightly less stative. The same phenomenon occurs with phrases like, ¡*Ódialo todo lo que puedas!* (Demonte, 1999, footnote 23).

Further evidence that there can be ranges of acceptability for combinations of certain verbs and adverbial adjectives is found in categories. According to Demonte and Masullo, the categories to which verbs like *saber* and *ver* belong are stative, but within these categories are words like *analizar*, *entender*, and *mirar*, which describe more of an activity than a state. According to this interpretation, semantics play a large role in which grammatical structures are allowed and which are not. I will return to this idea of semantics and gradience of acceptability

further on. From these parameters outlined above, Demonte and Masullo create two rules to govern the usage of adverbial adjectives: (1) the predicate has to be transitory, or episodic, and (2) both predicates (the verb and the adjective) have to be lexically compatible; they both need to predicate events (p. 2476).

Features and Trees

Hernanz Carbó (1988) uses features and phrase markers to explain adverbial adjectives. Citing Luján (1981), she describes three categories of adjectives: [+perfective], [-perfective], and [+/-perfective]. Adjectives that are [-perfective] can be used only with the copula *ser* and include words like *inteligente, capaz, modesto, rico, mortal, prudente, falso, increíble, honesto, constante, estúpido, etc.*

(9) María es *inteligente*.

(10) *María está *inteligente*.

Adjectives that are [+perfective] are used only with the copulative *estar* and include adjectives like *lleno, perplejo, solo, roto, vacío, ausente, contento, etc.*

(11) *María es *contenta*.

(12) María está *contenta*.

Adjectives that are [+/-perfective] have double aspectual valence and can be paired with either *ser* or *estar*. These adjectives include *gordo*, *delgado*, *limpio*, *sucio*, *alegre*, *silencioso*, *guapo*, *feo*, *elegante*, etc.

(13) Este niño es *gordo*.

(14) Este niño está *gordo*.

According to Hernanz Carbó (1988), the pairing of these categories of adjectives with certain copulas demonstrates that copulas lexically reflect the aspect of predicative adjectives. Adjectives that are [-perf.] cannot be used with *estar* and therefore cannot be used as adverbial adjectives (Hernanz Carbó refers to them as predicative complements or secondary predicates). All adverbial adjectives must have the feature [+perf.]. Those adjectives that are [+/- perf.] have their [-perf.] feature filtered by the conjugated verb in the primary predication. For example, in the phrase “Todos los días los niños se acostaban sucios” the conjugated verb “se acostaban” filters the [-perf.] feature of *sucio*, leaving us with the [+perf.] feature and allowing it to act as an adverbial adjective.

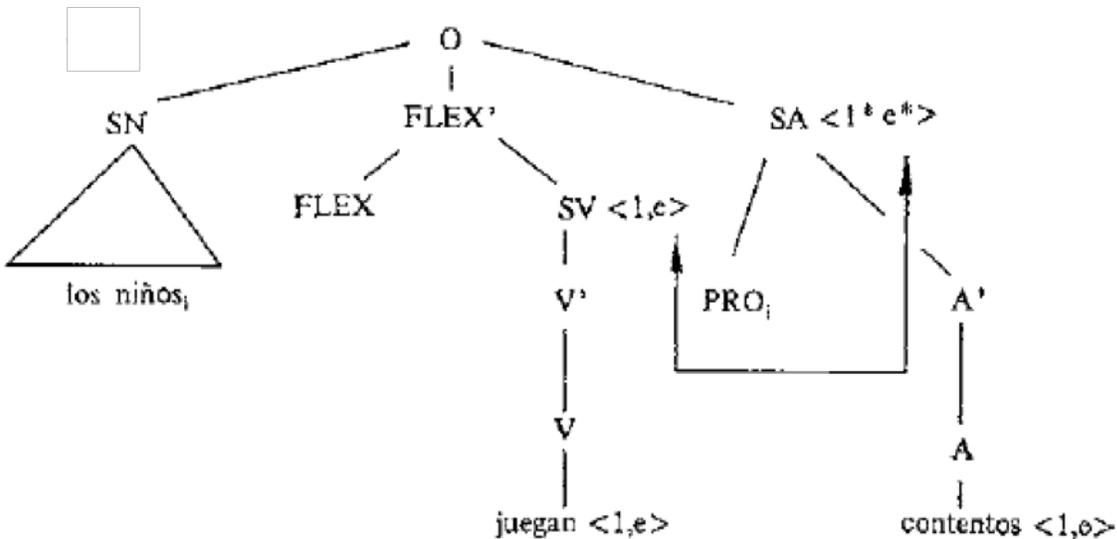
The question is, of course, how is it that the conjugated verb can block the [-perf] aspect of an adjective? To explain this, Hernanz Carbó looks to the Theory of Events begun by Davidson (1967) and developed by Higginbotham (1982). Davidson proposes that ordinary predicates—specifically action verbs (which are the verbs that allow for adverbial adjectives)—include, in addition to assigned positions for the open arguments that correspond to the subject, a position for “events.” According to Davidson, events are individual entities that make up another

argument of the verb and therefore form part of the verb's "thematic network." As Higginbotham explains, "Action sentences involve implicit existential quantification over events" (1982, p. 8). For example, the sentence "María canta" could be represented as $[\exists x : x \text{ es un evento}] \text{ cantar } [María, x]$. This representation can be interpreted as "for some x , such that x is an event...."

According to the Theory of Events, complex expressions are interpreted through the application of a restricted set of operations based on "unloading." Unloading is essentially the elimination of open theme positions of lexical units and of complex phrases (Speas, 1986). There are four types of unloading, according to Higginbotham, but Hernanz Carbó only discusses two: thematic assignment and thematic identification. Thematic assignment occurs in the relation between the predicate and the argument, while thematic identification occurs in the relation between adjective and noun.

Adjectives, because they are predicates, says Hernanz Carbó, include a position e (event) in their thematic network, just like verbs. So, in a sentence that contains an adverbial adjective, the position e of the verb phrase (SV) identifies with position e of the adjective phrase (SA), allowing for a predicate that agrees in number and gender with the noun. This is represented in the graphic below:

Figure 1



While this explanation presents a neat visual of what is occurring in these constructions, we are not really left with more information than we had before. Besides position *e*—which appears to be a somewhat arbitrary theorized position—this description is essentially a circular description of the fact that the verb phrase and the adjective phrase match in gender and number. This is one of the issues with using a generative approach to this phenomenon.

Reduced Gerund Phrase

Luján (1980) explains the phenomenon of adverbial adjectives a bit differently. According to Luján, sentences that contain an adverbial adjective, for example “Viajábamos solas,” derive from gerund adverbial phrases whose principal verb is a copula. Therefore, adverbial adjectives can be considered transformed or reduced versions of the original adverbial clauses (Luján 153). In other words, sentences that contain an adverbial adjective are similar to sentences such as the following:

(16) Ana llegó *corriendo*

(17) Mi amigo llegó *trayendo regalos*

(18) Me esperaban mirando la televisión.

The difference between the sentences above and sentences like “Viajábamos solas” is that the principal verb in the gerund form of “Viajábamos solas” (see below) is a copula. So, the deep structure of sentences like this, says Luján, is

(19) [nosotras_i viajábamos [nosotras estando solas]]

The subject of these clauses is eliminated in a later stage by the EQUI operation. The gerund form of the copulative *estar* is also eliminated, in a cyclical process shown below. The following is an outline of the reduction process of the sentence “La maestra llegó cansada”:

(20) [la maestra llegó [ella estando cansad-]]

ella estando cansada CONCORDANCIA

(Ciclo 1)

la maestra llegó \emptyset estando cansada EQUI (Ciclo 2)

la maestra llegó \emptyset cansada ELISIÓN-Cop (Ciclo 2)

‘La maestra llegó cansada.’

Luján argues that “Pedro busca a Ana preocupado” is the same in meaning as and is a reduced form of “Pedro busca a Ana estando preocupado.” While at first glance these sentences seem to say the same thing, if we really consider them, we will find that they are not really equivalent. From “Pedro busca a Ana preocupado,” we understand that Pedro is worried and that this emotion is reflected in the way he is looking for Ana. But in “Pedro busca a Ana estando preocupado,” “estando preocupado” seems to only modify “Pedro.” It doesn’t really modify “busca” like the adverbial adjective does. Further evidence that these are not equivalent is that we can rearrange “Pedro busca a Ana estando preocupado” to “Pedro, estando preocupado, busca a Ana.” But we cannot change “Pedro busca a Ana estando preocupado” to create “*Pedro, preocupado, busca a Ana.”

The Need for a New Explanation

These generative approaches to adverbial adjectives provide fairly thorough explanations for this grammatical phenomenon. However, there are two substantial issues with them. The first is that at the end of these generative approaches, as mentioned before, are not left with much more information than we had before.

The second concern with the generative approaches, I believe, is that they do not focus enough on the importance of semantics in these adverbial adjective constructions. Demonte and Masullo (1999) do touch on the role of semantics, but the main focus in the majority of generative approaches to this phenomenon is the underlying syntactic and grammatical rules. I believe the meaning of particular verbs and adverbial adjectives is perhaps the most key factor in understanding the combinations that speakers create. A usage-based approach focused on

semantics would provide a more accurate description of what speakers are actually doing when they create verb + adverbial adjective phrases.

A Usage-based Approach

Chunking

I believe that these verb + adverbial adjective sequences occur because speakers chunk together verbs and adverbial adjectives that they know go together because of their semantic values. According to Bybee (2002), sequences of words that have a high frequency of repetition become automated into a single chunk that can then be accessed as a unit. Several pieces of evidence exist for the chunking phenomenon, Bybee says. First, there is ample evidence that one unit of a chunk automates the other unit in the chunk. For example, hearing *supreme* leads most hearers to think *court* and *sesame* to think *street*. Second, the original internal structure of a set of words tends to be lost in chunking. This is why the English phrase *going to* is so often pronounced as “gonna.” Third, the morphemes within a chunk tend to become separate in the mind of speakers from other uses of these morphemes. As evidence of this, most speakers cannot identify the meaning of *of* in phrases like “kind of.” Finally, chunks tend to experience phonological reduction. This is most easily seen in English phrases such as “gonna,” “wanna,” “hafta.”

One evidence for the chunking of adverbial adjectives is the fact that they ignore constituent boundaries. So-called “normal” adjectives—non-adverbial ones—can be pronominalized. For example, we can say, “*María es feliz y Ana también lo es.*” But we cannot do the same with adverbial adjectives. We cannot say, “**María vive feliz y Ana también lo*

vive.” Adverbial adjectives ignore the traditional constituent boundaries for adjectives because they serve a unique purpose, which will be discussed further on.

Token Frequencies

Perhaps the most compelling evidence that verb + adverbial adjective combinations are an example of chunking is the token frequency with which particular combinations occur. Below is a list of several possible verb + adverbial adjective phrases and the token frequencies with which they appear in the BYU Web/Dialects *Corpus del Español* created by Mark Davies. The symbol “^” represents examples provided by the articles cited in this paper. The other combinations were created based on these examples, using synonyms of some of the most frequent adverbial adjectives and verbs. I also performed several different corpus searches based on common Spanish verbs to find as many high-frequency combinations as I could.

Acercar(se)

Phrase	Frequency
[acercar] cansad*	0
[acercar] tranquil*	5
[acercar] content*	2
[acercar] preocupad*	22
[acercar] ansios*	4
^[acercar] solicit*	1
[acercar] expectant*	3

Acostar(se)

Phrase	Frequency
[acostar] cansad*	16
[acostar] tranquil*	31
[acostar] content*	3
^[acostar] satisfech*	4
[acostar] preocupad*	4
[acostar] rendid*	2

Bailar

[bailar] libre*	12
[bailar] diferent*	24
[bailar] alegre*	22
[bailar] feli*	33
[bailar] desnud*	93
[bailar] descalz*	66
[bailar] content*	7
[bailar] junt@s	234

Caer(se)

[caer] muert*	1120
[caer] simpátic*	440
[caer] abatid*	401
[caer] rendid*	1320
[caer] derrotad*	691
[caer] herid*	428
[caer] junt@s	62

Caminar

[caminar] tranquil*	241
[caminar] unid*	90
[caminar] libr*	153
[caminar] erect*	28
[caminar] descalz*	660
[caminar] desnud*	101
[caminar] liger*	86

Comer

Phrase	Frequency
[comer] cansad*	0
[comer] tranquil*	138
[comer] content*	5
[comer] preocupad*	0
[comer] ansios*	3
^ [comer] callad*	57
[comer] junt*	932

Correr

[correr] junt*	499
[correr] descalz*	348
[correr] desnud*	205
[correr] paralel*	516
[correr] despavorid*	289
[correr] libr*	201

Dormir

Phrase	Frequency
^[dormir] cansad*	30
[dormir] tranquil*	2122
[dormir] satisfech*	12
[dormir] acompañad*	109

Escuchar

[escuchar] atent*	371
[escuchar] absort*	21

Esperar

Phrase	Frequency
[esperar] tranquil*	193
[esperar] content*	12
[esperar] ansios*	717
^[esperar] impacient*	668
[esperar] junt*	45

Habitar

[habitar] tranquil*	6
---------------------	---

Ir(se)

[ir] satisfech*	245
[ir] content*	22
[ir] tranquil*	19
[ir] cansad*	65
[ir] unid*	2326
[ir] junt@s	3376
[ir] destinad*	2020
[ir] perfect*	1048
[ir] sol*	5131
[ir] armad*	608

Leer

Phrase	Frequency
[leer] cansad*	0
[leer] tranquil*	73
^[leer] content*	2
[leer] satisfech*	1
[leer] preocupad*	5

Llegar

Phrase	Frequency
^[llegar] cansad*	573
[llegar] tranquil*	63
[llegar] content*	57
[llegar] san*	458
[llegar] nuev*	974
[llegar] junt@s	443

Mirar

Phrase	Frequency
^[mirar] agresiv*	2
^[mirar] atónit*	139
[mirar] desconcertad*	107
[mirar] curios*	50
[mirar] preocupad*	67
[mirar] junt*	196

Morir

[morir] pobr*	329
[morir] inocent*	92
[morir] congelad*	161
[morir] esbelt*	30
[morir] quemad*	454
[morir] asenad*	1183
[morir] tranquil*	289
[morir] ahogad*	1141
[morir] envenenad*	317
[morir] crucificad*	182

Partir

Phrase	Frequency
[partir] cansad*	0
[partir] tranquil*	12
[partir] content*	5
[partir] satisfech*	4
[partir] preocupad*	0
^[partir] feli*	16
[partir] raud*	45
[partir] junt@s	49
[partir] viv*	3

Salir

Phrase	Frequency
^[salir] cansad*	35
[salir] tranquil*	158
[salir] content*	479
[salir] satisfech*	356
[salir] viv*	1096
[salir] airos*	2520
[salir] victorios*	2434
[salir] indemne*	577
[salir] car@(s)	1993
[salir] positiv*	1652

Trabajar

Phrase	Frequency
[trabajar] cansad*	10
[trabajar] tranquil*	442
[trabajar] content*	25
^[trabajar] silencios*	5
[trabajar] junt@s	10,607
[trabajar] unid*	1220

Venir

[venir] list*	169
[venir] junt@s	279
[venir] sujet*	55
[venir] llen*	296

Vivir

Phrase	Frequency
[vivir] junt@s	7225
[vivir] tranquil*	2002
[vivir] content*	348
[vivir] satisfech*	61
^[vivir] feli*	3385
[vivir] inmers*	731
[vivir] enferm*	75

It is interesting to note that many of the phrases that were used in generative approaches as examples of verb + adverbial adjective constructions have frequencies that are very low or even nil: [acostar] satisfech* (4), [acercar] solicit* (1), [partir] feli* (16), [mirar] agresiv* (2), [dormir] cansad* (30), [trabajar] silencios* (5), etc. The exceptions are [llegar] cansad* (573) and [vivir] feli* (3385). Some of the constructions used as examples in the generativist articles that are used little or not at all by native speakers may have been included by the authors simply as alternatives to the constructions that are frequently used, in order to avoid excessive repetition of the same phrases. However, this does suggest that generative approaches to adverbial adjectives focus more on syntactic possibilities than on constructions that are actually in use by speakers.

Several questions still remain: If all of the above combinations are possible, why do certain combinations exist in speech and others do not? Why are certain combinations more

frequent than others? Can a category be created that explains the existing combinations? To answer these questions, I will explore each of the constituents of these verb + adverbial adjective phrases individually (including possible subjects) and then attempt to create a category that explains the existence and frequency of some combinations over others.

The Adjective

The first aspect of these adjectives that stands out is that many of them describe social states: *juntos*, *airosos*, *victoriosos*, *unidos*. Along with these adjectives of social state that appear with high frequency are mixed high-frequency emotional adjectives: *felices*, *tranquilos*. There are also many instances of adjectives that describe physical states: *destinados*, *muertos*, *rendidos*, etc. The social and emotional adjectives are not either one more frequent than the other; however, they are both more frequent than the adjectives describing physical state. Thus it seems safe to say that, according to the data above, the most common adjectives used in these constructions are those that describe a social or emotional state, followed by those that describe a physical state.

However, it is crucial to note that this is only true when looking at these constructions as a whole. When looking at each verb with its several possible adverbial adjective combinations, it is not always true that the adjectives of social state and emotional state are used more frequently than those of physical state. For instance, [llegar] + cansad* (573) is a more frequent construction than [llegar] junt@s (443) and [caer] muert* (1120) is more frequent than [caer] abatid* (401). This suggests that, overall, adjectives describing social states and emotional states lend themselves well to these constructions—perhaps better than adjectives of physical state do—but that frequencies also depend on an adjective’s relationship to the verb. Thus the

gradience of acceptability of different combinations depends on the type of adjective as well as the type of verb being used. This will be discussed in the next section.

The Verb

There are three main conclusions to be gathered from the data above about the verbs in these constructions. First, there exists an inherent semantic and possibly pragmatic connection between the verb and the adverbial adjective used that determines which combinations are possible and which of those are most frequent. As stated above, the main piece of evidence for this is the fact that certain adjectives appear with higher frequency when attached to some verbs than attached to others. This is seen even when combining the same adjective with supposed synonyms. For example, [salir] viv* provides 1096 hits in the corpus, while [partir] viv* only three. Another example of this is [vivir] tranquil* (2002) versus [habitar] tranquil* (6).

One possible explanation for the difference in frequencies between these combinations is that certain verbs appear to have a broader semantic range than others. *Vivir*, for example, has myriad meanings, and the use of *vivir* in several colloquial phrases shows that *vivir* can be used both literally and figuratively (*vivir a todo tren, no dejar vivir, mujer de mal vivir, un sinvivir, vivir al margen*). The verb *habitar*, on the other hand, does not have this same sort of semantic range. Though considered a synonym of *vivir*, *habitar* is typically used literally and does not make up part of many colloquial phrases. This suggests that *habitar* cannot be considered a true synonym of *vivir*, or, at the very least, it is possible to say that semantically *habitar* is not equipped to express as much about a person's emotional state as *vivir* is. The same appears to be true of *salir* and *partir*. Though *partir* is used in a handful of figurative phrases (*a partir de, partir en dos*), its figurative use is much more limited than that of *salir* (*salir a flote, no entrar ni*

salir, salir a la palestra, salir bien librado, salir bien parado, salir con domingo siete, etc.)

There appears to be some connection between verbs that can take radial semantic extensions and their likelihood to be paired with adverbial adjectives (Robertson, 1998).

Another factor in verb + adverbial adjective pairings may be the transitivity of a verb. The verbs in the list above that have the highest frequency adverbial adjectives (*ir, dormir, salir, vivir, trabajar, caer*) are used either exclusively or primarily intransitively, while many of the other verbs (*caminar, correr, bailar, acostarse, acercarse, etc.*) are often used transitively. More research is needed to determine the frequency of the transitive and intransitive uses of these verbs compared with the frequency of their pairing with adverbial adjectives. What we can conclude from the evidence above, however, is that the verbs in these verb + adverbial adjective constructions are often intransitive verbs with a broad semantic range that allows them to be used figuratively and that create an inherent semantic relationship with the adjectives they are paired with.

The Subject

Working backwards through the verb + adverbial adjective constructions makes it easy to see that the range of possibilities for the subject is fairly narrow. The adjective is mostly likely to describe a social or emotional state; these adjectives require a subject that can socialize or experience emotion, in other words, an animate subject. Most adjectives of physical state used in these combinations also require an animate subject (*muerto, vivo, etc.*); however, some verb + adverbial adjective combinations can be used with an inanimate subject. For example, “Las cuadernos llegan nuevos” would be possible. Thus, the subjects of verb + adverbial adjective combinations are likely to be animate subjects, but can be inanimate ones as well.

Conclusion

In considering the role of semantics and the frequencies with which certain verb + adverbial adjectives appear, I have narrowed the parameters for the use of these constructions from those set by generative grammarians. Assuming the information above is correct, and relying on usage-based construction grammar principles, it seems that verb + adverbial adjective constructions are made up largely of animate subjects that perform a verb of broad semantic range that is typically intransitive and that has an inherent relationship to a specific adjective, which adjective tends to describe the social, emotional, or physical state of the noun. Verb + adverbial adjective phrases are a unique construction that speakers have created to serve a certain purpose. Ignoring constituent boundaries, they have chunked these phrases together and found a way to express a phenomenon that traditional grammar shakes its head at but that semantically makes perfect sense.

Works Referenced

- Butt, J. and Benjamin, C. (1988). *A New Reference Grammar of Modern Spanish*. New York, New York: Routledge, Chapman and Hall, Inc.
- Bybee, J. (2002). Sequentiality as the Basis of Constituent Structure. In Givón, T. and Malle, B. F. (Eds.) *The Evolution of Language out of Pre-Language*. (107–134).
- Bybee, J. (2010) *Language, Use, and Cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Davies, Mark. (2002-) *Corpus del Español: 100 million words, 1200s-1900s*. Available online at <http://www.corpusdelespanol.org>.
- Demonte, V. and Masullo, P. J. (1999). La predicación: los complementos predicativos. In Bosque, I. and Demonte, V. (Eds.) *Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española*. (2461– 2523).
- Hernández Carbó, M. (1988). En torno a la sintaxis y la semántica de los complementos predicativos en Español. *Revista de la Facultad de Letras de la Universidad de Girona*, 8, 7–31.
- Higginbotham, J. (1982). The Logic of Perceptual Reports: An Extensional Alternative to Situation Semantics. *Center for Cognitive Science, Occasional Paper*, 21, MIT.
- Luján, Marta. (1980). *Sintaxis y semántica del adjetivo*. Madrid, Spain: Don Ramón de la Cruz.
- (1981). “The Spanish copulas as aspectual indicators” *Lingua* 54:165-210.
- Pottier, B. (1961). Sobre el concepto de verbo auxiliar. *Nueva Revista De Filología Hispánica*, 15(3/4), 325-331. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40297534>
- Robertson, J. (1998). *The Breadth and Depth of Markedness*. Unpublished article.

Speas, M. (1986). *Adjunctions and Projections in Syntax*, (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from http://scholar.google.es/scholar_url?url=http://pubman.mpd.l.mpg.de