SPANISH ADVERBIALS: SCALES AND REPETITION

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ABSTRACT

Aspectual adverbials *already* and *still* are accounted for by Krifka, who bases his account on Löbner. Krifka shows that aspectual adverbials exhibit similar relations between each other across languages. He discusses temporal uses of aspectual adverbials in terms of assertions and presuppositions. This can be extended to scales other than time, such as distance or safety.

Spanish aspectual adverbials *ya* 'already', *todavía* 'still', and *aún* 'even/still' pose some difficulties for Krifka's account. *Ya* can appear with a covert predicate in a common construction under highly restricted circumstances, or interact with the simple present in Spanish to trigger an immediate future reading. *Todavía* does not allow for additive or concessive uses that English *still* and German *noch* 'still' allow. Some of these uses are instead handled by *aún*, which is a scalar additive particle.

Repetitives are adverbials which may indicate repetition, such as *again*, *once more*, or the prefix *re-*. Beck and Gergel explain that Present-Day English *again* exhibits a repetitive/restitutive ambiguity, and that older varieties of English allowed a counterdirectional interpretation. Each interpretation triggers a different presupposition. As a repetitive, the eventuality in question has occurred previously. As a restitutive, the relevant result state has held on some previous occasion. As a counterdirectional, the eventuality has previously occurred in an opposite direction.

Spanish repetitives are almost entirely unaccounted for in the literature. *Otra vez* 'again' and *de nuevo* 'again' have allowed for only repetitive and restitutive interpretations since Old Spanish. *Volver a + INF* 'to (re)turn to + INF' was largely unavailable in Old Spanish, but in Present-Day Spanish allows repetitive, restitutive, and counterdirectional uses. *Tornar a + INF* 'to (re)turn to + INF' instead is unused in Present-Day Spanish, but in older varieties allowed repetitive and restitutive uses. The repetitive prefix *re-* has always allowed for repetitive and restitutive uses. In Present-Day Spanish, *re-* can indicate revision when prefixed to a creation verb (e.g. *reescribir* 'to rewrite'). The counterdirectional use for

re- is unattested for in Modern Spanish, but is clearly available in other eras. Spanish repetitives have undergone little noticeable change in terms of available interpretations. The research supports the existing literature on English concerning available interpretations, and shows that repetitives can behave differently not only based on syntax, but on predicate qualities (e.g. directional predicates, creation verbs).

I dedicate this to myself seven years ago, who had experienced failure after failure: Let this be a testament to your determination, resolve, and endurance. So long as your heart continues to beat, you will continue to climb higher with those around you. You can learn to appreciate where you stand. And sometimes, you just need to shout!

CONTENTS

NOTATION AND SYMBOLS

∃	Existential, "there exists..."
¬	Negation
Φ	Some proposition or eventuality
x ≻ y	Succession, such that x is after y
x ∝ y	Left-abuttal, such that x left-abuts (immediately precedes) y
REP	Repetitive
RST	Restitutive
CDIR	Counterdirectional
INT	Intensifier marker

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Aspectual adverbials in English include, but are not limited to, words such as *still* and *already*. Repetitives in English include, but are not limited to, words such as *again* and *anew*. There is a sizeable body of research concerning both aspectual adverbials and repetitives. Much of this research has been done on English and German (Beck, 2005, 2016, 2020; Beck et al., 2009; Beck & Gergel, 2015; Blackham, 2017; Fabricius-Hansen, 2001; Gergel & Beck, 2015; Ippolito, 2007; Krifka, 2001; Löbner, 1989), as well as Kutchi Gujarati (Patel-Grosz & Beck, 2019). Spanish aspectual adverbials have also been studied, and several accounts have been put forth (Debelcque & Maldonado, 2011; Erdely & Curcó, 2015, 2018). Spanish repetitives have been studied to a lesser degree (Bosque & Demonte, 1999).

Aspectual adverbials have been accounted for using a variety of methods. They have been discussed largely as scalar/aspectual particles (Beck, 2016, 2020; Ippolito, 2007; Krifka, 2001; Löbner, 1989) or as pragmatic markers (Debelcque & Maldonado, 2012; Erdely & Curcó, 2016, 2018). I base my own account largely on Krifka's (2001) and Löbner's (1989) accounts.

(1) He is *still* asleep.

(2) He is *already* asleep.

According to Krifka (2001) and Löbner (1989), example (7) triggers a presupposition that the 'being asleep' was true at some uninterrupted preceding time. In other words, for some eventuality Φ and time t at which Φ is true, there is an immediately preceding t' at which Φ is also true. Similarly, (8) triggers a presupposition that the eventuality Φ is true at t, and NOT true at the immediately preceding time t'.

I discuss aspectual adverbials as scalar particles, and provide a modified definition for aspectual adverbials, based on Slade and Csirmaz (in progress).

The literature on repetitives largely deals with an ambiguity between repetitives and restitutives (Beck, 2005, 2006; Beck et al., 2009), as well as counterdirectionals (Beck & Gergel, 2015; Gergel & Beck, 2015). A truly repetitive particle suggests that the relevant eventuality has occurred at some previous time, with a gap in between occurrences. On the other hand, a restitutive particle indicates that some relevant result state has held true at a previous moment in time. A counterdirectional particle indicates that some previous directional predicate has been performed a second time, but in the contrary direction. In a counterdirectional reading, it is not necessary for the same individual to perform both actions.

(3)   John opened the door *again*.

(4)   John is asleep *again*.

Example (3) exhibits the repetitive/restitutive ambiguity. If *again* functions as a repetitive, then it would indicate that John had opened the door before, and then he opened it once more. If *again* functions as a restitutive, then it would indicate that the door had been open before, and John caused it to become open once more. The fact that John did the opening (as opposed to someone else) is irrelevant if *again* is restitutive. Example (4) has no result state, and so it is unambiguously repetitive.

Von Stechow (1995, 1996), Beck (2009), Beck and Gergel (2015) and Gergel and Beck (2015) argue for a structural analysis to account for this ambiguity, in which repetitive *again* modifies a verb phrase. Resitutive *again* modifies a small clause which contains a predicate with a result state.

This introductory chapter introduces aspectual adverbials in Section 1.1, and then repetitives in Section 1.2. Following which, Chapter 2 provides an in-depth discussion and account on Spanish aspectual adverbials. Chapter 3 explains uses of repetitives in Present-Day Spanish. In Chapter 4, I explore the available readings of Spanish repetitives over time, according to a corpus study I have conducted. Conclusions and implications for further research are provided in Chapter 5.

1.1   What are aspectual adverbials?

Aspectual adverbials in English include words such as *still*, *already*, *not yet*, and *not anymore*. Their Spanish equivalents are *todavía*, *ya*, *todavía no*, and *ya no*, respectively. I

also explore the Spanish aspectual adverbial *aún* 'even/still'. I do not deeply explore the negated forms, though I will present them briefly for the sake of completeness and to contrast with the affirmative forms. Löbner (1989) provides a formal definition for each of these adverbials (which will be discussed thoroughly in Chapter 2). These definitions are seen in Table 1, as presented by Krifka (2001:2).

Krifka (2001), based on Löbner (1989), discusses the model with respect to time. As can be seen in Table 1, *still* and *not anymore* have the same presupposition—that some proposition Φ was true at a time t' which left-abuts (that is, immediately precedes) the given time t. *Already* and *not yet* have the same presupposition—that some proposition Φ was NOT true at a left-abutting time t'. The affirmative forms *still* and *already* assert that Φ is true at the given time t, while the negative forms *not yet* and *not anymore* assert the contrary.[1]

Table 2 shows the systemiticity of aspectual adverbials across English, German, and Hebrew, respectively. According to Krifka (2001), English *still*, German *noch*, and Hebrew *'adayin* all have the same assertion and presupposition. The same applies for the other adverbials and their crosslinguistic equivalents. In German and Hebrew, negation is transparent. *Not yet* is *noch nicht* in German and *'adayin lo* in Hebrew, both of which literally mean 'still not'. *Not anymore* is *nicht mehr* in German and *kvar lo* in Hebrew; literally 'not more' in German, and 'already not' in Hebrew. On the other hand, negation in English is opaque. *Not yet* is the negated form of *still*, and *not anymore* is the negated form of *already*. In Spanish, negation is as transparent as in Hebrew. That is, the negated form of *todavía* is *todavía no* 'still not', and the negated form of *ya* is *ya no* 'already not'.

I present Table 3 so as to more easily visualize the English, Spanish, German, and Hebrew aspectual adverbial forms, respectively.

Krifka's (2001) definitions are insufficient to account for aspectual adverbials. For instance, aspectual adverbials can expand to scales other than time, and there are some nuanced uses which cannot be captured by these generalized definitions (Ippolito, 2007; Beck, 2016, 2020). I will go into further detail concerning this in Chapter 2.

Table 4 illustrates revised definitions of the ones in Table 1, as proposed by Slade and

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[1]A more detailed discussion for what t specifically refers to can be found in Chapter 2.

Csirmaz (in progress). These definitions replace the variable t—representing a point in time—with x—representing a point on any particular scale. Additionally, the *already* no longer presupposes the existence of an x' that left-abuts x. Instead, it presupposes the existence of an x' that follows x. In other words, x' is higher on the scale (e.g. later in time) than x, and $\Phi(x')$ is true. The presupposition for *still* remains the same as Löbner's, but with x instead of t. Lastly, there is now an implicature for each adverbial, such that *already* implicates the existence of an x'' which left-abuts x, at which x'' is NOT true. *Still* implicates the existence of an x'' which follows x, at which x'' is not true, either. I provide a deeper discussion of the revised definitions in Chapter 2, as well as the implications of these definitions.

1.2   What are repetitives?

In English, *again* is a commonly used repetitive, often favored over others such as *anew* and *afresh*. Additional repetitives include *once again*, *once more*, and *again and again*.

Again can also be used as a restitutive/counterdirectional adverb. While repetitives indicate the repetition of an action, restitutives indicate not necessarily that an action was repeated, but that some previously held result state was restored.

(5)   John opened the door *again*.

    a. John had opened the door once, and then the wind blew it closed. John opened the door *again*. (repetitive/restitutive)

    b. Mary opened the door, but the wind blew it closed. John opened the door *again*. (restitutive)

Example (5) shows an ambiguous example of *again*, in which it could be either repetitive or restitutive. In the restitutive reading (example (5b)), *again* indicates that the door had returned to a previously-held state, regardless of who caused the state to hold either time. In the repetitive reading (example (5a)), *again* indicates that the action was reiterated by the same subject. The restitutive is coincidentally true in this case as well, as the reiteration of opening the door will cause the door to be open again. That is, the repetitive reading entails the restitutive reading.

Counterdirectionals indicate an action done in an opposite direction in the course of a

previous, presupposed action. The counterdirectional and restitutive readings are similar enough that they are indistinguishable in many–though not all–contexts. The counterdirectional interpretation for *again* is unavailable in Present-Day English, though it was available in older varieties (which will be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4).

Example (5a) is a case in which the repetitive, restitutive, and counterdirectional interpretations are all true—though the counterdirectional is an unavailable interpretation. John has reiterated the action of opening the door (repetitive), entailing the fact that he caused the door to once again be in an open state (restitutive). Additionally, in order to open the door, he had to move it in a contrary direction from being closed.

(6)   The first time of going over I shall mark the passages which puzzle me, and then return to them *again*.'   (Beck & Gergel 2015:180; Macaulay, 19th c.)

Beck and Gergel (2015) claim that (6) is a case of counterdirectional *again*, showing that it is available until Late Modern English (though they claim that it is not systematically available at this point). Their argument is that *again* is not repetitive, as there is no prior instance of returning to the aforementioned passages. Therefore, it could only be counterdirectional. By Present-Day English, the counterdirectional interpretation of *again* is unavailable.

Table 1: Formal definitions of aspectual adverbials

$\text{STILL}(t,\Phi)$	$\text{NOTYET}(t,\Phi)$	$\text{ALREADY}(t,\Phi)$:	$\text{NOTANYMORE}(t,\Phi)$
assert: $\Phi(t)$	assert: $\neg\Phi(t)$	assert: $\Phi(t)$	assert: $\neg\Phi(t)$
presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\Phi(t')]$	presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\neg\Phi(t')]$	presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\neg\Phi(t')]$	presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\Phi(t')]$

Table 2: Relations between aspectual adverbials in English, German, and Hebrew

	OUTER NEGATION	
already/schon/kvar	$\leftarrow \qquad\qquad \rightarrow$	*not yet/noch nicht/'adayin lo*
	$\uparrow \quad \nwarrow \quad \nearrow \quad \uparrow$	
INNER NEGATION	**DUALS**	
	$\downarrow \quad \swarrow \quad \searrow \quad \downarrow$	
not anymore/nicht mehr/kvar lo	$\leftarrow \qquad\qquad \rightarrow$	*still/noch/'adayin*

(Krifka, 2001:1)

Table 3: Counterparts in English, Spanish, German, and Hebrew

Eng:	*still*	*not yet*	*already*	*not anymore*
Spa:	*todavía*	*todavía no*	*ya*	*ya no*
Ger:	*noch*	*noch nicht*	*schon*	*nicht mehr*
Heb:	*'adayin*	*'adayin lo*	*kvar*	*kvar lo*

Table 4: Revised definitions of aspectual adverbials

$\text{STILL}(x,\Phi)$	$\text{NOTYET}(x,\Phi)$	$\text{ALREADY}(x,\Phi)$:	$\text{NOTANYMORE}(x,\Phi)$
assert: $\Phi(x)$	assert: $\neg\Phi(x)$	assert: $\Phi(x)$	assert: $\neg\Phi(x)$
presup: $\exists x' \propto x[\Phi(x')]$	presup: $\exists x' \propto x[\neg\Phi(x')]$	presup: $\exists x' \succ x[\Phi(x')]$	presup: $\exists x' \succ x[\neg\Phi(x')]$
implic: $\exists x'' \succ x[\neg\Phi(x'')]$	implic: $\exists x'' \succ x[\Phi(x'')]$	implic: $\exists x'' \propto x[\neg\Phi(x'')]$	implic: $\exists x'' \propto x[\Phi(x'')]$

(Slade and Csirmaz, in progress)

CHAPTER 2

ON THE MEANINGS OF SPANISH
ASPECTUAL ADVERBIALS

As mentioned in 1.1, aspectual adverbials in English include words such as *still*, *already*, *not yet*, and *not anymore*.[1] The Spanish counterparts are *todavía* 'still', *ya* 'already', *todavía no* 'not yet', and *ya no* 'not anymore'. Aspectual adverbials in general have been discussed and accounted for in a number of ways. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Krifka (2001) provides definitions, based on Löbner (1989). These are seen in Table 5.

In other words, *still* and *already* both assert that Φ is true at time t. *Still* presupposes that there exists some time t' which left-abuts (contiguously precedes) t, and that Φ at t' is also true. On the other hand, *already* presupposes that there exists some time t' which left-abuts t, and that Φ at t' is NOT true. The definitions in Table 5 accurately predict some uses of aspectual adverbials.

(7) John is *still* sleeping.

(8) Mary is *already* sleeping.

For instance, the definition for *still* accurately predicts its use in example (7). That is, *still* triggers a presupposition that there exists some left-abutting time t' at which John was asleep, the statement asserts that John is asleep at time t. Similarly, in example (8), *already* triggers the presupposition that there exists some left-abutting time t' at which Mary was NOT asleep, and the statement asserts that Mary is asleep at time t.

Krifka (2001), based on Löbner (1989), shows that aspectual adverbials come in pairs, and that they interact with one another in similar fashion across languages. Table 6 details this relation.

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[1]Much of this chapter stems from research I conducted jointly with Benjamin Slade and Aniko Csirmaz (Razo et al., 2019).

Negation in Hebrew is especially transparent, while negation in German is slightly less so, and negation in English is opaque. That is, the Hebrew aspectual adverbials *'adayin* 'still' and *kvar* 'already' become negated with simple addition of *lo* 'not'. In Hebrew, *'adayin lo* is 'not yet' and *kvar lo* is 'not anymore'. German *noch* 'still' can be negated to become *noch nicht* 'not yet'. When German *schon* is negated, it becomes *nicht mehr* 'not anymore' (lit. 'not more'). English is the least transparent, as the negated forms share little in common with the affirmative forms.

Aspectual adverbials in Spanish exhibit negation in the same vein as Hebrew. The adverbial pairs are distinct. In Spanish, *todavía* 'still' is negated to become *todavía no* 'not yet'. *Ya* 'already' is negated to become *ya no* 'not anymore'. Each pair (affirmative vs. negative) has the same presupposition but opposing assertions. Similarly, *still* and *already* have the same assertion, but opposing presuppositions.

Still, aspectual adverbials are not one-to-one synonymous across languages, and so Krifka's definitions are insufficient at predicting their uses, crosslinguistically. Even in English alone, the definitions in Table 6 do not predict that aspectual adverbials will work along scales other than time, and cannot predict certain nuances, which can be seen in examples (13) and (14). In Table 7, I illustrate revisions to Krifka's definitions proposed by Slade and Csirmaz (in progress). These revisions capture a wider range of uses for aspectual adverbials.

Table 7 shows again the revised definitions presented in Chapter 1. According to these definitions *still* and *already* both assert that an eventuality Φ is true at some point x on a scale. *Still* presupposes that there exists some point x' which left-abuts x, and Φ at x' is true. The presupposition for *already* is now that there exists some point x' on a scale with follows (is higher on the scale than) x, and Φ is true at x'.

There is another particle in English which presupposes the truthfulness of a previous point on a scale. The repetitive *again* (discussed in further detail in Chapter 3), specifically on a temporal scale, differs from *still* in that the presupposition cannot left-abut the assertion.

(9)   She is *still* pregnant.

(10)   She is pregnant *again*.

It is necessary that the preceding Φ and the referenced Φ in (9) be the same Φ. That is, it must be a contiguous, uninterrupted eventuality. On the other hand, example (10) requires that the preceding Φ and the referenced Φ be two different eventualities. For it to be felicitous, there must have been an end to the preceding eventuality, and then a case in which the referenced eventuality begins.

The revised definitions also include implicatures. The implicature for *still* is that there exists some point x'' on a scale which follows x, and Φ is NOT true at x''. *Already* implicates that there exists a point x'' on a scale which left-abuts x, and Φ at x'' is NOT true. Example (11) shows that the implicature is cancelable in some contexts.

(11)   The flag is *still* red, white, and blue. And it will always be those colors.

The implicature for the first sentence in (11) is presumably that the flag of the United States will cease to be red, white, and blue at some future point in time. The follow-up sentence then explicitly cancels this implicature. The same is possible in Spanish, evidenced by (12).

(12)   La bandera *todavía* es verde, blanca, y   roja. Y   siempre será   de esos
        The flag   still   is green, white, and red. And always   will be of those
        colores.
        colors.
        'The flag is *still* green, white, and red. And it will always be those colors.'

Assuming the definitions in 7, example (13) would assert that Φ (the failing of the test) is true at time t. While this holds up, the presupposition does not. In example (13), there does NOT exist a left-abutting time t' at which Φ was also true.

(13)   I studied all day, but I *still* failed the exam.

This particular use of *still* in example (13) is called the concessive use (Michaelis, 1993). Concessive particles, given an antecedent, indicate an unlikely result. If a student studies extensively, it might be expected that they would pass a test. Failing would be the unlikely result.

Ippolito (2007) claims that concessive *still* is a scalar particle, where the relevant scale is a scale of all maximally similar worlds according to their likelihood, given the context. Applying Ippolito's claim to (13), *still* orders the worlds on a scale where those in which

the speaker studies all night and fails are less likely than those in which the speaker fails but had not studied all night. We can assume that the most likely worlds are those in which the speaker has passed the exam, given that they have studied. The worlds in which the speaker has studied all day and failed the exam are unlikely. *Still* asserts that the proposition holds true, and therefore, the actual world is one of the less likely worlds.

(14) Mary is *already* a citizen; she was born here.

Example (14) is a temporal use, but even so, the definitions in Table 5 are incompatible with it. Assuming Krifka's (2001) definitions, the assertion is that Φ (Mary is a citizen) at time t is true. *Already*—according to Krifka—presupposes that there be some left-abutting time at which Mary was not a citizen. Yet, given that she was born "here," the only time that she was not a citizen was a time before she was even born. It is impossible to evaluate the truthfulness of the presupposition, as Mary had not even been born at a time before she was a citizen.

The revised definition of *already* can accurately predict (14). The implicature is that there exists a point x'' on a scale, which left-abuts x. The eventuality that Mary is a citizen at point x'' is NOT true, according to the revised implicature. That is, the revised definition might predict that there exists some left-abutting time at which Mary was not a citizen. However, the follow-up of "she was born here" cancels the implicature. The presupposition is that Mary will continue to be a citizen higher up on the scale, which is true.[2]

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[2]There is a sense of expectations that comes with these adverbials in some cases.

(1) It's *already* 9:00! I need to hurry to class!

(2) A: Do you want to go have lunch now?
B: But it's *still* 9:00.

Going by Krifka's (2001) definitions, example (1) appears to fit within the model nicely. The assertion that it is 9:00 is true, and it accurately presupposes that there was some left-abutting moment at which it was not 9:00. However, there is also a sense that 9:00 is a later time than expected. This sense is not captured by the definitions in Table 3. Additionally, example (2) asserts that it is 9:00. The presupposition that it was 9:00 at some left-abutting time can be arguably true, because there is some vague area in discussing time. Whether it is 8:55, 9:05, or 9:50, "it is 9:00" is felicitous, though these may be met with varying degrees of acceptability from the listener. Ippolito (2007) claims that *already*

The definitions in Table 5 are compatible only with certain readings of aspectual adverbials. Strictly speaking, they are compatible only with temporal readings for which the presupposition is clearly defined.

This chapter begins with an account of Spanish *ya* 'already' in Section 2.1. Following that, Section 2.2 accounts for Spanish *todavía* 'still'. Section 2.3 explains Spanish *aún* 'even/still'. Section 2.4 ends the chapter with some crosslinguistic data and implications for further research.

2.1 *Ya* 'already'

Ya is the counterpart to English *already*. Depending on the context, it can also be translated into English as 'now', 'then', 'enough', or 'that was all' (Erdely & Curcó, 2016; Rabadán, 2015).

This section begins by describing some established research on English *already*. Subsection 2.1.2 details some previous accounts for Spanish *ya*. Subsection 2.1.3 begins my treatment for *ya*, showcasing expected scalar uses. Subsection 2.1.4 accounts for *ya* as a futurate marker. In Subsection 2.1.5, I discuss a use of *ya* in which it may appear with covert predicates.

2.1.1 Previous treatments of *already*

I expect that *ya* behaves very similarly to *already*, as they are counterparts in Spanish and English, respectively.

Ippolito claims that *already* can exhibit scalar, marginal, additive, and concessive uses (2007).

(15)   a. John is *already* cooking.

     b. It is *already* 5:00 PM.

       (Ippolito, 2007:2)

The examples in (15) are scalar uses. Ippolito claims that these two examples infer slightly different things. Example (15a) infers that perhaps John was expected to begin

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in (1) is additive, though I find little evidence to support this claim. She claims that *still* in (2) is exclusive, which I agree with.

cooking at some later time. Example (15b) infers that the time is later than expected, and Ippolito claims that this is an example of additive *already*. Her argument for this is that an utterance such as *It is still 5:00 PM*—which is exclusive, like *It is only 5:00 PM*—is unacceptable to many English speakers. On the other hand, *It is already 5:00 PM* is acceptable. This asymmetry in acceptability suggests that they must be of different types.

(16) Compact cars are safe. Subcompacts are *already* dangerous.

Example (16) is referred to as a marginality use of *already*. The marginality use does not order along a scale of time, but instead to some other scale. *Already* in this sense indicates that a margin has been crossed, at which something has changed from being NOT true to being true. In example (16), the margin is the distinction between compact and subcompact cars, and the scale is safety. It is not true that compact cars are dangerous, but it is true that as soon as the margin is crossed, and the type of cars observed are subcompact, then those cars are dangerous.

She also argues that the marginality use of *already*, such as in (16), is additive. Ippolito proposes that the assertion of a sentence containing additive *already* is concerned with the scale provided by the salient gradable adjective, while the presupposition is concerned with the inverse scale. In other words, the assertion of (16) is that there is a type of car that is *dangerous*, while the presupposition is effectively that there exists another type of car, and that type of car is *safe*.

What Ippolito refers to as the additive use, I simply consider another scalar use of *already* that extends to several uses, such as temporal or marginal uses. The reason I do not consider this additive is because of truly additive particles, such as German *noch* 'still'. I discuss *noch* in further detail in Section 2.2.

(17) San Diego is *already* in the USA.

Consider example (17), which is also a marginality use of *already*[3] In this case, the margin crossed is the U.S.–Mexico border, and the scale itself is distance. Beck (2020) claims that the scale need only be inferred by the utterance.

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[3]In some contexts, example (17) could have a temporal reading. This would require the discourse to be concerned with the aftermath of the Mexican-American War, or something along those lines.

(18) We are *already* short of staff. If John went on vacation too, we would need to close

the office. (Ippolito, 2007:27)

Ippolito explains in a footnote that (18) could be considered a concessive reading of *already*, though it is uncommonly used. She leaves it to future research to explain this use of *already*. It could be argued that (18) could be temporal as well. In that sense, it would assert that they are presently short of staff, presuppose that they will continue to be short of staff, and implicate that they were not short of staff prior. This is unusual, as a workplace would not typically expect to remain being short of staff.

2.1.2   Previous treatments of *ya*

Debelcque and Maldonado (2011) argue that *ya* is a complex grounding predication. Langacker (2012) explains that grounding particles are similar to deictic particles, with some differences. Namely, that grounding particles juxtapose a thing or process to the grounded object via an epistemic idea such as time, reality, etc. Additionally, grounding particles highlight the grounded entity rather than the relationship between it and the process with which it is juxtaposed. Debelceque and Maldonado claim that *ya* operates along a "dynamic programmatic base," which is a similar concept to scales.

(19) En 1985 Juan *ya*   vivía en San Diego.
     In 1985 Juan yet lived in San Diego.
     'In 1985 Juan *already* lived in San Diego.'   (Debelcque & Maldonado, 2011:77)

In their discussion, Debelcque and Maldonado claim that the example in (19) grounds the event in 1985. They argue that the crucial difference between this example and the same sentence without *ya* is that *ya* provides a certain subjectivity from the perspective of the speaker. That is, from the speaker's perspective, the event time is near to the reference time. Oftentimes, *ya* signals a mismatch between the reference time and the event.

(20) *Ya*   termino.
     Already finish-1SG
     'I am *about to* finish.'

This leads to such utterances as (20). In this case, the speaker provides an instruction to the listener to see this incoming event as factual—that there is no doubt about its truth, even though it has not yet occurred.

(21) a. *Ya*   terminé.
       Already finished-1SG.

       'I *already* finished.'

    b. *Ya*   terminaré.
       Already finish-1SG.FUT.

       'I will finish *soon*.'

Example (21a) has two possible readings. In the first reading, the result state corresponds with the time of speech, and the event itself is in the past. In the second reading, the event is in the near-enough future that the speaker includes it in the current deictic center as if it were behind them. This is similar to (20), as well as (21b). The latter, when uttered without *ya*, makes the claim that the finishing will happen at an unprecedented time. However, with the adverbial, it indicates that the event will occur at some proximal time, from the subjective perspective of the speaker (Debelcque & Maldonado, 2011).

Rabadán (2015) conducts a corpus-based study to explore translations of *still* and *already* from English to Spanish. The purpose of her study is not to account for or predict uses of aspectual adverbials, but to investigate how aspectual transitions are encoded in either language. Rabadán's discussion is effective in showing many uses of *ya* in Spanish, as well as *already* in English. She claims that *already* references the start of some eventuality, and indicates that an eventuality has changed from being false to being true at the reference time. *Already* can also imply that an eventuality had begun earlier than may have been expected. She argues that *ya + VP* and *already + VP* constructions assert that an eventuality is true at the reference time, and that the truthfulness of it will continue to hold. Rabadán and the Real Academia Española (2006) suggest that such constructions point to the change in the eventuality at the reference time. She asserts that a scalar analysis of aspectual adverbials is ineffective. In her own words, "...the set of relations represented by *already* and *yet*... and *still* and *anymore*... are not found in Spanish (or at least not in the same way)". She found that, in some cases, *already + VP* was translated into Spanish using wholly unexpected constructions sans *ya*. According to Rabadán, these differences suggest that some uses of *already + VP* are best represented in Spanish using something other than *ya*. However, in many of these cases where *ya* was not used, the structure of the entire sentence was different in the Spanish translation from the original English.

It is true that crosslinguistically, lexical counterparts of aspectual adverbials are not typically synonymous in every way. I argue that some available uses of *ya* are not due to properties of the adverbials, but to other properties of Spanish grammar.

Erdely and Curcó (2018) propose an account for *ya* in which they argue that it is a particle promoting dynamicity and transition. Erdely and Curcó argue that *ya* has some nontemporal readings, including what they call the "fragmentary form."

In their account, Erdely and Curcó claim that *ya* exhibits two procedural features. The first is, in their own words, "...an instruction for the search of a transition [+trans] in a conceputal domain *i*." They explain the second procedural feature as "an instruction for the contextual incorporation of an assumption about the contiuation of the state of affairs previous to that transition." They refer to the first feature as "procedural dynamicity," and the second feature as "procedural durativity."

Procedural dynamicity, in the account given by Erdely and Curcó (2018) indicates a transition regarding the interpretation of the utterance. That is, it must indicate that there is some kind of change from a previous point on a scale (though they use the phrase "conceptual domain" rather than "scale"). The scale itself can be temporal (as in example (22a)), spatial (as in example (22b)), or otherwise.

(22)　a.　*Ya*　　comimos.
　　　　　Already we.ate
　　　　　'We *already* ate.'

　　　b.　Tijuana *ya*　　está en México.
　　　　　Tijuana already is　in　Mexico.
　　　　　'Tijuana is *already* in Mexico.'

Erdely and Curcó claim that procedural durativity suggests that there is a potential assumption that some previous state of affairs (or a lower point on a scale) was true, but it turned out not to be true.

(23)　a.　Quiere boletos para el　concierto?
　　　　　Want　tickets　for　the concert?
　　　　　'Do you want tickets to the concert?'

b. *Ya*   tengo, gracias.
   Already have,   thanks.

   'I *already* have [tickets], thank you.'

Example (23b) showcases this, in which speaker A's assumption is that speaker B does not have tickets to the concert. However, the assumption is proven false, as speaker B does, in fact, have tickets.

Erdely and Curcó also take into account a use which other papers do not, which they call the "fragmentary form," seen in example (24).

(24)   Había tortillas, frijoles, y   *ya*.
     Were   tortillas, beans,   and already.

     'There were tortillas, beans, and that was all.'

This use, which is completely absent from English, is common in Spanish. In their account, Erdely and Curcó argue that *ya* is a sentence on its own, coordinated by the conjunction *y* 'and'. The transition (dynamicity) comes from the fact that the list is not ending, to a declaration that the list has ended. In this case, *ya* is the most economic way to say 'nothing more/that was all'.

I argue that *ya* is best described as a scalar adverbial. The analysis put forth by Erdely and Curcó is effective in several ways, but it is overly complicated and requires the implementation of several abstract, innovative concepts. On the other hand, an aspectual account can make the same predictions using a simpler model. I also discuss in Subsection 2.1.4 how the adverbial interacts with different predicates and properties of Spanish. This account adds to the research presented by Debelcque and Maldonado (2011), Rabadán (2015), and Erdely and Curcó (2018).

2.1.3   As a scalar adverbial

Recall that Krifka's (2001) and Löbner's (1989) definitions of *already* and *not anymore* are as in Table 8, in which *already* asserts that a proposition Φ is true at time t, and presupposes that there exists a time t' which left-abuts t, at which Φ is NOT true. On the other hand, *not anymore* asserts that a proposition Φ is NOT true at time t, and presupposes that there exists a time t' which left-abuts t, at which Φ is true.

As I have mentioned, aspectual adverbials may apply not only to time, but to other scales as well, such as space or attributes. Table 9 takes the variable t representing a point in time and replaces it with the variable x representing a point on a scale.

Slade and Csirmaz (in progress) revise the definitions provided by Löbner (1989). I assume the revised definition over Löbner's. In Table 9, the assertion is the same as in Table 8 (with x instead of t), but the presupposition no longer applies to a lower point on a scale. Instead, the presupposition is that there exists an x' which is higher on the scale than x, and at which Φ is true. *Already* also implicates that there exists some x'' which left-abuts x on a scale, and that Φ at x'' is true.

To thoroughly distinguish between the definition in Table 8 and the revised definition in Table 9, it is necessary to clarify the difference between presuppositions and implicatures. A presupposition is some information that is given or taken for granted.

(25) a. It is John who owns the banana tree.

   Presupposes that someone owns a particular banana tree.

  b. John turned off the TV.

   Presupposes that the TV was previously on.

For instance, (25a) presupposes that someone owns a particular banana tree. The presupposition comes from the cleft construction *it is John....* If no one were to own that particular banana tree, then a presupposition failure arises. The presupposition in (25b) comes from the verb *to turn off.* That is, it must be true that the TV was previously on in order for John to turn it off.

(26) a. Some adults enjoy cartoons.

   Implicates that not all adults enjoy cartoons.

  b. John will legally be an adult tomorrow.

   Implicates that John's 18th birthday is tomorrow.

Example (26a) shows how quantification affects implicatures. The word *some*, being a lesser quantity than *all*, introduces the implicature that not all adults enjoy cartoons. Assuming the Gricean maxim of quantity, if all adults enjoyed cartoons, the speaker would have simply said so. However, it is possible to cancel the implicature by adding a follow-

up sentence, such as "...in fact, all adults enjoy cartoons." In a similar vein, example (26b) implicates that John's 18th birthday is tomorrow. It is possible that the sentence be followed-up with "...in fact, John has legally been an adult for a week now." But if this were the case, then the speaker would have simply said this in the first place, assuming that they are operating with the Gricean maxims of quantity and manner. Keeping in mind the revised definition of *already*, consider example (27).

(27) *Ya*   es ciudadana; nació   aquí.
      Already is citizen;   was born here.
      'She is *already* a citizen; she was born here.'

Assuming the revised definition in Table 9, example (27) asserts, presupposes, and implicates the following:

(28)   a. Assertion: at reference time t, it is true that the she is a citizen.

       b. Presupposition: at some later time t', the fact that she is a citizen will continue to hold.

       c. Implicature: at time t'', which left-abuts t on the scale, it is NOT true that she is a citizen.

Ya triggers the presupposition and implicature. The presupposition cannot be canceled. Example (27) shows that the implicature holds for Spanish *ya*. The first half of the utterance asserts that the subject is a citizen, and presupposes that she will continue to be a citizen. The implicature then is that there was some left–abutting time t'' at which she was NOT a citizen, but the follow–up utterance *nació aquí* '[she] was born here' cancels this implicature.

Example (29) illustrates how the scale expands beyond simply temporal uses.

(29) Tijuana *ya*   está en México.
      Tijuana already is   in Mexico.
      'Tijuana is *already* in Mexico.'

Tijuana is at point x on a scale of distance. (29) asserts that Tijuana is in Mexico. It presupposes that further points along the scale of distance will also be in Mexico. It implicates that previous points along the scale of distance were NOT in Mexico. This is a reading

shared by English *already*—complete with the same presupposition and implicature. This is the marginality reading of *ya*, as it involves a relevant proximity to a margin (Ippolito, 2007; Beck, 2016, 2020). In (29), the margin in question is the U.S.–Mexico border, and the speaker must be traveling southbound for the presupposition to be true. If the speaker were traveling northward, then the presupposition would not hold, as further points along the scale would be in the United States.

Ya can appear with a variety of different types of predicates. According to Erdely and Curcó (2018), it can appear with any tense, mood, aspect, or aspectual class. While this may be true, the types of predicates that appear with *ya* restrict the possible readings.

Recall in Section 2.1.1, that Ippolito (2007) claims that a use of *already* as in (30a) is additive. The same utterance is possible in Spanish, as in example (30b)

(30) a. It is *already* 5:00 PM.   (Ippolito, 2007:2)

    b. *Ya*   son las 5:00 PM.
       Already are the 5:00 PM.
       'It's *already* 5:00 PM.'

I agree with Ippolito that this is a scalar use, though I find there to be little evidence for it to be labeled as additive. Consider the sentence *John is already cooking*. *Already* provides a sense that the cooking is occurring earlier than expected. The examples in (30) similarly give a sense that 5:00 PM has arrived quicker or earlier than expected. This sense is not accurately captured by Löbner's (1989) definitions.

This sense of "earlier than expected" may in fact be related to different possible worlds, similarly to concessive *still*. That is, *already* asserts the truthfulness of an eventuality at point x on a scale of time (i.e. at time t). The revised defintion for *already* in Table 9 claims that *already* presupposes that there is a later time at which this eventuality also occurs. But it is not possible for it to be 5:00 PM at 6:00 PM.

Instead, this particular sense of *already* triggers a presupposition that there is another world in which this eventuality is true at a later time. In the context of (30), this alternative possible world is effectively the world of the speaker's expectations.

(31) John *already* died.

Consider example (31), with regards to this sense of something occurring earlier than expected. It is not possible that John died previously, presupposing that there is a later time at which he also died. If it is true at one time, it cannot be true at another time (disregarding technicalities and fantastical circumstances). Instead, the presupposition is such that the result state continues to be true further along the scale in some alternate relevant world—which is the world of the speaker's expectations. In this alternate world of expectations, it is therefore NOT true John died at time t (t being the time of his death in the actual world).

2.1.4   As an immediate future particle

Under specific conditions, *ya* can force a reading which I will call the immediate future. The conditions necessary are as follows:

1. The predicate must be in the simple present.

2. The predicate must be a plannable achievement.

3. *Ya* must appear ONLY alongside the arguments of the predicate.

Before discussing the conditions in-depth, I will provide some background on the term *futurate*. This refers to sentences which do not overtly express a future reference time, but something in the sentence nonetheless suggests a future reference time (Copley, 2008; citing Lakoff (1971) and Prince (1971) as the earliest research on futurates).

(32)   The Yankees play the Red Sox tomorrow.

   (Copley, 2008:261)

In example (32), the morphology of the sentence is in the simple present, but the interpretation is that of an eventuality which will occur "tomorrow." The simple present in Spanish can also indicate futurate, so long as there is something else in the sentence suggesting a future reference time, such as *mañana* 'tomorrow'. Example (33) illustrates this clearly.

(33)   a.   Brazil juega contra Alemania mañana.
              Brazil plays against Germany tomorrow.
              'Brazil plays Germany tomorrow.'

b. El   tren llega   en cinco minutos.
   The train arrives in five   minutes.
   'The train arrives in five minutes.'

The sentences in (33) are in the simple present and could indicate general habitual statements or ongoing, presently-occurring eventualities, were it not for the addition of *mañana* 'tomorrow' and *en cinco minutos* 'in five minutes'. In other words, *mañana* and *en cinco minutos* trigger a futurate interpretation. When *ya* appears in a sentence, the futurate refers specifically to the immediate future,[4] given the conditions mentioned at the beginning of this subsection. The first condition is that *ya* must appear with the simple present, as in (34).

(34) *Ya*   llega el tren.
     Already arrives the train.
     'The train is *about to* arrive.'[5]

Though nothing in (34) overtly indicates a future reference time, it cannot mean "the train already arrives." Compare (34) with (35).

(35) *Ya*   viene el tren.
     Already comes the train.
     'The train is *already* coming/the train is coming now.'

Example (35), contrary to (34), cannot translate to "the train is about to arrive." That is, (34) can only bear the immediate future reading, and (35) can only bear an aspectual reading or a general habitual reading. One could imagine a scenario in which a a train has recently departed from a station several hundred miles away from a speaker, in which case that speaker might say *ya viene el tren* 'the train is already coming', but it is certainly not about to arrive. The difference between these two examples lies between the verbs *llegar* 'to arrive' and *venir* 'to come'. Whereas *venir* is an accomplishment, *llegar* is an achievement.

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[4]This is with respect to some frame of reference. For example, with a 15-minute time frame, the immediate future may suggest just a few seconds into the future. On the other hand, with a time frame of several billion years, the immediate future may instead refer to some time within the following 1000 years or so.

[5]*Ya* can appear in a few different places in the sentence without changing the meaning. For example, *ya llega el tren*, *llega ya el tren*, *el tren ya llega*, and *el tren llega ya* all mean 'The train is about to arrive'.

This brings us to the second condition–that the immediate future use of *ya* requires the predicate to be a plannable achievement. Copley (2008) claims that a futurate must involve some degree of planning or plannability. It is for this reason that (33) is felicitous, while (36) is strange.

(36)   #The Yankees win against the Red Sox tomorrow.

The strangeness of (36) comes from the fact that 'playing' can be planned, but 'winning' cannot. Consider examples (37) and (38).

(37)   a. *Ya*   encontré las llaves.
            Already found   the keys.
            'I *already* found the keys.'

        b. #*Ya*   encuentro las llaves.
            Already find   the keys.
            'I am *about to* find the keys.'/'I *already* find the keys'

(38)   a. *Ya*   busqué   las llaves.
            Already looked.for the keys.
            'I *already* looked for the keys.'

        b. *Ya*   busco las llaves.
            Already look   for the   keys.
            'I am *already* looking for the keys.'

Encontrar 'to find' is an achievement, whereas *buscar* 'to look for' is an accomplishment. That being the case, it may be expected that (37b) should allow a futurate reading. Although *ya* shows up alongside an achievement, *encontrar* is unplannable. As it is unplannable, it is incompatible with the futurate, and therefore incompatible with the immediate future. To put it simply, if someone were to utter "I will find the keys tomorrow at 6:00pm", it could come off as simple optimism. On the other hand, "I will look for the keys tomorrow at 6:00pm" is a more realistic plan or schedule.[6] While *llegar* 'to arrive' and *encontrar* 'to find' are both achievements, *llegar* is plannable, while *encontrar* is not. Hence why (34) is felicitous and (37b) is not.

In English, an unplannable futurate like (36) can be made felicitous in some contexts, as in (39). Spanish can do the same, as in (40).

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[6]For a more detailed discussion on planning, see Copley (2008).

(39) This is my prediction: the Yankees win against the Red Sox tomorrow.

(40) Esta es mi predicción: los Yankees ganan contra los Red Sox mañana.
This is my prediction: the Yankees win against the Red Sox tomorrow.
'This is my prediction: The Yankees win against the Red Sox tomorrow.'

For *ya* to have the immediate future reading, it is necessary for *ya* to appear only with the arguments of the predicate. If the predicate appears with adjuncts, then the aspectual reading is forced, and the immediate future reading is impossible. I do not address the reason for this restriction in this thesis.

(41) El tren llega *ya*.
The train arrives already.

'The train is *about to* arrive.' (immediate future)

(42) a. El tren llega a las 5:00.
The train arrives at the 5:00.

'The train arrives at 5:00.' (futurate)

b. El tren *ya* llega a las 5:00.
The train already arrives at the 5:00.

'The train *already* arrives at 5:00.' (aspectual)

(43) a. El tren llega a la plataforma 9.
The train arrives at the platform 9.

'The train arrives at platform 9.' (general statement)

b. El tren *ya* llega a la plataforma 9.
The train already arrives at the platform 9.

'The train *already* arrives at platform 9.' (aspectual)

The word order of example (41) is changed from that of example (34) to allow it to be as similar as possible to examples in (42) and (43). In example (41), the reading is necessarily that of the immediate future. On the other hand, examples (42b) and (43b) must be temporal aspectual readings. In such cases, one could imagine a scenario in which a schedule/platform change is announced, as in example (44). The interpretation in this example is habitual, but I do not address the reason for this. Suffice it to say that it is not an immediate future interpretation.

(44) A: There will be a change in scheduling. Now, the train will arrive at 5:00.

      B: ¡Pero el   tren *ya*   llega   a las 5:00!
      B: But   the train already arrives at the 5:00!

      'But the train *already* arrives at 5:00!'

For most uses of *ya*, the event time need not be related to the speech time in any way.

(45) a. *Ya*   comimos pastel ayer.
          Already we ate   cake   yesterday.

          'We *already* ate cake yesterday.'

     b. *Ya*   estamos comiendo pastel.
          Already we are   eating   cake.

          'We are *already* eating cake.'

     c. *Ya*   comeremos pastel mañana.
          Already we will eat cake   tomorrow.

          'We will *finally* eat cake tomorrow.'

In (45a), the reference time precedes the speech time. In (45b), the reference time and speech time are co-occuring. In (45c), the reference time follows the speech time.[7] However, for the immediate future, the speech time necessarily precedes the reference time. In this case, t must be at the reference time, and the speech time must coincide with t'. Furthermore, the immediate future use presupposes that $\Phi(x)$ remains true following t.

(46) El   tren llega   *ya*.
      The train arrives already.

      'The train is *about to* arrive.'

Example (46) implicates that the train had not previously arrived. It also presupposes that after the train arrives, it will remain in that position. In other words, the train will

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[7]Another thing to note is that in example (45c), I have translated *ya* as 'finally'. This is simply because in English, *finally* suggests something similar to *already*. If I say *I have already finished* versus *I have finally finished*, the former suggests that the finishing happened earlier than expected, whereas the latter suggests that the finishing happened later than expected. I do not claim that *finally* has the same assertion, presupposition, and implicature as *already*, but they are certainly similar enough that *ya* can be translated as 'finally' in this context.

remain in a state of having arrived, at least until it departs once more. Relating back to the definitions in Table 9, it is not necessary for $\Phi(t')$ to hold permanently. It is neither necessary for $\Phi(t')$ to cease being true at some point. All that is required is that the train has arrived.

The immediate future reading is incompatible with the revised definitions. There is nothing in the revised definitions nor in the grammar of Spanish that might suggest that *ya* with the simple present will force an immediate future reading. However, it is in fact a scalar use of *ya*. *Ya* in the immediate future still captures the sense that an eventuality is true at time t and presupposes that it will continue to hold true at a later time t'. The implicature is also compatible with the immediate future reading, as there is a time t'' left-abutting t at which the eventuality is NOT true. What is incompatible with the revised definition is that the assertion of the simple present predicate is displaced to some future point which is determined by the frame of reference. For instance, the immediate future could refer to something in the next few minutes or in the next few years, based on the context. Further investigation of the futurate and how *ya* interacts with it is necessary to draw solid conclusions and account for why this reading occurs only with the simple present. Additionally, it would be interesting to investigate any sociolinguistic implications of the future and other time-related words like *ahorita*, which presumably means 'right now', but can also be used to mean 'soon/later'.

Spanish is not unique in having an immediate future use. In Hungarian, the scalar adverbial *már* 'already' can combine with the additive particle *is* 'too' to produce *máris*, which indicates futurate or immediate future. However, Hungarian *máris* does not have the same restrictions as Spanish *ya* with regards to this reading; it can appear with other aspectual classes and tenses.

2.1.5   With covert predicates

In Spanish, *ya* can appear with covert predicates, whereas English *already* cannot.

(47)   A: What time are we leaving?

    a.   B: *Already.

    b.   B: *Ya*   (nos vamos) / *Ya*   (vamos)
       B: Already (we leave)   / Already (we are going)
       '(We are leaving) *soon* / (We are leaving) *now*'

Example (47b)[8] is a clearly temporal use of *ya*. It can be seen that when paired with the plannable achievement *nos vamos* 'we leave', *ya* triggers the immediate future. But when paired with *vamos* 'we go', the sentence does not trigger the immediate future. In either case, the predicate is covert, and so it may simply be up to the context to determine the intended meaning. There is another use of *ya*, which Erdely and Curcó (2018) refer to as the fragmentary form.

(48)   a.   Había   pan, papas, y   *ya*.
       There was bread, potatoes, and already.
       'There was bread, potatoes, and that was all.'

    b.   Habían   dos personas y   *ya*.
       There were two people   and already.
       'There were two people and that was all.'

    c.   ¡(Basta)   *ya*!
       (Enough) already!
       'Enough *already*!'

The examples in (48) exhibit a common construction in Spanish. These would be uttered with the expectation that there would have been more than just bread and potatoes (example (48a)) or more than two people (example (48b)). Erdely and Curcó (2018) claim that with this fragmentary form, *ya* is a sentence all on its own, joined by the conjunction *y* 'and'. I argue instead that *ya* is scalar in nature here, asserting that a list of items has ended, and presupposing that the list remains ended further along the scale (the scale being the

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[8]In example (47b), *ya* is translated as 'now'. Using *ahora* 'now' or *ahorita* 'right now' in this context may actually suggest a wider frame of reference than *ya*. In other words, *ahora* and *ahorita* may better translate to something like 'in a little while'.

list of objects). In the fragmentary form, the implication is such that the list had not ended at some left-abutting point. I explain this following some brief discussion on the fact that it is not unusual that Spanish would allow covert predicates. Spanish is a pro-drop language. Thus, it is common for the subject of a predicate to be dropped, as in (49).

(49) (Yo)/*pro* leo   libros.
     I   read books.
     'I read books.'

In Spanish, *pro* need not refer to a physical entity (such as a person, a place, or a thing). That is, *pro* may refer to an eventuality, as in example (50). Therefore, I assume that the eventuality that *ya* affects can be covert.

(50) Llegaste   tarde. *Pro* nos   sorprendió.
     You arrive late.   *Pro* us-ACC it surprised.
     'You arrived late. It surprised us.'

Recall the fragmentary form of *ya*, which is presented once again in example (51).

(51) Ocupo vasos, platos, y   (eso)/*pro ya*   (es todo).
     I need cups, plates, and (that)   already (is all).
     'I need cups, plates, and that is all.'

As I mentioned at the beginning of this subsection, I claim that the fragmentary form is scalar, and can be accounted for with the modified definition in Table 9. In the fragmentary form, there is a fixed covert predicate. In other words, the covert predicate must be *ser todo* 'to be all'—or something congruent—in order to meet the conditions for the fragmentary form. *Ya* does not act upon the first part of the sentence, *ocupo vasos, platos...*, but upon the covert predicate. The assertion of this predicate (with or without *ya*) is that there are no more items at some point *x* on the list. *Ya* then triggers the presupposition that as you continue further along the scale (the list), it will remain true that there are no additional items. It also implicates that there are indeed items at some left-abutting point on the list.

If we imagine a shopping list with some items on it (such as cups and plates), then a speaker could a say *ocupo vasos y platos* 'I need cups and plates', but then find that *bowls* was written at the bottom of the page. However, the overt inclusion of *es todo* 'it is all', to make 'I need cups, plates, and that is all' gives rise to the assertion that the list has ended.

Then, *ya* triggers the aforementioned presupposition, whether or not *es todo* is covert. With this presupposition triggered, the speaker is effectively certain that *bowls* is not scribbled at the bottom of the page. Additionally, the implicature is such that there were items on the list prior to the asserted endpoint. In theory, declaring an empty list with *ya* would be felicitous, as the conditions for the assertion and the presupposition would be met, and the implicature would simply be cancelled. However, I cannot imagine an example where *ya* would be used with a covert predicate to refer to an empty list.

That being said, consider example (52).

(52) *Ocupo vasos, platos, y   *ya no*.
      I need   cups, plates, and not anymore.
      *'I need cups, plates, and *not anymore*.'

Generally, the negation of the adverbial simply reverses the negation function of the assertion and presupposition. Assuming the revised definitions, the assertion of *not anymore* is that a proposition $\Phi(x)$ is NOT true. The presupposition of *not anymore* is that there exists an x' which follows x, and $\Phi(x')$ is NOT true. Lastly, the implicature would be that there exists an x'' which left-abuts x, and $\Phi(x'')$ is true. This is given in Table 9 at the beginning of this section. Sentences are expected to remain grammatical whether the adverbial is the affirmative *ya* or the negative *ya no*. However, (52) shows that the fragmentary form does not allow the negative *ya no*. Not only does the sentence become ungrammatical, but it becomes totally nonsensical. I can think of no possible meaning for a sentence which utilizes *ya no* in the fragmentary form. If we take it to be the opposite of *ya*, then *ya no* would presumably presuppose that it is NOT true that the list is ended further along scale, and implicate that it is true that the list had ended previously. Ultimately, though the fragmentary form is common in colloquial speech, it is highly restricted. It can only take a set of specific covert predicates which mean something like 'that is all', and it can only appear with the affirmative *ya*.

As illustrated in this subsection, the fragmentary form is compatible with the revised definitions proposed by Slade and Csirmaz (in progress). The only unusual aspect of the fragmentary form is that it has a covert predicate. Recall that *pro* may refer to some eventuality in Spanish, and so it is not unusual that *ya* can appear with a covert predicate. Still, I cannot at this point claim why the predicate itself is restricted to something like *eso*

es todo 'that is all'.

2.2   *Todavía* **'still'**

Spanish *todavía* is the counterpart to English *still* and German *noch*. While it does share many of the same uses as these two particles, there are some uses which are not found in Spanish.

Subsection 2.2.1 details previous treatments of *still* and *noch*. Subsection 2.2.2 describes the possible uses as a scalar adverbial, as well as some uses found in German and English which Spanish does not have. This section ends with a discussion of the additive and concessive uses in Subsection 2.2.3.

2.2.1   **Previous treatments of** *still* **and** *noch*

Ippolito (2007) takes an aspectual approach to *still*, in the same vein as *already*.

(53)   a.   John is *still* cooking.

  b.   Got an A! I was jumping for joy (internally, keep in mind it's *still* 8 AM).

(Ippolito, 2007:2)

The examples in (53) are clearly scalar, and parallel to the ones presented in Subsection 2.1.1. Example (53a) exhibits a temporal continuity reading. The implication in (53b), however, is that the time is earlier than expected. Ippolito claims that *still* in (53b) is acting as an exclusive particle, similar to English *only*.

(54)   Compact cars are *still* safe. Subcompacts start to get dangerous.   (Ippolito 2007:2)

Like *already*, *still* exhibits a marginality reading, present in example (54). It is effectively the same as the marginality reading of *already*, but in the opposite direction. Here, it indicates that a margin has not been crossed, but is being approached. The margin in question in (54) is safety. It is true that compact cars (and those cars larger than compact cars) are safe, but cars that are subcompact have now crossed the margin, and are dangerous.

(55)   I studied all night, but I *still* failed the exam.

Lastly, Ippolito discusses the concessive use of *still*. She claims that concessive *still*, as in (55), orders along a scale all the possible worlds in terms of likelihood, based on some

antecedent (e.g. *I studied all night...*).

Beck (2016, 2020) proposes an aspectual account for *still*, and also discusses German *noch* 'still' at length. Her discussion is along the same vein as Ippolito's, presenting scalar, exclusive, marginal, and concessive uses of *still*. She also introduces a use of *still* which she calls a 'reaffirmative' *still*, seen in (56).

(56) I am *still* your mother. (Beck, 2016:142)

According to Beck, reaffirmative *still* is a discourse related use. It is not suggesting that the speaker has continually been the mother of the listener. This sense would be strange, as it would implicate that the speaker would cease to be the listener's mother at some point. Instead, the reaffirmative *still* triggers the presupposition—according to Beck (2016)—that the relevant fact is known, and asserts the continued relevance of that fact.

Beck (2016, 2020) also brings into account some uses of German *noch* which are unavailable with English *still*. First of all, there is the so-called *further-to* reading of *noch* in (57a).

(57) a. Hans trank *noch* einen SCHNAPS.
            Hans drank still a   schnaps.
            'Hans had a schnaps *before*...'   (Beck, 2016:153; citing Umbach, 2009)

     b. Hans trank *NOCH* einen Schnaps.
            Hans drank STILL a   Schnaps.
            'Hans drank yet *another* schnaps.'   (Beck, 2016:153)

The further-to reading in (57a) asserts that Hans drank a schnaps at some time, presupposes that he did something similar immediately before, and implicates that he did something else afterward. In other words, it is something like "Hans drank a Schnaps before (something else happened)". This use of *noch* is wholly unavailable with English *still* and Spanish *todavía*. The additive reading in (57b) works similarly to English *another* or Spanish *un otro* 'another'.

German *noch* has an order of mention reading (Beck, 2016, 2020), which Spanish *todavía* does not. Order of mention *noch* is used to mention additional items on a list.

(58) CONTEXT: Thilo is coming home from the supermarket. He lists things that he has bought. Sigrid asks him what else he has bought.

  a. Was hast Du *noch* gekauft?
     What have you still bought?
     'What *else* have you bought?'

  b. Ich hab *noch* Schokolade gekauft.
     I   have still chocolate   bought.
     'I have *also* bought chocolate.' (order of mention)

(Beck, 2016:143)

Order of mention *noch* is effectively another type of additive reading available in German. Once again, I cannot say why this reading may be unavailable in English and Spanish—only that it is unavailable. I show this in 2.2.4.

2.2.2   Previous treatments of *todavía*

Erdely and Curcó (2016) argue that *todavía* is made of two components—one which promotes continuity, and another which promotes a potential transition. They argue this in direct contrast to Bosque (1980), who claims that *todavía* simply indicates continuity, and in contrast to Garrido (1993), whose proposal does not take into account that the preceding eventuality must immediately precede the referenced one. That is, Garrido's account inaccurately predicts that *John is still asleep* and *John is asleep again* be synonymous.

(59) John slept from 3:00 AM to 7:00 AM. He woke up at 7:00 AM. Then he fell asleep at 7:10 AM.

    #John is *still* asleep at 7:10 AM.

    #John *todavía* está dormido a las 7:10 AM.

In their account, they argue for an element of continuity, which indicates that the preceding eventuality and the referenced eventuality have no gaps in between them. In other words, it ensures that *John is still asleep* and *John is asleep again* be different. They also argue that *todavía* can indicate a potential transition. That is, it can indicate that at some point in the future, it is possible—though not necessary—that the eventuality in question ceases to be true.

While Erdely and Curcó adopt a largely cognitive approach to *todavía*, I take a formal approach. I argue that this formal approach allows us not only to make more accurate predictions, but also to distinguish clearly between *todavía* and *aún*.

Rabadán (2015) does not widely discuss the meaning of *todavía*, but rather its several uses with respect to tense and aspect. She illustrates that it can be used with various tenses and moods. In each example, she presents *aún* as a synonym to be used interchangeably with *todavía*. Rabadán shows how the translations in her study make use of phrases such as *seguir* + gerund 'continue to' and *continuar* + gerund 'continue to' in place of *aún/todavía* + *VP*. However, the meanings of *seguir* + *gerund*, *continuar* + *gerund*, *todavía* + *VP*, and *aún* + *VP* are distinct, suggesting that these cannot be used interchangeably everywhere.

(60) a. Juan *todavía/aún* está comiendo.
  Juan still   is   eating.

  'Juan is *still* eating.'

  b. Juan *sigue/continúa comiendo*.
  Juan continues   eating.

  'Juan is *still* eating.'

(61) a. Tijuana *todavía/aún* está en México.
  Tijuana still   is   in Mexico.

  'Tijuana is *still* in Mexico.'

  b. Tijuana *sigue/continúa estando* en México.
  Tijuana continues   being in Mexico.

  'Tijuana *keeps being* in Mexico.'

Consider examples (60) and (61), supposing that *seguir* + *gerund* and *todavía/aún* + *VP* are interchangeable. In (60), they are in fact interchangeable, whereas in (61), they are not. Example (61a) indicates a spatial reading of *still*, but (61b) suggests a temporal reading instead. It cannot be interpreted as spatial. It is evident that *seguir/continuar* + *gerund* is synonymous with temporal uses of *todavía/aún* + *VP*, but not with spatial uses. This alone is enough to show that the *seguir/continuar* + *gerund* constructions are not interchangeable with *todavía/aún* + *VP*. Whether *seguir* + *gerund* and *continuar* + *gerund* are interchangeable with each other is another question that I do not explore in this thesis. However, I do explore distinctions between *todavía* and *aún* in Section 2.3.

Ultimately, Rabadán claims that a scalar analysis is unfavorable for *todavía*, citing the same reasons as she had done for *ya*. I argue instead that *todavía* can be accounted for as a scalar adverb under with the revised definitions given by Slade and Csirmaz (in progress). *Aún*, which is not fully synonymous with *todavía*, can also be accounted for.

2.2.3   As a scalar adverbial

Todavía shares many uses with English *still*. The typical temporal use described by Krifka (2001) and Löbner (1989) is largely unchanged. Recall that Löbner's definitions of *still* and *not yet* are as in Table 10.

In the same vein as *ya*, I discuss a modified definition for *todavía* (Slade & Csirmaz, in progress). This is seen in Table 11, in which t is replaced by x, representing a point on a scale. It is a generalized version of Krifka's (2001) definition for *still* with the addition of an implicature.

Consider the examples found in (62).

(62)   a. He is *still* asleep. (temporal)

   b. El Paso is *still* in the United States. (marginality)

The uses in (62) are not unusual. They are predictable by both the definitions in Table 10 and Table 11. Similar utterances in Spanish are acceptable as well, as in (63).

(63)   a. Ella *todavía* está dormida.
   She still   is   asleep.
   'She is *still* asleep.'

   b. Juárez *todavía* está en México.
   Juarez still   is   in Mexico.
   'Juarez is *still* in Mexico.'

Note that the presupposition in Table 11 is the same as in Table 10. However, the proposal for the revised definitions is that *still*/*todavía* also implicates that there exists an x'' which is higher on the scale than x, at which $\Phi(x'')$ is NOT true. For (63a), the implicature is that there is some future point at which "she" is no longer asleep. For (63b), the implicature is that further along the scale (that is, continuing northward), there is a point at which it is no longer Mexico. In other words, *Juarez is still in Mexico, but El Paso is already part of the United States*.

These basic scalar uses in (63) are accurately predicted by Erdely and Curcó (2016). As shown in 2.2.2, Rabadán's (2015) discussion would expect that *todavía + VP* could be replaced by *aún + VP* or *seguir/continuar + gerund*. In either case, *todavía* can be replaced by *aún*. However, *seguir/continuar + gerund* can replace *todavía* in example (63a), but not in (63b) (assuming it is a spatial reading).

2.2.4   Other uses

Crosslinguistically, there are other uses which Spanish *todavía* does not appear to have. For instance, English *still* and German *noch* can also have additive or concessive uses (Beck, 2016, 2020). German *noch* also allows for two other uses which Beck (2020) refers to as the order of mention *noch* and the further-to *noch*. In this subsection, I will discuss additive, further-to, order of mention, and concessive uses, in that order.

(64)   a. Hans trank *NOCH* einen Schnaps.
           Hans drank still   a   Schnaps.
           'Hans had (yet) *another* Schnaps.'   (Beck, 2016:153; Umbach, 2009)

      b. ?Juan se   tomó *todavía* un Schnaps.
           Juan REFL drank still   a   Schnaps.
           'Juan *still* drank a Schnaps.'
           #'Juan drank (yet) *another* Schnaps.

The additive use of *noch* in (64a) is unavailable in English and Spanish. English *still* in this context could believably be concessive (*Hans is allergic to alcohol, but he still drank a schnaps*). The same is true for Spanish, but with *aún* instead of *todavía*, which will be discussed in further detail at the end of this section, and in Section 2.3. I cannot speculate as to why the further-to reading is available in German, and unavailable in English and Spanish. The intricacies of the differences between these particles begs deeper research.

Beck (2020) discusses Klein (2007/2015), who argues the further-to reading of German *noch*. This reading is neither available for English *still* nor for Spanish *todavía*, seen in (65b) and (66b).

(65)   a. Bruckner trank NOCH drei   Bier.
           Bruckner drank still   three beers.
           'Bruckner had another three beers.'

b. Bruckner trank noch drei   BIER.
   Bruckner drank still   three beers.

   'Bruckner then drank three beers before...'

(Beck, 2020:28; Klein, 2007/2015)

(66) a. Brian *still* drank three beers.

   b. ?Brian se   tomó *todavía* tres   cervezas.
      Brian   REFL drank still   three beers.

      'Brian *still* drank three beers.'

      #'Brian drank three beers *before*...'

Once again, the meaning with *todavía* in (66b) is more likely to be concessive. As already mentioned, concessive *todavía* and *aún* are discussed further in Section 2.3.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the further-to reading essentially indicates that the subject did something just before doing something else.

Beck (2016, 2020) discusses still another use of German *noch* called the *order of mention*. This use is once again unavailable in both English and Spanish.

(67) CONTEXT: Thilo is coming home from the supermarket. He lists a few things he has bought.

   a. Was   hast Du *noch* gekauft?
      What have you still bought?

      'What *else* have you bought?'

   b. Ich hab   *noch* Schokolade gekauft.
      I   have still chocolate   bought.

      'I have *also* bought chocolate.'   (Beck, 2016:158)

(68) Assuming the same context as (67):

   a. I have *still* bought chocolate.

   b. He   *todavía* comprado chocolate.
      I have still   bought   chocolate.

      'I have *still* bought chocolate.'

      #'I have *also* bought chocolate.'

Though the examples in (68) are grammatical, but they do not exhibit the order of mention reading available in German.

Once again, these may be closer to a concessive reading, which is discussed by Ippolito (2007) and Beck (2016, 2020). Given some antecedent, concessive *still* indicates that a less-likely outcome is true, and that a more-likely outcome is false.

(69)   Juan studied all night...

    a.   ...and he *still* failed.

    b.   ?...y   todavía reprobó.
       ...and still   failed.
       'Juan studied all night, and he *still* failed.'

Todavía as a concessive particle is not especially marked in some varieties of Spanish. Some South American varieties and Pensinsular varieties may deem concessive *todavía* to be unusual, or even ungrammatical, but this remains to be formally tested. Nonetheless, there are preferable options for concessive particles in Spanish. These include the adverbials *aún* 'even/still' and *aún así* 'even so'.

It is evident that *todavía* allows for some scalar readings, such as temporal or spatial readings. However, it does not allow for any additive readings, such as the further-to and order of mention readings. As a concessive, it is available in some varieties. As for which varieties allow concessive *todavía*, that remains a question unattested for by the research at hand.

2.3   *Aún* 'even/still'

Spanish *todavía* and *aún* are often considered synonyms, but this is not the case. Erdely and Curcó (2016) explain in a footnote that there the differences in uses between the two words are not insignificant, but their paper does not focus on these distinctions. I claim that while *todavía* is a scalar particle, *aún* is a scalar additive particle. *Aún* can be scalar, additive, or concessive. I show that this is not unusual crosslinguistically.

I first discuss clearly scalar uses of *aún* and similarities with *todavía* in Subsection 2.3.1. In Subsection 2.3.2, I discuss the additive and concessive uses of *aún*. Then, I demonstrate some crosslinguistic data concerning concessive particles in Subsection 2.3.3.

2.3.1   As a scalar adverbial

As is expected, *aún* shares some uses with *todavía*, as seen in example (70).

(70)   a.   Juan *aún/todavía* está dormido.
Juan still   is   asleep.
'Juan is *still* asleep.'

b.   Tijuana *aún/todavía* está en México.
Tijuana still   is   in Mexico.
'Tijuana is *still* in Mexico.'

Though *aún* is a scalar adverbial similar to *todavía*, the two are not one-to-one synony-mous. They may stand in for one another in some scalar uses, such as the temporal use in (70a) and the spatial use in (70b).

(71)   A: Let's go to the bar to have a couple drinks.

B:

a.   No puedo, *aún/todavía* tengo 20 años.
Not I can,   still/still   I have 20 years.
'I can't, I'm *still* 20 years old.'

b.   No puedo, tengo 20 años *aún/todavía*.
Not I can,   I have 20 years still/still.
'I can't, I'm *still* 20 years old./I can't, I'm *only* 20 years old.'

In example (71), the placement of *todavía* appears to have no noticeable effect on the meaning of the sentence. However, sentence-final *aún* more strongly suggests the validity of the implicature that Φ will be NOT true at some higher point along the scale. That is, (71b) not only asserts that the speaker is 20 years old, but also emphasizes the implicature that the speaker will be 21 at some point. Sentence-final *aún* is not a particularly common construction in Spanish, where the implicature is more difficult to cancel.

Aún clearly allows for basic scalar readings like *todavía*, such as temporal or spatial readings. However, *aún* has some additional readings unavailable for *todavía*, which are detailed in Subsection 2.3.2.

2.3.2   Scalar additive and concessive uses

Aún can be used as a scalar additive particle where *todavía* cannot. Lahiri (2008) consistently translates *aún* as 'even'.

(72) a. *Aún/*Todavía* en coche no llegaría   a tiempo.
      Even/*still   in car   not would arrive at time.

      '*Even* by car he would not arrive on time.'

   b. *Aún/?Todavía* ví   a Juan.
      Even/still   saw to Juan.

      'I *even* saw Juan.'

(Adapted from Lahiri, 2008:380)

The examples in (72) show *aún* as a scalar additive, similar to English *even*. However, *todavía* is completely ungrammatical in example (72a). In example (72b), *todavía* also cannot be used as a scalar additive. In this case, *aún* and *todavía* could otherwise be concessive, given a framing eventuality such as *I told Juan I would never see him again*.

(73) Te   pagarán   4000 pesos, *aún/*todavía* 5000.
      To you they will pay 4000 pesos, still   5000.

      'They will pay you 4000 pesos, or *even* 5000.'

Example (73) is an instance of *aún* which may not be especially common, but is absolutely acceptable. However, using *todavía* in this context is not only ungrammatical, but also nonsensical. The listener would likely struggle to understand the speaker's intention.

Observe in example (74) the similarities with German *noch*.

(74) a. Juan se   tomó *aún* tres cervezas *(más).
      Juan REFL drank even three beers   more.

      'Juan drank *even* three more beers.'

   b. Hans trank NOCH drei Bieren.
      Hans drank still   three beers.

      'Hans drank *even* three more beers.'

(Beck, 2016:153)

Aún in (74a) requires the placement of the overt additive *más* 'more'. On the other hand, German *noch* 'still' does not require a particle, but requires focalization in order to produce the additive reading, as in example (74b) (Beck, 2016, 2020). In fact, example (74a) can be additive even without *aún*, so long as *más* remains.[9] It is possible then that *aún* is

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[9]While *aún* cannot be replaced by *todavía* in (74a), it can be replaced by *hasta* 'until'.

concessive in this case, instead. For this to be true, there would have to be some sort of antecedent or salient prior knowledge.

(75) Juan's doctor told him he could only have one beer per night, which he has already had.

Se   tomó *aún* tres más.
REFL drank even three more.

'He *still* drank three more.'

For instance, example (75) provides a context in which it may be expected that Juan would be done drinking beers for the night. And yet, he drinks three more. In this sense, *aún* would be acting as a concessive particle. In fact, where *todavía* may not be concessive like English *still*, there is no question that *aún* can function as the concessive particle in Spanish.

(76) a. It's 3:00 in the afternoon...

...y   Marta *aún* está dormida.
...and Marta still is   asleep.

'...and Marta is *still* asleep/...and *even now*, Marta is asleep'

b. I studied all night...

...y   *aún* reprobé el   examen.
...and still I   failed the   exam.

'...and I *still* failed the exam./...and *even so*, I failed the exam.'

In (76), the antecedents—or framing eventualities—clearly provide some set of expectations. In other words, there is a set of all possible worlds which could follow from the antecedent, some of which are more likely than others. The follow-up statement with *aún* then subverts expectations, selecting a less-likely world from that set of possible worlds. Some Spanish speakers, when given concessive sentences, prefer the adverbial *aún así* 'even so' over simply *aún*. Researching the intricacies on the use of *aún así* over *aún* is another step that has yet to be taken.

Crosslinguistically, there are several examples of concessive particles being formed by joining a scalar particle with an additive particle. In Hungarian, scalar *még* 'still' + *is* 'too' makes *mégis*, which is used to indicate concessiveness.

It is possible that there are two distinct lexical entries for *aún* in Spanish. One allows for scalar readings, while the other allows for scalar additive and concessive readings. When acting as a concessive or scalar additive, *aún* functions more similarly to English *even* than to English *still*. The revised definition in Table 11 does not capture the available readings for scalar additive/concessive *aún*. Additionally, *aún* indeed operates similarly to *todavía* in some contexts, but it is closer to *hasta* 'until' in others, such as (74a). The finer details of the relation between these three particles, as well as English *still* and *even*, I leave for future investigation.

2.4 Concluding remarks for Spanish aspectual adverbials

The modifed definitions proposed by Slade and Csirmaz (in progress) are able to predict accurately many of the different uses of Spanish aspectual adverbials. If the definitions are intended to be crosslinguistically applicable, then the German additive readings may offer some difficulties for the account. Significantly, certain grammatical features of a language may impact the meanings of the aspectual adverbials in some contexts (such as the covert predicate with *ya*). That is to say, formal definitions of the adverbials alone do not determine with 100% absoluteness the possible uses of those adverbials.

2.4.1 Crosslinguistic comparisons

Table 12 shows some particles in different languages with some of their possible uses (Sp = Spanish, E = English, Hg = Hungarian, Ge = German). I have marked the concessive reading for *todavía* with a question mark, as it is not entirely unavailable, though it is a bit strange. Note that although *aún* and *even* cannot be plain additives, but can be scalar additives.. The further-to and order of mention readings—which are types of additive readings—are not available for *aún*. Also, Ippolito (2007) claims that *already* has additive and concessive readings. As I stated in Subsection 2.1.3, I argue that *already* does not have an additive reading available. I mark concessive *already* with a question mark, as it was not discussed in-depth. If there is indeed a concessive *already*, then it is likely highly restricted, as Ippolito has said.

2.4.2 Summary

Spanish *ya* is a scalar adverbial with some uses that English 'already' does not have. *Ya* can appear with covert predicates, indicating the end of a list. This is due to the fact that Spanish is pro-drop, rather than to any property of *ya*. It can also appear with the simple present to indicate a futurate, asserting the truthfulness of an eventuality in the immediate future (so long as there are no other adjuncts in the utterance).

Spanish *todavía* is a scalar adverbial, and only allows basic scalar readings, such as temporal and marginal readings. *Todavía* cannot be additive or concessive like English *still* or German *noch*. However, Spanish *aún* can be scalar, scalar additive, or concessive. It is possible that there are two distinct entries for *aún* in Spanish, and that one is scalar, while the other allows for the other two readings. The intricacies of the differences between *aún* and *todavía* are left uncertain. Future research may also find interest in comparing *aún* with Spanish *hasta* 'until' in a similar way.

Table 5: Formal definitions of aspectual adverbials

$\mathbf{STILL}(t, \Phi)$	$\mathbf{NOTYET}(t, \Phi)$	$\mathbf{ALREADY}(t, \Phi)$:	$\mathbf{NOTANYMORE}(t, \Phi)$
assert: $\Phi(t)$	assert: $\neg\Phi(t)$	assert: $\Phi(t)$	assert: $\neg\Phi(t)$
presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\Phi(t')]$	presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\neg\Phi(t')]$	presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\neg\Phi(t')]$	presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\Phi(t')]$

Table 6: Relations between aspectual adverbials in English, German, and Hebrew

	OUTER NEGATION	
already/schon/kvar	$\leftarrow$ $\nwarrow$ $\nearrow$ $\uparrow$ $\rightarrow$	*not yet/noch nicht/'adayin lo*
INNER NEGATION	**DUALS**	
	$\downarrow$ $\swarrow$ $\searrow$ $\downarrow$	
not anymore/nicht mehr/kvar lo $\leftarrow$	$\rightarrow$	*still/noch/'adayin*

(Krifka, 2001)

Table 7: Revised definitions of aspectual adverbials

$\textsc{still}(x,\Phi)$	$\textsc{notyet}(x,\Phi)$	$\textsc{already}(x,\Phi)$:	$\textsc{notanymore}(x,\Phi)$
assert: $\Phi(x)$	assert: $\neg\Phi(x)$	assert: $\Phi(x)$	assert: $\neg\Phi(x)$
presup: $\exists x' \propto x[\Phi(x')]$	presup: $\exists x' \propto x[\neg\Phi(x')]$	presup: $\exists x' \succ x[\Phi(x')]$	presup: $\exists x' \succ x[\neg\Phi(x')]$
implic: $\exists x'' \succ x[\neg\Phi(x'')]$	implic: $\exists x'' \succ x[\Phi(x'')]$	implic: $\exists x'' \propto x[\neg\Phi(x'')]$	implic: $\exists x'' \propto x[\Phi(x'')]$

(Slade & Csirmaz, in progress)

Table 8: Formal definition of *already*

$\textsc{already}(t,\Phi)$	$\textsc{notanymore}(t,\Phi)$
assert: $\Phi(t)$	assert: $\neg\Phi(t)$
presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\neg\Phi(t')]$	presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\Phi(t')]$

Table 9: Revised definition of *already*

Assertion	$\Phi(x)$
Presupposition	$\exists(x') \succ (x)[\Phi(x')]$
Implicature	$\exists(x'') \propto (x)[\neg\Phi(x'')]$

Table 10: Formal definition of *still*

$\textsc{still}(t,\Phi)$	$\textsc{not yet}(t,\Phi)$
assert: $\Phi(t)$	assert: $\neg\Phi(t)$
presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\Phi(t')]$	presup: $\exists t' \propto t[\neg\Phi(t')]$

Table 11: Revised definition of *still*

Assertion	$\Phi(x)$
Presupposition	$\exists(x') \propto (x)[\Phi(x')]$
Implicature	$\exists(x'') \succ (x)[\neg\Phi(x'')]$

Table 12: Crosslinguistic comparisons

	Scalar 'Already'	Scalar 'Still'	'Anymore'	'Yet'	Additive	Concessive	Futurate
Sp *Ya*	X		X				X
Sp *Todavía*		X		X		?	
Sp *Aún*		X		X	(Scalar)	X	
E Already	X		X			?	
E Still		X		X		X	
E Even				X	(Scalar)	X	
Hg *Már*	X		X				X
Hg *Még*		X		X		X	
De *Schon*	X						
De *Mehr*			X		X		
De *Noch*		X		X	X	X	

(adapted from Bahuguna et al., under review)

CHAPTER 3

PRESENT-DAY SPANISH REPETITIVES

This chapter discusses Spanish repetitives in a synchronic light. The purpose of this chapter is to establish some possible uses of repetitives in Present-Day Spanish, and whether Present-Day Spanish shares the same repetitive-restitutive ambiguity as English. Section 3.1 offers an introduction to repetitives. Section 3.2 discusses previous accounts for English *again*. In Section 3.3, I discuss available uses of Spanish repetitives. I conclude the chapter with some implications in Section 3.4.

3.1   Introduction to repetitives

As mentioned in Chapter 1, repetitives are semantic units which indicate repetition of some action. These can take the form of single words (*again*, *anew*), short phrases (*once more*, *once again*, *a second time*), or even morphemes—such as the prefix *re-* in both English and Spanish.

(77)   John closed the door, but the wind blew it open, so John closed it *again*.

Example (77) shows an instance of simple repetition, in which the action of closing the door is performed twice by the same individual. Early Middle English instead had a counterdirectional sense of *again*, which developed over time into a restitutive sense, and then a repetitive sense. During the stage of Late Middle English (ca. 1350-1500), there was a three-way ambiguity between the repetitive, restitutive, and counterdirectional interpretations (Beck & Gergel, 2015; Gergel & Beck, 2015). In Present-Day English, counterdirectional *again* has largely been lost, and the primarily available interpretations are the repetitive and restitutive. From this point onward, I use REP to indicate *repetitive*, RST for *restitutive*, and CDIR for *counterdirectional*.

(78) quene Gwynevere had hym in grete favoure... and so he loved the quene *agayne*
      queen Gwynevere had him in great favor...   and so he loved the queen again
      aboven all other ladyes dayes of his lyff,
      above   all other ladies days   of his life,

      '...he *returned* the queen's love...'

      (Beck & Gergel, 2015:173; CMASTRO,669.C1.168, 14th c.)

Example (78) is a Middle English example with a CDIR, non-RST interpretation. Here, the queen's love flows in one direction, and the love is reciprocated. It is rather implausible given the context that the queen is being restored to a state of being loved.

The RST interpretation of *again* indicates that some previously held result state was caused to hold once again, regardless of who or what caused it. The CDIR interpretation instead indicates that there has occurred some contextually salient directional predicate, and then the same kind of predicate occurs in the opposite direction.

(79) Mary closed the door. The wind blew the door open, so John closed it *again*.

Consider example (79), which is well–formed. As opposed to (77), (79) has two distinct subjects—Mary and John. In such a case, *again* does not indicate that a subject has performed an action a second time, but that something has been returned to a previous state of being. In other words, the door itself has become closed for a second time in this context, and whoever has done the closing is irrelevant. The fact that the door has been returned to a previously–held result state indicates that this is a RST reading (von Stechow, 1995, 1996; Beck et al., 2009; Beck & Gergel, 2015; Gergel & Beck, 2015). Incidentally, in example (77), the RST is also true, as the REP interpretation entails the RST.

(80) Huanne he þerin   geþ:... huan he comþ *ayen*:...
      when   he therein goes:.. when he comes again:..

      '...when he comes *back*...'

      (Beck & Gergel, 2015:173; CMAYENBI,56.1024, 14th c.)

Example (80) is ambiguous between the RST and CDIR readings. In the RST interpretation, the subject has returned to their original location. In the CDIR interpretation, the subject had once gone away from somewhere, and then they acted in the contrary direction. That is, they returned from whence they came. The two interpretations are not

exclusive, and (80) can in fact bear both without issue. Once again, this is possible because the RST interpretation entails the CDIR.

It is important to note that the RST is not synonymous with the CDIR, though they cannot be distinguished in many instances. As previously mentioned, this is because the RST entails the CDIR, and the truth conditions for either will hold in similar situations. Example (79) (*The wind blew the door open, so John closed it again*) exhibits such a case, as the door was restored to a previous state of being, but in order to do so, the door also had to move in a contrary direction. In the same vein, the repetitive and RST uses are indistinguishable in many contexts, and are not synonymous. This is because the repetitive entails the RST. Blackham (2017), citing Huddleston and Pullum (2002), notes at least one highly restricted example of CDIR *again* in Present-Day English, seen in (81).

(81) The bird perched on the balcony rail and then flew away *again*.(Blackham, 2017:76; Huddleston & Pullum, 2002)

But I contend that this example is RST, not CDIR. In example (81), *away* is the result state given by *flew away*, and *again* is acting as a RST. This would entail the CDIR interpretation, if it were available in Present-Day English. In other words, the bird's flying is occurring in a contrary direction to the bird's perching. Still, *again* does not indicate any sort of counterdirectionality here.

Blackham (2017), referencing Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897), shows that the CDIR interpretation was plausibly available as late as Early Modern English.

(82) a. After a few seconds he rushed up on deck in his flannels. ...he went below ...I saw him come out on deck *again* with a tool-chest and a lantern...   (Blackham, 2017:61; Stoker, 1897)

    b. I fled from the place, and leaving the Count's room by the window, crawled *again* up the castle wall.   (Blackham, 2017:74; Stoker, 1897)

In each case presented in (82), there is a plausibly CDIR reading, but neither case is certainly CDIR. Example (82a) shows that the action of coming up onto the deck was repeated. The result state of being up on deck was also restored, and the coming up on deck is CDIR to going below deck. All three readings are plausible here. Example (82b)

is more likely to be CDIR, according to Blackham (2017). Some paragraphs earlier in the novel, there is an act of crawling *down*. Thus, this act of crawling *up* could plausibly be read as CDIR. However, it is also just as plausible that Stoker intended *again* here as REP or RST, indicating that the *crawling* was being repeated or the state of being up was caused to hold again. The REP, RST, and the CDIR are equally plausible in (82b), and there are two possibilities for analysis. The first possibility is that *crawl* is a VP and *up the castle wall* is a PP (in which case *again* is either REP or RST). The second is that *crawl down* and *crawl up* are complex VPs, and *the castle wall* is a DP (in which case, *again* is CDIR).

3.2   Previous accounts for repetitives

There is very little literature available on Spanish repetitives. Additionally, any discussion of Spanish repetitives is generally very minor, brought up only as part of larger works on morphology (Bosque & Demonte, 1999) and periphrasis (Rubio, 1995). As such, I present here some literature on English and German as a foundation for research on repetitives in Spanish.

Von Stechow (1996) claims that RST *again* is REP *again* with narrow scope. That is, his account argues that the ambiguity between REP and RST *again* lies in the syntax. His discussion necessarily requires that the ambiguity lie only in sentences with decompositional predicates.

(83)   a.   Alice went running *again*. (REP)

b.   Bill rode in a limo *again*. (REP)

(84)   a.   %Mary entered *again*. (REP/RST)

b.   Thomas opened the box *again*. (REP/RST)

Examples (83) and 84) show the contrast between sentences with decompositional predicates versus those without. Example (83) exhibits two nondecompositional predicates. There is no result state, and the examples must be REP. On the other hand, (84) shows two examples with decompositional predicates. In (84a), the result state is that Mary has entered, and in (84b), the result state is that the box is opened. Additionally, in (84a), the act of entering has been reiterated, making this REP, but it could also be said that Mary is once again in a state of having entered, suggesting a RST interpretation. They are not

mutually exclusive, and both can be simultaneously true because of the fact that the REP entails the RST. Note that I have marked (84a) as being acceptable only in some dialects. Beck et al. (2009) claim that the result state must be visible in Present-Day English in order for it to be acceptable as a RST reading. I will discuss this in further detail momentarily, with examples (97) and (98).

Von Stechow (1996) also points out that the available interpretations for German *wieder* 'again' are affected by word order.

(85)　a.　das Barometer *wieder* fiel.
　　　　　the barometer again fell.
　　　　　'The barometer fell *again*.' (REP/RST)

　　　b.　*wieder* das Barometer fiel.
　　　　　again the barometer fell.
　　　　　'The barometer fell *again*.' (REP)

(von Stechow, 1996:25)

Von Stechow (1996) argues that there are abstract morphemes in the syntax called CAUSE, BECOME, and STATE.

(86)

```
                              IP
                    ┌─────────┴──────────┐
                  PRO_i                   I'
                          ┌──────────────┴────────┐
                        ∃s:AP                       I
                  ┌──────┴──────┐                   │
                 t_i         λi:A'(s)                e
                        ┌──────┴────────┐
                     VoiceP              A
                 ┌─────┴──────┐          │
               again      λe:VoiceP     STATE
                      ┌──────┴──────┐
                   pro_acc       λx:Voice'
                            ┌──────┴──────┐
                         VP(e)           &Voice
                       ┌───┴───┐           │
                      XP       V        agent(x)(e)
                     ╱ ╲       │
                   t_i  X   BECOME
```
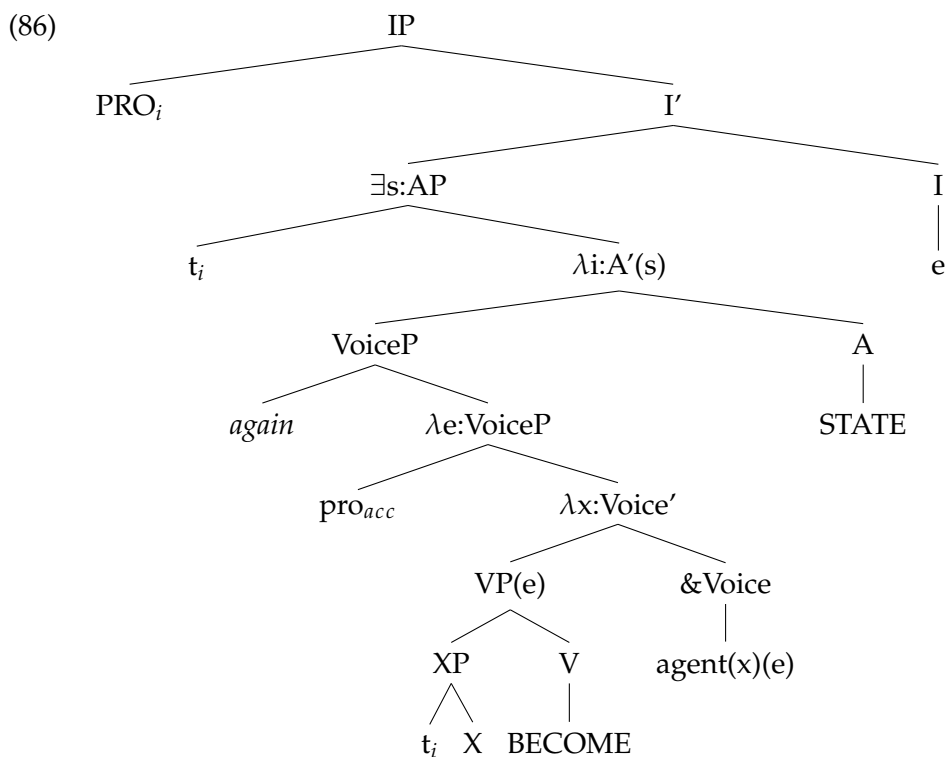
(von Stechow, 1996:34)

In (86), von Stechow's Voice head (agent(x)(e)) has replaced the abstract morpheme CAUSE. Crucially, von Stechow argues that for the RST interpretation, an agent causes something to BECOME some STATE. Under this analysis, RST *again* is adjoined to the XP which is daughter to VP, and REP *again* is adjoined to VoiceP.

(87)   John opened the door.

Taking a step back from any sense of repetition or restitution, example (87) is such that John is the agent, and he is causing the door to become open. Similar decompositions could be made of verbs such as the ones in (88), which is only a small fraction of all decomposition verbs.

(88)   a. to clean = to cause to become clean

      b. to put together = to cause to become joined

      c. to kill = to cause to become dead

      d. to build = to cause to become built

Beck et al. (2009) bring up von Stechow's (1995, 1996), claim about decomposing lexical verbs into an adjective + CAUSE BECOME meaning component. They show that *again* can take scope over either VP when acting as a REP, or SC when acting as a RST. Beck and Gergel (2015) and Gergel and Beck (2015) also claim that, under a structural analysis, REP *again* takes scope over the VP (example (89)), whereas RST/CDIR *again* takes scope over the result-state denoting constituent (example (90)).

(89)   Sally opened the door.

(90)   Sally opened the door.
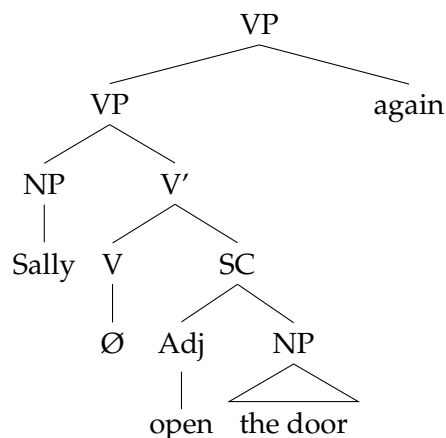
```
                    VP
              _____|_____
            NP                V′
             |           _____|_____
           Sally    V                SC
                    |          _____|_____
                    Ø        SC             again
                        _____|_____
                      Adj        NP
                       |         /\
                     open    the door
```
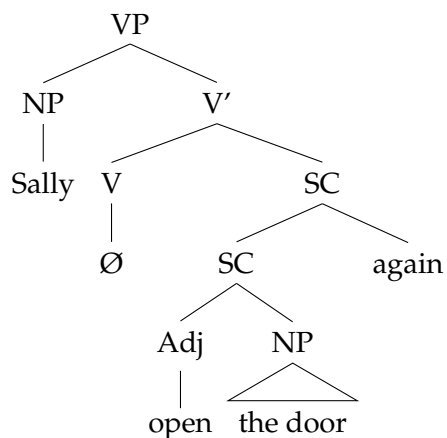
(Beck et al., 2009:197)

In (91), I develop a simplified and updated tree based on von Stechow's (1996) tree in
(86)

(91)

```
              TP
          _____|_____
    Subject_i          |
                 _____|_____
                T            vP
                       _____|_____
                     vP          high *again*
                  ____|____
                t_i        |
                      _____|_____
                     v         VP
                          _____|_____
                         VP      low *again*
                          |
                          V′
                         /\
                        V  XP
```
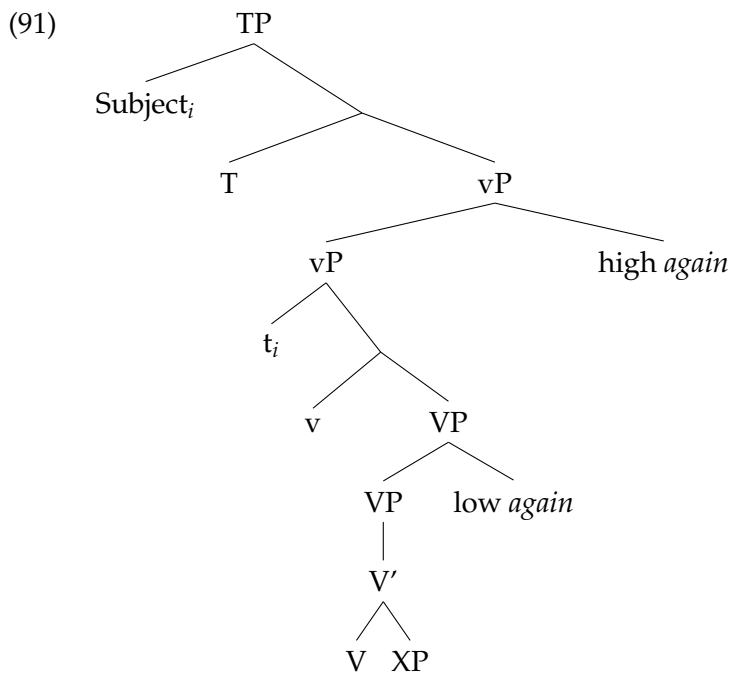

In (91), when *again* is REP, it takes high scope, and is adjoined to vP. This is the case
in (92a). *Again* with low scope is the RST reading, where a result state had held at some
previous time. Then, some agent caused that result state to hold once more. This is the
case in examples (92b) and (92c).

(92) a. Tamara is practicing guitar *again*. (high scope)

   b. Lee opened the door. The wind blew it shut. Roger opened it *again*. (low scope)

   c. Gertrude bought a new scented candle earlier today. She lit it just for an hour or so, and then she put the flame out *again*. (low scope)

I do not include any lambda notation or abstract morphemes in the interest of simplicity. Note that the low reading is true for both (92b) and (92c), but in (92b), there are two distinct subjects performing the action. An intermediate position for *again* would predict that all predicates should allow for a presupposed eventuality performed by a different subject. In other words, an intermediate position allows for something like (93).

(93) John went running, and then he came home and rested. *Then, Mary went running *again*.

Though the RST reading only requires that some result state be caused to hold again, the so-called intermediate reading is a particular form of the RST which requires there to be distinct subjects and a Voice head in addition to the result state. The unacceptability of (93) suggests that there are only two readings, which are REP and RST.

Fabricius-Hansen (2001) discusses German *wieder* 'again' at length. Her theory is such that *wieder* is a single lexical item that is polysemous and can occur at high or low positions in the syntax. Her theory also claims that RST *wieder* modifies a telic change-of-state predicate. She also shows that word order in German affects the possible readings for *wieder*. One question she asks is whether *again* and *wieder* truly are synonymous. Though they share the REP and RST uses, there are some cases in which *wieder* has no translation in English. Such an example can be seen in (94a). Fabricius-Hansen claims that a majority of *wieder*/zero pairs happen to be in plausibly RST scenarios, which provides evidence that *wieder* may be redundant in such cases. However, she argues as well that German, more so than English, largely requires overt marking of restitutive–counterdirectionality by way of *wieder*. This is seen in the examples in (94).[1]

---

[1]In (94b), I mark focus on *fielen* to stay consistent with Fabricius-Hansen's (2001) example. She claims that if focus is on *wieder* instead, then it cannot be CDIR. For further discussion, see Fabricius-Hansen (2001).

(94)   a. Der Mann ist zu Boden getaumelt [...] und dann sofort *wieder* aufgestanden, ohne dass ich ihm auch nur die Hand gereicht hätte.

'The man fell to the ground [...], then instantly stood up without my even offering him a helping hand.'   (Fabricius-Hansen, 2001:127)

   b. Die Preise stiegen, als wir 1987 unsere Wohnung kauften. 1995 FIElen sie *wieder*.

'The prices rose/were rising when we bought our flat in 1987. In 1995 they fell/were falling *again*.'   (Fabricius-Hansen, 2001:118)

Furthermore, *wieder* can precede an indefinite noun phrase, in which case it means 'another', rather than 'again'. In other words, it can function as an additive particle. This is evident in example (95).

(95)   Er zuckte die Achseln und steckte sich schon *wieder* eine von diesen Boyards an [...].

'He shrugged, and lit *another* of his fat Boyards cigarettes [...]'   (Fabricius-Hansen, 2001:127)

Rapp and von Stechow (1999:200) propose their Visibility Parameter, which is that a decomposition adverb either can or cannot attach to a phrase with a phonetically empty head. That is, when the head of the VP is overtly filled in a decomposition structure, the head of the small clause is empty. There are only a few adverbs in English which can modify the SC, which are those that can attach to a phrase with a phonetically empty head. Such adverbs include, but are not limited to, *again* and *almost*. *Again* is a true decomposition adverb and can attach either to the VP or SC, and so the REP/RST ambiguity arises.

Beck (2005) then proposes her Visibility Parameter for adverbs, which says that adverbs are set to one of three settings. The settings are that adverbs can modify: (i) only independent syntactic phrases, (ii) any phrase with a phonetically overt head, (iii) any phrase. Beck claims that the default setting is (i). The Visibility Parameter for adverbs appears rather vague, but Gergel and Beck (2015) provide some clarification, discussed in connection with (96).

(96) a. Leo [$_{VP}$ started to [$_{VP}$ sing the Marseillaise]]

 b. Leo jumped up.

  Leo [$_{VP}$ jumped [$_{XP}$ _ up]]

 c. Leo rose.

  Leo [$_{VP}$ Ø$_V$ [$_{AP}$ _ risen]]

(Beck & Gergel, 2015:164)

In (96a), both VPs should be modifiable by all adverbs, as each of them are independent syntactic phrases. Example (96b) exhibits an independent syntactic phrase (the VP), but the XP is part of a verb-particle construction instead. The XP is phonetically overt, so adverbs with setting (ii) can modify the XP. The result state in the AP in (96c) is covert, and so only true decomposition adverbs can modify the AP. In other words, only adverbs with setting (iii)—such as *again*—can modify the AP in (96c).

According to Beck et al. (2009), the restitutive/counterdirectional use of *again* is moving from setting (iii) of the Visibility Parameter to setting (ii). That is, RST/CDIR *again* in Present-Day English is beginning to require a visible result state, as in examples (97b) and (98b). The result states here are that something has come *back*, and that the parts are *together*, respectively.

(97) a. %return *again* (RST/CDIR)

 b. come back *again* (RST/CDIR)

(98) a. %connect the parts *again* (RST/CDIR)

 b. put the parts together *again* (RST/CDIR)

(Beck & Gergel, 2015:181)

Examples (97a) and (98a) show restitutive *again* modifying a phrase without a phonetically overt result. Acceptability of these two examples evidences that the Visibility Parameter for adverbs is set to setting (iii). Examples (97b) and (98b) show restitutive *again* modifying a phrase that overtly realizes the result state ('come back', 'parts together'). The Visibility Parameter is set to setting (ii).

Patel-Grosz and Beck (2019) discuss in detail the three-way ambiguity between REP, RST, and CDIR interpretations, especially with regards to Kutchi Gujarati *pacho* 'again'.

Their analysis combines the lexical and structural analyses. They show that REP, RST, and CDIR *pacho* are each associated with distinct information structures. This results in a different sentence structure for each interpretation of *pacho*.

(99) a. *PACH-O* Valji Maya-ne kagar lakh-y-o
again-M.SG Valji Maya-DAT letter write-PFV-M.SG

'Valji caused a letter to be written to Maya *again*.' (RST)

b. Valji *pach-o* Maya-ne kagar lakh-y-o
Valji again-M.SG Maya-DAT letter write-PFV-M.SG

'Valji wrote a letter *back* to Maya.' (CDIR)

c. Valji Maya-ne *pach-o* kagar lakh-y-o
Valji Maya-DAT again-M.SG letter write-PFV-M.SG

'Valji wrote a letter to Maya *again*.' (REP)

d. Valji Maya-ne kagar *pach-o* lakh-y-o
Valji Maya-DAT letter again-M.SG write-PFV-M.SG

'Valji wrote a letter to Maya *again*.' (REP)

(Patel-Grosz & Beck, 2019:41)

The examples in (99)[2] show different possible word orders for the three different interpretations. These are, according to Patel-Grosz and Beck (2019), largely unambiguous. Note that in the RST interpretation, the fronted *pacho* is focalized. According to the authors, this is to further disambiguate between the RST and CDIR readings. In other words, RST and CDIR *pacho* can face some ambiguity. RST *pacho* always precedes all other material in the clause, and CDIR *pacho* usually follows the subject, though it can precede the subject as well. REP *pacho* is a distinct lexical item with its own position in the surface structure, and faces no such ambiguity.

3.3 Spanish repetitives

Common Spanish repetitives are *otra vez*, *de nuevo*, the periphrastic construction *volver a + INF*, and the morpheme *re-*. *Volver* also means 'to turn' and can be used as a verb of motion meaning 'to return'. The prefix *re-* can indicate repetition or intensity/thoroughness

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[2]The examples and glosses are given in Patel-Grosz and Beck (2019). I provided rough translations based on the intended interpretation.

(Bosque & Demonte, 1999). This section explores Spanish repetitives in a synchronic light in an effort to explore the available readings for these repetitives in Present-Day Spanish.[3]

All four repetitives allow for REP and RST readings. Only *volver a + INF* and *re-* allow for the CDIR reading. *Volver a + INF* can also be an indicator of motion, literally meaning 'to return/to turn (with the purpose of doing some action)'. *Re-* can act as an intensifier as well, according to Bosque and Demonte (1999).

3.3.1 Methodology

To investigate the use of repetitives in Present-Day Spanish, I conducted a corpus study, using the *Corpus del Español: Two billion words, 21 countries* (Davies, 2016-), hereafter referred to as the Web/Dialects corpus. For each repetitive (*otra vez*, *de nuevo*, *volver a + INF*, and *re-*), I gathered 100 instances,[4] which were randomly generated by the corpus after selecting a number of desired hits per page. Unlike Beck and Gergel (2015) and Blackham (2017), I did not look for usage frequencies of available interpretations, but simply for clear evidence of available interpretations. For the purposes of this study, I treated Spanish as one uniform language despite the fact that there are a wide variety of Spanish dialects. Concerning repetitives, there is no prior evidence suggesting variation across dialects.

In a similar vein as Beck and Gergel (2015) and Blackham (2017), for each repetitive, I determined the plausibility of repetitiveness of the relevant predicate in each entry. In other words, I evaluated each entry according to the following questions:

- Is this entry an adverbial?

- Is it plausibly repetitive?

- Is there a result state? Is the entry plausibly restitutive?

- Is there directionality? Is the entry plausibly counterdirectional?

---

[3]For a discussion on the origins and diachronic change of Spanish repetitives, see Section 4.2.

[4]It was assumed that 100 instances would be sufficient to determine possible interpretations. If, after looking through all 100 instances, I needed to look for a specific context or specific reading for whatever reason, then I searched the corpus for additional instances until such a context or reading was found.

- Is there any contextual information that may restrict plausible readings?

  For *volver a + INF*, I also considered the following:

- Is *volver* plausibly a verb of motion in the context?

  Lastly, I evaluated entries of *re-* with the following questions:

- Is *re-* a productive morpheme with this verb?

- Does *re-* suggest repetition/restitution/counterdirectionality of the root word?

As previously stated, I did not look for frequencies of different repetitive uses in Spanish.

One thing I also had to keep in mind was that the corpus does not necessarily provide original works corresponding to the dates given. In other words, if a blog or website was published within the given timeframe (2012-2020 at the time of writing this thesis), but was a copy of works from Old or Middle Spanish, the corpus would nonetheless include it in the search. That said, there were a number of hits for *tornar a + INF* (which is synonymous with *volver a + INF*). However, many were found in works written in Middle Spanish, but published on websites dating post–2012. Rubio (1995) in fact claims that *tornar a + INF* is no longer in use in Present-Day Spanish, instead being replaced wholly by *volver a + INF*. As I was hand–examining these examples, I simply removed any non–Present–Day Spanish examples from the data.

Future research may divide the research up by country, or by style of the data (e.g. blogs versus general websites). Additionally, frequencies of various kinds may be investigated, such as repetitives per country, or per website type, or usage of readings per repetitive.

3.3.2   Otra vez

In Spanish, one especially common repetitive is *otra vez*, which literally means 'other time'.

(100)   Juan cerró   la   puerta *otra vez*.
        Juan closed the door   again.
        'Juan closed the door *again*.'

If *otra vez* is preceded by a determiner or demonstrative, as in (101b), then it cannot be a repetitive.

(101)   a. Juan saltó   *otra vez*.
           Juan jumped again.
           'Juan jumped *again*.'

        b. Juan saltó   *aquella otra vez*.
           Juan jumped that   other time.
           'Juan jumped *that other time*.'

As mentioned in 3.3.1, I collected 100 adverbial entries at random from the Web/Dialects corpus. Of these entries, a minority were deemed to be plausibly REP or RST, and a majority were classed as plausibly REP (with no plausible RST reading). There were few instances exhibiting a three-way plausibly REP/RST/CDIR ambiguity, as well. Example (102) shows some points of data extracted from the Web/Dialects corpus with the plausibly REP reading. In other words, the predicates in (102) do not have result states or directionality.

(102)   a. Pero miren esta película en profundidad, míren la *una y otra vez*, ...
           But   watch this movie   in profundity,   watch it one and again, ...
           'Pay close attention to this movie. Watch it *again and again*, ...'

        b. Después *otra vez* estuve viviendo en Estados Unidos, ...
           Later   again I was living   in United States, ...
           'Later, I was living the United States *again*, ...'

There were also a number of instances in the data with the phrase *una y otra vez* 'again and again', such as (102a). This expression forces a REP reading, explicitly claiming repetition of an action by the same subject. If this action happens to reiteravely cause a result state, then it entails the RST as well. In fact, *otra vez* also allows for the RST readings, as in (103), which was taken from the corpus.

(103)   ...lo destinstalé   y...   descargué   el   programa *otra vez*...
        ...it I uninstalled and... I downloaded the program   again...
        '...I uninstalled it and... I downloaded the program *again*...'

Example (103) exhibit a REP/RST ambiguity. It is unclear whether the downloading has occurred for the first time. It could be a program which came pre-installed on a device, in which case *otra vez* would necessarily be RST. On the other hand, it could be a program which the speaker downloaded, uninstalled, and downloaded again. In this sense, *otra vez* would be REP, and would entail restitution. The added context in (104) is not from the corpus. I provide this in order to show how context can be used to disambiguate available interpretations.

(104) "I had some programs that came pre-installed on my computer. I uninstalled many of them. But then, it turned out that one of them would be useful."

Descargué   aquel programa *otra vez*.
I downloaded that   program   again.

'I downloaded that program *again*.'

It was difficult to determine via the data whether a CDIR reading is possible for Present-Day *otra vez*. Example (105) could arguably exhibit a 3-way ambiguity between REP, RST, and CDIR.

(105) Salió   *otra vez* a media mañana, ...
He went out again   at middle morning, ...
'He went out at daybreak *again*, ...'

For (105) to have a repetitive reading, it would be necessary for the subject to have gone out at daybreak previously. To force a RST reading, the subject would simply have had to have been out at daybreak previously. They would be restored to a state of being outside. It is also difficult to tease apart the CDIR from the RST. Exiting through the way the subject entered would trigger both a CDIR and RST reading (assuming the RST context).

The difficulties of distinguishing the RST and CDIR from one another in (105) make it a poor example to determine plausible counterdirectionality of *otra vez*. Other potentially CDIR examples in the data face similar issues. Therefore, I turn to Patel-Grosz and Beck (2019), who discuss some cases in which there is directionality but no result state. In their discussion, they illustrate how Kutchi Gujarati word order disambiguates between the REP and CDIR uses.

(106)   a.   A woman phoned Valji and left a message for him. He does not know the woman or her number. Valji phoned the woman back.

      b.   Valji *pach-i*   baiman-ne   phone kar-i
           Valji again-F.SG woman-ACC phone do-PFV.F.SG

           'Valji phoned the woman *back*.' (lit.: 'Valji phoned the woman *again*.') (CDIR)

(107)   a.   Valji phoned a woman, but could not reach her. Valji phoned the woman *again*.

      b.   Valji baiman-ne   *pach-i*   phone kar-i
           Valji woman-ACC again-F.SG phone do-PFV.F.SG

           'Valji phoned the woman *again*.' (lit.: 'Valji phoned the woman *again*.') (REP)

                                      (Patel-Grosz & Beck, 2019:12)

I provide examples (106) and (107) to show a difference in the contexts of CDIR and REP readings.[5] In (106), Valji had not phoned the woman previously, and so the only plausible reading is that of the CDIR. In other words, he is returning the call for the first time. On the other hand, (107) clearly gives a context where the woman had not phoned Valji. Instead, Valji phones her, and then he phones her again. There is no counterdirectionality involved, and so only the REP reading is plausible. Presumably, there could also be a context as in (108), in which Valji phoning the woman for the second time is simultaneously REP and CDIR.

(108)   Valji phoned a woman, but could not reach her. A few minutes later, the woman phoned Valji, but she also could not reach him. Then, Valji phoned the woman *back/again*.

In the data collected, there were no instances of directional predicates without result states, such as *llamar* 'to call'. In theory, (109a) should be a possible utterance. In the same vein as (106), the speaker in (109) is unaware of the caller's identity.

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[5]For further discussion on Kutchi Gujarati REP word order, see Patel-Grosz and Beck (2019).

(109) I received a call from an unknown caller. Using star-69, ...

  a. #...les   llamaré *otra vez.*
     ...to them I will call again.

     '...I will call them *back.*'

  b. ...les   regresaré/devolveré la llamada.
     ...to them I will return   the call.

     '...I will return the call.'

  c. %...les   llamaré para atrás.
     ...to them I will call to   back.

     '...I will call them back.'

Example (109b) shows two common ways to say that someone will return a call. There is no repetition in the utterance. If there were, it would be more likely in a scenario of "phone tag," in which two parties are continually missing each other's calls, and so they have to consistently be calling each other back over and over again. In fact, even example (109c) is better understood to be CDIR than (109a). The type of utterance in (109c) is considered a *pochismo*,[6] and is generally found in some parts of Northern Mexico, as well as English-Spanish bilingual communities in the United States. It is highly implausible that the speaker in (109a) would be calling the number for the first time. The presence of the REP *otra vez* suggests that there has been some prior time at which the speaker called that number, despite the antecedent.

The absence of any nonresultative directional predicates in the data, paired with the strangeness of (109a) provides evidence against *otra vez* allowing a CDIR interpretation. As such, it is more likely that any plausibly 3-way ambiguity in the data is only a REP/RST ambiguity in Spanish, and that the directionality of the predicates is purely coincidental.

3.3.3 De nuevo

Another common repetitive in Spanish is *de nuevo* 'of new'. It is similar to English *anew*, but the extent of this similarity is uncertain. As such, I simply gloss and translate it as 'again'.

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[6]*Pochismo* is a negatively-connotated term referring to Anglicized Spanish. This can refer to grammatical constructions such as *llamar para atrás* 'to call back', Spanishized English words such as *fenza* 'fence', *parquear* 'to park (a vehicle)', and so on.

(110) Juan abrió   la   puerta, pero se cerró.   Juan la abrío   *de nuevo*.
       Juan opened the door,   but   it closed. Juan it opened again.

       'Juan opened the door, but it closed. Juan opened it *again*.'

In (110), *de nuevo* is a single constituent, and can be repetitive or restitutive. On the other hand, *de nuevo* can also appear as two separate constituents as part of a PP structure, where *nuevo* modifies a noun. This is a wholly nonadverbial instance of *de nuevo*, seen in (111). In this case, *de* is a simple P, and *nuevo* is an Adj modifying *talento* 'talent' (as in 'actors').

(111) El   director está en busca de nuevo talento.
       The director is   in search of new   talent.

       'The director is searching for some new talent.'

In the data collected by the corpus, there were several plausibly REP examples, as well as several plausibly RST examples.

(112) ...todos   estarían   *de nuevo* a el   mismo nivel...
       ...everyone would be again   at the same   level...

       'Everyone would be at the same level *again*...'

Example (112) is plausibly repetitive, and cannot be restitutive, as there is no result state.

(113)   a. ...no encontrarán   *de nuevo* el   camino...
            ...no they will find again   the way...

            '...they will not find the road *again*...'

        b. Puedes abrir tu   corazón a el   amor   *de nuevo*.
            You can open your heart   to the love-NOUN again.

            'You can open your heart to love *again*.'

The examples in (113) show two plausibly RST instances from the data. There was not enough context in either example to distinguish whether the readings were truly repetitive or RST, however.

(114) John has always had a very open heart when it comes to love. Last year he had a

very bad experience though. But I think in due time, ...

...él podrá   abrir su corazón al amor *de nuevo*.
...he will be able to open his heart   to love   again.

'...he will be able to open his heart to love *again*.'

We can force a RST interpretation by providing some context, as in (114), where John

had never "opened" his heart previously; it had always been open, figuratively speaking.

In this sense, when his heart is opened again, it is being restored to the state of being open.

(115) a. Pero jamas puedo entrar *de nuevo*.
            But   never can   enter   again.

            'But I can never enter *again*.'

       b. ...lo que haría   Movistar es enviar le   *de nuevo* a mi casa...
            ...what   would do Movistar is send   him again   to my house...

            '...what Movistar would do is send him to my house *again*...'

The examples in (115) could plausibly indicate counterdirectionality, but the context

provided does not explicitly do so. Additionally, the directional verbs *entrar* 'to enter'

and *enviar* 'to send' both have result states, which make it difficult to truly determine any

potential counterdirectional reading of *de nuevo*. In fact, there were no instances in the data

of nonresultative directional predicates with *de nuevo*, and so I constructed the example in

(116).

(116) I received a call from an unknown caller. Using star-69, ...

#...les   llamaré *de nuevo*.
...to them I will call again.

'...I will call them *again*...

In a similar vein to example (109a) in the previous subsection, *de nuevo* is unusual in

(116). Again, this suggests that there is no truly counterdirectional reading in Spanish

with *de nuevo*, and that *de nuevo* is a decomposition adverb with repetitive and restitutive

readings available.

3.3.4 Volver a + INF

The structure *volver a + INF* 'to (re)turn to + INF' is the most common repetitive periphrasis in Spanish, replacing the Middle Spanish *tornar a + INF* (Rubio, 1995). *Volver* 'to (re)turn' is a verb of motion, and so it is also possible to use this construction in a literal sense, indicating that the subject returns somewhere with the purpose of doing something, as in (117).

(117)   I went to the store to buy eggs, flour, and sugar. But I forgot to buy the sugar.

Entonces, *volví*   *a comprar* azúcar.
So,   I returned to buy   sugar.

'I *went back* (to the store) *to buy* sugar.'

Another possible reading is that the subject turns around with the purpose of doing something, as in (118).

(118)   I heard a knock on the window behind me...

...y   *volví*   *a ver* quien era.
...and I turned to see who   was.

'...and *I turned around to see* who it was.'

Such cases can be determined by contextual information. If there is a clear goal location, if the action had not been previously done, and/or if there is no clear result state, then a motion reading is plausible. I contend that the strongest evidence for a motion reading is a goal location. If an action had not been previously done, the context may still encourage a restitutive reading instead. If there is no clear result state, then the context may still encourage a repetitive reading instead.

(119)   Tuve   que *volver a buscar*   las llaves.
I had to that turn   to look for the keys.
'I had to *return to look for the keys*.' (Motion)
'I had to *look for the keys again*.' (REP)

(120)   Ya   había salido de la casa,   pero tuve   que *volver a buscar*   las llaves.
Already had   exited of the house, but I had to that turn   to look for the keys.
'I had already left the house, but I had *to return to look for* the keys.'

(121) Ayer,   encontré las llaves, pero las   volví   a perder. Hoy, tuve   que
       Yesterday, I found   the keys, but   them I turned to lose.   Today, I had to that
       volver a buscar   las llaves.
       turn   to look for the keys.

       'Yesterday, I found the keys, but then I lost them again. Today, I had *to look for them*

       again.'

To clarify, (119) has two plausible readings, which are repetitive or motion. Then, the
context of (120) encourages a motion reading, suggesting that the speaker had to return
to their house to look for the keys. Still, the repetitive reading is not impossible here—
simply implausible, given the context. Example (121) provides context which encourages
a repetitive reading. Once again, the motion reading is not impossible, as it could be that
the speaker had to return to a hotel room or restaurant (for example) to look for the keys.
Despite this, repetitive reading is certainly more plausible than the motion reading.

In the data collected, there were few instances of *volver a + INF* which strongly favored
a motion reading. This does not wholly exclude the motion reading from other instances.

(122) "Todavía nos siguen."   Kai *volvió a ver* por encima del   hombro.
       "Still   us they follow." Kai turned to see by   top   of the shoulder.
       ' "They are still following us." Kai *turned to look* over their shoulder.'

Example (122) is taken from the collected data. Given just this much information, it is
implausible to claim repetition, and more likely to claim motion—that Kai turned their[7]
head to glance over their shoulder.

Looking at some expanded context (accessed via the Web-Dialects corpus) reveals that
only a few sentences prior, Kai had performed the same action, seen in (123).

(123) Kai miró   por encima de el   hombro.
       Kai looked by   top   of the shoulder.
   'Kai looked over their shoulder.'

And so, by further exploring the context, the motion reading becomes less plausible,
and the REP reading is more plausible.

----

[7]Even with some expanded context, I could not be confident in determining Kai's
gender, so I chose to use the gender–neutral *their*. I neither was able to tell if Kai was
looking over their own shoulder, or someone else's.

At this point, I suggest that *volver a + INF* does not commonly allow the motion reading. In fact, the motion reading may be part of a wholly different structure. Indeed, it is not periphrastic in nature, but literal. I provide a potential structure for the motion reading in (124).

(124)   *volver a + INF* as an indicator of motion:

```
                    TP
                  /    \
              Juan      VP
                      /    \
                 vuelve     PP
                          /    \
                         a      CP
                                |
                               TP
                             /    \
                          PRO      VP
                                 /    \
                            cambiarse la ropa
```
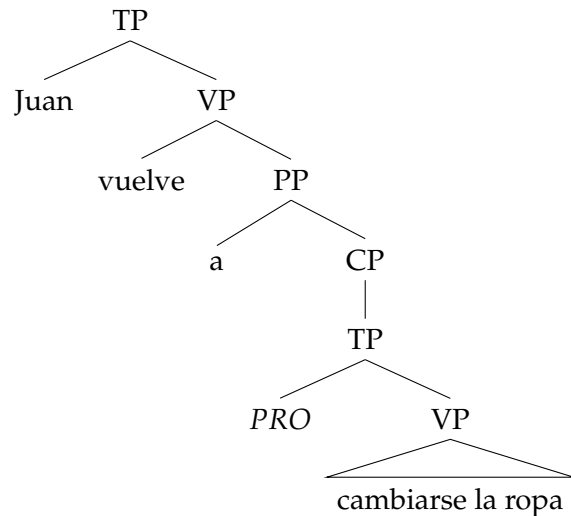
'Juan *is going back in order to change his clothes*.'

(125)   *volver a + INF* as a repetitive:

```
                    TP
                  /    \
             Juanᵢ      VP
                      /    \
                 vuelve     PP
                          /    \
                         a      VP
                              /    \
                          tᵢ cambiarse la ropa
```
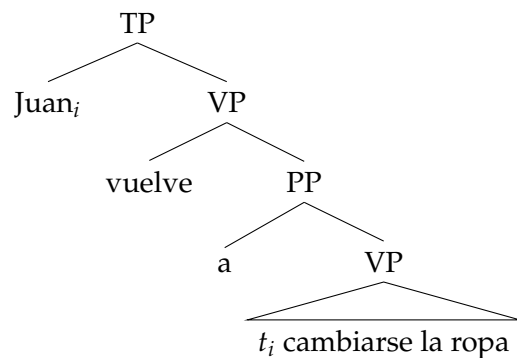
'Juan *is changing his clothes again*.'

In the motion reading, there must be a purpose clause, hence the CP complement to PP. On the other hand, the repetitive reading in (125) does not require this. *Volver* in the repetitive sense does not have any *PRO* subject; *volver* cannot assign theta roles to both the subject and the PP. Instead, the VP for the infinitive is complement to PP. The subject *Juan* moves from Spec,VP to Spec,TP and leaves a trace. As the two readings are of a

different structure, I disregard the so–called motion reading in Chapter 4, and make no further discussion on it here.

Volver a + INF also clearly allows for the RST interpretation, seen in (126).

(126)   ...se   desactivaron   y   no pude *volver a activar los*...
         ...REFL+ they deactivated and not I could turn   to activate them
         '...they were deactivated and I couldn't *activate them again*.'

This example provides a context where someone else had, at some previous point, activated some features on a computer of some sort. After the computer underwent a series of system updates, these features were no longer in an activated state. The speaker then declares that they could not cause them to become activated once more, clearly indicating a RST interpretation.

In the data, there were few instances of any plausibly CDIR readings for *volver a + INF*. In some cases, counterdirectionality may have been plausible, but some other reading was more plausible. Recall in Subsections 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 where *otra vez* and *de nuevo* were paired with the verb *llamar* to determine if they could be CDIR. *Volver a llamar* in fact appeared fairly commonly in the data, and there were some instances that could be CDIR, such as (127).

(127)   ...*volví*   *a llamar* a ese numero y   nadie   me   contesto...
         ...I turned to call   to that number and nobody to me answered...
         '...I *called that number back*, and no one answered...'

Example (127) could plausibly be either REP or CDIR. Earlier in the context, the speaker says *contesté* 'I answered (the phone)', and it is explained that the person on the other end of the call was from a magazine. This alone provides one piece of evidence that a counterdirectional use of *volver a + INF* is possible. Though it is also possible that in the larger context (which is inaccessible, as the link in the corpus leads to a 404 error page), there could have been some previous phone calls.

(128)   ...llamé   a el   número que dejó   y   me   contestaba un fax. Ayer
         ...I called to the number that he left and to me answered a   fax. Yesterday
         volvió   *a llamar*...
         he turned to call...
         '...I called the number that he left, but a fax answered me. Yesterday, he *called back*...'

On the other hand, example (128) clearly indicates that *volver a llamar* is counterdirectional, as there is no prior instance of calling, no result state to be held, and no indicator of movement. The context is such that someone had written their number on a piece of paper for the speaker, as they had just met. As such, when this person calls the speaker back, it is the first iteration of calling.

3.3.5   Re-

Blackham (2017) notes that *re-* in English cannot attach to simple activity predicates, such as **resmile*, **re-eat*, or **rejump*. This is not necessarily the case in Spanish, or at least not in the same way. For instance, *re-* in English cannot attach to the simple activity *to run* to make **to rerun*.[8]

(129)   a.   correr   / *re*correr
             run-INF / to traverse-INF
             'to run' / 'to traverse (a place)'

        b.   jugar   / **re*jugar
             play-INF / *REP+play
             'to play' / *'to play *again*'

Note how in (129a), the verb *correr* 'to run' does allow *re-* to prefix to it, but instead of making something like 'to run again', it creates *recorrer*, meaning 'to traverse (a place)'. Not only is the meaning wholly different, but whereas *correr* is intransitive, *recorrer* is transitive. It is uncertain whether *re-* is behaving productively in some as–yet unknown way, or if *recorrer* simply has nothing to do with *correr* in the first place. Spanish *re-* cannot attach to all activity predicates, as seen in (129b). Furthermore, there are some verbs that begin with *re-* which do not have any meaning when it is removed, as in (130).

(130)   *re*staurar   / *staurar
        restore-INF / ?*store-INF
        'to restore' / ? 'to store'

In theory, removing the *re-* from *restaurar* could produce some verb **staurar*, but this word does not exist in Spanish. The prefix *re-* is not productive in such a case.

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[8]As an accomplishment predicate, *run* can, in fact, have *re-* prefixed to it, as in *John reran the race*.

In Spanish, the morpheme *re-* can also be used as an intensifer. In the case of some verbs, this results in potentially ambiguous readings. This is evident in example (131), adapted from a brief discussion in Bosque and Demonte (1999).

(131) *re*mirar / *re*mirar
       REP+look / INT+look

       'to look *again*' / 'to stare'

It is possible that the REP and INT morphemes *re-* are not the same morpheme, but instead distinct homonymic lexical items. I will leave this for other researchers to determine, and make no further discussion of the INT *re-* here.

As I searched the data collected by the Web/Dialects corpus, examples such as the ones in (129a–131) were important to keep in mind. If the prefix *re-* met the criteria for any of these three type of instances, then I excluded that instance from the analysis.

Note that the REP interpretation is in fact a special case of the RST, in which the action which resulted in the previously-held state has been performed a second time. That is, the REP entails the RST.

(132) Tienes   que *re*abrir   la puerta.
       You must that REP+open the door.

       'You have to *re*open the door.'

Thus, it follows that the example in (132) could be either REP or RST, provided certain context. In a REP reading, the subject would have previously opened the door—incidentally satisfying the RST truth conditions as well. In a purely RST reading, the door would have to have been installed open, and then been closed.

(133) Sin embargo, otro tribunal *re*abrió   el caso...
       ...However,   other court   REP+opened the case...

       'However, another court *re*opened the case...'

Still, example (133) shows a RST interpretation of *re-*, with distinct subjects. The discussion is that of a woman on trial in Iran, whose case was opened and decided by one court, but then reopened by another court that suspected incompetence of the first court.

(134) En lo alto, la luna nos dice que la luz será *re*escrita por los naguales
       In the high, the moon us tells that the light will be REP+written by the naguals
       en las flores que brotarán en la mañana...
       in the flowers that will sprout in the morning...

      'High above, the moon tells us that the light will be *re*written by the naguals[9] in the

      flowers that will bloom in the morning...'

Example (134) can also be repetitive. However, the word *reescribir* 'rewrite' in both English and Spanish has a property about it that seems to cause a different kind of "restitution," due to the fact that *to write* is a creation verb. To rewrite something implies that changes or improvements are being made to some previously–written thing. Unless a written thing was erased, it is difficult to come up with a context in which one particular thing can be caused to be written again. Still, it is possible to make copies of something (though *rewrite* does not usually suggest this), or to improve upon what has already been written. Neither is it the case that the original writer must be the one to performing the rewriting, either in English or in Spanish.

Example (134) istaken from a poem, and *reescribir* is used here figuratively. The reading is more plausibly RST (in the sense for creation verbs) than REP, as nowhere else in the context of the poem had anything been written. I do not discuss this "revision" sense further, as it is not a focus of this thesis.

In the interest of determining any possible counterdirectional use of *re-*, I should like to follow suit with the previous subsections and provide an example with the verb *llamar* 'to call'. The data collected provided no instances of *rellamar* 'recall'. I performed another search in the Web-Dialects corpus, this time for *rellam*_V**. This search would return only verbs (of any tense or mood) beginning with "rellam". The results showed only ten instances of *rellamar* in the entire corpus, all of them in the infinitival form.

(135) ¿Quien se cree que... determina la cantidad de veces que hay que
       Who they think that... determines the quantity of times that there is to
       *re*llamar a un cliente?
       REP+call to a client?

      'Who do they think... determines the number of times to *call* a client *back*?'

---

[9]According to the folklore of some indigenous Mesoamerican cultures, a *nagual* or *nahual* is a human who can shapeshift into animals.

In the case of (135), there is a REP/CDIR ambiguity. If the calls are not being returned, then the REP is the only plausible sense. However, if the calls are being returned, then the REP and the CDIR would simultaneously be true, as the caller is returning multiple calls.[10]

Using the constructed example in (136), I show that the CDIR is available in Present-Day Spanish.

(136)   I received a call from an unknown caller. Using star-69...

   ...les   voy a *re*llamar.
   ...to them I go to REP+call.

   '...I'm going to *call them back*.'

3.4   Concluding remarks on Present-Day Spanish repetitives

Table 13 shows the possible interpretations of Present-Day Spanish repetitives.

Otra vez and *de nuevo* are decomposition adverbs that allow for REP and RST readings. They do not allow for a purely CDIR interpretation.

Volver a + INF is a periphrastic construction which allows for REP, RST, and CDIR readings. In addition, there is a fourth plausible reading, which requires *volver* to act literally as a verb of motion meaning 'to turn' or 'to return'. This motion reading is not periphrastic, and often requires a goal location PP, or some action that could plausibly require the subject to turn around to perform it.

In addition to the REP and RST uses, Present-Day Spanish *re-* may act as an INT(ensifier). Example (131) is shown here again to illustrate.

(137)   *re*mirar   / *re*mirar
        REP+look / INT+look
        'to look *again*' / 'to stare'

Re- may also be CDIR, though this is an uncommon use for it. It is not surprising that the productivity of Spanish *re-* is different from English *re-*. From the beginning, it was established that the two can exhibit different readings, as English *re-* does not have an

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[10]Eight out of the other nine instances of *rellamar* in the corpus were also plausibly CDIR. One out of those nine was also plausibly REP The only implausibly CDIR instance was one in which it was a literal translation of English *recall*, as in "They had to recall thousands of defective toys."

INT interpretation. Some words, such as *llamar* 'to call', do not mean the same thing as in English when *re-* is prefixed to them. For instance, English *recall* could be translated in Spanish as *recordar* 'to remember' or *retirar* 'to recall (defective goods)'. At this point, it is impossible to predict the meaning of *re-* when prefixed to certain verbs (i.e. if it acts as a REP, INT, or is unproductive). I leave this up to future research.

Table 13: Present-Day Spanish repetitives

	REP	RST	CDIR
Otra vez	X	X	
De nuevo	X	X	
Volver a + INF	X	X	X
Re-	X	X	X

CHAPTER 4

SPANISH REPETITIVES: FROM OLD SPANISH
TO MODERN SPANISH

Where Chapter 3 discussed Spanish repetitives in a synchronic light, Chapter 4 is a diachronic discussion of Spanish repetitives. Once again, I use the research of English repetitives over time as something of a foundation for the present research.

Section 4.1 provides the relevant background on English repetitives from Old English to Modern English. Section 4.2 begins the discussion on Spanish repetitives over time. The discussion will be chronological in nature, starting from Old Spanish and progressing to Modern Spanish. Section 4.3 ends the chapter with some concluding remarks.

4.1 English *again* over the centuries

Beck and Gergel (2015) argue that the use of *again* in Old English and Middle English (pre-850 to 1500) is explained via a lexical analysis. That is, there were two distinct entries for *again* during these years. They discuss the existence of a prepositional *again* (seen in example (138)) and an adverbial *again*.

(138)   þu   strengeluker stondest *aȝein*   him;
        you more firmly   stand   *against* him
                                     (Beck & Gergel, 2015:172; CMHALI,128.128, 13th c.)

Example (138) is taken from Early Middle English. This is a prepositional use of *again*, which has presisted from Old English, and continues into Middle English. Between these two eras, *again* exhibits no clearly REP readings—only CDIR/RST, as in (139).

(139)   tyll that the Kyng goo in-to Walys an   kome *ageyn*...
        till that the King go   into Wales and come again...

        'until the king goes into Wales and comes *back*...'

        (Beck & Gergel, 2015:174; John Paston II, PCEEC-PASTON,I,391.126.3877, 15th c.)

The adverbial *again* at this point in history appears to be largely CDIR in nature. That is, it takes some directional predicate (such as something to do with motion or correspondence) and performs the same action in the contrary direction. In example (139) the King had gone to Wales, and then returned. The number of times he had previously returned is neither salient nor relevant in this context. The example therefore could be REP, but it is unlikely.

However, by Late Modern English (1640-1710) , CDIR *again* was no longer available systematically (Beck et al., 2009, Beck and Gergel, 2015). Non-REP uses no longer suggest counterdirectionality, but can be interpreted as RST, as in (140).

(140)   The first time of going over I shall mark the passages which puzzle me, and then return to them *again*.

(Beck et al., 2009:204; Macaulay, 19th c.)

Beck and Gergel (2015) show that a structural analysis is necessary to account for the different uses of Present-Day English *again*. This is due to the fact that the CDIR *again*, derived from an originally prepositional use, has been wholly lost in Present-Day English. Assuming von Stechow's (1996) system, CDIR *again* would adjoin to VoiceP, which is expected of any adverbial. *Again* is can adjoin at high (REP) or low (RST) positions, as shown in Section 3.2.

4.2   Spanish repetitives from Old Spanish to Modern Spanish

Although I did not distinguish between dialects in the synchronic study, I do distinguish between time periods in this diachronic study. As Beck et al. (2009), Beck and Gergel (2015), and Gergel and Beck (2015) have discussed, varieties of English as late as the 1800's have different predictions for the available uses of *again*. Furthermore, the lexical analysis and structural analysis operate more prominently at different points in time, and Gergel and Beck (2015) conclude that the Visibility Parameter for Adverbs is changing from setting (iii) to setting (ii). That is to say, there is reason to believe that different eras of Spanish have significant distinguishing qualities.

4.2.1   Methodology

Once again, I used the Corpus Del Español, but this time instead of using the Web/Dialects corpus, I used the Historical/Genres corpus. This is because the Web/Dialects corpus is focused on synchronic data, and consists of texts dated 2012 and later. On the other hand, the Historical/Gen corpus consists of texts from ca.1200 and on to the late 1900s (Davies, 2002–).

Penny (2001) argues that it is difficult to accurately classify eras of a language over time, especially as geographic obstacles became more apparent following the conquest of the Americas.[1] Penny distinguishes between Old Spanish and Modern Spanish, though he does not provide distinct boundaries as to what centuries belong to which era. I make different distinctions. The 13th century is the earliest available century that the Hist/Gen corpus allows for searches. The conquest of the Americas began in the late 15th century, and so I search "Old Spanish" (OS) as the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries. With an entirely new continent speaking Spanish, I discuss "Middle Spanish" (MidS) as the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. Until the 19th century, several highland areas of Latin America saw little contact with people of other Latin American regions, much less with people of Peninsular Spain (Penny, 2001). Thus, I refer to the remaining centuries—the 19th and 20th centuries—as "Modern Spanish" (ModS).

The method was largely the same as the synchronic study. Within each time period, I collected 100 adverbial instances of each repetitive, randomly generated by the corpus. In the case of *volver a + INF* and *tornar a + INF*, The corpus would generate a list of at least 100 matches of each respective structure. The corpus automatically ordered from most common to least common. For instance, the three most common forms for *tornar a + INF* were *tornar a contar* 'to tell (a story) again', *tornaremos a contar* 'we will tell (a story) again', and *torna a fablar* 'speaks again'. For OS, these received 153 hits, 73 hits, and 14 hits, respectively. After selecting the 20 most common forms, I had the corpus randomly generate 100 instances total out of these 20 forms, and used those for my data. That being the case, the Old Spanish data for *tornar a + INF* had a large number of instances of *tornar*

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[1]Penny (2001:43) explains that in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, remote and hard-to-reach areas of Latin America—such as the highlands of South America—experienced increased communication from Spain and other parts of Latin America.

a contar, since it had over twice as many hits than the next-most common form.

With each instance of each repetitive in each time period, I evaluated the following:

- Is this entry an adverbial?

- Is it plausibly repetitive?

- Is there a result state? Is the entry plausibly restitutive?

- Is there directionality? Is the entry plausibly counterdirectional?

- Is there any contextual information that may restrict plausible readings?

For *volver a + INF*, I also considered the following:

- Is *volver* plausibly a verb of motion in the context?

Lastly, I evaluated entries of *re-* with the following questions:

- Is *re-* a productive morpheme with this verb?

- Does *re-* suggest repetition/restitution/counterdirectionality of the root word?

4.2.2   Old Spanish

Old Spanish (hereafter labeled OS), as I use it within the context of this study, ranges from ca.1200 to 1500.

4.2.2.1   OS - Otra vez

Contrary to Old English *again*, *otra vez* does in fact appear in clearly REP contexts in OS.

(141)   E   hizieron   al   mensajero que contasse *otra vez* todo aquello que
       And they made to the messenger that would tell again   all   that   which
       hauia   dicho.
       he had said.
       'And they made the messenger tell *again* all that which he had said.'   (13th c.)

There were many instances of plausible REP *otra vez*, but (141) shows an unambiguous case based on context. In this case, the messenger had already said some information, and he was made to say it a second time. There is no argument to be made for the RST reading, as the same subject is explicitly performing the same action.

(142) si algund obispo... la consagrase no guardando la   forma que manda   santa
      if some   bishop... it consecrated not maintaining the form   that demands holy
      yglesia deuen   la consagrar *otra vez*...
      church they must it consecrate again...

      'if some bishop... were to consecrate it not upholding the manner which the holy

      church demands, they must consecrate it *again*...'   (13th c.)

Example (142) demonstrates a RST reading with distinct subjects. To explain why this is the case, let us assume first that there is a REP/RST ambiguity. In the REP reading, the same people who did the consecrating the first time are the ones who do it the second time. But in this example, the bishop is nonspecific. Furthermore, *deuen* 'they must' is referring to the church as an entity. To put it simply, the REP is implausible, as the unspecified bishop and the church are two wholly distinct subjects. For the RST, it is is necessary is that the church be returned to a consecrated state. This is somewhat unsusual, as the context dictates that the church was never properly consecrated in the first place. In other words, it is being returned to a state which it never truly held. Still, as the result state is being caused to hold by two distinct subjects, we see that this is RST—not REP.

(143) Leprosy begins on the interior, and then it appears on the exterior.

      & *otra vez* se torna   alas   partes de dentro.
      & again   it returns to the parts of inside.

      'And *again* it returns to the interior.'   (15th c.)

Still, it seems that at least by the 15th century, the RST reading was available in OS for *otra vez*. Example (143) illustrates a case in which something is spawned in a certain state, and later returns to that state. There is no action which is performed twice, and so this eliminates the REP reading. Only the RST reading remains.

As I cannot predict the grammar of older varieties of Spanish, I will not construct hypothetical examples to determine CDIR usage as in Chapter 3. That said, *otra vez* appears only once with the verb *escribir* 'to write' in OS, written as *escriuir*. This instance is only given as a definition for *rescribere* 'to rewrite', which will be discussed in Subsubsection 4.2.2.4. *Otra vez* does, however, appear with another directional verb—*enviar* 'to send'. I searched the corpus for any plausibly unambiguously CDIR uses of *enviar*, the results of which are seen in example (144).

(144)   a.   ...podréis   enviar *otra vez y   otra*,   hasta que...
            ...you-PL can send   again   and other, until that...

            '...you all can send *again and again*, until...'   (15th c.)

        b.   ...el   Rey   don ferrando enbio *otra vez* a   cordoua...
            ...the King don Ferrando sent   again   to Cordoba...

            '...the King, don Ferrando, *again* sent to Cordoba...'   (14th c.)

        c.   ...*otra vez* enviaron por el   conde dela   Marcha...
            ...again   they sent for the Count of the March...

            '...they sent for the Count of the March *again*...'   (15th c.)

Example (144a) shows an unambiguously REP interpretation of *otra vez*. The phrase *otra vez y otra* is similar to the phrase *una y otra vez*, both meaning 'again and again'. In Present-Day Spanish, this phrase forces a REP reading, regardless of any RST of CDIR context. I cannot say for certain if the same applies to OS, but in any case, there is no context in (144a) to suggest RST or CDIR interpretations. Examples (144b) and (144c) are both ambiguous, in the sense that the context does not clearly define any one interpretation for *otra vez*. Other examples found in the data were likewise ambiguous. There is no evidence to support that *otra vez* allowed a CDIR interpretation in OS. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the CDIR was unavailable in OS for *otra vez*. As such, I cannot conclude that CDIR *otra vez* was unavailable in OS. In fact, the availability of a CDIR interpretation for *otra vez* in OS remains unattested for. Lastly, I would like to note that although *otra vez* appears in different positions in (144), there is no reason to believe that these positions would affect available readings in OS.

4.2.2.2   OS - De nuevo

OS *de nuevo* also allows for REP readings, as in (145). It is clear by the context that the action is being repeated on a day-to-day basis.[2]

(145)   E   todos ar boles... lieuan fruto *de nueuo* cada   dia.
        And all   trees...   take   fruit again   every day.

        'And all the trees... give fruit *again* every day.'   (14th c.)

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[2]Example (145) is one of many results given by the Hist/Gen corpus. This particular example is from *El libro del caballero Zifar*, the earliest work of Spanish fiction. I make this clarification because obviously it is not realistic for trees to sprout new fruit every day.

The RST reading of *de nuevo* is available in OS as well, seen in (146).

(146) Et   eran ya   destroydos los primeros muros &   fazien ellos otros *de nueuo.*
      And were already destroyed   the first   walls   and made they others again.

'The first walls were already destroyed, and they built the walls *anew*.'   (13th c.)

In the larger context, it is evident that the "first walls" were not built by the same present inhabitants of the city. In fact, there is nothing to suggest that this is a repeated action of building walls. The point of this example is that there were new walls erected in the old ones' place. This is a return to a state of being made, or built, by someone who had not originally caused this state. This is a RST reading. Many cases of OS *de nuevo* appeared to be ambiguous between REP and RST readings. Others appeared to be REP solely based on the fact that the predicate had no result state.

As for the CDIR interpretation, there was only one case each of *escribir* 'to write' with *de nuevo* and of *enviar* 'to send' with *de nuevo* in the corpus for OS.

(147)   a. ...y   enuio luego un so hermano... Y   estos que enuiara
           ...and he sent then   one sole brother...   And these that he would send
           de nueuo...
           again...

           '...and he sent only one man... And then these whom he would send *again*...

           (13th c.)

        b. ...escriviendo *de nuevo* les   recordar...
           ...writing   again   to them remember...
           '...writing *again* to remind them.../...writing to remind them *again*...'   (15th c.)

Again, neither example in (147) has a clearly CDIR context. In fact, (147a) is unambiguously REP, as the subject has sent one man, and then later will send others. Example (147b) is plausibly CDIR, in the sense that it could mean *to write back (to someone)*, but the context is not clear on this. Any plausibility of counterdiretionality here is relatively weak, especially as the context indicates a reminder. That is, something has been previously mentioned at least once, and the author (of the correspondence) is reminding the reader of this previously mentioned thing. A REP interpretation is favorable in this context. I therefore hesitate to claim the availability of a CDIR reading for OS *de nuevo*. In the same vein as *otra vez*, I cannot claim that the CDIR for *de nuevo* in OS is unavailable, either.

4.2.2.3 OS - Periphrasis

There were only two instances of *volver a + INF* in the entire corpus when searching for OS examples. Furthermore, one of these instances came from a source that was originally in Spanish but phonetically written with Arabic script. The example that appears in the corpus is the transliterated Spanish, seen in example (148b).

(148) a. ...que no se les   permitiese *volver a ser* testigos...
           ...that not it to them permits   turn   to be witnesses...

           '...that they not be permitted *to be witnesses again*...'   (13th c.)

       b. ...puwes kuwando abras   fecho todo akello *volveras   a dezirle*...
           ...well   when   you have done all   that   you will turn to say to him...

           '...and when you have done all that, *you will say to him again*...'   (15th c.)

The available context for the examples in (148) was very limited. Still, in both examples, the lack of any directionality or a result state makes the REP interpretation very plausible. The motion reading may also be plausible in (148b), as in 'you will turn around to say to him'. Still, there is nothing in the context to act as evidence either for or against the motion reading. As it stands, it is impossible to accurately determine the available readings for OS *volver a + INF*.

In contrast to *volver a + INF*, the construction *tornar a + INF* was significantly more common. In this case, an overwhelming majority were some form of *tornar a contar*. Even when the corpus randomized the entries based on the top 20 most common forms, there were comparatively few instances which had any infinitive verb other than *contar* 'to tell (a story)'.

(149) And now she stops talking about this, and...

       torna   a contar lo   que   fizo la jnfanta doña...
       she turns to tell   that which did the young lady...

       '...*she speaks again* about the young lady's exploits.'   (13th c.)

Example (149) shows a clearly REP instance of *tornar a + INF*, in which someone was telling a story of some young lady's exploits, went on a tangent, and then resumed the story of that person's exploits.

Of the initial 100 hits explored, there were only two that could have been plausibly RST. However, those two were still ambiguous betwwen REP and RST interpretations. As such, I continued searching the corpus until I came across example (150), which is certainly RST.

(150)   ...dela lampara que muere el   viernes santo e   *se*   *torna a ençender* el   dia
       ...of the lamp   that dies   the Good Friday and REFL turns to light   the day
       de pascua.
       of Easter.

       '...of the lamp that dies on Good Friday and is *lit again* on Easter.'   (14th c.)

Here, the context is given such that the lamp is presupposed to already be lit. That is, there was no prior salient instance of the lamp becoming lit. As no one had previously performed this action, the REP reading is not available. The only plausible reading is the RST reading—a return to the default state.

It proved difficult to ascertain whether a CDIR reading was available in OS. As I have mentioned, a vast majority of instances of this type of construction in the corpus were *tornar a contar* 'to tell (a story) again'. There were only a few instances of the construction with a purely directional verb, such as *escribir*.

(151)   a. ...que non *tornase*   *a escribir* las desaventuras...
         ...that not turned REFL to write   the misadventures...

         '...that he did not *write* about the misadventures *again*...'   (15th c.)

     b. ...*torno a   escriuir* al   conde...
         ...turn to write   to the count...

         'I *write* to the count *again*...'   (15th c.)

     c. Yo *torné   a   escrivir* a Sus Altezas...
         ...I turned to write   to Your Highnesses...

         '...I *wrote* Your Highnesses *again*...'   (15th c.)

Not only was there no explicit context of a letter being written back, but there was not even any suggestion that these instances could be plausibly CDIR. This is because the few cases of *tornar a escribir* were ambiguous as to whether there was any back-and-forth correspondence. In any case, the CDIR interpretation remains unattested for in OS for *tornar a + INF*.

4.2.2.4   OS - Re-

OS *re-* is a productive morpheme. There were a few cases of *re-* which could be plausibly REP or RST, though I did not come across any that were unambiguously one or the other.

(152)   ...luego de *re*fazer   las eglesias de xpisto.
        ...later   of REP+make the church of Christ.

        '...after *re*building the churches of Christ.'   (12th c.)

In example (152), the context is that of a discussion concerning what to do if the Moors were to destroy the old Christian churches in Castile. In other words, it is a discussion of causing destroyed churches to become built once more. Given the overarching context, it is very likely that the churches in question were built centuries prior. Someone had to build these churches in the first place, but it would be impossible for that to be the same people who rebuild the church. As *re-* is a prefix instead of a a constituent like *otra vez* or *de nuevo*, I assume the syntax would be different, though I will not go into detail about this.

Still, there was one instance in the data of an OS grammar which specifically gave mention of the verb *rescribere* 'to rewrite' (de Palencia, 1490). The grammar is dated 1490, but refers to Spanish in the 1200's and before.

> Rescribere. Es otra vez escriuir lo que fuera antes escripto: o es responder alo que otro nos escriuio en sus letras.

> Rescribere. It is to write again what was written before: or it is to respond to that which someone else wrote to us in their letters.
> > (De Palencia, 1490:fol. CCCCXXXXv [CCCCXXXXIIv])

Thus, it is evident that the CDIR is available in OS with the prefix *re-*. But the number of instances of *rescribere* in OS were surprisingly low. Even among these few instances, most of them were from dictionaries or grammars. In the remaining instances, there were no cases which clearly showed the "written again" meaning. On the other hand, the "respond to someone" interpretation can be seen in example (153).

(153)   And I signed the letters, and sent them to the King, and that which he wrote was

this:...

& Padre muy bueno... que te   *re*scriuiesse: *re*scriuo   te   que...
& Father very good...   that to you I may REP+write: I REP+write to you that...

'Father, I am pleased to *respond* to you. I *write back* to you so that...   (15th c.)

And so, the CDIR interpretation is available for *re-* in OS.

4.2.3   Middle Spanish

As mentioned in Section 4.2, I take MidS to be from 16th to 18th centuries for the purposes of this study.

4.2.3.1   MidS - Otra Vez

Once again, the REP reading is clearly available.

(154)   Mojó   un poco de pan   y   súpole   bien. Mojó   *otra vez* y
He wet a   bit   of bread and it tasted to him well. He wet again   and
súpole   rebien.
it tasted to him very well.

'He wet the bread [with honey] and it tasted good to him. He wet the bread *again*,

and it tasted delicious to him.   (17th c.)

Although the bread is indeed being returned to being wet in (154), the context clearly dictates that the subject is performing the same act twice, clearly indicating a REP interpretation. The simultaneously-occurring resultative is simply coincidental.

The RST reading is evident in MidS, as can be seen in (155).

(155)   ...es   necesario conquistarla *otra vez*.
...it is necessary to conquer it again.
'...we must conquer it *again*.'   (17th c.)

Example (155) is from a line in a stage play. In this play, some region of a fictional kingdom has revolted and declared independence. The king and his advisors are discussing here about the need to once again conquer that land. This is a RST reading, as the rebellious region had always been part of this fictional kingdom before the rebellion.

(156) a. Ya que la   había despedido... me   escribió   *otra vez.*
Yet that to her have dismissed... to me she wrote again.

    'Now that I have dismissed her... she writes to me *again*   (16th c.)

    b. ...escribieron *otra vez*, volviéndole   a llamar...
...they wrote again,   turning to him to call...

    '...they wrote *again*, calling to him again...'   (17th c.)

The sentences in (156) are given in the interest of determining any possible CDIR interpretation for MidS *otra vez*. It is quickly evident that the CDIR interpretation is not available here. (156a) is a case in which the speaker had never written a letter in the first place. It is impossible to have a CDIR reading without a contrary direction. The only remaining possibility therefore is that of the REP interpretation. Example (156b) is a similar case, though this time it is the subject who is writing for the second time. Again, it is impossible to return a correspondence if a correspondence had never arrived in the first place. There was no clear evidence in support of a CDIR interpretation for MidS *otra vez*. However, this does not show that it is unavailable. Once again, the CDIR interpretation is unaccounted for.

4.2.3.2 MidS - De Nuevo

De nuevo in MidS has a REP interpretation available, as well as the RST interpretation.

(157) ...sienten que los cometas, aunque aparecen   *de nuevo,* no se   forman
...they fell that the comets, though they appear again,   not REFL they form
de nuevo...
again.

    'They believe that comets, though they appear *again*, are not formed *again*.'   (18th

    c.)

In example (157), the first instance of *de nuevo* is REP, while the second is RST. In the greater context, the subjects have been discussing celestial bodies, such as stars and planets. The point is that they can see comets appear, disappear, and appear again—clearly a REP interpretation of *de nuevo*. However, they also claim that the comets do not literally become destroyed and reconstructed while in orbit. This second use of *de nuevo* is a RST reading.

(158) ...me   abrieron   la herida *de nuevo*... y   se   comenzó a curar *de nuevo*.
       ...to me they opened the wound again...   and REFL it began   to heal   again.

'...they opened my wound *again*... and it began to heal *again*.'   (16th c.)

The RST reading is also available in MidS, as in (158). In the greater context, the speaker had recently returned from battle and had his wounds treated. The doctor who had treated his wounds then departed. The speaker then mentions that his wounds began to become infected. Another doctor then opened his wounds again, so as to heal them from the inside. At this point, they began to heal again. Both uses of *de nuevo* in (158) are RST readings. Presumably, it was an enemy soldier who caused the wounds to open in the first place. The second doctor therefore caused the wounds to become open again, and also caused them to begin to heal again.

There was one instance of MidS *de nuevo* in the Hist/Gen corpus that could plausibly be CDIR.

(159) ...volviéndola   a escrivir *de nuevo*.
       ...turning to her to write   again.

'...writing to her *again*.'   (16th c.)

Example (159) is plausibly REP or CDIR. It is difficult to tell, as the context does not specifically dictate any prior instance of correspondence from either party. Additionally, the presence of the periphrastic construction *volviéndola a escrivir* 'writing to her again' along with *de nuevo* further complicates the matter. It is certainly plausible that *de nuevo* provides a REP interpretation while *volver a escrivir* provides a CDIR interpretation. As there is no strong evidence for a CDIR interpretation for MidS *de nuevo*, I cannot conclude either that it is available or unavailable.

4.2.3.3 MidS - Periphrasis

Unlike OS, *volver a + INF* is used in MidS. At this point in the timeline, *tornar a + INF* is also in common use. In the same vein as *otra vez* and *de nuevo* the periphrastic constructions allow both REP and RST readings.

(160) a. ...que no te   quiero *volver a ver* en mi vida...
   ...that not to you I want turn   to see in my life...

   '...as I never want *to see you again*...'   (18th c.)

    b. ...habiéndose   puesto en cabeza lo   que   había   dicho... lo *tornó*   *a*
   ...having REFL put   in head   that which he had said... it he turned to
   decir...
   say...

   '...having put in his mind that which he had said... he *said it again*...'   (16th c.)

The example in (160a) does not have any explicitly REP context, but the REP interpretation is strong, as there is no result state. The speaker is saying that they do not want to repeat the action of seeing the listener, as they (the speaker) have presumably seen the listener at least once. Example (160b) is more explicitly REP, as it is mentioned that the subject had previously said something, and then they say it again.

(161) a. ...abrió   la puerta dél y   le   mando   entrar. ...*volviendo a cerrar* la
   ...he opened the door   his and to him beckoned enter.
   puerta...

   '...he opened [Filipo's] door, who beckoned him to enter. ...*closing the door again*,
   ...'   (17th c.)

    b. ...viniendo a abrirla... ...*tornó*   *a cerrar* la   cajuela...
   ...coming   to open it... ...he turned to close the chest...
   '...coming to open it... ...*he closed the chest again*...'   (16th c.)

In each example of (161), something in the context held the default state of being closed. Then, an agent opened that thing and caused it be closed once again. The RST is available for the periphrastic repetitives in MidS.

(162) a. Esperaba con ansia   el   contesto... ...ayer   decía   que le   había
   Awaited with anxiety the reply...   ...yesterday she said that 3.SG had
   volver a escribir.
   turn   to write.

   'She waited anxiously for the reply... ...yesterday she said that she should *write*

   to her again.'   (18th c.)

    b. Ya   escribí a Vuestra Merced. ...ahora le   *torno a escribir*.
   Already wrote to Your   Grace.   ...now to you I turn to write.
   'I have already written to Your Grace. ...now *I write to You again*.'   (18th c.)

Every case of MidS *volver a escribir* and *tornar a escribir* in the Hist/Gen corpus is clearly REP. In every instance, the context is such that the subject had previously written a letter to that recipient. In some cases—such as the two presented in (162)—there was no reply, and so the subject wrote even a second letter. This context completely negates any plausibility of the CDIR (or motion) reading in that example. The CDIR is unattested for in the data for MidS, and I cannot make any conclusions concerning its availability.

4.2.3.4   MidS - Re-

Re- in MidS allows both REP and RST readings. An unambiguously REP interpretation is seen in example (163).

(163) ...hacía cuatro fuegos en cruz, y   yo tenía cargo de *re*hacer   el fuego de
       ...it was four   fires   in cross, and I   had charge of REP+make the fire   of
       rato   en rato...
       while in while...

       '...there were four fires in a cross, and I was charged with *re*lighting the fire from

       time to time...'   (16th c.)

In example (163), the author notes that he had to relight the fire on multiple occasions, by the use of the phrase *rato en rato* 'time to time'. Though it is true that the author is causing the fire to be in a state of being lit again, the RST interpretation is entailed by the REP interpretation. The REP is explicitly determined by the context.

(164) Estos dos navíos invió   Diego Velázquez para deshacer a Cortés y   *re*hacer a
       These two ships   he sent Diego Velázquez to   undo   to Cortés and REP+do to
       Narváez.
       Narváez.

       'Diego Velázquez sent these two ships to defame Cortés and *re*store Narváez to

       power.   (16th c.)

Example (164) shows that the RST interpretation is available. The context presupposes that [Pánfilo de] Narváez had held some prestige, and that Diego Velázquez sent two ships to cause Narváez to become once again prestigious by way of felling Hernán Cortés. Though it is not given by the context, Narváez had not previously gained prestige by way of Diego Velázquez. In other words, Velázquez was the agent only in the second iteration

of Narváez being "made," or gaining prestige. Thus, it is evident that the RST reading is available in MidS.

The CDIR appears in MidS as well, seen in (165).

(165) ...ni   *re*scribió al   Rey...
       ...not even rewrote   to the King...
       '...he did not even write back to the King...'   (16th c.)

Example (165) is given in a context in which the King had previously written to the abbot Sant Ponçe de Tomeras, and the abbot did not respond. As the abbot had not written any letter to the King prior, it can be concluded that this is a CDIR *re-*. The CDIR reading for *re-* is available in MidS.

4.2.4   Modern Spanish

I take ModS to be from the 19th century to the 20th century. Present-Day Spanish is the Spanish found in the 21st century, seen in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

4.2.4.1   ModS - Otra Vez

In ModS *otra vez* unsurprisingly allows for a REP reading.

(166) ...mira que si llego   tarde *otra vez* me   botan   del   preuniversitario.
       ...see   that if I arrive late   again   to me they evict from the pre-university.
       '...you see, if I arrive late *again*, they will kick me out of the pre-university.'

Example (166) does not explicitly give context that the speaker had previously arrived late, and is arriving late again. However, based on world knowledge that arriving late too often can result in dismissal from certain programs or jobs, it would not be unusual for the speaker to have arrived late before. The RST reading is also available in ModS, as evidenced by (167).

(167) ...y   se   hizo *otra vez* el silencio.
       ...and REFL made again   the silence.
       '...and it became silent *again*.'   (19th c.)

The context of (167) is such that the speaker has been engaged in lively conversation with some other people. At some point, the speaker begins a heated soliloquy of sorts which becomes rather poetic in nature as he declares things such as *aquellas sinfonías de luz*

'those symphonies of light' and *coros de montañas sin término* 'choirs of mountains without end'. At the end of his exclamating, the other present parties no longer had anything to say, and it became silent again. There was no agent which silenced everyone, neither a first nor a second time. In essence, it was silent before they began conversing, and it was silent once more afterward. It is unambiguously a RST reading of *otra vez*.

With the invention of the telephone, there is presumably another potential candidate for a nonresultative directional predicate to interact with Spanish repetitives. In other words, *escribir* 'to write' and *llamar* 'to call' are now both available to assist in determining counterdirectionality. That said, in all the cases of *escribir otra vez* and *llamar otra vez* that I analyzed, I found no cases of clear counterdirectionality. Any counterdirectionality involved is simply coincidental with repetitiveness.

(168)   a. ...Palomino llamó *otra vez* a Narcóticos y   a la Fiscalía...
             ...Palomino called again   to Narcotics and to the Prosecution...

             '...Palomino called Narcotics and the prosecution *again*...'   (20th c.)

      b. Te   escribo *otra vez* sin   esperar carta tuya.
             To you I write again without await   letter yours.

             'I am writing to you *again* without having received a reply.'   (19th c.)

In fact, in the examples I examined with *llamar otra vez*, I found no plausible CDIR interpretation. Counterdirectionality did not even occur coincidentally with the REP. In (168a), for instance, Palomino had been making and receiving calls. He had called the Narcotics departments before, as well as the prosecution. However, he had never received calls from these parties. The CDIR interpretation is therefore not even available for (168a), and this is necessarily a REP reading. Furthermore, (168b) makes it explicit that the speaker (or writer, as it were) had previously sent a letter, but has not yet received any reply. The act of writing again is unambiguously REP. The CDIR is unattested for in ModS, at least for *otra vez*.

4.2.4.2 ModS - De Nuevo

ModS *de nuevo* is expected to maintain the REP reading, as in all other eras of Spanish investigated so far.

(169) Te   vas,   vienes,   y   *de nuevo* te   vas.
To you you go, you come, and again   to you you go.
'You go, you come, and you go *again*.'   (20th c.)

There is no result state in (169), and though an argument could be made for counterdirectionality, the context is clearly made to be REP. In any case, the 'going' does not necessarily have to occur in a contrary direction to *te vienes* 'you come'. Tt could in fact occur in the same direction, so long as the individual is moving away from the speaker.

As expected, the RST reading is also available in ModS for *de nuevo*. Example (170) shows this.

(170)   And so I left... to travel through all of Italy and part of France...

...ya   regresé.   Entré   a España *de nuevo*.
...already I returned. I entered to Spain   again.

'...I had returned. I entered Spain *again*.'   (20th c.)

In this case, the speaker had never left Spain on any other occasion. It goes without saying that they had therefore never entered Spain on any other occasion, either. This is a RST reading, where the speaker is returning to state of being inside Spain. An argument could be made for the CDIR reading, though I contend that this is the RST reading, as all the examples examined did not allow for a purely CDIR instance of *de nuevo*.

(171)   Que por favor no lo   llamaran   *de nuevo*.
That please   not to him they call-SBJV.IMP again.
'Hopefully they don't call *again*.'   (20th c.)

The speaker in (171) indicates that their friend Chito's cell phone is ringing again (suggesting a previous instance of the cell phone ringing). The speaker's inner monologue reflects their hope that Chito's phone will not ring again. Many other examined cases of ModS *llamar de nuevo* in the corpus were found to be unambiguously REP, with no possible CDIR context. Other cases appeared to be plausibly REP or CDIR, but I have little reason to conclude that the CDIR is available at this point. I assume the same to be true for *escribir de nuevo*, as there were no explicitly CDIR instances found in the data. I likewise have little reason to assume that the CDIR is unavailable for ModS *de nuevo*. This use of *de nuevo* is unattested for in the data.

4.2.4.3 ModS - Periphrasis

By ModS, *tornar a + INF* appears to begin to fall out of use. Out of the 100 gathered instances for ModS, only three were from the 20th century. As is expected, both *tornar a + INF* and *volver a + INF* allow the REP reading in ModS.

(172) a. ...lo   había leído esta semana. Sin embargo, *volvía   a leerlo*.
           ...to it had   read this week.   However,   he was turning to read it.

           'He had read [that newspaper] this past week. However, he was *reading it again*.'

           (19th c.)

       b. ...no he   visto ni   creo *tornar a ver* cosa como ésta.
           ...not have seen not even think turn   to see thing like   this.

           'I have never before seen, nor do I expect *to see again*, anything like this.'   (19th

           c.)

The examples in (172) are clearly REP, indicating first and second instances of a directionless, nonresultative predicate.

(173) a. Las mismas puertas que dieran   paso   a Día *tornaron a abrirse*...
           The same   doors   that would give passage to Día turned   to open+REFL...

           'The same doors that would give passage to Día [Sanchez] *became closed again*...'

           (19th c.)

       b. Las dos hojas de la puerta se   habrieron... La puerta *volvió a*
           The two leaves of the door   REFL opened...   The door   turned to
           cerrarse.
           close+REFL.

           'The batwing door opened... The door *closed again*.'   (19th c.)

Again, it is evident that the RST reading is available in ModS for both of the periphrastic constructions. Examples (173a) and (173b) allow for clear RST readings, where each example shows something being returned to a previously held result state.

Tornar a + INF has largely fallen out of use by ModS. There were only three instances of *tornar a llamar* and two instances of *tornar a escribir* in the entirety of the Hist/Gen corpus for the 19th and 20th centuries. This is including any conjugations for *tornar*. Each of these instances were unambiguously repetitive, with some kind of context in which the agent had previously called out to someone or written something, as in (174).

(174)   ...*tornó   a   escribirle*,   sin   obtener   tampoco respuesta.
        ...turned to write to him, without obtaining not even response.
        '...*she wrote to him again*, without even having obtained a response.'   (19th c.)

On the other hand, *volver a llamar* exhibits at least one instace of a clearly CDIR reading. In (175), the speaker (named Pedro) is receiving a number of calls from different people. He receives a call from someone named Ricardo, to whom he replies with the utterance in (175).

(175)   Yo ahora me   iré...   intentaré *volverte   a   llamar*.
        I   now   to me I will go... I will try turn to you to call.
        'I'm going to go now... I will try to *call you back*.'   (20th c.)

In truth, it is unclear whether Pedro has previously called Ricardo (which would suggest a REP reading), or if Pedro has only received calls from Ricardo. Despite this, Ricardo had not received any call from Pedro within the salient context. When Ricardo called Pedro, this was effectively their first time talking on the phone (within the context). Thus, the only plausible reading is that of the CDIR. At least by ModS, the CDIR is clearly available for *volver a + INF*. It remains to be seen whether this is the case for OS and/or MidS, however. Noting that a CDIR interpretation is available for ModS (as well as for Present-Day Spanish), it is reasonable to hypothesize that the CDIR was available for OS and MidS.

4.2.4.4   ModS - Re-

ModS *re-* allows for a REP interpretation.

(176)   ...leyó,   *re*leyó,   y   *re*miró   una, dos, y   tres veces la patente.
        ...he read, he REP+read, and he REP+looked one, two, and three times the patent.
        '...[My father] read, *re*read, and looked once, twice, and three times at the patent.'
        (19th c.)

Example (176) shows a clearly REP example, given not only by the words *releer* 'to reread' and *remirar*[3] 'to look again', but also by the explicit declaration that the reading and looking occurred three times.

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[3]It could be argued that *remirar* could mean 'to stare' or 'to look intensely'. Assuming this meaning, example (176) would mean something like '...he looked at the patent

Example (177) shows that an RST interpretation is available for ModS *re-*.

(177)   ...el   montador de sonido *re*graba   los diálogos...
        ...the editor   of sound REP+records the dialogues...

        '...the sound editor *re*records the lines...'   (20th c.)

The discussion in (177) is of dubbing actor's lines in a movie after shooting has been done, especially with regards to foreign language dubbing. Based on real world knowledge, it is clear that this is an RST reading, as the sound editor(s) for one language will not be the same individual(s) for other languages. They are causing the dialogue to be dubbed again.

The data show some unexpected results concerning the CDIR reading for *re-*. By ModS, the CDIR reading has apparently been lost. In fact, there were zero instances of any conjugation of *rellamar* 'to recall' in the entire corpus. Furthermore, there were zero instances of *reescribir* which could have been even plausibly CDIR.

(178)   a. ...*re*escribir la   obra...
            ...REP+write the work...

            '...*re*write the work...'   (20th c.)

        b. ...*re*escribir un capítulo...
            ...REP+write a   chapter...

            '...*re*write a chapter...'   (20th c.)

        c. ...unos años más tarde *re*escribí   esa obra...
            ...some years more late   I REP+wrote that work...

            '...some years later, I *re*wrote that work...'   (20th c.)

In each of the cases in (178), the writing is not occuring in any salient direction. Every instance of *reescribir* happened to be in the sense of *escribir* 'to write' being a creation verb. This is unusual, and I admit I am skeptical. It is unusual that the CDIR would be available in the 18th century, suddenly unavailable in the 19th and 20th centuries, and then available

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intensely three times.' In fact, an argument for the INT(ensifier) interpretation could plausibly be made for any of the *re-* examples in this paper. As it stands, I have no way to determine whether this is an INT interpretation or not, and it will be up to some future research to explore this.

once more in the 21st century. Still, there was not a single unambiguously CDIR instance of *re-* in the corpus for ModS.

4.3 Concluding remarks on historical Spanish repetitives

Table 14 shows the different available interpretations of Spanish repetitives between OS, MidS, and ModS. It is juxtaposed with Table 15 (which is identical to Table 13 from Section 3.4, save for the inclusion of *tornar a + INF*) so as to illustrate differences Present-Day Spanish. The question marks in Table 14 represent interpretations that the data show are plausible, but were not unambiguously available.

Otra vez and *de nuevo* have remained generally unchanged since OS, as far as the research shows. They allow REP and RST readings in all eras of Spanish, though the CDIR— which is unavailable in Present-Day Spanish—was unattested for in older varieties. *Volver a + INF* was largely unavailable in OS, according to the data. By MidS, it is evident that *volver a + INF* allows REP and RST readings, with the CDIR unattested. By ModS, *volver a + INF* allows REP, RST, and CDIR interpretations. *Tornar a + INF* allows REP and RST readings from OS to ModS. There is little to no evidence that a CDIR interpretation is available for this construction at any point. By the 20th century, *tornar a + INF* had become almost entirely replaced by *volver a + INF*. The prefix *re-* has allowed a CDIR interpretation since OS. The REP and RST interpretations were ambiguous in OS, but by MidS, *re-* clearly allows these. The data do not attest for the CDIR interpretation for ModS *re-*, but this does not show whether or not it was available. It would be unusual for an available reading to disappear suddenly, only to reemerge 200 years later, exactly as it was before.

There is room for further research on the development of the CDIR interpretation for Spanish repetitives. Is it the case that *volver a + INF* suddenly acquired a CDIR interpretation, which happened to coincide with the loss of *tornar a + INF*? Or is it the case that in older varieties of Spanish, *volver a + INF* allowed the CDIR interpretation? Other future may involve exploring the details of using *re-* as an intensifier, as opposed to as a repetitive.

Table 14: Historical Spanish repetitives

	OS			MidS			ModS		
	REP	RST	CDIR	REP	RST	CDIR	REP	RST	CDIR
Otra vez	X	X		X	X		X	X	
De nuevo	X	X		X	X		X	X	
Volver a + INF	?			X	X		X	X	X
Tornar a + INF	X	X		X	X		X	X	
Re-	?	?	X	X	X	X	X	X	?

Table 15: Present-Day Spanish repetitives

	REP	RST	CDIR
Otra vez	X	X	
De nuevo	X	X	
Volver a + INF	X	X	X
Tornar a + INF	n/a	n/a	n/a
Re-	X	X	X

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The purpose of this thesis was essentially threefold. First, to provide a formal account for Spanish aspectual adverbials, which exhibit some uses which are not shared by English or German. Second, to see whether restitutive or counterdirectional interpretations are available with Spanish repetitives. Third, to determine how the available uses for Spanish repetitives have changed over the various eras of Spanish.

Spanish aspectual adverbials are best explained as being scalar in nature. With some modifications to Löbner's (1989) account, as proposed by Slade and Csirmaz (in progress), their uses can generally be predicted. However, *ya* interacts with Spanish grammar in seemingly unexpected ways. That is, it can interact with the futurate in Spanish to trigger an immediate future interpretation. Furthermore, the affirmative *ya* can occur with covert predicates—specifically *es todo* or a similar predicate—to indicate the end of a list. This interpretation is unavailable with the negative *ya no* or with predicates of other kinds. The modified definitions for aspectual adverbials accurately explain the several of the uses for *ya*. Crucially, the immediate future and fragmentary form uses of *ya* are evidence that formal defintions alone may not be sufficient to predict all uses of aspectual adverbials. This is because aspectual adverbials (such as *ya*) interact with features of a language to allow unique readings, as already mentioned. *Todavía* exhibits no especially unusual uses, but it does not share the exclusive or concessive interpretations that English *still* does, nor the further-to or order of mention interpretaions that German *noch* does. Scalar additive and concessive readings are instead primarily provided by Spanish *aún*, which is NOT synonymous with *todavía*, though it shares the scalar uses. In fact, there are two lexical entries for *aún*—one which is a scalar particle, and another which can act as a scalar additive or a concessive. Crosslinguistically, an additive component can be found in concessive particles. For instance, the Hungarian scalar particle *még* 'still' can combine with the

additive particle *is* 'too' to make *mégis* 'still too', which is used to indicate concessiveness.

Present-Day Spanish repetitives *otra vez*, *de nuevo*, *volver a + INF*, and *re-* all are susceptible to REP/RST ambiguity. Given proper context, a REP, intermediate, or low RST interpretation may be forced. *Volver a + INF* and the prefix *re-* also allow for purely CDIR interpretations. Any counterdirectionality present in uses of *otra vez* or *de nuevo* is simply coincidental with the context. *Re-* can also prefix to creation verbs to suggest revision or improvement to something. In other words, it need not necessarily mean that the action had been redone or that a result state had been restored.

Otra vez and *de nuevo* appear largely unchanged since OS, with regard to available interpretations. Both have allowed REP and RST readings from OS onward. The CDIR is unattested for in OS, MidS, and ModS. *Volver a + INF* was largely absent in OS, apparently seeing a sudden rise in use in MidS. In MidS, the REP and RST are available, but there was no data available for the CDIR interpretation. By ModS, the CDIR reading is clearly available for *volver a + INF*. *Tornar a + INF* was used overwhelmingly with the verb *contar* 'to tell (a story)' in OS, and it allowed REP and RST interpretations. It found more variety of use in MidS, and the same interpretations were also clearly available. This construction became exceptionally rare in the 20th century. The prefix *re-* in OS likely allows the REP and RST readings, but this may require deeper investigation. In MidS and ModS, the REP and RST readings are clearly available. The CDIR reading is unambiguously available for both OS and MidS. Unusually, there was no data for CDIR *re-* in ModS, and so the availability of such remains unattested. Still, I expect that the CDIR should be available for ModS *re-*, as it was available in MidS, and is available in Present-Day Spanish.

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