

APPENDIX THE AQ QUESTIONNAIRE

1. MULTIPLICATIVE ADVERBIAL QUANTIFICATION (MAQ)

In this part of the questionnaire all sentences refer to a situation in which a particular action is done several times in a time interval: this is the multiplicative meaning. Discard by now the iterative meaning, in which a particular action is done an unspecified number of times in more than one time interval. If both meanings are attached to the translations select the wording that is more directly associated to the multiplicative meaning. For more information about the multiplicative / iterative opposition see the working paper "Once Upon a Time" (OUT). Try with simple past (imperfective/perfective) (SP(IMP/P)(IM/P)), perfect (imperfective/perfective) (P(IMP/P)), and future (imperfective/perfective) (F(IMP/P)) or other relevant tense (Other): include your answer only if you can obtain a multiplicative meaning (if this reading could be obtained but it is a marked one put M, MM or MMM depending on the estimated degree of markedness); to be sure about it attach to the corresponding sentences the VP adjunct «on that occasion», «that time» if the resulting sentence makes sense, it has multiplicative meaning). Provide English glosses for the examples as well as a translation into English, French, German or Russian.

1. John does it (only) once
Juan lo hace (sólo) una vez
SP(IMP/P);;P(IMP/P);;F(IMP/P);;Other (specify):
2. John does it twice (two times)
Juan lo hace dos veces
SP(IMP/P);; P(IMP/P);;F(IMP/P);; Other (specify):
3. John does it many times
Juan lo hace muchas veces
SP(IMP/P);; P(IMP/P);; F(IMP/P);;Other (specify):
4. John does it frequently
Juan lo hace frecuentemente
SP(IMP/P);; P(IMP/P);; F(IMP/P);; Other (specify):
5. John does it from time to time
Juan lo hace de vez en cuando
SP(IMP/P);; P(IMP/P);; F(IMP/P); ;Other (specify):
6. John does it time after time
Juan lo hace vez tras vez
SP(IMP/P);; P(IMP/P);; F(IMP/P);;Other (specify):
7. John does it one time after another
Juan lo hace una y otra vez
SP(IMP/P);;P(IMP/P);; F(IMP/P):Other (specify):
8. John does it very frequently
Juan lo hace muy frecuentemente
SP(IMP/P);; P(IMP/P);; F(IMP/P): Other (specify):

9. John does it a few times

Juan lo hace unas pocas veces
 SP(IMP/P)::;P(IMP/P)::; F(IMP/P)::;Other (specify):

MORPHOLOGICAL INFORMATION

- What is the original meaning of the word(s) that correspond(s) to English "twice" or "time" in "three times", has it a "completion" meaning or a "time" meaning (see OUT)?
- Give the etymology of the word(s), if it is known.
- Give a brief morphological description for the word that translates English "time" in "n times" in these sentences. If it is a derived word, state the word from which it is derived. If it is underived, give its morphological structure, if any. If it is an affix or morpheme give its other uses (if they exist) and specify its type (verbal, adverbial, nominal, adjectival etc..).

RESTRICTIONS

- If the AQ phrase or affix requires a special form on the verb or on any other word of the sentence, state it.
- State if the numeral in "n times" is identical to the regular cardinal adjective in your language, as in English: "two times" and "two cars".
- Specify if the AQ phrase has an adposition or is in a particular case. List all possibilities.

2. UNIVERSAL MULTIPLICATIVE ADVERBIAL QUANTIFICATION (UMAQ)

Now we want to say that in a particular time interval, some event is instantiated during all that interval without interruption. In translating the sentences try also with simple past (SP(IMP/P)), perfect (P) and future (F) or other relevant tense (Other). Include the corresponding sentences only if a multiplicative universal adverbial quantification can be obtained; to be sure of it attach to the corresponding sentences the VP adjunct «in that occasion», «that time» if the resulting sentence makes sense, then it has universal multiplicative meaning; if a UMAQ is possible but it is a marked reading mark it with M, MM, MMM depending on the estimated degree of markedness.

10. John does it all the time (on this particular occasion)

Juan lo hace todo el tiempo (en esta ocasión)
 SP(IMP/P)::;P(IMP/P)::;F(IMP/P)::;Other (specify):

11. John always (without interruption) does it

Juan lo está haciendo siempre (sin interrupción) (MM)
 SP(IMP/P)::; P(IMP/P)::; F(IMP/P)::; Other (specify):

12. He never talked on that occasion

En aquella ocasión no habló nunca (M)
 P(IMP/P)::; Spr(IMP/P)::;F(IMP/P)::;Other (specify):

13. John does it one time after the other (without interruption)

Juan lo está haciendo una vez tras otra

SP(IMP/P)::;P(IMP/P)::;Spr(IMP/P)::;F(IMP/P)::;Other (specify):

14. John is continually doing it (on this occasion)

Juan está haciéndolo continuamente

SP(IMP/P)::;P(IMP/P)::;Spr(IMP/P)::;F(IMP/P)::;Other (specify):

15. John is constantly doing it

Juan lo está haciendo constantemente

SP(IMP/P)::;P(IMP/P)::;Spr(IMP/P)::;F(IMP/P)::;Other (specify):

16. John does not stop doing it all the time / always

Juan no para de hacerlo todo el tiempo/ siempre (MM)

SP(IMP/P)::;P(IMP/P)::;F(IMP/P)::;Other (specify):

17. John keeps doing it all the time / always

Juan no deja de hacerlo todo el rato / siempre (MM)

- What is the original meaning of the word for English "always", does it come from a universally quantified phrase?
- Are there several words for "always"? What are their meanings and their morphological, syntactic and semantic differences?
- Is it possible in your language to use a universal Q with the word corresponding to English "time" in "n times"?
- Is it possible to say in your language «all the time». In Spanish, for instance, «todas las veces» cannot have a multiplicative universal meaning.
- Is it possible to use the word corresponding to English "always" in the sense of "all the time"?

3. ITERATIVE ADVERBIAL QUANTIFICATION (IAQ)

In this case we specify the different time intervals in which a event-type is instantiated an unspecified number of times. If your language makes a distinction between perfective and imperfective past, give first the translation for the perfective past. Then try with imperfective past (PIMP), present (Pr), perfective future (FP) and imperfective future (FI) and perfect (PF): include your answer only if an IAQ obtains. To be sure that that is the case substitute the AQ phrase for an adverbial expression such a as «on that occasion» «on that moment», «on two particular occasions», «on every occasion» and the like. If the iterative reading is marked, put M, MM or MMM depending on the estimated degree of markedness. I include examples in English and Spanish (specially when no English equivalent is available).

18. Once / On one occasion / One time he did it

Una vez/ en una ocasión lo hizo
 P(IMP): Una vez/ en una ocasión lo hacía (MMM); Pr: Una vez/ en una ocasión lo hace (MMM); FP: Una vez lo habrá hecho (MM) / En una ocasión lo habrá hecho (M); FI: Una vez lo hará (MM) / En una ocasión lo hará (M); PF: Una vez lo ha hecho / En una ocasión lo ha hecho; Other (specify):

19. Many times / On many occasions he did it
 Muchas veces / en muchas ocasiones lo hizo

P(IMP)::;Pr::;FP::;FI::;PF:Other (specify):

20. Few times / On few occasions he did it
 Pocas veces / En pocas ocasiones lo hizo

P(IMP)::;Pr::;FP::;FI::;PF:Other (specify):

21. Sometimes he did it
 algunas veces lo hizo

P(IMP)::;Pr::;FP::;FI::;PF:Other (specify):

22. He usually did it
 lo hizo usualmente

P(IMP)::;Pr::;FP::;FI::;PF:Other (specify):

23. He frequently did it
 lo hizo frecuentemente/ con frecuencia

P(IMP)::;Pr::;FP::;FI::;PF:Other (specify):

4. UNIVERSAL ITERATIVE ADVERBIAL QUANTIFICATION (UIAQ)

24. He always did it
 Siempre lo hizo

P(IMP)::;Pr::;FP::;FI::;PF:Other (specify):

25. On all occasion (s) he did it
 lo hizo en toda ocasión / en todo momento

P(IMP)::;Pr::;FP::;FI::;PF:Other (specify):

26. Everytime he did it
 En todo momento lo hizo (M)

P(IMP)::;Pr::;FP::;FI::;PF:Other (specify):

27. Each time he did it
 Lo hizo cada vez

P(IMP)::;Pr::;FP::;FI::;PF:Other (specify):

28. He never did it
 Nunca lo hizo

P(IMP)::;Pr::;FP::;FI::;PF:Other (specify):

5. IAQ / MAQ distinction: word order, different words, tense, adverbials, etc...

- State the differences you have observed concerning the expression of iterative and multiplicative AQ.

Word order differences:

The unmarked position for an IAQ adverbial phrase is _____

The unmarked position for an MAQ adverbial phrase is _____

Lexical choice:

The unmarked reading for the following words or expressions is an IAQ (provide English glosses).

The unmarked reading for the following words or expressions is an MAQ (provide English glosses):

Tense and Aspect choice:

The unmarked reading for these tenses is IAQ:

The unmarked reading for these tenses is MAQ:

The unmarked reading for these aspects is IAQ:

The unmarked reading for these aspects is MAQ:

The following tenses/aspects (specify) can only express IAQ:

The following tenses/aspects (specify) can only express MAQ:

The following tenses/aspects (specify) express primarily IAQ:

The following tenses/aspects (specify) express primarily MAQ:

Verbal forms:

List multiplicative (MAQ) and iterative (IAQ) verbal forms:

MAQ:

IAQ:

Adverbial phrases

A. List adverbial phrases with only MAQ meaning (provide an English gloss):

B. List adverbial phrases with only IAQ meaning:

C. List adverbial phrases with an unmarked IAQ meaning:

D. List adverbial phrase with an unmarked MAQ meaning:

- State tense / aspect restrictions for the adverbial phrases of the above groups. Specify for the groups A B the co-occurrence restrictions and for C and D which tenses /aspects trigger which adverbial phrase reading.

Example: IAQ phrase + imperfective

6. MAQ- IAQ Interactions

A. Existential MAQ/IAQ interactions

29.

On two occasions John did it thrice/ three times

En una ocasión Juan lo hizo tres veces

30.

On three occasions John did it twice

En tres ocasiones Juan lo hizo dos veces

31.

On that occasion John did it twice

Aquella ocasión Juan lo hizo dos veces

32.

Once John did it twice

Una vez Juan lo hizo dos veces

B. Universal MAQ/IAQ interactions

33.

On every occasion John is always / continually doing it

En toda ocasión Juan siempre/ continuamente lo hace

34.

Each time John is always doing it
 A cada momento Juan está siempre haciéndolo

35.

Every time John is doing it all the time
 En todo momento Juan lo hace todo el tiempo

C. Universal/ Existencial MAQ/IAQ interactions Universal IAQ / Existential MAQ

36.

John always does it twice
 Juan siempre lo hace dos veces

37.

Every time John does it only once
 Cada vez Juan lo hace sólo una vez

38.

On every occasion John does it four times
 En todas las ocasiones Juan lo hace cuatro veces

D. Existential IAQ / Universal MAQ

39.

On one occasion John was doing it all the time
 En una ocasión Juan se pasó haciéndolo todo el tiempo

40.

On two occasions John didn't stop doing it
 En dos ocasiones Juan no dejó de hacerlo

41.

On two occasions John was always doing it
 En dos ocasiones Juan estuvo siempre haciéndolo (M)

7. Multiplicatoids

A. Intensity, "much" and the M/IAQ distinction

The adverbial "much" can induce a Multiplicative and a Iterative Meaning:

Example:

42.

I usually eat too much on holidays

Normalmente como mucho en vacaciones

multiplicative reading: I eat a lot each time I eat (I do not necessarily eat on many occasions).

iterative reading: I eat on many occasions (not necessarily a lot on each occasion).

Translate this sentence to your language and verify if both readings are possible. If they are expressed in different ways, give them.

Try also with this sentence:

43.

I usually swim too much on holidays

Suelo nadar demasiado en vacaciones

State which elements trigger each reading. Adverbs, tenses, aspects.

Triggers of the MAQ reading:

Triggers of the IAQ reading:

List other adverbs or adverbial phrases having the same property:

B. Intensifiers and the M/IAQ distinction

Adverbials like "quite" can also trigger both AQ readings. Check if the translations you provide behave in the same way. If this is not the case write the sentence that translates each meaning.
44.

He quite exasperates me

Me exaspera bastante

[M: he exasperates me very much; I: he exasperates me many times]

Multiplicative:

Iterative:

45.

It quite alarms me

Me alarma bastante

[M: It alarms me very much; I: It alarms me many times]

Multiplicative:

Iterative:

46.

Don't struggle so

No luches tanto

[M: don't struggle so much; I: don't struggle so many times]

Multiplicative:

Iterative:

8. Minimizers and the M/IAQ distinction

Multiplicative minimizers:

47.

He helped us a little

Nos ayudó un poco

48.

He hardly sees us

No nos ve apenas

Iterative Minimizers:

49.

He hardly (ever) sees us

Apenas nos ve

50.

He sees us from time to time / very frequently

Nos ve de vez en cuando / muy a menudo

As you can see He hardly (ever) sees us has two meanings: he does not see us very well (multiplicative reading, without "ever") and he does not see us very frequently (iterative reading, with "ever").

Give a list of multiplicative intensifiers/minimizers in your language (plus an English gloss):

Give a list of iterative intensifiers / minimizers in your language (plus an English gloss):

Give a list of multiplicative/ iterative intensifiers/minimizers in your language (plus an English gloss).

9. Complex constructions involving adverbial quantification

We will examine some complex constructions in which AQ is crucially involved. Examples are borrowed from Bolinger 1972.

51. He was SO clumsy as to make one wonder...
Era TAN torpe que le hacía a uno preguntarse...
52. He was hurrying SO that he stumbled and fell.
Se apresuró TANTO que tropezó y se cayó.
53. He improved SO MUCH that he looked like a different person
Mejóro TANTO que parecía una persona diferente
54. Why do you hate me SO MUCH?
¿Por qué me odias TANTO?
55. Was it possible for him to blunder SO?
¿Cómo es posible que metiera TANTO la pata?
56. I so wanted to be there!
¡Quería TANTO estar allí!
¡Quería estar allí TANTO! (I wanted to be there SO many times..)
[State and exemplify the ambiguity if it occurs in your language]
57. I could't sleep, my tooth ached SO
No podía dormir, me dolía TANTO el diente.
58. They wanted it SO! HOW they wanted it!
¡Lo deseaban TANTO! ¡COMO lo deseaban!
59. HOW they came! ('They came in what great numbers')
*¡COMO vinieron! (impossible in the same sense in Spanish)
¡CUANTOS vinieron! (Cuántos = how many).
[Check this in your language]
60. WHAT bees! "What great number of bees"
¡QUE de abejas!

Another important construction involving adverbial quantification is that of correlative clauses of proportion (Quirk et al. 1985: 1111).

61. THE harder he worked, THE happier he felt
CUANTO más trabajaba, más feliz se sentía
62. THE more she thought about it, THE less she liked it
CUANTO más pensó sobre ello, menos le gustó

10. Idiomatic Hyperbolic Intensifiers

We include now a list of English and Spanish Hyperbolic intensifiers (Bolinger 1972: 242). Try to find idiomatic hyperbolic verbal intensifiers of the same sort in your language; please give the literal meaning of all words and phrases and specify to what part of speech do they belong. Note that you do not have to give the exact translation of the English or Spanish items; the point is that you give the idiomatic expressions in your language that more or less correspond to the English phrases.

Size: vastly, enormously, greatly, monstrously enormemente
(ADV) 'enormously', grandemente (ADV) 'greatly', monstruosamente
(ADV) 'monstrously', ampliamente (ADV) 'widely', una enormidad
(NP) 'a enormity'.

Strength: Strongly, heartily, vigorously, Fuertemente (ADV) 'strongly', impetuosamente (ADV) 'impetuously', violentamente (ADV) 'violently'.

Impact: resoundingly, thunderously, awesomely, impressively abrumadoramente (ADV) 'overwhelmingly', impresionantemente (ADV) 'impressively', pujantemente (ADV) 'pushfully', demoledoramente (ADV) 'demolishly'.

Abandonment: furiously, wildly, dizzily, deliriously furiosamente (ADV) 'furiously', salvajemente (ADV) 'wildly', una barbaridad (NP) 'a barbarity', una bestialidad (NP) 'a bestiality'.

Tangibility: palpably, tangibly, blatantly, visibly, notably. palpablemente (ADV) 'palpably', visiblemente (ADV) 'visibly', notablemente (ADV) 'remarkably'.

Consistency: substantially, solidly sustancialmente (ADV) 'substantially', sólidamente (ADV) 'solidly', firmemente (ADV) 'firmly'.

Evaluation: badly, terribly, frightfully, splendidly terriblemente (ADV) 'terribly', increíblemente (ADV) 'incredibly', una burrada (NP) 'a drove of donkeys', una exageración (NP) 'an exaggeration', una brutalidad (NP) 'a brutality'.

Irremediability: Hoplessly, desperately, irremediably desesperadamente (ADV) 'desperately', fatalmente (ADV) 'fatally', irremediablemente (ADV) 'irremediably'.

Singularity: unusually, singularly, distinctly, uncommonly exceptionally, strangely.

inusualmente (ADV) 'unusually', excepcionalmente (ADV) 'exceptionally', extrañamente (ADV) 'strangely'.

Purity and veracity: totally, completely, utterly, absolutely, 100%, honestly.

totalmente (ADV) 'totally', completamente (ADV) 'completely', puramente (ADV) 'purely', 100%, auténticamente (ADV) 'authentically'.

Other: If there are idiomatic intensifiers that do not classify in any of these groups, please introduce new classes (this will be very welcomed).

Note that in Spanish it is possible to have an NP functioning as an adverbial. As you can see, this only occurs in the Size, Abandonment and Evaluation groups. If your language permits that a NP functions as adverb of intensity, check whether your language behaves in the same way in this respect.

REFERENCE

Bolinger, D. 1972 Degree Words, Mouton.