

The many faces of *siempre* in Spanish

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The goal of this paper is twofold. First, I aim to provide empirical evidence that *siempre*, substantially described as a deictic marker (Bosque & Demonte, 1999), takes three different functions in some Spanish varieties: a temporal adverb meaning ‘every time’ or ‘in every possible case’ (1a). A confirmative adverb meaning ‘after all’ and ‘indeed’ (1b), and, different from previous findings, an intensifier marker similar to ‘really’ and ‘definitely’ (1c). Second, I demonstrate that, besides the strictly syntactic predictors, its use is driven by a mitigation strategy when the adverb is in variation with the emphatic polarity marker *si* or when it represents a confirmative value (1d).

While the non-temporal value of *siempre* is widely attested in other Romance Languages, the discussion has been directed to specific languages. Focusing primarily on European Portuguese (EP), highly influential papers propose that *siempre* takes mainly a confirmative value (C-value) triggered by the specificity of the object (Gozanza, 1997) and by the cancelation of a previous plan (Ámbar et. al, 2004). The focus of analysis has been its derivation (Ámbar et. al, 2004), clause structure implications such as position of the adverb in relation to the verb, morphological tense (past tense when a C-value is asserted), type of sentence (interrogatives), specificity of the object (+specific) (Brito, 2001), and its historical development (Fiéis, 2010). More recent research documented that Italian, with less prominence than EP, seems to entail both a confirmative and a continuative interpretation with similar, but more flexible restrictions of those found in EP (Amaral & Del Prete, 2012). Research on Spanish *siempre* has received scant attention and there is, to the best of my knowledge, only one study about the Mexican variety proposing that *siempre* is a discourse marker that encodes procedural constraint (Curc6, 2004).

This study goes beyond the intuitive insights of previous works and contributes empirical evidence about the different values of *siempre* in Spanish. With this purpose in mind, all the aforementioned non-temporal instances of *siempre* (confirmative and intensifier) were extracted from two corpora of the project for the Sociolinguistic Study of Spanish from Spain and America (PRESEEA, <http://preseea.linguas.net/Equipos/Barranquilla.aspx>, henceforth). The data comes from two representative Colombian cities: Barranquilla (PRESEEA-B) and Medellín (PRESEEA-M). The organization and availability of the corpora was the reason for its specific selection as representative of one prominent Spanish variety. The analysis considers the necessity of a confirmative context, verb position, type of sentence and polarity.

The results provided evidence that, besides the temporal, an intensifier value of *siempre* is prevalent, with more flexible restriction than those found in the confirmative interpretation. Similar to the findings in EP and Italian, a confirmative interpretation is pragmatically conditioned by the context. We propose that the selection of *siempre* is pragmatically restricted by the necessity of the speaker to modulated the imposition of the confirmative speech act. Findings about the non-temporal value of *siempre* has multiple implication. In Spanish, the meaning intended to the abverb is highly tied to context restriction and type of sentece. These data also builds on evidence in which Spanish manner, temporal and quantitative adverbs such as the case of *bien*, *bien que*, are moving to occupy totally emphatic values (Laka, 1999, González Rodríguez 2007). Crosslinguistically, it seems that *siempre*, as well as other temporal, manner, and quantitative adverbs could be part of a microparametrical pattern in which adverbs could convey both emphatic and polarity values (Laka 1999, Batlori & Hernanz, 2013).

(1a) B: *Ya pero usted, ¿tú siempre has*
vivido ahí?
well but you, you always have3SG.
lived3SG. there?

A: *Yo siempre viví o sea siempre viví*
aquí
I always lived I mean always lived
here
'well, but have you always lived around here?'
'I always lived around here' (ba05411h0854)

(1b) A: *¿Y siempre se decidió?*
and 'indeed' REF did you
decided?3sg.
'And indeed you decided?' (BA06813M0168)

(1c) A: *siempre hubiera preferido casarse por lo*
civil primero
definitely I would Preferred to get marry by
have 3SG
3SG.IMPF-
SUBJ
civil first
'He always would have preferred to have a civil marriage'
(BA03322M0129)

(1d) B: *Y ¿qué? ¿amigo suyo?*
And, What? friend of you?
A: *Siempre*
'Yes'
emphatic
'And, is this your friend?'
Siempre (BA06212H05062)

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