

## The development of iterative verbal periphrases in Romance

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In Spanish, Catalan, and Italian, iterative periphrases of the form *tornar/e + a + INF* (henceforth TAI constructions) are attested (1–3).

- (1) Sp. *Estonce començaron los tribunos a aver su consejo por*  
then begin.PST.PFV.3PL the tribunes to have their council for  
*establecer la ley e tornar a llamar el pueblo que*  
establish the law and turn to call the people that  
*estava armado*  
be.PST.IPVF.3SG arm.PTCP.M.SG  
'Then the tribunes began to hold a council in order to apply the law and again call to the people, who were in arms' (c. 1400, *Las Décadas de Tito Livio*, apud CORDE)
- (2) Cat. *El sector editorial català va tornar a caure un*  
the sector editorial Catalan go.PRS.3SG turn to fall a  
*10% el 2012*  
10% the 2012  
'The Catalan editorial marked has dropped another 10 per cent in 2012' (11/12/2013, EFE / ARA Barcelona, [http://www.ara.cat/llegim/sector-editorial-catala-tornar-caure\\_0\\_1045695596.html](http://www.ara.cat/llegim/sector-editorial-catala-tornar-caure_0_1045695596.html))
- (3) It. *Un senso di serena fiducia torna a ri=stabilir=si*  
a sense of serene trust turn.PRS.3SG to AGAIN=establish=REFL  
*in ogni ambiente*  
in every context  
'A feeling of serene trust is again re-established in every context' (1939, *Il Corriere della Sera*, apud DIACORIS)

This talk aims at comparing the diachronic development of TAI constructions in Spanish, Catalan, and Italian, a topic that especially for Catalan and Italian has not received much attention (for Spanish, see Yllera 1980: 196–198; Eberenz 1997; Stolova 2005; Melis 2006: 908–912; Garachana & Rosemeyer 2011). Following Wälchli's (2006) distinction between *restitutive again* (restitution of an earlier state) and *repetitive again* (repetition of an earlier event), we explore the hypothesis that due to their lexical origin, iterative constructions develop from a restitutive to a repetitive function. This assumption leads to the following specific predictions: (a) in the grammaticalisation of TAI constructions, predicates that imply a stative semantics (i.e., stative predicates such as 'stay' or change of state predicates such as 'arrive') enter earlier into the constructions, (b) the distribution of TAI constructions regarding adverbial modification changes over time, and (c) differences in the grammaticalisation of the TAI constructions in Spanish and Italian are a result from the existence of different competitors in these languages: whereas in Italian the prefix *ri-* (as exemplified in 2) is the direct competitor to the TAI construction, in (Modern) Spanish another TAI construction, i.e. *volver* ('come') + *a* + INF, is the direct competitor.

We present quantitative diachronic evidence for the validity of these assumptions from three diachronic corpora: the *CORDE* (Real Academia Española 2012), the *CICA* (Torruella, et al. 2013), and the *DIACORIS* (Onelli, et al. 2006). Using multifactorial regression analyses, we determine (a) the functional distribution of the TAI constructions in the three languages, and (b) the changes in these distributions. This approach allows for an identification of both similarities and differences in the development of TAI constructions in Spanish, Catalan, and Italian.

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