

# Then too...

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Meaning in Flux  
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- 1 Aspectual adverbs in Hindi & Nepali
- 2 Formally defining Hindi *phir*, Nepali *pheri*
- 3 Historical developments involving aspectual adverbs
- 4 Additive particles & *phir/pheri*
- 5 Crosslinguistic comparisons - Hungarian &c.
- 6 Conclusion & refs
- 7 Additional materials
  - Additional Hungarian diachronic & synchronic data
  - More on other treatments

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- Hindi & Nepali have a morphologically complex form formed from an aspectual adverb combined with an additive particle: Hindi *phir bhī*, Nepali *pheri pani*
  - unrelated Hungarian shares a structurally equivalent parallel *mégis*
- **discuss historical developments involving these aspectual adverbs and ambiguity/underspecification**



Hindi *phir*, Nepali *pheri*

## Hindi

- (1) Rām **phir** so gayā.  
 Ram **then/again** sleep went  
 “Ram slept **then/again**.”

## Nepali

- (2) Rām **pheri** sutyo.  
 Ram **then/again** slept  
 “Ram slept **then/again**.”

Hindi *phir bhī*, Nepali *pheri pani*

## Hindi

- (3) Shyām guṇḍā hai; **phir**            **bhī** merā dost hai.  
 Shyam villain is, **then/again too** my friend is  
 “Shyam’s a villain; **still<sub>conc</sub>** he’s my friend.”

## Nepali

- (4) **Pheri**            **pani** timro tasbir ākha.mā āe.rahancha.  
**then/again too** your image eye.in come.continues  
 “**Still<sub>conc</sub>** your image keeps coming into my eyes.”

## Some Adverbials in Hindi &amp; Nepali

HINDI	NEPALI	MEANING
tab	tab(a) taile	“then (at that time)”
<b>phir</b>	<b>pheri</b> tab(a) pachi	“then (after that)”
<b>phir</b> <b>phir</b> se (dobārā)	<b>pheri</b>	“again” (repetitive, restitutive)
abhī bhī ab tak	aile samma ajha(i) (pani) aile pani	temporal/continuity “still”
<b>phir</b> bhī	<b>pheri</b> pani tai pani tarai pani ra pani	concessive/adversative “still”
bhī	pani	additive & scalar(-additive) particle “also”/“even”

Table: Hindi &amp; Nepali “pieces”

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(Ordering) *phir/pheri* “then”

## Hindi

- (5) Rām-ne khānā khā liyā. Vah **phir** so gayā.  
 Ram-ERG food eat took. He/she **then** sleep went  
 “Ram ate food. **Then** he slept.”

## Nepali

- (6) Rām-le bhāt khā-i-diyō. U **pheri** sutyo.  
 Ram-ERG food eat-ABS-gave. He/she **then** slept  
 “Ram ate food. **Then** he slept.”

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- *phir/pheri* combines with an ordered scale of times  $T$ , a time  $t$ , an eventuality  $e$ , and a saturated predicate  $\mathcal{P}$  [ $\mathcal{P}$  inherits the specifications of saturated predicate, so might appear in fuller form as e.g. **sleep**( $e^*$ ,  $t^*$ , *John*) & **in**( $e^*$ , *kitchen*)]

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  - The focus alternatives are determined based on what is focussed (see Rooth 1985, 1992)

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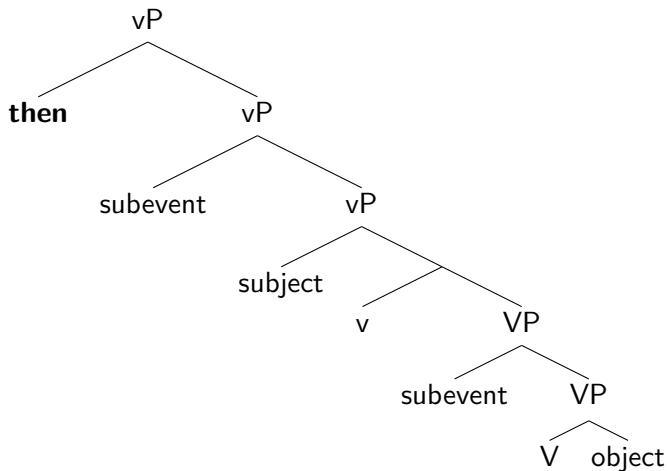
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  - (Where the focus was on [John], the focus alternatives might include “Mary”, “Bill”, “Sally” ..., and so the focus alternatives to the clause would be “Mary woke”, “Bill woke up” ...)
- So the discourse “John woke up. Then he [had a shower]<sup>F</sup>” will be felicitous since “John woke up” is a possible focus alternative to “John [had a shower]<sup>F</sup>” and the former temporally proceeds the later.



(Ordering) *phir/pheri* “then” tree

(Repetitive) *phir/pheri* “again”

## Hindi

- (7) Rām-ne baṭan-ko dabā diyā. Kuch nahī huā. Us-ne  
 Ram-ERG button-DAT push gave. Something not became. he/she-ERG  
 phir (se) baṭan-ko dabā diyā.  
**again** button-DAT push gave.  
 “Ram pushed the button. Nothing happened. He pushed the button  
 again.”

## Nepali

- (8) Birendra-le baṭan-lāī dabā-i-diyō. Ke pani bhaena.  
 Birendra-ERG button-DAT push-ABS-gave. What also/even became.NEG.  
 Us-le **pheri** baṭan-lāī dabā-i-diyō.  
 he/she-ERG **again** button-DAT push-ABS-gave.  
 “Birendra pushed the button. Nothing happened. He pushed the button  
 again.”

# Repetitives

*phir (se), pheri*:

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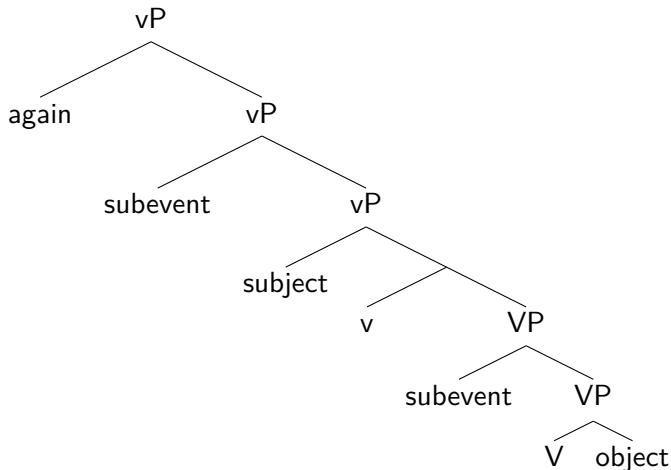
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- so “John woke up at 4am. He woke up again [at 6am]<sup>F</sup>” is felicitous since the earlier sentence is a focus alternative of the latter and occurs at an prior time

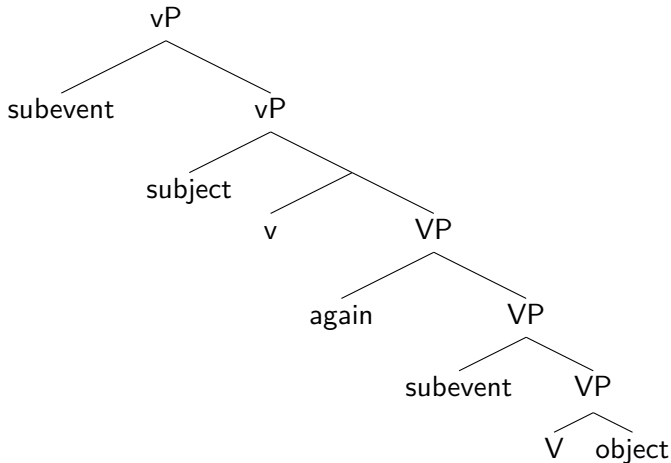
(Repetitive) *phir/pheri* “again” trees 1

Again, repetitive



(Repetitive) *phir/pheri* “again” trees 2

Again, restitutive



## Connections between *again* and *then*

- As defined, *again* and *then* are largely identical, only differing in where focus is placed (and so what the focus alternatives end up being)
  - For *again* the time specification is focussed; for *then* some phrasal element is focussed
  - so *again* ends up presupposing the prior occurrence of the eventuality (at an earlier time)
  - and *then* presupposes the prior occurrence of a partially similar eventuality (at an earlier time)
- In Hindi & Nepali, *phir pheri* appear to be underspecified in terms of necessary focussed constituent, i.e. either a non-temporal phrasal subcomponent or the time specification (possibly covert/unpronounced)



## Other underspecified aspectual adverbs: Sanskrit *púnar*

Skt. *púnar* polysemous consistent with templatic analysis:

- (9) hitváya avadyám **púnar** ástam á ihi  
 abandon.CONV imperfection.ACC **again** home.ACC to come.IMPV  
 “Having cast off imperfection, come home **again**.” [*Rgveda* X.14.8c]
- (10) **Punar** āgamyā niṣadhān nale sarvaṁ nyavedayat  
**again/back** come.CONV Nishadha Nala.LOC all.ACC know.CAUS.IMPV.PAST.3SG  
 “Having returned **back** to Nishadha, [the goose] made all known to Nala.” [*Nala* I.32]
- (11) śṛṇu **punaḥ**  
 listen.IMPV **again/back**  
 “Listen still/further!”
- (12) Punar ca ramaṇīyeṣu vaneṣu upavaneṣu ca Damayantī sāha  
**again** and pleasant.LOC.PL forests.LOC.PL groves.LOC.PL and Damayanti.INSTR with  
 Nalo vijahāra amaropamaḥ.  
 Nala.NOM wandering-for-pleasure like-immortals.  
 “**Moreover**, Nala with Damayanti, like immortals, was always wandering about for pleasure in pleasant forests and groves.” [*Nala* V.44]
- (13) arthaiḥ saṁcayavān arthān prāpnoti kiyad adbhutam,  
 wealth.INSTR accumulated-wealth-person wealth.ACC obtains little wonder,  
 mayā **punar** vinā eva artham lakṣmīḥ āsāditā purā  
 me.INSTR **still** without EMPH wealth Laxmi sit.CAUS.IMPV.FEM formerly  
 “It is little wonder that someone who has inherited wealth should obtain wealth by using wealth; **still** I achieved prosperity long ago without any wealth to start with”

# Generalised template for aspectual adverbs

## Template

$$\lambda S \lambda x \lambda e \lambda P : \begin{array}{l} \exists x^* \\ \exists e^* \\ \exists Q \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} Q(e^*, x^*, \dots) \ \& \\ Q(e^*, x^*, \dots) \in FA(P(e, x, \dots)) \ \& \\ x^* \mathcal{R} x \ \& \\ x, x^* \in S \end{array} \right] .P(e, x, \dots)$$

- $\mathcal{P}, \mathcal{Q}$  are (saturated) predicates
- $x, x^*$  are scalar entities (times, degrees, &c.)
- $e, e^*$  are eventuality variables
- $\mathcal{R}$  is a relation (e.g.  $\prec, \succ, \propto$ , &c.)
- $S$  is a scale
- $FA$  is a set of focus alternatives to  $\mathcal{P}(e, x)$  which differ in terms of variation of elements under focus, which may include times, degrees, or constituents &c. (assuming ‘transparency’ of the event variable)

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# Utility of templatic definition

- not only is this sort of template useful in terms of describing adverbs which are ambiguous in a manner consistent with underspecification (of certain parameters)
- but this also helps to make sense of historical developments

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## Historical developments

### Hindi

- Hindi *phir* “then, again” is related to Hindi *phirnā* “to turn”, which derives from a reconstructed Old Indo-Aryan *\*phirati* “moves, wanders, turns”, cp. Prakrit *phirai* “goes, returns” (Turner 1966: #9078)

### Kutchi Gujarati (Patel-Grosz & Beck 2014)

- *Pacho* “again (repet. & restit.) & back” < OIA. *\*paśca-* “hinder part” (much like English *back*) [Turner 1966: #7990]
- cp. Hindi *vāpas* “back” (no repetitive senses (yet)), loanword from Persian, with the *pās* part being cognate with *\*paśca-* [Platts 1884:1171]

### Cp. English *again*

*Again* originally meant “back, in the opposite direction” OE *ongean*: “He sceaf þa mid ðam scylde, ðæt se sceaft tobærst, and þæt spere sprenge, þæt hit sprang **ongean**.” [“He shoved then with shield so the shaft burst — the spear broke and sprang **back**.”] (*Battle of Maldon* 137)

# Old English

## Old English *eft*

Similar “polysemy” is also found in earlier English *eft*:

- (14) Efterward me ssel þerne mete **eft** chywe ase þe oxe þet...  
 afterward one shall this food **again** chew as the ox that...  
 “Afterward one shall chew this food **again** like the ox  
 that... (CMAYENBI111.2146 — from Gergel et al. 2016)  
 [repetitive reading]
- (15) þone mon **eft** on Cent forbærnde.  
 that.ACC man **afterwards** in Kent **burned**.  
 “That man was afterwards burned in Kent.” [Anglo-Saxon Chron.  
 ann. 685 (Parker MS.) ]

# Historical patterns

- a number of recurrent developments
  - development of 'back' > 'again', 'back' (> 'again')



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  - development of 'hinder parts' > 'back'

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## Concessive/adversative “still”

Recall from above: for the “concessive still” sense, both Hindi & Nepali combine the temporal *phir/pheri* with a particle, Hindi *bhī*, Nepali *pani*

### Hindi

- (16) Shyām guṇḍā hai; **phir**                    **bhī** merā dost hai.  
 Shyam villain is, **then/again too** my friend is  
 “Shyam’s a villain; **still<sub>conc</sub>** he’s my friend.”

### Nepali

- (17) **Pheri**                    **pani** timro tasbir ākha.mā āe.rahamcha.  
**then/again too** your image eye.in come.continues  
 “**Still<sub>temp</sub>** your image keeps coming into my eyes.”

## Additive particles in Hindi and Nepali

The particles which show up in the “concessive still” in Hindi & Nepali, *bhī* & *pani*, are members of the  $\mu$ -type (< Japanese *mo*) which appear in UNIVERSAL & CONJUNCTIVE environments (see Szabolcsi 2010,2015, Slade 2011, Mitrović 2014, amongst other; cf. Reichenbach 1947)

	Japanese	Dravidian	Sinhala	Nepali	Hindi	Hungarian
$\mu$ -series	mo	um	t	pani	bhī	is, mind

Table:  $\mu$  series in select languages

Examples of *bhī* and *pani* as additive particles

## Hindi

- (18) Rām **bhī** mar gayā  
 Ram **also/even** die went  
 “Ram died too.”/“Even Ram died.”
- (19) Rām **bhī** Shyām **bhī** ...  
 Ram **also** Shyam **also** ...  
 “Both Ram and Shyam”

## Nepali

- (20) Rām **pani** maryo  
 Ram **even/also** died  
 “Ram died too.”/“Even Ram died.”
- (21) Rām **pani** Shyām **pani** ...  
 Ram **also** Shyam **also** ...  
 “**Both** Ram **and** Shyam”

Examples of *bhī* and *pani* as additive particles (cont.)

## Hindi

- (22) Koī        **bhī**        nahī āyā.  
 Someone **also/even** not came.  
 “No-one came.”
- (23) Jo        **bhī**        laṛkī vahā̃ khaṛī    hai, vah    merī dost    hogī  
 REL.PRO **also/even** girl there standing is, he/she my friend be.FUT  
 “Who**ever** girl is standing there will be my friend.”

## Nepali

- (24) Ma kahile        **pani**        raksi    piūdina  
 I sometimes **even/also** alcohol drink.NEG  
 “I never drink alcohol.”
- (25) Jo        āe        **pani**        huncha  
 who.REL.PRO came **even/also** is  
 “Who**ever** comes, it is all right.”

# 'Concessive/adversative' *phir bhī/pheri pani*

## Concessive

$$\lambda S \lambda w \lambda e \lambda \mathcal{P}: \left[ \begin{array}{l} \exists e^* \\ \exists Q \\ \exists e' \\ \exists R \\ \exists W^{CG} \subseteq W \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} \mathcal{R}(e', w, \dots) \ \& \\ Q(e^*, \dots) \in FA(\mathcal{P}(e, \dots)) \ \& \\ \Sigma(\{\Lambda(w') | R(e^*, w') \wedge \mathcal{P}(e, w') \wedge w' \in W^{CG}\}) < \\ \Sigma(\{\Lambda(w'') | R(e^*, w'') \wedge Q(e, w'') \wedge w'' \in W^{CG}\}) \\ \Sigma(\{\Lambda(w') | R(e^*, w') \wedge \mathcal{P}(e, w') \wedge w' \in W^{CG}\}), \\ \Sigma(\{\Lambda(w'') | R(e^*, w'') \wedge Q(e, w'') \wedge w'' \in W^{CG}\}) \in S \end{array} \right] \right] \cdot \mathcal{P}(e, w, \dots)$$

- $W^{CG}$  is the set of world consistent with the common ground
- because VERUM is focussed,  $FA(\mathcal{P}(e)) = \{\mathcal{P}(e), \neg \mathcal{P}(e)\}$
- $\Lambda(w') =$  likelihood of  $w'$
- $\Sigma(\{\Lambda(w') | \dots\})$  is the aggregate of the likelihood of every world in a particular set. Thus both the number of worlds in the set and the individual likelihood of each particular world affects the result.
- $S$  is an ordering of real numbers
- So here the overall likeliness of the worlds in which both the presupposed 'frame-setting' eventuality and the eventuality in question both occur is lower than the overall likeliness of the worlds in which the 'frame-setting' eventuality occurs but the eventuality in question does not



# 'Concessive/adversative' *phir bhī/pheri pani*

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- involves extra components beyond the basic template, a “framing context” (“ $\mathcal{R}$ ”)

# 'Concessive/adversative' *phir bhī/pheri pani*

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- involves extra components beyond the basic template, a “framing context” (“ $\mathcal{R}$ ”)
- the focus is obligatorily on VERUM, so the only relevant alternative (“ $Q$ ”) is the negation of the asserted clause (“ $\mathcal{P}$ ”)

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## Concessive

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# 'Concessive/adversative' *phir bhī/pheri pani*

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- where the only relevant possible “ $Q$ ” is equivalent to “ $\neg \mathcal{P}$ ”

# 'Concessive/adversative' *phir bhī/pheri pani*

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- where the only relevant possible “ $Q$ ” is equivalent to “ $\neg \mathcal{P}$ ”
- i.e. “ $Q$ ” & “ $\mathcal{P}$ ” is less likely than “ $Q$ ” & “ $\neg \mathcal{P}$ ”

‘Concessive/adversative’ *phir bhī/pheri pani*

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- e.g. “John is irritating; **still** he’s my friend.”

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- e.g. "John is irritating; **still** he's my friend."
- asserts both "John is irritating" and "John is my friend"

# 'Concessive/adversative' *phir bhī/pheri pani*

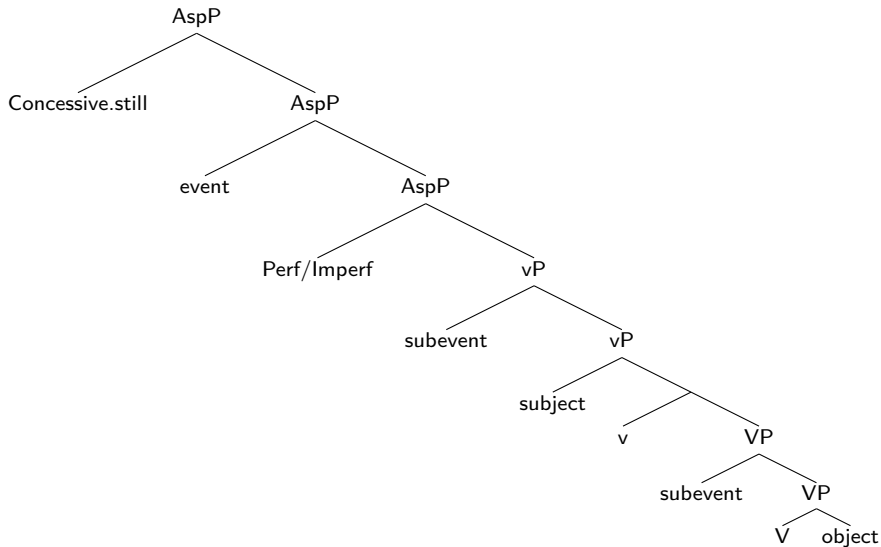
## Concessive

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- e.g. "John is irritating; **still** he's my friend."
- asserts both "John is irritating" and "John is my friend"
- presupposes that John being irritating and being my friend is less likely than John being irritating and not being my friend



# Concessive tree



# Concessive

- This sense is rather different from the “templatic” *phir/pheri*
- Unsurprising given the additional element *bhī, pani*
- The additive *bhī/pani* seems to correlate with the additional presupposition of a “framing” eventuality
- Also note the complexity of scalar elements (summation of likelihood over sets of worlds)

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# Comparison of (a subset of) Hungarian, Hindi, Nepali temporal adverbials

Hungarian	Hindi	Nepali	Meaning
megint ismét	phir phir se	pheri	repetitive, restitutive
még (mindig)	abhī bhī ab tak	aile samma ajha(i) (pani) aile pani	temporal/continuity “still”
mégis akkor is	phir bhī	pheri pani tai pani	concessive/adversative “still”
is	bhī	pani	additive particle “also”

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# Repetitives in Hungarian

- The Hungarian repetitives are etymologically connected to *még* via *meg*:

(26) Feri **megint** / **ismét** ivott egy pálinkát.  
 F-NOM **again** / **again** drank one palinka-ACC  
 'Feri drank a palinka again.'

## Concessive *mégis*

- Concessive interpretation

(27) Bár fogyókúrázott, Feri **mégis** evett zsíroskenyeret.  
 though diet.V.PAST,3SG F-NOM **still** ate lard-ADJ.bread-ACC  
 ‘Even though he was on a diet, Feri still ate some bread with lard.’

## Additives in Hungarian

- Like Hindi *phir* **bhī**, Nepali *pheri* **pani**, Hungarian *mégis* contains an additive particle

(28) János **is** jött.

J. **also** came.

“John came too.”

(29) János **is** (és) Mari **is** ...

J. **also** (and) M. **also** ...

“Both John and Mary”



## Scalar additive

- Scalar component from 'még', additive from 'is'.

(30) Mindenki zsíroskenyeret kért. **Még** Feri **\*(is)**  
 everyone-NOM lard-ADJ.bread-ACC asked. **still** F-NOM **too**  
 zsíroskenyeret kért.  
 lard-ADJ.bread-ACC asked  
 'Everyone asked for some bread with lard. **Even** Feri asked for  
 some bread with lard.'

## Another ordering relation in Hungarian

- Hungarian *még* has (amongst other uses) a temporal ordering use, which interestingly is the inverse of the relation in the Indo-Aryan ordering *phir, pheri*
- the asserted eventuality PRECEDES (rather than follows) some presupposed eventuality

(31) **Még** épített egy házat      (mielőtt meg halt)  
**still** built one house-acc before meg died  
 'He built a house (before he died)'

# Hungarian inverse ordering

*még* “(inverse) then; before that”:

$$\lambda T \lambda t \lambda e \lambda \mathcal{P} : \begin{array}{l} \exists t^* \\ \exists e^* \\ \exists Q \end{array} \left[ \begin{array}{l} Q(e^*, t^*, \dots) \& \\ Q(e^*, t^*, \dots) \in FA(\mathcal{P}(e, t, \dots)) \& \\ t^* \succ t \& \\ t, t^* \in T \end{array} \right] .\mathcal{P}(e, t, \dots)$$

- FAs, e.g. = { **He built a cabin, He sneezed, He walked about, He died...** }
- identical to the “ordering *then*” sense of Hindi *phir*, Nepali *pheri*, except that the temporal ordering required is reversed

# Comparison of Hungarian, Hindi, Nepali, German

Hungarian	Hindi	Nepali	German	Meaning
akkor	tab	tab(a) taile	da	“then (at that time)”
az (u)tán	phir	pheri tab(a) pachi	dann	“then (after that)”
még	—	—	—	“before that”
megint ismét újra ...	phir phir se (dobārā)	pheri	wieder	repetitive, restitutive
még (mindig)	abhī bhī ab tak	aile samma ajha(i) (pani) aile pani	noch	temporal/continuity “still”
mégis akkor is	phir bhī	pheri pani tai pani tarai pani ra pani	noch (denn?)	concessive/adversative “still”
még ... is	bhī	pani	sogar	scalar(-additive) particle “even”
is	bhī	pani	auch	additive particle “also”

## Further echoes of additives:

- Even in German, the form *noch* “still” historically contains an additive particle (as Hungarian *is*, Hindi *bhī*, Nepali *pani*):
  - German *noch* < PGmc. *\*nuh* < PIE *\*nū-* “now” plus the PIE additive particle *\*-k<sup>w</sup>e* (Pokorny 1959)

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## Aspectual Adverbials - Different Scales, Relations, Foci

- number of aspectual adverbs which are ambiguous underspecified, or etymologically/diachronically connected to other aspectual adverbs (or morphological composite)
- vary along particular dimensions (template):

ITEM	SCALE	RELATION	FOCUS	IDENTITY OF SCALE/FOCUS
"temporal" STILL	time	$\propto$	time	yes
"temporal additive" STILL	time	$\prec$	time	yes
"marginality" STILL	degrees	$\succ$	individuals	no
"concessive" STILL	likelihood	$<$	verum	no
AGAIN	time	$\prec$	time	yes
THEN	time	$\prec$	non-time element	no

# Summary

- templatic relation between various senses of temporal/relational adverbs
- overtly manifested in morphology in some languages
- can explain historical relationships (e.g. in Hungarian), or morphologically-connected paradigms of adverbs
- compositionality of composite (concessive) adverbs remains to be worked out in detail



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# Origins of Repetitives in Hungarian

- Hungarian *még* appears in a number of different senses (temporal “still”, additive “still”, &c.)
- *még* derives from the particle *meg* (Zaicz 2006), which could mean “again”:

(32) (Müncheni kódex, 1466)

és tőn **meg** úgy  
and did **again** like.that  
“and he did again like that” (?)

- Both *megint*, *ismét* are derived from *meg* (with an additional additive for *ismét*)
- *Meg* originally had the interpretation of ‘back’ (Zaicz 2006)

(33) ‘Back’ (Müncheni kódex, 1466)

ne mennének **meg** Heródeshez, más úton fordulának **meg** ő  
not went.3PL **meg** Herod-TO different road-ON turned.3PL **meg** they  
országukba  
country.POS.3PL-TO  
“They didn’t return to Herod, they returned on a different road to their  
country.”

## *meg* as repetitive

(34) (Müncheni kódex, 1466)

és tőn **meg** úgy  
and did **again** like.that

“and he did again like that” (?)

(35) (Szabolcs Viadala 1476)

nagy bús jonhhal **meg**-visszatérének  
big sad ?-with **again**-back.returned  
“they returned again with big sad ?”

(36) *esmé*g (Jakob kódex, 1440)

adjad **esmeg** (=ismét) ennekem  
give.IMP **again** me  
“give it to me again”

## Other repetitives

(37) *ismét* (Müncheni kódex, 1466)

**ismét** mondom tinektek

**ismét** say.1sg you.pl-to

'I say to you again'

(38) *megint* (Jordánszky kódex, 1516-19)

és ki szent, szenteltessék **megint**

and who saint blessed.imp **megint**

'and that who is a saint should be blessed again'

## Még as STILL

- (39) Temporal *még* (Bécsi kódex, 1430-60)

**Még** negyven napok vannak

*még* forty days are

‘There are still forty days’

- (40) Concessive *mégis* (Bod kódex, first half of 16th c)

de **mégis** többet akar vala bírnia

but *mégis* more-acc want had have.inf

‘but still he wanted to have more’

# Additives

- (41) Additive (Birk kódex, 1474)

Ő rajta **is** könyörültök  
 he on **is** mercy.V.2pl  
 'You(pl) have mercy on him as well'

- (42) Scalar additive (Müncheni kódex, 1466)

**még** ti **is** értelem nélkül vagytok-e  
**még** you.pl **is** reason without are.2pl Q  
 'Whether even you are without reason'

- (43) Additive (Birk kódex, 1474)

ne csak szátok étket, de **meg** fületek **is** bevegye  
 not only mouth.poss.2pl food-acc but **meg** ear.poss.2pl **too** in.take.imp  
 hallgassa istennek igéjét  
 hear.imp god-dat word.poss-acc  
 'Let not only your mouth take in food, but also your ears take in and hear  
 God's word'

## Other *stills* in Hungarian

### comparative

- (44) Ez egy nagy labda. (Az nagyobb.) És az még nagyobb.  
 this one big ball that bigger and that still bigger  
 'This is a big ball. (That one is bigger.) And that one is still bigger.'

### S-marginality [standard-marginality] (vs. "comparative" C-marginality)

- (45) Sopron még Magyarországon van.  
 Sopron-nom still Hungary-on is  
 'Sopron is still in Hungary.' ('true' marginality)
- (46) Ez a ruha drága. Az a ruha is / #még drága.  
 this the dress expensive that the dress too / still expensive  
 'This dress is expensive. That dress is expensive too / still expensive.' (comparative marginality, only ok if temporal *még*)



## Additive *még*

- Evidence for distinct structural relations

(47) J. ivott egy sört.      ??Még ivott egy sört      / egyet  
 J. drank one beer-acc. Still      drank one beer-acc / one-acc  
 (mielőtt el      indult).  
 before      away left

'J. drank a beer. He drank another beer / one before he left.'

(48) J.      ivott egy sört.      Még ivott egy kólát      (mielőtt el  
 J-nom drank one beer-acc still      drank one coke-acc before      away  
 indult).  
 left

'J. drank a beer. He drank a coke before he left.'

## Misc. Remarks on Previous Accounts

- Michaelis (1993)
  - Examines three senses of English *still* with reference to diachronic development (temporal, marginality, concessive)
  - Posits for each of the 3 that *still* denotes the existence of effectively identical elements at two contiguous scalar loci
  - The more advanced locus is asserted, the less advanced presupposed
  - Scales may differ (times, worlds, rankings along property scale)
  - **Nb:** problematic claim about homogeneity of CONTIGUITY requirement

## Misc. Remarks on Previous Accounts (cont.)

- Ippolito (2007)
  - Examines English *still* and *already*, discussing aspectual/temporal, marginality, concessive uses (relating these to additive particles, scalar particles, and exclusive particles), also investigating *again*
  - Also notes focussing of time variable for (temporal) *still* & *again*
  - Complex interactions of adverbials with aspectual heads
  - In some cases definitions perhaps overspecified
    - Concessive *still*: requires worlds considered to be maximally similar to evaluation world
    - Argues that concessive involves presupposition that the set of worlds in which the framing proposition (*John studied all night*) and the proposition at issue (*(still) he failed the exam*) are both true are less likely the worlds in which the framing proposition is not true but the proposition at issue is true - which seems incorrect

## Misc. Remarks on Previous Accounts (cont.)

- Beck (2016)
  - Focuses on German *noch* & English *still*, in various senses, including temporal, marginal, and various “discourse”-related (though not concessive)
  - Also posits common core/template, but which like Michaelis’s problematically posits CONTIGUITY (=abutment) for all senses
  - Also explores implicatures
    - Beck suggests that temporal *noch/still* carries implicature that  $P$  will hold in future (explain oddity of *John’s still dead*)
    - In actuality, implicature seems to involve  $P$  being true in some accessible world (*John is still annoying*)

## Vietnamese

- (49) Tân            **thì thậm chí** 1.7m **cũng** nhảy qua  
 Tan.TOP,1 PRT SCAL      1.7m ADD jump  
 'Tan can even jump 1.7m.' [Zimmermann 2017: 141]

- *thậm chí... cũng* is reminiscent of the *még... is* of Hungarian
- Zimmerman (2017) argues that *thậm chí* is a scalar(-additive) particle and *cũng* is an additive
- However, the contexts for the Vietnamese examples seem to largely involve a contrastive topic in addition to the scalar-additive and thus apparently differ from Hungarian
- Further, Zimmermann (2017: 140) notes that *cũng* sometimes also appears to bear a scalar reading even without the scalar *thậm chí*

# Remaining problems

- more fully work out syntax and compositional account
- e.g. explain precise contribution of additives in forming “concessive STILL”
  - for *bhī/pani*, ambiguous between additive, and scalar-additive, possible explanation is clearer (scalar additives typical rank according to likelihood)
  - but Hungarian *is* seems to be a plain additive (unless it was similarly ambiguous at an earlier stage)

# Other accounts

- Michaelis 1993, Ippolito 2007, Beck 2016 on various senses of *still* (among others)
- Focus of papers: no morphological relevance, no templatic definition
- Concern (Michaelis 1993): aspectual restrictions
  
- Morphological facts (also later), role of additive particles

## Other accounts: abutment

- Abutment in temporal interpretation
- For others, abutment survives in other interpretations, e.g. the marginality sense
- No necessary abutment relation (e.g. comparative, C-marginality, perhaps also just an implicature in S-marginality)



## Other accounts: temporal implicature

- Beck 2016: temporal implicature with temporal *still*  
*It's still raining* implicates that it won't be raining in the future (Beck)  
*This dress is still expensive*: no necessary entailment, presupposition or entailment that it will be cheaper at a later time