



Iteratives driving the wrong way? Limiting unidirectionality from Saarland to Semitic

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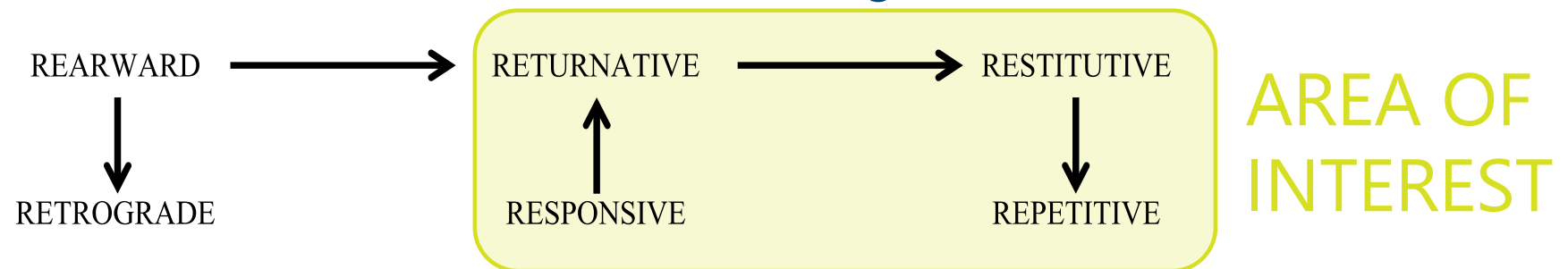
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Outline of this talk

1. Background + argument in a nutshell
2. Illustration based on the Saarland dialect(s)
3. Illustration from the diachrony of Arabic
4. Quick summary

1. Background + argument in a nutshell

- Zwarts (2019): polysemic analysis of iterative domain based on Dutch *terug* (back) captured via Haspelmathian **semantic map**
- Cf. also Beck & Gergel (2015) on the role of a meaning 'back' leading to Modern English *again*
- the structure of the re domain according to Zwarts:



Background (cont'd)

Capitalizing both on earlier **theoretical** insights w.r.t. iteratives such as *wieder* (von Stechow 1996, Fabricius-Hansen 2001) and **corpus studies** conducted on the history of English (e.g. Beck et al. 2009, Gergel 2012/2014, Gergel & Beck 2015), Beck & Gergel (2015) suggest **constant entailments** (CEs, Beck 2012) to capture the historical development of *again*.

Background (cont'd)

- **CEs**: Variability in the meaning of an expression α between interpretations α' and α'' is promoted by the existence of contexts φ in which an occurrence of α under both interpretations α' and α'' leads to the same proposition φ' . (Beck 2012: 88)
- Crucially for diachrony: what are relevant contexts in which truth-conditional (near-) equivalence can arise – e.g. **complex predicates** have been invoked for *again* under conditions of change.

An inductive non-generalization

- corpus studies conducted on the history of English and the presumably similar (non-cognate) development of *wi(e)der* (Fabricius-Hansen), seem to empirically indicate that iteratives develop from a counterdirectional sense towards a repetitive one
- partially similarly: Dutch *terug* plus the idea of semantic map
- **Q**: are such developments, then, **unidirectional** in the manner specified by the empirical flesh of the earlier studies?

An inductive non-generalization (cont'd)

- theoretical predictions from approaches such as Beck & Gergel (2015) or Zwarts (2019) in fact generate the opposite claim:

there is no need to assume unidirectionality

- our current empirical argument:
such theoretical predictions are correct.

Argument in a nutshell

Bidirectionality

An empirical case based on two case studies, both starting out from a repetitive meaning:

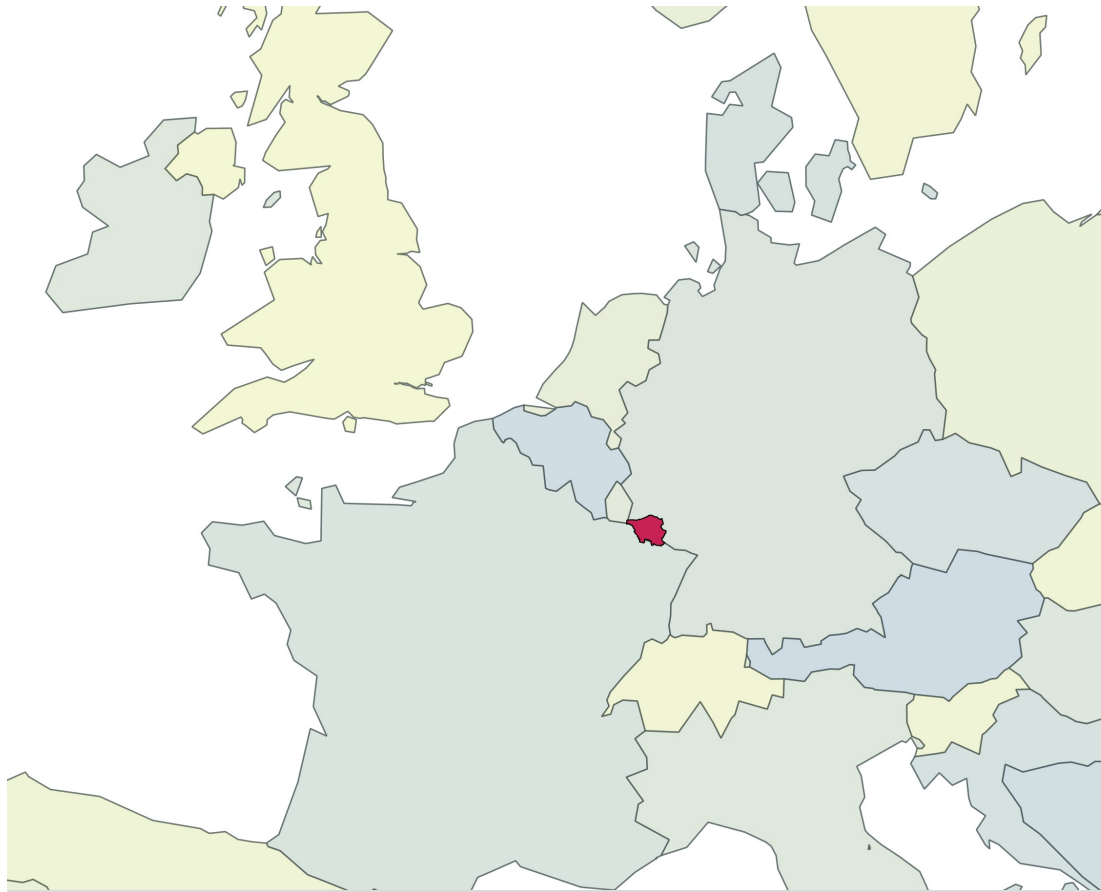
- recent change in Saarland dialects of German
- long-term change in the history of Arabic

What are facilitating **contexts** and **factors** for such change?

A word on methods

In line with much recent work (e.g. Zhang et al. 2018, Fuchs et al. 2019, Kopf-Giammanco 2020, Gergel et al. 2021, Puhl & Gergel 2021), we seek to combine what can be gained from **corpus** studies (done primarily for Arabic here) with elicitation and **experimental** methods (primarily, but not exclusively, used for the recent Saarland change).

2. Illustration based on the Saarland dialect



Saarland dialect(s)

Relatively heterogeneous group (for a small area)

Mostly Rhine and Mosel Franconian German dialects

Development of *nochmal* (and variants)

Readings of *nochmal*

Repetitive reading

(S1) *Wären ma nur schön nòmmòò gutt dahämm!*

were we only already again well home

'If we could only safely be home again!'

(M. Böhm, *Wenn et Ferien géfft*, Texte des Monats, 07/2016, via bosenergruppe.saar.de)

Readings of *nochmal* (cont'd)

Restitutive/counterdirectional reading

(S2) *Datt Land [...] hat sich verirrt on hat sich nommo fonn.*

the country. has itself lost and has itself again found

The country lost its way and found it again.

(J. Brill, 1995, *Us Land*, 'Our country')

Responsive readings are not available in Saarland dialects.

Development of *nochmal* (and variants)

Relatively recent development

- few dialect texts available
- Wenkersatz 2 (1879/80)

(S3) Es hört gleich auf zu schneien, dann wird das Wetter wieder besser.

It stops soon AUF(prt) to snow, then becomes the weather again better

It will soon stop snowing, then the weather will become better again.

- variants of *nochmal* and *wieder*
- literary dialect work from early 1900s such as Fr. Schön's (Saarbrücken dialect, prose and poetry) contains variants of both *nochmal* and *wieder*, but as far as we can tell at this point of the current project, *nochmal* is used repetitively.

Potential bridging contexts

Complex predicates (see Beck & Gergel 2015) as potential bridging contexts

- repetitive and counterdirectional readings available
- context is needed for disambiguation

synchronic evidence from 2 experiments, a collection of dialect poems and introspection/consultation with other dialect speakers

Double object construction

(S4) *Lukas likes to bake and he tries out many recipes. When his neighbor Tom asks him if he can borrow a baking recipe book, he agrees. Just as Tom leaves his apartment, Lukas remembers that for his next cake, he needs to check a detail in a recipe in exactly this recipe book. He runs into the staircase and says to Tom:*

Gib mir das Buch bitte nochmal .

Give me the book please again.

Please give me the book back.

cloze test: 7 *nochmal* (n=32) in combination with "bitte" (*please*)
and/or "kurz" (*for a moment*)

Verb particle construction

(S5) *Leonie and Frank live together in a small apartment. It's been very hot the whole day but it has cooled down a bit now. Leonie decides to open all windows and doors at the same time, so that the apartment can cool faster in the draught. She has just opened all windows, when the window in the kitchen slams shut. She calls Frank:*

Machst du das Fenster nochmal auf?

Make you the window again up?

Can you open the window again?

cloze test: 6 *nochmal* (n = 32)

Verb particle construction

(S6) *Hans and Peter are treasure hunters. They have found the marked spot on the treasure map. Hans starts to dig a hole. After digging a one meter deep hole, he finds a treasure chest full of gold coins. He takes the treasure chest out of the hole.*

Peter: We found the treasure!

Hans: **Schüttest du das Loch nochmal zu?**

Fill you the hole again ZU(prt)

Can you fill the hole again?

Peter: Sure thing.

Median: 7, Mean: 6,05 (scale 1(unnatural) - 7(natural))

Resultative construction

(S7)**Ich föhne mir die Haare nochmal trocken.**

I blowdry me the hair again dry.

I'm blowdrying my hair dry again.

(S8)**Er streicht den Zaun nochmal weiß.**

He paints the fence again white

He's painting the fence white again.

Introspection plus consultation with dialect speakers from different towns and villages.

Goal PP constructions

(S9) *4-year-old Sophie has been playing with her grandmother for the whole afternoon. They even took the valuable porcellan doll out from the shelf to admire it. Now it's time to tidy up. Her grandmother asks:*

Legst du die Puppe nochmal ins Regal?

Put you the doll again in the shelf?

Can you put the doll on the shelf again?

Cloze test: 2 nochmal (n=32)

Goal PP constructions

- (S10) Villeicht hollen se meich aus em Schopp un bringen meich nommò in de Reih
 Maybe take they me out the shed and bring me again in the row
 Maybe they will take me out of the shed and fix me up again.

(Hans Walter Lorang, Et Raad)

Complex predicates as potential bridging contexts

nochmal is available with complex predicates in present day
Saarland dialects

Depending on the contexts, repetitive and counterdirectional
readings are possible. Both seem equally acceptable.

Returnative vs. restitutive readings in Saarland dialect

no distinction between returnative and restitutive for Saarland dialects

- rating study: no significant differences
 - median ratings of returnative and restitutive items (no lex. achievements): 6(scale 1-7) (7 if we only take into account one of the possible positions of „nochmal“)
- cloze test: same amounts of „nochmal“ in both conditions (n=32)
 - returnative: 8 occurrences of „nochmal“ in two returnative items
 - restitutive: 8 occurrences of „nochmal“ in two restitutive items
 - Not the same speakers

3. Illustration from the diachrony of Arabic

The adverb equivalent to *English again* has many phonologically related forms in Arabic:

(i) Thaniyan (ii) thaniyaten (iii) marahten thaniyaten (iv) EL thaniya (Lit: the second)

- Etymological meaning:
a thing repeated or done for a second time

Example:

(A1) qabada ʕla-hi thaniyan
arrested(3SG-M-NOM) on-him again
"he arrested him again"

Corpus study on Standard Arabic (StA) *again*:

- **Aim:** tracking the availability of the rep and res/ctrdir readings in StA *again*
- **Corpus:** searchable Arabic corpora were not found. Alternatively, a corpus was compiled.
- Books were downloaded in Pdf searchable form (typed not scanned) or Txt form and the *find text* feature was utilized to search for *again*.
- The corpus consisted of 140 books in total. The genre of books varied.
- Divine religious books (Torah, Bible, Quran etc.) and literary books were excluded.
- 20 books were collected for each period , every book has at least 5 occurrences of *again*.
- Each book was considered as belonging to a certain period according to the birth and death of its author e.g. Publishing dates were misleading.

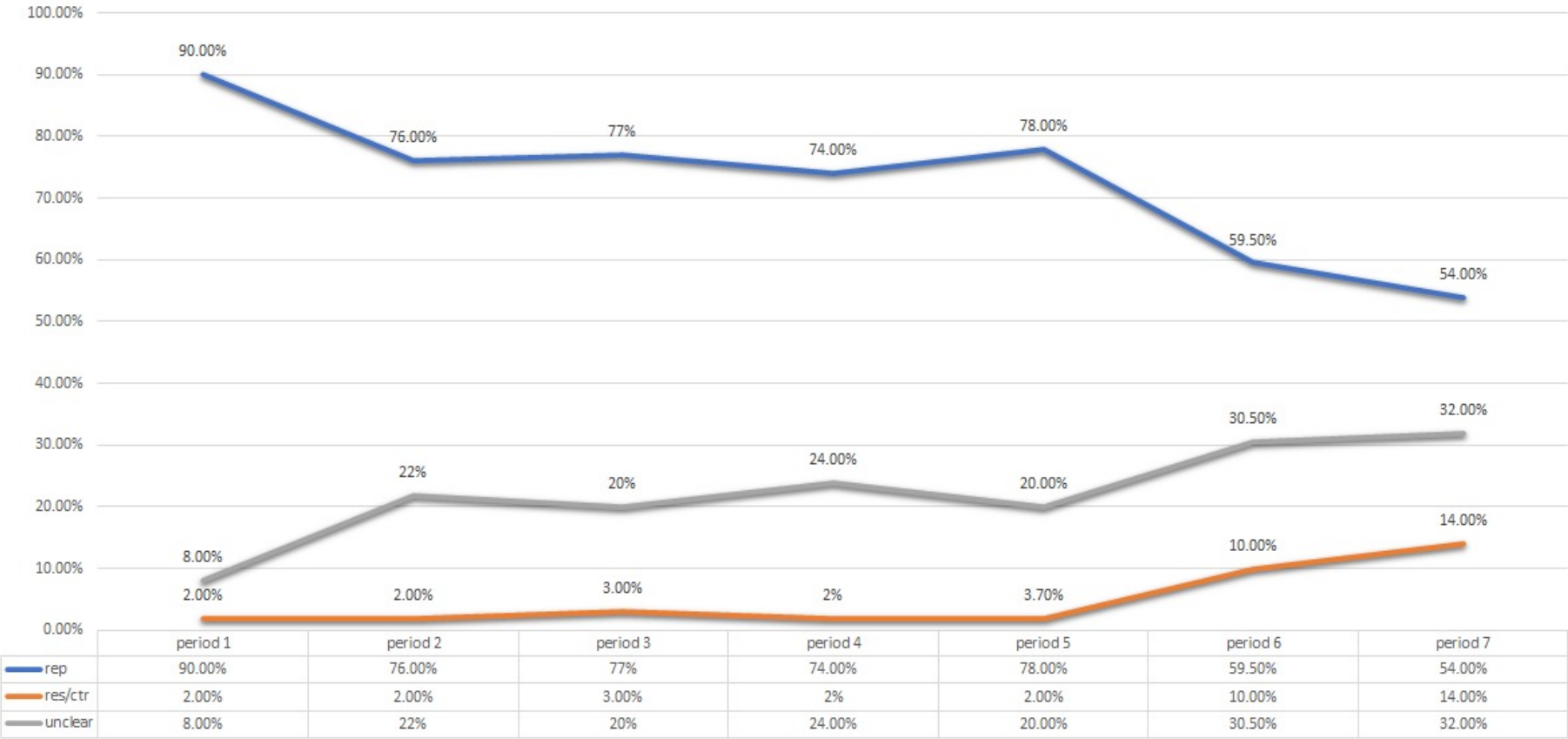
- The corpus divided into 7 periods:

- (i) 1st period between 623 and 900 CE
- (ii) 2nd period between 900 and 1100 CE
- (iii) 3rd period between 1100 and 1300
- (vi) 4th period between 1300 and 1500
- (v) 5th period between 1500 and 1700
- (vi) 6th period between 1700 and 1900
- (vii) 7th period between 1900 to PD

• *Table 1: Number of tokens and percentages of the iterative readings of STA again*

	Total	Rep	Res/ctrdir	unclear
Number of tokens	1096	808	45	230
Percentage		73.7%	4.1%	20.9%

Diagram 1: the percentages of StA again's iterative and unclear readings throughout the 7 periods of the corpus:



Repetitive (rep) Examples:

(A2) **qala** **li sahibati-hi** **ukht-u** **jasas hal**

said(3SG-M-NOM) to mistress-his sister-GEN Jasas QW

taʕlamina ʕla el ard-i aʕrabiyy-en amnaʕ-a men-i

know(2SG-F-NOM) on the Earth-DT Arab-INDF invincible-C from-me

thimat-en fasakatet, **thuma aʕada-ha** **ʕali-ha el thaniya**

family-protection silenced(3SG-F-NOM) **then repeated(3SG-M-NOM)-her on-her the second**

“he asked his wife, sister of Jasas, ‘do you know on this Earth an Arab who is more protective over his people than me’ but she remained silent then he asked her (the same question) again” (Kitab el aghani ‘The songs book’ page 45, Abu El Faraj El Asfahani 897-967) (narrative of an older narrator living in 700 CE)

(A3) **safaṣa-ha**

bi muntaha el quwa qaʔilen:



slapped(3SG-M-NOM)-her with end the strength say(3SG-M-NOM)(GR)

akhbartu-ki an la tadakhli fi ma aḥḥalahu.

told(1SG-M-NOM)-you-SG-F to not interfere(2SG-F-NOM) in what do(1SG-NOM).

thuma safaṣa- ha

marah-ten thaniyaten

then slapped(3SG-M-NOM)-her once-INDF again

“he slapped her with full strength saying `I told you not to interfere with what I do`. He then slapped here once again” (El mustamiṣoun `The listeners` p 41, Ibrahim El Sṣaid, published 2017)

Examples of rep with resutive/counterdirectional (res/ctrdir) intervening antecedents:

(A4) **thuma rafaʕa** **rʔsa-hu** fa qal ayna Muhammad

then raised(3SG-M-Nom) head-his then said(Nom-M-PAST) Where Muhammad

we Ibrahim qal **thuma nakasa** **rʔsa-hu** we

and Ibrahim said(3SG-M-Nom) **then lowered (3SG-M-Nom) head-his** and

- makatha akthar mima mada la-hu thuma **rafaʕa** **rʔsa-hu** **el thaniya**
stayed (Nom-3SG-M) more than passed to-him then **raised (Nom-3SG-M) head-his the second**

“Then he raised his head and asked me “where are Muhammad and Ibrahim?” then he lowered his head and remained silent longer than he did before then he raised his head again” (Tarikh el rusul we muluk, The history of prophets and kings, P 1913, El Taberi, 839-923)

Context: It discusses how the sultan expels a poet who has done unspeakable things:

(A5) Fa khraja-hu el sultan ila el sham thuma aṣada-hu bi safi

then expelled-him the sultan to the Levant then **returned-him** with pleading

abih-l baṣda mudeh bi safaret el amiir bektemer

Father-his after while with embassy the prince Bektemer

el saqi falem yuqam ila nahwa el sana we zada

the Saqi not stayed (3SG-M-Nom) to about the year and increased (3SG-M-Nom)

fi qubeh el saiyrh fa **ikhraja-hu el sultan thaniyan**

In ugliness the conduct then **expelled-him the sultan again**

“the sultan expelled him to the levant but then he brought him back due to his father’s and the prince Bektemer el Saqi’s pleading. However, he did not stay longer than a year because he increased his horrible deeds and therefore the sultan expelled him again” (El suluk, The conduct, p 564, El maqrizi, 1364-1442)

Res/ctrdir examples:

(A6) **Context: It discusses the pedigree of Maʿfēd Ibn ʿIdnan, The grandfather of Muhammad.**

huwa ʿaser bin-u el nadwan zu el andiya we fi mulki-hi tafaraqa ben-u el qazur we huwa el
he Aser son-Gen the Nadwan owner the clubs and in kingship-his separated son-GEN the Qazut and he the
qadur we **kharaja el mulku men**

Qadur and **went out the kingship from**

waledi el nabit ibn el qadur ila ben-i jawan thuma rajifa ila-hem thaniyaten
children the Nabit son the Qadur to son-GEN Jawan then returned to-them again

“he is Aser son of Nadwan, owner of clubs , places like Modern Cafes which Arabs used to go to, during whose reign, the sons of Qazur were separated. Qazur had his son Qadur and **then the kingship went out of the sons of Nabit, son of of El Qadur, to the sons of Jawan son of el Qadur then it returned to them again**” (Tarikh El rusal we El muluk `The history of messengers and kings` p 400, Ibn Jarir EL Tabari 839-923) (Narrative of an older narrator living in 680 CE) (The example is taken from a passage listing the forefathers of Maʿfēd. The surrounding context mainly discusses the names of his grandfathers and it only mentions some of their titles or the main events happened during their lives)

(A7) **Context: A traveler is narrating his journey to the *Burned island*.**

We ghebna ʕn el Jazeera mudeh thuma ʕudtu

and absented(2PL-Nom) of the island while then returned(1SG-Nom)

mʕa-hem fa wajedna **jamiifā ma kana bi ha men el amakn**

with-them then found (2PL-Nom) **all what was in her from the places**

we el bunyan we el ashjar ihtereqat we sar remaden fa sharʕu fi el ʕamarti thaniyan

and the buildings and the trees burned and became ashes then began(3PL-M-Nom) in the building again

“We were gone off the island for a while then we returned and found that all its places, buildings and trees were burned and turned to ashes then they started building again” (Kharidet el ʕajaʔb we faridet el gharaʔb, the jewel of wonders and the solitaire of lollapalooza, P 62, Ibn El wardi, 1292-1349)

(A 8) Context: The token is taken from the beginning of a passage title, *The return to England*.

baʕda in nufiya el yahud men ingeltra, hawalu dukhula-ha

after to exiled(PASS-PA) the Jews from England, tried(3PL-M-NOM) enter(3PL-M-NOM)-her
thaniyaten

again

“after being exiled, the Jews tried to enter England again” (Tarikh el israilyin `The history of the Israelites` P 73, Shahin Makaryous 1853-1910)

(A 9) Context: The ancient Greeks has a legend that the god Brometheus revealed the secret of fire and therefore the gods punished him with thirst.

wadaʕat-hu fi maʔ-en **yarbu** **ila fam-eh**, fa
 put(3PL-M-NOM)-him in water-INDF **grow(3SG-M-NOM) to his mouth**, then
 iza awshakeh an yashreb, **ghasa** **thaniyan**
 if almost(3SG-M-NOM)(V) to drink(M-INF) , **dived(3SG-M-NOM) again**

“(the gods) put him in water which goes up to his mouth. When he is about to drink, the water dives again” (Nazariyet el tatour `The theory of evolution` p 178, Salameh Mousa 1887-1958) (at least some scalar interpretation can be found here)

(A 10) **tathakera** **khayri shay-en** **kana ghaʔiben ʕn-hu** **thuma** **tanasa-hu thaniyaten**
remembered **Khayri thing-INDF was** **absent** **from-him then** **forgot(3SG-M-NOM)-him again**

“Khayri remembered something was absent from his mind and then he forgot it again intentionally” (Thuma tushreq el shams `Then the sun shines` p 101, Therwat Abaza 1927-2002)

(A 11) Context: if humans walked on four, they would not be able to carry heavy brains, neither could they stand. We can not imagine a horse to stand up, no matter he old it is.

lu ana el insan-en faqada ibhama-hu lama iktasaba hatha el ibham thaniyaten bi aiyi hal

If that the human-INDF lost thumb-his not gained(3SG-M-NOM) this the thumb again with any how

“if a person lost his thumb, he would not gain it back no matter what” (Thuma tushreq el shams `Then the sun shines` p 182, Therwat Abaza 1927-2002)

(A 12) Context: Sherif entered carrying a tray on which there are two cold glasses of water. Sherif sat down next to Aseel and asked her how she was doing. Aseel then

akhathet aheda el ku?es we rashafet reshfat-en men-hu thuma wada?at-hu makanu-hu thaniyan

took(3SG-NOM) one the cups and sipped(3SG-NOM) sip-INDF from-it then put(3SG-NOM)(PA)-it place-it again

“She took one of the cups, sipped one sip of it and then she put it again in its place” (El mustami?oun `The listeners` p 178, Ibrahim El Sa?id , Published 2017) (scalar)

(A 13) qala el Zubair li el Aswad ʕaisha kanet tuseru ili-ka katheeren Fa ma hadeathet-ek ʕen
said the Zubair to the Aswad Aisha was tell-secrets to-you much then what told-you(3SG-F-NOM) about



el kaʕbeh qultu qalet qala rasul-u allhi ya ʕaisha lu la ina
the Kaaba said(1SG-NOM) said(3SG-F-NOM) said messenger-Gen God INT Aisha if not that

qawumu-ki hadeth-u ʕahden bi kifer la naqdtu el kaʕbeh
tribemen-your modern-GEN era with infidelity **would knock down(1SG-NOM) the Kaaba**

(hadamet^u el kaʕbeh we banitu-ha thaniyaten)

(Knocked down the Kaaba and built-it again)

“El Zubair said to El Aswad “I know that Aisha used to tell you secrets. What did she tell you about the Kaaba?” El Zubair answered she said that the messenger of God said “Oh Aisha, had it not been that your tribesmen had been recently idolaters, I would have knocked the Kaaba down.(knocked it down and built it again.” (El Bukhari p 34, Muhammad EL Bukhari 810-870 CE) (no rep antecedent) (the item containing again is modern. It is attached as interpretation of the Prophet’s speech. Therefore it is a modern token. (res/ctrdir)

Responsive readings:



Though not found in the corpus, Modern Standard Arabic intuitively allows responsive readings as the examples below show:

(A 14) **kataba Ali ila Muawiya** in yubayʕa-hu we men thuma yutalba bi dam-i ibn ʕamih-i

wrote Ali to Muawiy that pledge allegiance-him and from then request(3SG-M-NOM) with blood-GEN son uncle-his

fa kataba Muawiya ila-hi thaniyaten yukhbeiru-hu inhu len yubayʕa ahdahen hata yuqtala qatalau ʕthman

then wrote Muawiya to-him again telling-him that -him not pledge allegiance anyone until killedPASS killers Othman

“Ali wrote to Muawiya that he should pledge allegiance to him then he can ask revenge for his cousin. However, Muawiya wrote back to him telling him that he would not do that unless all his cousin’s killers are killed”

(A 15)

Mahmood itasala bi lake-ni lem istateʕ in ujibu-hu fa lama farghetu men shuʔun-l **itasaletu** **bi-hi thaniyan**

Mahmood called me but-me not could that answer-him then when finished from affairs-my **called(1SG-NOM) with-hi again**

“Mahmood called me but I could not answer him. When I finished my chores, I called him back”

Syrian Arabic marah taniya also allows non-repetitive readings of again:

(A 16) ʔalit la ibn-ha yafteh el bab shwai we yesaker-u marah taniya
said(3SG-F-NOM) to son-her open(SG-M)(INF) the door little and close(SGM)(INF)-him once again
“she told her son to open the door for a little while and then to close it again”

(A 17) El insan elli ʕndu tumuh lazem kel ma yeʔeʕ yiʔum marah taniya
the person who(M) have(M-SG) ambition should every when fall(3SG-M-NOM) rise once again
“every time a person who has ambition falls, he should rise again”

Quick summary

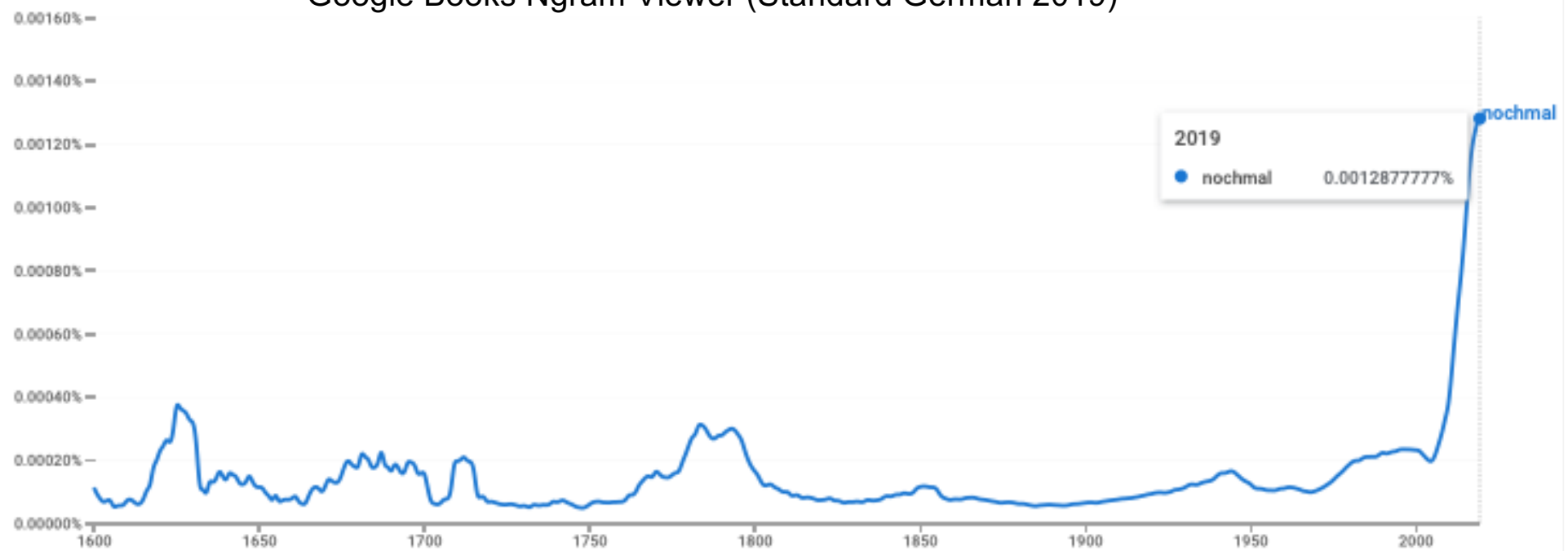
- Both developments go essentially from repetitive to counterdirectional readings, Arabic up to the responsive one.
- The Saarland new iterative shows no distinction between returnative and restitutive in terms of acceptability.
- Complex predicate contexts known from the history of English *again* readily allow non-repetitive readings in Saarland German.

Quick summary and further connections

- Arabic does not have the full spectrum of complex predicates, but one possible bridge: **multiple** (i.e. mixed) **antecedents**
- more generally, priming and processing conditions seem to support grammatical factors;
- not only is there more potential evidence from other varieties
- but also: incidence of *nochmal* is increasing overall in the standardly recorded variety (surely not a sufficient, but a useful condition for creating more instance of potential re-interpretation):

Frequency of *nochmal* in Standard German since 1600

Google Books Ngram Viewer (Standard German 2019)



Unfortunately, such sources do not contain Arabic (yet?).

Arabic *again* frequency in the first vs most recent period from the collection reported on here (unselective frequency presumably much lower - recall criterion of search):

Period	Total number of words	Hits of again	Frequency of <i>again</i>
623-900	8239863	156	0.001%
1900-2019	757896	188	0.024%

Thank you!



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