



UNIVERSITÀ
DEGLI STUDI
DI PADOVA

Università degli Studi di Padova

Dipartimento di Studi Linguistici e Letterari

Corso di Laurea Magistrale in Linguistica
Classe LM-39

Tesi di Laurea

Exploring Spanish V-Movement:

A Study about the Grammaticality of Verb and Adverb Placement in Spanish Language

Relatrice

Prof.ssa Cecilia Poletto

Corelatrici

Prof.ssa Elena Pagliarini

Prof.ssa Emanuela Sanfelici

Laureando

Antonio Santos Acosta

n° matr.1232125 | LMLIN

Anno Accademico 2022 / 2023

I. Abstract

This dissertation investigates verb movement in Spanish using a generative and cartographic framework. The focus is on examining the grammaticality of adverbs *ya* and *siempre* adverbs placement and exploring the phenomenon of movement towards the left periphery. The research involves a controlled test with native Spanish speakers in which the participants evaluate sentences containing the adverbs in preverbal and postverbal positions, assessing the acceptability of the two configurations acceptable in Spanish. The experiment also explores the impact of high adverb fillers on verb movement using high mood adverbs to control if the preverbal position is pragmatically marked.

The results reveal intriguing patterns in Spanish verb movement and movement low adverbs in Spanish CP. The data suggest that *ya* and *siempre* exhibit specific acceptability in both, preverbal and postverbal position. Nevertheless, the usage of high adverb fillers indicates a movement of low adverbs towards the left periphery, highlighting the syntactic and pragmatics interactions.

Keywords: verb movement, Spanish syntax, generative linguistics, cartographic model, adverb placement, left periphery, grammaticality, syntax-semantics interface.

II. Riassunto

Questa tesi investiga il movimento del verbo nello spagnolo utilizzando un quadro generativo e cartografico. L'obiettivo è esaminare la grammaticalità della posizione degli avverbi *ya* e *siempre* e esplorare il fenomeno del movimento verso la periferia sinistra. La ricerca coinvolge un test controllato con parlanti nativi di spagnolo, in cui i partecipanti valutano frasi contenenti gli avverbi nelle posizioni preverbal e postverbal, valutando l'accettabilità delle due configurazioni ammissibili nello spagnolo. L'esperimento esplora anche l'impatto degli avverbi ad alto grado sulla movimentazione del verbo utilizzando avverbi di alto grado per controllare se la posizione preverbale è pragmaticamente marcata.

I risultati rivelano modelli intriganti nel movimento del verbo spagnolo e nel movimento degli avverbi bassi nella CP spagnola. I dati suggeriscono che *ya* e *siempre* mostrano una specifica accettabilità sia nella posizione preverbale che in quella postverbale. Tuttavia, l'uso degli avverbi ad alto grado indica un movimento degli avverbi bassi verso la periferia sinistra, evidenziando le interazioni sintattiche e pragmatiche.

III. Resumen

Este trabajo final de máster investiga el movimiento del verbo en español utilizando un marco generativo y cartográfico. El enfoque se centra en examinar la gramaticalidad de la colocación de los adverbios *ya* y *siempre*, y explorar el fenómeno del movimiento hacia la periferia izquierda. La

investigación incluye una prueba controlada con hablantes nativos de español en la cual los participantes evalúan oraciones que contienen los adverbios en posiciones preverbiales y postverbiales, evaluando la aceptabilidad de las dos configuraciones aceptables en español. El experimento también explora el impacto de los rellenos de adverbios altos en el movimiento del verbo utilizando adverbios de alta modalidad para controlar si la posición preverbal está marcada pragmáticamente.

Los resultados revelan patrones interesantes en el movimiento del verbo en español y el movimiento de los adverbios bajos en la CP española. Los datos sugieren que *ya* y *siempre* muestran una aceptabilidad específica tanto en posición preverbal como postverbal. Sin embargo, el uso de rellenos de adverbios altos indica un movimiento de los adverbios bajos hacia la periferia izquierda, destacando las interacciones sintácticas y pragmáticas.

Index

Introduction.....	4
Chapter 1 – Theoretical Background	6
1.1 From Generative Syntax Beginnings to the Cartographic Approach	6
1.2 On Movement and Sentence Structure	12
1.2.1 Sentence Structure – IP Structure & Cinque’s Hierarchy	12
1.2.2 Sentence Structure – CP & Left Periphery	19
1.3 On Romance Languages and Spanish.....	24
1.3.1 On Spanish Language	28
1.3.1.1 On Spanish dialects	30
1.3.1.2 On Spanish Verb.....	35
Chapter 2 - Methodology.....	40
2.1 Research Question	40
2.2 Prior considerations and choice of conditions for the test	40
2.2.1 Previous attempts at research on the subject	40
2.2.2 Choice of methodology	43
2.2.3 Choice of the conditions	45
2.2.3.2 Choice of the adverbs.....	46
2.2.3.3 Choice of the tense	50
2.2.3.4 Choice of the subject.....	52
2.2.3.5 Choice of the fillers.....	53
2.2.3.6 Other elements	54
2.3 Test Creation	55
2.3.1 Final Test Conditions.....	55

2.3.1.1 Adverbs.....	55
2.3.1.2 Tenses	57
2.3.1.3 Subjects	59
2.3.2 Test Items	59
2.4 Procedure.....	78
Chapter 3 – Test Results	82
3.1 Results of adverb <i>ya</i>	82
3.1.1 Results of adverb <i>ya</i> in preverbal position.....	82
3.1.2 Results of adverb <i>ya</i> in postverbal position	85
3.1.3 Results of adverb <i>ya</i> with filler adverbs.....	88
3.1.4 Summary of results of <i>ya</i>	93
3.2 Results of adverb <i>siempre</i>	97
3.2.1 Results of adverb <i>siempre</i> in preverbal position	97
3.2.2 Results of adverb <i>siempre</i> in postverbal position.....	100
3.2.3 Results of adverb <i>siempre</i> with filler adverbs.....	102
3.2.4 Summary of results of <i>siempre</i>	107
Chapter 4 – Results Discussion	112
Chapter 5 – Conclusions	116
Appendix I – Translation Test Sentences	128
Appendix II – Test Block Division	131
Appendix III – Participants’ profile	136
Appendix IV – Results by sentences	138

Introduction

On this Master's Degree dissertation it will be discussed the syntactic problem about the Verb Movement in Spanish Language. The given topic will be analyzed on a Generative Approach, i.e. approaching the language and its grammar as system generated by human cognition.

The research question that we have is whether Spanish is a “low” verb movement in which the verb would rise only to low part of the phrase as in English or it would follow the rest of Romance languages such as Italian or French where the verb reach higher position.

In this research we present the hypothesis that Spanish verb acts as the rest of the most of Romance Language verbs and rises to $T_{(Anterior)}$. Although the literature usually indicates Spanish language as a “low” verb movement for the use of low adverbs before the verb, the scope of this research is to demonstrate that Spanish may have the same or at least similar verb movement towards higher positions as other Romance varieties.

Assuming the fact that all languages have the same Functional Head System, it will be taken Functional Head System the one presented by Cinque (1999) as it has been done in many other researchers on this domain. However, the methodology used for this researcher will also fix the limitation on low adverbs which may go high in the Left Periphery Structure leading to unreliable results for our hypothesis.

This dissertation starts with the first chapter as Theoretical Background for the whole research. It begins with a presentation of all the assumptions of the Generative approach and the Universal Grammar until arriving the Cartographic project. Moreover, all the main theories that are useful for the final analysis and for conclusion are referred, as well as, an introduction to the Spanish language, its grammar and a brief comparison in this context to the other Romance Languages.

Then, it will be found the second chapter about the methodology followed to do the research. It includes the choice of the elements included in the test to the speakers during the process of creation, the processes of piloting and procedure of the test.

The third chapter can be found with the results of all the variables created for testing our hypothesis followed by a discussion of these results and the conclusions of our research. Finally, the whole bibliography for this dissertation can be found as well as the appendixes.

Chapter 1

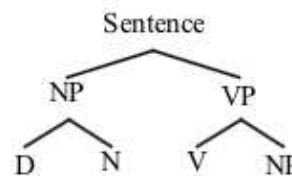
Theoretical Background

1.1 From Generative Syntax Beginnings to the Cartographic Approach

The generative approach to linguistics is a theoretical framework that emerged in the mid-20th century and has since had a significant impact on the field. The publication of *Syntactic Structures* by Chomsky (1957) was considered the birth of generative approach. Chomsky (1957) is a seminal work in which the author proposed a new model of grammar based on formal rules for generating sentences.

The previous syntactic analysis were based on the identification of the main part of the phrase which was formed by a NP and a VP represented as in (1). (Chomsky, 1957; Belletti, 1990)

- (1) *i. Sentence*
ii. NP + VP
iii. T + N + Verb + NP



It focused on the description of the surface-level structures of language. Structuralist syntactic analysis sought to identify the basic units of language, in this case phrase and kind of words. Therefore, its limitations includes its

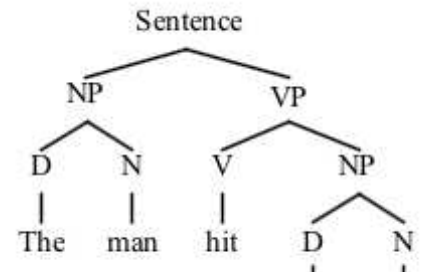
inability to account for the creativity of language use. However, this traditionalist approach of the key contributions of this approach was the development of the notion of dependency grammar, which identified the relationships between words in a sentence.

This kind of analysis could work for the simplest sentences, but, the not give further information, such as the relation between constituencies, derivation, transformation, etc. For example, the analysis of sentence as “the man hit the ball” and “the ball was hit by the man”. (Chomsky, 1957)

(2) *iv. the + N + Verb + NP*

[...]

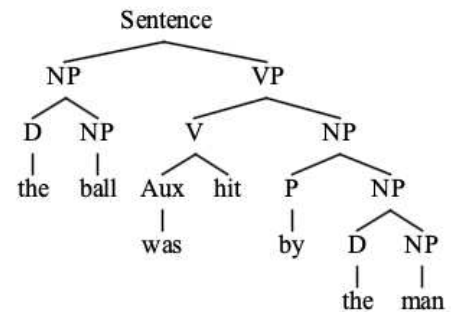
ix. the + man + hit + the + ball



(3) *iv. the + N + Verb + NP*

[...]

ix. the + ball + was + hit + by + the + man



As it can be seen in (2) and (3) the changes of their structure is minimum although the relations between constituencies and the meaning of the sentences is way different. The new model proposed by Chomsky (1957) went through all the limitations and gave a place in the analysis to grammatic elements which were not taken into consideration until that moment.

Although the key differences between the generative approach and previous approaches is its focus on formal models of language. Generative linguists seek to uncover the underlying rules that govern the structure of language, and they do so through the use of formal frameworks of language use.

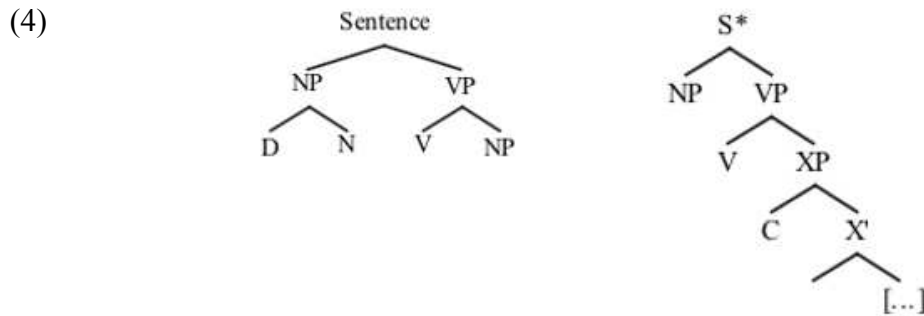
Another difference is the generative approach's emphasis on the innate nature of language acquisition. According to the generative approach, humans are born with an innate ability to acquire language, and this ability is reflected in the universal grammar (UG) presented by Chomsky (1977, 1981), a set of principles and parameters that underlie all human languages. (Carnie 2002)

From a more syntactic approach, elements such as modal verbs, auxiliaries verbs, etc. have a place in the sentence. Moreover, the sentence transformation such as questions or passive sentences were also considered in this new analysis of Chosmky. (Belletti, 1990)

This different treatment was very important, every verb kind was a focus and around it the sentence was built. Nevertheless, the practice of reducing the sentence into NP and VP would be widely extended during the 60s and 70s. (Belletti, 1990)

The 80s was an important period for Generative Syntax progresses and crucial for Cartography approach birth (Rizzi, 2004). Chomsky published another two works, *Lectures on government and binding* (1981) and *Barriers* (1986) key to understand of the progresses of the discipline.

In these two works Chomsky (1981, 1986) reposed various of his theories perfectionated and already presented during the previous years. Firstly, it is important to highlight the X-bar theory¹ as in his first works Chomsky proposed a structure full of connections, not a plain structure with [S[NP]+[VP]] lacking of relation between constituencies that would be further.



All the connections that Chomsky claimed are represented in a number of ‘sub-theories’ already published in his previous work: bounding theory², government theory³, θ -theory⁴, binding theory⁵, case theory⁶ and control theory⁷. Led by Chomsky and his theories during this decade other authors and researches started creating more specific projections in the sentence’s structure and elements (Chomsky 1986, Tescari Neto, 2018; 2019).

¹ The theory proposes that a phrase consists of three components: a specifier, a head, and a complement. The X-bar theory allows for the description of a wide range of sentence structures in a relatively simple and systematic manner, and it has been influential in the development of subsequent generative theories of syntax.

² The bounding theory poses locality conditions on certain processes an related items.

³ The government theory is the relation between the head of a construction and categories dependent on it.

⁴ This theory concerns with the assignment of thematic roles such as agent, patient, etc.

⁵ Concerns with relations of anapjors, pronouns, names and variables to possible antecedents.

⁶ Deals with the assignment of abstract cases and its morphological realization.

⁷ Determines the potential for reference of the abstract pronominal element PRO.

During the 1980s and 1990s, empirical evidence showed the complexity of the syntactic structure. During the innovation of these decades, there are some authors to be highlighted for this process. Most important works will be further discussed in the following paragraphs and the following sections of this framework section.

The first topic and the author is IP-Structure and Jean-Yves Pollock. Pollock was one of the pioneers on the topic of movement and further mapping of the sentence. Led by Chomsky's (1957, 1970, 1986) English-French comparisons, Pollock compared the structure using aspectual adverbs (*often/souvent, seldom/rarement, hardly/a peine*).

Pollock's theory suggests that the movement of verbs is a universal property of human language and is constrained by the principles of Universal Grammar. According to Pollock, verbs move to a position above the inflectional phrase (IP) in the sentence, which is where tense, mood, and agreement features are expressed. This movement is triggered by the need to check these features against the properties of the verb.

Pollock argues that there are two main types of verb movement: head movement and phrasal movement. Head movement involves the movement of the verb itself, while phrasal movement involves the movement of the entire verb phrase. Pollock's theory proposes that head movement is the more basic type of verb movement and that phrasal movement is a more complex phenomenon that can be derived from head movement.

Another topic is the interface between morphology and syntax. Mark Baker is a prominent linguist who has made significant contributions to the field of syntax and morphology. One of Baker's key contributions to this field is the development of the Mirror Principle, which states that the morphological features of a sentence must reflect its underlying structure.

Baker (1985, 1988) aims to demonstrate that morphology and syntax are associated by parallel derivations, i.e., morphemes should be combined in a word in the order in which the syntactic processes are associated. The Mirror Principle was claimed to be part of Universal Grammar by Baker. (Alsina, 2009)

Finally, it is to be highlighted the work about the Functional Structures by Guglielmo Cinque and the birth of Cartography⁸ approach. Cartography is a framework that seeks to identify the functional structure of language and to map this structure across different languages. According to the cartographic approach, the syntax of a sentence can be broken down into a series of functional phrases, each of which corresponds to a specific aspect of meaning. These functional phrases are arranged hierarchically, and the structure of a sentence can be determined by analyzing the position of each functional phrase within the hierarchy.

This trend found one of its culmination in the already nominated work Cinque (1999), in which the author showed morphological, syntactic, and interpretive evidence in the exploration of the fine details of the clausal structure

⁸ The cartographic approach was born together to the minimalist framework which is focused on developing a theory of Universal Grammar that can account for the syntax of all languages. According to the minimalist approach, the structure of a sentence can be derived from a set of universal principles and operations that apply in all languages.

across languages. (Rizzi, 2004; Tescari Neto, 2018) Moreover, he showed how complex the sentence structure could be and provided an appealing cross-linguistical model, that would lead later on the study on adverbial position of Cinque (1999).

Cinque's work has had a significant impact on the study of syntax and semantics, and his ideas continue to shape research in these areas. His approach to the analysis of adverbs has been widely adopted, and his insights into the organization of functional heads have led to new discoveries about the structure of language. Overall, Cinque's work represents an important contribution to our understanding of the nature of language and the principles that govern its structure.

1.2 On Movement and Sentence Structure

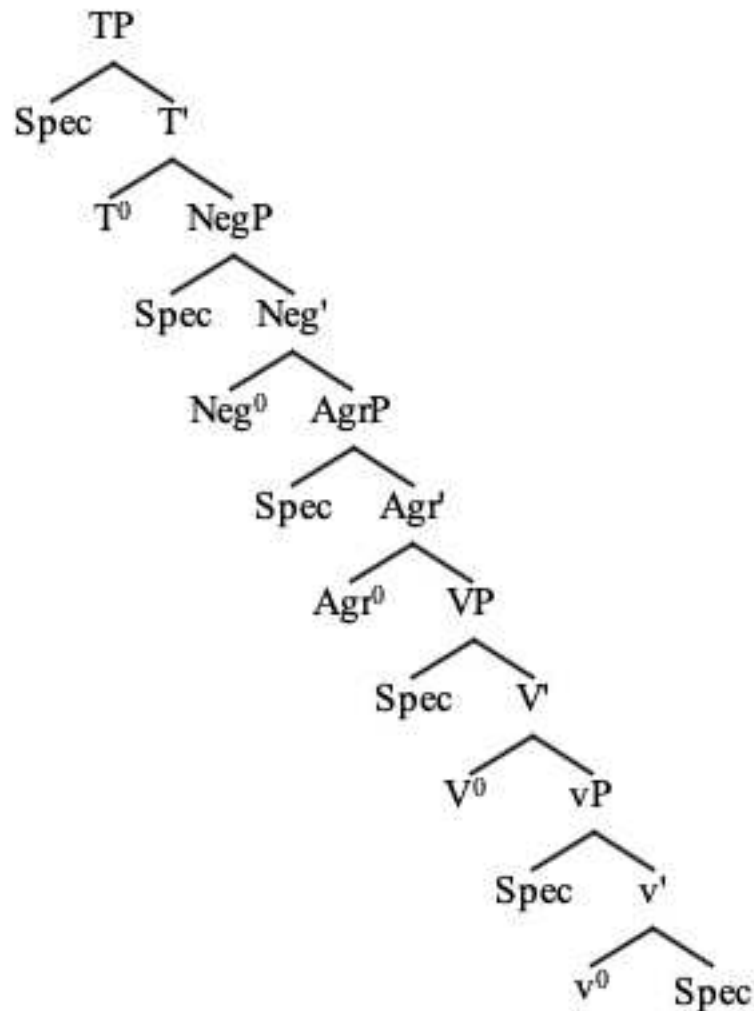
1.2.1 Sentence Structure – IP Structure & Cinque's Hierarchy

As it has been stated in the last paragraph of the previous section Cartography framework attempts to create a as precise and detailed map of syntactic configurations. The precursor of this approach is Jean-Yves Pollock and his split-IP hypothesis.

Overall, Pollock's theory is an important contribution to the field of generative syntax, providing a framework for understanding the mechanisms underlying the movement of verbs in natural languages. Pollock proposed that in sentences where inflectional elements are split from the verb, the IP

(Inflectional Phrase) is split into, at least, two parts, namely Tense Phrase (TP) and Agreement Phrase (AgrP) as seen in (5).

(5)



The IP-split hypothesis is based on the idea that the movement of inflectional elements is triggered by the need for these elements to be visible in the sentence compared in English and French with aspectual adverbs as in (6).

- (6) a. *John kisses often Mary.
b. Jean embrasse souvent Marie.
c. John often kisses Mary.
d. *Jean souvent embrasse Marie.

His cross-linguistic research showed the differences on verb movement between English and French. From that moment, it was the starting point and bases for every single research on verb movement using AdvPs⁹ as proof the raise.

The hypothesis for the trigger of verbal elements is inflection. Therefore, languages with a strong verbal morphology may need to move to a higher position in which the verb may receive the aspectual information. In the case of weak verbal morphology languages the verb may not move as there is no information to be taken through the structure. Pollock's analysis is based on the theta criterion for which: "each argument bears one and only one θ -role, and each θ -role is assigned to one and only one argument" (Chomsky, 1981).

This was also suggested by Mirror Principle (Baker, 1985) based on the relationship between morphology and syntax. This can be easily seen on passive constructions such as in (7) and (8).

- (7) The cats chase the mouse every day.
(8) The mouse is chased by the cats every day.

⁹ Pollock (1989) assumes that adverbs are static and do not move inside the structure of the sentence.

It can be observed how the two sentences are different, but the superficial meaning is apparently the same. In the (7) the NP *the mouse* is the patient (the mouse) with role of direct object, instead in (8) the phrase takes the role of subject. Another difference in the both sentence is the verb, the usage of an auxiliary and inflection of the verb in the second sentence, respecting the principle as Baker said “any complete account will have to encompass both aspects, the syntactic and the morphological”.

The Mirror Principle stipulates that structure should reflect the structure of the words, i.e. the order of affixes must reflect the order of the application of syntactic rules. Affixation occurs, therefore through head-movements in the Tree of the syntactic structure. It suggests that the order of structure should reflect the structure of the words. This was further researched and the verb would be believed to move to a the MTA projections (i.e. Mood/Mode, Tense and Aspect) firstly and then AgrP to take the agreement morphology. (Belletti, 1990, Biberauer & Roberts, 2008)

A more recent theory that has been proposed to explain the relationship between syntax and morphology is Distributed Morphology (DM) (Halle and Marantz, 1993). DM suggests that the rules that govern word formation and the rules that govern sentence structure are not separate but are integrated into a single system. According to DM, words are formed by the combination of roots and morphemes, and these words are then inserted into the syntactic structure of the sentence. In this way, the structure of the sentence is intimately linked to the structure of the words that make it up.

Following, these analysis would explain why in Romance languages have a verb movement, whilst there is not always such a phenomenon in Germanic. Lexical Romance verbs raise towards a higher projection letting the vP, instead this phenomenon is not seen for example in English as in Pollock (1989). The difference between the different Romance languages and, specifically, to Spanish language will be presented in the last section of this chapter.

Accepting this theories, Cinque (1999) provides evidence that prove the universal and fixed order of adverbs. He suggests that adverbs themselves have distinct projections in which each adverb is the specifier. In his study he proves the existence of a fixed and universal order that the adverbial projections follow in all languages (9).

(9)

[*frankly* Mood_{speech act} [*fortunately* Mood_{evaluative} [*allegedly* Mood_{evidential}
 [*probably* Mod_{epistemic} [*once* T(Past) [*then* T(Future) [*perhaps* Mood_{irrealis}
 [*necessarily* Mod_{necessity} [*possibly* Mod_{possibility} [*usually* Asp_{habitual}
 [*again* Asp_{repetitive(I)} [*often* Asp_{frequentative(I)} [*intentionally* Mod_{volitional}
 [*quickly* Asp_{celerative(I)} [*already* T(Anterior) [*no longer* Asp_{terminative} [*still* Asp_{continuative}
 [*always* Asp_{perfect(?)} [*just* Asp_{retrospective} [*soon* Asp_{proximative}
 [*briefly* Asp_{durative} [*characteristically(?)* Asp_{generic/progressive} [*almost* Asp_{prospective}
 [*completely* Asp_{SgCompletive(I)} [*tutto* Asp_{PtCompletive} [*well* Voice [*fast/early*
 Asp_{celerative(II)} [*again* Asp_{repetitive(II)} [*often*
 Asp_{frequentative(II)} [*completely* Asp_{SgCompletive(II)}

Cinque (1999) proposed that each level of the clause structure would contain an adverb in the specifier position and a particle, bound morpheme, free morpheme, restructuring verb, modal verb or other elements in the corresponding head position. In order to establish the Universal Hierarchy of clausal functional projections, Cinque (1999) conducted transitivity tests

involving different types of adverbs (Cinque 1999). By analyzing the relative order of two adverbs from different classes in different combinations, as seen in (10) and (11), he was able to determine their respective positions in the hierarchy. (Cinque, 1999, 2006)

(10) * AdvP_B > AdvP_A

AdvP_A > AdvP_B

(11) * AdvP_C > AdvP_B

AdvP_B > AdvP_C

From the combination of (10) and (11), it can be inferred that AdvP_A comes before AdvP_B, which in turn precedes AdvP_C. This can be demonstrated through English examples featuring four higher adverbs: speech act, evaluative, evidential and epistemic adverbs. The following examples are taken from Cinque (1999: 33).

(12) Honestly I am unfortunately unable to help you.

*Unfortunately I am honestly unable to help you.

The Cinque hierarchy presented in (12) is established by examining the order of adverbs, which corresponds to the order of functional heads, providing significant evidence for the functional nature of Adverb Phrases (AdvPs). The Universal Hierarchy was derived from the order of adverbs and functional heads, which Cinque demonstrated by testing various languages, including French, Italian, English, Chinese, Hebrew, Albanian and Serbo-Croatian.

The functional nature of AdvPs is supported by this evidence as adverbs and functional heads correspond in number, relative order, and semantic type. Cinque's hierarchy is based on a thorough investigation of the position and order of adverbs and functional heads in various languages, providing important evidence for the functional nature of AdvPs.

Subsequently, it is possible to analyze the movement of verbs by looking at adverbs. Given that adverbs are static, when they appear in different positions in a sentence it means that other elements have moved around them, such as verbs.

Moreover, Cinque (1999) proposes that adverbs can be classified based on their position in the sentence, specifically the position in the clause structure. High adverbs are those that appear in the specifier position of a functional projection above the tense phrase, while low adverbs appear just above the verb phrase. In other words, high adverbs are situated in the left periphery of the clause structure, while low adverbs are situated below it.

Cinque (1999) argues that high adverbs have a wider scope than low adverbs. This means that high adverbs modify the entire sentence or a larger constituent, while low adverbs modify a narrower constituent. For example, in the sentence "John only eats vegetables on Mondays," the high adverb "only" modifies the entire sentence, indicating that John doesn't eat anything else besides vegetables on Mondays. In contrast, the low adverb "on Mondays" modifies the verb phrase "eats vegetables," indicating that John only eats vegetables on Mondays.

Cinque (1999) further proposes that high adverbs have a more abstract and functional meaning, while low adverbs have a more concrete and lexical meaning. High adverbs are often associated with operators such as negation, quantification, and modality, while low adverbs are associated with adjectives or verbs. For example, in the sentence "John completely finished the project," the high adverb "completely" indicates that the event of finishing the project is exhaustive and has no residue, while the low adverb "finished" modifies the verb and indicates the completion of the project.

1.2.2 Sentence Structure – CP & Left Periphery

In this section it will be approached a further part of the sentences and a further type of modification by movement, namely the movement towards the Complementizer Phrase (CP) and Left Periphery of the sentence.

The left periphery and the CP are two important syntactic domains in generative grammar, each playing a distinct role in the organization of the clause. While both regions involve the syntactic and semantic structure of the clause, they have different functions and are located in different positions within the clause.

The CP layer is a functional structure that sits above the IP layer in the sentence. It is responsible for marking the illocutionary force of the sentence, and it is here that pragmatic features are realized. The different types of pragmatic features can be classified into two categories: discourse-related and speaker-related features (Rizzi, 1997).

The left periphery refers to the initial positions in the clause that come before the sentence nucleus, i.e., the verb phrase. In particular, the left periphery includes functional categories such as the specifier of the CP, the interrogative phrase (wh-phrase), the topic phrase, and the focus phrase. In contrast, the CP is a functional phrase that appears at the top of the clause structure, above the IP (inflection phrase) and TP (tense phrase).

The left periphery encodes discourse-related information, such as topic and focus, which are crucial for understanding the discourse context of the sentence. For example, consider the following sentences:

- (13) a. John went to the store.
 b. To the store, John went.

Both sentences have the same basic information, but (13b) emphasizes the location of the event and highlights “John” as the participant. This is achieved by moving the prepositional phrase "to the store" to the left periphery of the clause, which is associated with the discourse function of topic. In contrast, the CP encodes the syntactic structure of the sentence, such as the type of clause (e.g., declarative, interrogative, or imperative) and the illocutionary force of the clause.

Movement has been and still is one of the operations that may have interested most in the syntactic field. The concept of movement came together the notions of structure preservation introduced by Emonds and the

development of first wh-movement¹⁰ and the trace of movement theories during the early 1970s and it is one of transformational rules that make possible to adapt the lexicon and create the grammatical sentence in every language. (Lightfoot & Hornstein, 1994; Rizzi, 1997)

The movement is not exclusive for only one kind of syntactic element, maybe the most known is Head-to-Head Movement; as its name indicates it is the movement of the head of any kind of phrase towards a head position of a higher projection. Verb movement is compressed in this type of syntactic movement, but also the noun movement in a NP/DP or PP.

In the generative approach to syntax, the study of movement towards CP and the sentence periphery has been of great interest. The sentence periphery is defined as the edges of the sentence, which are composed of the left and right peripheries. The left periphery, in particular, is associated with the higher functional projections in the syntax, including the Complementizer Phrase (CP), which is a functional phrase that marks the syntactic structure of declarative, interrogative, and exclamatory sentences.

The concept of movement towards CP and the sentence periphery refers to the process by which elements in a sentence move to the edges of the sentence, particularly towards the CP. This movement is crucial in the generative approach as it helps to explain the surface structure of sentences and the relationships between various syntactic elements. One of the most well-known

¹⁰ Wh-movement is the relocation of a wh-word to the sentence's beginning. It alters syntax without changing meaning. For instance, "John saw the man who stole his wallet" becomes "Who stole his wallet, John saw the man." This phenomenon is studied in generative linguistics (Chomsky, 1986).

theories of movement towards CP is the "Raising to Subject" theory proposed by Chomsky (1981), which suggests that the subject of a sentence is generated in a position lower in the structure and then moves up to the specifier position of the CP. This movement creates a structure that allows for the licensing of the verb and the subject in the sentence.

There are also theories that suggest that movement towards the sentence periphery is not limited to the CP and the left periphery. For example, the "Scrambling" theory proposes that elements in the sentence can move freely to the right periphery as well, creating structures that are different from the surface order of words in the sentence (Kuno, 1973).

The study of movement towards CP and the sentence periphery has been crucial in the generative approach to syntax, as it helps to explain the complex structures and relationships between various syntactic elements in language. Theories such as Raising to Subject, wh-movement, and Scrambling have been extensively studied and have led to significant advancements in our understanding of the syntax of human language. (Benincà & Munaro, 2011)

In their article *Topic, Focus and V2: defining the CP sublayers*, Benincà and Poletto (2005) explore the structure of the clause periphery in languages with V2 word order. They argue that the clause periphery is composed of several sublayers, each of which has a distinct syntactic function.

The authors begin by providing an overview of the clause periphery and its role in sentence structure. They note that in languages with V2 word order, the verb must appear in second position in the sentence, which means that other

elements must be moved to the clause periphery in order to convey information about topic and focus.

Benincà and Poletto (2004) then propose a model of the clause periphery that includes four sublayers: ForceP, TopP, FocP, and FinP. ForceP is responsible for marking the illocutionary force of the sentence, while TopP and FocP mark the topic and focus, respectively. Finally, FinP is responsible for marking features such as tense, agreement, and negation.

The authors provide evidence for their model by examining data from several languages with V2 word order, including German, Dutch and Italian. They show that the different sublayers of the clause periphery can be distinguished based on the distribution of various syntactic features, such as wh-movement, clitic placement, and verb movement.

The study of this region of the sentences is quite important since the movement of “low” elements could mean a wrong analysis of the whole structure. In the case of adverbs, for example, they are an important element of the left periphery and sentence nucleus, their placement can have a significant impact on the meaning of a sentence for speakers and lead to changes in the original position of the element.

Low adverbs are adverbs that modify the verb or predicate of a sentence, and are often used to indicate tense, aspect, or negation. In Romance languages, tense adverbs may be found typically placed in the left periphery of the sentence, preceding the subject. For example, in Italian, the sentence "Domani verrò a trovarti" (Tomorrow I will come to see you) has the tense adverb "domani"

(tomorrow) in the left periphery. Also, aspect adverbs are also typically placed in the left periphery of the sentence. Also in Spanish, the sentence "Siempre te querré" (I will always love you) has the aspect adverb "siempre" (always) in the left periphery.

1.3 On Romance Languages and Spanish

The Romance languages are a group of languages that evolved from Latin, spoken mainly in Europe and Latin America. They include Spanish, Portuguese, French, Italian, Romanian, and several others. These languages share many similarities in their grammar, vocabulary, and syntax, making them an interesting subject of study for linguists.

Studies in generative linguistics have focused on various aspects of the Romance languages, including their syntax, morphology, and phonology. For instance, researchers have explored the role of syntax in the formation of questions and negations in Spanish and French (Zagona, 2006), as well as the use of morphology to express tense, aspect, and mood in Italian and Portuguese (Monachesi, 2006; Raposo & Uriagereka, 2016).

In addition, generative linguistics has shed light on the evolution of the Romance languages over time, as well as their interactions with other languages and cultures. For example, studies have examined the impact of Arabic on the development of Spanish and Portuguese during the medieval period (Lapesa, 1981), as well as the influence of French on the syntax and vocabulary of English (Hickey, 2010).

Regarding our research, we can find a Romance comparative study of verb movement in Schifano (2018). Schifano’s research delves into the topic of verb placement in various Romance variants. The author begins by highlighting the placement of the verb inside the I-domain, noting the high displacement exhibited in the Head-Adverb-Specifier (HAS) region and Lower-Adverb-Specifier (LAS) region, having the following distribution on Cinque (1999) Hierarchy:

a HAS

[*francamente* ‘frankly’ Mood_{speech act} [... [*probabilmente* ‘probably’ Mod_{epistemic} [... [*forse* ‘perhaps’ Mood_{irrealis} [... [*generalmente / di solito* ‘usually’ Asp_{habitual} [... [*spesso* ‘often’ Asp_{frequentative(event)} [*apposta* ‘intentionally’ Mod_{volitional} [...

b LAS

[*mica* ‘not’ Neg_{1presuppositional} [*già* ‘already’ T_(anterior) [... [*ancora* ‘still’ Asp_{continuative} [*sempre* ‘always’ Asp_{perfect} [... [*completamente* ‘completely’ Asp_{SgCompletive(event)} [... [*bene* ‘well’ Voice [... [v-VP ...

Going through the diverse variants researched by Schifano, we can observe the following division as summary:

Position		Romance variant
HAS	HIGH (Mod _{epistemic})	French, Romanian
	MEDIUM (Asp _{habitual})	-
	LOW (Mod _{volitional})	Sardinian, Northern Regional Italian, Central Regional Italian, Northern Italian dialects
LAS	HIGH (T _(anterior))	European Portuguese, Southern Regional Italian, Southern Italian dialects
	MEDIUM (Asp _{continuative})	-
	LOW (Voice)	Spanish, Valencian Catalan

In summary, Schifano's research reveals that both French and Romanian verbs tend to occupy higher positions within the clausal spine. They consistently appear in the higher adverbial specifier (HAS) region. Central and Northern regional varieties of Italian show a preference for lower verb placement, within the lower HAS region. Southern Italian variants and Portuguese, however, exhibit a verb placement in the highest part of the low adverbial specifier (LAS). Valencian Catalan and Spanish verbs do not reach the medium part of the LAS, implying a tendency towards lower verb placement in these languages.

Verb movement in Spanish has been a topic of debate among linguists for many years. Traditionally, Spanish has been classified as a low-movement¹¹ variety by scholars such as Cinque (1999), Zagona (2002), Ledgeway and Lombardi (2005, 2014), Ledgeway (2012) and Schifano (2018).

Taking a look to Schifano's (2018), the study focuses on the comparison of varieties of Spanish spoken in Tarancón (Castilla-La-Mancha, Spain) and Ciudad de México (Mexican Spanish). The analysis presents data on the Peninsular variety, unless otherwise specified due to space constraints. The study finds that the Spanish verb consistently follows high adverbs such as *probablemente*, *a lo mejor*, and *generalmente* at the top of the high adverb system, whereas the opposite pattern is ungrammatical. In the low adverb system, the scenario becomes more nuanced. Although the verb can appear to the left of low adverbs such as *ya*, *todavía*, and *siempre*, this option is pragmatically marked. The unmarked ordering is the one in which the verb appears to their right.

¹¹ In linguistics, a low-movement variety refers to a language or dialect where syntactic movement of elements within a sentence is relatively limited.

The study further reveals that the verb obligatorily follows the adverbs that lexicalize the lowest positions of the low adverbs, such as *apenas* and *casi*, *completamente* and *bien*, with no optionality allowed. Speakers perceive the post-adverbial placement of the verb as the most natural option, while its placement above low adverbs is pragmatically marked. However, the intonational contour of the two orderings is identical, with adverbs endowed with the same flat intonation in both cases. Therefore, a cartographic approach suggests that a pragmatically marked reading of a constituent can only be triggered by its dislocation to a peripheral position. Consequently, the Adv-V orderings are the only ones that indicate the extent of verb movement in Spanish, with the verb targeting a very low position sandwiched between *casi* (AspProspective) and *completamente* (AspSgCompletive(event)). (Schifano, 2018,)

However, some authors such as Garzonio and Poletto (2011, 2014) have suggested that the grammaticality of certain V-Adv patterns, in Italian dialects considered low verb movement, indicates a higher verb displacement. The article by Garzonio and Poletto (2014) examines the order of verbs and aspectual adverbs in Abruzzese varieties. They found that some adverbs, particularly negative adverbs and "already", mostly appear in preverbal position. The authors suggest that this does not necessarily mean that verbs move less in these dialects compared to other Italian varieties. They propose that preverbal adverbs may target a different operator position in the left periphery, possibly a dedicated position for aspectual adverbs. The authors also suggest that allowing adverb movement to the CP can maintain Cinque's core idea and shed light on

the dynamics of residual verb second. This idea can be applied to the study of adverb placement in Spanish to gain insight into the movement of the verb.

Another author who argues for a higher position of Spanish verb movement is Tippets (2011). Tippets' study focuses on the placement of adverbs in relation to the verb in varieties of Spanish spoken in Mexico City and Madrid. The results of the study suggest that adverbs in Spanish have a complex hierarchy of placement, with high adverbs such as *siempre* and *nunca* occurring in a consistently preverbal position, and low adverbs such as *todavía* and *ya* showing more variation in their placement.

Overall, the debate about the degree of verb movement in Spanish remains unresolved, with different scholars proposing different analyses of the placement of adverbs in relation to the verb. However, studies such as those by Schifano (2018) and Tippets (2011) demonstrate the importance of carefully examining the placement of adverbs in Spanish in order to gain insight into the complex syntactic structure of the language.

1.3.1 On Spanish Language

Spanish is a Romance language spoken by over 500 million people worldwide, making it the second most spoken language in the world. In the field of generative syntax, Spanish has been a popular language of study due to its rich morphological and syntactic structure, which poses interesting challenges for formal models of grammar. (Aboh, Van der Linden., Quer, J & Sleeman, 2009)

One of the defining features of Spanish is its morphology. The Spanish morphology is the rich system of inflectional suffixes that mark grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, mood and gender. These suffixes are often fusional, meaning that they contain information about multiple categories in a single morpheme (e.g., the suffix –aba in *hablaba* ‘he/she was speaking’ marks both past tense and imperfect aspect). This morphological complexity has posed interesting challenges for generative models of grammar, particularly in the area of morphophonology and morphosyntax. (Zagona, 2002; 2006)

In terms of syntax, Spanish exhibits a number of interesting properties that have been the subject of much research in the generative tradition. One of these is the phenomenon of word order variation, where the subject, verb, and object can appear in different orders depending on the discourse context and pragmatic factors.

For example, in a sentence like in (14):

- (14) Juan come una manzana
 subj. eat – 3 p. sing inf-art fem apple
 Juan eats an apple

The subject and object can appear before or after the verb (15a), as well as, the verb can appear at the beginning (15b) or the end of the sentence (15c).

- (15) a. Una manzana come Juan.
 b. Come Juan una manzana.
 c. Juan una manzana come.

1.3.1.1 On Spanish dialects

On a dialectal level, two of the most widely recognized variants are known as macro dialects A and B. This section aims to provide an overview of the distinct characteristics, geographic distribution, and linguistic features of these macro dialects. It is important to acknowledge that Spanish macro dialects are not homogeneous entities but rather encompass a diverse collection of dialectal variations found across different regions. While there are shared overall characteristics, it is worth noting that subtle differences in phonetics, vocabulary, and grammar may exist within various geographic areas. Understanding the nuances and diversity within these macro dialects enhances our appreciation of the complexity and richness of the Spanish language. (Aleza Izquierdo & Enguita Utrilla, 2010)

Macro-Dialect A, also referred to as the Northern Iberian dialect, is predominantly spoken in the northern regions of the Iberian Peninsula, as well as in interal areas within the Spanish-speaking Americas. This dialect is characterized by several distinct linguistic features that set it apart from other variations of the Spanish language.

One notable feature of Macro-Dialect A is its more conservative pronunciation, where most consonant sounds remain invariable. This tendency contributes to a distinct accent and pronunciation patterns observed in the dialect. However, it is worth mentioning that American varieties of macro dialect A shares the widespread "seseo" phenomenon with the rest of the

Spanish spoken in the Americas, where the sounds /s/ and /θ/ are pronounced the same way.

In terms of grammar, macro dialect A tends to preserve more conservative forms. It commonly utilizes the pronouns "tú" and "vosotros" for the second person, while in the American Spanish, the pronouns "usted" and "ustedes" are more commonly used. This phenomenon is predominantly found in the Spanish spoken in Spain, highlighting a grammatical distinction between the two regions.

Macro dialect B, commonly referred to as the Southern Iberian dialect, is spoken in the southern regions of the Iberian Peninsula, as well as in countries like Argentina, Chile, and the coastal areas of Spanish-speaking nations. This dialect exhibits unique linguistic characteristics that set it apart from other variants of the Spanish language. One of the prominent features of macro dialect B is the phenomenon known as "seseo" or "ceceo," where the sounds /s/ and /θ/ are pronounced in the same way, either as all /s/ in the case of "seseo" or all /θ/ in the case of "ceceo," although the latter is less common within the Spanish-speaking community. Moreover, various other phonetic transformations are present in the different dialects that constitute this extensive group.

One of the notable phonetic features of macro dialect B is the aspiration of the /s/ sound, especially at the end of words or before consonants. For instance, words like /las/ may be pronounced as /lah/ in this macro dialect. This aspiration contributes to the distinctive accent and pronunciation patterns observed in the Southern Iberian dialect.

In addition to phonetic variations, macro dialect B exhibits differences in the use of personal pronouns. A significant portion of its speakers employ the formal pronouns "usted" and "ustedes" instead of the informal "tú" and "vosotros" for the second person. This preference for the formal pronouns reflects a specific cultural and linguistic tendency in the Southern Iberian regions. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the use of the pronoun "vos" is also present in some regions, particularly in Argentina, adding another layer of diversity to the dialect.

Aside from their phonetic and lexical differences, the macro dialects A and B also exhibit variations in their grammar and syntax. For instance, macro dialect A showcases a more intricate verbal inflection system compared to macro dialect B, characterized by a greater presence of irregular verbs and a higher frequency of the subjunctive mood. In contrast, macro dialect B tends to employ a simplified verb conjugation system, with a prevalence of regular verbs and a reduced usage of the subjunctive.

Presently, extensive efforts are being made to record and analyze these differences in a pan-Hispanic context. Although some of these variations can be observed across the entire macro dialect spectrum, macro dialect A is generally regarded as the closest approximation to standard Spanish. However, it is essential to recognize that the notion of a "standard" Spanish itself is subject to variation and interpretation.

The study of these macro dialects contributes to a deeper understanding of the linguistic diversity within the Spanish-speaking world. By documenting and analyzing these differences, linguists and researchers strive to shed light on the

intricate tapestry of the Spanish language, acknowledging the regional variations that enrich its cultural and linguistic landscape.

For this research, speakers of the Andalusian variety were approached, which is a dialect of Spanish spoken in the southern region of Spain. This particular dialect exhibits distinctive phonological, morphological, and syntactic features that distinguish it from other varieties of Spanish. In this section, we will briefly explore the primary characteristics of the Andalusian variety, encompassing its phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary. (Alvar, 1988)

One of the most striking features of the Andalusian dialect is its distinct accent. Andalusian Spanish is characterized by a phenomenon called "seseo" where the sound /θ/ is replaced by /s/ (Lipski, 2018). Consequently, words such as "zumo" (juice) and "gracias" (thank you) are pronounced as "sumo" and "grasias," respectively. Furthermore, the Andalusian dialect incorporates "ceceo," a pronunciation in which both /s/ and /θ/ are articulated as /s/, primarily found in the eastern and western parts of Andalusia where "casa" (house) or mesa (table) are pronounced as "caza" /caθa/ and "meza" /meθa/ (Penny, 2002).

Additionally, Andalusian Spanish is renowned for its frequent utilization of diminutives, achieved by appending the suffix "-ito" or "-ita" to the end of a word. For example, "café" (coffee) becomes "cafecito" (little coffee) in Andalusian Spanish. The Andalusian dialect also possesses a unique vocabulary that sets it apart from other Spanish varieties¹². Andalusian Spanish employs its

¹² Some examples "Tufillo" - A slight or subtle smell (Spanish: "olor"), derived from the Mozarabic word "tufillu" influenced by Arabic "tuf" (fragrance); "Pisha" - A colloquial term used to address a friend

own terms for various common items (Penny, 2002). Moreover, Andalusian Spanish boasts a rich assortment of idioms and expressions not commonly found in other Spanish dialects.

Alongside these phonological and morphological features, Andalusian Spanish showcases distinctive grammatical characteristics. One notable feature is the frequent use of the imperfect tense, which is more prevalent in Andalusian Spanish compared to other varieties (Salaberry & Lavaur, 2018). The imperfect tense, typically used to describe ongoing or habitual actions in the past, also serves a unique function in Andalusian Spanish, where it can be employed as a conditional tense.

For instance, consider the following examples (16):

(16)

Si	yo	tenía	dinero,	te	invitaba	a	cenar.
conj.	proun.	v. imp.	noun	obj. proun.	v. imp	prep	inf. v.
	1 st p. sing.	1 st p. sing	uncou.	2 nd p. sing	1 st p. sing		
If	I	have	money	you	invite	to	dinner

If I had money, I would invite you to dinner.

(Spanish: "amigo"), derived from the Arabic word "bīša" (my friend); "Chiquillo/a" - Diminutive form of the Spanish word "chico/a" (boy/girl), derived from the Latin "ciccum" (little). (Penny, 2002)

In these instances, the imperfect tense is used to convey a hypothetical or conditional situation, indicating an action that would have occurred under certain circumstances. This usage demonstrates the versatility and distinctiveness of the imperfect tense in Andalusian Spanish.

In the case of the Huelva province, the dialect spoken there represents a unique variation of the standard Andalusian dialect, influenced by both Andalusian and Portuguese languages. In terms of phonology, the Huelva dialect exhibits distinct characteristics that set it apart from standard Spanish. Notably, the pronunciation of the letter "s" is notable. In Huelva, "s" is often pronounced as a soft "h" sound or omitted entirely in specific contexts, such as at the end of a word or before a consonant. For instance, instead of "los coches" (the cars), it is common to hear "lohcocheh" or "locochéh".

The syntax of the Huelva dialect aligns with other Andalusian dialects but incorporates distinct features. Generally, it follows the Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) order like standard Spanish, but in certain contexts, especially questions or negations, the subject is commonly placed after the verb. For example, instead of "Yo estoy bien" (I am fine), it is common to say "¿Estoy yo bien?" (Am I fine?) or "¿No estoy yo bien?" (Am I not fine?).

1.3.1.2 On Spanish Verb

One of the most important aspects of any language is its verbal system, which includes the conjugation of verbs and the different tenses that are used to express actions and events in the past, present, and future. In this chapter, we will explore the Spanish verbal system in detail, with a focus on the different

tenses and their uses, as well as the irregular verbs. (Bordelois, 1986; Bosque, 1999)

The Spanish verbal system is based on the inflection of verbs, which means that the form of the verb changes depending on the tense, mood, and person. There are three main moods in Spanish: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. The indicative mood is used to express factual information or statements, while the subjunctive mood is used to express doubt, uncertainty, or emotions. The imperative mood is used to give commands or orders. (Bordelois, 1986; Bosque, 1999; 2017)

There are six tenses in the indicative mood: present, preterite, imperfect, conditional, future, and present perfect. Each tense is used to convey a different meaning and time frame. For example, the present tense is used to describe actions that are currently happening, while the preterite tense is used to describe actions that have already happened in the past.

In addition to the six main tenses, there are also several compound tenses that are formed by combining a conjugated form of the verb "haber" as auxiliary verb with the past participle of another verb. These compound tenses include the past perfect, pluperfect, future perfect, and conditional perfect.

Tense and aspect play crucial roles in the Spanish verb system, representing the time and unfolding of events. In Spanish, aspect is considered a functional category positioned above the verb, while tense indicates the time of an event. Within the generative framework, aspect is analyzed as a projection headed by a functional category (Cinque, 1999). The Spanish language

encompasses three aspectual categories: perfective, imperfective, and progressive. The perfective aspect is denoted by the preterite tense and is employed to express completed actions in the past. On the other hand, the imperfective aspect is marked by the present and imperfect tenses, conveying ongoing or habitual actions in the past or present. The progressive aspect is formed through the *estar* + gerund construction and is used to express ongoing actions in the present. (Bordelois, 1986; Boeckx, 2011)

In addition to tense and aspect, the Spanish verb system also features an important phenomenon known as "perífrasis verbales" or verbal periphrases. Verbal periphrases involve the combination of auxiliary verbs (*haber*, *estar*, *ir*, and others) with the main verb to convey additional nuances of meaning. These periphrastic constructions are crucial in expressing various aspects such as obligation, possibility, necessity, and future actions. For example, "tener que + infinitive" is used to express obligation (e.g., *tengo que estudiar* - I have to study), while "ir a + infinitive" indicates future actions (e.g., *voy a comer* - I am going to eat). Verbal periphrases contribute to the richness and flexibility of the Spanish verb system, allowing for precise expression of a wide range of meanings.

Mood in Spanish Verbs Mood is another important category in the Spanish verb system, which reflects the speaker's attitude towards the event. Within the generative framework, mood is analyzed as a functional category that heads a projection above the tense and aspect projections (Cinque, 1999). Spanish has three mood categories: indicative, subjunctive, and imperative. The indicative is used to make factual statements or ask questions, while the subjunctive is

used to express doubt, uncertainty, or hypothetical situations. The imperative is used to give commands or make requests.

Agreement in Spanish Verbs Agreement is an important feature of the Spanish verb system, as Spanish verbs inflect for person and number to agree with the subject. Within the generative framework, agreement is analyzed as a feature of the verb that is checked against the features of the subject (Chomsky, 1995). Spanish has six person-number agreement forms: first, second, and third person singular, and first, second, and third person plural.

Current debates and issues in the field one current debate in the generative analysis of the Spanish verb system is whether the tense and aspect categories should be analyzed as separate or integrated categories (Montrul, 1999). Some researchers argue that tense and aspect are separate categories, while others argue that they are integrated into a single functional category. Another issue is whether the subjunctive mood should be analyzed as a separate functional category or as a feature of the verb (Rizzi, 1982). Finally, there is ongoing research on the acquisition of the Spanish verb system by second language learners, particularly with regards to the acquisition of the subjunctive mood.

Chapter 2

Methodology

This chapter details the entire process of designing and selecting the components to be incorporated in the test, as well as the final conditions that were included. It covers the development of test materials and procedures, and provides an overview of the administration of the test.

2.1 Research Question

The research question addressed in this study is whether the Spanish verb exhibits movement to higher positions similar to other Romance languages. While existing literature often categorizes Spanish as a "low" verb movement language due to the presence of low adverbs preceding the verb, the aim of this research is to provide evidence that Spanish may possess comparable or similar verb movement patterns to other Romance varieties and the low adverbs that rise in the sentence structure are part of the pragmatic and semantic influence on the word order of the speaker.

2.2 Prior considerations and choice of conditions for the test

2.2.1 Previous attempts at research on the subject

The initial attempt to research this topic was part of a final project for a Master's Degree course. The primary objective was to map the verb movement in Spanish and compare it with Standard Italian and Southern Italian Dialects.

However, the purpose of the current research is more focused and specific than the previous one.

The test used in the previous research differed from the one developed for the current study. It consisted of either 20 or 22 sentences, with two sentences for each adverb. The objective was to alternate between a sentence with a simple verb conjugated in *Presente* and *Pretérito Perfecto* to identify the possible pre-participle position. However, not all adverbs accept both tenses due to their meaning, and the tense was chosen according to the adverb.

The following table summarizes the elements present in all the questionnaires:

Projection	Italian Adverb	Bitonto Adverb	Spanish Adverb
Neg_{1/2}	mica	mica	
Tense_{Anterior}	già	già	ya
Asp_{terminative}	(non) più	(non) chiù	ya no / no más
Asp_{continuative}	ancora	angour	todavía
Asp_{perfect}	sempre	semb	siempre
Asp_{retrospective}	appena	appein	justo
Asp_{proximative}	presto	subt	pronto
Asp_{durative}	brevemente	brevemend / in brev ¹	brevemente
Voice	bene	bun	bien
Asp_{repetitive}	di nuovo	arreit	otra vez
Asp_{frequentative}	spesso	spiss	a menudo

¹ In the test in Bitonto dialect, the variant *in brev* were provided as choice was let to the participant the choice one or another since the translator gave them as equivalents.

The test was originally formulated in Italian with the assistance of a native speaker for grammar and spelling revisions. The intention was to translate the test into Spanish, as well as into the various Apulian-Bari dialects for the respective localities where the study was to be conducted. However, due to time constraints, the decision was made to focus solely on the Bitonto dialect of Apulian-Bari. The Spanish version of the test comprises only 20 sentences as there is no equivalent negative element in this language, unlike the Italian language's *mica*.

The method chosen for the test required participants to identify the positions in which they felt the adverb was natural. This was done to avoid any potential influence on the speaker's response. To accomplish this, the sentences were presented in a simple SVO structure, and boxes were included for the participants to select the appropriate constituents in which the adverb would be inserted. This is illustrated in *Figure 2.2*². The participant was allowed to select one or more checkboxes to indicate the positions where they felt the adverb was natural.

3. GIÀ

(1.) u mninn (2.) parl (3.) franges (4.) .

1.

2.

3. *Cambiamento di intonazione*

4.

Figure 2.2.12 – Example sentence of the previous test methodology

² The Italian version of the test and an its English translation can be found on the Annex X.

Furthermore, participants were requested to provide feedback if they had selected more than one option, explaining any potential differences in phonological, semantic, or pragmatic terms. To introduce the test and how to complete it, an initial explanation and example were provided.

However, the test provided participants with too many choices regarding the position of adverbs, potentially leading to subjective feedback from speakers. Following this research, it became clear that the position of adverbs and verb movement differed from what the literature had previously suggested.

After defining the subject of study and the variables included in the test, the next step was to create the test itself and explain it to the speakers. In order to provide a clear understanding of all the variables considered in the test.

2.2.2 Choice of methodology

As previously mentioned, following the analysis of the initial test conducted during the first phase of the research, a change in perspective was deemed necessary. This involved shifting the focus from the position of the adverb to the movement of the verb, in order to gauge speakers' grammaticality.

Prior to creating the final test, the variables were not consistent throughout the entire process of creation which will be explained in this section. To ensure a more closed context for the test, several test ideas were proposed, including a question-answer test, a multiple-choice test, and a grammaticality test with a Likert scale.

The question-answer test was discarded as it gave speakers too much freedom to create sentences and potentially generate outputs outside of the variables that were intended to be tested. Using predetermined words to create sentences would have introduced too much bias, making the test less credible.

The question-answer test with visual aids was also discarded due to the difficulty in creating a complete story or comic with a sufficient number of items to be tested. Furthermore, it would present the same problems as the previous test idea.

The multiple-choice test would have presented similar problems to the already done test, in which too many possibilities resulted in uncertain data. Although it could provide more information, having too many options could lead to inaccurate results.

Therefore, a grammaticality test was selected, using a 5-Likert scale to evaluate speakers' acceptability of various sentences within the variables of the experiment. This allowed for more than one acceptable choice and avoided too many neutral or limited options.

Unlike the initial test, where the speaker had the freedom to choose the position of the adverb, the current test aimed to evaluate the grammaticality of fixed positions. Preverbal and postverbal positions were selected to determine whether speakers accepted these positions for the adverb. This approach focused solely on the position of the verb, avoiding the incorporation of too many variables.

2.2.3 Choice of the conditions

This section focuses on the considerations and decisions involved in selecting the specific conditions under which the test will be carried out. It explores factors such as the choice of language, adverbs and other relevant linguistic variables for the test. It is important to note that the conditions of this test are not created as a standardized template and in order to help its understanding it will be a section summarizing the combinations of conditions.

2.2.3.1 Choice of language

As it should be already known, Spanish was chosen as the tested language for this research based on several factors. Initially, the plan was to include not only Spanish but also some Southern Italian dialects in order to conduct a comparative analysis and explore the syntactic similarities between Romance varieties. However, it quickly became apparent that the inclusion of additional dialects would introduce a significant number of variables, which would require testing a large number of speakers for each dialect. Furthermore, it was important to ensure that the tests were conducted by native speakers of the dialect being tested to avoid any potential biases caused by mispronunciation or intonation. Ultimately, these factors led to the decision to focus solely on Spanish for this study.

It is important to note that while the choice to focus on Spanish provides valuable insights into the verb movement in this specific dialect, it is just one part of the larger linguistic reality of the Spanish language. Even though Spanish was a more certain decision for this study, it is crucial to recognize that the

language encompasses numerous dialects and macro dialects, each exhibiting unique characteristics and variations in syntax. In order to have a more specific and detailed view, a determinate geographical area that had not been extensively studied before was chosen, allowing the researcher to have good access to the speakers and gather relevant data.

2.2.3.2 Choice of the adverbs

The choice of adverbs as a variable in the research was based on several considerations. Firstly, the selected adverbs needed to be relevant to the syntax of the Spanish language and have the potential to test the movement of the verb in a more efficient way. Therefore, the initial adverbs chosen for the research were *ya*, *siempre*, *ya...no*, *justo* and *todavía*. These adverbs were chosen based on the results of the first test which showed their acceptability in both preverbal and postverbal positions.

However, during the creation of sentences, it became evident that certain semantic variables could interfere with the position of the adverb in the sentence and, consequently, impact the results of the test. As a result, some of the adverbs were removed from the test. The specific problems encountered for each adverb can be found in the following table.

It is also worth noting that the sentence creation process was carried out in both Spanish and Southern Italian dialects, as initially planned for the research. This allowed for a more comprehensive understanding of the syntax of Romance languages, and helped to refine the selection of adverbs to be tested in the final research.

Adverbs [Projection]	Spanish	Southern Dialect: Bitonto (BA)
<p><i>Ya Già</i> [T_(Anterior)]</p>	<p>There are no issues observed in either of the languages tested. It appears that the adverb's movement is constrained as soon as another adverb is present in a higher position, which typically occupies that position.</p>	
<p><i>Siempre Sempre</i> [Asp_{Perfect}]</p>	<p>The same observation as in the case of <i>ya</i> can be made.</p>	
<p><i>Ya ... no Non ... cchiù</i> [Asp_{Terminative}]</p>	<p>The use of this adverbial combination poses no issue in the present tense. However, it is not feasible to use it in past tense sentences. In sentences in <i>Pretérito Perfecto</i>, it must be replaced with the combination <i>no...más</i>, and in sentences in <i>Pretérito Indefinido</i>, it may be used, but the meaning may be altered to a negative connotation.</p>	<p>-</p>

<p><i>Justo Appein</i> [Asp_{Retrospective}]</p>	<p>The adverb can be used without any issue in any position or tense. However, it should be noted that it can also be employed as an</p>	<p>The adverb can be utilized in all tenses, but in the present tense, it holds a different meaning, similar to Spanish.</p>
--	--	--

	<p>intensifier or quantifier with NP, AdjP, or AdvP.³</p> <p>Additionally, there is no option to express aspectuality in the present tense with an adverb. In such cases, the verbal phrase "acabar de + Infinitive" is utilized in Spanish.</p>	
<p><i>Todavía</i> <i>Angour</i> [Asp_{Continuative}]</p>	<p>The adverb can be used without any issue in the present tense. However, if it is used in a past tense sentence, it is necessary to transform the sentence into a negative one. Additionally, the adverb can have a modal use, so changing its position to a higher one may seem grammatically correct, but it drastically alters its meaning.</p>	<p>As with Spanish, this adverb has a modal use, which could pose a similar issue from a semantic perspective.</p>

As evidenced, including *ya...no*, *justo* and *todavía* in the test would have introduced an excessive amount of variables. This approach would have relied heavily on the credibility of the test participants and their semantic interpretations. Additionally, it would have entailed negative sentence

³ Please consult the table in section 2.1.3 *Choice of tense* for additional examples of adverb and tense combinations in sentences.

constructions and a variable adverb that would have been unique in the test, rendering it less dependable and thus, not suitable for reliable analysis.

In order to comprehensively examine the verb movement in Spanish, this study incorporates both preverbal and postverbal positions as testing conditions. By testing the verb in different positions, we aim to capture a complete picture of the syntactic behavior and movement patterns of the verb in Spanish sentences.

The decision to include preverbal positions in the testing conditions the fact that various adverbs and elements in Spanish tend to appear before the verb, the position suggested to be right be literature. This positioning suggests that there may be a lower movement occurring within the sentence structure. Meanwhile, the inclusion of postverbal positions is crucial as it provides a contrasting perspective.

By examining both preverbal and postverbal positions as testing conditions, this research aims to provide a more comprehensive analysis of verb movement in Spanish. The inclusion of these positions allows us to explore the potential range of movement and understand the syntactic patterns of the Spanish verb. The position between the finite verb and past participle in case of the compounded verb, such as, *Pretérito Perfecto*, has been excluded since it is not very natural in Spanish and its usage is very emphatic.

2.2.3.3 Choice of the tense

The choice of tenses was initially intended to be expanded to include more tenses than the previous test. The aim was to test the adverb position and

verb movement with three different tenses: *Presente*, *Pretérito Indefinido*, and *Pretérito Perfecto*.

However, after testing the first set of sentences for their grammaticality, it was observed that the same problems pointed out in the previous section's table. The choice of adverbs and their removal from the test were not made in a single step, and the combination of tenses with the adverbs also played a significant role in determining which tense to include in the sentence. The quality of data also played an essential role in this decision.

Regarding the combinations of tense and adverbs, there were difficulties in avoiding semantic interference with the *Pretérito Indefinido* in general:

Adverbs [Projection]	<i>Presente</i>	<i>Pretérito Perfecto</i>	<i>Pretérito Indefinido</i>
<i>Ya</i> [T _(Anterior)]	Yo como ya sopa.	Yo he terminado ya la tarea.	Yo vi ya la película
<i>Siempre</i> [Asp _{Perfect}]	Yo limpio siempre mi habitación	Yo he ido siempre a clase.	??Yo jugué siempre al juego.
<i>Ya no(... ya)</i> [Asp _{Terminative}]	Yo ya no estudio (ya) francés. Yo no estudio más francés.	??Yo no he leído ya el libro. ??Yo no he leído más el libro.	*Yo no escuché ya el programa. Yo no escuché más el programa.
<i>Justo</i> ⁴	??Yo compro justo el libro.	??Yo he visto justo la televisión	??Yo abrí justo el cajón.

⁴ As said in the previous section, the usage of *justo* in Spanish is complex and multifaceted. Its meaning can change depending on the context and other factors in the sentence including “just”, “right”, “fair”, “exactly” and “precisely”. The sentences shown in the table are all correct meaning “just” as “exactly”. In order to have a

[AspRetrospective]			
<i>Todavía</i> ⁵	??Yo leo todavía el libro.	*Yo he utilizado todavía el teléfono.	
[AspContinuative]			

For the previous examples, the *Pretérito Indefinido* tense was the most likely to be removed from the test due to considerations of data quality and quantity. With a three-tense variable, a considerable amount of results for each tense was necessary, as well as a significant number of examples that demonstrated the interaction with other variables.

Furthermore, two out of three of the tense variables were past tenses, and two were simple tenses. For the data to be more reliable in terms of examining the interaction of verb movement with these variables, the decision was made to remove the *Pretérito Indefinido* sentences from the test.

Another reason for choosing these tenses is their relative simplicity. While there are many tenses in Spanish, the *Presente* and *Pretérito Perfecto* are relatively straightforward, making them easier for research participants to understand and for researchers to analyze. Furthermore, the *Presente* and *Pretérito Perfecto* provide a good basis for examining the use of verb movement

aspectual terminative meaning in Spanish “acabar de + infinitive” should be should as in *Acabo de regar las plantas* (I have just watered the plants). Real Academia Española. (2021)

⁵ *Todavía* is an adverb commonly used in Spanish to express the continuation of a situation or action up to the moment of speaking, often translated as “still” or “yet”, I t can also indicate the persistence of a situation or the expectation of its resolution Lipski, J. M. (2019) However, as said, before it have to be used in negative sentences with the Past Tense. For the a positive aspetual continuative use, we must refer to the verbal phrase “seguir + gerund”as in *Yo he seguido usando el teléfono* (I have still used the telephone).

in Spanish sentences, as they allow for the testing of the positions with the aspectual adverbs in a simple and compound verb.

Moreover, the *Presente* and *Pretérito Perfecto* are particularly useful for this research because they are both indicative moods, which are used to express statements of fact or reality. As such, they are particularly suitable for testing the influence of adverbs on the interpretation of a sentence. Additionally, the use of these tenses enables the researcher to examine the position of the adverb within the sentence and to analyze how its placement affects the interpretation of the sentence.

Finally, the choice of these tenses was also influenced by the availability of relevant literature on the topic. Several studies have been conducted on the use of adverbs in Spanish, and many of them have focused on the *Presente* and *Pretérito Perfecto* tenses.

2.2.3.4 Choice of the subject

As part of the variables for the research test, a decision was made to avoid creating a bias between the sentences and having a repetition of the subject. In the original test, the subject was always changed and it was always pronominal. However, it did not take into account the ellipsis of the subject since Spanish is a pro-drop language and it is the most common usage in spoken Spanish.

Initially, the decision was made to include the 3rd person pro instead of the 2nd person and 1st person plural sentences and change the 3rd person

pronouns for a name. This was done to avoid any potential biases that may arise from the use of the 2nd person or 1st person plural, as well as to ensure that the subjects used were consistent across all sentences.

As a result of these considerations, the methodology for this research test incorporated certain modifications to ensure unbiased and consistent results. Initially, the decision was made to include 3rd person singular pronouns as subjects as lexical subject with proper names to maintain consistency across sentences and avoid potential biases. Additionally, the pro-drop nature of Spanish was taken into account by including *pro* subject, reflecting the common usage in spoken Spanish and giving also the possibility of checking if the adverb goes higher with a *pro* subject.

However, to further minimize potential issues and enhance the clarity of the results, it was ultimately decided to exclude 1st person singular sentences from the test. This decision was motivated by the recognition that the presence of 1st person singular sentences could introduce a semantic bias for the tested speaker, potentially influencing their evaluation of adverb placement. By focusing solely on 3rd person singular subjects, whether expressed lexically or elliptically.

2.2.3.5 Choice of the fillers

As part of the conditions for our test, we include sentences with filler adverbs occupying the TopicP or FocP. The usage of this kind of sentence permit us to control whether the preverbal position of the low adverb signals the verb raising until a lower position or the low aspectual adverb being moved to CP for emphasis.

This type of sentence includes both preverbal and postverbal variables, allowing for testing the acceptability of each position. If the postverbal position with filler is acceptable, while the preverbal position with filler is not, it can be inferred that the verb is raising. Conversely, if both positions are acceptable or only the preverbal position is acceptable, this indicates that the verb is not raising to the hypothesized position.

2.2.3.6 Other elements

To reduce the number of variables in the test, it was decided to limit the verb type to only one. Transitive verbs were chosen as they allowed for a simpler test structure and eliminated potential complications from right periphery dislocation, where an object can be placed in the final position of the sentence. This choice also allowed for better control of prosody in the test sentences.

In order to maintain consistency and control over the test sentences, only one type of object was used throughout the test. This helped to close the context in which the sentences were constructed and reduced potential biases. However, to avoid any bias that might arise from using the same object repeatedly, the object was changed once after a pilot test.

Other variables were also taken into consideration during the design of the test. For instance, the animacy of the subject and object was kept constant to avoid any potential impact on acceptability judgments. Similarly, the length of the test sentences was controlled to ensure that the sentences were not too long or too short, which could have affected the test results.

Overall, the choice of variables was made carefully to ensure that the test sentences were clear, concise, and easy to understand, while still capturing the nuances of Spanish syntax. By reducing the number of variables and controlling for potential biases, the test was designed to produce high-quality data that could be analyzed effectively.

2.3 Test Creation

2.3.1 Final Test Conditions

This section serves the purpose of offering a comprehensive overview of the various variables that were taken into account during the test. By delving into the items included and their organization within the test, we aim to provide a clear and comprehensive understanding of the research methodology.

2.3.1.1 Adverbs

As said in previous sections, the adverbs chosen to be tested came from the first test made as personal research. After the cut done for having the best test possible, the adverbs remaining were *ya* and *siempre*.

The adverb *ya*⁶ [$T_{(Anterior)}$] was a natural choice for inclusion in the test due to its stability across all tenses and its appearance in the previous test. In

⁶ The adverb *ya* is a common adverb in Spanish that has multiple uses, including temporal and modal ones. In its temporal use, *ya* is used to express that something has already happened or that something is about to happen. In its modal use, it is used to express an emphasis or to reinforce a point (Real Academia Española, 2021). This last use will not be used and the sentences will try to avoid any kind of bias with this meaning.

addition, its position in the higher part of the low adverbs in Cinque's 1999 hierarchy suggested its potential as a significant variable. Furthermore, its use as a marker for the completion of an action made it particularly relevant in the study of verb movement in Spanish.

The adverb *siempre*⁷ [Asp_{Perfect}] was included in the test, as for *ya*, for its stability across all tenses and its previous successful use in previous research. Additionally, it holds a position in the high part of the low adverbs hierarchy, right after the adverb *ya* [T_(Anterior)], according to Cinque (1999). This made it a valuable addition to the test, as it is a common adverb used in Spanish and provides a contrast to the anteriority meaning of *ya*. Its usage as an adverb of frequency and as a mitigator of assertiveness also adds to its complexity.

In creating the test, as said before, the position of the adverb serves as a crucial condition that was carefully taken into consideration. The placement of the adverb in relation to the verb offers valuable insights into the syntactic structure and movement of the verb within the sentence. By examining the

⁷ It is often used to express a sense of continuity or permanence in a particular action or situation. For instance, in the present tense, *siempre* can be used in the following examples: "Siempre voy al trabajo en bicicleta" (I always go to work by bike) or "Siempre llueve en esta época del año" (It always rains at this time of year). In these examples, *siempre* is used to indicate the regularity or permanence of the action or situation.

In the past tense, *siempre* can be used to express a similar sense of continuity or permanence, but with a focus on a past event or period. For example, "Siempre visitaba a mis abuelos en verano" (I always used to visit my grandparents in the summer) or "Siempre nevaba en las montañas durante el invierno" (It always used to snow in the mountains during winter). In these examples, *siempre* is used to express the regularity or continuity of a past action or situation.

various positions of the adverb, in this case, preverbal or postverbal, we can analyze the potential verb raising.

In order to ensure a focused and controlled analysis, the test incorporated the use of two specific adverbs, namely "desafortunadamente" and "lamentablemente," both meaning "unfortunately" in English. These adverbs were intentionally selected due to their similarity in meaning and their shared projection, MoodEvaluative. By choosing adverbs that originate from the same projection, we aimed to minimize potential syntactic and semantic variations that could arise from using unrelated adverbs.

The decision to employ these particular adverbs allows for a more precise examination of the verb movement in relation to adverb positioning. Both the preverbal and postverbal positions were applied to the sentences containing these fillers, providing a comprehensive exploration of their impact on the verb's placement.

2.3.1.2 Tenses

The *Presente* and *Pretérito Perfecto* serve as important linguistic tools in exploring the temporal dynamics of Spanish verbs, shedding light on the nuances of verb movement and its impact on discourse.

The present tense (*Presente*) is a fundamental component of the Spanish verb system, used to express actions that occur in the present time frame. It is characterized by its versatility and wide range of uses.

One common use of the present tense is to describe ongoing actions or states that are happening at the time of speaking. For example, "Hablo español" (I speak Spanish) indicates the ability to communicate in Spanish at the present moment. The present tense is also employed to express habitual or repeated actions. Furthermore, the present tense can be used to express general truths or facts. For instance, "El sol sale por el este" (The sun rises in the east) states an inherent truth about the sun's movement.

In addition, the present tense is utilized in certain narrative contexts to provide a sense of immediacy and vividness. For example, "El viento sopla fuerte mientras caminamos por la playa" (The wind blows strongly as we walk along the beach).

The *Pretérito Perfecto*, or Present Perfect tense, is a verb tense used in Spanish to express past actions or events that have a connection to the present. It is formed by combining the auxiliary verb "haber" in the present tense with the past participle of the main verb.

The *Pretérito Perfecto* is commonly used to talk about recent past actions or experiences. For example, "He comido paella esta tarde" (I have eaten paella this afternoon). This tense is also used to express past actions or events whose results or consequences are still visible or have an impact on the present. For instance, "Hemos ganado el partido" (We have won the game) emphasizes that the result of winning the game is still relevant or has an effect in the present context.

Furthermore, the *Preterito Perfecto* is used to talk about past actions or experiences when the specific time or duration is not mentioned or is considered irrelevant. For example, "He visitado muchos países" (I have visited many countries) focuses on the fact of having visited multiple countries without specifying when or for how long.

2.3.1.3 Subjects

Regarding subjects, the approach involved using 3rd person singular as subjects, both in lexical form with proper names and as *pro* subjects. This choice aimed to maintain consistency across sentences and minimize any potential biases. This allowed for a comprehensive investigation into the impact of different subject types on verb movement in relation to adverbs.

As an example for both subjects, consider the following sentences:

"Juan siempre come en casa." (Juan always eats at home.)

"Siempre come en casa." ([He/She/It] always eats at home.)

2.3.2 Test Items

Once the type of test was selected for the research and the conditions chosen, we provided to the creation of test items. As mentioned in the previous section, the test consisted of four main variables: two adverbs, two adverb positions, two tenses, two subject types and with or without filler.

This implies that we have to cover every combination, for a total of 32 combinations, and use a minimum of samples which is statistically significant.

In this case, we chose to create four sentences for combination without filler, along with two sentences containing a filler adverb that follow the same variables.

This implies that we will have 96 sentences in total, 64 without fillers and 32 with a filler. The table of the following table provide a more visual image idea of this explanation in which it can be seen the variables and how are they divided, the total of the samples can be seen in square brackets.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i> [48 sentences]	Preverbal [24 sentences]	lexical [12 sentences]	Present [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
			Present Perfect [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
		<i>pro</i> [12 sentences]	Present [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
			Present Perfect [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
	Postverbal [24 sentences]	lexical [12 sentences]	Present [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
			Present Perfect [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
		<i>pro</i> [12 sentences]	Present [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
			Present Perfect [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
<i>Siempre</i> [48 sentences]	Preverbal [24 sentences]	lexical [12 sentences]	Present [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
			Present Perfect [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
		<i>pro</i> [12 sentences]	Present [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
			Present Perfect [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
	Postverbal [24 sentences]	lexical [12 sentences]	Present [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
			Present Perfect [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
		<i>pro</i> [12 sentences]	Present [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]
			Present Perfect [4 sentences]	[2 sentences]

In the following tables, it will be provided all the possible combinations and example sentences for each of them.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Preverbal	Lexical	Present	No

Miguel ya usa el teléfono.
 subj. adv. asp. present det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. masc. sing. masc. sing.
 sing.
 miguel already use the telephone
 Miguel already uses the telephone.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Preverbal	Lexical	Present Perfect	No

Andrea ya ha cogido el autobús
 subj. adv. asp. present past part. obj. noun. det. art.
 3rd p. sing. masc. sing. masc. sing.
 Andrea already have taken the bus
 Andrea has already taken the bus.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Preverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present	No

Ya escribe el trabajo.
 adv. asp. present det. art. masc. obj. noun. masc.
 3rd p. sing. sing. sing.
 Already write the project
 He has already written the project.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Preverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present Perfect	No

Ya ha desarrollado el programa
 adv. asp. present past participle det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. masc. sing. masc. sing.
 Already have developed the program
 He has already developed the program.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Postverbal	Lexical	Present	No

Paco lee ya la novela
 subj. present adv. asp. det. art. fem. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. sing. fem. sing.
 Paco read already the novel
 Paco already reads the novel.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Postverbal	Lexical	Present Perfect	No

Daniel ha pagado ya la cuenta
 Subject present past adv. asp. det. art. fem. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. participle sing. fem. sing.
 Daniel have paid already the bill
 Daniel has already paid the bill.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Postverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present	No

Bebe ya el zumo
 present adv. asp. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. masc. sing. masc. sing.
 Drink already the juice
 He already drinks the juice.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Postverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present Perfect	No

Ha secado ya el pijama
 present past adv. asp. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. participle masc. sing. masc. sing.
 Have dried already the pajamas
 He has already dried the pajamas.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Preverbal	Lexical	Present	Yes

Carmen lamentable ya sirve la pasta
 Subject mood adv. asp. adv. present det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. fem. sing. fem. sing.
 Carmen unfortunately already serve the pasta
 Carmen unfortunately already serves the pasta.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Preverbal	Lexical	Present Perfect	Yes

Jaime lamentablemente ya ha exprimido las naranjas
 Subejet mood adv. asp. adv. present past det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. participle fem. plu. fem. plu.
 Jaime unfortunately already have squeeze the orange
 Jaime unfortunately has already squeezed the orange.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Preverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present	Yes

Martín desafortunadamente echa ya la siesta
 Subejet mood adv. present asp. adv. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. fem. sing. fem. sing.
 Martín unfortunately take already the nap
 Martín unfortunately is already taking the nap.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Preverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present Perfect	Yes

Lamentablemente ya ha recortado derechos
 Mood Adv. asp. adv. present past participle obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. masc. sing.
 Unfortunately already have cut rights
 He unfortunately has already cut rights.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Postverbal	Lexical	Present	Yes

José desafortunadamente cuenta ya la historia
 Subj. mood adv. present asp. adv. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. fem. sing. fem. sing.
 José unfortunately tell already the story
 José unfortunately already tells the story.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Postverbal	Lexical	Present Perfect	Yes

Marcos desafortunadamente ha tocado ya la guitarra
 Subj. mood adv. present past part. asp. adv. det. obj.
 3rd p. sing. art. noun.
 sing. fem. fem. sing.
 sing.
 Marcos unfortunately have play already the guitar
 Marcos unfortunately has already played the guitar.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Postverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present	Yes

Desafortunadamente elimina ya los archivos
 Mood Adv. present asp. adv. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. masc. plu. masc. plu.
 Unfortunately delete already the file
 He unfortunately is already deleting the files.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Ya</i>	Postverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present Perfect	Yes

Desafortunadamente ha vaciado ya la caja
 Mood Adv. present past part. asp. adv. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. fem. sing. fem. sing.
 Unfortunately have empty already the box
 He unfortunately had already emptied the box.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	Lexical	Present	No

Ana siempre entiende el inglés
 Subject asp. adv. present det. art. masc. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. sing. masc. sing.
 Ana always understand the English
 Ana always understands English.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	Lexical	Present Perfect	No

Rosa siempre muestra el carné de identidad
 Subject asp. adv. present det. art. obj. noun. prep. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. masc. masc. sing. fem. sing.
 sing.
 Rosa always show the card of identity
 Rosa always shows the ID.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present	No

Siempre regala una tarta
 Asp. Adv. present undet. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. fem. sing. fem. sing.
 Always present a cake
 He always give a cake as a present.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present Perfect	No

Julián siempre ha sellado los documentos
 Subject asp. adv. present past part. det. art. masc. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. plu. masc. plu.
 Julián always have stamp the document
 Julián has always stamped the documents

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Lexical	Present	No

Carlota canta siempre el estribillo
 Subject present asp. adv. det. art. masc. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. sing. masc. sing.
 Carlota sing always the chorus
 Carlota always sings the chorus.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Lexical	Present Perfect	No

Ángela ha necesitado siempre su tiempo
 Subject present past part. asp. adv. pos. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. 3rd p. sing. masc. sing.
 Ángela have need always his/her/its time
 Ángela has always needed her time.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present	No

Organiza siempre la habitación
 present asp. adv. det. art. obj. noun. fem.
 3rd p. sing. fem. sing. sing.
 Put in order always the room
 He always put the room in order.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present Perfect	No

Ha llevado siempre el cuadernillo
 present past part. asp. adv. det. art. masc. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. sing. masc. sing.
 Have taken always the workbook
 He has always taken the workbook.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	Lexical	Present	Yes

Rocío lamentablemente siempre tira las cajas
 Subject mood adv. asp. adv. present det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. fem. plu. fem. plu.
 Rocío unfortunately always throw the boxes
 Rocío unfortunately has always thrown the boxes.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	Lexical	Present Perfect	Yes

Pablo lamentablemente cierra siempre la tienda
 Subject mood adv. present asp. adv. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. fem. sing. fem. sing.
 Pablo unfortunately close always the shop
 Pablo unfortunately always closes the shop.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present	Yes

Lamentablemente siempre pone la estufa
 Mood Adv. asp. adv. present det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. fem. sing. fem. sing.
 Unfortunately always put the heater
 He unfortunately always puts the heater

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present Perfect	Yes

Lamentablemente siempre ha dañado el medio ambiente
 Mood Adv. mood adv. present past part. det. art. obj. noun. masc. sing.
 3rd p. sing. masc. sing.
 Unfortunately always have damage the environment
 He unfortunately has always damaged the environment.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Lexical	Present	Yes

Marta lamentablemente ha destruido siempre las bicicletas
 Subject mood adv. present past part. asp. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. adv. fem. fem. plu.
 plu.
 Marta unfortunately have destroy always the bike
 Marta unfortunately has destroyed the bikes.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Lexical	Present Perfect	Yes

Ricardo deasafortunadamente siempre ha destrozado los ordenadores
 Subject mood adv. asp. adv. present past part. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. masc. plu. masc. plu.
 sing.

Ricardo unfortunately always have destroy the computer
 Ricardo unfortunately has always destroyed the computer.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present	Yes

Deasafortunadamente quema siempre la comida
 Mood Adv. present asp. adv. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. sing. fem. sing. fem. sing.

Unfortunately burn always the food
 He unfortunately always burns the food.

Adverb	Adverb Position	Subject	Tense	Fillers
<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	<i>pro</i>	Present Perfect	Yes

Deasafortunadamente ha saltado siempre el desayuno
 mood adv. present past part. asp. adv. det. art. obj. noun.
 3rd p. masc. masc. sing.
 sing. sing.

Unfortunately have skip always the breakfast
 He unfortunately has skipped always the breakfast.

All the sentences included in the test can be check in the following table⁸:

#	Adverb	Position	Tense	Subject	Verb	Object	Filler	Sentence
1	Ya	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Usar	El teléfono	-	Miguel ya usa el teléfono.
2	Ya	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Tomar	Las pastillas	-	Antonio ya toma las pastillas.
3	Ya	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Dar	Las clases de inglés	-	Pedro ya da las clases de inglés.
4	Ya	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Comer	Los purés	-	María ya come los purés
5	Ya	Preverbal	Present	pro	Escribir	El trabajo	-	Ya escribe el trabajo.
6	Ya	Preverbal	Present	pro	Reparar	El motor	-	Ya repara el motor.
7	Ya	Preverbal	Present	pro	Comprar	Los cuadernos	-	Ya compra los cuadernos.
8	Ya	Preverbal	Present	pro	Filmar	La película	-	Ya filma la película.
9	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Coger	El autobús	-	Andrea ya ha cogido el autobús.
10	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Pasar	El aspirador	-	Andrés ya ha pasado el aspirador.
11	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Ver	La televisión	-	Alejandro ya ha visto la televisión
12	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Acabar	Los deberes	-	Pilar ya ha acabado los deberes.
13	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Desarrollar	El programa	-	Ya ha desarrollado el programa.
14	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Dividir	La herencia	-	Ya ha dividido la herencia.
15	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Llamar	La atención	-	Ya ha llamado la atención
16	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Cancelar	La cita	-	Ya ha cancelado la cita.
17	Ya	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Leer	La novela	-	Paco lee ya la novela.
18	Ya	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Grabar	La canción	-	Jorge graba ya la canción.
19	Ya	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Recitar	Los versos	-	Francisco recita ya los versos.
20	Ya	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Firmar	El contrato	-	Juan firma ya el contrato.
21	Ya	Postverbal	Present	pro	Beber	El zumo	-	Bebe ya el zumo.
22	Ya	Postverbal	Present	pro	Editar	Las fotos	-	Edita ya las fotos.
23	Ya	Postverbal	Present	pro	Pintar	Los Cuadros	-	Pinta ya los cuadros
24	Ya	Postverbal	Present	pro	Regar	Las Plantas	-	Riega ya las plantas
25	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Pagar	La cuenta	-	Daniel ha pagado ya la cuenta.
26	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Pegar	Las piezas	-	Alba ha pegado ya las piezas.
27	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Romper	La promesa	-	Lucía ha roto ya la promesa.
28	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Preparar	La fiesta	-	Paqui ha preparado ya la fiesta.
29	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Maquillar	La muñeca	-	Ha maquillado ya la muñeca

⁸ For the English translation of the sentences the Annex I can be checked.

30	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Mover	Los muebles	-	Ha movido ya los muebles
31	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Cortar	El papel	-	Ha cortado ya el papel.
32	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Secar	El pijama	-	Ha secado ya el pijama.
33	Ya	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Servir	La pasta	Lamentablemente	Carmen lamentablemente ya sirve la pasta.
34	Ya	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Tostar	El pan	Lamentablemente	Isabel lamentablemente ya tuesta el pan.
35	Ya	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Contar	La historia	Desafortunadamente	José desafortunadamente ya cuenta la historia.
36	Ya	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Echar	La siesta	Desafortunadamente	Martín desafortunadamente echa ya la siesta.
37	Ya	Preverbal	Present	pro	Copiar	Los exámenes	Lamentablemente	Lamentablemente ya copia los exámenes.
38	Ya	Postverbal	Present	pro	Fumar	Tabaco	Lamentablemente	Lamentablemente fuma ya tabaco.
39	Ya	Preverbal	Present	pro	Ejecutar	La sentencia	Desafortunadamente	Desafortunadamente ya ejecuta la sentencia.
40	Ya	Postverbal	Present	pro	Estropear	Todo	Desafortunadamente	Desafortunadamente elimina ya los archivos.
41	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Exprimir	Las naranjas	Lamentablemente	Jaime lamentablemente ya ha exprimido las naranjas.
42	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Hervir	El agua	Lamentablemente	Javier lamentablemente ha hervido ya el agua.
43	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Encontrar	El voluntario	Desafortunadamente	Carlos desafortunadamente ya ha encontrado el voluntario.
44	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Tocar	La guitarra	Desafortunadamente	Marcos desafortunadamente ha tocado ya la guitarra.
45	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Recortar	Derechos	Lamentablemente	Lamentablemente ya ha recortado derechos.
46	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Resumir	Los textos	Lamentablemente	Lamentablemente ha resumido ya los textos.
47	Ya	Preverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Impedir	Un acuerdo	Desafortunadamente	Desafortunadamente ya ha impedido el acuerdo
48	Ya	Postverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Vaciar	La caja	Desafortunadamente	Desafortunadamente ha vaciado ya la caja.
49	Siempre	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Entender	El inglés	-	Ana siempre entiende el inglés.
50	Siempre	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Correr	Los 50 metros lisos	-	Teresa siempre corre los 50 metros lisos.
51	Siempre	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Cocinar	El pollo	-	Manuel siempre cocina el pollo.
52	Siempre	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Mostrar	el carné de identidad	-	Rosa siempre muestra el carné de identidad
53	Siempre	Preverbal	Present	pro	Regalar	Una tarta	-	Siempre regala una tarta.
54	Siempre	Preverbal	Present	pro	Evitar	La carne	-	Siempre evita la carne.
55	Siempre	Preverbal	Present	pro	Solucionar	Los problemas	-	Siempre soluciona los problemas.
56	Siempre	Preverbal	Present	pro	Cargar	el ordenador	-	Siempre carga el ordenador
57	Siempre	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Sellar	Los documentos	-	Julián siempre ha sellado los documentos.
58	Siempre	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Adivinar	El acertijo	-	Gema siempre ha adivinado los acertijos.
59	Siempre	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Descargar	Los vídeos	-	Ignacio siempre ha descargado los libros
60	Siempre	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Ofrecer	Comida	-	Eva siempre ha ofrecido comida.
61	Siempre	Preverbal	P. Perfect	pro	Escuchar	Las noticias	-	Siempre ha escuchado las noticias.

62	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Hornear	las verduras	-	Siempre ha horneado las verduras.
63	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Buscar	El diccionario	-	Siempre ha buscado el diccionario.
64	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Probar	Los platos un	-	Siempre ha probado los platos nuevos.
65	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Cantar	El estribillo	-	Carlota canta siempre el estribillo.
66	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Cocinar	Las lentejas	-	Sofía cocina siempre las lentejas.
67	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Decir	La verdad	-	Rebeca dice siempre la verdad.
68	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Enviar	La postal	-	Lola envía siempre la postal.
69	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Present	<i>pro</i>	Organizar	La habitación	-	Organiza siempre la habitación
70	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Presente	<i>pro</i>	Devolver	El dinero	-	Devuelve siempre el dinero.
71	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Presente	<i>pro</i>	Donar	Los premios	-	Dona siempre los premios.
72	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Presente	<i>pro</i>	Elaborar	Su Queso	-	Elabora siempre su queso.
73	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Necesitar	Tiempo	-	Ángela ha necesitado siempre su tiempo.
74	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Reciclar	El vidrio	-	Ángel ha reciclado siempre el vidrio.
75	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Lavar	La ropa	-	Julia ha lavado siempre la ropa.
76	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Acabar	La cena	-	Toñi ha acabado siempre la cena.
77	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Llevar	El cuadernillo	-	Ha llevado siempre el cuadernillo.
78	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Construir	las Casas	-	Ha construido siempre las casas.
79	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Recoger	El salón	-	Ha recogido siempre el salón.
80	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Podar	Los árboles	-	Ha podado siempre los árboles.
81	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Tirar	Las cajas	<i>Lamentablemente</i>	Rocío lamentablemente siempre tira las cajas.
82	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Cerrar	La tienda	<i>Lamentablemente</i>	Pablo lamentablemente cierra siempre la tienda.
83	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	Present	lexical	Borrar	La memoria	<i>Desafortunadamente</i>	Joaquín desafortunadamente siempre borra la memoria.
84	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Present	lexical	Hacer	Las llamadas	<i>Desafortunadamente</i>	Elena desafortunadamente hace siempre las llamadas.
85	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	Present	<i>pro</i>	Poner	La estufa	<i>Lamentablemente</i>	Lamentablemente siempre pone la estufa.
86	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	Present	<i>pro</i>	Producir	Sueño	<i>Lamentablemente</i>	Lamentablemente siempre produce sueño.
87	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Present	<i>pro</i>	Quemar	La comida	<i>Desafortunadamente</i>	Desafortunadamente quema siempre la comida.
88	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	Present	<i>pro</i>	Eliminar	El archivo	<i>Desafortunadamente</i>	Desafortunadamente estropea siempre todo.
89	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Ordenar	El armario	<i>Lamentablemente</i>	Miriam lamentablemente siempre ha ordenado el armario.
90	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Destruir	Las bicicletas	<i>Lamentablemente</i>	Marta lamentablemente ha destruido siempre las bicicletas.
91	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Destrozar	Los ordenadores	<i>Desafortunadamente</i>	Ricardo desafortunadamente siempre ha destrozado los ordenadores.

92	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	lexical	Triturar	Las zanahorias	<i>Desafortunadamente</i>	Alberto desafortunadamente ha triturado siempre las zanahorias.
93	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Dañar	El medio ambiente	<i>Lamentablemente</i>	Lamentablemente siempre ha dañado el medio ambiente.
94	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Ignorar	Los pagos	<i>Lamentablemente</i>	Lamentablemente ha ignorado siempre los pagos.
95	<i>Siempre</i>	Preverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Ensuciar	La pasta	<i>Desafortunadamente</i>	Desafortunadamente siempre ha ensuciado la casa.
96	<i>Siempre</i>	Postverbal	P. Perfect	<i>pro</i>	Saltar	El desayuno	<i>Desafortunadamente</i>	Desafortunadamente ha saltado siempre el desayuno.

A set of control sentences were included in addition to the main sentences to further test the grammaticality of the participants and minimize any potential bias during the test. These sentences were taken from a test on disjunction acquisition provided by Prof. Pagliarini, translated and sometimes simplified into Spanish.

The filler sentences can be seen in the following table:

#	Sentence	Expected result
F_01	María no ha cocinado las lentejas o los guisantes, solo ha cocinado las lentejas.	Negative
F_02	Paula no ha comprado la camisa o la camiseta, de hecho solo ha comprado la camiseta.	Negative
F_03	Juan no pela la manzana o la pera, de hecho pela solo la pera afortunadamente.	Negative
F_04	Paul no bebió el vino o el zumo, de hecho no bebió.	Negative
F_05	Pedro no riega el bonsái o el cactus, de hecho riega solo el bonsái.	Negative
F_06	Pedro no riega el bonsái o el cactus, de hecho no riega tampoco.	Negative
F_07	Valeria no ha visto la película o las noticias, de hecho ella vio solo la película.	Negative
F_08	Lucas no perdió el autobús o el tren, de hecho no perdió a ninguno de los dos.	Negative
F_09	Simón no plancha la camisa ni la falda, de hecho planchaba solo la falda.	Negative
F_10	Carla no conduce el coche o la motocicleta, de hecho no conduce ninguno de ellos.	Negative
F_11	Mateo no limpió el piso o la alfombra, de hecho solo limpió la alfombra.	Negative
F_12	Eva no plantó el tomillo ni la guindilla, de hecho tampoco plantó.	Negative
F_13	Cristián no tiró el papel ni el plástico, de hecho tampoco tiró.	Negative
F_14	Federico no acarició al caballo ni al conejo, de hecho acarició solo al conejo.	Negative

F_15	Elisa no usó el collar o la bufanda, de hecho tampoco usó.	Negative
F_16	Clara toca la guitarra o la trompeta, de hecho solo toca la trompeta.	Negative
F_17	Alonso prepara la pizza o la pasta, de hecho solo prepara la pasta.	Negative
F_18	Pamela no sazonó la pasta o la ensalada, de hecho solo sazonó la pasta.	Negative
F_19	Irene no leyó ni el periódico ni el libro, de hecho tampoco leyó.	Negative
F_20	Tomás vacunó a su perro o su gato, de hecho vacunó solo a su perro.	Negative
F_21	David no limpió el baño o la sala de estar, de hecho no limpió tampoco.	Negative
F_22	Camila no endulzó el café o el té, de hecho no endulzó ninguno de los dos.	Negative
F_23	Hugo no pintó el retrato o el paisaje, de hecho no pintó ninguno de los dos.	Negative
F_24	Desafortunadamente María ha cocinado las lentejas.	Affirmative
F_25	Lamentablemente Paula ha comprado la camiseta.	Affirmative
F_26	Juan pela la manzana y la pera.	Affirmative
F_27	Lamentablemente Pablo no bebió ni zumo ni vino.	Affirmative
F_28	Miguel no come filete o pan, de hecho come filete.	Affirmative
F_29	Paco no ha comido el bistec o el pan plano, de hecho ha comido lentejas.	Affirmative
F_30	Valeria ha visto la película.	Affirmative
F_31	Lucas ha perdido el autobús.	Affirmative
F_32	Simón plancha la camisa.	Affirmative
F_33	Carla no conduce el coche.	Affirmative
F_34	Mateo limpió el piso.	Affirmative
F_35	Eva ha plantado tomillo.	Affirmative
F_36	Cristián tiró el plástico.	Affirmative
F_37	Federico acarició al perro.	Affirmative
F_38	Elisa se puso la bufanda.	Affirmative
F_39	Clara toca la flauta.	Affirmative
F_40	Alonso prepara la pizza.	Affirmative
F_41	Pamela sazonó la carne.	Affirmative
F_42	Irene leyó el periódico.	Affirmative
F_43	Tomás vacunó a su perro.	Affirmative
F_44	David no limpió el baño.	Affirmative
F_45	Camila echó azúcar al café.	Affirmative
F_46	Hugo no pintó el retrato.	Affirmative

The research required a total of 142 items for the test, consisting of 96 sentences (64 from variable combinations and 32 with controller adverbs) and 46 filler sentences. This was deemed too high to administer to each individual test participant.

As a solution, it was decided to create two equally balanced blocks⁹ of 71 items each, with the same types of combinations, fillers, and controllers as seen in the tables above. This approach ensured that the test was divided in a fair and balanced way for all participants.

2.4 Procedure

After the creation of all the items for the research, the main issue was determining how to deliver the test. Given that a total of 70 speakers would be tested, with 35 speakers in each block, it was crucial to ensure that the delivery of the test was effective in collecting relevant data.

To obtain a comprehensive profile of the participants¹⁰, they were asked to provide certain information, such as their age, background, and level of education. This would allow the researchers to identify any patterns or trends that could potentially impact the test results.

Moreover, from the onset, participants with similar backgrounds, ages, and levels of education were carefully selected. This was done to ensure that the data collected represents that the test results were representative of the current Spanish spoken in the Huelva province.

In terms of test delivery, it was decided that the test would be administered online, concretely on Zoom as platform. To ensure that all participants received the same instructions and that external factors did not

⁹ Blocks division can be seen in Appendix II

¹⁰ The profile of the participants can be checked in Appendix III

interfere with the test results, the participants were asked to complete the test in a quiet room, with no distractions or interruptions.

As it was said before, to prevent the participants from becoming fatigued or overwhelmed during the test, the items were reduced into 71 items. This allowed to reduce the likelihood of fatigue affecting their test results.

Before the test, the participants were required to value with a 5-Likert, being 1 – completely acceptable, 2 – acceptable, 3 – neutral, 4 – unacceptable, 5- completely unacceptable. Each sentence was read carefully and with a neutral intonation by the researcher and participants were asked to listen carefully and that there was no emphatic intonation in any sentence.

In addition, they were asked to provide a response based on their understanding of the grammatical structure and to ignore the sense or absence of context. The instructions were also provided in both orally and written since the screen was shared to check the personal data of participants were correct and then the sharing was stopped.

Moreover the participants were given the opportunity to ask questions and seek clarification before the test started and they could ask to repeat the sentences as many times as they need. These measures helped to reduce the number of errors and confusion during the test.

To further reduce bias, the order in which the items were presented was randomized for each participant.

The completion of the test and the data collected were done and analyzed using the support of Google Form and Google Sheet to identify any patterns or trends that could be related to verb movement in Spanish. The results were then compared to previous studies on the topic, to determine if there were any similarities or discrepancies that will be presented in the following chapters.

Chapter 3

Test Results

The objective of this chapter is to present the outcomes of each sentence combination and emphasize the most noteworthy results. The results of individual sentences can be found in Annex IV of this dissertation or on the results tracking tool¹. The chapter is split into two parts, one for each of the selected adverbs in the research. Moreover, each section will be subdivided based on the positions of adverbs, preverbal and postverbal, along with the inclusion of fillers in the combinations.

3.1 Results of adverb *ya*

3.1.1 Results of adverb *ya* in preverbal position

Concerning the placement of *ya* in the preverbal position, it is apparent that there is a considerable number of responses that deem it as either completely acceptable or acceptable. The initial figure displayed in Figure 3.1 exhibits the outcomes of pairing *ya* in a preverbal position with the present tense and a lexical subject, with 73 responses categorized as completely acceptable, 39 as acceptable, 3 as neutral, 4 as unacceptable, and 3 as completely unacceptable. It is important to note that the highest possible score for each category in this case is 140. The results of this first combination are remarkably consistent in the acceptable section of the scale for all sentences.

¹ To access the link you can use the following link: https://bit.ly/toolvmovementsp_AntonioSantos

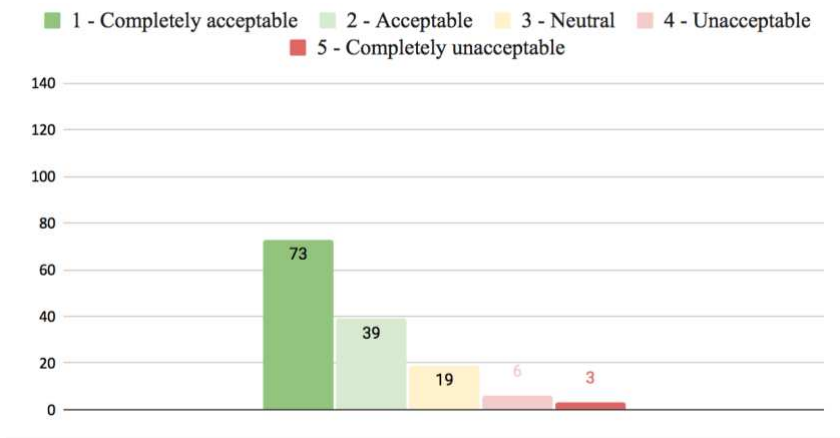


Figure 01 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Presente and lexical subject

Continuing with the analysis of the preverbal position of *ya*, we can observe in Figure 3.2 the combination of *ya* in a preverbal position with the Present tense and a pronoun as subject. The results show 23 completely acceptable, 31 acceptable, 42 neutral, 32 unacceptable, and 12 completely unacceptable answers. This combination presents a different tendency in the pattern of answers provided by the participants, as well as in the results obtained. It is the only combination with a majority of neutral answers, followed by almost an equal number of unacceptable and acceptable answers.

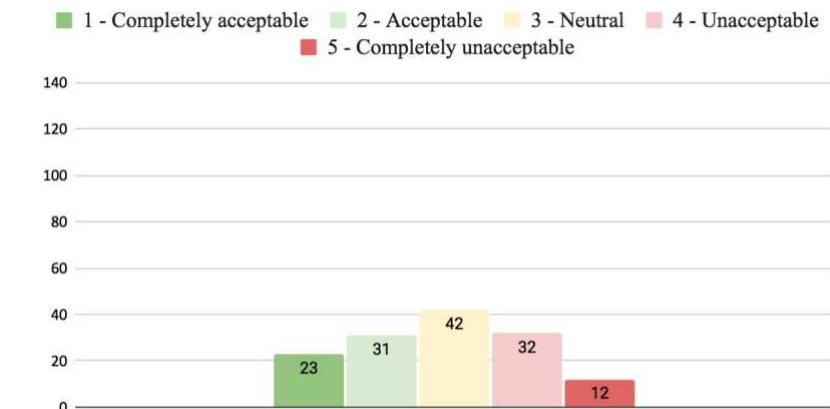


Figure 02 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with a Presente and pro subject

Concerning the combination of *ya* placed in a preverbal position along with a lexical subject in the past tense, the results are presented in Figure 3.3, revealing 97 sentences as completely acceptable, 28 as acceptable, 9 as neutral, 6 as unacceptable, and only 1 as completely unacceptable. This combination exhibits a similar trend to the first one, with even more sentences rated as completely acceptable.

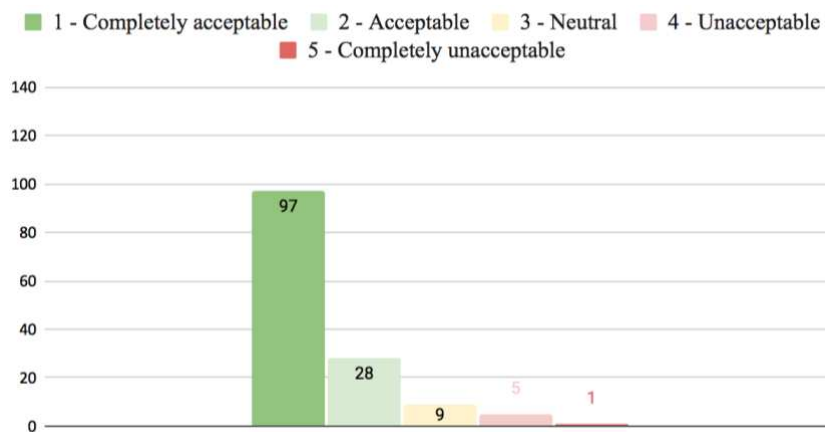


Figure 03 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and lexical subject

Lastly, with respect to the combination of *ya* in a preverbal position with the Past tense and a pronoun as the subject, Figure 3.4 demonstrates that the outcomes include 90 completely acceptable, 28 acceptable, 12 neutral, 7 unacceptable, and 3 unacceptable responses. This combination displays an almost identical trend to the combination with a lexical subject and exhibits stable results, with the only exception being sentence number 7 of set 1² which has a lower number of completely acceptable responses, but .

² The sentences number 7 of set 1 is *Ya ha llamado la atención* which shows the following responses: 14 completely acceptable, 13 acceptable, 3 neutral, 3 unacceptable and 2 completely unacceptable. The figure can be seen in Appendix IV.

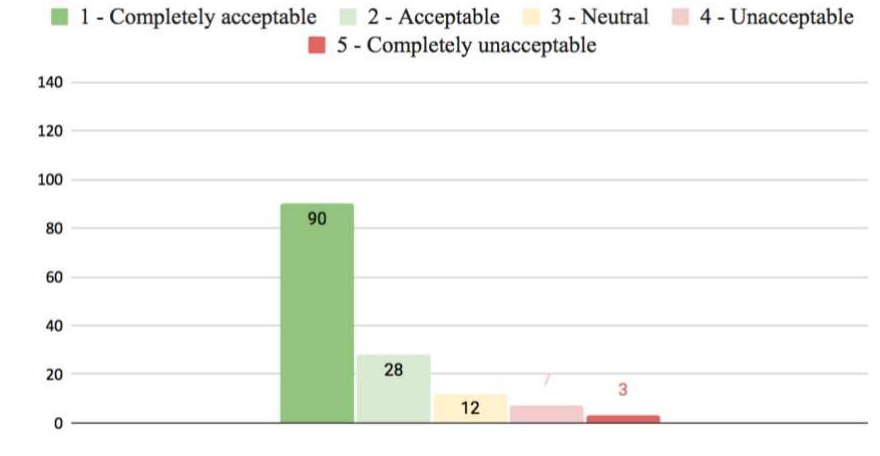


Figure 04 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and pro subject

3.1.2 Results of adverb *ya* in postverbal position

In relation to the postverbal position of *ya*, it can be observed that there are also a significant number of answers that are either completely acceptable or acceptable, although with some variations depending on the combination. The results of the combination of *ya* in a postverbal position with the Present tense and a lexical subject can be found in Figure 3.5. A total of four sentences representing this combination were tested, and the results show 65 completely acceptable, 50 acceptable, 19 neutral, 4 unacceptable, and 2 completely unacceptable responses. These results provide a summary of the overall trend for this combination, and they indicate that the responses were consistent across all of the tested sentences.

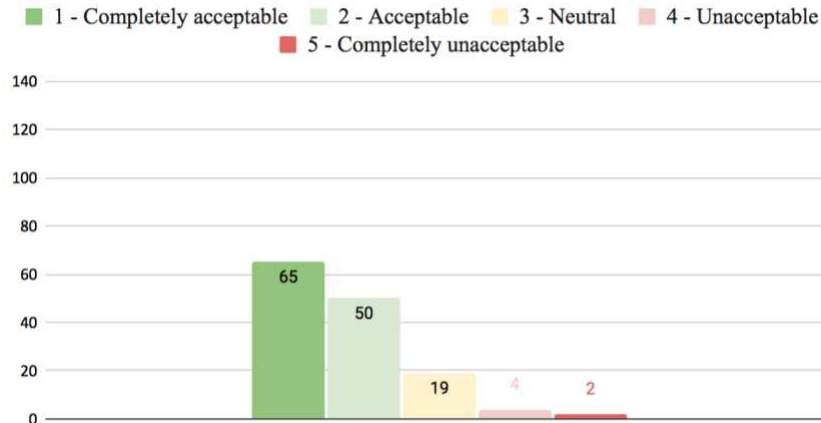


Figure 05 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Presente and lexical subject

The next combination to be examined involves a postverbal position of *ya* with a Present tense and *pro* subject. The results of this combination can be observed in Figure 3.6, which displays 52 completely acceptable, 47 acceptable, 27 neutral, 8 unacceptable, and 6 acceptable responses. Once again, there is a tendency towards the acceptable end of the scale, as seen in the previous combination.

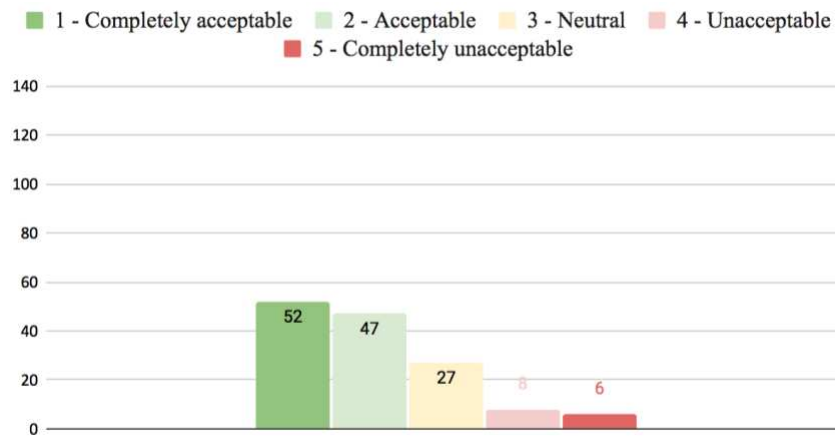


Figure 06 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Presente and pro subject

The subsequent results depict the performance of *ya* in a postverbal position with a Past tense and a lexical subject, as displayed in Figure 3.7. The

results demonstrate a clear inclination towards the acceptable side of the table, with 121 completely acceptable, 18 acceptable, and 1 unacceptable responses.

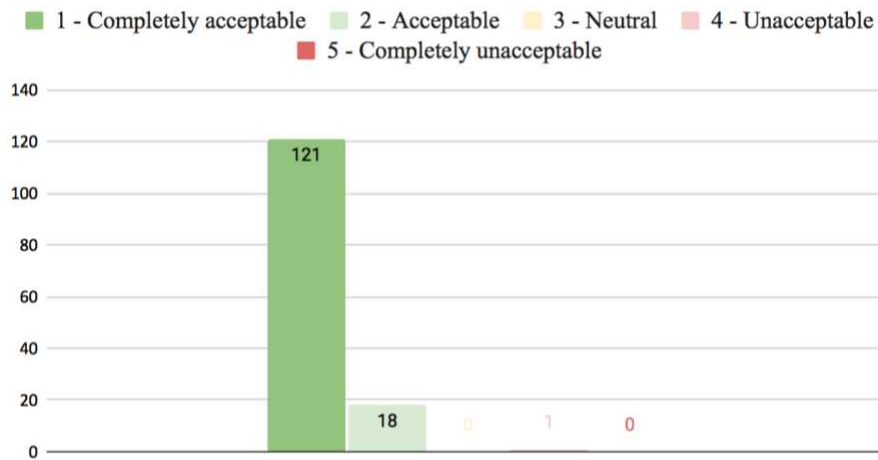


Figure 07 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and lexical subject

In the combination with a *pro* subject, the results for *ya* in a postverbal position are presented in Figure 3.8, which show 77 responses as completely acceptable, 44 as acceptable, 15 as neutral, 2 as unacceptable, and 2 as completely unacceptable. The tendency is very similar to the previous combination, but with a decrease in the number of acceptable responses and an increase in the number of neutral responses.

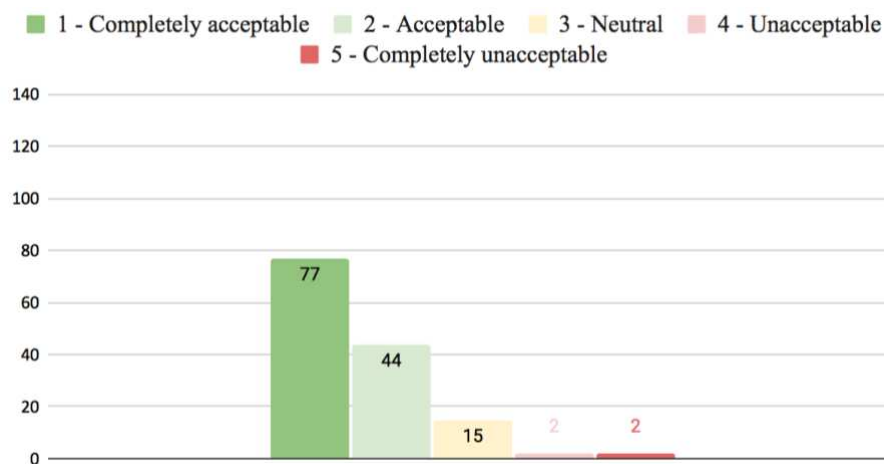


Figure 08 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and pro subject

3.1.3 Results of adverb *ya* with filler adverbs

This section presents the results of the previously mentioned combinations, but with the inclusion of a filler in the sentences. It should be noted that there are only two sentences per combination and filler, resulting in a total of 70 instead of 140 as in the previous combination without the filler adverb.

Figure 3.9 shows the combination with a filler adverb in a preverbal position with Present tense and a lexical subject, which exhibits a different tendency compared to the sentence without the higher adverb filler. The results of this combination indicate 5 completely acceptable, 5 acceptable, 14 neutral, 25 unacceptable and 21 completely unacceptable responses. Thus, the tendencies have shifted towards the right side of the figure, which represents the unacceptable part of the scale.

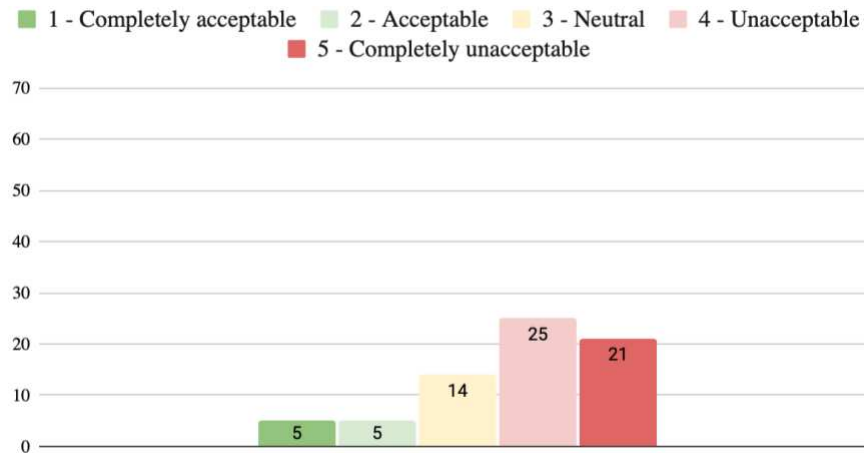


Figure 09 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Presente and lexical subject combined with a filler adverb

The combination of the filler adverb with *ya* in a postverbal position shows the following results, as presented in Figure 3.10: 8 sentences are

completely acceptable, 20 are acceptable, 11 are neutral, 17 are unacceptable, and 14 are completely unacceptable. Although there is no clear tendency in the pattern of answers, the category of the scale with the most answers is "acceptable." However, when adding the number of sentences rated as "completely acceptable" and "acceptable" together, the total is 28, which is lower than the total number of sentences rated as unacceptable and completely unacceptable, which is 31.

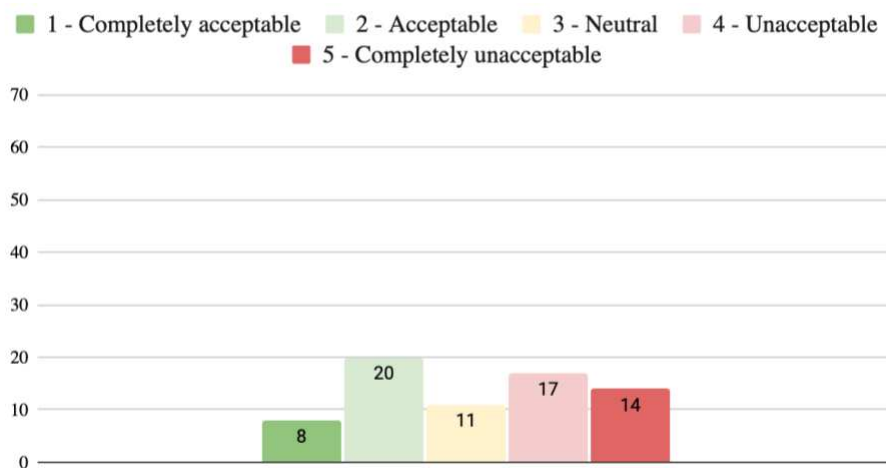


Figure 010 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Presente and lexical subject combined with a filler adverb

The results of the combination of *ya* on a preverbal position with a *pro* subject and Present tense are presented in Figure 3.11, showing 13 completely acceptable, 13 acceptable, 21 neutral, 18 unacceptable, and 5 completely unacceptable answers. The tendency in this combination is not clear, as the most frequently chosen category is neutral, followed by unacceptable. However, the sum of completely acceptable and acceptable answers is 26, which is lower than the 23 obtained by summing up the results in the 'unacceptable' grades category.

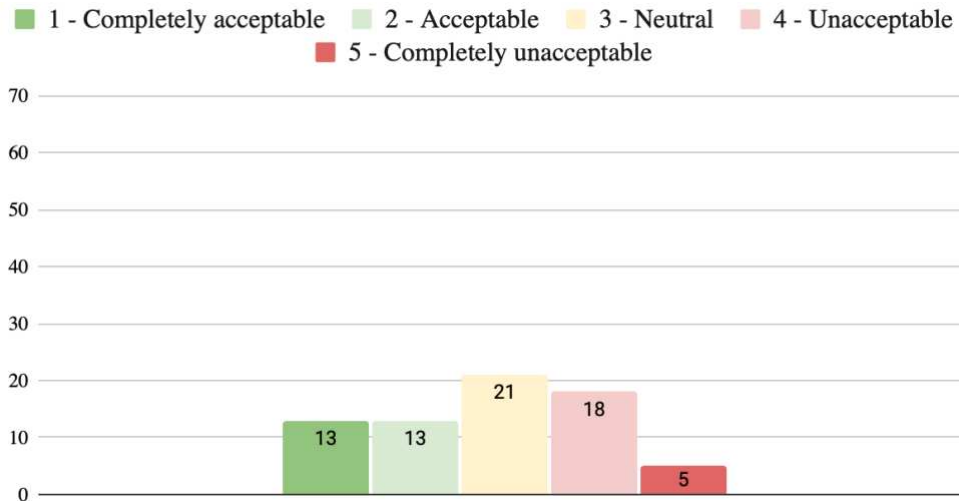


Figure 011 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and lexical subject combined with a filler adverb

The next combination of *ya* is the same as the previous one, but with a postverbal modification. The results are shown in Figure 3.12, with 11 sentences rated as completely acceptable, 28 as acceptable, 20 as neutral, 8 as unacceptable, and 3 as completely unacceptable. The tendency here seems to be towards the acceptable category.

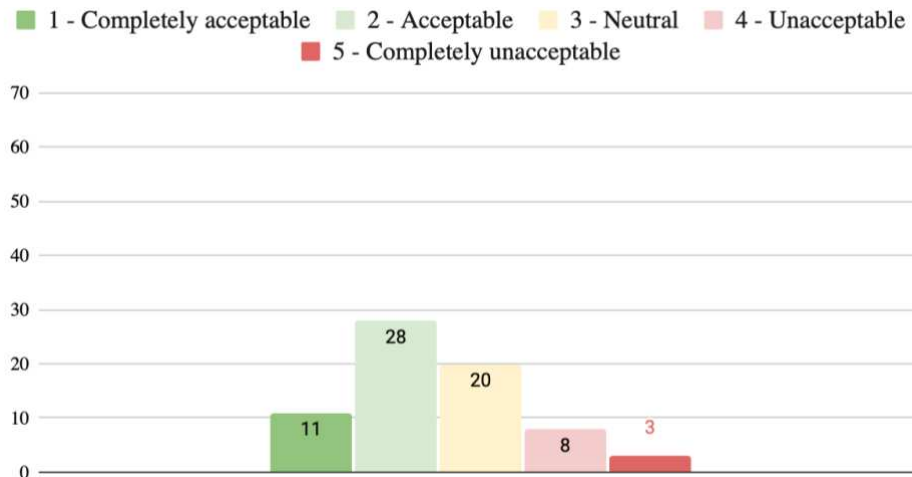


Figure 012 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Presente and pro subject combined with a filler adverb

Next, we have the combination of *ya* in a preverbal position with the past tense and a lexical subject. The results, as shown in Figure 3.13, are 6

completely acceptable, 11 acceptable, 12 neutral, 24 unacceptable, and 17 completely unacceptable. Therefore, the tendency here is clearly towards the unacceptable part of the scale.

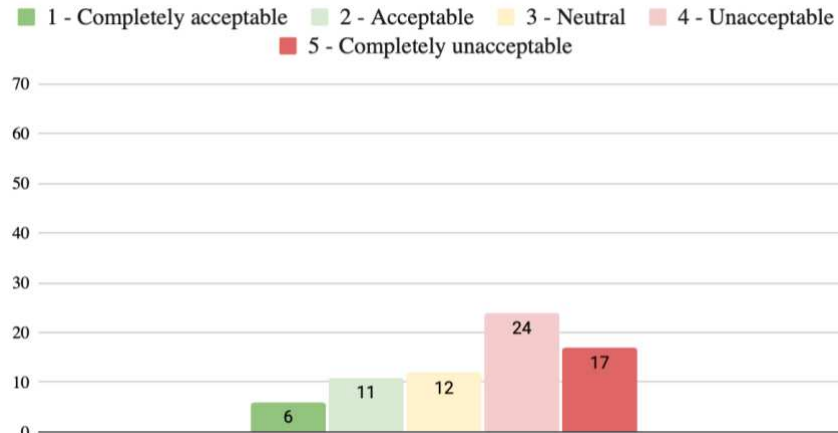


Figure 013 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and lexical subject combined with a filler adverb

The next combination involves *ya* in a postverbal position with the same conditions as the previous one. The results are presented in Figure 3.14, where it can be observed that 28 sentences were classified as completely acceptable, 18 as acceptable, 15 as neutral, 6 as unacceptable, and 3 as completely unacceptable.

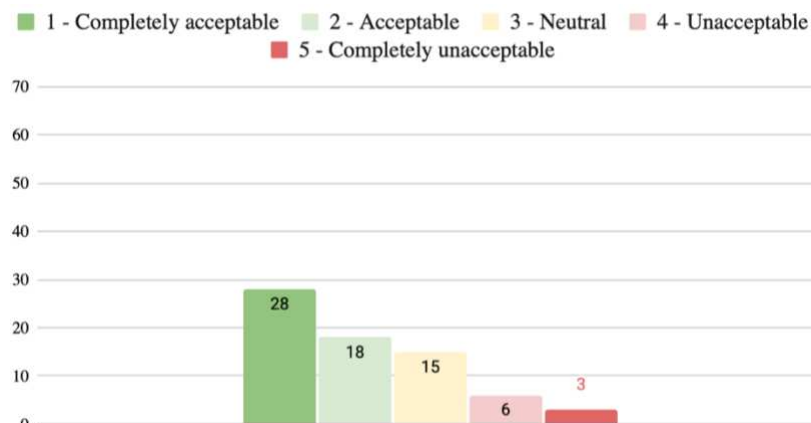


Figure 014 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and lexical subject combined with a filler adverb

The following results display the combination of the adverb *ya* in a preverbal position with a Past tense and a *pro* subject along with the filler adverb in a high position. These results are shown in Figure 3.15: 16 responses are completely acceptable, 11 are acceptable, 22 are neutral, 14 are unacceptable, and 7 are completely unacceptable. The neutral category has the highest number of answers followed by the highly acceptable and unacceptable categories.

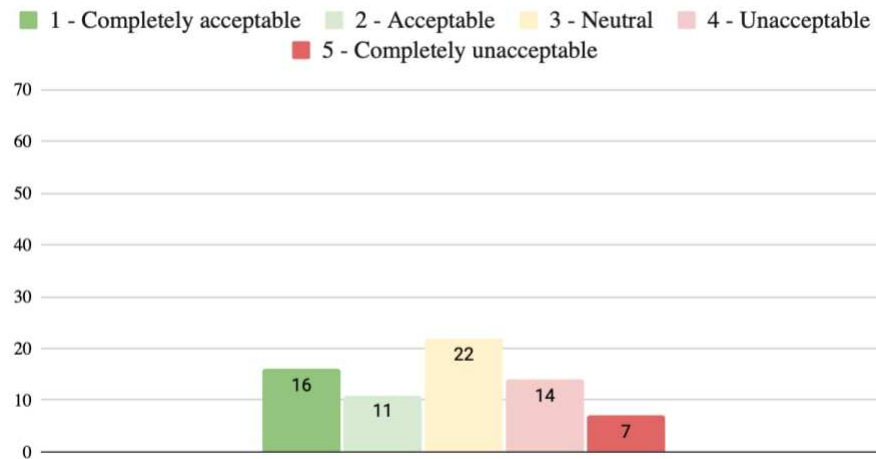


Figure 015 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and pro subject combined with a filler adverb

Meanwhile, the combination with the adverb *ya* in a postverbal position shows the following results in Figure 3.16: 43 sentences rated as completely acceptable, 30 sentences rated as acceptable, 5 sentences rated as neutral, 0 sentences rated as unacceptable and 2 sentences rated as completely unacceptable. In this case, there is a clear tendency towards completely acceptable and acceptable ratings.

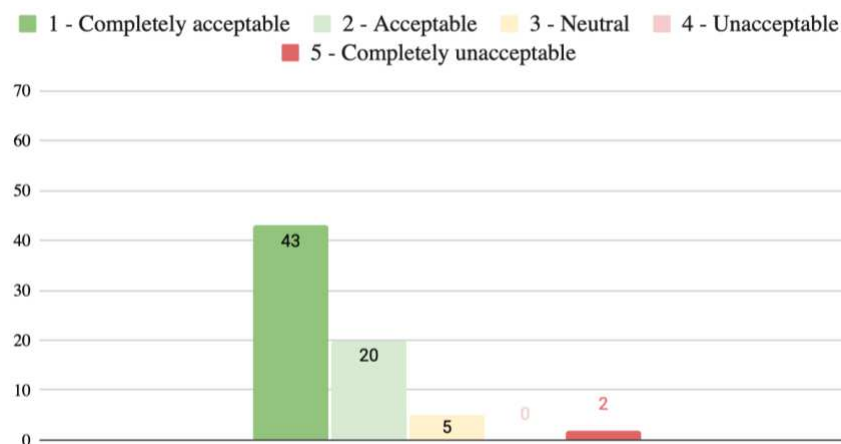


Figure 016 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and pro subject combined with a filler adverb

3.1.4 Summary of results of *ya*

The purpose of this section is to provide a brief overview of the main combinations of position and tense, as well as a comparison with the filler version of each combination.

To begin, the summary of the combination of *ya* in a preverbal position with the Present tense, regardless of the subject used in the sentence, is presented. Without the filler, as shown in Figure 3.17, out of 280 replies, there were 96 completely acceptable, 70 acceptable, 61 neutral, 38 unacceptable, and 15 completely unacceptable responses. In contrast, with the filler, as shown in Figure 3.18, out of 140 replies, there were 18 completely acceptable, 19 acceptable, 35 neutral, 43 unacceptable, and 26 completely unacceptable responses. Therefore, as evident, there is a clear tendency towards completely acceptable responses in the first case, resulting in a majority of unacceptable responses in the second case.

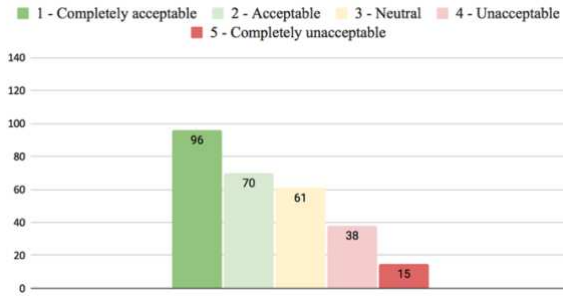


Figure 017 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Presente

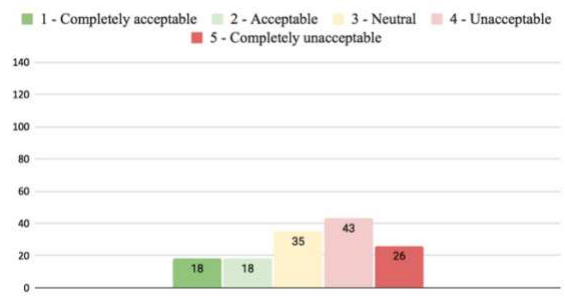


Figure 018 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Presente combined with a filler adverb

Furthermore, examining the results without the filler in Figure 3.19, out of 280 replies, there were 117 completely acceptable, 97 acceptable, 46 neutral, 12 unacceptable, and 8 completely unacceptable responses. The same combination with filler, as shown in the following figure, yielded 19 completely acceptable, 48 acceptable, 31 neutral, 25 unacceptable, and 17 completely unacceptable responses out of 140. In this case, the tendency remains unchanged, except for the different tendency in completely acceptable responses, which are the same as in the last comparison.

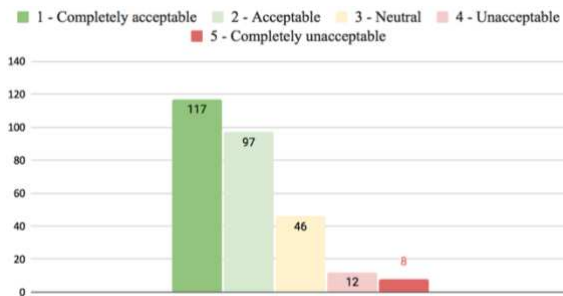


Figure 019 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Presente

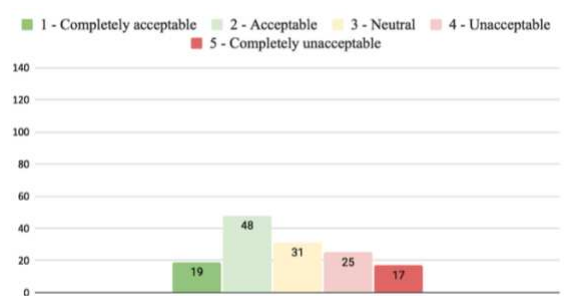


Figure 020 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Presente combined with a filler adverb

The same phenomenon is observed for combinations with the Past tense. The preverbal combinations with Past tense yield the following results in Figure 3.21: 187 completely acceptable, 56 acceptable, 21 neutral, 12 unacceptable,

and 4 completely unacceptable out of 280 replies. The same combination with fillers shows the results in Figure 3.22: 22 completely acceptable, 22 acceptable, 34 neutral, 38 unacceptable, and 24 completely unacceptable out of 140 replies.

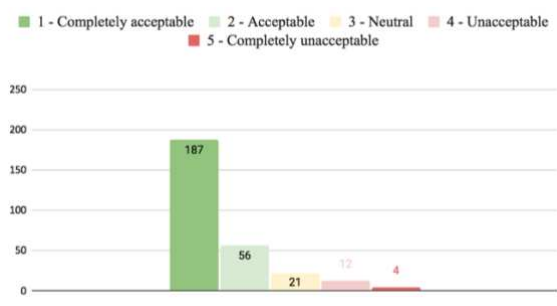


Figure 021 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto

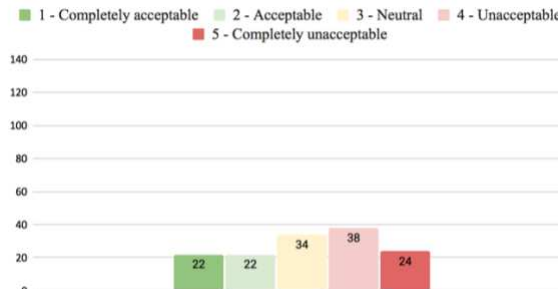


Figure 022 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto combined with a filler adverb

Meanwhile, the combinations of *ya* in a postverbal position with Past Tenses have the following results on Figure 3.23: 198 completely acceptable, 62 acceptable, 15 neutral, 3 unacceptable, and 2 completely unacceptable out of 280 replies. The same combination with filler shows the following results on Figure 3.24: 71 completely acceptable, 38 acceptable, 20 neutral, 6 unacceptable, and 5 completely unacceptable out of 140 replies. Therefore, the tendencies are even clearer in this case, and on a postverbal position, there is no change in tendencies.

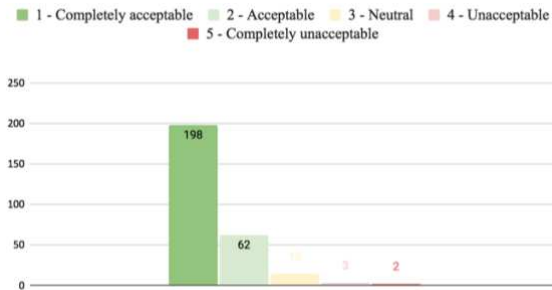


Figure 023 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto

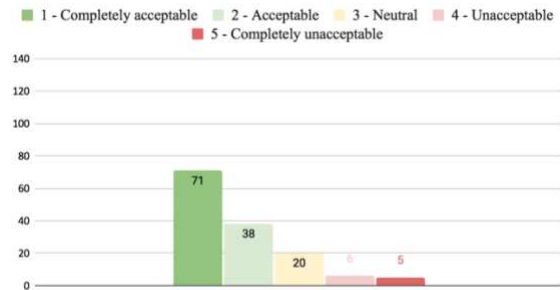


Figure 024 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto combined with a filler adverb

The final results considering only the adverb position and the comparison with the same position including a filler can be observed. The results obtained with *ya* in a preverbal position are shown in Figure 3.25, where out of 560 replies, 283 were completely acceptable, 126 were acceptable, 82 were neutral, 50 were unacceptable, and 19 were completely unacceptable. On the other hand, the same position with a filler yields the following results as shown in Figure 3.26: 40 completely acceptable, 40 acceptable, 69 neutral, 81 unacceptable, and 50 completely unacceptable out of 280 replies. Therefore, the tendencies clearly shift from one to another.

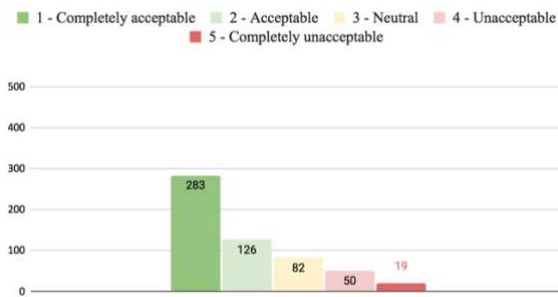


Figure 025 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position

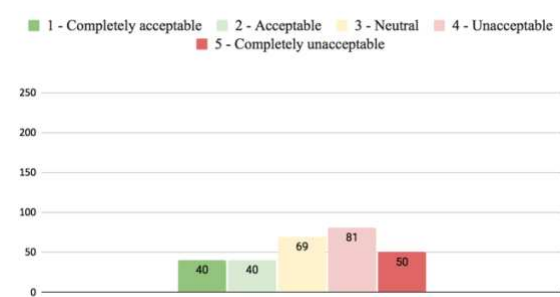


Figure 026 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on preverbal position combined with a filler adverb

The results for the combination of *ya* in a postverbal position are presented in Figure 3.27, which indicates that out of 560 replies, 315 were

completely acceptable, 159 were acceptable, 61 were neutral, 15 were unacceptable, and 10 were completely unacceptable. On the other hand, the results for the same combination with fillers are shown in Figure 3.28, indicating that out of 280 responses, 90 were completely acceptable, 86 were acceptable, 51 were neutral, 31 were unacceptable, and 22 were completely unacceptable. These results demonstrate a similar trend to the previous summary of the postverbal position.

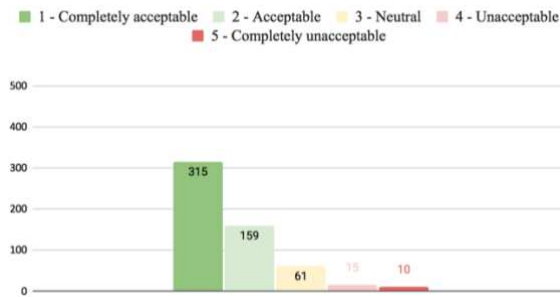


Figure 027 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position

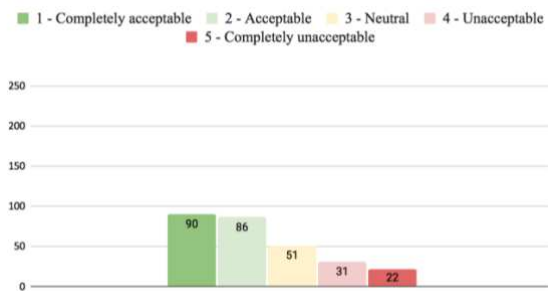


Figure 028 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'ya' on postverbal position combined with a filler adverb

3.2 Results of *siempre*

3.2.1 Results of adverb *siempre* in preverbal position

The results for the combination of *siempre* in a preverbal position with the Present tense and a lexical subject show a high number of answers as completely acceptable or acceptable. As shown in Figure 3.29, out of 140 possible answers as a maximum, there were 95 completely acceptable, 33 acceptable, 8 neutral, 4 unacceptable, and 0 completely unacceptable responses. In this case, the tendency is clearly towards the completely acceptable.

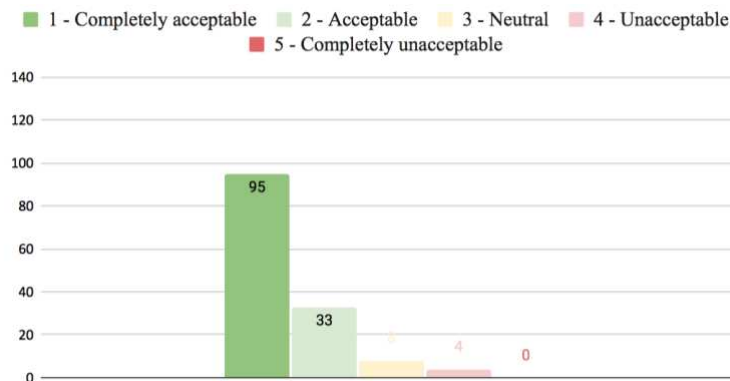


Figure 029 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Presente and lexical subject

The combination of *siempre* in a preverbal position with the Present tense and a *pro* subject shows results on Figure 3.30 as follows: 100 completely acceptable, 27 acceptable, 4 neutral, 7 unacceptable and 2 completely unacceptable out of 140. Similar to the case with a lexical subject, there is a clear tendency for the completely acceptable.

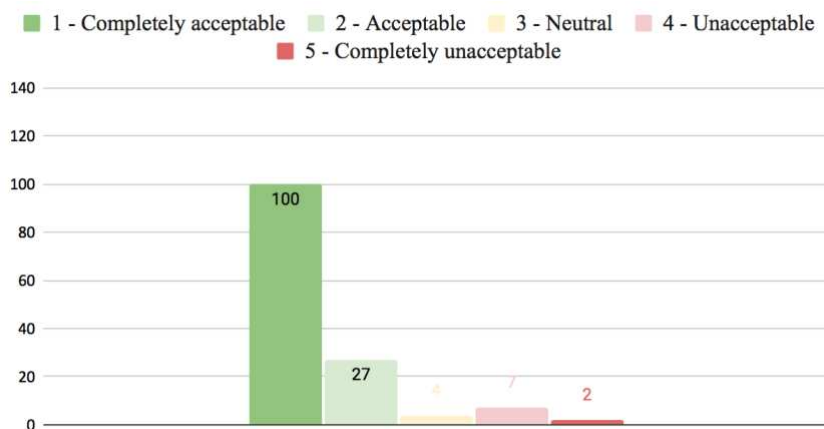


Figure 030 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with a Presente and *pro* subject

The combination of *siempre* in a preverbal position with the Present tense and a *pro* subject shows results on Figure 3.30 as follows: 100 completely acceptable, 27 acceptable, 4 neutral, 7 unacceptable and 2 completely

unacceptable out of 140. Similar to the case with a lexical subject, there is a clear tendency for the completely acceptable.

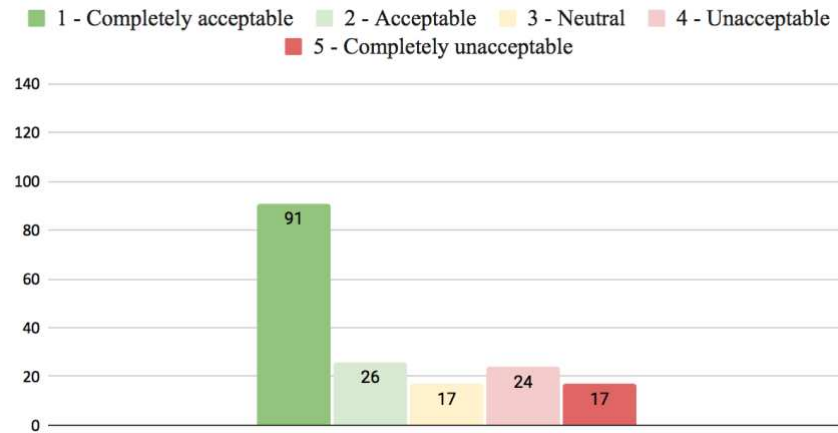


Figure 031 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and lexical subject

Meanwhile, for the same combination of *siempre* but with a *pro* subject, the results can be seen in Figure 3.32: 80 responses were completely acceptable, 38 were acceptable, 15 were neutral, 4 were unacceptable, and 2 were completely unacceptable out of a maximum of 140 responses. Once again, there is a clear tendency towards completely acceptable responses, similar to the previous cases.

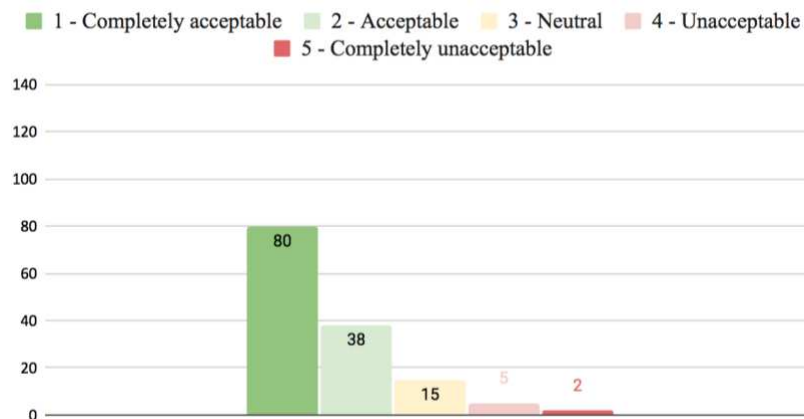


Figure 032 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and *pro* subject

3.2.2 Results of adverb *siempre* in postverbal position

On Figure 3.33, the following results can be observed for the combination of the adverb *siempre* with the Present tense and a lexical subject in a postverbal position: 124 replies are completely acceptable, 15 are acceptable, 0 are neutral, 1 is unacceptable, and 0 are completely unacceptable, out of a maximum of 140 replies. The tendency in this case is clearly towards the completely acceptable.

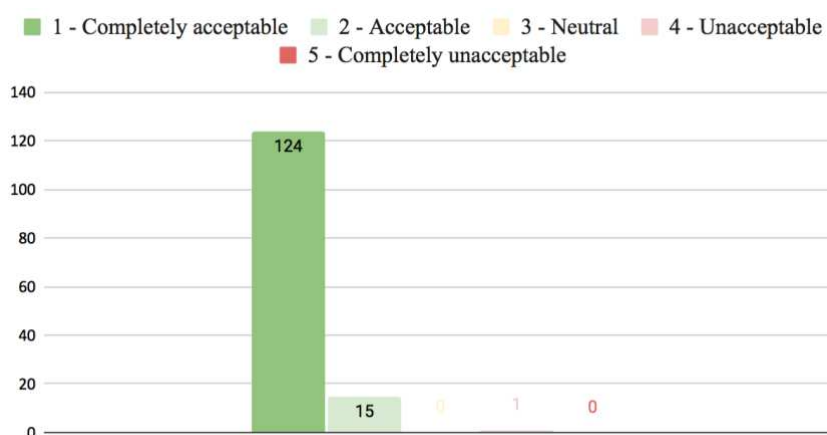


Figure 033 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Presente and lexical subject

The results for the combination of *siempre* with a *pro* subject in postverbal position can be seen in Figure 3.34, where it shows 111 completely acceptable, 23 acceptable, 5 neutral, 1 unacceptable and 0 completely unacceptable out of 140 responses. Although the number of completely acceptable responses is lower compared to the previous combination, it still has the highest number of responses.

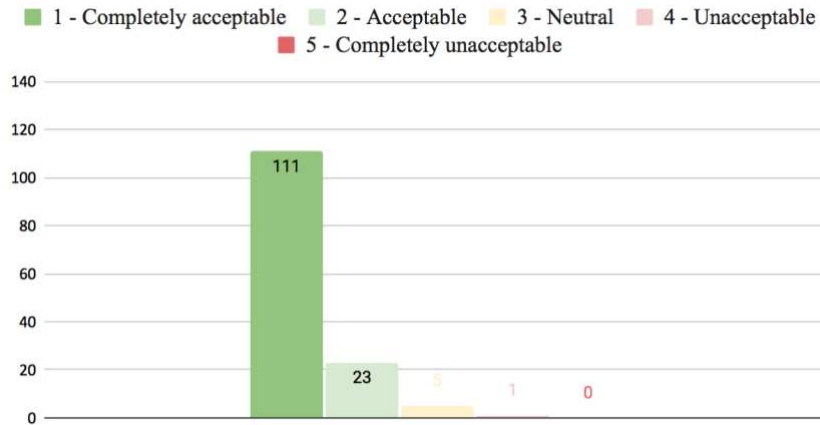


Figure 034 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Presente and pro subject

Meanwhile, when *siempre* is combined with a Past Tense and a lexical subject at a postverbal position, the results can be seen in Figure 3.35, with 97 completely acceptable, 28 acceptable, 11 neutral, 1 unacceptable, and 3 completely unacceptable out of 140. Thus, the tendency is clearly towards the completely acceptable responses.

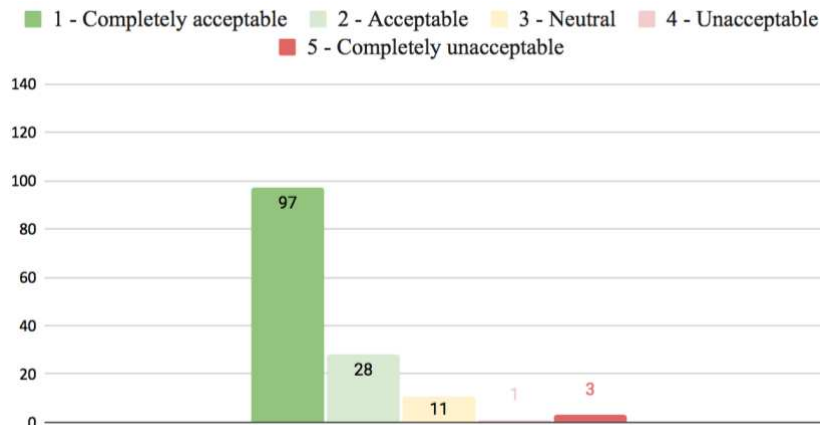


Figure 035 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and lexical subject

The results for the combination of *siempre* with a *pro* subject in a postverbal position and Past Tense can be seen in Figure 3.36: out of 140 responses, there were 99 completely acceptable, 35 acceptable, 4 neutral, 1

unacceptable, and 1 completely unacceptable. As with the previous case, there is a clear tendency towards completely acceptable responses.

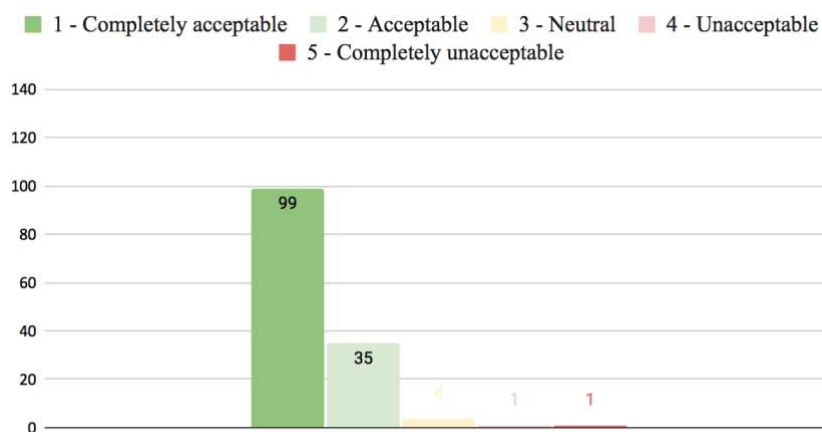


Figure 036 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and pro subject

3.2.3 Results of adverb *siempre* with filler adverbs

The following results can be observed for the combination of *siempre* in a preverbal position with the Present tense and the lexical subject when a filler is used, as shown on Figure 3.37: 14 completely acceptable, 11 acceptable, 20 neutral, 17 unacceptable and 8 completely unacceptable out of 70. In this case, there is no clear tendency as the number of completely acceptable and acceptable responses is equal to the number of unacceptable and completely unacceptable responses, both being 25.

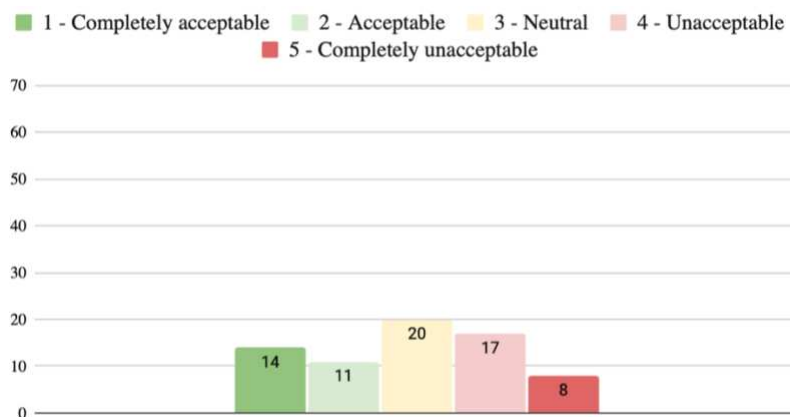


Figure 037 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Presente and lexical subject combined with a filler adverb

On the other hand, the combination of *siempre* with a filler in a postverbal position shows a clear tendency towards the acceptable part of the scale, as shown in Figure 3.38: out of 70 responses, 43 are completely acceptable, 22 are acceptable, 5 are neutral, and none are unacceptable or completely unacceptable.

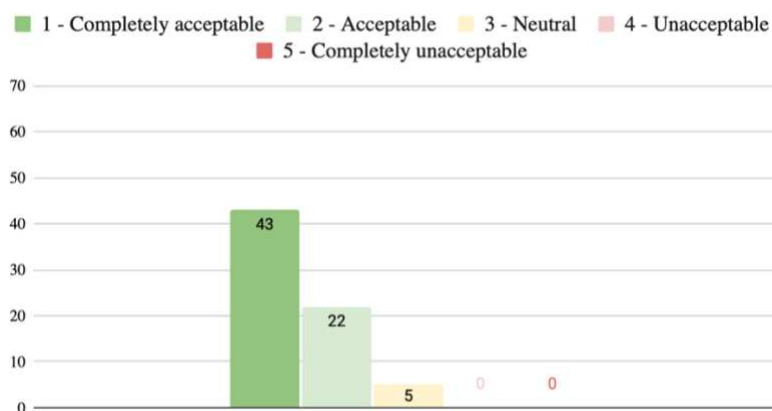


Figure 038 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Presente and lexical subject combined with a filler adverb

Figure 3.39 shows the results for the combination of the adverb *siempre* in a preverbal position with a Present tense and a *pro* subject, where 23 responses were completely acceptable, 16 were acceptable, 17 were neutral, 9

were unacceptable, and 5 were completely unacceptable out of 70. It can be observed that there is a tendency towards the acceptable part of the scale.

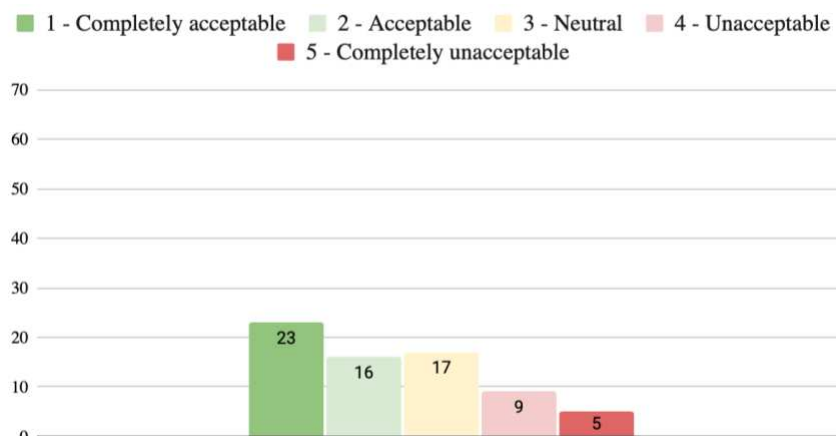


Figure 039 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and lexical subject combined with a filler adverb

Meanwhile, Figure 3.40 displays the results of the combination of the adverb *siempre* with a postverbal position, Present tense, and a *pro* subject, which are as follows: 35 completely acceptable, 20 acceptable, 7 neutral, 5 unacceptable, and 3 completely unacceptable out of 70. The tendency in this case is much more distinct, ranging from completely acceptable to completely unacceptable.

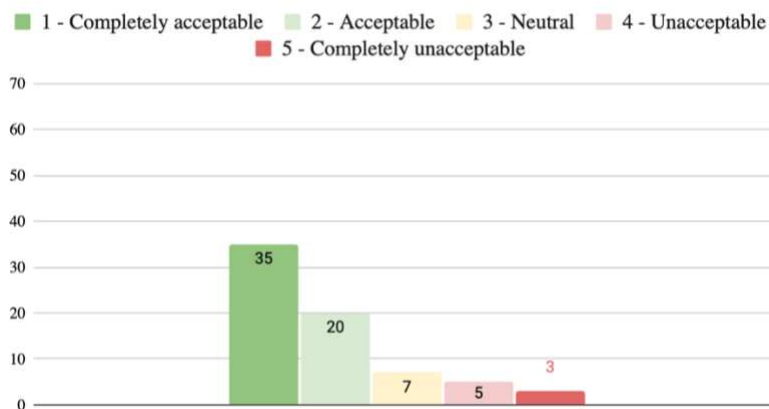


Figure 040 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Presente and *pro* subject combined with a filler adverb

The following combination to be examined is when the adverb *siempre* is in a preverbal position with a lexical subject and a Past Tense. Figure 3.41 presents the results: out of 70 possible responses, there were 9 completely acceptable, 8 acceptable, 18 neutral, 23 unacceptable and 12 completely unacceptable. As a result, the tendency appears to lean towards the unacceptable side of the scale.

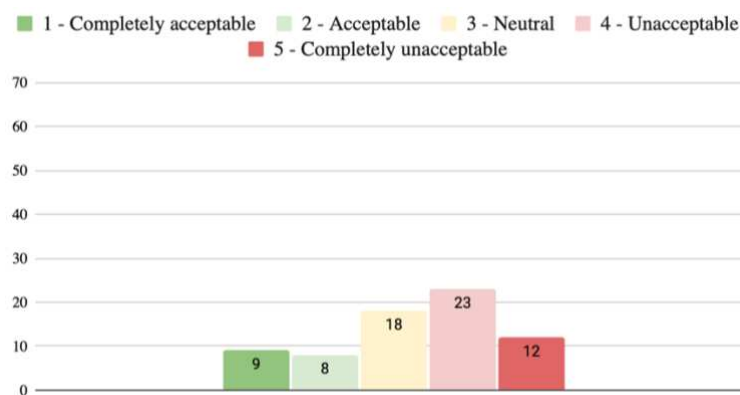


Figure 041 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and lexical subject combined with a filler adverb

On the other hand, the adverb *siempre* in a postverbal position with a Past Tense and a lexical subject yields different results, as presented in Figure 3.42: 29 completely acceptable, 25 acceptable, 13 neutral, 1 unacceptable, and 2 completely unacceptable out of 70. It is evident that there is a tendency towards the acceptable part of the scale.

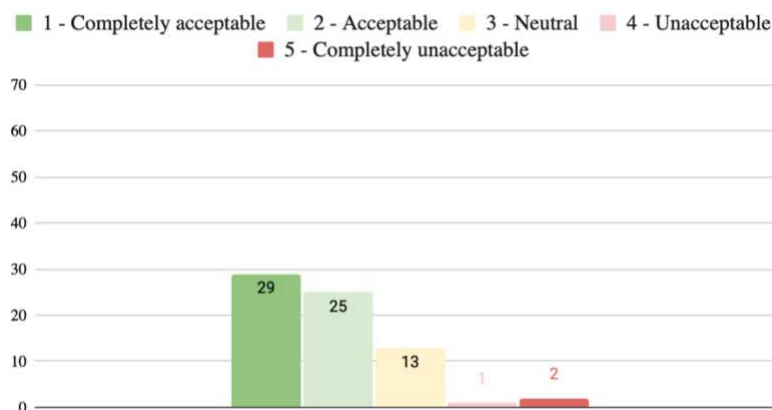


Figure 042 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and lexical subject combined with a filler adverb

The following results can be observed for the combination of the adverb *siempre* in a preverbal position with the Past Tense and a *pro* subject, as shown in Figure 3.43: 20 completely acceptable, 24 acceptable, 14 neutral, 9 unacceptable and 3 completely unacceptable out of 70. Here, the tendency is towards the acceptable part of the scale.

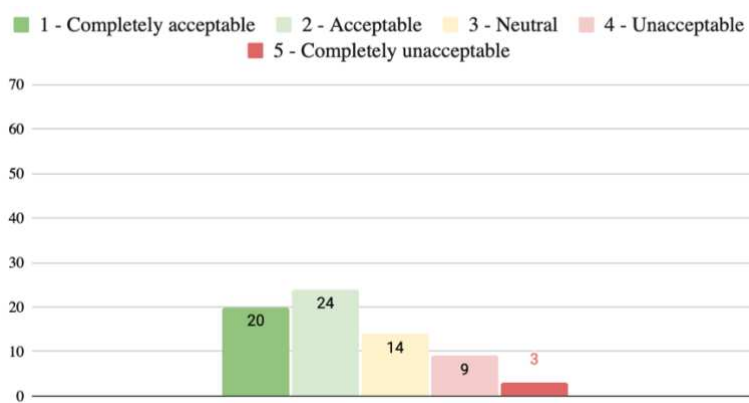


Figure 043 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and *pro* subject combined with a filler adverb

Meanwhile, Figure 3.44 illustrates the results of the same combination when placed after the verb, with 35 being completely acceptable, 17 acceptable,

13 neutral, 1 unacceptable, and 4 completely unacceptable out of a total of 70. The trend is particularly evident in the completely acceptable category in this instance.

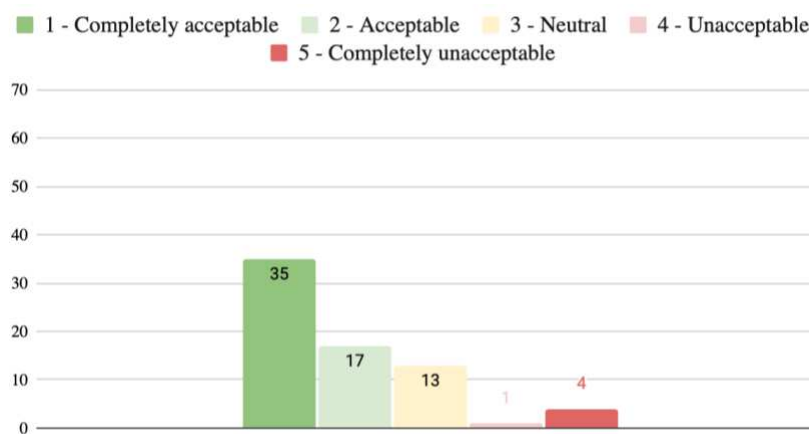


Figure 044 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and pro subject combined with a filler adverb

3.2.4 Summary of results of *siempre*

This section serves as a summary to review the primary combinations of position and tense for *ya*, and to compare it with the filler version of the same combination. First, we will examine the combination of *siempre* in the preverbal position with the present tense. Without fillers, the results are as follows: 195 completely acceptable, 60 acceptable, 12 neutral, 11 unacceptable, and 2 completely unacceptable out of 280 replies, as shown in Figure 3.45. On the other hand, the same combination with fillers yields the following results: 37 completely acceptable, 27 acceptable, 37 neutral, 26 unacceptable, and 13 completely unacceptable out of 140. Consequently, the same phenomenon observed in the case of *ya* is apparent here as well, where the preverbal position without fillers shows a tendency towards acceptability, but this tendency becomes unstable with fillers.

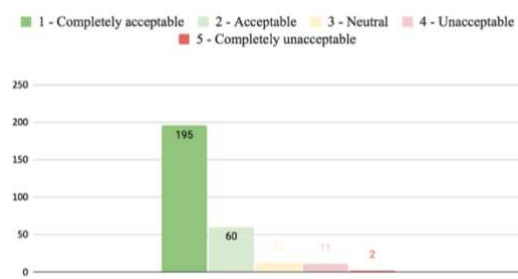


Figure 045 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Presente

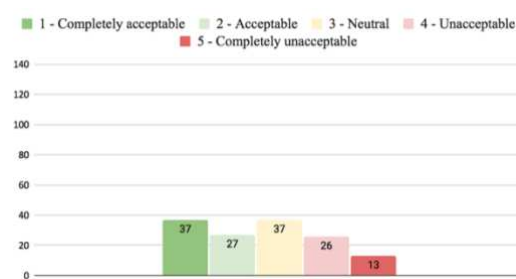


Figure 046 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Presente combined with a filler adverb

Meanwhile, the summary of the combination of *ya* in the postverbal position reveals a similar tendency. Without fillers, the results are as follows: 235 completely acceptable, 38 acceptable, 5 neutral, 2 unacceptable, and 0 completely unacceptable out of 280. With fillers, the same combination yields the following results: 70 completely acceptable, 42 acceptable, 12 neutral, 5 unacceptable, and 3 completely unacceptable out of 140. In this case, the tendency remains largely unchanged, with the only difference being that the rate of unacceptability is slightly higher in the presence of fillers.

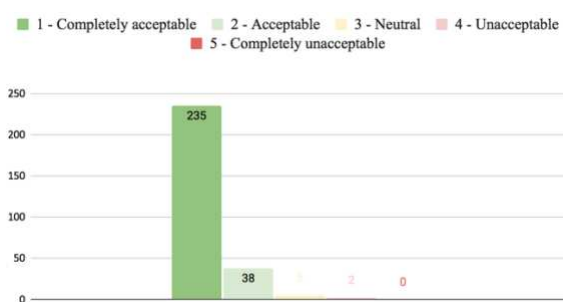


Figure 047 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Presente

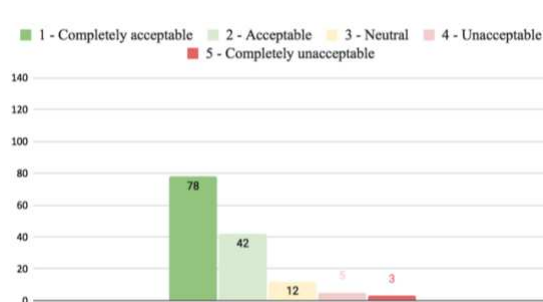


Figure 048 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Presente combined with a filler adverb

In terms of the combination of *siempre* in the preverbal position with the past tense, the results are shown in Figure 3.49, with 171 completely acceptable, 64 acceptable, 32 neutral, 10 unacceptable, and 3 completely

13 neutral, 1 unacceptable, and 4 completely unacceptable out of a total of 70. The trend is particularly evident in the completely acceptable category in this instance.

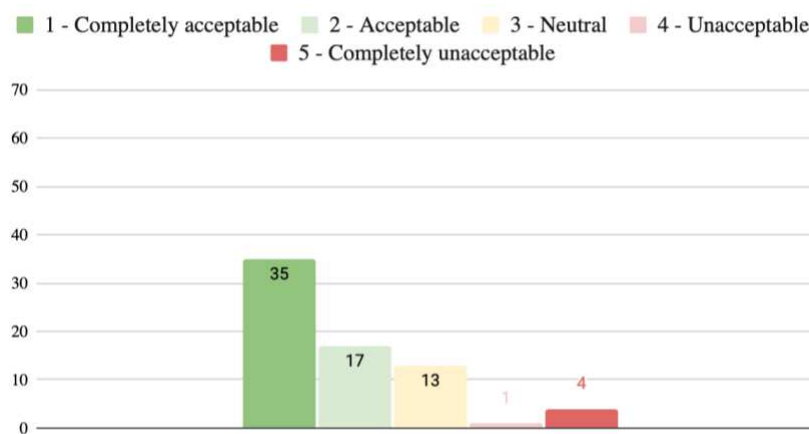


Figure 044 - Count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto and pro subject combined with a filler adverb

3.2.4 Summary of results of *siempre*

This section serves as a summary to review the primary combinations of position and tense for *ya*, and to compare it with the filler version of the same combination. First, we will examine the combination of *siempre* in the preverbal position with the present tense. Without fillers, the results are as follows: 195 completely acceptable, 60 acceptable, 12 neutral, 11 unacceptable, and 2 completely unacceptable out of 280 replies, as shown in Figure 3.45. On the other hand, the same combination with fillers yields the following results: 37 completely acceptable, 27 acceptable, 37 neutral, 26 unacceptable, and 13 completely unacceptable out of 140. Consequently, the same phenomenon observed in the case of *ya* is apparent here as well, where the preverbal position without fillers shows a tendency towards acceptability, but this tendency becomes unstable with fillers.

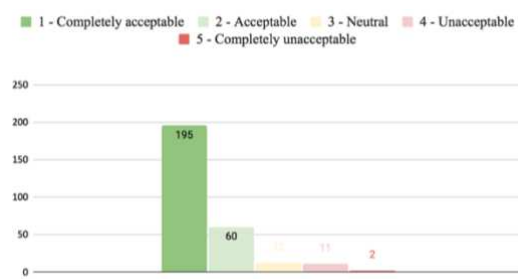


Figure 045 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Presente

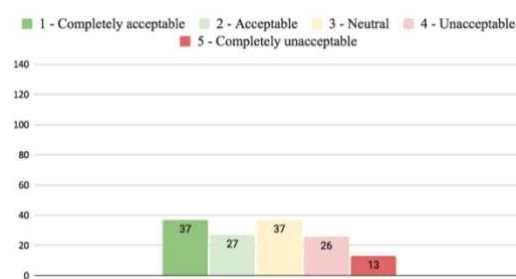


Figure 046 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Presente combined with a filler adverb

Meanwhile, the summary of the combination of *ya* in the postverbal position reveals a similar tendency. Without fillers, the results are as follows: 235 completely acceptable, 38 acceptable, 5 neutral, 2 unacceptable, and 0 completely unacceptable out of 280. With fillers, the same combination yields the following results: 70 completely acceptable, 42 acceptable, 12 neutral, 5 unacceptable, and 3 completely unacceptable out of 140. In this case, the tendency remains largely unchanged, with the only difference being that the rate of unacceptability is slightly higher in the presence of fillers.

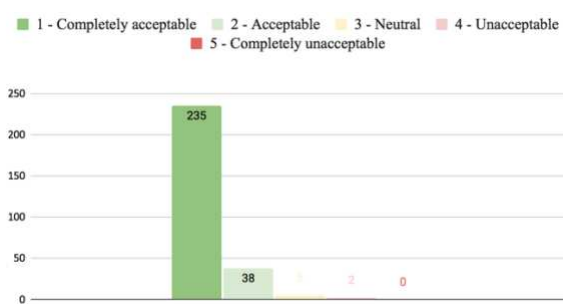


Figure 047 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Presente

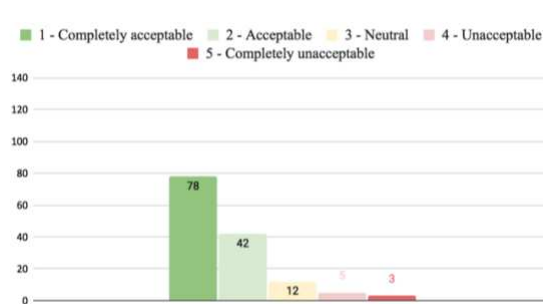


Figure 048 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Presente combined with a filler adverb

In terms of the combination of *siempre* in the preverbal position with the past tense, the results are shown in Figure 3.49, with 171 completely acceptable, 64 acceptable, 32 neutral, 10 unacceptable, and 3 completely

unacceptable out of 280 replies. On the other hand, the same combination with fillers yields the results shown in Figure 3.50, with 29 completely acceptable, 32 acceptable, 32 neutral, 32 unacceptable, and 3 completely unacceptable out of 140. Without fillers, there is a clear tendency towards acceptability, whereas with fillers, there is no clear tendency, as the three central categories of the scale have the same number of responses.

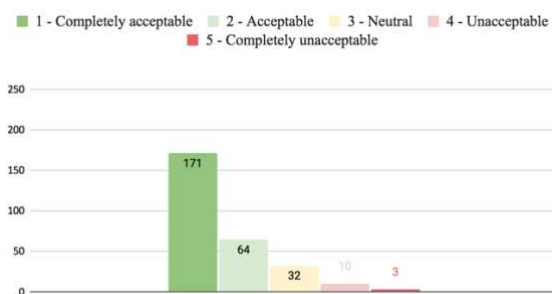


Figure 049 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto

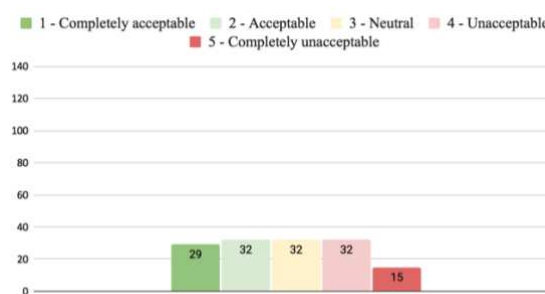


Figure 050 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto combined with a filler adverb

In contrast, the results for the adverb in the postverbal position without fillers are shown in Figure 3.51, with 196 completely acceptable, 63 acceptable, 35 neutral, 2 unacceptable, and 4 completely unacceptable out of 280. On the other hand, the same combination with fillers yields the following results shown in Figure 3.52, with 64 completely acceptable, 42 acceptable, 26 neutral, 2 unacceptable, and 6 completely unacceptable out of 140. Therefore, it is apparent that the addition of fillers does not alter the tendency observed for the other postverbal combinations.

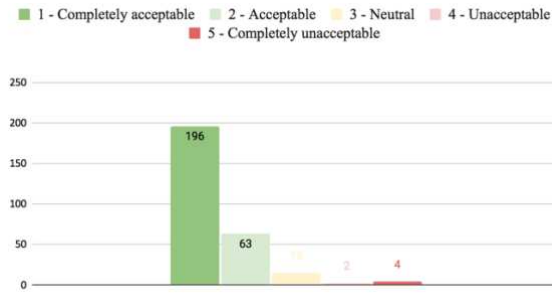


Figure 051 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto

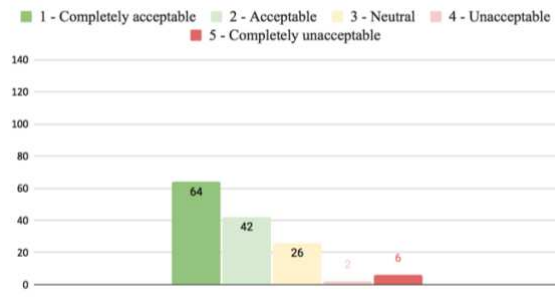


Figure 052 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Pretérito Perfecto combined with a filler adverb

To conclude, the summary of all the results for sentences with preverbal positions are as follows: 366 completely acceptable, 124 acceptable, 44 neutral, 21 unacceptable, and 5 completely unacceptable out of 560, indicating a tendency from completely acceptable to completely unacceptable, as shown in Figure 3.53. However, when the same position is filled, the results shown in Figure 3.54 are 66 completely acceptable, 59 acceptable, 69 neutral, 58 unacceptable, and 28 completely unacceptable out of 280. In this case, there is no longer a clear tendency, with neutral being the most frequently chosen category.

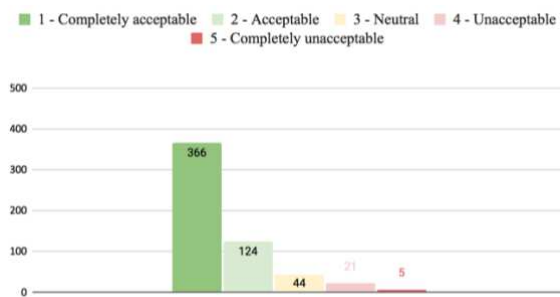


Figure 053 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position

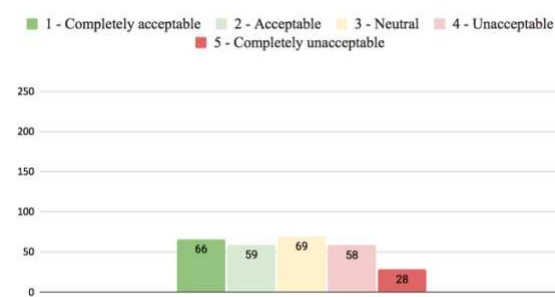


Figure 054 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on preverbal position combined with a filler adverb

Meanwhile, when *siempre* appears in a postverbal position without fillers, Figure 3.55 displays the results as follows: 431 completely acceptable, 101 acceptable, 20 neutral, 4 unacceptable, and 4 completely unacceptable out of 560. On the other hand, when the same position is used with filler, Figure 3.56 shows the results as 142 completely acceptable, 84 acceptable, 38 neutral, 7 unacceptable, and 9 completely unacceptable out of 280. It is evident that in this case, the tendency in the postverbal position does not change.

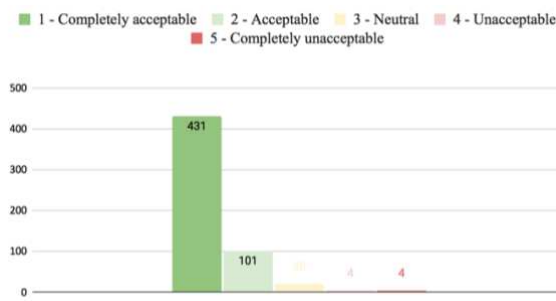


Figure 055 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position

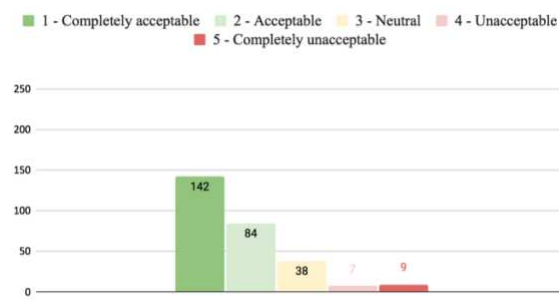


Figure 056 – Sum of count of responses by Likert scale of 'siempre' on postverbal position with Presente combined with a filler adverb

Chapter 4

Results Discussion

This chapter aims to present the initial observations derived from the results discussed in the preceding chapter. First, an analysis of the results pertaining to the adverb *ya* will be conducted, followed by an examination of the outcomes concerning the adverb *siempre*. The chapter will conclude with a summary encompassing the hypotheses put forth in this dissertation. Further observations, research limitations, and additional comments can be found in the concluding section of this thesis.

Initially, we see that the preverbal position exhibits a high level of acceptability when combined with the adverb *ya*. Consequently, the verb movement within the sentence is constrained until the $T_{(Anterior)}$ Phrase, thereby challenging our initial hypothesis. Nonetheless, it is important to highlight that the adverb *ya* is also observed in postverbal positions, albeit with slightly diminished acceptability.

These findings give rise to two additional hypotheses: either the adverb undergoes to the left periphery in the first combination, or it moves to the right periphery alongside the verb's object in the second combination. In this case, it becomes feasible to verify the first hypothesis since the experiment included filler adverbs that, in accordance with Cinque's (1999) Hierarchy, occupy higher positions within sentences.

Upon examining the combination of *ya* with these fillers, a noteworthy shift in the inclination of the preverbal position emerges, as the neutral or unacceptable categories become more appropriate for the participants. A similar shift can be observed in the case of postverbal positions, where the same tendency is evident regardless of the presence or absence of the higher adverb filler.

The combination of *ya* with these filler adverbs unveils a notable transformation in the tendencies observed within the preverbal position. The categories of neutrality or unacceptability become more fitting for participants who chose significantly those categories during the test. We can see a parallel shift in the case of postverbal positions, exhibiting the same inclination regardless of the presence or absence of the higher adverb filler.

Consequently, we can posit that the initial hypothesis proposing the movement of the adverb to the Left Periphery of the sentences gains support, as the higher adverb obstructs the motion towards a higher position. This finding implies that the primary hypothesis put forth in this dissertation may be substantiated, suggesting that verb movement in Spanish ascends at least to the position occupied by *ya*, which is $T_{(Anterior)}$.

The tendencies observed in the results pertaining to the adverb *siempre* differ from those observed for *ya*. Upon examining the outcomes, both the preverbal and postverbal positions exhibit similar tendencies, with all conditions displaying high acceptability.

There is a minor distinction worth highlighting, whereby some speakers perceive the preverbal position as unacceptable. However, this viewpoint is not held by a significant number of participants to warrant categorizing it as entirely unacceptable. Hence, a similar situation arises as with the previous adverb, prompting us to consider whether the adverb moves to the left periphery while the verb occupies a higher position, thus favoring the postverbal position, or if the verb remains stationary while the adverb assumes the appropriate or neutral preverbal position.

Moreover, for this scenario, the adverb *siempre* was presented in sentences combined with higher position fillers. Analyzing these sentences, a complete shift in the participants' response patterns is observed in the preverbal case, similar to what was observed with *ya*. In contrast, the postverbal position displays unchanged patterns, with a slight increase in neutral responses compared to the results without fillers. Nevertheless, the overall pattern and tendencies favor acceptability on the scale.

Based on these findings, the hypothesis previously confirmed with *ya* is further reinforced with *siempre*. Consequently, the higher adverb once again impedes the movement of the lower adverb towards the left periphery, while the verb proceeds to the Asp_{Perfect} position.

In summary, upon examining the results and participants' responses, the hypothesis from the literature suggesting that verb movement in Spanish occurs at a lower level, thus fixing the low adverbs, proves inadequate in describing Spanish verb movement. As a result, the hypothesis put forth in this dissertation

gains support, asserting that Spanish exhibits a verb movement pattern similar to other Romance languages.

Conclusions

The objective of this research, as outlined in the introduction, was to examine the extent of verb movement in Spanish and compare it with existing literature by Cinque (1999) or more recently Schifano (2018), among others. The findings of this study indicate that the previous assumption suggesting a lower degree of verb movement in Spanish is inaccurate. Instead, the results suggest that verb movement in Spanish extends to at least the $T_{(Anterior)}$ position, surpassing the previously proposed positions in the literature.

Throughout this study, consistent patterns of Spanish verb movement have been observed among the participants. However, it is important to acknowledge that a small number of speakers exhibited significantly divergent responses compared to the majority. Several factors could contribute to this discrepancy, including technical challenges associated with capturing intonation and sound nuances, as well as potential difficulties in interpreting the pragmatic context of the test. Additionally, participant fatigue or external influences may have impacted their performance.

One limitation of this study concerns the intonation during the test. Although participants were told that the whole test is on neutral and linear intonation and they were encouraged not to repeat sentences with varying intonations, some individuals may have encountered difficulties in accurately receiving the intended intonation due to technical issues with the Zoom platform or the equipment utilized (e.g., computer, headphones, etc.).

To address this limitation, future research could explore alternative methods for collecting and analyzing intonational data, such as employing specialized software or conducting in-person sessions with improved audio quality. Additionally, conducting in-person sessions and providing examples of intonational variations could aid participants in better comprehending and reproducing the desired intonational patterns.

Regarding the second limitation, interpreting the pragmatic and semantic context of the test, we endeavored to mitigate any pragmatic or semantic bias by constructing simple sentences that allowed for tracking verb movement. Participants were not explicitly told to focus on any element of the sentences, but on its acceptability and grammaticality. While the majority of speakers adhered to these instructions, some individuals still placed value on the sentence's sense, although this did not significantly impact the study's findings.

In future researches, it would be beneficial to account for this by designing sentences with a clearer and simpler pragmatic context. Additionally, exploring the influence of pragmatic factors on movement towards the left periphery in Spanish would be an interesting avenue to pursue. One potential approach to address this limitation would be to continue utilizing simple sentences but using objects from the same semantic family to create more naturalistic set of sentences.

Regarding the third limitation, participant fatigue during the experiment was a potential concern, despite efforts to minimize it by dividing the sets of sentences into two blocks. While a larger participant pool could have increased

the likelihood of unstable results, no such instabilities were observed in our study. However, introducing pauses during the experiment may not be ideal, as participants may lose their rhythm and attempt to create patterns, thereby introducing pragmatic and semantic biases. In future research, alternative methods should be explored to minimize participant fatigue while maintaining a consistent rhythm, such as proposing to the participants from the very beginning that they can ask for a break, but the researcher should adjust the duration of breaks between blocks.

We have obtained highly stable and reliable results in this study, as all participants accurately processed the control sentences without major grammatical issues. Therefore, any minor variations in the results can be considered statistically acceptable, and they may be influenced by individual speaker evaluations and grammatical abilities, as well as the aforementioned limitations.

In light of the data obtained, it is important to acknowledge that using only two adverbs, namely *ya* and *siempre*, to map the sentence structure may impose certain limitations on the obtained data. While it is recognized that these two adverbs may not encompass the full range of adverbial positions in the language, they served as crucial elements in our initial attempt to map verb movement.

Moreover, *ya* and *siempre* are among the higher aspectual adverbs in the sentences, making them valuable indicators for tracking the movement of the verb. By investigating the behavior of these adverbs, we were able to gain significant insights into the nature of verb movement in Spanish. Nonetheless,

to attain a more comprehensive understanding, future research endeavors should include a wider array of adverbs and adverbial phrases, capturing the full spectrum of adverbial positions in Spanish sentences. Consequently, further studies employing a wider range of adverbs and adverbial phrases are necessary to validate the findings of this research and develop a more comprehensive understanding of verb movement in Spanish.

Furthermore, it is crucial to highlight that when investigating a specific linguistic phenomenon in a diverse language like Spanish, it is imperative to recognize the limitations of examining only a small subset of dialects and characteristics that constitute the broader linguistic reality. Although this study focused on one particular dialect of Spanish, it is essential to acknowledge the existence of numerous other dialects and regional variations that may exhibit distinct patterns of verb movement. For instance, Schifano (2018) primarily discusses examples from Castile and Ciudad de México, which are part of the macro dialect A.

However, to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of verb movement in Spanish, it is essential to consider both macro dialects, as well as other regional variations as well. By testing both macro dialect A and macro dialect B using the same experimental procedures, researchers can compare and contrast the patterns of verb movement across different Spanish linguistic contexts. Therefore, future research endeavors should incorporate a broader range of dialects and linguistic variations to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of verb movement in this language.

Additionally, it is worth noting that this research initially aimed to encompass another Romance variant exhibiting the same phenomenon as Spanish. However, due to the substantial amount of data involved and the potential replication of limitations encountered in the methodology, a narrower focus was adopted. Nonetheless, in future investigations, it would be valuable to extend the scope to include these other Romance variants. By examining multiple languages within the Romance family, a comparative analysis could provide valuable insights into the nature and variation of verb movement across different linguistic systems from the grammatically approach of speakers.

In addition to exploring a wider range of dialects and linguistic variations, it would be highly intriguing to delve into the profiles of the participants in future research endeavors. Specifically, examining the gender division and social profiles of participants could shed light on potential linguistic differences beyond the dialectal level. Understanding whether there are variations in verb movement patterns based on gender or sociolinguistic factors would contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the researched phenomenon.

By incorporating an analysis of participant profiles and considering gender and sociolinguistic differences, researchers can gain a deeper understanding of the multifaceted nature of this and other linguistic phenomena. This comprehensive approach would provide insights into how linguistic variation interacts with social factors, contributing to a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon and its implications.

In conclusion, this dissertation has offered valuable insights into the nature of verb movement in Spanish; however, it is evident that there is still a significant amount of research to be conducted in this field. Future investigations should strive to expand the scope of inquiry by exploring additional dialects and variations within the Spanish language. The advancement of knowledge in this area will not only enhance our understanding of verb movement in Spanish but also contribute to broader theoretical and empirical frameworks in the field of Romance linguistics.

References

- Aboh, E. O., Van der Linden, E., Quer, J., & Sleeman, P. (Eds.). (2009). *Romance Languages and Linguistic Theory: Selected papers from Going Romance Amsterdam 2007* (Vol. 1). John Benjamins Publishing.
- Alsina, A. (1999). Where's the mirror principle?.
- Alvar, Manuel. "¿ Existe el dialecto andaluz?." *Nueva revista de filología hispánica* 36.1 (1988): 9-22.
- Belletti, A. (1990). *Generalized verb movement: Aspects of verb syntax*. Rosenberg & Sellier.
- Belloro, V. A. (2007). *Spanish clitic doubling: A study of the syntax-pragmatics interface*. State University of New York at Buffalo.
- Benincà, P., & Munaro, N. (Eds.). (2011). *Mapping the Left Periphery: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 5*. Oxford University Press.
- Benincà, P.; Poletto, C. 2005. "Topic, Focus and V2: defining the CP sublayers." In: Rizzi, L. (Ed.). *The Structure of CP and IP. The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Vol. 2*. New York/ Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 52-76.

- Biberauer, T., & Roberts, I. (2008). Subjects, tense and verb-movement in Germanic and Romance. *Cambridge occasional papers in linguistics*, 3, 24-43.
- Boeckx. (2011). *Aspects of the syntax of agreement*. Routledge.
- Booth, P., & Clenton, J. (Eds.). (2020). *First language influences on multilingual lexicons*. New York: Routledge.
- Bordelois, I. (1986). *Generative studies in Spanish syntax*. H. Contreras, & K. T. Zagona (Eds.). Foris.
- Bosque, I. (1999). *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española: Entre la oración y el discurso. Morfología (Vol. 3)*. Espasa.
- Bosque, I. (2017). *Advances in the analysis of Spanish exclamatives*. The Ohio State University Press.
- Carnie. (2002). *Syntax : a generative introduction*. Blackwell.
- Chomsky, N. (1981). *On the representation of form and function*.
- Chomsky, N., 1957. *Syntactic Structures*.
- Chomsky. (1984). *Lectures on government and binding : the Pisa lectures (3. revised ed)*. Foris.
- Chomsky. (1986). *Barriers*. MIT Press.
- Chomsky. (1995). *The minimalist program*. The MIT press.

- Cinque, G. (1999). Adverbs and functional heads: A cross-linguistic perspective. Oxford University Press.
- Cinque, G. (2006). Restructuring and functional heads: the cartography of syntactic structures volume 4 (Vol. 4). Oxford University Press on Demand.
- Garzonio, J., & Poletto, C. (2014). When low adverbs are high: On adverb movement in abruzzese. *Studi sui dialetti dell'Abruzzo. Quaderni di lavoro ASIt*, 17, 19-34.
- Hickey, R. (2010). Language contact: Reconsideration and reassessment. *The handbook of language contact*, 1-28.
- Izquierdo, M. A., Utrilla, J. M. E., MARCO, M. A., GÓMEZ, A. B., CAMPOS, M. C., PALOP, E. E., ... & TORRES, A. T. (2010). La lengua española en América: normas y usos actuales (p. 95). Universitat de València.
- Julien. (2002). *Syntactic heads and word formation*. OUP.
- Kuno, S. (1973). Constraints on internal clauses and sentential subjects. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 4(3), 363-385.
- Laenzlinger, C. (1998). Comparative studies in word order variation. *Comparative Studies in Word Order Variation*, 1-381.
- Lapesa Melgar, R. (1981). *Introducción a los estudios literarios*.

- Leborans, M. J. F., & Leborans, M. J. F. (2003). *Los sintagmas del español*. Arco/Libros.
- Ledgeway, A. (2012). *From Latin to Romance: Morphosyntactic typology and change (Vol. 1)*. Oxford University Press.
- Ledgeway, A. N., & Lombardi, A. (2014). *The development of the southern subjunctive: Morphological loss and syntactic gain*. Oxford University Press
- Ledgeway, A., & Lombardi, A. (2005). *Verb movement, adverbs and clitic positions in Romance*.
- Lightfoot, D., & Hornstein, N. (Eds.). (1994). *Verb movement*. Cambridge University Press.
- Penny, R. J. (2002). *A history of the Spanish language*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pittner, K., Elsner, D., & Barteld, F. (Eds.). (2015). *Adverbs: Functional and diachronic aspects (Vol. 170)*. John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Pollock, J. Y. (1989). Verb movement, universal grammar, and the structure of IP. *Linguistic inquiry*, 20(3), 365-424.
- Pollock, J. Y. (1992). *Generalized Verb Movement: Aspects of Verb Syntax*.
- Richards. (2001). *Movement in language : interactions and architectures*.

- Rizzi, L. (Ed.). (2004). *The Structure of CP and IP: The Cartography of Syntactic Structures, Volume 2*. Oxford University Press.
- Rodríguez Domínguez, M. (2017). El andaluz, vanguardia del español. *El andaluz, vanguardia del español*, 1-308.
- Schifano, N. (2016). Le lingue romanze: verso una cartografia del movimento del verbo. In *XXVIIe Congrès international de linguistique et de philologie romanes* (pp. 581-592). ÉliPhi.
- Schifano, Norma. *Verb movement in Romance: A comparative study*. Oxford University Press, 2018.
- Tescari Neto, A. (2013). On verb movement in Brazilian Portuguese: A cartographic study.
- Tescari Neto, A. (2019). Advérbios eo movimento do verbo. *Fórum Linguístico*, 16(1), 3563-3578.
- Tescari Neto, A. (2020). Diagnosing verb raising. *Brazilian Portuguese, Syntax and Semantics: 20 years of Núcleo de Estudos Gramaticais*, 260, 167.
- Tippets, I. (2011). Differential object marking: Quantitative evidence for underlying hierarchical constraints across Spanish dialects. In *Selected proceedings of the 13th Hispanic linguistics symposium* (pp. 107-117). Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

- Zagona, K. (2002). The syntax of Spanish. Cambridge University Press.
- Zagona, K. (2006). Sintaxis generativa del español. Sintaxis generativa del Español, 1-309.

Appendix I – Test Sentence

#	<i>Sentence in SP</i>	<i>Sentence in EN</i>
1	Miguel ya usa el teléfono.	Miguel uses already the phone.
2	Antonio ya toma las pastillas.	Antonio takes already the tablets.
3	Pedro ya da las clases de inglés.	Pedro takes already the English lessons.
4	María ya come los purés	María eats already the purees.
5	Ya escribe el trabajo.	He/she writes already the project.
6	Ya repara el motor.	He/she reparses already the engine.
7	Ya compra los cuadernos.	He/she buys already the notebooks.
8	Ya filma la película.	He/she records already the film.
9	Andrea ya ha cogido el autobús.	Andrea has already taken the bus.
10	Andrés ya ha pasado el aspirador.	Andrés has already vacuumed.
11	Alejandro ya ha visto la televisión	Alejandro has already watched TV.
12	Pilar ya ha acabado los deberes.	Pilar has already finished her homework.
13	Ya ha desarrollado el programa.	He/she has already developed the program.
14	Ya ha dividido la herencia.	He/she has already divided the inheritance.
15	Ya ha llamado la atención	He/she has already attracted attention
16	Ya ha cancelado la cita.	He/she has already canceled the appointment.
17	Paco lee ya la novela.	Paco is already reading the novel.
18	Jorge graba ya la canción.	Jorge already records the song.
19	Francisco recita ya los versos.	Francisco recites the verses.
20	Juan firma ya el contrato.	Juan signs the contract.
21	Bebe ya el zumo.	He/she already drinks the juice.
22	Edita ya las fotos.	He/she already edits the photos.
23	Pinta ya los cuadros	He/she already paints the pictures
24	Riega ya las plantas	Water the plants now
25	Daniel ha pagado ya la cuenta.	Daniel has already paid the bill.
26	Alba ha pegado ya las piezas.	Alba has already glued the pieces together.
27	Lucía ha roto ya la promesa.	Lucía has already broken the promise.
28	Paqui ha preparado ya la fiesta.	Paqui has already prepared the party.
29	Ha maquillado ya la muñeca	He/she has already made up the doll
30	Ha movido ya los muebles	He/she has already moved the furniture
31	Ha cortado ya el papel.	He/she has already cut the paper.
32	Ha secado ya el pijama.	He/she has already dried her pajamas.
33	Carmen lamentablemente ya sirve la pasta.	Carmen unfortunately already serves the pasta.
34	Isabel lamentablemente ya tuesta el pan.	Isabel unfortunately already toasts the bread.
35	José desafortunadamente ya cuenta la historia.	José unfortunately already tells the story.
36	Martín desafortunadamente echa ya la siesta.	Unfortunately, Martín is already taking a nap.

37	Lamentablemente ya copia los exámenes.	Unfortunately he/she already copies the exams.
38	Lamentablemente fuma ya tabaco.	He/she unfortunately already smokes tobacco.
39	Desafortunadamente ya ejecuta la sentencia.	Unfortunately, he/she already executes the sentence.
40	Desafortunadamente elimina ya los archivos.	Unfortunately he/she already deletes the files.
41	Jaime lamentablemente ya ha exprimido las naranjas.	Unfortunately, Jaime has already squeezed the oranges.
42	Javier lamentablemente ha hervido ya el agua.	Javier unfortunately has already boiled the water.
43	Carlos desafortunadamente ya ha encontrado el voluntario.	Unfortunately Carlos has already found the volunteer.
44	Marcos desafortunadamente ha tocado ya la guitarra.	Marcos has unfortunately already played the guitar.
45	Lamentablemente ya ha recortado derechos.	Unfortunately he/she has already cut rights.
46	Lamentablemente ha resumido ya los textos.	He/she has unfortunately already summarized the texts.
47	Desafortunadamente ya ha impedido el acuerdo	Unfortunately he/she has already prevented the deal
48	Desafortunadamente ha vaciado ya la caja.	Unfortunately he/she has already emptied the box.
49	Ana siempre entiende el inglés.	Ana always understands English.
50	Teresa siempre corre los 50 metros lisos.	Teresa always runs the 50-meter dash.
51	Manuel siempre cocina el pollo.	Manuel always cooks the chicken.
52	Rosa siempre muestra el carné de identidad	Rosa always shows her identity card
53	Siempre regala una tarta.	He/she always gives a cake.
54	Siempre evita la carne.	He/she always avoids meat.
55	Siempre soluciona los problemas.	He/she always solves problems.
56	Siempre carga el ordenador	He/she always charges the computer
57	Julián siempre ha sellado los documentos.	Julián has always sealed the documents.
58	Gema siempre ha adivinado los acertijos.	Gema has always guessed the riddles.
59	Ignacio siempre ha descargado los libros	Ignacio has always downloaded the books
60	Eva siempre ha ofrecido comida.	Eva has always offered food.
61	Siempre ha escuchado las noticias.	He/she has always listened to the news.
62	Siempre ha horneado las verduras.	He/she has always baked the vegetables.
63	Siempre ha buscado el diccionario.	He/she has always looked up the dictionary.

64	Siempre ha probado los platos nuevos.	He/she has always tried new dishes.
65	Carlota canta siempre el estribillo.	Carlota always sings the chorus.
66	Sofía cocina siempre las lentejas.	Sofía always cooks the lentils.
67	Rebeca dice siempre la verdad.	Rebecca always tells the truth.
68	Lola envía siempre la postal.	Lola always sends the postcard.
69	Organiza siempre la habitación	He/she always organizes the room
70	Devuelve siempre el dinero.	He/she always returns the money.
71	Dona siempre los premios.	He/she always donates prizes.
72	Elabora siempre su queso.	He/she always makes her cheese.
73	Ángela ha necesitado siempre su tiempo.	Angela has always needed her time.
74	Ángel ha reciclado siempre el vidrio.	Ángel has always recycled glass.
75	Julia ha lavado siempre la ropa.	Julia has always washed clothes.
76	Toñi ha acabado siempre la cena.	Toñi has always finished dinner.
77	Ha llevado siempre el cuadernillo.	He/she has always carried the notebook.
78	Ha construido siempre las casas.	He/she has always built the houses.
79	Ha recogido siempre el salón.	He/she has always collected the lounge.
80	Ha podado siempre los árboles.	He/she has always trimmed the trees.
81	Rocío lamentablemente siempre tira las cajas.	Rocío unfortunately always throws away the boxes.
82	Pablo lamentablemente cierra siempre la tienda.	Pablo unfortunately always closes the store.
83	Joaquín desafortunadamente siempre borra la memoria.	Joaquín unfortunately always erases his memory.
84	Elena desafortunadamente hace siempre las llamadas.	Elena unfortunately always makes the calls.
85	Lamentablemente siempre pone la estufa.	Unfortunately he/she always puts on the stove.
86	Lamentablemente siempre produce sueño.	Unfortunately he/she always produces sleep.
87	Desafortunadamente quema siempre la comida.	Unfortunately he/she always burns the food.
88	Desafortunadamente estropea siempre todo.	Unfortunately he/she always messes everything up.
89	Miriam lamentablemente siempre ha ordenado el armario.	Unfortunately, Miriam has always ordered her closet.
90	Marta lamentablemente ha destruido siempre las bicicletas.	Marta unfortunately has always destroyed the bicycles.
91	Ricardo desafortunadamente siempre ha destrozado los ordenadores.	Unfortunately Ricardo has always destroyed computers.
92	Alberto desafortunadamente ha triturado siempre las zanahorias.	Alberto unfortunately has always shredded carrots.
93	Lamentablemente siempre ha dañado el medio ambiente.	Unfortunately he/she has always harmed the environment.

94	Lamentablemente ha ignorado siempre los pagos.	Unfortunately he/she has always ignored payments.
95	Desafortunadamente siempre ha ensuciado la casa.	Unfortunately he/she has always dirty the house.
96	Desafortunadamente ha saltado siempre el desayuno.	Unfortunately he/she has always skipped breakfast.

Appendix II – Blocks division

- Set for Test #1

Miguel ya usa el teléfono.
Pedro ya da las clases de inglés.
Ya escribe el trabajo.
Ya compra los cuadernos.
Andrea ya ha cogido el autobús.
Alejandro ya ha visto la televisión
Ya ha desarrollado el programa.
Ya ha llamado la atención
Paco lee ya la novela.
Francisco recita ya los versos.
Bebe ya el zumo.
Pinta ya los cuadros
Daniel ha pagado ya la cuenta.
Lucía ha roto ya la promesa.
Ha maquillado ya la muñeca
Ha cortado ya el papel.
Carmen lamentablemente ya sirve la pasta.
José desafortunadamente ya cuenta la historia.
Lamentablemente ya copia los exámenes.
Desafortunadamente ya ejecuta la sentencia.
Jaime lamentablemente ya ha exprimido las naranjas.
Carlos desafortunadamente ya ha encontrado el voluntario.
Lamentablemente ya ha recortado derechos.
Desafortunadamente ya ha impedido el acuerdo
Ana siempre entiende el inglés.
Manuel siempre cocina el pollo.
Siempre regala una tarta.
Siempre soluciona los problemas.

Julián siempre ha sellado los documentos.
Ignacio siempre ha descargado los libros
Siempre ha escuchado las noticias.
Siempre ha buscado el diccionario.
Carlota canta siempre el estribillo.
Rebeca dice siempre la verdad.
Organiza siempre la habitación
Dona siempre los premios.
Ángela ha necesitado siempre su tiempo.
Julia ha lavado siempre la ropa.
Ha llevado siempre el cuadernillo.
Ha recogido siempre el salón.
Rocío lamentablemente siempre tira las cajas.
Desafortunadamente Joaquín siempre borra la memoria.
Lamentablemente siempre pone la estufa.
Desafortunadamente quema siempre la comida.
Miriam lamentablemente siempre ha ordenado el armario.
Ricardo desafortunadamente siempre ha destrozado los ordenadores.
Lamentablemente siempre ha dañado el medio ambiente.
Desafortunadamente siempre ha ensuciado la casa.
María no ha cocinado las lentejas o los guisantes, solo ha cocinado las lentejas.
Juan no pela la manzana o la pera, de hecho pela solo la pera afortunadamente.
Pedro no riega el bonsái o el cactus, de hecho riega solo el bonsái.
Valeria no ha visto la película o las noticias, de hecho ella vio solo la película.
Simón no plancha la camisa ni la falda, de hecho planchaba solo la falda.
Mateo no limpió el piso o la alfombra, de hecho solo limpió la alfombra.
Cristián no tiró el papel ni el plástico, de hecho tampoco tiró.
Elisa no usó el collar o la bufanda, de hecho tampoco usó.
Alonso prepara la pizza o la pasta, de hecho solo prepara la pasta.
Irene no leyó ni el periódico ni el libro, de hecho tampoco leyó.
David no limpió el baño o la sala de estar, de hecho no limpió tampoco.
Hugo no pintó el retrato o el paisaje, de hecho no pintó ninguno de los dos.
Lamentablemente Paula ha comprado la camiseta.
Lamentablemente Pablo no bebió ni zumo ni vino.
Paco no ha comido el bistec o el pan plano, de hecho ha comido lentejas.
Lucas ha perdido el autobús.

Carla no conduce el coche.
Eva ha plantado tomillo.
Federico acarició al perro.
Clara toca la flauta.
Pamela sazonó la carne.
Tomás vacunó a su perro.
Camila echo azúcar al café.

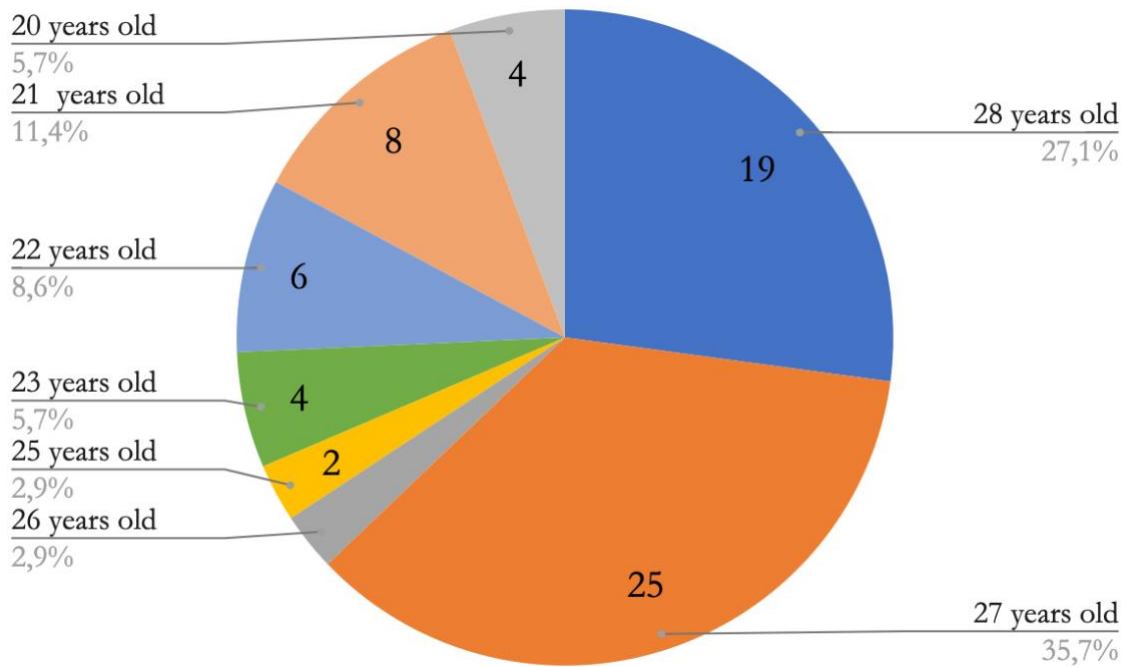
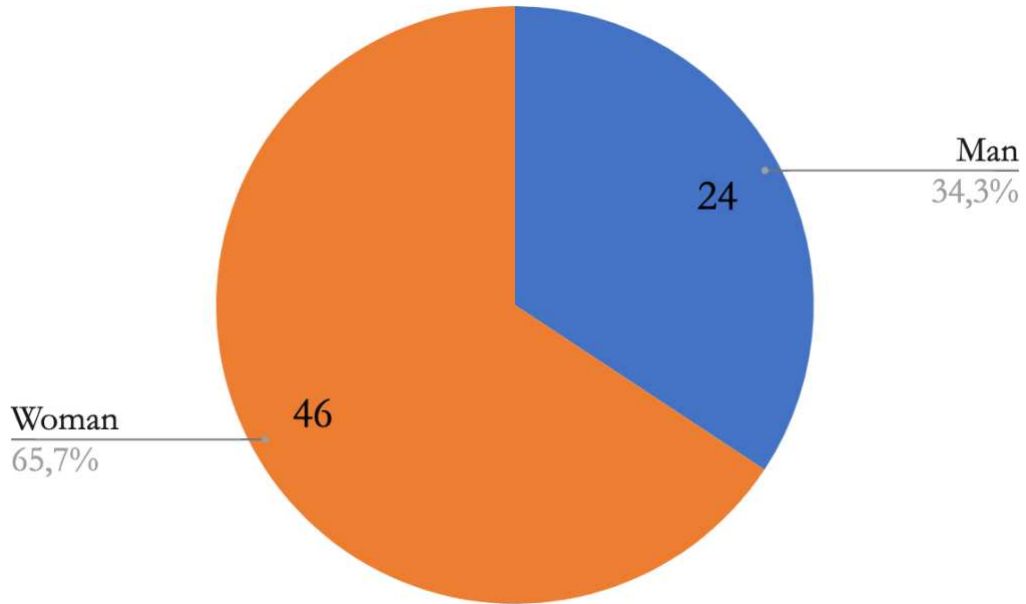
- Set for Test #2

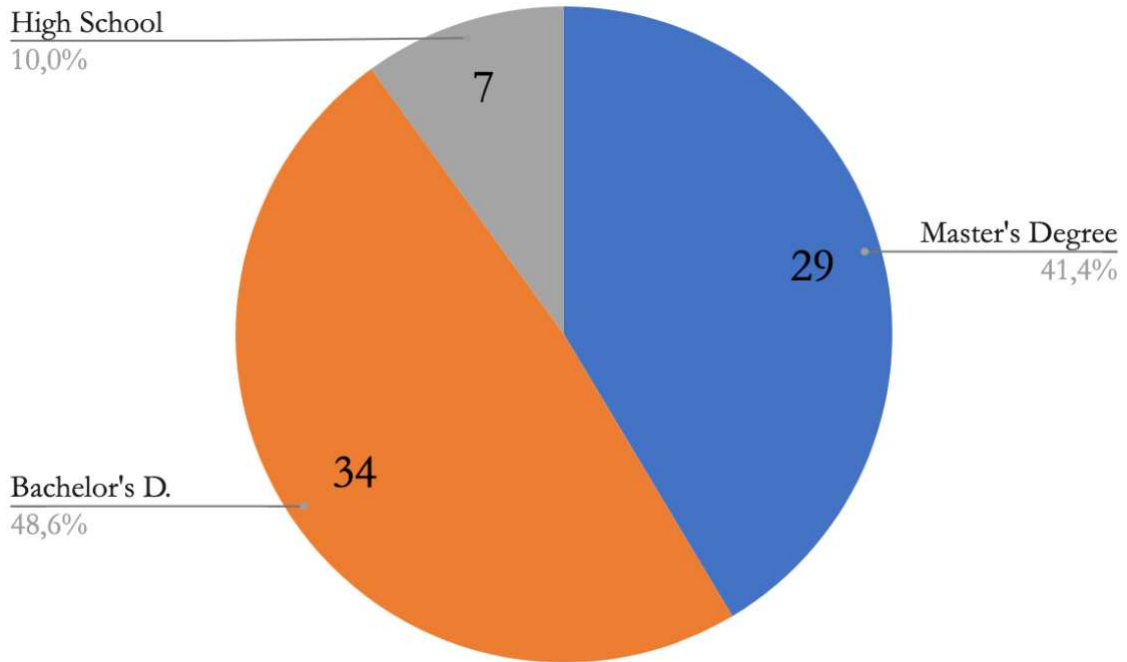
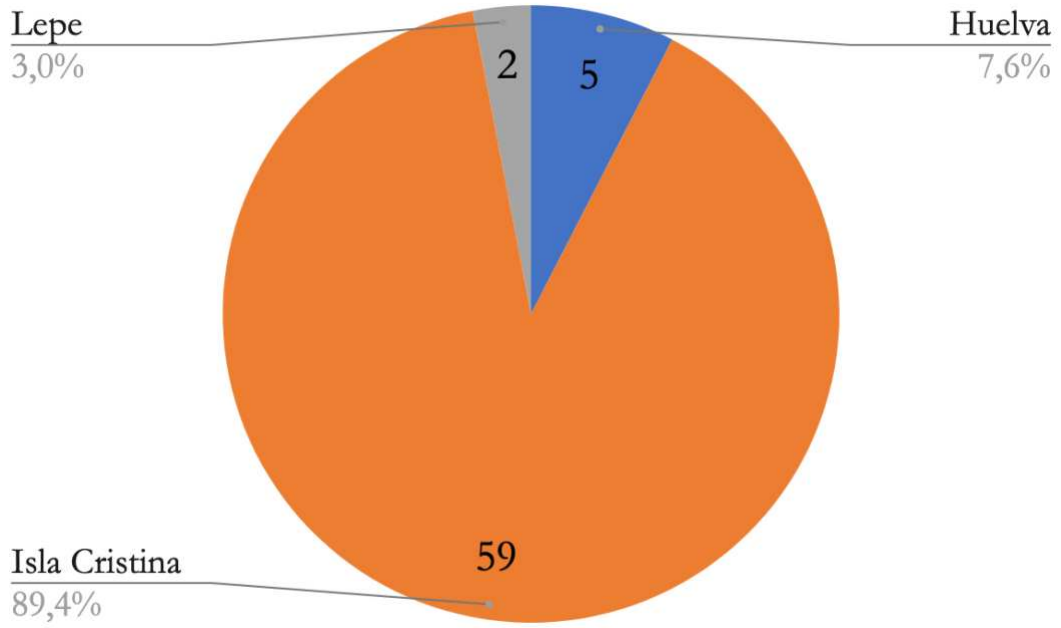
Antonio ya toma las pastillas.
María ya come los purés
Ya repara el motor.
Ya filma la película.
Andrés ya ha pasado el aspirador.
Pilar ya ha acabado los deberes.
Ya ha dividido la herencia.
Ya ha cancelado la cita.
Jorge graba ya la canción.
Juan firma ya el contrato.
Edita ya las fotos.
Riega ya las plantas
Alba ha pegado ya las piezas.
Paqui ha preparado ya la fiesta.
Ha movido ya los muebles
Ha secado ya el pijama.
Isabel lamentablemente ya tuesta el pan.
Martín desafortunadamente echa ya la siesta.
Lamentablemente fuma ya tabaco.
Desafortunadamente elimina ya los archivos.
Javier lamentablemente ha hervido ya el agua.
Marcos deafortunadamente ha tocado ya la guitarra.
Lamentablemente ha resumido ya los textos.
Desafortunadamente ha vaciado ya la caja.
Teresa siempre corre los 50 metros lisos.
Rosa siempre muestra el carné de identidad
Siempre evita la carne.
Siempre carga el ordenador

Gema siempre ha adivinado los acertijos.
Eva siempre ha ofrecido comida.
Siempre ha horneado las verduras.
Siempre ha probado los platos nuevos.
Sofía cocina siempre las lentejas.
Lola envía siempre la postal.
Devuelve siempre el dinero.
Elabora siempre su queso.
Ángel ha reciclado siempre el vidrio.
Toñi ha acabado siempre la cena.
Ha construido siempre las casas.
Ha podado siempre los árboles.
Pablo lamentablemente cierra siempre la tienda.
Elena desafortunadamente hace siempre las llamadas.
Lamentablemente siempre produce sueño.
Desafortunadamente estropea siempre todo.
Marta lamentablemente ha destruido siempre las bicicletas.
Alberto desafortunadamente ha triturado siempre las zanahorias.
Desafortunadamente ha saltado siempre el desayuno.
Lamentablemente ha ignorado siempre los pagos.
Paula no ha comprado la camisa o la camiseta, de hecho solo ha comprado la camiseta.
Paul no bebió el vino o el zumo, de hecho no bebió.
Pedro no riega el bonsái o el cactus, de hecho no riega tampoco.
Lucas no perdió el autobús o el tren, de hecho no perdió a ninguno de los dos.
Carla no conduce el coche o la motocicleta, de hecho no conduce ninguno de ellos.
Eva no plantó el tomillo ni la guindilla, de hecho tampoco plantó.
Federico no acarició al caballo ni al conejo, de hecho acarició solo al conejo.
Clara toca la guitarra o la trompeta, de hecho solo toca la trompeta.
Pamela no sazonó la pasta o la ensalada, de hecho solo sazonó la pasta.
Tomás vacunó a su perro o su gato, de hecho vacunó solo a su perro.
Camila no endulzó el café o el té, de hecho no endulzó ninguno de los dos.
Desafortunadamente María ha cocinado las lentejas.
Juan pela la manzana y la pera.
Miguel no come filete o pan, de hecho come filete.
Valeria ha visto la película.
Simón plancha la camisa.

Mateo limpió el piso.
Cristián tiró el plástico.
Elisa se puso la bufanda.
Alonso prepara la pizza.
Irene leyó el periódico.
David no limpió el baño.
Hugo no pintó el retrato.

Appendix III – Participants profile



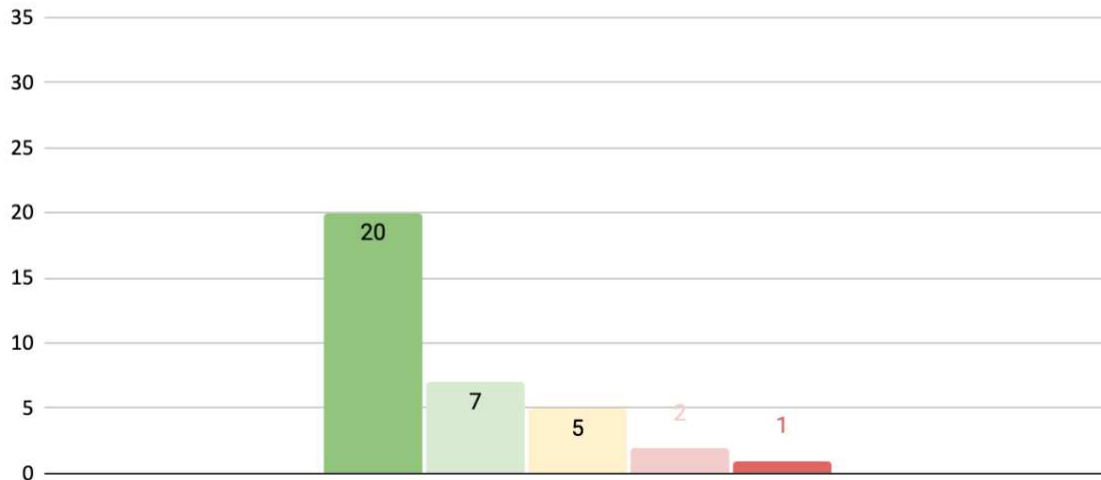


Appendix IV – Results divided in sentences

Set # 1

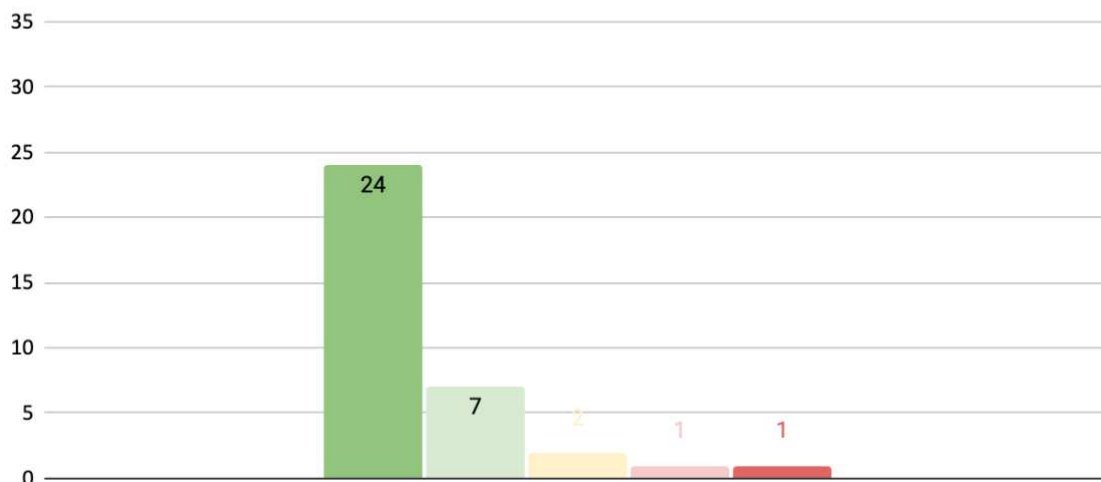
Test 1 - Sentence 1 Results - Miguel ya usa el teléfono.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



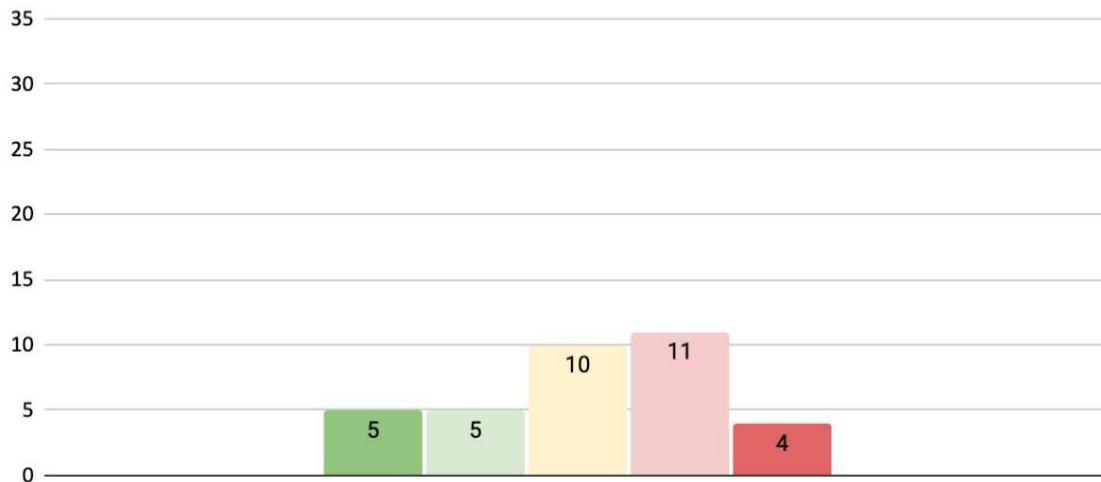
Test 1 - Sentence 2 Results - Andrea ya ha cogido el autobús.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



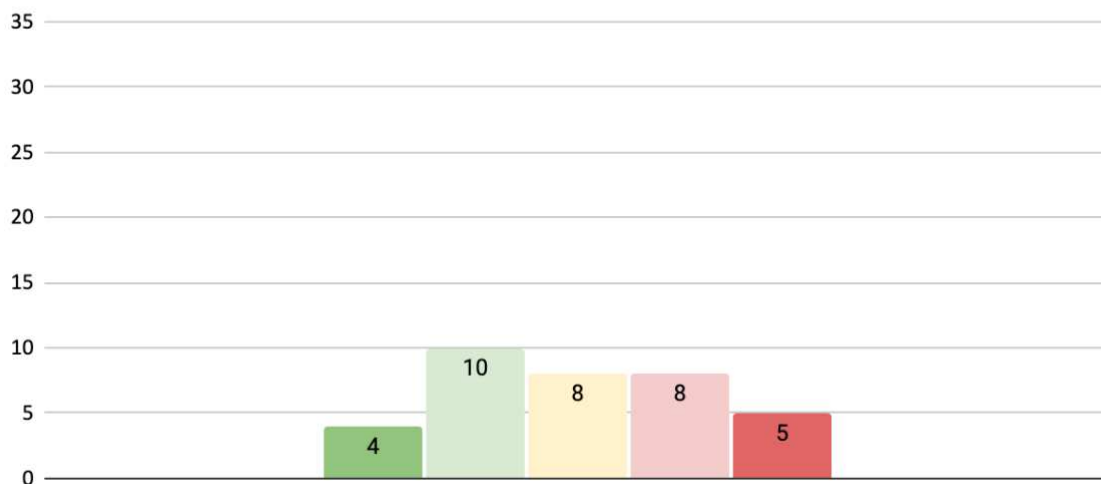
Test 1 - Sentence 3 Results - Ya escribe el trabajo.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



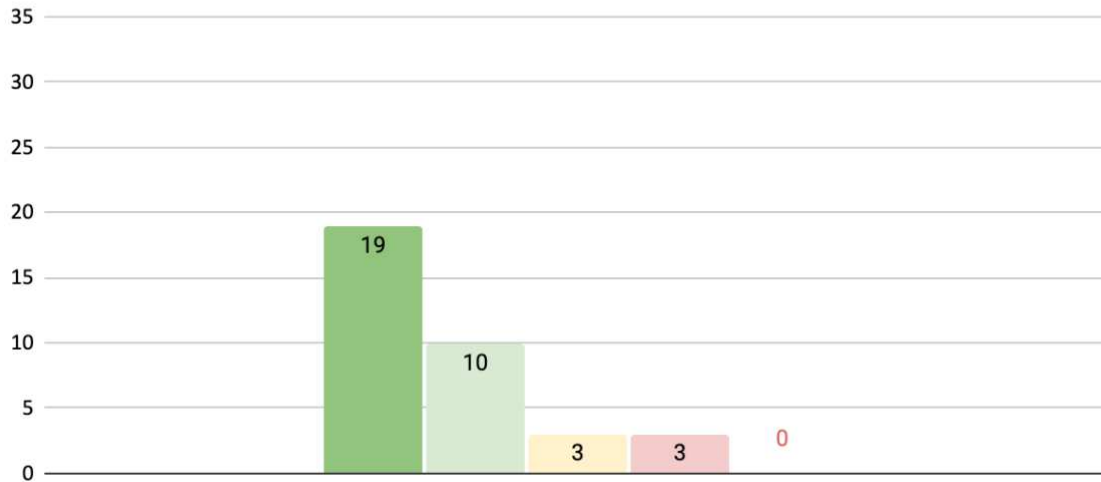
Test 1 - Sentence 4 Results - Ya compra los cuadernos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



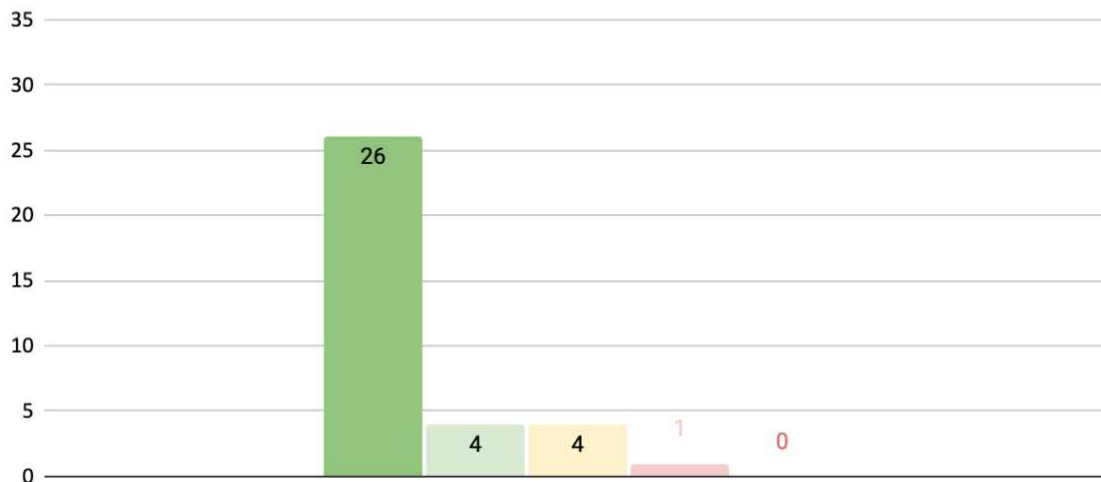
Test 1 - Sentence 5 Results - Alejandro ya ha visto la televisión.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



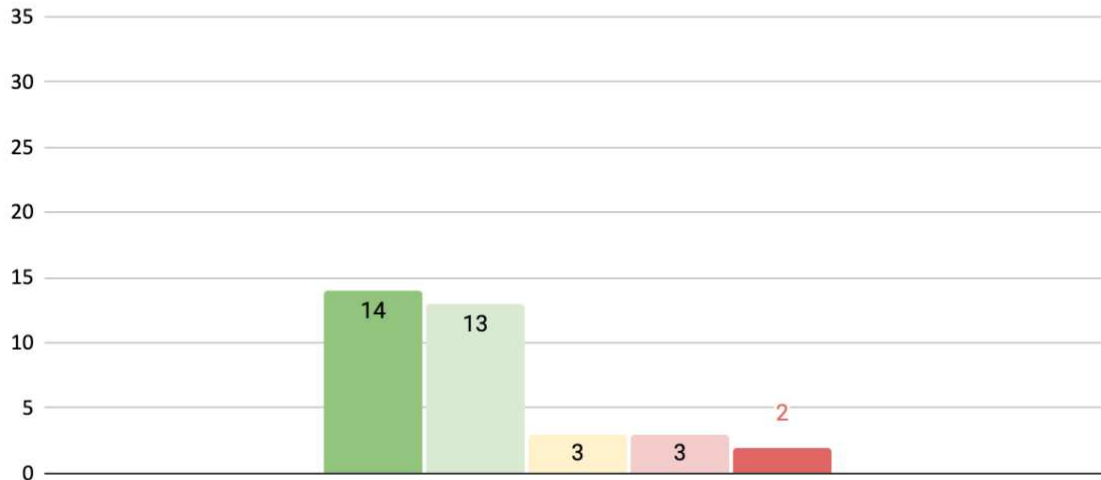
Test 1 - Sentence 6 Results - Ya ha desarrollado el programa.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



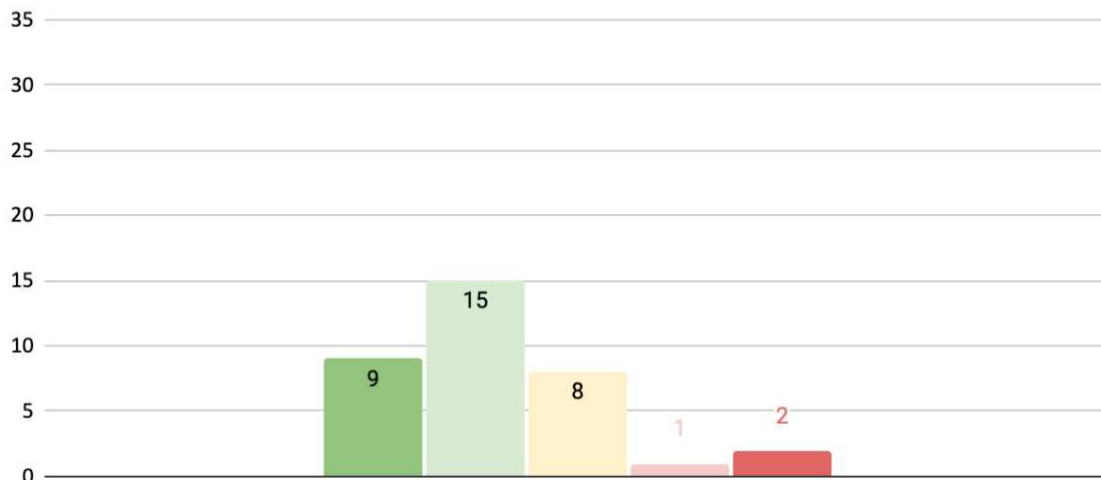
Test 1 - Sentence 7 Results - Ya ha llamado la atención.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



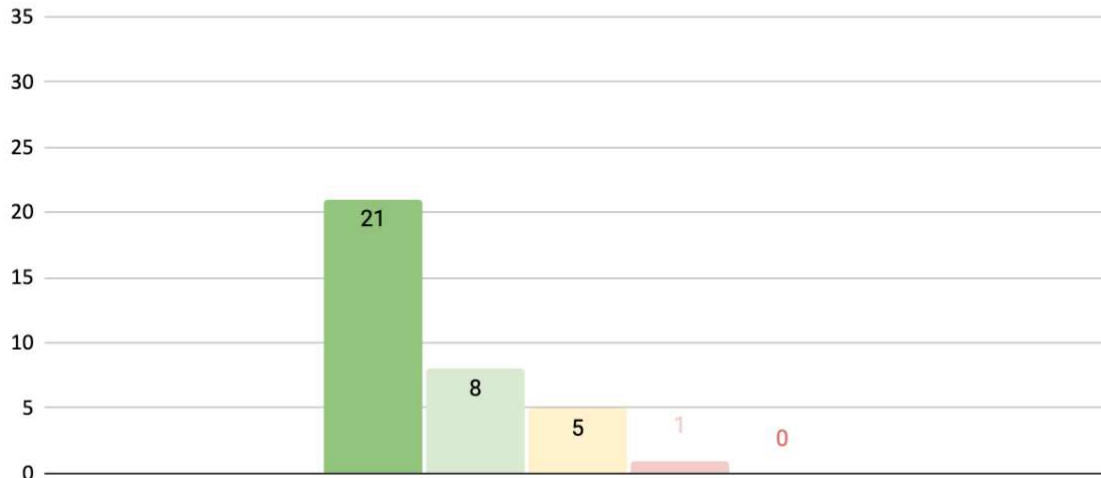
Test 1 - Sentence 8 Results - Paco lee ya la novela.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



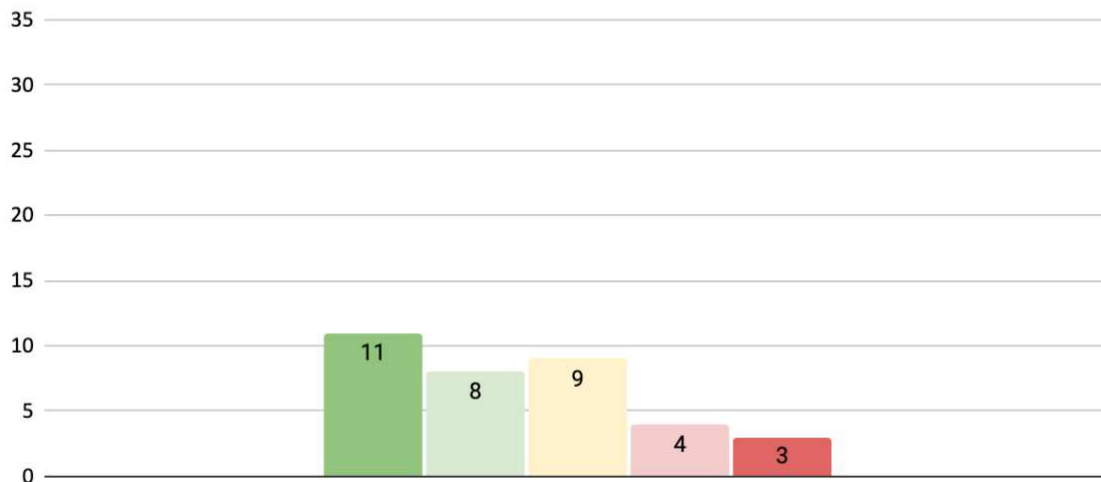
Test 1 - Sentence 9 Results - Francisco recita ya los versos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



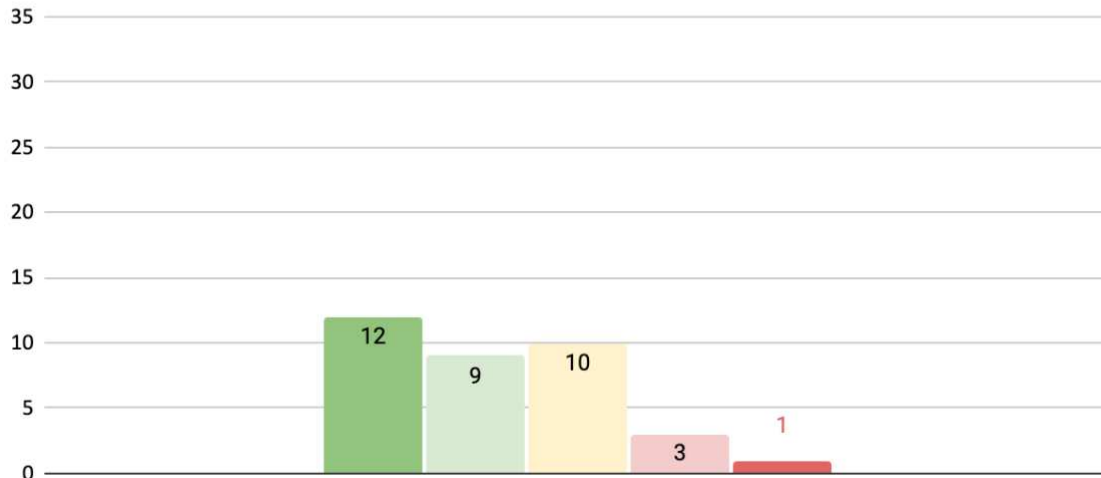
Test 1 - Sentence 10 Results - Bebe ya el zumo.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



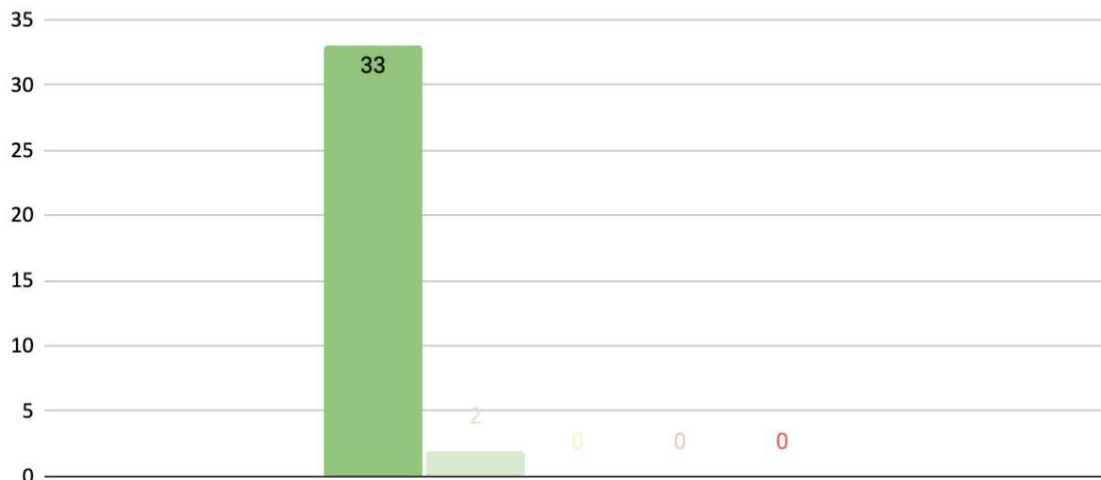
Test 1 - Sentence 11 Results - Pinta ya los cuadros.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



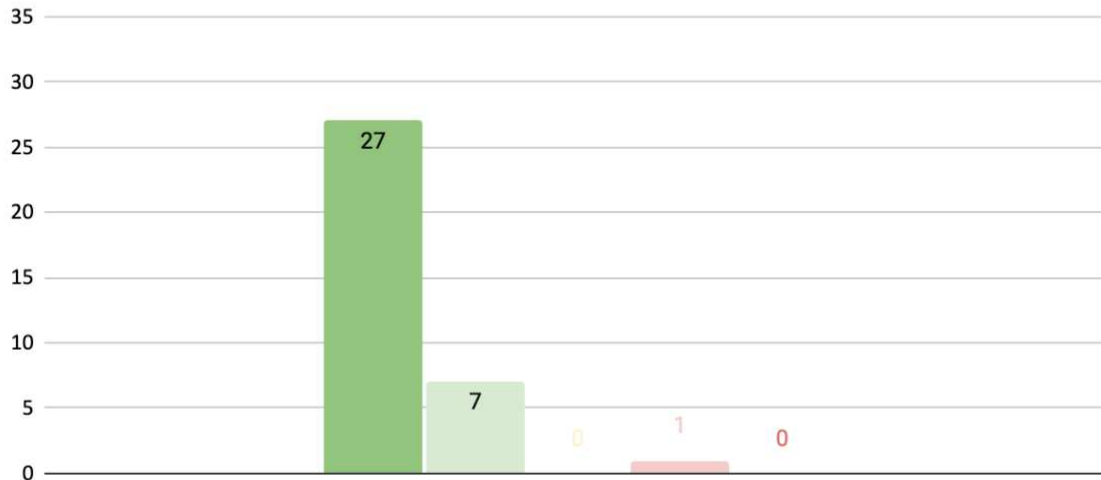
Test 1 - Sentence 12 Results - Daniel ha pagado ya la cuenta.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



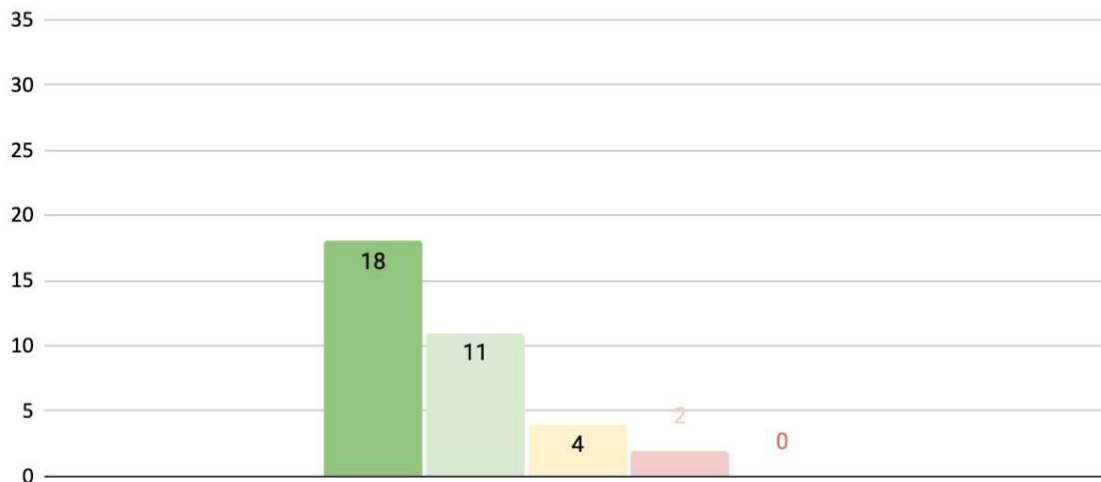
Test 1 - Sentence 13 Results - Lucía ha roto ya la promesa.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



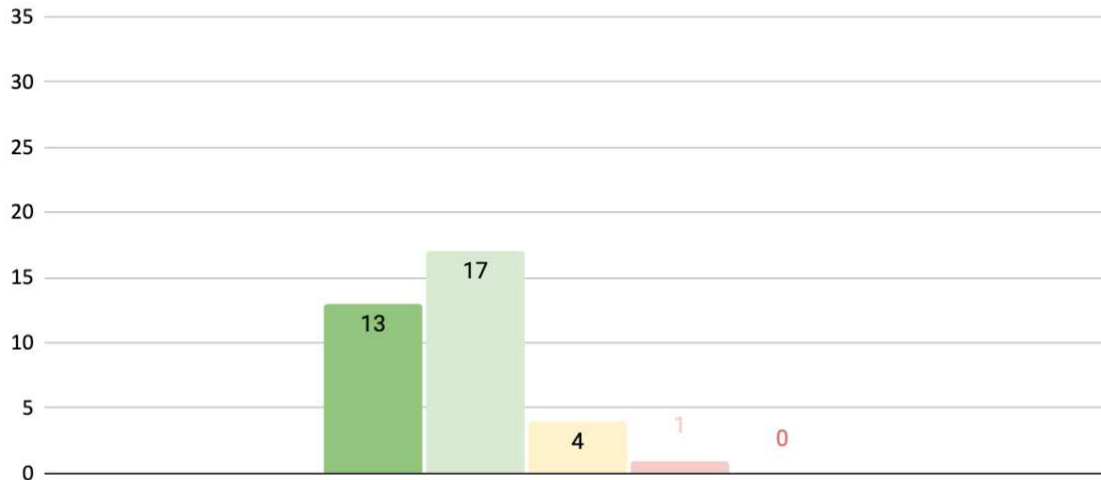
Test 1 - Sentence 14 Results - Pedro ya da las clases de inglés.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



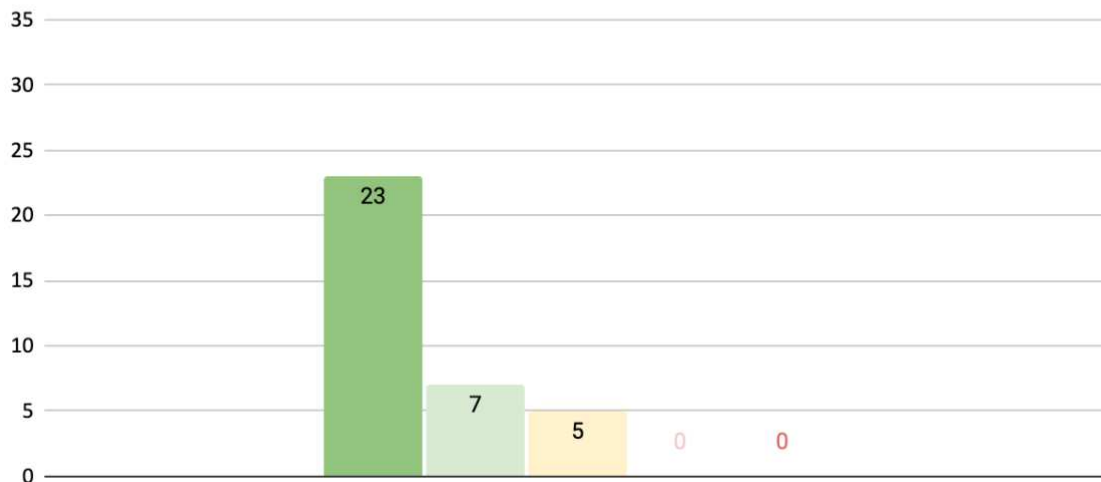
Test 1 - Sentence 15 Results - Ha maquillado ya la muñeca.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



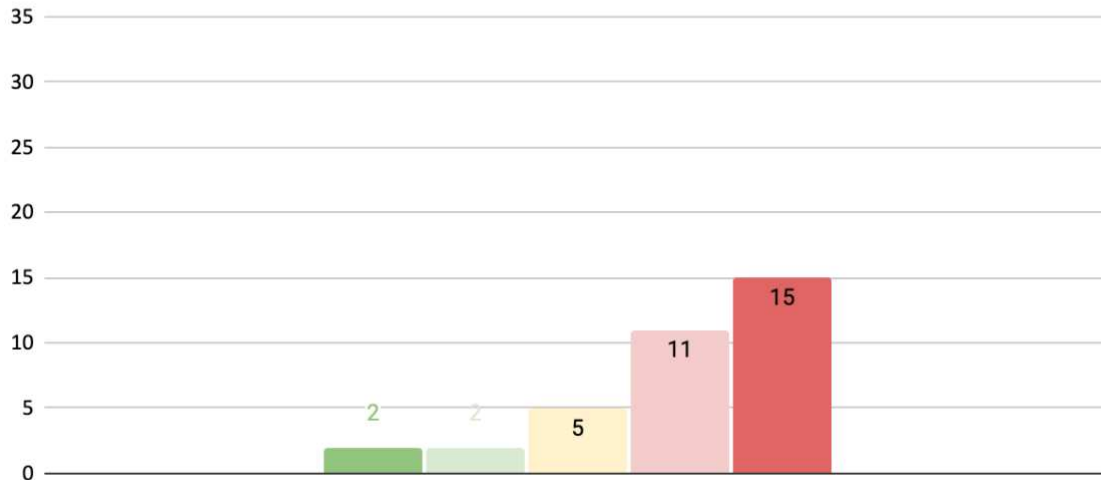
Test 1 - Sentence 16 Results - Ha cortado ya el papel.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



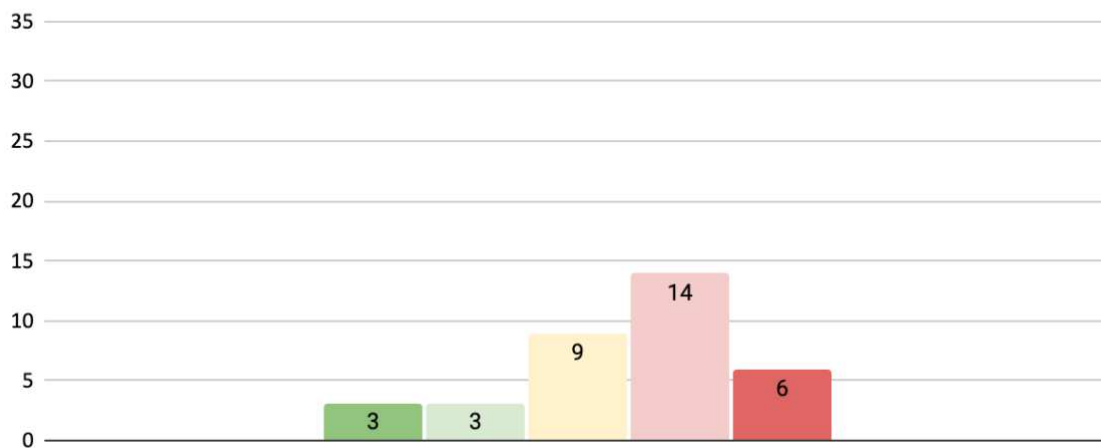
Test 1 - Sentence 17 Results - Carmen lamentablemente ya sirve la pasta.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



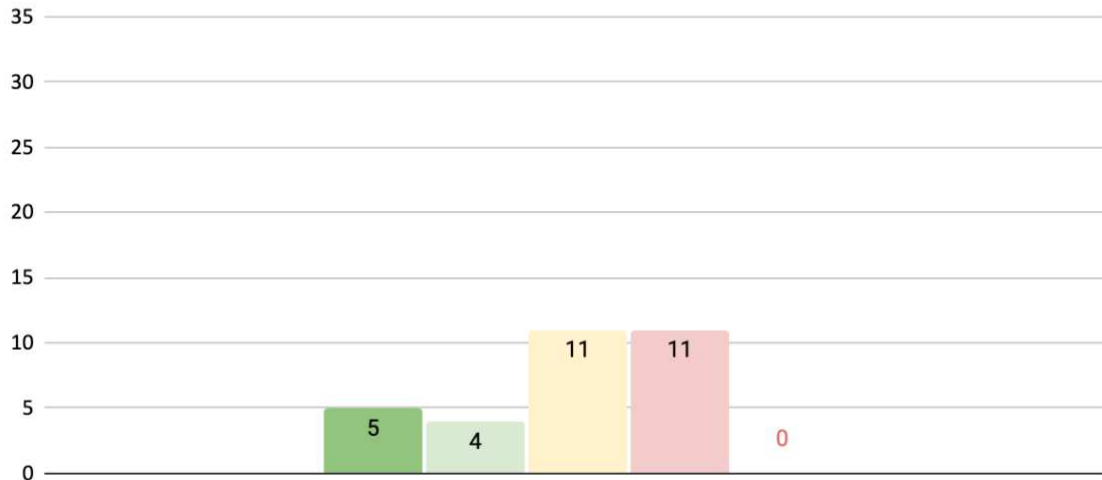
Test 1 - Sentence 18 Results - José desafortunadamente ya cuenta la historia.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



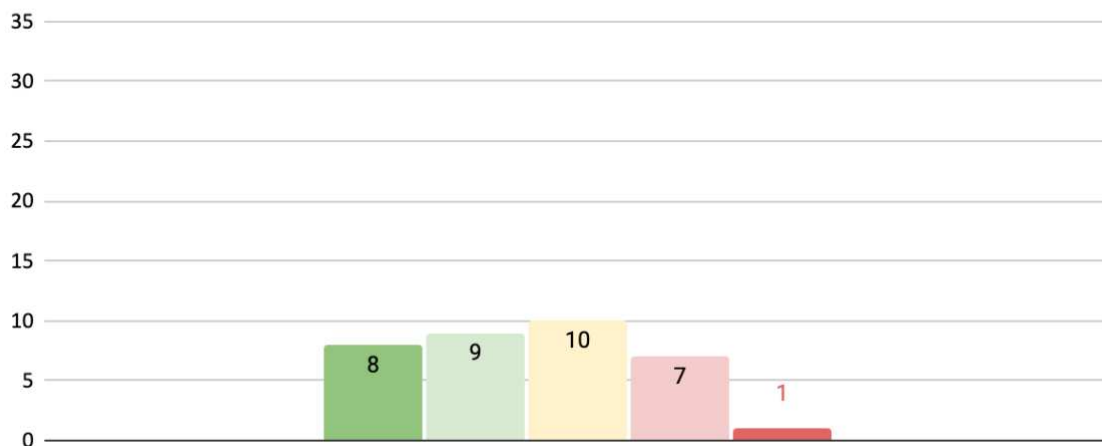
Test 1 - Sentence 19 Results - Lamentablemente ya copia los exámenes.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



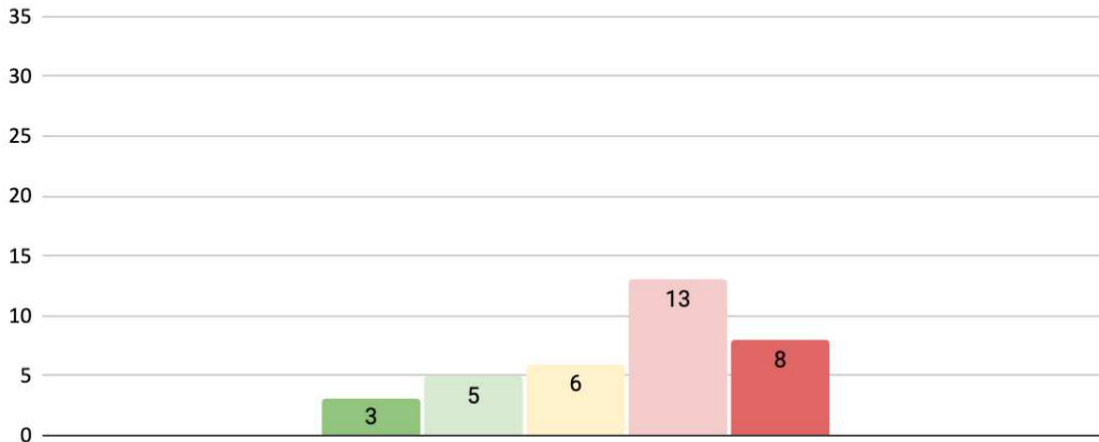
Test 1 - Sentence 20 Results - Desafortunadamente ya ejecuta la sentencia.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



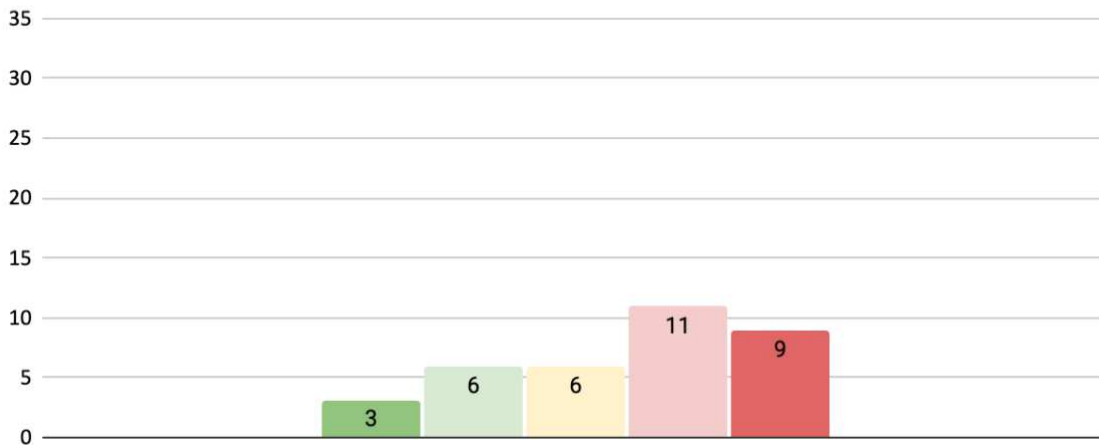
Test 1 - Sentence 21 Results - Jaime lamentablemente ya ha exprimido las naranjas.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



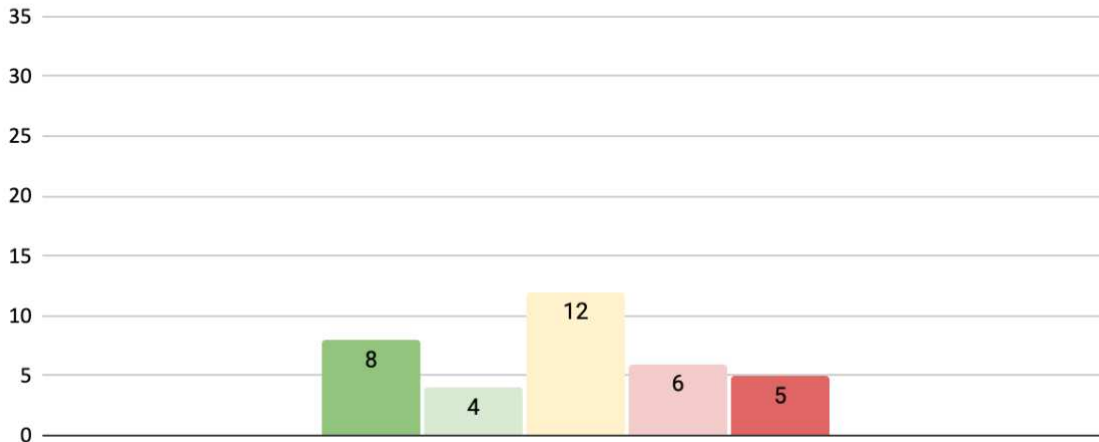
Test 1 - Sentence 22 Results - Carlos desafortunadamente ya ha encontrado el voluntario.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



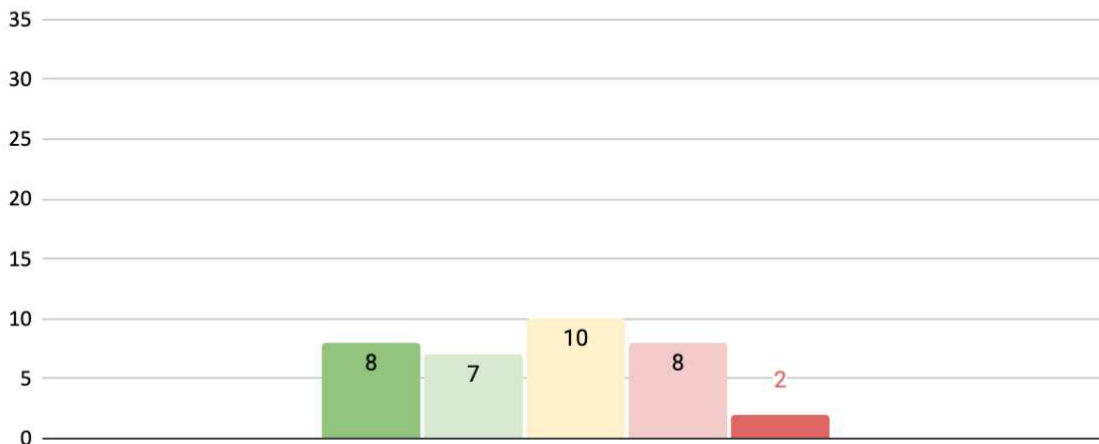
Test 1 - Sentence 23 Results - Lamentablemente ya ha recortado derechos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



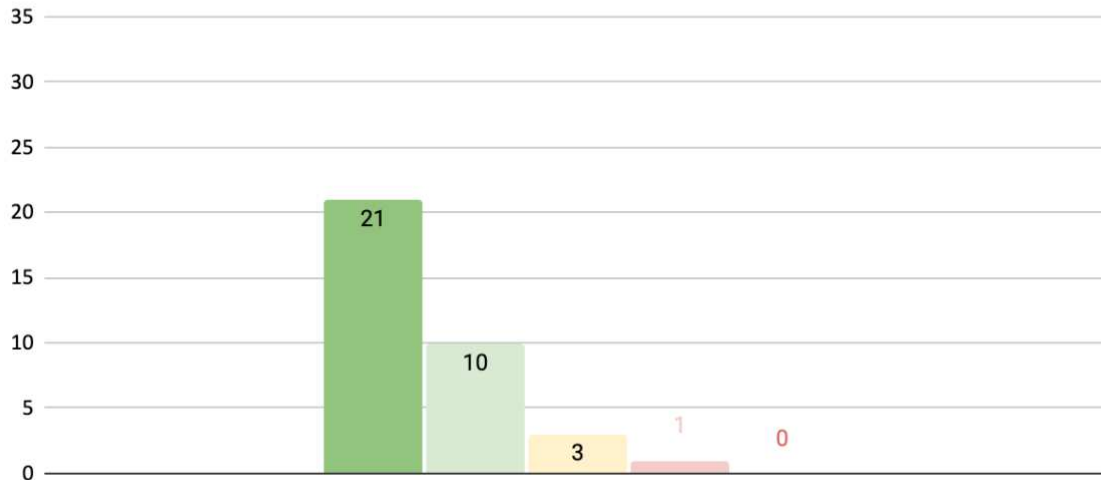
Test 1 - Sentence 24 Results - Desafortunadamente ya ha impedido el acuerdo

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



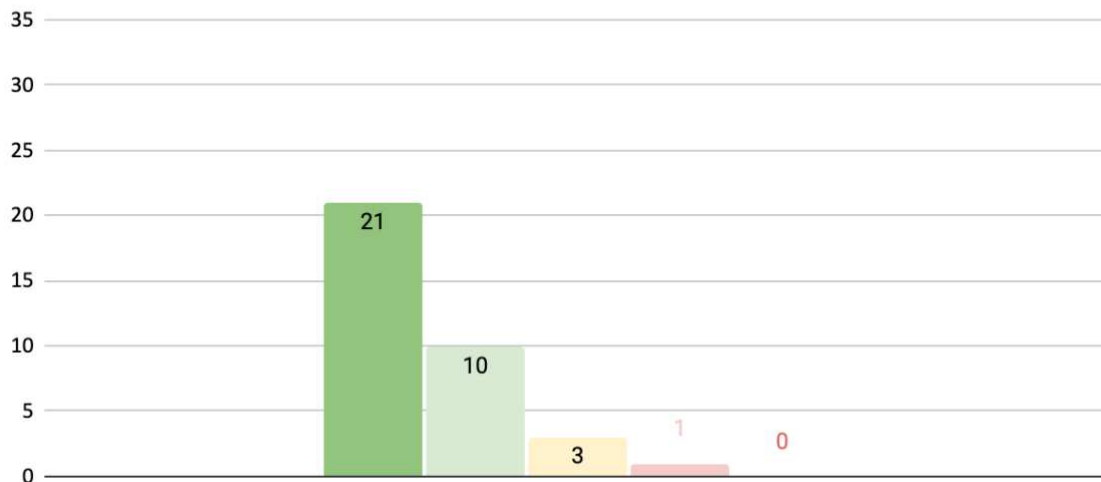
Test 1 - Sentence 25 Results - Ana siempre entiende el inglés.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



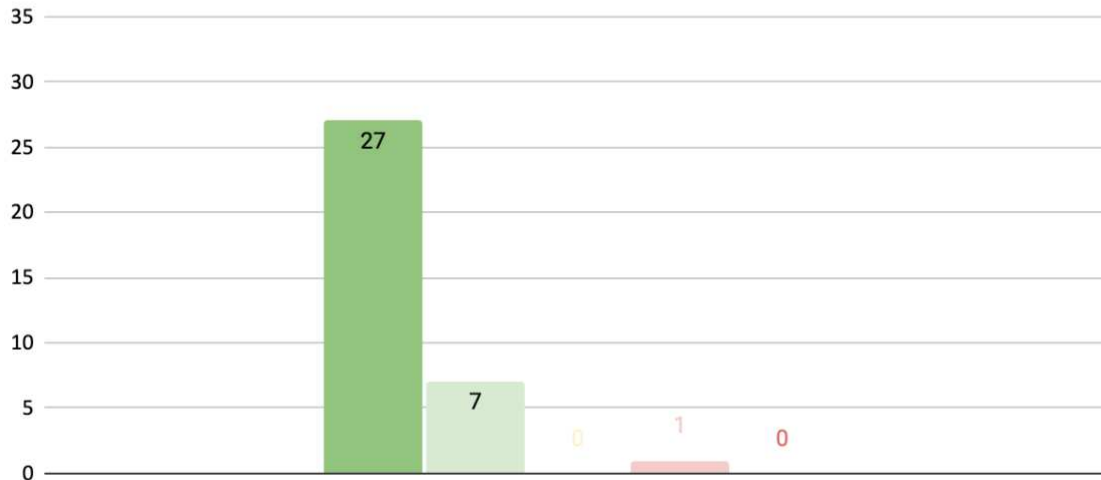
Test 1 - Sentence 26 Results - Manuel siempre cocina el pollo.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



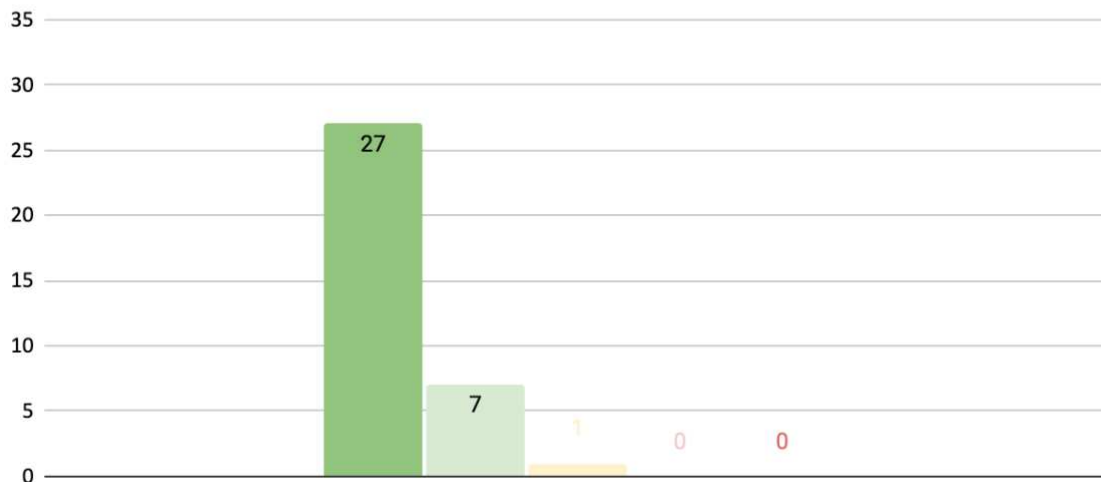
Test 1 - Sentence 27 Results - Siempre regala una tarta.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



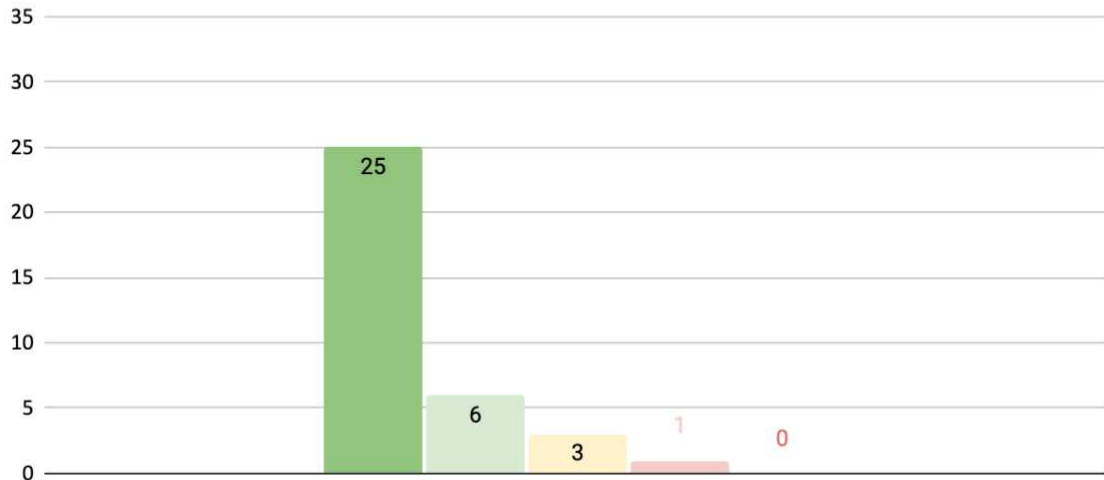
Test 1 - Sentence 28 Results - Siempre soluciona los problemas.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



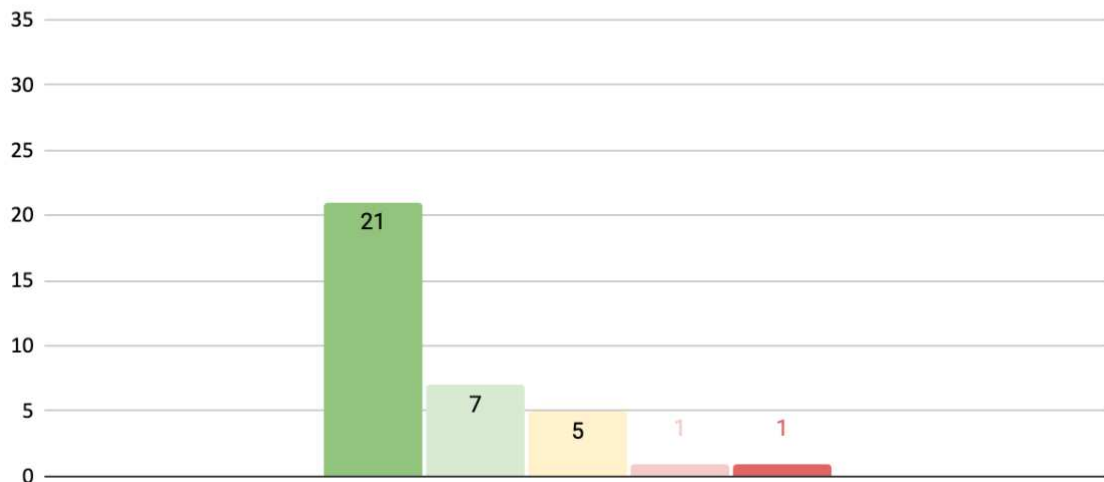
Test 1 - Sentence 29 Results - Julián siempre ha sellado los documentos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



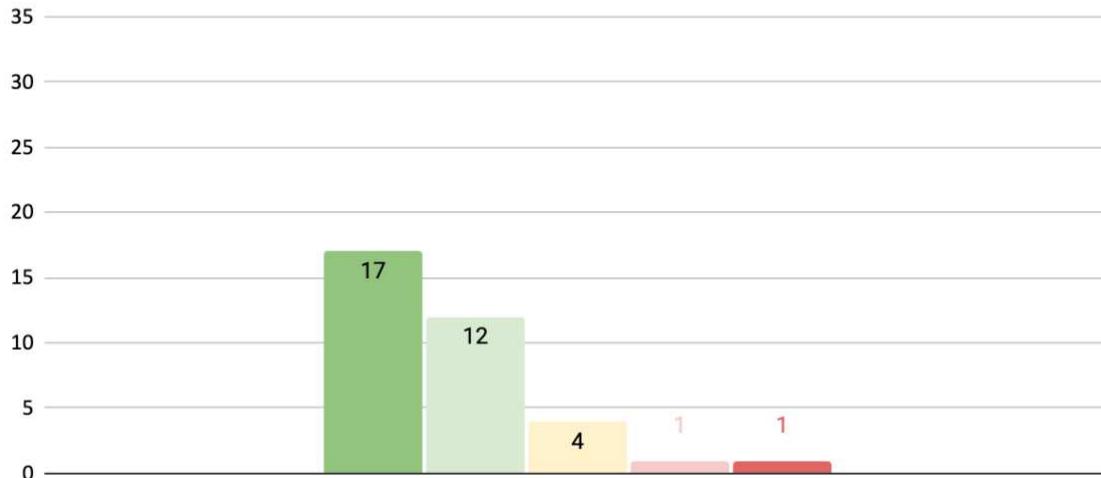
Test 1 - Sentence 30 Results - Ignacio siempre ha descargado los libros.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



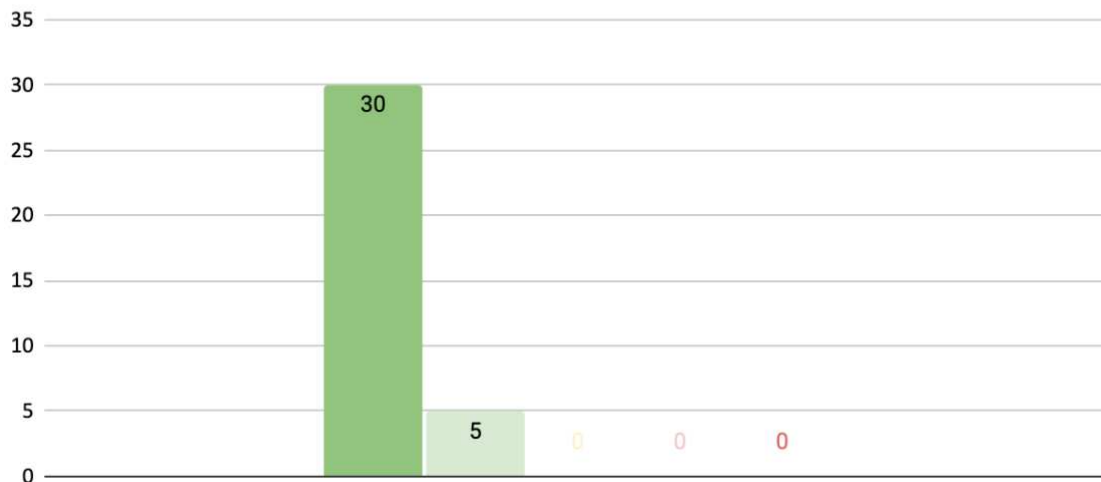
Test 1 - Sentence 31 Results - Siempre ha buscado el diccionario.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



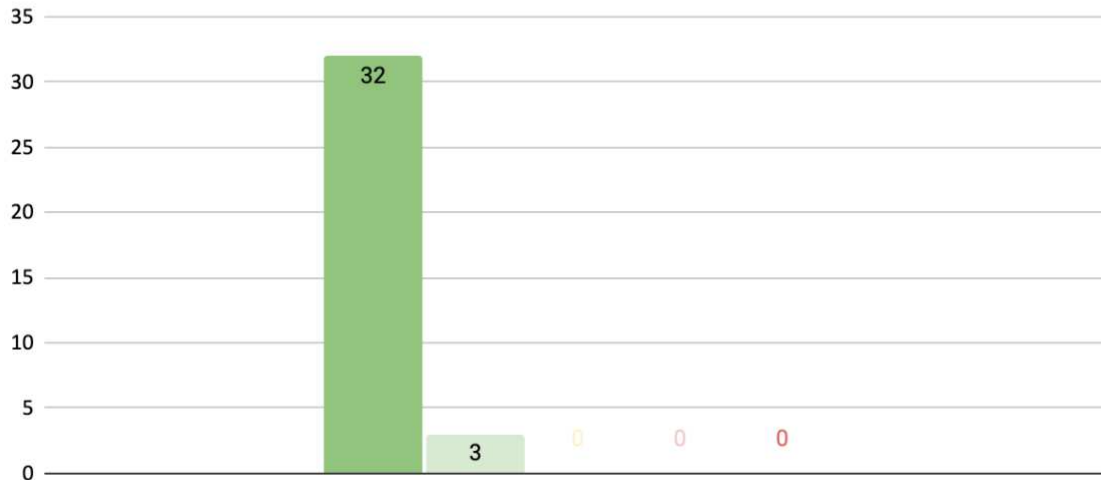
Test 1 - Sentence 32 Results - Carlota canta siempre el estribillo.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



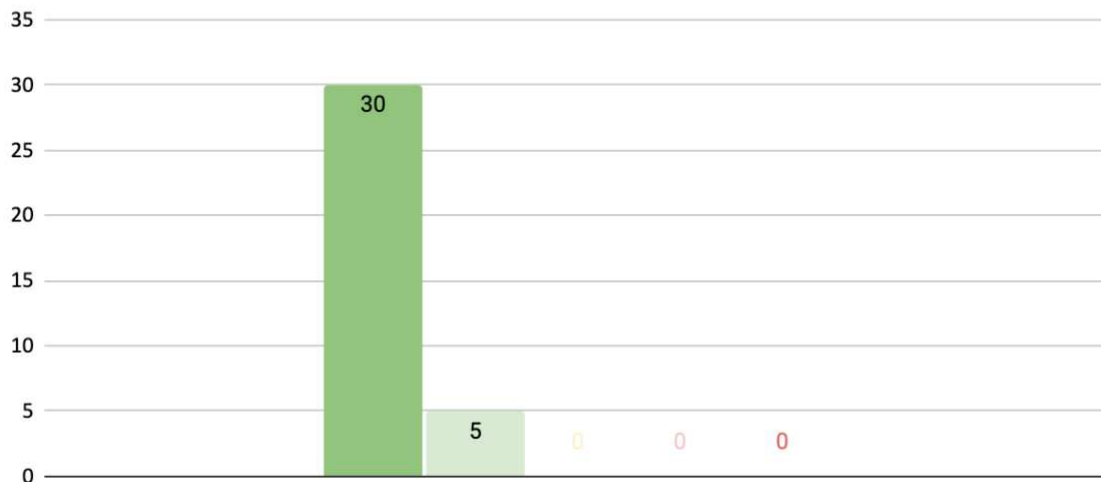
Test 1 - Sentence 33 Results - Rebeca dice siempre la verdad.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



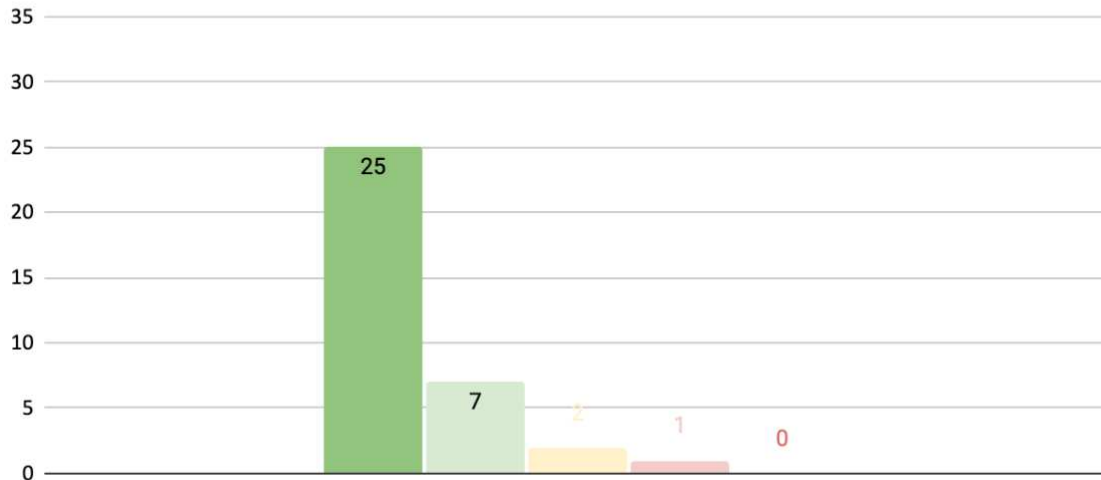
Test 1 - Sentence 34 Results - Organiza siempre la habitación

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



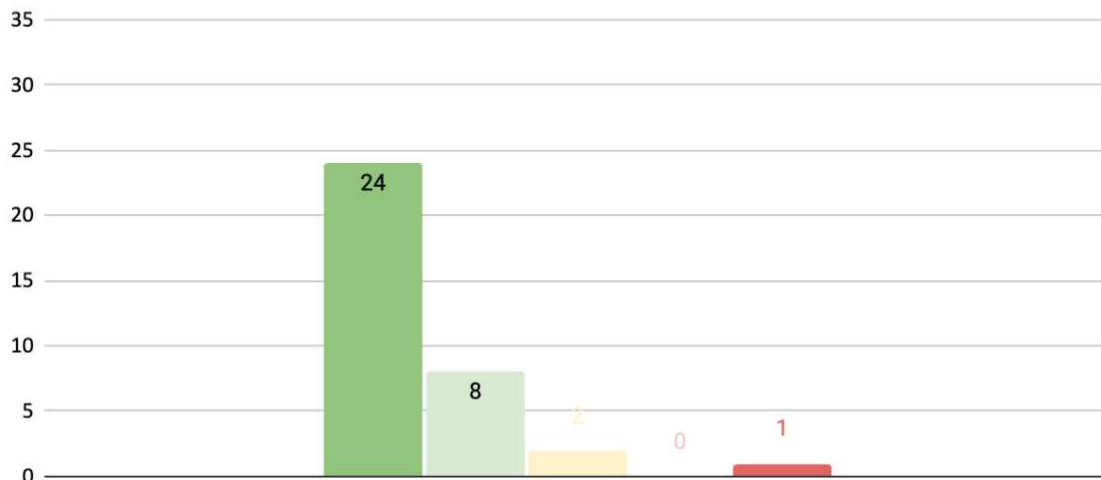
Test 1 - Sentence 35 Results - Dona siempre los premios.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



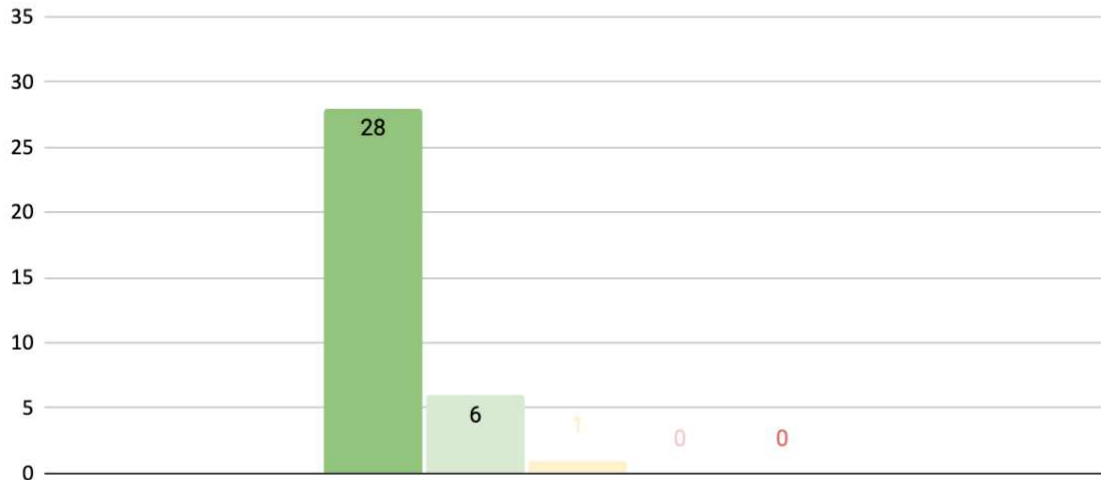
Test 1 - Sentence 36 Results - Ángela ha necesitado siempre su tiempo.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



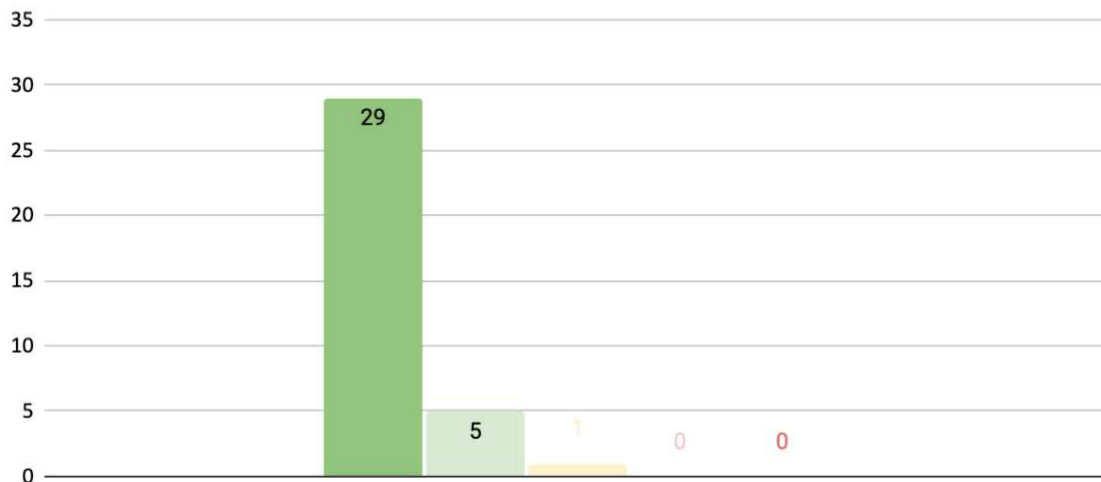
Test 1 - Sentence 37 Results - Julia ha lavado siempre la ropa.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



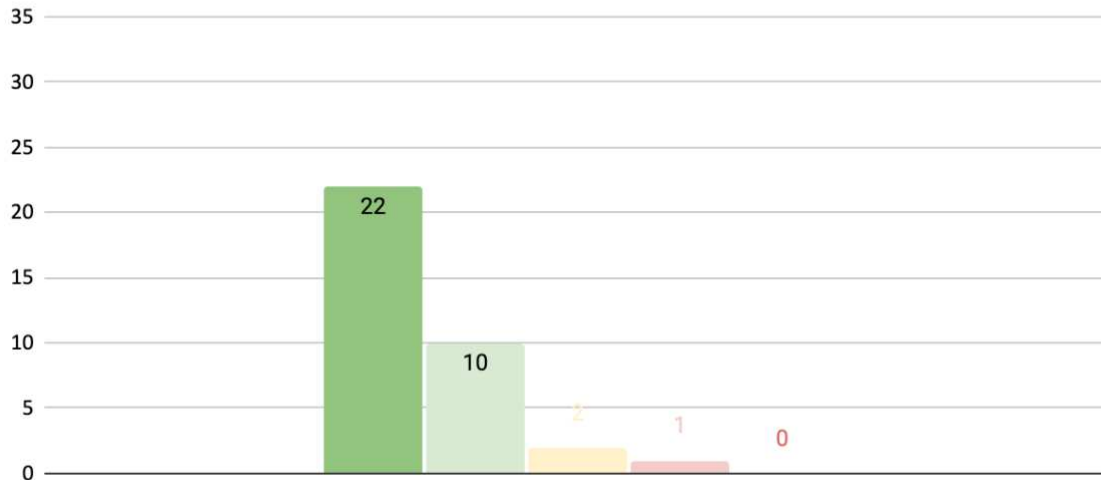
Test 1 - Sentence 38 Results - Ha llevado siempre el cuadernillo.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



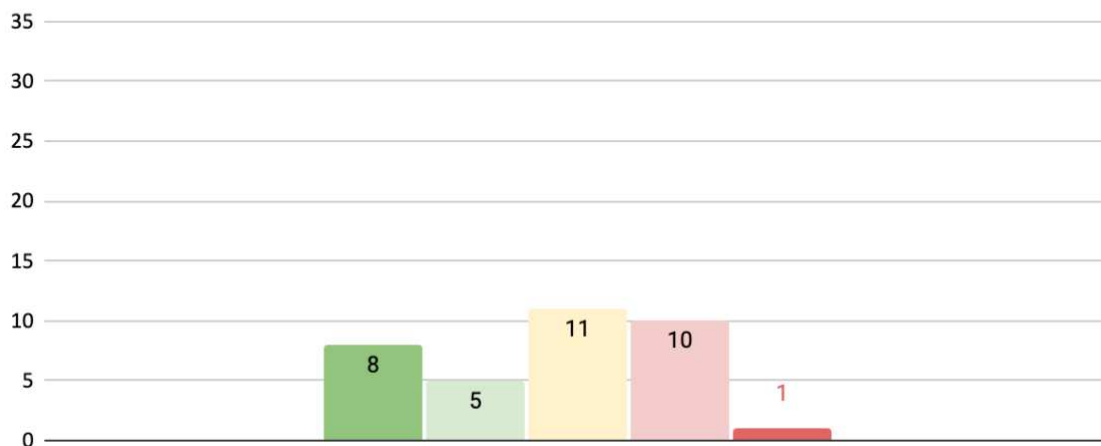
Test 1 - Sentence 39 Results - Ha recogido siempre el salón.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



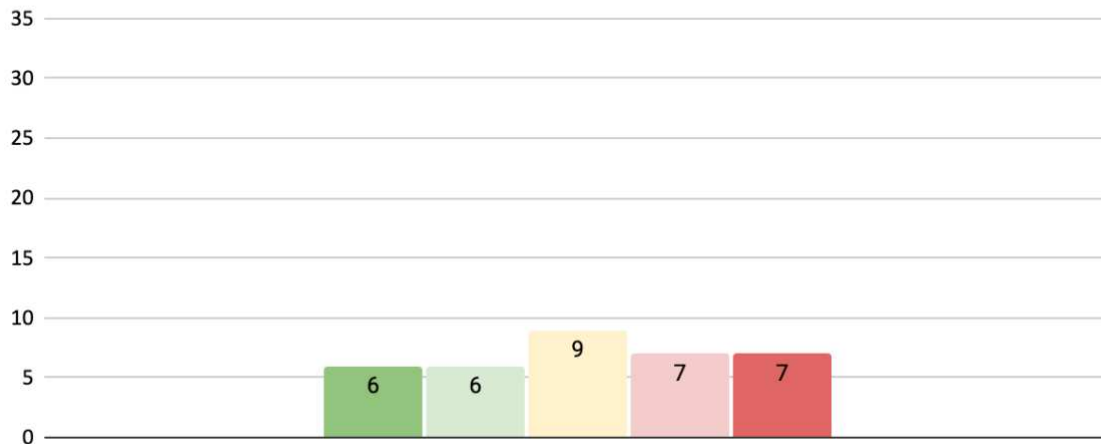
Test 1 - Sentence 40 Results - Rocío lamentablemente siempre tira las cajas.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



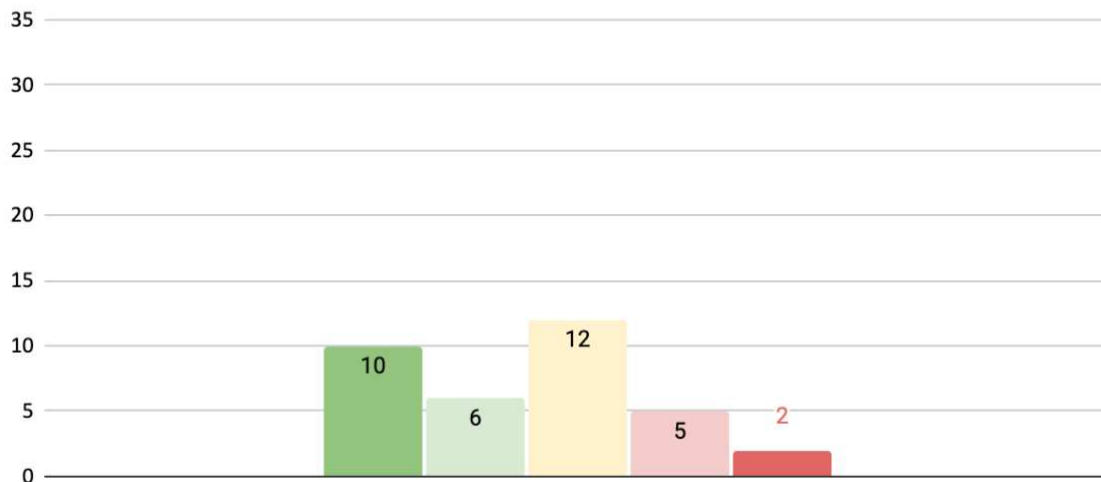
Test 1 - Sentence 41 Results - Joaquín desafortunadamente siempre borra la memoria.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



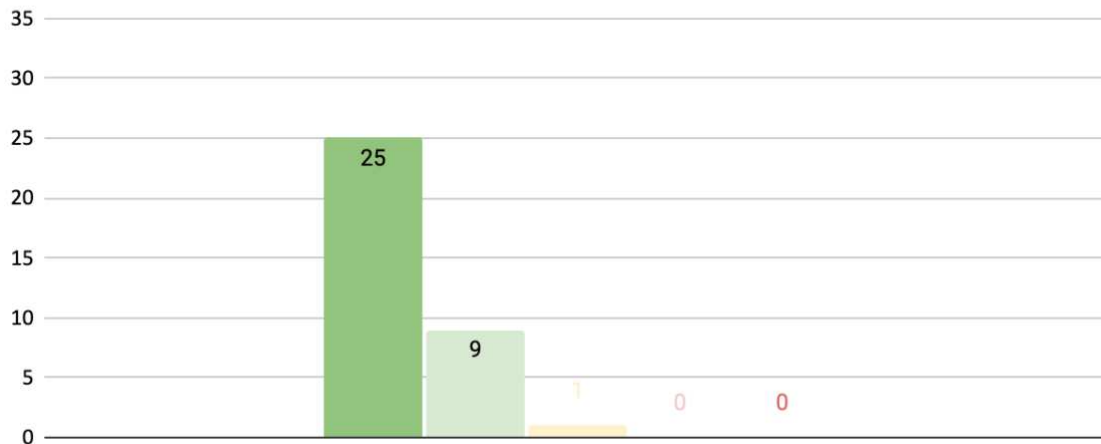
Test 1 - Sentence 42 Results - Lamentablemente siempre pone la estufa.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



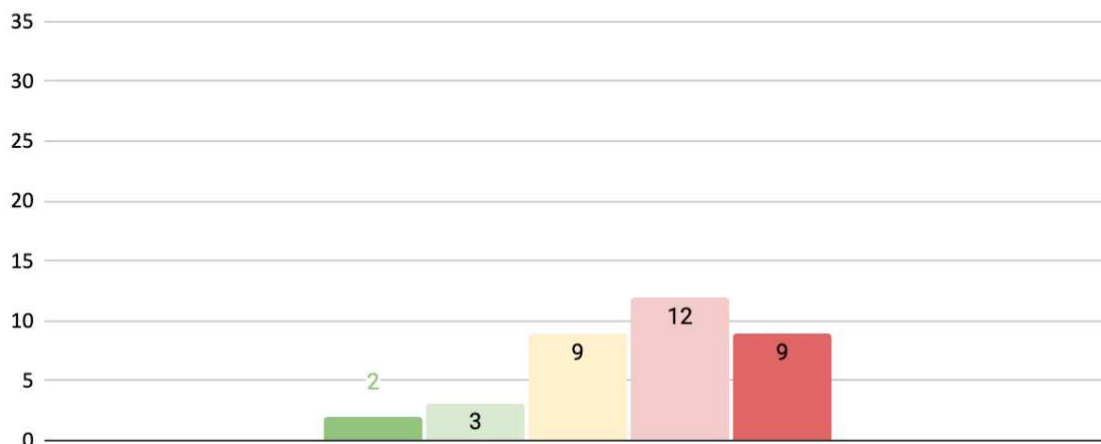
Test 1 - Sentence 43 Results - Desafortunadamente quema siempre la comida.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



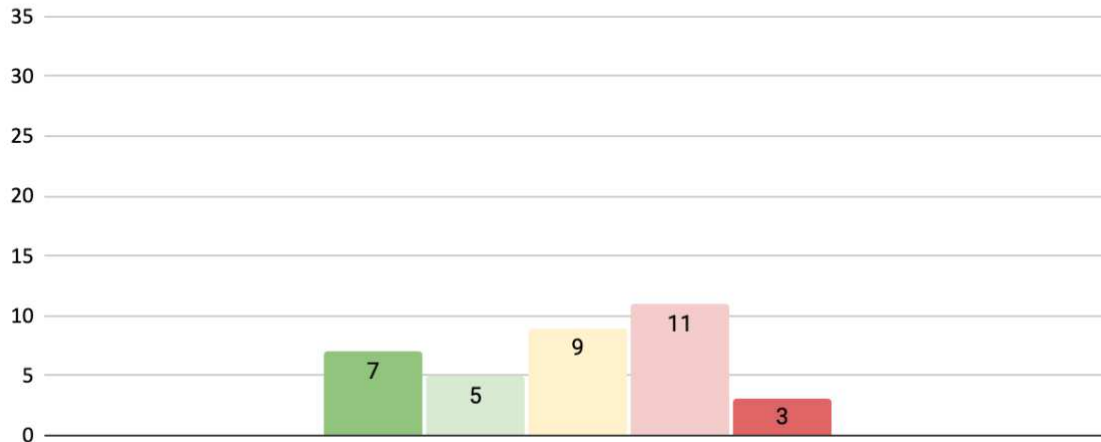
Test 1 - Sentence 44 Results - Míriam lamentablemente siempre ha ordenado el armario.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



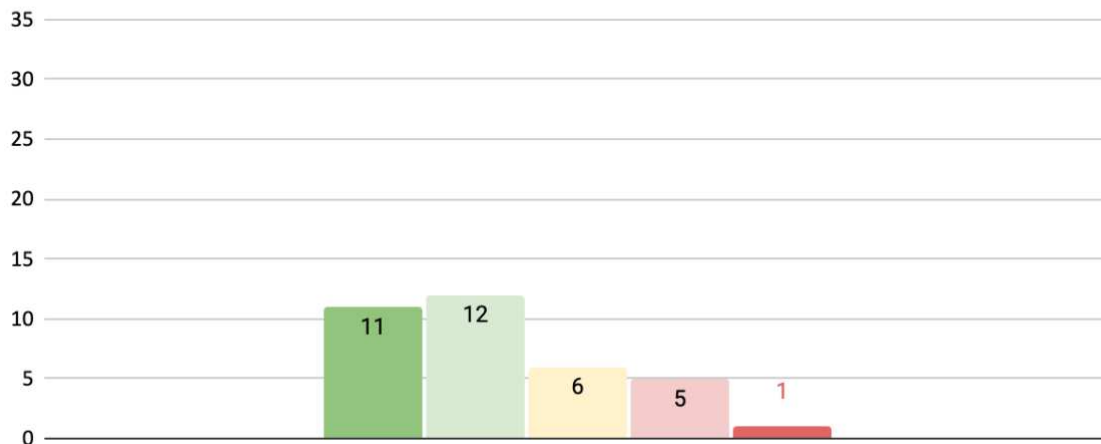
Test 1 - Sentence 45 Results - Ricardo desafortunadamente siempre ha destrozado los ordenadores.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



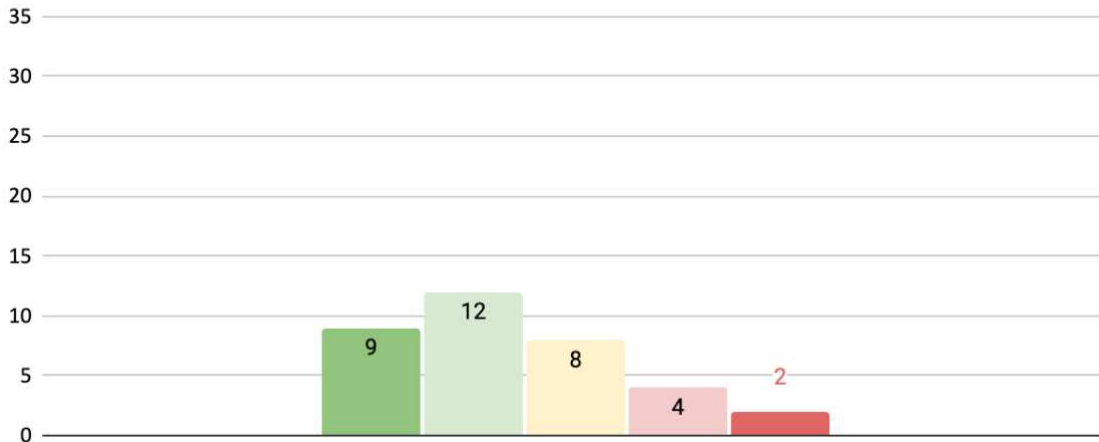
Test 1 - Sentence 46 Results - Lamentablemente siempre ha dañado el medio ambiente.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



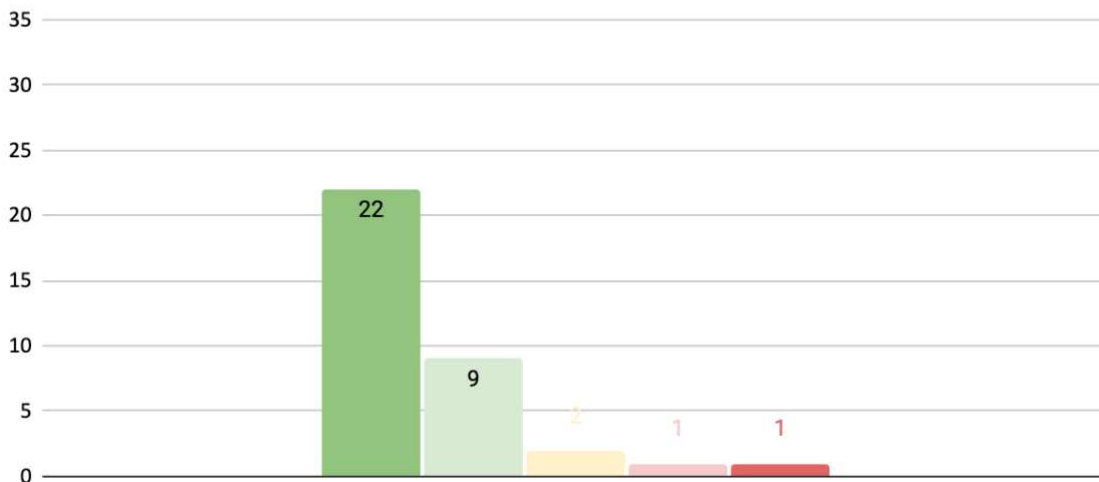
Test 1 - Sentence 47 Results - Desafortunadamente siempre ha ensuciado la casa.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



Test 1 - Sentence 71 Results - Siempre ha escuchado las noticias.

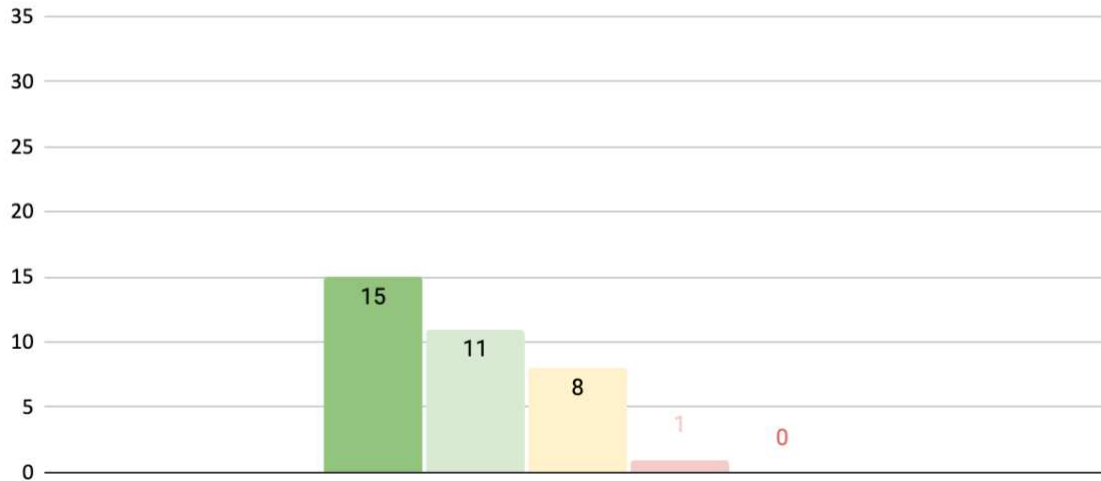
1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



Set # 2

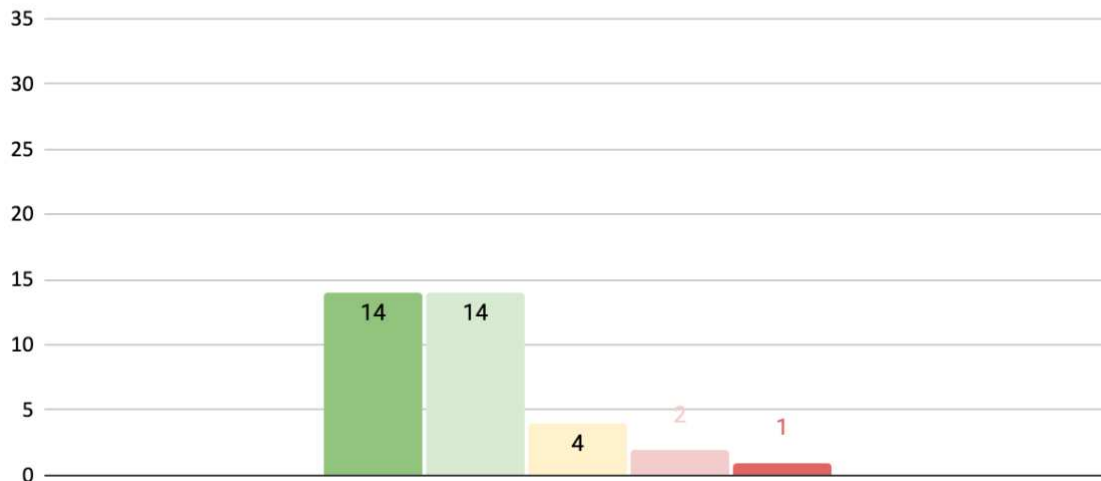
Test 2 - Sentence 1 Results - Antonio ya toma las pastillas.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



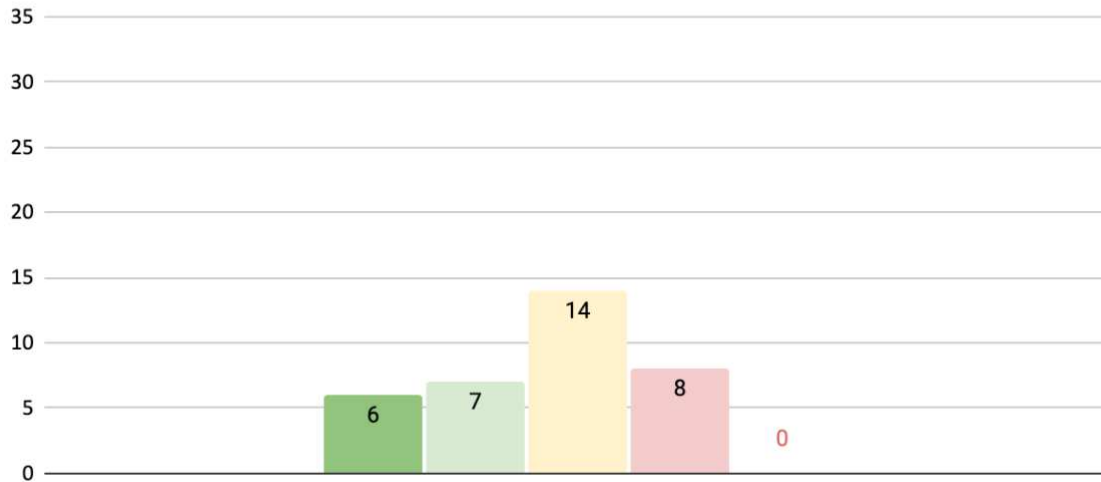
Test 2 - Sentence 2 Results - María ya come los purés

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



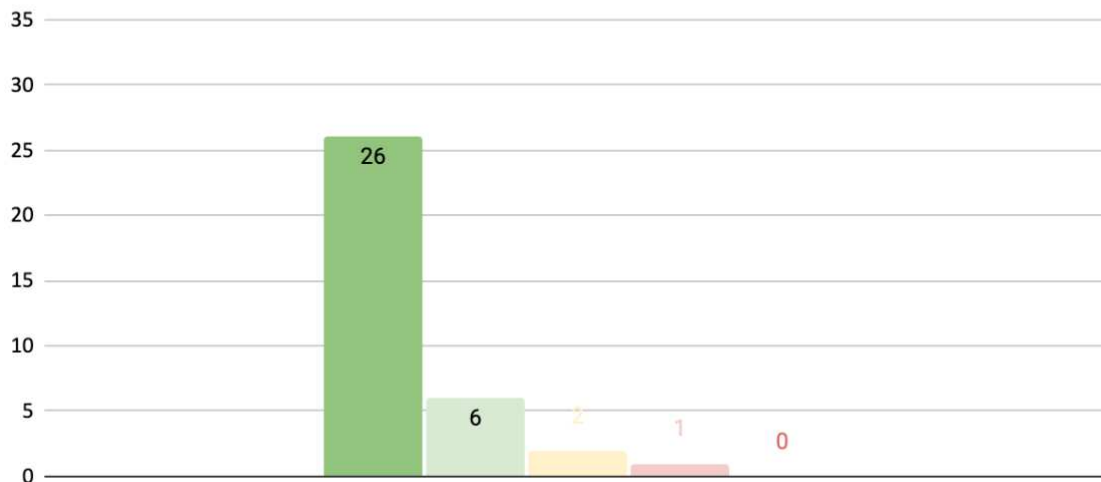
Test 2 - Sentence 4 Results - Ya filma la película.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



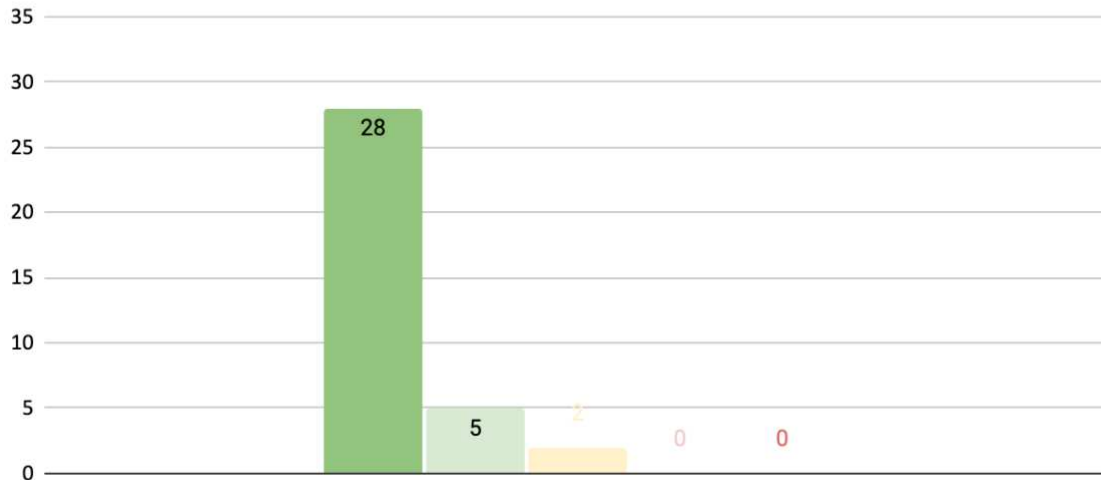
Test 2 - Sentence 5 Results - Andrés ya ha pasado el aspirador.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



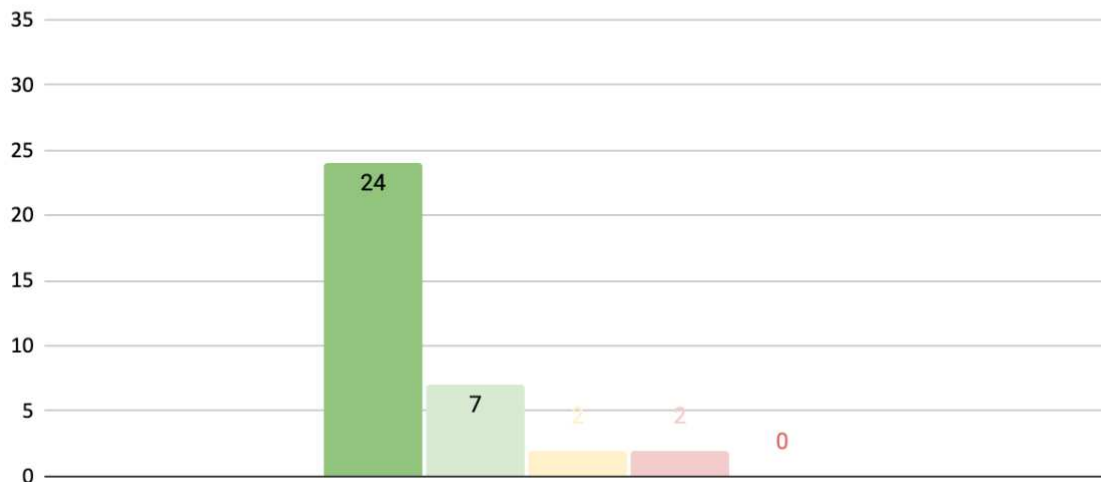
Test 2 - Sentence 6 Results - Pilar ya ha acabado los deberes.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



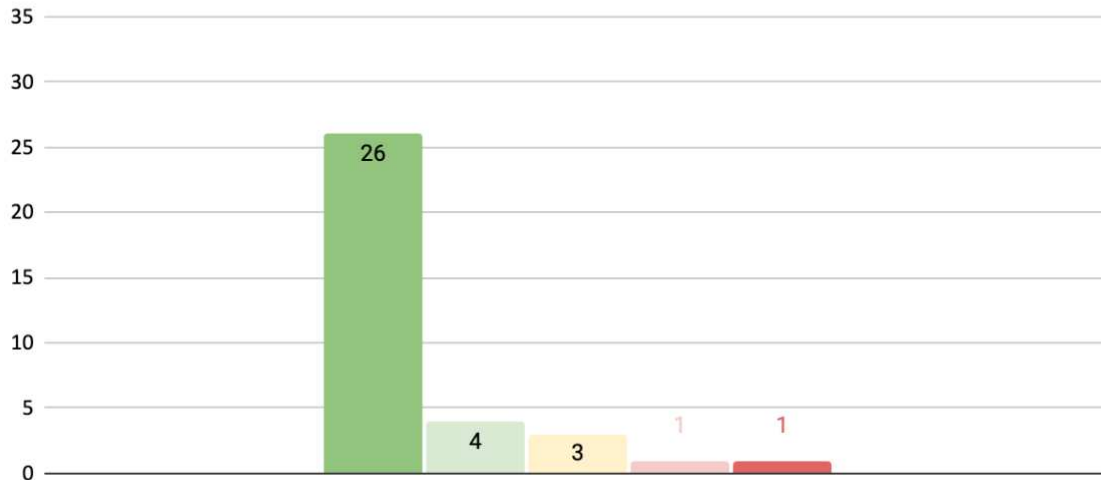
Test 2 - Sentence 7 Results - Ya ha dividido la herencia.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



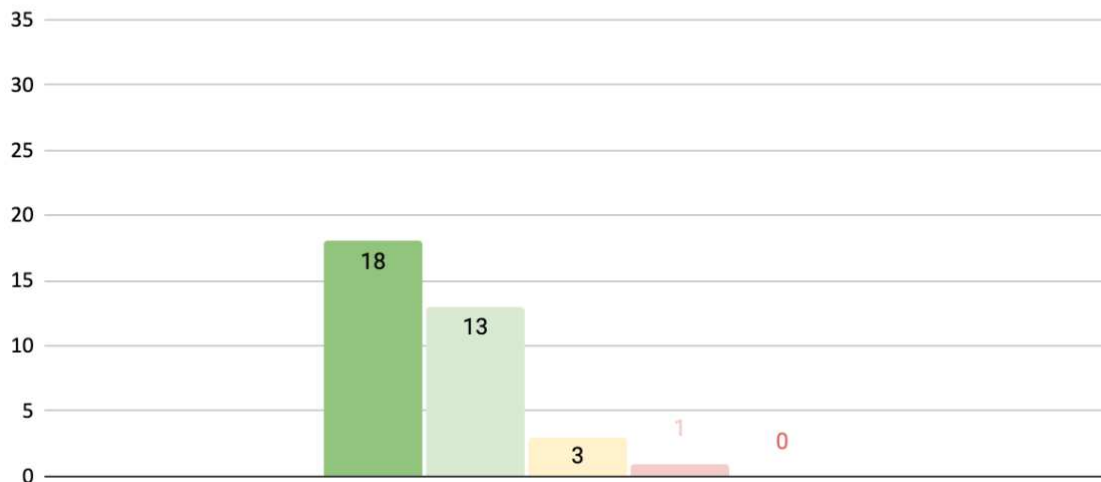
Test 2 - Sentence 8 Results - Ya ha cancelado la cita.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



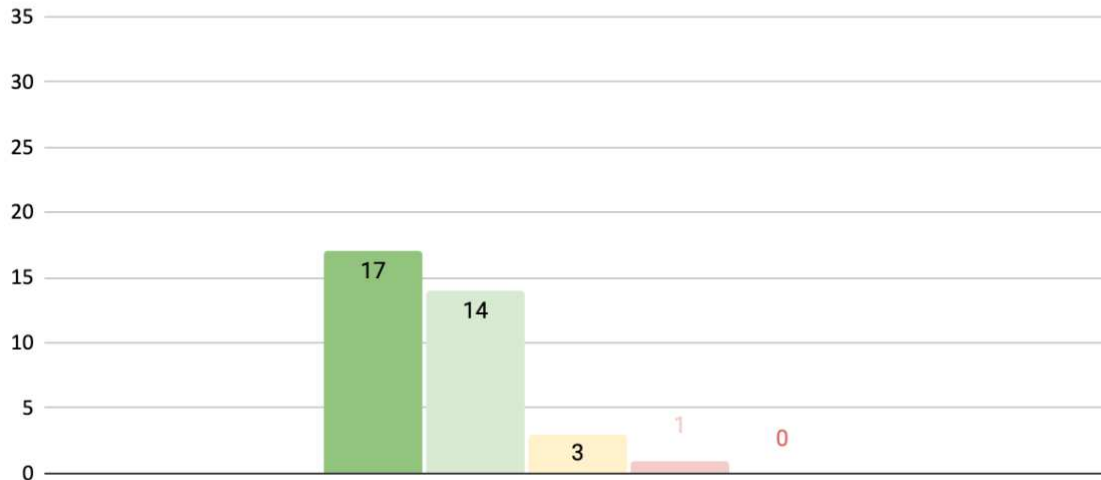
Test 2 - Sentence 9 Results - Jorge graba ya la canción.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



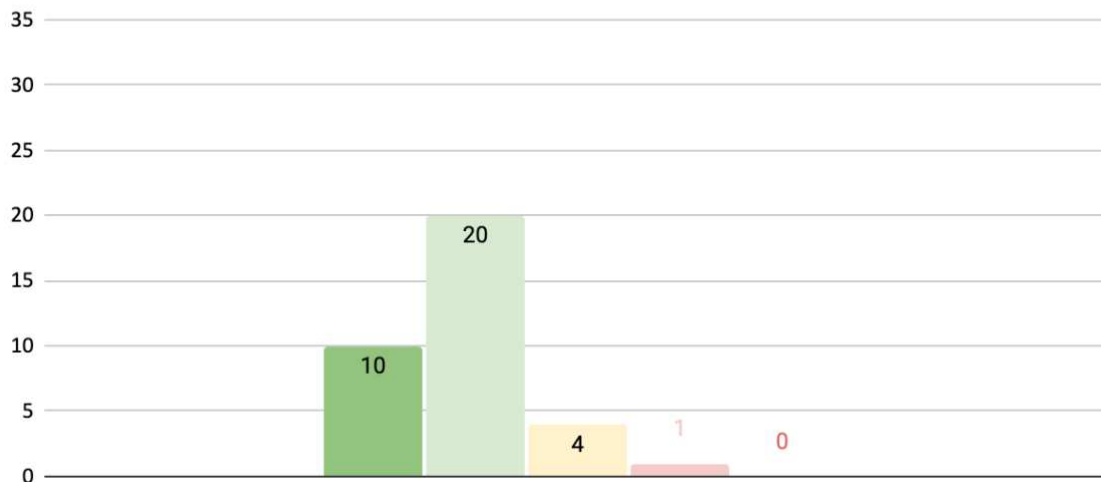
Test 2 - Sentence 10 Results - Juan firma ya el contrato.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



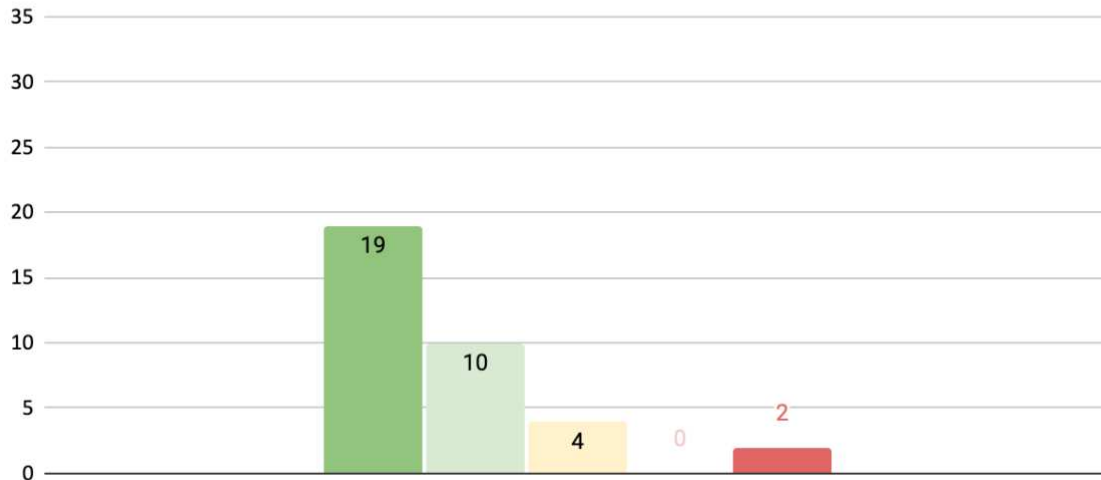
Test 2 - Sentence 11 Results - Edita ya las fotos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



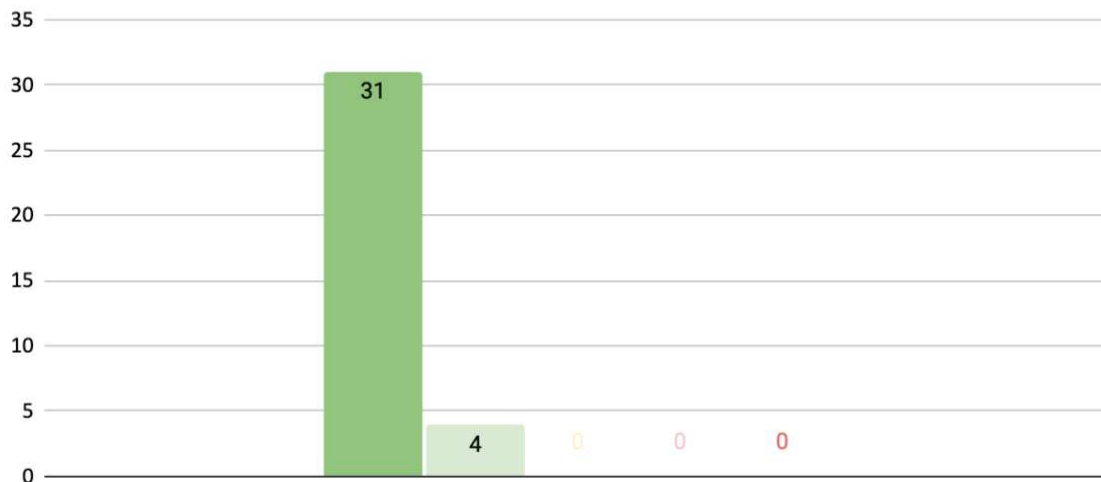
Test 2 - Sentence 12 Results - Riega ya las plantas.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



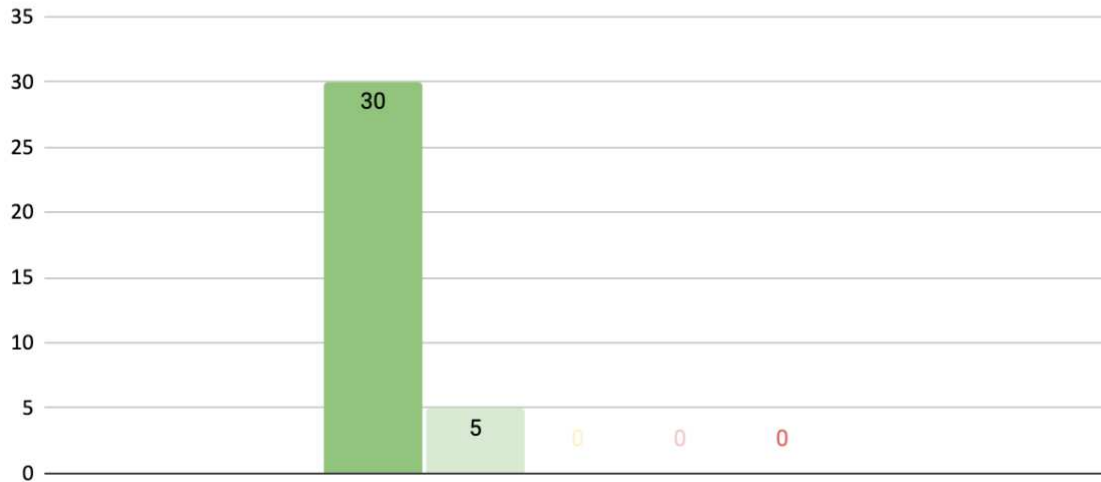
Test 2 - Sentence 13 Results - Alba ha pegado ya las piezas.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



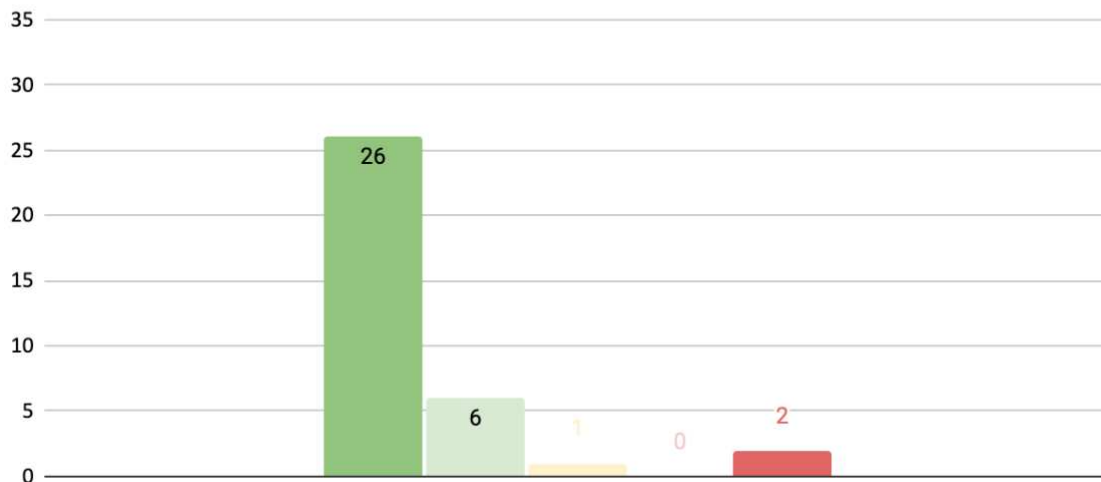
Test 2 - Sentence 14 Results - Paqui ha preparado ya la fiesta.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



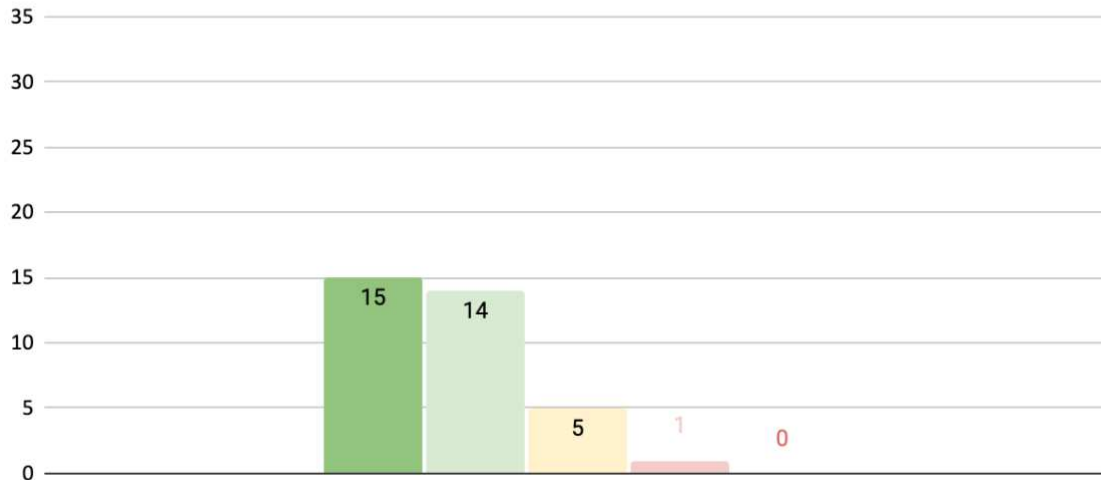
Test 2 - Sentence 15 Results - Ha movido ya los muebles.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



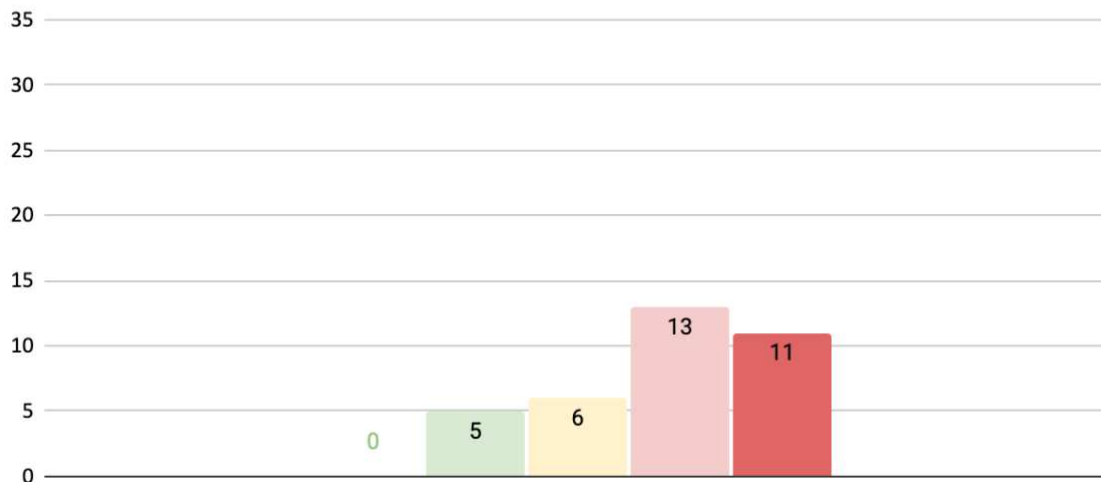
Test 2 - Sentence 16 Results - Ha secado ya el pijama.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



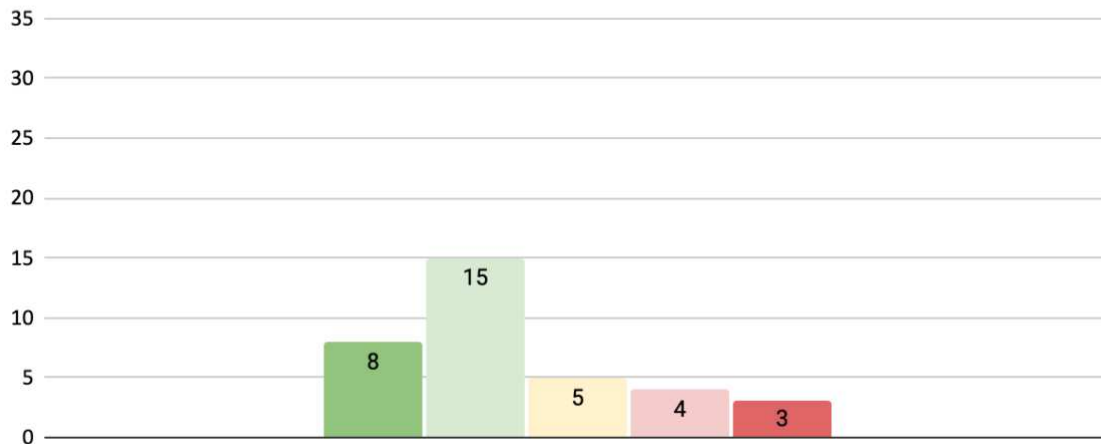
Test 2 - Sentence 17 Results - Isabel lamentablemente ya tuesta el pan.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



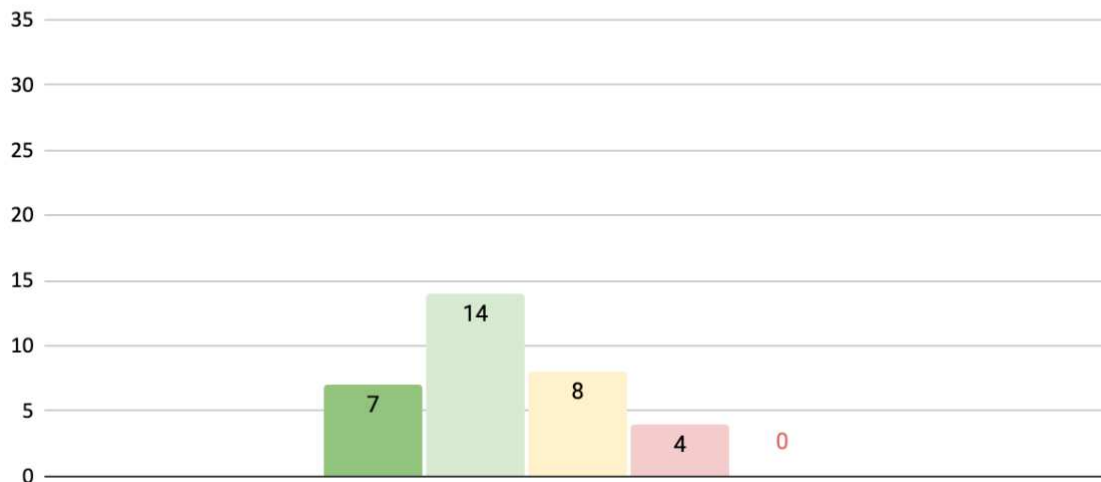
Test 2 - Sentence 18 Results - Martín desafortunadamente echa ya la siesta.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



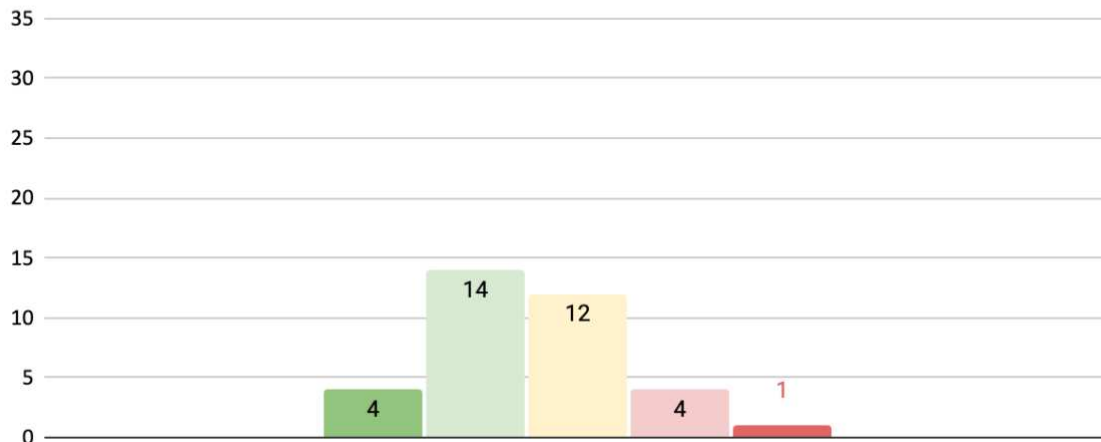
Test 2 - Sentence 19 Results - Lamentablemente fuma ya tabaco.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



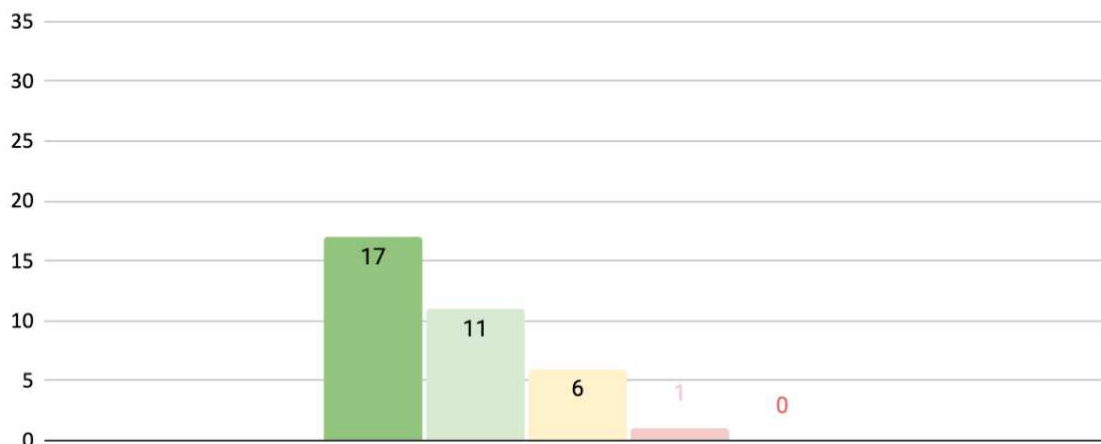
Test 2 - Sentence 20 Results - Desafortunadamente elimina ya los archivos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



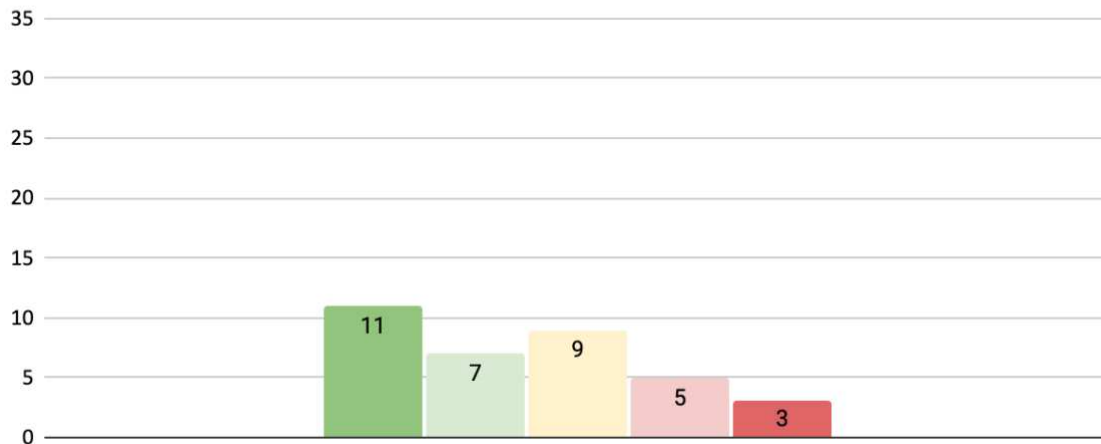
Test 2 - Sentence 21 Results - Javier lamentablemente ha hervido ya el agua.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



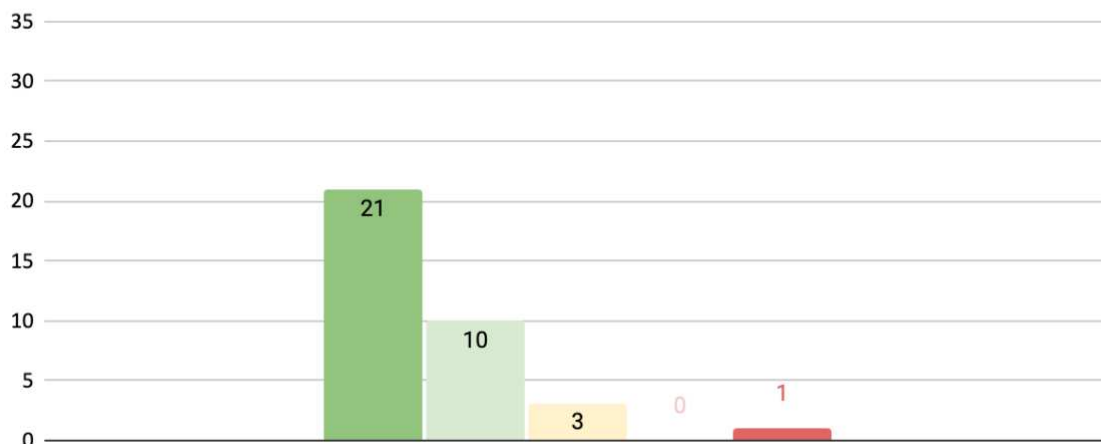
Test 2 - Sentence 22 Results - Marcos desafortunadamente ha tocado ya la guitarra.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



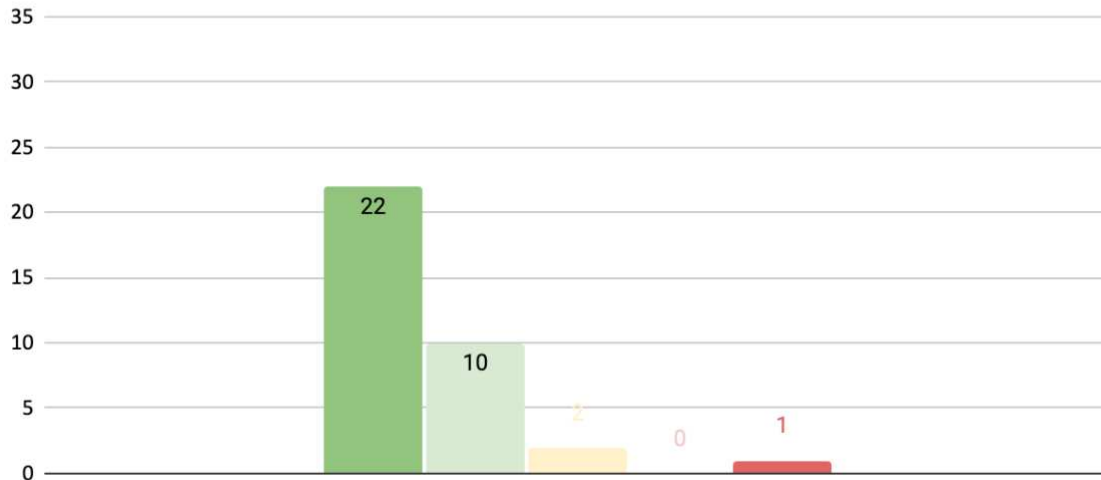
Test 2 - Sentence 23 Results - Lamentablemente ha resumido ya los textos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



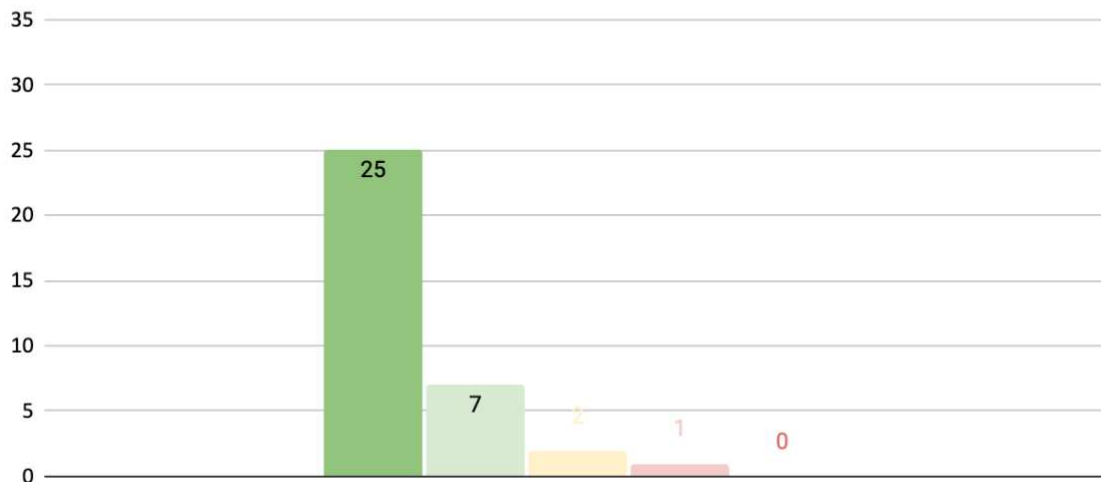
Test 2 - Sentence 24 Results - Desafortunadamente ha vaciado ya la caja.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



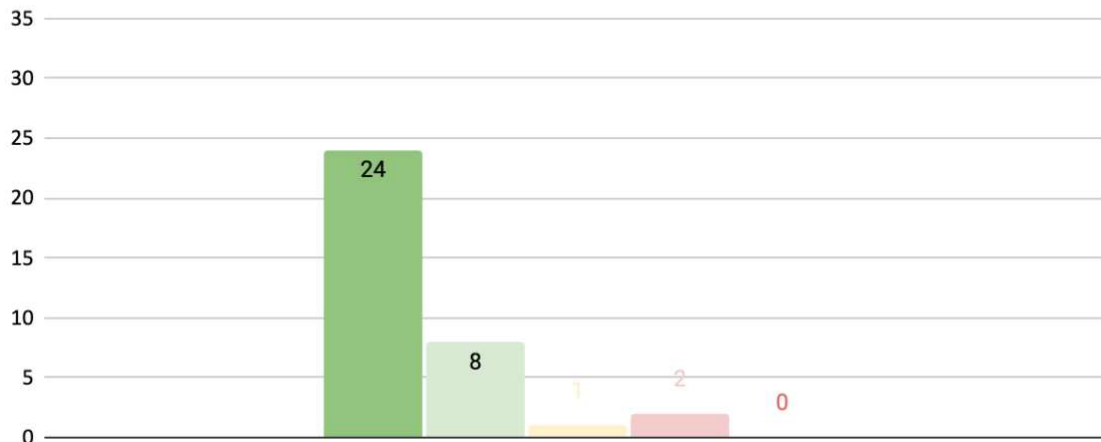
Test 2 - Sentence 25 Results - Teresa siempre corre los 50 metros lisos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



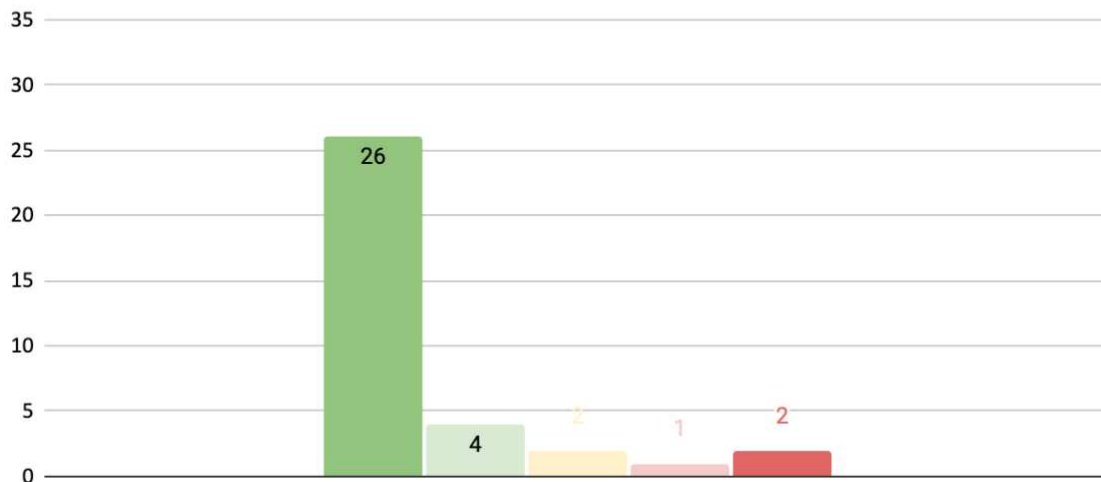
Test 2 - Sentence 26 Results - Rosa siempre muestra el carné de identidad

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



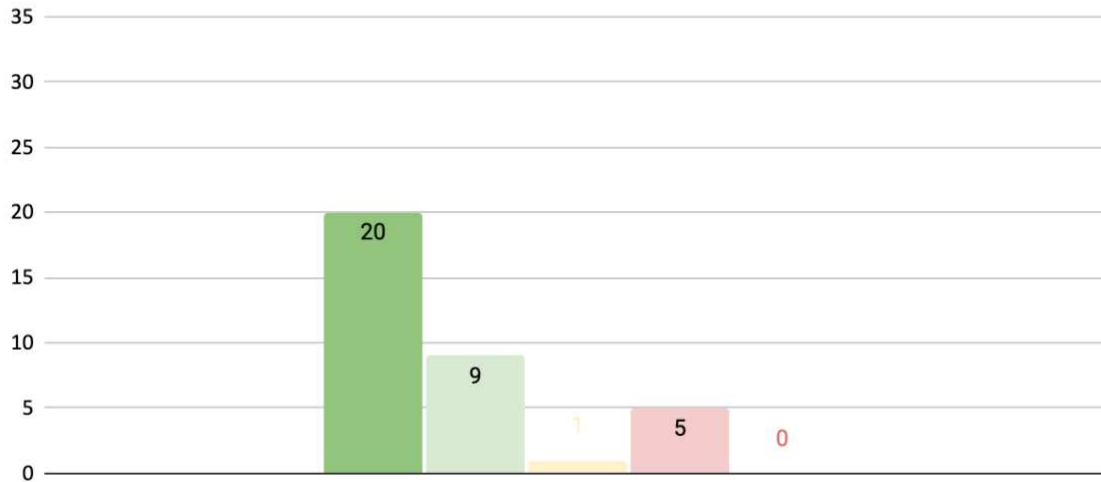
Test 2 - Sentence 27 Results - Siempre evita la carne.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



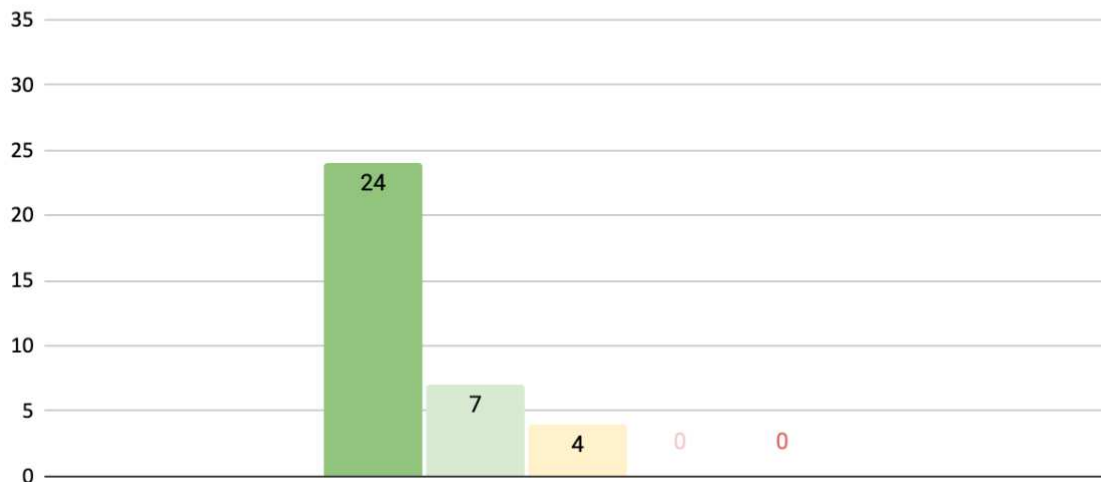
Test 2 - Sentence 28 Results - Siempre carga el ordenador

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



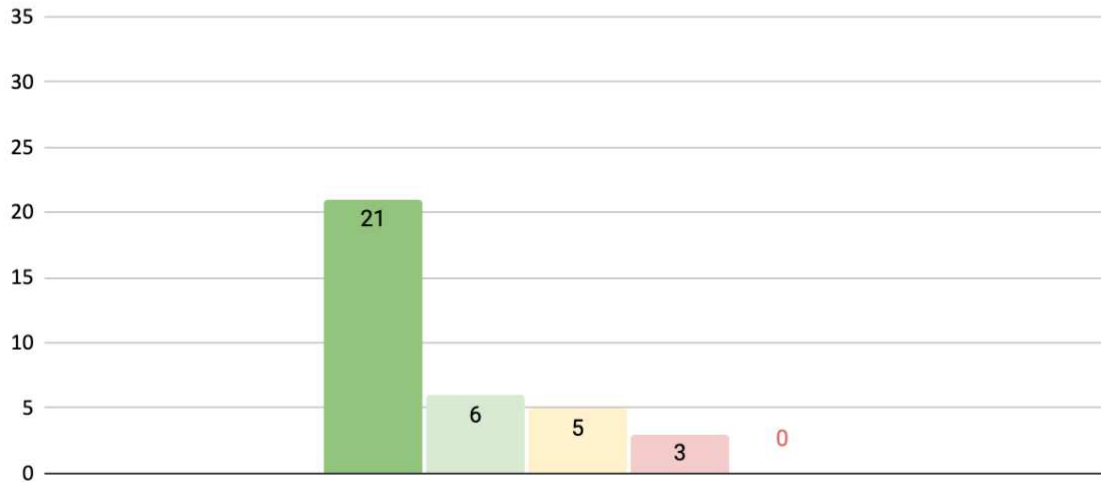
Test 2 - Sentence 29 Results - Gema siempre ha adivinado los acertijos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



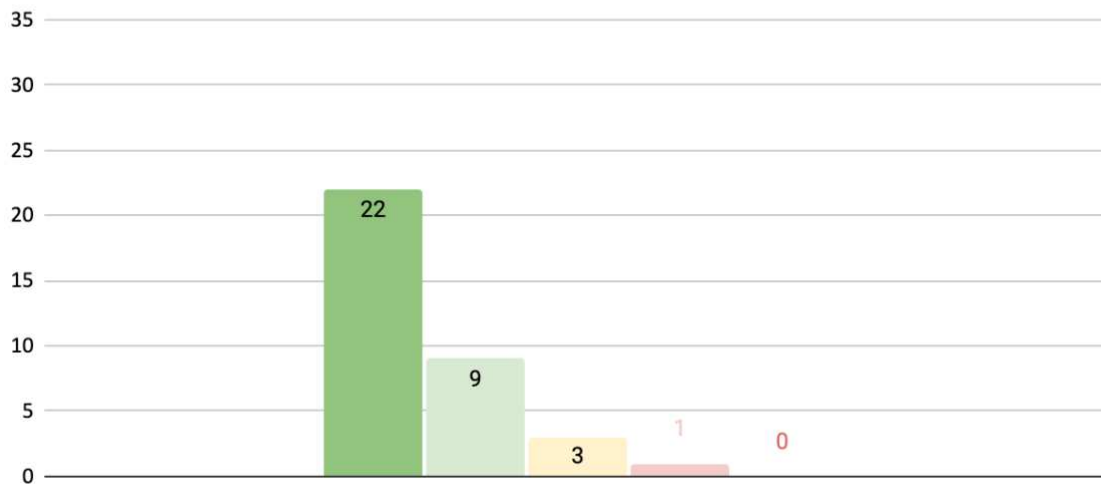
Test 2 - Sentence 30 Results - Eva siempre ha ofrecido comida.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



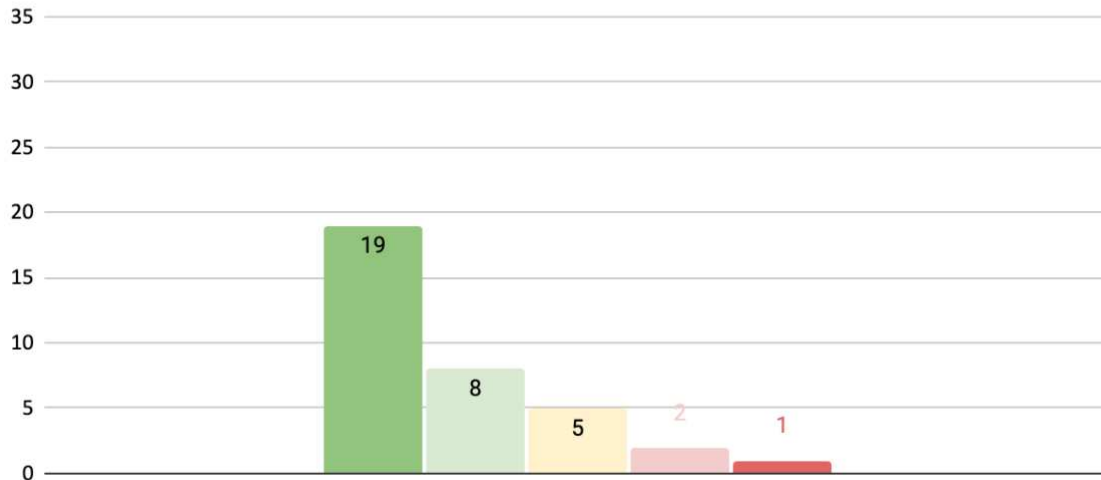
Test 2 - Sentence 31 Results - Siempre ha horneado las verduras.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



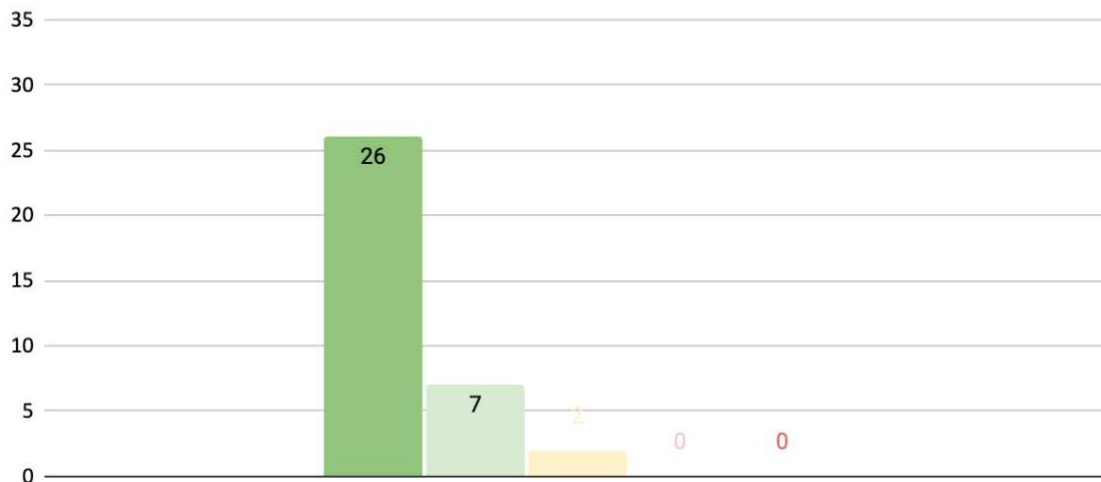
Test 2 - Sentence 32 Results - Siempre ha probado los platos nuevos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



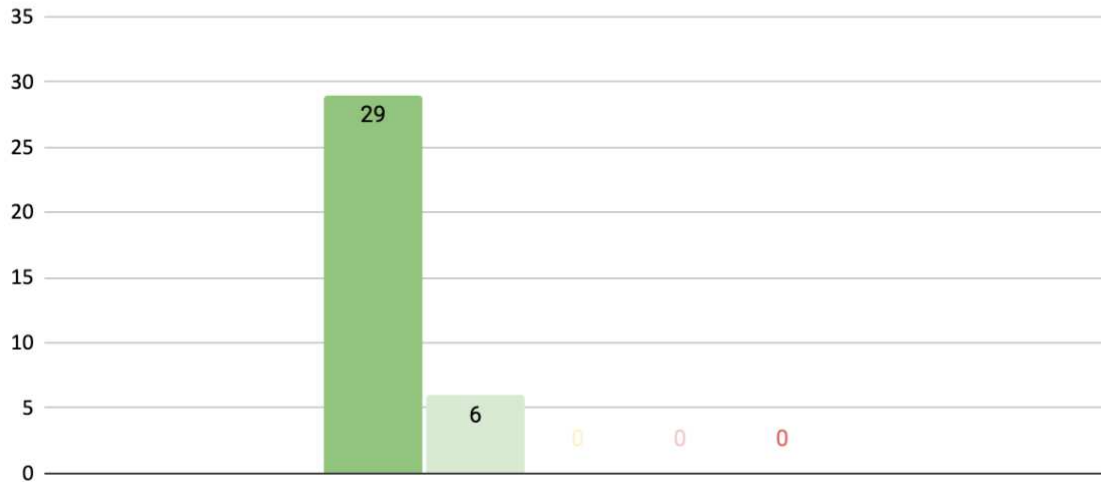
Test 2 - Sentence 33 Results - Sofia cocina siempre las lentejas.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



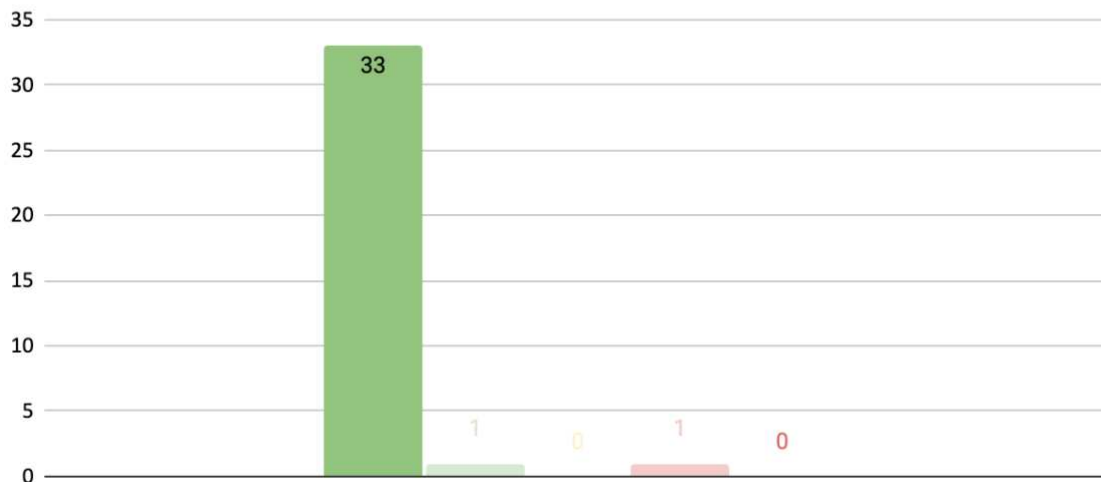
Test 2 - Sentence 34 Results - Lola envía siempre la postal.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



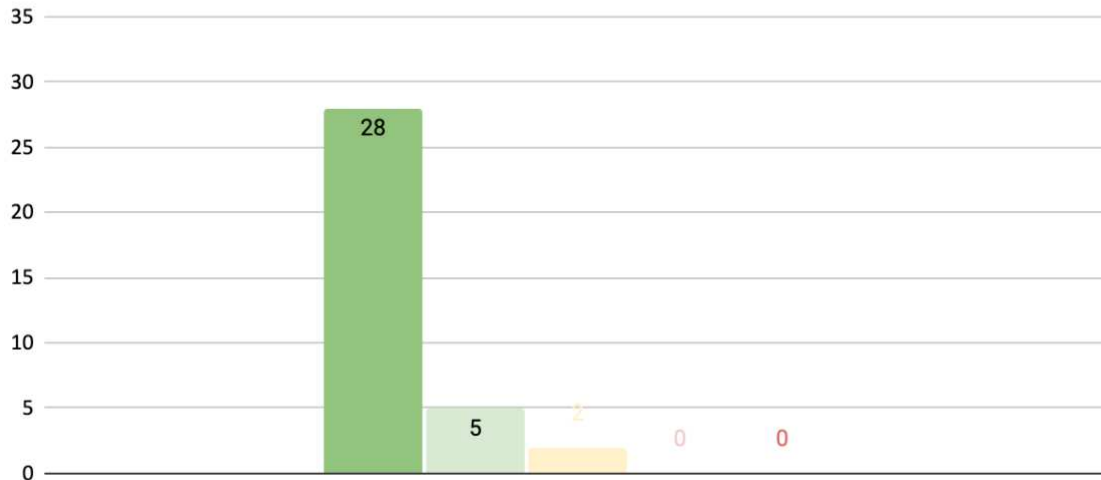
Test 2 - Sentence 35 Results - Devuelve siempre el dinero.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



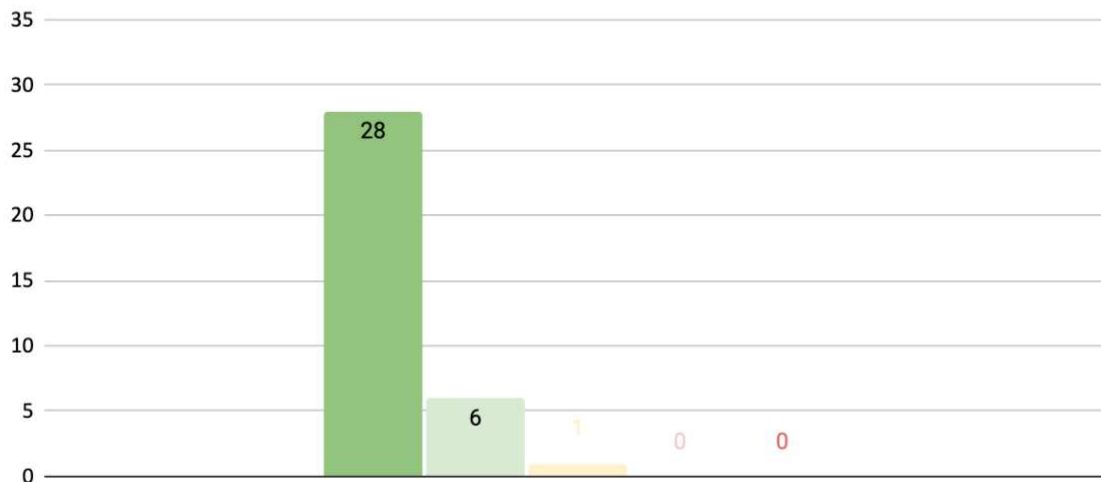
Test 2 - Sentence 36 Results - *Elabora siempre su queso.*

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



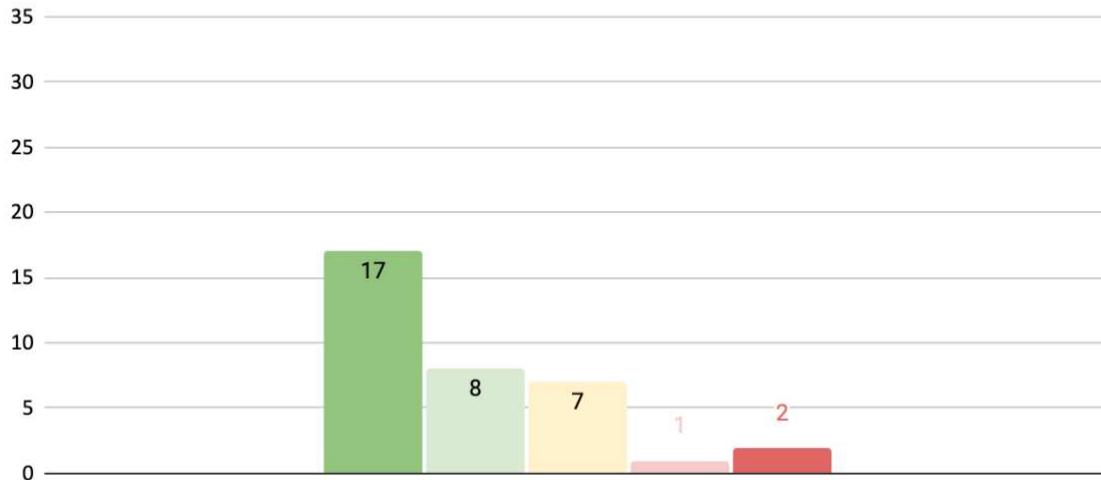
Test 2 - Sentence 37 Results - *Ángel ha reciclado siempre el vidrio.*

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



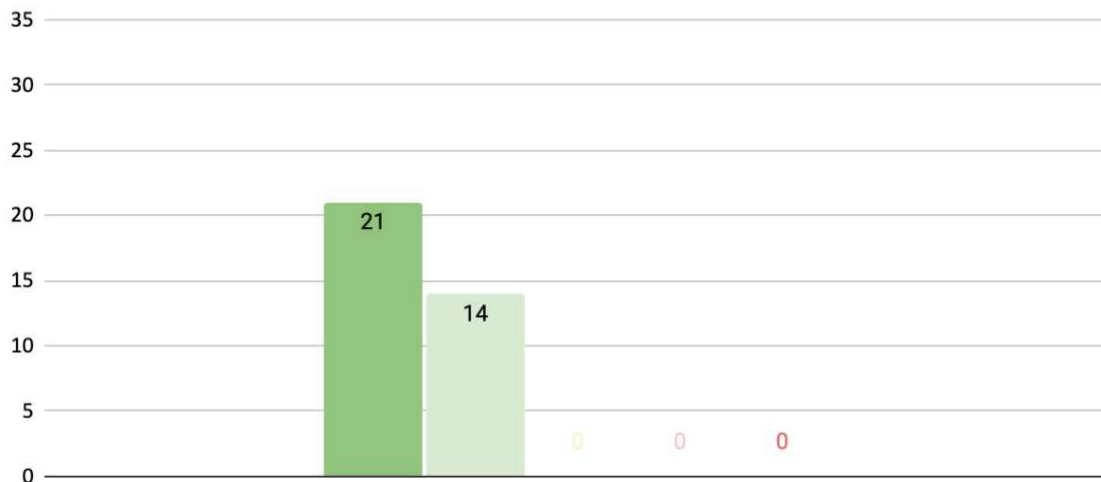
Test 2 - Sentence 38 Results - Toñi ha acabado siempre la cena.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



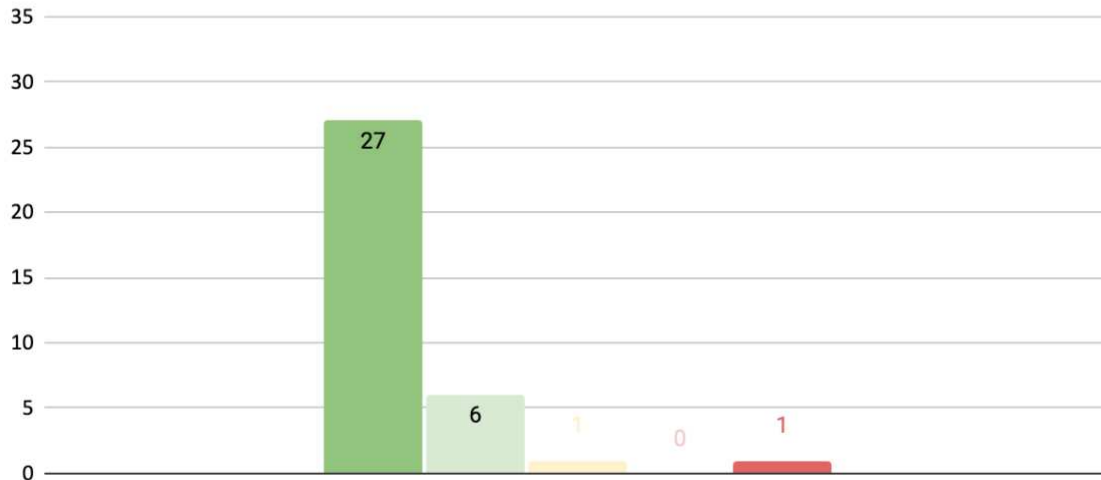
Test 2 - Sentence 39 Results - Ha construído siempre las casas.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



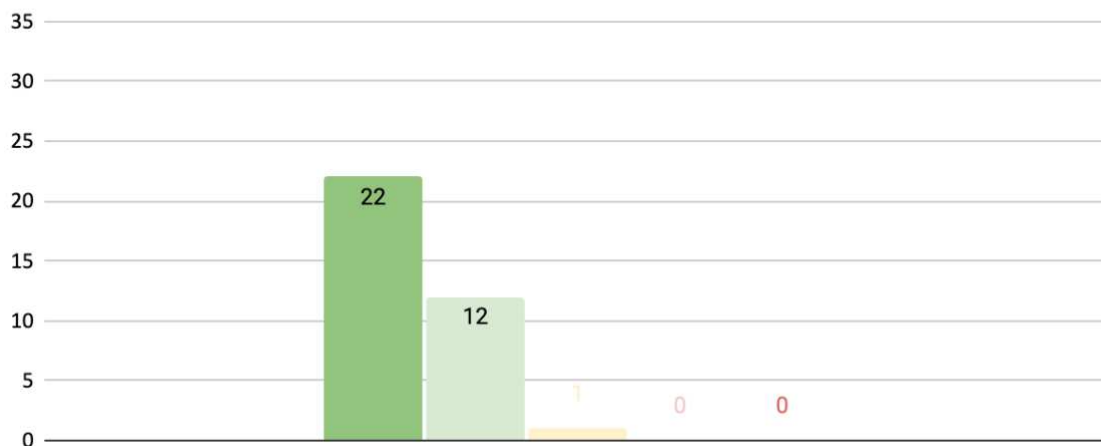
Test 2 - Sentence 40 Results - Ha podado siempre los árboles.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



Test 2 - Sentence 41 Results - Pablo lamentablemente cierra siempre la tienda.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



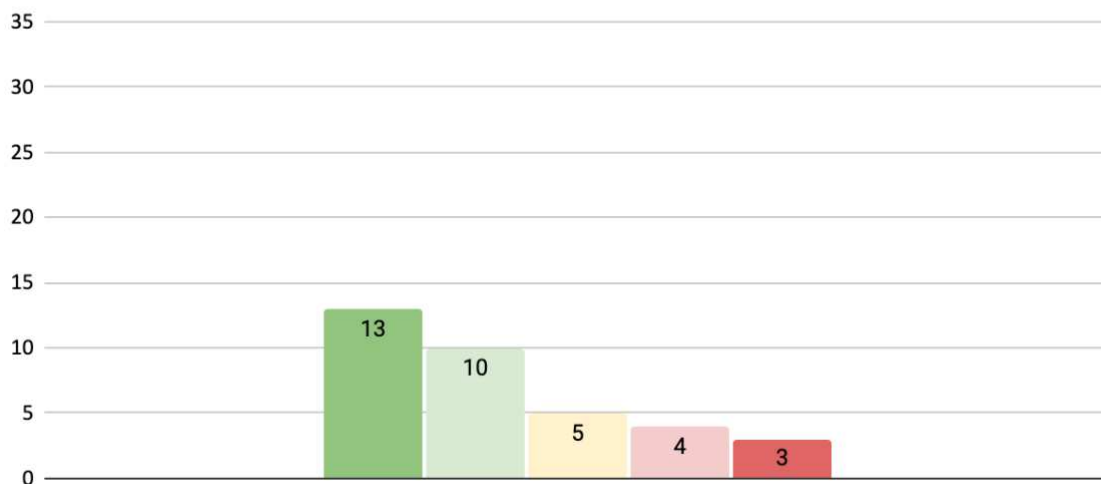
Test 2 - Sentence 42 Results - Elena desafortunadamente hace siempre las llamadas.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



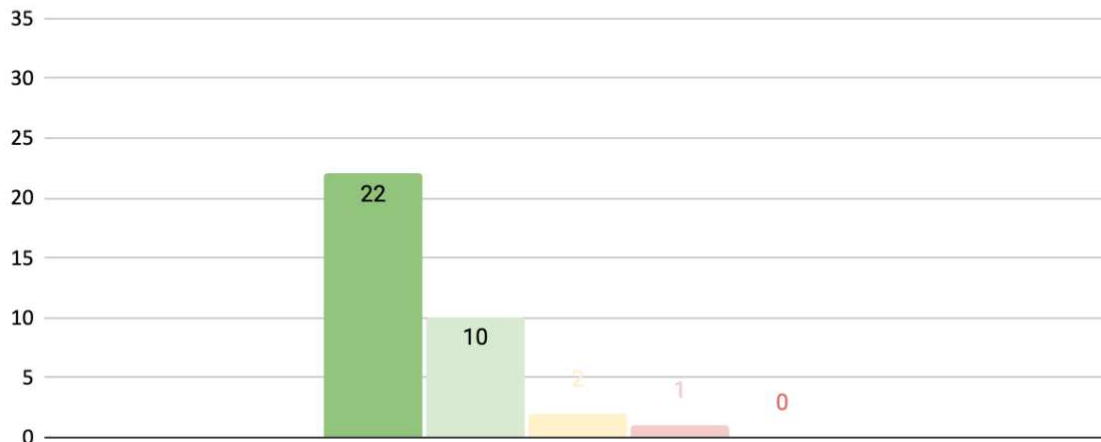
Test 2 - Sentence 43 Results - Lamentablemente siempre produce sueño.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



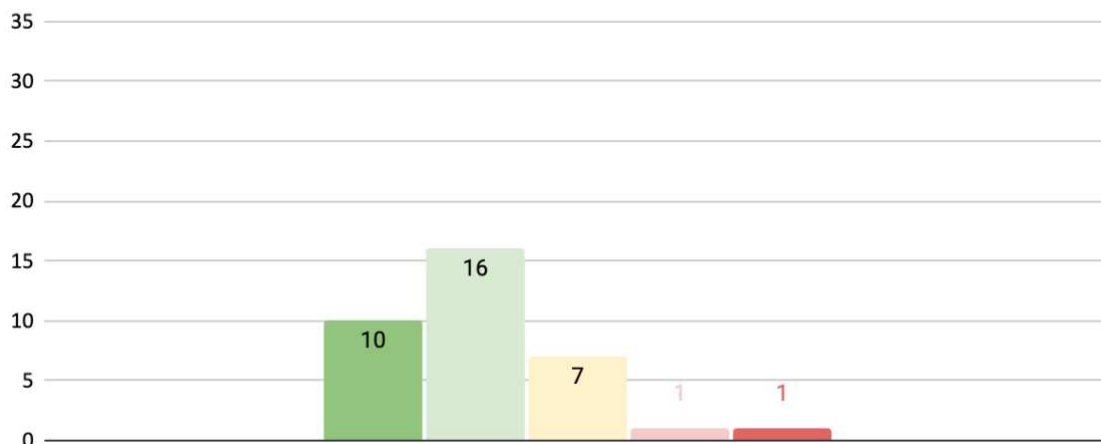
Test 2 - Sentence 44 Results - Desafortunadamente estropea siempre todo.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



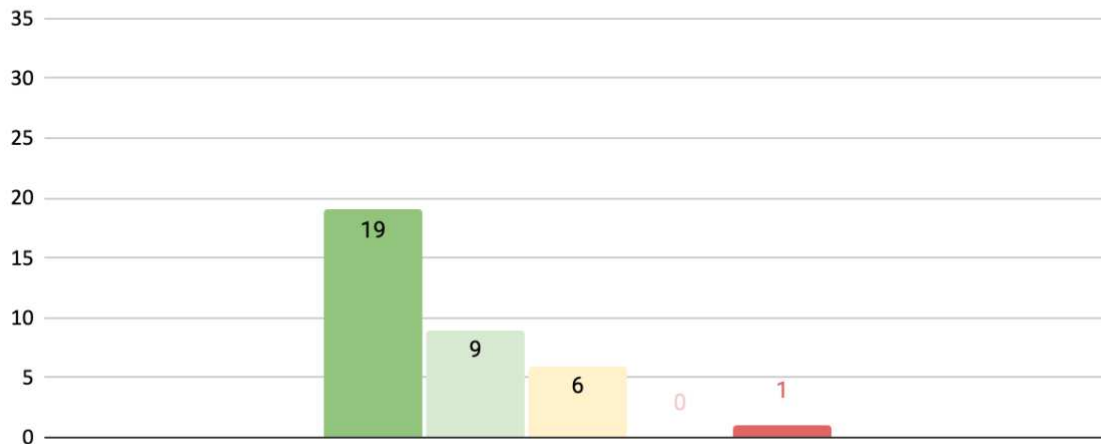
Test 2 - Sentence 45 Results - Marta lamentablemente ha destruido siempre las bicicletas.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



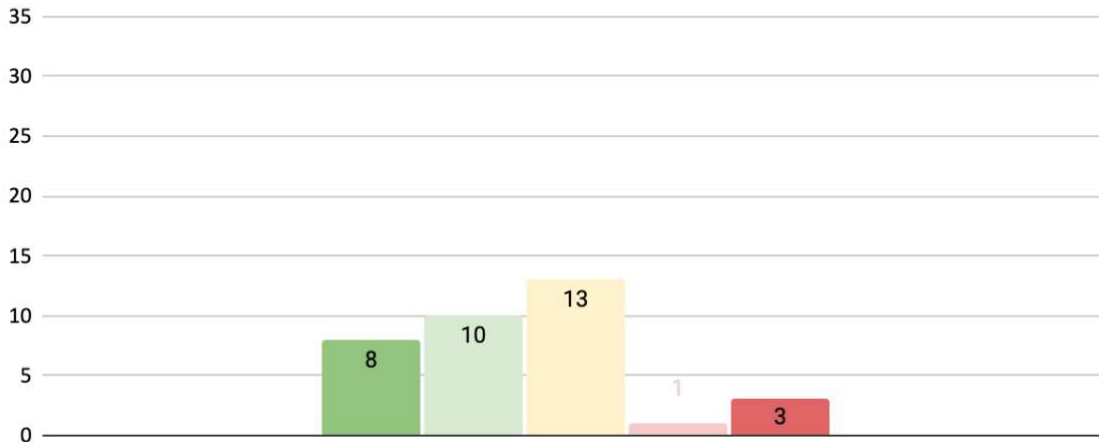
Test 2 - Sentence 46 Results - Alberto desafortunadamente ha triturado siempre las zanahorias.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



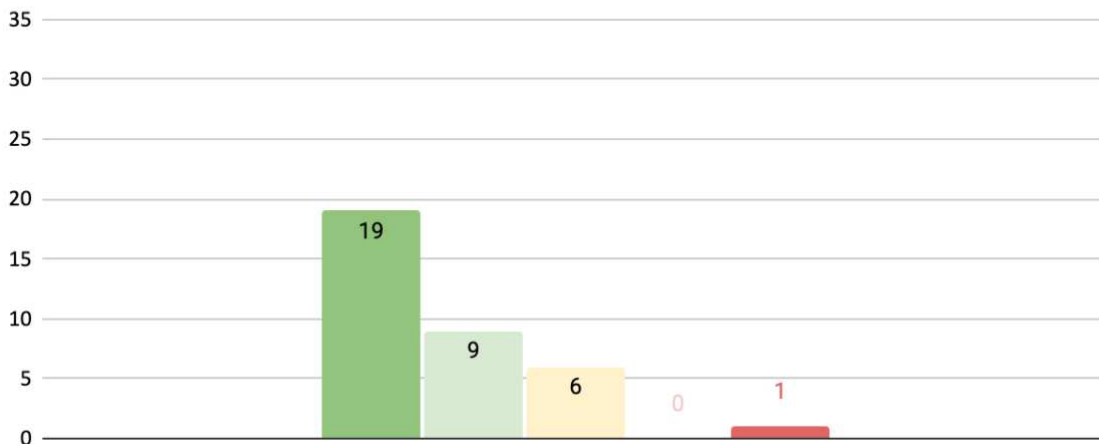
Test 2 - Sentence 47 Results - Desafortunadamente ha saltado siempre el desayuno.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



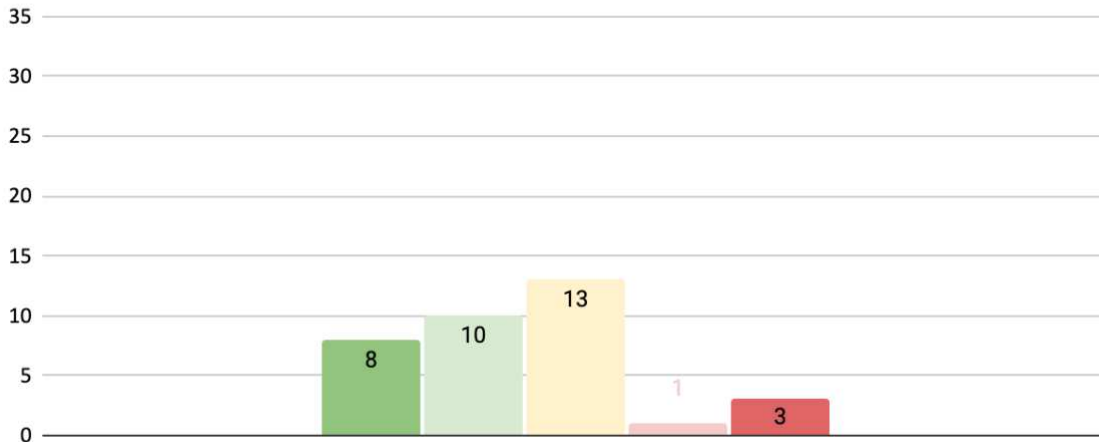
Test 2 - Sentence 46 Results - Alberto desafortunadamente ha triturado siempre las zanahorias.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



Test 2 - Sentence 47 Results - Desafortunadamente ha saltado siempre el desayuno.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable



Test 2 - Sentence 48 Results - Lamentablemente ha ignorado siempre los pagos.

1 - Completely acceptable 2 - Acceptable 3 - Neutral 4 - Unacceptable
5 - Completely unacceptable

