

PERIPHRASES IN SPANISH: PROPERTIES, DIAGNOSTICS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS*

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ABSTRACT. This article provides an overview of the main facts and analytical problems that relate to verbal periphrases. The article is structured as follows. In §1 I provide an overview of the main criteria for being a periphrasis, and the constructions that it should be differentiated from. §2 is devoted to the nature of the auxiliary verb, and its limits with other types of verbs. In §3 I talk about the auxiliated verb, and the linking element that sometimes appears in connection to it. §4 briefly discusses the main structure of a periphrasis, and is followed by a few sections about the syntactic behaviour of these linguistic objects. §5 discusses the behaviour of clitics within periphrases; §6 talks about the selectional restrictions; §7 talks about the behaviour of passives with these structures. §8 discusses the semantic classification of periphrases and some of the research problems that they trigger. §9 talks about sequences of periphrases, and their additional restrictions.

Keywords: periphrases; auxiliaries; non-finite verbal forms; linking elements; aspect; mood; clitics; passive; sequences of periphrases

RESUMEN. Este artículo revisa las principales propiedades y problemas analíticos de las perífrasis verbales. El trabajo se estructura de la siguiente manera. En §1 proporciono una revisión de los principales criterios para analizar una estructura como una perífrasis, y las construcciones de las que deben ser diferenciadas. §2 se dedica a la naturaleza del verbo auxiliar y sus límites con otros tipos de verbos. En §3 hablo del verbo auxiliado y de los elementos de enlace que en ocasiones aparecen en conexión con él. §4 discute brevemente la estructura sintáctica básica de una perífrasis, y es seguida por varias secciones sobre el comportamiento sintáctico de estos objetos lingüísticos. §5 habla del comportamiento de los clíticos dentro de las perífrasis; §6 habla de las restricciones seleccionales; §7 habla del comportamiento de las pasivas con estas estructuras. §8 discute la clasificación semántica de las perífrasis y algunos de los problemas de investigación que producen. §9 habla sobre las secuencias de perífrasis y sus restricciones adicionales.

Palabras clave: perífrasis; auxiliares; formas verbales no finitas; elementos de enlace; aspecto; modo; clíticos; pasiva; secuencias de perífrasis

1. Introduction: a recipe to build a periphrasis

Tradition tells us that a periphrasis is a monoclausal –that is, within one single sentence– combination of two or more verbs, where all but the last verb, compulsorily in a non-finite form, must be auxiliaries that express tense, aspect, mood and possibly other grammatical properties. However, this traditional definition is not very informative about the nature of the object that we call 'periphrasis', and each part of the description above can (and has) been questioned.

In order to introduce the set of problems that we will discuss in this article, compare the sentence in (1a), which contains a periphrasis, with the one in (1b), that does not contain one.

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- (1) a. Pedro va a comprar-se un coche.
 Pedro goes to buy-himself a car
 'Pedro will buy a car'
 b. Pedro va a la tienda para comprarse un coche.
 Pedro goes to the shop to buy-himself a car
 'Pedro is going to the shop to buy a car'

In (1a) and (1b) we have the same verb, and the meaning is not so extremely different. In the relevant interpretation of (1a) glossed as 'will buy', however, there is a sequence of two verbs, where the first one is desemantised: here the verb *ir* 'go' does not entail any type of movement, and as we will see it does not select any particular arguments. In (2), for instance, the subject – if there is any – is not an entity that moves from one place to the other.

- (2) Va a llover.
 goes to rain
 'It is going to rain'

(1a), moreover, contains two verbs such that they act as one single syntactic domain from many perspectives. To begin with, we only have one sentence in (1a) –we will be clearer about this soon–, and in some sense the two verbs compose one single situation where the two elements distribute between them the roles that one single verb plays in a structure without a periphrasis. This contrasts with (1b), where we have two verbs that do not form one domain, and we clearly have a subordinate clause introduced with a preposition.

Several facts let us know that (1a) has two verbs that behave as one. First of all, the direct object (DO) can be pronominalised, and appear proclitically to the first verb.

- (3) a. Pedro va a comprar-se-lo.
 Pedro goes to buy-SE-it
 b. Pedro se lo va a comprar.
 Pedro SE it goes to buy

This operation, that sends the DO of one verb to the syntactic orbit of the other, is not possible in (1b). Moreover, in (1b) we know that we have two sentences because each verb defines its own syntactic functions: the verb *ir* 'go' introduces a directional complement *a la tienda* 'to the shop', while the verb *comprar* introduces a DO.

In (1a) the tradition talks about a periphrasis because, as we said, the two verbs that appear in a sequence share between them the behaviour that, normally, one single verb does. The first verb –from now on, auxiliary– is the one that gets inflected, carrying agreement with the subject among other morphological markings, and in this particular case defines a grammatical notion –aspect or tense, we will go back to this– that is necessary to determine how the proposition should be interpreted. The second verb –from now on, auxiliated– defines the conceptual meaning of the predicate, introduces arguments and determines their theta role –that is, the type of relation that each argument has with respect to the eventuality that it describes, with notions such as agent, patient, location, etc.–.

However, this cannot be the whole story. Beyond the question of why this is as it is, and what properties of natural languages allow us to have periphrasis, there is the observation that in the same way that the verb in (1b) introduces a directional phrase with the preposition *a*, the periphrasis in (1a) uses a preposition *a* as a linking element between auxiliary and auxiliated; this property holds for Spanish, but not for other Romance languages. However, this suggests, to begin with, that the divide between auxiliaries and other types of verbs is not monolithic.

Moreover, what do we mean when we say that in a periphrasis the two verbs belong to the same syntactic domain? What distinguishes precisely the structure of a periphrasis from the structure of a sequence of two sentences? To make things worse, or perhaps just more fun, the notion of periphrasis, taken as a vague concept where we mean by that that there is a verb that is semantically bleached or that has lost parts of its conceptual meaning, should be differentiated from constructions such as (4a), that are normally known as 'light verb constructions', and those in (4b), which are normally known as serial verb constructions.

- (4) a. Juan agarró un resfriado.
 Juan grabbed a cold
 'Juan got a cold'
- b. Aémma de sikaá maá Kofa: Akan
 Amma take money give Kofi
 'Amma gives money to Kofi'

In (3), the verb for 'grab' is desemanticised, at least because a cold is not an object that can be grabbed by the hand; in (4) there is a sequence of verbs that act in many senses as belonging to the same sequence, but their level of desemantisation is not as high as in (3).

This article will deal with these facts, conceptual definitions and boundaries, as well as with the internal problem that is produced by the semantic classifications of periphrases –basically, how many distinctions are made by auxiliary verbs, what types of meanings they carry and how they contrast to each other–. These facts are discussed in great detail in, among others, Anderson (2006), Bertinetto (1991), Bravo (2008, 2016a, 2016b), Bravo & García Fernández (2013), Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994), Coseriu (1977), Dik (1987), Fabb (1983), Fernández de Castro (2000), Garachana (2017), García Fernández et al. (2006), García Fernández & Carrasco (2008), Gavarró & Laca (2002), Gómez Torrego (1999), Laca (2004, 2006), McCawley (1975), Ortiz de Urbina (2003), Quevedo García (2019), Roca Pons (1958), Ross (1969), Schachter (1983), Topor (2011), Yllera (1999), and –in particular, due to their general character and how comprehensive they are– RAE & ASALE (2009: §28), Ramchand (2018) and García Fernández & Krivochen (2019).

But first, let us talk a bit more about the criteria that are normally invoked to classify something as a periphrasis.

1.1. *Criteria for being a periphrasis*

There are several properties that are normally discussed in connection with the prototypical behaviour of a periphrasis; funnily enough, it is very difficult to have specific periphrases that have exactly those properties, and do not lack any of them. In this section we will talk about the properties as if they were unproblematic, and in the next subsection we will point out to some cases where the behaviour of a sequence of verbs is only partially typical of a periphrasis.

All the properties derive from two core ideas: (i) auxiliary verbs are desemantised with respect to full verbs and (ii) the combination of verbs in one periphrasis does not build two sentential domains.

The absence of full semantics in the auxiliary normally refers to what is known as conceptual semantics, that is, the properties of meaning that do not follow directly from the interpretation of the syntactic structure and the functional categories involved in them (number, tense, aspect, mood, degree, quantification...) but rather provide descriptions of the extralinguistic world ('sing', 'eat', 'decapitate', 'rub'...). In our example (1), the auxiliary verb version of *ir* 'go' has lost its capacity to denote a movement event. Other verbs used as auxiliaries either have lost that conceptual side, or have reduced it, or simply have no version where they express conceptual semantics. Let us see one example of each of these cases.

As a main verb, *venir* 'come' expresses directional movement towards the speaker (5a). In its use as a modal auxiliary, it does not describe any type of movement towards a speaker, but rather expresses uncertainty about a particular state of affairs; (5b) entails that the speaker is not certain of how to evaluate the fact, but thinks that it might be roughly correct.

- (5) a. Vino a mí.
 came to me
 'He came to me'
 b. Viene a costar tres euros.
 comes to cost three euros
 'It costs three euros, roughly'

As for the second situation, used as a full verb, *caber* 'fit' denotes a relation between the volume of an entity and the volume of a particular space (6a). In its auxiliary use as a modal verb (6b, Bravo & García Fernández 2013), it is true that the volume relation has been lost, but at the same time the auxiliary still describes whether a set of circumstances fits in a particular situation –whether 'it is fitting' to do something–.

- (6) a. No me cabe más comida.
 not me fits more food
 'I cannot fit more food'
 b. Cabe mencionar tres propiedades.
 fits to.mention three properties
 'It is possible to mention three properties'

In the third situation we find verbs like *haber* 'to have', *ser* 'to be' and *estar* 'to be', which even when not used as auxiliaries have essentially no conceptual semantics. The first one is used in presentational existential clauses (7), and the other two are used as copulative verbs where the predicate is defined by the adjective, noun or other lexical category in the attribute position.

- (7) a. Hay poca sal.
 there.is little salt
 'There is little salt'
 b. Ha venido.
 has come
 'He has come'
- (8) a. Juan fue actor.
 Juan was actor
 'Juan was an actor'
 b. Juan fue atacado.
 Juan pass attacked
 'Juan was attacked'
- (9) a. Juan está enfermo.
 Juan is sick
 'Juan is sick'
 b. Juan está escribiendo un libro.
 Juan is writing a book
 'Juan is writing a book'

The absence –or near absence– of conceptual information has several consequences. The first one is that, lacking a descriptive component, the auxiliary will not introduce its own argument structure, or select arguments within the sentence. This is reflected by several subproperties, most significantly that the auxiliary does not impose any conditions on the subject. As a full verb, *volver* 'come back' imposes the minimal restriction that the subject must be able to change location (even metaphorically), but as an aspectual auxiliary there is no real restriction at all (10).

- (10) a. Volvió a llover.
 came.back to rain
 'It rained again'
- b. Volvió a hacer frío.
 came.back to make cold
 'It was cold again'
- c. El libro volvió a caerse.
 the book came.back to fall
 'The book fell again'
- d. Juan volvió a desayunar.
 Juan came.back to have.breakfast
 'Juan had breakfast again'

From here it follows that an auxiliary should not introduce arguments, or even define syntactic functions alone. For instance, the (in)capacity of the verb to introduce a DO marked in accusative is not affected in any direction by the presence of the auxiliary *haber*.

- (11) a. Juan murió (*a su gato).
 Juan died (DOM his cat)
- b. Juan ha muerto (*a su gato).
 Juan has died (DOM his cat)
- (12) a. Juan mató *(a su gato).
 Juan killed (DOM his cat)
- b. Juan ha matado *(a su gato).
 Juan has killed (DOM his cat)

Finally, the absence of conceptual semantics implies that there should not be conceptual selection between the auxiliary and the auxiliated. Of course, other aspects of meaning can be taken into account by the auxiliary's selectional restrictions –provided that they derive from the syntactic structure or the functional projections involved–. In principle, we should not find auxiliaries that combine only with verbs belonging to the same conceptual semantic field, such as 'movement', 'loud noise production', 'consuming things' or 'psychological states'. (13) shows that an auxiliary like *ir* 'go' accepts them all.

- (13) a. Voy a correr.
 go.1sg to run
 'I am going to run'
- b. Voy a gritar.
 go.1sg to shout
 'I am going to shout'
- c. Voy a beber una cerveza.
 go.1sg to drink a beer

- 'I am going to drink a beer'.
 d. Voy a deprimirme.
 go.1sg to get.depressed
 'I am going to get depressed'

The second main criterion is that the combination of verbs should not define two sentences, but rather a lower-level combination that does not define two structural sentential domains. Roughly, let us assume that sentences are defined by the presence of a set of functional categories (Ramchand 2018), where at the very least C(omplementiser), T(ense) and Asp(ect) are included. This means, then, that in a periphrasis there should be only one such functional sequence. Of course, then, there should not be a subordinator separating the two verbs.

- (14) a. Va a llover.
 goes to rain
 'It is going to rain'
 b. *Va para que llueva.
 goes to that it.rains

Note that this, in principle, means that in the modal periphrases of (15) the linking element *que* 'that', which is usually a complementiser, should not be a subordinator in the traditional sense.

- (15) a. Hay que hacerlo.
 there.is that do.it
 'One has to do it'.
 b. Tengo que hacerlo.
 have.1sg that do.it
 'I must do it'

If subject agreement is associated to T, this means that in a periphrasis there should not be two instances of agreement with the subject. For this reason, in Spanish the auxiliated must always appear in a non-finite form, such as infinitive, gerund or participle.

- (16) a. Debo dormir.
 must.1sg sleep
 b. *Debo duermo.
 must.1sg sleep.1sg
 (17) a. Estoy comiendo
 am eating
 b. *Estoy como.
 am eat.1sg
 (18) a. He llegado.
 have.1sg arrived
 b. *He llego.
 have.1sg arrive.1sg

The exception is that gender and number agreement with one of the arguments is acceptable within some participial periphrases, which –however– some authors treat as instances of copulative or pseudocopulative constructions (§2.3).

- (19) a. María fue atacada.
 María was attacked.f.sg
 b. La casa quedó destrizada.
 the house ended.up destroyed.f.sg

The idea that the two (or more) verbs within a periphrasis share the same relevant functional sequence is also reflected in the fact that the clitic pronouns of the auxiliated can move in front of the auxiliary.

- (20) a. María lo está escribiendo.
 María it is writing
 'María is writing it'
 b. Marta lo ha leído.
 Marta it has read
 'Marta has read it'
 c. Lo debes hacer.
 it must.2sg do
 'You must do it'.

Also, the auxiliary has a more restricted combinatorial capacity with some grammatical markers, because the auxiliated combines with them already and there is only one functional sequence that the two share. Typically, this is seen in the possibility of expressing passive within the periphrasis. The auxiliated can appear in the passive –obviously, if the full verb allows it independently–, but the auxiliary cannot (see §7 below).

- (21) a. Juan va a completar el informe.
 Juan goes to complete the report
 'Juan is going to complete the report'
 b. El informe va a ser completado.
 the report goes to be completed
 'The report is going to be completed'
 c. *El informe fue ido a completar.
 the report was gone to complete

Finally, because in a periphrasis the two verbs share the same functional sequence, interpolating constituents between the auxiliary, the linking element (when there is one) and the auxiliated is not easy. There is a lot of variation in this respect (§5), but it is typically impossible to move the DO between the two main parts.

- (22) Juan va (*la manzana) a (*la manzana) comer.
 Juan goes the apple to the apple eat
 'Juan is going to eat the apple'

Negation is restricted as well, particularly in periphrases that contain a participle, and in periphrases with a linking element –although they are not completely impossible in all cases–.

- (23) a. Juan ha (*no) comido.
 Juan has not eaten
 b. Tengo que (??no) hacerlo.
 must.1sg that not do.it

Subjects, in inversion contexts, are however not always impossible. Possible phonological factors influence that the auxiliary *haber* in the present does not allow it, because it is a phonological clitic –a property that is special for this auxiliary in Spanish, because most auxiliaries in this language are tonic elements–, while in the past the inversion is better.

- (24) a. *¿Ha ella llegado?
has she arrived?
b. (??)¿Había ella llegado?
had she arrived?

Other periphrases give clearer results.

- (25) a. ¿Debo yo hacerlo?
must.1sg I do.it
b. ¿Estaba él cantando?
was he singing?
c. ¿Vamos nosotros a hacerlo?
go.1pl we to do.it

These are, then, the main tests to determine that something is a periphrasis, but of course reality is always messier than what ideal scenarios suggest, and there are plenty of verbal combinations that do not comply with all these properties; these 'semi-auxiliaries' will be discussed in the next subsection.

1.2. *Semi-periphrases or imperfect periphrases*

The term 'semi-periphrasis' or 'imperfect periphrasis' (Yllera 1999, Gómez Torrego 1988, 1999, RAE & ASALE 2009) describes verbal combinations where only some of the properties that are typical of a periphrasis are found. The mismatches are of different kinds, and here we will provide examples of the main types of mismatches.

Consider for instance the verb *llevar* 'carry' used as an auxiliary (26).

- (26) a. Juan lleva dos horas escribiendo el libro.
Juan carries two hours writing the book
'Juan has been writing the book for two hours'
b. Juan lo lleva escribiendo dos horas.
Juan it carries writing two hours
'Juan has been writing it for two hours'
c. *Juan lleva escribiendo el libro.
Juan carries writing the book
d. Juan lleva escribiendo el libro desde las dos.
Juan carries writing the book since the two
'Juan has been writing the book since two o'clock'

(26a) shows that the verb is desemantised; the subject does not carry anything, and it is clearly selected by the auxiliated. In (26b) we see that clitic climbing is possible, as the DO of the auxiliated appears as a clitic before the auxiliary –note, however, the change in word order: more about this in §5–. Notice, however, that the auxiliary must be accompanied by a durational complement, a quantified phrase expressing a time period (26c) which is not selected by the auxiliated. This suggests that the auxiliary needs to introduce some additional syntactic

constituent that expresses directly the duration of the situation. However, the auxiliary does not select the category of this element, and the restriction seems to be semantic, because (26d) other expressions entailing duration can also license the periphrasis. Even though, at the very least we can see that the durativity associated to this auxiliary must be expressed somehow with an overt syntactic constituent, so there is at least some semantic requirement in the auxiliary.

Used as an auxiliary, the verb *pasar* 'pass, go through' displays a similar behaviour.

- (27) a. Pedro pasa horas estudiando.
 Pedro passes hours studying
 'Pedro studies for hours'
 b. Pedro las pasa estudiando.
 Pedro them passes studying
 'Pedro passes [time] studying'

Here, again the verb is desemantised. In this case, the verb introduces an argument which a defined grammatical category, and in fact the pronominal clitic in (27b) corresponds to that argument expressing a particular amount of time, confirming that it is a real argument of the auxiliary. In fact, the existence of this argument blocks clitic climbing of an argument of the auxiliated.

- (28) a. Juan pasa horas estudiando este cuadro.
 Juan passes hours studying this painting
 b. *Juan lo pasa estudiando horas.
 Juan it passes studying hours

Thus, desemantisation has to be divided from both the introduction of some arguments and clitic climbing.

Conversely, we have also cases of verbs that license clitic climbing but still select the subject. The best example and the most studied one is the verb *querer* 'want', whose semantics is anyways quite close to a modal verb. In its normal use, this verb will only select subjects that can be animate, because only those can entertain desires and wishes.

- (29) a. Juan quiere tener un trabajo.
 Juan wants to.have a job
 b. #El martillo quiere tener una tarea.
 the hammer wants to have a task

Clitic climbing is, however, possible –establishing a minimal pair with, for instance, *anhelar* 'desire'.

- (30) a. Juan lo quiere tener.
 Juan it wants to.have
 b. *Juan lo anhela tener.
 Juan it desires to.have

The verb *querer* is developing a more prototypical use as an auxiliary in contexts where –without any personification– the subject is not animate, perhaps even not referential, as it is the case with the examples in (31), which not all speakers accept.

- (31) a. Esta sopa quiere sal.

this soup wants salt
 'This salt asks for some salt'
 b. Parece que quiere llover.
 seems that wants to.rain
 'It seems that it is about to rain'

RAE & ASALE (2009) also mention the case of *andar* 'walk', used as an auxiliary with progressive meaning in (32).

(32) Juan anda buscando trabajo estos días.
 Juan walks looking.for job these days
 'Juan is looking for a job these days'

Obviously, in (32) there is no implication that Juan is walking or even moving from one place to the other; he could very well be unable to walk, or do the job search by e-mail from his apartment. However, this periphrasis prefers animate subjects. Without personification, (33) is bizarre.

(33) ??Los precios andan subiendo estos días.
 the prizes walk rising these days
 Intended: 'Prizes are going up these days'

It might be that the desemantisation of the auxiliary has not arrived to the point that its original conceptual meaning, to move using the legs, has been completely bleached, and the restriction to animate subjects –the only ones that could in principle use the legs to move– is a residue of that full meaning.

We can also find the inverse: desemantisation without clitic climbing. Even though the verbs *lograr* 'manage' and *necesitar* 'need' normally select animate subjects, they have developed uses close to auxiliaries where they can combine with a verb in a passive form or not expressing a voluntary action.

(34) a. Los libros lograron ser salvados del fuego. [RAE & ASALE 2009]
 the books managed to.be saved from.the fire
 b. Los libros necesitan ser escritos.
 the books need to.be written

(34a) is less acceptable for some speakers than (34b). However, these verbs do not accept clitic climbing for many speakers.

(35) a. Los libros lograron recibir la aprobación.
 the books managed to.receive the approval
 'The books managed to get an approval'
 b. *Los libros la lograron recibir.
 the books it managed to.receive
 Intended: 'The books managed to get it'.

(36) a. Los libros necesitan recibir la aprobación.
 the books need to.receive the approval
 b. *Los libros la necesitan recibir.
 the books it need to.receive
 Intended: 'The books need get it'.

Desemantisation should also be kept separate from the capacity to select some conceptual classes of auxiliated –although, admittedly, here 'selection' might not be the right term–. It is clear that the verb *romper* 'break' and *echar* 'throw' do not have a full meaning in their use as auxiliaries in (37).

- (37) a. María rompió a llorar.
 María broke to to.cry
 'María started (violently) to cry'
 b. Juan se echó a llorar.
 Juan SE threw to to.cry
 'Juan started (violently) to cry'

However, these auxiliaries do not combine with just any conceptual class of verbs. The full verbs related to them suggest applying some force and energy in a task, and consequently the inceptive stage that they express is perceived as equally energetic or even violent –a gradual start of the crying event is out in (37)–. But not any event that could be started with energy combines with this auxiliary, as they are specialised in events that imply the emission of loud sounds, or other external expressions of intense feeling, and (just in the case of *romper*) moving events that are performed with some speed.

- (38) a. romper a gritar
 break to to.shout
 b. romper a aullar
 break to to.howl
 c. romper a volar
 break to to.fly
 d. romper a bailar
 break to to.dance
 e. romper a hablar
 break to to.speak
 f. romper a llover
 break to to.rain

In itself, the notion of desemantisation is quite vague, and consequently problematic once one tries to define its boundaries. It is not just that desemantisation is not completely incompatible with conceptual preferences, or even with introducing arguments of its own, but also that some instances of desemantisation are not clearly auxiliaries. Take for instance the verb *saber* 'know' when it is used to express the capacities of an individual, becoming therefore close to dynamic modals (Fábregas 2014).

- (39) a. Juan sabe que Pedro está enfermo.
 Juan knows that Pedro is sick
 b. Juan sabe hablar inglés.
 Juan knows to.speak English

While (39a) is the full use of the verb, where it directly implies having the knowledge of a particular fact, (39b) is rather talking about a capacity that might not be conscious in the head of the subject. In fact, (39b) means something quite close to (40), in the capacity reading –not meaning permission or possibility–.

- (40) Juan puede hablar inglés.
 Juan can speak English
 'Juan is able to speak English'

Note that in this use, clitic climbing is totally acceptable.

- (41) Juan lo sabe hablar.
 Juan it knows to.speak

But, at the same time, note that –like the full verb version– the subject must be an animate entity. (42a) cannot describe the capacities of a knife.

- (42) a. *Este cuchillo sabe cortar madera.
 this knife knows to.cut wood
 b. Este cuchillo puede cortar madera.
 this knife can to.cut wood

What shall we say, given these facts? That 'know' is a verb that, not being an auxiliary, is semantically underspecified enough so that it does not necessarily refer to conscious knowledge of facts, but also about the so-called procedural knowledge about how to do something, or that the verb has two uses, one of them at least close to an auxiliary? The answer is not obvious, and the fact that some languages might differentiate two verbs for 'knowing' does not provide us a complete answer to how that verb behaves in Spanish.

A similar desemantisation takes place with *prometer* 'promise', although in this case the cut seems a bit clearer. In one use, it is a performative verb that implies making a conscious commitment to a state of affairs, and clitic climbing is out in such cases.

- (43) a. Juan prometió entregar el libro en 2012.
 Juan promised to.deliver the book in 2012
 b. *Juan lo prometió entregar en 2012.
 Juan it promised to.deliver in 2012

In (44), in contrast, the verb is closer to an auxiliary, and it keeps only the meaning that the subject is such that it makes it expected that some state of affairs will happen, without any commitment on the part of the subject. Note that here the subject is non animate.

- (44) La situación prometía darle a Juan lo que necesitaba.
 the situation promised give.him to Juan it that needed
 'The situation allowed Juan to expect that he would get what he needed'

Clitic climbing is out in this case, and in fact there is no need to have a second verb in a sequence.

- (45) a. ??La situación se lo prometía dar.
 the situation him it promised to.give
 b. La situación prometía grandes cosas.
 the situation promised great things

Leaving aside now the boundaries of desemantisation and concentrating in the properties that relate to how many sentential domains are present in the sequence of verbs, we have cases

of clearly desemantised auxiliaries that do not allow clitic climbing. One such case is the modal periphrasis *hay que* 'must'.

- (46) a. Hay que hacer eso.
 there.is that do that
 'One must do that'
 b. Hay que hacer-lo.
 there.is that do-it
 'One must do it'
 c. *Lo hay que hacer.
 it there.is that do

Also, when the auxiliary carries its own clitics –semantically interpreted or not–, clitic climbing tends to be blocked. This applies for instance to auxiliaries that adopt a reflexive form, like *ponerse* 'to start'.

- (47) a. Juan se puso a hacer la cena.
 Juan SE put to to.make the dinner
 'Juan started to make dinner'
 b. Juan se puso a hacer-la.
 Juan SE put to to.make-it
 'Juan started to make it'
 c. *Juan se la puso a hacer.
 Juan SE it put to to.make

Also a periphrasis like *darle a alguien por* 'to suddenly start to', where the auxiliary must carry a dative clitic corresponding to the compulsory indirect object (IO), rejects it. We must, however, note that Gómez Torrego (1988) does not consider it a periphrasis, despite the verb's desemantisation, and that position is totally coherent with the fact that the auxiliary still introduces an IO.

- (48) a. A Pedro le dio por escribir una novela.
 to Pedro him gave for to.write a novel
 'Pedro suddenly started to write a novel'
 b. *A Pedro se la dio por escribir.
 to Pedro him it gave for to.write

Finally, another mismatch is found with passives. We mentioned that in a prototypical periphrasis the auxiliary rejects a passive form, which –if present– must be carried by the auxiliated.

- (49) a. El libro tiene que ser escrito.
 the book has to to.be written
 'The book must be written'
 b. *El libro es tenido que escribir.
 the book is had to to.write

However, there are also exceptions (see Bosque & Gallego 2011). The verb *empezar* 'begin' acts as an auxiliary in combination with a preposition and an infinitive, and then it allows for clitic climbing (50). Even though the verb is not very desemantised with respect to its non-

periphrastic version –more about this in §2–, leading to some to consider it a 'phase verb' more than an auxiliary, the possibility of clitic climbing in (50) suggests that it does have an auxiliary use.

- (50) a. Juan empezó a escribir la carta.
 Juan began to to.write the letter
 'Juan began to write the letter'.
 b. Juan la empezó a escribir.
 Juan it began to to.write

Note that this verb is documented in this periphrastic combination, carrying passive morphology.

- (51) a.(?) La carta fue empezada a escribir.
 the letter was begun to to.write
 b. La carta empezó a ser escrita.
 the letter began to be written
 We can find this also with the verb *terminar* 'finish'.

- (52) a. Juan terminó de escribir la carta.
 Juan finished to write the letter.
 b. Juan la terminó de escribir.
 Juan it finished to to.write
 c. (?) La carta fue terminada de escribir.
 the letter was finished to to.write

The verb *volver* 'come back' is also another verb that accepts passive for some speakers.

- (53) a. Juan volvió a escribir la carta.
 Juan came.back to to.write the letter
 'Juan wrote the letter again'
 b. Juan la volvió a escribir.
 Juan it came.back to to.write
 c. (?) La carta fue vuelta a escribir.
 the letter was come.back to to.write

Although also documented, the verb *dejar* 'stop, interrupt' is only partially in this group, as modern speakers reject the periphrastic passive, but accept to a greater extent the passive with *se*.

- (54) a. Juan dejó de estudiar español.
 Juan left to to.study Spanish
 'Juan stopped studying Spanish'
 b. Juan lo dejó de estudiar.
 Juan it left to to.study
 c. *Las cartas fueron dejadas de escribir.
 the letters were left to to.write
 d. Se dejaron de escribir las cartas.
 SE left to to.write the letters

To summarise, the existence of these imperfect periphrases show us that the set of prototypical properties are not necessarily connected to each other. We have seen that we have to distinguish at least the following properties, independent of each other:

- i) Desemantisation in the sense of losing conceptual content
- ii) Imposing restrictions to the subject
- iii) Introducing other arguments or at least requiring additional constituents not required by the auxiliated predicate
- iv) Combining preferentially with specific conceptual classes of verbs
- v) Allowing clitic climbing
- vi) Availability of a passive built over the auxiliary

The obvious questions are two, the first one being if 'auxiliary' is a real grammatical concept or we are using it as a blanket term to put together a potentially heterogeneous class of verbs that are not behaving as expected of full lexical verbs. The second one is what type of analysis captures the existence of these properties and their relatively independent nature in specific periphrastic constructions. The second question will take us to §4, while the next section will concentrate on the first question by examining the relation between the auxiliary verbs and other types of verbs.

2. The auxiliary

Let us now see the problem of how a verb is defined as an auxiliary, in comparison with other classes of verbs. There are three situations that we have to take into account: the connection with full lexical verbs (§2.1), the connection with light verbs (§2.2) and the connection with copulative verbs (§2.2).

2.1. Auxiliaries and main verbs

In this connection there are two relevant perspectives.

The first one is the fact that it is very frequent that the auxiliary has another version as a full lexical verb. This applies not only to the case of some semi-periphrases where the verb that displays some auxiliary properties is originally a lexical verb, as we saw in the previous section, but also to some cases where a clearly auxiliary use is parallel to a lexical use.

Consider in this respect the verb *seguir* 'follow'. As a lexical verb it normally involves movement (55).

- (55) El taxi siguió al coche.
 the taxi followed DOM-the car
 'The taxi followed the car'

As an auxiliary, this notion has disappeared, but note that the morphological inflection of the verb is identical in both cases. In the same way that the indefinite of the verb as a lexical form involves rising of the vowel /e/ to /i/, the auxiliary does exactly the same.

- (56) Juan siguió leyendo la carta.
 Juan followed reading the letter
 'Juan continued reading the letter'.

This identity in morphology is very informative: it tells us that whatever syntactic or semantic structure triggers the presence of irregular morphology has to be invariant between the lexical version and the auxiliary version. Of course, this identity is totally general in

auxiliaries in Spanish: there are no cases, to the best of my knowledge, where the auxiliary version of a verb that has another role in other contexts differs with respect to the non-auxiliary version.

In the following examples, I provide other cases of auxiliary verbs that double as lexical verbs. Note that the morphology does not change.

- (57) a. Juan iba a su casa.
 Juan went to his house
 b. Juan iba corrigiendo exámenes.
 Juan went correcting exams
 'Juan was, little by little, correcting exams'
- (58) a. Pedro viene a la fiesta.
 Pedro comes to the party.
 b. La inflación viene subiendo desde 2009.
 the inflation comes rising since 2009
 'Inflation has been raising since 2009'
- (59) a. Juan quedó con sus amigos.
 Juan met with his friends
 b. La habitación quedó destrozada tras el incendio.
 the room met destroyed after the fire
 'The room ended up destroyed after the fire'

It is extremely difficult to find in Spanish an auxiliary used only as such, with the caveat that sometimes the distinction between copulative verbs and auxiliaries is not easy to establish, as we will see in §2.3.

The second relevant perspective about the relation between auxiliaries and lexical verbs is how compulsory a second verb is, inside the sequence. Definitionally, an auxiliary is a verbal form that belongs inside a periphrasis, and the periphrasis requires a second verb. If a verb is purely an auxiliary, then it should select compulsorily another verbal form.

Do we have cases of this ideal situation in Spanish? If we decide, perhaps arbitrarily, that the minimal morphological difference between the presentational predicate *hay* 'there is' and the verb *haber* is enough to treat them as two separate forms, the auxiliary *ha* –without the *-y-*– is a verb that cannot be well-formed without a second verb.

- (60) a. Juan ha *(tenido) un accidente.
 Juan has had an accident
 b. Juan ha *(de escribir) un informe.
 Juan has of write a report
 'Juan must write a report'

At the same time it is necessary to be aware that the direct translation of a verb to another language might not keep the auxiliary or non-auxiliary nature of the original. In Spanish, *poder* 'can' is clearly a verb that must select another verb, hence a pure auxiliary.

- (61) Juan puede *(hablar) chino.
 Juan can speak Chinese

However, the immediate translation of this verb to for instance Norwegian does not require a second verb.

- (62) Juan kan kinesisk.
 Juan can Chinese
 'Juan can (understand / speak) Chinese'

Conversely, *querer* 'want' in Spanish does not need a second verb, while its equivalent *ville* 'want' in Norwegian must have it.

- (63) a. Quiero una cerveza.
 want.1sg a beer
 b. Jeg vil *(ha) en øl.
 I want have a beer
 'I want a beer'

Does one, however, want to say that the real criterion to distinguish between a pure auxiliary use and a lexical use is the overt presence of a second verb? This is not clear. It could be that, despite the surface absence of a second verb, the syntactic structure or semantic requisites associated to that second verb are still present. Let us see how.

We saw that not only *querer* 'want', but also *necesitar* 'need' and *saber* 'know' are in principle lexical verbs that develop some auxiliary behaviour. Their lexical nature is related, among other things, to the non-compulsory nature of an overt verbal form as their complement.

- (64) Juan sabe inglés.
 Juan knows English
 (65) Pedro necesita un coche.
 Pedro needs a car
 (66) Pedro quiere una cerveza.
 Pedro wants a beer

At the same time, however, we infer that the knowledge in (64) is not just about English as a set of facts –that is, for instance, that Juan knows a lot of English grammar–, but rather that Juan knows how to do something with that object –normally, speak it, read it, write it...–. When we say (65) we basically mean that Pedro needs to have a car, and when we say (66) it would be very weird to say that Pedro wants a beer to look at it, or just to know that the beer is there; we mean that he wants to drink a beer. These interpretations all involve hidden actions that are those that typically one performs with the object –this type of reading is generally called syncategorematic–. Note, moreover, that these 'extra' predicates not visible in the surface structure disappear with other complements.

- (67) Juan sabe que Madrid es la capital de España.
 Juan knows that Madrid is the capital of Spain
 (68) Pedro necesita que lo lleves a casa.
 Pedro needs that him take.2sg to house
 'Pedro needs that you take him home'
 (69) Pedro quiere a Luisa.
 Pedro wants DOM Luisa
 'Pedro loves Luisa'

We do not interpret (67) along the lines of 'Juan knows how to say...' or anything similar, and there is no additional event that we can deduce in the other sentences.

Another relevant category for these hidden events is the verbs that we called before 'phase verbs', like *empezar* 'begin' and synonyms, and *terminar* 'end' and synonyms. Like the verbs above, they have apparent lexical uses where there is no second verb.

(70) Juan empezó la película.

Juan began the movie

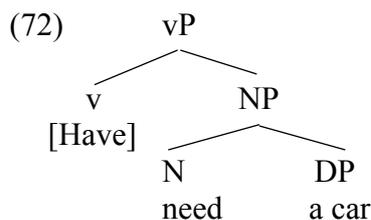
(71) Juan terminó el libro.

Juan finished the book

Like the examples above, also, what finishes and what begins is rather an action and not an entity. (70) means that Juan started watching or shooting the movie, and (71) means that he finished reading or writing the book. This is even more systematic with these verbs when they take an object than with the verbs in the previous group. It makes a lot of sense, also, because characterising this class as 'phase verbs' strongly suggests that they are specialised in talking about the different phases of an eventuality, and this is part of their meaning.

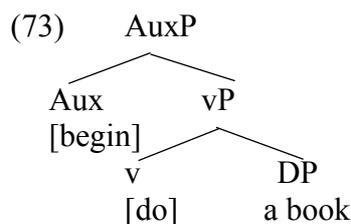
So then, maybe, these verbs are actually always or almost always auxiliaries despite the surface absence of a second verb in many situations. At what level would they be auxiliaries and not lexical verbs? It depends on the analysis. One influential way of talking about these syncategorematic readings is to interpret them as the result of the combination of the lexical semantics of the words involved there. Pustejovsky (1995) proposes that the lexical semantics of a word is quite complex, and divided into four types of meaning, or qualia. The relevant ones for these syncategorematic readings are the agentive quale, that talks about how an entity comes to exist, and the telic quale, which describes the function of the entity, what events it can trigger. In a noun like 'a book', the agentive quale would be the event of writing, and the telic quale the event of reading. If this is the origin of the syncategorematic reading, it would be that the phase verb selects semantically an event, and finds it in that part of the lexical meaning of the object. There would not be extra syntactic structure for a second verb, and hence syntactically the verb would not be different from a lexical predicate, as there is no underlying sequence of verbs.

Alternatively, there are also proposals that have argued that some of these verbs contain extra syntactic layers which associate to the additional event. Harves & Kayne (2012), for instance, analyse the verb *need* as involving the syntactic structure of *have*, with incorporation of a noun *need* that introduces the object.



This particular analysis does not propose a periphrastic construction for the underlying syntax, because there is no second verb –the additional layer is a noun–; however, note that this noun denotes a state, not an object, and is moreover related to a modal meaning, which perhaps implies that changing the label from N to a functional verbal projection would not be totally unmotivated. If that type of modification is granted, then we would be saying that there is indeed a sequence of verbal projections in the underlying syntax, even if it does not manifest in the surface.

One can imagine versions of this for the phase verbs as well. For instance, a version where the phase verb is an auxiliary that takes as a complement a dynamic event, represented as a conceptually underspecified vP layer, which in turn introduces the object.



(73) would mean something like 'begin to do something with a book', and the conceptual semantics of the book would complete the meaning, inclining the speaker to think that the something that is done with it is either reading or writing.

The question, then, is far from settled, but it might give us some hope to treat some of the intermediate cases between auxiliary and lexical verb in a more uniform fashion, crucially without having to accept a gradient definition of auxiliary.

2.2. Boundaries with light verbs

Consider the so-called light verb structures, as in (74) (see, among others, Alonso Ramos 2003, Bosque 2001, Sanromán 2014).

- (74) a. Juan tomó un papel de la carpeta.
 Juan took a paper from the folder
 b. Juan tomó un café.
 Juan took a coffee
 'Juan had a coffee'
- (75) a. Juan agarró a María del brazo.
 Juan grabbed DOM María from.the arm
 b. Juan agarró una depresión.
 Juan grabbed a depression
 'Juan got a depression'
- (76) a. Juan le dio un libro a Marta.
 Juan her gave a book to Marta
 b. Juan le dio asco a Marta.
 Juan her gave disgust to Marta
 'Juan was disgusting to Marta'

In the (a) member of each pair, we have a lexical verb use, while the (b) pair is a light verb use of the same verb –note, again, that the morphology is invariable between the two versions–. In the light verb version, we see the same type of desemantisation that we saw in auxiliaries. In (74b) one does not say that Juan grabbed a coffee, but actually that he drank it. (75b) does not talk of an object that can be physically grabbed, and evidently (76b) does not mean that Juan transferred an object to Marta, but rather that Juan made Marta have some psychological state. Thus, the conceptual semantics of the verb is bleached in contrast with the lexical semantics in the (a) member of each pair.

However, we insist, desemantisation is too vague a term to be operative in an analysis, and in fact in the case of light verbs there are pretty clear properties that are kept with respect to auxiliary uses. These uses, desemantisised as they are, are not auxiliary uses.

Obviously, none of the examples above contains a second verb that could form a periphrasis in the surface, although we have just seen that this might not be a definite sign that there is no periphrasis at any other level. The main differences between light verb structures and auxiliaries

have to do with (i) the conceptual selection of the type of complement and (ii) the preservation of the argument structure of the verb with respect to the lexical version.

Let us start with the first property. Despite some cases like *romper* 'break' and *echarse* 'throw', discussed in §1.1, auxiliaries do not choose the conceptual class of the complement – in their case, the type of eventuality denoted by the non-finite verbal form–. Light verbs, on the contrary, are sensitive to conceptual classes.

- (77) a. *agarrar* un resfriado
 grab a cold
 b. #*agarrar* un café
 grab a coffee
 c. #*agarrar* un tren
 grab a train
- (78) a. #*tomar* un resfriado
 take a cold
 b. *tomar* un café
 take a coffee
 c. *tomar* un tren
 take a train
- (79) a. *coger* un resfriado
 get a cold
 b. #*coger* un café
 get a coffee
 c. *coger* un tren
 get a train

As we can see above, the light verb version of *agarrar* 'grab' combines well with nouns denoting illnesses, but not with nouns denoting means of transportation or consumable goods, like drinks and food. *Tomar* 'take' acts in the opposite way, and *coger* 'get' allows means of transportation and consumable goods, but not ailments. Among the consumable goods, note that these light verbs prefer those that are liquids or solids that one eats, but not for instance a cigarette, which is neither. For that, one uses another light verb.

- (80) *echar* un pitillo
 throw a cigarette
 'have a smoke'

Clearly, distinctions that are so fine-grained and so irrelevant to grammatical operations, such as 'solid', 'liquid', 'ailment', 'mean of transportation' belong to the realm of conceptual semantics, not syntactic structure or its semantic interpretation –no known language decides for instance which case one noun gets depending on whether it denotes an illness or a liquid that you can drink–. This access to conceptual semantics –not represented, almost certainly, through syntactic structure, but in the lexical content of the roots that distinguish verbs, nouns and adjectives in terms of the vocabulary or lexical repertoire of a language– is possible with light verbs, typical of their behaviour (see also the notion of collocation, Bosque 2002), and at best exceptional in the case of auxiliaries. Auxiliaries, as we will see in §6.1, are not totally blind to the semantics of the eventualities they select through the auxiliated, but the meaning properties that they are sensitive to are likely to be encoded through the syntactic structure.

Second, again with the possible exception of some verbs like *pasar* 'pass', auxiliaries do not introduce arguments, and basically lose their argument structure with respect to the lexical

counterpart when there is one. Even in the cases discussed in §1.1, the subject is not selected by a verb like *llevar* 'carry' or *pasar* 'pass'. In contrast, used as a light verb, the verb *dar* 'give' keeps the ability to introduce both a DO and an IO, even if the DO is the one that determines the conceptual meaning of the predicate.

- (81) a. Juan les da problemas a sus padres.
 Juan them gives problems to his parents
 b. Juan les da pena a sus estudiantes.
 Juan them gives pity to his students
 'Juan makes his students sorry for him'

As a light verb, *tomar* 'take' does not introduce an IO, in the same sense that it does not select it when used lexically, but must introduce a DO. This, essentially, means that even as a light verb the predicate keeps the skeleton, or bare bones, of its argument structure, defining at least how many argument positions will be available within the predicate (Same Ludovici 2003). What the verb has lost has been the lexical conceptual content associated to these argument positions, and as such in (81b) the IO is interpreted as the experiencer of a psychological state, not the goal of a transfer event, simply because the DO denotes a psychological state.

Then, again, desemantisation says very little about the objects that fall inside this class, and it means different things when talking about a light verb and when talking about an auxiliary. The two most solid criteria to distinguish them are, then:

- i. Access or no access to conceptual semantics
- ii. Preservation or not preservation of the number of arguments introduced, and their syntactic function

Again, this will be something that one has to take into account when proposing a structure for a periphrasis, as we will do in §4.

It is also important to mention serial verb constructions, already introduced in (4) above, and which might be partially similar to these light verb constructions (see García Fernández & Krivochen 2019: §1.6.3). As these authors note, in (82) the two verbs compose in one single event, not two events, and are therefore monoclausal.

- (82) Let's go buy some beers.

The inflectional properties of these sequences in English are reduced:

- (83) *He went bought some beers.

Like in the case of the auxiliaries, the argument structure depends on the second verb, but as in the case of light verbs there are strict conceptual restrictions to this series –for instance, movement verbs are typically used in these cases– and their lexical meaning is not completely blurred. These serial verb constructions are not used to codify aspectual or modal distinctions, which –as we see– are impossible in the construction, or are expressed with independent morphology in the verbs themselves (as in Igbo cf. García Fernández & Krivochen 2019: 55). Thus, these sequence cannot be considered periphrases.

2.3. *Boundaries with copulative verbs. The problem of passive periphrases*

Another problem is whether auxiliaries and copulative verbs belong to the same class or not. Of course, copulative verbs are in Spanish typically the two verbs in (84) (Fábregas 2012 for a detailed overview).

- (84) a. Juan es simpático.
 Juan is nice
 b. Juan está simpático.
 Juan is nice

This is perhaps the most difficult connection to discuss. One reason is that quite plausibly the term 'copulative verb' means different things in different languages –that is, that the syntactic head represented by a 'copula' might be different in two different languages (cf. Arche, Fábregas & Marín 2019, and articles in that volume). Thus, the properties of a copula are not homogeneous across languages.

Even if, to overcome this problem, one restricts oneself to the properties of the copula in one single language –Spanish– as we will do in this section, the problem is still serious because the distinction between auxiliaries and copulative verbs might be terminological. What do we mean by this?

Assume for the sake of the argument that the traditional definition of periphrasis is correct. The auxiliary would, then, be a functional verb used to express aspect, tense or mood,¹ and it is compulsory that it forms a monoclausal sequence with another verb. Is it true that copulative verbs in Spanish do not comply with this definition?

The first part of the definition is probably satisfied by Spanish copulative verbs. Specifically, the distinction between the two copulae in this language is at least to some extent aspectual, reflecting the distinction between Individual Level predicates and Stage Level predicates (Milsark 1974, Carlson 1977). As is well-known, the difference between (85a) and (85b) is that in the first we are ascribing the predicate to the individual, while in (85b) we are ascribing the properties to a situation where the individual finds itself.

- (85) a. Juan es gordo.
 Juan is fat
 'Juan is a fat person'
 b. Juan está gordo.
 Juan is fat
 'Juan is currently fat'

Is this so different from an aspectual distinction of the type that standard auxiliaries represent? I believe that this is unlikely.

We are left, then, with the second criterion, which is the obligatory combination with a second verb. But we have already seen that there are cases where the lexical verb that sometimes displays auxiliary behaviour at least triggers a syncategorematic reading where a second eventuality is interpreted, so this criterion might not be totally reliable. Moreover, why is the second verb compulsory in a periphrasis, if we think in technical terms? It is simply because it provides content to the predicate, and the auxiliary expresses its functional structure –tense, aspect, mood– while lacking enough conceptual content. Once we see things from this

¹ A clarification is in order with the use of the term 'mood'. As in Fábregas (2014), I am using mood to refer to the operators that quantify over possible worlds –deontic, epistemic...–, while 'modality' would be used for the grammatical manifestation of illocutionary force –interrogative, imperative...–.

perspective, a copulative verb is not so different: it adds functional structure to build a clause over a predicate that is not inflected for those grammatical properties.

Of course, in Spanish the problem of how a copulative verb relates to an auxiliary is particularly serious in the case of the passive forms, illustrated in (86).

- (86) a. El libro fue escrito por Pedro.
 the book was written by Pedro
 b. El libro está escrito.
 the book is written
 'The book has been written'

Assume that these are indeed passive structures with an auxiliary. Then we must conclude that the copulative verb doubles as an auxiliary; they cannot be two homophonous verbs, as their very irregular morphology remains identical when used in traditional copulative clauses and when used in traditional passive structures.

But why do we say that these structures are passive? Of course, that is a long-standing question in Spanish linguistics and beyond (Alarcos 1970, Lázaro Carreter 1975, Bosque 1990, Fernández Leborans 1999, Yllera 1999, Marín 2000, 2004, Conti 2004, Alexiadou 2005, Gehrke 2012, 2015, Gehrke & Marco 2014). Descriptively, it seems clear that the difference between (86a) and (86b) roughly corresponds to that between event and (result) state, with the second referring to the state obtained after the completion of the event.

The problem, basically –and because of the traditional definition of periphrasis– is whether the participle in these structures is adjectival or verbal. Let us start by noting that participles always will combine with *estar* in copulative sentences.

- (87) Juan {está / *es} agotado.
 Juan is exhausted
 (88) Juan {está / *es} muerto.
 Juan is dead

This, even, in the absence of a result state interpretation –that is, in the absence of a reading where in (87) there was an event of exhausting Juan– or in cases where we cannot expect a passive, such as (88) from an unaccusative verb *morir* 'die'.

Second, the participle that we see in these structures agrees not only in number, but also in gender with the subject. Gender agreement is otherwise unattested in the Spanish verb, so this is already some argument that the participle might not really be a verb.

The problem is more serious for the *estar* version than for the *ser* version, to the point that many have assumed that the first involves an adjectival participle and the second, a verbal one (Wasow 1977); if this is the case, the eventive passive would really be a periphrastic construction with an auxiliary and the stative passive would actually be a copulative structure. In the eventive passive, despite gender agreement, the reason that makes many researchers accept the verbal character of the participle is (Bosque 1999) its compatibility with agent complements (89a) and manner adverbs (89b).

- (89) a. El libro fue escrito por Pedro.
 the book was written by Pedro
 b. El libro fue escrito cuidadosamente.
 the book was written carefully

It is unclear whether the stative construction really rejects these complements. Authors like Marín (2004) have noted that agents do not seem to be out, at least when their properties can still be perceived in the result. Imagine a book where the style of the author is so identifiable that you can still notice her agency in the obtained result.

- (90) Este libro claramente está escrito por Agatha Christie.
this book clearly is written by Agatha Christie

However, next to well-known referents that can be taken as prototypes of styles, the agent complements in the stative passive tend to be non-specific and generic. (91) is weird unless you assume that the postman is a well-known author recognisable in the result. Contrast that to (92).

- (91) Este libro está escrito por el cartero.
this book is written by the postman
(92) a. Este libro está escrito por un imbécil.
this book is written by an idiot
b. Este libro está escrito por ignorantes.
this book is written by ignorant.people

The problem is that this very same restriction holds of the complement of some adjectives, when it accepts an agent interpretation. This is the case with *-ble* adjectives in Spanish (Oltra-Massuet 2014).

- (93) a. un libro comprensible por todo el mundo
a book understandable by all the world
'a book that is understandable for everyone'
b. *un libro comprensible por Juan
a book understandable by Juan

Similar observations can be made about the combination with manner adverbs. If the manner is visible in the result, the stative construction still allows it.

- (94) Este libro está escrito ordenadamente.
this book is written orderly

And again, those that want to argue that the participle is not verbal will be able to tell you that such modifiers are also available in adjectives, even if they are derived from verbs.

- (95) un mapa cómodamente desplegable
a map comfortably unfoldable
'a map that can be comfortably unfolded'

Let us not forget that the reason that there is this debate is that copulative verbs, like auxiliaries, do not introduce predicational content; then the discussion has to focus on whether the element that they combine with is a verb or not, which anyways is more a definitional decision than anything else –particularly because we know that some 'copulas' can combine with verbs in other languages, as Pustet (2003) shows–. The distinction, at least for Spanish, has the flavour then of a terminological excess and not of a real grammatical contrast.

Imagine we wanted to unify copulas with passives in Spanish. Saying that the copula is an auxiliary is dubious, because in cases such as (96) we do not get any type of syncategorematic reading of the type that we highlighted in §2.1 above.

- (96) a. Juan es el profesor.
 Juan is the teacher
 b. La fruta está madura.
 the fruit is ripe

The opposite direction is, in fact, the one that Alarcos (1970) already proposed –see also Brucart (2012), who, despite not talking directly about passives, presents an account that reaches this same conclusion–, namely that passives are actually copulative structures. In these, the presence of the copula is motivated by the participial morphology of the predicate, which blocks the possibility of inflecting the predicate for mood, tense and aspect, and the same aspectual meaning that *estar* carries to stage level predicates –let us follow Arche (2006) in the proposal that this meaning is the association to an external situation (cf. Fábregas 2012 for details)– is the one provided in the so-called stative passive (Crespí 2015).

From this perspective, then, passive structure is a misnomer. What gives the passive flavour is that the participial morphology of the verb presumably blocks the projection of an agent in the usual way, and once that participle is present the copula has to be used as in any other case of a category that cannot inflect in verbal grammatical properties. Even in this case, however, one should talk more about the nature of the complement of the copulative verb to see in which way the eventive properties related to passives are defined there. We will go back to the problem of how to differentiate between types of complement in possibly copulative verbs in §3.3, in the context of the wider discussion about participles in periphrases.

Although not the same, the question is still relevant for the progressive periphrasis, where the verb *estar* is used in combination with the gerund.

- (97) Juan está escribiendo una carta.
 Juan is writing a letter

Again, we don't need to insist, the auxiliary inflects identically to the copulative verb.

Here, in contrast to the passives, there is no debate about the verbal nature of the gerund that accompanies the inflected verb: even though some gerunds act as adjectives, this is quite exceptional and anyways there is no gender or number agreement between the gerund and the subject in the progressive form. However, the question remains, given that copulas can combine with verbs, provided that those verbs are not inflectable for tense, mood or aspect. What if, for instance, the gerund form is compulsory to display the progressive meaning, and once it is chosen, the copula has to be added because the gerund is not inflectable?

From one side, the suggestion seems already solid. *Estar*, we have seen, associates to stative meanings, and it is well-known that the progressive form behaves like a stative (e.g., Parsons 1990). Imperatives are difficult to build over them (98), a progressive cannot combine with a completion periphrasis like *terminar de* 'to finish' (99) and the progressive satisfies the strict subinterval property –that is, that in any instant of the time period where the progressive holds, the predicate holds; if John was reading between 8.15 and 10.00, he was reading in any instant of that interval–.

- (98) a. ¡Canta!
 sing
 b. *¡Está(te) cantando!

- be-yourself singing
 (99) a. dejó de estar cantando
 stopped of to.be singing
 b. *terminó de estar cantando
 finished of to.be singing

So, from this side, it does not seem problematic to say that the presence of *estar* derives from the incapacity of the gerund to inflect, and it is used for the same reason that it would be used when the predicate is an adjective or a prepositional phrase. However, for the whole proposal to work, we need something else: that *estar* does not provide itself any notion of progressive aspect. That progressive meaning should, in fact, be contained inside the gerund.

What we see, at this point, is that something should also be said about the auxiliated verb. This is the topic of the next section.

3. The auxiliated and the linking element

Let us now examine the other components of the periphrasis, starting with the one that is compulsory in the traditional definition: the auxiliated verb.

The monoclausality condition on periphrases –remember that this means that the sequence of verbs corresponds to one single clause– makes it expected that the auxiliated should not be in a finite form, displaying tense, mood and agreement with the subject. The underlying assumption is that tense, mood and subject agreement are properties defined by functional heads that introduce an independent clause. Given that the auxiliary is the one inflected, that set of functional heads define a clause, and therefore the auxiliated is expected not to be inflected because that would, in principle, mean that there is a second set of functional heads that would define a second clause. We will immediately see that there are, however, some cases where this condition might not be operative.

If something is a periphrasis, then, we expect that the sequence of verbs consists maximally of one single inflected verb –the first one in the sequence–. More than this: if the sequence of verbs appears with only one inflected verb, but in slightly different conditions two inflected verbs are allowed, then the traditional definition will not treat it as a periphrasis.

Let us illustrate this, initially, with sequences of verbs that are clearly categorised as periphrasis or as biclausal combinations. (100) shows the typical periphrasis behaviour with respect to this condition.

- (100) a. Carlos debe sacar la basura.
 Carlos must to.take.out the garbage
 b. *Carlos debe que saque la basura.
 Carlos must that takes.out.sbj the garbage

The periphrasis in (100) fixes the second verb in a non-finite form, specifically an infinitive, and it does not alternate ever with a finite verb form, contained in what is likely to be a second (subordinate) clause. Contrast this with a case of a lexical verb, as in (101).

- (101) a. Carlos prometió ir al cine.
 Carlos promised to.go to-the movies
 b. Carlos prometió que iría al cine.
 Carlos promised that would.goes to-the movies

Here, the second verb can appear –under certain conditions, specifically when the notional subject of the second verb is coreferential to the subject of the first verb– in a non-finite form,

but that second verb can also appear inflected inside a subordinate clause. In (101b) the subject that goes to the movies can be Carlos, but also someone else whose behaviour Carlos can control or predict enough to be able to promise that he or she will go to the movies. This correlates with other clear lexical properties of the verb *prometer* 'promise', such as its ability to introduce another argument (102a), and the biclausal nature of the combination, as witnessed by the fact that the first verb can be anchored to a different time period from the second verb (102b).

- (102) a. Carlos le prometió a su madre ir al cine.
 Carlos her promised to his mother to.go to-the movies
 b. Carlos prometió ayer ir mañana al cine.
 Carlos promised yesterday to.go tomorrow to-the movies

The fact that the second verb is not fixed in a non-finite form is a reason to claim that causative structures with *hacer* 'make' are not really periphrastic, despite some connections that we will explore in §7.3.

- (103) a. Carlos hizo salir a su primo.
 Carlos made to.go.out DOM his cousin.
 b. Carlos hizo que su primo saliera.
 Carlos made that his cousin went.out.sbj
 'Carlos made his cousin go out'

However, this definition seems too restrictive given some empirical facts, which suggest that perhaps inflected versions of both verbs could still be part of a periphrasis, or a very similar structure, provided that the inflection displayed in at least one of the forms is the default one – present indicative–. One first case is the one illustrated in (104).

- (104) Puede que tengas tiempo.
 can.3sg that have.sbj.2sg time
 'You might have time'

Here there are two finite verbs, and what seems to be a subordinator corresponding to 'that'. Still, the first verb is clearly an auxiliary in other constructions, where –as we noted– the second verb is compulsory.

- (105) Puedes *(tener) tiempo.
 can.3sg to.have time
 'You might have time'

Moreover, the first verb in (104) cannot inflect in person (106), mood (107) or tense (108), meaning that it is fixed in 3sg, present indicative, which happens to be the default form not marked by any overt morphology.

- (106) *Puedes que tengas tiempo.
 can.2sg that have.sbj.2sg time
 (107) *Ojalá pueda que tengas tiempo.
 hopefully can.sbj.3sg that have.sbj.2sg time
 Intended: 'I wish you might have time'

- (108) *Podía que tuvieras tiempo.
 could.3sg that had.sbj.2sg time
 Intended: 'It was possible that you had time'

In the light of this restriction, it might be that what we want to say for a periphrasis is that the sequence of verbs cannot contain more than one sequence of fully-inflectable elements, not that inflection is totally out in such contexts.

This situation makes it possible that some constructions consisting of two finite verbs coordinated with *y* 'and' fall also within an extended notion of periphrasis (Kany 1945, Coseriu 1977).

- (109) a. Juan va y dice...
 Juan goes and says
 b. Juan viene y dice...
 Juan comes and says
 c. Juan coge y dice...
 Juan takes and says...
 d. Juan agarra y dice...
 Juan grabs and says

In all these combinations, the first verb is not used in its lexical sense, does not contain its full conceptual semantics and does not introduce arguments of its own. García Fernández et al. (2006) include these four combinations in their dictionary of periphrases, as well as *llegar y* 'arrive and' and *saltar y* 'jump and'. They describe these structures as aspectual: *agarrar y* acts as an inchoative form focusing the initial stage of a change, *coger y*, *llegar y*, *saltar y*, *venir y* and *ir y* mark the completion of the event. Due to this, they all reject stative verbs in the second position (García Fernández & Krivochen 2019: 37).

- (110) Agarró y {estudió / *supo} inglés.
 grabbed and studied / knew English
 'He learnt English'

Even though these combinations are not totally inflectionally defective, they do not display the whole set of inflectional forms. Typically –perhaps as expected from auxiliaries that are telic, or emphasise a boundary of the eventuality–, they reject imperfective past forms. Their unmarked manifestation is in fact present indicative tense.

- (111) ??Iba y estudiaba inglés.
 went and studied English

It is marginal in the subjunctive, particularly in the imperfective subjunctive.

- (112) a. ?Me ordena que coja y estudie inglés.
 me orders that take.sbj and study.sbj English
 b. ??Me ordenó que cogiera y estudiara inglés.
 me ordered that took.sbj and studied.sbj English

Similarly, it is difficult to assign them this periphrastic interpretation in the plural forms, although pragmatic factors might be at play with respect to the negative interpretation of the event (cf. 113a with 113b).

- (113) a. ??Cogieron y estudiaron inglés.
 took.3pl and studied.3pl English
 b. Cogieron los muy cabrones y se largaron sin pagar.²
 took.3pl the very bastards and SE left without pay
 'And then the bastards left without paying'

This might mean, then, that the inflectional properties are reduced –that is, if we exclude that the abnormal combinations are just more marked due to their frequency– with respect to the full verb version. Be it as it may, it seems that under certain conditions one has to admit an extension of the notion of periphrasis to cover cases where there is more than one finite verb; cf. Anderson (2006) for a similar observation.

3.1. *The properties of infinitives, gerunds and participles*

Restricting ourselves now to combinations where the second verb must be non-finite, the three relevant forms in Spanish are of course the infinitive, the gerund and the participle.

- (114) a. cantar
 to.sing
 b. cantando
 singing
 c. cantado
 sung

There are two questions here, which of course are related to each other: (i) what determines the choice of one or the other non-finite form in the periphrasis and (ii) what information does the non-finite form add to the periphrasis.

Let us start with the first one. One option, namely that the auxiliary selects the non-finite form, is traditionally believed, and can be supported by some facts. For instance, modal periphrases always combine with infinitives, as there are no cases where a gerund or a participle is chosen.

Table 1. Modal periphrases

Modal auxiliary	Form of the auxiliated
<i>acertar a</i> 'to manage'	Infinitive
<i>caber</i> 'to be possible'	Infinitive
<i>conseguir</i> 'to manage'	Infinitive
<i>deber</i> 'must'	Infinitive
<i>deber de</i> 'to be likely'	Infinitive
<i>haber de</i> 'must'	Infinitive
<i>haber que</i> 'must'	Infinitive
<i>lograr</i> 'manage'	Infinitive
<i>poder</i> 'can'	Infinitive
<i>tener que</i> 'must'	Infinitive
<i>tomar</i> 'to be likely'	Infinitive
<i>venir a</i> 'to be approximately'	Infinitive

² I am grateful to Luis García Fernández for pointing out this example to me.

This unexceptional generalisation is compatible with either a situation where the auxiliary, lexically, selects the infinitive or where the infinitive is selected by the underlying functional information shared by all modal verbs, the syntactic head Mood. It could be, then, that MoodP introduces in its complement an infinitive.

Other cases suggest that lexical selection is not the right way to go. Consider for instance the phase verbs. Several of those allow two types of periphrastic combinations:

- (115) a. Empezó a contestar los correos.
 started.3sg to to.answer the mails
 b. Empezó contestando los correos.
 started.3sg answering the mails

In the first case (115a) the periphrasis focuses on the initial phase –inchoative–, talking about the beginning boundary of a single event. In (115b), the meaning of the periphrasis is discursive, signaling that the event expressed by the gerund is the first one in a series of events that the subject intends to perform –answering the mails, writing an abstract, teaching two hours...–. Obviously, we cannot then say, plainly, that the auxiliary selects one or the other. We could either say that there is no selection, and take the periphrasis as a unit –the traditional view–, or alternatively say that the selection is more abstract, with the syntactic head corresponding to inchoative aspect selecting an infinitive, and the syntactic head with discourse meaning selecting a gerund.

The same absence of selection would be found in cases of verbs with very little semantics of their own. *Estar* 'be', as a copulative verb, is itself very semantically bleached, and for this reason it does not surprise us that it combines with infinitives –with a preposition–, gerunds and even participles, pace the question of whether the third combination is a periphrasis or a copulative construction (§2.3).

- (116) a. Está por empezar.
 is for to.begin
 'It is about to start'
 b. Está empezando.
 is beginning
 'It is starting'
 c. Está empezado.
 is begun
 'It has begun'

In other cases, moreover, where the periphrastic construction contains much intermediate material as a linking element one could even prefer to say that it is the intermediate material that selects the infinitive.

- (117) Está a punto de empezar.
 is at point of to.start
 'It is about to start'

This takes us to the second question, which is what type of contribution the non-finite form makes to the periphrasis. In this respect, one must remember the proposal –since Alarcos (1949)– that in Spanish different non-finite forms convey distinct aspectual meanings. Since Alarcos, the infinitive has been viewed as aspectually neutral, while the gerund has been interpreted as specialising in imperfective readings –ongoing events–, and the participle is taken

to be specialised in resultative, stative events. In this respect, the fact that all progressive, imperfective and continuative periphrases have gerunds as auxiliated verbs is telling.

Table 2. Imperfective, continuative and progressive periphrases

Auxiliary	Non-finite form
<i>andar</i> 'to be doing little by little'	Gerund
<i>continuar</i> 'to continue'	Gerund
<i>estar</i> 'to be'	Gerund
<i>ir</i> 'to be doing little by little or habitually'	Gerund
<i>llevar</i> 'to have done for some time'	Gerund
<i>seguir</i> 'to continue'	Gerund
<i>venir</i> 'to be doing since some time point'	Gerund
<i>quedarse</i> 'to remain'	Gerund

The converse is not true, though, and we have seen for instance that some gerunds are part of discursive periphrases. Similarly, participles –with the problems related to the nature of the construction as periphrasis or not, that we will discuss in §3.3– systematically appear in periphrases that imply the result state of an event.

Table 3. Resultative periphrases

Auxiliary	Non-finite form
<i>dejar</i> 'to leave'	Participle
<i>encontrarse</i> 'to end up'	Participle
<i>estar</i> 'to be'	Participle
<i>haber</i> 'to have' (in one meaning)	Participle
<i>llevar</i> 'to have done'	Participle
<i>quedar</i> 'to remain'	Participle
<i>resultar</i> 'to result'	Participle
<i>salir</i> 'to end up'	Participle
<i>tener</i> 'to have'	Participle
<i>verse</i> 'to end up'	Participle

The generalisation is not as clean as in the case of gerunds, though. Authors like Bosque (1990) or McIntyre (2013) have noticed that it is not true that participles are specialised in result meanings, and in fact in sentences like (118) the telicity of the verb determines whether the meaning of the participle is a perfect result state or an imperfective situation.

- (118) a. Vi la casa construida.
 I saw the house built
 'I saw that the house had been built'
- b. Vi la casa vigilada.
 I saw the house watched
 'I was that the house was being watched'

For this reason, perhaps, the presence of a participle does not force a result interpretation and in fact it is possible to have continuative periphrases with participial auxiliated verbs, where rather than expressing that the properties were attained after completion of an event, the periphrasis talks about the continuity of that state. It is clear, however, that one could still find some result interpretation, at least from the perspective that the state that continues was the result of a previous event.

- (119) a. El alumno continúa castigado.
 the student continues punished
 'The student is still punished'
 b. La situación andaba descontrolada.
 the situation walked uncontrolled
 'The situation was still uncontrolled'

The impression, however, is that the shape of the auxiliated is not arbitrary in the different periphrases, even if it would be too much to say that the non-finite form used determines fully the semantics of the periphrasis. Gerunds seem, indeed, to appear in relation to imperfective aspectual meanings, and participles are preferred when the aspectual meaning is resultative. Infinitives, being aspectually neutral, tend to combine with prepositions in many of the aspectual cases, and in some instances it is plausible that the meaning of the preposition is associated to the aspect of the whole periphrasis –we will talk later on about this, in §3.4–. It is in fact not usual that in an aspectual periphrasis the infinitive appears without a prepositional linking element (120).

- (120) a. Juan acostumbra viajar.
 Juan uses to.travel
 b. Juan suele viajar.
 Juan uses to.travel
 'Juan uses to travel'

(120) shows that habitual periphrases allow this, but note that (120a) is dialectally restricted and many speakers would even there prefer to add a preposition *a*. Otherwise, the prepositional linking element is typical.

- (121) a. comenzar a INF
 to.start to
 b. acabar de INF
 to.end of
 'to finish'
 c. empezar por INF
 to.begin by
 'to start a series of tasks by doing something'

3.2. *The imperfective paradox*

The (alleged) imperfective nature of the gerund gives rise to the so-called imperfective paradox, which is one of the main research issues in the syntax and semantics of periphrastic constructions. Let us understand why one talks about a paradox in a sentence like (122).

- (122) María estaba cruzando la calle
 María was crossing the street
 'María was crossing the street'

The idea is that the lexical predicate, *cruzar la calle*, is telic. Telicity is suspended by the presence of the progressive form, the periphrasis *estar* + gerund. Even though, technically, there is nothing paradoxical about talking of a telic predicate and focalising its internal development excluding its completion, the problem is how one derives from the semantics of the predicate

and the aspect the lack of entailment that María actually crossed the street. Of course, (122) can be true if in the middle of the road she turns back and decides to come back to where she started, which basically implies that the entailments of the predicate 'to cross the street' were never fulfilled.

How can one, then, build a telic verb which is only true when the action is completed, and build over it an aspectual construction that suspends the telicity entailment? Dowty (1979) is perhaps the most influential proposal to solve the paradox, and interestingly it involves treating the progressive as a modal form, not an aspectual form. The account is modal because it has to talk about possible worlds, which since Lewis (1973) is the landmark of modal semantics.

(123) represents how Dowty (1979) expresses the semantics of the progressive, adapted for clarity.

- (123) *PROG*(ϕ) is true with respect to interval I and world w if and only if for every w' belonging to the set of inertia worlds in w there exists an interval $I' \supseteq I$ such that ϕ is true with respect to I' and w' . In addition I should not be the final subinterval of I' .

An 'inertia world' is a possible world identical up to a particular point in time to the actual world, but possibly different after that time, and assumed to be as similar as possible to the actual world. So, in easier to understand words, what Dowty says is that 'Mary is crossing the road' means that at this particular point the action is ongoing, and the predicate is true if the natural extension in time of that ongoing action would lead Mary to in fact cross the road, up to its completion.

The account, beyond introducing modal semantics in the progressive –because it forces us to compare worlds that act as extensions of the actual world–, presupposes some notion of normality. That is, the inertia worlds define what would happen after the point in time where the action is in progression under normal circumstances. If something abnormal, unexpected or unusual happens in the world, the temporal extension of the actual world would not look like any of the inertia worlds considered when determining if the progressive form is true or not. Landman (1992) famously showed this with the example in (124).

- (124) Mary was crossing the road, when a thunderbolt from heaven struck her down.

Mary does not finish crossing the road here, but that does not affect the truth of the progressive, because the inertia worlds considered are 'normal'. The reader already realises that what counts as normal might differ from situation to situation, and that is the greatest critique that has been done to Dowty's approach to the imperfective paradox.

Remember that for him the progressive is true if, given the actual point in time with its properties and circumstances, the normal course of events would be that the event is completed. Ogihara (1990) notes –and I think the reader will agree once she reads the examples– that the progressive is still intuitively true even in a situation where normally one would not complete the action. Imagine that at the temporal interval I Mary is in the middle of the road, and a truck is speeding up towards her, just a few inches away from her. Normally, Mary would not make it to the other side of the road, and still (125) is a truthful description of what happened.

- (125) Mary was crossing the road when the truck hit her.

The following example is from Naumann & Piñón (1997), and it is another instance of something that normally would not be completed –technically, the inertia worlds are likely to continue with Rebecca not making it to the other side of the minefield–.

(126) Rebecca was running across the minefield.

Thus, other approaches have been proposed as alternatives to Dowty's modal analysis. Parsons (1990), and to some extent Ramchand (2018), treat the progressive as an aspectual form that stativises a predicate. Parsons (1989, 1990) takes a telic verb as, in fact, containing two aspectual phases: one that involves the action in its development, and one that involves the culmination of the action. Basically, this means that (127) involves two predicates.

(127) Juan pinta un retrato.
Juan paints a portrait

The first predicate is HOLD(paint a portrait, t), basically saying that for some time period the subject holds a state or ongoing action where the painting of the portrait is being developed. The second one is CULMINATE(paint a portrait, t), which means that at some point the event culminates. HOLD can be a state or an ongoing action, and Parsons (1989) proposes that the progressive periphrasis turns the verb into a state, hence that 'painting a portrait' is the HOLD state of performing the action (see also Hallman 2009).

Note, however, that the portrait does not exist in that state: maybe part of the portrait exists, but if the whole portrait existed we would already have the culmination and the predicate would not be a state. Parsons, then, must accept the existence of incomplete objects that, like in inertia worlds, would be completed in temporal extensions of the actual world; basically, this reintroduces the problems with normality and abnormality that were used to criticise Dowty's approach.

Ramchand (2018: 58) overcomes this problem of incomplete objects, while keeping the basic intuition that the progressive periphrasis turns the event into a state, proposing the following denotation for the gerund:

(128) The progressive builds an identifying state from the event description P, where an identifying state for P is a stative eventuality that manifests sufficient cognitive / perceptual identifier of the event property P.

This basically means that 'María is crossing the road' means that the perception or knowledge that the speaker has about María's current behaviour, needs, wishes or intentions is enough to sustain the claim that what María is doing is something that can be described as 'to cross the road'. Note that there is no need to talk about modality here; granted, the speaker must have some epistemic knowledge about part of the actual world, but this applies to absolutely any statement that can be made by a speaker, to the extent that speakers describe their perception of the world.

Note that this account does not need to imply modal semantics; in fact Ramchand (2018) notes that children acquire the progressive very early, before they acquire modal auxiliaries, which makes the modal account independently unlikely. The incomplete object problem does not arise here either, because what we need for 'Juan is painting a portrait' to be true is to have the knowledge or perception that Juan's current actions and / or intentions involve his working on something that, more or less complete now, is a portrait.

Note, also, that all these theories about the imperfective paradox start from the assumption that the basic form involves a telic culmination, and work on determining how that culmination is overcome in the progressive. This is not the only option, and in fact Copley & Harley (2015) work on the opposite assumption: the imperfective is more basic, semantically. The crucial property of a culminating situation is that the forces that lead to that culmination act unimpeded, but if there are other forces that counteract them, the culmination would not be added to the

description of the situation. The progressive, although morphologically more complex, simply reflects the situation where the culmination is not expressed as part of the truth conditions of the sentence. While this other perspective is still minority and the approach is in its early stages of development, it is *prima facie* quite attractive. Note, for instance, that treating imperfectivity as basic is what is generally assumed for mass nouns in the nominal domain. Like imperfective or ongoing events, mass nouns denoting substances –like *agua* 'water'– lack defined boundaries that determine –informally put– where the object 'starts' and 'finishes'. In the nominal domain, there is current consensus that all NPs denote substances and the count interpretation, where they come to denote entities with boundaries, has to be added by an additional functional layer (Classifier Phrase in Borer 2005). It is tempting, then, to reinterpret the imperfective paradox along the same lines, perhaps by treating the gerund as a functional layer that blocks the presence of a syntactic head that expresses culmination of the event.

Let us leave the discussion here, though, and move to another research problem posed by the shape of the auxiliated.

3.3. *Result periphrases and participles*

We already saw in §2.3 that it is controversial whether the syntactic passive forms in Spanish should be viewed as copulative structures or as periphrases containing auxiliaries. Much of this controversy extends to the (alleged) periphrases that contain agreeing participles, such as the ones in (129):

- (129) a. Luis tiene cinco exámenes {corregidos / *corregido}.
 Luis has five exams corrected.m.pl/ corrected
 b. El incendio dejó la habitación {destruida / *destruido}.
 the fire left the room destroyed.f destroyed
 c. Marta resultó {herida / *herido}.
 Marta resulted wounded.f / wounded
 d. Luisa sigue {dormida / *dormido}.
 Luisa follows slept.f slept

In contrast to the participle periphrasis in (130), the participle agrees here just like an adjective.

- (130) Las chicas han {dormido / *dormidas}.
 the girls have slept slept.f.pl

Classifying these combinations as periphrastic structures or as pseudo-copulative combinations is even more controversial than in the case of the passive, because here –even though, as we will see, their behaviour is not so different from traditional passives– there is no traditional predisposition to take them as periphrastic.

Yllera (1999) summarises the different tests that have been invoked by both sides of the debate to determine whether these combinations are periphrastic or not. We will compare this with the passive structures, to gain a better understanding of the general picture.

The first one is whether in the place of the participle a regular adjective, not coming from a verb, could be introduced. Remember that superficially (Alarcos 1970) this is precisely one reason to think that the passives are not strictly periphrastic structures.

- (131) a. Juan fue {atacado / generoso}.
 Juan was attacked generous

- b. El libro está {escrito / sucio}.
the book is written / dirty

All the combinations with participle and a resultative meaning allow this substitution.³

- (132) a. Luis tiene a sus hijos enfermos.
Luis has DOM his children sick
b. El incendio dejó la habitación inhabitable.
the fire left the room uninhabitable
c. Marta resultó ineficaz.
Marta resulted uneffective
d. Luisa terminó triste.
Luisa ended.up sad

That said, the resultative construction with *tener* is not what is represented in (132a). The meaning of (132a) does not involve any notion of result, unlike the other cases; not surprisingly, the other verbs convey in themselves a notion of change with a result. Moreover, the relevant resultative construction with *tener* requires DOs that are quantified.

- (133) a. Luis tiene dos casas compradas.
Luis has two houses bought
b. #Luis tiene aquellas casas compradas.
Luis has those houses bought

The selectional restrictions, then, are different in each case –not just the interpretation–. If we focus on the construction whose DO must be quantified, then it is true that adjectives not related to verbs are very difficult to use.

- (134) Luis tiene dos exámenes {aprobados / suspendidos / #sucios}.
Luis has two exams passed / failed / dirty

This already suggests that an analysis of *tener* in the resultative meaning as something other than a periphrasis is dubious, but perhaps feasible in the case of other participial combinations.

Consider now the second property, whether the participle can coordinate with an adjective. This property is more restrictive, and note that passive structures fail it.

- (135) a. *Juan fue atacado y agresivo.
Juan was attacked and aggressive
b. *El libro estaba escrito y sucio.
the book was written and dirty

This strongly suggests that when the verb combines with a participle, the underlying structure is different from a copulative structure; note that, however, this does not mean that the verb itself is not copulative. It could be that the verb is copulative, but the structure of its complement is radically different in the case of a passive structure and in the case of a plain copulative structure. This would be enough to reject the coordination between two complements, each one of one of the classes. Let us now consider the other participial combinations in this regard:

³ As Luis García (p.c.) points out to me, *tener dicho* 'lit. to have said, to have said before' does not accept the substitution. It might be that this has become a fixed expression.

- (136) a. *Juan tiene dos exámenes corregidos y sucios.
 Juan has two exams corrected and dirty
 b. *Marta resultó herida y enferma.
 Marta ended.up wounded and sick
 c. Se quedó desprotegida y sola.
 resulted.3sg unprotected and alone
 d. Siguió ofendida y triste.
 followed.3sg offended and sad
 e. Terminó casada y feliz.
 ended.up married and happy
 f. Anda enamorado y feliz.
 walk.3sg in-love and happy

We see from this perspective –as expected– that *tener* rejects the coordination, just like *resultar*, while the other verbs in (136) allow it. This makes it very dubious that in the combinations (136c-f) we really have periphrases.

Another test that is generally used to discriminate between periphrases and combinations with other types of complements is the possibility of substituting the possible auxiliated verb by a *wh*-element. This is not possible in a clear periphrasis.

- (137) A: *-¿Qué has?
 what have.2sg
 B: *-Comido.
 eaten
 Intended: 'I have eaten'

Note that in the passive structures it is impossible to do this type of substitution in the *ser* eventive passive.

- (138) A: *-¿Cómo fue Juan?
 how was Juan
 B: *-Atacado.
 attacked

In the *estar* stative passive, the substitution does not seem impossible.

- (139) A: -¿Cómo está el libro?
 how is the book?
 B: -(Ya) escrito.
 already written

The results of this test divide the *tener* and *resultar* combinations from the others.

- (140) A: *-¿Cómo tienes dos exámenes?
 how have.2sg two exams
 B: *-Corregidos.
 corrected
 (141) A: -¿Cómo resultó?
 how ended.up.3sg

- B: ??-Herida.
wounded
- (142) A: -¿Cómo {anda / sigue / terminó / se quedó}?
how walks / follows / ended.up / remained
- B: -Deprimida.
depressed

Another traditional test in this respect is whether the participle can be substituted with *lo* (Alarcos 1970); however, the test is not very reliable because with the copulative verbs that pronominal form can substitute attributes –also in the passive version–. This suggests that this pronominal does not discriminate in the same way as the other tests.

- (143) a. María fue {atacada / cruel}. > María lo fue.
María was attacked / cruel María it was
- b. El libro está {escrito / sucio}. > El libro lo está.
the book is written / dirty The book it is

With respect to this pronominalisation, *tener* does not allow it, but the other combinations also reject it.

- (144) a. *Marta lo tiene dos exámenes.
Marta it has two exams.
- b. *Marta lo resultó.
Marta it ended.up
- c. *Marta lo sigue.
Marta it follows
- d. *Marta lo anda.
Marta lo walks
- e. *Marta se lo quedó.
Marta SE it remained

The conclusion, then, is that the participial complement of eventive passives, and to some extent also stative passives, is clearly different from a regular adjective. With respect to the other verbs, *tener* and *resultar* in their use to mark resultative aspect differentiate themselves from the rest of the verbs that combine with participles. Passives, *tener* and *resultar* are good candidates to form periphrases that comply with the traditional definition, while the other combinations of participles with a notion of result are perhaps subsumed within the wider class of verbs with very little conceptual content that combine with a predicate, typically adjectival.

Andar, *quedarse* and *terminar*, then, could perhaps be assimilated to pseudo-copulative verbs (Pavón & Morimoto 2007) in this sense.

- (145) a. Pedro anda triste.
Pedro walks sad
- b. Pedro se quedó triste.
Pedro SE remained sad
- c. Pedro terminó triste.
Pedro ended.up sad

Let us leave here the discussion about the different types of auxiliated verb, then, and move to the nature of the linking element.

3.4. Linking elements

Beyond the auxiliary and the auxiliated verb, some periphrases display an invariable element between the two, which sometimes is superficially identical to a preposition and sometimes is superficially identical to the conjunction *que* 'that'.

- (146) ir a hacer
 to.go to to.do
- (147) tener que hacer
 to.have that to.do

This is without doubt the element that has received relatively less attention in the structure of the periphrasis, despite some references that we will mention below.

There are several generalisations that can be done with respect to these linkers. The first one is that participial and gerund periphrases never contain linking elements. These elements appear only when the auxiliated takes the shape of an infinitive –remember that infinitives are the neutral form of aspect, while gerunds and to some extent participles have better defined aspectual information–.

Second, the linker *que* only appears in two modal periphrases.

- (148) a. tener que hacer
 to.have that to.do
- b. hay que hacer
 there.is that to.do
 'must do'

Prepositional linkers appear in both aspectual and modal periphrases, but in modal periphrases they are restricted to the preposition *de* 'of'.

- (149) a. deber de ser
 should of be
 'might be'
- b. haber de hacer
 to.have of to.do
 'must do'

In aspectual periphrases, there is some degree of correlation between the preposition and the type of aspect. Inchoative periphrases systematically carry *a* with the infinitive.

Table 4. Inchoative periphrases

Auxiliary	Linking element	Auxiliated
<i>arrancar</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>coger</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>comenzar</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>dar</i>	a	Infinitive
<i> echar(se)</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>empezar</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>explotar</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>largarse</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>liarse</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>meterse</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>pegar</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>ponerse</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>romper</i>	a	Infinitive
<i>soltarse</i>	a	Infinitive

The same linker appears in the future periphrasis.

(150) Va a llover.

goes to to.rain

'It is going to rain'

It is tempting to relate this linker with the preposition *a*, used in Spanish otherwise to express directions: one could propose that the directionality meaning is preserved, in the form of the focus on a future event or the initial phase of an event that will be completed later. Conversely, one could relate the linker *de* to the preposition *de* 'from', which expresses separation, particularly because this linker systematically appears with terminative aspectual periphrases. This correlation between the semantic abstract meaning of a preposition and its relation as a linking element, from a cognitive linguistics perspective, has been analysed for instance in Delbecque (2013).

Table 5. Terminative periphrases

Auxiliary	Linking element	Auxiliated
<i>acabar</i>	de	Infinitive
<i>cesar</i>	de	Infinitive
<i>dejar</i>	de	Infinitive
<i>parar</i>	de	Infinitive
<i>terminar</i>	de	Infinitive
<i>venir</i>	de	Infinitive

The only terminative periphrasis where the linking element is another preposition is (151), where anyways the periphrasis presupposes the termination of the event and simply asserts that it took a long time to be completed.

(151) Antonia tardó en entregar la tesis.

Antonia lasted in to.deliver the thesis

'Antonia took long time to deliver the thesis'

Beyond this, some periphrases contain *por*, typically discursive periphrases that involve a series of events, and inchoative or prospective periphrases.

- (152) a. *empezar por hacer*
to.begin by to.do
b. *terminar por hacer*
to.finish by to.do
c. *dar(le) por hacer*
give(him) by to.do
d. *estar por hacer*
to.be by to.do

That said, it is clear that the linking element does not behave exactly as one expects of a preposition, as shown by García Fernández & Krivochen (2019: 40-41). The preposition does not provide a structure with figure and ground, it is not used to relate two entities in a spatial or temporal succession –remember that the whole periphrasis expresses only one event, so the linking element cannot be directly relating one event in the auxiliary with another event in the auxiliated–, and there are no reasons to believe that the preposition is necessary for case marking, under standard assumptions –because events do not receive case–.

However, there are reasons to believe that this linker is indeed a preposition, at least in a weak sense. Remember that gerund and participle periphrases do not contain linking elements. It is tempting to relate this to the proposal that both non-finite forms are actually infinitives with a covert preposition (Fábregas 2006, in press, Masullo 2008). There are different reasons to believe this. Historically, the gerund comes from the oblique form of the infinitive, precisely in contexts that in modern Romance contain a preposition.

- (153) *ars amandi* Latin
art to.love.genitive
'the art of loving'

The gerunds can be used with a locative function, which is what we expect if they contain a preposition.

- (154) *Mi casa está {girando la calle / allí}.*
My house is turning the street / there
'My house is located after the cross of that street'

In the case of participles, Masullo (2008) notes that many of them become part of prepositional locutions or conjunctions.

- (155) *dado que*
given that

If this is true, and gerunds and participles are actually prepositional structures, their rejection of linking elements could be related to the general difficulty of having sequences of two prepositions, or in other words to their already spelling out the P that could correspond to the linking element as part of their non-finite morphology.

(156)	[Auxiliary	[PP	P	[Auxiliated]]]
a.	<i>ir</i> to.go		<i>a</i> to	<i>infinitive</i>
b.	<i>estar</i> to.be		<i>-ndo</i> -ing	<i>verb</i>
c.	<i>haber</i> to.have		<i>-do</i> -ed	<i>verb</i>

It is less clear what *que* does as a linking element, although its restriction to only modal periphrases suggests that it could be related to the element that appears in constructions such as (157), where there is a modal meaning that is not overt in other members of the sequence.

- (157) mucho que hacer
 much that to.do
 'a lot that must be done'

In that case, this linking element could be introducing –or closely related– to the presence of MoodP. Note that the two auxiliaries that combine with it, *tener* 'have' and *hay* 'there is', lack modal meaning, and when the auxiliary already has modal meaning this linking element is out.

In general, it is difficult to find a single role for these linking elements. Many of the verbs that combine with an infinitive and do not carry a linker are verbs that can only be used in an auxiliary sense, such as *poder*, but there are verbs with other uses and without a linker (158), although the other use is suspicious of involving a syncategorematic reading with a second covert event ('pay' in 158).

- (158) Juan me debe dos euros.
 Juan me owes two euros
 (159) Juan debe pagarme dos euros.
 Juan must pay.me two euros

What we see, at this point, is that in order to progress in our understanding of what the linking element is doing, we should be more explicit about what the structure of a periphrasis is. This will be the topic of the next section, and we will see that once we talk about the internal structure of a periphrasis there is a possibility to understand the linking elements that will suggest itself.

4. The basic structure of a periphrasis

Let us then explore the basic structure of the periphrasis, concentrating on two issues that are interrelated but in fact independent of each other: (i) the constituency relations between the members and (ii) the position, within the clausal structure, of the auxiliary verb.

4.1. Constituency within the periphrasis

About the constituency, let us take a periphrasis with auxiliated, auxiliary and linking element, such as (160).

- (160) ir a leer un libro
 to.go to to.read a book
 'to be going to read a book'

There are three main options, in principle:

- (161) a. [ir] [a leer un libro]
 b. [ir a] [leer un libro]
 c. [ir a leer] [un libro]

In the first option, the auxiliated is a different constituent from the rest of the periphrasis, which includes the verbal arguments. In the second one, the auxiliated with its arguments are separate from auxiliary and linking element, and in the third one, the two verbs and the linking element are a single constituent.

(161c) seems to be supported by the possibility of clitic climbing, that is, pronominalising an object before the auxiliary:

- (162) a. Lo va a leer.
 it goes to to.read
 b. Va a leer-lo.
 goes to to.read-it
 'He is going to read it'

However, there are many other tests that suggest that (161c) is not –initially, at least– the structure of a periphrasis, meaning that clitic climbing has to be explained in a way that does not require the two verbs to be, literally, one single constituent. We will talk about clitic climbing from this syntactic perspective in §5, and now we will see the arguments to determine the constituency.

RAE & ASALE (2009: §28.1m) use four tests that show that the constituency is (161a), eliminating thus (161b) and (161c). The first one is the position of the subject. Note that in an interrogative with subject-verb inversion the natural ordering places the subject between the auxiliary and the linking element, as expected in (161a).

- (163) a. ¿Va Juan a comprar el coche?
 goes Juan to to.buy the car
 b. *¿Va a Juan comprar el coche?
 goes to Juan to.buy the car
 c. #¿Va a comprar Juan el coche?
 goes to to.buy Juan the car

(163c), while grammatical, does not have a neutral information structure: the placement of the subject between the auxiliated and its complement assigns a focus reading to the subject. The neutral position is (163a), supporting the segmentation in (161a).

The second one is ellipsis: if we elide content from the periphrases, the auxiliated with its complements can be elided; this is typically the case with deontic modals.

- (164) Juan debe pagar impuestos y María también debe.
 Juan must pay taxes and María also must

The situation with auxiliaries that have a linking element is not homogeneous with respect to ellipsis. What is always impossible is to elide the auxiliated without the linking element, but auxiliaries differ with respect to whether they can remain as part of the non-elided material.

- (165) a. *Juan empezó a escribir una novela y María también empezará a pronto.
 Juan began to to.write a novel and María also will.begin to soon.

- b. Juan empezó a escribir una novela y María también empezará pronto.
 Juan began to to.write a novel and María also will.begin soon

As we see above, the phase verb *empezar* 'begin' –as well as its synonyms and the opposite *terminar* 'finish'– tolerate this ellipsis. In contrast, verbs that are more prototypically auxiliaries (remember §2.1) tend not to.

- (166) a. ??María iba a comprar el periódico, y Luis también va.
 María was.going to to.buy the newspaper, and Luis also goes.
 Intended: 'María was going to buy the newspaper, and Luis also was going to'
 b. ??María tiene que comprar el periódico, y Marta también tenía.
 Marías has to buy the newspaper and Marta also had
 Intended: 'María has to buy the newspaper, and Marta also had to'.

Thus, the ellipsis test does not give concluding evidence for the constituency of the linking element in all these cases, but perhaps other effects are involved in (166), such as the difficulty of interpreting the remaining material as an auxiliary and not the lexical version of the verb.

Other tests, however, strongly reject (161b) and favour (161a). Note, for instance, the coordination of material:

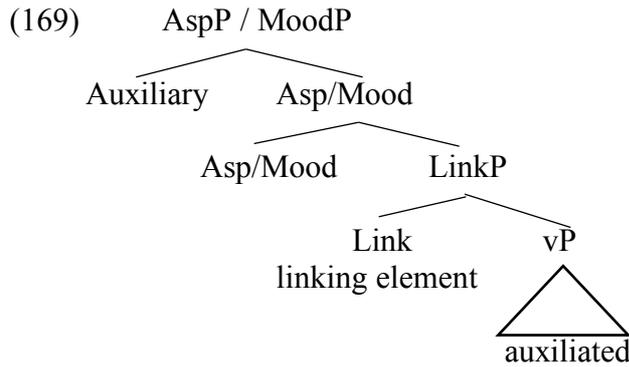
- (167) a. María está [por salir y haciendo la maleta].
 María is for exit and making the luggage
 'María is about to go out and packing'
 b. Acabo [de volver y de ducharme].
 finished of to.return and of to.take.shower
 'I just came back and took a shower'
 c. *Acabo de [volver y ducharme].
 finished of to.return and to.take.shower
 'I just came back and took a shower'

Note that the coordination in (167b) repeats the linking element, and coordinating one single linking element with two infinitives is degraded (167c). This supports (161a), again.

Finally, pseudo-cleft and cleft sentences also support the structure in (161a), because the linking element together with the auxiliated, while the auxiliary can be separated, is more acceptable than the structure where the linking element stays next to the auxiliary.

- (168) a. ?[Lo que tenemos] es [que vivir mejor].
 that what have.1sg is that to.live better
 'What we have to do is to live better'
 b. *Lo que tenemos que es vivir mejor.
 that what have.1sg that is to.live better

This, essentially, tells us two things: the auxiliated forms a constituent with its arguments and modifiers, which was independently expected because it is the auxiliated that introduces them, and the linking element, when present, forms a constituent with the auxiliated. There are several structures that could correspond to this constituency relation, but in what follows, and now moving to the second issue, we will argue for the following structural relation.



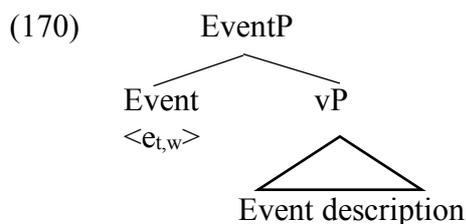
Obviously, (169) does not say anything about the nature of the linking element –and in fact applies only to some of them, leaving aside the *que* 'that' that appears in modal constructions–, because we just made up an ad hoc label. We will try to resolve this in the course of the discussion.

4.2. The position of a periphrasis within the clausal structure

What do we need for a verb to be an auxiliary? There are some things that the verb must lack: it cannot define the predicate, and as a consequence it cannot introduce the arguments or modifiers that belong to the predicate. There is one thing that at least the auxiliary must do: express mood, aspect or tense –perhaps other notions that we will describe later, such as the discursive periphrases–. Initially, the structure up to what we called LinkP will form the constituent corresponding to the predicate, and above it the structure does not define another predicate.

How does one prevent the auxiliary, after all a verb, from defining a predicate or introducing arguments? Here is where the notion of domain becomes useful. Both Wiltschko (2014) and Ramchand (2018), from different perspectives, propose that the clausal structure contains at least two separate domains. The lower domain, traditionally interpreted as the VP –lexical verb– has as its role to define a predicate, with all that this involves: lexical aspect, argument structure and eventuality modification. The domain immediately above this predicate definition deals with another type of entity: in Davidsonian terms (Davidson 1967), the domain above the predicate specifies the time and world parameters of the predicate, specifically the viewpoint or grammatical aspect (AspP), the mood (MoodP) or the tense (TP).

Concretely, Ramchand (2018) puts forth the proposal that up to vP the clause is just describing an event that lacks time and world parameters; that is, the Davidsonian event is divided in two parts. The descriptive content is provided by vP, with all the material that it contains, and the time or world properties that let that description be anchored to a particular time period and a particular world are provided by an additional head necessary to move to the following domain, EventP.



Above EventP, because now the time and world properties of the event have been introduced, it is possible to merge MoodP, AspP and TP, which discuss these parameters modifying them and specifying them. Placing the auxiliary in the area that discusses time and

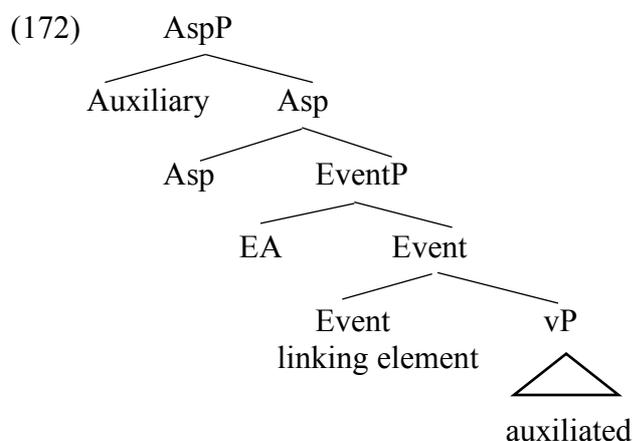
world parameters implies that the auxiliary will never be able to define a second event or introduce arguments. To define a second event, the verb should have been merged below EventP, and to introduce arguments the verb should be inside vP.

Thus, the abstract structure would be as follows:

- (171) a. Define an event description up to vP, with arguments, modifiers and lexical aspect.
 b. Turn that event description into an event with time and world properties, with EventP
 c. Specify and modify the time and world properties of the resulting event.

This tripartite division is easy to associate to the three parts of a periphrasis, specifically the auxiliated (171a), the linking element (171b) and the auxiliary (171c), which would be the modifier of the MoodP or AspP head above EventP.

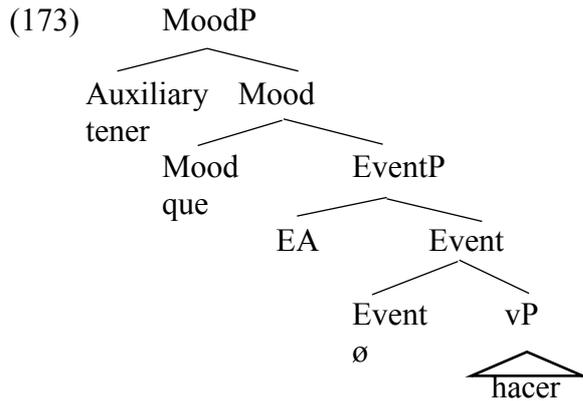
In other words, we propose that the linking element is, generally and in particular when it corresponds to a preposition, a possible materialisation of EventP.



If the linking element is EventP, it is selected by AspP, and that explains the systematicity in the choice of the linking element in aspectual periphrases, including gerunds and participles –if they indeed contain P–.

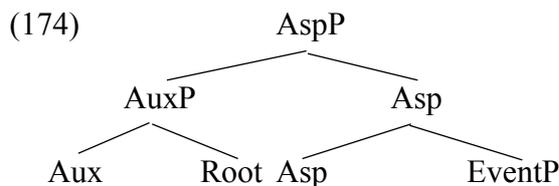
Why a preposition? Note in (172) that Ramchand (2018) proposes that this head is also responsible for introducing the external argument of the predicate, making it similar to VoiceP in other approaches. Thus, Event is a relational head. Wood & Marantz (2017) propose, in fact, that relational heads are, syntactically, of the same label, ι P –iota phrase–. In essence, relational heads form a natural class with prepositions, which are also inherently relational (Hale & Keyser 2002), as well as applicatives (Cuervo 2003) and perhaps other objects that can introduce argument structure. If EventP is one instantiation of this relational head, it is not surprising that the linking element so frequently adopts a prepositional form, even though in this case it does not display the full behaviour of a preposition because it does not correspond to PP, but rather to EventP.

What about *que* 'that', the other linking element? We have seen that it does not seem prepositional –thus, an argument against putting it in EventP– and it only appears in two modal periphrases, particularly with verbs that alone lack a modal meaning. This suggests that this linking element is actually a manifestation of Mood.



This proposal is, obviously, not conclusive. Note that we are forced to say in (173) that the EventP is materialised as zero without any obvious motivation. We could speculate that due to some morphophonological principle a prepositional form cannot be licensed if the auxiliary is not immediately linearised to its left, but this is a clear ad hoc stipulation, as far as I understand it. Note that we would also have to say that infinitival periphrases without a linking element should also have null Event heads, which is again something that does not seem to follow from any ingredient of this proposal.

However, (172) and (173) have another advantage, related to the proposal that the auxiliary is the specifier of a functional head. We have repeatedly seen that the morphological conjugation of an auxiliary verb is identical to that of its lexical version, when both are present. Assume, as it is standardly done, that the type of conjugation of a verb, and its irregularities, are lexical properties that must be related to specific roots. This means that the auxiliary is not a simple head, but at least the sum of a functional verbal layer and a root. If the auxiliary is a specifier, then it can be expanded into a full phrase, having then place to introduce the root and therefore to keep the conjugation properties of the verb with respect to its lexical version. What the verb could not do is to introduce arguments, but this follows from the domain where it is introduced –above EventP–.

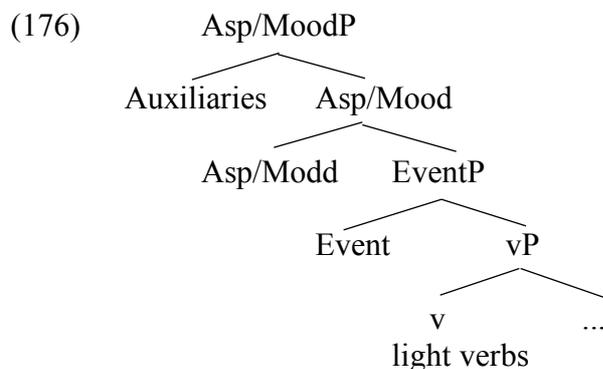


Note that this proposal automatically means that auxiliaries should not be introducing arguments of any type, against the mismatches that we noted in §1.1, for instance with *llevar* 'carry'. The analysis opens up for two possibilities to analyse these apparent participants: (i) either the verb is not really an auxiliary in such cases, but a projection of vP that should rather be understood as a light verb, or (ii) the additional material is in fact a compulsory element required by AspP or MoodP. The second option seems to make more sense for *llevar*, at least initially. Remember that *llevar* needs some modifier that explicitly defines a time period where the event continuously holds, and it does not care whether that is introduced with *desde* 'from' or a quantified nominal expression.

- (175) Te llevo esperando {desde las dos / seis horas}.
 te carry waiting since the two / six hours
 'I have been waiting you since two o'clock / for six hours'

Both the absence of categorical selection and the clear aspectual meaning that the modifier must introduce suggest that these constituents are related to a particular value of AspP, not to the vP domain. Thus, it could be (a value of) AspP that is responsible for introducing these elements.

This type of analysis in domains also explains how to distinguish auxiliary verbs from light verbs (§2.2). The light verb does define a predicate, and it in fact introduces arguments. The idea is that light verbs, albeit conceptually reduced, belong to the vP domain.



How about copulative verbs? In principle, given that they are normally stative and in traditional descriptions they are not defining predicates with Davidsonian events (Davidson 1967), we should locate them also above EventP—in a copulative sentence we would then lack EventP, and by definition we would miss also vP—. This basically would mean that, structurally, copulative verbs and auxiliaries belong in Spanish to the same domain: aspect, mood and the other functional projections that define the clause. In the case of *estar*, Camacho (2012) explicitly proposes that the verb is a projection of AspP, with a specific value, in fact. *Ser*, whose distribution is less defined, could maybe be understood as a support element introduced in the functional structure of the clause, or even as a default materialisation of a defective EventP when the head does not have the capacity to define a Davidsonian event with time and world properties. Either way, *ser* would be introduced below *estar* in the structure. This might be reflected in the fact that we can have *estar* > *ser*, but not the reverse.

- (177) Juan está siendo arrogante.
 Juan is being arrogant
- (178) *Juan es estado enfermo.
 Juan is been sick

All this is, of course, very preliminary, but I would like to present it as a possible way of making the ingredients of a periphrasis fit within modern proposals about the structure of a clause, as well as to distinguish auxiliaries from other similar verb classes. The preliminary results suggest that, quite in accordance with the tradition in Spanish grammar, copulative verbs are structurally similar to auxiliaries.

But, given this structure, how does one guarantee that in a prototypical periphrases the clitic pronoun can rise from the vP to the higher domain, which was the only argument for taking the two verbs as one constituent in the absence of the rest of the predicate? This problem will be the topic of the next section.

5. Periphrases and clitics

Let us then discuss the phenomenon of clitic climbing within the periphrasis, which is one of the landmarks of their syntactic behaviour and also one sign generally interpreted as related to its monoclausal status.

- (179) a. Juan tiene que leer-lo.
 Juan has that to.read-it
 b. Juan lo tiene que leer.
 Juan it has that to.read
 'Juan must read it'.

We will first talk about the empirical properties of the clitic climbing phenomenon, and then about the possible analyses.

5.1. Empirical properties

There are several restrictions to clitic climbing. The first one is that clitic climbing is compulsory in any periphrasis whose auxiliated verb is a participle.

- (180) a. Juan lo ha leído.
 Juan it has read
 b. *Juan ha leído-lo.
 Juan has read it
 'Juan has read it'

In general, the only case where clitics in Spanish can be enclitic to a participle is dialectally very restricted (Quesada 2005), found in some rural areas of Costa Rica –Valle Central–, and never in part of a periphrasis. A preposition must introduce the participle within a reduced subordinate clause, and only reflexive pronouns not directly referential are allowed here.

- (181) Por sentándose, lo saludaron.
 for sit.part.SE, him greeted
 'As soon as he sat down, they greeted him'

Second, if the auxiliary (or pseudo-auxiliary) introduces its own pronominal forms, the clitic climbing is out. Contrast in this respect *ponerse* 'to put.oneself, to start', which already carries a clitic, with *empezar* 'to start'.

- (182) a. Juan se puso a leer-lo.
 Juan SE started to to.read it
 b. *Juan se lo puso a leer.
 Juan SE it started to to.read
 (183) a. Juan empezó a leer-lo.
 Juan started to to.read-it
 b. Juan lo empezó a leer.
 Juan it started to to.read

Similar observations can be made about *pasar* 'to pass', which can pronominalise a complement of measure corresponding to a time period.

- (184) a. Se pasa las horas leyendo-lo.
 SE passes the hours reading-it

- b. Se las pasa leyéndolo.
SE them passes reading-it.
- c. *Se lo pasa leyendo las horas.
SE it passes reading the hours
'He spends many hours reading it'

Third, all clitics belonging to the auxiliated must be placed in one single area, that is, it is not possible to treat proclitically one of them and enclitically another one.

- (185) a. Juan tiene que dárse-lo.
Juan has that to.give-to.her-it
'Juan must give it to her'
- b. Juan se lo tiene que dar.
Juan to.her it has that to.give
- c. *Juan le tiene que dar-lo.
Juan to.her has that to.give-it

Fourth, whenever the auxiliary allows an independent constituent to appear between it and the auxiliated, there is a strong tendency to have both verbs adjacent to each other if there is clitic climbing. Contrast (186), without clitic climbing, with (187), with clitic climbing.

- (186) a. Juan lleva un rato escribiéndolo.
Juan carries a while writing-it
- b. Juan lleva escribiéndolo un rato.
Juan carries writing-it a while
'Juan has been writing it for a while'
- (187) a. *Juan lo lleva un rato escribiendo.
Juan it carries a while writing.
- b. ?Juan lo lleva escribiendo un rato.
Juan it carries writing a while
'Juan has been writing it for a while'

Fifth, there are no stylistic effects or semantic distinctions between the enclitic and the proclitic versions of the periphrases. Between (186a) and (186b), for instance, there are no distinctions on whether the DO is interpreted as topic, focus or even more or less specific or defined –in fact as expected, given that clitics independently cannot be focalised and presuppose discourse givenness–.

Sixth, as García Fernández & Krivochen (2019: 126 and folls.) note, if there are more than two verbs in the auxiliary chain –excluding participles, which as we see do not allow enclisis in modern Spanish–, the clitics can be enclitic to any non-finite form and proclitic to the auxiliary.

- (188) a. Juan tiene que empezar a leer-lo.
Juan has that to.start to to.read-it
- b. Juan tiene que empezar-lo a leer.
Juan has that to.start-it to to.read
- b. Juan lo tiene que empezar a leer.
Juan it has that to.start to to.read
'Juan must start reading it'

When there are three or more positions, still the constraint that all clitics of the same predicate must appear in the same position holds.

A final property is that the periphrasis *hay que* 'it is necessary' rejects, for unclear reasons, the proclisis.

- (189) a. Hay que hacer-lo.
 there.is that to.do-it
 b. *Lo hay que hacer.
 it there.is that to.do.
 'It is necessary to do it'.

This is the only impersonal periphrasis, in the sense that the form used for the auxiliary is the presentational *hay* 'there is', that rejects DP subjects. One could speculate that here the auxiliated verb is in a different configurational structure with respect to the auxiliary –perhaps the auxiliated is occupying a specifier position, not a complement position–, or that the presence of the *-y* marking –an old locative pronoun– in the auxiliary somehow interferes with clitic climbing. In any case, the reason for this restriction is unclear.

5.2. Possible analyses

Let us now move to the possible analyses. Beyond explaining as much as possible of the properties mentioned above, the research questions here are two:

- a) what type of process is involved in the clitic climbing?
 b) the structure required for that process is compatible or not with a purely monoclausal approach?

With respect to monoclausality, which is sort of definitionally assumed in a periphrasis, the problem is that in some bivalent structures clitic climbing is also possible (Aissen & Perlmutter 1976, Rizzi 1976), such as the example in (190).

- (190) a. Vengo a ver-te.
 come to to.see-you
 b. Te vengo a ver.
 you come to to.see
 'I am coming to see you'

In (190) the two verbs are lexical, and the infinitive has the flavour of a final subordinate clause. On the assumption that here we have two clauses, the question since Rizzi (1976) was how the clitic climbing was possible. The answer was –perhaps circularly, as García Fernández & Krivochen (2019) point out– that the clitic climbing was possible if somehow the structure became monoclausal. There are basically two ways of producing monoclausality in a sentence like (190), and both are subsumed under the term 'restructuring', that somehow restructures two clauses into one single clause.

The first one is pruning (von Stechow 1990). In short, the pruning approach proposes that the subordinate clause, of label CP, is pruned so that the functional structure above the predicate is removed and the resulting label becomes a VP, that is, a predicate without clausal structure.

- (191) a. [CP [TP [VP [~~CP~~ [TP [VP]]]]]]
 b. [CP [TP [VP [VP]]]]

The second approach is verb movement: the non-finite verb moves overtly or covertly to the matrix predicate, making the infinitive transparent, and therefore allowing clitic climbing (Rizzi 1978).

- (192) a. [CP [TP [VP V ([CP C [TP T] [VP V]]]]]]
 b. [CP [TP [VP V+T+C+ V([CP ~~V+T+C~~ [TP ~~V+T~~]]]]]]

On the assumption that at least the prototypical periphrasis are monoclausal, restructuring should not be required. However, with at least one semi-periphrasis we have seen that there are signs of restructuring required for clitic climbing: *llevar* 'carry' in (187), where we saw that clitic climbing is impossible if the two verbs are not adjacent. The fact that the auxiliated must appear adjacent to the auxiliary, leaving in a more external position the aspectual complement, could be easily taken as a sign of restructuring, most straightforwardly as movement of the verb to the position of the auxiliary.

Beyond cases of semi-periphrasis, it is in principle clear that the periphrastic structure is monoclausal. However, the case of restructuring verbs provides us with some lessons that are useful for understanding clitic climbing in periphrases. Basically, it informs us that within the periphrasis the functional material between the auxiliary and the auxiliated should be minimised.

Clitics are analysed, generally, as hosted within a functional projection (Uriagereka 1995, Sportiche 1996). That functional projection has been labeled FP (quite neutrally, Functional Projection) or has been related to a clitic area where there are possibly more than one layer of complexity (Kayne 2010). The debate, which we will gloss over, is whether the clitic is a sign of agreement between an argument and that functional head, or literally (part of) the argument that has moved to that functional projection.

Either way, we know that there should be only one functional layer or one functional area for clitics within the periphrasis. We know this because allowing two or more areas would predict that in principle the clitics of the same predicate could appear distributed through the periphrasis, which we have seen is impossible. Schematically, (193) and (194) are possible, but not (195) –we will call the functional layer CliticP, but remember this is just notational–.

- (193) [CliticP [auxiliary (Link) auxiliated]]
se lo tiene que dar
 to.her it has that to.do

- (194) [auxiliary (Link) auxiliated [CliticP]]
tiene que dar se-lo
 has that to.give to.her-it

- (195) *[CliticP [auxiliary (Link) auxiliated [CliticP]]]
le tiene que dar lo
 to.her has that to.give it

What is problematic, in this respect, is whether the functional layer can be within the periphrasis with a more or less free distribution, or whether the position of the functional layer is always the same and the auxiliated and the auxiliary move with respect to that position.

In the first account –that within a periphrasis the clitic functional layer can appear in different positions– there is only one restriction, namely that only one CliticP can appear, but that CliticP can be hosted in the realm of the auxiliary or the auxiliated. Cardinaletti & Shlonsky (2004)

adopt this view, explicitly arguing that there is a clitic position within the vP layer, below the clausal functional material.

This would have two main theoretical problems. The first one is that, if it is true that the auxiliated and the linking element belong to the lexical predicate, it is unclear how a functional projection basically used to define the syntactic function of the arguments –not their role in the predicate– would appear internal to that predicate. Note that in Spanish the clitics are distinguished by case, with some specialised in accusative (196a) and others in dative (196b), and generally case is assumed to be a property of functional heads, not of lexical elements that determine the theta-grid of a predicate.

- (196) a. lo, la, los, las
b. le, les

Thus, a low clitic position within the vP has an unclear theoretical status.

The second problem is look-ahead. We know that the restriction is that only one area to license clitics is allowed within the periphrasis, but one such area must be present within the periphrasis. Imagine we do not merge that area within the vP: in itself, that would only be possible if the area is merged above the auxiliary, but this implies that at the point where the area is not projected in vP one must already know how the derivation will continue. It is not clear how this could be formalised. If CliticP is optional in both vP and above the auxiliary, but only one of them can appear, the look-ahead problem seems inescapable.

This takes us to the second option: the Clitic area is always in the same position, and there is only one of them that must be projected. The apparent differences between enclisis and proclisis derive from the movement of the members of the periphrasis with respect to that clitic projection, which is always projected in the same part of the tree.

This is the approach taken, for instance, by Boskovic (2002). In his proposal, the clitic area is always above the auxiliary. Note that in (197) we use the labels that we assumed in §4, not Boskovic's labels.

- (197) [CliticP [AspP [EventP [vP]]]]

This explains proclisis to the auxiliary, and also why there is only one area to license clitics within a periphrasis. Imperfect periphrases with semi-auxiliaries might contain two clitic areas just because the auxiliated is bigger than vP, like in a restructuring construction.

In cases of enclisis, one would have to assume a movement operation. In standard assumptions, this movement is syntactic, but one could also consider the possibility of prosodic movement which modifies the position of the clitic at the phonological interface. We will go back to this proposal, basically to explain why it is implausible in Spanish, a bit later.

- (198) [XP [AspP-EventP-vP] X [CliticP [AspP]]

One would require movement to be pretty high, because the auxiliary would still be inflected for tense and subject agreement, which might mean that CliticP in (197) is already above TP –this is for instance what Uriagereka (1995) assumes–. This is a bit unexpected when we remember that the position of the clitics has no interpretative effect. A movement of the periphrasis to such a high area might mean that the periphrasis receives some marked information structure reading, but this is not what one expects. Note, additionally, that one would have to explain why periphrases with participles are unable to perform this high movement, noting that it is the whole periphrasis and not just the participle what moves in this account.

What is the solution, then? In brief, there is no satisfying analysis of these facts currently for the grammar of Spanish. It is tempting to think that the movement that we have in order to explain these facts is actually prosodic, which would resolve the problem of the very high movement required in these cases, and would also explain why the clitic position has no interpretative effect –if the clitic moves in phonology, it should not affect its interpretation–. This, however, has two serious empirical problems for Spanish.

Imagine that what the clitic wants to do is to be within the same prosodic word as a verb. Within the periphrasis, the shortest prosodic movement would be between the auxiliary and the auxiliated, but this option is marked in modern Spanish; literary Old Spanish allowed it, but the option has disappeared nowadays.

- (199) *empecé-lo a hacer
started-it to to.do

This approach would require additional morphological information, basically reproducing as a constraint the properties that we want to express.

- (200) a. Clitics may not be enclitic to a finite form, unless in the imperative.
b. Clitics may not be proclitic to a non-finite form.

However, with participles one would have to introduce yet another restriction.

- (201) Clitics may not form a prosodic word with participles.

These three constraints do give the empirical patterns, but they do not tell us why that happens. As they are presented, the constraints do not connect with independent properties of participles or other verbal forms, and for this reason the approach does not seem to be promising.

What can one do, then? An additional alternative would be to reject the hypothesis that clitics have a designated position, and simply relate their linearisation with independent formal properties of functional heads. Imagine, for instance, that in order to host clitics, a functional head must have agreement phi features. If those agreement features are all that the clitic is looking for, we explain why there is no interpretative difference between enclisis and proclisis, simply because agreement is not related to a semantic difference. The look-ahead problem might be solved indirectly: imagine that the functional heads involved can choose to have agreement or not, along the lines of Adger (2006), without any semantic effect. If a low functional head carries the agreement, the clitics would be materialised there, as in (202) – assume the label F for that head–.

- (202) [AspP [FP [...vP]]]

If F in (202) carries agreement, all clitics would be materialised there. Now, if a second FP with agreement was merged above AspP, the problem would be that all the elements that the agreement would license there have already been licensed in the first FP. Therefore, that second set of agreement features would not have any role, and by economy their merge would be vacuous, and thus ungrammatical. Alternatively, the head with agreement features is merged above (203), and in that case the result would be to have proclisis to the auxiliary; but for that head to have agreement, no other FP above vP should have been endowed with agreement features.

(203) [FP [AspP [...vP]]]

This approach works under two assumptions: the first one is that the materialisation of the auxiliated verb as participle, gerund or infinitive is a matter of the presence of functional heads. Specifically, the gerund and the infinitive would necessarily have to correspond to projections that involve movement of the *v* (head) to a position above the low FP.

(204) [AspP [Inf/GerP Inf/Ger [FP[vP]]]]

If *v* moves to Inf/Ger, then the clitic materialised in FP would follow the non-finite verbal form.

Additionally, the syntactic structure of the participle should be such that the presence of phi features in an FP projection does not license the clitics. This might be related to one morphological fact: participles in Spanish are the only non-finite forms that agree in gender and number, in contrast to gerunds and infinitives. This might reflect the simple fact that the presence of phi features in the functional structure of participles license subjects, not objects, therefore eliminating clitics from that structure –as Spanish lacks subject clitics–. The obvious problem would be what to do with the participles that do not agree –as in the perfect *haber comido* 'have eaten'–, which still reject enclisis.

Thus, to summarise, we have seen different approaches, and none of them seems to be completely satisfactory. Here we summarise them schematically, as a way to finish this discussion.

- i) There are possibly two positions for clitics within the structure (Cardinaletti & Shlonsky)
 - ia. they are functional positions (look-ahead problem)
 - ib. they are agreement features on functional heads (non-agreeing participle problem)
- ii) There is only one syntactic position within the structure (Boskovic 2002)
 - ii.a. Movement is syntactic (high movement, participial blocking)
 - ii.b. Movement is prosodic (the constraints reproduce the pattern)

Note that none of these approaches has a principled account of why proclisis is impossible with *hay que hacer*, 'one must do'.

6. Intermediate material and selectional restrictions

We have seen above that, even though clitic climbing suggests that the members of a periphrasis behave as one single unit, the constituency relations rather show that a periphrasis is a syntactic construction where the functional material is shared, including one single area to place clitics within it –of course, remember that if one of the verbs is semi-auxiliary, there can be two partial functional sequences–.

Another clear indication that the periphrasis is not a lexical unit is that under restricted conditions material not belonging to the periphrasis can appear between the auxiliary and the auxiliated verb, and also that the auxiliary selects the range of auxiliary verbs that can appear with it. Let us study these two properties independently of each other.

6.1. Selectional restrictions

The main selectional restriction is based on the Aktionsart or lexical aspect of the predicate. Let us briefly remind the reader that Aktionsart (Vendler 1957, Dowty 1979) refers to the different phases of an eventuality that are denoted by a lexical predicate. The classification, standarily, identifies four main classes of predicates by their Aktionsart.

States (205) are predicates that do not involve any dynamicity internal to them; during the running time of the eventuality, there are no internal changes in such a way that any instant of that running time can be described by the same stative predicate.

- (205) ser alto 'to be tall', estar enfermo 'to be sick', saber inglés 'to know English', merecer un castigo 'to deserve a punishment', significar 'to mean'

Activities, accomplishments and achievements are dynamic. Activities (206) are differentiated among the dynamic events because they are atelic, that is, their denotation does not involve any final boundary for the event, and they can in principle be prolonged without any culmination.

- (206) nadar 'to swim', correr 'to run', escribir poesía 'to write poetry', empujar el carro 'to push the cart', pensar 'to think'

Accomplishments and achievements are telic, that is, their denotation involves a culmination. Accomplishments (207) involve duration, in the form of a progression towards the culmination phase of the event, while achievements (208) are predicates that directly name those culminations, and therefore lack any durational component.

- (207) escribir una carta 'to write a letter', correr dos kilómetros 'to run two kilometers', empujar el carro hasta la ventana 'to push the cart to the window', beber un café 'to drink a coffee'
- (208) ganar un partido 'to win a match', llegar 'to arrive', nacer 'to be born', morir 'to die', acordarse de algo 'to remember something'

Aspectual periphrases are typically sensitive to these distinctions. For instance, inchoative and terminative periphrases normally reject achievements, because they lack a duration and then in practice do not distinguish between initial and final points.

- (209) a. *terminar de llegar
to.finish of to.arrive
b. *empezar a llegar
to.begin to to.arrive
c. *acabar de llegar
to.finish of to.arrive
d. *dejar de llegar
to.stop of to.arrive

Progressive periphrases focalise one point in the internal development of the action and for this reason they tend to reject states (210).

- (210) a. *estar sabiendo inglés
to.be knowing English
b. estar corriendo
to.be running
c. estar escribiendo una carta
to.be writing a letter
d. estar llegando
to.be arriving

With achievements (Piñón 1997) the fact that these lack an internal duration force a reading of preparatory stage, where the aspect is interpreted almost as prospective, and therefore equivalent to a periphrasis such as *estar a punto de* 'to be about'.

- (211) a. Estoy llegando.
 am arriving
 b. Estoy a punto de llegar.
 am to point of to.arrive
 'I am about to arrive'

Continuative periphrases that emphasise the prolongation of a previous state of affairs are in contrast compatible with states, because they can express situations that can be the continuation of a previous state of affairs. They reject, in contrast, achievements, unless they are interpreted as repeated sequences of events.

- (212) a. Sigue estando enfermo.
 continues being sick
 b. Sigue cantando.
 continues singing
 c. Sigue escribiendo la carta.
 continues writing the letter
 d. #Sigue llegando a las cuatro.
 continues arriving at the four
 'He (still, typically) arrives at four o'clock'

When the imperfective periphrasis emphasises the duration of the event, such as *llevar* 'carry', achievements are out unless they are recategorised as extended events with an internal development. (213a), in contrast to (213b), sounds very marked.

- (213) a. #El niño lleva naciendo una hora.
 the child carries being.born one hour
 b. El niño (ya) está naciendo.
 the child already is being.born

Terminative periphrases can be sensitive to the culmination component. The difference between *terminar de* 'to finish' and *dejar de* 'to stop' is basically that the first one selects a culmination. (214a) contrasts with (214b) in this respect; note that in (215a) the activity has to be interpreted (contextually) as an accomplishment (basically, there was a specific bounded event of singing with a defined conclusion), something that does not happen in (215b). Conversely, note that in (216b) one interprets that the event was not culminated, contra (216a).

- (214) a. *Juan terminó de estar enfermo.
 Juan finished of to.be sick
 b. Juan dejó de estar enfermo.
 Juan stopped of to.be sick
 (215) a. Juan terminó de cantar.
 Juan finished of to.sing
 b. Juan dejó de cantar.
 Juan stopped of to.sing

- (216) a. Juan terminó de corregir el examen.
 Juan finished of to.correct the exam
 b. Juan dejó de corregir el examen.
 Juan stopped of to.correct the exam

To comply with the standard definition of periphrasis –that the auxiliary does not select the auxiliated in a conceptual semantic way, unlike what light verbs can do– it should be the case that the distinction between dynamic/non-dynamic, duration or punctuality and telic vs. atelic should be reflected in the syntactic structure of the predicate. Although there are still approaches that locate these distinctions within the lexical entry of the verb –but perhaps as purely grammaticalised properties, not as conceptual semantics– there are many current approaches that treat the Aktionsart of the predicate as defined by syntactic mechanisms internal to the vP. See in this sense Harley (1995), Borer (2005) or Ramchand (2008), who, with different technical implementations, consider all these properties syntactic.

Secondarily, the periphrasis might be sensitive to the nature of the subject. Remember that in a strict definition of auxiliary, these verbs should not be sensitive to the type of subject that is used. However, there are at least two situations where the nature of the subject, and the role that the subject plays in the eventuality, are crucial for the auxiliary verb.

The first one refers to modal periphrases (Picallo 1990), and it is the observation that deontic and dynamic modals require predicates whose subject can be agentive, at least in the weak sense that the subject can control the eventuality –volitionally or not–. Dynamic periphrases, like *saber* 'know' in §1.1 (217a) ascribe to the subject the ability to perform certain eventualities, while deontic periphrases describe the obligations and permissions of individuals (217b, 217c).

- (217) a. Juan sabe hablar inglés.
 Juan knows to.speak English
 b. Juan puede hablar inglés en la reunión.
 Juan can speak English in the meeting
 'Juan has permission to speak English at the meeting'
 c. Juan debe hablar inglés en la reunión.
 Juan must speak English in the meeting
 'Juan must speak English at the meeting'

These modal interpretations require events with an argument that can control that event. This excludes events without participants that control the eventuality, and in the case of dynamic modals, passive constructions.

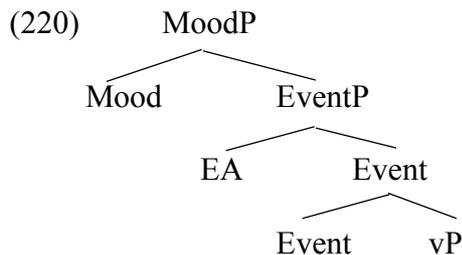
- (218) a. Luis sabe abrir esta puerta.
 Luis knows to.open this door
 b. *La puerta sabe ser abierta por Luis.
 the door knows to.be opened by Luis

Epistemic modals, talking about the level of certainty related to a state of affairs, do not impose restrictions in the subject. (219) is a sentence that must be interpreted epistemically because the event lacks a participant that controls the event of raining, which excludes the dynamic or deontic interpretation.

- (219) Puede llover.
 can to.rain
 'It might rain'

Picallo (1990) in fact proposed that due to this sensitivity to the theta role of the external argument, deontic modals should be merged in the structure in a much lower syntactic position, where they are purely adjacent to the vP, to the point that they might still be sensitive to the nature of the external argument of the verb. In contrast, epistemic modals would be introduced in the higher functional structure, perhaps as high as TP.

Note that the sensitivity of the modal verb to the external argument does not imply that it must be introduced within vP or EventP. Given our proposed structure, MoodP –when interpreted as deontic– could be the head selecting directly EventP, where Ramchand (2018) places the external argument. If that EventP contains an external argument with controlling capacities over the eventuality, then deontic mood would just be selecting an EventP with that type of specifier.



The second way in which the nature of the subject might play a role is in the case of a few aspectual periphrases, such as *ponerse a* 'to start', that seem to prefer actions controlled by the subject and favour an agent interpretation of the subject (García Fernández et al. 2006: 221).

- (221) a. *Juan se puso a engordar.
 Juan SE put to to.get.fat
 Intended: 'Juan started to get fat'
 b. *Juan se puso a encontrar cosas.
 Juan SE put to to.find things
 Intended: 'Juan started to find things'

Note that this sensitivity to the subject is not the only sign that this verb is a semi-auxiliary: it also hosts its own reflexive clitic, and because of that the clitics related to the auxiliated cannot undergo clitic climbing, suggesting that there are two partial functional sequences in the verbal complex here.

The agent interpretation assigned to the subject applies when it is a personal subject. The periphrasis, surprisingly from this perspective, allows meteorological verbs.

- (222) Se puso a llover.
 SE put to to.rain
 'It started to rain'

This fact might suggest that the preference of the verb is not directly about an agentive subject, but rather about an eventuality that can be started in an energetic and brisk way. Typically, events that are started energetically will have agents that control how they start, but a meteorological event can also start energetically without an agent. In any case, descriptively there are specific interpretations of the subject that are important from this perspective.

Remember, finally, that in some imperfect periphrases the verb can be sensitive to the conceptual type of the verb. For instance, as we saw, the verb *romper* 'break', when used as an

inchoative auxiliary, prefers events that imply the emission of something –particularly, loud noises– or movement events that can be started in a brisk way.

- (223) romper a {gritar / chillar / ladrar / correr / volar}
breat to to.shout / to.cry / to.bark / to.run / to fly

As we said, this is taken as a sign that the verb is not a complete auxiliary, and perhaps the structure is closer to a serial verb structure.

6.2. *Intermediate material*

Another sign of the non-lexical nature of the periphrasis is that intermediate material can be included between the auxiliary and the auxiliated (García Fernández & Krivochen 2019: 119 and folls.). There are three main elements that can be interposed, under restricted conditions: the subjects, different aspectual and temporal modifiers, and negation. As an example of a periphrasis that accepts the three of them, see (224).

- (224) a. Puedes todavía entregar los trabajos.
can.2sg still to.deliver the essays
'You can still deliver the essays'
b. ¿Puede Juan hacerlo?
can.3sg Juan to.do-it
'Can Juan do it?'
c. Puedes no pagar la inscripción.
can.2sg not to.pay the registration
'You may not pay the registration'

The questions here are two: what determines whether a particular object can be interposed within the periphrasis, and what this tells us about the syntactic behaviour of a periphrasis.

In general, it has been thought that the less syntactically complex the material that a periphrasis accepts in intermediate position, the more grammaticalised that the periphrasis is. The initial plausability of that idea can be illustrated with a comparison between the perfect periphrasis *haber + participle* with the phase periphrasis *empezar a + infinitive*, with a verb that, as we saw, does not compulsorily combine with verbal forms.

- (225) a. Juan ha (??ya) venido.
Juan has already arrived
b. *¿Ha Juan venido?
has Juan come
c. *Juan ha no venido.
Juan has not come
(226) a. Juan empezó ya a molestarte.
Juan started already to to.get.annoyed
b. ¿Empezó Juan a escribir?
started Juan to to.write?
c. Juan empezó a no venir a clase.
Juan started to not to.come to class

However, it is not clear –in this and other cases– what grammaticalization means (see Heine & Kuteva 2002 for an overview). One factor in the ungrammaticality of (225) might be that the auxiliary in the present is phonologically very deficient. In fact, if we move the periphrasis to

the past –the traditionally called 'plusperfect' form–, interposition of material gets immediately better, and the auxiliary now is a trisyllabic verbal form.

- (227) a. Juan había ya llegado.
 Juan had already arrived
 b. ¿Había Juan llegado entonces?
 had Juan arrived then?
 c. No habíamos nunca visto algo así.
 not had.1pl never seen anything similar

Moreover, grammaticalisation is not the only driving force. We saw above that the fact that *romper a infinitive* selects the conceptual class of auxiliated verbs might mean that this sequence contains two verbs within the lexical field, and therefore that the structure is not a prototypical periphrasis. Note in this respect that it is very difficult to interpose material between the two members, although subjects can appear in between.

- (228) a. Juan rompió (??ya) a llorar.
 Juan broke already to to.cry
 'Juan already started to cry'
 b. ¿Rompió Juan a llorar?
 broke Juan to to.cry
 c. *Juan no rompió a nunca llorar.
 Juan not broke to never to.cry

Perhaps the question, then, is not the grammaticalisation degree but rather whether the two verbs are in different syntactic domains, so that there is syntactic space between the two of them to allow the insertion of additional material.

Remember, in this sense, that we already saw repeatedly that the *ser + participle* and the *estar + participle* combinations do not behave in the same way. The general observation is that *estar*, auxiliary or not, allows interposition of material to a greater extent than *ser*.

- (229) a. El libro está ya escrito.
 the book is already written
 b. Juan está ya escribiendo.
 Juan is already writing
 c. Juan está ya a punto de salir.
 Juan is already at point of to.exit

- (230) Juan es (??todavía) interrogado.
 Juan is still interrogated

It is unclear whether this means that the combinations in (229) are less cohesive than those of (230) or simply that the verb *estar* is phonologically stronger than the verb *ser*. In fact, what types of elements a periphrasis allows between the auxiliary and the rest of the structure allows different types of interpretations. In a cartographic approach (Cinque 1999), we could imagine that the modifiers allowed in this position reflect a rigidly ordered sequence of heads, as in (231); the higher that an auxiliary is within the sequence, the more material that it allows.

- (231) a. [F1 [F2 [F3 [F4 auxiliary [F5 [F6 [F7 [vP auxiliated]]]]]]]]]
 b. [F1 [F2 [F3 [F4 [F5 [F6 auxiliary [F7 [vP auxiliated]]]]]]]]]
 c. [F1 auxiliary [F2 [F3 [F4 [F5 [F6 [F7 [vP auxiliated]]]]]]]]]

Within that sequence, then, if the auxiliary is placed at a particular height, and assuming that the auxiliated is always in the same position, only modifiers belonging to the classes defined by the intermediate functional heads should be allowed. Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020) show that this is not the right approach, however. The reason is that (231) predicts transitivity relations: that if an auxiliary allows intermediate material at a high level, it should follow that it also allows intermediate material at the lower levels –that is, in (231c), for instance, if the periphrasis allows a modifier in F2 it should also allow a modifier in F3, F4, etc. However, this is factually wrong: two periphrasis might allow opposite types of intermediate material, something that is unexpected if their ordering in the functional sequence was the crucial factor.

- (232) a. Continuaba no queriendo verme.
 continued not wanting to.see-me
 'He still did not want to see me'.
 b. *Continuaba ya queriendo verme.
 continued already wanting to.see-me
 'He continued to want to see me'
- (233) a. *Estaba no escribiendo.
 was not writing
 Intended: 'He was not writing'
 b. Estaba ya escribiendo.
 was already writing

If negation is higher than the adverbial for 'already', then (232) should allow both; if 'already' is lower, then (233) should allow both. This approach, then, does not work.

The obvious alternative is that the intermediate material allowed in a periphrasis should be material that can be semantically compatible for the periphrasis. In fact, given that 'already' presupposes a change with respect to a previous situation, (232b) could be interpreted as simply showing that the continuative periphrasis expects precisely the opposite, that the situation continues. Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2020), in fact, propose that the possibility of introducing a negative operator between the two members of the periphrasis depends on the compatibility of the restrictions imposed by the periphrasis with the interpretation of this low negation.

- (234) Puedes no pagar impuestos.
 may.2sg not pay taxes
 'You may not pay taxes'

In (234), according to these authors (Fábregas & González Rodríguez in press), the negation builds a negative event (Stockwell, Schachter & Partee 1973), that is, an event that describes a negative eventuality that took place –specifically, that the speaker refrains from paying taxes or inhibits the event of paying taxes–. The crucial property of negative events is that they do not express any change, because they are not initiated, and from that perspective they pair with states, not dynamic events.

Thus, for these authors, the periphrases that allow negation as intermediate material are precisely the periphrases that can combine with stative verbs, in terms of their Aktionsart. Progressive and continuative periphrases with gerund allow the negation only if they can combine with states:

- (235) a. *Iba no asistiendo a clase.
 went not attending at class
 b. *Estaba no asistiendo a clase.
 was not attending at class
 c. *Lleva dos meses no asistiendo a clase.
 carries two months not attending at class
 (256) a. Continúa no asistiendo a clase.
 continues not attending at class
 b. Sigue no asistiendo a clase.
 follows not attending at class

Inchoative periphrases behave in the same way: only those that allow a state can have negation interposed.

- (257) a. Empezó a no pagar impuestos.
 started to not to.pay taxes
 b. Comenzó a no pagar impuestos.
 started to not to.pay taxes
 (258) a. *Arrancó a no hablar.
 started to not to.talk
 b. *Echó a no correr.
 started to not to.run
 c. *Se echó a no llorar.
 SE started to not to.cry
 d. *Se lió a no hablar.
 SE started to not to.talk
 e. *Rompió a no gritar.
 started to not to.shout
 f. *Se puso a no hablar.
 SE started to not to.talk

The contrast between *terminar de* 'finish' and *dejar de* 'stop', where the second accepts states, is reproduced also with negation.

- (259) a. *Terminó de ser alto.
 finished of to.be tall
 b. *Terminó de no pagar impuestos.
 finished of not to.pay taxes
 (260) a. Dejó de tener dos casas.
 stopped of to.have two houses
 b. Dejó de no pagar impuestos.
 stopped of not to.pay taxes

Participle periphrases never allow negation interposed between the auxiliary and the auxiliated, and Fábregas & González Rodríguez (2018) propose that this might follow from the syntactic size of the participle, that includes an AspP head already, therefore not allowing negation to appear right above vP.

Then, if this line of argumentation is correct, the main factor that explains what type of modifiers are allowed within a periphrasis is whether the interpretation that the intermediate material triggers in the auxiliated eventuality is still compatible with the restrictions that the

auxiliary imposes. Secondly, one can have phonological factors, such as the prosodic size of the auxiliary, or even syntactic factors, such as whether the two verbs are in the same syntactic domain or not and whether the periphrasis is more or less grammaticalised, but these filter out constructions that, to begin with, must be semantically compatible with the periphrastic meaning.

7. Passives and periphrases

We have repeatedly seen that within a periphrasis, particularly a prototypical periphrasis, the auxiliated verb can appear in the passive form, but the auxiliaries cannot. Let us remember this contrast in (261).

- (261) a. Juan ha sido atacado.
 Juan has been attacked
 b. *Juan es habido atacar.
 Juan is had to.attack

This contrast, which has some exceptions that we will revise now, follows from a proposal where the auxiliary material within a periphrasis is outside of the verbal complex, and therefore is unable to interact with the argument structure properties of the predicate.

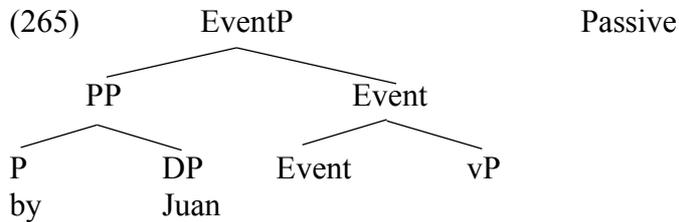
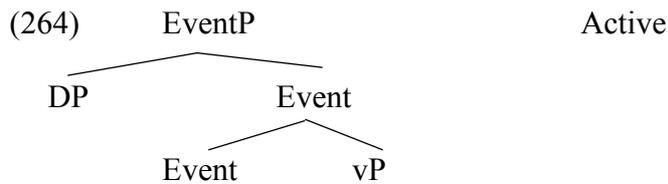
Take into account, in this sense, that the formation of passives is sensitive to two main properties, both of them related to the argumental grid of the predicate. First, it requires the presence of an internal argument –in Spanish, but not in other languages, marked as accusative–. Intransitive verbs in Spanish categorically reject the formation of passives.

- (262) *Aquí es bailado.
 here is danced
 Intended: 'People dance here'

Second, the predicate must contain an external argument interpreted as an agent. When the verb is transitive, but there is no possible agent interpretation of the external argument, passive is also out.

- (263) *Los problemas son tenidos por Juan.
 the problems are had by Juan

Both constraints strongly suggest that the distinction between passive and active has at least to be initially defined within the lexical verb portion of a periphrasis, where access to argument structure and the semantic entailments carried by theta roles are introduced. Specifically, one could suggest that the passive is defined –or at least, that determine that a predicate will have a passive manifestation, excluding the auxiliary– at EventP at the latest (Ramchand 2018). Ramchand (2018) argued that the external argument, when there is one, is introduced at the level of EventP, which suggest that this head is responsible for defining whether the predicate has an active or a passive construal. One could, in fact, assume a distinction between passive and active where the minimal difference is that the agent is introduced as a PP in the passive, and as a DP in the active, but both as specifiers of EventP (see Collins 2005, Fábregas & Putnam 2019 for variations of these idea).



If this is the case, the constraint that only the auxiliated verb can be passivised within a periphrastic construction follows: with auxiliaries being above EventP, they are structurally too high to carry the inflection associated to the passive construal at EventP. Adding a second EventP, so that the auxiliary can passivise, would mean –if at all possible– that there is a second event within the sequence of verbs, which means that we have no periphrasis, but a combination of two lexical verbs.

This simple explanation, however, must be confronted to the fact that some structures that are periphrastic can passivise, as we saw in §1.1. Remember that this type of passive sounds particularly good with verbs like *empezar* 'begin' and *terminar* 'finish'.

- (266) a. La casa fue empezada a construir.
 the house was started to to.build
 'The house started to be built'
 b. La casa fue terminada de construir.
 the house was finished of to.build
 'The house finished being built'

Rizzi (1978) analyses such constructions with the idea that they are instances of restructuring of the same type that was mentioned in §5 above on the discussion about clitic climbing. Remember that, as we saw, the phase verbs in (266) are not prototypical auxiliaries –they can combine with nouns, even if they trigger syncategorematic readings–, so they are potential candidates to be merged within vP. If they are merged as vPs, that is, as lexical verbs, they would be able to combine directly with EventP.

(267) [EventP Event [vP *empezar* / *terminar*...]]

Restructuring would be necessary in this case, then, either through pruning of the functional material of the 'auxiliated' verb or through movement, as we discussed above in §5. In a 'regular' passive like (268) one could still maintain that *empezar* / *terminar* are vPs, provided that restructuring did not apply so that the auxiliated verb contains its own EventP.

- (268) La casa empezó a ser construida.
 the house started to be built

Note that this account presupposes, in any case, that there would only be one EventP, and therefore only one passive. But there are also cases of double passives (RAE & ASALE 2009: §41.2n, Bosque & Gallego 2011), such as the one in (269).

- (269) La casa fue empezada a ser construida.
the house was started to be built

It would be tempting to propose an analysis where here there is no periphrasis, and the phase verb is its own vP; we would then have two vPs, each one with its own EventP, as in (270).

- (270) [EventP [vP empezar ...[EventP [vP construir]]]]

However, note that two empirical properties make this approach untenable. The first one is that, still, (269) talks about one single event, an event of starting the building of the house, not two events. The second one is that the whole sequence is interpreted semantically as one single passive, where the subject promoted is the internal argument of the verb *construir*, and there is only one entity acting as the agent of that event.

In fact, the absence of a double passive interpretation leads Bosque & Gallego (2011) to the proposal that what we have here is only a morphological quirk which gives the surface impression of a passive at the PF level, but with an active syntax. Specifically, these authors note the contrast in (271).

- (271) a. *La casa fue empezada por los obreros a ser construida.
the house was started by the workers to be built
b. La casa fue empezada a ser construida por los obreros.
the house was started to be built by the workers

Only the lowest verb allows an agent complement, suggesting this is the real syntactic passive verb –as expected in a periphrasis analysis, where the auxiliated is the one within the domain of EventP–. The reason why the highest verb, the one close to the auxiliary, can appear in a 'passive' has to do with spell out, not with the syntactic configuration. In this case, the tense layer of the clause is spelled out with the copulative verb *ser* 'be', and the remaining material adopts a participial morphological shape. The syntax is such that there is no difference between this morphological manifestation and one where the verb and tense are spelled out in one single word, *empezó* 'started'.

This approach has the advantage that it explains why the two 'passives' do not behave in the same way with respect to their syntax and interpretation, because the operation happens after syntax, in a component where the trees are spelled out. One could also adopt an agreement approach, having the same type of prediction that syntax and semantics will not be affected, where the auxiliary agrees with the passive information of the auxiliated. Of course, for this one should extend the traditional notion of agreement beyond the standard nominal features of gender, number and person, and treat 'voice' as a feature that can be interpretable or not depending on the head that carries it –two assumptions that are not without consequences–.

One possible critique to Bosque & Gallego's (2011) analysis is that it is not clear in their proposal why only some auxiliaries can carry this type of double passive. They mention that a restriction on them is that they should select an infinitival form, but still there are many infinitival periphrases that reject this passive. It is not impossible, however, to relate their analysis to the property that phase verbs are not perfect auxiliaries, perhaps meaning that they still contain some lexical information. The presence of lexical information could be a precondition to allow spell out of tense with one word, and the rest of the verb with a different (participial) form.

8. Semantic classification of periphrases and possible extensions

In this second to last section we will overview the different types of semantic notions that can be expressed through periphrases in Spanish. We will start with an overview of the typical subtypes of aspectual and modal periphrases, which are the prototypical classes. We will discuss discursive periphrases in §8.2, a class that is less prototypical and that we have only mentioned in passing, and in §8.3 we will discuss the possible extensions of the notion of periphrasis to causative structures.

8.1. Types of semantic notions

Gómez Torrego (1999), Yllera (1999), García Fernández et al. (2006), RAE & ASALE (2009) and García Fernández & Krivochen (2019) share a basic taxonomy of types of modal and aspectual periphrases, that we will here shortly overview for the sake of completeness.

Let us start with modal periphrases, which is the group with fewer members. As García Fernández & Krivochen (2019: 94) very correctly note, these periphrases can be divided in three types of modal meaning which depend on the nature of the modal base. The notion of modal base (Kratzer 1991, see also Fábregas 2014 for an overview) refers to the properties of the actual world that are shared by the possible worlds that are considered in the meaning of mood. The three types of modal periphrases, by their modal base, are the following:

i) Epistemic, where the worlds considered have in common the knowledge that a participant –typically the speaker– has about the situation.

- (272) a. Tiene que llover.
 must that to.rain
 'It is certain that it will rain' (from what I know)
 b. Puede llover.
 can to.rain
 'It is possible that it will rain (from what I know)'

ii) Deontic, where the worlds have in common a system or rules, norms, or values that influence the behaviour of participants in the event.

- (273) a. Tienes que hacer el examen.
 must.2sg that to.do the exam
 'You have to do the exam (given the system of rules we have)'
 b. Puedes hacer el examen.
 can.2sg to.do the exam
 'You are allowed to do the exam (given the system of rules we have)'

iii) Dynamic, where the worlds considered share the abilities and capacities of the participants in the event.

- (274) a. Juan puede hablar inglés.
 Juan can speak English
 'Given his capacities and abilities, Juan speaks English'
 b. Juan sabe hacer una paella.
 Juan knows to.do a paella
 'Given his capacities and abilities, Juan is able to make a paella'

Remember that there are at least two positions in syntax for these auxiliaries, and that deontic and dynamic modals –both sometimes called 'root modals'– are syntactically lower, as they are sensitive to the argument structure of the auxiliated verb (Picallo 1990).

Note in the above examples that the same auxiliary can have more than one reading in terms of the modal base that it represents. However, the quantificational force is invariant in the modal auxiliaries of Spanish. *Poder* 'can', as we saw above, can be epistemic, deontic or dynamic, but it always denotes that the state of affairs represented by the lexical verb happens in at least one possible world, not in all of them. In this it contrasts to *tener que*, with epistemic and deontic readings, where the denotation includes all possible worlds accessible through the modal base. (272a) says that, given the knowledge that the speaker has, it rains in any possible world compatible with that knowledge, while (272b) states that it rains in at least one possible world compatible with it, while there are other possible worlds where that does not happen. (273a) says that, given the system of rules, in any possible world with those rules you take the exam, while (273b) merely says that there is at least one world where you take it –a world where you decide to take the opportunity that they give you by allowing you to take the exam–.

The classification of aspectual periphrases is more complex.

- a) Habitual
- b) Iterative
- c) Imperfective
- d) Perfect or resultative
- e) Prospective
- f) Inchoative
- g) Terminative

The periphrases with habitual meaning are *soler* and *acostumbrar a*. It is unclear whether habitual meanings involve an aspectual notion –action repeated an unbounded number of times during a time period– or a modal one –a description of the typical behaviour of an individual that allows to make predictions about it– (Bertinetto & Lenci 2011), although the second option seems supported by the observation that the adjective *habitual* 'habitual' triggers subjunctive in the subordinate clause (*Es habitual que vengas*), as Luis García (p.c.) points out to me.

(275) Juan suele desayunar en casa.

Juan uses to.have.breakfast at home
'Juan uses to have breakfast at home'

The only iterative periphrasis is *volver a*, meaning that the event (or part of it) is repeated.

(276) Juan volvió a leer la novela.

Juan returned to to.read the novel
'Juan read the novel again'

Imperfective periphrases allow different subgroups, all of them having in common that they do not entail a culmination of the eventuality, or its termination. The progressive interpretation (277) focalises one single point in time, between the beginning and the end of the eventuality, while the continuative (278) focalises an extended period of time between the starting and the ending points of the eventuality.

(277) Juan está escribiendo.

Juan is writing

- (278) a. Juan anda escribiendo un poema.
 Juan walks writing a poem
 'These days, Juan is writing a poem'
 b. Juan va corrigiendo los exámenes.
 Juan goes correcting the exams
 'These days, Juan corrects the exams little by little'

Continuative periphrases can also contain a presuppositional component, presupposing that the current state of affairs is identical to the state of affairs of a previous time period (García Fernández & Krivochen 2019: 101).

- (279) Juan sigue escribiendo un poema.
 Juan follows writing a poem
 'Juan is still writing a poem'

Perfect or resultative periphrases, typically in participial form, focalise the time period that follows the termination or culmination of the eventuality.

- (280) Juan tiene leídos dos libros.
 Juan has read two books
 'Juan has already read two books'

Inchoative periphrases, typically in infinitive with *a* as linking element, focalise the initial boundary of the eventuality, that is, its onset, while terminative periphrases focalise the final boundary, be it its natural culmination or not.

- (281) a. Juan empezó a leer el libro.
 Juan started to read the book
 'Juan started to read the book'
 b. Juan dejó de leer el libro.
 Juan left of to.read the book
 'Juan stopped reading the book'

Prospective periphrases focalise the time period that is located immediately before the onset of the eventuality, that is, before the eventuality starts.

- (282) Estoy por salir.
 am for to.exit
 'I am about to come out'

Next to this, remember that the Spanish tradition has classified *haber + participle* as a temporal form within the system. This might be a terminological choice, as that morphological form is in fact used for different aspectual values, but most typically the perfect. Similarly, *ir a + infinitive* has been argued to be at least in some uses a temporal periphrasis expressing future. García Fernández & Krivochen (2019: 104) in fact consider it an aspectual periphrasis of prospective aspect when it cannot alternate with the synthetic future (283) and a temporal future periphrasis when it does alternate (284).

- (283) Tenía el aspecto de un hombre que {va a morir / #morirá}.
 had.3sg the aspect of a man that goes to die / will.die
 'He looked like a man that was going to die'
- (284) Promete que nos {va a prestar / prestará} el dinero.
 promises that us goes to lend / will.lend the money
 'He promises that he {is going to / will} lend us the money'

See §2.3. for the discussion about whether Spanish has passive periphrases.

8.2. Issues in the behaviour of discursive periphrases

Discursive periphrases is not a traditional term in Spanish grammar, as it was first included in García Fernández et al. (2006), as a class separate from aspectual periphrases. Discursive periphrases are monoclausal verb combinations used to order parts of a text, be it by stating that the eventualities that they express have a particular position in a sequence of actions, or by determining the logical connections that they establish with the other eventualities in the same text.

García Fernández (2006) is the author that is most explicit about this correlation. He proposes that the following periphrases act as discourse markers signaling the opening of a series, like *primero* 'first', *en primer lugar* 'in first place'.

- (285) a. Empecé leyendo la carta.
 started.1sg reading the letter
 'I started by reading the letter'
- b. Primero, leí la carta.
 first, read.1sg the letter
 'First, I read the letter'
- (286) a. Empecé por leer la carta.
 started.1sg by to.read the letter
- b. Comencé leyendo la carta.
 started.1sg reading the letter
- c. Comencé por leer la carta.
 started.1sg by to.read the letter

The following express continuity in a sequence of events, like *luego* 'later'.

- (287) a. Pasé a leer la carta.
 passed to to.read the letter
 'I then read the letter'.
- b. Continué leyendo la carta.
 continued reading the letter
 'I then read the letter'

Note that (287b) is a discourse periphrasis only in the interpretation of 'the following task was to read the letter', not as 'I kept reading the letter', where it is an aspectual (continuative) periphrasis.

A third set of discourse periphrases, like *por último* 'finally', expresses that the eventuality is the last one in a series.

- (288) a. Terminé por leer la carta.
 finished.1sg by to.read the letter
 'The last thing I did was to read the letter'
 b. Acabé leyendo la carta.
 finished.1sg reading the letter
 'Finally, I read the letter'

Additionally, García Fernández (2006) proposes that *llegar a + infinitive* is an additive periphrasis that, like the marker *encima* 'moreover, even' introduces a situation that is perceived as extreme within a scale of things that one expects. In (289) one interprets that Juan waking up at 5 am is an eventuality that was in principle unexpected, because it is perceived as extreme.

- (289) Juan trabajó muchas horas, dejó de ver a sus amigos y llegó a levantarse a las cinco.
 Juan worked many hours, stopped of to.see his friends and arrived to to.wake at five
 'Juan worked many hours, stopped seeing his friends and went as far as to wake up at five am'

An interesting question is what the syntactic position of the auxiliary is in these discourse periphrases. Note that, in contrast with the inchoative and terminative ones, clitic climbing is generally not possible here.

- (290) a. *Lo empecé leyendo.
 it started.1sg reading
 b. *Lo pasé a leer.
 it passed.1sg to to.read
 c. *Lo acabé por leer.
 it finished.1sg by to.read
 d. ?Lo llegué a leer.
 it arrived to to.read

One could speculate here that, perhaps, the auxiliary is in a higher syntactic position, above AspP/MoodP, to carry the textual meaning that they introduce, or even that the auxiliated form is not really integrated as the complement of the auxiliary in such cases. In any instance, the behaviour of clitic climbing suggests that the structure should be more complex than the one proposed in §4 for standard aspectual and modal periphrases.

8.3. A note on causative constructions

As we see, then, it is uncontroversial that Spanish has modal and aspectual periphrases; traditionally, some periphrases are considered temporal, a position that is still kept in theoretical studies, at least for some uses of these periphrases. Discourse periphrases are a recent addition to this set of options, and passive periphrases are controversial. The question is whether there are other types of notions expressed periphrastically.

One classical option is causative structures, such as (291). Note (291b) that even though there are two verbs here, clitic climbing is still possible.

- (291) a. Juan hizo a María escribir la carta.
 Juan made to María to.write the letter
 b. Juan le hizo escribir-la.
 Juan her made to.write-it

- c. Juan se la hizo escribir (a María).
 Juan SE it made to.write to María
 'Juan made her write it'

Despite the possibility of clitic climbing, these combinations are not considered periphrastic for several reasons, that we will detail now.

These constructions are considered instances of restructuring of syntactic configurations involving two vPs, where the argument corresponding to the entity that performs the infinitival action is an argument of the infinitive, and receives extraordinary case marking from the main verb (Kayne 1975, Hernanz 1982). Note, to begin with, (291b): here there are two domains for clitic licensing, one within the infinitive and one above the causative verb *hacer*. We saw that this is not a prototypical situation with periphrases.

Second, the infinitival can be replaced by a subordinate subjunctive clause, in which case the subject of the infinitive remains in the subordinate clause, receiving nominative from the subjunctive verb.

- (292) Juan hizo que María escribiera la carta.
 Juan made that María wrote.sbj the letter

Third, note that the causative verb *hacer* adds an additional argument to the structure; specifically, a causer that influences the IO to perform the event described in the infinitive.

- (293) Juan hizo a María escribir la carta.
 Juan made to María to.write the letter
 'Juan caused that María wrote the letter'

In fact, the structure is bieventive, as shown by the fact that a temporal modifier can combine with either verb, placing each event in a different temporal period.

- (294) Juan hizo ayer escribir la carta mañana a María.
 Juan made yesterday write the letter tomorrow to María
 'Yesterday, Juan made María write the letter tomorrow'

Also, the first verb allows passive, again a property that we saw is not characteristic of prototypical periphrases.

- (295) El informe fue hecho llegar al presidente. (cf. Vivanco in press, example (36))
 the report was made to.arrive to.the president

Then, what is the reason to discuss these constructions, if their behaviour is so clearly different from prototypical passives. The reason, as Vivanco (2019, in press) has noted, is that other constructions that are at least very similar to causatives connect with some structures that are traditionally considered periphrastic, even if not prototypically periphrastic. WE have mentioned in several occasions the periphrasis *ponerse a + infinitive*, which is inchoative and tends to require agentive personal subjects.

- (296) Juan se puso a escribir la carta.
 Juan SE started to to.write the letter
 'Juan started to write the letter'

Vivanco (2019, in press) notes that (297) has a causative flavour. Note that the verb is the same.

- (297) Marta puso a Pedro a escribir la carta.
 Marta put to Pedro to to.write the letter
 'Marta made Pedro write the letter'

This structure, in contrast to *hacer* causatives, introduces the infinitive with a preposition – again, a preposition that is shared by the periphrastic *ponerse a + infinitive*–. In this case the combination does not allow passivisation of the main verb.

- (298) a. *La carta fue puesta a escribir.
 the letter was put to to.write
 b. *Pedro fue puesto a escribir la carta.
 Pedro was put to to.write the letter

Finally, temporal modification of the two verbs is degraded, suggesting that the sequence contains one single event.

- (299) ??Marta puso ayer a Pedro a escribir la carta mañana.
 Marta put yesterday to Pedro to to.write the letter tomorrow

Thus, this type of causative seems to be closer to a periphrastic construction –Vivanco (2019, in press) describes it as the first verb being more desemantised than the *hacer* construction–, which might mean that to some extent Spanish might also need to admit the existence of causative periphrases. It would still be true that the combination is not prototypically periphrastic, because an additional argument is introduced, but it could be the case that a system like Ramchand (2008), where the lexical verb is divided in three lexical aspect-related projections, allows for a combination like (297) to be entirely merged below AspP and the clausal functional structure. One could speculate, for instance, that the verb *poner* in this combination corresponds to the initiation subevent, while the rest of the structure is occupied by the infinitival verb. However, what interests us here is the observation that there is at least one causative construction with properties very similar to periphrases.

9. Sequences of periphrases

Let us finish this overview with a short note about sequences of periphrasis, that is, situations where several auxiliaries appear within the same verbal complex. This is a clearly underresearched topic, which has recently been discussed by García Fernández, Krivochen & Bravo (2017), Ramchand (2018) and García Fernández & Krivochen (2019: 129 and folls.). The sequences of periphrases, containing auxiliary chains, are illustrated with examples from García Fernández & Krivochen (2019) in what follows.

- (300) a. Podría estar comiendo.
 might be eating
 'He might be eating'
 b. Solía tener que volver a llamarlo.
 used to.have that to.return to call-him
 'He used to have to call him again'
 c. Podría tener que volver a empezar a hacerlo.
 might to.have that to.return to to.begin to to.do-it

'He might have to begin to do it again'.

d. Pudo haber tenido que estar empezando a escribirlo.

might have had that to.be starting to to.write-it

'He might have had to be starting to write it'.

Not much has been done with respect to the syntax of these sequences, and here we will do little more than to point out different types of restrictions. We will closely follow the authors mentioned above in the description of the restrictions identified with chains of auxiliaries.

One first obvious restriction has to do with the semantics restrictions of each auxiliary. By building a periphrasis out of a verbal predicate, the aspectual information can be modified, and this might produce a crash with the selectional restrictions of the following auxiliary. Consider the following contrast:

(301) a. He estado escribiendo.

have been writing

'I have been writing'

b. *Estoy habiendo escrito.

am having written

Intended: 'I am still in the state of having written something'

This contrast is clearly semantically motivated. The perfect periphrasis piles up above the progressive periphrasis; as we saw, the progressive periphrasis creates a state out of an event, and there is nothing wrong with having a stative predicate in the perfect form. Therefore, the first sequence is acceptable. In contrast, the progressive periphrasis cannot select states; as the perfect periphrasis also creates a state –the result state, in this case–, it cannot be embedded under the progressive periphrasis, simply because states are rejected by that auxiliary.

Sometimes, morphological conditions are at play. García Fernández & Krivochen (2019: 131) note the following pair.

(302) a. Ha de estar trabajando.

has of to.be working

'He must be working'

b. *Está habiendo de trabajar.

is having of to.work

Intended: 'He still has to work'

The problem in the second case is that the periphrasis *haber de + infinitive* 'must' has a morphological quirk, namely that it rejects non finite forms, including the gerund.

Other restrictions follow from syntax. With the exceptions noted in §7, only transitive verbs allow for the passive, and in general auxiliaries reject a passive form –perhaps because the passive is defined below the Mood/Asp level, as we noted–. This simply explains why a modal verb can combine with a passive periphrasis, but not vice versa.

(303) a. Puede ser escrito.

can to.be written

'It can be written'

b. *Es podido escribir.

is could to.write

There are, finally, other types of restrictions whose interpretation is difficult, because they do not seem to follow from any of the three types of restriction that we have just mentioned. García Fernández (p.c.) noted that in Spanish it is impossible to have sequences of periphrases that contain two adjacent gerunds.

(304) *Juan continúa estando escribiendo.

Juan continues being writing

Note, to begin with, that *continuar* accepts states, so the constraint is not semantic. There is also no redundancy: we could be saying that Juan is still in the process of writing. The second auxiliary, of course, has a gerund form, and in fact when the gerund is not part of a periphrasis, a sequence of two is grammatical.

(305) Estando todavía escribiendo, no fue a la fiesta.

being still writing not went to the party

'Because he was still writing, he didn't go to the party'

The cause for this type of constraint is mysterious. It is reminiscent to the constraint that other languages, like Swedish, have on two adjacent participles (Holmberg 2002), where it has been argued that the reason is that each participle defines a closed syntactic domain that would interrupt any connection between the auxiliary and the auxiliated. Note that below the first ParticipleP would break all links between the chain of auxiliaries.

(306) [Aux [ParticipleP [Aux [ParticipleP [vP]]]]]

One could speculate that the reason for the constraint in Spanish is similar, namely that the gerund defines a closed domain, and therefore that the highest one breaks the chain of auxiliaries, but this is unclear. Swedish participles, for one, agree in gender and number, but Spanish gerunds do not, and moreover Spanish participles can form a chain.

(307) Ha resultado herido.

has resulted wounded

The existence of this type of constraint on chains suggests that the internal structure of the periphrasis is more complex than what we suggested in §4. To this, García Fernández, Krivochen & Bravo (2017) add a number of observations:

a) Normally, the passive auxiliary is the lowest one in the chain –with the exceptions noted in §7 above–. This follows from the proposal that auxiliaries are introduced in a syntactic domain above voice.

b) Auxiliaries like *haber de* 'have to' (but not *tener que*), *soler* 'use to', *ir a* in the temporal meaning and *acabar de* 'to have just done' tend to be initial in a sequence, and cannot combine with each other. From these, those that express a temporal notion are expected to be high if they are introduced at the TP layer, but it is unclear why that modal would have to be initial.

c) Phase verbs like *empezar* 'begin' have to follow aspectual auxiliaries, perhaps due to their semi-lexical status.

Be it as it may, the main message of this section is that the properties of auxiliary chains should be further studied and researched.

10. Conclusions

It is time to conclude. What we have seen in this article can be summarised in one single sentence: the traditional definition of periphrasis is not really useful to understand the properties of the combinations of verbs within the same clause. Tailored for a subset of the verbal combinations –that we could call 'prototypical periphrases'–, the definition glosses over many different parameters that seem to be independent of each other in the syntactic and semantic behaviour of these combinations.

One central issue is the nature of the auxiliary verb. In current theories of clausal structure, the auxiliary should be a verbal form introduced above the level where lexical verbs are merged, a property that should also differentiate them from light verbs, also desemantised. However, this view already puts in the center the problem of how an auxiliary and a copulative verb should be differentiated, and seems simplistic when we observe that several combinations that behave partially as a periphrasis are introduced by verbs that can add arguments, block clitic rising or select the conceptual type of the non finite form. It is therefore necessary, still, to poke in the internal structure of verbs to see how many layers they contain, which syntactic positions within the functional structure they can occupy, and what it actually means to be desemantised for their syntactic behaviour.

We have also seen that the level of integration between the verbs inside the objects prototypically called 'periphrases' is variable. We have seen that –even when one abstracts away from possible confounding factors, such as the phonological properties of the auxiliary– combinations vary in terms of which material can be included within the periphrasis, how much clitic rising they allow, and what type of selection they perform on the predicate. It seems likely, given this situation, that under the traditional term 'periphrasis' we are hiding a family of related, but different, syntactic configurations, with the structure proposed in §4 only applying to some of them. This was particularly obvious in the case of discourse periphrases, and also in the discussion about what the linking element within the periphrasis is.

A modern reading of the traditional definition of periphrasis as a monoclausal structure suggests that within this type of combination the two verbs share a lot of functional material – in other words, that it is not the case that the two verbs project their own set of functional layers–. However, in the discussion it has also become clear that it is not obvious how much material is shared, or even that all periphrases share the same functional projections. The problem is further complicated by the possibility of restructuring, that through some procedure makes two verbs end up sharing functional structure without any of them being an auxiliary.

Beyond the problem of what these verbal combinations are, we have further seen that the phenomenon of clitic climbing is particularly poorly understood. The absence of (obvious) semantic effects associated to the two or more positions for clitics within some verbal combinations complicate its research, at the same time that favours morphological or phonological solutions to the account, ranging from morphophonological conditions on the licensing of clitics to solutions based on the presence of agreement features. To the best of our knowledge, we still lack an account of the phenomenon for Spanish that addresses the set of properties that clitic climbing has.

In conclusion, perhaps the best line of reasoning here, as in other cases, is to forget the traditional definition of periphrasis and to explore the properties of each one of the verbal combinations in its own right, being ready to propose different configurations for objects that are traditionally classified in the same class. We hope that this article has at least convinced the reader of the necessity of researching in this way, and provided enough information about the contrasts to establish the bases for that enterprise.

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