

ON PSEUDO-COORDINATION IN SPANISH¹

Ana Bravo

Universidad de Murcia

ABSTRACT. Pseudo-coordination, that is, sequences of a least two verbs of the form <V1 + *and* + V2> raise a number of problems that stem from the fact that they share properties with a wide range of different syntactic phenomena. As regards Spa. <V1 + *and* + V2> pattern, in this paper I address the discussion of whether it qualifies as a verbal periphrasis or not. A number of arguments are provided that show that the relation between V1 and V2 is not that of auxiliarization. Likewise, it is argued that its meaning is not aspectual. Instead, a stance is taken in favour of the analysis that argue that it is discourse related. In addition to this, it is shown that Spa. pseudo-coordinatives are subject to a high variation. Namely, V1 verbs may be divided into two big classes: GO-class verbs, highly grammaticalized and, TAKE-class verbs, less grammaticalized and with an agentive meaning. Swaps between the members of each class are, however, not uncommon. In addition to this, *va y* lit. goes and functions as an adverb, similarly to *puede que* lit. can that, ‘maybe’.

Keywords: pseudo-coordination, Spanish, auxiliary verbs, construction, discourse, historical present, evidentiality

RESUMEN. La pseudo-coordinación, es decir, la combinación de al menos dos verbos con la forma <V1 + *y* + V2>, plantea una serie de problemas que se derivan del hecho de que comparten propiedades con una amplia gama de diferentes fenómenos sintácticos. Por lo que al español respecta, en este trabajo abordo la discusión de si puede analizarse o no como una perífrasis verbal. Se presentan varios argumentos que muestran que entre V1 no funciona como verbo auxiliar y que, por consiguiente, <V1 + *y* + V2> no es una perífrasis del español. Se argumenta, asimismo, que su significado no es aspectual sino que es más apropiado analizarlo como construcción con valor discursivo, en línea con algunos trabajos previos. Se muestra además que la pseudo-coordinación en español está sujeta a una gran variación. Así, los verbos que pueden ocupar la posición de V1 se agrupan en dos grandes clases como sucede en otras lenguas, a saber, los verbos de la clase de IR, altamente gramaticalizados y, los verbos de la clase de AGARRAR, menos gramaticalizados y con un significado agentivo. Las clases, sin embargo, no son estancas y AGARRAR puede expresar los mismos significados de IR en contextos específicos, y a la inversa. Además de esto, *va y* funciona como un adverbio en otros contextos, de manera similar a como lo hace *puede que*.

Palabras clave: pseudo-coordinación, español, verbos auxiliares, construcción, discurso, presente histórico, evidencialidad

¹ I'm especially in debt with Ignacio Bosque and Diego Krivochen for relevant discussion and valuable comments on a previous version of this paper. I also thank Ángeles Carrasco, José María Lahoz-Bengoechea, the audience at the XLIX Simposio Internacional de la Sociedad Española de Lingüística and two anonymous reviewers for their insightful questions and remarks. Needless to say, any possible error is my own.



1. Introduction

1.1. A duck-billed platypus in the grammar

The platypus differs from ‘prototypical’ mammals in many senses: it is semiaquatic, it has a wide beak, and what is probably its most astonishing property it is an egg-laying mammal. According to the description in the Wikipedia,² it is also ‘the sole living representative of its family (*Ornithorhynchidae*) and genus (*Ornithorhynchus*)’.

If one were to find a parallel in the grammar ‘kingdom’, pseudo-coordinatives would be a good candidate, and among them, Spanish ones would definitely rank high. This is without any doubt one of the conclusions easily reached after reading any paper on the topic. Descriptively, pseudo-coordinatives are, I remind the reader, sequences of two fully inflected verbs, although concatenation is marginally possible, where V1 belongs to a very restricted set of verbs and V1 and V2 are mediated by the copulative conjunction *and*, or at least by what apparently is the conjunction *and*. As far as Spa. is concerned, the V1 position might be occupied, with the differences among them that will be seen in Section 3.2, by *ir* ‘to go’, *coger* ‘to take’, *agarrar* lit. ‘to grasp, clutch’, and *tomar* lit. ‘to take’. (1) is an example with *ir* and (2) with *agarrar*:

- (1) Y entonces, va y me cuenta que ha llamado mi hermana.
and then goes and DAT.ISG tells that has called my sister
 ‘And then he (or she) goes and tells me that my sister has called’
 [Elvira Lindo, *Una palabra tuya*, 2005, CORPES XXI]
- (2) Suena otro de los tres teléfonos. Pilar agarra y cierra uno de ellos.
rings another of the three telephones. P. takes and closes one of them
 ‘Another of the three phones rings. P. takes and closes one of them.’
 [Palma, Domingo. *Margaritas para los cerdos. Obra para cuatro actrices*. Chile. CORPES XXI]

As it is well-known, this scheme is not only found in the Romance languages, except for French (after García Sánchez 2007: 167), but it is also very common at least in the Scandinavian dialects as well as in the Balcanic family, Modern Greek, Hebrew, Arab, Dutch, English, and some African languages, sometimes with important differences among them, though (see Wiklund 2007: 10, a.m.o. for a detailed list with references for each language).³ Nevertheless, they all seem to share the following

² A reviewer wonders whether quoting the Wikipedia is the best way to start an academic article. I agree with him or her, but at the same time this is what encyclopedias are supposed to be thought for.

³ Despite of what is repeatedly asserted in the literature, there is already an extensive bibliography on this topic, not to mention on serial verb constructions or complex predicates, in general. Focusing on the <V1 + *and* + V2> sequence, apart from the exhaustive description found in Coseriu (1977 [1966]), García Sánchez (2007) and Ross (2014) include a detailed overview of previous works, although restricted mainly to the domain of the Romance languages and to other European languages. See also Ross 2019 for an overview as regards its patterns and distribution out of Europe. Finally, this area of the grammar counts with its own international conference since 2017: the Pseudo Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions or, shorter, the PseCoMAC (<https://sites.google.com/unive.it/psecomac/home?authuser=0>), which reveals the renewed interest for this and related phenomena. The relationship between pseudo-coordination and serial verbs is mentioned in several places in this paper, but it is far beyond its scope.

seven properties (Coseriu 1966, Ekberg 1993, de Vos 2005, Wiklund 2007: 94-112), among many others to be reviewed later:

i. The number of verbs that can function as V1 is very restricted, as restricted is the semantic classes they belong to. Namely, motion verbs, especially GO, TAKE-class verbs and, in some Scandinavian languages, some posture verbs.⁴ It should be noted, however, that cross-linguistically V1 might be more or less grammaticalized, ranging from V1s that maintain their lexical meanings to fully grammaticalized V1s.

ii. V1 and V2 must be linked by the copulative conjunction AND in the corresponding language, any other possibility being excluded.

iii. The ‘sameness’ condition (de Vos 2004, after Munn 1993): V1 and V2 obligatorily share the same tense, aspect and mood morphology as well as person and number features.

iv. Contrary to what it is expected after ii. above, the construction does not obey Ross (1967: 161) Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC).⁵ That is, it is possible to move out of the second conjunct the elements contained in it. Pseudo-coordination sequences are, in fact, one of the examples Ross cited as an exception to his CSC –see also Krivochen and Schmerling (2017: 1). (3a) is Ross’ 1967, ex. (4.108a), and is derived via *wh*-movement from the non-interrogative structure in (3b):

- (3) a. *Which dress* has she gone and ruined ___ now?
 b. She’s gone and ruined *her dress* now. (Ross’ (4.107a))

Which dress is the internal argument of *ruin* and appears in the second conjunct of the coordinated structure. In (3a), despite of the fact that it is moved out of the second conjunct, hence, from the internal argument position, the sentence is still grammatical. This clearly contrasts with a sentence such as **Which dress has she gone to her apartment and ruined?*, from *She has gone to her apartment and ruined her dress*.

The same phenomenon is illustrated in (4) with an example from Swedish, taken from Wiklund (2007: 95, ex. (23)):

⁴ Posture verbs in pseudo-coordination structures convey a progressive reading. (i) is a Swedish example –taken from Wiklund (2007: 138, ex. (35))-, (ii) is Danish (from Biberauer and Vikner 2017: 80, ex. (6), who also extend it to Afrikaans, and (iii) is Norwegian (Lødrup 2002: 121, ex. (1a)):

- (i) Han satt I soffan o sjöng sing.
 he sit.PAST in sofa.DEF and sing.PAST
 ‘He sat singing in the sofa.’
 (ii) Vi ser på Kyle. Han sidder og smiler.
 we look at Kyle he sits and smiles
 ‘We look at Kyle. He is (sitting and) smiling.’
 (iii) Han sitter og skriver dijk.
 he sits and writes poems
 ‘He is writing poetry.’

On this, see also Tonne (2007), among many others.

⁵ The Coordinated Structure Constraint: In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct (Ross 1967: 161 (4.84)).

- (4) a. *Kaffet som Lars sjöng o drack _ var got
coffee.DEF that Lars sing.PST & drink.PST _ was good
 b. Kaffet som Lars gick o drack _ var got
coffee.DEF that Lars go.PST & drink.PST _ was good
 ‘The coffee that Lars went and had was good.’

v. Likewise, despite of ii. and iii., V1 and V2 encode a single predication, supporting a monoclausal analysis.

vi. Cross-linguistically, the combination conveys a variety of meanings that range from the purely aspectual values to purely discourse functions more or less oriented to the speaker. Specifically, they have an expressive meaning which ranges from annoyance and counter-expectation to strong or abrupt decision on the part of the subject, without them being mutually exclusive, necessarily.

vii. They seem to be restricted to the informal register, or at least they are all highly colloquial.

The <V1 + *and* +V2> scheme, thus, represents mainly a problem of categorization, since it cannot be clearly defined as an instance of coordination (because of property iv.) or as subordination (because properties iii. and iv). The question, as I see it, is, hence, whether there is a category in which it more or less fits or on the contrary a different category has to be established. To sum up: mammals have the platypus and grammar has the < V1 + *and* +V2> scheme, as long as, while sharing properties both with coordinated structures and with auxiliary verbs, it is not entirely the former or the latter. A quick look at the terminology used to refer to this phenomenon will make evident this indeterminacy, with the difficulties it raises (see also Wiklund 2007:9, Ross 2014: 166-117).

1.2. A quick look at the terminology-garden

Many authors opt for a purely descriptive terminology such as <V-*and*-V> constructions (Colaço and Gonçalves 2017) or, more frequently, *go & get* construction (as long as, according to Pullum 1990: 226, it does not obey the CSC either), *go-and-Verb* construction (Stefanowitsch 1999), *take and V* (Lena 1993) or <*ir-and-V*> (Colaço and Gonçalves 2010).⁶ Within the anglo-american tradition proposals focalizing on its grammatical behavior are preferred, instead: *fake coordination* (Carden and Pesetsky 1977), *pseudo-coordination* (Pullum 1990, de Vos 2005, Wiklund 2007, Lødrup 2014, Ross 2014, Biberauer and Vikner 2017, a.o.), and, more recently, *mirage coordination* (Krivochen and Schmerling 2017, in preparation), as well as some other that can be found in Wiklund 2007: 9.⁷ As regards the research

⁶ It should be noted that the term *construction* is used in a pretheoretical sense; hence, unrelated to the specific meaning it has in the Construction Grammar framework (see Michaelis 2010 for a general introduction). In order to avoid any confusion we opt for the formulae, somewhat equivalent, of *scheme*, *pattern*, or *sequence* and reserve *construction* for referring to the corresponding unit in the relevant framework.

⁷ Another term, quite popular in the past, is *hendiadys*. See Ross (2014: 117-121) and references therein for a history of the relationship between these structures and pseudo-coordination. Finally, the expression *double inflected construction* (Di Caro and Giusti 2015, and references therein) is restricted to the several Italian dialectal varieties of this construction, although two main differences are to be pointed out: firstly, it is still debated whether the linking element is the preposition *a* or the

carried out on Spanish, the descriptive solution seems to be the one that is clearly favored over the second one since Coseriu's 1966 paper: {*cojo ~ tomo*} *y me voy*, lit. 'take and go' (Aleza Izquierdo and García Medal 1986, Camus 2006, García Sánchez 2007, Silva Garcés 2011), <*ir + y + grupo verbal*>, lit. <*go + and + verbal group*> (RAE and ASALE 2009: § 31.2n), *llegar y + verbo*, lit. *arrive and + verb* (Jaque *et al.* 2018).⁸ In this paper we will indistinctly refer to the phenomenon under study with the two options available. The corresponding Eng. words will be used when necessary in the understanding that they are to be taken as the general term. In this case, I will write them in small capital letters: GO, TAKE.

1.3. Aims and organization

In this paper I focus on the <V1 + *and* +V2> pattern in Spanish. Specifically, the aim of this paper is twofold. First, the grammar and the semantics of the <V1 + *and* +V2> sequences that count or might count as instances of pseudo-coordination in Spanish are described. As a result, it will be argued that two big classes must be distinguished depending on the verb that occupies the first position, namely the GO-verbs class and the TAKE-verbs class:

a. GO-verbs: Highly grammaticalized, which includes the lack of selectional restrictions on the subject and tense defectiveness. They mark the situation referred to by V2 as an unexpected result. Prototypically, the GO-class is expressed by *ir* 'to go', although in Chilean Spa. *llegar* 'to arrive' might also be a candidate.

b. TAKE-verbs: Very low grammaticalization: verbs in this class assign an agentive secondary theta role to the subject and are compatible with all the tenses, included the imperative and the infinitive. Prototypically, the TAKE-class is realized by {*agarrar ~ coger*}.

Different degrees of grammaticalization are supposed to be attached to different meanings and to a different syntax. As regards TAKE-verbs, they are generally analyzed as featuring a complex predicate resultant from merging, or the amalgamation, of the V2 argument structure into V1's argument structure. The analysis, however, is not without problems. With respect to *ir y*, there seems to be a process of grammaticalization ongoing, so besides a completely discourse related *va y* adverb there are other instances of the <*ir + y + V2*> scheme with a less well defined grammar. In this paper I will attempt to show that, despite the differences between the two classes a unified analysis is to be preferred. Secondly, I will show that there are a number of features of the scheme under revision that the wide accepted periphrastic hypothesis cannot account for and I will argue instead in favor of analyzing Spa. pseudo-coordinatives as a construction, that is, as a pairing of form and meaning. However, I will not try to give a characterization of which is the precise contribution of the construction to the discourse beyond what is currently assumed and some other hints that I will offer.

This paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 I address the periphrastic debate, which is only present in Spanish studies. In Section 3 I offer a detailed description of the properties of the verbs in the V1 position. Section 4 focuses on the semantics of

coordinative conjunction *a*, which in Italian are homophonous (see Cardinaletti and Giusti 2000: 24-25), quite different from the situation we find in Spa., Por. and other languages as well; second, it is restricted to motion verbs, leaving outside the taking verbs class. For these two reasons the terminology applied to the Italian scheme will not be considered here.

⁸ The formula *finite multiverbal constructions* (Jaque *et al.* 2018) has been recently put forward too, after Aikhenvald (2011). For the advantages and disadvantages it poses see Section 1.3 below.

the construction. In Section 5 the different problems that a periphrastic analysis raises are presented, and two other alternatives are attempted instead. Conclusions are in Section 6.

2. To be or not to be a periphrasis. The Spanish view

Being or not a periphrasis turns out to be a central issue only when it comes to Spanish. It is the *Spanish view*. A section dedicated to make this point clear is necessary since, for the reasons that will become clear in the following lines, what I have called the *Spanish view* has had a great import in the research on the topic.

As it is observed in Bravo and García Fernández (2016:786), the notion of periphrasis as a unit of analysis is characteristic of certain frameworks, such as the functionalism, particularly in its Spanish version, as well as of inflectional morphology (see the discussion on this topic in Brown *et al.* 2012 as well as in Cruschina 2013, in particular), but it is completely absent from the generative approaches, for example. Models relying on this unit traditionally split periphrases into two big sub-classes depending either on their morpho-syntax or on their semantics (see also Anderson 2011:797 and references therein) so that the combination of an auxiliary verb, at least, with a lexical verb is expected to fit in any of these two classes. From the point of view of its morphology, Spa. auxiliary verbs select either for an infinitive, a gerund or a participle morphology on the lexical verb. Semantically, periphrases are traditionally considered to express aspect (lexical and grammatical), tense, modality, and, recently, also discourse notions (on the latter, see García Fernández 2006: 52-55).⁹ Spa. pseudo-coordinatives do not easily comply with the first of the two established criteria for a sequence of any two verbs to be defined as a periphrasis. As a consequence, they have persistently resisted any analysis. To overcome these difficulties it has been proposed to broaden the notion of periphrasis so as to be able to include <V1+ y + V2> sequences. As García Fernández and Krivochen (2019b: § 4.1) put it, what else could it be if it is not a verbal periphrasis? I will briefly review the existent proposals up to now.

García Fernández (2006: 10) simply argues that Spa. parallels in this particular point other languages with doubly inflected periphrases, and cites in a footnote Heine (1993: 37-39) as the source. As Heine is referring to serial verbs, this amounts to saying that <V1+ and + V2> is to be analyzed as a serial verb construction, however it is analyzed, and not as a periphrasis.¹⁰ Jaque *et al.* (2018: 171) include Spa. pseudo-coordinations in the class of Aikhenvald's (2011) *dependent multiverbal constructions*, while canonical periphrases are considered as *multiverbal constructions with an auxiliary verb*. Leaving aside Aikhenvald's own proposal, with respect to which I am not saying anything (on this issue see Anderson 2006, 2011 and Haspelmath 2016), Jaque's *et al.* proposal faces at least two problems. On the one hand, Aikhenvald's explicitly restrict this class to lexical verbs, auxiliary verbs being excluded. Strictly speaking, either the suggested extension is empirically inadequate, or the authors should modify Aikhenvald's classification in order to be able to include Spa. <V1 + and + V2> schema. Such a proposal, however, would turn out to be completely *ad hoc* and hence, lacking of any explicative dimension. The second problem is that it seems a purely nominal solution, and that no deep insight is gained

⁹ For the basic references, see Fábregas (2019) and references therein.

¹⁰ Heine (1993: 38-39) cites Danish pseudo-coordinations as an example of a serial verb construction, an analysis much debated (see Pullum 1990 and Zwicky 1990) and that largely relies on the notion of serial verb used. See Haspelmath (2016) and Aboh (2009) for quite opposite analyses.

with this change. In Jaque *et al.* (2019: 225, f. n. 4) it is acknowledged that this is just a descriptive label, and that we are just dealing with a monoclausal structure, however it is called.

Lastly, in Bravo, García Fernández and Krivochen (2015:74) we suggest including <V1 + *and* + V2> combinations in the third of the four groups of Anderson's (2006: 23-27) classification –see also García Fernández and Krivochen (2019b: § 4.1). From a cross-linguistic standpoint, Anderson divides periphrastic structures in the following four groups:

- A. Inflected auxiliary with unmarked lexical verb or marked as a non-finite form
- B. Non-finite auxiliary with non-finite lexical verb
- C. Inflected auxiliary with inflected lexical verb
- D. Unmarked or non-finite auxiliary with inflected lexical verb

At first sight, it seems quite reasonable to group *GO AND verb* patterns with structures of type C (an inflected auxiliary with an inflected lexical verb).¹¹ However, this classification is just part of the story, since it only aims at describing the periphrastic structures depending on the locus of inflectional morphology. The locus of inflectional morphology, hence, would function as the inflectional head, which in turn is distinct from the syntactic and the semantic heads. The former coincides always with the auxiliary verb, the latter with the lexical verb. Typologically, Spa. is of type A: no Spa. periphrasis allows for a type C construction, or for any other type. Accepting, thus, that exceptionally Spanish allows for periphrasis of type C is as *ad hoc* as Jaque's *et al.* hypothesis.¹² As I see it, broadening the definition of periphrasis may render it vacuous and, at the same time, it is not clear what we gain with this movement.

In addition to the formal problem, there exists the semantic problem: the semantics of the structure might have been adapted in order to make it compatible with the values a periphrasis is expected to convey. So, the different meanings Spanish pseudo-coordinations express have been standardly assigned to the realm of aspectuality, even though some of them are far away from it, as we will see.

¹¹ Spanish might also be a type B language since there are also non-finite auxiliary verbs, as in (Bravo, García Fernández & Krivochen 2015: 75) example *Es una lata tener que escucharle* 'It is a pain in the neck having to listen to him/her'. However, as Jaque *et al.* (2018) correctly point out, the infinitive here is imposed by the context, so it cannot be considered strictly a feature of the auxiliary verb. If there is any other verb in this same context, it has to be uninflected too (*Es necesario escucharle*, 'It is necessary to listen to him'). If this is the case, then it is not a typological property of Spa. auxiliary verbs and, consequently, Spa. is not a type B language either. Finally, considering that, as we will see (Section 3.4.1), V1 is also compatible with the infinitive (*Es una lata tener que coger y escucharle* lit. it is a tin have to take and listen him 'It is a pain in the neck having to take and listen to him') we will be forced to conclude that the very same structure that makes Spa. a type C language is simultaneously an instance of sub-class B.

In any case, observe that, allowing for any language to simultaneously belong to three different typological groups with respect to the same phenomenon distorts the very meaning of any typology.

¹² Jaque *et al.* (2018) argue that there is another of doubled inflected construction in Spa. It is exemplified in (i):

- (i) Está que se duerme.
 is that PFV.RFLX.3SG sleeps
 'He is about to fall asleep'

Cifuentes (2009) is the first to point out the auxiliary properties of this structure in Chilean Spa.

Finally, it doesn't certainly help that pseudo-coordination patterns are not as common and structurally widespread in Spanish as they are in other languages (Scandinavian, Italian dialects, English). Had things been different, the analysis of the <V1+ *and* + V2> scheme in Spanish wouldn't probably have been so highly oriented towards the periphrastic domain. This absolute absence of contact between the two domains is nicely illustrated by the mutual ignorance of the relevant work in the other area by the respective researchers of each area. Neither García Fernández (2006) nor Camus (2006) cite Camacho's short description of the pattern (Camacho 1999: 2661-2662) in his chapter on the coordination for the *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española* by Bosque and Demonte (1999) or his 1999 paper in collaboration with Arnaiz on this topic (Arnaiz and Camacho 1999). Similarly, in Jaque *et al.* (2018: 168) it is explicitly asserted that what they call *multiverbal constructions with finite verb* are not studied by any of the main reference grammars for Spanish: the already cited *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española* and the *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (RAE and ASALE 2009).¹³ With respect to the former, we have just proven that it is indeed described; with respect to the latter, the truth is that it is mentioned, very briefly, but cited, although in chapter 31, the one dedicated to the conjunction (RAE and ASALE 2009: § 31.2n). Conversely, from the standpoint of the coordination approaches (Camacho 1999, Arnaiz and Camacho 1999) the periphrastic, more traditional, view is absent. Thus, I would dare to say that these two papers on Spa. pseudo-coordinations are the only ones in which Coseriu's work is not cited. Similarly, Ross's (2014) otherwise very exhaustive review of the studies for Spanish forgets Camus's (2006) contribution to the *Diccionario de perífrasis verbales*.

In this paper, the issue of whether we are dealing or not with a periphrasis, and in that case, which periphrasis is it, will be dealt with at the end, as this paper's second aim.¹⁴

Up to now, there already exist quite a number of studies in which Spa. *GO AND verb* sequences are addressed; nonetheless, as we have just shown, it seems that Pullum's words about the generative literature on Eng. pseudo-coordinatives are, to some extent, applicable to us:

The literature of generative grammar has occasionally treated one or more of this collection of constructions, but as usual, the pattern of attribution, citation, and recognition of previous results is nothing less than a disagree. [...] There are numerous shortcomings in this cluster of works, many of which could have been avoided if later works had made use of the content of earlier ones and avoided the pitfalls they pointed out (Pullum 1990: 223).

¹³ Lit. 'cabe mencionar –para resaltar su ausencia– que las CMVFC no se recogen en los dos principales tratados contemporáneos en gramática del español: la *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, de Bosque y Demonte (1999) y la *Nueva gramática de la lengua española* (RAE y ASALE 2009)'.

In addition to this, it is still not clear to us also why there is no reference at all in Jaque *et al.* (2018) to the detailed description of the phenomenon that it is offered in the *Diccionario de perífrasis verbales*, where {*agarrar ~ coger ~ ir ~ llegar ~ saltar ~ venir*} *y verb* have their own section each (Camus 2006). The only mention in the paper is to its introduction (García Fernández 2006). This absence has been partially corrected in Jaque *et al.* (2019), which was published after the first version of this manuscript had already been sent.

¹⁴ One is tempted to feel, with Pullum (1990:224), that this is a 'purely terminological issue' and, consequently, to conclude that 'the definitional question of whether we really want to use the term 'serial verbs' ['periphrasis', in this case, Author] for any of the English constructions discussed above is not important' (Pullum 1990: 226).

Thus, the present research finds justification even if it is just to overcome this situation as regards the work about Spa. pseudo-coordination.

3. The grammar of the Spa. <V1 + y + V2> pattern

3.1. Introduction

In what pertains to the grammatical properties, the discussion supports the conclusion that the Spa. <V1 + y + V2> sequences should be split into two classes: the *ir* class and the *agarrar* class, depending mainly on whether the V1 allows (the *agarrar* class) or not (the *ir* class) for an agentive reading. This distinction has been recently proposed for Eng. pseudo-coordinations by Krivochen and Schmerling (2017) and it partially coincides with Ekberg's (1993), Vannebo (2003) and Wiklund's (2007) analysis for Swedish and Norwegian, too. This cross-linguistic parallelism confirms García Sánchez (2007) hypothesis with respect to the close connection existing between the semantics of the lexical verb and the meaning it conveys as an auxiliary verb (see also, although in quite different frameworks and with the precisions to be made in this paper, Stefanowitsch 1999 and Wiklund 2007). This is, as it is well known, the semantic retention hypothesis due to Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994), and it is also the working hypothesis in Heine (1993) and Anderson (2006) for studying the auxiliaries that develop out of serial verb constructions. I will come back to this issue in Section 3.4.2. Interestingly enough, though, the distinction is completely absent from the research on Spa. pseudo-coordinatives, excepting García Sánchez's (2007) already cited paper, an observation found in Camus (2006), who, nevertheless does not follow up on it, and García Fernández and Krivochen's recent proposal (2019b: § 4.6) to distinguish between *ir y* and *coger y* in terms of agentivity. Although the analysis defended here coincides partially with theirs, the data I offer here shows that the distinction is not always that clear cut.

The degree of grammaticalization of V1 correlates with restrictions on V1, absence or not of selectional restrictions on V2, the degree of compliance with the sameness condition, the compatibility with temporal modifiers and, finally, the compatibility and scope of negation.

3.2. Restricted set of verbs in V1

As it has been repeatedly observed, the verbs that may serve as V1 in pseudo-coordination structures are limited both in number and as regards their meaning. While the list of verbs is subject to geographical variation (see Camus 2006: 98, Ross 2014: 125-126 and references therein), the semantic classes that enter in this structure remain up to now more or less stable since the phenomenon was first documented in the XVI century: namely, it is restricted to motion verbs, on the one hand, and to taking verbs, on the other (see García Sánchez 2007 and Ross 2014 for a review both of the historical documentation and the first systematic studies), the extension to motion verbs being more recent. They have been documented also *ponerse*, lit. to put oneself 'to engage' and *saltar*, lit. to jump. We will leave them outside for the reasons to be explained in Section 3.3. just below.

According to Camus 2006: 98, García Sánchez 2007 and Ross 2014: 125-126, and the references therein, the verbs that can occupy the first position in contemporary Spa. are the following:

i. In the GO class: *ir* 'to go', *llegar* 'to arrive' and *venir* 'to come'. In Section 3.3. it will be shown that *llegar* and *venir* might present a more restricted distribution.

ii. In the TAKE class: *coger* ‘to take’ and *agarrar* lit. ‘to grasp, clutch’. *Tomar* lit. ‘to take’ is not used anymore nowadays.

Geographically, variation in the lexical preferences is found in the TAKE class. Thus, *coger* is almost exclusively used in the European Spanish (ES) variety, being substituted for *agarrar* in American Spanish. Examples of the two classes from different varieties are offered in (5) and (6):

- (5) a. ¡**Van** y **me** **lo** **visten** con ropa extraña!
go.PRS.3PL and DAT.ISG ACC.3SG.MASC dress.PRS.3PL with clothe strange
 ‘They go and dress him with strange clothes!’
 [Ospina Navas, Arley, *Fair Landscape. Paisajes sobre lo siniestro*. Colombia. CORPES XXI].
- b. Yasumari: ¡Calabazo [sic] empújala a venir!
Yasumari: Calabazo push.imp.2sg-acc.3sg.fem to come
 Yasumari: Calabazo, make her come!
 Calabazo: ¡No! **Va** y **le** **da** un patatús.
Calabazo: no goes and DAT.3SG gives a shock
 Calabazo: No! She will go and crack up!
 [Durango Polo, José. *Ñinga culpable*. Panama. CORPES XXI].
- c. Entonces, **va** y **me** **dice** que...
then goes and DAT.ISG says that
 ‘Then, he goes and says that...’
 [Electorat, Mauricio, *La burla del tiempo*. Chile. CORPES XXI].
- (6) a. En vez de eso **coge** y **se** **va** de vacaciones.
in time of this takes and reflex.3sg goes of holiday
 ‘Instead of this, he just takes and goes on holiday’
 [<http://blogs.20minutos.es>. Spain. *CDE:NOW*]
- b. Giménez agregó que " cuando mi suegro cae, sin piedad,
 g. added that when my father-in-law falls, without piety
agarra y **le** **vuelve a pegar** ".
takes and ACC.3SG.MASC comes to hit
 ‘G. added that ‘as soon as his father in law falls, he [the murderer] takes and hit him back without any piety’.
 [<http://www.puranoticia.cl/>. Chile. *CDE:NOW*]

It should be noted that the two classes are not mutually exclusive. Both the GO-class and the TAKE-class coexist in all the varieties. In the examples up to now, the GO-example in (1) and the TAKE-example in (6a) belong to the ES variety. The GO-example in (5c) is from Chile, as well as the TAKE-example in (5b). Although the precise distribution can only be known upon a detailed corpus based analysis, the fact that they coexist can be taken as an argument in favour of the hypothesis that there are two different classes, each with its own semantics.

It is also a well-known property that these verbs cannot be substituted for any other with similar semantics, but more specific (Camus 2006: 100 for Spa., Wiklund 2007:130 for Sw.). Hence, the use of *dirigirse* (‘to head’) or *desplazarse* (‘to go’), in the GO-class, or *asir*, *prender* (‘to grab, to clutch’), in the TAKE-class in the examples above would render the sentences ungrammatical. This behavior is well-described in

the grammaticalization studies in terms of preference for the generic member of the class (Heine 1993: 29).¹⁵

This property has been traditionally taken to prove, in conjunction with some others, that it is not a true coordination structure, but a fake coordination or a pseudo-coordination. Furthermore, as far as the different readings are preserved regardless of the verb that appears in the V1 position, it seems that the meaning of pseudo-coordination structures depends on the verb in V1 as much as on the structure. If this is the case, we might be more properly facing a construction rather than a periphrasis (see Sections 4 and 5).

3.3. *Absence of lexical meaning*

A second requisite of verbs in the first position is the lack of lexical meaning.¹⁶ Thus, if V1 is a motion verb, there cannot be entailed any sense of change of location on the part of the syntactic subject. In the relevant work, the motion reading is referred to by the term of *distal reading*, and it is the terminology that I will use here too (see f.n. 12). Similarly, TAKE-class verbs would not convey any action of grasping any object by an agent. More technically, verbs in the V1 position lack argument structure, hence, do not subcategorize for any argument nor, in principle, are able to assign any thematic role. This point will become clear with the following examples. The two sentences in (7) allow for a distal reading, the preferred, and a pseudo-coordination reading: for the former to obtain there must be a change of location of the Theme; otherwise, *ir* is functioning as an auxiliary verb.¹⁷

- (7) a. Una tarde, mirando el estante, descubro una edición de lujo de *La isla del tesoro*. **Voy y tomo** el libro. Y advierto que... **DISTAL / AUX**
 ‘One afternoon, while I was looking at the shelf, I found out a deluxe edition of *The Treasury Island*. I go and get the book. I realize, then, that...’
 [Domínguez Vial, Luis. *El pianista que mandan llamar*. Chile. CORPES XXI]
- b. (Se levanta violento consigo y gira sobre sí mismo.) Yo pude, yo pude ser... (Un sollozo lo ahoga. **Va y se derrumba** (...) sobre la silla’ **DISTAL / AUX**
 ‘(He stands up feeling violent at himself and revolves around himself). I could, I could have been... (He was being choked by sobs. He goes and collapses into the chair...’
 [León Fullea, Gerardo, *Voy por cigarros*. Cuba. CORPES XXI]

¹⁵ The generic member is (i) the semantically least constrained member of that domain, (ii) exhibits the widest scope of usage, and (iii) is substitutable for other members of the domain, while the opposite does not hold (Heine 1993: 29, who cites Mkhathswa (1991: 130 and ff.).

¹⁶ Cross-linguistically this is not necessary the case. Depending on the analysis and on the language, <V1 + *and* + V2> combinations where V1 either keeps its lexical meaning, or is only minimally grammaticalized, might be analyzed as instances of pseudo-coordination. This is the case of Italian double inflected constructions (Cardinaletti and Giusti 2000), of the Eng. *go and* verb (see de Vos 2005 and Wiklund 2007), as well as the Swedish pseudo-coordination sequences (Stefanowistch 1999), or Danish and Afrikaans *sit and* verb sequences, according to Biberauer and Vikner (2017). Specifically, when the motion meaning is preserved, they are described as *distal*, also *andative*, readings by several authors (see Cruschina 2013: 279, Wiklund 2007, and references therein). The strict definition we adopt here is also found in Krivochev & Schemerling (2017) and Colaço Goç Alves (2010), a.o.

¹⁷ From now onwards morphological glosses will be given only if there is particular morphological feature to be emphasized. Translation is approximate.

Under the motion reading in (7a), the standpoint from which the narrator (and referent of the syntactic subject) is looking at the shelf is distinct from the location of the shelf, and hence, *ir* may be substituted for *acercarse* ‘to approach, come closer to’: *Me acerco y tomo el libro*, ‘I approach (the shelf) and take the book’. This is the contiguous or consecutive reading, and also the less marked one according to the context (See Bynon 1985:107 –who credits Welmers 1973, Zwicky 1990: section 7.3 and de Vos’ 2005 discussion on Scene-Coordination) and discussion on Section 4.2. However, (7a) also allows for a reading in which the narrator is standing in front of the shelf and he just decides to take the book, and he takes it. In that second case, the meaning conveyed would be that of strong determination on the part of the subject, which was precisely one the meanings attributed cross-linguistically to the <V1 + *and* + V2> scheme (see Section 1.1. above and Section 4 below), and *ir* can be replaced by *agarrar* or *coger*, depending on the variety: *Agarro y tomo el libro*, ‘I decide to take the book out’.

Similarly, in (7b) under the motion reading the participant approaches the chair, while in the reading corresponding to the <V1 + *and* + V2> scheme, the action of sitting on the chair is presented as unexpected as long as it is interpreted as representing a sudden change in the course of the events. In fact, example (7b) is very interesting since it is an extract of a drama and the sentences between round brackets are stage directions, so different readings would rend different plays. The content of the first instruction (to stand up, to revolve) allows for a motion reading according to which the actor would move around the stage, but the other one is not excluded either. This sort of contexts, in which neither of the readings, the old, lexical, one and the new, more grammaticalized one, is clear are called bridge-context and are the ones that trigger the grammaticalization processes (see Eckardt 2006: 234, and Traugott & Dasher 2002).

Syntactically, the goal argument is recoverable under the lexical reading (8a). In addition to this, extraction of a constituent out of the second conjunct is supposed to be possible in the <V1 + *and* + V2> structure (8b). Extraction of the constituent rules out the motion reading –discard in (8b) the across-the-board reading:

- (8) a. Va hacia la silla y se derrumba sobre ella.
 ‘He heads to the chair and collapses in to it’
 b. La silla sobre la que va y se derrumba.
 ‘The chair that he goes and collapses in to’

It has also been pointed out that the two readings correlate with two different prosodic patterns. See on this Section 3.6.

Insofar as TAKE-verbs are concerned, there are less potentiality ambiguous cases due to, mainly, the fact that, pragmatically, there are fewer occasions in which two verbs are coordinated and share the internal argument.¹⁸ (9a) and (9b) are both ambiguous, although the lexical reading suits better according to the context:

¹⁸ Thus, if the two verbs are semantically related it is more reliable, in pragmatics terms, to be able to coordinate them (Camacho 1999: 2660-61).

- (9) a. Y mató al gorila de 17 años, [sic] que **agarró y arrastró** a un niño pequeño que cayó a un foso. [CDE: NOW] TAKE / AUX
 ‘And he killed the 17 years old gorila, who grabbed and, then, dragged a little boy, who had fallen into the fose’
 b. Bustinza **agarró y derribó** en el área al ariete argentino, que trataba de llegar a... [CDE: NOW] TAKE / AUX
 ‘Bustinza clutched and, then, clutched down the battering-ram of the team, who was trying to get into the...’

TAKE-class verbs, being transitive, present an additional restriction, since clitics in general cannot be coordinated (Bosque 1987, Camacho 1999: 2662-2663). Hence, not being (10a) equivalent to (10b) nor to (10c), it cannot either be derived via grammaticalization from them, against García Sánchez 2007: 168 (who is crediting Morreale’s work) –see also along the same lines Garcí Fernández and Krivochen (2019: § 4.6):

- (10) a. *Agarro y lo mato.* *TAKE / AUX
 ‘I take and kill him’
 b. **Agarro \emptyset_i y lo $_i$ mato.*
 c. *Lo $_i$ agarro y lo $_i$ mato.* TAKE / *AUX
 ‘I catch him and kill him’

The previous discussion is relevant in order to clarify whether the list of V1 verbs in Spanish can be enlarged with *llegar* ‘to arrive’ and *venir* ‘to come’, as it is defended by Jaque *et al.* 2018 and García Sánchez 2007, respectively. As regards *venir*, although García Sánchez 2007:168 includes it with no further explanation and only one very dubious example, due to Dietrich 1983: 121 (see (11a)), the example in Jaque *et al.* (2018: 175, ex. (22b)) clearly allows for including *venir* in the GO-class verbs:

- (11) a. *Viene y hace.* DISTAL / *AUX
 ‘He comes and makes’
 b. *No es un tema que yo **vengo y lo corto**. No ha estado funcionando.*
 ‘It is not something that I just decide to stop. It hasn’t been working.’
 [<https://ww2.elmercurio.com.ec/2019/06/22/proyecto-del-coro-y-orquesta-infanto-juvenil-esta-suspendido/> Ecuador. CDE: NOW] DISTAL / AUX
 c. *Hay una ruptura de un preacuerdo entre Tarija y el Gobierno que **viene y lo rompe**.* DISTAL / AUX
 ‘There was a pre-agreement between Tarija and the government, but the government just decides to break it’
 [<http://elciudadanodetarija.com/preacuerdos-entre-gobierno-y-gobernacion-quedan-en-nada-por-la-variante-canaletas-entre-rios/> Bolivia. Google]

Unless some more information is given, *venir* in (11a) refers to a deictically oriented displacement of the subject. No other meaning seems possible. This is not the case in (11b) or (11c). In both examples the distal reading is not impossible; however, it is not the preferred one. That this is indeed the case can be proven because *venir* might be substituted for either a TAKE-VERB or by *ir* in (11b) and (11c) without significantly affecting the general meaning of the construction. It should be noted also that *venir* seems to be more frequent in the American Spanish varieties than in the ES ones.

With respect to *llegar*, the examples with *llegar* in Jaque *et al.* (2018) entail motion towards a deictic reference point distinct from the original location of the syntactic subject. This is the case, for example, in *Pedro estaba sentado y la policía llegó y lo detuvo* (ex. (28a)), lit. P. was seated and the police arrived and him arrested, or *Llegó y lloró*, lit. arrived and cried, where the goal, implicit, coincides with the place where the eventuality described by V2 takes place (consecutive reading). In their (37b) *Tú no podís llegar y decir algunas cosas*, lit. you not can arrive and say some things, not only *llegar* can substituted for *aparecer* ‘to appear’ without any change in the overall meaning (see (12)), so a distal reading is maintained, but also it is far away from being a use particular of the Chilean variety:

- (12) Hay un público súper ávido por temas de conspiraciones y el tema en general de esta “verdad oculta” requiere también de una gran responsabilidad. Tú no **podís llegar y decir** algunas cosas. DISTAL / *AUX
 ‘There is a public eager for conspiracy themes, and the general theme of this “hidden truth” also requires a great deal of responsibility. You can’t just {arrive ~ appear} and say certain things’.
[\[https://www.eldinamo.cl/cultpop/2015/02/03/francisco-ortega-logia-verbo-kaifman-conspiraciones/9/\]](https://www.eldinamo.cl/cultpop/2015/02/03/francisco-ortega-logia-verbo-kaifman-conspiraciones/9/), Jaque *et al.* 2018, ex. (37b) expanded].

In what pertains to Jaque’s *et al.* (2018: 180) *Llegó y llovió*, lit. arrived and rained, it is the only example in which the distal reading is excluded. However, a research on Google renders no results for it, and just one for *Llega y llueve*, lit. arrives and rains. It should be added that, contrary to what is expected, it is an example of ES. Similar results are obtained after a search of *Llega y llueve*, *Llegó y llovió*, and *Llega y se cae*, lit. arrives and falls, in the *NOW* corpus of the *CDE*, where there isn’t even just one example which undoubtedly illustrates the lack of lexical meaning of *llegar*.¹⁹ The paradigm in (13) shows that only *llegar* imposes a distal reading, that is, only in (13c) the two participants do not share the same location from the beginning:

- (13) a. Esta mañana Juan **va y me dice** que... *DISTAL / AUX
this morning J. goes and DAT.ISG tells me that...
 ‘This morning Juan goes and tells me that...’
 b. Esta mañana Juan **agarra y me dice** que... *TAKE / AUX
this morning J. takes and DAT.ISG tells that...

¹⁹ In Jaque *et al.* (2019) there are clearer examples of *llegar* devoid of any sense of movement. The example in (i) is close to Jaque’s *et al.* ex. (33) (2019: 233) and is the only one found in the *NOW* Corpus, the example in (ii) is from Google, and interestingly, the blog is from Costa Rica:

- (i) Lo que acá están haciendo es abaratar costos [...]. Errázuriz **llegó y vendió** Laborum
 What here are doing is lower costs [...] E. arrived and sold L.
[\[http://economia.terra.cl/cut-denuncia-que-copesa-despedira-a-58-trabajadores,54965cec1a304410VgnVCM3000009af154d0RCRD.html\]](http://economia.terra.cl/cut-denuncia-que-copesa-despedira-a-58-trabajadores,54965cec1a304410VgnVCM3000009af154d0RCRD.html) Chile. *CDE: NOW*
 (ii) Llegué y vendí el SE [...] y [...] me conseguí un nokia viejito gsm.
 Arrived and sold the SE and me got an nokia old.DIMINUTIVE gsm
[\[https://forodecostarica.com/computacion-internet-y-tecnologia/29174-problema-sms-nokia.html#post524587\]](https://forodecostarica.com/computacion-internet-y-tecnologia/29174-problema-sms-nokia.html#post524587). Costa Rica. Google]

The fact that there are no examples with impersonal verbs with *llegar* in the past (cfr. **Llegó and llovió* lit. arrived and rained) might support an analysis for *llegar* as a TAKE-class verb. See on this Section 3.4.2.

- c. Esta mañana Juan **llega y me dice** que... DISTAL / *AUX
this morning J. arrives and DAT.ISG tells that...

and the same conclusion can be reached by comparing Jaque's *et al.* (28a) example, our (124a), with (14b) and (14c):

- (14) a. Pedro estaba sentado y la policía **llegó y lo detuvo.** DISTAL / *AUX
 'P. was seated and the police arrived and arrested him'
 b. Pedro estaba sentado y la policía **fue y lo detuvo.** DISTAL / AUX
 'P. was seated and the police went and arrested him'
 c. Pedro estaba sentado y la policía **agarró y lo detuvo.** *TAKE / AUX
 'P. was seated and the police just took and arrested him'

Observe that the eventualities linked by the consecutive reading in (14a), (14b) and (14c) vary depending on whether the V1 is lexical or not. Thus, in (14a) there is an eventuality of arriving, which is posterior, and not necessarily causally related to, the eventuality of being Pedro seated. In (14b) and (14c), on the contrary, being arrested is definitely subsequent to being seated (and not to any other eventuality), and –more in (14b) than in (14c), caused by it, pretty much as in *Pedro estaba sentado y la policía lo detuvo*, lit. P. was seated and the police him arrested, without a pseudo-coordinating verb. See more on this in Section 4.

The paradigm in (13) reveals, however, that as far as V1 is in the present tense, it is to some extent irrelevant whether V1 is lexical or not –the conclusion even holds for *venir* 'to come', *Esta mañana Juan viene y me dice que...* lit. this morning J. comes and says me. The meaning of counter expectation remains unchanged regardless of the verbs in V1. In fact, as we will see, this is a very strong argument against a periphrastic analysis and in favour of the construction one.

Syntactically, there are some very well-known properties that follow from the lack of lexical content of a verb, namely, decategorialization –that is, the loss of verbal properties (see Heine 1993: 55, from whom we borrow the term, and references therein), no subcategorization for the syntactic subject, grammatical meaning, monoclausality. Traditionally, this bunch of properties has been taken as an index of the grammatical nature of the verb, and hence, of its auxiliary condition, and they are all intertwined. I will briefly review them here since, as regards Spa. *GO AND verb* scheme, they have all been already described, except for a couple of them, not trivial, though.

3.4. V1 as an auxiliary verb

3.4.1. Decategorialization

In what pertains to *ir*, the relevant meaning is restricted to the present tense morphology. This present morphology appears on two apparently quite different contexts: i. the historical present (15a), and ii. a sort of prospective present tense (15b) –see Sections 4.3 and 5.2:

- (15) a. Y entonces, **va y me cuenta** que ha llamado mi hermana. (=1)
and then goes and DAT.ISG tells that has called my sister
 'And then he (or she) goes and tells me that my sister has called'

b. Para cuando lleguéis a Barrio, a casa de la abuelita, seguro que ya están ahí los cazadores y pim pam pum, **van y te salvan**.

‘By the time you have arrived to Barrio, to granny’s, for sure the hunters will be already there, and pim pam pum, they go and save your life’

[Cerezales, Agustín, *Mi viajera. Ciervos errantes y tigres invisibles*. Spain. CORPES XXI].

Out of this reduced set, things get messy. Simple past is possible as long as either the meaning is that of annoyance (16a) or of intentionality (16b), in general. As we will see, the latter -better than the former, may alternate with *agarrar*. Otherwise, the sentence seems rather deviant (contrary to Camus’ 2006: 100-101, ex. (11a)), see (16c):

(16) a. La tía Lucila (...) **fue y metió la pata** con un camionero. Menos mal que no quedó preñada.

‘Aunt Lucila went and screwed it up with a truck driver. Luckily she didn’t get pregnant’

[Burgos, José Joaquín, *Don Juan de los Poderes*. Venezuela. CORPES XXI].

b. A Vilo Botas hacía ya tiempo que le venían soliviantando las constantes borracheras de su padre y por eso (...) **fue y le respondió...**

[Royuela, Fernando: *La pasión según las fieras*. Spain. CORPES XXI]

It had been for already a long time that Vilo Botas had been feeling upset at his father’s constant drinking so it was for this reason that he went and answered him...

c. ?? El avión **fue y despegó** en un santiamén. (Camus 2006: 101, ex. (11a))

‘The plane went and took off easily’

The substitution of *ir* for *agarrar* leaves the meaning unchanged only in (16b); as for (16c), it is clearly pragmatically odd (??*El avión agarró y despegó en un santiamén* ‘The plane took and leave the ground easily’). In García Fernández and Krivochen (2019: § 4.6) this asymmetry between GO-verbs and TAKE-verbs is acknowledged, although it is attributed both to the *Aktionsart* and the (lack of) agentivity of V2 at the same time, without any reference to the tense information. These authors observe that if V2 is agentive

‘the difference in acceptability disappears to the point that we have no preference of one form [*ir y, AB*] over the other [*agarrar y, AB*] as regards its grammaticality, the only difference being the meaning as far as *ir y* conveys a nuance of surprise [...] absent in *coger y*’.²⁰

Crucially, in all the deviant cases the tense of V1 is the simple past (see (17), García Fernández and Krivochen 2019b, ex. (59b-d)). If V1 is instead in the simple present, all the examples become grammatical and natural (18):

(17) a. #**Fue y cayó** en un pajar.
went and fell in a barn

²⁰ ‘En este caso, la diferencia de aceptabilidad se desdibuja, hasta tal punto que no tenemos preferencia por una sobre la otra en términos de gramaticalidad. Sí parece haber una diferencia de significado, y reside en que *ir y* introduce un elemento de sorpresa en el sentido en que el evento denotado por el verbo es inesperado, que está ausente en *coger y*’. García Fernández and Krivochen (2019b: § 4.6)

- b. ***Fue y rompió** a llorar.
went and broke-out to cry
- c. #**Fue y llovió**.
went and rained
- (18) a. **Va y cae** en un pajar.
goes and fall in a barn
 ‘He goes and falls in a barn.’
- b. **Va y rompe** a llorar.
goes and breaks-out to cry
 ‘He goes and breaks down in tears.’
- c. **Va y llueve**.
goes and rains
 ‘It goes and rains.’

A search in Google of the sequences *fue y le {respondió ~ contestó}*, lit. went and him answered, ‘He went and answered him’ renders no results, while all the cases of *fue y le dijo* lit. went and him told ‘He went and told to him...’ are instances of lexical *go* in the distal reading and a consecutive interpretation (19):

- (19) "Y si le pegaron a su hijo, Nahuel, por qué no **fue y lo defendió**. Por qué no **fue y le dijo** 'A ver Nahuel, qué pasó...'
 DISTAL / *AUX
 ‘And if his son, Nahuel, was beaten, why didn’t he just go and defend him? Why didn’t he go and say ‘All right, Nahuel, what was it?’
[\[https://www.soyfutbol.com/tendencias/Jose-Ramon-Fernandez-revienta-a-Tomas-Boy-de-las-Chivas-del-Guadalajara-20190904-0009.html\]](https://www.soyfutbol.com/tendencias/Jose-Ramon-Fernandez-revienta-a-Tomas-Boy-de-las-Chivas-del-Guadalajara-20190904-0009.html). México.
 Google]

Results are a little bit different if the sequences searched are *fue y {dijo ~ respondió}* lit. went and {said ~ answered}, *va y {dice ~ responde}*, lit. goes and {says ~ answers}, *fue y llegó* lit. went and arrived, *va y llega*, lit. goes and arrives. In this case, the *NOW* subcorpus renders the results shown in Table 1:

TABLE 1. Distribution of *ir y* depending on the tense of *V1*

	Total	Aux	Distal	%
<i>fue y dijo</i>	45	18	27	40%
<i>va y dice</i>	114	108	6	95%
<i>fue y respondió</i>	0	—	—	—
<i>va y responde</i>	6	4	2	67%
<i>fue y llegó</i>	0	—	—	—
<i>va y llega</i>	40	11	29	27,5%

As it can be appreciated, out of the three searches for *ir y* as *V1* in the simple past, two render no result (*fue y respondió* and *fue y llegó*). These results clearly contrast with the results for *ir y* in the simple present and for TAKE-class verbs. In this case, it is possible to find examples in Google where there were none for *ir y* (see (19) above):

- (20) a. Entonces, ella **agarró y le contestó**.
 ‘Then, she took and answered him’
[\[https://ecoscordoba.com.ar/%E2%80%99Cel-nudo-vial-nos-arruino-la-vida%E2%80%9D/\]](https://ecoscordoba.com.ar/%E2%80%99Cel-nudo-vial-nos-arruino-la-vida%E2%80%9D/). Argentina. Google]

b. Y entonces ella **cogió y le dijo** al marido.

‘And then she took and said to his husband’.

[<https://funjdiaz.net/folklore/07ficha2.php?ID=2782>. Spain. Google]

The data presented so far, hence, supports the analysis defended here that GO-verbs and TAKE-verbs are to be divided according to their compatibility with different tenses.

If the present tense in (15) is replaced by the imperfect, a generic or habitual reading is obtained (Camus 2006: 101):

(21) a. Y entonces, **iba y me contaba** que...

‘And then, he (or she) used to go and tell me that...’

b. Seguro que ya estaban ahí los cazadores y pim pam pum, **iban y te salvaban**.

‘For sure the hunters were already there and pim pam pum they just went and save your life’

The substitution for the imperfect helps, furthermore, to make evident the lexical meaning of *ir* in (19) (see (22d)), whilst changing the meaning of the <V1 + y + V2> sequences in (16a) and (16b) from expressing annoyance to expressing intentionality, decidedness or planning in general (see (22a) and (22b)). Finally, (15c) seems to improve as the meaning now is that of planning, somehow (22c):

(22) a. La tía Lucila (...) **iba y metía la pata** con un camionero...

‘Aunt Lucila used to go and screw it up with a truck driver...’

b. ... y por eso (...) **iba y le respondía**...

‘... so it was for this reason that whenever he could he used to answer him...’

c. ?? Cada vez que pasaba eso, el avión **iba y despegaba** en un santiamén.

‘Whenever this used to happen, the plane just used to take off easily’

d. ‘... por qué no **iba y lo defendía**. Por qué no **iba y le decía**...’ DISTAL / *AUX (=19)

‘Why didn’t he just go and defend him? Why didn’t he go and say...’

In fact, out of 1000 of examples from the CORPES XXI, only 80 were examples of *iba y*, and out of this 80, only one might feature the <V1 + *and* + V2> pattern, and it is not clear either, since a distal reading is not to be discarded:

(23) Y, cuando (...) le podía la gana de ajustarle las cuentas al mundo, **iba y aplicaba** a la botella el morro hasta... DISTAL / AUX

‘And, when she just didn’t stand it anymore, she just used to go and get stucked to the bottle until...’

[Royuela, Fernando, *La pasión según las fieras*. Spain. CORPES XXI]

The simple future seems to render acceptable sentences if the meaning is resultative (24b) or more predictive (24c), but more deviant in other cases (24a):

(24) a. ??Y entonces, **irá y me contará** que...

‘And then, he (or she) will go and and tell me that...’

- b. Seguro que ya estarán ahí los cazadores y pim pam pum, **irán y te salvarán**.
 ‘For sure the hunters will already be there and pim pam pum they will just go and save your life’
- c. La tía Lucila (...) **irá y meterá la pata** con un camionero...
 ‘For sure, Aunt Lucila will go and screw it up with a truck driver...’

(24a) is clearly less well-formed than the same sentence but with a TAKE-verb instead –see also the following discussion:

- (25) a’. Y entonces **cogerá y me contará** que...
 ‘And then he will take and tell me that...’

As for the rest of the tenses, compound tenses are clearly rejected under the relevant readings, as well as, what is more important, the imperative (26), a fact unnoticed up to now, as far as I know.²¹ Thus, in (26) the only possible reading is the distal one:

- (26) **Ve y cuénta-le** que... DISTAL / *AUX
go.IMP.2SG and tell.IMP.2SG-DAT.2SG that

The infinitive is accepted, although it seems to be restricted to the intentional meaning, as far as there are no examples with non-agentive predicates, such as *saber* ‘to know’ or *gustar* ‘to like’ or with impersonal verbs, as *llover* ‘to rain’. In addition to this, *ir* can be replaced by a TAKE-verb in all the cases:

- (27) a. No entiendo cómo es que una chica joven puede **ir**
not understand.PRS.1SG how is that one girl young can.PRS.3SG go.INF
y matar- se a sí misma.
and kill.INF-DAT.3SG.REFLX to REFLX.3SG self
 ‘I don’t understand how a young girl can go and kill herself’.
 [Mexico. CDE: NOW]
- b. La danza es una ligación de todo, [...] vos no podés **ir y pararte**.
 ‘When you dance, everything should be connected. You can’t just go and stop’.
<http://www.lapagina.com.sv/nacionales/69207/2012/07/20/Alcira-Alonso-51-anos-de-arte-temple-y-devocion>. El Salvador. CDE: NOW]
- c. Al **ir y tratar** de atrapar al niño ladrón de ropas de santo, el niño se desvaneció al pie de una roca.
 ‘As he went and tried to catch the thieving saint’s clothes child, the child vanished at the foot of a rock’.
<http://diegonishiyama.com/en/blog-2-en/117-lord-of-qoyllurit-i-the-festival-of-stars-and-snow>. Peru. CDE: NOW]
- d. En este tipo de competencia hay que hacer algo que te vaya a salir (...) Caerse no vale nada (...) Si querés que te vaya bien, tenés que **ir y caer** parado.
 ‘In this type of competition you have to do something that is going to come out (...) Falling is not worth anything (...) If you want to succeed, you have to

²¹ Interestingly, the distal meaning is somewhat loosen if the imperative is rhetorical (see on this Bravo 2017), as in *Vete tú a saber*, lit. go you to know, ‘Who knows’, *Ve tú y cuéntale que...* lit. go you and tell him that... ‘I am not going to tell him anything’. I leave this issue open for further research.

go and fall standing up’.

[<https://www.lanacion.com.ar/2110690-juegos-olimpicos-de-invierno-pyeongchang-2018-el-argentino-matias-schmitt-y-su-estreno-en-el-big-air-siempre-me-gusto-hacer-locuras>. Argentina. CDE: NOW]

TAKE-class verbs, on the contrary, do not present any restriction:

- (28) a. En ese momento, Juan {**agarra y se va ~ agarró y se fue ~ agarraba y se iba ~ agarrará y se irá**}.
 ‘In that momento, J. {take and leaves ~ took and left ~ used to take and leave ~ will take and leave}.’
- b. Esta mañana Juan **ha cogido y se ha ido**.
this morning J. has taken and RFLX.3SG has left
- c. Luis dijo que Juan **había cogido y se había ido**.
L. said that J. had taken and RFLX.3SG had left
- (29) a. **Agarra y dile** lo que piensas.
take.IMP.2SG and say.IMP.2SG-DAT.3SG what that think.PRES.2SG
- b. No entiendo cómo es que una chica joven puede **coger y matarse a sí misma** (= (27a))
 ‘I don’t understand how a young girl can just take and kill herself’.
- c. ...vos no podés **coger y pararte**. (= (27b))
 ‘You can’t just take and stop’.
- d. Al **coger y tratar** de atrapar al niño... (= (27c))
 ‘As he tried to catch the child...’
- e. Si querés que te vaya bien, tenés que **coger y caer** parado. (= (27d))
 ‘If you want to succeed, you have to take and fall standing up’.

The licensing of infinitival forms seems to depend largely on the context, though: whilst TAKE-verbs may appear in the complement of sensorial perception verbs (30a), GO-verbs are clearly odd (30b):

- (30) a. Vi a Juan **coger y {decir / largarse / romper-lo}**
saw.PFV.1sg to J. take.INF and say.INF / leave.inf / break-ACC.3SG.MASC
 delante de mis narices.
in-front of my noses
- b. */?? Vi a Juan **ir y {decir / largarse / romper-lo}**
saw.PFV.1sg to J. go.INF and say.INF / leave.inf / break-ACC.3SG.MASC
 delante de mis narices.
in-front of my noses

The compatibility with perception verbs is traditionally taken to prove that the infinitive only projects up to the VP (or vP) level (see Carrasco Gutiérrez 2014 and references therein). At the same time, in the following sections we will see that the absence of differences with respect to other tests suggests that we are not dealing with two different structures so our analysis will have to make sense of these two contradictory conclusions. For example: perception verbs reject *ir y* but *ir y* may appear in the infinitive with the same meaning of TAKE-class verbs, so we have here an asymmetry that our analysis should be able to account for.

To sum up: GO-verbs show clear restrictions with respect to both the tenses they are compatible with and the meanings they can convey with each tense. Namely,

compound tenses as well as the imperative are clearly excluded. Other tenses, such as the infinitive, seem to be restricted to predictive or introducing-a-result readings. None of these restrictions affect TAKE-verbs, so we can safely conclude that TAKE-verbs are less grammaticalized than GO-verbs. This situation matches with the well-known generalization about intentional meanings, or agent-oriented meanings in general, being always less grammaticalized than speaker-oriented meanings (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, a.o.).²² The former would be expressed by TAKE-verbs as V1, and the latter by GO-verbs. This situation correlates with the data in (30), since the VPs layer is also the layer where the thematic information is introduced.

In addition to this, the fact that some tenses, such as the imperfect or the infinitive, require a certain reading, regardless of the verb that occupies the first position, probably may be considered to show that the meaning depends more on the structure than on the lexical items. This is an idea that has been going around for years under different theories (Pullum, de Vos, Wiklund, Stefanoswitch) and it is also one of the conclusions that we will be defending in this paper. Finally, the fact that the imperative only triggers the distal reading might be morphological in origin: being the imperative of *ir* a suppletive form, it would be marked for this meaning.²³

3.4.2. The selection of the subject

The previous conclusions concerning the existence of two different <V1 + *and* + V2> sequences in Spanish depending on the level of grammaticalization of V1 correlates with two other properties related to the selectional restrictions of V1. Thus, only V1 GO-verbs accept weather verbs (31a), impersonal verbs (31b), non-agentive verbs (31c), and passive complements ((31d) and (31e)), all restricted to the historical present –although all the examples in (31) can be easily turned into prospective readings if subordinated to the modal expression *Seguro que* ‘for sure’:

- (31) a. Ayer saqué el paraguas del bolso y hoy, ¡**va y llueve!**! [Google].
 ‘I took my umbrella out of my bag yesterday and today it goes and rains’
- b. Y en este caso, tras ser admitido por equipo y pilotos implicados
and in this case, after be admitted by team and pilots implicated
va y hay alguno que tiene el morro de decir que...
goes and there-is someone that has the snout of say that
[\[http://www.caranddriverthef1.com/formula1/noticias/2013/03/30/71742-horner-relativiza-la-insubordinacion-vettel-alonso-hamilton-y-web\]](http://www.caranddriverthef1.com/formula1/noticias/2013/03/30/71742-horner-relativiza-la-insubordinacion-vettel-alonso-hamilton-y-web). Spain.
 _CDE: NOW]
- c. Precisamente una cosa que se hizo bien, y **va y hay** quien se queja.
 ‘Precisely one thing that was done right and there is someone that goes and complaints.’[Google]

²² Contrary to what it is standardly assumed, in Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 321) the fact that the *go* in the *go get* scheme (aspectual *go* in their analysis) imposes selectional restrictions on its subject such that it must be capable of an agentive interpretation is considered as a signal of auxiliarization. Main verb *go*, on its turns, lacks of any restriction. Bjorkman (2010) points out other problems that this analysis raises.

²³ The reason may also be due to a semantic mismatch: subjective meanings are above a Mood or a Force projection. However, the fact that none of the different values of *ir* as an auxiliary is compatible with the imperative supports also a morphological explanation for the restriction.

- d. El presidente no habla jamás con los periodistas cuando es preguntado por los problemas reales de este país, y suelta esta memez y **va y es publicado**.
‘The president hasn’t ever answered the journalists when he has been asked about this country’s real problems. But he says this stupidity and it goes and is published.’
http://www.eldiario.es/politica/Conversacion-informal-Mariano-Rajoy-perdidos_0_204379951.html Spain. *CDE: NOW*
- e. Juan **va y es agasajado** por las más altas autoridades.
J. goes and is greeted by the most high authorities
[Camus 2006: 101, ex. (17b)]
- f. ...una de las parejas q[ue] da gustazo ver bailar, **van y son expulsados**... simplemente injusto.
one of the couples that gives pleasure see.INF dance.INF go.PRS.3PL and are.PRS.3PL kicked out simply unfair
[Google, <https://twitter.com/rosavalle3/status/1004155561091399680>]

TAKE-verbs, on the contrary, reject both impersonal verbs (32a) and passive complements (32b):

- (32) a. *...tras ser admitido por equipo y pilotos implicados
after be admitted by team and pilots implicated
agarra y hay alguno que...
takes and there-is someone that...
- b. *...suelta esta memez y **agarra y es publicado**.
releases this stupidity and takes and is published

The truth is that a search in the *CDE: NOW* renders no examples of TAKE-V1 pseudo-coordinations with passive complements nor with impersonal verbs as V2 verbs. TAKE-verbs may combine with weather predicates, although not freely. First, the possibility seems to be restricted to the ES variety since all the examples (from Google and the *CDE: NOW*) are with *coger* except for one with *agarrar* (Google), and it is from a ES dialect speaker.²⁴ Second, the only tense accepted is the historical present, although a present with a predictive meaning would not be excluded either (see 33a). In fact, whilst there are quite a few examples of (33b) in Google, it is impossible to find only one of (33c), or similar, that is, with *nevar* ‘to snow’ instead of *llover* ‘to rain’, or with *ponerse* ‘to set about’ instead of *empezar* ‘to start’:

- (33) a. Seguro que en cuanto lleguemos, **coge y se pone** a llover.
‘I’m sure that as soon as we arrive it goes and starts to rain’
- b. Hoy que tenía ganas de ir a correr **coge y empieza a llover**.
‘Today, that I was in the mood for going out for run, it goes and rains’
[Google, <https://twitter.com/hashtag/Ojal%C3%A1Escampe?src=hash>]
- c. *Seguro que en-cuanto llegasteis, **cogió y empezó a llover**.
sure that as soon as arrive.PFV.2PL took and started to rain

²⁴ *De repente ... agarra y se pone a llover...* ‘Suddenly, it starts to rain’ [Google, Spain. <https://cronicasdelcuadrado.wordpress.com/tag/mayas/>]

If the discussion concerning the data in (32) and (33) is on the right track, we might expect that TAKE-verbs class be restricted to agentive predicates. Cross-linguistically, this seems to be the case (see specially Eckberg 1993 and Vannebo 2003 on Swedish, but see Hyams and Jaeggli 1993: 312-313 for other agentivity tests for pseudo-coordinations). As for Spanish, as far as I know, it has been explicitly stated only in Silva Garcés (2011:351-354), who, nevertheless, does not compare it with *ir y* — García Fernández and Krivochen (2019b: § 4.6) are to be added to the list, see the discussion about examples (16) to (18) above. In (34) the sentence with the *agarrar y* structure and a non-agentive predicate as V2 is less natural, if not plainly odd, than the corresponding version without it ((34b), (34d)):

- (34) a. *La verdura **agarró y subió** de precio. [Silva Garcés 2011: 354]
the vegetables took and raised of price
 b. La verdura **subió** de precio. [Silva Garcés 2011: 354]
the vegetables raised of Price
 c. *El árbol **agarró y se cayó** sobre el escenario.
the tree took and reflx.3sg fell over the stage
 d. El árbol **se cayó** sobre el escenario.
the tree reflx.3sg fell over the stage

Similarly, in Spanish the verb *estar* (‘stage-level *be*’) plus the incremental reflexive clitic *se* assigns an agentive role to the subject (García Fernández and Gómez Vázquez 2015 and references therein) that its counterpart without the clitic lacks. Thus, *estarse* + adjective accepts the imperative (35a) whilst *estar* + adjective rejects it (35b) (García Fernández and Gómez Vázquez 2015: 35, ex. (20a, b)):

- (35) a. ¡Esta-te {callado/ quieto}!
beESTAR.IMP.2SG-CL.2SG {quiet/ still}
 b. *¡Está {callado/ quieto}!
beESTAR.IMP.2SG {quiet/ still}

We predict, hence, that *agarrar y* will be fine with *estarse* + adjective, but deviant with the non-agentive counterpart. The prediction is born out:

- (36) a. Juan ayer **cogió y se estuvo callado**
j. yesterday took and CL.3SG wasESTAR.PFV.3SG quiet
 todo el día.
whole the day
 b. *Juan ayer **cogió y estuvo callado** todo el día.
j. yesterday took and wasESTAR.PFV.3SG quiet whole the day

Likewise, *agarrar y* may function as the complement of causatives (37a), but *ir y* is odd or completely ungrammatical (37b) in the relevant reading –the distal reading is irrelevant here, although the data are the other way round in the complement of implicative *poder* ((37c) vs. (37d)). Finally, as expected, it forces the intentional reading when combined with the anticausative *se* (37e) vs. (37f):

- (37) a. El jefe me obligó a **coger y despedir** a todos los trabajadores.
 ‘The boss forced me to take and fire all the employees’

- b. El jefe me obligó a **ir y despedir** a todos los trabajadores. DISTAL / *AUX
 ‘The boss forced me to go and fire all the employees’
- c. *Juan **pudo coger y saltar** la valla.
J. could take and jump the fence
 Intended ‘J. managed to take and jump the fence’
- d. Juan {**va ~ coge**} y **puede saltar** la valla.
J. {goes ~ takes} and can jump the fence
 ‘J. goes and manages to jump the fence’
- e. Juan se rompió el brazo accidentalmente.
 ‘Unadvertedly, J. got his arm broken’.
- f. Juan **cogió y se rompió** el brazo *accidentalmente,
 intended *‘Unadvertantly, J. went and got his arm broken’.

Camus (2006:101) does not distinguish between GO-V1 and TAKE-V1, so passive complements are deviant in general. However, at the same time it is acknowledged that this lack of grammaticality might be due to the ‘strong doses of agentivity that the subjects of this construction seem to require’. Silva Garcés (2011: 351) focuses on TAKE-verbs and explicitly defends that this class of verbs imposes selectional restrictions on the sentential subject. The same hypothesis is proposed for Eng. *go get* sequence (Pullum 1990: 223, Hyams & Jaeggli 1993: 312) and both Eng. and Swedish *take and verb* patterns (Vannebo 2003: 172, and de Vos 2005: 86, Krivochen & Schmerling 2017). Specifically, these authors (modulo the framework) argue for analyzing V1 TAKE-verbs as secondary theta-role assigners partially degrammaticalized and which form a sort of a complex predicate with the VP complement. This will be also the analysis we will pursue here.

3.5. Aspectual restrictions on V2

Only GO-verbs do not impose any aspectual restriction on V2:

- (38) a. Muchos de ustedes ... no esperan que alguien le resuelva mágicamente las cosas: **van y son** consejeros, consejeras, proponen, discuten... STATE
 ‘Many of you ... aren’t just waiting for someone to magically solve things out for you; you go and you, men and women, are counselors, you propose, you discuss...’
<https://www.elciudadanoweb.com/javkin-tenemos-que-hacernos-duenos-del-pedacito-de-ciudad-que-queremos-cambiar/> Argentine, CDE: NOW]
- b. Esta es Sylvia Ageloff, tu liebre. Bien cocinada, **va y hasta sabe** bien. STATE
 ‘This is, Silvia Ageloff, your hare. Well cooked, it even goes and is tasty’
 [Padura, Leonardo, *El hombre que amaba a los perros*. Cuba. CORPES XXI]
- c. Y la verdad el perfil social me importaría bien poco si contrato a alguien y **va y sabe** hacer las cosas medio bien y empuja hacia adelante. STATE
 ‘And the truth is the social profile would matter very little to me if I hire someone and he goes and knows how to do things half well and pushes forward’
- d. Todo el mes sin llover y el día de la fiesta **va y llueve durante horas**.
 [Google] ACTIVITY
 ‘After the whole month without rain, the day of the party it goes and rains for hours’

- e. De repente hace un sol impresionante, de repente *va y caen* chorros de agua, y de repente... [Google] ACTIVITY
 ‘All of a sudden the sun is shining, the following moment it goes and it heavily rains for a while, and all of a sudden again...’
- f. Por favor tengamos en cuenta que este señor ayer se fue al estudio a elegir los temas para la reedición y **va y compone** otro tema nuevo.
 ‘Please, note that this guy went to the studio to choose the songs for the re-release and goes and composes a new song’ ACCOMPLISHMENT
 [Google, <https://twitter.com/robfxr/status/1093548601253474304>]
- g. ... y pim pam pum, **van y te salvan**. (=16(b)) ACHIEVEMENT
 ‘and pim pam pum, they go and save your life’

A few comments are necessary, though. First, the absence of aspectual restrictions seems to be limited to the present tense. Thus, all the examples in (39) with non-bounded situations as V2 and V1 in a perfective past are deviant or plainly ungrammatical –slight changes are introduced in order to control interferences with agentivity, if possible:

- (39) a. *Ayer **fueron y fueron** listos.
yesterday went.3PL and were.3PL clever
- b. *Ayer **fue y hasta supo** bien.
yesterday went.3SG and even tasted.3SG well
- c. ??/*Ayer **fue y llovió** durante horas.
yesterday went.3SG and rained.3SG during hours
- d. ??/*Ayer Juan **fue y estudió** durante horas.
yesterday went.3SG and studied.3SG during hours

The data in (39) reinforces the idea that besides the asymmetry existent between GO-verbs and TAKE-verbs, there is an asymmetry between the present tense and all the other tenses, the former being less restricted than the latter.

Second, the complement of *ir y* is sometimes headed by the ingressive aspectual verbs *comenzar*, *empezar*, *ponerse a* ‘to start’ (40a), but other times it is not (40b):

- (40) a. Como toda situación puede empeorar, ahora **va y empieza a llover**.
 [Google]
 ‘As every situation is susceptible of getting worse, now it goes and starts to rain’
- b. Se retrasa el Mundial un mes para que haga más calor por la noche y **va y llueve** donde, normalmente, no llueve nunca. [Google]
 ‘The World Cup is delayed by a month so that it gets warmer at night and it goes and rains where, normally, it never rains’.

However, this is not a real counterargument. First, the semantics as well as the aspectual category of each of the complements is different, so the sequence without the aspectual verb (40b) is not derived, or related in any other form, from the sequence with it (40a). Second, the aspectual verb in (40a) is required by the temporal adverbial *ahora* ‘now’, or any other with a similar meaning, as *de repente* ‘all of a sudden, suddenly’ or *y entonces* ‘and then’, *en ese momento* ‘in that moment’ all of

which are punctual and express a transition from situation to another, so they require the situation to be punctual as well.²⁵ These requisites can be observed lexically, as in (40a) or in (1a) above *Y entonces, va y me cuenta* ‘And then he goes and tells me...’, or through coercion: *Y entonces va y {llueve ~ se pone a llover}* ‘And then it goes and {rains ~ starts to rain}’. Needless to say, aspectual verbs of the START-class are punctual (Dowty 1979: 68, Smith 1991: 47, Verkuyl 1999: 82-89, a.m.o.) In the absence of these punctual modifiers, the main verb can be of any aspectual class.

TAKE-verbs, on its turn, are restricted to accomplishment and achievements (Silva Garcés 2011, García Fernández and Krivochen 2019b: § 4.6), states being excluded in any case because they are not agentive. Note that achievements are accepted as long as the denoted eventuality is amenable to be controlled by an agent. Thus, the contrast between (41c) and (41d) –see Moens and Steedman 1988 on the intentional meaning of *in* modifiers:

- (41) a. *Juan agarró y escribió cartas durante todo el día. ACTIVITY
J. took and wrote letters during whole the day
 b. *Juan agarró y viajó toda su vida
J. took and travelled whole his life
 c. *Juan cogió y alcanzó la cima. ACHIEVEMENT
J. took and reached the summit
 d. Juan cogió y alcanzó la cima en tres horas.
J. took and reached the summit in three hours

Ekberg (1993: 27-28) observes that Swedish TAKE-verbs may select for processes in the complement. It seems, however, that what it is going on is that the V1-TAKE is coercing the V2 into a telic situation, as the translation evinces. (42) is Ekberg’s 1993 example (4a), with the intended meaning:

- (42) Han tog och simmade. [Swedish, Ekberg 1993: 27-28, (4a)]
he took and swam
 ‘He started to swim’

Jaque *et al.* (2018: 180)²⁶ note that it is preferable if the complement is headed by an aspectual verb of the START class in general, but they take this as an evidence of the compatibility of meaning of the Spa. <V1 + *y* + V2> scheme with the ingressive aspect. The truth is that, as we have just shown, V1 TAKE-verbs select for bounded eventualities in their complement, and START-class verbs denote this type of

²⁵ Interestingly, the punctuality restriction (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997) is overridden when S, in Reichenbach’s model, does not coincide with the utterance time, which is the case of the historical present. This suspension of the punctuality restriction lets explain, partially, the impression conveyed by the historical present as if the events were unfolding before the speaker’s eyes (Leech 1971: 6–7, upon Anand & Toosarvandani 2018). Recall that the punctuality restriction states that no punctual situation may overlap with S, if S coincides with the utterance time, we might add. It is evident that the subjective meaning of the Spa. <*ir* + *y* + verb> scheme is highly dependent on the historical present, to the point that it possible to understand as a sort of evidential construction. See Section 4.3 on this issue.

²⁶ ‘Es más, pareciera ser que una oración como *Llegó y se puso a llover* es incluso preferible a la más simple *Llegó y llovió*’. [Moreover, it seems that a sentence like *Llegó y se puso a llover* ‘It arrived and started to rain’ is even preferable to the simplest *Llegó y llovió* ‘It arrived and rained’]

eventuality. The restriction observed by these authors is another argument in favour of including *llegar y* in the TAKE-class verbs.

The absence of selectional restrictions on the part of *ir* supports the hypothesis that Spa. GO-verbs are more grammaticalized than TAKE-verbs. Specifically, GO-verbs with these properties seem to be limited to the *va y* form. At the same time, the aspectual restrictions in general, but as far as Spa. is concerned, only applicable to TAKE-verbs, have been considered as semantic in nature (see also Krivochen and Schermerling 2017): a bounded eventuality in the complement is required in order to convey the implicature of spatial and temporal contiguity between the intention and the eventuality intended, a contiguity that it is cancelled in (43b), which makes the sentence quite deviant –see also Section 3.6:

- (43) a. Fue mi mujer. Compuse esta canción después de separarme de ella. Un día, **agarré y le envié** una copia de los versos con la esperanza de obtener su perdón. [Google]
 ‘She was my wife. I composed this song after divorcing. One day, I took and sent her a copy of the verses in the hope of obtaining her forgiveness’.
- b. ??Juan **agarró y le envió** una copia de los versos seis meses después.
j. took and DAT.3SG sent a copy of the verses six months later

To sum up what we have seen up to know. V1 verbs may be divided into two classes:

a. GO-verbs: Highly grammaticalized, which includes the lack of selectional restrictions on the subject and tense defectiveness. Semantically, they mark the complement as a result (pragmatically biased). Temporal restrictions are expected if the pattern is related to historical present contexts.

b. TAKE-verbs: Very low grammaticalization: assigns an agentive secondary theta role to the subject and are compatible with all the tenses, included the imperative and the infinitive.

I assume that this split is right, although it is maybe not the whole story, for we have seen that the two classes overlap under certain circumstances. On the one hand, we have seen that TAKE-verbs allow for V2 weather verbs as long as V1 is either an historical present or a predictive present (see (33)). On the other hand, GO-verbs share with TAKE-verbs the intentional reading if the tense is other than the present (see examples from (14) to (26)). Besides the asymmetry existent between GO-verbs and TAKE-verbs, it seems, hence, that, there is an asymmetry between the present tense and all the other tenses, the latter being more restricted than the former. There exist two alternative analyses to this situation.

THE SINGLE CONSTRUCTION HYPOTHESIS: Syntactically, there exists only one class of verbs and only one syntactic structure (Camus 2006, Jaque *et al.* 2018), and the difference between the two groups, although real, is due either to the meaning of the auxiliary verbs as main verbs (García Sánchez 2007) or to pragmatic inferences (Wiklund 2007, Krivochen & Schimmerling 2017, in preparation).

THE TWO CONSTRUCTIONS HYPOTHESIS: there exists two distinct <V1 + *and* + V2> structures in Spanish, each with its own syntax and its own semantics. Namely, GO-verbs head a discourse related functional projection, thus located very high in the structure, in the left-periphery, which in turns might subcategorize for a propositional complement. Similar proposals, except for the fact that none of these papers addresses the TAKE-verbs class, are Arnaiz and Camacho (1999), who define *ir y* as a topic auxiliary with *y* heading a ConjP, and Colaço Goç Alves (2010), for the corresponding portuguese structure. If a TAKE-verb occupies the V1 position the meaning expressed

would be the one corresponding to this functional projection. A second structure is however still needed for TAKE-verbs. TAKE-verbs combine with the extended projection of a lexical verb with which they form a complex predicate at the level of the lexical projection. A similar analysis has been proposed for English, but without distinguishing between the two V1-classes, by Zwicky (1990), de Voss (2005) and, more recently, by Krivochen and Schmerling (in preparation).

The data presented in the following sections supports a half-way version of the two hypotheses. Firstly, it will be argued that V1 and V2 do not stand in an auxiliary-main verb relation or, as de Voss puts it (2005), pseudo-coordination is not subordination. We will continue referring to V1 as auxiliary verb for the ease of the exposition, but Krivochen and Schmerling have opted, for example, for the term *pivot*. Second, although GO- and TAKE-verbs exhibit a range of differences between them enough to opt for the two constructions hypothesis, the fact that they also share some non trivial properties (see Section 4), is better accounted for under the single analysis hypothesis. To my knowledge, only Wiklund (2007), within the Ramchand's 2008 neoconstructionist model, argues for a semantically variable structure depending on the verb that occupies the V1 position.

3.6. Syntactic and semantic independence. The prosodic correlate

The possibility of inserting material (adverbs, floating quantifiers...) between the auxiliary verb and its complement is not really very informative in Spanish as it does not rely on the degree of grammaticalization of the auxiliary, or not exclusively (see RAE and ASALE 2009: § 28.5 and, partially on this, García Fernández & Krivochen 2019a, Krivochen and García Fernández 2020). Wrt Spa. <V1 + y + V2> sequences, they pattern with the general scheme <Aux + linker + verb> in that the locus of insertion is just after the auxiliary verb and before the linker (a preposition, a grammaticalized complementant), regardless of the extent of grammaticalization of the auxiliary verb (*tener que* 'have to', *ir a* 'be going to', {*ponerse ~ empezar*} a 'start to', ...).

- (44) a. ¿Blizzard va a coger otra vez y elegir a quienes...?
Blizzard goes to catch other time and choose to who
 [Google, <https://eu.forums.blizzard.com/es/overwatch/t/votos-para.../1584>]
- b. Va él y me tiende la mano y se presenta...
goes he and DAT.ISG stretch the hand and ACC.REFL.3SG presents
- c. Los invitados cogieron todos y se-marcharon.
the guests catch.PFV.3PL all and SE-left.3PL
- d. {Va ~ Empieza ~ Se- está poniendo} otra vez a llover. (=44a)
{goes ~ starts ~ SE- isBE setting} other time to rain
- e. Los invitados tuvieron todos que marchar-se. (=44c)
the guests had.PFV.3PL all that leave.INF- SE

Although this can be a sign of auxiliaryness for English (Ross 1991)) it is not of very much help for Spanish. In order to give account for the data in (44), in Zagona (1988, 2006: 174-183) each auxiliary verb heads its own VP with its own specifier so adverbs and floating quantifiers are inserted each in one of the available specifiers.²⁷

²⁷ The auxiliaries in (44) raise the problem of deciding what to do with the linker: it seems to be part of the auxiliary (*tener-que* 'to have to', *empezar-a* 'to start to', *ir-a* 'be going to'...) but at the same time

Note that the possibility of simply inserting material is distinct from the possibility of being the auxiliary verb independently modified. As regards this issue, the prediction is that auxiliary verbs, lacking of any argument structure, should reject any independent modifier. This incompatibility is taken to prove the monoclausal condition of the sequence, and consequently, the auxiliary status of the first verb. In this respect, however, differences can be observed.

TAKE-verbs seem to allow for independent modification by *otra vez* ‘again’ (see on this Rosen 1990, Wurmbrand 1990: ch. 5):

- (45) a. Juan otra vez **cogió y se casó**.
 ‘John again took and got married’
 b. #Juan cogió y (**otra vez**) **se casó (otra vez)**.
 ‘John took and got married again’

Informally, in (45a) it is the way that the facts take place what is being repeated: J. had already at least once taken the decision of getting married in a sort of a rush manner; in (45b), on the contrary, it is just the eventuality of getting married what is being repeated.

GO-verbs, on its turn, seem to reject this possibility, so both in (46a) and (46b) the repeated eventuality is that of raining, irrespective of the position of *otra vez*:

- (46) a. (Ayer) Otra vez **va (otra vez) y llueve**.
 ‘Again it goes and rains’
 b. ≈(Ayer) **Va y (otra vez) llueve** otra vez.
 ‘It goes and rains again’

The data in (45) and (46) might constitute a further argument in favour of our double analysis hypothesis since what we expect is that highly grammaticalized auxiliaries reject being modified. TAKE-verbs, on the contrary, being adjunct theta-role assigners are still lexical, and hence, amenable to being modified. To this extent, TAKE-verbs parallel other agent-oriented auxiliaries, like deontic *poder* ‘may’. The possibility of accepting independent modifiers, however, deserves a research on its own.

As regards temporal modification, it has been defended that independent temporal modification should be excluded on semantic grounds (see also above Section 3.5). In this case, it should be noted that this restriction applies likewise to consecutive coordination: **Juan fue hace dos días a comprar al mercado ayer*, lit. John went two days ago to the market to buy yesterday, is bad but *Juan intentó hace dos días*

it can head the coordinated constituents, contrary to what would be expected if the auxiliary and the linker are amalgamated forming a lexical unit [*empezar-a*]:

- (i) a. Empezó a cantar y a bailar.
started.PFV.3SG to sing and to dance

This situation reminds the double analysis that *para que*, lit. for that ‘so that’, and *porque*, lit. by that ‘because’ as well as the <light verb + SN> scheme (*{hacer añicos el jarrón ~ hacer el jarrón añicos}*) are amenable of. It seems, however, that the clitic condition of the linker is in any case interfering (see Schmerling 2018).

comprar ayer en el mercado lit. John tried two days ago to buy yesterday in the market, is fine (see also Broekhius 2019 and references therein).²⁸

As regards the prosodic correlate of the distinction between V1 as lexical or as an auxiliary verb, the standard analysis for other languages is that only the lexical reading of V1 allows for a pause just before the conjunction. As far as Spa. is concerned, in both the lexical reading and the pseudo-coordination reading the sequence might be separated into two distinct prosodic constituents by a pause just after V1. This is what the comma after *coge* lit. ‘takes’ in (47) exactly shows –the example is from Jaque *et al.* (2019: 243, ex. (21c)):

- (47) Encima de lo que hay que aguantar la tía coge, y fuma.
(yolandacabezuelo.wordpress.com, España, 2016)
‘On top of what you have to put up with the chick goes, and smokes’

Observe that this property is not related with the possibility of inserting material between the two verbs since it is not shared with the auxiliary verbs, as it is shown in (48), where an intonational pause (|) just after the auxiliary renders the sentence ungrammatical:

- (48) *La situación empieza | a mejorar.
the situation starts to improve

This pattern, in fact, is what is to be expected if the sequence <V1 + y + V2> is in its origins an (asymmetric) coordination. The places where the coordinated structures allow for pauses is one of the evidences upon which Ross (1967: 164-165) bases his analysis that the conjunction is to be included in the following conjunct.

There is, in addition, an interesting prosodic correlate, in fact two, though it is required much further research. Apparently, i. the pause has different functions depending on the structure, and ii. intonation patterns also differ depending on whether V1 is lexical or not.

Very briefly, as regards GO-verbs schemes, in the lexical reading the pause –when made, is taking up the place of the goal argument, which remains phonetically empty. The intonation curve after V1 raises conforming the highest pitch (↑):

- (49) **Fui ↑ | y me senté a su lado ↓.** Se me quedó mirando largo rato, tal vez extrañado de que alguien... se fuera a sentar junto a él. DISTAL / *AUX
‘I went and sat next to him. He stared at me for a long time, maybe surprised by the fact that someone would go and have a sit next to him’
[Alvarado, Jesús, *Bajo el disfraz (los cantares prohibidos)*. Mexico. CORPES XXI].

Lexical TAKE-verbs show a different contour due to the fact that they share the internal argument with V2 (see above the discussion on examples (9) and (10)), so no pause is needed to signal that there is an implicit argument:

²⁸ The compatibility with negation has been also received a lot of attention, mainly in other languages. For Spanish see Arnaiz y Camacho (1999) and Jaque *et al.* (2018), Jaque *et al.* (2019).

- (9) Un equipo... mató al gorila de 17 años, que **agarró y arrastró a un niño** pequeño que cayó en un foso. TAKE / *AUX
 ‘A team killed the 17 years old gorila that grabbed and dragged a little boy who had fallen into a moat’
[\[https://www.hoylosangeles.com/noticias/local/hoyla-recuerdan-al-gorila-harambe-que-alcanzo-la-fama-despues-de-su-muerte-20190528-story.html\]](https://www.hoylosangeles.com/noticias/local/hoyla-recuerdan-al-gorila-harambe-que-alcanzo-la-fama-despues-de-su-muerte-20190528-story.html)
 United States. CDE: NOW]

The different patterns are reflected in the corresponding spectrograms:

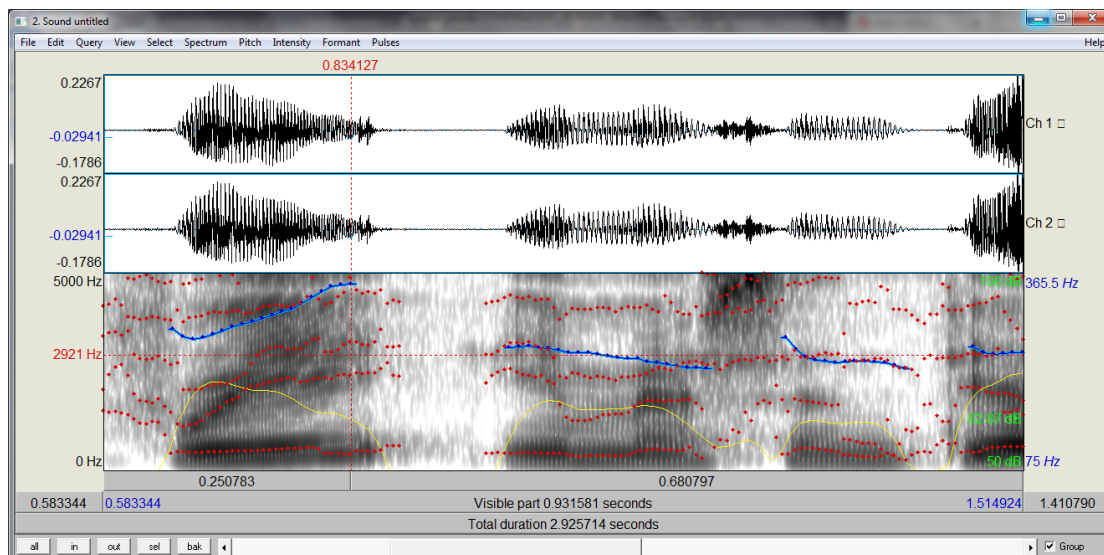


Figure 1. *Fui y me senté*

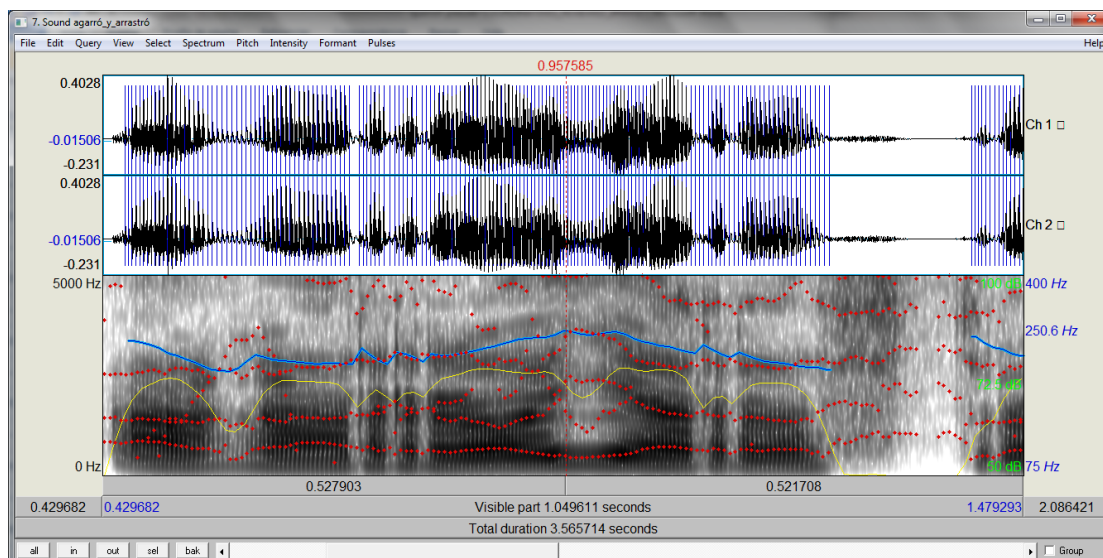


Figure 2. *Agarró y arrastró*

As it can be observed, in Figure 1 there's a real pause between *fui* (lit. went) and *y me senté* (lit. me sat) while in Figure 2 in *agarró y arrastró* (lit. grasp and dragged) the first pause corresponds to the sequence of voiceless obstruents /st/ in *arrastró*. The maximum pitch in *Fui y me senté* (Figure 1) is reached just after *fui* but in *agarró y arrastró* is in /ia/.

On the pseudo-coordination pattern, on the contrary, there is no difference between GO-verbs sequences and TAKE-verbs sequences. In both cases a pause is allowed – though not obligatory, just after V1 and, when observed, in conjunction with a mid-rising intonation (↗), is informing the hearer that the sequence is a two-part structure, the V1 part and the *and*-V2 part (Quilis 1993: 441):

- (50) a. Y, como si no tuviera suficiente con todos nosotros, más la séptima que estaba por nacer, **fue ↗ y asumió**, como hijos de crianza (sin derecho a herencia), a los dos morochos que nacieron aquella noche. *DISTAL / AUX
 ‘And as if she did not have enough with all of us, plus the seventh that was about to be born, she went and assumed as breeding children (with no right to inheritance), the two *morochos* that were born that night’.
 [Policastro, Cristina, *La dama del segundo piso*. Venezuela. CORPES XXI]
 b. Encima de lo que hay que aguantar la tía coge ↗ |, y fuma.
 (yolandacabezuelo.wordpress.com, España, 2016) (=44)

The spectrogram and oscilogram in figure 3 shows an articulation of *fue y asumió* without any pause between V1 and V2 and in figure 4 an articulation of a <V1 + y + V2> scheme with a pause after V1 and the maximum pitch corresponding to the accented syllable of *coge* /^hkoxe/:

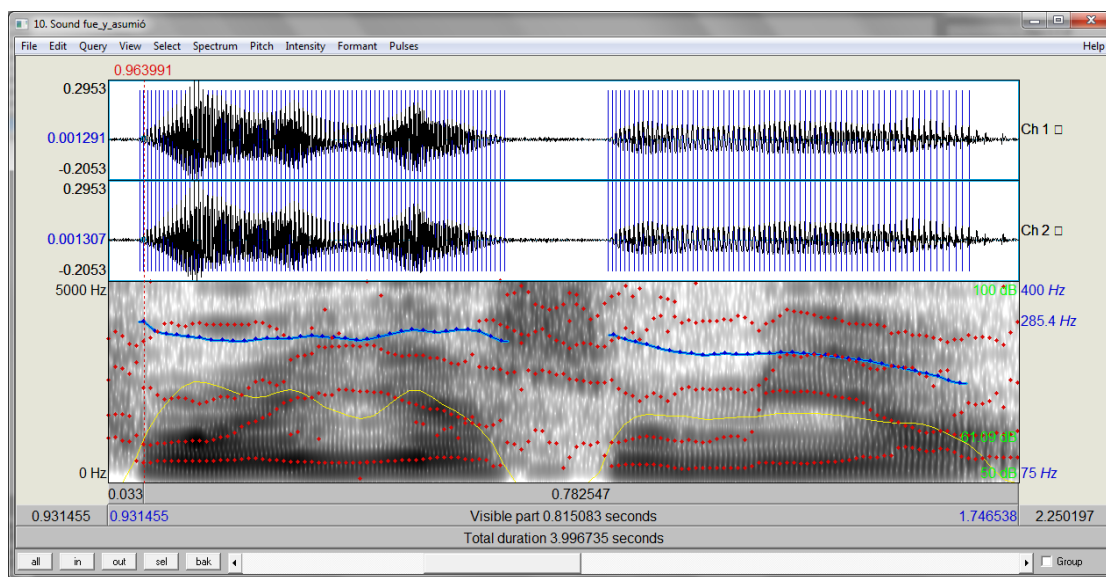


Figure 3. *Fue y asumió*

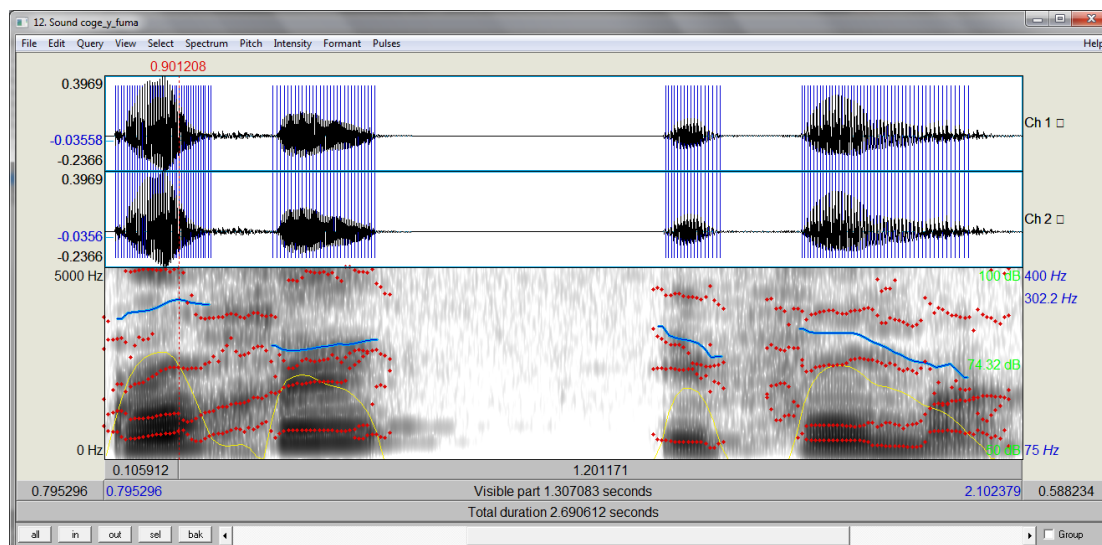


Figure 4. *Coge y fuma*

To conclude, Spa. <V1 + *and* + V2> sequences differ from canonical verbal periphrases in that a pause, although not compulsory, is permitted just after the V1. This pause, when done, has a procedural meaning as far as the hearer is allowed to infer that some important information is still missing and that he has to keep listening. This property is closely related to the narrative function attributed to the sequence. Needless to say, this pattern is exactly the same that we find in canonical coordinated conjuncts. However, psycholinguistics as well phonetics research is needed in order to confirm this hypothesis.

If our description is on the right track, the intonation pattern would support an analysis of the Spa. <V1 + *and* + V2> sequence as a single construction despite all the differences, on the one hand; on the other, as a correlative structure similar to both the conditional and the consecutive sentences but not as a verbal periphrasis. An analysis along the lines proposed by Wiklund (2007) may give account of the different meanings of the scheme, but it leaves out these other properties.

3.7. *The sameness condition and other coordination traces in pseudo-coordination*

In this section I will focus on the sameness condition. As it is usually described (see Introduction), the sameness condition establishes that the verbs (normally just two, but not necessarily) in a pseudo-coordination scheme must share the same tense, aspect and mood morphology as well as the person and number features.²⁹ The sameness condition is a property straightly inherited from the coordination structure that is in the base of the <V1 + *y* + V2> scheme –actually, an asymmetric coordination, see Section 4.2. In the previous section we have seen that the intonation pattern is also related with it being a coordination structure in origin. Other two properties related with the coordination structure are the identity requirements both on the category of the conjuncts (VP) and on the subject, hence, a sort of an extended sameness condition.

²⁹ Zwicky (1990: § 7.4) refers informally to this property in terms of ‘categories distributed across the companion VWs (words)’. Bjorkman (2010) suggests analyzing the sameness condition for the *go get* sequence as an instance of the Case spreading principle, due to Matushansky (2008). I’m not sure, though, that it is not a sort of a circular argument.

As regards the strict version, once more it is necessary to distinguish between GO-verbs and TAKE-verbs or, more specifically, between *va y* and TAKE-verbs: only the latter require strict identity between V1 and V2. *Va y*, on the contrary, allows for V2 being inflected for different person and number as the following attested examples show:

- (51) a. Y **va y le dan** el Premio Nobel de la Paz a su
And goes and DAT.3SG give.PRS.PL the Award Nobel of the Peace to his
nuevo amigo
new friend
 [Google. Spain https://ianasagasti.blogs.com/mi_blog/2009/11/paletos-con-foto-de-obama.html]
- b. El barco salía teóricamente a las 9 de la noche y **va y**
the boat left in-theory to the 9 of the night and goes and
nos dicen que...
DAT.1PL say.PRS.3PL that
 [Google. Spain. <https://www.bmw motos.com> › ... › VIAJES]
- c. Y **va y nos equivocamos** poniendo la hora...
and goes and NOS.3PL-mistake.PRS.1PL putting the hour
<https://www.viajeroscallejeros.com/tour-de-2-dias-por-el-valle-del-colca/>
- d....las Perseidas, que este año **va y caen** con una Luna...
the Perseids that this year goes and fall.PRS.3PL with a moon
 [Google. Spain. <https://cielosestrellados.net/2015/07/29/el-cielo-en-verano-la-astronomia-observacional-y-algunas-reflexiones-bajo-las-estrellas/>
- e. Los **e** [sic] visto ganando partidos muy complicados ... y luego
ACC.3PL.MASC have seen wining matches very complicated and then
va y caen con...
goes and fall.PRS.3PL with...

As regards tense, the lack of agree between the V1 and V2 is apparently much more uncommon. Thus, although there are no examples in the *CDE: NOW*, they are not that scarce in Google:

- (52) a. Entonces el amo, que nunca decía casi nada, **va y dijo**...
then the master that never said almost nothing goes and say.PFV.1SG
 [Ana María Matute, *Cuaderno de cuentas*. Google:
<https://lecturia.org/cuentos-y-relatos/ana-maria-matute-cuaderno-para-cuentas/2152/>
- b. Es tan bruto el gigante, tan tonto... De repente **va y se cayó**...
is so gross the giant so silly of suddenly goes and se-fall.PFV.3SG
 [Google https://es.wikisource.org/wiki/El_gigante]
- c. ...y la mina **va y empezó** a decir que...
and the girl goes and start.PFV.3SG to say that
 [Google. <https://www.wattpad.com/442388913-blog-wiu-wiuuuuu-%7E>]

Needless to say, none of the examples in (51) or (52) is grammatical if *va y* is replaced by a TAKE-verb. I will try to offer an analysis for these data in Section 5. In any case, observe that the examples in (52) amount to saying that the verb relevant for

tense is V2, and not V1 as it is generally stated (Camus 2006, Wiklund 2007), and contrary to what is to be expected if we are facing a verbal periphrasis.

In this section I have shown that Spa. <V1 + y + V2> is doubly asymmetric. On the one hand, verbs that can occupy the first position are to be divided in two classes: the GO-verbs class and the TAKE-verbs class, the TAKE-class verbs being less grammaticalized than the GO-verbs class. GO-verbs show clear restrictions with respect to both the tenses they are compatible with, mostly the present, and the meanings they can convey with each tense, namely, the historical present. GO-class verbs, however, do not impose any restriction on its complement, so they can freely combine with impersonal verbs as well as with states. TAKE-class verbs, on the contrary, lack of tense restrictions, and select only agentive telic predicates. For this reason we propose that also in Spa.

On the other hand, and parallel to this division, there is another asymmetry, this time telling apart the (historical) present instances from the rest as long as other tenses than the (historical) present require a certain reading, namely, that of agentivity, volition or intention in general. In both cases, it is irrelevant the class to which V1 belongs, which means both that classes are not that fixed and that at the end the overall meaning depends more on the structure than on each particular lexical item that occupies the first position. The intonation pattern would also support not only an analysis of the Spa. <V1 + *and* + V2> sequence as a single construction despite all the differences but also its condition of being a correlative structure similar to the conditional and the consecutive ones, but in no case that of a verbal periphrasis.

In the next section we turn to the semantics of pseudo-coordination in Spanish.

4. The semantics of Spa. <V1 + y + V2> pattern: from aspect to discourse

4.1. Introduction

Although some authors have dubbed the semantics of this phenomenon as difficult to describe, the truth is that there already exist a number of descriptions, quite accurate all of them, as well as quite coincident, both for Spanish and for other languages. Researchers generally agree on the meanings proposed –except in one feature, but take issue on the following two points: i. the category of the meaning, to which grammatical class it should be ascribed; ii. the formal analysis. I will briefly dwell in this section on point (i) and leave point (ii) for the next section. Particularly, I will be concerned with the categorization of the <V1 + y + V2> scheme as an aspectual periphrasis, be completive (Section 4.2) or ingressive (Section 4.3). As it will become clear, it is my contention, on the one hand, that the split between TAKE-verbs and GO-class has an import on the meaning and, on the other, that being the aspectual meaning important, the appropriate characterization of the <V1 + y + V2> has to take into consideration its effects on discourse (see Section 4.4), and it is here where more research is needed.

4.2. The completive aspect hypothesis

This is the widest accepted analysis since Coseriu (1977[1966]): the function of the pattern is to represent the eventuality described by V2 as completed throughout. In other words, in the GO & GET scheme the entirety of the situation (Coseriu 1966: 41) is focalized, not only a part of it. As regards Spanish, this is the analysis defended in Camus (2006) and Silva Garcés (2011). The latter argues, for example, that in (53) – his (11b):

- (53) Al parecer ... creía que iba a renacer como un caballo, y entonces **agarró y construyó** su castillo de caballos para su siguiente vida.
 ‘Apparently ... he thought he was going to be reborn like a horse, so he took and built his horse castle for his next life’

the *agarrar y* scheme allows for shrinking the interval of time used to build the castle (Silva Garcés 2011: 353). Note that this is the only way to ensure that the building of a castle, an eventuality which is by no means short, can be viewed as completed in its entirety. However, it is easy to show that throughout completedness is not the meaning conveyed by the <V1 + y + V2> scheme (for other arguments see Jaque *et al.* 2019). First, it does not make sense to represent achievements from a global point of view: being punctual does not last, thus, achievements are global by definition. In other words, either (54a) is redundant wrt (54b) or deviant, similarly to (54c):

- (54) a. Juan **cogió y se marchó**.
 ‘J. took and left’
 b. Juan **se marchó**.
 ‘J. left’
 c. ??/*Juan **se-marchó** de un tirón.
J. se-left of one pull
 Int. ‘J. left in one go’

However, this is not the case. Rather, it seems that in (54a) the speaker is representing John’s leaving both as an unexpected occurrence, so probably sudden, and as the output of a deliberated act from the part of J.

A second problem that the global aspect, or completive aspect, hypothesis raises has to do with the fact that it should be defined what do the notions of COMPLETEDNESS THROUGHOUT, or ENTIRETY or GLOBAL MEANING refer to. Specifically, it is not clear which is the difference that exists between this completive aspect and, on the one hand, the perfective aspect, and, on the other, with the notions of telicity and boundedness.³⁰ In other words, if this completive aspect is a sub-type of the Perfective aspect, which are the differences between the two of them? And if it is a sort of operator on lexical aspect on its own, which are equally the differences with the lexical aspect? Let’s assume that it is not an issue of grammatical aspect, but simply of telicity so it functions like a telic operator. In this the case, we expect <V1 + y + V2> and telic predicates not to behave alike in the tests since <V1 + y + V2> should be incompatible with modifiers suspending the telicity, as in (55d), contrary to the facts:

- (55) a. Juan pintó el mural en diez días.
J. painted.PFV the wall in ten days
 b. Juan pintó el mural durante dos días (luego paró).
J. painted.PFV the wall during two days after stopped
 c. Juan cogió y pintó el mural en diez días.
J. took and painted.PFV the wall in ten days

³⁰ As a reviewer correctly points out, telicity and completedness are not equivalent. I suspect that complete, or global, is being used here as equivalent to perfective, which in turn is opposed to imperfective. Having this in mind, it make sense to think that completedness opposes here to the imperfect (aspect), that is, to the viewpoint aspect that does not allow to see the whole action.

- d. Juan cogió y pintó el mural durante dos días (luego paró).
J. took and painted.PFV the wall during two days after stopped

Finally, the <V1 + y + V2> scheme should be incompatible with modifiers like *poco a poco* ‘little by little’ and *como si tuviera todo el tiempo del mundo*, lit. as if had all the time of the world ‘plenty of time’, contrary to the facts:

- (56) a. Juan ayer se leyó el periódico poco a poco.
 ‘Yesterday, J. read the newspaper little by little’
 b. Juan ayer **cogió y se leyó** el periódico **poco a poco**.
 ‘Yesterday, J. took and read the newspaper little by little’
 c. Juan esta mañana **va y desayuna como si tuviera todo el tiempo del mundo**.
 ‘This morning J. goes and has breakfast as if he had the whole time in the world’

Similarly, sentences with the <V1 + y + V2> scheme in the predicate should be both redundant with the modifiers *en un abrir y cerrar de ojos* ‘in the blink of an eye’ or *de un tirón* ‘in a go’ and the like and, at the same time, semantically equivalent to sentences without these modifiers. So, what we would expect is the three sentences in (57) to mean the same, and specifically ((57a) and (57c) and (57d)). However, this is not the case:

- (57) a. Juan ayer se leyó el periódico **en un abrir y cerrar de ojos**.
 ‘Yesterday, J. read the newspaper in the blink of an eye’
 b. Juan ayer **cogió y se leyó** el periódico **en un abrir y cerrar de ojos**.
 ‘Yesterday, J. read the newspaper in the blink of an eye’
 c. Juan ayer **cogió y se leyó** el periódico.
 ‘Yesterday, J. took and read the newspaper’
 d. J. ayer **va y se lee** el periódico **en un abrir y cerrar de ojos**.
 ‘Yesterday, J. went and read the newspaper in the blink of an eye’

It is quite obvious that the situations described in (57a), (57b), (57c) and (57d) are quite different one from another. Rather informally, in (57b) and (57c), with the *agarrar y* sequence, but not in (57a) without it, it is conveyed that the situation described by V2 (in which is included the fact of doing it in the blink of an eye, so in some sense V1 modifies the whole V2) is unusual. Hence, unexpected. If this is the case, thus, *agarrar y* functions as a sort of focalizer. And the same analysis can be applied to (57d) with *va y*.

So, if the above discussion is right, we have to do away with the completive hypothesis. Let’s go to the ingressive hypothesis.

4.2. The ingressive hypothesis

This ingressive hypothesis was explicitly rejected by Coseriu (1977 [1966]) in favour of the completive hypothesis just explained. I am going to very briefly review the arguments that support the ingressive hypothesis (see García Sánchez 2007 for Spa., Vannebo 1993 and Wiklund 2007 for Swedish, and from a constructional approach Flach 2017 and references therein, a.o.). Nevertheless, this analysis, for the reasons to be seen, applies mostly to TAKE-verbs.

First, Spa. <V1 + *y* + V2> with TAKE-verbs are the grammaticalization of a consecutive coordination, an Event Schema in terms of Heine (1993: 50-51),³¹ such that the event introduced by the second conjunct is i. temporally ordered after the event introduced by the first conjunct, and ii. the first event is necessary for the second event to take place, which explains the non-reversibility of the conjuncts. For this reason consecutive coordination has been described as asymmetric (see Schmerling 1975 and Broekhuis 2019, and references cited). So the take action is the one that facilitates the eventuality described in the second conjunct, hence is the one that heads the way, the ingressive part of the complex schema. Second, TAKE-verbs grammaticalize as ingressive verbs, so from latin CAPIŌ ‘to take’ it is formed INCIPIŌ ‘to start’, as García Sánchez (2007: 172) points out. Similarly, in old Escandinavian languages, the corresponding TAKE-verb was the ingressive aspect auxiliary (Vannebo 2003: 182). Third, the meaning obtains cross-linguistically (Ekberg 1993, Vannebo 2003, Wiklund 2007). The only possible way to explain this generalization is in terms of the lexical semantics of TAKE-verbs. Fourth, both formally and semantically there seems to be several similarities between the Spa. aspectualizers such as *empezar* ‘to start’, *terminar* ‘to finish’ and TAKE-class verbs pseudo-coordinatives, namely, formally there’s a linker between V1 and V2 quite stable along the history, if only because there’s has always been one. Note, for example, that in Fr. *aller* + inf ‘be going to’ there’s no preposition, likewise in Old Spa. However, both Fr. and Spa. aspectualizers select for a preposition: *commencer a*, *empezar a*. As regards semantics, both TAKE-verbs and starting-aspectualizers convey the idea of the transition into a new situation positively defined (ter Meulen 1995, Engerer 2014 and references therein). Quite interestingly, V1 verbs may vary both diachronically and geographically as long as this requisite is observed, which explains a cross-linguistic variation otherwise quite difficult to account for. Finally, the selectional restrictions, at least the compatibility with achievements without being at the same time redundant (recall the discussion about (56) and (57)), would otherwise remain calling for an explanation.

This said, the exact way in which this ingressive meaning should be defined is still to be done. Definitely, it is not a sort of aspectualizer operator along the lines proposed both by Smith 1991 and Verkuyl 1999, a superlexical verb —which partially explains Jaque *et al.* 2018 difficulties when trying to analyze *agarrar y* as an ingressive, if only because *agarrar y* does not coerce the complement into a situation compatible with its selectional restrictions, contrary to what is normally assumed. As it has just been pointed out, *agarrar y* more probably adds an initial sub-event agentively characterized to the eventuality referred to by V2. As a result, a complex event is formed. This analysis has been defended by Ekberg 1993, Stefanowitsch 1999, Vannebo 2002, and Wiklund 2007, although with formal differences among them —in Wiklund 2007 the ingressive feature is guaranteed by assigning V1 to the Initiator Projection in the event structure. In addition, the semantic retention hypothesis (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994) allows us to expect precisely that the output of an asymmetric consecutive coordination, which can be in some sense identified with Heine’s 1993 Event Schema as we have already suggested, be a complex event. Note that, contrary to the most widespread analyses (see Wiklund

³¹ Anderson (2006) cites the pattern of two verbs linked by a conjunction as a source of auxiliary constructions of the sort of the *go and get* sequences studied in this paper. As in Heine (1993) and Anderson (2006) we are going to defend that it is the construction what is grammaticalized, and not only a part of it, namely, the V1.

2007, as representative), I am defending that what it's grammaticalized is the coordinated structure –de Voss 2005 and Krivochen and Schmerling in preparation argue, on different grounds for Eng. that the two verbs form a sort of compound V-V, and not V1. This point is crucial, since syntactically we would be dealing with a construction and not with an auxiliary verb in a verbal periphrasis. See Section 5 on this.

There remain two issues to be addressed: i. what about the sequences with GO-verbs; and ii. what about the interruptive aspect hypothesis defended in Jaque *et al.* (2018, 2019)? As regards Spa. *go and get* sequences, I will defend in Section 4.3. that they are discourse related and lack, consequently, any aspectual content distinct from the one attached to every verb due to the very fact of being a verb. In what pertains to the so called interruptive aspect (Jaque *et al.* 2018), it is evident that there isn't an interruptive aspect, or to put it differently, interruption is not an aspectual category, no matter how you define aspect: be it as the classical notion of point of view (Comrie 1976), be it as the different phases in a situation (Dik 1989), be it as an interval along Smith's 1991 and Klein's 1994 lines. I will hence reject, on theoretical grounds, the existence of an interruptive aspect, and defend that this notion is better ascribed to the realm of the discourse together with other scalar periphrases (García Fernández 2006: 52-55, Carrasco Gutiérrez 2006, García Fernández & Carrasco Gutiérrez 2008, RAE & ASALE 2009: § 28.81, 10). Quite a different question is if this is really the meaning of the pseudo-coordination schema in Spanish. I briefly go over this issue in the next section.

Finally, I think that traditional descriptions are right and that *agarrar y* sequences also are amenable to analyze as implying a (frequently) negative evaluation on the part of the speaker of the eventuality described, so at the end the two issues mentioned at the beginning are in some sense discourse related. See also on this next Section.

4.3. *The discursive hypothesis*

As far as I know, there's no analysis, regardless of the framework, the date and the language, that does not describe the pattern as conveying a judgement on the part of the speaker about how the eventuality referred to took place. Shortly, the <V1 + *and* + V2> pattern is defined as having an expressive function. The values more commonly assigned are listed below (upon Stefanowitsch 1999: 127):

- i. annoyance, disappointment, disapproval;
- ii. evaluation of an action as stupid or unfortunate;
- iii. surprise, sudden change in the expected flow of a narrative;
- iv. proceeding without hesitation or regard to others, paying no attention to obstacles;

Although the list is right, a few modifications are needed. At least, the following two. First, this list is restricted to V1 GO-class verbs. If V1 is a TAKE-class verb, then, in addition to all the meanings listed above, the event is also subjectively conceived of as a volitional event (Ekberg 1993, Silva Garcés 2011, and the rest of the references). What it is to be underlined is that meanings listed above do not exclude each other, instead they sort of overlap. How do they overlap is, however, to be defined (but see Stefanowitsch 1999, Wiklund 2007, 2008, 2009 and Krivochen and Schmerling 2017, in preparation for different proposals including the distribution of the different values along each of the different verbs that function as V1).

Second, as regards Spanish –but other languages are not excluded, see Krivochen and Schmerling 2017, GO-verbs convey the implication that the eventuality referred to by V2 is seen as (undesirable or unexpected) outcome, as in (15b), repeated below as (58):

- (58) Para cuando lleguéis a Barrio, a casa de la abuelita, **seguro que** ya están ahí los cazadores y pim pam pum, **van y te salvan**. (=13b))
 ‘By the time you have arrived to Barrio, to granny’s, for sure the hunters will be already there, and pim pam pum, they go and save your life’
 [Cerezales, Agustín, *Mi viajera. Ciervos errantes y tigres invisibles*. Spain. CORPES XXI].

In fact, according to García Sánchez (2007:167) this value was firstly described for Colombian Spa. *go and get* scheme by Montes (1963), who refer to it as *potencial de temor*, lit. potential of fear. Obviously, it is not restricted to Colombian Spa., but it is found irrespective of the dialect. This value raises a couple of questions, which I cannot address here:

- i. Does it only apply to non-yet-actual (a term borrowed from Declerck 2009) situations, as in (58), or it is also found in present historical uses, hence, factual?
- ii. Is this meaning related to the prospective *ir a* ‘be going to’ auxiliary in terms of the semantic retention hypothesis? If the answer is yes, do we expect it in Eng. to be restricted to factual situations as far as the Eng. prospective auxiliary is in the Progressive (see Copley 2009 on this), but not in Spa.?

To these two issues, a more general one can be added:

- iii. Does the merge of the subjectivity and, eventually, historical present meanings support an analysis of Spa. <V1 + y + V2> sequences as markers of evidentiality? The analysis makes sense as long as to the vividness impression conveyed by the historical present (see footnote 19) it has to be added the fact that the speaker has to have witnessed the situation for qualifying it. It is my contention that it might be the case, although only wrt V1 TAKE-verbs. That is, when preferring a TAKE-class verb in the historical present the speaker is conveying the idea that there exists a visible (accessible, in terms of Speas 2010) attitude or reaction on the part of the subject and conveyed through the <V1 + y + V2> expression with a V1 TAKE-class verb. If this is the case, the complex event is literally a complex event (an Event Scheme) and not only an event with subevents (accomplishments have subevents but are not complex events). I leave this issue open for further discussion.

A third comment on the list is a property that applies only to Spa. GO-verbs. Spa. GO-verbs are highly grammaticalized (see Section 3), so probably are best described as discourse related. In Arnaiz and Camacho (1999), V1 GO-verbs are analyzed as a topic auxiliary, more or less equivalent to Topic discourse markers such as *with respect to*. As such, *va y* introduces a topic be it a participant, be it a scene setting constituent, as in (59a) and (59b) respectively:

- (59) a. Y entonces Sandra ve las imágenes de su propia vida hoy rota... y ella, **Sandra, va y se toma** cuatro pastillas de una sentada.
 ‘And then Sandra sees the images of her own life broken today... and she, Sandra, goes and takes four pills in one sitting’
 [Bravo Utrera, Sonia: «¡SOS!». Sandrasalamandra. Cuba. CORPES XXI]
- b. Ayer **va y llueve**.
 ‘Yesterday, it goes and rains’

However, in other cases it seems more appropriate to analyze it as an interruptive marker, thus, along the lines defended by Jaque *et al.* (2018) and Jaque *et al.* (2019) for Spa. and Colaço and Goç Alves 2010, for Port. That this analysis is to be preferred is supported by the fact that the sequence can be glossed more appropriately by adverbs such as *de repente*, *de pronto* ‘suddenly, all of a sudden’ and also by *y entonces* ‘and, then’ or both, than by topic adverbs:

- (60) a. De repente hace un sol impresionante, **de repente va y caen** chorros de agua, y de repente vuelve de nuevo a salir el sol. [Google]
 ‘Suddenly it makes an impressive sun, suddenly it goes and rains, and suddenly the sun comes out again’
- b. Y **entonces, va y me cuenta** que... (=1a)
and then goes and DAT.ISG tells that
 ‘And then he (or she) goes and tells me that’

In (60) the eventuality described with the <V1 + y + V2> scheme leads to a breakthrough in the sequence of eventualities in the time line. The counter expectation value assigned to *ir y* in RAE-ASALE (2009) is an inference on the part of the speaker (Saiz 2018, Krivochen and Schmerling 2017, in preparation).

However, it seems that the construction is not amenable to a unique, fixed semantic interpretation, mostly *va y*. Whatever meaning is assigned to it, it seems that there’s always going to be a counterexample. This is the case in all the examples in (61), where the relevant feature is not interruption, nor counter expectation but probably simply that of outcome:

- (61) a. Mis hembras son cosa mía, amo ... y ellas tienen más que de sobra con lo que yo les doy, y cuando no, **van y se callan**.
 ‘My females are my business, master... and they have more than enough with what I give them, and when they don’t, they just go and shut up’.
 [Royuela, Fernando: La pasión según las fieras. Spain. CORPES XXI].
- b. Los indepes no cambian fijo **que va y dice** que su país de origen es Cataluña
 ‘The indepes don’t change. I’m sure that he goes and says that his home country is Cataluña’
<http://www.marca.com/futbol/premier-league/2016/07/03/5778fb4fca474106208b45c5.html>. Spain. CDE: NOW]
- c. Rivera mantiene su mano tendida hoy. A lo mejor mañana **va y dice** otra cosa distinta.
 ‘Rivera keeps his hand out today. Maybe tomorrow he just goes and says something else’.
<http://www.elmundo.es/espana/2016/08/17/57b47e7de2704e5f308bf83e.html>. Spain. CDE: NOW]

d. Bravo se va de rositas (ni se ha despedido) y al llegar a Manchester **va y dice**.

‘Bravo left without even saying goodbye and, when he arrived to Manchester, he goes and says’

[<http://www.adnradio.cl/noticias/deportes/la-dura-critica-de-un-diario-espanol-a-claudio-bravo-puros-mercenarios/20160829/nota/3230797.aspx>. Chile.

CDE: NOW]

It is probably the case that the notions both of interruption and of counter expectation are related to the one more basic of outcome, and from this to that of focus. Observe, on the one hand, that there is a focus auxiliary *ir a* (Bravo 2013, 2014) and references therein) and, on the other, that in (61a) the focus interpretation can't be disregarded and in (62) below is the one preferred, as the glosses show –see also Ross (2016), from a cross-linguistic point of view:

- (62) Todo el invierno sin caer una gota, **y va y llueve** los días más ansiados del calendario. [Google]
 ‘All winter without a drop falling, and it just goes and rains the most longed-for days of the calendar’

Another argument in support of the narrative function of *va y* is the fact that, interestingly enough, *va y* licenses in an out-of-the blue context the historical present (63b), (63d), quite similar to *casi* (63e):

- (63) a. ??Esta mañana Juan me dice que no viene.
 this morning J. me says that not comes
 b. Esta mañana **va Juan y me dice** que no viene.
 ‘This morning John goes and says that he is not coming’
 c. *Ayer llueve.
 Int. ‘Yesterday it rains’
 d. Ayer **va y llueve**.
 ‘Yesterday it goes and rains’
 e. Esta mañana Juan *(casi) se-cae.
 this morning J. (almost) SE-falls

This property, unnoticed up to now, reinforces the analysis that *va y* allows for introducing an eventuality by itself, hence, without presupposing necessarily a previous sequence of events. In the next section it will be defended that *va y* is in fact a discourse related adverb.

5. Periphrasis or not periphrasis. *Va y* as a discourse related adverb

5.1. Against the auxiliary hypothesis

In this section I am just going to outline the major points concerning the analysis. There are more arguments than not against analyzing <V1 + *y* + V2> as a verbal periphrasis. Some of them are well known: i. it does not obey the morphological restriction and ii. clitic climbing is impossible. In Section 3 it was shown that the intonation pattern does not follow either that of the periphrases. Similarly, I do not find having just one syntactic subject to be that decisive as long as it is a property shared with VPs (asymmetric) coordination (Zwicky 1990, Camacho 1999, a.m.o.),

the structure out of which <V1 + *and* + V2> is supposed to have developed (Bynon 1985: 107 on serial verbs grammaticalization in general). Similarly, the supposed VP category of the complement is also the category of the conjuncts in the asymmetric coordination (but see on this just below). A reviewer observes that *ir y* shares with other auxiliaries the property of been restricted to a few tenses, so this seems to be an argument in favour of the periphrastic hypothesis. However, canonical auxiliary verbs either lack of any restriction (ancient modals, aspectuals) or, the restriction is due to semantic reasons (*soled* ‘used to’, *acabar de* ‘have just’...), see the overview in Bravo (2016) and references therein. The restriction of *ir y*, however, is difficult to explain in semantic terms. Recall, for example, that compound tenses are plainly ruled out, and this an asymmetry that no other auxiliary verb presents.

Two other arguments against the periphrasis hypothesis come one from the grammaticalization path followed and the other from the size of the complement. I will briefly explain the two of them. In terms of grammaticalization, what it is being grammaticalized is the scheme, as Heine (1993) points out, and not an independent lexical item –already functional elements are irrelevant for the argumentation now. So, although either an analysis in which the conjunction becomes a sort of a preposition selecting for a VP (a complementant in Colaço and Gozalves 2010, 2017) or an analysis of the argument structure of the V1 verb could be possible, the fact is that, contrary to what is defended in Wiklund (2007), what it has been grammaticalized is the consecutive meaning associated to the coordinated structure, and not only the V1 verb. In fact, a distinction is to be made in this point between GO-class verbs and TAKE-class verbs. Contrary to other auxiliary verbs, Spa. lexical TAKE-verbs do not select for a propositional complement or a complement referring to an eventuality, so no grammaticalization of the verb out of the scheme is expected (after Bynon 1985). GO-class verbs, on the contrary, might allow for an analysis in terms of an amalgam of the semantics (as defended in Stefanowistch 1999). To put it differently, there are not many differences between the outcome of the grammaticalization of the lexical verb <GO + goal preposition + V2> and the outcome of <go + *and* + V2>. And the truth is that *ir y* is much more grammaticalized in Spa. than what *agarrar y* is. However, there is a huge distance between lexical *agarrar*, which C-selects for an NP, and *agarrar y*.

As regards the size of the complement, it is not clear at all that the complement of both GO-class verbs and TAKE-class verbs is a VP. In (64a) and (64b) a subject is apparently admitted, in (64c), with *agarrar y*, the VP allows for a topicalized direct object, in (64d) the complement is a cleft sentence, in (64e) the complement is focalized, and finally in (64f) the complement is transformed in an interrogative sentence:

- (64) a. **Va Juan y el muy torpe** se cae.
 goes J. and the very clumsy se-falls
 b. **Y va y el tío me contestó** algo así como...[Google]
 and goes and the guy DAT.ISG answered something so like
 c. El gobierno **agarró y lo que vencía el 10 de septiembre te lo pateó** para tres y seis meses.
 ‘The government took and what expired on September 10th it kicked it for three and six months’.
 [Google, <https://cnnespanol.cnn.com/radio/2019/08/30/que-pasa-con-los-depositos-en-dolares/>]

d. Como sabe que el guacho es muy loquito, **agarró y lo primero que hizo fue llevarlo** a una peluquería.

‘As he knows that the *guacho* is very crazy, he took and the first thing he did was to take him to a hairdresser’s’

[«El hijo de la vieja Castro se me tiñó de rubio». *Últimas Noticias. Guambia. Uruguay. CORPES XXI*].

e. La María Adelaida **va y**, no es que se enamora y medio escondida se enreda con un don nadie negro y pobre, **sino que se casa con él y, encima, le pare** cuatro hijos.

‘M. A. goes and, it is not that she falls in love and half hidden she gets entangled with a black and poor nobody, but it is that she marries him and, on top of that, she gives him four children’

[Policastro, Cristina: *La dama del segundo piso*. Venezuela. CORPES XXI]

f. Y en ese momento **agarra y ¿qué hace? Se marcha**.

‘And in this momento he takes and ¿what does he do? He leaves’

None of these possibilities is expected in a canonical periphrasis, except for (64e). Conversely, canonical periphrases permit the complement to be suppressed under a more or less fixed set of conditions (see Bravo 2016 for a short review and the references therein), but this possibility is completely ruled out with the <V1 + y +V2> scheme:

- (65) a. Juan puede [llegar tarde]_i, pero María no puede [Ø]_i.
J. can arrive late but M. not can
- b. Juan ya ha empezado a leer pero yo no he empezado todavía [Ø]_i.
J. already has started to read but I not have started yet
- c. *Juan ayer va [y se marcha]_i y María también va [Ø]_i.
J. yesterday goes and leaves and M. also goes
- d. *Juan ayer agarró [y se marchó]_i y María también agarró [Ø]_i.
J. yesterday took and left and M. also took



There are still three more quite powerful arguments to be added.

The first one is the lack of a clear, more or less stable meaning independent of the context. Auxiliary verbs are normally amenable to be defined unambiguously and independently of the context –modals not being a counterexample: *empezar a* ‘to start’ or *soler* ‘used to’ have a stable and predictable meaning, and this meaning is context independent. This is, in fact, the rationale behind Cinque’s Cartography framework (Cinque 1999 and much subsequent work). In pseudo-coordination, on the contrary, we have just shown that, on the one hand, the same verbs allow for different meanings depending on the context, and, on the other, that these meanings do not stand in an exclusion relation among them (see the discussion about the examples (59) to (61)).

Secondly, in pseudo-coordination the sameness condition seems to require the temporal morphology to be duplicated –I focus on *agarrar y, ir y* being temporally restricted (see Section 3):

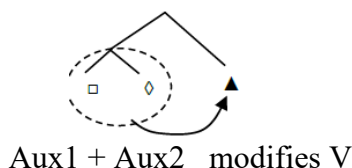
- (66) a. Ella **hubiera** **agarrado y** **hubiera** **comprado...**
she have.SUBJ.PERF.3SG taken and have.SUBJ.PERF.3SG bought
 [Silva Garcés 2011: 354 (12f), tomado de Google books
<https://books.google.com.ar/books?id=cg52PatZzxEC&pg=PA46&lpg=PA46&dq=%22hubiera+agarrado+y&hl=es-419#v=onepage&q=%22hubiera%20agarrado%20y&f=false>]
- b. ??Ella **hubiera** **agarrado y** **comprado...**
she have.SUBJ.PERF.3SG taken and bought...
- c. Así que, idiota de mí, la noche anterior **había cogido y había seguido haciendo** ejercicio.
lit. so that, idiot of me, the night before I had taken and I had continued to exercise
 [Google, <http://khworld.org/phpbb/viewtopic.php?f=47&t=27681>]
- d. *Así que, idiota de mí, la noche anterior **había cogido y seguido...**
lit. so that, idiot of me, the night before I had taken and continued to...
- e. Yo **había cogido y había hecho** manojitos.
lit. I had taken and had made little bunches
- f. ??/*Yo **había cogido y hecho** manojitos.
lit. I had taken and made little bunches

Were <V1 + y + V2> a canonical periphrasis, we would have expected auxiliaries to be allowed to get stacked and, consequently, a chain of auxiliaries be formed, as in (67) –see García Fernández *et al.* (2017) and references therein:

- (67) a.  **[[Ha] [podido]]** hacerlo. [García Fernández *et al.* (2017, ex. (6b))]
has can.PTCP make.INF-ACC.MASC.3SG
 ‘He has been able to do it’
- b.  ***[[Había] [cogido]] y** hecho... (= (66f))
lit. had taken and made

or, graphically –from García Fernández *et al.* (2017:15):

(68)



Thirdly, V1 can be iterated without leading to a recursive relation such that each V1 is embedded in the complement of the selector. In addition to this, when iterated, they are not ordered, since both orders are accepted without meaningful changes. In other words, the relation is not monotonic but flat:

- (69) a. ¿Y qué dirás que hizo? **Va, coge, y cree.** que
and what say.3SGFUT that did goes takes and believes that
 tenemos libertad de imprenta
have.1PL.PRS freedom of printing

[Google, https://books.google.es/books?id=PqKFgO2NgfoC&pg=PT217&lpg=PT217&dq=%22coge,+y+cree+que+tenemos+libertad+de+imprensa%22&source=bl&ots=zpyNpYcrIC&sig=ACfU3U3DtcSxl_8QrfMztn7-5IF8JQAHpA&hl=en&sa=X&ved=2ahUKewiC1MLF5fnnAhUNBWMBHb8MB4YQ6AEwAHoECAsQAQ#v=onepage&q=%22coge%2C%20y%20cree%20que%20tenemos%20libertad%20de%20imprensa%22&f=false]

b. Usted, ciudadano respetuoso de las normas, **va, agarra y vota**;
you citizen respectful of the norms goes takes and votes
 y chau: despreocúpese de...
and chau stop worrying of

[Google, <http://www.lr21.com.uy/comunidad/125354-en-busca-de-la-autoridad-perdida>]

c. Este periodista no tenía noticia, **y va, agarra y se la** inventa.
this journalist not had news and goes takes and SE it.AC.3SG.FEM makes up

[Google, <http://www.alertadigital.com/2011/08/07/perroflautas-ateos-sarasas-feminazis-y-cristianos-degenerados-se-conjuran-contrala-visita-del-papa/>]

d. Luego sale Maruja Torres, **coge, agarra, va y dice...**
after goes M. T takes takes goes and says...

[Google,

https://elpais.com/diario/1983/02/16/sociedad/414198006_850215.html]

Observe that the conjunction only appears in the last V1, as if signaling that it constitutes a different domain from V2. The possibility of inserting the conjunction only in the last V1 is possible to the extent both that the elements inside the conjunct are not ordered and that V1 is not an auxiliary verb.

It should be noted also that canonical auxiliary verbs cannot be reiterated without affecting the meaning of the overall resultant construction. On the contrary, discursive linkers allow for reiteration, pretty much paralleling the pattern in (69a-d), and as expected they can co-occur:

(70) a. **Con todo, sin embargo,** Luis no estaba contento.
nevertheless however L. not was happy

b. **Así pues, por lo tanto,** busquen el Reino de los Cielos
thus therefore look for.IMP.2PL the kingdom of the skies

[Google, <http://sabesquienerestu.blogspot.com/2015/03/>]

c. Después de varios comentarios ..., **de pronto agarra va y**
After of several comments all of a sudden takes goes and
 me dice...

me.ISG.DAT says...

[Google, <https://blogs.km77.com/teletransporte/y-ahora-como-pienso/>]

Provisionally, hence, it can be concluded that *agarrar* and *ir y* are not in a functor, or modifier-head relation with V2 (on this see Zwicky 1993), at least not as an auxiliary verb. Furthermore, the examples presented in this Section make it difficult to describe Spa. *agarrar y* as forming a complex event with V2 at the level of the syntactic projections. Recall that, on the one hand, besides the fact that not only material but even pauses can be inserted after V1, V2 can be rather big in syntactic terms (see (64)); on the other, we have just seen in (66a), (66c) that V1 seems to head its own projection. In the following Section I present some arguments in favour of analyzing

va y as an adverb and in Section 5.3 I point out some advantages of trying the construction hypothesis for the <V1 + *y* + V2> scheme in Spa.

5.2. *Va y* as a discourse adverb

I will explore here the possibility of analyzing *va y* as an adverb in the left periphery, associated with discourse notions. This analysis is supported by the following facts. *Va y* does not necessarily agree with V2 (see examples in Section 3.7). This is exactly the same pattern that we find with *puede-que*, lit. may that ‘may be’. *Va y* shares also with the so called discursive linkers the possibility of being reiterated without being recursively stacked (see (69), (70) just above). We can do away with the problem of assigning a category for the conjunction *y* ‘and’ (see Arnaiz and Camacho 1999, Wiklund 2007, and Colaço and Goç Alves 2010, 2017 for different proposals). In Krivochen and Schmerling 2017, in preparation it is analyzed as an affix of V1. In Spanish this incorporation would have taken place only in the most grammaticalized cases, so we expect that the loss of agreement makes it impossible to split V1 and *y* (see Section 3.7). However, this is not the case (see (51d)), contrary to what happens with *puede que* (**Puede hoy que venga*, lit. may today that comes):

- (51) d. ...las Perseidas, que **va** este año **y caen** con una Luna...
the Perseids that goes this year and fall.PRS.3PL with a moon

The difference, once more, is showing that the scheme in Spanish still share many properties with the (asymmetric) coordination pattern out of which it has evolved. In addition to this, these adverbs select for propositional complements but they by themselves are higher predicates (see Rocci 2005), so questions are rejected except if the answer is known by the speaker:

- (71) Y en ese momento ¿**qué va Juan y hace**?
and in this moment, what goes J. and does

So (71) is good as an oriented interrogative –and as such, with a raising intonation pattern, and bad as a neutral one –hence, pronounced with a falling intonation pattern, an asymmetry not explained under the current analyses. Analyzing *va y* as a discourse adverb selecting for a propositional complement allows for explaining as well the fact that V2 can have its own subject, as seen in (64a). Likewise, serial verbs constructions may grammaticalize as expressive adverbs (Anderson 2006), and imperatives in Spanish, in general, are a habitual source of adverbs linked to features in the left periphery such as exclamative force and evidentiality: *mira que* ‘look’, *vaya* go.subj.prs.3sg ‘what a’, *venga* come.subj.prs.3sg ‘come on’. Finally, this analysis predicts that the meaning varies depending on the context.

So far so good. The main difficulty that the *va y* adverbial hypothesis raises is that it is clearly applicable only to a few cases, namely, those in which V1 and V2 either do not agree or they agree by default, as in (33b), repeated below:

- (38) b. Esta es Sylvia Ageloff, tu liebre. Bien cocinada, **va y hasta sabe** bien.
 ‘This is, Silvia Ageloff, your hare. Well cooked, it even goes and is tasty’

For all other cases, there are two possibilities: either *va y* is an auxiliary or the sequence is examined as a construction, along the lines of the constructional grammar.

5.3. Auxiliary verb vs. construction

Colaço and Goçáives (2010) argue against analyzing Port. V1 GO-class verbs as auxiliary verbs, although they agree on locating them very high in the structure, specifically, as the head of a functional projection discursively related selecting for a CP. This is highly coincident with the analyses defended ten years before by Arnaiz and Camacho's (1999) for *ir y*. The auxiliary condition is debatable as long as the complement is either a CP or an IP. Bužarovska (2006) suggests for Eng. that they are morphemes with a pragmatic meaning, but in no case auxiliary verbs.

Focusing in *ir y*, it is my contention that the first decision to be taken is whether both the prospective value and the historical present value are to be analyzed as instances of the same item (see also García Sánchez 2007, against the possibility of distinguishing between them but without any further argumentation).³² Differences between them can be quite big. To cite just two of them: i. historical present *va y* only refers to episodic eventualities, and ii. as a historical present *va y* can alternate with *agarra y*; iii. only historical present *va y* rejects high negation (72a), but not predictive or resultative *va y* (72b) –(72a) can have a sort of a rethorical reading with a different intonation pattern and glossed as ‘Can you believe that yesterday J. went and said...?’, which should be disregarded:

- (72) a. *Ayer Juan **no va y dice...**
yesterday J. not goes and says
 b. Seguro que los cazadores **no van y la matan.**
sure that the hunters not go and acc.fem.3sg kill

Recall, however, that under an epistemic operator (*fijo que, seguro que* ‘for sure’), *agarrar y* can substitute *va y*, hence, it can convey a predictive meaning (see also the discussion about example (33a)). Conversely, *ir y* is compatible with other tenses but the preferred reading is the volitional one (see Section 3). So what emerges is a sort of a close dependency between the structure and the meaning expressed, such that i. the meaning is stable in spite of the verb that function as V1, namely it is associated with the values listed above; ii. it has an expressive function; iii. V1 is limited to a restricted set of lexical items, which points towards a certain degree of idiomaticity (Kay and Michaelis 2012); iv. variation is accepted and depends on the verb than occupies the V1 position: TAKE-class verbs convey an intention on the part of the subject, according to the speaker; v. however, the contrary is also possible: the verb that occupies the first position can shift its meaning making it compatible with the meaning of the scheme. Thus, GO-class verbs in other tenses than the present convey mostly an intentional meaning, and conversely TAKE-class verbs in the historical present can select for weather verbs, ungrammatical with the rest of the tenses.

The hypothesis that we are going to defend here is that the <V1 + *y* + V2> scheme is better analyzed as a construction, that is, as a ‘conventionalized pairing of form and meaning’ (Michaelis 2010: 139). If ‘grammatical constructions are recipes for word combinations that speakers use to achieve specific communicative goals’ (Michaelis

³² There's always been hanging around a proposal for identifying <V1 + *and* + V2> and <Aux + prep + Inf> schema (see Wiklund 2007), so *Agarrar y* would be pretty much the same thing as *ponerse a lit.* put oneself to ‘start to’, which would parallel *ponerse y lit.* put oneself and ‘start to (something) and’. See García Sánchez 2007 for an overview of the different proposals existing for Spa. as well as Jaque *et al.* (2018).

2010: 139) it is clear that *go & get* is a construction: it is a recipe, for word combination, and the speakers use it with a the specific communicative goal of achieving a particular narrative effect, or simply for representing the action as deliberately or with very high determination the part of the subject, according to the speaker. That is, it is a meaningful syntactic pattern, and as such, it is a construction. Although the reasoning functions as well the other way round. At this point, it is evident that just by knowing the meaning of the verbs in the V1 position –assuming that they have a fixed meaning and that we can describe it, and the combinatory rules we don't get the meaning of the resulting combination.

Other properties that make the <V1 + y + V2> scheme a good candidate for being a construction is that the prosodic pattern is also meaningful (see Section 3.6), contrary, as we have also argued, to what is normally the case in the canonical periphrases. It also supports the hypothesis the fact that many of the constructions proposed by the constructional grammar framework are inherently made up of two discontinuous constituents (Kay & Michaelis 2012): pseudo-conditionals (*'If you're George Bush, you're now allowed to lie in the faces of trusting'*), correlative or comparative conditionals (*The sooner, the better*), or the *let alone* and the *just because... it doesn't mean that...* sequences (see Bosque in press for a proposal in favour of extending the notion of construction to a limited number of grammatical phenomenon also within formal approaches). An analysis without embedding the complement also allows to explain sequences as the one shown in (73), where V1 is not scoping over the material to its right but it is selecting only for the V2 part of it, which starts with the conjunction:

- (73) Y voy yo, me incomodo, y ¡zas! la embisto de proa. [García Sánchez 2007: 269, fn. 23]
 'And I go, I get uncomfortable, and wham! I lunged at her by the bow.'

The pattern features as well the idiomaticity *continuum* property, since although it is highly productive, at the same there's a lexical restriction on the set of verbs that can occupy the V1 position.

The grammaticalization argument, finally, is a particularly interesting one, since, as I have argued, we are not dealing with the expected grammaticalization process of an isolated lexical verb that eventually ends up being a functional verb (and this is the case regardless of the framework: from Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994 to Traugott & Dasher 2002 and Roberts & Roussou 2003). Instead, the <V1 + y + V2> scheme is the grammaticalization for conventionalization of the inferences of an entire syntactic structure, namely, that corresponding to the asymmetric coordination.³³ If formally the structure is still a coordinated structure, we can explain the sameness condition, the shared subject feature, the intonation pattern, the possibility of having more than one V1 with being stacked and, probably, the fact that V2 needs not to be a VP, but can be bigger (see examples in (64) above).

³³ Bužarovska (2006:159), following (Givón 1979), refers to this process as a process of syntacticization, by which 'loose, paratactic, pragmatic discourse structures develop over time into tight, grammaticalized syntactic structures' (Givón 1979: 208). Likewise, Heine (1993) talked about the grammaticalization of the Event Scheme expressed by the corresponding serial verb construction.

6. Conclusions and further research

Pseudo-coordination structures raise a number of problems that stem from the fact that they share properties with a wide range of different syntactic phenomena. As regards Spa. <V1 + *and* + V2> schema, the discussion traditionally revolves around the following two features. On the one hand, the main concern has been deciding whether it qualifies as a verbal periphrasis or not. On the other hand, the interest has focused on whether it is an aspectual periphrasis with a completive meaning or with an ingressive meaning. In this paper I have addressed these two issues, but not only.

As regards the periphrastic issue, the bad news is that, in general, and as I see it, there are more arguments than not against analyzing Spanish pseudo-coordinations as a verbal periphrasis. To the already well known, I have offered here a number of them: a different intonation pattern, the size of the complement (which can be bigger than a simply VP), the need for copying the temporal morphology on the two verbs, the absence of a clear semantics associated exclusively with each class of verbs and, at the same time, the possibility of conveying the same meanings regardless of the verbs that occupy the V1 position, and finally, both the impossibility for V2 to be omitted and the possibility of reiterating V1 regardless of the order. I have also defended, contrary to what is generally assumed, that the <V1 + *and* + V2> scheme does not develop out of the grammaticalization of the verb in the first position in isolation, mostly if it is a TAKE-verb, but it is the outcome of the grammaticalization of an asymmetric coordination structure and the conventionalization of the invited inferences. If I am right, this feature is also different from the grammaticalization path followed by ordinary auxiliary verbs and, thus, another argument against the periphrastic analysis.

The good news is that taking the description of the <V1 + *y* + V2> scheme out of the realm of the periphrases, at least in Spanish, leaves open the possibility for studying it in connection with other structures with which it has a close relation. To mention but a few, on the part of *ir* both the <motion verb + prep + goal > and the <motion verb + *and* + goal > structures as well as other combinations with *ir* as an auxiliary verb, such as the focus auxiliary of *Fue a saberlo Juan* ('It had to be John, there was nobody else that could know it'). And, on the part of *agarrar*, the relationship between this construction and the scalar or discursive periphrases (*{empezar ~ acabar} por*, '<to {start ~ end up} + -ing>').

As regards the aspectual issue, I have shown that the completive hypothesis makes the wrong predictions, and that the ingressive hypothesis is more suitable for *agarrar*, which equally marks the action as carried out with special intention or decision on the part of the subject for the speaker. This analysis is supported both cross-linguistically and on historical grounds. As regards GO-class verbs, their semantics makes them good candidates for presenting V2 as a result. In general, I have shown that there are big differences between these two classes of verbs, which, nevertheless can blur quite frequently.

Finally, I have defended that there is a *va y* discursive adverb, similar to *puede que*. This adverb, however, does not cover all the cases: for the rest of them I have defended that they are a construction in the strict sense: a pairing of form and meaning, although I haven't offered the syntactic representation for it. I leave this point for a future research.

Ana Bravo
Departamento de Lengua Española y Lingüística General
Universidad de Murcia

Campus de la Merced
c/Santo Cristo, 1
30001 Murcia
Spain
<ana.bravo@um.es>

Corpus

CDE: NOW (= Corpus del Español: News on the Web): Mark Davies, Corpus del Español. <https://www.corpusdelespanol.org/now/>
CORPES XXI (= Corpus del español del siglo XXI): REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA, Banco de datos (CORPES XXI) [en línea]. Corpus del Español del Siglo XXI (CORPES). <<http://www.rae.es>>

References

- Aboh, E. O. (2009). Clause Structure and Verb Series. *Linguistic Inquiry* 40 / 1, pp. 1-33. Available at <https://doi.org/10.1162/ling.2009.40.1.1>
- Aikhenvald, A. Y. (2006). Serial verb constructions: a cross-linguistic typology, in A. Y. Aikhenvald & R. M. W. Dixon (eds.), *Serial verb constructions in typological perspective*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 1–68.
- Anand, P. & M. Toosarvandani (2018). No Explanation for the Historical Present: Temporal Sequencing and Discourse, in U. Sauerland & S. Solt (eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 22*, vol. 1, ZASPiL 60. ZAS, Berlin, pp. 73–90.
- Anderson, G. D. S. (2006). *Auxiliary Verb Constructions*. Oxford, Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199280315.001.0001>
- Anderson, G. D. S. (2011). Auxiliary Verb Constructions (and Other Complex Predicate Types): A Functional–Constructional Overview. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 5 / 11, pp. 795–828. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749-818X.2011.00311.x>
- Arnaiz, A. & J. Camacho (1999). A Topic Auxiliary in Spanish, in J. Gutiérrez-Rexach & F. Martínez-Gil (eds.), *Advances in Hispanic Linguistics. Papers from the 2nd Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Boston, Cascadilla Press, pp. 317-331.
- Biberauer, T. & S. Vikner (2017). Having the Edge: A New Perspective on Pseudo-Coordination in Danish and Afrikaans, in N. La Cara, K. Moulton & A.-M. Tessier (eds.), *A Schrift to Fest Kyle Johnson*. University of Massachusetts, *Linguistics Open Access Publications*, pp. 77–90.
- Bjorkman, B. M. (2016). *Go Get, Come See: Motion Verbs, Morphological Restrictions, and Syncretism*. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 34 / 1, pp. 53–91. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43698467?seq=1>. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11049-015-9301-0>
- Bosque, I. (1987). Constricciones morfológicas sobre la coordinación. *Lingüística española actual* 9, pp. 83–100.
- Bosque, I. (in press). La gramática de construcciones. Una mirada externa. To appear in *Borealis* 9 / 2.
- Bravo, A. (2013). Auxiliary Verbs in the Left Periphery: Spanish *Ir* and *Venir* as Focus Markers, in J. Aaron, G. Lord & Ana de Prada (eds.), *Selected Proceedings Of The 15th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*. Somerville, MA.,

- Cascadilla Proceedings Project. Available at <http://www.lingref.com/cpp/hls/16/index.html>
- Bravo, A. (2014). The Spanish Auxiliary *ir* 'to go': from Resultative Motion Verb to Focus Marker, in M. Devos & J. van der Wal (eds.), 'COME' and 'GO' off the Beaten Grammaticalization Path. Berlin / New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 187-218. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110335989>
- Bravo, A. (2016). Verbo auxiliar, in J. Gutiérrez-Rexach (ed.), Enciclopedia de Lingüística Hispánica, vol. 2. London, Routledge, pp. 152-162.
- Bravo, A. (2017). Rhetorical Imperatives: Reasons to Reasoning, in D. Van Olmen & S. Heinhold (eds.), Imperatives and Directive Strategies. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp. 79–109. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.184.03bra>
- Bravo, A. & L. García Fernández (2016). Perífrasis verbales, in J. Gutiérrez-Rexach (ed.), Enciclopedia de Lingüística Hispánica, vol. 2. London, Routledge, pp. 785-796.
- Bravo, A., L. García Fernández y D. G. Krivochen (2015). On Auxiliary Chains: Auxiliaries at the Syntax-Semantics Interface. *Borealis: An International Journal of Hispanic Linguistics* 4 / 2, pp. 71-101. <https://doi.org/10.7557/1.4.2.3612>
- Brown, D., M. Chumakina, G. Corbett, G. Popova, & A. Spencer (2012). Defining 'Periphrasis': Key Notions'. *Morphology* 22, pp. 233–275.
- Broekhuis, H. (2019). Asymmetrical coordination: Syntax/semantics and pragmatics. *Nederlandse Taalkunde* 23 / 3, pp. 325-357. <https://doi.org/10.5117/NEDTAA2018.3.004.BROE>
- Bužarovska, E. (2006). On *Go Get* Constructions in English: A Pragmatically-Based Approach, in K. Rasulić, I. Trbojević, & Z. Paunović (eds), *International Conference English Language and Literature Studies: Interfaces and Integrations. ELLSII75 Proceedings*. Belgrade, University, Faculty of Philology, pp. 159-170.
- Bybee, J., R. Perkins, & W. Pagliuca (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect, and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago / London, University of Chicago Press.
- Bynon, T. (1985). Serial Verbs and Grammaticalization, in U. Pieper & G. Stickel (eds.), *Studia Linguistica Diachronica et Synchronica*. Berlin / New York / Amsterdam, Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 105-121. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110850604-012>
- Camacho, J. (1999). La coordinación, in I. Bosque & V. Demonte (dirs.), *Gramática descriptiva de la lengua española*, vol. 2 (Las construcciones sintácticas fundamentales. Relaciones temporales, aspectuales y modales). Madrid, Espasa-Calpe, pp. 2635-2694.
- Camus, B. (2006). <Coger y + verbo>, in L. García Fernández (dir.), pp. 98-102.
- Carrasco Gutiérrez, A. (2006). <comenzar por + infinitivo>, in L. García Fernández (dir.), pp. 105-107.
- Carrasco Gutiérrez, A. (2014). Non-epistemic perception and subeventive structure. *Revista de Estudos Linguísticos da Universidade do Porto* 9, pp. 9-34.
- Carden, G. & D. Pesetsky. (1977). Double-verb Construction, Markedness, and a Fake Coordination. *Papers from the 13th Regional Meeting*. Chicago Linguistics Society, Chicago, University of Chicago, pp. 82-92.
- Cardinaletti, A., y G. Giusti, (2001). 'Semi-lexical' Motion Verbs in Romance and Germanic, in N. Corver y H. V. Riemsdijk (eds.), *Semi-Lexical Categories: The Function of Content Words and the Content of Function Words*. Berlin /

- New York, Mouton de Gruyter, pp 371–414.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110874006.371>
- Cinque, G. (1999). *Adverbs and Functional Heads. A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Colaço, M. (2010). Construções com constituintes verbais coordenados em PE. *Textos Seleccionados, XXV Encontro Nacional da Associação Portuguesa de Linguística* (2009), Porto, Associação Portuguesa de Linguística, pp. 307-321. Available at <https://docplayer.com.br/13579624-Construcoes-com-constituintes-verbais-coordenados-em-pe-1.html>
- Colaço, Madalena & Anabela Gonçalves (2017). <V-and-V> constructions in Portuguese: the case of <ir-and-V>. In Mary Kato & Francisco Ordóñez (eds.), *The Morphosyntax of Portuguese and Spanish in Latin America*. Oxford: OUP. DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780190465889.003.0006
- Copley, B. (2009). *The Semantics of the Future*. New York, Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203880258>
- Comrie, B. (1976). *Aspect*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Coseriu, E. (1977). «Tomo y me voy»: Un problema de sintaxis comparada europea, in *Estudios de lingüística románica*. Madrid, Gredos, pp 79-151. (1966) «Tomo y me voy». Ein Problem vergleichender europäischer Syntax. *Vox Romanica*, 25, pp. 13-55.
- Cruschina, S. (2013). Beyond the Stem and Inflectional Morphology: an Irregular Pattern at the Level of Periphrasis, in S. Cruschina, M. Maiden, & J. Charles Smith (eds.), *The Boundaries of Pure Morphology. Diachronic and Synchronic Perspectives*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 262-283.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199678860.003.0014>
- de Vos, M. (2004). Pseudo coordination is not subordination, in Leonie Cornips & Jenny Doetjes (eds.), *Linguistics in the Netherlands 21*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp. 181–192. <https://doi.org/10.1075/avt.21.20vos>
- de Vos, M. (2005). *The Syntax of Verbal Pseudo-Coordination in English and Afrikaans*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Leiden.
- Declerck, R. (2009). ‘Nonfactual-at-t’: a Neglected Modal Concept, in R. Salkie, P. Busuttil, & J. van der Auwera (eds.), *Modality in English. Theory and Description*. Berlin / New York, Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 31–54.
- Dik, S. C. (1989). *The Theory of Functional Grammar. Part 1: The Structure of the Clause*. Dordrecht, Foris.
- Dowty, D. (1979). *Word Meaning and Montague Grammar*. Dordrecht, Reidel.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-009-9473-7>
- Eckardt, R. (2006). *Meaning Change in Grammaticalization: An Inquiry into Semantic Reanalysis*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199262601.001.0001>
- Ekberg, Lena. (1993). The cognitive basis of the meaning and function of cross-linguistic *take and V*. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics* 8, pp. 21–42.
<https://doi.org/10.1075/bjl.8.03ekb>
- Engerer, V. (2014). Phases in Verbal Semantics, in K. Robering (ed.), *Events, Arguments, and Aspects: Topics in the Semantics of Verbs*. Amsterdam, John Benjamins, pp. 227-260. <https://doi.org/10.1075/slcs.152.06eng>
- Fábregas, A. (2019). Periphrases in Spanish: Properties, Diagnostics and Research Questions. *Borealis – An International Journal of Hispanic Linguistics* 8 / 2, 1-82. <https://doi.org/10.7557/1.8.2.4944>

- García Fernández, L. (2006). Perífrasis verbales en español, in L. García Fernández (dir.), pp. 9-58.
- García Fernández, L. (2006) (dir.). Diccionario de perífrasis verbales. Madrid, Gredos.
- García Fernández, L. & D. G. Krivochen (2019a). Dependencias no locales y cadenas de verbos auxiliares. *Verba* 46, pp. 207-244. <http://dx.doi.org/10.15304/verba.46.4567>
- García Fernández, L. & D. Krivochen (2019b). Las perífrasis en contraste. Madrid, Arco Libros.
- García Fernández, L., D. G. Krivochen y Bravo, A. (2017). Aspectos de la semántica y sintaxis de las cadenas de verbos auxiliares en español. *Moenia* 23, pp. 1-28.
- García Fernández, L. & D. Gómez Vázquez (2015): More than a copula. Complex predicates with *estar* and the clitic *se*, in I. Pérez-Jiménez, M. Leonetti, & S. Gumiel-Molina (eds.), *New Perspectives on the Study of Ser and Estar*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia, John Benjamins, pp. 23-50. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ihll.5.02gar>
- García Sánchez, J. (2007). “Tomo y me voy”. Expresión plena y elipsis, in *Actas del XV Congreso de la Asociación Internacional de Hispanistas*. México D.F., Fondo De Cultura Económica, pp. 163-175.
- Giorgi, A. & F. Pianesi (1997). *Tense and Aspect. From Semantics to Morphosyntax*. New York / Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Haspelmath, M. (2016). The Serial Verb Construction: Comparative Concept and Cross-Linguistic Generalizations. *Language and Linguistics*, 17 / 3, pp. 291–319. <http://doi.org/10.1177/2397002215626895>.
- Heine, B. (1993). *Auxiliaries: Cognitive Forces and Grammaticalization*. Oxford / New York, Oxford University Press.
- Jaeggli, O. & N. Hyams (1993). On the Independence and Interdependence of Syntactic and Morphological Properties: English Aspectual COME and GO. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 11 / 2, pp. 313-346. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00992916>
- Jaque, M., C. González, S. Guerrero, F. Hasler V. Orqueda (2018). *Es llegar y llevar: construcciones multiverbales de verbo finito coordinadas en español*. *Lenguas Modernas* 52, pp. 163-186. Available at <https://lenguasmodernas.uchile.cl/index.php/LM/article/view/52851>
- Jaque, M., C. González, S. Guerrero, F. Hasler, V. Orqueda, C. Garrido Sepúlveda & M. Covarrubias Benavente (2019). Subjetivización, alcance y gramaticalización: de la interruptividad a la admiratividad en construcciones del tipo *llegar y + VF1*. *Boletín de Filología* 54 / 2, pp. 219-256. Available at <https://scielo.conicyt.cl/pdf/bfilol/v54n2/0718-9303-bfilol-54-2-00219.pdf> <https://doi.org/10.4067/S0718-93032019000200219>
- Kay, P. & L. A. Michaelis (2012). Constructional Meaning and Compositionality, in C. Maienborn, K. von Heusinger & P. Portner (eds.), *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*, volume 3. Berlin / Boston, Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 2271–2296. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110253382.2271>
- Klein, W. (1994). *Time in Language*. London / New York, Routledge.
- Krivochen, D. G. & L. García Fernández (2020). Variability in syntactic-semantic cycles: evidence from auxiliary chains, in M. González Rivera & S. Sessarego (eds.), *Interface-Driven Phenomena in Spanish: Essays in Honor*

- of Javier Gutiérrez-Rexach. London, Routledge, cp. 7.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9781003006855-8>
- Krivochen, D. G. & S. F. Schmerling (2017). On mirage coordinations in English. Ms. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.2.27829.83683. Available at https://www.researchgate.net/publication/339776895_On_mirage_coordinations_in_English_v3_work_in_progress
- Krivochen, D. G. & S. F. Schmerling (in preparation). On mirage coordinations in English. Ms.
- Lødrup, H. (2002). The syntactic structures of Norwegian pseudocoordinations. *Studia Linguistica* 56 / 2, pp. 121–143. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9582.00090>
- Michaelis, L. (2010). Sign Based Construction Grammar, in B. Heine & H. Narrog (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Linguistic Analysis*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, pp. 139-158.
- Moens, M. & M. Steedman (1988). Temporal Ontology and Temporal Reference. *Computational Linguistics* 14 / 2, pp. 15-28.
- Pullum, G. K. (1990). Constraints on Intransitive Quasi-Serial Verb Constructions in Modern Colloquial English, in B. Joseph & A. Zwicky (eds.), *When Verbs Collide: Papers from the Ohio State Mini-Conference on Serial Verbs* (Columbus, Ohio, May 26-27, 1990). *Working Papers in Linguistics* 39, pp. 218-239. Available at <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED330217>
- [Quilis, A. \(1993\): Tratado de fonética y fonología españolas. Madrid, Gredos.](#)
- RAE & ASALE (= Real Academia Española y Asociación de Academias de la Lengua Española) (2009). *Nueva gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid, Espasa.
- Ramchand, G. (2008). *Verb Meaning and the Lexicon*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486319>
- Roberts, I. & A. Roussou (2003). *Syntactic Change: A Minimalist Approach to Grammaticalisation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486326>
- Rocci, A. (2005). On the Nature of the Epistemic Readings of the Italian Modal Verbs: the Relationship between Propositionally and Inferential Discourse Relations, in B. Hollebrandse, A. van Hout & C. Vet (eds.), *Crosslinguistic Views on Tense, Aspect and Modality* (*Cahiers Chronos*, 13). Amsterdam / New York, Rodopi, pp. 229-246.
- Rosen, S. T. (1990). Restructuring Verbs are Light Verbs, in A. L. Halpern (ed.), *Proceedings of the Ninth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*. Stanford, Center for the Study of Language and Information, pp.477-492.
- Ross, D. (2014). El origen de los estudios sobre la pseudocoordinación verbal. *Diálogo de la Lengua* VI, pp. 116-132.
- Ross, D. (2016). Going to Surprise: the Grammaticalization of Itive as Mirative, in J. Woźny (ed.), *Online proceedings of Cognitive Linguistics in Wrocław Web Conference 2016* (17 pages). Wrocław, Polish Cognitive Linguistics Association & University of Wrocław. <https://sites.google.com/site/coglingwroc2>
- Ross, D. (2019). A Geographic Tour of Pseudocoordination: Language Families and Contact. Presented at the Second Workshop on Pseudo-Coordination and Multiple Agreement Constructions, Venice, Italy.
- Ross, J. R. (1967). *Constraints on variables in syntax*. Cambridge, Mass., MIT PhD dissertation.

- Ross, J. R. (1991). Verbiness and the Size of Niches in the English Auxiliary, in C. Georgopolous & R. Ishihara (eds.), *Interdisciplinary Approaches to Language: Essays in Honor of S.-Y. Kuroda*. Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic, pp. 459-466. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-011-3818-5_24
- Schmerling, S. F. (1975). Asymmetric conjunction and rules of conversation, in P. Cole & J. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics 3: Speech Acts*. Academic Press, New York, pp. 211–231. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004368811_009
- Schmerling, S. (2018). *Sound and grammar*. Boston, MA, Brill. <https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004378261>
- Sainz, E. (2018). Construcciones verbales seriales en español: forma sintáctica, significado eventivo y función discursiva. Talk at the XIII Congreso Internacional de Lingüística General, University of Vigo, June, 12-15, 2018. <http://cilx2018.uvigo.gal/programa2/resumos/662182.html>
- Silva Garcés, J. A. (2011). *Agarró y dijo*: Algunas consideraciones gramaticales sobre estas construcciones, in *Actas de las primeras jornadas de jóvenes lingüistas*.
- Smith, C. S. (1991). *The Parameter of Aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-015-7911-7>
- Speas, M. (2010). Evidentials as Generalized Functional Heads, in A. M. Di Sciullo & V. Hill (eds.), *Edges, Heads, and Projections: Interface Properties*. Amsterdam / Philadelphia, John Benjamins, pp. 127-150.
- Stefanowitsch, A. (1999). The Go-and-Verb Construction in a Cross-Linguistic Perspective: Image-Schema Blending and the Construal of Events, in D. Nordquist & C. Berkenfield (eds.), *Proceedings of the Second Annual High Desert Linguistics Society Conference*. Albuquerque, NM, High Desert Linguistics Society, pp. 123-134.
- Ter Meulen, A. B. (1995). *Representing Time in Natural Language*. Cambridge, Mass., The MIT Press. <https://doi.org/10.7551/mitpress/5897.001.0001>
- Traugott, E. C. & R. B. Dasher (2002). *Regularity in Semantic Change*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511486500>
- Tonne, I. (2007). Analyzing progressives in Norwegian. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 30 / 2, 185-208. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586507001758>
- Vannebo, K. I. (2003). Ta og ro deg ned noen hakk: on pseudocoordination with the verb ta 'take' in a grammaticalization perspective. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics* 26, pp 165-193 [doi:10.1017/S0332586503001070](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0332586503001070)
- Verkuyl, H. (1999). *Aspectual Issues. Studies on Time and Quantity*. Stanford, CA., CSLI Publications.
- Wiklund, A.-L. (2007). *The Syntax of Tenselessness: Tense / Mood /Aspect-Agreeing Infinitivals*. Berlin / New York, Mouton de Gruyter. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110197839>
- Wiklund, A.-L. (2008). Creating surprise in complex predication. *Nordlyd* 35. Special issue on Complex Predication, P. Svenonius & I. Tolskaya (eds.), pp. 163–187. <https://doi.org/10.7557/12.141>
- Wiklund, A.-L. (2009). The Syntax of Surprise: Unexpected Event Readings, in *Complex predication. Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 84, pp. 181–224.
- Wurmbrand, S. (1998). *Infinitives*. PhD Dissertation, MIT.
- Zagona, K. (1988). *Verb Phrase Syntax*. Dordrecht, Kluwer.
- Zagona, K. (2006). *Sintaxis generativa del español*. Madrid, Visor.
- Zwicky, A. (1990). What are we talking about when we talk about serial verbs. In B. Joseph & A. Zwicky (eds.), *When Verbs Collide: Papers from the Ohio State Mini-Conference on Serial Verbs* (Columbus, Ohio, May 26-27, 1990). *Working Papers in Linguistics* 39. Available at <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED330217>
- Zwicky, A. (1993). Heads, Bases and Functors, in G. G. Corbett & N. M. Fraser (eds.), *Heads in Grammatical Theory*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, pp. 292-315. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511659454.013>