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Pluractional Perfects:

Anatomy of a Construction in Eonavian Spanish

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Contents

Abstract

This dissertation presents an empirical and theoretical examination of Pluractional Perfects, i.e. analytic participle constructions with the semantics of a Perfect that at the same time incorporate some form of plurality at the level of the event described. This is the first study that aims at unifying through a common set of syntactic and semantic properties a group of constructions that were previously thought of as heterogeneous, and which includes the Portuguese *Perfect Tense* or the Galician *Perfective Periphrases*. The empirical weight of the dissertation comes from a particular variety of Northwestern Spanish that I call *Eonavian*.

In Pluractional Perfects we see a convergence of two apparently independent domains: one is the functional domain of the Perfect and its associated formal accounts; the other one is the lexical domain of pluractionality, understood as an *Aktionsart*-changing device. In this dissertation I argue that such convergence is actually telling us something important about the nature of the Perfect and its relation to event repeatability (or the potential for it). The connection between the two falls naturally from an analysis in which the Perfect builds up derived states.

On the syntactic side, I show that Pluractional Perfects are monoclausal structures that nevertheless do not qualify as prototypical auxiliary constructions, and neither do they qualify as light verb constructions in the sense of Butt (2010). This poses a problem to theories of complex predication that assume a clear-cut division between functional and lexical verbs. I argue for a more flexible analysis following Svenonius (2008), where the different verbs share one configurational space, only constrained by the *Functional Sequence* (after Starke 2001).

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Abbreviations

be_1-verb *ser*

be_2-verb *estar*

CL- clitic

COND- conditional

DAT- dative

DIM- diminutive

DOM- differential object marking

FEM- feminine

FUT- future

IMP- imperfect

impers.-impersonal

IMPV- imperative

INF- infinitive

MASC- masculine

NEG- negation

PL- plural

PLUPERF-pluperfect (synthetic past perfect)

POSS- possessive

PROG- progressive

PRF- perfect

PRS- present

PST- past

PTCP- participle

1/2/3P- first, second, and third person

refl. – reflexive

SBJV- subjunctive

SING (/SG) – singular

SUPER- superlative

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Chapter 1- Introduction

Pluractional Perfects are participle constructions that combine two fundamental semantic ingredients: they express Perfect meanings, to the extent that they denote a state in relation to a previous eventuality, and they convey some form of event plurality or *pluractionality* (after Newman 1980). Defined in this way, it becomes possible to unify as "Pluractional Perfects" an otherwise heterogenous set of constructions reported under different names in the Romance context (e.g. the Portuguese Perfect Tense). A successful account of these constructions, as we will see, requires a re-evaluation of theories of complex predication and, more generally, of the traditional lexical/functional division in verbs. On the semantic side, Pluractional Perfects give further empirical support to the idea that Perfects are states. Furthermore, these constructions challenge the received wisdom whereby pluractionality can only be found around a verb's predicational core, only to change its lexical aspect or Aktionsart.

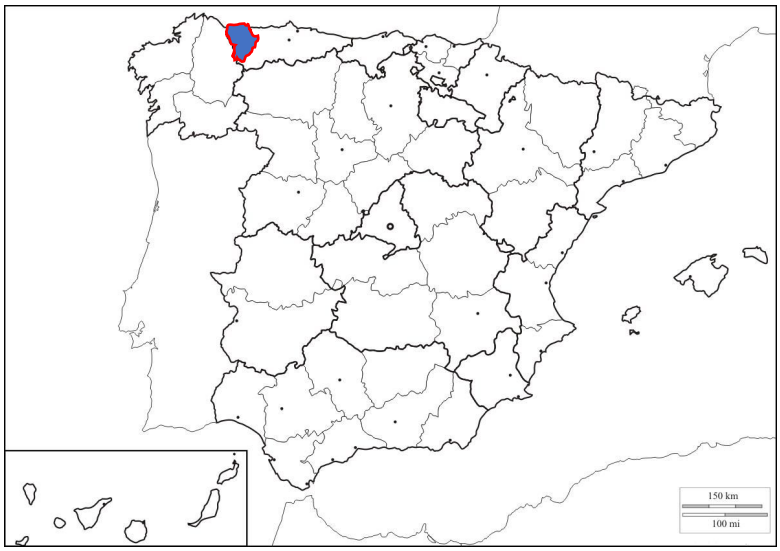
The introduction begins with a geographical and historical overview of the area where Eonavian Spanish is spoken in Spain (§1.1.), including a linguistic review of the Galician dialects spoken in the area along with Spanish, dialects which are collectively referred to as *a fala* (§1.1.2). After a brief illustration of the influence of *a fala* in the EoS verb system in general (§1.1.3), I present the basic defining properties of pluractional perfect constructions both in EoS and in neighbouring varieties outside Spanish, mainly Galician, Portuguese, and Asturian (§1.2). Section §1.3. discusses the formal landscape of the dissertation, anticipating how the study of Pluractional Perfects can inform linguistic theory. The introduction includes a report on Methodology: how the data collection took place (§1.4). With all the information in place, a structural overview of the dissertation is provided in the final section (§1.5.).

1.1. Eonavian Spanish in space and time.

1.1.1. Eo-Navia, land of Gallaeci *people*

Eonavian Spanish (henceforth EoS) is a northwestern variety of Peninsular Spanish spoken by nearly 25000 people across 1000 km^2 of land between the Eo and the Navia rivers, in the autonomous community of Asturias. [1] The Eonavian land maintains a differentiated identity within Asturias, both culturally and linguistically, with a long-standing situation of language contact between Spanish and a Galician-Portuguese variety commonly referred to by the locals as *a fala* (§2.1.2).[2]

Figure 1: EoS speaking area in Spain



[1] Population numbers come from a 2015 online database that can be accessed through the Federación Asturiana de Concejos (www.facc.info)

[2] Note that this should not be confused with the variety known as *Fala* in the Spanish autonomous community of Extremadura.

Figure 2: EoS speaking area in Asturias[3]

The singularity of the Eonavian territory is the result of a series of historical circumstances, with two dioceses (Lugo and Oviedo) continuously fighting for control over those territories around the river Eo. Even though the Eonavian land started to be part of the Oviedo bishopric officially by the end of the 12th century, Lugo continued to have a notable influence in practice: after all, this territory had belonged in Roman times to the so-called *Conventus Lucensis* within the *Gallaecia* province, whose Easter frontier was precisely the Navia river. The Roman division followed ethnic criteria, since the Navia river separated the Gallaeci people from the Astures "pésicos" people. This ancestral fact combined with recurrent periods of geographical isolation seems to have played a decisive role in the maintenance of their own traditions and language, distinguished from the rest of Asturias.

1.1.2. A fala*, the Galician linguistic heritage of Eo-Navia*

A fala is used informally as an umbrella term to refer to all the historical dialects of Eo-Navia which are still spoken in the community. The word "historical" is meant to highlight the fact that these dialects are direct

[3] Note that the geographical distribution of the EoS speaking area does not correspond to that of the administrative division called Comarca del Eo-Navia, since the latter includes territories on the East banks of the Navia river, where the prevalence of the Galician language is blurred by the coming influence of the next Romance variety, mainly Asturian or Asturleonese.

descendants of the former *Galician-Portuguese*, a Western Romance language spoken in the area during the Middle Ages. A few alternative names for the same group of dialects have been proposed, mainly *gallego-asturiano* (Alonso 1957), *galego de Asturias* (Babarro González 1984) and *eonaviego* (Frías 1998, 2001). [4]

The direct relation between *a fala* and the former Galician-Portuguese language is evident in Álvarez Castrillón's (2011) review of early 12th century texts from the Monastery of Santa María, in the municipality of Villanueva de Oscos, as well as in early studies by Menéndez Pidal (1906) and Dámaso Alonso (1957). In his study about Asturleonese, the philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal states that

"*In Asturias, the Leonese* [Asturleonese] *dialect begins only to the East of Navia; on the left banks of the river a variety of Galician is spoken, as well as in a few villages to its immediate right*".

(Original Spanish text taken from Menéndez Pidal 1906:130.
My translation)

To substantiate his claim, he lists a few properties as prototypical examples of the Galician linguistic domain: one is the absence of diphthongization of open-mid vowels ĕ (IPA: /ɛ/) and ŏ (IPA: /ɔ/), such as that in *corpo* 'body' (vs. *-ue-* in Spanish and Asturleonese); a second one is the loss of intervocalic -n- in words like *mao* 'hand' (vs. its prevalence in Spanish and Asturleonese); the list is augmented fifty years later by Manuel Menéndez García, who adds

[4] Many researchers have acknowledged the linguistic and cultural prevalence of Galician-Portuguese in Asturias, up to the river Navia: Menéndez Pidal (1906:130, 131); Lindley Cintra (1971:97); Alonso (OC 1972: 391), Cano González (1980: 43-44, apud Fernández Rei (ed.) 1994:68); a.o.

three new properties as "rasgos fundamentals del gallego" [distinctive features of Galician] (Menéndez García 1951:278), properties that are found in *a fala*: firstly, the use of *eu* as 1st person singular pronoun; secondly, a form *che* coming from the Latin form *tibi* for 2nd person singular dative pronoun (e.g. *douche* '(I) give.1p.SG.PRES-you.DAT') and a similar form *-che* coming from the latin *-sti* for 2nd person singular perfective forms (e.g. *bebiche* 'drink.PAST-you.SG'); lastly, the existence of what Menéndez García calls *contracciones pronominales* (clitics), such as *mo* 'to me-it', *cho* 'to you-it', or *yo* 'to him/her-it' (e.g. *xa cho din* '(I) already to.you-it give.1p.SG.PAST').

Even though the Galician imprint extends beyond phonology and the pronominal system, it is within those domains that distinctive properties were first spotted: early studies in variation and dialectology often limited their attention to the realm of vocabulary items, traditional morphology and phonetics/phonology. In other words, very rarely do we find studies dealing with proper syntactic phenomena in fieldwork up until the second half of the 20th century. A nontraditional domain in which prototypical Galician features can be observed is the syntax-semantics interface and its manifestations in the verbal system of *a fala*, with two particularly salient examples: firstly, the maintenance of the etymological synthetic form ending in *-ra*, from the Latin *amaveram*, illustrated in (1).

(1) *Condo aquello él xa anduvera*
when that he already walk-PLUPERF.3P.SING
por muitos sitos
around many places

'At that time, he had already been to many places'

Secondly, the existence of a light verb construction where an inflected form of the verb *dar* 'to give' acquires a specialized meaning in combination with a participle, which translates roughly as 'manage to' (2).

(2) a. *Salín* *tarde e* *case* *nun*
leave-PST.1P.SING late and almost NEG
dou *chegado*
give-PRS.1P.SING arrive-PRF.PTCP

'It was already late when I left and I barely managed to get there'

b. *¿Darás* *xunto* *eso*
give-FUT.2P.SING put.together -PRF.PTCP that
antes da *noite?*
before of.the night

'Would you manage to finish that before it gets dark?'[5]

[5] Transitive participles may show agreement with the nominal structure that functions as the object. This is reported already in Rojo (1974:134) with examples taken from other varieties of Galician. The possibility for agreement is pointed out in descriptive grammars of Galician too (Álvarez Blanco & Xove 2002, Freixeiro Mato 2000), but to my knowledge no exhaustive description of the distribution of agreement vs. no agreement has been published, and no proposal has been made regarding the structural and semantic conditions that may determine such distribution. Informal judgements of speakers of *a fala* on sentences such as (a) and (b) below show an (expected) interpretive contrast between the agreeing and the non-agreeing use of the participle (see the English translations for sentence (a)), but also show an unexpected difference in the availability of agreement in superficially similar transitive structures ((a) vs. (b)):

a. ¿Darás [xuntado/xuntadas] as estacas antes da noite?

The idea that these dialects are fundamentally Galician with some (mostly lexical) traits borrowed from Spanish and Asturleonese is also assumed by Dámaso Alonso in his numerous works on Eo-Navia:

"*These dialects in between the Navia and the Eo, fundamentally Galician, yet with some Asturian traits, I name them Galician-Asturian. In this area, politically Asturian, linguistically Galician (...)*"

(Original Spanish text taken from Alonso, OC 1972: 391,
apud Fernández Rei (ed.) 1994:64. My translation)

Despite the clarity with which Alonso defines *gallego-asturiano* as 'Galician spoken in Asturias', and despite a later revision of his works by Antón meilán (1994), the potential ambiguity of the term in the abstract has allowed for a hybrid interpretation of the kind 'mix of Galician and Asturleonese' which, drifted away from its original sense but supported by the Asturian Language Academy (García 1997), have gained some popularity over the past few

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Give-FUT.2P.SG gather [-PRF.PTCP/-PTCP.FEM.PL] the.FEM.PL woodenstick.FEM.PL before of.the night

Without agreement: 'Would you manage to finish gathering the wooden sticks before it gets dark?'

With agreement: 'Would you manage to have the wooden sticks gathered before it gets dark?'

b. ¿Darás [feito/?feitas] as estacas antes da noite?
Give-FUT.2P.SG make[-PRF.PTCP/-PTCP.FEM.PL] the.FEM.PL woodenstick.FEM.PL before of.the night

Without agreement: 'Would you manage to finish making the wooden sticks before it gets dark?'

With agreement: **??** 'Would you manage to have the wooden sticks made before it gets dark?'

I leave the matter open for further research.

years. It is important to highlight that, from a strictly linguistic point of view and based on the properties stated above, the hybrid reading is proved to be empirically wrong. That leads us to conclude that the motivation behind every act that openly contributes to such misunderstanding, driven both by individuals and by organisms, cannot be linguistic but of a different nature.

In short, the historical dialects of Eo-Navia, collectively kown as *a fala*, exhibit all the necessary linguistic properties to be classified as a member of the Galician-Portuguese language family, and within it, as part of Eastern Galician.

1.1.3. The influence of a fala *in the EoS verb system.*

It is in the context of a long-standing situation of contact between *a fala* and Spanish as the language of education and paperwork, that EoS have come to exist. One can find numerous examples of Galician traits in the EoS verb system alone: for instance, the maintenance of the etymological synthetic form ending in *-ra*, as in (3).

(3)	*Ese*	*día*	*salieran*	*tarde*
	that	day	leave-PLUPERF.3P.PL	late

‘That day, they had left early’

One construction which seems to have been directly adopted from *a fala* is the one discussed in (2), formed by an inflected form of the verb *dar* ‘to give’ and a participle. The corresponding EoS example is (4):

(4)	*Salí*	*tarde*	*y*	*casi*	*no*
	leave-PST.1P.SING	late	and	almost	NEG

doy *llegado*
give-PRS.1P.SING arrive-PRF.PTCP

'It was already late when I left and I barely managed to get there'

A third example of how EoS is shaped by *a fala* is the existence of an auxiliary construction referring to the non-culmination of a past event (5), suspiciously similar to the Galician construction in (6):

(5) *Hube* *a* *caer*
haber-PST.1P.SING prep fall-INF

'I almost fell down (but I didn't)'

(6) *Houben* *a* *caer*
haber-PST.1P.SING prep fall-INF

'I almost fell down (but I didn't)'

All the forms illustrated in the examples (3-6) are only attested in those varieties of Spanish spoken in areas where Galician is also spoken. Unsurprisingly, examples such as (3-6) in Asturias are unattested outside Eo-Navia.

Based on the empirical evidence just presented, the EoS verb system could be seen as the result of a steady interaction between two systems, Spanish and *a fala*, in which the syntax-semantics reproduces the original features from *a fala* and associates them to exponents which are direct morphophonological reflections in Spanish of the original Galician exponents (e.g. Gal. *houben* >

EoS *hube*). In other words, our initial hypothesis could be that the EoS verb paradigm is the manifestation in Spanish of an underlying Galician system. If that is the case, we expect all the EoS forms and their equivalents in *a fala* to be subject to the same conditions and to present the same syntactic-semantic properties. That is however not the case, for as we will see the conditions applying to the so-called Pluractional Perfects are only partially common to those applying to superficially similar constructions in *a fala* (§2.6). It is therefore necessary, I argue, to analyze EoS as an independent system in its own right.

1.2. Pluractional Perfects: what are they?

The term *pluractional perfect* is used in this dissertation to refer to analytic participle constructions with the semantics of a Perfect, that at the same time necessarily incorporate some form of pluractionality. In EoS, the pluractional perfects consist of an inflected form of the verb *tener* 'have' or *llevar* 'carry' followed by a perfect participle, as in (7) and (8):

(7) *A Roma tenemos ido*
To Rome tener-PRS.1P.PL go-PRF.PTCP
alguna vez
some time

'(We) have gone to Rome a few times'

(8) *Celia lleva visto diez*
Celia llevar-PRS.3P.SING see-PRF.PTCP ten
películas en lo que va
movies in CL that go-PRS.3P.SING
de festival
of festival

‘Celia has seen ten movies since the start of the festival’

From the point of view of their semantics, these two constructions share two fundamental properties: 1. They both convey perfect meanings, to the extent that they express a relation between a state or reference situation and a certain preceding eventuality (§4.3.2.); and 2. They both require a component of iteration or plurality at the level of the eventuality described (§2.3.1.).

Besides EoS, the semantic properties of pluractional perfects have been claimed to apply to the Portuguese Perfect Tense [*ter* + participle] in both Europe and Brazil (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997, Schmitt 2001, Molsing 2006). According to Schmitt (2001), the Present Perfect in Portuguese forces the iteration of the eventuality described:

(9)

O	*João*	*tem*	*saído*
The	João	ter-PRS.3P.SING	leave-PRF.PTCP
tarde			
late			

‘João has left late many times’/ ‘John has been leaving late’

Sentence (9) cannot be said of João if the event of leaving late has happened only once. Similar restrictions apply in (10), only that this time the event can hardly be conceived as iterative except in made-up scenarios such as, for example, the case of a superhero who dies multiple times during a movie. Hence the hash, indicating semantic oddness:

(10)

# *O*	*João*	*tem*	*morrido*
The	João	ter-PRS.3P.SING	die-PRF.PTCP

‘John has died many times’ / ‘John has been dying lately’

Likewise, in Galician the analytic Perfect [*ter* + participle] has been described as the result of combining temporal anteriority and aspectual plurality, all in one linguistic expression (Álvarez & Xove 2002). The following example is taken from Guillermo Rojo’s doctoral dissertation, published as a book in 1974, in which he mentions how the repetitive nature of the event described by [*ter* + participle] in Galician can optionally be highlighted by adverbial expressions such as *moitas veces* ‘often times’:

(11) *Eu, moitas veces, teño cazado*
I many times ter-PRS.1P.SING hunt-PRF.PTCP
nun día máis de vinte perdices
in.one day more of twenty partridges

‘I have often times hunted more than twenty partridges in one day’

(Rojo 1974: 130)

Finally, a similar construction is reported in Asturian, with an indication that the action was recurrent:

(12) *Teníala llamao a un*
tener-IMP.3P.SING.-cl. call-PRF.PTCP to a
teléfono vieyu
phone old

‘S/he had called her on her old telephone’

Given that example (12) is listed in the descriptive grammar of Asturian right after a definition of the *tener* periphrasis as denoting repeated actions (ALA 1998: 225), it is likely that an accurate translation of (12) would include something such as *repeatedly*, just as we have seen in Portuguese. However, as I show in §2.6, *tener* in Asturian is reported in "one-time event" scenarios as well. Therefore, in the absence of specific contextual information or a translation for (12) in the original work, I remain agnostic as to whether the meaning of (12) is necessarily pluractional.

Overall, and as the empirical description of the EoS pluractional perfects unfolds (§2.2), the Galician, Portuguese, and Asturian data will be re-evaluated, and some interesting differences with respect to EoS will be revealed (§2.6).

The use of [*tener* + participle] as a pluractional perfect has also been reported in descriptive grammars of Spanish as a non-standard construction, characteristic of north-western varieties (RAE & ASALE 2009, Vol. 2: 2117). The phenomenon does not appear to be restricted to areas where Galician is spoken along with Spanish: Harre (1991), for example, reports a few examples from her own fieldwork with informants from Oviedo (Central Asturias). Squartini (1998) has similar data from the Astur-Leonese domain. However, a closer examination of Harre's fieldwork in Central Asturias reveals important differences in the use of the construction with respect to Galician-Spanish speaking areas like Eo-Navia: firstly, in Harre's data [*tener* + participle] can refer to single- time events. Consider (13) in the context of a conversation about trout fishing:

(13) *¡Eso no es nada!*
that NEG be-PRS.3P.SING nothing
Yo tengo pescado una

I	tener-PRS.1P.SING		fish-PRF.PTCP		one
que	*medía*		*casi*	*un*	*metro*
that	measure-IMP.3P.SING		almost	one	meter

'That's nothing! I myself have got one (trout) almost a meter long'

Moreover, among the examples that Harre reports from Central Asturias, we find cases where *tener* is inflected for Present Tense and yet the reference time is not the now of the speaker:

(14)

Tiene		*perdido*	*cinco*	*kilos*
tener-PRS.3P.SING		lose-PRF.PTCP	five	kilo.PL
pero	*después*	*engordó*		*diez*
but	later	put.weight-PST.3P.SING		ten

'He lost five kilo but he then put on ten'

In (14), the reference time for the event denoted by the *tener* construction is necessarily in the past, some time before the person put on weight again. Notice also that according to the English translation the sentence seems to denote a single event of losing, not a plurality of events. Neither (13) nor (14) are acceptable sentences in EoS precisely because in those cases the construction is no longer pluractional and/or no longer perfect.

Finally, what about the Spanish spoken in Galicia? In other words, do we find the same pluractional perfects in other areas where Galician is in contact with Spanish? At this point my answer is (tentatively) yes: pluractional perfects like those illustrated in (7) and (8) for EoS are reported in areal studies in Galicia (Rojo 2005) and hundreds of examples are accessible through

ESLORA, a database of oral Spanish developed by the University of Santiago de Compostela. Nevertheless, given the prolific microvariation that characterizes other domains of the grammar, and in lack of a systematic study on pluractional perfects in every part of Galicia, I remain skeptical about these constructions showing the exact same behavior and being subject to the exact same conditions as the ones in Eo-Navia. The empirical foundation of this dissertation is therefore limited to the specific area of Eo-Navia, with the hope that future research on Galician-Spanish speaking communities will help us determine the scope of the generalizations observed.

1.3. Laying out the framework

The theoretical standpoint that will be guiding our analysis of the variation observed is framed in the so-called *internalist* approach to language, as presented in Chomsky (1986) and subsequent works. Even though the theory has been subject to change throughout the years as the research program advanced, the foundational assumption remains that human language must be analyzed as part of the individual psychology: as a system of knowledge, mostly unconscious, located in the mind/brain of the speaker.

"*We should, so it appears, think of knowledge of language as a certain state of the mind/brain, a relatively stable element in transitory mental states once it is attained; furthermore, as a state of some distinguishable faculty of mind—the language faculty—with its specific properties, structure, and organization*"

(Chomsky 1986: 12-13)

The questions that arise from this perspective concern the combinatorial possibilities of the linguistic units as well as the conditions imposed by the so-called "language faculty", a particular component of the human mind. Linguists are then confronted with the challenge of characterizing this

internal, mental state indirectly, either by observing how the system manifests itself in spontaneous speech, or by carrying out formal and informal behavioural tasks, often involving introspective judgements, with native speakers.

The internalist view on language contrasts with the perspective taken in most of the classical work in dialectology, where it is assumed that language is external to the individual, either in the form of a list of sentences (what Chomsky refers to as *E-language*), or in the form of statistical patterns that emerge from the speech community as an abstract entity (Labov 1972), emulating the Saussurean idea of *langue*. In this context, research has been primarily focused on the physical realization of language and/or its functionality in social contexts.

By contrast, an internalist approach looks at the very nature of the language system, and focuses on identifying its intrinsic properties (Adger and Trousdale 2007, Laca 2010).

Taking *language* to be a particular state of internalized knowledge (*I-language*), this theoretical model concedes that there could be as many languages as speakers are in the world (Kayne 1996). *Variation* in this context refers to any group of (I-)languages which are virtually identical: two speakers from the same neighbourhood will therefore be considered to have acquired the same variety, even though their judgements on particular sentences might differ.Any other terminological distinctions such as that between (*standard*) *language* v *dialect*, which have been traditionally exploited in variation studies are to be ignored, insofar as these distinctions are based on a conception of language as a social by-product, detached from individual minds.

1.3.1. Building propositions

This work is grounded in the idea that sentences are built compositionally from basic meaningful pieces or *building blocks*, which are universally available and hierarchically ordered. The resultant structure is a *Functional Sequence* (after Starke 2001) that reflects the human's cognitive tendency to perceive experience in terms of events, situations, and propositions: each of these three primitives builds its own linguistic domain or *zone* (Ramchand and Svenonius 2014).

The relative ordering in these domains is not casual, but it is guided by robust cross-linguistic generalizations, where the morphosyntax allows us to observe how propositions are built on situations, and these in turn are built on basic event structures (Wiltschko 2014, Ramchand 2018). The model is described at length in §3.1.1.

Regarding lexicalization, or how the building blocks get associated to particular vocabulary items in a language, I adopt a constrained version of phrasal spell-out known as *spanning* (after Williams 2003), allowing lexical items to target several syntactic nodes or "chunks" of structure, to put it in simple terms. The formal details on the spanning approach to lexicalization are given in §3.1.2.

This work is set up as a syntactic and semantic study in which the decomposition of semantic ingredients is consistent with the stability and hierarchical placement of functional ingredients, all of it manifested through a particular morphology (in this case, an analytic verb form). I believe that any serious attempt to model the syntax-semantics interface should proceed by taking into consideration both kinds of empirical facts, the syntactic ones and the ones related to meaning.

The theoretical and practical advantages of adopting this particular model of sentence structure and spell-out will become clear as the dissertation unfolds.

1.3.2. Pluractional Perfects and Linguistic Theory

An initial problem for the analysis of Pluractional Perfects was the fact that formal theories of the Perfect on the one hand, and studies of event plurality on the other, seem to be operating in different domains: semantically, the Perfect has been associated with the temporo-aspectual domain of the clause (Smith 1991, Klein 1994), while pluractionals have been defined as *Aktionsart*-changing elements within the event domain (Newman 1980, Henderson 2017); morphosyntactically, the Perfect has generally been identified with a set of auxiliary constructions (especially in the European context), whereas pluractionals have been defined as derivational morphemes applying to a verbal base (Lasersohn 1995).

In Pluractional Perfects then we find a convergence of two apparently independent systems, a more functional one (represented by the Perfect) and a more lexical one (represented by pluractionals).

Several questions arise: how can these constructions be accounted for, and from what angle? What do Pluractional Perfects tell us about the nature of the Perfect and about event plurality? Why do we see precisely these two (apparently) independent ingredients coming together in one construction? This dissertation is committed to answer all of these questions. In doing so, the study of Pluractional Perfects will also reveal the need to re-evaluate theories of complex predication and, with them, the lexical/functional division in Grammar.

1.4. Methodology

As stated in §1.3., this dissertation takes as a given the idea that language is an individual system of knowledge located in the speaker's mind (Chomsky 1957 and subsequent works). Such internalist view on natural language takes the distinction between Standard languages and dialects to be just a by-product of externalist views, therefore irrelevant, and it sets as the goal of linguistic fieldwork to obtain a better understanding of the inner workings of every (internal) grammar, i.e. an acquired, mostly unconscious, state of a speaker's mind/brain.

The methodology for data collection reflects those internalist premises insofar as it has been designed to reach the tacit linguistic knowledge or *competence* that each speaker puts to use (i.e. *performs*) through actual utterances in and out of context. All of the EoS data in this dissertation comes from my own fieldwork unless otherwise noted.

The first and most important source of data is the one coming from spontaneous speech: for some years now, I have observed how pluractional perfects are used in the performance of speakers of all age ranges in Eo-Navia. The fact that I was born and raised there gave me easy access to informal circles of trust where the constructions I was interested in popped up relatively often. The text and voice messaging device WhatsApp proved to be a productive source of spontaneous data as well.

Unfortunately, spontaneous speech data are very rarely rich enough to give the complete picture. In most cases, the linguist can either wait an indefinite amount of time to randomly come across the missing pieces of the puzzle, or alternatively, she can choose to elicit the missing pieces in a controlled way. One argument that has been primarily used in the literature on language acquisition, but also in variation studies, is the fact that it would be impossible

to know what is not allowed in a grammar if your only source of data was spontaneous production, since a speaker would never use an ungrammatical string of words to then indicate its ill-formedness. This is known as the *negative evidence* problem (Wexler & Culicover 1980, Baker & McCarthy 1981, Bowerman 1983, a.o.) and it is based on the observation that a speaker does not randomly say something such as (15):

(15) "*Pelayo* *aparcado* *da* *casi*
Pelayo park-PERF.PTCP give-3P.SING almost
no"… **pausa**
NEG **silence**
...por cierto, eso que dije ahora
…prep certain dem that say-1P.SING now
es *agramatical*
be-3P.SING ungrammatical

'Pelayo parked managed to almost not … **silence**
… oh, and by the way: what I've just said there is ungrammatical'

In other words, when a logically possible linguistic structure does not show up in spontaneous speech it does not necessarily mean that such sequence is ungrammatical: it may be highly infrequent or slightly degraded, but still part of the language in question. And this is why, in addition to the precious production data from naturalistic settings, I have performed grammaticality judgement tasks.

The second source of data therefore includes those sentences which were not part of a speaker's spontaneous production, but whose (un)grammaticality was a crucial piece of information to complete the empirical picture and to be

able to provide an analysis. Speakers' intuitions about these sentences were tested in an online grammaticality judgement task, available through Google Forms. The link to the online task was distributed on Facebook and WhatsApp, in a post accompanied by a simple invitation to participate. The task consisted of 44 target sentences introduced by a short text that served as context, 18 fillers and 4 practice examples that were presented beforehand, in order to familiarize the participants with the task (see Appendix). All materials were randomized automatically every time the form was opened. Participants were asked to evaluate each sentence in context, in terms of how natural the sentence appeared to them, whether they could say and/or hear it in their daily lives, to family or friends. Associated to each sentence there was a 5 point likert scale to evaluate them, from 1 (meaning 'it sounds pretty horrible to me') to 5 (meaning 'it sounds perfect'). At the start of the questionnaire there was a set of compulsory questions regarding the participant's place of birth and residence (municipality), age, sex, places of residence outside Eo-Navia (if any) including number of years, and relative weight of *a fala* in their daily interactions (predominantly *a fala*, predominantly Spanish, or a balanced use of both). The total number of participants who completed the task was 96, aged 16 to 71. All municipalities were represented.

There was no pattern associated to any of the preliminary questions, such as relative use of *a fala* over Spanish or places of residence, in speakers' responses. In other words, it was not possible to identify a response pattern based on a particular property or a combination of properties from the speakers' profiles (e.g. being over 40, female, and a resident outside Eo-Navia for more than 5 years).

Finally, in some cases, grammaticality judgements on particular sentences were given informally by a reduced number of speakers in the context of a

phone call or a WhatsApp chat. I include these observations as a further source of data.

1.5. Structure of the dissertation

The work is organized as follows: Chapter 2 presents a detailed exposition of the most fundamental properties of Pluractional Perfects in Eonavian Spanish, as they are observed at the empirical level. The description is complemented with a cross-linguistic comparison between languages whose verbal systems have been reported to have equivalent constructions.

Once the empirical grounds are established, I move on to analyze the conditions underlying the observed patterns: Chapter 3 discusses the internal structure of Pluractional Perfects under a particular understanding of sentence structure and spell-out: a model that recognizes a universal hierarchy of functional heads, between Minimalism (Chomsky 2005 [1995]) and Cartography (Cinque 1999). I show the explanatory power that this kind of analysis has when it comes to account for the specific empirical constraints on Pluractional Perfects, and for our understanding of complex predication more generally.

Chapter 4 gives semantic content to the syntactic skeleton proposed in Chapter 3, bringing together decades of linguistic research on the Perfect with studies on Pluractionality and Distributivity. The semantic analysis emphasizes the *bi-stuational* and stative nature of the EoS Perfects, with the participle contributing a past situation (eventuality) and the inflected verb contributing a derived situation (state). Finally, Chapter 5 summarizes the main findings of the dissertation, focusing on how it affects our understanding of the Perfect, theories of complex predication, and the study of variation.

Chapter 2-Description

This chapter presents the main empirical facts concerning pluractional perfects within the verbal system of EoS (Eonavian Spanish). The chapter begins with a description of the Eonavian verb system including its pluractional perfects (§2.1). Next, I give syntactic evidence that these constructions are structurally monoclausal and I compare them with similar constructions in Standard Spanish and EoS where the participle shows agreement, creating biclasual structures. Based on word order and agreement facts, I show that the biclausal structures exhibit a different syntactic behaviour with respect to the constructions under study (§2.2). Then I move on to talk about semantic restrictions in §2.3 in three different domains: pluractionality (§2.3.1), dynamicity (§2.3.2), and experientiality (§2.3.3); conditions regarding Tense, Aspect and Modality are addressed in §2.4., along with an overall summary of the properties described in comparison with the Standard Spanish system. Internal differences between each pluractional perfect construction in EoS are addressed in §2.5. The final part of the chapter is a re-evaluation of the nature of pluractional perfects in Galician, Portuguese and Asturian, in the light of the properties discussed for EoS, where I conclude that the constructions are subject to different conditions in each case (§2.6).

2.1. Pluractional Perfects in Eonavian Spanish

A well-known fact about certain varieties of Spanish is the partial or total absence of the standard compound tense [*haber* + participle] within the verbal paradigm. In the European context, that kind of system is characteristic of the Spanish spoken in the whole Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, and EoS is not an exception. The predominance of synthetic verb forms is perhaps the clearest and most systematic example of complete transfer from the historical

dialects of the Northwest, both Galician and Asturleonese, into the Spanish system, and the reconfiguration of the verb system as a result.

Table 1 presents the inflectional paradigm for a regular verb like *cantar* 'to sing' in EoS. The crossed-out forms in grey indicate the corresponding [*haber* + participle] forms in Standard Spanish which are absent from EoS.

Table 1: The EoS verb paradigm

Tense	Indicative Mood	Subjunctive Mood
Present	canto ~~he cantado~~	cante ~~haya cantado~~
Past	canté ~~hube cantado~~ cantara ~~había cantado~~ cantaba	cantara ~ cantase ~~hubiera cantado ~~ ~~hubiese cantado~~
Future	cantaré ~~habré cantado~~	
Conditional	cantaría ~~habría cantado~~	

The meanings which are normally expressed by the analytic Perfect Tense in Standard Spanish (e.g. *he cantado* 'I have sung') are often expressed in EoS with synthetic forms such as the Present *canto* 'I sing', the Preterit *canté* 'I sang', or the synthetic (etymological) Past Perfect *cantara* 'I had sang'.

A Preterit form is used to convey the resultative meaning of the Perfect, with the interpretation that the person is there at the time where the sentence is uttered:

(1) *Llegué hace un momento*
Arrive-PST.1P.SING ago a moment

'I have arrived a minute ago'

The Preterit is also used for the so-called *experiential* perfect, which conveys the meaning that the speaker has previously had the experience of being involved in some event, like the watching of a movie in (2):

(2)	*Ya*	*vi*	*esa*	*película*
	Already	see-PST.1P.SING	that	movie

'I have already seen that movie'

Example (3) illustrates a case where the perfect is embedded under past tense and expressed by the etymological past perfect [V-*ra*]:

(3)	*Al*	*día*	*siguiente*	*supimos*		*que*
	The	day	following	know-PST.1P.PL		that
	salieran			*en*	*las*	*noticias*
	come.up-PST.PRF.3P.PL			in	the	news

'The next day we realized they had appeared in the news'

Example (4) illustrates the *hot-news* perfect, also expressed by a Preterit form in EoS:

(4)	-	*Si*	*aún*	*estás*	*en*	*casa,*	
		If	still	be-PRS.2P.SING	at	home	
		¿podrías		*mirar*	*si*		
		can-COND.2P.SING		look-INF	if		
		tengo		*el*	*móvil*	*ahí?*	
		have-PRS.1P.SING			the	phone	there

‘If you are still home, could you please check if my phone is there?

-	*Lo siento,*		*es*		*que*
	CL feel-PRS.1P.SING		be-PRS.3P.SING		that
	ya salí		*para*	*la*	*oficina*
	already leave-PST.1P.SING		for	the	office

‘I am sorry, I have already left for work’

Finally, example (5) presents a *target state* perfect, compatible with the adverb aún ‘still’ (Parsons 1990). And again, the chosen verb form is a Preterit:

(5)	*María*	*rompió*	*las*	*gafas*
	María	break-PST.3P.PL	the	glasses

‘María has broken her glasses’

As the examples have shown, Perfect meanings in EoS all seems to be conveyed via a synthetic Preterit, except for those cases where the Reference Time is in the past (see 3).

Nevertheless, as stated earlier in §1.2., EoS *does* have a couple of analytic participle constructions for the expression of Perfect meanings. The relevant examples are illustrated in (6) and (7), presenting an inflected form of the verbs *tener* ‘to have’ and *llevar* ‘to carry’, respectively, followed by a Perfect participle.

(6)	*A*	*Roma*	*tenemos*	*ido*

To Rome tener-PRS.1P.PL go-PRF.PTCP
alguna *vez*
some time

'(We) have gone to Rome a few times'

(7) *Celia lleva visto diez*
Celia llevar-PRS.3P.SING see-PRF.PTCP ten
películas en lo que va
movies in CL that go-PRS.3P.SING
de festival
of festival

'Celia has seen ten movies since the start of the festival'

The *tener* construction conveys an experiential reading. In (6), the experienced eventuality is 'been to Rome'. Likewise, the experienced eventuality in (2) with a Preterit form is 'watched a movie'. In fact, we can substitute the analytic form in (6) by a Preterit, and still obtain the same interpretation:

(8) *A Roma fuimos alguna vez*
To Rome go-PST.1P.PL some time

'(We) have gone to Rome a few times'

However, something quite peculiar happens when the simple past in (2), repeated in (9), is substituted by the analytic form with *tener*. The peculiarity is captured in small capitals in the English translation of (10), indicating that

the action has necessarily happened more than one time, even if there is no explicit quantifying adverbial. This implicit requirement is absent from the original sentence, so it must come from the new verb complex itself.

(9)	*Ya*	*vi*	*esa*	*película*
	Already	see-PST.1P.SING	that	movie

'I have already seen that movie'

(10)	*Ya*	*tengo*	*visto*	*esa película*
	already	tener-PRS.1P.SING	see-PRF.PTCP	that movie

'I have already seen that movie MORE THAN ONCE'[6]

This requirement at the level of the event embedded in the perfect construction will be developed in more detail in §2.3. For the moment, we can say that the analytic form [*tener* + perfect participle] contributes not only a mere experiential, but also a "greater than 1 time" understanding of a particular eventuality. Note that such interpretation is truth-conditionally required: it is not an implicature and therefore cannot be cancelled (11).[7]

(11)	*Tengo*	*estado*	*en*	*Roma*
	tener-PRS.1P.SING	be-PRF.PTCP	in	Rome
	*(*pero sólo*	*una*	*vez)*	
	(but only	one	time)	

'I have been to Rome (*but only once)'

[6] In the absence of an explicit quantified expression in the original sentence, the expression *more than once* will appear by default and without a special type of font in the English translation of sentences containing pluractional perfects throughout the dissertation.

[7] I thank Bronwyn Bjorkman for bringing this fact to my attention.

The second analytic form under study, [*llevar* + perfect participle], targets the universal reading of the perfect in a continuative sense, insofar as it assumes that the event denoted by the participle extends to the now of the speaker and leaves open the possibility that the event continues towards the future. Thus, in (7), repeated in (12), the festival is not over yet and Celia may continue watching more movies after the speaker utters the sentence:

(12)

Celia	*lleva*	*visto*	*diez*
Celia	llevar-PRS.3P.SING	see-PRF.PTCP	ten
películas	*en lo que va de*		*festival*
movies	in CL that go-PRS.3P.SING	of	festival

'Celia has seen ten movies since the start of the festival'

The *llevar* construction also requires pluractionality at the event level. Consider the following sentence:

(13)

Esta	*semana*	*llevo*	*pedido*
this	week	llevar-PRS.1P.SING	order-PRF.PTCP
tres	*libros*		
three	books		

'So far this week I have ordered three books'

In principle, ordering a number of books can be interpreted in at least two ways: it can be that there was a single ordering event where the totality of books was ordered at once (i.e. the collective reading), or it can be that the buying of books was distributed over several ordering events. Sentence (13)

only allows the latter interpretation. To be able to convey a collective reading, the EoS speaker would replace the *llevar* Perfect for a Preterit.

Summing up the basic facts presented thus far, the EoS verb paradigm is dominated by synthetic forms which are used to convey a variety of meanings; some of those meanings, like the resultative or the experiential, are expressed by a Perfect (analytic) Tense in Standard Spanish and in many other languages including English. Despite lacking the Standard Perfect forms with the auxiliary *haber*, EoS nevertheless has two analytic constructions that are used to express a subset of the meanings that Perfect forms normally express: these are what I call "pluractional perfects". In what follows we will see how, even though the two constructions behave syntactically like auxiliary constructions (§2.2), they are semantically conditioned in unexpected ways (§2.3).

2.2. Structural properties of the Perfect in EoS: monoclausality and auxiliary-like behaviour.

By combining word order and agreement facts, this section seeks to illustrate how Pluractional Perfects in EoS behave syntactically like prototypical auxiliary constructions —such as the *haber* Perfects in Standard Spanish, and unlike other superficially similar constructions built on passive/adjectival participles.

For each one of the EoS Perfect constructions illustrated in §1.2. there is a corresponding adjectival/resultative construction where a participle shows gender and number agreement with the object. This kind of participle is generally known as *passive* in the literature, as opposed to the invariable, Perfect one. Thus, in (14), the passive participle *escritas* shares with the object *cartas* the gender value FEMENINE and the number value PLURAL:

(14) *Tengo (/llevo) escritas*
Tener (/llevar)-PRS.1P.SING write-PTCP.FEM.PL
diez cartas
ten letter.FEM.PL

'I have ten letters written'[8]

Constructions such as that in (14) are called *biclausal* to highlight the fact that each predicate (i.e. *tener*/*llevar*, and the passive participle) keeps its own argument structure, so that the meaning of the construction is contributed to by two different clauses acting together. This type of construction is found in all varieties of Spanish, including EoS.[9]

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[8] It has been observed that [*llevar* + passive participle] in Standard Spanish does not always behave like a prototypical biclausal structure in its resultative use (*llevo hechas veinte croquetas* 'I have 20 croquettes made'), as compared to its adjectival use (*llevo mojados los calcetines* 'I have my socks wet'). In this respect, see García Fernández *et al*. 2006: 196-198.

[9] A few examples with *tener* + non-agreeing participle in Standard Spanish are reported, corresponding to a very limited list of verbs, mostly verbs of communication like *decir* 'to say'. However, it is not entirely clear to me that the illustrative examples that have been argued to contain "true" invariable participles are not just instances of masculine-singular agreement (*-o*) participles referring to something that is e.g. forbidden (c) or said (d). Moreover, I have found no examples from Standard Spanish with invariable participles of intransitive verbs like the ones we see in EoS and Galician.

c. Le tienen prohibido ir a casa
DAT tener-PRS.3P.PL forbid-PRF.PTCP go.INF to home
'They have forbidden him to go home'
Accurate translation: 'To him it is forbidden to go home'

d. Julián, te tengo dicho que no fumes
J. DAT tener-PRS.1P.SING tell.PRF.PTCP that NEG smoke-SBJV.2P.SING
'Julián, I told you not to smoke'

Yllera (1999: 3434)

On the other side we have *monoclausal* constructions, in which more than one predicational element contributes to a single, joint predication. A prototypical example of this is the analytic Perfect Tense in Standard Spanish, formed by an inflected form of the auxiliary verb *haber* and a perfect participle that, unlike the passive one, does not show any form of agreement[10].

(15) He escrito
Haber-PRS.1P.SING write-PRF.PTCP
diez cartas
ten letters

'I have written ten letters'

It has been already pointed out that EoS lacks the Standard Perfect Tense illustrated in (15), and that the two types of Perfects that EoS has (i.e. [*tener*/*llevar* + Perfect participle]) appear to be conditioned in ways in which a prototypical Perfect Tense is not, at least semantically (§2.1). By applying a set of well-established contrasts between biclausal constructions like (14) and monoclausal constructions like (15) to the cases under study, it will become clear that the EoS Perfects are syntactically monoclausal, despite being semantically more specialized than prototypical auxiliary constructions.

To illustrate these contrasts, I chose the following sample sentences: for biclausal, (16) with a passive participle: remember from the examples above

[10] In Spanish, the invariable, non-agreeing participle form is morphologically equivalent to the passive participle in its masculine singular form *-o*.

that the noun *letters* in Spanish is FEMININE and PLURAL, as reflected in the participle; for monoclausal, I use (17) with the *haber* Perfect Tense.

(16)	*Tengo*	*escritas*	*las*	*cartas*
	Tener-PRS.1P.SING	write-PTCP.FEM.PL	the	letters
	'I have the letters written'			

(17)	*He*	*escrito*	*las*	*cartas*
	Haber-PRS.1P.SING	write-PRF.PTCP	the	letters
	'I have written the letters'			

In each case, and once the two types are contrasted, I check the behavior of the EoS Perfect to check where it stands.

(18)	*Tengo*	*escrito*	*las*	*cartas*
	Tener-PRS.1P.SING	write-PRF.PTCP	the	letter
	'I have written the letters more than once'			

The first way to syntactically distinguish a biclausal structure from a monoclausal one is word order: while it is possible to move the object to an intermediate position in biclausal structures (19), this is not allowed in cases where the participle does not show agreement (20):

(19)	*Tengo*	*las*	*cartas*	*escritas*
	Tener-PRS.1P.SING	the	letter	write-PTCP.FEM.PL

(20) *He las cartas escrito
Haber-PRS.1P.SING the letters written-PRF.PTCP

The EoS perfect patterns with the Perfect Tense in (20), since it disallows the movement of the internal constituent in the same way:

(21) *Tengo las cartas escrito
Tener-PRS.1P.SING the letters written-PRF.PTCP

A second difference lies in the possibility of substituting the participle for adjectives or adverbs: while it is possible to do that with passive participles in biclausal structures (22), it is impossible to do the same with Perfect participles in monoclausal structures (23):

(22) *Tengo* [*escritas*
Tener-PRS.1P.SING [write-PTCP.FEM.PL
/blancas /así] *las* *cartas*

/white-FEM.PL /this way] the letters

'I have the letters [written/white/this way]'

(23) *He* *[escrito* */*blancas*
Haber-PRS.1P.SING [write-PRF.PTCP /white-FEM.PL

*/*así]* *las* *cartas*
/this way] the letters

Again, the EoS Perfect behaves like the Standard Perfect Tense, disallowing substitutions:

(24) *Tengo* *[escrito* */*blancas*
tener-PRS.1P.SING [write-PRF.PTCP /white-FEM.PL

*/*así]* *las* *cartas*
/this way] the letters

A third way to tell whether an analytic verb form is biclausal lies in the possibility of forming a *how* question about the sentence. As expected, only the resultative/adjectival construction can be asked in this fashion.

(25) *Tengo* *escritas*
Tener-PRES.1P.SING write-PTCP.FEM.PL
las *cartas*
the letters

→ *¿Cómo tienes* *las* *cartas?*
How tener-PRS.2P.SING the letters

(26) *He* *escrito*
haber-PRES.1P.SING write-PRF.PTCP
las *cartas*
the letters

→ **¿Cómo* *tienes* *las* *cartas?*
How tener-PRS.2P.SING the letters

The EoS perfect disallow that type of question too, just as the *haber* Perfect in (26):

(27) *Tengo* *escrito*
tengo-PRES.1P.SING write-PRF.PTCP
las *cartas*
the letters

→ **¿Cómo* *tienes* *las* *cartas?*
How tener-PRS.2P.SING the letters

Transitivity is also a crucial factor that helps us discriminate between adjectival/resultatives and perfects: given the biclausal nature of cases involving passive participles, only transitive predicates can enter the adjectival/resultative construction. Intransitive predicates such as *llegar* 'to arrive' are only available as Perfect participles (29):

(28) **Tienen* *llegados*
tener-PRES.3P.PL arrive-PTCP.MASC.PL
seis *invitados*
six guest.MASC.PL

'Six guests have arrived'

(García Fernández et al. 2006: 255)

(29) *Han* *llegado*
haber-PRES.3P.PL arrive-PRF.PTCP
seis *invitados*
six guest.MASC.PL

'Six guests have arrived'

The possibility of combining with intransitive predicates is open to the EoS Perfects as well:

(30) *Tienen* *llegado*
tener-PRES.3P.PL arrive-PRF.PTCP
seis *invitados*
six guest.MASC.PL

'Six guests have arrived more than once'

Regarding transitivity, the *llevar* construction has its own restrictions, having to do with argument structure, which prevent it from combine with intransitive predicates. These conditions will be addressed in §2.5, but it is important to highlight how they differ from the transitivity restrictions on biclausal structures as in (28): the difference comes from directional intransitive verbs and prepositional verbs. While the *llevar* construction in EoS with a Perfect Participle is able to combine with predicates such as *ir a* 'go to' and *participar en* 'participate in' (31-32), *llevar* in biclausal constructions with passive participles is not (33-34):

(31) *Llevan* *ido* *a* *bien* *misas*
Llevar-PRS.3P.PL go-PRF.PTCP to well masses

'They have been to many masses'

(32) *Llevan* *participado* *en*
Llevar-PRS.3P.PL participate-PRF.PTCP in
varias *competiciones*

several competitions

'They have participated in several competitions'

(33) **Llevan idos a bien misas*
Llevar-PRS.3P.PL go-PTCP.MASC.PL to well masses

(34) **Llevan participadas en*
Llevar-PRS.3P.PL participate-PTCP.FEM.PL in
varias competiciones
several competitions

On top of all these differences we should bear in mind the lack of agreement as a further example of the set of properties shared by all the constructions with invariable, Perfect participles. In summary, *tener* and *llevar* perfects seem to pattern with the *haber* Perfect Tense in Standard Spanish according to several syntactic tests. However, as we will see next, the EoS cases are subject to a set of "extra" conditions on its use (§2.3 and §2.4) that are semantic in nature.

2.3. Event-level restrictions on EoS perfects

EoS perfect constructions are subject to a number of semantic conditions on the predicate describing the past eventuality. These are what I call "event level" conditions: one has to do with quantification and requires the event to be iterated in some way (§2.3.1); a second one cares about the dynamic or stative nature of the predicate, excluding the latter (§2.3.2); and a third condition is related to the semantic class of the argument that ends up in subject position, with that position being generally restricted to humans (§2.3.3).

2.3.1. Pluractionality

The first and most remarkable semantic condition is the one that gives the name to these Perfects: pluractionality. According to this, the perfect construction necessarily conveys a "greater than 1 occasion" reading of the eventuality denoted by the participle. Therefore, every time we try to either negate that there was any instantiation of the event (35), or force the single-event reading (36), the result is ungrammatical:

(35) **Nunca tengo estado en Roma*
Never tener-PRS.1P.SING be$_2$-PRF.PTCP in Rome

'I have never been to Rome'

(36) **Tengo estado en Roma una vez*
Tener-PRS.1P.SING be$_2$-PRF.PTCP in Rome one time

'I have been to Rome once'

Importantly also, the pluractionality does not come from a distributive interpretation of plural subjects. Hence, (37) does not describe a situation where Luis has seen the movie once on his own, and Marta has seen the movie once on her own; what (37) means is that Luis and Marta have seen Polanski's latest movie more than once, independently of whether they watched it together.[11]

(37) *Luis y Marta tienen visto*

[11] I thank Laura Janda for posing the question.

Luis	and	Marta	tener-PRS.3P.PL	see-PRF.PTCP
la	*última*	*de*	*Polanski*	
the	last	of	Polanski	

'Luis and Marta have seen Polanski's latest movie'

Pluractionality in the event domain can happen at different levels, according to Cusic (1981): since events are hierarchically structured, it is only natural that plurality can operate in a number of different places. He proposes that events can be pluralized at three levels: phase level, event level, and occasion level. The plurality at the phase level is *internal* to a single event: it describes an event with multiple repeated phases; by contrast, plurality at either the event or occasion levels is considered *event-external*, since they both imply that the event repeats itself. According to Bertinetto and Lenci's (2012:853), event-external pluractionality can be identified by the fact that the same event repeats itself in a number of different situations.[12]

The following two examples illustrate how the pluractionality requirement in EoS operates at the level of events, and therefore can only be event-external:

The first sign that we are dealing with event-external pluractionality is the fact that iteration does not assume incrementality in those predicates which can potentially be understood in an incremental manner, like *rebajar* 'to lower (prices)'. Consider (38), where someone is reporting that a particular pair of winter boots have been going on sale in a shoe store:

(38)	*Sí,*	*las*	*tienen*	*rebajado*
	Yes	CL	tener-PRS.3P.PL	lower-PRF.PTCP some

[12] Importantly, we are dealing with iterativity, not habituality. See §4.2.3. for a discussion

alguna *vez*
some time

'Yes, they have lowered their price a few times'

If the pluractionality was event-internal, the only way to interpret (38) would be a case where the reference price for every new event of lowering was the price established in the previous sale, and therefore always decreasing. But it turns out that such interpretation is not possible in (38). Instead, speakers of EoS accept (38) in a context where the initial price was 100 €, then on a first sale that price gets lowered to 50 €, and then on a different (posterior) sale the boots are advertised for 80 €, the reference price being 100 € again. Only when incrementality is ignored is a sentence like (38) appropriate.

Another sign that pluractionality must be event-external in EoS is the unavailability of collective readings in cases where both collective and distributive readings are equally possible in principle. Thus, *llevar* in (39) only works if there has been more than one ordering event, that is, if the three books have not been ordered all at once.

(39) *Esta semana* *llevo* *pedido*
this week llevar-PRS.1P.SING order-PRF.PTCP
tres *libros*
three books
'(So far) this week I have ordered three books'

The semantics of pluractionality and its manifestations in EoS is thoroughly analyzed in §4.

2.3.2. Dynamicity

A second condition has to do with the stative/dynamic nature of the participle: only dynamic predicates (i.e. predicates involving change) can enter the EoS constructions. Prototypical stative verbs such as Individual Level Predicates denoting permanent or semi-permanent properties of the type 'be tall', 'be famous', are out:

(40) **Tu abuelo tiene sido*
your grandfather tener-PRS.3P.SING be$_1$-PRF.PTCP
alto de joven
tall of young

'Your grandfather has been tall in his youth'

(41) **Sus hijos llevan*
POSS kids llevar-PRS.3P.PL
sido famosos desde pequeños
be$_1$-PRF.PTCP famous since small.PL

'His kids have been famous from a young age'

Predicates with *estar* denoting "less permanent" properties such as 'be sick', 'be worried', 'be drunk', etc., as well as locatives *ser* 'to be$_1$' and *estar* 'to be$_2$' however, may be coerced into a repeated, discrete series of events by entering the *tener* construction. An example is given in (42). *Llevar* is out in all of these cases for independent reasons, to be addressed in §2.5.

(42) *Mira que tienes estado*
look.IMPV that tener-PRS.2P.SING be$_2$-PRF.PTCP

tú *bien* *jorobado*
you well screwed

'Just think how you have been so screwed'

Participles from stative transitive verbs such as *contener* 'to contain' and *querer* 'to love' are also disallowed, even though the constructions are presented in their usual temporo-aspectual frame: for instance, the *llevar* version of (43) included a *since*-phrase at the end of the sentence to reinforce the universal reading, which would allegedly give *llevar* the best possible chance to be accepted. But it was not.

(43) **Este bote* *[tiene* *contenido]*
this jar [tener-PRS.3P.SING contain-PRF.PTCP]
diferentes *tipos* *de* *café*
different types of coffee

'This tin has contained several types of coffee'

(44) * *[Tengo* */* *llevo* *]*
[tener-PRS.1P.SING llevar-PRS.1P.SING]
querido *mucho* *a* *muchas* *personas*
love-PRF.PTCP much to many people

'(I) have loved many people very much'

2.3.3. Argument structure

A third way in which these perfects are conditioned at the event level has to do with the argument structure of the participle and especially, with the

semantic type of subject that these constructions allow. In principle, all transitive predicates can combine with both *tener* and *llevar* to form a Perfect, provided that the requirements on pluractionality and dynamicity are met (but see 45-46 below). It is mostly among intransitives —i.e. monoargumental predicates, that interesting contrasts in acceptability arise. The main factors that will be argued to play a role are semantic (experientiality) and, related to that, some which can be considered syntactic (locatives and pronominal clitics).

From the point of view of semantics, human subjects are by far the most common. In the case of *tener*, the fact that it gets an experiential reading already establishes certain requirement on the subjects being at least a sentient entity, able to experience something. The internal variation of the two constructions will be dealt with in §2.5. Here we will limit our attention to what is common to both.

Firstly, for transitive predicates to be part of a Perfect construction not only it is required that they be dynamic and distributed over occasions, but also that their subject be sentient. Hence the ungrammaticality of (45) and (46) with an inanimate subject:

(45)	**Estas luces*	*tienen*	*evitado*
	These lights	tener-PRS.3P.PL	prevent-PRF.PTCP
	muchos	*accidentes*	
	many	accidents	

'These lights have prevented many accidents'

(46)	**Estas luces*	*llevan*	*evitado*
	These lights	llevar-3P.PL	prevent-PRF.PTCP

muchos	*accidentes*	*este*	*año*
many	accidents	this	year

'These lights have prevented many accidents this year'

Exceptionally, speakers may accept natural forces as subjects as long as they are semantically in control, and therefore "agentive-like": the following sentence scored very high in the online questionnaire, with the favourable judgement of 78 out of 96 people (that is, more than the 80% of participants).

(47)

El	*agua*	*lleva*		*hecho*
The	water	llevar-PRS.3P.SING		do-PRF.PTCP
muchísimos		*destrozos*	*este*	*año*
many-SUP.PL		damages	this	year

Natural forces like *agua* 'water' in (47) appear nevertheless to be limited to the *llevar* construction, according to speakers' judgements.

Prepositional verbs show a similar pattern, and are thus not to be discussed further in the section. Examples from the online questionnaire are provided in (48) and (49), both of them obtaining high acceptability rates: approximately 80% for *llevar*, and 93% for *tener*.

(48)

Mi	*madre*	*se*	*tiene*	
My	mother	CL	tener-PRS.3P.SING	
quejado		*del*	*estómago*	*alguna vez*
complain-PRF.PTCP		of.the	stomach	some time

'My mother has complained about her stomach a few times'

(49) *Este* *año* *llevan* *participado*
This year llevar-PRS.3P.PL participate-PRF.PTCP
en *varias* *competiciones*
in several competitions

'This year they have participated in several competitions'

We shall now discuss intransitive predicates: predicates denoting eventualities that require a single participant, such as *sleep* and *bloom*. It has been generally accepted since Perlmutter (1978) and Burzio (1981) that there are two fundamentally different classes of intransitive verbs, the unergative class and the unaccusative class. These classes are said to correspond to two different syntactic configurations characterized by the presence v absence of a *v*P projection (Chomsky 2005 [1995]: 290). The analysis follows from the classical observation that the single argument of an unergative verb is the semantic "agent", whereas the single argument of an unaccusative verb is the semantic "patient". Empirically it has been observed that unaccusative verbs do not combine well with agentive suffixes and they normally do not have causative counterparts (for further diagnostics, see Alexiadou *et al*. 2004). The lack of agentivity is just one of the multiple determining factors discussed in the literature: semantics accounts of unaccusativity have also used telicity as a predictor (Tenny 1987), while others argue that it is not a matter of a single semantic property (see e.g. Levin and Rapppaport Hovav 1995). There are also approaches that try to derive the cross-linguistic picture from certain syntactic configurations instead of assuming one or several semantic primitives (Hale and Keyser 1993, Borer 1994, a.o.). The matter remains unsettled.

For descriptive purposes, unaccusatives are considered here a natural class, and their availability to participate in the building of a Perfect construction is

evaluated through four different verbs: *florecer* 'to bloom', *caer* 'to fall', *nacer* 'to be born' and *tropezar* 'stumble'. Consider the following sentences:

(50) */? *Esos árboles tienen florecido*
Those trees tener-PRS.3P.PL bloom-PRF.PTCP
en febrero algún año
in February some year

'Those trees have bloom in February some years'

(51) */? *En lo que va de mes*
In CL that go-PRS.3P.SING of month
llevan nacido varios niños
llevar-PRS.3P.PL be.born-PRF.PTCP several kids
con problemas respiratorios
with problems respiratory

'So far this year, several kids have been born with respiratory problems'

According to the judgements of (50) and (51), it appears that the constructions are somehow ill-formed if built on unaccusative structures. Upon being asked about their impressions on the sentences informally, speakers often said that they sounded extremely weird, although some of them do not totally reject them (hence the question marks). Notice also that, when it comes to unaccusative predicates, judgements are independent of the semantic type of the argument that the predicate take, either trees or children. In this context, we leave aside a small set of verbs among unaccusatives, called "verbs of inherently directed motion" (after Levin, 1993), with respect to which *tener* and *llevar* each show a different pattern. This is addressed in §2.5.

Interestingly enough, the answer pattern changes towards full acceptance in cases like (52-55) below:

(52) *En ese barrio llevan caído*
In that neighbourhood llevar-PRS.3P.PL fall-PRF.PTCP
varios postes desde principios de año
several lamp.posts since beginnings of year

'Several posts have fallen in that neighbourhood since the start of the year'

(53) *En aquel trozo de tierra tienen*
In that piece of land tener-PRS.3P.PL
nacido patatas enormes
be.born-PRF.PTCP potatoes gigantic

'In that piece of land gigantic potatoes have grown'

(54) *Aquí tienen nacido bien niños*
Here tener-3P.PL be.born-PRF.PTCP well children

'Here many children have been born'

(55) *Ahí llevo tropezado yo*
There llevar-PRS.1P.SING stumble-PRF.PTCP I
unas cuantas veces
one.PL many times

'I have stumbled there quite a few times'

What (52-55) have in common is that all have undergone Locative Inversion (LI): anteposition or fronting of a locative PP or adverbial (e.g. *en ese barrio* 'in that neighbourhood', *aquí* 'here'). Such change in the canonical order allows the Perfect to be built on the unaccusative structure. That is one way that unaccusatives can be "saved"; but it is not the only one. Sentences with inanimate subjects may appear with a preverbal dative clitic pronoun, which ultimately refers to the person affected by the eventuality denoted by the unaccusative participle:

(56) *Bolígrafos, nos llevan desaparecido*
Pens CL llevar-PRS.3P.PL. disappear-PRF.PTCP
unos cuantos desde que empezó el curso
one.PL many since that begin-PST.3P.SING the year

'Pens, *to us* have disappeared a few since the start of the academic year'

(57) *Me tienen caído tantas*
CL tener-PRS.3P.PL fall-PRF.PTCP that.many
veces esas preguntas que ya
times those questions that already
estoy aburrida de contestarlas
be$_2$-PRS.1P.SING bored of answer-INF=CL

'*To me* those questions have fallen so many times that I am already tired of answering them'

These clitics may also appear in sentences with human subjects (58) and weather verbs (59) although in these cases they can dispense with them without affecting the sentence's acceptability.

(58) *Ahí (me) tengo caído yo*
There CL tener-PRS.1P.SING fall-PRF.PTCP I
de pequeño muchas veces
of small many times

'There (*to me*) I have fallen many times when I was a kid'

(59) *Mira, no te imaginas*
Look-IMPV.2P.SING NEG CL imagine-PRS.2P.SING
lo que (nos) tiene llovido
CL that CL tener-PRS.3P.SING rain-PRF.PTCP

'Look, you cannot imagine how much (*to us*) it has rained'

Summing up, the EoS Perfects are once again semantically conditioned, this time in terms of argument structure, and in particular in terms of the semantic type of argument that ends up being the subject: transitive and prepositional predicates need their subjects to be sentient (with the exception perhaps of natural forces in "agentive-like" contexts), whereas among intransitives, unaccusative predicates seem to be unable, under normal circumstances, of participating at all in these kind of constructions. The latter however becomes possible under Locative Inversion or by adding a preverbal dative clitic. Several other issues on argument structure where the two constructions cease to behave alike are addressed in §2.5.

2.4. Interactions with Tense, Aspect, and Modality.

As stated in the introductory section, the *tener* and *llevar* constructions convey Perfect meanings insofar as they express a relation between a state or reference situation and a certain preceding eventuality (§1.2.).

The conditions we have examined so far refer to the internal properties of the event that is being described, independently of the way in which the event is anchored to space and time. This section summarizes how the constructions behave with respect to Tense-Aspect-Mood (T/A/M) and Modality, and the conditions that apply in these domains of the clause. The general assumptions on clausal structure are laid down in §3.1. Here we will limit our attention to the empirical picture that emerges from changing the temporo-aspectual information on the constructions (§2.4.1), as well as from the (un)availability of modal meanings (§2.4.2). The section ends with a comparative between EoS and Standard Spanish in table form (§2.4.3).

2.4.1. T/A/M

Regarding Tense, the cases where the *tener* or *llevar* forms are inflected for Present are by far the most common in spontaneous speech. But these forms do appear in a different inflection from time to time, for example in the Past (imperfect):

(60)	*De aquella*	*tenían*		*abierto*
	Of that.one	tener-IMP.3P.PL		open-PRF.PTCP
	ya	*varias*	*tiendas*	
	already	several	shops	

'At that time, they had already opened several stores'

(61)	*Aquel día*	*llevaban*	*puesto*

That day llevar-IMP.3P.PL put-PRF.PTCP

qué sé yo cuántas multas

what know-PRS.1P.SING I how.many fines

'That day they had given many fines (so far)'

Speakers accept these forms in the Future as well. I presented speakers with made-up examples where all event-level requirements were met, to see whether the use of the new inflection made a difference. All sentences were accepted as natural. The target (62) was introduced in the context of on-going negotiations between banks, while (63) was introduced in the context of a hiking trip.

(62) *Mañana a estas horas tendrán*

Tomorrow at these hours tener.FUT.3P.PL

cerrado varios acuerdos

close-PRF.PTCP several deals

'By this time tomorrow they will have closed several deals'

(63) *Si seguimos a este ritmo, mañana por la noche*

If continue-PRS.1P.PL at this pace, tomorrow by the night

llevaremos andado treinta kilómetros

llevar-FUT.1P.PL walk.PRF.PTCP thirty kilometers

'At this rate by tomorrow night we will have walked 30 kms'

The preterit on the other hand is completely out, both in and out of context:

(64) **Ángel y Diana tuvieron estado*

	Ángel and	Diana	tener-PRET.3P.PL	be$_2$-PRF.PTCP
	en Roma			
	in Rome			

(65)	** Ángel y*	*Diana*	*llevaron*	*visto*
	Ángel and	Diana	llevar-PRET.3P.PL	see-PRF.PTCP
	varias	*películas*		
	several	movies		

The use of Subjunctive inflection is allowed in its Present form, but not in the Past (see 68), independently of which one of the two morphological forms for Past Subjunctive is used (*-ra* or *-se*):

(66)	*Puede*	*ser*	*que alguna*	*vez*
	Can-PRS.3sg	be$_1$-INF	that some	time
	tengan	*bailado*		
	tener-SBJV.3P.PL	dance-PRF.PTCP		

'Could be that they have danced some time'

(67)	*Puede*	*que llevemos*			*visto*	
	can-PRES.3P.SING	that llevar-SBJV.1P.PL			see-PRF.PTCP	
	unas	*ocho*	*películas*	*en*	*lo*	*que*
	around	8	films	in	that	which
	va	*de*	*semana*			
	go-PRS.3P.SING	of	week			

'It could be that we have seen about 8 movies so far this week'

(68) **Si [tuvieses / llevaras]*

If tener-PST.SBJV.2P.SING/ llevar-PST.SBJV.2P.SING
leído más libros, serías
read-PRF.PTCP more books be$_1$-COND.IND.2P.SING
menos ignorante
less ignorant

'Had you read more books, you would be less ignorant'

It is also possible to find examples of conditional inflection:

(69) *No* [*tendríamos* /*llevaríamos*]
NEG tener-COND.1P.PL /llevar-COND.1P.PL
hecho ni cinco largos cuando nos
do-PRF.PTCP NEG five laps when 1P.PL.DAT
mandaron salir de la piscina
tell-PST.3PL get.out-INF of the swimming.pool

'We might not have even completed five laps when they told us to get out of the swimming pool'

In sum, the inflectional paradigm for *tener* and *llevar* when they are part of a Perfect construction is almost complete, except for the Preterit and Past Subjunctive forms. This division in the inflectional paradigm corresponds to a division in the aspectual domain: the Preterit and the Past Subjunctive are aspectually perfective, unlike the Present, the Past imperfect, the Future and the Conditional. Thus, according to the data, the EoS perfects can only be aspectually imperfective.

Another aspectual characteristic of these Perfects is that they are incompatible with the progressive:

(70) *Está teniendo hablado
be$_2$-PRS.3P.SING tener-PROG talk-PRF.PTCP
con Ana hasta las tantas alguna vez
with Ana until late some time

(71) *Están llevando diseñado
be$_2$-PRS.3P.PL llevar-PROG design-PRF.PTCP
los carteles desde el lunes
the posters since the Monday

The facts about the progressive are related to an important fact about the EoS constructions, mainly that they are stative constructions: this is shown in §4.3.1., based on standard tests that were originally used to distinguish between dynamic eventualities and states in English (Dowty 1979, Katz 2003). Even if some of these tests are language-dependent, therefore not necessarily applicable to other languages, some others work in the same way in Spanish as they do in English. Here I will apply two different tests to illustrate the stative nature of the EoS perfects (but see §4.3.1.).

A first test concerns the possibility of occurring in pseudo-cleft constructions of the kind *What he did was…* . As (72) illustrates, states do not seem to accommodate well in those, as opposed to dynamic predicates (73):

(72) *What Mary did was know the answer
(73) What Mary did was read some novels

In Spanish, a similar contrast can be observed:

(74) **Lo que hizo María fue*

CL that do-PST.3P.SING María be$_1$-PST.3P.SING
saber *la* *respuesta*
know-INF the answer

'What María did was know the answer'

(75) *Lo que hizo* *María fue*
CL that do-PST.3P.SING María be$_1$-PST.3.SING
leer *algunas* *novelas*
read-INF some novels

'What María did was read some novels'

The EoS Perfect constructions behave exactly like states in not being able to occur in pseudo-clefts:

(76) **Lo que hizo* *María fue*
CL that do-PST.3P.SING María be$_1$-PST.3P.SING
[*tener* /*llevar*] *leído*
tener-INF /llevar-INF read-PRF.PTCP
algunas *novelas*
some novels

'What María did was to have read some novels'

A second test concerns the possibility of getting an epistemic interpretation of modal *must* (modality and modal readings is thoroughly discussed next in §2.4.2). The generalization is that only stative predicates allow epistemic readings of *must*, triggered by something such as "according to what I know…". Sentences (77) and (78) illustrate the contrast in English: in (77), it

is possible to convey the meaning that, according to what I know about Mary, I am quite sure she knows the answer. That interpretation, however, ceases to be possible in a sentence such as (78), built around a dynamic verb: the asterisk in (78) signals that the sentence is out under the interpretation that, according to what I know about Mary, I am quite sure she reads novels.

(77) Mary must know the answer

(78) *Mary must read some novels

In Spanish, we get the exact same pattern:

(79) *María debe saber la respuesta*
María must-PRS.3P.SING know-INF the answer

'(According to what I know), Mary must know the answer'

(80) **María debe leer*
María must-PRS.3P.SING read-INF
algunas novelas
some novels
'(According to what I know), Mary must read some novels'

The EoS Perfects pattern with states again, allowing for epistemic interpretations under the modal *deber* 'must':

(81) *María debe* [*tener* /*llevar*]
María must-PRS.3P.SING tener-INF /llevar-INF
leído novelas
read-PRF.PTCP novels

'(According to what I know), María must have read some novels'

In conclusion, the EoS pluractional perfects are aspectually imperfective states. Their inflectional paradigm is defective, since they are aspectually incompatible with the Preterit and any other Perfective forms.

2.4.2. Modality

This section presents the main empirical facts concerning the interaction between modality and the Perfect constructions in EoS. The range of phenomena associated with the term "Modality" has not been clearly established in the literature thus far, but in general terms we can say that modal notions are placed in the domain of possibility and necessity (e.g. Auwera 1996), and that Mood in particular tends to refer to the grammatical expression of Modality. The data is organized according to Nuyts and Auwera's (2016) classification of modal phenomena, where Modality comes in three flavours —dynamic, deontic and epistemic.

Firstly, I address the question of how the EoS Perfects behave with respect to dynamic modality. According to Goossens (1985), dynamic modality refers to the ability or capacity of a subject to realize the eventuality described in the clause. Prototypical examples in English are sentences where the modal auxiliary *can* is interpreted as 'be able to':

(82) John is such a talented musician.
He can play with his eyes closed.

To test whether an EoS Perfect could appear in such scenario, speakers were given a context and then a target sentence, either with *tener* or *llevar*. The English translation of the original context is given in (83). The first verb form,

translated as a Perfect in English ('has just joined'), was originally presented in Spanish as *Julián acaba de ingresar*, a verbal periphrasis with an inflected form of the verb *acabar* 'to finish' followed by the infinitive form of *ingresar* 'to join', which in Spanish is a common way of expressing something that happened recently.

(83) *"Julián has just joined the local police. Last week he witnessed a robbery, and since he was alone at that time he had to act without help until reinforcements arrived. He managed to arrest the thieves. Funnily enough, the exact same thing happened two days after, and Julián once again was able to arrest the thieves by himself. His colleagues, amazed, start talking about how Julián…"*

The target sentence looked like (84). Speakers consistently rejected it.

(84)

**Puede*	[*tener*	/	*llevar*]		
Can-PRS.3P.SING	[tener-INF	/	llevar-INF]		
arrestado	*a*	*los ladrones*	*él*	*solo*	
arrest-PRF.PTCP	DOM	the thieves	he	alone	

'(Julián) was able to have arrested the thieves alone'

As (84) shows, even in contexts where all other conditions —pluractionality etc. are met, ability readings cannot arise.

The second type is deontic modality. Deontic modality is related to obligation and expectations about how the world should be according to particular norms. Prototypical examples in English are those where the modal auxiliaries are interpreted as 'be allowed':

(85) You may leave now

(86) The defendant can make one phone call

(87) The students must take the final exam

Speakers were asked to think about a baking contest in which each participant must make more than twenty cakes before 5 o'clock, according to the rules of the contest. In such scenario, they were presented with the sentence in (88), either with *tener* or *llevar*. And again, just like they did with ability readings, they systematically rejected (88) under a deontic *deber* 'must'.

(88)

**Deben*			*[tener*	*/ llevar]*
Must-PRES.3P.PL			[tener-INF	/ llevar-INF]
hecho	*más*	*de*	*veinte*	*tartas*
do-PRF.PTCP	more	than	twenty	cakes

'(They) must have made more than twenty cakes'

The third and last type of modality considered was epistemic modality, which refers to the degree of certainty that the speaker has in the likelihood that the state of affairs depicted in a sentence is actually real, or in other words, to what extent it applies in the actual world. Epistemic readings are therefore related to the speaker's knowledge or belief: suppose that John and Sally are good friends. John is throwing a party and Sally is expected to drive to his place, but she is already forty minutes late. In that case, and according to what John knows about Sally, mainly that she tends to be very punctual, he says (89):

(89) Sally must be stuck in traffic

In (104), John is drawing an inference based on what he knows.

Epistemic readings of sentences with *tener* and *llevar* Perfects in EoS are possible. In fact, (90) is an example taken from spontaneous speech data. The speaker was giving an estimation of the amount of times that her father had gone hunting on that particular month. Because she was counting from memory, she even took a couple of seconds before saying the specific number (hence the ellipsis after *mes* 'month').

(90)

Papá	*debe*		*tener*		*ido*	
Dad	must-PRS.3P.SING		tener-INF		go-PRF.PTCP	
de	*caza*	*este*	*mes*	...	*cinco*	*veces*
of	hunting	this	month		five	times

'Dad must have gone hunting five times this month'

To test whether epistemic readings were possible for the *llevar* construction as well, speakers were presented with the following sentence, uttered by someone who was guessing the number of movies that Mario had watched. The sentence was considered appropriate:

(91)

Mario	*debe*		*llevar*		*visto*
Mario	must-PRS.3P.SING		llevar-INF		see-PRF.PTCP
al menos	*diez*	*películas*	*en*	*lo*	*que*
at least	ten	movies	in	CL	that
va		*de*	*festival*		
go-PRS.3P.SING		of	festival		

'He must have seen at least ten movies since the start of the festival'

Embedding a Perfect construction under a modal is not the only way to get an epistemic reading: it is possible to get a similar interpretation via the "indicative conditional" inflection on *tener* and *llevar*:

(92)

No	[*tendríamos*		/*llevaríamos*]		
NEG	tener-COND.1P.PL		/llevar-COND.1P.PL		
hecho	*ni*	*cinco*	*largos*	*cuando*	*nos*
do-PRF.PTCP	NEG	five	laps	when	1P.PL.DAT
mandaron	*salir*		*de*	*la*	*piscina*
tell-PST.3PL	get.out-INF		of	the	swimming.pool

'We might not have even completed five laps when they told us to get out of the swimming pool'.

In summary, only one type of modality can be targeted by the EoS Perfects, and that is the epistemic type. Dynamic and deontic readings are simply out. This empirical fact will be shown to follow naturally from an analysis where modality operates at different structural heights (§3.3.).

Epistemic modality as defined above is closely related to the notion of *irrealis* understood as "a speaker's construal of a situation as unreal, either in the actual world or some possible world" (Nikolaeva 2016: 80). They are both defined around the speaker's mental world and subjective evaluation of whatever state of affairs is being expressed. While the epistemic part may nonetheless be conveying just how (un)certain a speaker is about what s/he states, the irrealis part has often been defined more generally as portraying an event as potential or possible, not as an observable fact of reality (Elliot 2000). The subjunctive, used to denote "unreal, hypothetical events located within the realm of thought (i.e. in some non-actual world)" (Nikolaeva

2016:83, see also Lyons 1977, Chung and Timberlake 1985, Mithun 1995, Palmer 2001), shares with the irrealis the reference to a non-actual state of affairs, and in this way the subjunctive may be seen as the grammatical manifestation of an irrealis meaning.

The following examples illustrate how the subjunctive forms of *tener* and *llevar* convey both aspects of meaning: epistemic uncertainty and non-actuality:

(93) *Puede ser que alguna vez*
Can-PRS.3sg be$_1$-INF that some time
tengan bailado
tener-SBJV.3P.PL dance-PRF.PTCP

'Could be that they have danced some time'

(94) *Puede que llevemos visto*
can-PRES.3P.SING that llevar-SBJV.1P.PL see-PRF.PTCP
unas ocho películas en lo que
around 8 films in that which
va de semana
go-PRS.3P.SING of week

'It could be that we have seen about 8 movies so far this week'

Subjunctive can also refer to a non-actual world without any epistemic modulation. This happens in counterfactual contexts like (95), an example taken from spontaneous speech.

(95) *Si pusiera otros zapatos*

If put.on-SBJV.PAST.1P.SING		other shoes
ya	*teníamos*	*llegado*
already	tener-IMP.1P.PL	arrive-PRF.PTCP

'Had I put on different shoes, we would be there by now'

Counterfactuals make an interesting case for microvariation in those varieties with pluractional perfects: Portuguese in particular can use its *ter* construction in the Present Tense to convey a counterfactual meaning, whereas EoS can't (96). See §2.6.1 for details.

(96)

**Si*	*tengo*		*puesto*
if	tener-PRS.1P.SING		put-PRF.PTCP
otros	*zapatos*	*ya*	*teníamos*
other	shoes	already	tener-IMP.1P.PL
llegado			
arrive-PRF.PTCP			

'Had I put on different shoes, we would be there by now'

2.4.3. Interim summary: Standard Spanish vs EoS

Now that we have stated all the properties and conditions at play in the building of these pluractional perfects, we can certainly confirm that these constructions behave like fully grammaticalized verb forms in many respects, while at the same they are subject to restrictions that do not apply to prototypical auxiliary constructions such as the Standard Spanish Perfects.

This peculiar nature of the Eonavian constructions can be said to mirror the equally peculiar nature of the Perfect as a category. Lindstedt, for instance,

describes it as "frequent but also unstable, as it tends to evolve into something else" (2000:366).

Table 2 below presents a comparison between the Standard Spanish and the EoS Perfects, according to several properties that have been introduced and discussed earlier in the chapter.

Table 2: Perfects in Standard Spanish vs. Perfects in EoS

Domain	**Property**	**Pluractional Perfects-EoS**	**Standard Perfect Tense**
Clause-level	Monoclausality	YES	
Event-level	Pluractionality	YES	NO
	Dynamicity	YES	NO
	Argument structure-subjects	YES	NO
Tense-Aspect	(Im)perfectivity	Only imperfectives	Unrestricted
Modality (I)	Dynamic	NO	YES
	Deontic	NO	YES
	Epistemic	YES	
Modality (II)	Counterfactuals	NO	YES

2.5. *Tener* vs. *llevar*

The properties introduced up until this point are common to both the *tener* and the *llevar* Perfects. In this section, however, we will be concerned with those properties that set the two constructions apart: several aspects will be addressed here, from the type of Perfect meanings that each of them conveys, to the Argument Structure configurations that each of them allows. These are fine-grained distinctions that do not change the fundamental base upon which both *tener* and *llevar* are built, and that is the expression of Perfect and pluractional meanings.

One of the aspects in which the two constructions differ is the type of Perfect meaning that each of them conveys: as pointed out in § 2.1, while *tener* targets the experiential reading, *llevar* targets the universal reading of the Perfect. Consider (97), uttered in a context where someone notices the good quality of someone else's jacket, and the person wearing the jacket says:

(97)

Mejor	*compra*	*no*	*pude*		*hacer,*
better	purchase	NEG	can-PST.1P.SING		do-INF
¿tú	*sabes*		*lo*	*que*	*la*
you	know-PRS.2P.SING		CL	that	CL
llevo		*puesto?*			
llevar-PRS.1P.SING		wear-PRF.PTCP			

'I could not have done a better purchase… you just can't imagine how much I have used it'

The combination of the participle with *llevar* in (97) results in an interpretation of the Perfect as 'up until now I have used it a lot, and I still do', whereas choosing *tener* in a similar context would only yield the experiential interpretation of 'I have used it', independently of whether the speaker still wears it at the present time.

A second point of internal difference between the two constructions has to do with argument structure: unlike *tener*, *llevar* requires the presence of a quantified plural object in the structure of the event denoted by the participle. Several empirical facts about *llevar* follow from such requirement:

First, unlike *tener* (98), *llevar* do not combine with intransitive verbs, given that those verbs lack any kind of quantified object (99):

(98) *Tengo* *estado* *en* *Roma*
tener-PRS.1P.SING be$_2$-PRF.PTCP in Rome

'I have been to Rome (more than once)'

(99) **Estos* *días* *llevamos* *estado*
These days llevar-PRS.1P.PL be$_2$-PRF.PTCP
en *el* *despacho* *hasta* *tarde*
in the office until late

'These days we have been at the office until late'

The presence of a quantified object inside an unselected prepositional phrase as in (100) does not make the sentence any more acceptable:

(100) **Este* *mes* *llevamos* *estado*
This month llevar-PRS.1P.PL be$_2$-PRF.PTCP
en *varias* *ciudades*
in several cities

'We have been to several cities this month'

Nevertheless, speakers do accept cases of quantified objects inside prepositional phrases when they complement directional verbs such as *ir* (*a*) 'to go (to)':

(101) *Llevan* *ido* *a* *bien* *misas*
llevar-PRS.3P.PL go-PRF.PTCP to well masses

‘They have gone to many masses (lately)’

As for the transitive cases, the mere presence of an object is not enough for *llevar*: the object should be quantified. A sentence like (102) with singular, definite, or bare plurals objects is out, even if the event can potentially be iterated (i.e. several instances of collecting a particular box).

(102) * *Esta semana* *llevo*
this week llevar-PRS.1P.SING
recogido [*la caja* */esa* *caja* */cajas*]
collect- PRF.PTCP [the box /that box /boxes]

‘(So far) this week I have collected [the box/that box/boxes]’

Tener is not subject to such requirement: it readily accepts a singular definite object such as that in (103):

(103) *Ya* *tengo* *visto*
Already tener-PRS.1P.SING watch-PRF.PTCP
esa *película*
that movie

‘I have already seen that film’

Sentence (103) can be used if the speaker has been involved in the watching of the movie in several occasions, even if s/he did not finish watching it. The perfect construction only cares about presenting an iterated watching activity.

Notice that the extra requirements imposed on the argument structure of the participle that combines with *llevar* do not change the fundamental fact that this construction is independently pluractional just as *tener*, as discussed earlier in §2.3:

(104)

Esta	*semana*	*llevo*	*pedido*
This	week	llevar-PRS.1P.SING	order-PRF.PTCP
tres	*libros*		
three	books		

'So far this week I have ordered three books'

For sentences like (104), with predicates that can potentially be interpreted collectively (i.e. the three books were ordered at the same time), or distributively (i.e. there were several, distributed events of ordering books), we find that once the predicate (in this case, *pedir* 'to order') is embedded in a *llevar* construction, the collective reading is no longer allowed.

Interesting in this respect is a case where speakers accept a singular object as long as it is part of a larger set. Below in (105) I give the English version of the original context in Spanish:

(105) *Las week the doctor prescribed Susana some pills for her headache. Now the doctor asks whether she notices any difference, and she says:*

In such context, speakers were asked to judge sentence (106):

(106)

Bueno,	*hasta*	*ahora*	*sólo*	*llevo*
Well	until	now	only	llevar-PRS.1P.SING

tomado *una*
take-PRF.PTCP one

'Well, up until now I have only taken one'

Even though the argument that functions as the object in (106) is singular, "one (pill)", the judgements were surprisingly favourable, with 80 out of 96 speakers giving it relatively high or very high scores. What makes (106) different from those other examples where singular objects are out (102) is the fact that the object of (106) is contextually taken to be part of a plural number of pills that the doctor prescribed, and apparently that plural set is relevant in speakers' judgements. This example is revisited in §4.3.4 as part of the formal analysis of the *llevar* construction.

A final observation on objects within *llevar* constructions is that, apart from being part of the argument structure of the participle, they must be overt, phonologically realized. This can be illustrated with predicates like *jugar* 'to play', which have been argued to have non-overt objects when used intransitively (Hale & Keyser 1993, 2002). The contrast between (107) and (108) shows that the quantified object must not only be present in the structure, but it must also be overt, phonologically realized:

(107) *Esta semana llevamos jugado*
This week llevar-PRS.1P.PL play-PRF.PTCP
muchas partidas
many games

'This week (we) have played many card games'

(108) **Esta semana llevamos jugado*

this	week		llevar-PRS.1P.PL	play-PRF.PTCP
varias	*veces*			
many	times			

'This week (we) have played many times'

The *tener* construction is free from all these conditions on argument structure, and only subject to those discussed previously in §2.3.

Finally, regarding the semantic type of argument that these constructions take as their subject, it has already been pointed out in §2.3. that sentience and experientiality play a fundamental role, and that non-human subjects are highly dispreferred, if not completely ruled out: for example, speakers tend to reject *tener* sentences even with animate entities, when those entities are non-human:

(109)

??/**Esos*	*pájaros*	*tienen*		*caído*
These	birds	tener-PRS.3P.PL		fall-PRF.PTCP
varias	*veces*	*del*	*nido*	
several	times	of.the	nest	

'Those birds have fallen several times from their nest'

Nevertheless, while natural forces could be accepted as subjects of a *llevar* construction (110), a sentence with *tener* along the same lines sounds rather unnatural to speakers with a natural force in subject position:

(110)

El	*agua*	*lleva*		*hecho*
The	water	llevar.PRS.3P.SING		do-PRF.PTCP
muchísimos		*destrozos*	*este*	*año*

many.SUPER damages this year

'The water has done a lot of damage this year'

(111) ??/* *El* *agua* *tiene* *hecho*
The water tener.PRS.3P.SING do-PRF.PTCP
muchísimos *destrozos* *este* *año*
many.SUPER damages this year

'The water has done a lot of damage this year'

In sum, the *tener* and *llevar* constructions show some empirical differences with respect to each other, the most general and interesting one being the extra requirements that *llevar* is subject to when it comes to the argument structure of its participle: basically, the presence of an argument in object position is mandatory and such object must be somehow quantified.

2.6. Pluractional perfects and (micro)variation: the Galician-Portuguese system revisited.

The constructions that I have been describing as "pluractional perfects" do not seem to be limited to EoS: earlier in §1.2. we saw how the Portuguese Perfect Tense as well as the Galician *ter* construction looked intriguingly similar to the EoS pluractional *tener*, both formally and semantically. A closer examination nevertheless reveals important differences between Portuguese and Galician on one side, and EoS on the other, as well as other points of microvariation between the three systems. The case of Asturian *tener* is also discussed.

2.6.1. Portuguese

As stated earlier in this chapter (§1.2.), the Portuguese Perfect Tense [*ter* + participle] has been traditionally described as necessarily pluractional. The relevant examples were presented in (7) and (8), repeated below as (112) and (113), from Schmitt (2001):

(112) *O João tem saído tarde*
The João ter-PRS.3P.SING leave-PRF.PTCP late

'João has left late (many times)' / 'John has been leaving late'

(113) *# O João tem morrido*
The João ter-PRS.3P.SING die-PRF.PTCP

'John has died (many times)' / 'John has been dying (lately)'

The contrast in acceptability between (112) and (113), according to Schmitt and other people (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997, Squartini 1998, a.o.), is due to the fact that the eventuality denoted by the participle needs to be able to iterate. A sentence built up around an event of someone's death can hardly be conceived as referring to several events of dying, at least in real life. Hence the weirdness of (113).

Portuguese Perfects are nevertheless different to the EoS Perfects in (at least) three ways: firstly, their distribution across verb classes is unlimited, whereas in EoS the perfect participles can only denote dynamic eventualities (§2.3.2) ; secondly, iterativity in Portuguese is only required when *ter* is inflected for Present Tense, unlike EoS, where iterativity is required independently of Tense; thirdly, only Portuguese Perfects can be found in counterfactual

contexts with a modal function. Illustrative examples of each property are provided below, all from European Portuguese unless otherwise indicated (in some cases, examples from Brazilian Portuguese are explicitly included when they are reported to behave differently from the European varieties).

The first way in which Portuguese and EoS differ is in their behaviour with respect to stative verbs: while *ter* in Portuguese may appear with typically stative predicates built around the verb *ser* ('be$_1$') like *be$_1$* + adjective (e.g. *be blond*, *be cruel*), EoS perfects may not, hence the contrast between (114) and (115):

(114) *O João tem sido*
The João ter-PRS.3P.SING be-PRF.PTCP
[loiro/cruel]
[blond/cruel]

'João has been [blond/cruel]'

(115) **Juan tiene sido*
Juan tener-PRS.3P.SING be-PRF.PTCP
[rubio/cruel]
cruel

'Juan has been [blond/cruel]'

The interpretation that speakers of Portuguese assign to (114) is that there were several situations in the past where João was blonde or João acted with cruelty. In other words, Portuguese can take predicates that denote stative qualities in principle and coerced them into bounded eventualities that may

be iterated. This possibility is open to transitive statives as well, such as *conter* 'contain' in (116).

(116) *Este copo tem contido*
This cup ter-PRS.3P.SING contain-PRF.PTCP
diferentes tipos de café desde que
different types of coffee since that
foi criado
be-PASS.3P.SING buy-PTCP.MASC.SING

'This cup has contained different types of coffee since we bought it'

Another way in which Portuguese and EoS pluractionals differ is in their relationship with Tense, that is, how changing the Tense information on the inflected form may affect the semantics of the participle: pluractional readings in Portuguese are reported to be required in the Present Perfect only, i.e. exclusively when *ter* is inflected for Present Tense. Consider (117) and (118):

(117) *#O João tem morrido*
The João ter-PRS.3P.SING die-PRF.PTCP

'João has died (several times)'

(118) *Ela tinha morrido e*
She ter-PRS.3P.SING die-PRF.PTCP and
eu não sabia o que fazer
I NEG know-IMP.1P.SING CL that do-INF

'She had died and I did not know what to do'

The use of a verb like *morir* 'to die' in (117) is not readily accepted due to the semantic mismatch between a forceful single-event denotation of the participle on one side, and on the other side a requirement that the event be iterated, as contributed by the Present Perfect construction. A similar sentence in the Past Perfect, however, is perfectly acceptable (118): since iterativity is not enforced anymore, there is no mismatch.

Infinitival uses of the Perfect Tense are also possible with one-occasion readings:

(119)	*Ela parece*		*ter*	*morrido*
	She seem-PRS.3P.SING		ter-INF	die-PRF.PTCP
	sem	*sofrer*[13]		
	without	suffer-INF		

'She seems to have died without experiencing pain'

According to Molsing (2006), the Present Perfect in Brazilian Portuguese does not always enforce iterative readings. She follows Ilari (2001) and adds "reference to durative situations" as a possible reading in cases such as (120):

(120)	*A*	*Maria*	*tem*	*sido*	*feliz*
	The	Maria	ter-PRS.3P.SING	be-PRF.PTCP	happy
	na	*Europa*			
	in.the	Europe			

[13] I thank João Veloso for this example.

‘Mary has been happy in Europe’

(Mosling 2006: 135)

In this case, it is not that Maria has been happy in Europe several times, but that the duration of Maria’s stay in Europe corresponds to the duration of her state of happiness.

Unlike what we see in Portuguese, the iterativity requirement on *tener* in EoS is independent of Tense: in §2.4. we saw that it was possible to find *tener* inflected in the Past (imperfect) and Future Tenses, but not when a single-event reading is enforced, such as the selling of a house in (121) and (122):

(121) **De aquella ya* *tenían* *vendido*
Of that.one already tener-IMP.3P.PL sell-PRF.PTCP
la *casa*
the house

‘At that time, they had already sold the house’

(122) **Mañana* *a* *estas* *horas* *tendremos*
Tomorrow at these hours tener.FUT.1P.PL
vendido *la* *casa*
sell-PRF.PTCP the house

‘By this time tomorrow we will have sold the house’

Finally, unlike the EoS Perfects, Portuguese Perfects can appear in counterfactual contexts with a modal function. This is illustrated in (123). The original example is included in Squartini’s (1998) monograph on verbal periphrases, taken from M. Torga, *A criaçao do mondo*, 1937, apud Suter

(1984:84). To be sure (123) was not just a literary, obsolete use of the Perfect, Native speakers of Portuguese (informants from Braga and Lisboa) confirm its validity in present-day Portuguese.

(123) *Se tens* *continuado* *nel*
She ter-PRES.2P.SING continue-PRF.PTCP in.the
seminario, *campavas*
seminar succeed-IMP.2P.SING

'Had you continued in the seminary, you would have succeeded'

2.6.2. Galician

The [*ter* + participle] and [*levar* + participle] constructions, illustrated in (124) and (125) respectively, look like the Galician counterparts of the Pluractional Perfects in EoS. The examples are taken from *a fala* unless otherwise indicated (§2.1.2).

(124) *Teño* *tado* *en* *Roma*
ter-PRS.1P.SING be$_2$-PRF.PTCP in Rome

'I have been to Rome many times'

(125) *Levo* *ganado* *muitas*
levar-PRS.1P.SING win-PRF.PTCP many
partidas[14]

[14] There is variation within *a fala* with respect to the maintenance of the etymological lateral approximant [l] in initial position in words like *levar*: while it is present in some areas (notably the South-West part), it has palatalized in others as *llevar*. We use the former for

card.games

'I have won many card games'

In descriptive grammars of Standard Galician, notably Álvarez and Xove (2002), these constructions are said to imply iteration and/or quantification: according to them, the *ter* construction denotes an eventuality that occurred in the past more than one time, and the *levar* construction expresses a quantitative result that may be numerical (in terms of occasions or number of objects) or partial (in the old sense of *portional*, part of an action or object realized). Among the illustrative examples given by Álvarez and Xove we find (126), a case of numerical quantification over occasions, and (127), a case of partial quantification that comes from within the object (the pages).

(126)

Xa	*leva*	*ido*
Already	levar-PRS.3P.SING	go-PRF.PTCP

pla	*súa*	*casa*	*unas*	*cuantas*	*veces*
to	POSS	house	ones	many	times

'(S/he) has already been to [his/her/their] house quite a few times'

(127)

Non	*levo*	*redactado*
NEG	levar-PRS.1P.SING	write-PRF.PTCP

máis	*cá*	*metade*	*das*	*páxinas*
more	than	half	of.the	pages

exposition, since it is the one used more generally in Standard Galician. See Rodríguez-Castellano (1975) for details.

'I have not written more than half of the pages'

So far, the empirical picture in Galician seem to pattern quite nicely with that of EoS as described earlier (§2.1). However, in actuality things are not that clear-cut: a more detailed examination of the literature, accompanied by a series of searches through the biggest database of oral and written Galician (available online- CORGA), reveals that this language behaves like Portuguese and unlike EoS in at least two respects: firstly, pluractionality is not always present, and secondly, stative participles are allowed.

Regarding the first issue, pluractionality, the idea that [*ter* + participle] carries with it a component of repetition/iteration of the eventuality described has been suggested by virtually everyone working on Galician grammar (Rojo 1974, Ferreiro 1996, Freixeiro Mato 2000, Álvarez and Xove 2002). Nevertheless, some have argued that iteration is required only when *ter* is inflected for Present Tense (García Represas 2004, Álvarez, Monteagudo, and Regueira 1995). To illustrate their point, they mention cases like (128), where *ter* in its infinitival form refers to a negated event of going (at all).

(128) *Non fun* *a* *Pacios* *a*
NEG go-PRS.1P.SING to Pacios to
retratarme, *e* *sinto* *non*
photograph-oneself and regret-PRS.1P.SING NEG
ter ido
ter-INF go-PRF.PTCP

'I didn't go to Pacios to be photographed and I regret not having gone'

If this is in fact the case, then Galician would pattern with European Portuguese in showing Tense-dependent pluractionality. A few examples from the online corpus CORGA seem to go even further, suggesting a lack of pluractionality even in the Present Tense:

(129) *Como así ten sido*
Like this way ter-PRS.3P.SING be-PRF.PTCP
dende o comenzo
since the beginning

'Like the way it has been since the beginning'

(130) *O nivel del mar ten subido*
The level of.the sea ter-PRS.3P.SING raise-PRF.PTCP
entre 10 e 15 cm durante o pasado século
between 10 and 15 cm during the last century

'The sea level has raised between 10 and 15 cm in the last century'

(131) *Por suposto, levo entregado*
Of course levar-PRS.1P.SING give-PRF.PTCP
a miña vida a este particular
the POSS life to this matter

'I have devoted my life to this matter, of course'

Examples (129-131) come from formal written texts, such as newspaper articles and novels. In order to tell whether the source (written v oral) had an impact in the availability of pluractional readings I carried out a new search,

only this time the search included the label /oral/. The following example was found, from a radio program:

(132) *Hai que deixalo moi claro…*
Need to leave-INF.CL very clear
el PP ten gañado
the PP ter-PRS.1P.SING win-PRF.PTCP
as eleccións
the elections
'It needs to be stated very clearly… the Popular Party has won the election'

Although examples such as (129-132) exist, Galician linguists tend to consider them Hispanicisms that are outside the Galician system proper: according to this view, the non-pluractional cases in the Present Tense may look Galician in the surface, but in reality they carry the semantics of a Standard Spanish Present Perfect. This is an open controversy that goes beyond the scope of the present work, but it is my impression that once we start analyzing different varieties across the Galician-speaking landscape, we will find variation with respect to the obligatoriness of iterated readings. *A fala* in particular does not seem to allow non-pluractional readings such as (129-132); it is interesting to consider in this context the case of (133), gathered as a piece of spontaneous speech from a speaker of *a fala*:

(133) *As castañas tein sido el sustento*
the chestnuts ter-PRS.3P.PL be$_1$-PRF.PTCP the sustenance
y quitado ben fame nun tempo
and remove-PRF.PTCP well hunger in.a time

‘Chestnuts have been the sustenance and (have) eradicated hunger back then’

Even though the speaker is talking about a stable property of the chestnut (‘be the sustenance’) in an extended period of time (‘back then’), the choice of a *ter* construction over a synthetic imperfective past form or a preterit form is meant to convey distributivity over time, as opposed to duration of a single eventuality over time. Thus, an accurate description of the information conveyed in (133) is that chestnuts are characterized by having been a basic food item and life-saver in countless occasions across generations.

Another way in which Galician and EoS differ has to do with the possibility of having their constructions built on stative participles. Galician, like Portuguese, allows it. We can take (133) again for illustration, reproduced in (134):

(134) *As castañas tein sido el sustento*
the chestnuts ter-PRS.3P.PL be$_1$-PRF.PTCP the sustenance
y quitado ben fame nun tempo
and remove-PRF.PTCP well hunger in.a time

‘Chestnuts have been the sustenance and (have) eradicated hunger back then’

Galician *ter* can take a predicate such as ‘be the sustenance of’, denoting a stative quality, and make it suitable to count as a series of discrete eventualities where the quality holds. This is exactly what Portuguese does as well.

Regarding subjects, Galician and Portuguese allow all semantic types, including inanimates, such as *castañas* 'chestnuts' or *bote* 'jar'. The EoS Perfects, on the other hand, are sensitive to subject sentience (experientiality).

Lastly, while the Galician and Portuguese constructions have been shown to exhibit a similar pattern with respect to stativity and pluractionality, only Portuguese allows a Perfect in counterfactual contexts as shown earlier, reproduced here in (135):

(135) *Se tens* *continuado* *nel*
She ter-PRES.2P.SING continue-PRF.PTCP in.the
seminario, *campavas*
seminar succeed-IMP.2P.SING

'Had you continued in the seminary, you would have succeeded'

Table 3 summarizes the main points of (micro-)variation that have been identified in the latest discussion: these have to do with pluractionality, the aspectual configuration (i.e. aktionsart) of the participle, the semantic type of subject, and the behavior of the Perfect in counterfactual contexts.

Table 3: The Perfect in Portuguese, Galician, and EoS.

Property		**Portuguese**	**Galician**	**EoS**
Pluractionality	Present Tense	Required/?*Brazil*	Required(?)	Required
	Other Tenses	Not required		
Aktionsart sensitivity		No	No	Yes- *states
Subjects		All	All	Experiencers
Modality: counterfactuals		Yes	No	No

As for Asturian, the information available on these constructions is very limited. All we can say is that pluractionality is not always present (*camentaba que yá los tendríen semao* 's/he said that they would have already sown them'- Cano González 1995: 43), and that the presence of *llevar* does not depend on argument quantification (*lleven falau conmigo un cientu veces* 'they have talked to me a thousand times'- ALA 1998: 225).

2.7. Conclusion

Pluractional Perfects have been identified as constructions that combine two semantic properties, for they express Perfect meanings (§4.1.) and, at the same time, they necessarily refer to a plurality of events (§4.2.). The semantics seems to always manifest as a construction, built up by a participle and an inflected verb. The resulting structure is monoclausal.

In the Romance context, Pluractional Perfects are characteristic of the Galician-Portuguese family of languages, reported under names such as *Perfect Tense* or *Perfective Periphrasis*. A similar construction has been reported to exist in Asturian as well (§2.1.4), and in those varieties of Spanish that are in contact with Galician (Rojo 2005) and Asturian (Harre 1991). This means that, geographically, Pluractional Perfects are found in neighbouring varieties in the West/North-west of Iberia.

The (micro-)variation observed and summarized in Table 3 shows that, despite the morphological and geographical proximity, Pluractional Perfects are subject to different conditions in Galician, Asturian, Portuguese, and Spanish. And particularly, for the purpose of this dissertation, the idea that the EoS Perfects are the manifestation in Spanish of an underlying Galician system has been shown to be empirically inaccurate.

From a cross-linguistic point of view, I take Pluractional Perfects to be defined by their semantics (hence their name), and not so much by a particular morphology. The cases found so far, however, show a systematic correspondence to one type of construction (inflected verb + participle). Future work will determine whether the correspondence is stable across languages.

Chapter 3- The Syntax of [*tener*/*llevar* + participle]

This chapter is primarily aimed at characterizing the internal structure of Pluractional Perfects. In doing so, however, it will become necessary to talk more generally about the phenomenon of complex predication and the lexical/functional division in verbs, in relation to the place that Pluractional Perfects occupy in the overall structure of the clause.

The chapter begins with a general overview of the model of sentence structure and spell out that will be taken as reference for the analysis (§3.1.), consisting of a Core Functional Hierarchy (§3.1.1.) and a *span*-based operation of spell-out (§3.1.2.). In §3.2., after giving evidence as to the monoclausal nature of these constructions (§3.2.1.), I move on to discuss their place among complex predicates (§3.2.2.), showing how Pluractional Perfects pose a challenge for approaches that assume clear-cut divisions between functional and lexical verbs (§3.2.3.), including those that recognize light verbs as a separate category (§3.2.4.). A solution based on a less restrictive understanding of complex predicates is explored in §3.2.5.

The remaining part of the chapter deals with the structural configuration of the individual parts, mainly the inflected form and the perfect participle: the contribution of the former to the temporo-aspectual domain is analyzed in §3.3., while in §3.4. I move on to discuss the event-related properties spotted in the descriptive chapter (§2.3): after introducing a particular understanding of what the event structure looks like in the syntax (§3.4.1.), I compare the syntactic behavior of the participles in Pluractional Perfect constructions with that of passive participles, showing that they are structurally different; then in §3.4.3. I provide an analysis of the conditions underlying the choice of subject in these constructions. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the role of the preterit form and its competition with the perfect.

3.1. General assumptions on phrase structure and spell-out

The analysis of any kind of surface variation within and across languages from an internalist perspective requires specific assumptions about 1. the general structure of the clause, including the number of grammatically relevant items and their relative ordering/structural height in a speaker's mind/brain; and 2. the way the ingredients in (1.) are paired to language-specific lexical entries and externalized or "spelled-out". Regarding the first issue, I assume a hierarchical tripartition of the clause in to a V-domain, a T-domain and a C-domain as in Ramchand and Svenonious (2014), and the existence of a universal Core Functional Hierarchy for human language (see §3.1.1.); as for the second issue, I assume *late insertion*, i.e. the theoretical premise that the lexical repertoire of a language is accessed "late", after Syntax has put together the relevant pieces of structure. This idea has been implemented in different ways in different models (Halle & Marantz 1993, Borer 2003, Starke 2009). One point of disagreement has been the number of syntactic heads (one, two, or more) that a single morphological item can lexicalize. In my analysis, lexicalization proceeds through *spans* (Svenonius 2012), allowing a single item to target several syntactic nodes, provided that certain conditions are met (§3.1.2.). In this sense, it can be thought of as a constrained version of phrasal spell-out (McCawley 1968, Neeleman and Szendrői 2007, Fábregas 2009, Starke 2011).[15]

3.1.1. The Core Functional Hierarchy (CFH)

The study of variation in language stems from the self-evident observation that languages vary: one could easily spend a lifetime adding new items to the list of differences within and across languages. However, decades of

[15] It should be noted that the present dissertation does not address the specifics of linearization, i.e. how the mapping to phonology should look like. See Nespor & Vogel (1986) and Selkirk (2011) for a recent overview of the different proposals.

linguistic research have also revealed that the ways in which languages differ are not without limits (Baker 1985, Chomsky 1986, Kayne 1994, Harbour 2009, a.o.), and that it is possible to find a set of linguistic primitives that all languages share, given the right level of abstraction (Chomsky 1981 et seq.). Not only do languages all have a way to refer to events and participants, times and locations, but also, whenever those pieces of information are grammatically encoded, they are rigidly ordered, forming a hierarchical structure that can be seen through formal tests e.g. scope relations between different constituents. This hierarchical structure that I call *the functional sequence* (after Starke 2001, 2004) is supposed to be innate, and therefore, common to all the languages of the world.

The number and nature of the categories involved in the functional sequence has been a matter of debate among scholars ever since the 80s, when the search for universals in language was given priority within the Principles and Parameters framework (Chomsky 1986). As research advanced, two competing proposals were born: one turned out to be too rich and the other one, too poor. On the one hand, there was Cinque's (1999) cartographic approach, whose main tenet was that there is plenty of empirical evidence for assuming a large number of universal linguistic categories (functional heads), whether they manifest morphologically or not. Crucially, not only are they structural primitives, but their order in the universal hierarchy is fixed. A subset of it is provided in (1) for illustration:

(1) … >ModP $_{\text{epistemic}}$>TP $_{\text{(Past)}}$> TP $_{\text{(Future)}}$ > MoodP $_{\text{irrealis}}$ > ModP $_{\text{alethic}}$ > AspP $_{\text{habitual}}$ > AspP $_{\text{repetitive (I)}}$> AspP $_{\text{frequentative (I)}}$> ModP $_{\text{volitional}}$ > AspP $_{\text{celerative (I)}}$> TP $_{\text{(Anterior)}}$ > AspP $_{\text{terminative}}$> AspP $_{\text{continuative}}$ > …

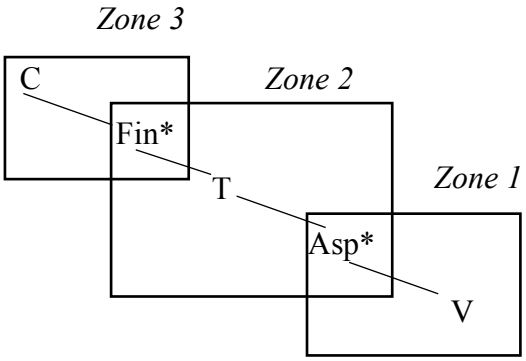
Adapted from Cinque (2004:133)

On the other hand, there was Chomsky's (2005) minimalist approach, in which the universal part is considerably reduced to its bare minimum: instead of positing a variety of highly specific functional heads, in Chomsky's system there are only three (maybe four) main universal heads ((V)-*v*-T-C) from which we can ideally account for all language-specific phenomena.

Both approaches were criticized for different reasons: the main problem with Cinque's universal cartography was the unlikelihood of such complex structure being innate; likewise, the problem with Chomsky's minimal structure was that it frequently required too many extra ingredients and operations in order to get the empirical picture right.

At that point, the logical step forward was to find a compromise between Cinque's "too many" and Chomsky's "too few". This came in the form of a Core Functional Hierarchy (CFH) in which the cartographic contribution would still be captured without giving up simplicity (Ramchand & Svenonius 2014, henceforth R&S). The basic idea is that there is a universal CFH underlying the rigid ordering relations that we observe empirically, language after language. But contrary to the cartographic assumption that the order is fixed for each individual head, in R&S account the only universal, fixed order is that between clausal domains or "zones" as represented in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Macro divisions of the clause (Ramchand & Svenonius 2014)



The structure depicted in Figure 3 parallels Chomsky's minimal C-T-V story, but it is grounded in elaborated arguments about human cognition: "a cognitive proclivity to perceive experience in terms of events, situations, and propositions" (R&S 2014:172). Such cognitive inclinations are behind the (innate) hierarchy of zones in the structure of language, with a first zone dedicated to the grammatical encoding of information about events and participants; a second, structurally higher zone, that gives the time and world parameters to the elements of the first zone, building *situations*; and finally, a third zone for propositions (i.e. discourse-linked situations). I will be referring to Zone 1 as the event domain, Zone 2 as the situation domain, and Zone 3 as the proposition domain. The heads Fin* and Asp* act as relational heads, i.e. transitional steps between zones. The specifics of each zone and their relational heads will be addressed further as the analysis unfolds.

The structure in Figure 3 is not very far from the one proposed by Wiltschko (2014), even though she assumes four different domains: discourse linking, anchoring, point of view and classification; it is easy to acknowledge the parallelism between Wiltschko's discourse linking domain and R&S's proposition domain, as well as between the classification and the event domains: in fact, Ramchand (2018) incorporates "point of view" as the transition point between classification and instantiation. As for the second zone, R&S propose a possible reconciliation of both systems by identifying situations as "anchorable entities" (to times and worlds).

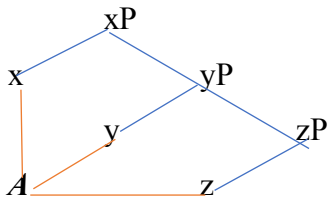
Understanding clausal structure in these terms allows us to establish a straightforward relationship between the relative ordering of grammatically relevant pieces of meaning, and the relative ordering of (extralinguistic) domains in the building of mental representations, so that the latter provides a basic template for the former. That way, we can avoid the common criticism that the functional sequence be merely stipulated to require certain elements

in a certain order, in a way that is convenient to account for a specific linguistic pattern. Instead, the likelihood of certain notions (e.g. temporal anchoring) to be universally manifested across languages in a particular hierarchical order can be said to follow from underlying cognitive biases in the way humans perceive and understand the reality around them.[16]

3.1.2. Spell-out through spanning

Spell-out is the process whereby syntactic structures are mapped to lexical entries and phonological representations. This dissertation assumes a model of spell-out in two stages (Zwicky and Pullum 1986, Pullum and Zwicky 1988), one that associates the structures with syntactic features on lexical entries (L-match), and a second one that cares about the phonological aspects of lexical entries (Insert). Here I am only concerned with the stage that is not sensitive to phonological information (L-Match). I take a *spanning* approach to lexical insertion (Williams 2003, Adger et al. 2009, Svenonius 2012), according to which a single morphological exponent may spell out several syntactic heads, provided that these heads are contiguous and in a complement relation with each other.

Figure 4: *Spanning*



[16] This, however, is not equivalent to saying that language is ultimately determined by cognitive saliency. If that were so, we would expect to find somewhere in the functional sequence a grammaticalized marker of hunger, attack, danger, coldness, fear, love, etc., all of them very salient cognitive experiences. The type of cognitive "biases" discussed here refer to specific domains, such as the human tendency to distinguish objects from events.

Each language item (morpheme) has a feature specification that may be of a single feature/head (what Svenonius (2012:2) calls *trivial span*) or may include several features in the terms defined above, to qualify as a nontrivial span. In Figure 4, for example, the lexical item or exponent A corresponds to a sequence of heads x, y, and z (ignoring the specifier positions).

Apart from the specific conditions that govern spanning (applying only to contiguous heads that form a complement sequence), the choice of one exponent over another depends on principles that govern phrasal spell-out more generally, such as the so-called *Superset Principle* or *Exhaustive Lexicalization Principle*, prioritizing the exponent with the greatest number of associated heads (see Caha 2009 for details).

3.2. Pluractional Perfects among complex predicates

Analytic constructions that build up a single joint predication, such as the Pluractional Perfects, may be taken to be instances of complex predication, depending on one's idea of what qualifies as a complex predicate. This section is devoted to evaluating the consequences that the behaviour and properties of Pluractional Perfects have for our current understanding of complex predication, and more generally for the classic functional/lexical division in verbs.

3.2.1. Monoclausality, again.

As part of the empirical description, in §2.2. I gave syntactic evidence that Pluractional Perfects are monoclausal constructions, just as the *haber* Perfects in Standard European Spanish. Here I start by revisiting the main facts in support of this claim, setting the Pluractional Perfects apart from superficially similar, yet biclausal, structures in Spanish.

A comparison was established in §2.2. between the adjectival/resultative construction in (2) and the *haber* Perfect Tense in (3), according to their behavior on a series of well-established syntactic tests involving word order, question formation, agreement, etc.

(2) *Tengo (/llevo)* *escritas*
Tener (/llevar)-PRS.1P.SING write-PTCP.FEM.PL
diez *cartas*
ten letter.FEM.PL

'I have ten letters written'

(3) *He* *escrito*
Haber-PRS.1P.SING write-PRF.PTCP
diez *cartas*
ten letters

'I have written ten letters'

The contrasts are summarized below. First, word order: while it is possible to move the object to an intermediate position in the adjectival/resultative construction (4), the same operation is completely ruled out in the *haber* cases (5):

(4) *Tengo (/llevo)* *diez* *cartas*
Tener (/llevar) -PRS.1P.SING ten letters
escritas
write- PTCP.FEM-PL

(5) **He* *diez* *cartas*

Haber-PRS.1P.SING ten letters
escrito
write-PRF.PTCP

Secondly, while it is possible to substitute the participle of an adjectival/resultative construction for adjectives or adverbs (6), such substitution is no longer possible with an *haber* perfect (7)[17]:

(6) *Tengo (/llevo)* *diez* *cartas*
Tener (/llevar)-PRS.1P.SING ten letters
[*escritas* /*blancas* /*así*]
[write-PTCP.FEM.PL /white-FEM.PL /this way]

(7) *He* [*escrito*
Haber-PRS.1P.SING [write-PRF.PTCP
/**blancas* /**así*] *diez* *cartas*
/white-FEM.PL /this way] ten letters

A third way in which the two constructions differ lies in the possibility of forming a how question about the sentence: only the resultative/adjectival case can be asked in this fashion (8):

(8) *¿Cómo tienes* *las* *cartas*?
How tener-PRS.2P.SING the letters

Finally, the transitivity of the participle is a further source of contrast: only transitive participles are allowed in the adjectival/resultative construction.

[17] Sentence (6) is good under a stative/adjectival understanding of *cartas*: see the structural comparison between stative and eventive participles in §3.4.2.

Thus, intransitive participles such as *arrived* in (9) as well as those associated to prepositional structures such as *participated in* in (10) are ungrammatical:

(9) **Tienen (/llevan)* *llegados*
Tener (/llevar)-PRS.3P.PL arrive-PTCP.MASC.PL
seis *invitados*
six guest-MASC.PL

(10) **Tienen (/llevan)* *participadas*
Tener (/llevar)-PRS.3P.PL participate-PTCP.FEM.PL
en *varias* *competiciones*
in several competition-FEM-PL

None of these restrictions applies in the *haber* cases:

(11) *Han* *llegado*
Haber-PRS.3P.PL arrive-PRF.PTCP
seis *invitados*
six guests

(12) *Han* *participado* *en*
Haber-PRS.3P.PL participate-PRF.PTCP in
varias *competiciones*
several competitions

The different behavior exhibited by (2) and (3) with respect to these tests was said to follow from a structural difference between the two constructions, mainly that in (2) each predicative element (i.e. the inflected form of *tener*/*llevar*, and the participle) contributes its own argument structure, giving

rise to a biclausal structure, while in (3) the two predicational elements contribute to a single, joint predication, giving rise to a monoclausal structure.

Like the biclausal construction in (2), our Pluractional Perfects are built with an inflected form of *tener*/*llevar*; also, like the monoclausal Perfect Tense in (3), the participle contained in our Pluractional Perfects does not show any form of agreement.

In §2.3. it was shown that the behavior of Pluractional Perfects with respect to the above-mentioned tests patterns systematically with that of monoclausal *haber* Perfects. Firstly, with respect to word order, they show the same restrictions when it comes to object movement (13):

(13)	**Tengo (/llevo)*	*diez*	*cartas*
	Tener-PRS.1P.SING	ten	letters
	escrito		
	write-PRF.PTCP		

Secondly, just like in the *haber* cases, the participles cannot be substituted by adjectives or adverbs (14):

(14)	*Tengo*	[*escrito*		
	Tener-PRS.1P.SING	[write-PRF.PTCP		
	/**blancas*	/**así*]	*diez*	*cartas*
	/white-FEM.PL	/this way]	ten	letters

Thirdly, the unavailability of question formation: a *how*-question such as (8) above may be made for the adjectival/resultative case, but never for *haber* or a Pluractional Perfect.

Lastly, Pluractional Perfects do not show the transitivity restrictions that are characteristic of adjectival/resultative cases[18]:

(15)	*Tienen*	*llegado*	*seis*	*invitados*
	Tener-PRS.3P.PL	arrived-PRF.PTCP	six	guests
(16)	*Llevan*	*participado*		*en*
	Llevar-PRS.3P.PL	participate-PRF.PTCP		in
	varias	*competiciones*		
	several	competitions		

Table 4 below summarizes the results for the three constructions according to their behavior in all tests:

Table 4: the monoclausal nature of Pluractional Perfects in Spanish.

TEST	Biclausal Adjectival *tener*	Monoclausal *Haber* Perfect	Pluractional Perfect
Word order- object movement	OK	*	*
Substitution- PTCP> adj, adv	OK	*	*
Question formation	OK	*	*
Participles other than transitive	*	OK	OK

Summing up, it seems that Pluractional Perfects are structurally similar to prototypical auxiliary constructions such as the *haber* Perfect Tense, despite the extra requirements imposed on the semantic side (§2.3. and §2.4). Their monoclausal nature gives the Pluractional Perfects a place among complex

[18] *Llevar* has its own restrictions having to do with argument quantification (see §2.3), but it still differs from the adjectival/resultative *llevar*, since only the former allows participles with prepositional complements (16).

predicates (in the sense of Svenonius 2008), but we have yet to establish what that place is and why. This is addressed next.

3.2.2. Defining complex predicates: views and predictions

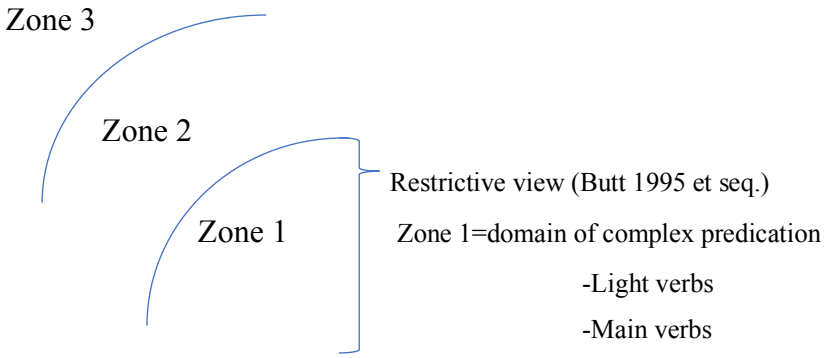
In its broadest sense, a complex predicate can be defined as a sequence of elements X Y which together serve a predicative function (Svenonius 2008: 48). Defined in these terms, the variety of things that can be complex predicates is indeed remarkable, from resultatives to auxiliary constructions.[19]

An alternative, stricter view on complex predicates is one where auxiliaries (i.e. those carrying information on T/A, etc.) are put aside (Butt 2010 [2003]) and treated as something fundamentally different. Under this view, light verb constructions emerge as prototypical cases of complex predication (§3.2.4). For the sake of exposition, I will refer to the former as the "unrestricted" approach, as opposed to the latter, the "restrictive" one.

Taking the CFH model as a reference (§3.2.1), the fundamental difference between the two approaches can be represented as in Figure 2a and 2b next: as we will discuss in detail in the next pages, the restrictive approach establishes that complex predicates may only involve elements in Zone 1 (Fig. 5):

[19] It is common in studies on Romance languages to use the term *periphrasis* to refer to the same set of constructions.

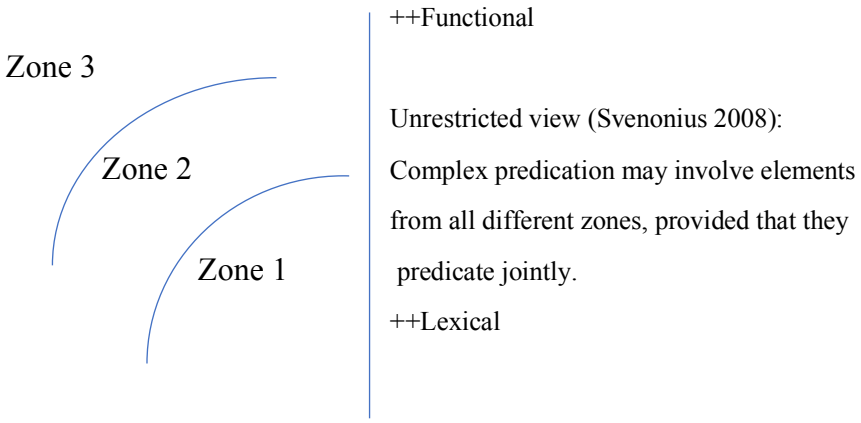
Figure 5: complex predication and the CFH (I)- Restrictive



This understanding of complex predication basically leaves out all the functional material that conforms the higher domains of the clause, from aspectual marking to discourse particles. Only those elements that are low enough to modify the "lexical core", such as the typical Aktionsart morphemes in the Finno-Ugric languages (Abondolo 1998) would qualify as examples of complex predication when combined with a main predicational element (in most cases, a main verb).

By contrast, the unrestricted view does not conceive complex predication as a "domain-dependent" type of phenomenon, but rather as a pervasive strategy to grammaticalize facets of meaning that cuts across domains (i.e. Zones), subject to the hierarchical orders of the functional sequence:

Figure 6: complex predication and the CFH (II)- Unrestricted



What unifies both proposals to some extent is the requirement that only monoclausal structures can be complex predicates; thus, a construction that consists of more than one syntactic domain of predication would be automatically excluded.

In order to find out where exactly the Pluractional Perfects lie among complex predicates, I evaluated the properties of their inflected forms (*tener* and *llevar*) and their potential classification, bearing in mind that each proposal leads to different predictions: the unrestricted view developed in Svenonius (2008) does not recognize any sharp, fundamental distinction between auxiliaries and light verbs, whereas Butt (1995, 2010 [2003]) does. Thus, according to the latter, Pluractional Perfects should not be treated as complex predication if their properties resemble those that are identified as definitional of auxiliary constructions. Cases where a particular construction shows properties which are intermediate between the predicational classes are unexpected. By contrast, the unrestricted view is able to accommodate those properties as a natural consequence of the fact that the elements we refer to as auxiliaries, light verbs, restructuring verbs etc. all share a common space, and are therefore expected to interact in all kinds of ways.

3.2.3. Tener and llevar under the "lexical verb/functional verb" division.

Before moving on to evaluate the adequacy of the two competing views presented above with respect to the behaviour of Pluractional Perfects, it is essential to highlight the fact that the traditional division between lexical or main verbs on the one hand, and functional or auxiliary verbs on the other hand, is unable to capture the facts about *tener* and *llevar* when they are part of the Perfect construction in EoS.

As I show next, these two items are neither main verbs nor (prototypical) auxiliaries, and therefore the best we can say about them under such bipartite model is that they are uncategorized verbal elements. A further problem for the classic bipartite division is the fact that *tener* and *llevar* are far from being the exception: the reality is that the number of verbal items identified as bearing mixed properties (functional/lexical) is very common across languages, to the extent that there has sometimes been a whole body of literature dealing with specific subgroups, such as restructuring verbs in the context of Generative Linguistics (Zubizarreta 1982, Rizzi 1976, Cinque 2004, Wurmbrand 1998). The two approaches introduced earlier represent two different ways of solving the problem raised by these "in-between" items. But first, let us consider the ways in which a bipartite division runs into problems, empirically:

We shall start with the so-called "lexical" or main verbs, and the type of properties that we expect from *tener* and *llevar* if they are indeed in this category: main verbs differ from the other two classes in their predicational content: while main verbs predicate "fully", their lexical heaviness is reduced in the case of light verbs, and completely gone in the case of auxiliaries. Examples of *tener* and *llevar* in their main verb uses in Spanish are given in (17-18) and (19-20), respectively:

(17) *Tengo* *frío*
Tener-PRS.1P.SING cold

'I am cold' (literally: I have cold)

(18) *Tenemos* *un* *coche* *azul*
Tener-PRS.1P.PL a car blue

'We have a blue car'

(19) *Llevan* *chaqueta*
Llevar-PRS.3P.PL jacket

'They are wearing jackets' (literally: They carry jacket)

(20) *Llevaré* *el* *carnet* *por* *si acaso*
Llevar-FUT.1P.SING the driving.license prep. if maybe

'I'll take the driving license with me just in case'

Despite the fact that both *tener* and *llevar* exist as main verbs in Spanish, they do not behave as such when they form Pluractional Perfects. This has been observed by Schmitt (2001) for the verb *ter* in European Portuguese when it is accompanied by a perfect participle (§2.6). She gives syntactic arguments against Giorgi and Pianesi's (1997) analysis of the Perfect in Portuguese, in which *ter* is taken to be a main verb. For instance, she shows that *ter* (main verb) and *ter* (in Perfect contexts) behave differently with respect to the question test: while it is possible to use the former (22), the Perfect *ter* does not work (23):

(21) *O que tem ele?* 'What does he have?'

(22) *Ele tem dor de cabeça* 'He has a headache'

(23) **Ele tem trabalhado* 'He has worked'

The exact same pattern applies to *tener* and *llevar* in EoS: whenever they form a Pluractional Perfect, it is no longer possible to ask about their objects:

(24) *¿Qué tiene?* ‘What does he have?’

(25) *Tiene frío*/**Tiene trabajado* ‘He has cold/*He has worked’

(26) *¿Qué lleva?* ‘What does he carry?’

(27) *Lleva libros*/**Lleva leído* ‘He carries books/*He has read’

This leads us to question the transitivity of *tener* and *llevar* when they are part of the Perfect construction. The issue was already mentioned in §2.2. and it was pointed out again in the discussion on monoclausality in §3.2.1. Here transitivity comes as a further argument that *tener* and *llevar* do not have the properties of a main verb when they combine with a perfect participle. In their main verb uses as transitive verbs (28-29), they do not take prepositional phrases as complements:

(28) **Tengo* *en* *París*
Tener-PRS.1P.SING in Paris

(29) **Llevan* *en* *varias* *competiciones*
Llevar-PRS.3P.PL in several competitions

However, in the company of a perfect participle, the very same prepositional phrases may appear as long as they complement the participle:

(30) *Tengo* *estado* *en* *París*
Tener-PRS.1P.SING be$_2$-PRF.PTCP in Paris

(31) *Llevan* *participado* *en*
Llevar-PRS.3P.PL participate-PRF.PTCP in
varias *competiciones*

several competitions

Thus, just as the Portuguese *ter*, the verbs *tener* and *llevar* in EoS exist as main verbs, but they are "something else" when they form a Perfect construction. In such contexts, Schmitt (2001) classifies *ter* as an auxiliary verb, and derives the pluractionality requirement from a property of the Portuguese Present Tense, independent of *ter*.

Even though Schmitt's analysis seems right for Portuguese (despite potential issues in Brazilian varieties, see §2.6), it is nevertheless inapplicable to our Pluractional Perfects, the reason being that the pluractional component in EoS is independent of Tense: in the cross-linguistic comparison established in §2.6., it was pointed out that the EoS Perfects carry their pluractionality across Tenses. And importantly, the pluractionality cannot come from the participle either, since it does not apply when the participle shows up with a different verb, e.g. with an inflected form of *dar* 'to give', bringing about the 'manage to' interpretation (§1.1.3.). Therefore, the pluractional semantics can only come from *tener* and *llevar*.

Thus far, we have established that *tener* and *llevar* in Perfect contexts are fundamentally different to main verbs: their predicational content is reduced. Nevertheless, we have also seen that they are not prototypical auxiliaries either, since they do not merely carry temporo-aspectual information like the Portuguese *ter* arguably does (after Schmitt 2001); rather, *tener* and *llevar* contribute a semantic component of pluractionality to the overall construction. All in all, a simple division between functional and lexical verbs is clearly unable to accommodate cases such as the ones reviewed.

It is time to evaluate the extent to which the alternative proposals can satisfactorily account for the cases at hand: we will address Butt's (2010 [2003]) restrictive proposal first, which still assumes a strict separation,

building on the lexical/functional division, to what she adds a third category: the light verb.

3.2.4. Tener and llevar under a restrictive view of complex predication

The properties discussed so far about *tener* and *llevar* in Pluractional Perfects (reduced predicational content, semantic modulation of the event, formal identity to a corresponding main verb) make them good candidates for the "light verb" label. This is because, as I show next, those are taken to be defining properties of a light-verb status in recent work by Butt (2010 [2003]).

The first part of the section summarizes the main points brought about by Butt in recent years, on the basis of her own research on verbal complexes in Indo-Aryan languages like Urdu (Butt 1995). In her 2010 paper she argues for a tripartite classification of verbs into main, light, and auxiliaries: her main claim is that there are enough reasons to recognize light verbs as a separate class, distinct from both main verbs and auxiliaries.

Lights verbs are defined by being semantically "light", and predicationally dependent on the element that accompanies them, building a complex predicate. Even though we are primarily interested in (light)V-V combinations here, it should be pointed out that light verbs may combine with elements from categories other than verbal: in (32) we can see an example of a V-N combination in Spanish.

(32) *Darse una ducha*
Give-INF.refl a shower

'To take a shower'

There is a main verb *dar* in Spanish, meaning 'to give'. However, (32) does not convey the exact meaning that one is giving a shower to oneself, but rather that one is taking a shower. The predication is that of a showering event, not of a giving event anymore. In fact, the difference between (32) and the predicate *ducharse* 'to shower' is so subtle that it is hard for native speakers to point out exactly what it is that changes.

Another case where *dar* seems to be doing the job of a light verb is the V-V combination [*dar* + participle] in (33), characteristic of the Spanish spoken in areas of contact between Galician and Spanish, including EoS (see §2.1.3.):

(33)	*Salí*	*tarde*	*y*	*casi*	*no*
	Leave-PST.1P.SING	late	and	almost	NEG
	doy	*llegado*			
	give-PRS.1P.SING	arrive-PRF.PTCP			

'It was already late when I left and I barely managed to get there'

Here again it is impossible to reconstruct the giving event that would be characteristic of the main verb *dar*, and instead it is the participle that establishes the predicative content of an arrival event. The contribution of *dar* as (approximately) 'manage to' in (33) is more intricate than in the previous example, making the relationship between *dar llegado* and the single predicate *llegar* 'to arrive' less straightforward: contrary to the "shower v take a shower" case, under any circumstances can *llegar* and *dar llegado* be used interchangeably.

A list of defining properties of light verbs are given in Table 5. Among them, we have seen that light verbs are form identical to a corresponding main verb, but predicationally dependent on another element with which they form a complex predicate. Despite being semantically lessened, these verbs always contribute to the joined predication in some manner, which Butt sometimes describes as "subtle". This last observation is important because it seems to set light verbs aside from auxiliaries, which are predicationally dependent but unable to modify the event described in the resulting construction. Aside from the "positive" properties, light verbs are also defined in negative terms, in particular, it is mentioned that the ability to carry Tense/Aspect information is not a characteristic of light verbs, but of auxiliaries. Moreover, and unlike auxiliaries, light verbs never show a defective paradigm. They are not restricted to appear with a particular Tense or Aspect form. There is more to be said on this point, to which I will come back shortly.

Table 5: defining properties of light verbs (LV) according to Butt (2010)

- LV are semantically "light" and predicationally dependent
- LV are form-identical to a main verb (see also Butt and Lahiri 2003)
- LV serve to modulate the main predication (e.g. Aktionsart effects)
- LV may show argument structure effects
- LV span the entire verbal paradigm
- LV may appear with any Tense and aspectual form
- LV have unpredictable combinatorial possibilities
- LV's contribution is limited to the event domain

The conclusion, according to Butt, is that verbs may belong to one of these three classes: fully lexical verbs that build main predications; light verbs that modulate those main predications; and fully functional verbs that specify aspectual and/or temporal information outside the main predication proper.

In a research context where theoretical syntacticians were struggling to account for the variety of complex predicates reported cross-linguistically, using only a simple, bipartite division between purely lexical and purely functional verbs, it was only natural that some members of the research community would pursue a more heterogeneous view of verb types that could help accommodate all the empirical observations. Instead of leaning towards a more flexible approach to the lexical/functional division in the verbal domain, however, the introduction of light verbs as a separate class had the opposite effect, that of highlighting all differences and consequently claim a new, independent space, where any property shared between classes would be purely accidental.

An immediate empirical problem for the restrictive approach comes from cases where a verbal form seems to belong to more than one class at the same time. The Perfect uses of *tener* and *llevar* in EoS are a good example of this: on the one hand, they behave like auxiliaries in that they show Tense inflection and, along with the participle, they convey a Perfect meaning; on the other hand, they behave like light verbs in that they are able to modulate the event predication in several ways, such as requiring the event to iterate, to have sentient subjects, and (in some cases) to have a particular argument structure configuration with a quantized object. Table 6 provides a more detailed list of the properties shared by light verbs and Pluractional Perfects (the "yes" cases), followed by a list of properties that set them apart, positioning the Pluractional Perfects among auxiliary constructions.

Table 6: Similarities and differences between LV and Pluractional Perfects

Properties of light verbs (LV)	EoS Pluractional Perfects
LV are semantically "light" and predicationally dependent	yes

LV are form-identical to a main verb (see also Butt and Lahiri 2003)	yes
LV serve to modulate the main predication	yes
LV may show argument structure effects	yes
LV span the entire verbal paradigm	*
LV may appear with any Tense and aspectual form	*
LV have unpredictable combinatorial possibilities	*
LV's contribution is limited to the event domain	*

Under Butt's (2010) definition of light verbs, she is quite clear about what they should not do: she points out that although light verbs may provide information on causation, resultativity, manner of action (i.e. whether an event happened suddenly, whether it was volitional, etc.),

"a light verb does not, however, situate the main event predication with respect to temporal or aspectual information. That is, it does not have the functionality of a tense or aspect auxiliary, which situates a given event with respect to speech and reference time."

(Butt 2010: 21)

For *tener* and *llevar* the verdict is clear: given their semantic role in the building of Perfect meanings, and their interaction with Tense and Aspect (§2.4.), they do not qualify for the light verb label. However, their aktionsart sensitivity in terms of a systematic rejection of states indicates that it matters for them what happens in the lower, event-domain of the clause. In this respect, they appear to be light verbs.

Summing up, *tener* and *llevar* seem to resist all our attempts of categorization: they do not behave like main verbs, and neither do they pattern with purely functional, prototypical auxiliaries. Furthermore, *tener* and *llevar* fail to meet the requirements to be considered light verbs, assuming that these belong in a third, separate class, as argued in Butt (2010). And yet, these creatures exist and need to be accounted for.

In what follows, we will abandon the terminological discussion for a while. Instead of thinking about this issue in terms of opposed categories with opposing properties, we will focus on the fact that these Perfects operate at different structural levels, within the event (iterativity, dynamicity, argument structure) and at the outer layers of temporo-aspectual anchoring.

There are important insights in Butt's acknowledgement of elements that are more than purely temporal anchors or predicative cores. There are crucial cross-linguistic generalizations on how the information is layered in zones in the structure of the clause (§3.1.1.). With all those ingredients in mind, it is possible to build an analysis of Pluractional Perfects and, consequently, of their corresponding inflected forms *tener* and *llevar*, from a different understanding of complex predicates in general. What comes next is the consideration of the second alternative to the classic bipartite model, mainly the unrestricted approach as defined in §3.2.2.

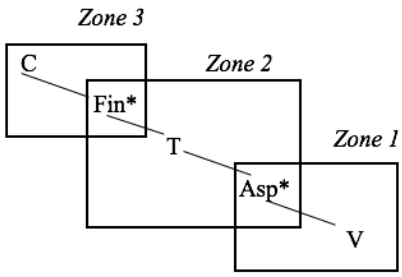
3.2.5. Towards a solution: a broad space constrained by the Functional Sequence

Once it has been established that a restrictive understanding of complex predication and predicate classes is unable to accommodate the properties exhibited by *tener* and *llevar* at the empirical level, it is reasonable to think that the analytical solution will need to be based on a more flexible view of

complex predicate phenomena. As stated earlier in §3.2.2., this is the approach taken in Svenonius (2008), where complex predicates are given a very broad definition in terms of "a sequence of elements X Y which together serve a predicative function". Defined in these terms, any construction might qualify as a complex predicate as long as it is monoclausal, i.e. it constitutes a single domain of predication. The existence of elements such as *tener* and *llevar*, which have been proved difficult to account for, is now easily derived from the fact that the items we refer to as auxiliaries, restructuring verbs, light verbs, etc. are all part of a shared configurational "space", the functional sequence (§3.1.1.).

The constraints observed for the different members of a complex predicate reflect the hierarchical relations within the sequence, following the CFH model:

Figure 7: the tripartition of the clause according to the CFH model

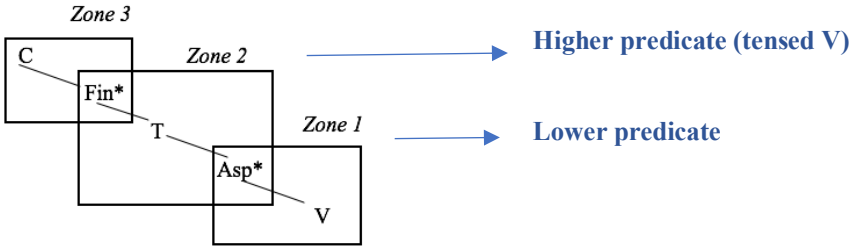


As stated earlier in this chapter (§3.1.1.), the sequence consists of three main zones, hierarchically ordered. A simplified version is given in Figure 7: the lowest, first zone, is where the information about events and participants may be grammatically encoded; the second zone provides the world and time

parameters to the event description in Zone 1; and finally, a third zone for discourse linking. [20]

Given the monoclausal nature of complex predicates, they are assumed to be associated to a single sequence. For V-V combinations such as the one under study, the hierarchy of zones depicted in Figure 7 predicts that the verbal element carrying Tense information will be structurally higher than the verbal elements carrying the event-related information. Following Svenonius (2008), I will refer to the former as the *higher predicate*, as opposed to the latter, the *lower predicate*.

Figure 8: the CFH applied to V-V complex predicates



The idea is that any V-V complex will observe the hierarchy of zones in Figure 8, so that if a language has morphological inflection, the higher verb might carry Tense while the lower verb carries Aspect, but not vice versa. Also, since we are assuming a spanning approach to lexicalization, there can be cases where the higher verb spans both the T(ense) and Asp(ect) heads, or

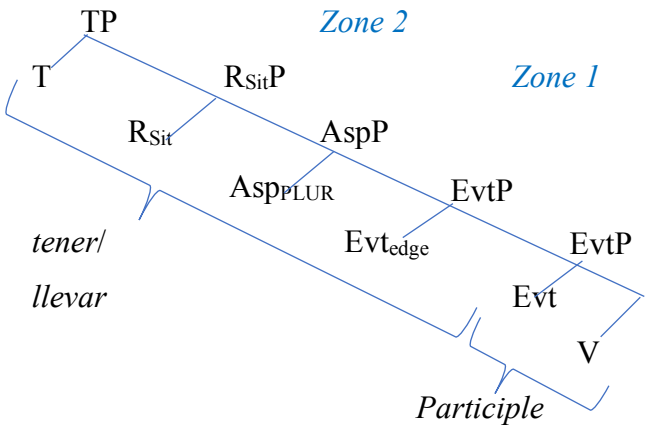
[20] The internal complexity of each zone is ignored for now, but it is assumed that languages vary in the number of functional heads that they care about. Even though the present work does not assume Cinque's (1999) cartography to be operating in every single grammar (being morphologically manifested or not), it does assume a certain amount of ordering, such as that between high modals (epistemic) and low modals (permission/ability), and high adverbs (speaker oriented) and low adverbs (subject oriented, manner).

where the lower verb spans both the V (ignoring for now its internal structure) and one or more aspectual heads, while the higher verb targets only Tense. The cross-linguistic patterns confirm such predictions (Julien 2002).

This approach has immediate advantages over the restrictive one, with two analytic tools, the hierarchy and spanning, that together form a flexible, yet constrained, way to explain the empirical patterns: the differences observed between auxiliaries and light verbs, for example, derive from differences in the size of the span that each of them takes, and related to that, their structural heights. The traditional division between main verbs and auxiliary verbs, and between the core, predicational domain, and the peripheral, functional domain, corresponds to the distinction between zones in the CFH model, mainly that between Zone 1 and Zone 2 (plus the even more peripheral Zone 3). Leaving aside the specifics of the CFH, the skeleton is compatible with the widely assumed C>T>V configuration, ever since Chomsky's early work in the 50s.

In what follows, I use the theoretical tools just presented (CFH + spanning) for a proposal as to what the internal syntactic structure of *tener* and *llevar* (§3.3.) and the participle (§3.4.) should look like. A preliminary version of the tree structure is given in Figure 9 below: the syntactic span associated with the higher predicate (*tener* or *llevar*) not only contains "higher" functional nodes typically associated with auxiliary verbs (e.g. Tense), but also reaches down to a functional head Evt at the edge of the event domain or Zone 1 (§3.4.1.). The syntactic span associated with the lower predicate (the participle) is contained within Zone 1, the domain where passive participles are also built (§3.4.2); however, unlike the passive, the participle involved in our Pluractional Perfects spells out a functional head Evt, which is responsible for introducing the external argument whenever there is one. The empirical consequences are discussed in §3.4.2.

Figure 4: the place of Pluractional Perfects within the sequence



A detailed examination of the structure depicted in Figure 9 is given next in §3.3 and §3.4. The semantic ingredients that characterize the Pluractional Perfects in EoS correspond to different functional heads: from top to bottom, the descriptive generalizations observed on the higher predicate *tener/llevar* arise from a specific syntactic configuration that includes T (temporal information), RSit (the Reference Situation, associated to the Perfect), and Asp (a pluractional, aspectual head), all three contained within the second zone; beyond that, the higher predicate reaches down to a functional head Evt at the edge of the first zone, whose presence will account for both the aktionsart sensitivity of the construction (limited to dynamic event predications) and the semantic type of subject (conditioned by experientiality). With regard to the lowest part of the structure, the head labelled V for "verb" will be split up into several different heads corresponding to different parts of a single event, following Ramchand's (2008, 2018) model of event decomposition. Under such view, the participle's span goes as high as that of a bare root form, but being a non-finite form that lacks Tense and Agreement features, it will force Evt head recursion and, with

that, the formation of a complex predicate whose higher member can reach up to Tense.

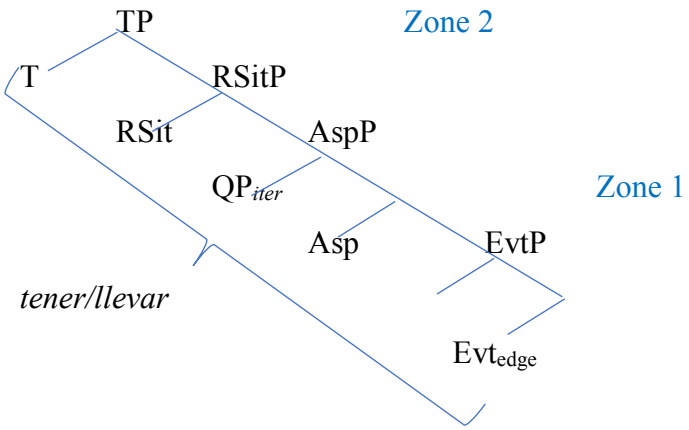
3.3. *Tener* and *llevar* as higher predicates

This section starts off with a question in mind, mainly *what pieces of the functional sequence do* tener *and* llevar *associate with, when they are part of a Pluractional Perfect construction?* The minimal tree depicted in Figure 9 already establishes a "division of labour" between the inflected form and the participle in terms of how much structure each of them lexicalizes. The different pieces of the sequence are associated with particular semantic properties such as iteration, in a model where syntax and semantics work in parallel building structure and meaning. Here we are going to look at the syntactic side of things, leaving the specifics of the semantic analysis for the next chapter (§4): this has the consequence that some of the properties observed, such as quantification in the *llevar* construction, which are more "semantic" in nature (as opposed to e.g. word order), are given a rather simplified treatment in this particular part of the analysis.

The proposal that I want to put forward for *tener* and *llevar* is that they span several functional heads in the temporo-aspectual domain (Zone 2 of the CFH, §3.1.1.), mainly Tense, R(erence)Sit(uation), and Asp(ect), the latter being specifically pluractional: these are the syntactic counterparts of a particular semantic configuration in which *tener* and *llevar* convey a Tense relation (anchoring to a time), a Perfect meaning (a Reichenbachian *reference* point, see below), and a component of pluractionality (*iteration*). But the higher predicate *tener/llevar* also reaches down into the first zone through the functional head Evt (the details of which are given in §3.4.1.), and this has two empirical consequences: first, the observed aktionsart sensitivity of the construction, only allowing dynamic event predications, and second, the

observed semantic restrictions on subject types, where experientiality plays a role.

Figure 10: the structure of the higher predicates *tener* and *llevar*



That *tener* and *llevar* span all the way up to Tense is evidenced by the fact that they show morphological Tense inflection; the motivation for a RSit head is less straightforward: every attempt to define the Perfect in the syntax-semantics literature has been an attempt to model the relationship between a current state and a past eventuality (§4.1.). Both *tener* and *llevar* encode this kind of relationship, albeit in different ways, giving rise to the particular readings that we have identified as "experiential" and "universal", respectively (§1.2.). For the purposes of their syntax, it will suffice to assume a place to signal the dual nature of the Perfect, mainly the RSit head. The name is semantically motivated, since in the Perfect there are two related situations, a lower one describing a past eventuality and a derived one, the *Reference Situation*. "Reference" was the term originally used by Reichenbach (1947) as a necessary point between the speech and event times to capture the singularity of the Perfect. His model was further developed by Klein (1994) – more ref.- and gained popularity in the analysis of temporo-

aspectual systems cross-linguistically. The semantic part of the Perfect will be addressed further in Chapter 4.

A third essential item in the structure of *tener* and *llevar* is the functional head Asp_{PLUR}: its presence is necessary to account for the obligatory pluractional readings of the construction. Recall from our previous discussion in §3.2.3 that pluractionality in EoS is not a property of the Present Tense as it is in Portuguese (Schmitt 2001), and neither is it associated with the Participle. Therefore, it must be contained in the partial sequence that is lexicalized by the higher verb. My proposal is inspired by Arche's (2013) analysis of the syntax underlying the habitual reading of the Spanish Imperfect. For her, habituality follows from the presence of a quantifier yielding plurality, as previously proposed from a semantic perspective in work by Verkuyl (1999), Menéndez-Benito (2002), and Ferreira (2005), among others. The quantifier is responsible for a particular type of interpretation in terms of multiple occasions.

Following Arche, I assume that semantic iterativity is located in the aspectual domain of the clause; however, I propose that in the case of *tener* and *llevar* the semantics is given by the functional head itself, and not by a quantifier in the specifier position.

An analysis whereby *tener* and *llevar* correspond to a sequence of heads in the T-domain of the clause (Zone 2, §3.1.1.) readily accounts for their auxiliary-like behavior as part of a monoclausal structure, along with the participle (§3.2.1.). The analysis of Pluractional Perfects as it stands in Figure 10 also explains the empirical restrictions on modality (§2.4.2.): while it is possible for a Pluractional Perfect to have an epistemic reading in a modal context, other readings such as ability or permission are totally ruled out.

(34)

Ana	*puede*	*tener*	*ganado*
Ana	can-PRS.3P.SING	tener-INF	win-PRF.PTCP
varias	*partidas*		
several	card.games		

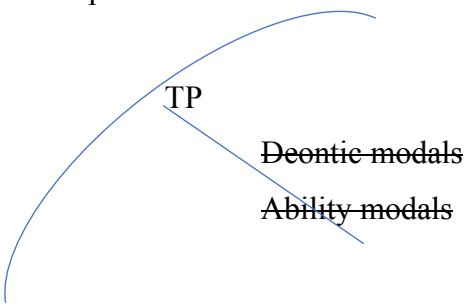
* Ability reading: Ana was able to win

* Deontic reading: Ana was allowed to win

✓ Epistemic reading: Ana might have won

Epistemic modality has been analyzed as a type of high modality, operating above Tense (Picallo 1991, Cinque 1999), that is, outside the part of the clause occupied by the verbal construction; by contrast, both the dynamic and the deontic types of modality, associated to ability and permission readings respectively, are assumed to operate lower, where they would interfere with the Pluractional Perfect spans. Consequently, they are expected to be ruled out. The different heights of the modals and their relation to the verbal span are illustrated in (35): the round line on top of TP marks the high end of the Pluractional Perfect span; the modals that may potentially interrupt it appear crossed-out.

(35) Epistemic modals

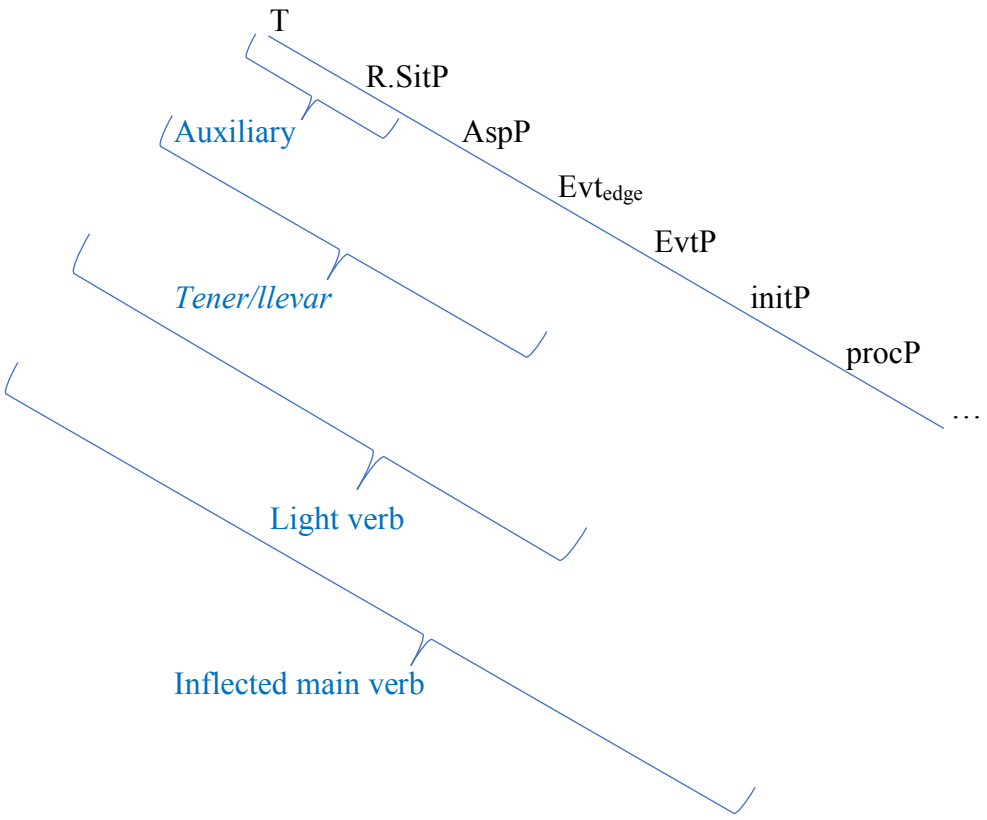


Finally, another crucial aspect of the analysis of *tener* and *llevar* is the fact that they not only span within the second zone, but they also reach down to

the first zone via the functional head Evt: as I mentioned in passing at the beginning of the section, this will have enormous consequences for the analysis of subjects and related argument in Pluractional Perfect constructions (§3.4.3.).

To conclude, and following our previous discussion on complex predication and theories, Figure 11 summarizes how the different verb types are accommodated in the new model, each of them spanning a different chunck of the functional sequence (Fseq):

Figure 11: A comparison of the different verb types within the FSeq



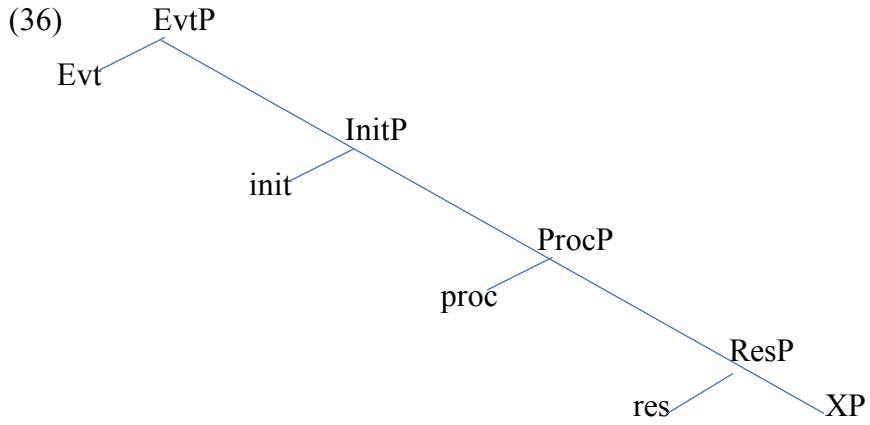
3.4. The Perfect Participle and the event domain

Once the main structural ingredients of Pluractional Perfects have been established with respect to the second zone, it is time to address the issues that arise lower, within the first zone, and provide a structural analysis of the perfect participle, the (non-finite) verbal form that has been identified as the *lower predicate*.

3.4.1. Events in the Syntax

The present proposal assumes a particular model of event decomposition in the Syntax, as developed in Ramchand (2008, 2018), in which the different subparts of an event are projected in the syntax in a systematic way, ultimately determined by human's cognitive inclinations in the perception and mental representation of events. These are usually expressed in the form of a verb, although it is cross-linguistically common to find different items lexicalizing different subparts of a single event, as it is the case with verb particles in English, e.g. turn in an assignment. The traditional classification of verbs into "types", i.e. activities, accomplishments, achievements, and states (after Vendler 1967), is here derived from the different structural configurations within events, as in (36):

(36)



Two things are important in a representation such as (36): events and participants. Events are decomposed in smaller pieces (phrases), hierarchically ordered by means of a "lead-to" relation that reflects the kind of cognitive concepts that form the universal ingredients of event descriptions across languages: cause, change, and state. The participants of those events are located in the Spec(ifier) positions of subevent predications, ignored in (36). The structural relation between participants (arguments) and subevents (predicates) is semantically interpreted as a property holding relation, in which the argument in Spec position is the holder of a property predicated of it according to the type of subevent in question.

Starting at the bottom of the tree, we find the Res(ult) phrase that denotes a stative property on its own, if nothing else is added. In such context, it could be called "state phrase" or something along those lines. An example would be the predicate *be* in *Mary is tall*. This property predication may as in (36) be embedded under a Proc(ess) phrase predicating a change undergone by some argument in its Spec position. Typical examples of verbs that identify entities undergoing change are unaccusatives (ref.), with an embedded result or without it. Any dynamic event must minimally project a ProcP in the Syntax.

The structure can still be further expanded by adding a second stative predication on top of ProcP, called Init(iation) phrase, with causational semantics: it is interpreted as "causing" the embedded process. In Ramchand (2008) it was believed that the InitP could host the external argument in its specifier position, but as we will see this assumption was later on modified, due to the properties of a higher Ev(en)t phrase (Ramchand 2017). Examples of verbs that identify an Initiation phrase are *smile* in *John smiled*, or *build* in *The concrete workers built a house*.

A functional item Evt is merged on top of any combination within the first zone as a necessary step for the event to be used (deployed) and to acquire specific information about times and worlds. Evt is therefore structurally located at the edge of this "first phase syntax", a synonym for what we have been calling *Zone 1*. Anything below Evt is symbolic content of an "event essence" without any temporal or wordly properties associated to it, and it is only through the structurally realized components of cause, change, and result that we get the illusion of temporal sequencing in this first zone. Recursion of the Evt head is allowed by the system, for example in progressive structures of the type *John is crossing the street*. The highest Evt head is labelled Evt*edge* and it requires an overt topic argument in its Spec position for structure building to proceed successfully: stated in terms of a "firs phase EPP", the requirement is taken to be language dependent and present in English (Ramchand 2018: 99).

As stated earlier, the introduction of the Evt projection in the sequence had consequences for our assumptions about the position of the highest argument in an event description: following work by Harley (2013), who shows how the head introducing the external argument (in her framework, *Voice*) must be distinct and hierarchically higher than that introducing causation (in her framework, *Cause/little v*), Ramchand (2017) presents her Evt projection as the locus of the external argument (if any) and the Init projection below it as the head that introduces the causational subevent. In this respect, Ramchand's Evt phrase would be similar to what other authors have referred to as Voice, albeit the former is of a more abstract nature than Voice itself. Hence the difference in labeling. Table 7 shows a comparison of the different labeling strategies.

Table 7: Labeling equivalents in the Syntax of causation

Model	Ramchand (2017, 2018)	Other approaches (Marantz 1997, Kratzer 1996, Harley 2013, etc.)
Labels	Evt	Voice
	Init	Cause/ *v*

Notice how the structure in (36) limits variation within event types, in terms of stative vs. dynamic subevents in a "lead-to" relation: if a stative predication is embedded under a dynamic one, the state gets interpreted as resulting from the change predicated on top of it; likewise, if it is the stative predication that appears on top of the dynamic one, then the former is interpreted as the cause leading to the change predicated downstairs. A structure featuring two consecutive states is predicted to be impossible to build, since the higher state will necessarily be interpreted as leading to the lower one and therefore some form of (dynamic) change is inescapable[21].

The introduction of Evt above an event representation of symbolic content reflects a semantic itinerary that goes from abstract to concrete, in the building of propositions. Ignoring for now the specific semantic details that underlie the structural hierarchy of the first zone, the idea is that whatever is located at the very left edge of the event-domain needs to be "ready" to combine further up with temporo-aspectual ingredients that operate on concrete, instantiated events in the world. In order to achieve that, we need at least two distinct projections in the syntax, one that takes the abstract event components and deploys them in a way that makes them usable, the EvtP, and a second one where aspectual properties of events can finally be introduced, at the point of transition to the situational domain (Ramchand 2018: 118).

[21] But see Arad (1998) for the claim that stative causation is actually possible. See also Ramchand (2018) for a similar claim in the adjectival domain.

3.4.2. The Perfect participle

The purpose of this section is to show that the participle involved in the EoS Pluractional Perfects is associated with a different syntactic structure than that of a Passive participle. The empirical arguments for such a claim come from two different sources: from the point of view of their morphology, Passive participles in Spanish show gender and number agreement with the internal argument within the verb phrase, both in eventive and in stative contexts (37 and 38, respectively):

(37) *Los criminales* *fueron* *arrestados*
The criminal.MASC.PL be-PST.3P.PL arrested-MASC.PL

'The criminals were arrested'

(38) *Las cartas* *están* *firmadas*
The letter.FEM.PL be2-PRS.3P.PL signed-FEM.PL

'The letters are signed'

The prototypical Spanish Perfect participle however never shows agreement:

(39) *He* *firmado* *las* *cartas*
Haber-PRES.1SING sign-PRF.PTCP the letter-FEM.PL

'I have signed the letters'

The agreement facts correlate with syntactic differences with respect to word order, word category, and transitivity, as manifested in the monoclausality tests discussed in §2.3. and §3.2.1: there it was shown that the same inflected

forms (*tener*/*llevar*) in EoS may build biclausal structures with a Passive participle (+agreement), or alternatively, they may be part of a monoclausal structure with a Perfect Participle (–agreement).

Adverb placement is also a valuable source of information when trying to identify the structural make-up of these participles. Cinque (1999) put together an extensive body of empirical work that resulted in a three-way classification of adverbs, starting from those which modified the lowest part of the clause (Adv3), like *willingly*, to those who semantically affected the whole clause and therefore were assumed to have been merged quite high (Adv1), like *surprisingly*. The relative position of lower adverbs with respect to the Passive and Perfect participles reveals structural differences between them:

Consider (40), in a context where Ángel and Patricia were driving around to raise money for a good cause. The sentence contains a Pluractional Perfect, and the Adv3 *voluntarily* 'willingly' may only appear after the participle[22]:

(40) *Ángel y Patricia llevan*
A. and P. llevar-PRS.3P.PL
*(*voluntariamente) recorrido (voluntariamente)*
(*willingly) traverse.PRF.PTCP (willingly)
unos mil kilómetros
around thousand kilometers

'Ángel and Patricia have voluntarily made over a thousand kilometers'

[22] Notice that a similar adverb (Adv3) would be equally bad in a higher position, to the left of the inflected *llevar* form. This applies to example (41) as well.

The exact same pattern is found in Pluractional Perfects formed with *tener*: the Adv3 *injustamente* 'unfairly' may follow, but not precede, the participle:

(41) *Muchos* *nos* *tienen*
Many.PL cl.1P.PL tener-PRES.3P.PL
*(*injustamente)* *tratado* *(injustamente)*
(*unfairly) treat-PRF.PTCP (unfairly)

'Many has treated us unfairly (in several occasions)'

The participles of Pluractional Perfects in (40) and (41) pattern with prototypical Perfect participles, as seen in (42):

(42) *Muchos* *nos* *han*
Many.PL cl.1P.PL haber-PRES.3P.PL
*(*injustamente)* *tratado* *(injustamente)*
(*unfairly) treat-PRF.PTCP (unfairly)

'Many has treated us unfairly'

By contrast, the same types of Adv3 may precede a Passive participle:

(43) *Fueron* *(injustamente)*
Be_1-PST.3P.PL (unfairly)
castigados *(injustamente)*
punish-PTCP.MASC.PL (unfairly)

'They were unfairly punished'

We find a similar pattern in those cases where the passive participle appears with a form of *llevar* (44) or *tener* (45): here again the Adv3, subject-oriented adverbs *voluntariamente* 'voluntarily' and *cuidadosamente* 'carefully', can precede the participle, unlike what happens in the Perfect cases in (40) and (41):

(44) *Llevan* *(voluntariamente)*
Llevar-PRS.3P.PL willingly
recogidas *(voluntariamente)*
collect-PTCP.FEM.PL willingly
varias *toneladas* *de* *basura*
several tonne-FEM.PL of waste

'They have several tons of waste collected willingly'

(45) *Tenían* *(cuidadosamente)*
Tener-PRS.3P.PL willingly
estudiados *(cuidadosamente)*
study-PTCP.MASC.PL willingly
todos *los* *casos*
all the case-MASC.PL

'They had all the cases carefully studied'

The idea is that the empirical contrasts observed between the two types of participles arise from the structural differences between them: while the span of the Perfect participle includes the functional projection Evt at the edge of the first zone, the Passive participle stays lower, and never gets to spell out the Evt head, in whose Spec position the external argument is merged. This structural difference determines that the Perfect participle will necessarily

give rise to a monoclausal construction, with the consequent contrasts observed at the empirical level (§3.2.1.): the Evt head is necessary to connect the lower zone to Tense in a continuous functional sequence. The different readings of the passive (eventive, stative/resultative, adjectival) arise from possible combinations of (sub)event structure discussed earlier in §3.4.1.

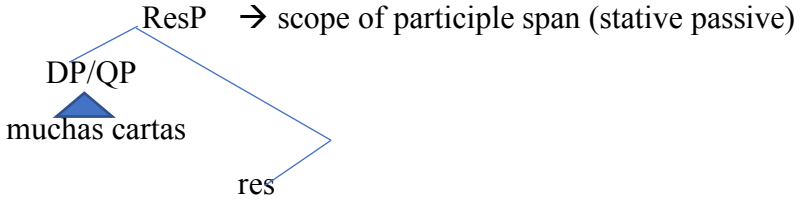
The following examples illustrate the different types of structures that are available to a passive participle: the participle in sentence (46) has a stative reading that may be resultative or adjectival. The resultative reading of (46) is one in which I have (or I am carrying, depending on the inflected verb) letters that are signed. This implies that there must be the result of a signing event; in the adjectival reading, by contrast, I have (or carry) many signed letters, that is, letters that contain a signature (see Embick (2004) on event entailments for participles).

(46)	*[Tengo/llevo]*	*muchas*	*cartas*
	Tener/llevar-PRS.1P.SING	many	letter-FEM.PL
	firmadas		
	sign-PTCP.FEM.PL		

The resultative reading of (46) arises from a syntactic configuration in which the participle simply spells out the result head (res) of the verb *firmar* 'to sign', a stative projection which is conceptually related to a (symbolic) event of signing, independently of any specific instantiation. This is possible to the extent that the relations held within the first zone are considerably abstract, at least until Evt is merged (see §3.4.1.). As for the argument *muchas cartas* 'many letters', it occupies the Spec position of ResP in (47):[23]

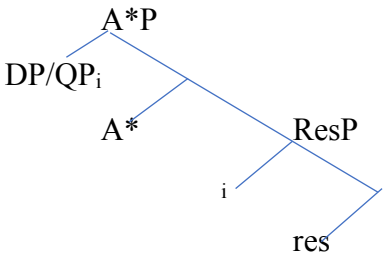
[23] The analysis leaves aside the specifics of the agreement mechanism between the argument and the passive participle.

(47)



The adjectival reading can be built from a structure such as (47), assuming that a null adjectivalization head (A*) is merged on stative projections such as ResP, taking its single argument as a subject of predication (Ramchand 2018: 118). The syntactic structure corresponding to the adjectival reading of *firmadas* in (46) is the following:

(48)



Finally, the same passive participle may also be interpreted as eventive in a sentence like (49): this is the reading where many letters have been signed. The word order has been altered with respect to (46), with the argument following the participle, not preceding it as before.

(49) *[Tengo/llevo]* *firmadas*
Tener/llevar-PRS.1P.SING sign-PTCP.FEM.PL
muchas cartas
many letter-FEM.pl

This time the structure of the participle must contain a proc head that gives dynamicity. At this point (by hypothesis) adjectivalization is no longer possible, which explains why adjectival readings of (49) are out.

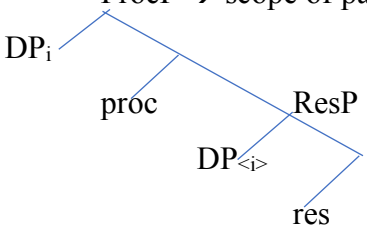
Notice that (49) is still different from a Perfect Participle: applying the adverb test once more, we see how it is possible to insert the adverb between the inflected form and the passive participle (50), while the same operation is not possible if the participle is a Perfect, as shown by the lack of agreement in (51):

(50) *[Tengo/llevo] voluntariamente firmadas …* Passive

(51) **[Tengo/llevo] voluntariamente firmado…* Perfect

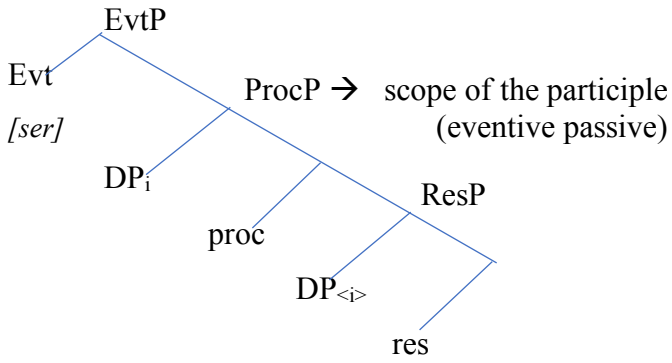
The prototype structure for a participle such as that in (49) and its argument is given in (52), with the participle spanning the consecutive heads proc and res:

(52) ProcP → scope of participle span (eventive passive)



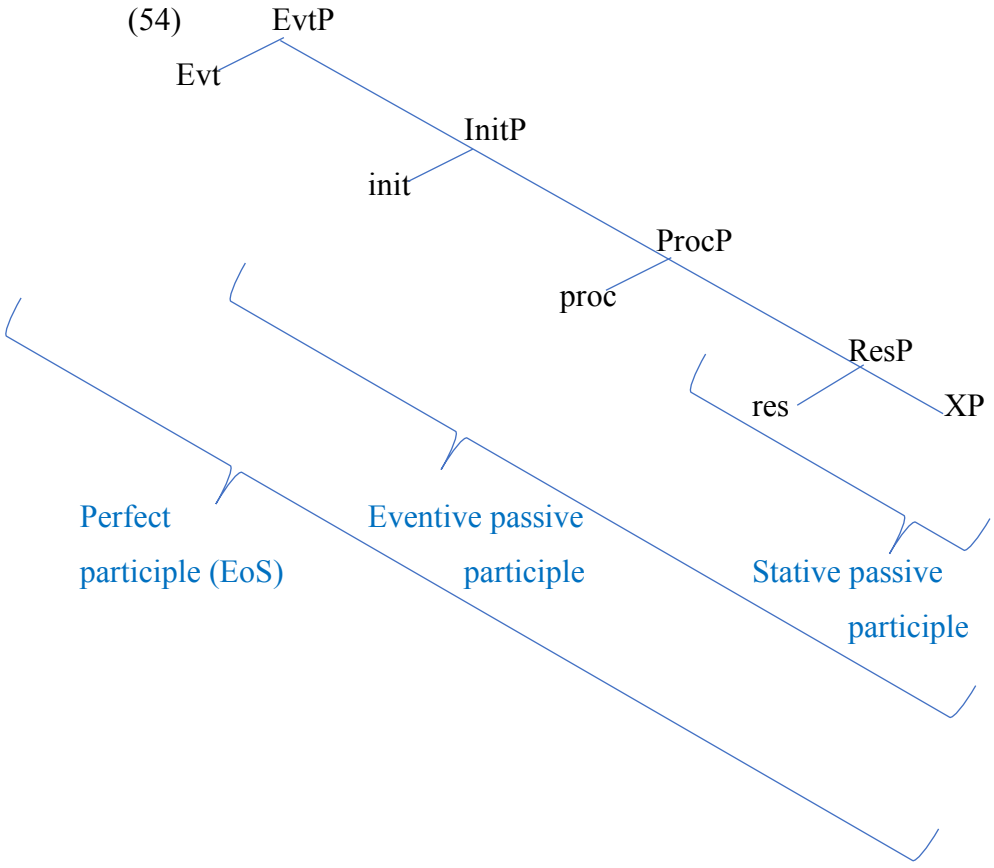
The structure in (52) is compatible with the analysis proposed for the eventive passive in English under the same model, where the Evt head introduces the dummy verb *be* above a structure like (52). We could hypothesize an Evt head hosting a dummy *ser* 'be$_1$' which is structurally present but phonologically unrealized, to be part of the Spanish passive in (53):

(53)



We are now in a position to compare the different types of passive and perfect participles according to the chunck of structure that each of them lexicalizes. The structure is given in (54):

(54)



Below Evt, the difference between a stative and an eventive passive participle lies in the absence vs presence (respectively) of a dynamic subevent proc head. In any case, given that the external argument is gone in the case of the passive participle, it does not get to spell out the EvtP, which is where the external argument originates. On the other hand, the presence of Evt in the span of the Perfect participle, apart from securing the structural monoclausality of the resulting construction, is a necessary step to make the event descriptions compatible with all the functional material located higher in the clause, from AspP to the left periphery, the domain of propositions.

Regarding the cross-linguistic variation observed in these Perfects, the obligatory presence of a dynamic projection in the event domain seems to be language-dependent, since Pluractional Perfects in Portuguese and Galician are able to combine with states.

3.4.3. What about subjects?

Out of the three main types of event-level conditions described in Chapter 2, two of them have thus far been given a place in the Syntax: the pluractionality requirement has been associated to a functional head Asp_{PLUR}, while the dynamicity has been linked to a particular subeventive head *proc* that denotes a process undergone by some entity in its Spec position. In this final section on the syntax of Pluractional Perfects at the event level we will address one last condition, having to do with the participle's argument structure.

Before we proceed, it should be noticed that the nature of the quantized object that is required in the *llevar* cases will not be part of the discussion here, only its structural placement. The properties of this particular type of argument and its "special" relationship with *llevar* is addressed next in the Semantics chapter (§4.3.4.): there it will be argued that llevar carries a certain lexical presupposition, and that the presence of a quantized DP ensures that the

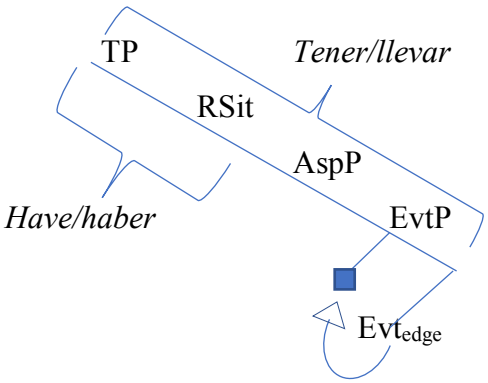
presupposition is satisfied. This is considered a repair strategy to the extent that, for a sentence to have a truth-value, the presupposition must be fulfilled.

This section takes on the issues observed at the empirical level concerning the relationship between subjecthood and semantic sentience, as well as the "repair" strategies associated to it (§2.3.3.), to ultimately provide a structural analysis of argument positions that is able to accommodate all reported ingredients.

The analysis will be based on three important assumptions: one is that *tener* and *llevar*, unlike standard Perfect auxiliaries, spell out a head at the edge of the event domain, the Evt_{edge}, which will restrict the semantic type of its topic argument; a second and related assumption is that the specific nature of that restriction has to do with experientiality, so that only experiencer DPs/clitics and framing locative/adverbials (in the sense of Landau 2011) may satisfy it; lastly, I assume that an (overt) DP argument in the *llevar* cases is required to remain below the point where EvtP is merged.

With respect to the first issue, the fact that the span of *tener* and *llevar* includes a head at the edge of the first phase enables them to locally select a particular kind of argument in Spec, EvtP, as the arrow in (55) indicates. In line with the idea that syntactic selection is subject to locality constraints (Culicover & Wilkins 1984), auxiliaries like *have* in English or *haber* in Standard Spanish, which span higher up, are unable to impose any selectional restriction within EvtP.

(55)



As for the second issue, the *experiencer* condition on subjects was first stated as an empirical observation on Pluractional Perfects, whereby the argument that would end up in subject position is required to be a sentient entity, capable of experiencing the event predicated by the participle (§2.3.3.). Hence, inanimate subjects were for the most part considered ungrammatical[24]:

(56)

**Estas luces*	*tienen*	*evitado*
These lights	tener-PRS.3P.PL	prevent-PRF.PTCP
muchos	*accidentes*	
many	accidents	

'These lights have prevented many accidents'

It would be inaccurate, however, to state these facts in terms of a simple animacy restriction, given that non-human animate subjects do not seem to work either (57):

[24] Exceptionally, as pointed out in the description, speakers accepted a case with a natural force as subject: *El agua lleva hecho muchísimos destrozos este año* 'The water has caused a lot of damage this year'. Natural forces are nevertheless a special kind of inanimate, since they show semantic agent-like properties independently (Lowder & Gordon 2015).

(57)	**Esos*	*pajaritos*	*tienen*	*volado*
	Those	birds-DIM	tener-PRS.3P.PL	fly-PRF.PTCP
	muy	*alto*		
	much	high		

'Those birds have flown very high (more than once)'

Even though the evidence collected in this respect is too narrow to make strong claims on the status of non-human subjects, there is no doubt as to the privileged position of human subjects in Pluractional Perfect contexts, to the point that nowhere among the spontaneous speech data did I find a non-human subject[25].

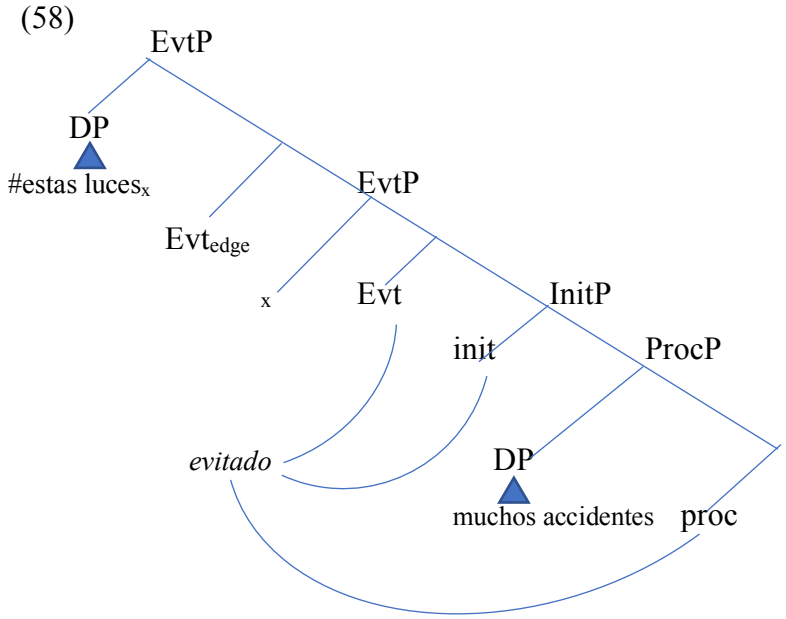
Given the lack of in-depth studies on the human status of subjects in these cases, I find it premature to state a constraint as specific as "human DP against everything else", choosing the term *experiencer* instead: the idea is that the argument DP in Spec, EvtP in Pluractional Perfect constructions is subject to a semantic requirement of *experientiality* imposed by the higher predicates *tener* and *llevar*, by which the entity referred to must be sentient and capable of experiencing the eventuality described. As we will see, experientiality allows for a unified treatment of the three types of elements that may appear on Spec, EvtP, mainly DPs, clitics and framing locatives/adverbials.

[25] Non-human animate and inanimate subjects are nevertheless common in Galician. An example is given in (i), taken from the CORGA corpus. The sentence is used to point out the well-travelled status of a suitcase (the subject), as in 'the suitcase has travelled so much already':

(i)	*Xa*	*leva*	*viaxado*	*a*	*maletiña*
	Already	levar-PRS.3P.SING	travel-PRF.PTCP	the	suitcase

Experientiality is satisfied by a semantically compatible DP (experiencer) every time the event structure projects a causational subevent *init* (§3.4.1.), that is, in transitive and unergative structures: an example of the former is given in (56), with the corresponding event structure (58). The DP *estas luces* is externally merged in the Spec position of the lower EvtP, and raises to fill in the Topic argument position in Spec, Evt_{edge}, a domain controlled by the higher predicate already. The hash on the DP *estas luces* signals the semantic ill-formedness brought about by the lack of experientiality in *luces* 'lights'.

(58)



In (58), the participle lexicalizes the sequence of heads <Evt, init, proc>, as indicated by the curved lines; the DP object *muchos accidentes* occupies the Spec position of ProcP, while the Spec position of the Evt phrase is filled by external merge with the DP *estas luces* 'these lights', as indicated by the arrow on the left-hand side: this is, as stated earlier, the structural position reserved for the external argument (§3.4.1.), which will move further up to become the syntactic subject. The structural details concerning the upper part of the clause are given next, as part of the general discussion on unaccusatives and their associated repair strategies.

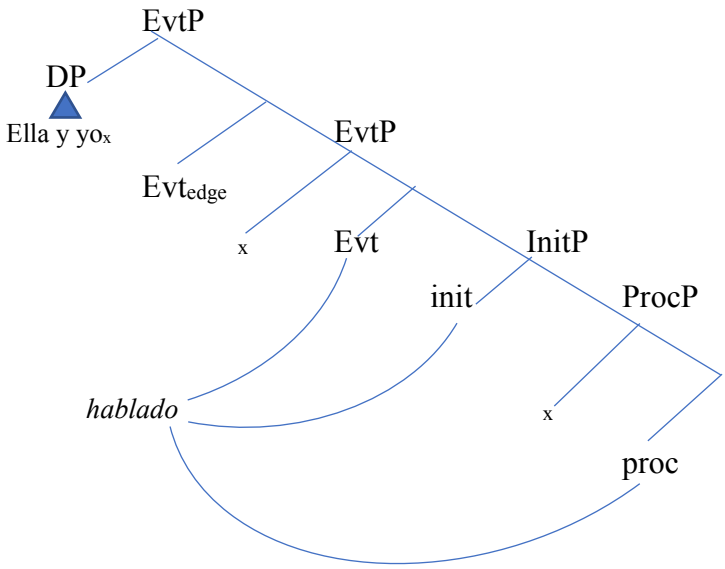
As for the unergative cases, that is, event structures with only one participant that gets to occupy the external argument position, the situation is quite similar: an example is provided in (59) with the participle of *hablar* 'to talk'. This time, the external argument is human, so experientiality is guaranteed. The result is a good sentence in EoS, unlike the ungrammatical case with inanimate subject (56):

(59) *Alguna vez ella y yo tenemos*
Some time she and I tener-PRS.1P.PL
hablado
talk-PRF.PTCP

'She and I have talked some other times'

A partial structural representation of (59) is given in (60): the event structure here is similar to the transitive one in (58), except for the fact that the Spec position of EvtP is now filled by internal merge with the DP *ella y yo* 'She and I' as indicated by the *x* index.

(60)



Recall that the DP in (58) was originally placed already in the external argument position (Spec, EvtP) while a second DP occupied the lower Spec position of ProcP: that followed from the bi-argumental nature of *evitar* 'prevent', requiring two participants for any "preventing event". Instead, in (60) there is a single argument originally merged in the Spec position of ProcP, that raises to the external argument position in EvtP, and gets interpreted as the holder of the stative causational subevent *init*. The logic behind argument placement in relation to verb types follows standard assumptions formulated under a particular model of event decomposition in the Syntax (Ramchand 2008), including a subsequent revision of the properties of the causational head *init* (§3.4.1.).

Looking slightly ahead, the fact that the external argument position in unergative structures gets filled by internal merge, combined with the requirement on *llevar* to spell-out the DP in its original (lower) position, already provide some clue as to why *llevar* may not form a Pluractional Perfect out of unergative predicates. This is addressed as a third point of discussion after pointing out the facts about unaccusativity and subjects.

Thus far, we have been examining cases where some DP either starts off as or becomes the external argument. But what about structures that do not have an external argument to begin with? Perlmutter (1978) and Burzio (1981) were the first to spotted an internal difference among verbs that require a single participant: aside from the unergative class just discussed, they identified a second one called *unaccusative*, whose only argument had the semantic properties of a *patient* (ref.). In syntactic terms, unaccusatives are characterized by their lack of a causational *init*P, or as Chosmky puts it, their lack of a *v*P projection (Chomsky 2015 [1995]: 290). Whether or not unaccusatives constitute a natural class is still subject to debate among

researchers; for the purposes of this work, they are given a separate treatment as a natural class[26].

The empirical picture for unaccusatives and their respective subjects was found to be different from other predicate classes: a descriptive pattern was revealed in Chapter 2 whereby unaccusative verbs like *florecer* 'to bloom' or *nacer* 'be born' tend to be rejected in Pluractional Perfect contexts, independently of the semantic type of their arguments (from trees in (61) to babies in (62)):

(61) */? *Esos árboles tienen florecido*
Those trees tener-PRS.3P.PL bloom-PRF.PTCP
en febrero algún año
in February some year

'Those trees have bloom in February some years'

(62) */? *En lo que va de mes*
In CL that go-PRS.3P.SING of month
llevan nacido varios niños
llevar-PRS.3P.PL be.born-PRF.PTCP several kids
con problemas respiratorios
with problems respiratory

'So far this year, several kids have been born with respiratory problems'

[26] For a list of the main unaccusativity diagnostics identified in the literature, the reader is referred to Alexiadou *et al.* (2004).

Speakers did not find these cases terribly bad, but they definitely had problems accepting them as natural sentences. There was an interesting follow-up to this problem in the descriptive part, introducing two ways in which the unaccusative cases became completely fine for speakers: one of them was the presence of a prepositional locative phrase or a locative adverbial in initial position (63), and the other one was the insertion of a preverbal dative clitic (64):

(63) *En Lugo [tienen/llevan]* *caído*
In Lugo [tener/llevar-PRS.3P.PL] fall-PRF.PTCP
varios rayos
several lightning.PL

lit. 'In Lugo have hit several lightning bolts'

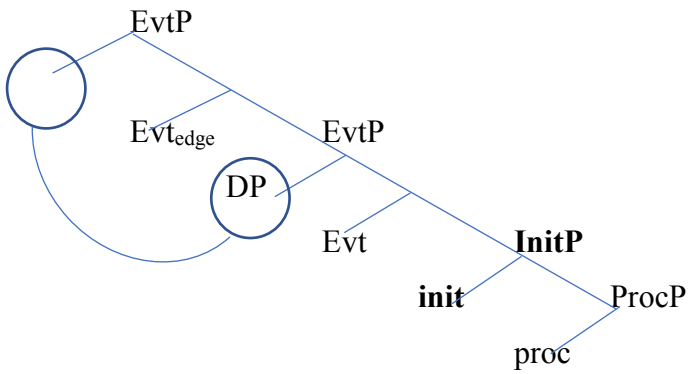
(64) *Me* *[tienen/llevan]*
CL.1P.SING [tener/llevar-PRS.3P.PL]
desaparecido *algunas* *toallas*
disappear-PRF.PTCP some towels

lit. '*to me* have disappeared a few towels'

I will analyze these as different strategies to satisfy the requirement for an overt Topic argument in the higher EvtP, in the absence of a suitable DP: this is in line with what has been proposed for English in Ramchand (2017: 109). This kind of "EPP" condition on the syntactic side is complemented in EoS by a semantic condition, introduced earlier in the section, that rules out anything that is not an experiencer. Whether a DP argument qualifies for that task seem to depend on the presence of the causational head *init* within the event structure (§3.4.1.): when such head exists (in the transitive and

unergative cases), the DP argument can raise to the highest EvtP to fulfill both roles (topic argument and experiencer), as illustrated in (65):

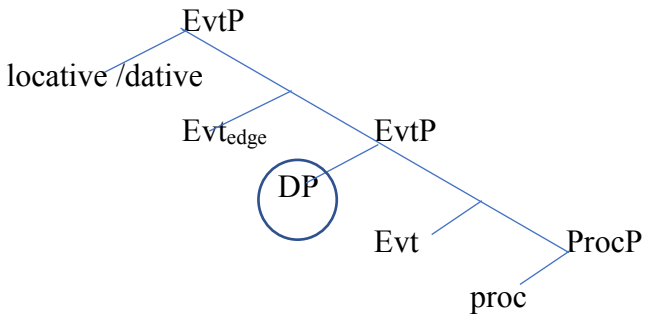
(65)



Some of these DPs (most inanimates and non-human animates) will then be judged as semantically odd experiencers. Variability is expected, and actually attested, empirically (*water* accepted as a natural force).

On the other hand, the empirical observation that no DP argument (not even a human one) is suitable, under normal circumstances, to raise in the same way in unaccusative contexts, is easily derived by assuming that initP is a structural prerequisite for the highest argument of the predication to qualify as a semantic experiencer. When this fails, the only candidates to fill in the position at stake are locative phrases/adverbials, or pronominal dative clitics, as in (66):

(66)



The choice of alternatives is not casual; rather, it follows from the experiential semantics associated to the position: while this might be easier to perceive with the dative clitic ((64) means something like 'I seem to have misplaced a few towels'), it is equally possible to conceptualize with locative elements according to Landau (2011): the fact that only constituents expressing location (as opposed to e.g. manner or degree) are good candidates is in line with Landau's (2011) proposal that experiencers are mental locations. His work is inspired by a more traditional definition of experiencer as the "container of a mental state" (Jackendoff 1990, Arad 1998, a.o.). The way that such cognitive reality interacts with the linguistic system explains why experiencer arguments in many languages of the world are expressed as part of a locative phrase. An example from Irish is given in (67). Similar cases have been reported in a variety of typologically unrelated languages, including French (Bouchard 1995) and Navajo (Jelinek & Willie 1996). The Irish case is very telling, since it allows us to see a perfect pairing of mental location and linguistic locative: in (67), the way to convey the meaning that Roisin is experiencing fear is to literally state the existence (containment) of a mental state of fear "on Roisin":

(67) *Tá* *eagla* *ar* *Roisin*
Is fear on Roisin

'Roisin is afraid'

(adapted from MacCloskey & Sells 1988)

The following sentences (68-70) are cases where an unaccusative predicate is introduced by a locative constituent: this may be a locative prepositional phrase *en aquel trozo de tierra* 'in that piece of land' in (68-69); or a locative adverbial *ahí* 'there' in (70):

(68) *En aquel trozo de tierra tienen*
In that piece of land tener-PRS.3P.PL
nacido patatas enormes
be.born-PRF.PTCP potatoes gigantic

lit. 'In that piece of land have grown gigantic potatoes'

(69) *En ese barrio llevan*
In that neighbourhood llevar-PRS.3P.PL
caído varios postes
fall-PRF.PTCP several posts

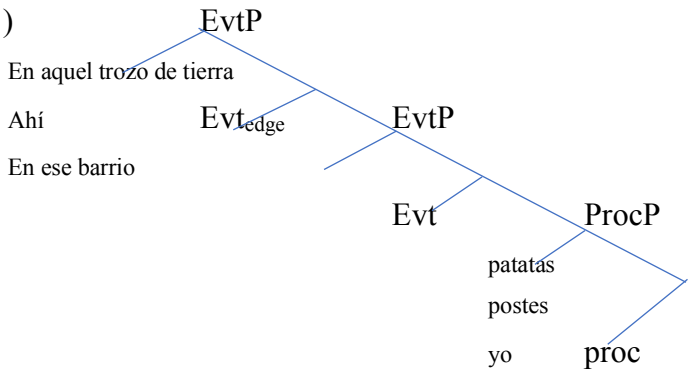
lit. 'In that neighbourhood have fallen several posts'

(70) *Ahí tengo tropezado yo*
There tener-3P.PL stumble-PRF.PTCP I
varias veces
several times
lit. 'There have stumbled I several times'

A partial syntactic representation for the sentences (68-70) is given in (71), with the locatives directly inserted in Spec, EvtP. The single argument of the unaccusative predicate occupies Spec, procP as the topic of the dynamic subevent, and may only raise to the Spec of the lower EvtP (but see restrictions on *llevar* below):[27]

[27] The representation in (71) ignores the question of whether the internal argument of the unaccusative predicate is base-generated in complement position as claimed in Cuervo (2010). Building on Suñer (1982), she argues that bare nouns are only allowed when generated as complements, hence the contrast between the unaccusative *desaparecer* in (ii) and the psychological *gustar* in (iii):

(71)



Structures like (71) bring to light the convenience of a rather abstract label like Evt over something like Voice, since Evt can fill its Spec position even in the absence of an external argument, and without the need to postulate "flavours" (Harley 2009). Experientiality is granted by the presence of the locative, as discussed above.

Cases such as (68-70) tend to be described as instances of Locative Inversion, i.e. anteposition or fronting of a locative constituent. Locative Inversion in Spanish has been argued to be a case of topicalization, whereby the locative moves to a Topic position in the left periphery of the clause (Zone 3), above the Tense node (Fernández-Soriano 1999, Kempchinsky 2001). I discuss the details of the left periphery at the end of this section. But before we move on

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(ii) *Desaparecieron* *maletas*
Disappear-PST.3P.PL suitcases
Lit. 'Disappeared suitcases'

(iii) **Me* *gustan* *cocodrilos*
CL.1P.SING like-PRS.3P.PL crocodiles

to that, let us examine the "pronominal clitic" strategy on unaccusative structures.

A second way in which unaccusative predicates can be part of a Pluractional Perfect is via the presence of a preverbal dative clitic:

(72) *Bolígrafos, nos llevan*
Pens CL.1P.PL llevar-PRS.3P.PL.
desaparecido unos cuantos desde que
disappear-PRF.PTCP one.PL many since that
empezó el curso
begin-PST.3P.SING the year

lit. 'Pens, *to us* have disappeared a few since the start of the academic year'

(73) *Me tienen caído*
CL.1P.SING tener-PRS.3P.PL fall-PRF.PTCP
tantas veces esas preguntas que ya
that.many times those questions that already
estoy aburrida de contestarlas
be$_2$-PRS.1P.SING bored of answer-INF=CL

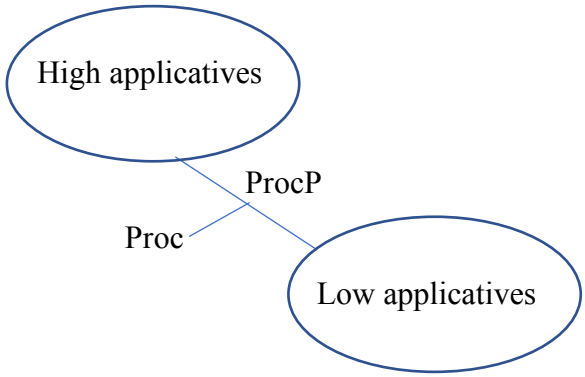
lit. '*To me* those questions have fallen so many times that I am already tired of answering them'

The pronominal dative clitics *nos* (72) and *me* (73) are subject to the exact same semantic requirement imposed on core argument DPs, according to which the entity referred to is necessarily interpreted as an *experiencer* in the terms defined above.

The analysis I want to put forward is one in which these dative clitics are externally merged in Spec, EvtP, just as locatives are. In these cases, we can think of the EvtP as carrying out a similar function to that of a "high applicative" in the sense of Pylkkänen's (2002): for her, the purpose of an applicative head is to introduce an additional argument in its Spec position (the referent of the clitic pronoun) that would establish a certain semantic and syntactic relationship with the complement. She syntactically distinguishes applicatives that take the event as complement (*high*) from applicatives that take the internal argument as complement (*low*), with a corresponding semantic difference: while the dative argument of a high applicative is related to the event itself (we could say that the event is oriented towards it), the dative in a low applicative is related exclusively to the internal argument (DP object).

The structural difference between the two types is captured in (74) below, taking the dynamic ProcP as reference. While (74) reflects Pylkkänen's intuition about the relative height of the datives, the syntactic primitives of event structure are changed with respect to her own proposal, in which she follows Marantz's (1997) model of lexical roots and "*v*" (verbalizing) heads.

(74)



The structural placement of datives in Spanish, including those that appear with dynamic unaccusative predicates like the ones discussed here, have been examined in detail in Cuervo (2003), who applies Pylkkänen's analysis: she shows that Spanish allows both configurations (high and low) and that it is difficult to tell which one is there when it comes to dynamic unaccusatives, or "simple predicates of change" as she puts it.

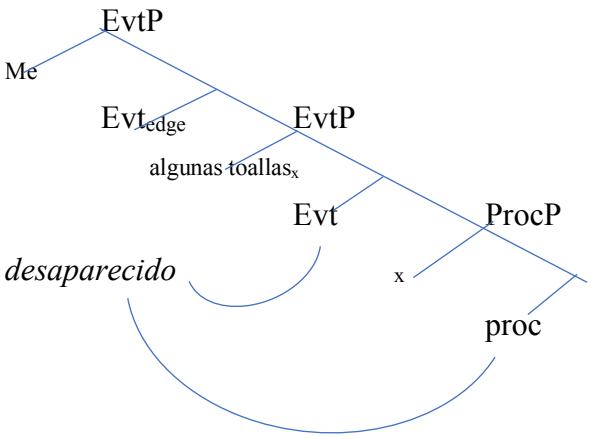
Part of the difficulty in assigning a particular syntax is that the choice is based on semantic notions such as "being directly or indirectly related to the theme object", which are hard to test in a systematic way. In spite of this, a definite sign that we are dealing with a high applicative is when the dative shows animacy restrictions, which is exactly the case in EoS. Consider the contrast between datives with a human referent in (72-73) and datives with an inanimate referent (75):

(75) **(A las planta) le tienen salido*
To the plant CL.3P.SING tener-PRS.3P rise-PRF.PTCP
flores
flowers

lit. '(to the plant) *to it* have emerged flowers'
'The plant has gotten flowers'

I therefore take these datives to be of the high applicative type. A specific applicative head is however not required to introduce the dative argument under the current model, since this can be achieved via external merge to the Spec position of the highest EvtP, just as we did with the locatives. An illustrative case is provided in (76), corresponding to the example in (64): *Me tienen desaparecido algunas toallas*, literally 'to me have disappear some towels'

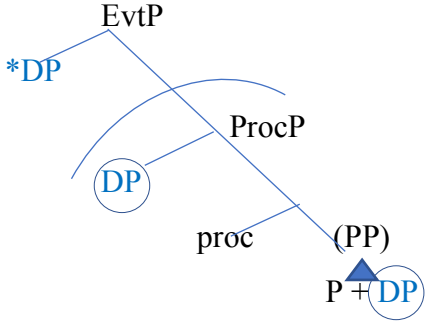
(76)



The word order facts, with the clitic preceding the inflected form, are an indication that it moves further up to a position in the left periphery or Zone 3. This means that, along with the framing locatives inserted in Spec, EvtP that end up in a Topic position (Kempchinsky 2001), and DPs that also move up to become subjects, the clitics are targets for movement into higher domains of the clause.

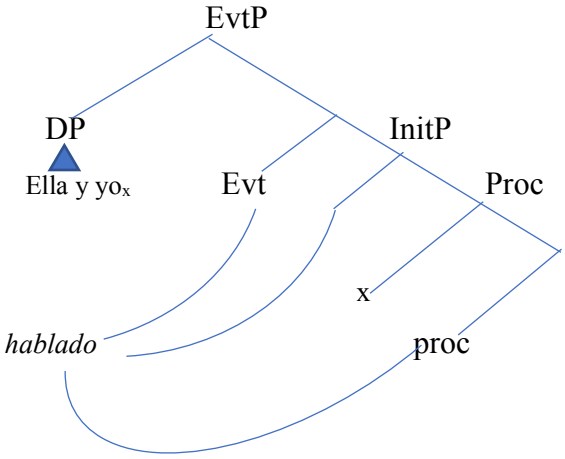
The third and last general assumption that I have made at the start of the section was the requirement on *llevar* to have a DP argument somewhere in the event structure that Evt takes as its complement. As shown in the empirical description, the DP may be an internal argument in Spec, ProcP, or it may appear inside a Prepositional Phrase (PP) in the case of prepositional verbs (e.g. *participar en* 'participate in'). The possible and impossible scenarios are illustrated in (77):

(77) *Llevar* + participle



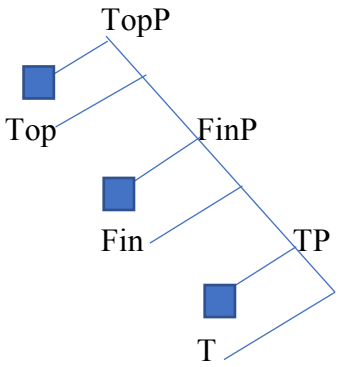
With this in mind, we can now account for the cases where *llevar* does not yield a good result: apart from the special status of unaccusatives that also affects *tener*, unergative predicates do not work well with *llevar* because the DP argument ends up outside the required domain (in Spec, EvtP) leaving the lower domain "argument-less" (78). The reasons behind this quirky property of *llevar* are semantic in nature, and will be dealt with in the next chapter.

(78) *llevar



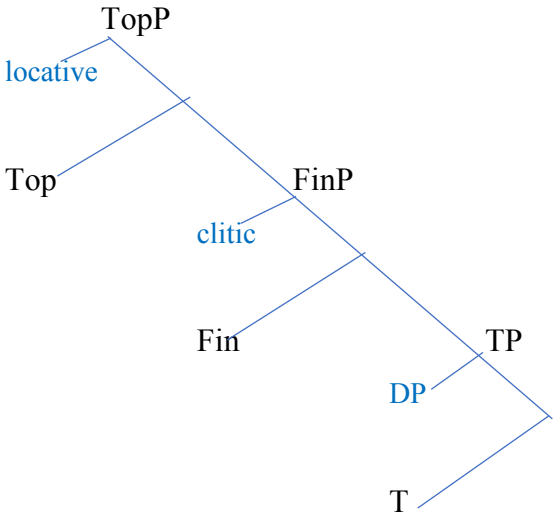
To conclude the discussion on arguments and argument positions, I want to present very briefly what I assume to be the landing sites for the experiencer DP subjects, the clitics, and the framing locatives: up to now we have seen that all three can at some point occupy the Spec, EvtP, either because they are generated there (locatives and subjects of transitive predicates), or raised from a lower position (clitics and subjects of unergative predicates). From the edge of EvtP, they then move up to different positions above T(ense), in what is known as the left periphery or CP-domain of the clause, corresponding to R&S's (2014) "third zone". I assume, after Rizzi (1997), that the CP-domain contains a hierarchy of functional heads, of which two are of relevance here: Topic and Finiteness. In (79), the squares indicate potential landing sites:

(79)



Each candidate in Spec, EvtP is going to be associated to a particular Spec position in (79): the locative will be analyzed as a topicalized element following work by Fernández-Soriano (1999), Kempchinsky (2001), and more recently, Citko *et al.* (2018); the dative clitic is going to be placed in the Spec position of a Fin(iteness) phrase, following a proposal developed by Citko *et al.* (2018) for dative subjects in Russian and Polish; lastly, the DP experiencer, who does behave like a subject for the purpose of agreement and case, will be place in the traditional position associated to subjecthood, [Spec, TP]. The relevant structure is shown in (80):

(80)



It should be noted at this point that I do not intend to enter any debate concerning the different analysis of the CP-domain and the triggers for movement. As stated at the beginning (§3.1), the issues that arise at this level of the clause are not the focus of this dissertation. Instead, I present a plausible hypothesis as to where the arguments might end up, based on other people's analyses of similar elements where the focus was really the CP-domain.

Starting with the locatives, there are empirical reasons to believe that they are topicalized elements and that they do not occupy the subject position:
Topicalized elements refer to context salient or discourse old information; therefore, they are infelicitous in *What happened?* scenarios: in (81), the fronted locative in sentence (A) yields the same result as any topicalized object (B):

(81) *¿Qué pasa/pasó?*
What is happening/happened?

A. # *En este hospital* *llevan*
In this hospital llevar-PRS.3P.PL
desaparecido *varios* *pacientes*
disappear-PRF.PTCP several patients

B. # *Una* *blusa* *le* *regalamos* *a Nuria*
A blouse CL.dat offer-PST.1P.PL Nuria.dat

Unlike what is expected of subjects in Spanish, fronted locatives do not show agreement with the inflected verb:

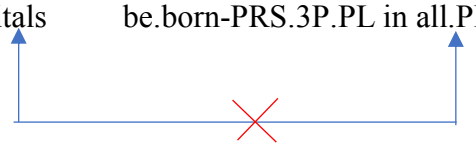
(82) *En ese hospital* *tienen*
In this hospital.**SING** tener-PRS.3P.**PL**

desaparecido	*varios*	*pacientes*
disappear-PRF.PTCP	several	patient.**PL**

Fernández-Soriano (1999) presents a variety of formal ways to distinguish locative subjects (in impersonal sentences) from other fronted locatives (for her, instances of Locative Inversion that we will refer to as *LocI*). These tests provide further evidence that they do not occupy the canonical subject position. Two of them are presented below, for illustration:

One of the ways in which the two locatives differ, according to Fernández-Soriano, has to do with the nature of the preposition *en*: while *en* behaves like a true preposition in LocI, it is arguably a Case marker for locative subjects of impersonals. This has the effect that in cases of LocI, *en* prevents the nominal inside the prepositional phrase from associating with a floated quantifier (83), whereas *en* in impersonal contexts is harmless in this respect (84):

(83)	*En los hospitales	nacen	en todos	niños
	In the hospitals	be.born-PRS.3P.PL	in all.PL	children



(84)	*En los hospitales*	*hay*	*en todos*
	In the hospitals	be-PRS.3P.SING	in all.PL
	material	*suficiente*	
	material	enough	

A second observation is the unavailability of locative subjects in caseless positions (85), such as subjects of infinitival clauses (Chomsky 1998): since no Case (or null Case) is assigned to that position, only LocI are allowed to appear there (86):

(85) **Me pregunto* *por qué* *llover*
CL wonder-PRS.1P.SING why rain-INF
en esta maldita ciudad
in this damned city

'I wonder why (it) would rain in this damned city'

(86) *Me pregunto* *por qué* *nacer*
CL wonder-PRS.1P.SING why be.born-INF
en esta maldita ciudad
in this damned city

'I wonder why one would be born in this damned city'

The case of pronominal dative clitics is similar in that they do not show any of the subject properties related to case and agreement: they retain their dative case, inherently assigned by the applicative head, and they do not show agreement with the inflected verb either:

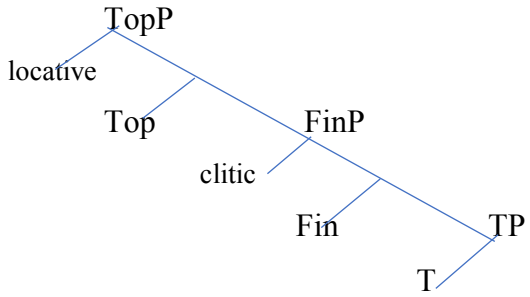
(87) *Me* *tienen*
cl.dat.1P.SING tener-PRS.3P.PL
desaparecido *facturas*
disappear-PRF.PTCP bills

lit. '*to me* have disappeared bills'

The properties of locatives and clitics in Pluractional Perfect contexts are compatible with those examined by Citko et al. (2018) in Slavic languages,

mainly Russian and Polish. In (88) I present a simplified version of their proposal, ignoring the details concerning feature checking:

(88)



The TP in (88) does not project a Specifier; instead, T enters into an Agree relationship with the postverbal nominative subject. Remember that whenever there is a fronted locative or clitic, the verb's only argument appears postverbally; the dative clitic is argued to move to [Spec, FinP] to check the EPP feature on the Finiteness head, by hypothesis: details can be found on Section 3.3. in Citko et al. (2018:14-31); as for the locative, it is assumed to move directly to [Spec, Top] to check its [top] feature.

Lastly, in the case of experiencer DPs the structure is slightly different: this time the TP does project a Specifier as usual, and that is the position where the DP will move for case and agreement purposes, as it is expected of any subject. Whether the [Spec, TP] is an A(rgumental)-position in Spanish or not, that is a different story which I do not attempt to get into. See Kempchinsky (2001) for discussion.

Having discussed the structural configuration of arguments and argument positions in Pluractional Perfects, the next (and last) section of the Syntax chapter discusses some of the consequences of the spanning approach to Lexicalization (§3.1.2.), in relation to the competition between synthetic and analytic verb forms in the expression of the Perfect in EoS.

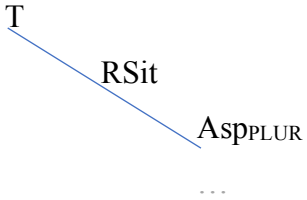
3.5. A note on Lexicalization and the role of the preterit

Our attention so far has been limited to the internal make-up of the Pluractional Perfect and its parts, mainly the inflected form and the participle, but nothing has been said about the consequences that this analysis has for our understanding of the EoS verb paradigm as a whole, especially considering the overall predominance of synthetic forms (§2.1).

Lexicalization was discussed in §3.2.1. as part of the externalization process (*spell-out*) of a linguistic structure via a morphological exponent, which can target several syntactic heads: it was assumed that spell-out could be phrasal in the form of *spans*, defined either as a contiguous sequence of heads in a complement relation to each other (nontrivial spans), or else as single syntactic heads (trivial spans).

As discussed earlier in the chapter, the nontrivial span for the higher verb in the EoS perfects consists of an aspectual node to host the semantics of pluractionality, a second node where the reference situation is introduced, and a third and higher node for Tense information: [28]

(89)



I will now present what I believe to be the span of the preterit in EoS, in relation to the Perfect in the same variety and elsewhere in Romance.

[28] The figures shown in this particular section are only partial representations in which the lower domain (V) is ignored, since the points of variation arise higher up in the second zone.

I start by revisiting a particular empirical fact about the preterit, mainly the fact that it shows up in prototypical "perfect" contexts such as (89)[29]

(90) *Luis* *ya* *desayunó*
Luis already have.breakfast-PST.3P.SING

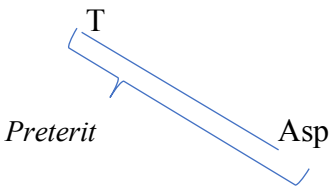
'Luis has eaten breakfast already'/ 'Luis ate breakfast already'

For a sentence like (90), describing an event that happened minutes before, it is difficult to tell which one of the two English translations would be more appropriate. The question is, therefore, whether or not the syntactic structure of the preterit in (90) includes a particular Reference Situation as the Perfect does.

At this point, my analysis departs from standard syntactic analyses of Tense and Aspect (especially after Klein 1994), in that I do not assume a Reference Situation to be part of *every* proposition. Instead, I see the contribution of RSit to be quite specific in creating derived situational states (§4.3.2.), in structures that are systematically externalized in the shape of analytic verb forms (auxiliary constructions in most cases).

The structure I assume for the preterit in EoS is the one in (91):

(91)



[29] By *prototypical «perfect» contexts* I mean those where the use of a Perfect Tense is required in well-studied languages like English.

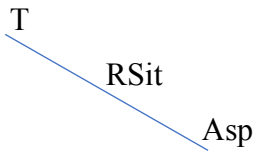
According to this hypothesis, the preterit form would merely convey the meaning of past Tense and perfective Aspect, leaving the relation of RSit underspecified, while the analytic Pluractional would always specify a semantic relation of Reference, with a reflection in the Syntax.

The structure depicted in (91) for the preterit is supported by historical data: in Latin, there was a particular verb inflection known as *Perfectum*, denoting events that were finished. Its structure was like the one in (91). It was only through the process of historical change from Latin to the Romance languages that a new category, the Perfect, emerged as an "augmented" preterit, in the sense that it assumed the perfective (finished) nature of the preterit while at the same time it introduced a Reference to some other situation.

In the classic works dealing with the historical development of the Spanish *haber* Perfect, the nature of this newly created Reference relation was understood in terms of a past eventuality acquiring present relevance. Despite the inaccuracy in taking the concept of "present relevance" as representative of all uses of the Perfect, which is a semantic problem (see §4.1. for details), from the point of view of the Syntax it is enough to assume that a RSit head located between Aspect and Tense takes the perfective eventuality embedded under it and create a second situation, related to the embedded one.

The relevant structure for the *haber* perfect in Standard European Spanish (as well as in English, for that matter), is depicted in (92) below:

(92)



The Perfect (*ter*) in Portuguese and Galician also span a sequence like (92): this is because the structural source of pluractionality in these languages is, as we have seen, different from that of EoS (§2.6.).

With Schmitt (2001), I assume that iteration in (Standard European) Portuguese is due to a property of the Present Tense, given that the pluractional requirement only applies in that particular Tense. The same seems to be empirically true of Galician. The variation facts between these two languages and Eonavian Spanish, reported in §2.6, indicate that the inflected forms in the former varieties behave very much like fully-fledged auxiliaries, barely showing any of the quirkiness that characterize the Pluractional Perfects under study. Further evidence that pluractionality operates at different heights depending on the language comes from the fact that *ter* and *levar* in Galician and Portuguese may bear (perfective) Past Tense inflection, whereas *tener* and *llevar* in EoS simply cannot (§2.4.1.). The interesting point here is that the availability of (perfective) Past Tense inflection correlates with the absence of implicit iteration: since iteration is carried across Tenses in EoS, it is incompatible with perfective Tenses; by contrast, if iteration is assumed to depend on the presence of the Present Tense, as in Portuguese, it is possible to construct a Perfect with (perfective) Past inflection.

An example from Standard Spanish with a past (indicative) form of *haber* is provided in (93). Notice the lack of iteration:

(93) *Cuando hubo* *terminado* *de*
When haber-PST-3P.SING finish-PRF.PTCP of
cenar…
dinner

'Once he had finished with dinner…'

The equivalent sentence in EoS with *tener* is out (94). The perfective Past inflection is never compatible with neither *tener* nor *llevar* in the Pluractional Perfects, independently of the syntactic-semantic properties of the participle, i.e. whether it is transitive or intransitive, etc. (see §2.3.).

(94)	*Cuando	tuvo	terminado
	When	tener-PST-3P.SING	finish-PRF.PTCP
	de cenar		
	of dinner		

A second example of the use of perfective Past inflection comes from the Galician *ter*, this time a case of past subjunctive, and again without the iterative reading:

(95)	*Se*	*a*	*tiveran*	*collido*
	If	cl	ter-PST-SBJV.3P.PL	catch-PRF.PTCP
	un	*ano*	*despois*	*(...)*
	a	year	after	

'Had they caught it one year later'

As expected, the equivalent sentence in EoS is completely ruled out:

(96)	*Si	la	tuvieran		
	If	cl.	tener-PST-SBJV.3P.PL		
	cogido		*un*	*año*	*después*
	catch- PRF.PTCP		a	year	after

To sum up, in this section we have seen how the distribution of the synthetic Preterit and the analytic Perfect can be accounted for under a phrasal spell-out approach to Lexicalization. Specifically, the preterit only provides information on Tense and Aspect, and this is reflected in its syntactic structure by not projecting any RSit.

There is no reason to assume that the preterit in EoS projects any RSit, even in prototypical "perfect" contexts such as *Juan ya desayunó*, literally 'Juan already ate'. It is the presence of a RSit head that determines the availability of analytic Perfects in languages like Spanish or Portuguese.

The grammatical encoding of the semantic notion of Reference Situation emerged as part of the historical change from a system based on a simple aspectual distinction between *Perfectum* and *Infectum* in Latin (finished v unfinished events, respectively), to a system that incorporated the new Perfect Tenses (in present-day Romance: Italian, French, Spanish, etc.).

The "perfect" part of a Pluractional Perfect is therefore associated with the presence of a RSit head in the Syntax, just as any other analytic Perfect Tense; the "pluractional" part in the EoS case is associated to the Aspect phrase, whereas in Portuguese it is linked to a property of the Present Tense, as Schmitt (2001) convincingly shows.

Despite the microvariation reported between Portuguese and Galician (§2.6.), I see no reason to reject a unified analysis of pluractionals in both languages based on Schmitt (2001). Further research will hopefully provide more certainty in this respect. This section has also shown an interesting correlation between the availability of Perfective Past morphology on the inflected form and the absence of implicit iteration in the targeted eventuality.

3.6. Conclusion

This chapter has provided an analysis of the internal syntactic structure of pluractional perfects, within a particular model of sentence structure and spell-out. It has been argued that these constructions span several syntactic heads along a Core Functional Hierarchy (Ramchand & Svenonius 2014).

The chapter has also pointed out the challenges that arise when we try to accommodate the Pluractional Perfects under restrictive approaches to complex predication. A solution is explored whereby the differences observed follow from the size of the span that each member of the complex lexicalizes. The solution is inspired by Svenonius's (2008) idea of a shared configurational space.

The analysis can successfully account for the main empirical points given in the descriptive chapter: the observed differences between Perfect and Passive participles are analyzed as a product of their structural size and height; the conditions underlying the choice of subject are unified around the position of the DP within the event structure, along with its associated semantics; and finally, the spanning approach to lexicalization is able to reduce superficially complex cross-linguistic patterns in the choice of Perfect v Preterit in several Romance languages to minimal differences in the size of the spans that each form lexicalizes.

Chapter 4- Semantics

This chapter presents a formal analysis of the meaning of the EoS Perfects. The first part of the chapter contains relevant background information on the semantics of the Perfect (§4.1.), as well as on pluractionality (§4.2.), while the second part of the chapter contains the specific proposal. The chapter begins with an overview of historical and typological work on the Perfect (§4.1.1.), followed by a summary of the main views on the Perfect in the formal Semantics literature (§4.1.2 and §4.1.3.); the topic of Pluractionality is addressed next (§4.2.), starting with a review of early morphological studies (§4.2.1.), as well as an introduction to event-based analyses (§4.2.2.); *iterativity* and *habituality* are considered in §4.2.3., portrayed as different flavours of pluractionality; the section ends with a discussion on semantic distributivity in relation to events (§4.2.4). With all the background information in place, I move on to state the details of a semantic analysis for Eonavian Perfects in §4.3.: I begin by showing that these Perfects are states (§4.3.1.) that consists of two distinct situations: one denoted by the participle (the embedded situation) and a derived stative situation contributed by *tener/llevar* (§4.3.2.); I propose that the semantic structure of *tener* and *llevar* has two main ingredients in common (§4.3.3.): one is the head that contributes the pluractional semantics (PLUR), and another one is the head that contributes the derived state (RSIT); finally, I argue that the empirical facts on the *llevar* Perfect in relation to nominals and prepositional phrases arises from a lexical presupposition which is absent in *tener*.

4.1. The Perfect: background

Throughout this dissertation I have been referring to the EoS constructions as Pluractional *Perfects*. The terminological choice seemed descriptively accurate, not only from a semantic point of view (meanings that have been classified in the literature as typically "perfect"), but also from a

morphosyntactic and typological point of view (analytic verb forms whose predicative content is contributed by a participle are the common denominator of "Perfect tenses" in Romance). What we have is, therefore, a descriptive generalization. One of the main goals of this chapter is to go beyond that and examine the ways in which the EoS cases can contribute to answering the never-ending question of what constitutes a Perfect.

If we were to summarize in a couple of lines the lessons learnt from decades of linguistic (and philological) research on the Perfect, it would be that there are many ways of looking at it, and none of them is completely satisfactory. Does this mean that it is undefinable in all its complexity? Not necessarily: the fact that it is so far undefined does not make it undefinable. The question presupposes, of course, a desire to give a unified treatment of the Perfect, a concern that is not shared by the research community as a whole. With these preliminary observations in mind, I proceed with a general overview of what has been said about the Perfect, with especial reference to the Romance context whenever relevant, and from different perspectives.

The first part briefly discusses historical and typological work based on a mix of morphosyntactic and semantic properties (§4.1.1.), whereas the second part summarizes the main analyses of the Perfect that have been proposed in the syntax-semantics literature (§4.1.2. and §4.1.3.).

4.1.1. The Perfect in historical and comparative studies[30]

From the point of view of historical linguistics, Perfect interpretations are obtained as part of a general process of grammaticalization, by which a lexical

[30] This section provides a list of descriptive facts about the Perfect that are relevant to the theoretical discussion that comes afterwards. Therefore, the reader should not expect an exhaustive revision of the very many works that touch on the subject from a typological and/or diachronic perspective.

predicate associated with stative possession comes to express more functional meanings over time: this is found not only in well-studied languages such as Spanish and English, but also in Finnish, Bulgarian, and Tamil, among others (Ritz 2012). Notice that the pattern applies to typologically unrelated, geographically dispersed languages.

In the Romance context (and in English, for that matter), stative possession was expressed in biclausal structures, where an inflected verb (*have*, *haber*, *tener*, etc.) would establish a semantic relation between two arguments, the possessor and the possessee, and a participle would act as a secondary predicate, describing a property of the "possessee" argument. In many cases, these constructions are still part of the language, like the possessive use of *have* in present-day English:

(1) John has his eyes closed.

As for Spanish, the use of both *haber* and *tener* in stative possessive contexts is historically attested (with early examples dating back to the 13th century), but *haber* gradually lost its ability to be used in this fashion, as it became the marker of the Perfect *par excellence*. After a period of competition between *haber* and *tener* in the early stages of grammaticalization (up to the 16th century), *tener* made its way into modern Spanish simply as a marker of stative possession in the company of a participle, as in (2).

(2) *Juan tiene los ojos cerrados*
Juan tener-PRS.3P.SING the eyes close-PTCP.MASC.PL

'John has his eyes closed'

Soon these constructions began to appear in resultative contexts like (3), reported in Sánchez Marco (2012:27) from a 13th century source:

(3) *Tenié* *con* *sus* *oncejas*
Tener-IMP.3P.SING with POSS-3P.SING nails
las *masiellas* *rompidas*
the.FEM.PL cheek.FEM.PL break-PTCP.FEM.PL

'S/he had her/his cheeks lacerated with her/his nails'

In (3), the state of the cheeks being broken is also the result of a previous breaking event, modified by the instrumental phrase *con sus oncejas*. The consideration of an underlying past eventuality in relation to a subsequent state would later on become one of the definitional properties associated with the Perfect.

What established the Perfect as a "category" so to speak was the semantic shift from readings of result with telic predicates to readings of *current relevance* with both telic and atelic predicates (Bybee et al. 1994). In Spanish, this process correlated with the loss of participial agreement in the Perfect cases. According to Sánchez-Marco (2012), *tener* did not go pass the resultative stage in Old Spanish (2012:57); by contrast, Yllera (1980) and Harre (1991) argue that *tener* did in fact reach the Perfect stage, although for a short period of time (up until the end of the 16th century): an example is given in (4), taken from the *Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena* (14th-15th century):

(4) *de* *los* *grandes* *yerros* *que*
of the big mistakes that
tú *tienes* *fecho*

you tener-PRS.2P.SING do-PRF.PTCP

'Of the great mistakes that you have done'

(Baena II, 973, 491, 10)

Unlike what happens in the resultative cases, the participle in (4) does not show agreement. Yllera (1980:294) makes an interesting point in that she notices that there is no evidence that *tener* ever combined with intransitive or prepositional predicates in Old Spanish, most likely due to the spreading of *haber*.

The information available on the diachronic development of *llevar* and its relation to the Perfect is very little if compared with other verbs: as far as the literature says, *llevar* in Old Spanish functioned exclusively as a lexical verb with the associated meanings of 'transport', 'carry', or 'have on' (in the sense of 'wear'):

(5) *Cuitáronse* *los* *moros* *qe*
Worry-PST.3P.PL the Moorish that

lo *levavan* *preso*
cl llevar-IMP.3P.PL arrest PTCP.MASC.SING

'The Moorish that had him prisoner worried'

(6) *Et* *lievas* *vestida*
and llevar-PRS.2P.SING dress-PTCP.FEM.SING
la *piel* *del* *leon*
the.FEM.SING skin.FEM.SING of.the lion

en	*señal*	*de*	*victoria*
in	sign	of	victory

'And you have the lion's skin on you as a symbol of victory'

To summarize what has been presented so far, the studies that deal with the Perfect from a historical point of view, and especially those that are concerned with its development in Romance, seem to identify the "Perfect" with a particular analytic construction that emerged during the Medieval period.

From a synchronic point of view, the association of the Perfect to specific constructions is misleading, because the original semantic motivation that grouped these forms together (that is, the notion of "current relevance" or "actuality" in the sense of Weinrich 1964) no longer applies in some cases. The *passé composé* in present-day French, for example, has the semantics of a perfective past tense: as Ritz (2012: 884) shows, the passé composé is compatible with definite past adverbials (7) and is not subject to life-time effects (8), unlike what is expected of a semantic Perfect.

(7)

Martin		*est*	*parti*
Martin		be-PRS.3P.SING	leave-PRF.PTCP
le	*premier*	*décembre*	
the	first	December	

lit. 'Martin has left on the first of December'

(8)

Napoleon	*a*	*transformé*
Napoleon	have-PRS.3P.SING	transform-PRF.PTCP
Paris		
Paris		

lit. ‘Napoleon has transformed Paris’

French is not an isolated case: it is rather an example of a diachronic tendency whereby the Perfect gets to express anteriority more generally. Similar cases are found in varieties of Italian and American Spanish, and famously in German outside the Romance context. According to Grønn & von Stechow (2017:1) “one is tempted to say that the perfect is used simultaneously to convey both anteriority and current relevance of the underlying eventuality”. This descriptive intuition has been formalized in different ways, based on different understandings about what the semantic contribution of the Perfect really is. Some very influential proposals are discussed next in §4.1.2.

For languages like Portuguese (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997) and Hebrew the reverse seems to be true: their synthetic past forms are reported in contexts where an analytic Perfect would appear in English. Likewise, the so-called *Perfectum* in Latin consisted of synthetic forms that conveyed anteriority and (arguably) a Perfect reading given the right context. The question remains, however, as to the precise semantic make-up of these forms in relation to the analytic Perfect: according to Alvar & Pottier (1983), the Latin system was based on an aspectual division between finished and unfinished actions, that is, between Perfectum and Infectum respectively. Over time, Alvar tells us, a new morphosyntactic distinction was made for those cases where the action was not only finished, but also carried consequences for the present time, and that is how the Romance analytic Perfects were born.

There are at least two ways to interpret this change: one is to take the new compound tenses as the grammatical manifestation of a particular semantics that already existed without a morphological reflect; the other possibility is

to take the newly-created morphosyntax to be the bearer of newly-created meaning, that is, meaning that was not "there" to begin with.

The former case is difficult to verify empirically: if the Portuguese form *comí*$_{\text{eat-PST.1P.SING}}$ and the Spanish form *he comido* 'I have eaten' happen to appear in similar contexts, it does not necessarily mean that they have identical semantics. We know independently that languages differ in the kind of conceptual knowledge that is relevant for the linguistic system, so it is not unreasonable to suppose that Portuguese leaves part of the Perfect meaning unspecified (let's say, the "present relevance" part), whereas Spanish does not. The difficulty lies in assessing just how much meaning comes from within the language system when we see no corresponding morphology.

All in all, the historical and comparative work on the Perfect has contributed several descriptive generalizations, two of them being especially relevant from a theoretical standpoint: firstly, on the morphosyntactic side of things, the literature shows that it is common for the Perfect to be expressed through auxiliary constructions cross-linguistically (despite being subject to change over time); secondly, these studies tend to highlight the role of semantic "anteriority" and "actuality" (i.e. present relevance) in the building of Perfect meanings. As we will see next, the work of formal semanticists has revolved around finding a way to explicitly state the meaning contributed by the different components, while that of theoretical syntacticians have been oriented towards understanding the mapping between the semantics and the morphological expression of the Perfect.

4.1.2. Formal approaches to the Perfect (I): three readings.

The point of departure for the formal study of the Perfect is the premise that there is a limited set of (structural) semantic primitives underlying the various forms and uses of the Perfect as we perceive them "on a surface level". In

principle, this kind of approach can greatly simplify the challenge of explaining the variation observed, as long as it derives it from a manageable number of rather abstract pieces.

From a semantic point of view, two pieces are generally assumed to be part of all Perfect readings across languages: one is the reference to a past eventuality; another one is the reference to a current state of affairs. This dual nature of the Perfect will enable us to define it as semantically *bi-situational*. But before laying out the details of what I consider to be a reasonable analysis of the Perfect, I will briefly introduce the so-called "Perfect readings" as they have been identified in the Semantics literature, along with some formal attempts at a unified analysis.

The Perfect may show up in mainly three types of contexts, known as *universal*, *experiential*, and *resultative*[31]. These represent different ways of combining anteriority and actuality, ingredients that are common to all three.

The so-called *universal* reading of the Perfect describes a situation that started sometime in the past and runs uninterruptedly until it reaches a certain point that we take as reference, usually the present time[32]. A defining property of the universal Perfect is precisely the fact that the situation denoted by the participle never ceases to apply in that particular stretch of time, e.g. the last eight years in (9).

(9) John has been married for eight years now

[31] I leave aside some peripheral uses, such as the so-called *evidential* (Lindstedt, 2000) or the *hot news* Perfect (McCawley, 1971).

[32] But not necessarily, as in *John had worked for the company since his teen years* (he does not work there any more).

This means that, under a universal reading of (9), John got married eight years ago and has been married to that person ever since. The availability of a universal interpretation seems to rely on the presence of an appropriate temporal adverbial: one does not obtain without the other (Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou and Izvorski 2001). The universal reading is lost in (10), as it is the adverbial.

(10) John has been married

Cases like (9) have inspired a class of analyses where the Perfect denotes a time interval (Extended-Now accounts, §4.1.3).

Similar observations can be made on Standard European Spanish, where universal readings may be expressed via an analytic Perfect form as long as it is accompanied by an adequate temporal adverbial:

(11)

Yo	*he*	*vivido*	*en*	*Madrid*
I	haber-PRS.1P.SING	live-PRF.PTCP	in	Madrid

desde	*los*	*tres*	*años*
since	the	three	years

'I have lived in Madrid since I was 3'

Without the support of such adverbials, the universal reading is lost in Spanish as well.

Regarding the relationship between the semantics and the morphological form, it is cross-linguistically common to find a synthetic Present conveying a universal Perfect interpretation of the kind defined above: an example from Spanish is given in (12).

(12) *Yo* *vivo* *en* *Madrid*
I live-PRS.1P.SING in Madrid
desde *los* *tres* *años*
since the three years

'I live in Madrid since I was three'

Once again, the universal reading depends on the presence of the *desde* phrase: without it, sentence (12) means that I live in Madrid at present. The crucial role of adverbial phrases will be highlighted in accounts such as that of Portner (2003), who believes that the relevant temporal properties are not based on the meaning of the Perfect itself, but rather follow from other components of the sentence.

The *experiential* reading (Comrie 1976), on the other hand, focuses on the subject's experience of a past eventuality, with relevance at a particular reference time, which may coincide with the present time (see §4.1.3. for details on the theoretical status of a "reference time"). An example from English was given in sentence (10), repeated in (13) below, where John is a person who at some point in the past had the experience of being married.

(13) John has been married

Cases like (13) have motivated a type of analysis that views the Perfect as a mere Past Tense (the Indefinite Past approach, §4.1.3). The experiential will be thoroughly discussed in this chapter, because of its close relationship with the EoS cases.

Finally, the resultative reading of the Perfect is one in which the present (or reference) situation is presented as a result of a past eventuality. An example from Spanish is given in (14): to get the resultative reading, we can imagine a context where someone called Petra takes part in a difficult hike in the mountains. At some point Petra stops to rest, leaving her backpack on a rock, from where it falls into a mud puddle. Then she utters (14) upon realizing that the damage is greater than she initially thought: even her sunglasses are ruined.

(14) *Vaya, encima he*
Damn on.top.of.that haber-PRS.1P.SING
roto las gafas
break- PRF.PTCP the glasses

'Damn! And now I've broken my glasses'

Resultative cases like (14) inspired a body of work in which the Perfect is an operator that creates result states from previous eventualities (Result State accounts, §4.1.3).

The experiential and resultative readings are often grouped together under the name *existential Perfect* (Mittwoch 1988): this follows from an interpretation of the experiential as a type of resultative, where the result is the state of having experienced the eventuality in question (Parsons 1990). More details on the nature of this "permanent" result state are given in §4.1.3.[33]

[33] The label "existential" has also been used to refer to the experiential alone. See McCawley (1971) and Comrie (1976).

4.1.3. Formal approaches to the Perfect (II): three (types of) analyses.

Having discussed the three main readings of the Perfect, we will now introduce the different analyses that have been proposed to account for those readings: these are the Extended Now theory, the Indefinite Past theory, and the Result State theory.[34]

All these proposals have a common ingredient, the notion of *Reference time*, first formalized in Reichenbach (1947): in a nutshell, this provided a semantic ground for the category of (grammatical) Aspect. The idea at that time was that a reasonable formalization of the temporo-aspectual system of a language included two temporal "points": the event time and the utterance time. The event time referred to the running time of the event denoted by the predicate, while the utterance time was related to the now of the speaker (at the time s/he utters the sentence). We might say that these two corresponded (roughly) to the traditional notions of lexical aspect or *Aktionsart*, and Tense, respectively.

While such bipartite model could easily provide a formal account for the simple tenses (past, present, and future), either in terms of an ordering relation between the two times, or in terms of a Tense operator (Prior 1967), it failed to provide a satisfactory account of the Perfect. This changed with the introduction by Reichenbach of a third, intermediate *reference time*. The relative ordering of these three points according to a temporal relation of precedence, simultaneity, or posteriority, allowed at last a formal representation of the semantic difference between e.g. the past and present perfect:

(15) Past Perfect: E_R_S

[34] This section discusses the most representative theories only: for an overview of other (related) theories on the market (e.g. Current Relevance, Embedded Past) see Binnick (1991).

(16) Present Perfect: E_R,S

In (15-16), adapted from Reichenbach (1947), E stands for event time, R stands for reference time, and S stands for speech (or utterance) time. The underscore symbol indicates temporal precedence/subsequence (leftward precedence), whereas the comma indicates temporal simultaneity. Notice that if we remove the R time from the picture, then (15) and (16) will have identical representations, contrary to fact.

Reichenbach did not make any explicit claims as to the relationship between this newly proposed reference time and the aspectual domain of the clause. The issue was taken up a good fifty years later by Klein (1994), who gave the reference time a place in the syntax by associating it to the Asp head, the locus of grammatical aspect. In Smith (1991), grammatical (or viewpoint) aspect is explained with a "googles metaphor" (basically, the act of seeing an event through different lenses): aspect will tell us what parts of the event are relevant. An event can be seen by aspect as a finished whole *from the outside*, with beginning and end, or it can be seen as ongoing *from the inside*, by "zooming in" to see just a part of the process. The former case is used by Smith to define perfective aspect, while the latter defines imperfective aspect.

In this context, the reference time would be the part of the event (understood as a time interval) that is relevant to Aspect. Klein referred to it as *topic time*.[35] Finally, with respect to the mapping onto syntactic structures, (grammatical) aspect is assumed to be syntactically projected as an independent Asp node (see §3.x).

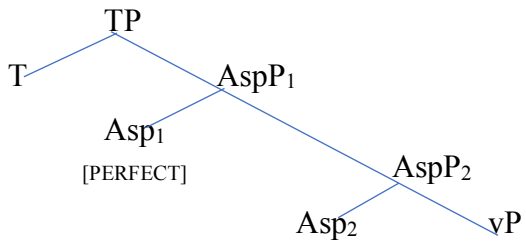
[35] A related concept is that of «assertion time», which is the time for which an assertion is made. Fine-grained discussions on Klein's terminological choices are not addressed here (see Klein 1995).

Klein's ideas were developed at a time when the referential approach to Tense was becoming popular (starting with Partee 1984 and Enç 1987): this theory, also inspired by Reichenbach, presented tenses and temporal adverbs as referential expressions, very much like pronouns. This tradition continued with Stowell's (1993) work on temporal DPs or *Zeit*-phrases in the syntax, developed most notably in Demirdache and Uribe-Etxebarria (1997, 2004).

In sum, Reichenbach's pioneer work provided a baseline for some very influential proposals on the formal representation of Tense and Aspect cross-linguistically, and consequently for the analysis of the Perfect: the most representative theories are summarized next.

A very influential model is the so-called *Extended Now* theory of the Perfect (Dowty 1979, von Stechow 1999, Iatridou et al. 2001, a.o.), according to which the Perfect's *raison d'être* is to introduce a time interval, the Perfect Time Span or *PTS*, in relation to particular eventualities (similarly to a Kleinian topic time). Semantically, it is considered an "extended" or embedded tense (Pancheva 2003), while syntactically it is represented as a higher aspect, located between Tense and viewpoint Aspect (Asp_2 in (17)):[36]

(17)



(Adapted from Pancheva 2003: 284)

[36] Within the same framework, the Perfect has sometimes been regarded as a viewpoint Aspect (e.g. von Stechow 1999).

The semantic contribution of Asp_1 according to Pancheva (and based on earlier work by Iatridou et al. 2001), is to relate two reference times: the PTS and the reference time introduced by Tense. The former is a time interval that extends back from the latter.

The left boundary or starting point of the PTS is either provided by an appropriate adverbial (such as *desde los tres años* in (11)) or else is contextually inferred. At the other end we find the Tense time, conceived as a final subinterval of the PTS: this view of the "higher" reference time as part of the time interval denoted by the Perfect is highlighted in Grønn & von Stechow (2017) as a distinctive property of the Extended Now approach, as opposed to other models. These authors in particular take the semantic contribution of the Perfect to be of the following nature:

(18) $[[\text{PERFECT}]] = \lambda P \lambda t' \exists t[XN(t,t')\&P(t)]$

(Adapted from Grønn & von Stewoch 2017:17)

The Perfect in (18) is seen as an existential quantifier over the time span *t*. The XN stands for "Extended Now", and it is presented as an interval *t* or PTS with a higher reference time *t'* included as its final subinterval (corresponding to the sequence (t,t') in (18)). The formula also specifies that the predicate *P* is true at the time interval *t*.

Pancheva & von Stechow (2004) come up with a slightly different denotation for the Perfect, based on a more flexible understanding of what the right boundary of the PTS might be. For them, the higher reference time does not necessarily have to be the final subinterval of the PTS, as long as no part of

the PTS appears after it. This is represented as $t \leq t'$ in (19), accompanied by a more detailed statement in brackets:[37]

(19) [[PERFECT]]= λPλt'∃t[t ≤t'&P(t)]

(t ≤t' iff there is no t''⊂ t, such that t''>t')

A view of the Perfect such as the one formalized in (18-19) seems especially adequate to account for the universal readings discussed above, where an eventuality "extends" back in time in a continuous way. However, such interval-based denotation becomes problematic when faced with examples like (20), where the events described do not apply continuously throughout the time lapse:

(20) Since 2008, Matilda has moved house and Dean has changed jobs

(Ritz 2012: 887)

The issue has been addressed in several works, most famously in Portner (2003) but also in Dowty (1979), Hitzeman (1997), and (indirectly) in Pancheva (2003). The common denominator in all these works has been to state the solution in terms of either (or both) the semantic properties of the embedded predicate, and/or the role of the adverbials surrounding the Perfect.

The adverbial story is a collective attempt to show how the structural position and the semantic contribution of particular adverbial phrases affected the

[37] Their original formulation has been slightly adapted for comparison to (18): for instance, the higher reference time is represented as *t'* (instead of *t*) to be consistent with Grønn & von Stewoch's (2017) choices.

possibility of (non-)continuous readings. With respect to the predicate embedded under the Perfect, it has been observed that stative and eventive predicates often do not bring about the same Perfect interpretation: this inspired Pancheva's (2003) proposal for a unified analysis of the Perfect (readings) based on the different aspectual combinations of the predicate in question. The case of English, summarized in Table 8 below, can be found in Pancheva (2003:290).

Table 8: The internal makeup of Perfect types in English (Pancheva 2003)

Perfect Type	Viewpoint Aspect		Aktionsart
	Semantics	Morphology	
Universal	[UNBOUNDED]	non-progressive progressive[38]	state activity, telic
Experiential	[NEUTRAL] [BOUNDED]	non-progressive progressive non-progressive	state activity, telic any
Resultative	[RESULTATIVE]	non-progressive	telic

According to the analysis depicted in Table 8, aspectually imperfective predicates in English (i.e. those which are specified as [UNBOUNDED] at the level of AspP) yield a universal reading of the Perfect. If the underlying eventuality is not a state, it is morphologically realized via a progressive form. The contrast can be better observed with the help of an example:

(21) I have been sick for a week now

(22) I have been working very hard since Monday

[38] Pancheva is choosing not to classify the progressive as a state, but if one did so, the generalization would be slightly different.

Even though Pancheva does not provide a minimal pair for the universal case, we can create one based on the information available in Table 8, with a stative '(to) be sick' in (21) vs an activity predicate '(to) work' in (22). The prediction is that (22) would cease to yield a universal reading when we take away the progressive part (but see below):

(23) I have worked very hard since Monday

Nevertheless, the idea that a stative predicate *per se* would automatically produce a universal reading does not seem to be quite right. Consider (24), which is a version of (21) without the temporal frame provided by the adverbials. The default interpretation of (24) is experiential: all it says is that the subject has experienced the state of being unwell some time before now.

(24) I have been sick

What (24) shows is that while a stative predicate like *be sick* may contribute a continuous reading of an eventuality, it nevertheless fails to include the "extended now" semantics that characterize the Perfect in this particular framework. This latter property seems to depend on the presence of an appropriate adverbial, as discussed in §4.1.2. One can observe the independent contribution of adverbials and predicates at the empirical level through the latest set of examples (21-24): (21) and (22) convey both continuity (unbounded predicates) and extended time interval (adverbials); (23) conveys the extended time interval (adverbial) but no continuity (bounded predicate); and finally (24) conveys continuity (unbounded predicate) but no extended time interval (lack of adverbial).

A problematic case for the Extended Now theorists is the adverbial-less (24), where there is apparently no source for the extended time interval. A solution

in terms of pragmatic constraints has been explored (Vlach 1993), but even then it is still the case that the adverbial phrase, be it explicit or contextually inferred, establishes the interval, and not the Perfect itself.

A second puzzle is presented in cases like (23) (and similarly in (20)), where the time interval coexists with a non-continuous (or *aspectually bounded*, to use Pancheva's terminology) predication. This is especially relevant for the purposes of this dissertation, given that the *llevar* construction falls into this category. If we were to apply a semantic denotation based on the Extended Now story (18-19), we would only find a reference to a predicate *P* (the event up to AspP) that is true at a time interval *t*, thus *P(t)*. It looks as if the denotation was conveniently undeveloped, so that it would potentially allow for non-continuous as well as for continuous readings, the latter being still the most natural (either in the form of an event that runs uninterruptedly throughout *t*, or a state that holds uninterruptedly through *t*).

The simplicity of a *P(t)* denotation contrasts with the prevalent role given by Extended Now theorists like Pancheva to the predicate's internal semantics in determining a particular Perfect reading. And even if we were not guided by the semantic denotation itself, but by a more exhaustive set of possibilities such as those in Table 8, sentence (23) and (24) both show experientiality in the same way, independently of the semantic contribution of the adverbial in (23).

All in all, and despite the many ways in which the Extended Now theory has helped our understanding of the workings of the Perfect and its basic semantic ingredients, it nevertheless fails to capture some of the correlations that we observe at the empirical level, and it does not provide us with the formal tools to account for them: one of its crucial weaknesses, in my opinion, is the oversimplification of the internal semantic properties of predicates in the

formalization, which contrasts sharply with the proposal (by the same people) that the outcome of the Perfect is conditioned by precisely those properties (as in Table 8).

A different kind of analysis takes the Perfect to be an indefinite past, giving rise to the *Indefinite Past theory*: an early supporter of this view is Inoue (1979), who claims that the past tense and the present perfect have identical truth conditions. The model is based on Reichenbach's early work (1947), and sees the Perfect as a viewpoint aspect establishing an ordering relation between the event time E and the reference time R (see also (16)):

(25) Past Tense R_S

(26) Present Perfect E_R,S

The analysis of the Perfect as a viewpoint aspect is present in Horstein (1990), Klein (1992), and Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), among others. The corresponding semantic denotation for the Perfect is along the lines of (27):

(27) [[PERFECT]] = λPλt∃e[e < t &P(e)]

The Perfect is presented as an existential quantifier introducing an eventuality (event or state) *e* before the reference time *t*. Quantification and temporal precedence are reminiscent of a Priorian view of Past Tense (Prior 1967), with the difference that the Perfect occupies a different structural position and can therefore be considered a kind of "embedded past". In relation to this latter point, Grønn & von Stewoch (2017:15) present a modified version of (27) which incorporates the idea of the Perfect as a higher aspect above the (im)perfective viewpoint.

The strength of the Indefinite Past analysis lies in its ability to capture an empirical fact of many languages including French (28), Italian (29), and German (30), where the Perfect appears in combination with definite past adverbials. The following are translations for the English 'I saw Mary yesterday':

(28) *J'ai vu Marie hier*
I.have seen Mary yesterday

(29) *Ho visto Maria ieri*
I.have seen Mary yesterday

(30) *Ich habe Maria gestern gesehen*
I have Mary yesterday seen

Thus, while the Extended Now analysis focuses on the "current relevance" part of the Perfect, the Indefinite Past analysis takes it as the most the characteristic part of the Perfect the fact that it refers to a past eventuality.

The third and final account that we will be reviewing here is the so-called *Result State* analysis, which sees the Perfect as an aspectual operator that creates (result) states from previous eventualities. What exactly is meant by "result" in this context depends on the specific proposal that is been considered: initially, it was suggested that the Perfect acted on telic eventualities, turning their point of culmination into a *consequent state* (Moens 1987, Moens and Steedman 1988). This was essentially a formal way to account for the resultative reading of the Perfect as identified in the literature (see Table 8), and in fact, it is the way that proponents of other theories usually talk about the Result State theory.

However, when faced with the challenge of using the Result account as a general theory of the Perfect in all its uses, it soon became evident that a definition of state based on telicity and event culmination would require some imaginative solutions whenever these components are not given in the predicate itself. Consider (31):

(31) Luke has seen The Godfather

The notion of result in (31), if any, is independent of telicity (*see* is an atelic predicate). We can entertain (at least) three different strategies to deal with these facts: one is to maintain the definition of consequent state as it is, and work out a series of contextually-driven, coercing mechanisms that would apply in these cases (Moens's solution); a second strategy would be to modify the notion of consequent state while still assuming a Result State story of some kind (Parsons's solution, see below); and finally, a third possibility would be to take (31) as evidence that a theory of the Perfect based on the idea of result state just does not work, and therefore should be abandoned, even if that means that the resultative Perfect would have to be accounted for on different grounds. I reckon that this alternative would be endorsed by anyone working on a different theory of the Perfect.

In search of new ways to define these Perfect states, Parsons (1990) establishes a distinction between Moens's *consequent* states and what he calls *permanent* or *R*-states: the former refers to states that are subject to change (also known as *target states*) while the latter refers to states that hold forever by virtue of the verbal situation having taken place. Note that defining the R-state in these terms makes it applicable to experiential cases like (31), where we can say that Luke is in the R-state of "having seen The Godfather". This understanding of the result state will play an important role in the analysis of the EoS Perfects.

With respect to the formalization of the Result State idea in a semantic denotation, we need to talk about Kamp and Reyle's DRT-analysis of the Perfect (1993, 2015), where DRT stands for *Discourse Representation Theory*. Their original proposal includes a discourse referent *s* (the result state variable), a temporal reference point *t*, the speech time *n* and an event *e*. The representation for the sentence *Luke has disappeared* is given in (32):

(32) [n,t,s,e [t=n, t ⊆ s, e >< s, Luke (x), e: x disappear]

In (32), the reference time is co-temporal with the speech time and it is also contained in *s* (the inclusion relation that characterizes imperfective aspect). The event time abuts the result state (relation signaled as "><"), and it involves one argument (*Luke*) and a predicate (*disappear*).

With respect to the semantics of *s* in (32), it is not entirely clear what its status is, whether it has temporal semantics etc. But Kamp and Reyle seem to be going for yet another temporal account of the Perfect, in which states correspond to times. A general criticism of the original DRT analysis of the Perfect has to do precisely with the state variable *s* and its inability to be modified by temporal adverbials (in some cases).

Cases have been reported where adverbials necessarily affect the embedded event only, even in the presence of *s*: for instance, *today* in (33) establishes the interval during which the winning event happened, not the interval during which Luke held the state of being a winner. In other words, (33) cannot be said of a situation where Luke won the lottery three days ago, to describe that today he holds the state of having won the lottery.

(33) Luke has won the lottery today

Despite the fact that the empirical picture for adverbial modification is itself very complex, and therefore not exactly trustworthy, the criticism became popular enough to make Kamp and Reyle rethink their original analysis in the form of a book draft a few years later, in 2015.

Their solution is compatible with the idea that the main semantic contribution of the Perfect is to create a bi-situational structure with a derived state: in their view, Tense and temporal adverbs may have different location targets for eventualities, and the Perfect has the capacity to create such separation. For a model that has so far only been applied to English and German, the Eonavian Perfects are an excellent case to examine how far the proposal can go in a cross-linguistic perspective.

4.2. Pluractionality

In this section, we are going to look at the linguistic expression of event plurality, a phenomenon commonly known as *pluractionality* after Newman (1980). The scarcity of studies dedicated to this topic contrasts with the longstanding interest and popularity that plurality in the nominal domain has had in the field of formal semantics and beyond (Link 1983; Verkuyl & van der Does 1991; Krifka 1996; Corbett 2000; a.o.). Given the significant role that pluractionality plays in the Eonavian Perfects, the present work will hopefully help us understanding the phenomenon a little bit better.

The section begins with an introduction to some important contributions that place pluractionality in the realm of derivational morphology (§4.2.1); then, going beyond the descriptive level, in §4.2.2. I introduce what is still (as of today) the most serious attempt at formalizing pluractionality in an event-based framework: Lasersohn 1995. The next part (§4.2.3.) is concerned with how to semantically distinguish two forms of event plurality, iteration and habituality, based on the work by Bertinetto & Lenci (2012). Finally, the

section concludes with an overview of a related phenomenon that sometimes overlaps with pluractionality, and that is *distributivity* (§4.2.4.).

4.2.1. The morphological approach: from Newman (1980) to Henderson (2017)

Early descriptions of verbal plurality come from languages in which the sense of plurality arises in morphologically derived verbs. Newman (1980) is credited to be the first to ever have used the term *pluractional* in this sense. Wood (2007) reports examples from different languages as canonical cases of pluractionality: Yu'pik, for instance, uses a postbase *-taartuq* to temporally distribute the verbal base to which it attaches, as in (34); the so-called repetition suffixes in Finnish have a similar effect (35); other languages, like Hausa, resort to verb reduplication to convey the pluractional meaning (36). And so on and so forth.

(34) *Nere* 'to eat' > *nerqetaartuq* 'he keeps eating at intervals'

(35) *Ajaa* 'to drive'> *ajella* 'drive around (sense of repetition)'

(36) *Tuna* 'remind'> *tuntuna* 'remind often'

For Wood, only those cases that result from a process of morphological derivation within a verb can be considered "real" pluractionals (e.g. 34-36). She discusses other cases associated with event plurality where the relation is not inherent or direct: one is argument plurality, as in (37); a second one is aspectual category (38); and a third case is one where adverbials express repetition (39):

(37) **Three children** woke up [multiple awakenings]

(38) Ryan **is knocking** on the door [multiple knocks]

(39) Marijke came to visit **many times** [multiple visits]

Wood argues that the cases in (37-39), unlike the previous ones, do not always describe multiple events:

(40) **The children** built a castle [collective reading]

(41) Nora **is running** [progressive reading]

She defines pluractionals as "derivational Aktionsarten": closed-class constructions which apply to a verbal head to produce an expression of event plurality (Wood 2007:43). As strict as this definition may seem, it is assumed in most studies dealing with pluractionality, both at the descriptive level (Henderson 2017) and at the analytical level (Lasersohn 1995). Henderson, for example, states:

"In the introduction we defined pluractionals as derived verbs that, in virtue of that derivation, denote event pluralities —that is, unlike their underived counterparts, they are false in single-event scenarios. (…) I want to defend this definition."

(Henderson 2017: 3)

Among the cases that, according to him, are not direct expression of pluractionality, we find morphological markers of *participant plurality*.

Henderson uses the following example from Haida, originally reported in Swanton (1911:276):

(42) *Tia* 'kill (one)'

(43) *L!da* 'kill (several)'

The suppletive form (43) carries participant plurality by virtue of a plural feature in the nominal argument (the victim). According to Henderson, in these cases the pluractionality arises indirectly because of the plural object, but it is not enforced, since we can imagine it to be true in a collective "massacre" scenario (see §4.2.5. on participant distributivity).

4.2.2. The event-based analysis: Cusic (1981) and Lasersohn (1995)

While typological studies on pluractionality identify distinctions in meaning, they do not pursue the task of providing a core semantic account. In this context, the work of Cusic (1981) and Lasersohn (1995) had a major impact on the field. We can say that Cusic laid the foundation of what would become Lasersohn's full-fledged analysis.

First, Cusic (1981:61) made the crucial observation that, because events are hierarchically structured, plurality may occur at different levels. In what looked like a simple and straightforward statement, Cusic actually paved the way for an (event-based) semantic formalization of pluractional meaning.

Cusic (1981: 61) initially distinguished 3 levels at which pluractionality might apply (*phase*, *event*, and *occasion*), but the really fundamental division for which he would be cited again and again was that between *event-internal* and *event-external* pluractionality (the latter including both *event* and *occasion*):

(44) EVENT-INTERNAL PLURACTIONALITY (Cusic 1981)
Phase-level: event with multiple repeated phases
The mouse nibbled and nibbled the cheese

(45) EVENT-EXTERNAL PLURACTIONALITY (Cusic 1981)
Event-level: event repeated on a single occasion
The mouse bit the cheese again and again
Occasion level: an event is repeated on multiple occasions
The mouse was always nibbling the cheese

Cusic also established 4 pluractionality parameters: event ratio; relative measure; connectedness; and distributivity. *Event ratio* has to do with the level at which pluractionality occurs, as in (44-45); *relative measure* cares about the size of repetitions, the efficacy of the result, the effort put into actions, etc.; *connectedness* refers to the degree of continuity (or separation) between the instances of an event; and finally, distributivity has to do with the way in which the action is distributed over time, space, and/or participants (§4.2.5.).

Lasersohn (1995) takes Cusic's observations and generalizations seriously and gives a formal account of pluractionality based on event semantics: events are assumed to be entities in the ontology and pluractionality thus involves pluralizing events. The overall goal is to provide a formal semantic analysis of pluractional markers that occur across the languages of the world. Lasersohn defines them as a class of morphemes that

"normally take the form of some sort of affix on the verb, frequently reduplicative, most often derivational rather than inflectional, and expressing a broad range of notions typically including action by more than one individual, temporally iterated action, and spatially scattered action (among others)."

(Lasersohn, 1995: 238)

Lasersohn's basic semantic formula for pluractionals is given in (46):

(46) V-*PA* (X) ↔ ∀*e* ∈X [V(*e*)] & card (X) ≥ *n*

Where V is any given verb, and *PA* the pluractional marker (V-*PA* the combination of both) and X ranges over the set of individual events *e*. The formula reads as: pluractional verbs (V-*PA*) denote the set of events (X) of the type denoted by the corresponding non-*PA* verb with a cardinality restriction (must be equal or greater than *n*). Lasersohn assumes that *n* is pragmatically fixed, and he does so in order to capture the wide range of variation among pluractionals in terms of the number of occasions they refer to, from 2 to many. He states that *n* is "in any case no less than 2".

But (46) does not specify how events are individuated from one another. Taking into account Cusic's distributivity and connectedness parameters, the denotation changes to (47):

(47) V-*PA* (X) ↔ ∀*e* ∈X [V(*e*) & ¬ τ (e) ° τ (e') & ∃t [between (t,τ(e), τ(e')) & ¬ ∃e'' [V(e'') & t= τ (e'')]]] & card (X) ≥ *n*

There are two innovations in (47): the symbols in green represent a requirement on events to have non-overlapping running times (τ); the symbols in blue denote the existence of a time t at which an event of the appropriate type does not occur, between the running times of any two events in the set satisfying the pluractional verb.

Lasersohn's continues to be the most thorough and ambitious proposal for an (event-based) semantic account of pluractionality. The formula (47) captures the 3 basic properties that will also be relevant for Eonavian, mainly the

iterative component, the discrete separation on the events iterated, and the "distributed in time" reading.

Nevertheless, Lasersohn's work was developed in a context where, as mentioned earlier in §4.2.1., pluractionals were understood as derivational morphemes acting on a verbal base. The empirical base therefore came from morphologically rich languages with highly specified/idiosyncratic morphemes within the verb, whose meaning ranges from "repeatedly", "one by one", "twice", etc. Lasersohn's V-*PA* representation seems to be made to apply to such combinations, as he observes in Klamath.

At this point it is still an open challenge to see how exactly the semantics links to the morphosyntax of the construction once the empirical coverage of pluractionality is extended to include morphologically poorer languages like English. A proposal is made in Van Geenhoven (2004), where she presents a novel approach to the interaction of *for*-adverbials, verbal Aktionsarten and object types in English. Her account is nonetheless of a different kind than that of Lasersohn, since she does not assume that the pluralization operates on events as primitives, but on time intervals.

4.2.3. Pluractionality, iterativity, and habituality.

According to Bertinetto and Lenci (2012), *iterativity* and *habituality* are different subtypes of event-external plurality, and it is therefore not always easy to tease them apart. Nevertheless, these authors come up with a set of semantic criteria that can help us tell whether we are dealing with one or the other.

First of all, they give a slightly modified version of Cusic's original definition for event-external pluractionality:

"Event-external pluractionality: the same event repeats itself in a number of different situations (*John swam daily in the lake*)"

(Bertinetto and Lenci 2012: 853)

The two sub-types referred to above, iterative and habitual, are illustrated in (48) and (49), respectively:

(48) In the past few years, Frank has often taken the 8 o'clock train

(49) When we lived in the countryside, Frank would usually take the 8 o'clock train.

The first sentence, according to the authors,

"presents a plain state of affairs: it is a fact that Frank has taken the given train several times in the given period. (…) The sentence establishes a relation between an individual (Frank), an object (the train) and a time-interval (the past few years)." Sentence (1b [49]), by contrast, "presents a situation (taking a morning train) as a characterizing property of an individual (Frank) during a given time interval."

(Bertinetto and Lenci 2012: 855)

The (in)compatibility with different adverbials also indicates whether we are dealing with one sub-type or another. This can be seen in languages that have an explicit aspectual contrast in the past, like French: the *passé composé* (50) contrasts with the *imparfait* (51):

(50) *Pendant l'année passée, Jean a visité sa mére onze fois*
'During the last year, Jean has visited his mother eleven times'

(51) *Pendant l'année passée, Jean visitait sa mére rarement/souvent*
'During the last year, Jean visit.IMP his mother rarely/usually'

The adverbial phrase in sentence (50) is classified as a *reiteration adverbial*, whose semantic contribution would be to give the numerical specification of the micro-events. This adverbial is linked to iteration and to the use of the passé composé in French. The same applies in Spanish. By contrast, in (51) we find a verb in the *imparfait* form followed by a *frequency adverbial*, the hallmarks of a habitual context. Again, the same applies in Spanish.

Another interesting contrast is that between "strictly delimiting" v "vaguely localizing" framing adverbials, the former being taken as a hallmark of iterativity. Framing adverbials are those that restrict the temporal validity of the situation, which can be more or less strict. Sentence (52) contains a vaguely delimited time frame, *en aquella época* 'during that time'. These and the imperfective morphology on the verb are all signs of habituality. Neither a perfect nor a preterit form work with vaguely delimiting adverbials (53):

(52) En aquella época me levantaba todos los días a las 7
'During that time, I got-up.IMP at 7 every day'

(53) *En aquella época me [he levantado/levanté] …
'During that time, I [*PERF/*PAST] (at 7 every day)'

A summary of the differences is given in (54-55). These will serve us to establish the iterative character of the Eonavian Perfects.

(54) **Iterativity**
- Iterative sentences present a plain state of affairs
- Compatible with reiteration adverbials

- Compatible with strictly delimiting adverbials
- In languages with explicit aspectual distinctions, iterativity is linked to the perfect and perfective past

(55) **Habituality**

- Habitual sentences present a situation as a characterizing property of an individual during an interval of time
- Compatible with frequency adverbials
- Compatible with vaguely localizing adverbials
- In languages with explicit aspectual distinctions, habituality is linked to the past imperfect.

4.2.4. Distributivity and its relation to pluractionality

To properly complete this general overview on pluractionality, there is one final ingredient that needs to be taken into consideration: distributivity.

Distributivity and pluractionality are, as we will see, related phenomena, but the former may apply more broadly, outside the verbal domain. Distributivity involves two components, a K(ey) and a S(hare), and establishes the following semantic relation between them: "parts of K satisfy S", where K is typically a noun, and S is typically a predicate. An example from Navajo is given in (57), reported by Yazzie (2000) and noted in Henderson (2017): the case of (57) involves an explicit distributive marker *da* on the verb, which transforms what otherwise would be a default collective reading (56).

(56) ’Ashiiké yázhí biì naashné

boys little 3o-with 1sgS-play

‘I play with the little boys (collectively).’

(57) ’Ashiiké yázhí biì n**da**ashné

boys little 3o-with **da**-1sgS-play

‘I play with the little boys (with each one).’

As indicated in the English translation, in (57) the playing event is distributed over each individual boy: using the terminology above, the K would be the boys as a group, parts of which (each boy) satisfy S, S being the predicate *play*.

Distributivity and its formalization across categories have been exhaustively studied by Champollion (2017): this includes cases of inherent distributivity, that is, when it is part of the lexical meaning of a predicate (e.g. *die* and *be born*, in the sense that both are obligatorily limited to one individual per instance). Other authors prefer to focus only on those cases where distributivity is morphologically manifested, like Henderson (2017): these include not only morphemes on the verb but also in other categories such as nouns, quantifiers, numerals, or adverbials. The reader is referred to Henderson’s work for a detailed empirical overview.

There are interesting cases that show a certain “semantic overlap” between distributive and pluractional operators. The Navajo sentence in (57) is a good example of this: by distributing the events of playing in relation to each boy, the morpheme *da* is building pluractionality.

There are different ways to think about this “overlap”: for Cusic and Lasersohn, the existence of such cases is compatible with the idea that distributivity is a parameter within the general domain of pluractionality, a parameter that determines how the action is distributed in time, space and/or

participants. For Henderson, however, distributive and pluractional operators (or morphemes, since he is guided by the morphological forms) need to be distinguished as two different beasts. This is why he sketches a fieldwork proposal to determine the exact nature of *da* (Henderson 2017:11). Furthermore, and because he takes distributivity to be a much more general phenomenon, any potential inclusive relation that may be seen between pluractionality and distributivity would (if any) be one in which the latter would not be the one "included", but the one that includes.

In this context, the data from Eonavian provide new empirical evidence to semantically distinguish pluractionals and distributive operators outside the domain of derivational morphology (§4.3.3.): this means that we can find analytic verb constructions with pluractional and distributive semantics in the same way that Wood and Henderson, among others, found pluractional and distributive morphology attached to verbal bases. This, in turn, opens the door to a promising line of research (already started in van Geenhoven (2007) for English) where the definitional properties are semantic, and therefore applicable to languages where pluractionality and distributivity are not manifested via a derivational morpheme on a verbal base.

4.3. A semantic analysis for the Eonavian Perfects

4.3.1. The EoS Perfects are states

Formal accounts of the Perfect have been shown to differ in what they assume to be the general semantic contribution of this category (§4.1.3): for some, the Perfect introduces a time interval (von Stechow 1999, Iatridou et al. 2001, Pancheva 2003, a.o.); for others, the Perfect establishes a temporal ordering relation of precedence (Inoue 1979, Klein 1992, Giorgi and Pianesi 1997, a.o.); and yet for others, the Perfect creates a state (Moens 1987, Parsons 1990, Kamp and Reyle 1993, a.o.).

In this section, I give evidence that the Perfect constructions in EoS behave like stative predicates more generally, an empirical fact that informs the decision to semantically analyze the Perfect as a state, in line with previous proposals by Katz (2003) and Carrasco (2015), among others.

The information is structured according to a series of tests that were originally used to distinguish states (like *love*) from events (like *kiss*) in English.[39] Some of these tests were already introduced in §2.5.1., where it was found that the EoS Perfect behaved like a stative predicate, and unlike an eventive one. Those cases are included again here as part of an extended list inspired by Katz (2003).

A well-known fact about states in English is that, unlike events, they do not appear in the progressive:

(58) *Tony is loving Martha

(59) Tony is kissing Martha

Similarly, in Standard Spanish:

(60)	**Toni*	*está*	*queriendo*	*a Marta*
	Toni	be$_2$-PRS.3P.SING	love-PRF.PTCP	to Marta
(61)	*Toni*	*está*	*besando*	*a Marta*
	Toni	be$_2$-PRS.3P.SING	kiss-PRF.PTCP	to Marta

[39] The word *event* is used in this discussion as a synonym of *eventive predicate*. *Eventuality*, on the other hand, is the cover term for both stative and dynamic verbal predicates. Thus, eventualities include both events and states.

The Perfect in both English and Spanish is incompatible with the progressive, even if the embedded predicate is an event:

(62) *Toni is having kissed Marta

(63) **Toni está habiendo besado*
Toni be$_2$-PRS.3P.SING haber-PROG kiss-PRF.PTCP
a Marta
to Marta

In EoS we find the same pattern (illustrated with *tener* in (64)):

(64) **Toni está teniendo besado*
Toni be$_2$-PRS.3P.SING tener-PROG kiss-PRF.PTCP
a Marta
to Marta

A second way to distinguish events and states in English is via a wh-cleft test: as the contrast between (65) and (66) shows, states are not accepted in *wh*-cleft constructions:

(65) *What Mary did was know the answer

(66) What Mary did was read some novels

In §2.5.1. we saw the exact same pattern in Spanish:

(67) **Lo que hizo María*
CL that do-PST.3P.SING María
fue saber la respuesta
be$_1$-PST.3P.SING know-INF the answer

'What María did was know the answer'

(68) *Lo que hizo María*
CL that do-PST.3P.SING María
fue leer algunas novelas
be$_1$-PST.3.SING read-INF some novels

'What María did was read some novels'

Just like states, the EoS Perfects are not allowed in this type of pseudo-cleft:

(69) **Lo que hizo María fue*
CL that do-PST.3P.SING María be$_1$-PST.3P.SING
[*tener* /*llevar*] *leído algunas*
tener-INF /llevar-INF read-PRF.PTCP some
novelas
novels

'What María did was to have read some novels'

A third way in which events and states differ is in the possibility of getting an epistemic reading under the modal *must* (*deber* in Spanish): as discussed in §2.5.1., only stative predicates allow it. The epistemic reading is triggered in contexts such as 'according to what I know… (target sentence)'. In those contexts, events in English (71) and in Spanish (73) are out.

(70) Mary must know the answer
(71) *Mary must read some novels

(72) *María debe saber la respuesta*
María must-PRS.3P.SING know-INF the answer

‘(According to what I know), Mary must know the answer’

(73) **María* *debe* *leer* *algunas*
María must-PRS.3P.SING read-INF some
novelas
novels

‘(According to what I know), Mary must read some novels’

The EoS Perfect continues to behave exactly like any other stative predicate, allowing an epistemic interpretation of *deber* ‘must’:

(74) *María debe* [*tener* */llevar*]
María must-PRS.3P.SING tener-INF /llevar-INF
leído *algunas* *novelas*
read-PRF.PTCP some novels

‘(According to what I know), María must have read some novels’

For Katz (2003), the facts about epistemic modality are evidence of the present-orientation of state predicates, among them the Perfect: while epistemic readings are present-oriented, deontic modality is future-oriented. Taking this argument even further, the fact that events may only get deontic readings can be linked to their well-known ability to advance the narrative.

Semantic futurity is also brought about as a factor behind the oddness surrounding imperative states (since Lakoff 1966), as in (76):[40]

(75) ??Live in Spain!

(76) Kiss Martha!

Perfects in English are odd as imperatives, as Katz (2003) points out:

(77) ??Have kissed Martha!

The same pattern is found in EoS, illustrated below with a *tener* sentence (the same applies in the case of *llevar*):

(78)	??*Ten*	*besado*	*a Marta*!
	Tener-IMPV-3P.SING	kiss-PRF.PTCP	to Marta

Regarding the domain of discourse, it is a well-known fact that stative predicates don't move the narrative time, whereas eventive ones do (Dry 1983). The examples are based on Katz (2003):

[40] According to Katz (2003), the imperative state predicate improves considerably when a temporal adverbial such as tomorrow morning is introduced, because it has the power to affect the present/future orientation of the sentence:

(i) Be at home tomorrow morning!

(Katz 2003: 7)

The solution, however, appears to work only for some predicates, and not others:

(ii) ??Live in Spain next winter!

(79) The sky was clear. Laura feared the journey.

(80) The sky was clear. Laura began the journey.

The state of fear in (79) describes a situation that happens to be co-temporal with the state of the sky; by contrast, in (80) Laura started a journey and so the narrative progresses. We can say that there is a change of state from a situation where Laura does not have any trip initiated to one in which she has.

The relevant examples are (81-82) below: Katz argues that the Perfect in English yields the exact same result as the stative (79), and so (81) does not advance the narrative; the same can be said of the EoS Perfect in (82): a situation is described where the sky is clear and Laura is in the state of having had 3 cups of coffee. The *tener* construction would work in a similar way.

(81) The sky was clear. Laura had left quietly.

(82)

	El cielo estaba	*despejado.*	
	The sky be$_2$-IMP.3P.SING	clear.	
	Laura llevaba	*tomado*	*tres cafés*
	Laura llevar-IMP.3P.SING	take-PRF.PTCP	three coffees

Table 9 below summarizes the main stativity tests and the behavior of the EoS Perfects with respect to each one of the properties observed.

Table 9: Stativity tests and the Perfect

Property-test	Events	States	EoS Perfects
Compatible with the progressive	YES	NO	
Ability to appear in pseudo-cleft constructions	YES	NO	

Epistemic reading under *must*	NO	YES
Odd as an imperative	NO	YES
Ability to move the narrative time	YES	NO

In sum, the *tener* and *llevar* Perfects show the semantic, syntactic, and discourse-related properties that are typical of states. These findings are in line with the general view developed within the Result State analysis, in which the Perfect has the semantics of a state. The exact nature of this state, as we have seen (§4.1.3), still is open to debate.

Here I will adopt Parsons' view that the Perfect denotes a permanent state, and I will follow Carrasco (2015) in her attempt to connect Parsons idea of a state experienced by an individual with Smith's (1991) notion of *participant property*.

4.3.2. The bi-situational nature of the EoS Perfect

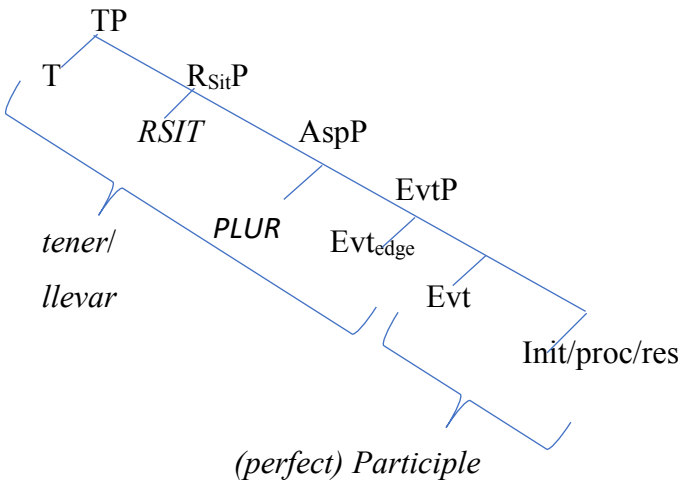
Given all the background information and empirical evidence reviewed so far in the chapter, my proposal begins with a reminder of what I take to be the semantic contribution of the Perfect, in a nutshell: the creation of bi-situational structures by building up derived states.

Situations are descriptions of the world, wordly particulars. I take situations to be part of the semantic ontology (after Kratzer 2014), built on minimal event descriptions (in the sense of Ramchand 2017). The hierarchical relationship between events and situations is rooted in the idea, first stated in Fine (2005) and later on adopted in Ramchand (2017), that *essence* comes before *existence* in the building up of natural language propositions. The structural ordering within the event domain in the Syntax reflects this, with

an Evt head whose role is to deploy the essence and make it usable in real world-time coordinates (see 83).

The empirical observations about the dual nature of the Perfect, a category that seemed to simultaneously refer to a current state of affairs as well as to some past eventuality, are reflected in the semantic analysis by positing two distinct situations: an *asserted situational state* **s'** and its associated *dependent situation* $\mathbf{s_0}$, using Ramchand's vocabulary. The latter is contributed by the participle, while the former (the state) is contributed by an inflected form of *tener* or *llevar*: this way, the proposal is extended to account for how the mapping to the morphosyntax should look like. Recall at this point the clausal structure for the EoS Perfects as presented in Chapter 3:

(83)



From a syntactic point of view, the two constructions were found to behave alike: the inflected forms behave like prototypical auxiliaries in the syntax, while the participle was shown to be structurally higher than a passive participle, in both constructions.

From a semantic point of view, (83) features two distinct situations: one is contributed by the participle (s_o), and arises from the combination of an abstract event representation and a functional node Evt. The result is an event description (a particular) of a predicate P:

(84) S_o: λe [P(e)]

The second situation is a state contributed by the higher verb, a form of *tener* or *llevar*. Unlike prototypical cases of auxiliation where the higher verb seems to only be needed to lexicalize inflectional features that failed to combine with the embedded predicate (Björkman 2011), the EoS forms were argued to be semantically conditioned in (apparently) unexpected ways: not only did they force a pluractional reading of the embedded event, but also they were able to determine, by syntactic selection, the semantic type of subject.

These properties were reflected in the Syntax by associating *tener* and *llevar* with an aspectual node with pluractional semantics (*PLUR*), and by allowing them to span low into the edge of the first zone via the functional head Evt_{edge}. In the first case, the pluractional semantics on Asp apply to the whole event below it, as it is the case with other instances of event-external pluractionality: Arche (2013), for example, identifies a quantifier phrase in Spec, AspP as the source of habitual readings of the Spanish imperfect. A comparison between habituality and iterativity as subtypes of event-external pluractionality was presented in §4.2.3. based on work by Bertinetto and Lenci (2012): taking this as a reference, in §4.3.3. the EoS constructions are shown to belong to the iterative subtype. As for the second case, the association of *tener* and *llevar* to an EvtP enables them to locally select an *experiencer* argument in the terms defined in §3.4.3.

The derived situational state *s'* is introduced with the merge of RSIT (see 83) above the point where the pluractional semantics is added. Following a general principle of compositionality, the denotation of the higher node RSIT will therefore incorporate the semantics of the pluractional head. Figure 12 shows the explicit formula for illustration, although the details of it can only be properly addressed once the denotation for PLUR has been introduced and explained (§4.3.3.), again for reasons of compositionality. For now, we can say that the head introducing the reference situation builds on a predicate Q over a set of events X (ingredients which are the output of PLUR), to assert the existence of a result state s' for the set of events X, and to identify the holder of such state (represented as *x*) as a semantic experiencer.

Figure 12: denotation for the head introducing the Reference Situation *RSIT*

[[RSIT]]= λQ λx λs' ∃X [Q(X) & ResultState (X,s') &Experiencer (s',x)]

The analysis up to this point is common to both *tener* and *llevar*, despite the internal differences observed in the descriptive part (§2.5). The two constructions are differentiated in the semantics by the presence of a lexical presupposition in the *llevar* cases (§4.3.4). The motivation for such move, along with the details of the proposal, are addressed next.

4.3.3. Delimiting pluractionality in tener *and* llevar

The descriptive part of this work began with a general observation about the meaning of the EoS Perfects, mainly that the eventualities involved had to necessarily have happened more than once. Hence the contrast observed in §2.2, and reproduced in (85-86), between a Preterit denoting a one-time watching event and a *tener* Perfect denoting a plurality of watching events, respectively.

(85) *Ya vi esa película*

Already see-PST.1P.SING that movie

'I have already seen that movie'

(86) *Ya tengo visto esa película*
Already tener-PRS.1P.SING see-PRF.PTCP that movie

'I have already seen that movie MORE THAN ONCE'

The relevant part of the meaning, captured in small capitals in (86), is present independently of any form of explicit adverbial support that may show up in the sentence, such as *many times*. In addition, the requirement on the event to be pluralize was shown to be truth-conditionally required:

(87) *Tengo estado en Roma*
Tener-PRS.1P.SING be$_2$-PRF.PTCP in Rome
(**pero sólo una vez*)
(*but only one time)

'I have been to Rome (*but only once)'

Ignoring for now the condition on argument quantification (see §4.3.4), the Perfect built with *llevar* shows a similar "more than once" requirement on the embedded event. As discussed in the description (§2.1.), sentence (88) with *llevar* requires at least two ordering events. To convey a collective, single-time reading the speaker would resort to the Preterit.

(88) *Esta semana llevo pedido*
This week llevar-PRS.1P.SING order-PRF.PTCP
tres libros

three books

'So far this week I have ordered three books'

The purpose of this section is to explicitly state the semantics underlying this "more than once" requirement reported at a descriptive level from the perspective of event semantics, according to which pluractionality involves pluralizing events. In order to do so, I assume two basic aspects of Cusic's work (1981), discussed in §4.2.2.: firstly, I assume that pluractionality may operate at two levels, one event-internal (repetition within a single event), and one event-external (repetition of the event itself); and secondly, I view distributivity as a parameter of pluractionality, set to determine how the action is distributed in time, space, and/or participants.

The event-external nature of the EoS Perfects was already established in §2.1., where it was noticed that the use of the Perfect did not trigger incremental readings with predicates that could potentially be understood in such a manner (e.g. *rebajar* 'to lower (prices)'); further evidence that the counting needs to be event-external is the fact that (88) above is not compatible with a situation in which the ordering events are all made on a single call, the call being a kind of "framing macro-event":

(89) *Esta semana llevo pedido*
This week llevar-PRS.1P.SING order-PRF.PTCP
*tres libros (*en una sola llamada)*
three books (*in a single call)

'So far this week I have ordered three books (*in one call)'

Pluractionality in EoS is sensitive to these subtle distinctions, requiring the events to repeat itself in a number of different situations, and in that way, it is considered event-external by all accounts, including more recent work by Bertinetto and Lenci (2012: 853).

According to these same authors, both habituality and iterativity fall in the domain of event-external pluractionality. To obtain an accurate semantic picture of our Perfects, we need to test which group they belong to. Table 10 below summarizes the main points of discussion, explained in §4.2.3.

Table 10: Semantics subtypes of event-external pluractionality

Hallmarks of iterativity	**Hallmarks of habituality**
Iterative sentences present a plain state of affairs *(...) Frank has taken the train*	Habitual sentences present a situation as a characterizing property *(...) Frank would usually take the train*
Compatibility with reiteration adverbials: *eleven times*	Compatibility with frequency adverbials: *rarely, usually*
Compatibility with strictly delimiting adverbials: *this week*	Compatibility with vaguely localizing adverbials: *during those times*
Linked to the perfect or perfective past	Linked to the past imperfect

The behavior of our Perfects with respect to each of these properties, applied through similar examples to the ones in Table 10, showed all the hallmarks of iterativity. The results are summarized in Table 11: the EoS Perfects present states of affairs, not characterizing properties; they are compatible with reiteration adverbials, not with frequency ones; they can appear with strictly delimiting adverbials, not with those that delimit vaguely; and finally, with respect to their relationship to the verbal morphology, they are manifested similarly to other analytic Perfects in Romance, and not through a synthetic past imperfect form.

Table 11: delimiting the type of event-external semantics in the EoS Perfects

Hallmarks of iterativity	**Hallmarks of habituality**
Iterative sentences present a plain state of affairs *yes*	Habitual sentences present a situation as a characterizing property *
Compatibility with reiteration adverbials: *once veces* *yes*	Compatibility with frequency adverbials: *raramente, habitualmente* *
Compatibility with strictly delimiting adverbials: *esta semana* *yes*	Compatibility with vaguely localizing adverbials: *en aquella época* *
Linked to the perfect or perfective past *yes*	Linked to the past imperfect *

With respect to the role that distributivity (as defined in §4.2.4.) may play in these constructions, my findings suggest that it is limited to distributing over times, defining in this way the event-external scope of the pluractional semantics. Sentences (90) and (91) below illustrate how the pluractional component of these Perfects is independent of subject distributivity: what (90) says is that the watching activity happened more than once, independently of whether Luis and Marta were watching together or not. The impossible readings are indicated with an asterisk in the English translations.

(90)	*Luis*	*y*	*Marta*	*tienen*	*visto*
	Luis	and	Marta	tener-PRS.3P.PL	see-PRF.PTCP
	la	*última*	*de*	*Polanski*[41]	
	the	last	of	Polanski	

[41] These facts also apply in cases of quantified subjects such as *varios estudiantes* 'several students'.

'Luis and Marta have seen Polanski's last movie MORE THAN ONCE'

* 'Luis have seen the movie once, and Marta have seen the movie once', or 'Luis and Marta (together) have seen the movie once'.

The same is true for *llevar*, although the examples are not as simple, given its quantification requirement (§4.3.4.). In any case, if distributing over subjects were enough to license the Perfect, (91) would work. The fact is, it does not:

(91)	**Luis y Marta*	*llevan*	*visto*
	Luis and Marta	llevar-PRS.3P.PL	see-PRF.PTCP
	la última de	*Polanski*	
	the last of	Polanski	

Intended: 'Luis and Marta have seen Polanski's last movie'

Once a quantified argument is added, *llevar* can be used independently of whether the subjects acted together or separately. Notice that (92) implies several events of writing.

(92)	*Luis y Marta*	*llevan*	*escrito*
	Luis and Marta	llevar-PRS.3P.PL	write-PRF.PTCP
	algunas cartas		
	some letters		

'Luis and Marta have written some letters'

What about object distributivity, understood as a "one event-one object" relation? Speakers' judgements are clear in considering it a possible

interpretation, but not at all required. In fact, *tener* tends to favour collective, yet pluractional, readings:

(93)	*Luis*	*tiene*	*visto*	*seis*	*corzos*[42]
	Luis	tener-PRS.3P.SING	see-PRF.PTCP	six	roe.deer

'Luis has seen six roe deers MORE THAN ONCE'

The case of *llevar* is slightly different in that it seems to rule out a collective reading: for example, in the context of the present academic year, someone can say (94) in case Luis has ordered six books in total, provided that there were at least two ordering events:

(94)	*Luis*	*lleva*	*pedido*	*seis*	*libros*
	Luis	llevar-PRS.3P.SING	order-PRF.PTCP	six	books

Lit. 'Luis has ordered six books'

The number of books that can participate in each ordering event is undefined (can be one order of 4 and one order of 2; can also denote one order of 3, a second order of 1, and another order of 2; and so on and so forth). For that reason, I will not pursue an analysis of *llevar* based on the traditional 1-to-1 distributive relationship between objects and events. Instead, in §4.3.4. I will argue that the requirement for a quantified argument follows from a lexical presupposition introduced by *llevar*.

[42] Different adverbials may favour collective or (vaguely) distributed readings, as in the case of *alguna vez* 'some time' which favours collective ones, and *ya* 'already' which, by contrast, seems to distribute the objects somehow. More research is needed on the role of adverbials in determining distributivity.

The evidence presented so far call for a unified analysis where the source of pluractional readings is common to *tener* and *llevar*: this is obtained via the presence of a pluractional head PLUR in the span of both forms. In the present proposal, the event-external nature of the pluractional semantics follows from the structural position of the head PLUR above EvtP (see 83); the denotation for the pluractional head is given in Figure 13 below:

Figure 13: denotation for the Pluractional head *PLUR*

[[PLUR]]= λP λX [∀e, e' ∈X] [P(e) & P(e') &¬ τ (e) ° τ (e') & ∃t [between (t,τ(e), τ(e')) & ¬ ∃e'' [P(e'') & t= τ (e'')]] & card (X) ≥ 2]

The semantic formula in Figure 13 incorporates part of Lasersohn's (1995) original denotation. The *P* for Predicate corresponds to his *V* (see §4.2.2. for details on Lasersohn's original formula). Capital *X* is a variable over sets of events, while *e* is the event variable. The pluractional head PLUR combines with a predicate P over events to build a predicate over sets of events. The cardinality restriction *card* on the set X means that X must contain at least 2 events of the type denoted by P. These events have non-overlapping running times (τ), and there is a time *t* at which an event of the appropriate type does not occur, between the running times of any two events *e* and *e'* in the set satisfying the pluractional head.

From there, we can revisit the denotation given for the Reference Situation head RSIT in Figure 12, repeated below as 12': RSIT takes the predicate Q over a set of events X (resulting from the application of PLUR), to assert the existence of a result state s' for the set of events X, and to identify the holder of such state (represented as *x*) as a semantic experiencer.

Figure 12': denotation for the head introducing the Reference Situation *RSIT*

[[RSIT]]= λQ λx λs' ∃X [Q(X) & ResultState (X,s') &Experiencer (s',x)]

The semantic contribution of the two heads (PLUR and RSIT) is common to both *tener* and *llevar*. But in order to complete the analysis, something must be said about *llevar*'s independent requirement to appear with quantified arguments, requirement that has been brought up in many occasions throughout this dissertation. The topic is addressed next in a separate section.

4.3.4. Lexical presupposition on llevar

A recurrent observation about the *llevar* Perfects has been the requirement to have a quantified argument within the VP. Unlike *tener*, *llevar* does not combine with intransitive predicates:

(95)	**Este*	*mes*	*llevamos*	*estado*
	This	month	llevar-PRS.1P.PL	be$_1$-PRF.PTCP
	en	*varias*	*ciudades*	
	in	several	cities	

'We have been to several cities this month'

Unlike what happens with *llevar* (+agreeing participle) in Standard Spanish (§2.3.), that may only combine with transitive predicates, *llevar* (Perfect) in EoS also allows quantified prepositional phrases as long as they are selected (that is, unlike (95)): sentence (96) presents a case where the quantifier *bien* 'many' is within the prepositional phrase selected by the directional predicate *ir* 'to go'; in (97) we find a prepositional predicate *participar en* 'participate in', with the requirement fulfilled by the quantifier *varias* 'several'.

(96)	*Llevan*	*ido*	*a*	*bien*	*misas*
	llevar-3P.PL	go-PRF.PTCP	to	many	masses

Lit. 'They have gone to many masses'
'They have attended many masses'

(97)

Este	*año*	*llevan*	*participado*
This	year	llevar-PRS.3P.PL	participate-PRF.PTCP
en	*varias*	*competiciones*	
in	several	competitions	

'They have participated in several competitions this year'

This aspect of the meaning of the *llevar* Perfect has not yet been formalized or accounted for. The analysis built thus far assumes an identical source for the pluractional semantics in both *llevar* and *tener*, and evidence is given to reject an analysis of *llevar* based on object distributivity. The solution to the quantificational puzzle, I will argue, is a lexical presupposition introduced by *llevar*.

The idea is that, when used as a Perfect, *llevar* carries a certain condition as a lexical item that needs to be fulfilled so that the clause it appears in can have a truth value. The condition is stated in the following terms:

For any predicate P over events selected by *llevar*, and set of events X of the P type:

(i) there exists some set A in the domain of individuals, which is the set of all the atomic individuals that participate in a particular selected relation R for each P event in the set X, and

(ii) $\forall e, e' \in X, \forall x, x' \in P(A)\ [e \neq e' \ \& \ R(e,x) \ \& \ R(e',x') \rightarrow x \neq x']$

The condition in (ii) ensures that for each R, the individual(s) involved will be distinct. *P*(A) is the power set of A and it is there to guarantee that a one-to-one match is not required between atomic individuals and separate events, but that some events can have plural participants (I refer the reader to the example (94), where the books do not necessarily stand in a one-to-one distributive relationship with respect to the ordering event).

This understanding of *llevar* is in some sense reminiscent of Winter's (1997, 2001) idea of *P(redicate) distributivity*, where distributional readings derive from some property of the lexical item. *Llevar* is nevertheless different in that it allows vague distributions (§4.3.3.), ruling out solutions inspired by Winter's work, such as Champollion's (2015) idea of a *D-operator* that looks for atomic values (individuals).

Further evidence that *llevar* introduces a lexical presupposition that can be fulfilled pragmatically is manifested in (98), where the singular object is interpreted as part of a presupposed set:

(98)

Hasta	*ahora*	*sólo*	*llevo*	*tomado*
Until	now	only	llevar-PRS.1P.SING	take-PRF.PTCP
una				
one				

'So far I have only taken one'

Sentence (98) was initially presented in §2.6 as an especial case in which *llevar* was unexpectedly welcomed with a singular object. The context was one in which the doctor had prescribed a number of pills to his patient, named Susana, and after a few days he was asking her how that was going. (98) was

Susana's answer. The judgements on (98) were highly favourable, with 80 out of 96 speakers giving it a high score. [43]

Consider now (99):

(99) -¿Cuántas revistas compraste?
'How many magazines did you buy?'

- **Sólo llevo comprado una*
Only llevar-PRS.1P.SING buy-PRF.PTCP one

'I have only bought one'

Questions such as that in (99) are sometimes taken to denote *alternative-sets* (Hamblin 1973, Ramchand 1997, Kratzer and Shimoyama 2002). In the case of (99), the set would consist of numbers. Notice that, unlike what happened in (98), *llevar* is not allowed there with a singular object. What is missing in (99) is the presupposed set, which in (98) may take the following shape: 'I have only taken one *of the ten that were prescribed*'.

The relevance of presupposed sets is further manifested in the following contrast:

(100) *Tengo un examen mañana, pero…*
'I have an exam tomorrow, but…'

[43] The attentive reader will notice that the following *llevar* examples involving singular objects all share the presence of the adverb *sólo* 'only'. It is unclear how much of a determining role the adverb is playing in these cases, and the same can be said about h*asta ahora* 'up until now'. Further research is needed to establish how, and to what extent, the adverbials contribute to the overall presuppositional content of the construction.

(a) */? *Sólo llevo leído un libro*
Only llevar-PRS.1P.SING read-PRF.PTCP one book

'I have only read one book'

(b) *Sólo llevo leído un capítulo*
Only llevar.PRS.1P.SING read-PRF.PTCP one chapter

'I have only read one chapter'

If the condition on *llevar* was purely structural, we would not expect any contrast in acceptability between *un libro* in (100a) and *un capítulo* (100b). If, on the other hand, we regard (100a-b) as a difference in terms of presupposed sets, the contrast above follows straightforwardly from the fact that a chapter is much more likely to be taken as part of a set than a book.

Finally, in cases where nouns necessarily refer to single, unique entities of the world at a given period, like *papa* 'pope' in (101), we observe that the *llevar* perfect is disallowed, as expected by the absence of an appropriate set:

(101) **Sólo llevo saludado a un papa*
Only llevar-PRS.1P.SING greet-PRF.PTCP to one pope

'I have only greeted one pope'

To sum up, *llevar* in its use as a Perfect has the ability to convey pluractionality either by selecting a quantified argument or by incorporating a presupposed set.

4.4. EoS and the nature of the Perfect

We are now in a position to reconsider the extent to which the semantic conditions on event repeatability and experientiality that characterize the EoS constructions are a quirkiness of the language, or can be derived from their status as Perfects more generally: my answer to this will be that those conditions follow naturally from a view of the Perfect as a state builder.

As I pointed out earlier in this section, I take the basic meaning of the Perfect to be the assertion of a state (*s'*) in relation to a previous eventuality (s_0). There are empirical reasons to believe so, besides the systematic correspondence between Perfects and states in different domains (§4.3.1.): for instance, looking back at the main readings of the Perfect as they were introduced in §4.1.2, one finds that existential readings (resultatives and/or experientials), which are easily accommodated under a (Result) state analysis, do not need any adverbial support in order to emerge. The universal reading, on the other hand, requires an adequate temporal adverbial, an indication that in these contexts the meaning is composed of more ingredients than the Perfect alone[44].

The idea that the Perfect is responsible for the introduction of a derived state is also consistent with the historical facts. In §4.1.1. we saw the Perfect evolving cross-linguistically from predicates of stative possession, to eventually appear in resultative contexts before the rise of the "Perfect" proper. What is common to all these different stages is the existence of a state, whose nature changes across time. The following examples from Spanish illustrate this fact: initially, the state denotes certain property of the argument, as in (102):

[44] The idea that Perfect meanings may arise as a by-product of interactions with other elements in the clause has been explored in Portner (2003).

(102) *Juan* *tiene* *los* *ojos* *cerrados*
Juan tener-PRS.3P.SING the eyes shut.PRF.PTCP

'Juan has his eyes closed'

At some point, the state begins to appear in resultative contexts where it is understood as the consequence of a previous eventuality denoted by a telic participle:

(103) *Tenié* *con* *sus* *oncejas*
Tener-IMP.3P.SING with POSS-3P.SING nails
las *masiellas* *rompidas*
the.FEM.PL cheek.FEM.PL break-PTCP.FEM.PL

'S/he had her/his cheeks lacerated with her/his nails'

Thus, for the same verb complex, sometimes the associated state would have a property-denoting function, while some other times it would imply the existence of a past event leading to it. In Spanish, the participle shows morphological agreement in both contexts (see §4.1.1. for details).

The definitive change that established the Perfect as we know it today affected the nature of the result state, making it more "abstract": compare, for example, a physical object being broken as a result of a previous action (along the lines of (103)) with a recollection of mistakes that are a distant and less concrete result of a subject's past actions in (104):

(104) *de* *los* *grandes* *yerros* *que*
of the big mistakes that

tú	*tienes*	*fecho*
you	tener-PRS.2P.SING	do-PRF.PTCP

'Of the great mistakes that you have done'

(Baena II, 973, 491, 10)

The semantic change correlated with the spread of the Perfect to intransitive predicates and, in languages like Spanish, with the loss of participial agreement. As pointed out in §4.1.1., examples like (30) with *tener* in Old Spanish were scarce and practically disappeared from the written records by the start of the 17th century, due to the spreading of *haber*.

The historical development of the Perfect mirrors the development of the notion of *state* in the Result State theory, from subsequent in resultative contexts (Moens 1987) to a much wider understanding of the concept of *post-state*, what Parsons (1990) called *R-states*: those that hold forever by virtue of the verbal situation having taken place (see §4.1.3.).

In a similar vein, Carrasco (2015) distinguishes the resultative and experiential perfects by the type of state they denote: while the former is part of the subeventive structure of the predicate (its goal state), the latter characterizes the subject as a participant in the type of event denoted by the verbal predicate; her idea is that, while the resultative is part of concrete events, the experiential is only related to event types.

Carrasco's view on experiential Perfects combines two fundamental ideas: the concept of *R-state* established by Parsons with Smith's (1991) notion of *participant property*, so that the R-state would be the result of a change of state driven by the subject's participation in a type of event. The initial point of this process is the state of the subject before the experience, while the final

state characterizes the subject as having experienced the eventuality in question.

Therefore, we see how semantic experientiality comes naturally under a view of the Perfect as a state builder. What about repeatability?

Repeatability has been identified as a definitional property of experiential Perfects (McCawley 1971, Inoue 1978, Dahl 1985, Michaelis 1994, Katz 2003). In the early 30s, Zandvoort (1932) already described them as "iteratives" for the same reasons, initially focusing on subordinate temporal clauses in English, such as *When I have asked a singer… whether he sang a particular song,* ***I have (often) received the reply***… These were cases where the perfect seemed to refer to a plurality of instantiations of the verbal predicate, with or without the help of temporal adverbs (hence the bracketing of *often*). Faced with counterexamples, Zandvoort ended up defining them as statements of personal experience with iterative and neutral variants. If neutral there means "*having the potential to be* iterated, without *actually being* iterated", repeatability would still be definitional of the experiential Perfect. This is an empirical question.

Summing up, the theoretical hypothesis whereby the Perfect builds up derived states can be supported in a number of empirical ways, including its behaviour in stativity tests, its historical development, and its dependency (or lack therefore) on adverbial support. The nature of the derived state historically evolved from a more concrete notion of physical, result state into a more abstract notion of mental state. This semantic trajectory can be taken as an indication that it is in the experiential where we find the semantic *core* of what it means to be Perfect (see Mittwoch 2008: 340 for converging evidence).

If the ideas above are on the right track and the experiential state is indeed the Perfect *par excellence*, it would mean that both repeatability (or at least the potential for it) and experientiality are key to the meaning of the Perfect. And consequently, the EoS Perfects, far from being weird or exceptional, would after all be the natural manifestation of a meaning that is there to begin with, a meaning which may or may not be grammatically encoded as such in other languages/varieties.

4.5. Conclusion

The EoS Perfects are bi-situational structures where a primary situation contributed by the participle (s_0) is enriched by a new, stative situation contributed by *tener* and *llevar* (s'). The former denotes the eventuality in question, while the latter denotes a state which is in a particular semantic relationship with the eventuality. This relationship can be defined as the (permanent) state that results from having experienced the event (after Parsons 1990). In addition, a pluractional head in the structure of the higher verb contributes the obligatory pluractional meaning observed empirically (§2). *Llevar* further introduces a lexical presupposition that accounts for its requirement to have a particular kind of selected phrase in the event structure.

Chapter 5- Concluding Remarks

We can now revisit the fundamental questions that motivated the study of Pluractional Perfects (§1.3.2.), and put together the answers given throughout the dissertation.

How can these constructions be accounted for, and from what angle?

Descriptively, Pluractional Perfects were presented as analytic verb forms built up by a participle and an inflected verb, which simultaneously conveyed the meaning of a Perfect and that of a Pluractional (as defined in the literature). The resulting structure was found to be monoclausal, according to formal tests.

Given their monoclausal nature, Pluractional Perfects were structurally analysed as part of a single Functional Sequence where each verb was associated to a particular chunk of the sequence, consisting of several (contiguous) syntactic heads. A correspondence was assumed between size of structure and size of meaning.

Pluractional Perfects were semantically analyzed as bi-situational structures in which the participle contributed a primary situation (s_0) that was then enriched by a new situation (s') contributed by the inflected verb, denoting a state that derived from s_0.

What do Pluractional Perfects tell us about the nature of the Perfect and about event plurality? Is the fact that we see these two ingredients coming together in one construction purely incidental?

The answer is that the semantic conditions on event repeatability and experientiality that characterize the EoS Perfects can be derived from their

status as Perfects more generally: experientiality comes as a natural consequence of the fact that the Perfect contributes a derived state which characterizes the subject as having experienced the eventuality in question, whereas repeatability (or at least the potential for it) is highly compatible with the experiential semantics of the Perfect (§4.4.).

What do Pluractional Perfects tell us about the phenomenon of complex predication and the lexical/functional division?

Pluractional Perfects were shown to be problematic for approaches that assume a traditional, clear-cut division between lexical (main) verbs and auxiliaries, and even for approaches that recognize a third verb class (that of light verbs).

The theoretical challenge called for a more flexible way to explain the empirical patterns, and this was made possible by assuming that complex predicates operate in a shared configurational space, only constrained by the Functional Sequence (Svenonius 2008). Under this view, the empirical contrasts derive from differences in the size of the span that each member of the complex lexicalize, as well as from their structural height.

Theoretical consequences of the analysis

An analysis of this kind can inform a whole body of literature that, in the context of Generative Linguistics, has been dealing with items bearing mixed properties (functional/lexical), as in the case of *restructuring verbs* (Zubizarreta 1982, Rizzi 1976, Wurmbrand 1998, Cinque 2004). The restructuring phenomenon refers to the ability of certain modal, aspectual, and motion verbs to appear in monoclausal configurations as functional verbs with an infinitival complement. For Rizzi (1976), this is due to a process of

structural simplification or *restructuring*. For Cinque (2004) on the other hand, these verbs are *always* functional, even in cases where we do not see clitic climbing or any other sign of monoclausality.

In particular, Cinque assumes that the semantic content of a restructuring verb matches that of a functional head among the many that, according to his Cartography (§3.1.1.), form the universal functional sequence. He therefore does not assume a spanning approach like the one proposed here, where a single verb can target more than one head in a complement sequence.

One consequence of Cinque's approach is that, because these verbs are functional and relatively high, they should not be able to impose semantic restrictions on their subjects. However, he finds that sometimes they do, like in the Italian example **la casa gli voleva apparterene* 'the house wanted to belong to him', where the inanimate subject is disallowed. To fit these cases in his overall analysis, he resorts to Zubizarreta's (1982) original proposal that restructuring verbs may assign an adjunct th(eta)-role, meaning that the semantic restrictions on subjects are determined post-syntactically in the interface to the conceptual-intentional system, i.e. in Logical Form (LF).

A solution in these terms, though, functions as an unrestricted escape clause, whereby anything that doesn't fit may be assigned the magic label of "interpretive condition" so that the semantic ingredient does not have to be addressed further, and at the same time it is prevented from ruining the neatness of Syntax.

A spanning approach like the one taken in this dissertation, on the other hand, provides an alternative solution to these problems by keeping a straightforward mapping between the syntax and the semantics: verbs that operate high may very well impose certain semantics on their subjects,

depending on the size and heights of the span that they lexicalize, like *tener* and *llevar* when they form Pluractional Perfects.

Problems for further research

Looking now at the cross-linguistic picture for Pluractional Perfects in the Romance context, the (micro)variation observed indicates that these constructions are subject to different conditions in Galician, Asturian, Portuguese, and Spanish, which proves that the EoS Perfects are not merely the manifestation in Spanish of an underlying Galician system.

Just how distinct Pluractional Perfects might be, even within a language, is an empirical question: as stated in the Introduction (§1.2), the limited evidence collected from the oral corpus of Spanish in Galicia (ESLORA), as well as from descriptive works like Rojo (2005), seem to fully converge with my observations in Eo-Navia. However, I leave it for future research to determine the scope of the generalizations observed in Eonavian Spanish, with systematic studies in other areas where Spanish is in contact with Galician. The matter exceeds the scope of one dissertation.

Another aspect that needs further consideration is the correlation between the (un)availability of (perfective) Past Tense inflection and the presence/absence of implicit iteration in the targeted eventuality in Pluractional Perfects. This was briefly discussed in §3.5., but it deserves more attention. We need to be able to determine the extent to which perfective past inflection is incompatible with a pluractional meaning that arises within the same construction: is it related to the structural height at which pluractionality operates in a particular variety? In §3.5. I present some preliminary observations in that direction.

This dissertation has also supported a fairly unconventional approach to pluractionality, that sees it as a more general phenomenon than what researchers normally acknowledge (with worthy exceptions like van Geenhoven (2007)). As stated in §4.2.4., the Eonavian data provide new empirical evidence that pluractionality may manifest outside the domain of derivational morphology, and its associated semantics may operate outside the event domain proper.

Consider the background literature on pluractionals given in §4.2., where we could in fact distinguish two ways of thinking about the phenomenon: one is to take pluractionality to be defined by a particular morphological operation (Wood 2007, Henderson 2017), so that it will be present in cases like (1), where the sense of event plurality is obtained from a derivational process on the verb, but not in cases like (2), where the sense of event plurality comes from the adverbial phrase.

(1) *Nere* 'to eat' > *nerqetaartuq* 'he keeps eating at intervals'

(2) Marijke came to visit many times [multiple visits]

Alternatively, one can take a "meaning-based" approach to pluractionality that cuts across its different morphological manifestations. An early attempt in this direction is made by Cusic (1981) when he establishes that pluractionality may be event-internal or event-external, depending or whether it affects internal (meaning parts) of a single event or not. Later on, Bertinetto and Lenci (2012) would define *habituality* and *iterativity* in semantic terms as instances of event-external pluractionality which, as discussed in §4.2.3., may be manifested in different forms or arise from different combinations of sentence constituents in a language.

The second view allows for a flexible understanding of pluractionality as the expression of event plurality in language, and therefore opens the door to a promising line of research even in morphologically poor languages.

Overall, and despite the open issues that come as a natural consequence of any scientific work, I hope that this dissertation has contributed to our understanding of the Perfect in relation to event plurality, and to our understanding of the relation between syntax, semantics and spell-out more generally.

APPENDIX

List of sentences (+ context preambles) and results

Number of target sentences: 44

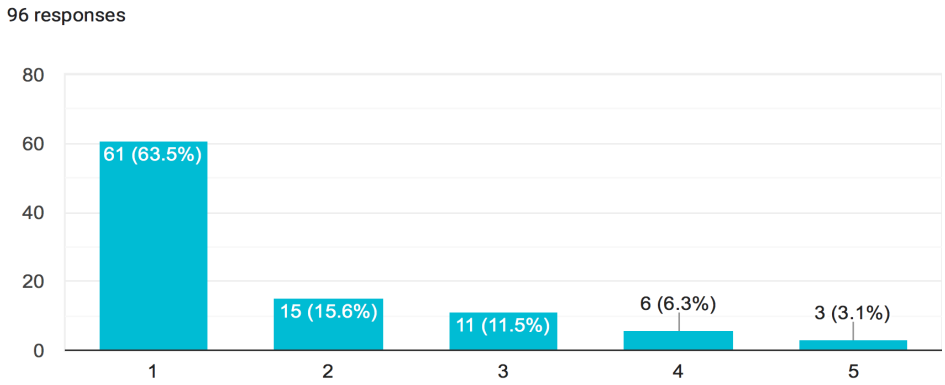
Participants: 96

1.

Carmen and Nuria are talking about their European travels. At some point, Carmen asks Nuria is she knows Rome. Nuria replies:

NO,	NUNCA	TENGO	ESTADO	EN	ROMA
Neg	never	tener-PRS.1P.SING	be$_2$-PRF.PTCP	in	Rome

English: 'No, I have never been in Rome'



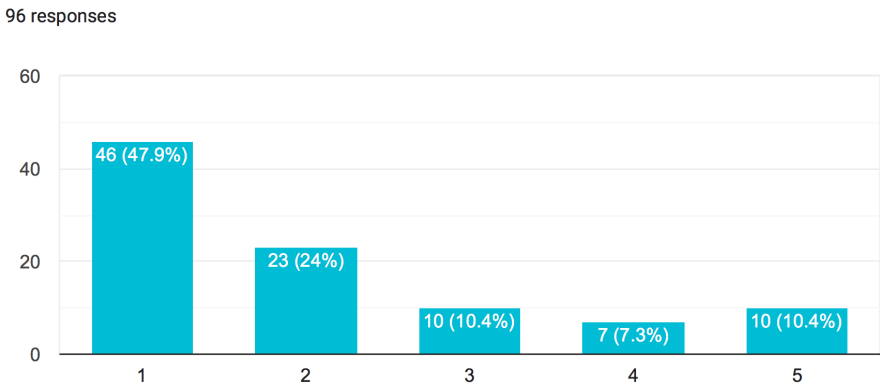
2.

Luis watched the new Polanski film on Monday, and Marta watched it on Tuesday. With this information, would you say that…

LUIS Y MARTA	TIENEN	VISTO
Luis and Marta	tener-PRS.3P.PL	see-PRF.PTCP

LA	NUEVA	DE	POLANSKI
the	new	of	Polanski

English: 'Luis and Marta have seen the new Polanski film'

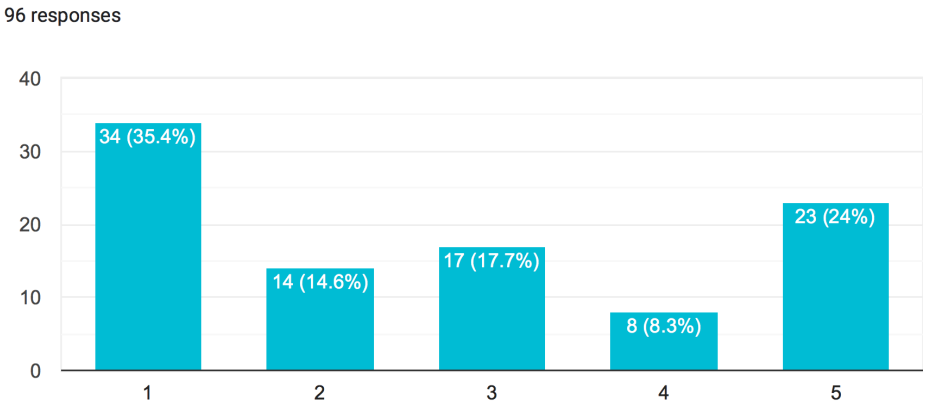


3.

You play in a football team and yesterday you and the rest of the team went out for a Christmas meal. It is the first time that the coach joins it and hebrings you(pl.) lottery tickets. Would you say today that…

EL	MÍSTER	NOS	TIENE	REGALADO
The	coach	cl.1P.PL	tener-PRS.3P.SING	offer-PRF.PTCP
DÉCIMOS		DE	LOTERÍA	
tenth-share.ticket		of	lottery	

English: 'The coach has offered us lottery tickets'

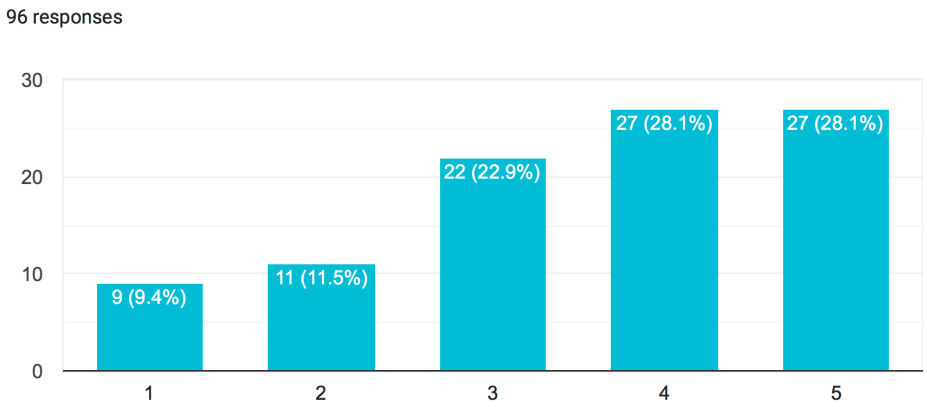


4.

Ana's father is talking about how Ana's grandparents liked to go partying when they were young. Ana asks him: "dad, did they use to dance in those events?" Her father replies:

PUEDE	SER	QUE	ALGUNA	VEZ
can-PRS.3P.SING	be1-INF	that	some	time
TENGAN	BAILADO			
tener-PRS.SBJV.3P.PL	dance-PRF.PTCP			

English: 'It could be that they have danced some time'

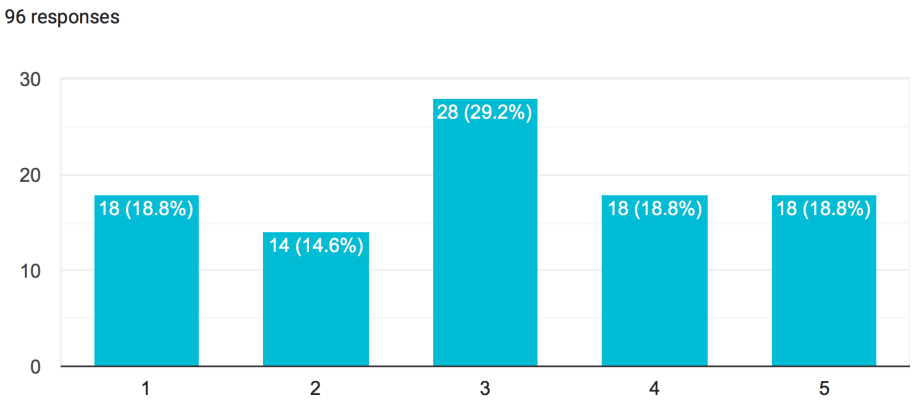


5.

Today is the deadline for an application that you have to send by post. A colleague at work asks how you are doing with that and you say:

NO SÉ	SI	ME	DARÁ		TIEMPO.
Neg know-PRS.1P.SING	if	cl.1P.SING	give-FUT.3P.SING.		time
NECESITABA	PARA	LAS	4	TENER	MANDADO
Need-IMP.1P.SING	for	the	4	tener-INF	send-PRF.PTCP
LA	SOLICITUD				
The.fem	application.fem				

English: 'I am not sure I will have time. I needed to have sent the application by 4'

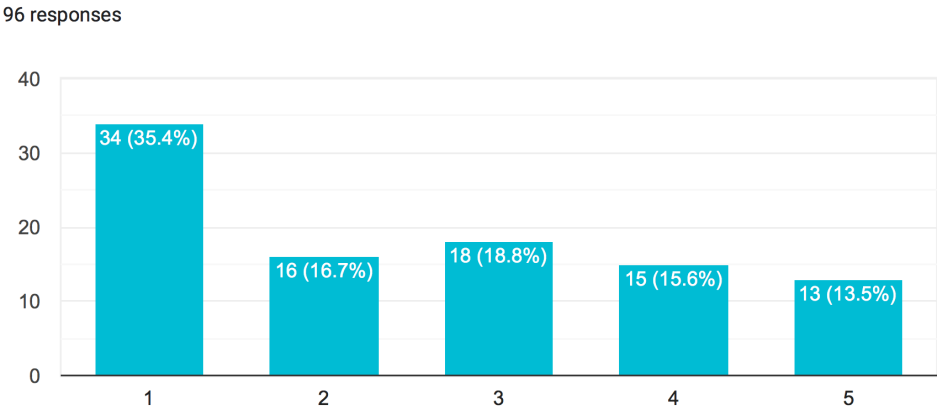


6.

It's 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Ramón and Celia are meeting the house buyers tomorrow at noon to sign the transaction. Ramón, satisfied, says to Celia:

¡IMAGÍNATE!		MAÑANA	A	ESTAS	HORAS
Imagine-cl.IMPV.2P.SING		tomorrow	at	this	hour
YA	TENDREMOS	VENDIDO	LA	CASA	
already	tener-PRS.1P.PL	sell-PRF.PTCP	the	house	

English: Can you imagine? By this time tomorrow we would have sold the house!

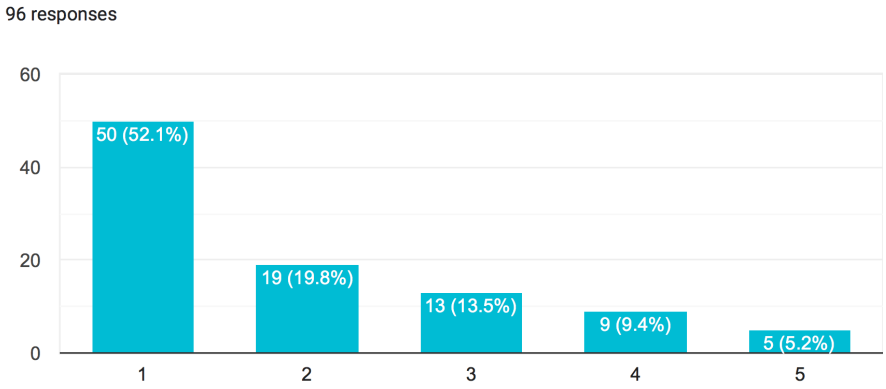


7.

Talking about your grandfathers, you ask your friend how her grandad is doing, and she says that he is stooped over and huddled. You add:

SÍ...	ES	QUE	TU	ABUELO	
Yes…	be$_1$-PRS.3P.SING	that	your	grandfather	
TIENE	SIDO	ALTO	DE	JOVEN	
tener-PRS.3P.SING	be$_1$-PRF.PTCP	tall	of	young	

English: 'Yes… your grandfather has been tall in his youth'

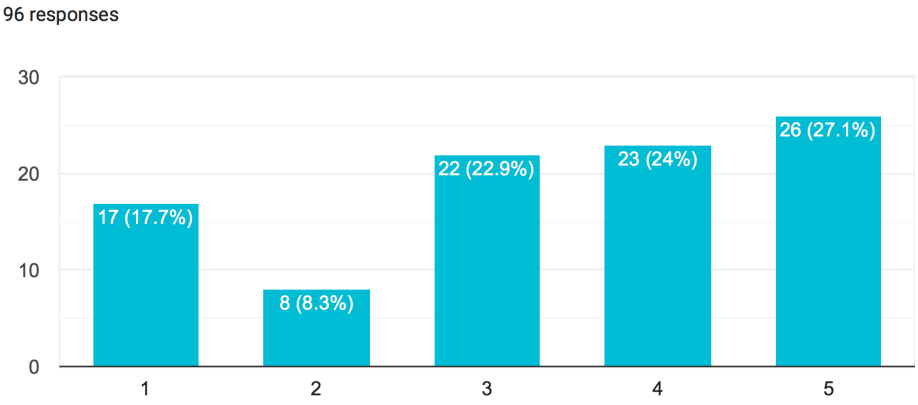


8.

The local commission meets to discuss the location of the town's day celebrations, because it has to be at a different place from the one it was last time. A neighbour comments that it all started in the main square, and another neighbour says:

OTROS	AÑOS	TIENE	SIDO
Other	years	tener-PRS.3P.SING	be$_1$-PRF.PTCP
EN	EL	PARQUE	
in	the	park	

English: 'Other times it has taken place in the park'

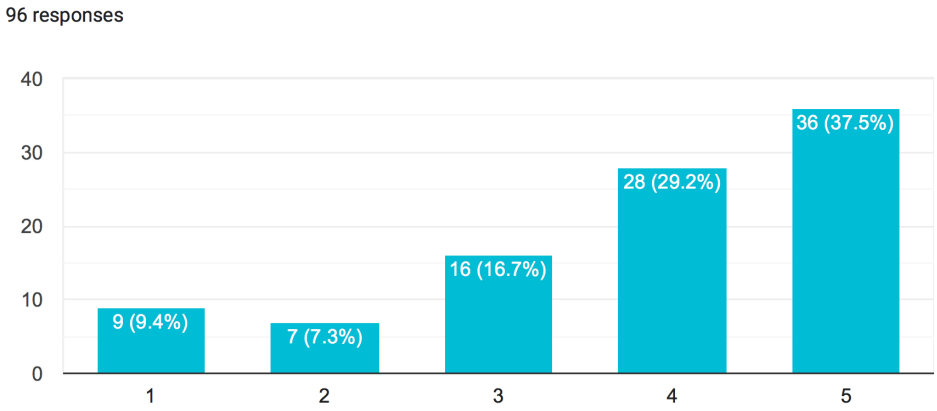


9.

Since his boss is often on sick leave, Luis always ends up working overtime. His friend Andrés tells him that the situation is not normal and he adds:

MIRA		QUE	TIENES	ESTADO	TÚ
Look-IMPV.2P.SING		that	tener-PRS.2P.SING	be$_2$-PRF.PTCP	you
BIEN	JOROBADO…	Y	NO	PERDÍAS	DE	IR
well	screwed	and	neg	lose-IMP.2P.SING	of	go-INF

English: 'Remember just how many times you were sick and didn't take a day off'

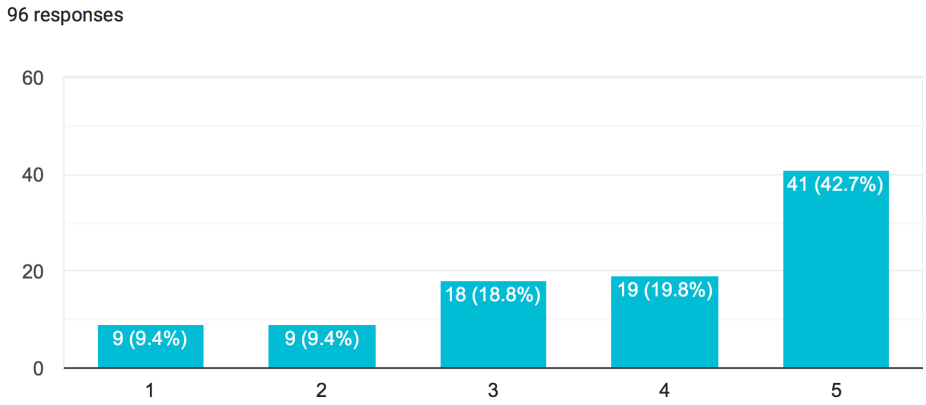


10.

María is at her grandma's, helping her with the Christmas decorations. Some of the Christmas balls are making María annoyed because they don't hang in properly on the tree. Her grandma says:

NO	TE	PREOCUPES,	ESAS	BOLITAS	YA	
Neg	cl.2P.SING	worry	those	balls	already	
TIENEN	CAÍDO	OTROS	AÑOS			
tener-PRS.3P.SING	fall-PRF.PTCP	other	years			
Y	NO	ROMPEN				
and	neg	break-PRS.3P.SING				

English: 'Don't you worry, those balls have already fallen down other years and they do not break'

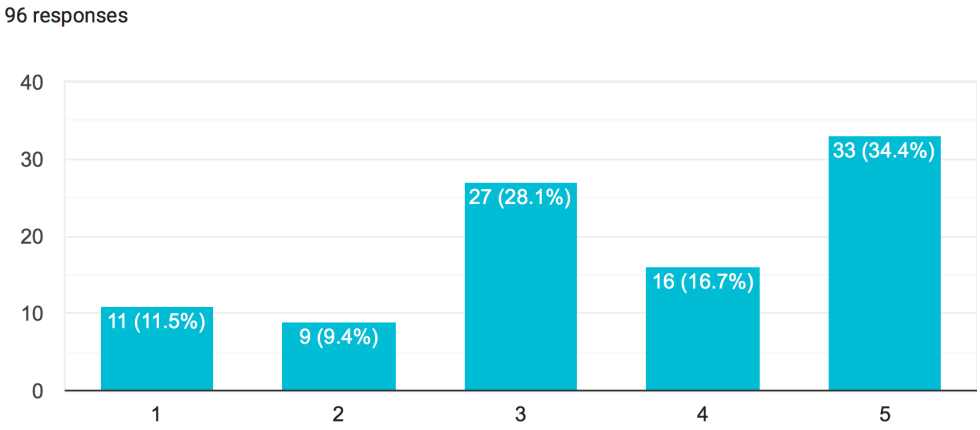


11.

The maternity unit at the local hospital is closing due to lack of use, and one of the midwifes, who is about the retire, says to a colleague:

ES	UNA	PENA…	AQUÍ	TIENEN
Be$_1$-PRS.3P.SING	a	pity…	here	tener-PRS.3P.PL
NACIDO	BIEN	NIÑOS EN	OTRO	TIEMPO
be.born-PRF.PTCP	many	kids	in	other time

English: 'It is a pity… Many children have been born here over the years'

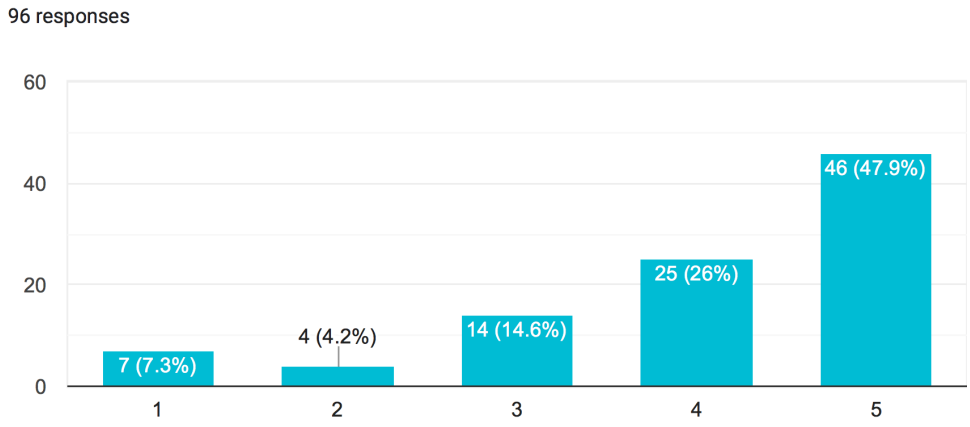


12.

You are sitting for official exams to become a civil servant, and you have just come out from the theory-based part. You call your friend to tell her that you are confident it went well, and then she asked you about the questions. You reply:

ME	TIENEN	CAÍDO		TANTAS	VECES	EN
cl.1P.SING	tener-PRS.3P.PL	fall-PRF.PTCP		so.many	times	in
LOS TESTS	QUE	YA	ME	LAS	SÉ	
the tests	that	already	cl.1P.SING	them	know-PRS.1P.SING	
DE	MEMORIA					
of	memory					

English: '(to me) they have fallen so many times in the tests that I already know them by heart'

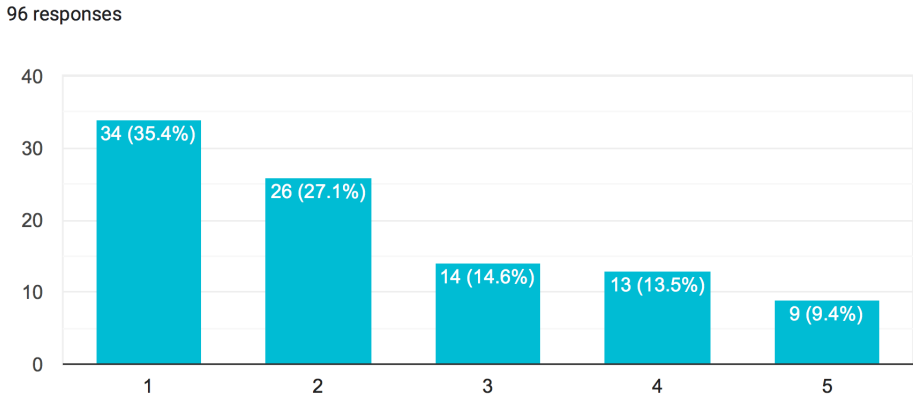


13.

The package that Laura ordered to an Asturian company is delayed by several days, so she decides to contact the postal services. They tell her that…

CON	EL	TEMPORAL	QUE	HAY,	ALGUNOS	ENVÍOS
With	the	bad.weather	that	there.is	some	deliveries
TIENEN		SALIDO			TARDE	
tener-PRS.3P.PL		leave-PRF.PTCP			late	

English: 'Due to the weather conditions, some deliveries had been dispatched late'

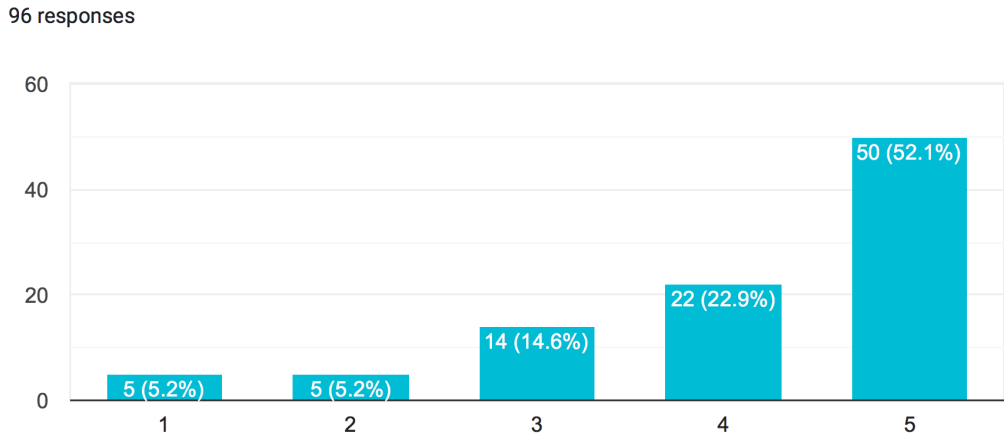


14.

Cities such as Buenos Aires or La Habana were the new home of many people who emigrated from Spain and other countries. Carmen, for example, tell us that:

AQUÍ	TIENE	LLEGADO	GENTE	DE	TODAS	PARTES
Here	tener-PRS.3P.SING	arrive-PRF.PTCP	people	of	all	parts

English: 'People from all over the world have arrived here'

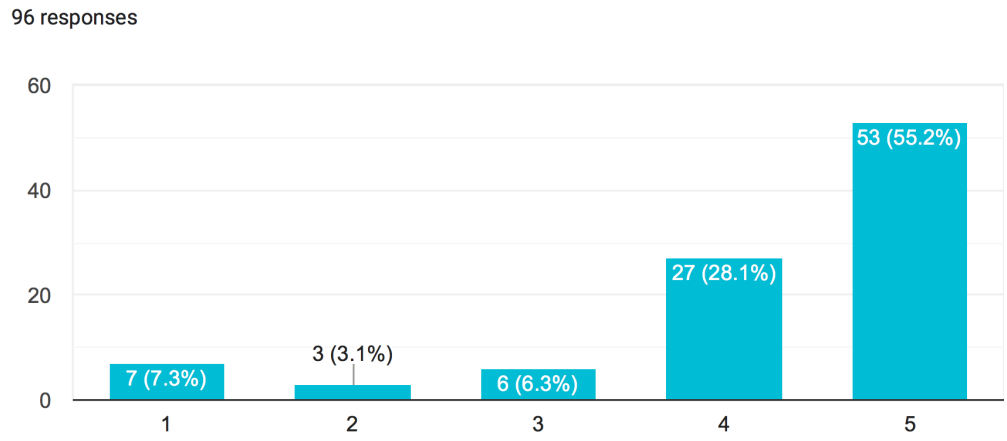


15.

You are the accountant of a small company and you see that the telephone bills are not normal. When your boss ask you for an explanation, you tell him that you are suspicious of a colleague and you add:

NOS	TIENEN		LLEGADO	FACTURAS	A
cl.1P.PL	tener-PRS.3P.PL		arrive-PRF.PTCP	bills	on
SU	NOMBRE	CANTIDAD	DE	VECES	
his	name	quantity	of	times	

English: '(to us) The bills have arrived in his name so many times'

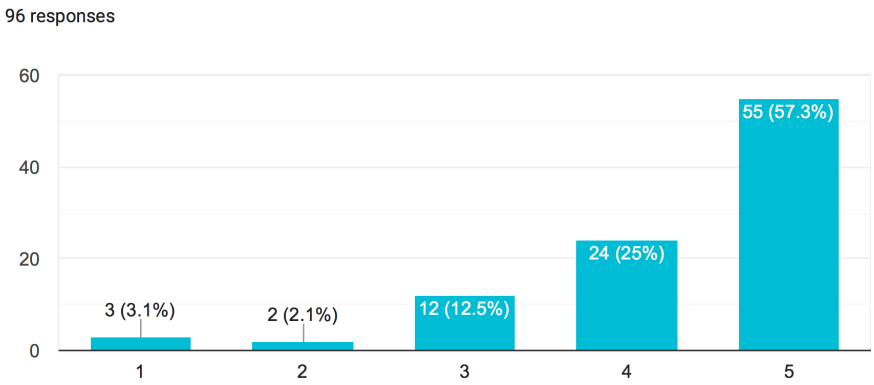


16.

Marta's boyfriend is sitting on the couch watching a TV program that Marta doesn't know. She asks him what it is about, because it seems quite funny, and his boyfriend says smiling:

EN	ESTE	PROGRAMA	TIENE	PASADO	
In	this	program	tener-PRS.3P.SING	happen-PRF.PTCP	
DE	TODO	¡EL	PRESENTADOR	ESTÁ	LOQUÍSIMO!
of	all	the	host	be$_1$-PRS.3P.SING	crazy.SUPER

English: 'All sorts of things have happened in this program. The host is so crazy!'

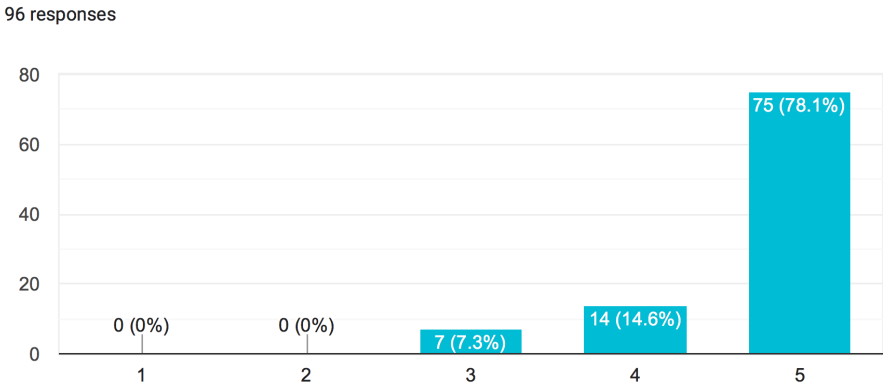


17.

Rocío meets up with some friends from the time she was at uni, and soon a bunch of anecdotes about the student life starts to arise. Speaking about funny situations, they laugh and one of them says:

ES	QUE	NOS	TIENE
Be_1-PRS.3P.SING	that	cl.1P.PL	tener-PRS.3P.SING
PASADO	CADA COSA…		
happen-PRF.PTCP	each	thing…	

English: 'oh dear, so many weird things have happened to us'

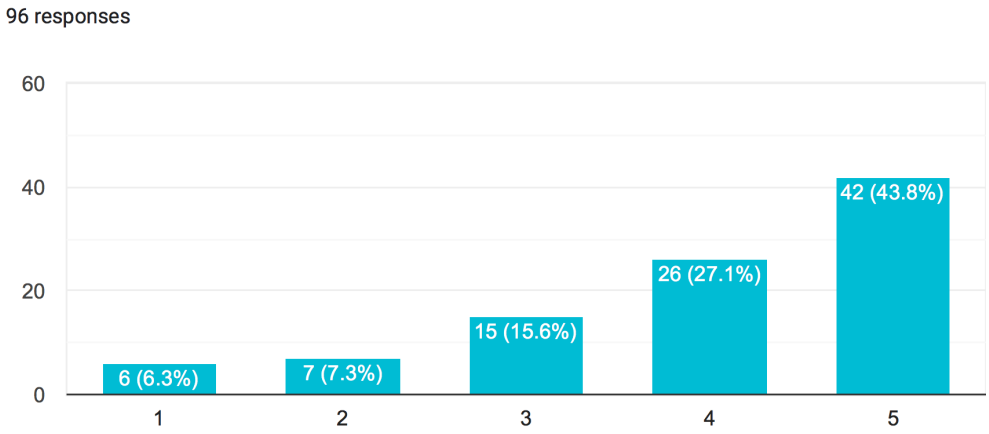


18.

You meet some friends in a bar and they introduce you to a couple of triathlon athletes who compete at a professional level all around the country. You ask them if they also compete abroad and they say:

NORMALMENTE	NO…	PERO	EN	ITALIA		SÍ	QUE
Normally	neg	but	in	Italy		yes	that
TENEMOS	CORRIDO		ALGUNA		VEZ		
tener-PRS.1P.PL	run-PRF.PTCP		some		time		

English: ‘Normally not. But in Italy yes, we have run a few times’

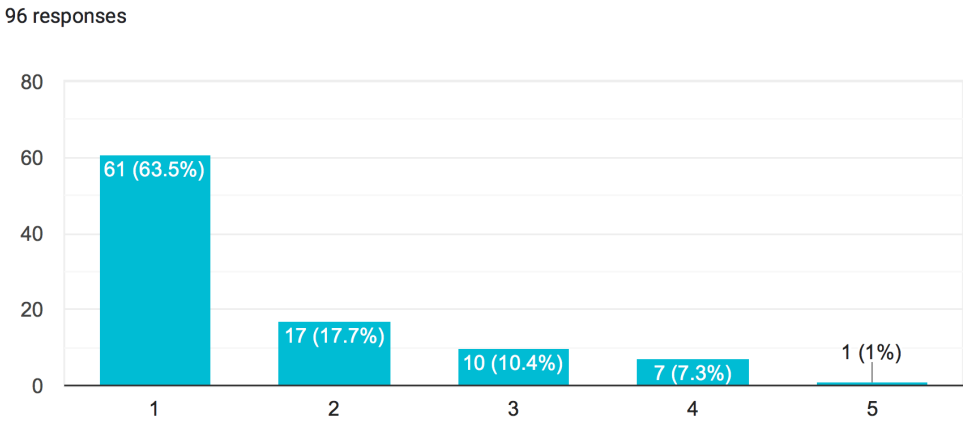


19.

After spending some months in India as cooperant aid workers, Álvaro and Mateo tell their friends about the health problems they had whilst they were there. Mateo says:

SÍ,	FIEBRE	TENEMOS	TENIDO
Yes	fever	tener-PRS.1P.PL	had-PRF.PTCP

English: ‘Yes, we have had fever’

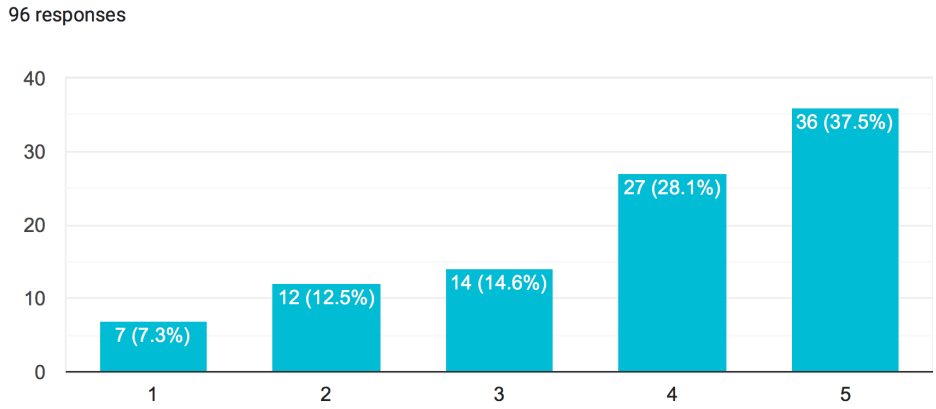


20.

José asks his friend Pablo: “do you remember these big posters which are at the exit of the industrial state? Well, I made them”. Pablo replies:

SÍ,	SÍ QUE ME		TIENE	COINCIDIDO
Yes,	yes that cl.1P.SING		tener-PRS.3P.SING	coincide-PRF.PTCP
DE	VERLOS	AL	PASAR	
of	see-INF.them	at	pass-INF	

English: ‘Yes, yes I have recurrently seen them on my way home’.



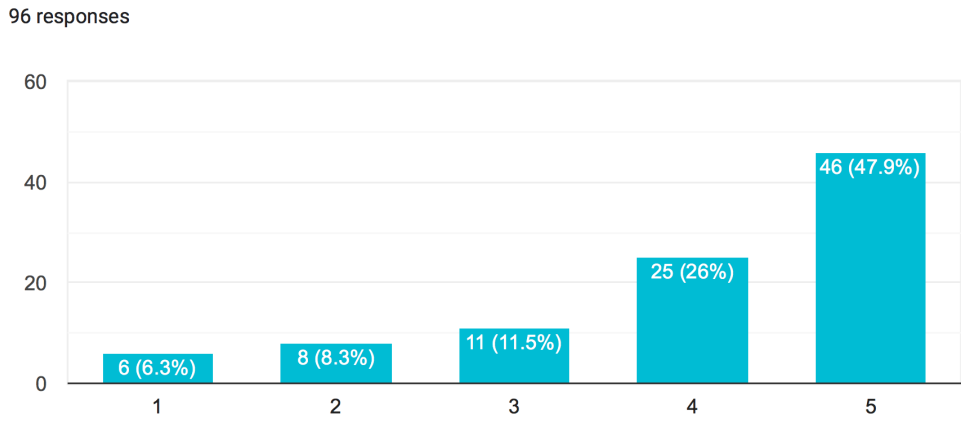
21.

You are planning a trip to Chile with your friends and a few days before travelling you realize your passport is out of date. Your friends laugh and one of them says:

A MÍ	ME	TIENE	CADUCADO	MÁS
To me	cl.1P.SING	tener-PRS.3P.SING	expire-PRF.PTCP	more

DE UNA VEZ	POR	NO	MIRAR	LA	FECHA
than one time	because.of	neg	see	the	date

English: 'In my case, (to me) the passport has expired more than once for not looking at the expiring date'

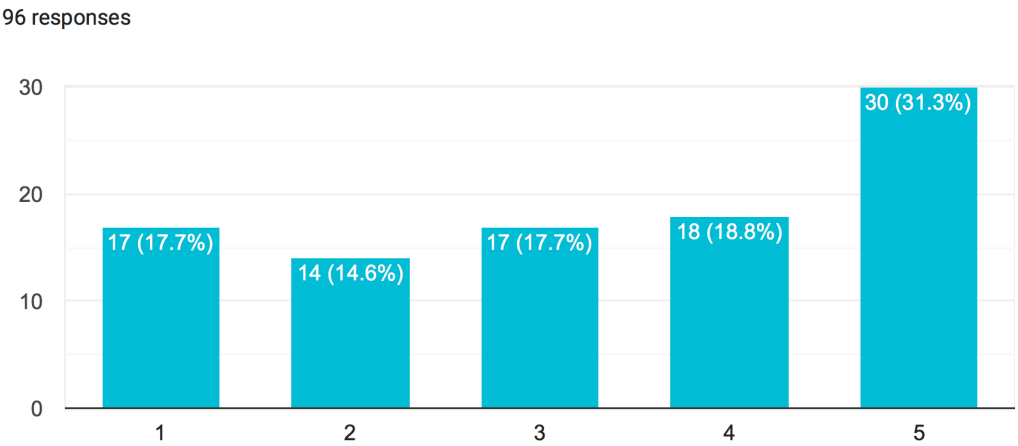


22.

Juan starts to talk about how two friends of him, doctors, got to be so famous at a national level. Juan says that their success began in the 80s, and continues:

Y CLÍNICAS...	EN	EL 85	YA	TENÍAN	ABIERTO	VARIAS
And clinics	in	the 85	already	tener-IMP.3P.PL	open-PRF.PTCP	several

English: 'As for clinics, in 1985 they had already opened several ones'

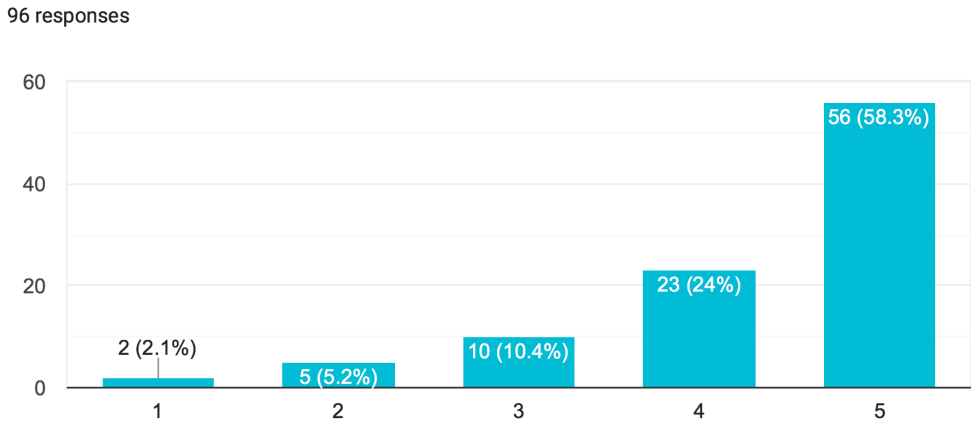


23.

You are having coffee with María and you mention to her how messy Carmen's house is. Then María asks how come you know that, and you reply:

CUANDO	ÍBAMOS	DE	FIESTA	ME	TENGO	
When	go-IMP.1P.PL	of	party	cl.1P.SING	tener-PRS.1P.SING	
QUEDADO	EN	SU	CASA	ALGUNA	VEZ	
Stay-PRF.PTCP	in	poss.3P.SING	house	some	time	

English: 'Sometimes I have stayed at her place when we were out partying'

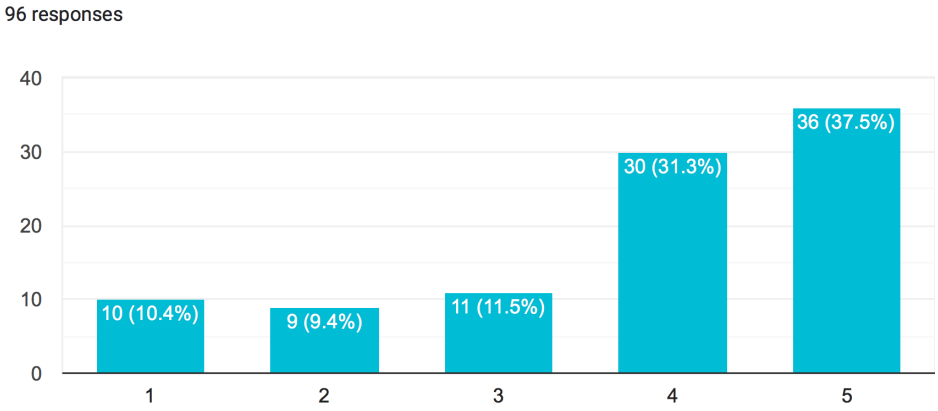


24.

Your friend Sara likes a pair of brown boots in a shoe store near your home, and it is raingin so much that you don't manage to read the price tag on the windows. Then you encourage her to go in and try them on, saying:

NO	SÉ	SI	ESTARÁN	HOY	DE	OFERTA
Neg	know-PRS.1P.SING	if	be$_2$-FUT.3P.PL	today	of	sale
PERO	YA	LAS	TIENEN	REBAJADO	ALGUNA	VEZ
but	already	them	tener-PRS.3P.PL	lower-PRF.PTCP	some	time

English: 'I don't know if they are on sale today, but they have been on sale some times'

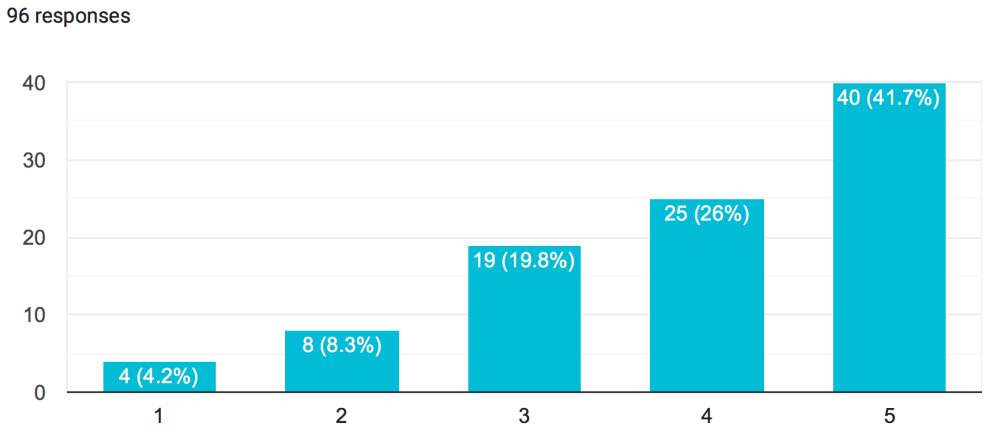


25.

Carlos and Oliva were in Ireland 3 times, and the weather was always bad. When a friend asks them for travel trips, they advise him to pack an umbrella. Oliva says:

MIRA,	NO	TE	IMAGINAS	LO	QUE
Look-IMPV.2P.SING	neg	cl.2P.SING	imagine-PRS.2P.SING	it	that
NOS	TIENE	LLOVIDO			
cl.1P.PL	tener-PRS.3P.SING	rain-PRF.PTCP			

English: ‘You really cannot imagine how (to us) it has rained!’

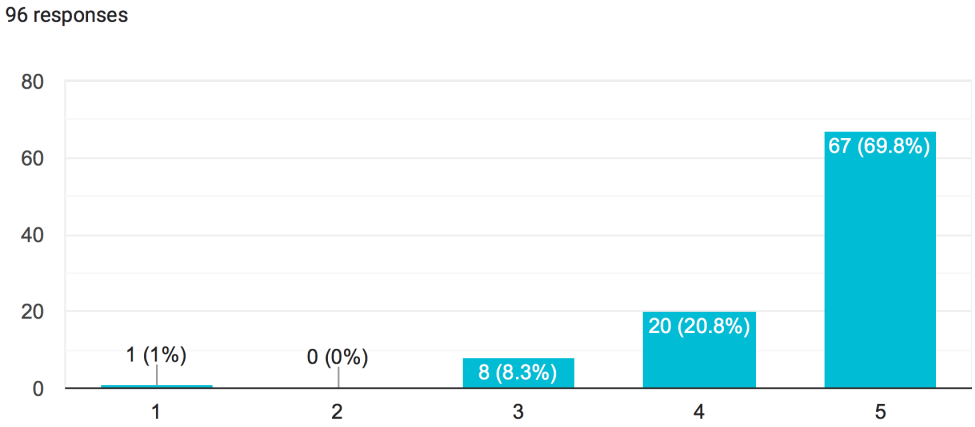


26.

The road that you take to work passes through a forest where there's a lot of deer. Last night, a neighbour ran over a deer that was in the middle of the road, and he asks you whether something like that ever happened to you. You say no, and add:

PERO	ALGUNA	VEZ	SÍ	QUE	LOS	TENGO
But	some	time	yes	that	them	tener-PRS.1P.SING
VISTO	CRUZAR	COMO	SI	NADA		
see-PRF.PTCP	cross-INF	like	if	nothing		

English: 'But sometimes I have seen them crossing the road like nothing happens'

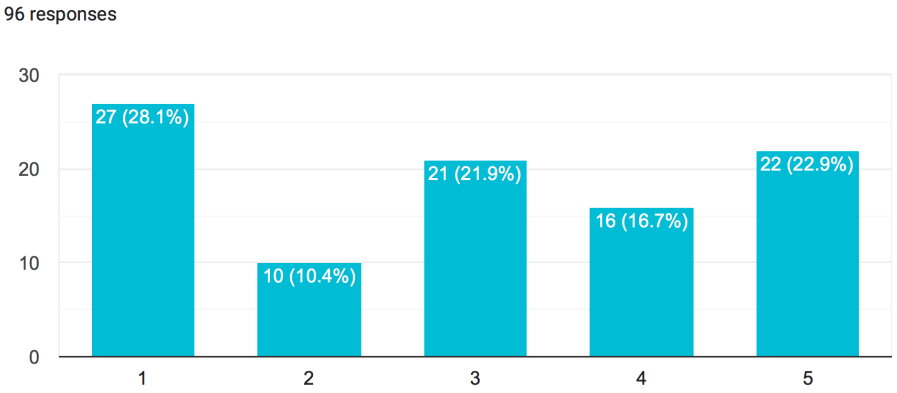


27.

You are going for dinner with Andrés and Luis and you are driving. The plan was to meet at 8, but now it's 8.20 and Luis is not ready yet. He calls you saying he's gone to the shops. Andrés says:

A	ESTAS	HORAS	YA	PUDO	TENER	IDO
At	these	hours	already	can-PST.3P.SING	tener-INF	go-PRF.PTCP

English: 'Look at the time… he could have done that already!'

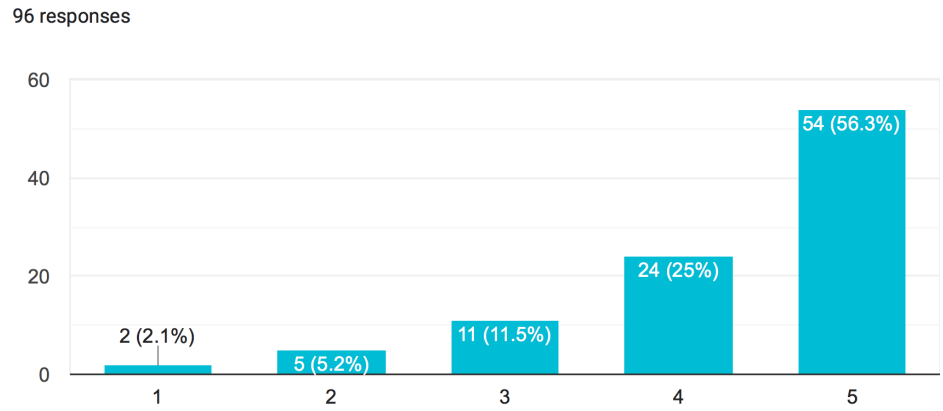


28.

Your mothers tells you she has a very bad headache, so you two go see a doctor. You explain to him that you got very scared when she mentioned she was feeling some pain, because:

MI	MADRE	SE	TIENE		QUEJADO	
My	mom	refl.	tener-PRS.3P.SING		complain-PRF.PTCP	
ALGUNA	VEZ	DEL	ESTÓMAGO,	PERO	NADA	MÁS
some	time	of	stomach	but	nothing	else

English: ‘My mum has sometimes complained about stomachache, but nothing else’.

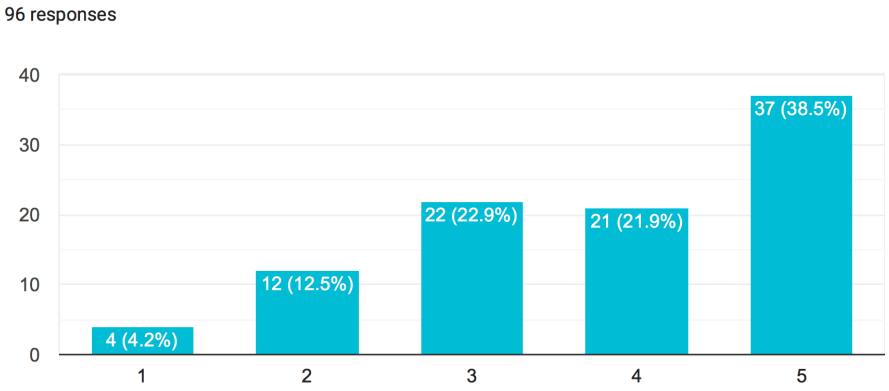


29.

Last month the doctor prescribed Susana some pills for her headache. When he asks her whether she notices any difference, she says:

BUENO,	HASTA	AHORA	SÓLO	LLEVO
Well	up.to	now	only	llevar-PRS.1P.SING
TOMADO	UNA			
taken-PRF.PTCP	one			

English: ‘Well, so far I have only taken one’

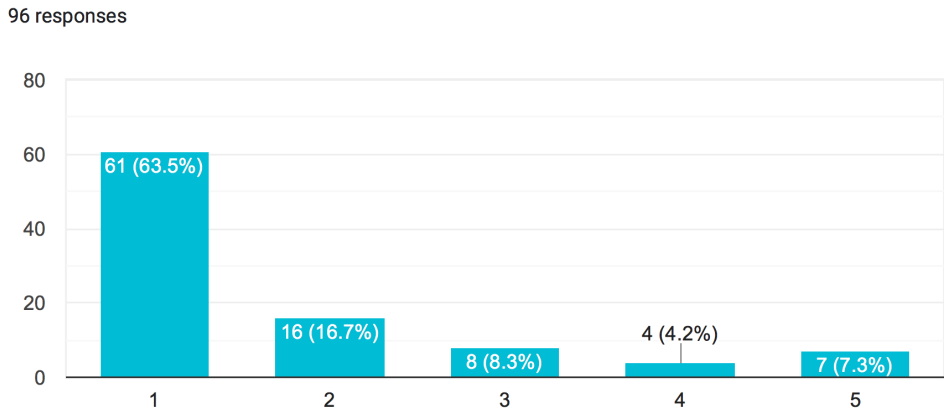


30.

Two friends are listening to a radio program about celebrities. They hear that Brad Pitt, the American actor, is tired of the disrespectful treatment of his family by the Press. Then one of the journalists says:

MENUDA	TONTERÍA...	SUS	HIJOS	LLEVAN
Such	bullshit	poss.3P.PL	kids	llevar-PRS.3P.PL
SIDO	FAMOSOS	DESDE	PEQUEÑOS	
be$_1$-PRF.PTCP	famous.PL	since	small.PL	

English: ‘Nonsense! His kids have been famous from an early age’

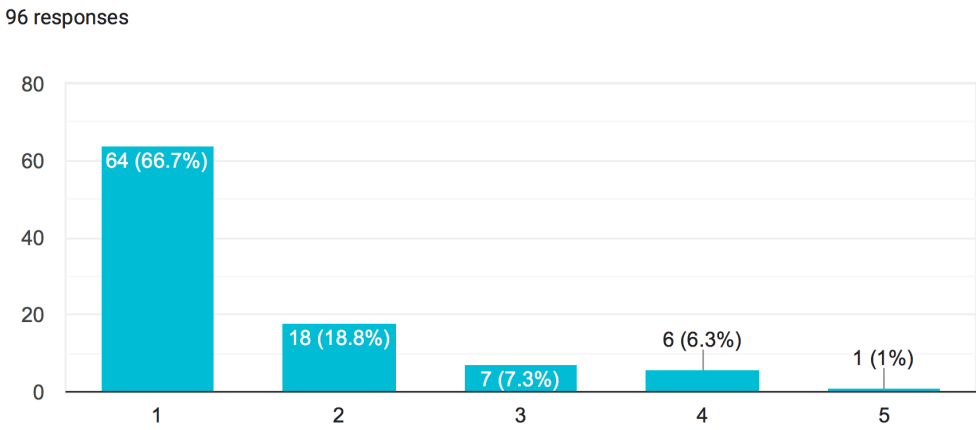


31.

You meet two brothers for lunch. They run a small company, and they tell you that they are about to close an important deal with a Korean company, and that that is the reason why…

ESTOS	DÍAS	LLEVAMOS	ESTADO	EN	EL DESPACHO
These	days	llevar-PRS.1P.PL	be$_2$-PRF.PTCP	in	the office
HASTA		TARDE			
until		late			

English: 'We have been in the office until late these days'

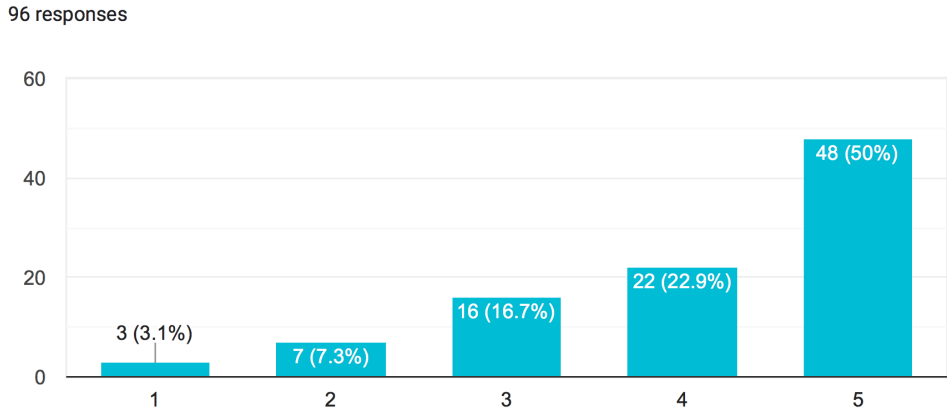


32.

Friends you haven't seen in years come to visit you and you show them around the house. Suddenly one of them stumbles while going up the stairs to the upper floor. You say to him:

AHÍ	LLEVO	TROPEZADO	YO	UNAS	CUANTAS
There	llevar-PRS.1P.SING	stumble-PRF.PTCP	I	ones	some
VECES	DESDE QUE	HICIMOS	LA	CASA	
times	since that	built-PST.1P.PL	the	house	

English: 'I too have stumbled there many times since we built the house'

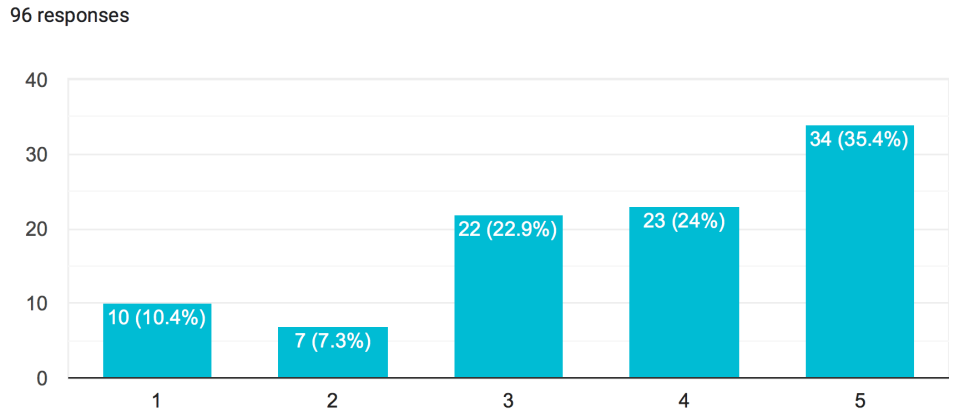


33.

Carmen's grandparents are very old, and so each year somebody they know dies. Carmen says that today they have to go to yet another burial, and she mentions that, lately, …

ENTRE	ENTIERROS	Y	CABOS DE AÑO,	LLEVAN
Between	burials	and	funerals	llevar-PRS.3P.PL
IDO	A BIEN MISAS			
go-PRF.PTCP	to many masses			

English: 'Lately, they have been going to many masses, if you count in burials and funerals'

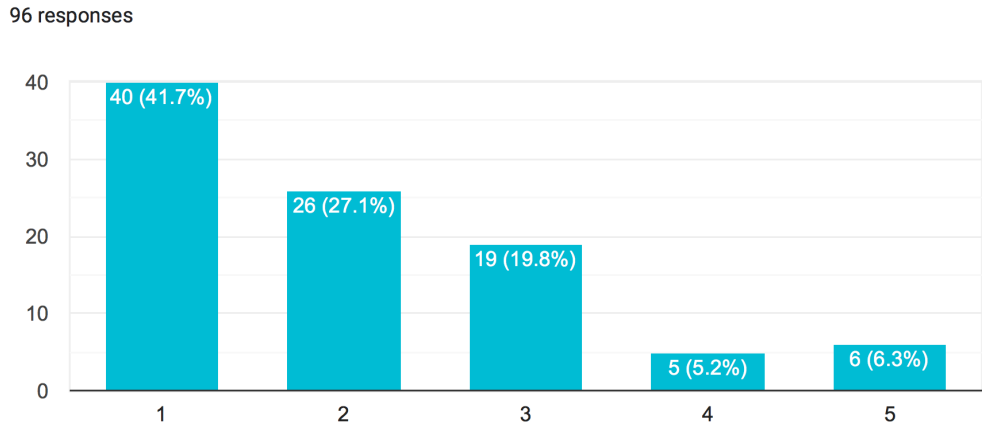


34.

Juan's sister was involved in a car accident last week and she can't get by on her own. Juan tells you that:

ESTA	SEMANA	LLEVAMOS	DORMIDO	EN SU
This	week	llevar-PRS.1P.PL	sleep-PRF.PTCP	at her
CASA	ALGÚN	DÍA		
House	some	day		

English: 'We have stayed over at her place some days this week'

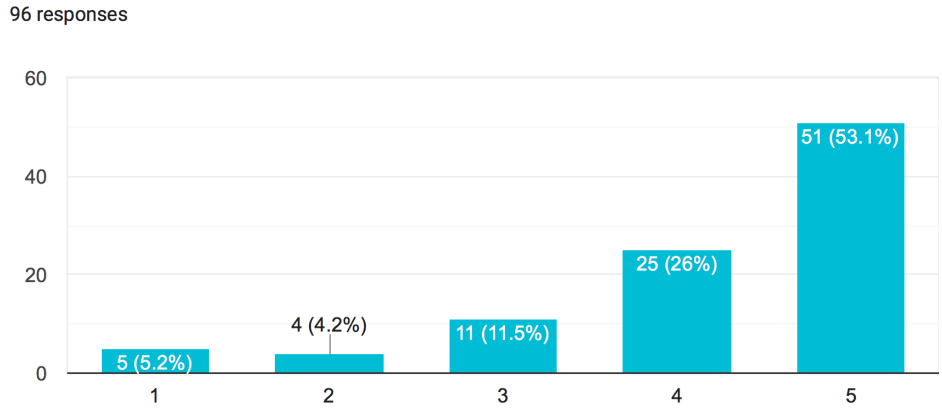


35.

Rocío and Gabriel always win against other people when they play cards. When you ask them what their secret is, they say that it is essentially a matter of practice. They add:

ES		QUE	LLEVAMOS	JUGADO
Be_1-PRS.3P.SING		that	llevar-PRS.1P.PL	play-PRF.PTCP
MUCHAS	PARTIDAS	ESTE	AÑO	
many	card.games	this	year	

English: 'We have played many games this year, you know'

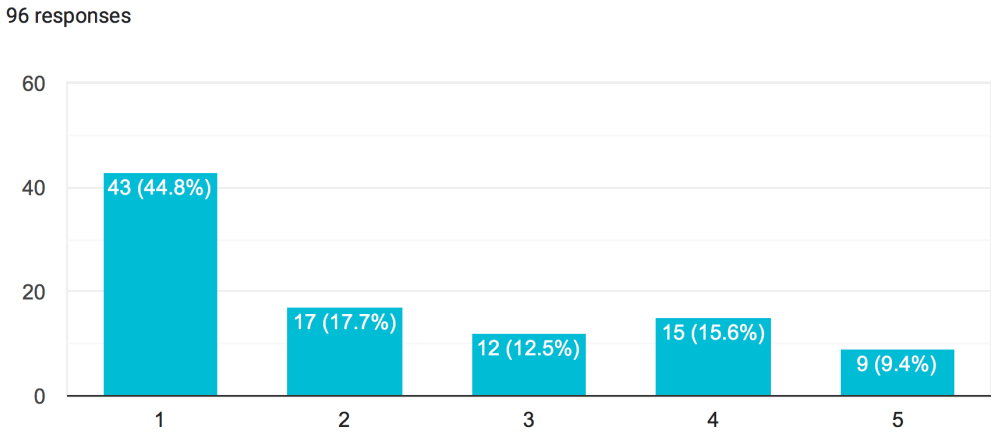


36.

Marta's child is sick with the flu, so her aunt calls and ask how the poor thing is doing. Marta tells her that he's feeling a little bit better, but that he looks very tired because…

EL POBRE	LLEVA	TENIDO	MUCHA	FIEBRE
The poor	llevar-PRS.3P.SING	have-PRF.PTCP	much	fever
DESDE EL	MARTES			
since the	Tuesday			

English: 'The poor (thing) has had a lot of fever since Tuesday'

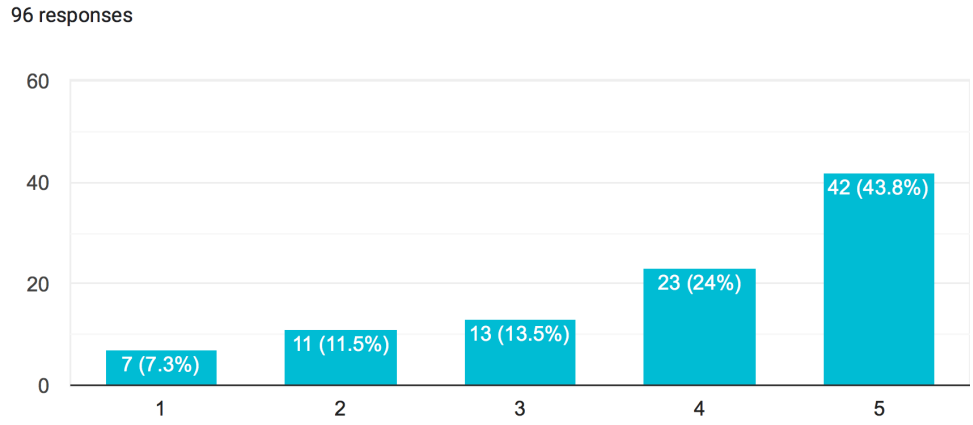


37.

Daniel's cousin phones from Germany after seeing some videos on TV about the rough weather in Asturias. Daniel tells her that the rain does not seem to stop and that…

EL	AGUA	LLEVA	HECHO	MUCHÍSIMOS
The	water	llevar-PRS.3P.SING	do-PRF.PTCP	much.PL.SUPER
DESTROZOS	ESTE	AÑO		
damage.PL	this	year		

English: 'The water has done a lot of damage this year'

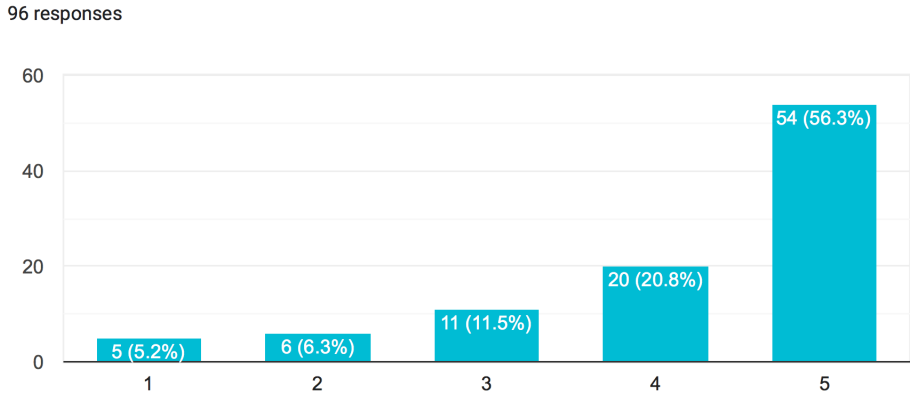


38.

Santiago is a professional sportsman under a very strict diet. This week, for instance, he has to eat 20 yoghurts. It is Thursday today and a friend asks him how the "yoghurt operation" is going. Santiago replies:

DESDE EL	LUNES	LLEVO	COMIDO	UNOS
Since the	Monday	llevar-PRS.1P.SING	eat-PRF.PTCP	ones
CUANTOS…	ME	QUEDAN	SÓLO	8
many	cl.1P.SING	remain-PRF.PTCP	only	8

English: 'I have eaten quite a few since Monday. I only have 8 left'.

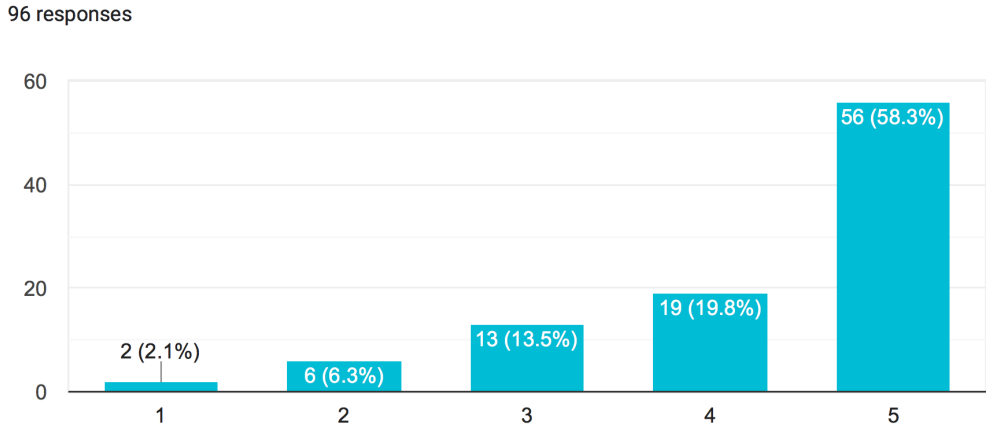


39.

A factory opened a few years ago by the river. Since then, the water in the river looks grey. A neighbour calls the Press and blames the factory, saying:

NI	SE	SABE	LA	CANTIDAD	DE	RESIDUOS
Neg	impers.	know-PRS.3P.SING	the	quantity	of	waste.PL
QUE	LLEVAN	TIRADO	AL	RÍO	DESDE	
that	llevar-PRS.3P.PL	throw-PRF.PTCP	to.the	river	since	
QUE	ABRIERON					
that	open-PST.3P.PL					

English: ‘Nobody knows the quantity of waste that they have thrown to the river since they opened’

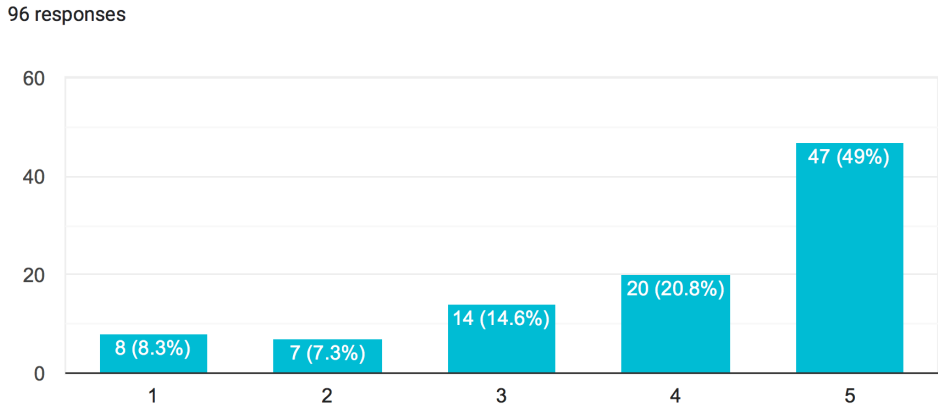


40.

Ana and Miguel are moving to a new place. Three days ago, they started moving boxes and by now almost everything is in its place, but the work continues. Today they have you over for dinner and they mention they are not tired of lifting boxes. You say:

PUES	HOY	LLEVÁIS	MOVIDO	UNAS	CUANTAS
So	today	llevar-PRS.2P.PL	move-PRF.PTCP	ones	many

English: 'Well, today you have moved quite a few'

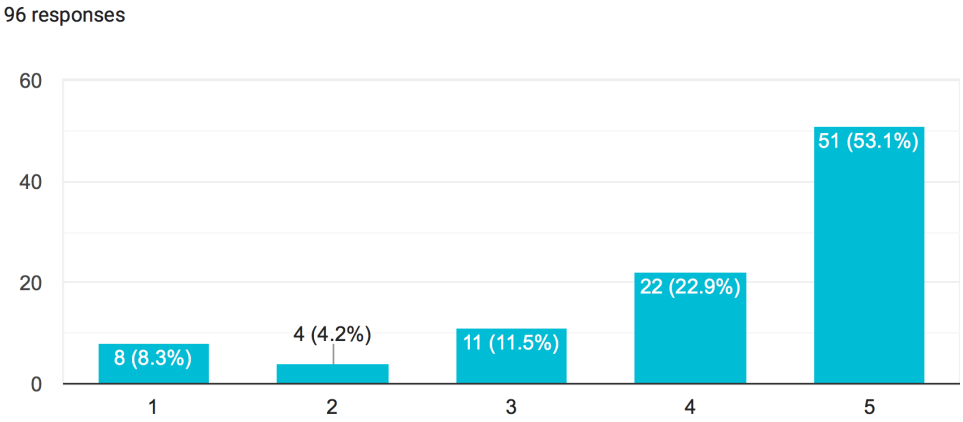


41.

Marta's grandad spent months in bed before he died, and during that time he wrote short stories. A week before he passed away, he said he was going to write a poem. Marta told me that…

CUANDO	MURIÓ	LLEVABA	ESCRITO
When	die-PST.3P.SING	llevar-IMP.3P.SING	write-PRF.PTCP
UNOS 30	VERSOS		
around 30	verses		

English: 'When he died, he had written already around 30 verses'

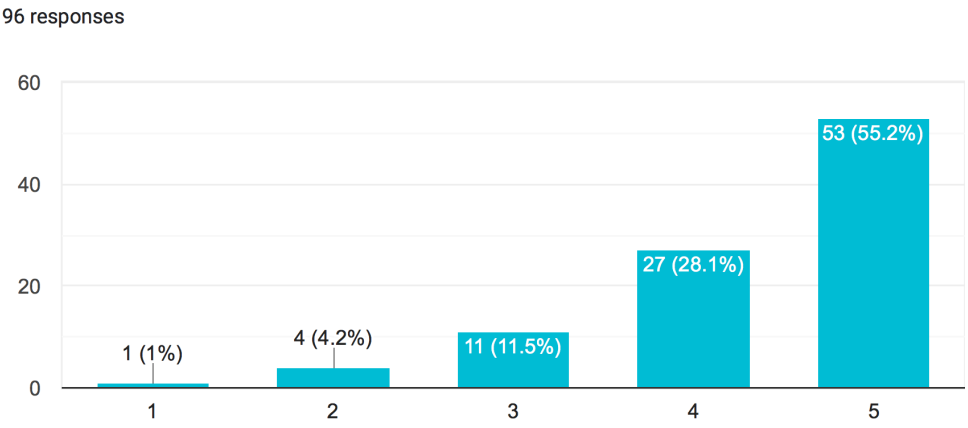


42.

It's March and we got a lot of snow during the winter. You are driving a friend and you still see the snow on the side of the road. Then you say:

LO	QUE	LLEVA	NEVADO	ESTE	AÑO
It	that	llevar-PRS.3P.SING	snow-PRF.PTCP	this	year
NO	SE	CREE			
neg.	impers.	Believe-PRS.3P.SING			

English: 'It is almost unbelievable just how much it has snowed this year'



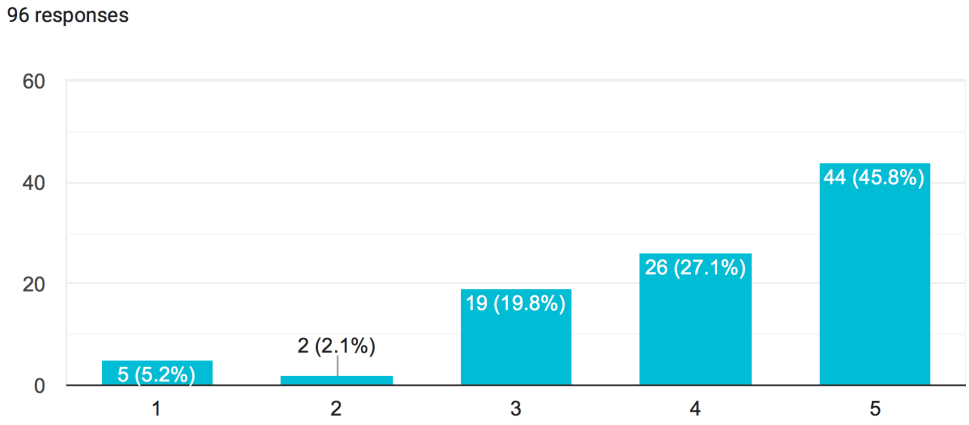
43.

Gloria is a film critic, and she is working in a film festival since Monday. Today is already Thursday. Your friend Carlos asks you if Gloria is too busy and you reply that you don't know, but that:

DEBE	LLEVAR	VISTO	UNAS	DIEZ
Must-PRS.3P.SING	llevar-INF	see-PRF.PTCP	around	ten

PELÍCULAS	EN	LO	QUE	VA	DE	FESTIVAL
Movies	in	what	that	go-PRS.3P.SING	of	festival

English: 'She must have seen 10 films or so since the start of the festival'.



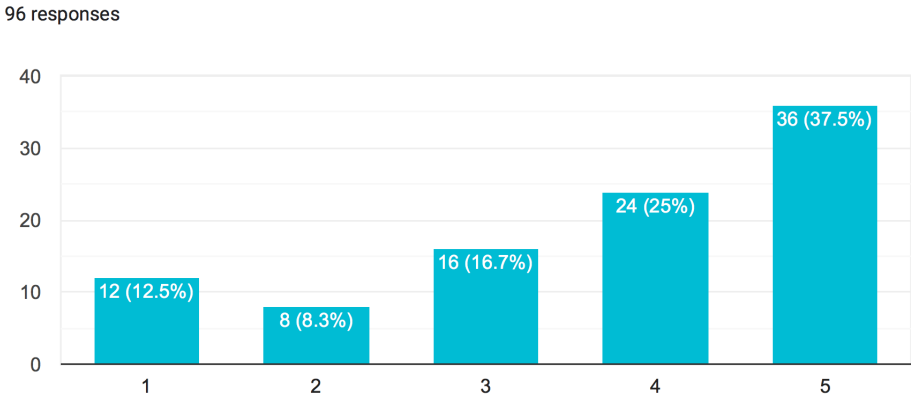
44.

You bump into your friend Elvira in the street and you decide to grab a coffee together. She tells you that her cousins are professional swimmers now, and that they now have a medal. She also mentions that:

ESTE	AÑO	LLEVAN	PARTICIPADO	EN	VARIAS
This	year	llevar-PRS.3P.PL	participate-PRF.PTCP	in	several

COMPETICIONES
competitions

English: 'They have participated in several competitions this year'



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