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Pseudo- Coordination in Spanish

A two constructions analysis

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Abbreviations

1sg	First Person singular	MAC	Multiple Agreement Construction
2sg	Second Person singular	Neg	Negation
3sg	Third Person singular	OCo	Ordinary Coordination
1pl	First Person plural	Neg	Negation
2pl	Second Person plural	PP	Past participle
3pl	Third Person plural	Pres	Present
AC	Asymmetric Coordination	Pret	Preterite
Acc	Accusative	<i>procP</i>	Process Phrase
AE	American Spanish	PseCo	Pseudo-Coordination
Agr	Agreement	Refl	Reflexive
Cl	Clitic	<i>resP</i>	Result Phrase
CP	Complementizer Phrase	SE	Surprise Effect
Dat	Dative	Subj	Subjunctive
DP	Determiner Phrase	TMA	Tense-Mood-Aspect
DOM	Differential object marking	TopP	Topic Phrase
ES	European Spanish	TP	Tense Phrase
F	Feminine	V1	First verb
FinP	Finiteness Phrase	V2	Second verb
FocP	Focus Phrase	VP	Verb Phrase
ForceP	Force Phrase	<i>vP</i>	Little <i>v</i> Phrase
Fut	Future		
Imp	Imperative		
Imp ²	Imperfect		
Inf	Infinitive		
Ing	Gerund		
<i>initP</i>	Initiation Phrase		
LCV	Light Verb Construction		
M	Masculine		

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Si me das a elegir

Entre tú y la gloria

Pa que hable la historia de mí

Por los siglos, ay amor

Me quedo contigo

1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation attempts a formal description of Pseudo-Coordination (PseCo) in Spanish. This term is used cross-linguistically to refer to monopredicative verbal configurations that share a common <V1 & V2> pattern (Ross, 2016). In Spanish, Pseudo-Coordination is formed by a finite verb belonging to either the GO or TAKE class followed by a second finite verb that generally shares tense morphology with V1. Traditionally, PseCo has been associated to a wider group known as *perífrasis verbales* ('verbal periphrases') by the Hispanic literature (Yllera, 1980; García Fernández, 2006, Garachana Camarero, 2019, ao.). In this introduction, I will discuss some aspects concerning the topic of the dissertation, as well as introduce the research questions and aims.

1.1. MOTIVATION

As I mentioned before, the Spanish PseCo has been generally approached from the 'periphrastic' perspective since Keniston (1936). A considerable bulk of the literature written on the topic of interest has focused on whether PseCo can be classified as a verbal periphrasis (e.g. Garachana Camarero, 2019; Jaque et al., 2018) or not. Unfortunately, as Bravo (2020: 130) notes, this line of reasoning is completely absent in generative grammar. In fact, as far as I am concerned, only Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) and Kornfeld (2019) has attempted a generative analysis of PseCo, and these are authors that will be criticized in this dissertation. Therefore, part of the motivation behind this study comes from a gap in the study of Spanish PseCo from a generative perspective.

Furthermore, as far as I am concerned, descriptive approaches (Arnaiz & Camacho, 1999; Jaque et al., 2019; Kornfeld, 2019; Bravo, 2020) generally share the idea that the term PseCo refers to a single construction, even though some authors (Jaque et al., 2019; Kornfeld, 2019) acknowledge that PseCo can display different values. In fact, in Spanish, PseCo can display either an 'objective' (1) inchoative value or a 'subjective' evaluative value (2), exemplified as follows:

- (1) *Fui/cogí y me marché de casa*
Go/take.pret.1s and cl.refl.1 leave.pret.1s from home
'I went and left home'

- (2) *Coge/va y tiene que llover un viernes*
take/go.3s and have(ep).3s that rain the friday
'To our dismay, it has to rain on a Friday'

In previous studies, authors have generally proposed a single configuration to account for either or both of the values, which have led to empirically incorrect predictions. This is another descriptive gap concerning PseCo in Spanish.

1.2. AIMS OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation aims to provide a formal description of PseCo in present day European Spanish. The first aspect of PseCo that I will focus on is the first verb, henceforth V1. Overall, V1 has been defined in several terms since Keniston (1936). Traditionally, scholars have defined V1 as an aspectual auxiliary verb (e.g. Coseriu, 1966). More recently, V1 has been defined as a 'topic auxiliary' (Arnaiz & Camacho, 1999), an 'interruptive auxiliary' (Jaque et al., 1999), the lexicalization of an Asp_{inchoative} functional head in Cinque (1999's) universal hierarchy (Kornfeld, 2019), and a discourse adverb (Bravo, 2020). This brief review indicates that there is no consensus regarding the syntactic category of V1. In this regard, the following research question is formulated:

- I. What is the syntactic category of V1?

The second aim concerns the status of V2. This component of PseCo has received much less attention from Hispanic scholars. In Arnaiz & Camacho (1999), V2 is analyzed as the complement of a ConjP (Munn, 1993), whereas other authors, such as Kornfeld (2019), just claim that it is part of the lexical domain. In this regard, the following research question is formulated:

- II. What is the syntactic status of V2?

The third aim concerns the configuration(s) of PseCo in Spanish. Concerning this issue, there is not an established consensus either. Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) claim that PseCo is actually a coordination of TP's. On the contrary, Kornfeld (2019) holds that PseCo is a monoclausal configuration like the Sicilian Inflected Construction (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001; 2003). Even though previous studies have not considered that PseCo may involve more than one configuration, this is not to be excluded in principle. Therefore, the following research question is formulated:

III. Which are the syntactic configurations of PseCo?

The fourth aim concerns possible asymmetries between verb types, a debate recently opened by Bravo (2020). As I commented before, V1 can be realized either by GO or TAKE. Certain authors like Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) and, specially, Bravo (2020) hold that there is a co-relation between verb types and meaning. This dissertation aims to provide empirical support in favor or against this statement.

1.3. METHODOLOGY AND COLLECTION OF DATA

In order to determine the syntactic status of V1, I have relied on the diagnostics of light verbs and semi-lexical motion verbs in Butt (2001, 2003, 2010) and Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 2003) respectively. The idea is that, since semi-lexical verbs have properties of both auxiliary and lexical verbs, a diagnostic based on this category should provide an accurate continuum of properties on which the relevant observations can be made.

With respect to the syntactic configuration, I assume the cartographic decomposition of all the levels of Narrow Syntax (Chomsky, 1995, 1998). That is, I will assume that the C-domain is split into multiple layers of representation (Rizzi, 1999, 2006); as well as the TP (Cinque, 1999, 2004, 2006) and the VP (Ramchand, 2008) are.

For the relevant observations, I will collect real data from web-based corpuses, especially Google, due to its size. This decision is based on the assumption that Pseudo-Coordination in Spanish is mostly used in casual, generally spoken, speech. Given the inability to collect data through more direct sources like recordings, I have decided that quick searches of the relevant pattern on Google are the best alternative.

1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

Besides this brief introductory chapter, this dissertation contains three more chapters structured as follows. The second chapter is focused around the diagnostics of V1 as a light verb. A brief introduction of light verbs precedes the diagnostics. Then, the third and fourth chapters deal with the analyses of the two identified different uses of PseCo. In the third chapter, I analyze the ‘objective’ use of PseCo from a complex predicate perspective. An introduction to complex predicates precedes the analysis, emphasizing on the decomposition of the VP by Ramchand (2008). In the fourth chapter, the

‘subjective’ use of PseCo is analyzed as a focus strategy. An introduction to the previous literature dealing with the use of PseCo as an emphatic marker in Western Romance languages precedes the analysis.

2. THE STATUS OF THE FIRST VERB

2.1. INTRODUCTION TO LIGHT VERBS

The term light verb was introduced by Jespersen (1965) to describe the meaning of verbs in <V+N> constructions in English (1). The label ‘light’ refers to the absence of meaning of the verb, given that it is the noun that adds most of the encyclopedic meaning to the expression. For instance, the sentence (1a) could be read as ‘I walked in the park’, in which the verb seems to function as a support of predication. The idea that light verbs ‘borrow’ the argument structure of the nominal complement is formalized in Grimshaw and Mester (1988).

- (1) a. Gavin took a walk in the park
- b. Gavin gave the dog a walk in the park

However, light verbs are not mere licensors of predication (i.e., lexically empty elements). Let us consider the previous examples of <V+N> in English. In each sentence, a metaphoric notion of ‘transfer’ expresses opposite directions. In (1a), *a walk* is transferred to Gavin (←), whereas, in (1b), it is transferred from Gavin to the dog (→). Furthermore, the sentences differ with respect to the number of arguments (objects). In the same ways as their full counterparts, <TAKE + N> is transitive, while <GIVE + N> is ditransitive.

Several scholars have suggested that light verb constructions involve the transfer of arguments from the noun to the light verb (Grimshaw & Mester, 1988; Grimshaw, 1990; Baker, 1988; Rosen, 1989; Butt, 1995; Alsina, 1996), which causes a joint predication. According to these authors, the process is believed to take place before lexical insertion at the level of *a-structure* (Jackendoff, 1990). These proposals are based on the theoretical assumption that there is a level of representation where conceptual processes take place prior to syntactically relevant operations. In some models based on Davidsonian Semantics, lexical items contain an Event Schema where the relationships between objects and events are specified (2b). In addition, verbs include a separate ‘entry’ for

argument structures (2a). This information is unified through a system of links or indexes which give rise to the interpretation of theta-roles. Thus, from the point of view of Conceptual Semantics, light verbs' argument structure is 'transparent' in the sense that it lacks the connection to the Event Schema. Light verbs compensate their lexical deficiency by establishing a link to other predicational units. They may converge two *a*-structures by means of some kind of 'fusion' (e.g., Butt, 1995) or the erasure and copy of indexes (e.g., Lodovici, 2003).

- (2) a. *give* (x_j (y_k (z_l)))
- b. CS: (v_j transfers (w_k (to z_l)))

On a different line of research, neo-constructionist models (Hale & Keyser, 1993, 2002; Levin & Rappaport-Hovav, 1998; Borer, 2005; Ramchand, 2008) assume that complex predication is derived in the syntax by means of operations such as Merge or Move which take place within a complex VP containing at least two verbal heads: little *v* and V (Chomsky, 1995; Kratzer, 1996). Since the syntactic configuration of complex and simple predicates are technically the same, constructionist models are known for reducing the gap between these two. For instance, according to Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002), the light verb *give* as in *to give a kiss* gets its semantics from the conflation of the nominal complement so as to create a predicational unit similar in meaning to 'simpler' *to kiss*. Thereafter, *give* is deleted and copied to a position where it is interpreted as transitive (*v*). Since constructionist models must give the same treatment to simple and complex predicates, the solution consists in assuming that the latter may spell-out in a complex analytic or morphological way, whereas 'simple' ones are syntactically more complex than their surface forms (e.g., *give = do a give*). In a less-constructionist way¹, Ramchand (2008) propose that the lexical impoverishment of light verbs leads to the underassociation of features relevant to syntactic insertion. It follows that the relevant features are underspecified by other lexical item(s). One of the advantages of this analysis is that it provides a straightforward solution to the linguistic motivation that lies behind

¹ Ramchand's (2008) model is still neo-constructionist in the sense that the semantics of event composition and argument relationships derives from the position of the respective elements in the syntax. However, it is considered less 'radical than, for instance, Borer's (2005) in the sense that lexical items are not just a bundle of encyclopedic (and possibly phonologic) information, but also contain features relevant to their Merge position in the syntax (category features).

complex predicate formation (Butt, 2003, 2010). That is, light verbs are deficient in the sense that their semantic bleaching affects their ability to license predication.

Besides syntactic deficiency, light verbs display a number of properties that characterize both functional and lexical elements, making them a semi-lexical category (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001). For instance, light verbs, in the same fashion as full verbs, form their own prosodic unit, as opposed to auxiliaries (Butt, 2003: 10). In Urdu, the evidence comes from phonological reduplication:

- (3) a. *vo so d̪ʒa-ti t_h-I* [Light verb]
 pron.3s.nom sleep go.impf.s be.past.s.f
 ‘She used to go to sleep.’
- b. *vo so d̪ʒa-ti vati t_h-i*
 pron.3s.nom sleep go.impf.f.S go.redup be.past.sg.f
 ‘She used to keep going to sleep (at inopportune moments).’
- (4) a. *vo so rh-i t_h-i* [Auxiliary]
 pron.3s.nom sleep prog.f.sg be.past.s.f
 ‘She was sleeping.’
- b. **vo so rh-i vahi t_h-i*
 pron.3s.nom sleep prog.F.S prog.redup be.past.S.F
 ‘She was sleeping.’

(Butt, 2010: 14; ex. 34-35)

Another well-known characteristic of light verbs concerns selectional restriction on the choice of the external arguments. A famous example involves the study of the Japanese light verb construction with *suru* ‘do’ (Grimshaw & Mester, 1988; Isoda, 1991; Matsumoto, 1992; Butt, 1995). In Grimshaw & Mester (1988), some (*Partial Transfer*) or all (*Complete Transfer*) of the arguments of the noun are transferred to the ‘empty’ argument structure of the verb, which assigns the relevant case. However, the light verb is not as empty as to be a mere licenser of predication. Isoda (1991) and Matsumoto (1992), as cited by Butt (1995: 215), note that, at least, one of these arguments must be agentive. Their evidence comes from the fact that light *suru* does not take unaccusative

nominal complements². Another example involves the English ‘go (& get)’ constructions (Pullum, 1990), exemplified as follows:

- (5) a. Go tell me that you love me
b. I expect you to go and tell me the truth

In Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001), the ‘go (& get)’ construction is analyzed along other similar constructions in Swedish and Sicilian in which the motion verb display characteristics of both auxiliary and lexical items, hence the term semi-lexical category. Reporting Shopen (1971: 259) and Jaeggli and Hyams (1993:221), Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001: 394) note that the semi-lexical motion verbs *go* and *come* assign an (agentive) theta role to the subject in the ‘go get’ construction. Evidence for this is the ungrammaticality of inanimate subjects in (6). The agentive feature must be specified by the light or semi-lexical motion verb since its lexical counterpart (an unaccusative) does not give ungrammaticality (7).

- (6) a. Big boulders (***come**) roll down this hill every time there is an earthquake
b. The smoke fumes (***go**) inebriate the people upstairs
- (7) a. Big boulders **come** down this hill every time there is an earthquake
b. The smoke fumes **go** upstairs and disturb the neighbors

(Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001: 394, ex. 58-59)

Furthermore, in some light verb constructions, some constituents are selected directly by the light verb. In Urdu permissive constructions, light *da* ‘give’ select the ‘permitter’ subject, to which it assigns ergative case:

² The nouns that combine with light *suru* display certain characteristics that make them similar to verbs. Mainly, the fact that they subcategorize for verbal arguments (nominative, accusative, dative) and that they can be modified only by adverbs (Sells, 1989; as cited in Butt, 1995: 210).

- (8) **nadya=ne** yassin=ko paoda kat.-ne **di-ya**
 Nadya.f.s-erg Yassin-inst plant.m.nom cut-Inf give-perf.m.s
 ‘Nadya let Yassin cut the plant.’

(Butt, 2010: 4, ex. 4)

Despite the selectional restrictions, light verbs are characterized by semantic bleaching. In the case of semi-motion verbs (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001), this means that light verbs such as *go* or *come* do not necessarily involve motion toward a specific goal. In the case of the Inflected Construction in Sicilian (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001, 2003, 2019, Di Caro & Giusti, 2015, 2018; Di Caro, 2019), the light verb is similar to an aspectual auxiliary. This is evidenced by the authors by means of an example where functional *go* modifies andative *go*:

- (9) *U vaju a fazzu iri apigghiari a Paola*
 it.cl go.1s to make.1s go.inf to fetch.inf by Paola
 ‘I go to make Paola go to fetch it.’

(Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001: 401; ex. 77)

Similarly, in Swedish Pseudo-Coordination (10), the semi-lexical verb does not express directed motion but rather a sense of distance from the reference location (‘distal meaning’), where the ‘location of the embedded event is interpreted as identical to the goal of motion’³ (Wiklund, 2007: 128):

- (10) Han gick o läste en bok
 he go.pret and read.pret a book
 ‘He went and read a book’

(Wiklund, 2007: 128; ex. 9)

Butt (2010) argues that, crosslinguistically, light verbs situate an event with respect to its internal temporal structure. The author contradicts the parallelisms between auxiliary and light verbs (Rosen, 1993), claiming that light verbs do not situate the action of the event with respect to speech and/or referent time like auxiliaries. Beside causative or inceptive meaning (9-10), light verbs may also convey boundedness entailments when they appear

³ Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001: 402) captures the differences between the semi-motion goals in Swedish and Sicilian by assigning them different positions in the universal hierarchy of Cinque (1999).

(i) > Motion Verb (Sicilian) > ... Causative > ... Andative (Swedish) > ... V

in resultative constructions (Butt & Ramchand, 2005; Ramchand, 2008). For instance, in Urdu, the light verb *lena* ‘to take’ is used to create a resultative telic pair:

- (11) *anjum=ne haar banaa li-yaa*
Anjum.f-erg necklace.n-nom make take-perf.m.s
‘Anjum completed making the necklace.’

(Butt, 1995: 151; ex. 39)

Since light verbs modulate other predicational units’ rather than denote its own event, its meaning must remain vague (Ramchand, 2008). Since the ‘modulated’ verb contains most of the encyclopedic and real-world knowledge of the predication, how the meaning of the light verb (e.g. causation) is manifested (e.g., volition, determination, responsibility...) may depend on the predicational verb in a certain way (Butt & Geuder, 2001; Butt, 2010). Furthermore, cross-linguistically, only verbs with very general semantics (e.g. do, take, go, make...) become underspecified or light, in contrast to more specific or ‘specialized’ lexical items (also Heine, 1993)⁴. Therefore, similar to auxiliary verbs, light verbs constitute a closed class of verbal items (i.e. not any verb may become light). Although this establishes a connection with auxiliaries, light verbs are better described as a sub-class of full verbs for two further reasons. First, they are active with respect to argument selection or/and theta-role marking. Secondly, in languages that are structurally rigid with respect to constituent positions, light verbs do not compete for the same position as auxiliary verbs (12-13). In fact, in Urdu they can be modified by auxiliary verbs in the same way as full verbs⁵.

⁴ Grammaticalization Theory (Heine, 1993; Hopper & Traugot, 1993) predicts that only the most generic member of each class is able to change their categorial status. In Hopper & Traugot (1993: 108), ‘vector’ (light) are an optional stage that precedes auxiliary verbs in grammaticalization paths:

- (i) Full verb > (vector verb) > auxiliary > clitic > affix

⁵ However, for English ‘go (and) verb’ constructions, based on Shopen (1971), Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001: 402-403) observe that the semi-lexical verb cannot precede auxiliaries (i), showing a distribution more similar to auxiliaries than full verbs.

- (i) a. They go have eaten
b. They go be eating

(Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001: 402; ex. 78 a-b)

- (12) Main verb (light verb) (Progressive) (Be Auxiliary) [Urdu]
- (13) a. *baccaa so jaa rah-aa he*
 child.m.nom sleep go prog.m.sg be.pres.3s
 'The child is going to sleep.'
- b. **baccaa so rah ga-yaa he*
 child.m.nom sleep prog go.perf.m.s be.res.3s
 'The child is going to sleep'

(Butt & Geuder, 2001: 331; ex. 10-11)

2.2. THE DIAGNOSTICS OF THE FIRST VERB

Thus far, the properties of light verbs relevant to the diagnostics to be applied to V1 in Spanish Pseudo-Coordination are listed in (14) and (15). The idea is to test the properties of PseCo according to the following lists.

- (14) Lexical properties
- a. Argument selection and/or theta marking (e.g., agentivity)
 - b. Aspectual properties (e.g., boundedness)
 - c. Syntactic position
- (15) Functional properties
- a. Predicational deficiency
 - b. Closed class 'membership'

The data subjected to the analysis come from two main sources. On the one hand, web-based corpuses, such as Google and CDE: NOW. On the other hand, previous works on Pseudo-Coordination in Spanish (Coseriu, 1966; García Sánchez, 2007; Camus, 2006; Jaque et al. 2018, 2019; Bravo, 2020).

2.2.1. DEFICIENCY

Light verbs are, by definition, lexically impoverished (Jespersen, 1965). As a consequence, light verbs do not license predication, but rather, they modulate the meaning of another predicational unit (Butt, 2010). In Spanish, Pseudo-Coordination (PseCo) is formed by two verbs and a linker as in <V1 & V2>. In this regard, its surface form is

identical to ordinary coordination (OCo). However, in PseCo, the meaning of V1 is often described as functional, whilst the construction itself is compared to other monopredicative or monoclausal constructions. The idea that has dominated in recent works written in Spanish is that PseCo is a type of verbal periphrasis (*perífrasis verbales*)⁶ (e.g. Yllera, 1980; García Fernández, 2006, Garachana Camarero, 2019), a serial verb construction⁷ (Jaque et al., 2018), or auxiliary verb (Arnaiz & Camacho, 1999). In other words, the first verb, henceforth also V1, is never acknowledged as a full verb in a truly coordinative scheme. In a diachronic study dealing with the interpretation that previous linguists and philologists have attributed to V1, García Sánchez (2007: 163-164) reports the following linguistic judgement (16) describing the ‘auxiliary’ (lack of semantic meaning) nature of V1. The quote is originally from *Diálogo de la lengua* (Juan de Valdés, 1575).

(16) *Otros se sirven de tomé y de tomamos, diciendo tomé y víneme y tomamos y vinimos, y si les preguntáis qué es lo que tomaron, no os podrán dezir con verdad sino que aquel vocablo no sirve sino para un malo y feo arrimo*

‘Some others use ‘I took’ or ‘we took’ as in ‘I took and came’ or ‘we took and came’, and, if someone asks them what did they actually take, they will not be able to say with certainty other answer than it expresses a bad an ugly support’

⁶ The concept of *perífrasis verbal* is somehow complicated and difficult to explain in (generative) descriptive terms, since its definition is more related to the field of Cognitive Linguistics (Taylor, 1989). It normally considers two important criteria (Anderson, 2006 and references in there): (i) the desemantization of the first verb in terms of Grammaticalization Theory (Heine, 1993); (ii) syntactic restructuring (Rizzi, 1978). The problem with *perífrasis verbales* is that each author seems to disagree with respect to the relevance of these two criteria. For instance, for Garachana (2017) and García Fernández (2006) prioritizes the semantic criteria, while RAE-ASALE (1999, 2006) the syntactic ones. I will not attempt to make the criteria of *verbal perífrasis* relevant to the analysis and description of PseCo in Spanish (see Bravo, García Fernández & Krivochen, 2015 for further discussion on this topic).

⁷ Jaque et al. (2018, 2019) classifies PseCo as a type of serial verb construction according to the criteria defined in Aikhenvald (2006). This position is severely criticized in Bravo (2020) for the same reason as the ‘verbal periphrasis’ approaches. Most relevant, the they are empirically inaccurate with respect to the properties of both properties. This is so that authors usually have to modify the criteria established by other authors or propose that PseCo is a ‘peripheral’ member of the category.

The previous quote reveals three interesting aspects about pseudo-coordinative *coger* ‘to take’. First, the verb does not involve the grabbing or holding of an object. That is, it is being used with a more general, or less specified semantics than its transitive counterpart (semantic bleaching). Second, respondents state that the verb is used as a ‘support’ for another predicational unit. In other words, the verb does not predicate over, but modulates the meaning of another verb. Third, the respondents acknowledge that the use of this ‘bad and ugly support’ is considered off the standards of correct use of language.

García Sánchez (2007: 164) further shows that the functional value of pseudo-coordinative *coger* is also reflected in diachronic dictionaries since 1780⁸:

- (17) *Junto con algunos verbos unidos con conjunción, vale lo mismo que resolverse, ó determinarse á la acción que significa el verbo con que se junta; y así se dice: cogió y se fue, cogí y me acosté, etc. Rem deliberatam illico decemere, perficere.*

‘Alongside some verbs joined with conjunction, it has the same value as to resolve or to be determined to do the action expressed by the verb it joins; and so, people say: he took and left, I took and went to bed, etc.’

(DRAE, s.v. *coger*, eds. 1780,1783, 1791, 1803, 1817, 1822, 1832, 1837, 1843⁹)

Having such an impoverished lexical content, the first verb, henceforth V1, cannot license predication. If we place the verb out of a coordinative scheme, the sentence becomes ungrammatical (18). This contrasts with its full verb use in real coordination (19).

- (18) a. *Cogí y me fui*
take.pret.1s and cl.refl.1s go.pret.1s
‘I took and left’

⁸ Notice how in the dictionary entry (1780), the construction, which may have started as the semi-lexicalized expression *tomé y fui* (I took and left), already accepts any kind of action, rendering it a compositionally construed predication and, thus, subject to a complex predicate analysis.

⁹ After 1843, the *RAE* removed pseudo-coordinative *coger* from the dictionaries because it was considered ‘excessively vulgar’ (García Sánchez, 2007: 164)

- b. **Cogí*
I take.pret.1s
- (19) a. *Cogí mis cosas y me fui*
take.pret.1s my things and cl.refl.1s go.pret.1s
'I grabbed my things and left'
- b. *Cogí mis cosas*
take.pret.1s my things
'I grabbed my things'

The diachronic and synchronic evidence is very clear with respect to the V1's deficiency to license predication in PseCo. V1 is unable to license predication unless it is in a complex predicate, otherwise (18b) would be possible. As García Sánchez (2007) shows, this property has been acknowledged for centuries.

2.2.2. CLOSED-CLASS MEMBERSHIP

Coger 'to take' is not the V1 that may appear in PseCo, although this position is restricted to a fairly reduced number of items. Based on their lexical counterparts, these can be classified into two classes (Bravo, 2020). On the one hand, the TAKE-class¹⁰ contains *coger* 'to take', *agarrar* 'to grab' and, historically, *tomar* 'to take' (20). On the other hand, the GO-class includes the motion verbs *ir* 'to go' (21), *llegar* 'to arrive' (22) and *venir* 'to come' (23). All of them are lexically impoverished when used in a pseudo-coordinative scheme. That is, instead of expressing directed motion (GO-class) or transitivity (TAKE-class), the meaning of V1 generally involves a sense of agentivity (causation) that results in the action expressed by the second verb, henceforth referred as V2. Also, it may appear in other contexts where V1 seems associated to speaker-oriented meanings, such as fear, suddenness, etc. When removed from the pseudo-coordinative scheme, V1 recovers its motion meaning (GO-class) or is ungrammatical (TAKE-class) Examples (20-23) feature pairs of coordinative (a-examples) and pseudo-coordinative (b-

¹⁰ The division into two classes is assumed for easiness of exposition. Whether this classification reflects semantic and syntactic differences is one of the research aims of this dissertation (see also Bravo, 2020). However, I anticipate the reader that such division is not optimal as both classes do not show up strict differences other than, possibly, social and regional distribution, which are out of the scope of this study.

examples) sentences. The indication [\pm distal]¹¹ is used to signal an interpretation involving a change of scenario prior to the action expressed by the second verb.

- (20) a. *Lo agarré/cogí y metí en la lavadora* [+distal]
 cl.acc.m.s grab/take.pret.1s and put.pret.1s in the washing machine
 ‘I grabbed it and put it in the washing machine’
- b. *Agarré/cogí y lo metí en la lavadora* [-distal]
 grab/take.pret.1s and put.1s cl.acc.3s.m in the washing machine
 ‘I took and put it in the washing machine’
- (21) a. *Fui y yo cambié la cerradura* [+distal]
 go.pret.1s and change.pret.1s the lockpick
 ‘I went and I changed the lockpick’
- b. *Mientras estábamos hablando fue y se levantó de la silla* [-distal]
 while be(prog).imp.1p talk.ing go.pret.3s and cl.refl.3s stand.pret.3s from
 the chair
 ‘While we were talking, he went and got up from the chair’
- (22) a. *Ana llega y se sienta al lado mía* [+distal]
 Ana arrive.3s and cl.refl.3s sit to-the side mine
 ‘Ana arrives and sits next to me’
- b. *Con Ana habíamos estado conversando toda la mañana tranquilamente y de pronto llega y me dice que se va a casar.* [-distal]
 with Ana have(aux).imp.1p be.pt chat.ing all the morning calmly and of
 the sudden arrive.3s and cl.refl.dat.1s tell.3s that cl.refl.3s go.3s to marry
 ‘We had been chatting all the morning and, all of a sudden, she tells me
 that she is going to get married’
- (Jaque et al., 2019: 221; ex 1a)
- (23) a. *Viene y hace algo* [+distal]
 come.3s and make.3s something
 ‘He comes and makes something’
- b. *No es un tema que yo vengo y lo corto. No ha estado funcionando* [-distal]
 not be.3s a topic that I come.1s and cl.acc.3s.n cut.1s. Not have(aux).3s
 be(prog).pt work.ing
 ‘It is not something that I just decide to stop. It hasn’t been working’

¹¹ The term ‘distal’ is used in Wiklund (2007: 128) to refer to a situation in which the subject must have moved away in order to perform a given action. In this sense, it is similar to the andative aspect (Cinque, 1999). Perhaps, the tag [+motion] would have been a more accurate option, since directed motion is a property of coordinate structures with motion verbs, while distal aspect is possible also in Pseudo-Coordination in Swedish. However, I find the use of [-distal] accurate for Spanish PseCo because, as it will be showed, it does not involve any kind of motion (even in the case of motion verbs).

In addition to Spanish Pseudo-Coordination, the same types of verb are desemantized in auxiliary (24) and light verb ‘V-N’ (25) constructions¹². Furthermore, cross-linguistically, these types of verbs are included in the lists of restructuring verbs (Rizzi, 1976; 1978) and light verbs (Butt, 2010).

- (24) a. *Voy a salir de casa en breves* [prospective auxiliary *go*
go.1s to leave.inf from home in brief
‘I’m going to leave home soon’
- b. *Parece que ya va escampando* [progressive auxiliary *go*
seem.3s that already go.3s clearing
‘It seems that it is clearing out’
- (25) a. *Abrígate o cogeràs/agarraràs un resfriado* [LVC with sickness]
cover-up o take/grab.fut.2s a cold
‘Cover up or you will get a cold’
- b. *El domingo tengo que coger un vuelo a Madrid* [LVC with vehicles]
the Sunday have(obl).1s that take.inf a flight to Madrid
‘On Sunday, I have to take a flight to Madrid’

In addition to the verbs listed above, Camus (2006) also includes *saltar* ‘to jump’. However, *saltar* may appear in simplex contexts (26b) with virtually the same meaning¹³ as in (26a). Therefore, sentences like (25a) would involve two consecutive actions (i.e. garden-variety coordination), not a single act of predication.

- (26) a. *Al final salté y le dije que se fuera*
To-the end jump.pret.1s and cl.dat.3s tell.pret.3s that cl.refl.3s leave
‘Finally, I snapped and told him to leave’

¹² Another interesting observation which involves the bleaching of the TAKE-class concerns those instances in which they are used as motion verbs.

- (i) a. *Yo cojo para casa ya que es tarde*
I take.1s to home now that be.3s late
‘I’m going how now because it is late’
- b. *Que ganas tengo de agarrar para el monte*
what wills have.1s of grab.inf to the mount
‘I can’t wait to go to the mountain’

¹³Jump. 8. Intr. Referring to someone. To react with vitality, without self-control. ‘She could not stand such humiliation and jumped (id., ‘snapped’) (OG) *Saltar*. 8. Intr. *Dicho de una persona. Reaccionar con viveza, sin poder contenerse. “No pudo soportar tanta humillación y saltó”*.

- b. *No pude más y al final salté*
 neg can(ab).pret.1s more and to-the end jump.pret.3s
 ‘I couldn’t stand it any longer and finally slapped’

There are regional preferences with respect to the use of a given V1. In regard to TAKE, there is a marked contrast between American (AE) and European Spanish (ES). In Spain, speakers often use *coger* ‘to take’, while American speakers prefer *agarrar* ‘to grab’. The regional distribution of the TAKE-class not only applies to PseCo, but it is a generalized phenomenon¹⁴. In regard to GO, regional distribution is not well-defined. *Ir* ‘to go’ shows a ‘more’ general distribution across AE and ES, while *llegar* ‘to arrive’ is popular in Chile (Jaque et al. 2018, 2019). Nevertheless, since the study of regional differences concerning PseCo is not part of the scope of the thesis, I will focus mainly on ES varieties only, that is, *ir* ‘to go’ and *coger* ‘to take’.

Another relevant aspect concerns whether there are differences in meaning and syntax which result from the choice of lexical item. In this respect, Bravo (2020) proposes that the split between GO and TAKE verbs is representative of different degrees of grammaticalization, which is reflected by the absence/presence of semantic properties of V1 in PseCo. Specifically, according to the author, GO verbs are more grammaticalized than TAKE verbs.

2.2.3. SELECTION OF THE SUBJECT

Cross-linguistically, it has been argued that light verbs play a significant role in argument selection and/or theta-marking (6-8). With respect to previous literature, selectional restrictions on subject selection is a recurrent topic of the analysis of PseCo (e.g., Ekberg, 1993; Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001; Lødrup, 2002; Vannebo, 2003; De Vos, 2005; Wiklund, 2007).

In addition, tests concerning the selection of subjects are often used by Spanish authors to compare PseCo and verbal periphrases (Camus, 2006; Silva Garcés, 2011, Jaque et al., 2018; Bravo, 2020). Generally, these tests involve the acceptability of PseCo in the following contexts: (i) weather verbs (V2), (ii) existential sentences, (iii) passive sentences, (iv) and unaccusative verbs (V2). In addition to the previous scenarios, this

¹⁴ This is due to the to the fact that *coger* in AE has sexual connotations.

(i) Take. 31. Intr. To perform a sexual intercourse
 (OG) *Coger*. 31. intr. vulg. Am. Realizar el acto sexua (DRAE. s.v. *coger*, ed. 2020)

study is also concerned with the acceptability of PseCo when it is modified by causative verbs.

Weather verbs

Generally, neither *GO* nor *TAKE* can take zero subjects in Pseudo-Coordination (27). However, there is an exception (28) in the Indicative Present (also Bravo, 2020).

- (27) a. **El lunes que viene cogerá y lloverá*
the Monday that come.3s take.fut.3s and rain.fut.3s
- b. **El lunes que viene irá y lloverá*
the Monday that come.3s take.fut.3s and rain.fut.3s
Intended meaning: ‘Next Monday it will take/go and rain’
- (28) a. «*el calor y la falta de lluvia nos ha beneficiado, aunque justo va y llueve hoy*», lamenta Cristian.
The heat and the lack of rain cl.dat.1P have(aux).3s benefit.pt, although just go.3s and rain.3s today
‘«The heat and dry has helped us, but, sadly, today rained» Cristian complained’.
[\[https://www.leonoticias.com/surdeleon/sabor-huerta-triunfa-20170827142651-nt.html\]](https://www.leonoticias.com/surdeleon/sabor-huerta-triunfa-20170827142651-nt.html) Spain. CDE: NOW.]
- b. *Después de todo este sufrimiento, coge y llueve, día tras día, noche tras noche*
After of all this suffering, take.3S and rain.3S, day after day, night after night
‘After all this suffering, on top of that, it rains every day, every night’
[\[https://www.calvoalos30.com/post/ibiza-pasada-por-agua\]](https://www.calvoalos30.com/post/ibiza-pasada-por-agua) Spain. Google.]

Existential sentences

V1 cannot appear next to existential verbs (28) in those instances where V1 has an ‘inchoative’ function.

- (29) a. ***Cogía y había** una rata en mi garaje
take.imp.3s and have(ex).imp.3s a rat in my garage
- b. ***Iba y había** una rata en mi garaje
go.imp.3s and have(ex).imp.3s a rat in my garage

Nevertheless, as with zero subjects, V1 may precede existential sentences in Indicative Present when the meaning is speaker-oriented. Notice that V1 in (28) and (30)¹⁵, V1 seems related to the evaluation of the predication introduced by V2, regardless of the verb class (also Bravo, 2020: 163).

- (30) a. *Yo me compré una TV Philips aquí y va y hay una incompatibilidad de los drivers de MacOS para HDMI en estas teles. Mala suerte.*
 I cl.refl.1s buy.pret.1s a TV Phillips here and go.3s and have(ex).3s an incompatibility of the drivers of MacOS for HDMI in these TVs. Bad luck
 ‘I bought a Phillips TV here and, unexpectedly, there is some Macintosh driver incompatibility concerning HDMI in these TVs. Bad luck.
<https://www.faq-mac.com/2017/09/un-televisor-como-monitor-para-tu-mac-parte-ii-que-elegir/> Spain. Google.]
- b. *Pues un día mi madre se hace un arañazo y coge y no había ni ‘betadine’ ni nada de eso que se echa normalmente (...)*
 So a day my mother cl.refl.3s make.3s a scratch and take.3s and not have(ex).imp.3s neither betadine nor nothing of that which cl.refl.3S put.3s usually
 ‘So, a while ago, my mother got a scratch and, unfortunately, there wasn’t neither betadine nor any of those things that she usually uses to treat wounds’
<https://www.bikezona.com/foro-ciclismo/frases-miticas/15/486541/3/> Spain. Google.]

Unaccusative verbs

PseCo generally rejects non-agentive eventualities. One way to test the ‘agent requirement’ is by submitting the construction to an unaccusativity test. That is, If V1 contained the semantics associated to agentivity, it should force an unergative interpretation of any event that is ambiguous between an unaccusative and a unergative reading in simplex contexts (31). This prediction is borne out (32).

- (31) a. *El joven desapareció sin más* [unaccusative/unergative]
 the youngster disappear.pret.3s without more
 ‘The fellow simply disappeared’
- b. ‘The fellow disappeared from our view’ [unaccusative]
- c. ‘The fellow went away without anyone noticing’ [unergative]

¹⁵ Since the meaning of V1 is highly context dependent, and, to my knowledge, this discourse ‘V1 y’ is not found in English, I have used a ‘corresponding’ discourse-related expression in the English translations.

(32) a. *Un día cogió y desapareció. Se marchó* [unaccusative/unergative]
 sin decir adiós.
 a day take.pret.3s and disappear.pret.3s cl.refl.3s leave.pret.3s without
 say.inf bye
 ‘Some day she took and disappeared. She left without saying goodbye’
[\https://locosdeamor.org/2014/06/17/no-puedo-olvidar-a-mi-ex/comment-page-2/ Spain. Google]

b. (...) *iba y desaparecía sin dejar rastros u* [unaccusative/unergative]
recuerdos fuertes hacia el
 go.imp.3s and disappear.imp.3s without leave.inf traces or memories
 strong towards him
 ‘(...) he used to go and disappear without leaving any significant trace or
 memory of his’
[\https://aminoapps.com/c/ciudadmonstruosa/page/item/3ocn6kqanvfwdkfruckl3tr7rm/5WpQ_paT5ILB686oMYr2pNJjbQKWM2M2WP Unknown. Google]

Bravo (2020: 147) notices that Pseudo-Coordination with accidental events is possible only if V2 contains a reflexive clitic (32c, d). According to her, this combination is possible because reflexive pronouns cancel unaccusativity, hence yielding an unergative reading (García Fernández & Gomez Vázquez, 2015; as cited in Bravo, 2020).

- (32) a. **Nada más entrar en el instituto, voy y caigo por las escaleras*
 Nothing more enter.inf in the institute, go.1s and fall.1s by the stairs
 Id. ‘Right after I start Middle School, I went and fell down the stairs’
- b. **Nada más entrar en el instituto, cojo y caigo por las escaleras*
 Nothing more enter.inf in the institute, take.1s and fall.1s by the stairs
 Id. ‘right after I start Middle School, I took and fell down the stairs’
- c. *Nada más entrar en el instituto, cojo y me caigo en el pasillo*
 nothing more enter.inf in the institute, take.1s and cl.refl.dat fall.1s
 in the corridor
 ‘Right after the start of middle school, I took and tumbled in the main
 corridor’
[\https://twitter.com/DomiShameless/status/289375421114494977 Spain.
 Twitter]
- d. (...) *lo llevaba preparando días y voy y me caigo hoy por las escaleras...*
 cl.acc.3s.m carry.imp.1s prepare.ing days and go.1s and cl.ref.1s
 fall.1s today by the stairs
 ‘I had been preparing it for days and I went and fell down the stairs today’
[\https://twitter.com/iPandarina/status/1264536210829123585 Spain.
 Twitter]

As with previous tests of agentivity, unaccusative verbs (i.e. non-agentive subjects) are possible in Indicative Present, as far as the meaning of V1 is speaker-oriented:

- (33) a. *Pensaba que era mi culpa y adquirí otra de las mismas pero blanca y va y pasa lo mismo*
 think.imp.1s that be.imp.3s my fault and acquire.pret.1s other of the same but white and go.3s and happen.3s the same
 ‘I thought it was my fault, so I bought another [smartphone] but, this time, it was the white version, and, to my dismay, the same thing happened’
[\https://www.tuexperto.com/2011/11/21/las-blackberry-bold-9900-y-9930-se-apagan-solas-por-un-fallo/ Spain. Google.]
- b. *Tengo un ‘stinger’ y de repente aparece un ‘harrier’ y le disparo y coge y el misil le pasa por debajo*
 have a stinger and of sudden appear.3s a harrier and cl.dat.3s shoot.1s and take.3s and the missile cl.dat.3s pass.3s for below
 ‘I have a stinger [anti-aircraft weapon] and, all of a sudden, a harrier [US Air Force jet] appears and I shoot it and, to my atonishment, the missile goes underneath!’
[\https://www.3djuegos.com/foros/tema/2195899/0/problema-con-el-harrier/ Spain. Google]

Passive sentences

The predicational verb (V2) in PseCo cannot be passivized (34). The compatibility of PseCo and passivization or long object movement has been addressed by several Hispanic authors who compares PseCo and monoclausal restructuring constructions¹⁶, for instance, Jaque et al., (2018: 177).

- (34) a. **Cogí y fui arrestado por la policia*
 take.pret.1s and be.pret.1s arrest.pt by the police
- b. **Fui y fui arrestado por la policia*
 go.pret.1s and be.pret.1s arrest.pt by the police

Furthermore, concerning incompatibility with passives, the authors add:

- (35) *No está claro por qué las CMVFC se resisten a la pasiva. La primera explicación posible es que se trate de algún tipo de restricción semántica, pero esto no parece correcto, dado que las CMVFC admiten los impersonales meteorológicos*

¹⁶ See Garachana Camarero (2019) for a discussion concerning the ‘criteria of periphrasticity’ (*criterios de perifrasticidad*).

“It is not clear why Finite Multi-verbal Constructions reject passives. The first possible explanation is that it may be due to some semantic restrictions, given that the MVC accepts impersonal weather verbs” (p. 177).

However, V2 may precede passive sentences in the Indicative Present (36). As in other instances when V1 does not involve restrictions, the meaning is speaker-oriented. In the case of (36), the speaker is clearly upset about the event denoted by V1.

- (36) a. *El presidente no habla jamás con los periodistas cuando es preguntado, y suelta esta memez y va y es publicado*
 the president not talk.3s never with the journalist when be(pas).3s asked about the real problems of this country and drop.3s this gibberish and go.3s and be(pas).3s published
 ‘The president never talks to journalist when he I asked about the real problems of this country and now, to my disgust, he says some gibberish and gets published!’

(Bravo, 2020: 31d)

- b. *El presidente no habla jamás con los periodistas cuando es preguntado por los problemas reales de este país, y suelta esta memez y coge y es publicado.*
 the president not talk.3s never with the journalist when be(pas).3s asked about the real problems of this country and drop.3s this gibberish and take.3s and be(pas).3s published
 ‘The president never talks to journalist when he I asked about the real problems of this country and now, to my disgust, he says some gibberish and gets published!’

Therefore, the observation in (35) is inaccurate since they may have ignored the asymmetry between Indicative Present and other tenses concerning the semantic content of V1. This means that the reason why PseCo generally resists passivization is likely to be semantic, similar to what occurs in control verb constructions.

Complement of causatives

Pseudo-Coordination can be the complement of causative verbs in Spanish (37). This is also acknowledged by Bravo (2020)¹⁷ although only for TAKE verbs. The unacceptability of GO verbs is contradicted by the example in (37b).

- (37) a. *Aquel que siembra y nos hace coger y sembrar la Palabra es el Espíritu*
That who seed.3s and cl.acc.1p make.3s take.inf and seed.inf the Word is the Spirit
'Who sows and makes us take and sow the seed of the Word is the Holy Spirit'
[<https://homilia.cancaonova.com/es/homilia/vivamos-o-pentecostes-todos-os-dias/> Unknown. Google]
- b. *¿Sabes qué? Me hiciste ir y leer sobre el Ragnarok [...]*
know.2s what cl.acc.1s make.pret.2s go.inf and read.inf about the Ragnarök
[<https://www.deviantart.com/tayakiki/art/ReT-HELLFIRE-705393166?comment=1%3A705393166%3A4474100840/> Chile. Google]

Notice that it is impossible to have a distal reading in both sentences. In (37a), the action 'to seed the sow of God's word' is metaphorical, therefore no directed motion or similar is implied. The same assumption holds for (37b), where 'reading about the Ragnarök' likely involves a PDF document given the context of the utterance.

Summary of findings

The previous tests show that V1 combines with agentive eventualities only. I take this as evidence that V1 is not a mere licenser of predication in the sense of Grimshaw & Mester (1988) since it is involved in the subcategorization of the external subject. Furthermore, the data shows that agency is at the core meaning of what I will refer as inceptive Pseudo-Coordination.

One relevant observation arises concerning accidental eventualities (32). Notice that none of those examples may necessarily involve volitional. Following Butt & Geuder (2001: 346), I suggest that there are different degrees of agentivity depending on V2

¹⁷ "Likewise, *agarrar* y may function as the complement of causatives (37a), but *ir* y is odd or completely ungrammatical (37b) in the relevant reading" (Bravo, 2020: 147). According to the author, this is relevant because it shows that TAKE is within the VP, while GO is a functional element.

encyclopedic content. In cases like (32), where the eventuality can be considered ‘accidental’, agentivity is reduced to a sense of responsibility.

Another observation concerns the exceptions in Indicative Present, where V1 does not force selectional restrictions. I will argue that, in those sentences, V1 is not within the lexical domain, but rather functions as type of focus operator¹⁸. In previous literature on PseCo, this is known as the *Surprise Effect* (see Di Caro, 2019 and references in there). Thus, the agentivity tests suppose evidence of an analysis of PseCo involving two different constructions: (i) inceptive PseCo and (ii) speaker-oriented PseCo. Only in (i) V1 is within the lexical domain, which means that only in (i) there are selectional restrictions on the selection of the subject.

2.2.4. ASPECTUAL RESTRICTIONS

In some Indic languages, light verbs are used to create achievement readings (Butt, 1995; Butt & Ramchand, 2005; Ramchand, 2008). Also, Butt & Geuder (2001) observe a correlation between the use of light verbs and the creation of temporal bounds both in English (‘V-N’) and Urdu (‘V-V’).

In regard to Spanish Pseudo-Coordination, following the observations by Keniston (1937), Coseriu (1966, 1977) argues that V1 expresses ‘completive’ aspect. That is, the main function of V1 modulate the V2 in such a way that the eventuality is interpreted in its totality. To my knowledge, the notion of ‘completive’ aspect is very similar to perfective (grammatical) aspect as defined by Comrie (1976; as cited in Declerck, 2007). In this sense, in Pseudo-Coordination, the eventuality denoted by V2 is interpreted in its entirety (beginning, middle and end)¹⁹.

In recent studies of PseCo (e.g. De Vos, 2005; Wiklund, 2007; Vannebo, 2003), authors have focused on restrictions concerning lexical aspect (Smith, 1997) or *aktionsart*. Lexical aspect is not a property of clauses but of lexical items themselves, dividing

¹⁸ Previous attempts to describe this phenomenon in Spanish are Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) and Jaque et al. (2019). Also, Bravo (2020) suggests treating it as a discourse-related adverb.

¹⁹ In opposition to imperfect aspect, which is defined as follows. “We speak of imperfective aspect when the speaker uses a verb form which explicitly refers to the internal temporal structure of the situation, i.e., a verb form which does not refer to the entire situation, but only to its beginning, middle or end” (Declerck, 2007: 53).

eventualities into telic or atelic. The term telicity is used to refer to the natural endpoint of an action. This contrasts with boundedness or actualization aspect, which refer to the actualization of a situation as having reached a temporal bound (see Declerck, 2007).

Both lexical and actualization aspect are concepts relevant to the diagnostics of light verbs given that, being a property of lexical items themselves, selectional restrictions concerning the *aktionsart* of the predicate is evidence of semantic content. Furthermore, since light verbs modulates other predicational units, for instance, by specifying a result in the case of resultative complex predicates, it can reveal further information concerning the role of the light verb in a construction.

The idea in previous works (e.g., De Vos, 2005; Bravo, 2020) is that if we classify Vendler (1957) classes according to *aktionsart* (38), the combination with light verbs may be restricted, as opposed to auxiliary verbs. For instance, De Vos (2005) argues that, in English PseCo, *go* (V1) has the effect of focusing the initial phase of an eventuality (V2). For this reason, V1 does not modify stative eventualities (no temporal structure), or may force their interpretation as activities (Wuff, 2005; as cited in De Vos, 2005: 102).

(38)	<u>Vendler Class</u> States Activity Accomplishment Achievement	<u>Internal Aspect</u> -durativity, -telos +durativity, -telos +durativity, +telos -durativity, +telos
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(De Vos, 2005: Table 1.1)

In addition to Vendler classes, selectional restrictions concerning lexical aspect may arise as acceptability or rejection of mass and count nouns, as noted by Butt & Geuder (2001) with respect to light verb constructions in English and Urdu:

“If an event-denoting expression is put in this place, it would be plausible that it will then be required to be a bounded event, as the bounded-unbounded distinction has been argued to be the verbal counterpart to the nominal count-mass distinction (Krifka, 1992)” (p. 343).

That is, if there is a strict correspondence between the feature (+telic) and the quantification of internal arguments (Krifka, 1987, 1992; Kratzer, 2004), a given light

verb that restricts eventualities in terms of telicity should be compatible with events where the internal argument is a mass (non-telic) or count (telic) DP²⁰.

In regard to recent studies on the properties of PseCo in Spanish, restrictions concerning Vendler classes and Event-to-Object mapping have been analyzed by Bravo (2020) and Jaque et al. (2018). The prediction of Bravo (2020) is that, if selectional restrictions correlate with the amount of lexicality of V1, we would expect to find differences between semi-lexical categories depending on whether the verb is more or less lexical. Therefore, tests concerning aspectual restrictions should reflect these verbal asymmetries, if present.

States

Neither GO nor TAKE can combine with stative eventualities (39). This is predictable given the fact that V1 subcategorizes for an agentive external argument.

- (39) a. ***Cojo y soy tímido**
Take.1s and be.1s shy
- b. ***Voy y soy tímido**
go.1s and be.1s shy

However, in Indicative Present, V1 can modify stative eventualities (40). In these instances, V1 always expresses speaker-oriented meanings (Surprise Effect). Also, notice that either take (40b) or GO (40a) may precede a state.

- (40) a. *Esta es Sylvia Ageloff, tu liebre. Bien cocinada, va y hasta sabe bien*
This be.3s Sylvia Ageloff, your hare. Well cooked, go.3s and even taste.3s
good
'This is Sylvia Ageloff, your hare. Nicely cooked, surprisingly, it tastes
good'

(Bravo, 2020: ex. 38)

²⁰ Ramchand (2008: 25-26) shows that Object-to-Event mapping of telicity entailments is not as straightforward as it seems, given the fact telicity does not necessarily imply the existence a quantified DP. In the same way, a quantified direct object does not necessarily imply a telic reading (i)

- (i) a. John stood up in a second. (no internal argument)
- b. They found gold in three hours. (mass term internal argument)
- (ii) John pushed the cart for hours

(Ramchand, 2008: 25-26; ex. 16-17)

- b. *Si hay una festividad, ellos son anti porque representan tradiciones obsoletas de la malvada iglesia comeniños. Pero ahora coge y es el ramadán, pues ellos a felicitarlo*
 if have(exist).3s a festivity, they be.3p anti because represent.3p traditions obsolete of the evil church child-eater. But now take.3s and be.3s the Ramadan, so they congratulate.inf-cl.acc
 ‘Every time there is a Christian festivity, they become *anti* because these represent the outdated traditions of the evil child-eater Church. However, since it’s Ramadan, to my disgu they are happy with it!’
[\https://www.forocoches.com/foro/showthread.php?t=5704351 Spain. Google]

Activities

Activities, that is, events without a defined ending point, are precluded in Pseudo-Coordination with both verbs (41). If an activity is further defined by means of a DP-complement, then Pseudo-Coordination becomes acceptable (42)²¹.

- (41) a. *Ayer cogí y corrí*
 Yesterday take.pret.1s and run.pret.1s
 ‘Yesterday, I took and ran’
- b. *Ayer fui y corrí*
 Yesterday go.pret.1s and run.pret.1s
 ‘Yesterday, I took and ran’
- (42) a. *Al final cogí y corrí la maratón*
 To-the end take.pret.1s and run.pret.1s the marathon
 ‘At the end, I took and ran the marathon’
- b. *Al final fui y corrí la maratón*
 To-the end go.pret.1s and run.pret.1s the marathon
 ‘At the end, I went and ran the marathon’

In addition, if an activity is modified by aspectual auxiliary like START or END, they become acceptable (Bravo, 2020: 150). This is possible because these verbs require a punctual reading (Dowty, 1979; Smith, 1991).

- (43) a. *Cogi y empecé a correr como un cabrón*
 Take.pret.1s and start.pret.1s to run.inf like a buck
 ‘I took and started to run like a motherfucker’
[\https://www.elotrolado.net/hilo_peleas-agresiones-robos-fuiste-victima-porque_1216880 Spain. Google]

²¹ In those particular instances, the DP object is what Ramchand (2008: 46) refers as a rhematic paths.

- b. *Fui y terminé de bañarme*
 go.pret.1s and finish.1s of bath.inf-cl.refl.1s
 ‘I went and finish taking my bath’
[\[https://www.wattpad.com/125946750-un-amor-prohibido-jos%C3%A9-y-brook-capitulo-1\]](https://www.wattpad.com/125946750-un-amor-prohibido-jos%C3%A9-y-brook-capitulo-1) Venezuela. Google]

As with stative eventualities, PseCo can combine with activities in the Indicative Present under a speaker-oriented reading only (44).

- (44) a. *Todo el mes sin llover y el día de la fiesta va y llueve durante horas*
 All the month without rain.inf and the day of the party go.3s and rain.3s during hours
 ‘The whole month without rain, the day of the party, to our dismay, it goes and rains for hours’

(Bravo, 2020: ex. 28)

- b. *La batería parece tener carga porque al tercer o cuarto "clac" coge y parece que gira con fuerza*
 The battery seem.3s have.inf charge because at-the third or fourth clack take.3s and seem.3s that turn.3s with force
 ‘The battery seems to have some charge because, on the third or fourth ‘clack’, to my surprise, it seems that it turns vigorously’
[\[https://www.pieldetoro.net/foro/index.php?threads/puesta-en-marcha-y-alternador-ko-seat-124.128681/\]](https://www.pieldetoro.net/foro/index.php?threads/puesta-en-marcha-y-alternador-ko-seat-124.128681/) Spain. Google]

Achievements

Accomplishments are accepted (45) in the inceptive reading as long as the subject is responsible for the eventuality expressed (see also Bravo, 2002: 149-150). As usual, the agentive restriction does not affect speaker-oriented PseCo (46).

- (45) a. *Entonces fui y convencí al General de entonces, que era director del hospital...*
 Then go.pret.1s and convince.pret.1s to-the General of then, who be.pret.3S director of-the hospital
 ‘Then I went and convinced the former General, who was the hospital director...’
[\[https://revistas.elheraldo.co/latitud/el-avion-hospital-de-jorge-daza-barriga-129951\]](https://revistas.elheraldo.co/latitud/el-avion-hospital-de-jorge-daza-barriga-129951) Colombia. Google]

- b. (...) *se reinició el móvil y claro no se encendía (...) y cogí y conseguí encenderlo*
 cl.refl.3s reboot.pret.3s the mobile and sure not cl.refl.3s turn on.imp.3S
 and take.pret.1s and achieve.pret.sS turn on.inf-cl.acc.3S.m
 ‘The mobile phone rebooted and, sure, it wouldn’t turn on (...) and I
 took and managed to turn it on’
[\https://www.forocoches.com/foro//showthread.php?t=3064136 Spain.
 Google]
- (46) a. (...) *nos hemos puesto a votar sobre qué queríamos aprender y coge y gana el delfín, vamos... que... nada. La votación es la votación.*
 cl.refl.1p have(aux).1p put.pt to vote about what want.imp.1p learn.inf and
 take and win.3s the dolphin, go.1p...that...nothing. The votation be.3p the
 votation
 ‘We held a vote on what we wanted to learn, and, sadly, the dolphin won...
 so...yeah...nothing (we can do). A vote is a vote’.
[\https://diariodeclasezhenda.blogspot.com/2009/05/ya-tenemos-tema-nuevo.html?m=0 Spain. Google]
- b. (...) *la serie revelación en todo el mundo WALKING DEAD, y va y gana la serie inglesa*
 the series revelation in all the world WALKING DEAD and go.3s and
 win.3s the English series
 ‘the TV sensation all over the world Walking Dead, to my dismay, the
 English series wins’
[\https://www.bolsamania.com/seriesadictos/2012/02/14/ganadores-en-los-premios-tp-de-oro-2012/ Spain. Google]

Accomplishments

Accomplishments are generally accepted in inceptive PseCo (47). Notice that a speaker-oriented interpretation may arise in Indicative Present as well (48)²².

- (47) a. *Un tipo enviándome un mensaje diciendo eso y fui y le respondí*
 A guy send.ing-cl.dat.1s a message tell.ing that and go.pret.1s and
 cl.dat.3S answer.pret.1s
 ‘A guy sending me a message saying that and I went and replied him’.
- b. *Cogí y borré el 5 y le puse un 4 para tener 14 años*
 take.pret.1s and delete.pret.1S the 5 and cl.dat.3s put.pret.1s a 4 for
 have.inf 14 years
 ‘I went and removed the 5 and write down a 4 so as to have 14 years
 old’
[\https://www.diariodecadiz.es/noticias-provincia-cadiz/Empresario-jubilado_0_1324367741.html Spain. CDE: NOW]

²² Notice how, in those examples, sentential negation follows V1. This is one of the properties that distinguish speaker-oriented PseCo, as I will show in Chapter 4.

- (48) a. *He escrito un comentario ponderando positivamente las innumerables cualidades de Angélica, Gema y Kass, y va y no me lo publica*
 have(aux).1s write.pt a comment rate.ing positively the innumerable qualities of Angélica, Gema and Kass, and go.3s and not cl.dat.1s cl.acc.3s.m publish.3s
 ‘I have written a comment positively rating the endless qualities of Angélica, Gema and Kass and, to my dismay, she does not publish it!’
[\http://amanecequenoespoco.es/conquistar-a-un-amanecista/ Spain. Google]
- b. (...) *la LEY DEL REFERENDUM dice que hay que declararla 48h después, y coge y no lo declara*
 the law of referendum tell.3s that have(ob).3s that declare.inf-cl.acc.3s.f 48 hours after, and take.3s and not cl.acc.3s.m declare.3s
 ‘The Law in the Referendum says that it must declared after 48 hours and, to my disgust, he does not publish it!’
[\https://m.forocoches.com/foro//showthread.php?t=5961206&page=32 Spain. Google]

Some questions concerning the internal structure of achievements arises. According to Coseriu (1966, 1977), and previously (Keniston, 1936), V1 conveys ‘completive aspect’ or perfection in the sense that a particular event (V2) is envisioned in its entirety, i.e., as having a ‘perfect’ temporal structure. The same idea is defended by Camus (2006) and Silva Garcés (2011). If these authors are right, the first prediction is that Pseudo-Coordination is incompatible with the imperfective. In Spanish, the Indicative Imperfect can be used to express on-going situations (progressive interpretation) or repeated actions (habitual interpretation) on the other. As noted by Camus (2006), inceptive PseCo rejects progressive reading but accepts the latter.

- (49) a. *Todos los días, él perdiera o ganaba, yo iba y le decía “Harris number one”*
 all the days, he lose.subj.past.3s or win.imp.3s, I go.imp.1s and cl.dat.3s tell.imp.1S Harris number one
 ‘Everyday, whether he would lose or win, I used to go and tell him: “Harris number one”’
[\http://www.elnuevodia.com / Puerto Rico. CDE:NOW]
- b. *Da igual si me gustaba o no, si me esforzaba o cogía y me iba (...)*
 give.3s equal if cl.dat.1s like.imp.3s or not, if cl.refl.1s strive.imp.1a or take.imp.1s and cl.refl.1s go.imp.1s
 ‘It doesn’t matter whether I liked it or not, or whether I strived for it or I took and left...’
[\https://www.pinterest.es/pin/632052128927198875/ Spain. Google]

Assuming that V1 is not a true aspectual auxiliary that merges or moves outside the lexical domain, the ‘completive’ effect may be a question of telicity or boundedness. Bravo (2020: 160-161) argues that if V2 was restricted to telic eventualities, “<V1 y V2> should be incompatible with modifiers suspending the telicity” (p. 160), contrary to the example she proposes (50b)²³.

- (50) a. *Juan cogio y pintó el mural en diez días*
 Juan take.pret.3s and paint.pret.3s the wall in ten days
 ‘Juan took and painted the wall in ten days’
- b. *¿Juan cogio y pintó el mural durante dos días, luego paró*
 Juan take.pret.3s and paint.3s the wall during two days, then stop.pret.3s
 ‘Juan took and painted the wall during two days, then he stopped’

(Bravo, 2020. ex. 55c-d)

However, the previous example is not representative of a cancelation of telicity or boundedness. First, both examples in (50) are telic. The DP *el mural* specifies the natural ending point of the event (telicity). In other words, both predications feature a telic-template (Leclerck, 2007: 56-57). Therefore, (50b) would not correspond to a violation of a given [+telic] requirement. Second, in both sentences, there are boundedness entailments independent on whether the natural point is reached or not (actualization aspect). In the case of (50a), the temporal adverbial ‘in ten days’ functions as bounding constituent. In the case of (50b), the bounding adverbial is durative (*for two days*). Furthermore, in both sentences, past Tense may be a bounding element, given that the situation is expressed as endedbefore Speech Time.

In the same line, Bravo (2020: 161) adds that “the <V1 + y + V2> scheme should be incompatible with modifiers like *poco a poco* ‘little by little’ and *como si tuviera todo el tiempo del mundo* (lit. as if had all the time of the world ‘plenty of time’), contrary to facts”:

- (51) a. *Juan ayer se leyó el periódico poco a poco*
 Juan yesterday cl.refl.3s read.pret.3s the newspaper few to few
 ‘Yesterday, J. read the newspaper little by little’

²³ The question mark was added by me.

- b. *Juan ayer cogió y se leyó el periódico poco a poco*
 Juan yesterday take.pret.3s and cl.refl.3s read.pret.3s the newspaper few
 to few
 ‘Yesterday, J. took and read the newspaper little by little’
- c. *Juan esta mañana va y desayuna como si tuviera todo el tiempo del mundo*
 Juan this morning go.3s and eat-breakfast.3s as if have.subj.pret.3s all the
 time of-the world
 ‘This morning J. goes and has breakfast as if he had the whole time in the
 world’

(Bravo, 2020: ex. 56)

To my knowledge, what the author may be actually testing with the previous examples is punctuality. In this regard, Bravo (2020) shows that inceptive Pseudo-Coordination seems not restricted with respect to whether the eventuality is punctual or durative.

Event Mapping

Jaque et al. (2018:182-183) also criticizes the completive aspect hypothesis²⁴ (Coseriu, 1966, 1977) by showing that PseCo is compatible with unquantified direct objects (53).

- (52) a. *Pedro se bebio la cerveza*
 Pedro cl.refl.3s drink.pret.3s the beer
 ‘Pedro drank himself the beer’
- b. **Pedro se bebió cerveza*
 Pedro cl.refl.3s drink.pret.3s beer
 Id.: ‘Pedro drank himself beer’
- (53) a. *Pedro llegó y (se) tomó la cerveza* (PseCo/OCo)
 Pedro arrive.pret.3s and cl.refl.3s take.pret.3s the beer
 ‘Pedro arrived and drank the beer’
- b. *Pedro llegó y *(se) tomó cerveza* (PseCo/OCo)
 Pedro arrive.pret.3s and take.pret.3s beer
 ‘Pedro arrived and drank beer’

(Jaque et al., 2018: ex. 38)

²⁴ Jaque et al. (2018) interprets the notion of completive aspect as involving telicity. To my knowledge, it is likely that Coseriu referred to perfectiveness or maybe boundedness, not telicity. Therefore, the lack of telicity, or rather, of a telic template would not be a counterargument to Coseriu (1966, 1977) and more recent authors (Camus, 2006; Silva Garcés, 2011) that go in the same direction.

In the same way, it is possible to find this kind of examples involving *TAKE* with a quick search on Google²⁵:

- (54) a. *Hizo el ademán de dejar su espada en la mesa. - Oh, cierto, lo olvidaba. Ya no tengo espada. - cogió y bebió de uno de los vasos que allí había*
 make.pret.3s the gesture of leave.inf his sword on the table oh true, cl.acc.3s forget.imp.1s already not have.1s sword take.pret.3s and drink.pret.3s from one of the glasses that there have(ex).imp.3s
 ‘He made the gesture of leaving his sword on the table. ‘Oh, true, now I don’t have a sword. He took and drank from one of the glasses that were there’
[\https://www.3djuegos.com/comunidad-foros/tema/45684630/0/el-dios-de-nada-privado/ Spain. Google]
- b. *Pero un día que al marido se le acabó el agua del barril, cogió y bebió de la caliente, y se dio cuenta que era vino*
 But a day that to-the husband cl.acc cl.dat.3s finish the water of the barrel, take.pret.3s and drink.pret.3s from the hot, and cl.refl.3s give.pret.3s realization that be.imp.3s wine
 ‘However, one day when the water from the barrel ran out, the husband took and drank the hot one, and he realized it was actually wine’
[\http://sancebrin.com/de-boca-en-boca/#:~:text=DAME%20VINO%20Y%20QUITA%20EL%20AGUA,-Cuentan%20que%20hab%C3%ADa&text=La%20mujer%20le%20dec%C3%ADa%3A&text=Pero%20un%20d%C3%ADa%20que%20al,fr%C3%ADa%20y%20yo%20la%20calentita. Spain. Google]

As opposed to the sentence in (50), the previous examples do show that inceptive Pseudo-Coordination is not in a one to one correspondence with telicity, since the lack of definable and quantified consumption direct objects correlate with a non-telic situational template. As noted by Ramchand (2008: 30), following Hay, Kennedy & Levin (1999) “the case of creation/consumption verbs is simply a special case of some attribute of the object contributing the measuring scale that is homomorphic with the event”²⁶. In (54), none of the sentences contain a quantizable consumption object, which means that the ending point is not specified ‘naturally’. However, a bounded interpretation of the event seems to be present anyway, otherwise it would be possible to combine grammatical,

²⁵ Bravo (2020: 138-139) is particularly skeptic with respect to the non-distal meaning of *llegar* ‘to arrive’ V1, at least when it is used in other tense than Indicative Present. The issue is that the GO-class of verbs are more susceptible of being interpreted as distal than the TAKE-class for obvious reasons. For this reason, I have used examples with *coger* ‘to take’ in order to facilitate an unambiguous inceptive reading.

²⁶ Leclerck (2007: 56) makes the same observation.

lexical and actualization aspect to create a non-bounded interpretation. For instance, we could use a progressive auxiliary to render it an on-going action, but this is not possible in inceptive Pseudo-Coordination:

- (55) a. *Cogió y bebió de la caliente*
 take.pret.3s and drink.pret.3s from the hot
 ‘He took and drank hot water’
- b. **Estuvo cogiendo y bebiendo de la caliente*
 be(prog).pret.3s take.ing and drink.ing of the hot
 Id. ‘*he was taking and drinking hot water’

Also, if inceptive PseCo were not inherently bounded, it would be possible to add an indefinite adverbial which could erase the interpretation of a temporal bound even when the verbal phrase contains a telic template, contrary to what is suggested in the following example:

- (56) a. *Cogerá y cocinará el mismo plato (*por muchos años)*
 ‘take.fut.3s and cook.fut.3s the same dish for many years more’
 ‘He’ll take and cook the same dish (*for many years)’
- b. *Irá y cocinará el mismo plato (*por muchos años)*
 go.fut.3s and cook.fut.3s the same dish for many years
 ‘He’ll go and cook the same dish (*for many years)’

Sentences containing indefinite temporal adverbials like (56) are also described as homogeneous. According to Leclercq (2007), the term homogeneous is used when a sentence can be used to refer to both the actualization as a given situation as a whole, as well as to any portion of it. For example, the sentence *I was at school* can be used to report whether I was at school from three, two, or one hour prior to Speech Time. However, if we add a definite temporal adverbial, the sentence becomes heterogeneous, that is, it can be used only to refer to a given situation as a whole. In this way, a sentence like *I was at school from eight to eleven o’clock* can be true only for the period of time specified by the adverbial. The ungrammaticality of (56) contrasts with sentences like the ones in (50), where temporal boundaries are specified. This suggests that regardless of whether there is ontological (telicity) or actualization boundedness, and whether the bounds are overtly present, the existence of temporal bounds are always obligatory since the eventuality denoted by V2 must be heterogeneous.

Summary of findings

Spanish PseCo is restricted to bounded eventualities, that is, achievements and accomplishments. Contrary to what is argued in Bravo (2020), the aspectual restrictions apply to eventualities modulated by both *TAKE* and *GO* verbs. This means that there is not a one-to-one relationship between verb classes and semantic content. Furthermore, in speaker-oriented readings, where V1 combines freely with states and activities, both *TAKE* and *GO* may be used. That is, the use of V1 as a discourse or VP-internal element does not depend on lexical choice. In other words, *TAKE* and *GO* does not have different levels of grammaticalization in Pseudo-Coordination.

One issue that needs to be resolved is whether this ‘boundedness restriction’ is a question of ontological aspect (VP-level) or actualization aspect (sentence level). While it is true that V2 may contain a non-telic template (54, 55), the truth is that other VP-internal phenomena, such as resultativity (Levin & Rappaport Hovav, 1999; Ramchand, 2008) may give rise to telicity entails too. Nevertheless, it seems that the concept of heterogeneous actualization is what is really at the core of the aspectual restrictions in the relevant Pseudo-Coordination. In Leclerck (2007), heterogeneous refers to the actualization of an event as a whole. As showed in example (57), Pseudo-Coordination does not accept indefinite time adverbials which would erase a defined temporal bound required for a heterogeneous reading.

The distinction between bounded and nonbounded clauses is similar to the distinction between count and mass nouns. Like bounded clauses, singular count nouns (e.g., table, printer) represent their referents as delimited; neither nonbounded clauses nor mass nouns (water, honesty) represent their referents as having boundaries (Leclerck, 2007: 56). In Pseudo-Coordination, it is required that V2 be bounded. This characteristic is relevant for the diagnostics of V1 as a light verb, as it is known that light verbs generally convey a sense of boundedness (Butt & Geuder, 2001; Butt, 2003, 2010), as it is the case of *give* in resultative complex predicates in Urdu:

“If an event-denoting expression is put in this place, it would be plausible that it will then be required to be a bounded event, as the bounded-unbounded distinction has been argued to be the verbal

counterpart to the nominal count-mass distinction (Krifka, 1992)”.
(Butt, 2001: 343)

Regarding the concept of ‘completive aspect’, proposed by Coseriu (1966, 1977) in order to refer to the fact that V1 induces a global interpretation of a particular event (V2), the observations made thus far supports this claim. Previous criticism on Coseriu was probably caused by an inaccurate interpretation of the notion of completive aspect. For instance, in Jaque et al. (2018), Coseriu’s hypothesis is rejected based on examples where the event denoted by V2 does not feature a telic template. However, a telic template is not the only way to obtain a heterogeneous reading. A VP with a quantizable direct object can appear in a homogeneous unbound situation if grammatical aspect is imperfect (progressive) or an indefinite temporary adverbial is added. However, none of these options are possible in Pseudo-Coordination (55-56).

2.2.5. TENSE AND SYNTACTIC POSITION

Butt (2010) notes that, in languages that are generally fixed regarding the order of constituents, light verbs do not compete with auxiliary verbs for syntactic position. In addition, they may be modified by auxiliaries in the same fashion as full verbs.

(57) Main verb (light verb) (Progressive) (Be Auxiliary) [Urdu]

Similarly, Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001) propose a syntactic analysis of constructions with semi-motion verbs, in which V1 may merge into a higher or lower structural position depending on its level of lexicality. For instance, in Sicilian, V1 does not impose any selectional restriction and is compatible with a few simple’ tenses only. On the other hand, in Swedish, V1 does not show tense restrictions and is lexical enough to project adjuncts. The authors reflect these different degrees of lexicality by assigning V1 a VP-internal position (also Wiklund, 2007) in Swedish, while a VP-external one in Sicilian.

(58) > Motion Verb (Sicilian) > ... Causative > ... Andative (Swedish) > ... V

Regarding Pseudo-Coordination in Spanish, Bravo (2020: 144-145) checks the category status of GO and TAKE verbs through tests involving tense restrictions and subordination to other verbs, such as modals, causatives and perception verbs. The author concludes

that TAKE is subject to less restrictions than the GO-class, to which the author adds (p. 145):

“This situation matches with the well-known generalization about intentional meanings, or agent-oriented meanings in general, being always less grammaticalized than speaker-oriented meanings (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994, a.o.). The former would be expressed by TAKE-verbs as V1, and the latter by GO-verbs”.

However, thus far, I have showed that the syntax and semantics of what I refer as inceptive and speaker-oriented PseCo and inceptive PseCo do not depend on the use of a given certain class. That is, in principle, speakers are able to express any of the two meanings regardless of whether they use GO or TAKE. Therefore, given the lack of asymmetries between verb classes with respect to lexical and aspectual restrictions, I expect that tense restrictions and scope reflect the same pattern in the two classes with respect to the lexicality of V1. Also, speaker-oriented PseCo should be more restricted given the fact that V1 is not lexical.

Tense restrictions

Concerning Indicative Present, both inceptive (58) and speaker-oriented PseCo (59) are possible. As can be observed in these examples, both readings are possible with either GO or TAKE.

- (58) a. *Hay veces que pinto unas acuarelas que no me acaban de gustar, entonces, cojo y las tiro*
have(ex).3s times that paint.1s some watercolors that not cl.dat.1s
end.3p of like.inf, then, take.1s and cl.acc.f.p throw.1s
‘Sometimes, I paint some watercolors that I end up not linking,
so I take and throw them’
[\[https://www.diariovasco.com/20100129/bidasoa/trabajar-gusta-vivir-profesion-20100129.html\]](https://www.diariovasco.com/20100129/bidasoa/trabajar-gusta-vivir-profesion-20100129.html) Spain. Google]
- b. *Y en esto que veo que me están mirando de lejos dos individuos (...) y entonces voy y pienso, éstas son españolas seguro...*
and in this that see.1s that cl.acc.1s be(prog).3p watch.ing from far two
individuals and then go.1s and think.1s these are Spanish sure
‘So, I see that two individuals are watching me from the distance (...) and
then I go and think these girls must be Spanish’
[\[elpais.com/diario/2005/05/15/domingo/1116125850_850215.html\]](http://elpais.com/diario/2005/05/15/domingo/1116125850_850215.html) Spain.
Google]

- (59) a. (...) *pues **coge y se evapora** agua del océano y luego se condensa y vienen nubarrones...*
 so take.3s and cl.refl.3s water of-the ocean and then cl.refl.dat
 condense.3s and come.3s clouds-augmentative
 ‘So ocean water goes and evaporates and then it condenses and big clouds come’
[\https://www.lavozdelsur.es/la-lluvia-aficion-y-tesis/ Spain. Google]
- b. (...) *acababan de reconciliarse y **va y se muere**, con sólo 92 años*
 finish.pret.3p of reconcile.inf-cl.refl.3p and go.3s and cl.refl.3s
 die.3s, with only 92 year
 ‘They had just reconciled and, unexpectedly, he dies, with only 92 years old’
[\https://www.diariosur.es/opinion/pecados-20171209001754-ntvo.html
 Spain. CDE: NOW]

Regarding Indicative Past, only the inceptive reading is accepted (60b, c). Notice that if a subjective reading could arise with V1 showing Indicative Past morphology, it would be possible to have verbs with inanimate subjects as in (59a), contrary to fact (61c, d)²⁷.

- (60) a. *Y no, **no fui y le dije**: “eres peor madre por no intentarlo” (...)*
 and no not go.pret.1s and cl.dat.3s tell.pret.1s be.2s worse mother for
 not try.ing-cl.acc.3s.n
 ‘And, no, I didn’t go and tell her ‘you’re worse of a mother for not trying it’
[\https://mamirecientecuenta.blogspot.com/2018/02/harta-de-los-extremistas.html Spain. Google]
- b. ***Cogí y borré** el 5 y le puse un 4 para tener 14 años*
 take.pret.1s and delete.pret.1s the 5 and cl.dat.3s put.pret.1s a 4 for
 have.inf 14 years
 ‘I took and removed the 5 and write down a 4 so as to to have 14 years old’
[\https://www.diariodecadiz.es/noticias-provincia-cadiz/Empresario-jubilado_0_1324367741.html Spain. CDE: NOW]
- c. *¿Ese día **fue y llovió***
 that day go.pret.3s and rain.pret.3s
- d. *¿Ese día **cogió y llovió***
 that day take.pret.3s and rain.pret.3s

²⁷ Since inceptive Pseudo-Coordination is possible only with agentive subjects, one way to ‘force’ a speaker-oriented reading is by having a weather verb in V2 position.

The Imperfect is only possible under an iterative bounded reading (61). As I showed in the previous subsection, this is likely a consequence of the fact that PseCo always denote heterogeneous situations (55-56).

- (61) a. *Todos los días, él perdiera o ganaba, yo iba y le decía “Harris number one”*
 all the days, he lost.sub.past.3s or win.imp.3s, I go.imp.1s and cl.dat.3s
 tell.imp.1S Harris number one
 ‘Everyday, whether he would lose or win, I used to go and tell him
 “Harris number one”’
[\http://www.elnuevodia.com/deportes/baloncesto/nota/fanaticaincondicionaldemikeharris-1564712/ Puerto Rico. CDE: NOW]
- b. (...) *el cogía y le devolvía la jugada...*
 he take.imp.3s and cl.dat.3S return.imp.3s the play
 ‘He used to take and give him his own medicine’
[\https://www.ondacero.es/deportes/motor/formula-directo-clasificacion-gran-premio-italia-201808315b8ac64b0cf2be22cab1beea.html Spain.
 CDE: NOW]

With respect to other simple tenses, they follow the same pattern as Indicative Past. That is, they are possible only under an inceptive reading. These are exemplified as follows: Future Indicative (62), Conditional Indicative, (63), Past Indicative Subjunctive (64) and Present Subjunctive (65).

- (62) a. (...) *yo iré y le diré: aquí tiene sentido un muro...*
 I go.fut.1s and cl.dat.3s tell.fut.1s here have.3s sense a wall
 “I will go and tell him: A wall does make sense here...”
[\https://www.milenio.com/internacional/el-muro-no-sera-de-costa-a-costa-kelly USA. CDE: NOW
- b. (...) *si no encuentro nadie que se ajuste a mí, cogeré y me iré.*
 If not find.3s nobody that cl.refl.3s adjust.subj.3s to me, take.fut.1s
 and cl.refl.1s go.fut.1s
 ‘If I can’t find nobody that fits me, I’ll go and leave’
[\http://www.telecinco.es/blogs/lostronistas/suhailatronista_6_1544640022.html Spain. CDE: NOW]
- (63) a. *Sabes, yo no iría y pensaría en lo sucedido*
 know.2s I neg go.cond.1s and think.1s in the happened
 ‘You know, I wouldn’t go and think in what happened’
[\http://shadandraloverstory.blogspot.com/2012/04/capitulo-13-la-cita-falsa-y-el.html Unknown. Google]

- b. *Yo cogería y vendería la batería Yamaha*
 I take.cond.1s and sell.cond.1s the drums Yamaha
 ‘I would take and sell the Yamaha drums’
[\https://www.batacas.com/topics/dos-bombos-dos-marcas.52156/
 Google. Spain]
- (64) a. *Prefiero que cojas y te largues y no estropees mi trabajo*
 Prefer.1s that take.subj.2s and cl.refl.2s leave.subj.2s and not mess.2s my work
 ‘I prefer that you take and leave and don’t mess with my work’
[\https://www.lasexta.com/programas/pesadilla-en-la-cocina/mejores-momentos/damaris-prefiero-que-cojas-largues-estropees-trabajo_201306065726b82e4beb28d4460275a0.html Spain. Google]
- b. *Espero con ganas ese día en el que vayas y me digas todas las cosas que les dices a los demás de mi*
 wait.1s with will that day in the that go.subj.1s and cl.dat.1s tell.subj.2s all the things that tell.2s to the rest of me
 ‘I am waiting for the day when you go and tell me everything you tell others about me’
[\https://twitter.com/SoloPar91458531/status/759862223925686273
 Mexico. Twitter]
- (65) a. *No estaría mal que cogieses y re-unieses la foto rota*
 not be.cond.1s bad that take.subj.pret.2s and re-join.subj.pret.2s the picture broke
 ‘It wouldn’t be bad if you took and put the broken pic together again’
[\https://as.com/meristation/2006/06/24/guia_pagina/1151118006_028182.html Spain. Google]
- b. (...) *Sería de gran apoyo que fueras y me pudieras seguir en Twitch*
 be.cond.3s of great support that go.subj.pret.2s and cl.acc.1s can.subj.pret.2s follow.inf on Twitch
 ‘It would be of great help if you could go and follow me on Twitch’
[\https://www.instagram.com/vnssue/ Unknown. Google]

Concerning complex tenses and the Imperative, Bravo (2020) states “as for the rest of the tenses, compound tenses are clearly rejected under the relevant readings, as well as, what is more important, the imperative (26[66]), a fact unnoticed up to now, as far as I know. Thus, in (26[66]) the only possible reading is the distal one” (p. 143).

- (66) *Ve y cuénta-le que...* distal / *aux
 go.imp.2g and tell.imp.2g-cl.dat.3s that...

However, the previous statements are contradicted by the data in (67, 68). Notice that the encyclopedic and real-word meaning of V2 makes a distal reading very unlikely. For instance, in (67b), V2 is a mental verb, hence V1 is unlikely to denote direction towards

a goal, but rather an unspecified mental state (determination) that leads to the action of thinking something.

- (67) a. *Pues yo opino que, si tienes problemas con gente por privado, **coge y envíale** un privado a los moderadores*
So I opine.1s that if have.2s problems with people by private, take.imp.2s and send.imp.2s-cl.dat.3p a private to the moderators
'So, I think that if you have personal problems with some people, go and send the moderators a direct message'
[<https://www.udlaspalmas.net/forum/viewtopic.php?t=26991> Spain. Google]
- b. *Oriol y Emili se me quedan mirando y me dicen: “¡**Ve y piensa** en algo!”*
Oriol and Emili cl.refl.3p cl.acc.1s remain.3p look.ing and cl.dat.1m tell.3p go.imp.2s and think.imp.2s in something
'Oriol and Emili keep looking at me and they tell me: “go and think something”'
[<https://www.trentia.net/hoy-entrevistamos-a-los-socios-de-dear-intelligence/> Spain. Google]
- (68) a. *Me ha informado de que van a instalar una escultura dedicada a las víctimas del franquismo. Así que **he ido y he preguntado** al internet*
cl.dat.1s have(aux).3s inform.pt of that go.3p to install.inf a sculpture dedicated to the victims of franquismo. So that have(aux).1s go.pt and have(aux) ask.pt to-the Internet
'She informed me that they are going to put a sculpture dedicated to the victims of Franco's regime. So I went and asked the Internet'.
[<https://www.elcorreo.com/vizcaya/20090419/opinion/patio-casa-20090419.html> Spain. Google]
- b. *Así que **he cogido y he llamado** a la Seat y para mañana por la mañana me tienen el coche preparado...*
So that have(aux).1s take.pt and have(aux).1s call.pt to the Seat and for tomorrow by the morning cl.dat.1s have(aux) the car prepare.pt
'So, I went and called Seat and by tomorrow morning they have the car ready'
[<https://www.clubseatleon.net/viewtopic.php?f=8&t=82090&start=45> Spain. Google]

Thus, in inceptive PseCo, neither GO nor TAKE feature tenses restrictions in the Imperative (67) and complex tenses (68) Furthermore, in (68), each verb is modified by the perfective auxiliary, which shows that V1, despite being lexically impoverished, can be preceded by auxiliary verbs in the same fashion as full verbs.

A relevant observation concerns the possibility of having different morphology in V1 and V2. In inceptive PseCo, both verbs must bear the same TMA morphology²⁸. However, in speaker-oriented PseCo, despite V1 being restricted to Present Tense, V2 may bear different TMA morphology, including periphrastic verbal tenses (69a).

- (69) a. *Pues él con todo su coñ* coge, y había quedado con sus amigotes*
 so he, with all his cunt, take.3s and have(aux).imp.3s meet.pt with his friends
 ‘So, blatantly, he had met with his friends’
- b. *Me han destrozado la inocencia, yo que pensaba que R2D2 y Chewaca eran de verdad, y va y eran humanos!!!*
 cl.dat.1s have(aux).3p destroyed my innocence, I who think.imp.1s that R2D2 and Chewbacca be.imp.3p of truth and go.3s and be.imp.3p humans
 ‘They destroyed my innocence. Me who thought that R2D2 and Chewbacca were real, and, to my astonishment, they were human!’

By considering examples like the (69), where V1 behaves a discourse operator, it follows that V1, as a result of its grammaticalization into a more functional verb, has lost the necessity to check person and number features in the same way as ordinary verbs.

Complement of other verbs

Inceptive Pseudo-Coordination can be the infinitival complement of other verbs, as showed in the following examples:

- (70) a. *A mí me gustaría coger y hacer una planificación deportiva seria*
 To me cl.dat.1s like.cond.1s take.inf and do.inf a planification sportive serious
 ‘I would like to take and make a serious sports plan’
[\[https://www.farodevigo.es/deza-tabeiros-montes/2015/06/28/lalin-arena-epicentro-hay-explotar-16875268.html\]](https://www.farodevigo.es/deza-tabeiros-montes/2015/06/28/lalin-arena-epicentro-hay-explotar-16875268.html) Spain. Google]
- b. *Quiero ir y escribir un libro como ese que leía mi hermano mayor en el colegio*
 want.1s go.inf and write.inf a book like that that read.imp.3s my brother big in the school
 ‘I want to go and write a book like the one my elder brother used to read in first grade’

²⁸ This is a well-known property of PseCo in many languages which has been formalized differently depending on the type of structure adopted by the construction. For instance, De Vos (2005) proposes the concept Morphological Sameness Condition, arguing that it is a property that derives from Wasow’s Generalization (coordination). On the other hand, Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001) and Wiklund (2007) argue that the tense of V2 and V1 respectively must be copied from the other verb (subordination).

[\[http://hermeselsabio.blogspot.com/2007/03/el-mejor-blog-del-universo-este-cumple.html\]](http://hermeselsabio.blogspot.com/2007/03/el-mejor-blog-del-universo-este-cumple.html) Chile. Google]

- (71) a. *Aquel que siembra y nos hace coger y sembrar la Palabra es el Espíritu*
That who seed.3s and cl.acc.1p make.3s take.inf and seed.inf the Word is the Spirit
'Who seeds and makes us take and seed the Word is the Holy Spirit'
[\[https://homilia.cancaonova.com/es/homilia/vivamos-o-pentecostes-todos-os-dias/\]](https://homilia.cancaonova.com/es/homilia/vivamos-o-pentecostes-todos-os-dias/) Uknown. Google]
- b. *¿Sabes qué? Me hiciste ir y leer sobre el Ragnarok [...]*
[\[https://www.deviantart.com/tayakiki/art/ReT-HELLFIRE-705393166?comment=1%3A705393166%3A4474100840/\]](https://www.deviantart.com/tayakiki/art/ReT-HELLFIRE-705393166?comment=1%3A705393166%3A4474100840/)
Chile. Google]

Concerning perception verbs, Bravo (2020: 144) observes that “the licensing of infinitival forms seems to depend largely on the context, though whilst TAKE-verbs may appear in the complement of sensorial perception verbs (30a[72a]), GO-verbs are clearly odd (30b[72b])²⁹”:

- (72) a. *??Vi a Juan coger y {decir / largarse / romper-lo}*
see.pret.1s DOM Juan take.inf and tell.inf/leave.inf/break.inf-cl.acc.m.s
Id: 'I saw Juan take and tell/leave/break it'
- b. *??Vi a Juan ir y {decir / largarse / romper-lo}*
see.pret.1s DOM Juan go.inf and tell.inf/leave.inf/break.inf-cl.acc.m.s
Id. meaning: 'I saw Juan go and tell/leave/break it'

The issue with the previous statement is that there is not a marked difference between verb classes when it comes to their acceptability as complement of sensorial verbs. Both (72a) and (72b) are odd according to my own judgement. However, it is possible to find instance of both verbs in these contexts too, although these are very scarce:

- (73) a. *Toda la nación o el número de espectadores que estaban viendo ese día me vieron ir y hacer mi negocio en una sala de colección*
All the nation or the number of spectators that be(prog).imp.3p watch.ing that day cl.acc.1s watch.pret.3p go.inf and do.inf my business in a room of collection
'All the nation or the number of spectators that were watching that day saw me go and do my business in a collection room'

²⁹ The question marks in (73a) were added by me.

[\https://golinmena.com/entretenimiento/exclusivo-detras-de-escena-con-la-dra-jen-arnold/USA. Google]

- b. *Es verdad que a Ney a veces le sobra el último regate, pero yo en días como ayer lo veo coger y echarse el equipo a las espaldas (...)*
be.3s true that to Ney on times cl.dat.3s exceed.3s the last dribble, but I in days like yesterday cl.acc.3s.m see.1s take.inf and pour.inf the team on the backs
'It's true that Ney sometimes shows off unnecessarily, but, in days like yesterday, I see him take and hold the hem of his team...'
[\https://vandal.elespanol.com/foro/mensaje/922284/fcbarcelona-201617-invictos-y-lideres-hasta-final-de-temporada/883 Spain. Google]

Summary of findings

The findings can be classified according to the type of reading involved. On the one hand, it has been showed that V1 in speaker-oriented PseCo is restricted to Present Tense morphology, whereas, in inceptive PseCo, there are not tense restrictions. Also, inceptive Pseudo-Coordination can be selected as the infinitival complement of other verbs.

Contra Bravo (2020), it has been showed that the presence or absence of syntactic restrictions are not particularly associated to the choice of lexical items. In other words, both GO and TAKE display the same morphological and syntactic behavior, which ultimately depends on the type of pseudo-coordinative construction.

2.3. INTERMEDIATE CONCLUSIONS

Thus far, the application of the diagnostics based on previous works on light verbs (Butt & Geuder, 2001; Butt, 2003, 2010) and semi-lexical verbs (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001; 2003) has revealed that V1 in inceptive Pseudo-Coordination is a light verb. The most evident property of V1 is the deficiency to create its own predicate. That is, neither GO nor TAKE denote an event on its own, but rather modulates the predication denoted by the second verb. As noted by García Sánchez (2007), who elaborates on centenary evidence on this matter, deficiency is likely to be caused by a heavy loss of the semantic content of the lexical item. In fact, in Pseudo-Coordination, none of the verbs seem to have retained its 'original' semantics. In the case of GO verbs, this means that, in sentence like *fue y le dijo adiós* (lit. 'he went and said goodbye'), GO does not imply any motion towards a given goal. Nevertheless, as opposed to auxiliary verbs, V1 exhibits some properties which define it as a "bleached version of main verbs" (Butt, 2010: 22). First, it has been

showed that inceptive Pseudo-Coordination only accepts agentive predicates, as opposed to its simplex counterparts. In Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001)'s terms, it could be said that V1 assigns a secondary theta-role (+agency) to the subject in inceptive PseCo. Secondly, inceptive PseCo also involves aspectual restrictions, as already noted by Coseriu (1966, 1977). The author proposed an analysis of PseCo where V1 is a 'completive' aspect auxiliary verb with the effect of describing events as a whole. Following Leclerck (2007), I suggest that inceptive Pseudo-Coordination denotes only heterogenous (bounded) eventualities. Similarly, Butt & Geuder (2001) acknowledges a similar effect involving resultative complex predicates in Urdu (also Butt & Ramchand, 2005). Lastly, evidence from tense morphology and the structural position of V1 reveals that it is, in fact, a bleached version of a full verb. V1 does not have tense restrictions, as other light verbs featured in similar constructions, such as Swedish PseCo (Wiklund, 2007). Also, in the same fashion as full verbs, V1 may follow auxiliary verbs like perfective *have* and prospective *go*, as well as being the infinitival complement of verbs such as *want*, *think*, *do* (causative), etc.

On the assumption that V1 is light verb in inceptive PseCo, it follows that not every verb can occupy the V1 position. That is, V1 constitutes a closed class. In Spanish Pseudo-Coordination, the different types of V1 can be classified according to its lexical origin into TAKE and GO-verbs³⁰. One of the aims of this study consists of finding whether there are semantic asymmetries among verb classes. According to Bravo (2020), the asymmetries between GO and TAKE go are as relevant to determine the meaning and syntax of Pseudo-Coordination.

“(...) verbs that occupy the first position can be divided into two classes: GO-verbs class and the TAKE-verbs class, the TAKE-class verbs being less grammaticalized than the GO-verbs class. GO-verbs show clear restrictions with respect to both the tenses they are compatible (...), namely, the historical present. GO-class verbs, however, do not impose any restriction on its complements (...) TAKE-

³⁰ Notice that, in Pseudo-Coordination, only verbs with very general semantics (e.g. *take*, *go*, *come*...) can become 'light'. It follows that the very same verbs appear as light verbs in 'V-N' constructions, or in auxiliary verb constructions. In the case of Pseudo-Coordination, the grammaticalization of V1 takes a step further in this direction since V1 is also used as a discourse operator in speaker-oriented PseCo.

class verbs, on the contrary, lack of tense restrictions, and select only agentive telic predicates”.

(Bravo, 2020: 159)

This kind of verbal asymmetry is not consistent with the data analyzed in this study. The semi-lexical behavior of V1 is identical regardless of the type of verb in V1 position. Furthermore, it seems that there are not even ‘subtle’ semantic differences between these verbs. As opposed to Swedish inceptive PseCo (Eckberg, 1993; Wiklund, 2007, 2009), in Spanish, *GO* verbs do not have andative or distal meaning. That is, the subject is not interpreted as ‘away doing something’ (Wiklund, 2007: 128). This has been showed in many examples where the second verb denotes a mental action (e.g., thinking), as well as in other instances where the lexical encyclopedic content and real-world knowledge are incompatible with any movement, (e.g., searching the Internet). In Spanish inceptive PseCo, *TAKE* and *GO* always denote an unspecified cause that results in the action denoted by the second verb.

However, there are instances in historic Present in which none of the semantic and aspectual restrictions apply³¹. In those examples, the meaning of the construction is not related to causative or resultative semantics (VP-internal), but rather expresses an indefinable set of subjective evaluations like annoyance, surprise, fear, etc., which I refer as speaker-oriented PseCo. As far as I am concerned, reports of such reading dates back to Montes (1966; as cited in García Sánchez, 2007), who uses the term *potencial de temor* (‘fear potential’) to refer to these type of constructions with *GO*³². In the same fashion as inceptive PseCo, there is not a direct relationship between meaning and lexical choice. That is, either *GO* or *TAKE* may appear in V1 position in speaker-oriented PseCo without

³¹ This statement is not completely accurate. As I explain in Chapter 3, speaker-oriented PseCo is restricted to homogeneous eventualities, specifically, achievements. This derives from the fact that speakers must have ‘witness’ the particular event or state over which V1 operates (grammatical evidentiality). Since all type of predicates can be denoted by V2, these are reanalyzed as achievements. The meaning of V1 is a combination of a sudden realization of a given event or state (heterogeneous) plus the particular speaker-oriented meaning involved.

³² For Sicilian PseCo, Di Caro (2019: 144) notes that there are instances where “*GO* is impersonal and becomes an emphatic marker underlining the ‘unexpected nature of the action’”. The author refers to this reading as Surprise Effect, and dates it back to Sornicola (1976).

any meaningful difference associated to lexical choice. This is also acknowledged by Bravo (2020: 159):

“On the other hand, and parallel to this division, there is another asymmetry, this time telling apart the (historical) present instances from the rest (...). It is irrelevant the class to which V1 belongs, which means both that classes are not that fixed and that at the end the overall meaning depends more on the structure than on each particular lexical item that occupies the first position”.

However, the author ends up prioritizing a single-construction analysis in which lexical choice determines syntax and meaning (p. 150-151). On the opposite, I argue that meaning depends on the ‘constructional template’ rather than in the type of verb in V1 position. In this sense, there are two constructions: a complex ‘V+V’ predicate similar to Swedish inceptive coordination (Wiklund, 2007); and another construction where V1 is a discourse operator, similar to Portuguese ‘*ir e V*’ construction (Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016). These two constructions will be discussed in Chapter 3 and 4 respectively.

3. INCEPTIVE PSEUDO-COORDINATION

In the last section, I concluded that PseCo in Spanish refers to two types of constructions: a complex ‘V+V’ predicate (1), similar to Swedish inceptive coordination (Wiklund, 2007); a construction where V1 is a discourse operator (2), similar to Portuguese ‘V e V’ construction (Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016). This chapter focuses on the complex predicate analysis of (1).

- (1) a. *Los viernes después de entrenar siempre cogemos y pedimos chino*
the Fridays after of train.inf always take.1p and order.1p Chinese
‘On Fridays, after training, we always take and order Chinese food’
- b. *Los viernes después de entrenar siempre vamos y pedimos chino*
the Fridays after of train.inf always go.1p and order.1p Chinese
‘On Fridays, after training, we always go and order Chinese food’
- (2) a. *Tanto hype y al final coge y el juego está rotísimo*
much hype and at-the end take.3s and the game be.3s break.pt
‘All this hype and, at the end, to our dismay, the game is broken!’
- b. *Tanto hype y al final va y el juego está rotísimo*
much hype and at-the end go.3s and the game be.3s break.pt
‘All this hype and, at the end, to our dismay, the game is broken!’

3.1. COMPLEX PREDICATE FORMATION

Complex predicates involve a semantic scenario of co-predication, where two (or more) lexical heads contribute to meaning in a significant way³³. Furthermore, lexical heads generally form a cohesive unit at the level of syntax (i.e. a single argument structure, transparency, Tense...). Given the diversity of theoretical assumptions about the nature of language, analyses of complex predicates may vary depending on the framework adopted. The main point of divergence is found between linguistic theories that assume multiple levels linguistic representation, such as LFG, Lexical Functional Grammar

³³ This definition in terms of ‘joint predication’ can be found in Butt (2010: 3). The author contrasts it with noun-incorporation, which, according to the author, “an object (or other argument or adjunct) is drawn into the verbal predication to become part of that predication, but does not add anything else to the predication”. While I do not assume the separation between complex predication and noun-incorporation as two different phenomena, at least not in the sense of Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) or Wurmbrand (2016), I think that the idea of ‘joint predication’ can be applied to inceptive PseCo, since the combination of V1 (cause) + V2 (result) in this construction always give rise to the same general causation and resultativ semantics.

(Bresnan, 2001), and those which assume that there is a single computational level, such as the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995) or Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 1995).

Since LFG assumes a representation of language as divided into multiple linguistic levels (*a-structure*, *f-structure*, *c-structure*...), many LFG-based approaches (Butt, Isoda & Sells, 1990; Alsina, 1993; Mohanan, 1994; Butt, 1995) situate complex predication at the level of *argument structure* (Jackendoff, 1990)³⁴. The general idea is that joint predications are formed lexically by processes involving a ‘transfer’ (Grimshaw & Mester, 1988; Di Sciullo & Rosen, 1990; Samek-Lodovici, 2003) or ‘fusion’ (Mohanani, 1994; Butt, 1995) at the level of *a-structure*. It follows that the joint predication is usually mapped onto the ‘next’ linguistic level, the *functional structure*, as a monopredicative head. In the same way, the information is mapped to the constituent structure, where elements are ordered hierarchically.

On the other hand, minimalist approaches do not conceive such a system of combinatorial semantic operations prior to syntactic insertion; hence, complex predication must be a syntactic process³⁵. It follows that the syntactic representations of complex and simplex predicates are very close, while the differences are explained in terms of overt/covert morphology. With respect to morphosyntax, complex predicates can be classified as morphological or syntactic in nature. This distinction is directly related to the fact that some lexical heads in complex predicate may be syntactically complex themselves. For instance, one idea that has been proposed recently for complex predicates is that the light verb is the overt realization of little *v* (Wurmbrand, 2015) that is part of the semantics of transitive and unergative verbs (Chomsky, 1996; Kratzer, 1996). A similar idea is proposed in the analysis of conflation verbs (i.e. to shelve a book) by Hale & Keyser (1992, 2002). According to these authors, the meaning of the verb results from the incorporation or conflation of the nominal-verb from complement to head position. For

³⁴ Conceptual Semantics (Jackendoff, 1990), from which the term *a-structure* derives, it is not tied to the LFG only. In fact, rather than directly using the terminology of Jackendoff, as in Grimshaw (1990), LFG-based theories like Butt (1995) adopts it in a way that suits the principles established by LFG. This usually involve establishing whether the *a-structure* actually contain relevant semantic information (i.e. causation) or may be empty and depend on links to other semantically relevant representations (Lexical Conceptual Structure).

³⁵ However, since semantically relevant information, such as the interpretation of causation and resultativity is represented syntactically, the separation between semantics and syntax is not so straightforward, hence the terms L-Syntax (Hale & Keyser) and *syn-sem* Narrow Syntax (Ramchand).

example, the neo-constructionist³⁶ approach by Ramchand (2004, 2008, 2011) ‘adapts’ the *a-structure* of Lexical Conceptual Semantics into a fine-grained VP that she refers as the syn-sem narrow computation or First Phase. In the First Phase, the subevental (causation, resultativity) semantics of complex predicates is straightforwardly represented through the correspondence of predicational units and subevental projections (*initP*, *procP*, *resP*).

Finally, according to Construction Grammar (Goldberg, 1995, 2003; Croft, 2001), constructions are defined as stored pairs of form and meaning. The equivalent to Narrow Syntax is defined as a ‘template’ where constructions (conceptual atomic items) are mapped prior to speech. Regarding complex predicates or light verb constructions, Construction Grammar conceives them as any other construction, a stored atomic item.

In the following subsections, Butt’s (1995) and, specially, Ramchand’s (2008) approaches to complex predicates are reviewed. The factor that makes their analysis relevant to inceptive PseCo is that both authors base their descriptions on Davidsonian semantics (Davidson, 1967). Considering that the semantic of PseCo has been defined in terms of inception (see García Sánchez, 2007), approaches in which subevental decomposition plays an important role are likely to accurately cover the empirical ground surrounding this construction.

3.1.1. EVENT FUSION

Butt (1995) introduces the concepts of *Event Fusion* (3) and *Argument Fusion* (4) as the main mechanisms involved in complex predicate formation. According to the author, the deficiency attributed to light verbs is caused by the presence of *transparent event* (E_t) within the *a-structure* of a lexical item.

³⁶ Regarding lexical insertion, Ramchand (2008) deviates from purely generative-constructivist approaches like Borer (2005) and Marantz (1997). Whereas in the former, lexical items contain syntactically relevant information that associates them to their Merge position, the latter positions conceive that the relationship between vocabulary and Merge is mediated by encyclopedic and real-world knowledge.

(3) EVENT FUSION:

“An a-structure containing a transparent Event must be fused with another a-structure. This is accomplished through unification: the highest arguments of each a-structure are unified with one another, then the next highest, etc. The information at the respective *Aspect Tiers* of the a-structures must also be unified into a single *Aspect Tier*. Two arguments or *Aspect Tiers* with incompatible specifications may not be fused”.

(4) ARGUMENT FUSION:

“If one a-structure is embedded within another as a transparent Event, then the highest argument of the embedded a-structure is fused with lowest argument of the matrix a-structure. This is expressed by filling the embedded argument slot with the Greek letter index of the matrix argument slot.”

(Butt, 1995: 145: 16-17)

The *a-structure* is the LFG adaptation of Jackendoff’s (1990) concept of Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS), as part of his theory of Conceptual Semantics³⁷. Furthermore, the LCS is based on the Davidsonian (1967) idea of event variable³⁸, which is represented within the *a-structure* as *Action Tier* and *Thematic Tier*. The former denotes the affection relationship between objects (e.g. Agent-Patient), whereas the latter encodes primitive semantic relationship between arguments. In the following example, the *a-structure* of the verb ‘to give’ in English is represented:

³⁷ In Conceptual Semantics, argument structure and the Lexical Conceptual Semantics constitute the two different levels of representation of lexical items. Contra Grimshaw (1990), Mohanan (1994), a.o., Butt (1995) comments “rather than arguing for more abstraction at argument structure, I propose to adopt LCS representations directly for argument structure representation” (p. 131).

³⁸ A few paragraphs above, I mentioned that Davidsonian semantics facilitates a theoretical explanation of the interpretation of inceptive PseCo. In this regard, Butt (1995) comments “many of the ideas and formalisms developed in Jackendoff (1990) are particularly attractive for a treatment of Urdu complex predicates. For example, the semantic factors of conscious choice (volitionality) and inception/completion, which were found to play a role in Aspectual complex predicate formation, are easily expressed with the help of LCSs” (p. 132).

$$(5) \quad \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{give} \\ \text{V} \\ \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{CS}([\alpha], \text{GO}_{\text{Poss}}([\]_A, \text{TO}[\beta])) \\ \text{AFF}^+([\]_A^{\alpha}, [\]_A^{\beta}) \end{array} \right]_{\text{EVENT}} \end{array} \right]$$

(Butt, 1995: 123; ex. 2)

According to Conceptual Semantics, lexical entries of verbs (V) include the root (*give*) and an Event Scheme. The first line of the Event Scheme corresponds to the Thematic Tier. In this case, the meaning of the verb *give* is composed by the functions *cause* (CS) and *transfer of possession* (GO)_{poss}. Each pair of square brackets corresponds to an argument of the verb. In the case of a ditransitive verbs like *give*, these contain three bracketed argument positions (one external and two internal argument). The function TO specifies the goal. Concerning the *Action Tier*, the function AFF+ indicates that the action is characterized by psychological involvement. Greek letters α and β are used to link thematic and argument relationships. In this particular entry, the ‘initiator’ (first argument of CS) is linked to the ‘actor’, while the goal is identified as beneficiary.

In addition to *Thematic Tier* and *Action Tier*, Butt (1995) includes an *Aspect Tier* in order to account for the information relevant to lexical aspect. This is represented by a third line headed by the function ASP (aspect), followed by three slots, each representing three phases: beginning, process and end. These slots are filled with numbers 1 (positive), 0 (negative), or left empty (_). The *Aspect Tier* can be used to represent Vendler (1967)’s event classes as follows:

- (6) ACTIVITIES → (1, 1, 0)
- ACCOMPLISHMENTS → (1, 1, 1)
- ACHIEVEMENTS → (1, 0, 1)

According to Butt (1995: 143-144), light verbs are characterized for having a *transparent event* (scheme) which leads to complex predicate formation. Lexical impoverishment is represented by an empty Argument Tier, following previous works (Grimshaw & Mester, 1988) that light verbs have an empty argument structure. However, light verbs are not empty elements or licensors of predication. The *a-structure* of light verbs includes a

Thematic and *Aspect Tier*. The following example shows the *a-structure* of *par* ‘fall’ that as used in a light verb construction with inceptive meaning:

$$(7) \left[\begin{array}{c} \text{par 'fall'} \\ \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{AFF}_{-cc}([\],) \\ \text{ASP}(1 - -) \end{array} \right\}_{E_T} \end{array} \right]$$

(Butt, 1995: 146; ex. 8)

In (7), the feature AFF_{-cc} indicates that there is no conscious choice deriving from the affective relationship between objects. The only empty bracket contains the causer of the action. Prior to complex predicate formation, there is no indexation of arguments since *Argument Tier* is empty. At the *Aspect Tier*, the only underspecified phase is initiation, while process and bound are left unassociated. Overall, the *a-structure* of the verb should encode those aspects of light verbs that are central to the meaning expressed by the complex predicate. In the case of *fall*, these are emphasis on the initiation of events (inception) and marking that the causing event is abstract. The *a-structure* does not represent ‘additional’ meanings or effects such as suddenness or thoroughness. Regarding that issue, Butt & Geuder (2001) note that “the interaction of the lexical content of the light verb with the event semantics of the main verb is what gives rises to such effects (...)” (p. 336). That is, although those effects may not form part of the light verb’s ‘core’ meaning, encyclopedic or real-world meaning of the predicational verb may trigger them.

Transparent events lead to *Event Fusion*, through which the *a-structure* of two verbs are fused to create a complex predicate. The arguments of the main or predicational verb are attracted to the light verb’s *Argument Tier* in a way that the highest argument of the predicational verb becomes the lowest argument of the light verb. The hierarchical order of attraction is encoded within the *Thematic Tier*. Also, when two arguments compete for the same index at the *Thematic Tier* (e.g., two actors), the light verb is privileged. Furthermore, incompatible features clashes *Event Fusion*. That is, a combination of abstract causation (AFF_{-cc}) and agency (AFF_{+cc}) is illicit. For instance, *par* ‘far’ (AFF_{-cc}) cannot combine with an agent-oriented verb like *bana* ‘make’ (AFF_{+cc}) to create a complex predicate with the intended meaning of ‘made impulsively’, as Butt shows:

(8) a.
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} *banaa\ parii\ \text{'made impulsively'} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} CS([\alpha], BE[necklace]) \\ \mathbf{AFF}_{+cc/-cc}([Anjum]^\alpha,) \\ ASP(1\ -\ -) \end{array} \right]_E \end{array} \right]$$

- b. **anjum haar banaa par.-ii*
 Anjum.f.nom necklace.m.nom make fall-perf.f.s
 ‘Anjum fell to making the necklace impulsively’

(Butt, 1995: 147-148 19a, 22)

Also, another type of feature incompatibility may occur at the *Aspect Tier*. For instance, a combination of *fall* with a verb like *b^huul* ‘to forget’, which is negatively specified for initiation, leads to a clash. Thus, A light verb construction with an intended meaning of ‘forget inceptively’ is not attainable in this language:

(9) a.
$$\left[\begin{array}{l} *b^h uul\ parii\ \text{'forget inceptively'} \\ \left[\begin{array}{l} CS([\alpha], GO_{Info}([story], FROM[\alpha])) \\ \mathbf{AFF}_{-cc}([Anjum]^\alpha,) \\ \mathbf{ASP}(0/1\ -\ -) \end{array} \right]_E \end{array} \right]$$

- b. **anjum kahaanii b^huul par. -ii*
 Anjum.F=Nom story.F=Nom forget fall-Perf.F.Sg
 ‘Anjum forgot the story.’

(Butt, 1995: 149-150: ex. 27, 25)

The complex predicate is mapped as a monopredicative unit onto the next level of linguistic representation according to LFG principles, the *f-structure*. In this sense, a complex predicate contains only one set of argument relationship (i.e. one verb, one subject, one object in case of transitives...) ³⁹. At the *f-structure*, each argument is assigned its respective position at deep structure through case-assignment. Most LFG authors do not assume a direct correspondence between thematic roles and structural case (Uniformity of Theta Assignment Hypothesis). Generally, scholars assume that there are

³⁹ Monopredicativity is often referred as monoclausality by authors like Rosen, (1989), Mohanan (1993) and Butt (1995). In Nash & Samvelian (2016: 2), in addition to a unified argument structure, monoclausality also involves a single temporal modification and lack of clausal embedding. According to these authors, monoclausality is a hallmark of complex predicates. However, whether this may hold for most morphological and compound complex predicates, other constructions in which lexical items has deeper functional complexity (clausal embedding) may be excluded.

a number of ‘proto-roles’ (Dowty, 1991) known as Lexical Mapping Theory (Bresnan & Zaenen, 1990). The classification is based on cross-linguistic generalizations about grammatical relationships, such as “agents do not show up as direct objects”, assuming that there are prototypical features relevant to case. The two features are [+restrictive] and [+objective]. Each grammatical position is linked to a bundle of features (10).

(10) Grammatical Position	Features
SUBJ	[-r,o-]
OBJ	[-r,+o]
OBJ _θ	[+r,+o]
OBL _θ	[+r,-o]

Then, *f-structure* is mapped onto *c(onstituent)-structure* following the algorithm of syntactic relationship proposed by Bresnan & Kaplan (1982). With respect to syntactically formed complex predicates, Butt (1995: 173) comments that the algorithm does not provide a way to unify predicates where each head has their own lexical projection.

To summarize, lexicalist approaches like Butt (1995) allows to capture the deficient nature of light verbs by means of concepts such as *Transparent Event*. A defining property of light verbs (V1) is their inability to license predication out of complex predicate formation. This follows from the fact that light verbs are semantically bleached. Furthermore, if we situate complex predication at the level of semantic (LCS or *a-structure*), the monopredicative behavior is self-explained, given that these are mapped onto the syntax as a single unit. However, as opposed to PseCo in English, where the two verbs form a compound (De Vos, 2005). In Spanish, V1 and V2 show a greater degree of functional complexity each, as in other functional complex predicates, as in other syntactic complex predicates. In those cases, complex predication necessarily involves syntactic operations that give rise to mono-predication (e.g., head incorporation, raising...).

3.1.2. NEO-CONSTRUCTIONISM (RAMCHAND)

Neo-constructionist approaches highlight the role of syntax in the interpretation of argument structure and event decomposition (Hale & Keyser, 1993, 2002; Levin &

Rappaport-Hovav, 1998; Borer, 2005; Ramchand, 2008). They converge two strong positions: (i) the Davidsonian (Davidson, 1967) idea that verb contains a verbal variable that is crucial for theta-binding relationships with objects; (ii) the Minimalist (Chomsky, 1995) claim that the only computational module is Narrow-Syntax. The interpretation of events and thematic roles is accounted for by means of systematic relationship between verbal heads, their specifiers and their complements. This adds a level of semantic and syntactic complexity to ‘simple’ predicates as well, blurring its boundaries with complex predicates since both are structurally complex. For instance, Chomsky (1995) and Kratzer (1996) argue that transitive and unergative verbs contain two lexical heads, little *v* and *V*, the former accounting for the agentive meaning. Also, Hale & Keyser (1993, 2002) argues that verbs such as *shelter* in sentences like *I sheltered the books* projects an empty inner *v* that contains the prepositional phrase (*in the shelter*) as its complement. The authors call this level Lexical-Syntax, since they argue that the semantics of event composition is ruled by syntactic operations. Similarly, Ramchand (2008) proposes that the VP (First Phase) can be internally decomposed in as much as three phases: *initiationP*, *processP* and *resultP*. As in other neo-constructionist approaches, the interpretation of events’ semantics and argument relationships is built up by recursive syntactic operations (Merge).

According to Ramchand (2008), “this level can only include those aspects of meaning that are genuinely predictable and systematic” (p. 38). One of these aspects concerns the establishments of the primitive set of rules that can explain subevental embedding. Firstly, the relation between causation/initiation and dynamic processes. The author notes that causation is considered a relevant factor in the distinction of verb classes since Perlmutter (1978), as well as showing up in the morphology of many languages. Furthermore, since Chomsky (1995) and Kratzer (1996), transitivity has been argued to be licensed ‘externally’ by little *v*⁴⁰. Following Hale & Keyser (1993), Ramchand (2008: 54) argues that transitive verbs such as *eat* can be represented as follows:

(16) ‘eating’ (*e*) where $e = (e_1 \rightarrow e_2 : [\text{cause-eat}(e_1) \ \& \ \text{process-eat}(e_2)])$

⁴⁰ Following Marantz (1984), Ramchand (2008: 24) establishes a connection between the underlying distinction between external and internal arguments and a relationship of causation/initiation.

The second primitive rule concerns process and resultativity (*telos*). Ramchand (2008: 25) argues that, in the same way as causation, telicity has been shown to be relevant to morphology and the classification of events (Vendler, 1967). Following Higginbotham (2001), who argues that accomplishment predicates involve subevents *process* and *telos* (telic augmentation), she proposes the following schematization of resultatives (p. 44):

- (17) ‘defuse the bomb’ (e) *where* $e = \langle e_1, e_2 \rangle$: [process-defuse(e_1) & result-of-defusing(e_2)]

Based on the previous assumptions, Ramchand (2008: 44) proposes that there is only a single basic primitive rule of event composition (18) which describe the relationship between two types of primitive predicates (19):

- (18) Event Composition Rule

$e = e_1 \rightarrow e_2$: e consists of two subevents, e_1, e_2 such that e_1 causally implicates e_2

- (19) a. State(e): e is a state
 b. Process(e): e is an eventuality that contains an internal change

The difference between causation/initiation and resultativity is interpreted from the position of subevental heads in the hierarchy, such that initiation(e) is the causing subevent of process(e) (20a), which consequently can be subject to the same ‘lead-to’ relationship in order to create a result(e) (20b).

- (20) a. IF $\exists e_1, e_2$ [State(e_1) & Process(e_2) & $e_1 \rightarrow e_2$], then by definition
 Initiation(e_1)
 b. IF $\exists e_1, e_2$ [State(e_1) & Process(e_2) & $e_2 \rightarrow e_1$], then by definition
 Result(e_1)

The second systematic aspect of event composition concerns the interpretation of arguments. Based on neo-Davidsonian semantics, Ramchand (2008) argues that objects are interpreted according to its relationship with each subevent. In other words, each subevent theta-marks its ‘holder’. There author proposes three primitive roles:

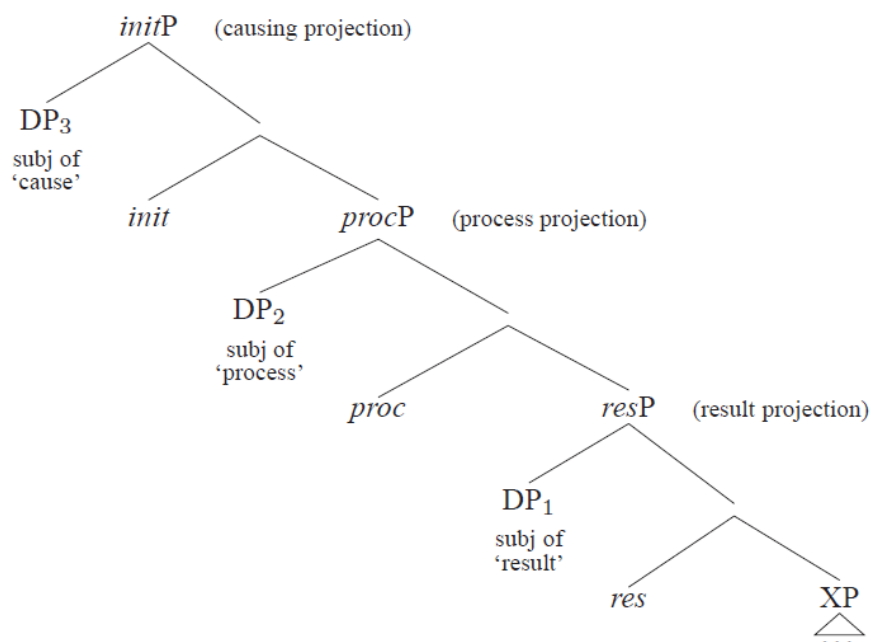
- (21)
- a. Subject (x, e) and Initiation (e) entails that x is the INITIATOR of e.
 - b. Subject (x, e) and Process(e) entails that x is the UNDERGOER of e.
 - c. Subject (x, e) and Result(e) entails that x is the RESULTEE of e.

The semantics of event composition is syntactically represented in a finely articulated VP referred as the First Phase, where each subeventual head is extended by projecting its ‘holder’ as specifier, such that (Butt, King & Ramchand, 2008: 13):

- *initP* introduces the causation event and licenses the external argument (‘subject’ of cause = INITIATOR)
- *procP* specifies the nature of the change or process and licenses the entity undergoing change or process (‘subject’ of process = UNDERGOER)
- *resP* gives the ‘telos’ or ‘result state’ of the event and licenses the entity that comes to hold the result state (‘subject’ of result = RESULTEE)

Process is the only feature that is minimally required since it represents change in time. Furthermore, the ‘lead-to’ primitive relationship between subevents is straightforwardly represented by hierarchical embedding, as observed in the following diagram (Butt, King & Ramchand, 2008: 12: ex. 27):

(22)



One of the strong assumptions is that the interpretation of roles is derived hierarchically, as specifiers of a given projection. That is, any kind of linking between arguments and theta-roles is rejected. This leads to the inevitable issue of how different interpretations of the same primitive role is achieved. That is, how ‘stone’ or ‘Mary’ are interpreted as different INITIATORS in sentences like *the stone broke the window* and *Mary drove the car* respectively. Ramchand (2008: 54) notes that the difference between primitive roles may be related to encyclopedic content as well as the animate/human properties of the DP-argument. “The point here is that animate/human-referring DPs have the option of being interpreted as volitional causers, as willful controllers of a process and as experiencers of static changing mental states” (p. 54)⁴¹. In addition, it may be possible for a given class of verbs to cover two or more subevental heads, hence licensing what is referred as composite roles, such as INITIATOR-UNDERGOER and RESULTEE-UNDERGOER. The former emerges when the same DP is both the ‘holder’ of *initiation* and psychologically or physically changed by *process* (23). The latter emerges when a DP is the holder of the result state and the process subevents at the same time (24).

- (23) a. *Karena* ran to the tree
 b. *Ariel* ate the mango
 c. *Kayleigh* danced
- (24) a. Michael pushed *the cart* to the store
 b. Katherine broke *the stick*
 c. Ariel painted *the house* red

(Ramchand, 2011: 10; ex. 29-30)

In the sem-syntax, composite roles are created through the internal Merge of specifiers (Ramchand, 2008: 60-61). For instance, in (23a), the verb *run* contains enough category features to be inserted in both *initP* and *procP*. First, *Karina* Merges as the specifier of *procP*, Secondly, *run* ReMerges in order to create *initP* and *Karina* in copied onto spec,

⁴¹ In this way, Ramchand rejects the assumption that licensing of types of external arguments depends on different types of *v* (Harley, 1995; Folli & Harley, 2004).

*init*P. Therefore, *Karina* is the subject of both *init* and *proc*. Notice that the same DP argument may be assigned two different thematic roles and ends up on single structural position. Although the interpretation of thematic roles is based on structural position (Uniformity Theta-Role Assignment Hypothesis or UTAH (Baker, 1988)), how composite roles are licensed does not conform with the theta criteria. In this regard, Ramchand (2008) states “these specifier positions are not claimed to be mutually exclusive. In other words, it is possible for a single argument to be in more than one of these positions simultaneously (or have them linked together in an A-chain) (p. 59)”⁴².

While subjects act as the holder or/and undergoer of a given subevent, complements are conceived as modifiers or descriptors. Complements are subject to the principle of homomorphic unity, formulated as follows:

- (25) **Homomorphic unity:** when two event descriptors are syntactically merged, the scalar structure of the complement must unify with the scalar structure of the head by means of a homomorphism (i.e. the relevant scales must be synchronized and unified to describe the complex event).

Following the principle state above, complements can be classified into ‘rhemes’ of result (stative) or ‘rhemes’ of process (dynamic). A rheme of process is also known as ‘path’. “The intuition is that a rhematic projection (in complement position) must unify with the topological properties of the event: if the event head is dynamic *proc*, the complement must also provide a topologically extended structure” (Ramchand, 2008: 47). Based on Krifka (1989; 1992)’s concepts of Object-to-Event and Event-to-Object mapping, the author argues that DP/NP complements convey a part/whole scale relationship with the event they identify (26a). In the same way, temporal and place PPs may create a path homomorphic to the changing process (26b). With respect to telicity entailments, these arise whenever the quantification (or rather measure) is defined, either by the object itself as in consumption verbs (26a), or by a bounded prepositional path (26b). In addition, based on Zwarts (2005), the author notes that PP-paths can be either bounded (noncumulative) or unbounded (cumulative).

⁴² In other words, there are no traditional thematic roles or theta-marking criteria other than the rule that subevental extension always involves the licensing of a subject.

- (26) a. Karen ate the porridge
b. I walked for three hours yesterday

Rhemes of result does not involve any part-whole typological relationship with a subevent (result) since these are complements of stative predications. Whereas dynamic rhemes are known paths, result rhemes are referred as places. These further specify the result state held by the RESULTEE (27). In the absence of modifiers, the projection of a *resP* gives rise to boundedness (Ramchand, 2008: p. 38).

- (27) a. I painted the wall *red*
b. Sarah jumped *on the water*

Thus far, the main idea is that the interpretation of event internal structure and argument relationship can be explained as the result of applying basic syntactic operations. Concerning lexical inserction, Ramchand (2008: 58), as opposed to ‘radical’ constructionist views like Borer (2005), argues that lexical items, at least, contain a set of category features (*init*, *proc* and *res*) relevant to Merge. That is, a lexical item with a [+*init*] feature can Merge as the head of *initP*. As explained above, lexical items may contain more than one category features and hence ReMerge in order to identify different subevental projection. For instance, transitive verbs identify, at least, both *init* and *proc*, as well as license composite roles, such as INITIATOR-UNDERGOER. Therefore, as in Chomsky (1995) or Kratzer (1996), superficially simple predicates are internally complex with respect to their lexical projection. In the same way, subevental heads may spell-out as words. Ramchand (2008) illustrates how complex predicates are created through her analysis of aspectual complex predicates in Urdu/Hindi⁴³. Light verbs are defined as semantically impoverished elements characterized by the underassociation of features relevant to syntax which need to be specified by other lexical items, hence forming a

⁴³ See also Ramchand & Butt (2005) and Ramchand, Butt & King (2008).

complex predicate⁴⁴. The author establishes the following rules regarding underassociation (p. 172):

(28) Underassociation:

If a lexical item contains an underassociated category feature,

- (i) that feature must be independently identified within the phase and linked to the underassociated feature by Agree;
- (ii) the two category features so linked must unify their lexical-encyclopedic content

In Ramchand (2008), Indic resultative <V+V> constructions, a light verb (throw) introduces an obligatory resultative complement (29a), as opposed to ‘simple’ counterparts (29b).

- (29) a. *ami amt.a kheyē phellam* (Bengali)
I.nom mango.class eat.perf.part throw.past.1
‘I ate up the mango.’
- b. *ami amt.a khelam*
I.nom mango.class eaten.past.1
‘I ate the mango.’

(Ramchand, 2008: 142; ex. 76)

As can be observed in the following examples, the complex resultative version is not compatible with unbounded PP-paths like ‘for an hour’ (30b):

- (30) a. *Ram ektu khoner moddhe cit.hi-t.a lekhe phello* (Bengali)
Ram in a short time letter-class write.perfpast throw.past.3
‘Ram wrote the letter in a short time.’
- b. **Ram ektu khoner jonno cit.hi-t.a lekhe phello*
Ram in a. short time letter-class write.perfpast throw.past.3
‘Ram wrote the letter for a short time.’

(Ramchand, 2008: p. 143; ex. 78-79)

Based on Butt (1995) and Butt & Ramchand (2005), the author establishes that “the complex form acts a single unite with respect to aktionsart and argument structure but is not a single lexical world” (p. 146). She proposes that the predicational verb (written in

⁴⁴ Underassociation is similar to Butt’s concept of ‘transparent event’. Light verbs are defined by the presence of underassociation/transparent events, both being the result of semantic bleaching. In the same way, underassociation/transparent events lead to complex predication.

the previous example) identifies the resultative final state (*res*). By having the light verb select the obligatory resultative main verb, the widely accepted observation that resultativity is prompted by the light verb is not contradicted⁴⁵. This derivation is possible under the rule of underassociation of verbs' category features. In the case of resultative constructions, the light verb is an underspecified version of the full verb with a [+ *res*] feature underassociated that must be specified by another lexical item in a local relationship. The abstractness and bleaching of light verbs leads to underassociated features. According to Ramchand (2008: 148), in the case of Indic, the bulk of the lexical-encyclopedic meaning depends on the predicational verb (rich *res*), whereas *throw* conveys abstract transfer and motion (poor *proc*).

In the same way, the semantics of causative complex predicates are interpreted in the First Phase (Butt & Ramchand, 2005; Ramchand, 2008). In Ramchand (2008), morphological causation is classified as direct or indirect depending on whether the causative relationship between the two subevents is more or less natural. The distinction is based on Levin & Rapaport (1999)'s classification of resultative constructions. In indirect resultatives (31a-b), a single predicational act is decomposed as "two subevents formed from the conflation of temporally independent event". On the other hand, direct resultatives (31c-d) involve "two temporally co-identified events" (Ramchand, 2008: 129).

- (31) a. John sang himself horse
b. Mary sneezed the napkin off the table
c. The lake froze solid
d. The mirror shattered to pieces

In the First Phase, these two subevents correspond to *proc* and *res*. Ramchand proposes that when the same lexical root co-identifies both *proc* and *result*, the relationship is direct. Based on L&R (1999), Ramchand formulates the following rule:

⁴⁵ According to Ramchand (2008), telicity entailments may arise from definite complements (Krifka, 1998, 1992), bounded rhematic constituents and resultative complements (Levin & Rappaport, 1998; Higginbotham, 2001).

(32) *Temporal dependence hypothesis*

For a result subevent to be temporally dependent on a process, the same root must identify the two subevents

In Urdu/Hindi, direct (-*aa*) and indirect (-*vaa*) causation differ substantially in a number of properties. For instance, in the case of ingestive verbs (e.g. *eat*), only indirect causation allows the projection of an instrument acting as intermediate agent (33c).

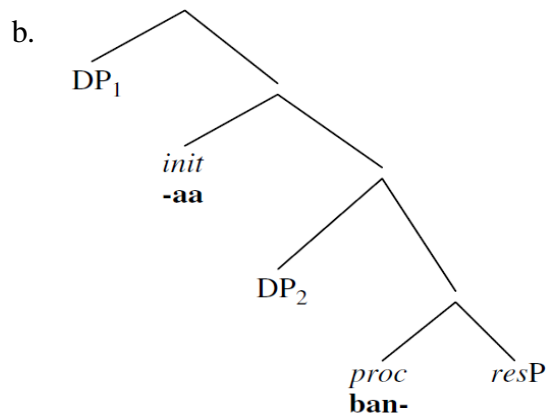
- (33) a. *rita-ne angur khaa-e*
Rita-erg grape eat-perf.m.pl
'Rita ate some grapes.'
- (b) *rita-ne sima-ko angur khil-aa-e*
Rita-erg Sima-dat grape eat-aa-perf.m.pl
'Rita fed Sima some grapes.'
- (c) *kala-ne (rita-se) sima-ko angur khil-vaa-e*
Kala-erg (Rita-instr) Sita-dat grape eat-vaa-perf.m.pl
'Kala made Sima eat some grapes (through the agency of Rita).'

(from Butt, 2003; as cited in Ramchand, 2008: 163)

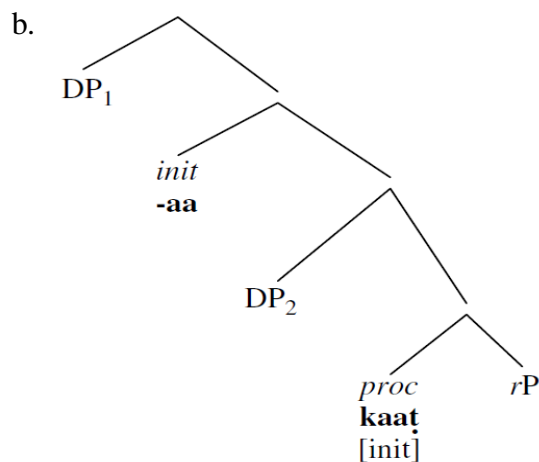
In addition, they differ with respect to the animacy of the DP-causer. Ramchand (2008: 166-167), based on grammatical judgements by native participants, notes that abstract causes (*John's money built that house*) are allowed only in direct causation. The author adds that abstract causers are incompatible with the predicational roots encyclopedic information. Therefore, the possibility to select abstract causers must rely on the -*aa* derivational suffix.

The analysis of direct causation features a highly impoverished -*aa* suffix under *init*, while the 'matrix' root identifies both *proc* and *res* (34-35). The interpretation of direct causation is caused by the fact that *proc* and *rec* are co-identified by the same root (temporal dependency hypothesis). The author emphasizes that, since there are no signs of recursive morphology or semantics, the specification of the *init* feature is not duplicated, even when the matrix root is a base transitive that already contains the *init* feature. In this case, thus -*aa* is the only active *init* and introduces its own argument, while the root's own *init* feature remains unassociated (34).

- (34) a. *ban* ('to be made')-*aa*: DP₁ initiates, leading to DP₂ getting made (DP₁ makes DP₂)



- (35) a. *kat* ('cut') -*aa*: DP₁ initiates, leading to DP₂ undergoes cutting and result cutting (DP₁ has DP₂ cut)



The second rule of underassociation states that active underassociated features must be conceptually unified. However, there are some instances of *-aa* causation with transitive verbs that feature ‘unexpected’ abstract causers. In this regard, Ramchand adds “real-world knowledge in this case makes available a different kind of unification – one where the general causation expressed by the *-aa* head is distinct from that lexically identified by the underassociated feature” (p. 173)

In the case of indirect causatives, Ramchand (2008: 177-178) assumes that *-vaa* specifies both *initP* and *procP*, whereas the matrix root is under *res*. The UNDERGOER-INITIATOR emerges as the holder of both *init* and *proc* of the action and must be both and sentient,

as the semantics of this composite are not compatible with abstract causes. “In the in the -*vaa* causative the deliberateness and volition of the causer are emphasized, and indeed obligatory, while the -*aa* causative is potentially compatible with abstract, stative or unintended causation (p. 58).

3.1.3. INTERMEDIATE SUMMARY

The lexicalist (Butt, 1995) and neo-constructionist (Ramchand, 2008) models reviewed in this section share the idea that complex predicates (V+V constructions) involve some sort of lexical unification. In Butt (1995), the encyclopedic content of the two lexical head is unified via a semantic process (*Event Fusion*) at the level of argument structure. In Ramchand (2008), light verbs are ‘transparent’ with respect to category features. In this case, identification place at the level of syntax.

Spanish PseCo shares with most syntactic complex predicates the featuring of two lexical heads that are syntactically complex. Models that assume that complex predication takes place prior to syntactic operation, in a certain way, presuppose that these Merge as single compounded heads. On the other hand, in constructivist models, the meaning associated to complex predication is built by means of syntactic operations like head incorporation or goal-probe operations (Agree). Considering that in inceptive PseCo, there is no idiosyncrasy with respect to verb classes (i.e., *GO* and *TAKE* expresses virtually the same resultative meaning), a constructionist view constitutes a better explanation of the empirical facts.

3.2. PSEUDO-COORDINATION IS NOT GARDEN-VARIETY COORDINATION

Pseudo-coordination is a phenomenon that has been attested in several languages of different families (Ross, 2014). The term is used to refer to <V1 *and* V2> constructions which are semantically and syntactically different from garden variety coordination⁴⁶. Therefore, prior to assuming an analysis in terms of subevental subordination (e.g.,

⁴⁶ Following Mayr & Schmitt (2017), I assume that the defining properties of (symmetric) coordination are substitutability (Wasow’s generalization), syntactic symmetry and semantic symmetry. In the same way, I assume that absence of semantic symmetry is ‘optional’ in the sense that there are some cases of coordination in which truth conditions are violated if the order of the conjuncts is altered (i.e. asymmetric coordination, Munn, 1993; Camacho, 2003). However, if several properties are violated, it is very likely that it is subordination.

Wiklund, 2007 for Swedish), it is convenient to note how this construction is different from coordination (see also Camus, 2006; García Sánchez, 2011; Jaque et al., 2018; Bravo, 2020)

The first deviation from ordinary coordination concerns the Law of Coordination of Likes (LCL). Since Chomsky (1957), it has been assumed that only ‘like’ syntactic categories can be coordinated in natural language. There are some exceptions to syntactic equivalency, although the conjuncts are still alike with respect to semantic function and functional equivalence (e.g. ‘asymmetric’ coordination in Munn, 1993). The LCL is reformulated as Wasow’s Generalization by Pullum & Zwicky (1986) as follows:

If a coordinate structure occurs in some position in a syntactic representation, each of its conjuncts must have syntactic feature values that would allow it individually to occur in that position and those feature values must be the same for each conjunct

The LCL includes the principle of substitutability (Goodall, 1987). That is, in a coordination of two XPs, each of the XP conjuncts, when substituted for the whole coordinate phrase, must form a grammatical sequence. Throughout this work, I have noted in multiple occasions that V1 is deficient when it comes to license predication. Regardless of the type of phrase that we assume in V1 position, PseCo is violation of the LCL since V1 cannot substitute the coordinate phrase (37) as in garden-variety coordination (36).

- (36) a. *Cuando me llegó el email, cogí el PC y le respondí*
 when cl.dat.1s arrive.pret.3s the email, take.pret.1s the PC and cl.dat.3s answer.pret.1s
 ‘When I received the email, I took the PC and answered her’
- b. *Cuando me llegó el email, cogí el PC*
 when cl.dat.1s arrive.pret.3s the email, take.pret.1s the PC
 ‘When I received the email, I took the PC’
- c. *Cuando me llegó el email, le respondí*
 when cl.dat.1s arrive.pret.3s the email cl.dat.3s answer.pret.1s
 ‘When I received the email, I answered her’
- (37) a. *Cuando me llegó el email, cogí y le respondí*
 when cl.dat.1s arrive.pret.3s the email, take.pret.1s and cl.dat.3s answer.pret.1s

‘When I received the email, I took and answered her’

- b. **Cuando me llegó el email, cogí*
when cl.dat.1s arrive.pret.3s the email, take.pret.1st
- c. *Cuando me llegó el email, le respondí*
when cl.dat.1s arrive.pret.3s the email cl.dat.3s answer.pret.1s
‘When I received the email, I answered her’

The next principle that PseCo violates systematically is the Coordinate Structure Constraint (Ross, 1967):

In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct

In PseCo, V1 and V2 are not strong islands for extraction (38a), in contrast with ordinary coordination (38b)⁴⁷.

- (38) a. *A Islandia cogía y me iba de vacaciones*
to Iceland take.imp.1s and cl.relf.1s go.imp.1s of vacations
‘In Iceland I would take and go on vacation’
- b. **En Islandia cogía un vuelo y me iba de vacaciones*
In Iceland take.imp.1s a flight and cl.relf.1s go.imp.1s of vacations
Id. ‘In Iceland I would take a flight and go on vacation’

In addition, if PseCo was actually coordination of TPs or CPs, we would expect the possibility that V1 and V2 had different Tense orientations. However, in PseCo, the two pseudo-conjuncts must share T values since future-oriented adverbs are precluded (39a), as opposed to consecutive coordination (39b).

- (39) a. *Ahora cojo y te lo traigo (*luego)*

⁴⁷ There are well-known exceptions to the CSC that do not involve Across-The-Board extractions (i.e. simultaneous extraction of the same element). One of them, as showed, is pseudo-coordination (also De Vos, 2005). Also, Lackoff & Culicover (1997) includes scene-setting (i) and conditional coordination (ii) in English.

- (i) What_i did John go to the store and bought *t_i*?
- (ii) ¿This is the loot_i that Big Lout sees you with *t_i* and puts a contract on you

Mary & Schmitt (2017) comments on the multiple directions followed by scholars in order to deal with this issue. On the one hand, Postal (1998) have admitted the idea that *and* may also behave as a subordinator. On the other hand, Culicover & Jackendoff (1997) denies that (i-ii) are instance of subordination and argue that the issue is that the CSC is not well-defined (also Goldsmith, 1985).

now take.1s and cl.dat.2s cl.acc.3s.m bring.1s later
 ‘Now I take and bring it to you (*later).

- b. *Ahora cojo el paquete y te lo traigo luego*
 now take.1s the package and cl.dat.2s cl.acc.3s.m bring.1s later
 ‘I take the package now and I bring it to you later’

This shows that PseCo is a monopredicative construction. In fact, in inceptive PseCo, there can be only one overt subject (40a). Interestingly, as in other monopredicative constructions, sentential negation generally precedes the matrix verb (41a, c).

- (40) a. *Yo cojo y (*yo) me lo como*
 I take.1s and I cl.refl.1s cl.acc.3s.n eat.3s
 ‘I take and (*I) eat it’
- b. *Yo me lo guiso y (yo) me lo como*
 I cl.refl.1s cl.acc.3s.n cook and I cl.refl.1s cl.acc.3s.n eat.3s
 ‘I cook it and I eat it’
- (41) a. *(No) va a (¿no) venir este viernes*
 not go.3s a not come.inf this Friday
 ‘He isn’t going to (not) come on Saturday’
- b. *(No) quiero que (no) venga este viernes*
 not want.3s that not come.subj.3s this Friday
 ‘I (don’t) want him (no) to come on Friday’
- c. *(No) cogí y (¿no) fui el viernes*
 not take.pret.1s and not go.pret.1s the Friday
 ‘I didn’t take and (didn’t) go on Friday’

To my knowledge, the only analysis of PseCo based on coordination is provide by Arnaiz & Camacho (1999). The authors claim that V1 is a ‘topic auxiliary verb’ and that the relationship between V1 and V2 is TP-coordination. The nexus *y* is a garden-variety coordinator that heads a ConjP (I, I). The idea is that the feature of V1 [+topic] is inherited by V2 via the LCL, hence the same topic constituent is maintained throughout the entire sequence. First, I believe that Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) refers to speaker oriented PseCo, based on the following list of properties that they observe (Arnaiz & Camacho, 1999: 324):

- i. The auxiliary and the verb in the second conjunct an have independent agreement features
- ii. Negation cannot precede the auxiliary

- iii. The tense of the auxiliary and the verb in the second conjunct must be the same
- iv. The (relevant) auxiliary use and the properties associated with it only surface with conjunction.
- v. The auxiliary and the conjunction must be strictly adjacent
- vi. The topic must be maintained in both conjuncts
 - a) The topic in the second conjunct must be syntactically present
 - b) The topic in the second conjunct must be an argument or related to a clitic

For this reason, I will return to Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) in the analysis of speaker-oriented PseCo. Concerning inceptive PseCo, I propose a complex predicate (subordination) accounts better for the following observations:

- i. Both verbs cannot have independent agreement features (= only one subject)
- ii. Sentential negation precedes V1
- iii. V1 and V2 must share the same Event Time, Speech Time and Reference Time (i.e. Tense and Aspect)
- iv. V1 is relevant to event decomposition
 - a) Boundedness requirement
- v. V1 is relevant to argument interpretation
 - a) Agency requirement

As far as I am concerned, only Bravo (2020: 161) has mentioned a complex predicate analysis, although only for TAKE-verbs.

TAKE-verbs combine with the extended projection of a lexical verb with which they form a complex predicate at the level of the lexical projection. A similar analysis has been proposed for English, but without distinguishing between the two V1-classes, by Zwicky (1990), de Voss (2005) and, more recently, by Krivochen and Schmerling (in preparation).

Nevertheless, when it comes to syntactic relationship between lexical elements, the author adds the following (p. 162-163):

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

I assume that the author is advocating for a coordination analysis, contra a subordination analysis (Wiklund, 2007 as referent). Also, the statements above are inaccurate with respect to two aspects. First, Wiklund states multiple times that PseCo is a reanalysis of ordinary coordination:

The inceptive type, in turn, should derive from a reanalysis of the second conjunct as a specification of a process (or a result) component of an event structure where the verb of motion/transfer expresses initiation alone:

- (42) [CP... [initP GO [procP <GO>]]] & [CP...]→
[CP... [initP GO [procP [CPrheme &...]]]]

(Wiklund, 2007: 84)

Secondly, given the facts that PseCo is not a strong island and only allows one subject (among other properties), the only possible scenario in which a coordination analysis may apply is a V-V compound like in De Vos (2005). However, this seems unlikely given that 'V1 y V2' does not constitute an interruptible sequence as in English. Clitics, adverbs, and even pseudo-clefts are some of the elements that may disrupt verbal seriality in inceptive PseCo (see also Bravo, 2020: ex. 167). Also, Bravo (2020) recognizes a number of "coordination traces" (p. 155-157), which are prosodic unity (V1), adverbial modification (V1), and the Sameness Condition (De Vos, 2004). However, none of these properties are necessarily accounted by a coordination analysis only. The first two are properties of light verbs in general (Butt, 2010). With respect to the Morphological

Sameness Condition (the fact that V1 and V2 must share the same TMA morphology), which De Vos (2005) claims is a form of the Law of Coordination of Likes, this is explained by subordination approaches (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001; Wiklund, 2007) through the concept of copying morphology, as I will review later.

Therefore, I conclude that inceptive PseCo in Spanish does not involve garden-variety coordination. I suggest that the relationship between V1 and V2 is better accounted in terms of subevental embedding (Ramchand, 2008), as Wiklund (2007) proposes for Swedish PseCo.

3.3. THE SEMANTIC DECOMPOSITION OF INCEPTIVE PSECO

As noted in the previous chapter (2.2.4.), agentivity is part of the core meaning of pseudo-coordination. That is, the subject of the construction is always agentive. As noted by Butt & Geuder (2001), agentivity may vary from determination to a slight sense of responsibility depending on V2's encyclopedic meaning and real-world information. Within Ramchand (2008)'s model, there is no such property as a (+agency) feature specified in the lexical entry of V1. The interpretation of theta roles derived from the position of arguments in the syntax, which further reflects the syntactic and semantic relationship between subevents. In Ramchand (2008), agentivity arises when a DP is the subject of both *init* and *proc* (INITIATOR-UNDERGOER). This point of view is compatible with previous works of pseudo-coordination in Spanish (García Sanchez, 2007)⁴⁸. Similarly, De Vos (2005) argue that V1 emphasizes the initial phase of events in English PseCo. Also, Wiklund (2007), from which I adopt the term 'inceptive PseCo', proposes an analysis of Swedish PseCo in which V1 specifies *initiation*.

Another possibility is that V1 projects to *init*P only, therefore licensing a PURE INITIATOR (43), as in the following examples in English.

- (43) a. The key opened the lock.
b. The rock broke the window.
c. John persuaded Mary.
d. Karena drove the car.

⁴⁸ The idea that Spanish PseCo involve inceptive meaning dates back to Cuervo (1887; as cited in García Sánchez 2007).

According to Ramchand (2011: 9), the differences between PURE INITIATORS derive from the lexical-encyclopedic knowledge of the verb in question, as well as the animacy properties of DP subjects. In this sense, agency would not have structural representation. I suggest that this would not be representative of the assumptions made thus far concerning the agency requirement. If agency is a core meaning of inceptive PseCo, in the same way that it is a core meaning of *-vaa* causative constructions in Urdu, it seems straightforward to propose an analysis in which agentivity has structural representation. That is, V1 projects to *procP* and license a single INITIATOR-UNDERGOER.

In addition to agentivity, I propose that inceptive pseudo-coordination also has a resultative meaning in Spanish. I base this on the fact that this construction only allows heterogenous bounded eventualities, as I showed in the previous chapter (2.2.5). Previous accounts concerning boundedness in Spanish PseCo dates back to Coseriu (1966, 1977). According to Ramchand (2008: 128-129), there are two structural representations that may account for telicity or boundedness. On the one hand, an event may contain a definite or quantified homomorphic entity from which telicity entailments arise (path resultatives). On the other hand, events may contain an extended *resP* with a static projection in its complement (resultative resultatives). I propose that in Spanish, V2 specifies the *result* subevent, giving rise to a bounded reading (2.2.5).

Furthermore, following Levin & Rappaport-Hovav (1999), Ramchand (2008) proposes that causatives and resultative⁴⁹ can be further divided into direct or indirect. According to L&R (1999), direct resultatives result from the conflation of two ‘co-identified’ events (44), while indirect resultatives involves the conflation of temporally independent events (45).

- (44) a. The lake froze solid
 b. The mirror shattered to pieces
- (45) a. John sang himself hoarse
 b. The napkin slipped off the table

⁴⁹ Given that it is the same causal primitive ‘lead-to’ relationship that relates *init-proc* and *proc-res*, the difference between causative and resultative semantics depends on the coherence principles. That is, *initiation* may pre-exist *process*, while *result* not.

Ramchand (2008) assumes that co-identified subevents are those that are specified by the same lexical item. It follows that temporally conflated, but not co-identified events, are those which are specified by different lexical items, although they are part of the same predicational unit. On the assumption that inceptive PseCo is re-analyzed consecutive coordination (see also Wiklund, 2007), I propose that PseCo involves two independent event that has been temporally conflated: (V1) an unspecified action and a (V2) resolution. In the syn-sem (First Phase), V1 underspecifies *init* and *proc*, while V2 introduce a *res* complement, similar to the analysis of Indic completive complex predicates (Ramchand, 2008: 146-148)⁵⁰.

In addition to predicting the indirect relationship resulting from consecutive coordination, the fact that V1 specifies both *init* and *proc* allows the licensing of an INITIATOR-UNDERGOER (agent) as the subject of V1. Moreover, as Ramchand (2008: 180) notes for indirect causatives in Urdu, the fact that *init* and *proc* are identified by the light verb indicates the relationship between these events is direct, emphasizing that there is psychological involvement in the realization of the action. In this regard, no further stipulations are conceived concerning whether *init* may be pre-exists or co-exists with the process (Ramchand, 2008: 120). The idea is that the agentivity is better reflect by a direct causal relationship.

Further evidence of the fact that V1 projects to *procP* comes from manner adverbials (46). If Wiklund (2007: 127) is right about the fact that manner adverbials projects within *procP*⁵¹, then it follows that V1 specifies both *init* and *proc*.

- (46) a. *Al día siguiente, en rebajas, voy tranquilamente y les digo que ya no los quiero (...)*
on-the day next, in sales, go.1s calmly and cl.dat.3p tell.1s that already not
cl.acc.3p.m want.1s

⁵⁰ As in Indic completive complex predicates, inceptive PseCo features poor *proc* but rich *res* (Ramchand, 2008: 148). That is, the bulk of the encyclopedic knowledge of the predicate is given by the second verb.

⁵¹ “On my assumption, a verbal lexical item needs to associate its *proc* feature when linking to verb phrase syntax in order for the manner component of the verb to be prominent in the interpretation and in order for further modification of this component to be possible. I thus take manner adverbs to merge within *procP*”.

‘The next day, on sales, I nonchalantly go and tell them that I do not want them anymore...’

[<https://www.rankia.com/foros/consumo/temas/1666162-reserva-rebajas?page=1> Spain. Google]

- b. *Cuando llegue a casa cogí de golpe y corte medio árbol (...)*
when arrive.pret.1s to home take.pret.1s of hit and cut.pret.1s half tree,
‘When I arrived at home, I suddenly took and cut half a tree’
[<http://www.bonsaime.com/ficha/catalogo/4251> Spain. Google]

In the same way, PP-instruments may follow V1 instead of V2 (47). However, notice that the adverb does not modify only the subevent denoted by V1, but rather the whole predicate. In (47a), the PP *with the solid explorer* refers to a file manager software application for smartphones. I assume that that PP is licensed by the encyclopedic knowledge of *copiar* ‘to copy’⁵². The same is true for (47b), in which *con el cuchillo* ‘with the knife’ is licensed by the *matar* ‘to kill’, despite following V1.

- (47) a. *Pensé, a tomar por culo, y cogí con el solid explorer y copié todo las cosas*
think.pret.3s to take.inf by ass and take.pret.1s with the solid explorer and
copy.pret.1s all the things
‘I thought fuck this, and I took with the solid explorer and copied
everything’
[<https://miui.es/index.php?topic=1587.150> Spain. Google]
- b. *Mi madre me miraba de horror y fui con el cuchillo y la maté*
my mother cl.acc.1s look.imp.3s of horror and go.pret.1s with the knife
and cl.acc.3s.f kill.pret.3s
‘My mother was looking at me horrified and I went with the knife and
killed her’

A question concerning the ‘manner’ component of V1 arises. If V1 projects to *procP* and may license manner adverbials, how is this compatible with a light verb use? With respect to this, Wiklund (2007) makes the following stipulation:

I tentatively propose that a verbal lexical item that involves a heavy description of the process component associates its *proc* feature to syntactic structure by default, thus disallows a light verb use of the relevant kind (p. 141).

⁵² In fact, as V1 is highly lexically impoverished, it does not have a ‘manner’ component per se that can license adverbials.

There are two possible solutions to the theoretical issue that examples like (46-47) suppose. First, Ramchand (2008) does not limit the lexical expansion of light verb. For a light verb to be light, the only stipulation is that it contain a underassociated syntactical feature. Secondly, the second rule of underassociation (repeated below for ease of exposition) predicts instances in which instruments are associated to the lexical-encyclopedic content of the predicational verb.

(28) Underassociation

If a lexical item contains an underassociated category feature,

- (i) that feature must be independently identified within the phase and linked to the underassociated feature by Agree;
- (ii) the two category features so linked must unify their lexical-encyclopedic content.

Since V1 must unify its lexical content with V2, which identifies lexically rich *res* in inceptive PseCo, it follows that V1 may be occupied by verbs with general meaning like TAKE and GO. In the same way, it provides an explanation concerning the lack of lexical asymmetries between verb classes, contra Bravo (2020).

The rest of the analysis of inceptive PseCo concerns the first rule of underassociation. That is, in order for a verb to identify an underassociated feature, *res* in this case, both lexical items must be in an Agreement relationship. In the next subsection, following Wiklund (2007), I propose that the two lexical heads that form inceptive PseCo are syntactically associated by means of tense copying.

3.4. THE SYNTAX OF INCEPTIVE PSECO

3.4.1. TENSE COPYING

In PseCo, V1 and V2 generally share the same morphological inflection⁵³. This property has received different syntactic explanations from coordination and subordination analyses respectively. In regard to the former, De Vos (2005) argues that parallel morphosyntactic realization is a manifestation of garden-variety coordination,

⁵³ There are numerous exceptions to the so-called Morphological Sameness Condition (De Vos, 2005). For instance, in Sicilian (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001; Di Caro & Giusti, 2016; Di Caro, 2019), V1 may be invariant with respect to tense morphology. In the same way, in the previous chapter (section X), I showed that speaker-oriented PseCo also features invariant V1.

specifically the Law of Coordination of Likes or Wasow's generalization, which precludes feature incompatibility.

Whereas for OCo (ordinary coordination), the 'sameness' condition applies to semantic and/or categorial type (Munn 1993), for pseudo-coordination, it applies to morphological features. I take this to be a deep similarity between the coordinators of OCo and pseudo-coordination. (De Vos, 2005: 46)

On the other hand, subordination approaches (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001; Wiklund, 2007) have proposed the concept of *feature copying* and *tense copying* respectively. In the two mechanisms, one of the verbs must check their features by copying the features of the other verb. There are two options. On the one hand, feature copying (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001: 408-409) occurs when V1 merges in a higher functional domain and cannot check its features in a canonical probe-goal relationship. Therefore, V1 ends up parasitically copying downwards the morphosyntactic features of V2. Since this copying is parasitical, the authors predict that only less marked forms may be copied (see Di Caro & Giusti, 2015 and Di Caro, 2019 for Multiple Agreement Constructions in Sicilian dialects). On the other hand, *tense copying* (Wiklund, 2007) defines when one of the verbs, V2 in this case, is characterized by an unvalued functional extension (non-finite C) and must copy the values of corresponding functional heads from the matrix projection. I propose that inceptive PseCo features functional copying⁵⁴.

Since tense copying arises when a verb selects a complement with a vacuous inflection, I assume that pseudo-coordination features a subordinative bi-clausal structure where, as in Swedish, V2 is the tenselessness non-bare infinitival complement (110a).

- (49) a. Tenseless non-bare infinitivals (non-copying and copying):
[CP... [TP... [AspP... [vP...]]]]
- b. Tenseless bare infinitivals (non-copying and copying):
[AspP... [vP...]]

(Wiklund, 2007: 81; ex. 36, 37)

⁵⁴ This does not presuppose that I consider invalid the other accounts. In fact, I will propose that speaker oriented PseCo feature parasitic copying.

According to Wiklund (2007: 177), tensed infinitivals⁵⁵ are those that carry independent temporal reference, which may be either past or future oriented. These contrast with tenseless infinitivals, whose temporal reference is anaphoric to the matrix verb. Since PseCo and consecutive coordination differ with respect to licensing different temporal adverbials (50), I take this as evidence that the inflection of V2 is ‘vacuous’, as well as subordinated to V1.

- (50) a. *Ahora cojo y te lo traigo (*luego)*
 now take.1s and cl.dat.2s cl.acc.3s.n bring.1s later
 ‘Now, I take and bring it to you (*later)’
- b. *Ahora voy y te lo traigo (*luego)* [non-distal]
 now go.1s and cl.dat.2s cl.acc.3s.n bring.1s later
 ‘Now, I go and bring it to you (*later)’

This contradicts Bravo’s (2020: 158-159) claim that V2 is the relevant verb for tense, as can be seen in the following examples where V1 is invariant (copied).

- (51) a. *Entonces el amo, que nunca decía casi nada, **va y dijo**...*
 then the master that never say.imp.3s almost nothing go.3s and say.pret.3s
 ‘Then, the master, who hardly often say something, (unexpectedly) said...’
- b. *Es tan bruto el gigante, tan tonto... De repente **va y se cayó***
 be.3s so brute the giant, so silly of sudden go.3s and cl.refl.3s fall.pret.3s
 ‘The giant is so brute, so silly...he fell all of a sudden’

(Bravo, 2020: ex. 52a, 52b)

The issue with (51) is that those are not instances of inceptive pseudo-coordination. The eventualities expressed in (51) are interpreted as sudden and unexpected. Therefore, V1 has a discursive function rather than a lexical one. In other words, the sentences in (51) are instances of speaker-oriented PseCo⁵⁶.

Returning to tense-copying, Wiklund (2007) makes the following generalizations:

- (52) a. The more structure there is the copying infinitival, the more forms copy.

⁵⁵The dichotomy tensed/tenseless refer to Tense and Aspect features (finiteness). Whether a verbal complement is morphologically infinitival or not (finite) may be subject to cross-linguistic variation.

⁵⁶ In fact, Bravo is right in noting that the V1 feature copied morphology. As I will argue in the next chapter, V1 merges so high in the structure that cannot check its features. As in Sicilian PseCo (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001), V1 parasitically copies the morphology of V2.

- b. The form of the embedded verb is determined by the form of the matrix.

(53) Copying is a reflex dependency between two functional heads of the same label (Agree). (Wiklund, 2007: 157)

With respect to the statement (52a), the author divides tense-copying into ‘full’ or ‘partial’ depending on the degree of functional dependency of the copying infinitival. Partial copying occurs when the complement is tensed (past or future-oriented), while full copying applies to tenseless infinitivals.

- (54) a. Partial copying = $C_{1[f]} T_{1[f]} Asp_{1[f]i} V_{matrix} [T_{2[f]} Asp_{2[f]i} V_{embedded}]$
 b. Full (TMA) copying = $C_{1[f]i} T_{1[f]j} Asp_{1[f]k} V_1 [C_{2[f]i} T_{2[f]j} Asp_{2[f]k} V_2]$

Since, in full-copying, the embedded functional projection is copied, it is assumed that there are no tense restrictions on copied infinitivals. In previous sections (2.2.6), I showed that there are no tense restrictions in inceptive PseCo, including instances of double-imperatives and sentences featuring copied periphrastic auxiliaries. I take this as evidence that inceptive PseCo features full-copying.

With respect to (53), Wiklund (2007) argues that copying involves featuring sharing between objects of the same type. That is, copying is a form of Agree, where the probe is situated in the embedded complement (unvalued features), while the goal is constituted by the finite functional values of the matrix verb. Wiklund (2007: 165) notes that the copying morphology is the phonological reflex of feature copying. Furthermore, since the copying of functional features involve that both verbs in a complex predicate are anaphoric to Tense and Aspect, only a monopredicative interpretation is plausible.

3.4.2. THE POSITION OF SUBJECTS

In inceptive pseudo-coordination, subjects always spell-out in the matrix pseudo-conjunct (55a) whether it is in preverbal or postverbal position. An embedded spell-out subject is marginal(55b)

- (55) a. *Al final (yo) cogí/fui (yo) y le dije un par de cositas*
 at-the end I take/go.pret.1s I and cl.dat.3s say.pret.1s a pair of things.dim
 ‘At the end, I went and told him a couple of words’
 b. *Al final cogí/fui y (¿yo) le dije (¿yo) un par de cositas*

at-the end I take/go.pret.1s I and cl.dat.3s say.pret.1s a pair of things.dim
'At the end, I went and told him a couple of words'

Following Ramchand (2008), I assume that the matrix subject is licensed within the matrix VP as INITIATOR-UNDERGOER and is assigned nominative case by the matrix valued T. Concerning the embedded subject, I tentatively propose that it raises to the matrix clause. First, as opposed to causative complex predicates in Urdu, inceptive Pseudo-Coordination is a bi-clausal construction, hence involving VP recursion. This means that, in addition to the embedded RESULTEE, there must be a UNDERGOER subject that is obligatorily licensed by the embedded *proc*, as stated in Ramchand (2008):

The simplest assumption is that all the projections of the first phase require a filled specifier (in other words, the information about who is the holder of the result state, who is the undergoer of change and who is the initiator need to be specified whenever *resP*, *procP* or *initP* exist, respectively) (p. 60).

Following Gallego (2009, 2010, 2014), a defective C does not assign nominative case. Also, as noted by Wiklund (2007: 160), anaphoric C are defective with respect to case assignment. Although research is needed in order to determine whether inceptive PseCo is a raising or ECM-type of construction, the possible positions of floating quantifiers may shed some light on this issue.

- (56) a. (...) *¿por qué no cogieron y se fueron todos de Alemania?*⁵⁷
for what not take.pret.3p and cl.refl.3p go.pret.3p all from Germany
'Why didn't they take and leave all from Germany?'
[Almaraz Rahma, Nuria (2010). *Educación en una sociedad multicultural. Una experiencia educativa en torno al Holocausto* (BA dissertation), Universidad de Zaragoza, p. 41, available at:
<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/289975412.pdf>]
- b. *Cuando se acaba la tarta cogen y todos empiezan a darnos un montón de regalos*
when cl.refl.3s the cake take.3p and all start.3p to give.inf-cl.dat.1p a lot
of presents

⁵⁷ Almaraz Rahma, Nadia (2014). *Educación en una sociedad multicultural*. Bachelor's dissertation. Universidad de Zaragoza. pp. 41. URL: <https://zaguan.unizar.es/record/14625?ln=es> (14/02/2021)

‘When the cake was over, they took and all started to give us a lot of presents’
<https://booknet.com/es/reader/la-promesa-b174778?c=1549765&p=1#!>

- c.*por mí que vayan y todos se compartan una mona.*
by me that go.subj.pres.3p and all cl.refl.3s share.subj.pres.3s a monkey
‘In my view, they can go and all share a monkey’
[\https://www.eluniversal.com.mx/metropoli/san-judas-tadeo-en-plena-pandemia-permiten-ingreso-de-creyentes-tempo-de-san-hipolito Mexico.
Google]

The previous examples suggest that the embedded sentence raises to the matrix sentence, otherwise we would not find floating quantifiers in pre-verbal position (56b-c), since PRO lacks the motivation to rise to a case-assignment position.

3.4.3. NEGATION

Sentential negation usually precedes V1. This is expected if it is V1 the verb that is relevant to Tense (Zanuttini, 1996).

- (57) a. *Y no, no fui y le dije: “eres peor madre por no intentarlo” (...)*
and no not go.pret.1s and cl.dat.3s tell.pret.1s be.2s worse
mother for not try.ing-cl.acc.3S.m
‘And, no, I didn’t go and tell her ‘you’re worse of a
mother for not trying it’
[\https://mamirecientecuenta.blogspot.com/2018/02/harta-de-los-extremistas.html Spain. Google]
- b. *¿Por qué te crees que no he cogido y he salido por la puerta?*
For what cl.refl.2s believe.2s that not have(aux) take.pt and have(aux)
leave.pt through the door
‘Why do you think that I haven’t taken and left through the door?’
[\https://www.wattpad.com/275416408-no-me-acuerdo-de-olvidarte-capitulo-18 Spain. Google]

However, there are some instances in which negation is cliticized onto V2, for example:

- (58) (...) *y si he cogido y no he explotado en medio de la clase es porque (...)*
and if have(aux).1s take.pt and not have(aux) expode.pt in middle of the
class be.3s because
‘(...) and if I haven’t taken and burst in the middle of the lesson is
because...’
[\http://migolpedesuerte09.blogspot.com/2014/ Spain. Google]

Nevertheless, embedded negation does not preclude a single-event interpretation in (58). In fact, it seems that negation is lexical rather than related to Speech Time. That is, (58)

equals to saying ‘I have taken and remained calm’ rather than expressing that a given event did not occur.

3.4.4. CLITIC CLIMBING

Clitics objects always attach to V2. This is expected if tenseless copying infinitivals has a T, since clitics Merge as an argument of V and then moves to the closer T (Cardinaletti & Shlonski, 2004). In this sense, a copied T would not disallow the attachment of clitics.

- (59) *Cogí/fui y se lo di a mi hermano*
take/go.pret.1s and cl.dat.3s cl.acc.3s give.pre.1s to my brother
‘I went and gave it to my brother’

In this regard, I take cliticization onto V2 as further evidence that inceptive PseCo contain a tenseless copying infinitival, as in Swedish (see Wiklund, 2007: 178).

3.4.5. T-ADVERBS

According to Wiklund (2007: 165-166), unvalued tenses do not license T-adverbs, such as *always* or *often*. The author assumes that if a T-adverbs merges in the specifier of a T-head, Tense is not non-valued anymore. In Swedish, copying infinitivals are not accepted in a position where the adverb receives a narrow-scope interpretation (60b). This contrasts with non-copying infinitivals with internally valued tense (60a).

- (60) a. *Han hann med att (ofta) skriva (ofta)*
he manage-in-time.pret with to often write.inf often
‘He often managed to (often) write him’
b. *Han hann med o (*ofta) skrev (ofta)*
he manage-in-time.pret with to often write.inf often
‘He has managed and write often’

(Wiklund, 2007: 168; ex. 18)

Based on evidence from Swedish, the author proposes the following rule (p. 85):

- (61) Non-anaphoric T licenses T-adverbs, anaphoric T does not.

Concerning Spanish, if the embedded tense of the pseudo-coordinative complement is anaphoric, and if the rule in (61) is right, narrow-scope T-adverbs would be precluded.

However, Bravo (2020: 153) argues that *TAKE*-verbs allows for independent modification by this kind of adverbs, and proposes the following examples:

- (62) a. *Juan otra vez cogió y se casó.*
 Juan another time take.pret.3s and cl.refl.3s marry.pret.3s
 ‘John again took and got married’
- b. *#Juan cogio y (otra vez) se casó (otra vez).*
 Juan take.pret.3s another time and cl.refl.3s marry.pret.3s another time
 ‘John took and got married again’

(Bravo, 2020: 153; ex. 45)

According to Bravo’s personal interpretation of generated data, in (62a), what is been repeated is the manner in which Juan got married (id. ‘Juan got married in a rush manner’), whereas in (62b), it is just the eventuality of getting married what is being repeated. In other words, in (62a), there is a wide-scope reading, while a narrow-scope reading in (62b). However, according to my judgement, (62b) is a marginal sentence. In fact, T-adverbs in the embedded position are generally precluded. Consider the following examples:

- (63) a. *Yo siempre cojo y me guardo todo. Pañuelos, geles, barritas...*
 I always take.1s and cl.refl.1s save.1s all. Tissues, gels, bars...
 ‘I always take and keep everything. Tissues, gels, bars...’
 [https://www.foromtb.com/threads/cerdo-bikers.870990/ Spain. Google]
- b. *¿¿Yo cojo y siempre me guardo todo. Pañuelo, geles, barritass...⁵⁸*
 I take.1s and always cl.refl.1s save.1s all. Tissues, gels, bars...
 Id. ‘I take and always keep everything...’
- (63) a. *Cuando veo a mis amigos, siempre voy y les digo hola*
 When I see.1s to my friends, always go.1s and cl.dat.3p tell.1s hello
 ‘When I encounter my friends, I always go and say hello’
- b. *¿¿Cuando veo a mis amigos, voy y siempre les digo hola⁵⁹*
 When I see.1s to my friends go.1s and always cl.dat.3p tell.1s hello
 Id. ‘I go and always say hello to them’

⁵⁸ 0 relevant search results on Google of the sequence <yo cojo y siempre> (lit. I take and always).

⁵⁹ 0 relevant search results on Google of the sequence <voy y siempre digo> (lit. I go and always tell).

In addition, I showed that the tense of the embedded predicate is anaphoric to the matrix one. Proof of this is that it cannot be temporally oriented differently from the matrix tense, as in other bi-clausal constructions.⁶⁰

- (64) a. *Ahora quiere que se lo de después*
now want.3s that cl.dat.3s cl.acc.3s.m give.subj.3s later
'Now she wants that I give it to her later'
- b. *Ahora cojo/voy y te lo doy (*luego)*
now take/go.pres.1a and cl.dat.2s cl.acc.3s.m give.pres.1s later
'*Now, I go and give it to you later'

Therefore, based on Wiklund (2007), specifically on the rule in (61), I propose that the matrix Tense does not license T-adverbs in Spanish inceptive PseCo because V1 and V2 have anaphoric functional domains.

3.4.6. CLAUSE TRANSPARENCY

In inceptive pseudo-coordination, none of the pseudo-conjuncts constitute strong islands for extraction, contrary to ordinary coordination. This is expected under the analysis adopted here, following Wiklund (2007), who states:

An unvalued (anaphoric) C_{Fin} will trigger Agree with matrix C_{Fin} , which alters the clausal status of the embedded CP. As consequence, operations that are otherwise sensitive to the presence of C_{Fin} may span two “clauses”, yielding transparency effects (p. 162).

⁶⁰ Needless to say, different tenses would disallow a complex predicate analysis. Also, I remind the reader that Bravo (2020), despite trying to explain the tense-independent properties of V2, somehow pursues a complex predicate analysis of pseudo-coordination with TAKE verbs, as seen in the following citation:

Specifically, these authors (modulo the framework) argue for analyzing V1 TAKE-verbs as secondary theta-role assigners partially degrammaticalized and which form a sort of a complex predicate with the VP complement. This will be also the analysis we will pursue here (p. 148).

A very similar assumption is made by Gallego (2009) concerning subject-raising and ECM constructions in Romance. According to the author, these constructions involves a bi-clausal configuration where C is defective. does not constitute a phasal boundary⁶¹.

3.4.7. THE C-DOMAIN

So far, I have assumed the existence of a C-domain in the embedded complement when copying is total.

(65) The more functional structure that is present in the embedded clause the more forms may copy

(Wiklund, 2007: 69; ex. 3)

In Wiklund (2007; 170) C-domain of copying infinitivals is simplified as follows:

(66) [CP_{fin} [CP_{force}]]

The location of CP_{fin} at the edge is justified under the assumption that finiteness represents clausal status, which plays a major role in the transparency effects observed so far. With respect to the simplified C-domain, the author states that topicalization and focus movements are impossible in Swedish infinitivals. A full decomposition of the CP-layer by Rizzi (1997) is provided in (67). Finiteness determine the status of the sentence and plays an important role in terms of locality. Force determines the type of sentence (declarative, interrogative and imperative). Focused and topicalized constituents are the specifiers of their respective projections (68).

(67) ForceP > TopP* > FocP > TopP* > FinP > TP

(68) a. [FocP Fido [FinP they named their dog]]

b. [TopP Their dog, [FinP they have named Fido.]]

c. [FocP What is] [FinP [IP it is what]]?

⁶¹ See Ciutescu (2018) for an analysis of causative constructions following this line of reasoning.

- d. [ForceP [FocP At no point had [FinP he been conscious of the problem]]].

(Haegeman, Meinunger & Vercauteren, 2013)

With respect to C_{Force}, Wiklund (2007: 120-121) notices that double imperatives (69) are possible in copying infinitivals. Since the functional extension of the embedded verb is anaphoric to the matrix one, double imperatives are expected if the embedded C_{force} is externally valued as well.

- (69) Fortsätt o skriv!
 continue.imp & write.imp
 ‘Continue to write!’

In Spanish inceptive PseCo, double imperatives are also possible with both *TAKE* and *GO*:

- (69) a. *¡Ve y piensa en algo!*
 go.imp and think.imp in something
 ‘Go think something!’
- b. *Coge y envíale un privado a los moderadores*
 take.imp and send.imp a private to the moderators
 ‘Take and send a direct message to the moderators’

A property of Spanish inceptive PseCo which, as far as I am concerned, is not found in Swedish is embedded pseudo-clefts (FocusP). As can be observed in the following examples, pseudo-cleft may appear often in the embedded pseudo-conjunct:

- (70) a. (...) *yo escuché la detonación y yo fui y lo único que hice fue comenzar a gritar que (...).*
 I hear.pret.1s the detonation and I go.pret.1s and the only that do.pret.1s be.pret.3s start.inf to shout.inf that
 Id. ‘I heard the explosion and I went and the only thing that I did was to start yelling that...
[\[https://vlexvenezuela.com/vid/erick-david-abad-padron-304662578\]](https://vlexvenezuela.com/vid/erick-david-abad-padron-304662578)
 Venezuela. Google]
- b. *Tenía que buscar alguna solución, así que cogí y lo primero que hice fue buscar una papelería.*
 have(obl).imp.1s that find.inf some solution, so that take.pret.1s and the first that do.pret.1s be.pret.3s search.inf a stationary shop

‘I had to find a solution, so I took and the first thing I did was looking for a stationary shop’

[<http://manuelvazquezmunoz.blogspot.com/2014/04/> Spain. Google]

Embedded pseudo-clefts indicates that, In Spanish, the C-domain of the copied infinitival may not be as simple as Wiklund (2007) notes for Swedish.

(71) [Focus2P *lo único* [GroundP *que hice* [Focus1P *fue...*]]]

Thus far, I have assumed that the embedded complement is a ‘deficient’ CP introduced by a complementizer *y*. In this regard, contrary to Wiklund for Swedish (2007)⁶², no further observations will be made. That is, comparison between *y* and other complementizers in Spanish are out of the scope of this study. In this regard, further research about the nature of complementizer *y* (lit. ‘and’) is needed. The only relevant observation that I make about the status of *y* is that it shows some ‘coordination traces’, which are expected from a reanalysis of garden-variety coordination. For instance, complementizer *y* may be omitted in contexts that involve an enumeration of actions (72), similar to a garden-variety conjunction.

(72) a. *Pues tú coges, te preparas y te vas directamente*
so you take.2s, cl.refl.2s prepare.2s and cl.refl.2s go.2s directly
‘So, you take, get ready and leave directly’
[<https://bibliolange.wordpress.com/2011/01/26/monologo-de-humor-todo-sobre-mi-padre/> Spain. Google]

b. *Y vas, lo piensas y... no te sorprendes*
and go.2s, cl.acc.3s.n think.2s and...neg cl.refl.2s surprise.2s
‘And you go, think about it and not surprise yourself’
[<https://byenrique.com/2009/10/29/el-hemisferio-sur/> Chile. Google]

Also, it is well-known (e.g., Garachana, 2017, Jaque et al., 2018) that the embedded clause cannot be fronted in pseudo-coordination (73a), although the grammaticality of the sentence improves if there is an ‘dummy V2’ (73b).

(73) a. **Y comprar un coche he cogido*
and buy.inf a car have(aux).1s take.pt

⁶² Reported by Wiklund (2007), subordination with *och* (‘and’) is frequent and not restricted to pseudo-coordination only. On the other hand, as far as I am concerned, PseCo in Spanish is the only construction in which *y* is a subordinator.

- b. #*Y comprar un coche he cogido y he hecho*
and buy.inf a car have(aux).1s take.pt and have(aux).1s do.pt

Tentatively, the ungrammaticality of (73) make sense if we think of it as a coordination trace given that, in consecutive coordination, inverting the order of the constituents is ungrammatical because it violates the truth-conditions of a consecutive sequence.

3.5. INTERMEDIATE CONCLUSIONS

An analysis of inceptive PseCo as a complex predicate assumes that <V1 & V2> forms a single unit of predication. That is, both lexical items involve a single set of argument relationships and, more importantly, are interpreted as being equidistant to Tense. Furthermore, it is based on the premise that the meaning of the construction is derived semantically. In Ramchand (2008)'s neo-constructivist model, the semantics of complex and simplex predication are represented within a fine-grained VP in which the interpretation argument relationships, theta-roles and subevental embedding is derived hierarchically. As in other constructivist models, the idea is both simplex and complex predication involve internally complex structures.

Following Ramchand (2008), I propose that, in inceptive PseCo, V1 is a light verb that underspecified both *init* and *proc*, but underassociates a [*res*] feature that has to be realized locally by V2. In this way, the agentive and resultative semantics of inceptive PseCo (García Sánchez, 2007) can be represented structurally. With respect to agentivity, I propose that V1 projects a composite INITIATOR-UNDERGOER as the specifier of both *procP* and *initP*. The resultative meaning of inceptive PseCo derives from the fact that V2 includes the *res* portion of the structure. As I mentioned above, the derivation is built up by two lexical heads by means of the rules of underassociation, which I recall as follows:

- (28) Underassociation:

If a lexical item contains an underassociated category feature,

- (i) that feature must be independently identified within the phase and linked to the underassociated feature by Agree;
- (ii) The two category features so linked must unify their lexical-encyclopedic content

Concerning (ii), I propose that, as in other resultative complex predicates (Ramchand, 2008), inceptive PseCo is formed by a semantically ‘poor’ *proc* and a ‘rich’ *res*. It follows that light verbs are generally semantically vague and the same lexical items (GO, TAKE, GIVE...) cross-linguistically (Butt, 2010). Therefore, contra Bravo (2020), I assume that either GO or TAKE verbs may occupy the V1 position without altering the meaning of the construction. In both cases, V1 is semantically impoverished and must unify its lexical-encyclopedic content with V2. In addition, rule (ii) also explains why adverbs of manner (VP-internal) are encyclopedically associated to V2 although they may be licensed within either of the lexical units’ projections.

Concerning (ii), following Wiklund (2007) for Swedish PseCo, I propose that the agreement relationship between V1 and V2 is functional copying. Inceptive PseCo features a bi-clausal configuration where each lexical item projects its own functional projection (74).

(74) [CP_(fin)...C_[j]] [TP...T_[k]...[AspP...Asp_[l]...[*init*P V1 [*proc*P V1 [CP & [CP_(non-fin)C_[j*]...[TP...T_[k*]...[AspP...Asp_[l*]...[*res*P V2]]]]]]]]]]]

(75) [ConjP CP_(fin)...[TP...[VP...]]] Conj [CP_(fin)...[TP...[VP...]]]

However, as opposed to coordination (75), the embedded pseudo-conjunct is syntactically subordinated. The subordinate clause contains a non-valued T and C in the sense of Gallego (2009, 2010, 2014) that copies the TMA values from the matrix verb. In the case of inceptive PseCo, functional copying is total. That is, it involves the complete functional extension of the lexical item (C, T, Asp). Evidence that copying is total comes from lack of tense restrictions and double imperatives (2.2.6). Therefore, despite featuring a bi-clausal configuration, inceptive PseCo is interpreted as a single complex event because the embedded tense is anaphoric to the matrix one. In addition, despite the fact that there is VP-recursion, the embedded subject does not spell-out because non-valued Cs cannot assign nominative case. In the same way, copied Ts are defective with respect to adverb licensing and negation, which explain why they generally precedes V1. Also, copied Ts are syntactically present and does not preclude elements, such as clitics, from attaching to T, hence the absence of clitic climbing in PseCo. Finally, as observed by

Wiklund (2007), a bi-clausal configuration reflects that PseCo (subordination) is reanalyzed consecutive coordination.

“The inceptive type, in turn, should derive from a reanalysis of the second conjunct as a specification of a process (or a result) component of an event structure where the verb of motion/transfer expresses initiation alone” (p. 154)

If we take seriously that the previous assumption, further research is needed concerning the properties that derive from this reanalysis, such as the possibility to omit the complementizer or the ungrammaticality of preposing the subordinate clause.

4. SPEAKER-ORIENTED PSEUDO-COORDINATION

Throughout this dissertation, I have repeated the idea that pseudo-coordination refers to two different constructions independently of the type of V1 used (GO, TAKE): (i) inceptive PseCo and (ii) speaker-oriented PseCo. This chapter focuses on the latter, exemplified in the following sentences:

- (1) a. *Seguro que hoy, que dice Chumillas de salir, **coge y llueve**. Si es que me vi a **** en la pu... madre del cordero*
sure that today, that tell.3s Chumillas of leave.inf, take.3s and rain.3s. If be.3s that cl.refl.1s go.1s to [shit].inf in the [whore] mother of-the lamb
'I am sure that today, when Chumillas had proposed to go out, to my dismay, it rains! For fuck's sake!'
[<https://debates.motos.coches.net/discussion/99480/creacion-de-sector-en-albacete-sector-navajo-afiliate/p1025> Spain. Google]
- b. *Nos abren en Pamplona/Iruña un bar con un nombre que es abreviatura de zanpantzar, palabra del euskera y **va y resulta** que el dueño es totalmente anti-vasco*
cl.dat.1p open.3p in Pamplona/Iruña a bar with a name that is abbreviation of zanpantzar, word of-the Basque and go.3s and result.3 that the owner is fully anti-Basque
'They open a bar in Pamplona with a name that is an abbreviation of *zanpantzar*, a Basque word, and, to my dismay, it turns out that the owner is a complete anti-Basque'
[https://www.tripadvisor.es/ShowUserReviews-g187520-d10465361-r427545419-Bar_Restaurante_Zanpa-Pamplona_Navarra.html Spain. Google]

In the two sentences above, V1 has pragmatic meaning solely. That is, instead of modulating the action denoted by V2⁶³, V1 is used to evaluate the eventuality denoted by V2⁶⁴. In (1a), the addresser is clearly upset about the high probability of rain on the day that he and his friends wanted to party. In the same way, in (1b), the addresser is offended by the fact that the owner of a bar after a Basque word is 'anti-Basque'.

⁶³ I remind the reader that V1 and V2 do not refer to lexical heads in this context, but rather to the pseudo-conjuncts that form the <V1 y V2> scheme.

⁶⁴ I have used an evaluative adverb in the English translations. The choice of the adverb is based on the context of the utterance.

4.1. THE GRAMMATICALIZATION OF V1

What I refer as speaker-oriented PseCo is not a phenomenon limited to the Spanish language. With respect to Western Romance, the use of the <V1 & V2> pattern to convey subjective meaning has been documented in, a least, Spanish (Montes, 1963; Arnaiz & Camacho, 1999; Jaque et al. 2018, 2019; Kornfeld, 2019), Sicilian (Sornicola, 1976; Cruschina, 2013; Di Caro, 2019) and Portuguese (Colaço & Gonçalves, 2017).

4.1.1. SICILIAN

Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 2003) study a monoclausal construction in Marsalese (Sicilian) referred as the Inflected Construction (henceforth IC) that can be classified as pseudo-coordination since it is composed by two finite verbs optionally connected by the conjunctive element *a*⁶⁵. The IC features motion verbs of the restructuring class (Rizzi, 1976, 1978) that have semi-lexical properties. Regarding Sicilian PseCo, Di Caro (2019) distinguishes three different scenarios concerning the meaning of V1: (i) V1 retains its semantics of motion (2a); (ii) V1 is used as an exhortative marker (2b); (iii) V1 is used with an emphatic meaning (2c).

- (2) a. *E si nni va a curca 'ntra un chianu*
And refl.cl loc.cl go.3s *a* lay-down.3s in a plain
'And he goes and sleeps on a plain'
- b. *E si ni iju e si va a spennì tutti li grana a pasa e ficatelli*
and refl.cl loc.cl go.pret.3s and refl.cl go.3s *a* spend.3s all the money in
pasta and ficatelli
'And he went away and spends all his money in pasta with ficatelli'
- c. *Va a succedi ca a la Riggina ci arrubbaru n' aneddu di brillante*
go.3s *a* happen.3s that to the queen cl.dat.3s steal.past.3p a ring of
diamonds
'It happened that they stole a diamond ring from the Queen'

(Di Caro, 2019: 144-155; ex. 151a, d, g)

⁶⁵ This is the hypothesis followed by Di Caro (2019), originally proposed in Rohlfs (1969). That is, the connecting element *a* was originally the Latin conjunction *AC*. On the other hand, Cruschina (2013) mentions that *a* may derive from the Latin preposition *AD* that is often found in analytic periphrastic constructions in Romance languages.

The example that is relevant to the current discussion is (2c), “where GO is impersonal and becomes an emphatic marker underlining the ‘unexpected nature of the action’. In other words, it instantiates a particular case of the Surprise Effect (SE henceforth) discussed in Sornicola (1976) and Cruschina (2013)” (Di Caro, 2019: 144).

As Di Caro notes, Sornicola (1976) is the first modern linguist that points out “the grammaticalization of the V1 *go* as an emphatic marker” (p. 51) in Sicilian. The same idea is proposed by Cruschina (2013) for what he refers as the Double Inflected Construction (DIC)⁶⁶. According to this author (p. 270), the DIC shares the following basic parameters involved in the grammaticalization of verbs (Heine, 1993): (a) desemanticization of the original lexical value; (b) decategorialization, i.e. gradual loss of the morphosyntactic status as a full verb; (c) cliticization, i.e. loss of autonomous word status; (d) phonological erosion⁶⁷.

Concerning the use of V1 GO as an emphatic marker, Cruschina observes that although the DIC is morphologically realized with present tense inflection, it always refers to events situated in the past. Following Sornicola (1976), the author highlights that emphatic GO usually involves the emotional participation of the speaker.

- (3) a. *Cuannu u vittu ca sunava nna banna, vaju a pruvu na gioia!*
 when him.cl see.pst.1sg that play.impf.3sg in-the band go.1sg a feel.1sg a joy
 ‘When I saw him play in the band, I felt such a joy!’
- b. *Arrivammu dda, nn’u ristoranti, e mi vannu a dunanu na pizza accussì ladia!*
 arrive.pst.1pl there in-the restaurant and to-me.cl go.3pl a give.3pl a pizza so ugly
 ‘We arrived there, at the restaurant, and they gave me such a bad pizza!’

Based on the observations of Saldanya & Hualde (2003) on Catalan *anar* ‘go’, Cruschina (2013: 281) proposes that emphatic GO is used as an emphatic past marker in narrative

⁶⁶ The main idea studied in this paper concerns the possibility to integrate the DIC into the paradigm of morphosyntactic periphrases (Vincent, 2011). However, I only review those aspects that are relevant to the grammaticalization of V1 as an emphatic marker.

⁶⁷ For a detailed description of the syntactic of Sicilian PseCo, please see Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 2003, 2019) and Di Caro & Giusti (2018).

contexts. Furthermore, the author indicates that V1 occupies an intermediate position in the grammaticalization path as a past marker, represented as follows⁶⁸:

(4) Verb of movement > narrative past marker > past marker

(Cruschina, 2013: 281; ex. 15)

4.1.2. PORTUGUESE

Colaço & Gonçalves (2016) analyze a pseudo-coordinative construction in Portuguese that is similar to Spanish speaker-oriented PseCo. As in Spanish, the construction involves a motion verb (GO (5a) or TAKE (5b)) connected to another verb by the element *e* (lit. ‘and’). The authors, who focus on V1 GO, also emphasize that the <*ir-e-V*> construction is “used in spontaneous speech and in specific contexts, exclusively tied to the sequentialization of events, thus contributing to the progression of the narrative” (p. 135). These are exemplified as follows:

- (5) a. *{A Maria vai / vai a Maria} e rasga a carta em pedaços*
{the Maria go.3s / go.3s the Maria} and tear.pres.3s the letter into pieces
‘Maria tears the letter into pieces.’
- b. *O assaltante pegou e disparou sobre a multidão*
the burglar take.pret.3s and fire.pret.3s on the crowd
‘The burglar fired on the crowd.’

(Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016: 135; ex. 1-2)

Evidence of the narrative function of V1 comes from the exclusion of adverbials that relate to Speech Time (6a). That is, only adverbials that refer to Story Time or Discourse Time are allowed (6b):

- (6) a. **Hoje a Maria vai e diz ...*
today the Maria go.3s and say.pres.3s ...
- b. *Nesse momento, a Maria vai e diz ...*
at that time, the Maria go.3s and say.pres.3s...
‘Then, Maria says...’

(Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016: 158; ex. 25)

⁶⁸ The grammaticalization path should also include the exhortative marker discussed in (Di Caro, 2019).

As opposed to coordination, in the <ir-e-V2> construction, there is only one place for sentential negation, which always precedes V2.

- (7) a. *O Pedro vai e nao fala sobre esse assunto*
 the Pedro go.pres.3s and not talk.pres.3s about this issue
 ‘Pedro does not talk about this issue.’
- b. **O Pedro nao vai e fala sobre esse assunto*
 the Pedro not go.pres.3s and talk.pres.3s about this issue

(Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016: 162; ex. 42)

Conflicting temporal adverbs are precluded (8c) and temporal adverbs must precede V1 (8a):

- (8) a. *Nesse momento, a Maria vai e dá- lhe um abraço.*
 At-that time, the Maria go.sg and give.3s-cl.acc.3s.m a hug.
 ‘Then, Maria gives him a hug.’
- b. **A Maria vai e nesse momento dá- lhe um abraço.*
 the Maria go.sg and at-that time give.pres.3sg-cl.acc.3s.m a hug.
- c. **Ontem, a Maria foi e hoje vai almoçar com os pais.*
 yesterday, the Maria go.pret.3s and today go.3s lunch with the parents

(Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016: 163; ex. 45)

The <ir-e-V2> construction also shares with other Pseudo-Coordinations the single subject requirement (9a), as opposed to coordination (9b). This property, along with the two previous ones, shows that there is a single event interpretation. Furthermore, the subject is not subcategorized by the motion verb, as can be seen in those instances featuring weather verbs (10), hence demonstrating that V1 is semantically vacuous.

- (9) a. **A Maria vai e eu digo...*
 the Maria go.pres.3s and I say.pres.1s...
- b. *O Pedro foi {para a/ na} Faculdade e a Maria trabalhou até a meia- noite*
 the Pedro go.pret.3s to-the Faculty and the Maria work.pret.3s until-the midnight
 ‘Pedro went to the Faculty and Maria worked until midnight.’

(Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016: 161: ex. 37-38)

- (10) a. Vai e chove toda a noite
 go.pres.3s and rain.pres.3s all the night
 ‘It rained all night.’

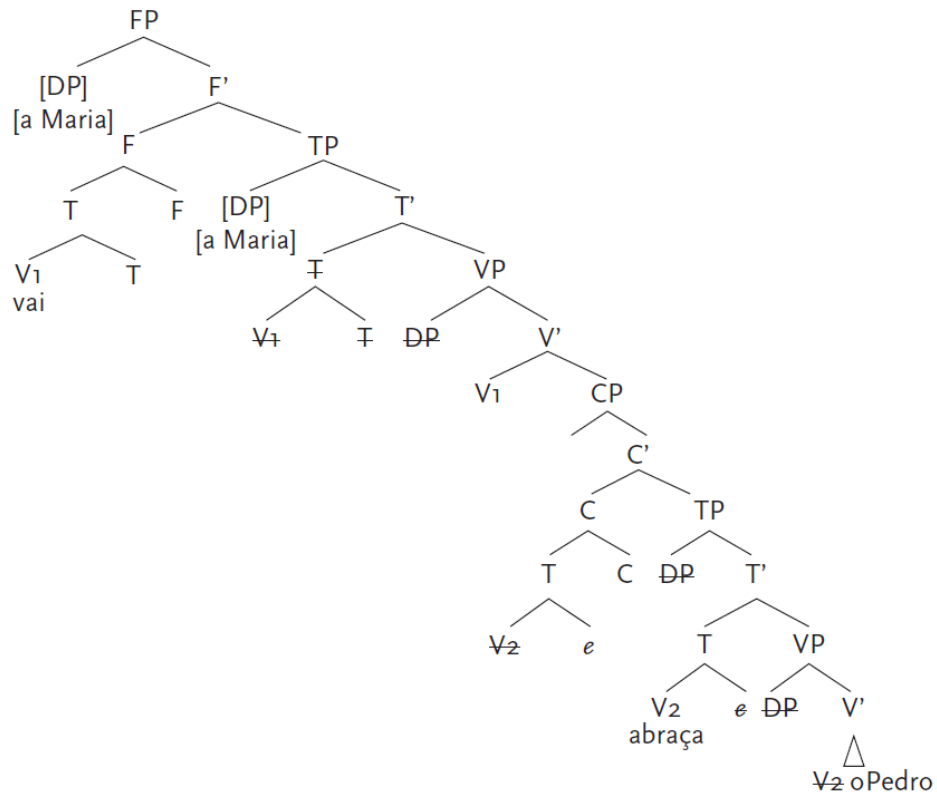
(Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016: 157: ex. 19)

In order to account for these properties, the authors propose an analysis where V1 is the lexicalization of a functional head that has the unvalued feature [*progression*] related to a ‘breakthrough in the narrative’. Following Pesetsky & Torrego (2001, 2004), they also argue that *e* is a manifestation of T moved to C in order to satisfy the [*uT*] property of this head (p. 165). The conjunction is part of the embedded CP complement, which is not an argument of V1 since this is not a theta-marking head⁶⁹. Furthermore, their analysis accounts for the microvariation found between European Portuguese and Brazilian Portuguese (also Colaço & Gonçalves, 2010). In Brazilian Portuguese, the subject, which is an argument of V2, also triggers agreement on V1. In this regard, they propose that it may be a case of hyper-raising caused by the weakening of the agreement paradigm found in this variety (Nunes, 2008; Ferreira, 2002, 2004; Rodrigues, 2002; 2004; as cited in Colaço and Gonçalves, 2016: 186). In short, the embedded T is weak and cannot assign nominative case to the subject, which must move over C in order to check its case features against the matrix T (V1). The derivation of this sequence is exemplified as follows:

- (11) a. *A Maria vai e abraça o Pedro / Vai a Maria e abraça o Pedro*
 the Maria go.pres.3s and hug.pres.3s the Pedro / Go the Maria and
 hug.pres.3s the Pedro
 ‘Maria gives Pedro a hug’

⁶⁹ The authors illustrate the difference between the CP complement of the <*ir-e-V2*> construction and nominal CP-complements by providing examples showing that pronominalization is possible only in the latter case.

b.

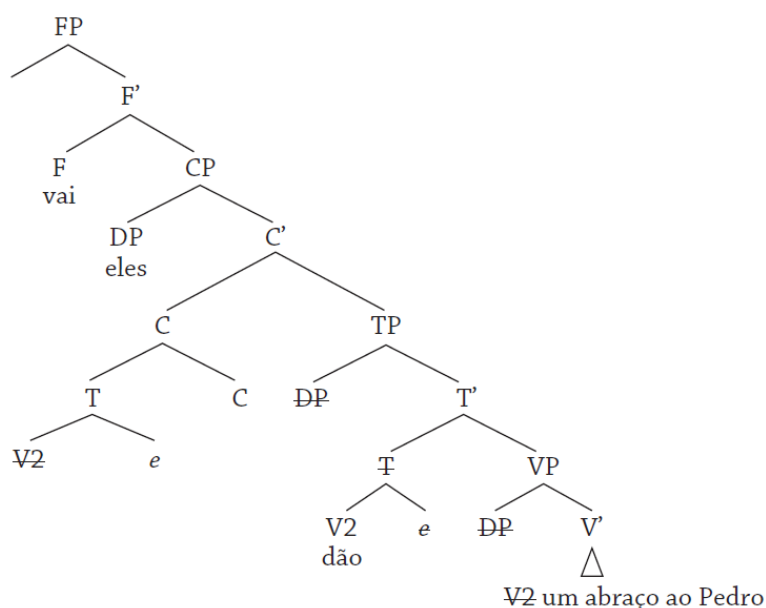


(Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016: 149-150; ex. 49)

In addition to this, European Portuguese “marginally allows for the invariable form *vai* ‘goes’ regardless of the theta-features of the subject” (p. 148). In this case, V1 is [-EPP], while the embedded C is [+EPP], attracting the DP subject. The authors comment that, since the embedded CP and TP are finite, the EPP movement of the DP is improper, hence the marginality of the sequence (p. 153). The derivation of the invariant <ir-e-V2> sequence in EP is represented in (12).

- (12) a. */ ??Vai eles e dao um abraço ao Pedro
 go.pres.3sg they and give.pres.3p a hug to-the Pedro

b.



(Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016: 160-170: ex. 51-52)

4.1.3. SPANISH

Reports of the subjective use of PseCo in Spanish dates as back as Montes (1963). The author observes that periphrastic <va y + finite verb> in Colombian Spanish is used to convey ‘fear potential’ (p. 400). Out of several examples, I have collected the following one:

- (13) (..) *No sea tan boba; si le provocan las manzanas, coja las que quiera y cómaselas. Y Eva le replicaba: — ¿Sí? ¿Y si va y el Señor sabe? ¿Y si va y las tiene contadas?*

not be.3 such fool; if cl.dat.3s provoke.3p the apples, take.imp.3s those that want.subj.3s and eat.imp.3s-cl.acc.3p.f and Eve cl.dat.3s reply.imp.3s yes? And if go.3s and the Lord know.3s? And if go.3s and cl.acc.3p.f have.3s count? ‘Do not be so naive, if the apples provoke you, take everything you want and eat them. And Eve replied: Yeah? But what if the Lord knows about it? What if he has them count?’ (Montes, 1963: 400; ex. 1)

The example above is particularly relevant because it shows that, as opposed to Portuguese (Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016) and Sicilian (Cruschina, 2013)⁷⁰, the ‘Spanish

⁷⁰ Concerning Sicilian PseCo, it must be noted that the analysis of V1 as a narrative past marker is pursued only by Cruschina. Di Caro (2019) acknowledges that narrative emphatic GO is frequent in narrative contexts (p. 138), although the author does not restrict its use by no means, as opposed to Cruschina (2013).

emphatic *GO*’ is not restricted to the narrative past. In fact, Montes (1963) emphasizes that V1 introduces a distressing event that may occur in the future, hence the term ‘fear potential’ (*potencial de temor*). In addition, as opposed to Portuguese <*ir-e-V2*>, where invariant forms are marginal or ungrammatical, Montes (1963: 401) highlights that an agreeing V1 is much less frequent than the invariant form where V1 is in the third person singular and does not agree with the subject.

More recently, Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) attempt a more detailed analysis of the so-called speaker-oriented PseCo⁷¹, which they refer as a ‘topic auxiliary *GO*’⁷². The first observation that will be highlighted concerns the absence of meaning of V1 (14), which the author contrasts with real coordination (15), as is usual in studies dealing with PseCo:

- (14) a. *Ramón fue y se cayó*
 Ramón go.pret.3s to-the basement and cl.refl.3s fall.pret.3s
 ‘Ramon fell unexpectedly’
- b. *Margarita agarró y salió*
 Margarita grab.pret.3s and leave.pret.3s
 ‘Margarita left unexpectedly’
- (15) a. *Ramón fue al sótano y se cayó*
 Ramón go.pret.3s to-the basement and cl.refl.3s fall.pret.3s
 ‘Ramon went to the basement and fell’
- b. *Margarita agarró la plata y se fue*
 Margarita grab.pret.3s and leave.pret.3s
 ‘Margarita grabbed the money and left’
 (Arnaiz & Camacho, 1999: 318; ex. 2-3)

Other observations concern obligatory embedded negation and the Morphological Sameness Condition (MSC). With respect to the latter, Montes (1963) already observed that that this does not hold regularly in speaker-oriented PseCo. According to the authors,

On the other hand, it seems that Di Caro highlights the fact that emphatic *GO*, as the terms indicates, is rather tied to the expression of feelings of anger, disgust, surprise, joy, etc.

⁷¹ As anticipated in 3.2., I decided to include Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) within the study of speaker-oriented PseCo because of the properties they describe. However, these authors do not conceive such a split of PseCo into two different constructions.

⁷² In effect, Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) holds that TAKE verbs are semantically more restricted than *GO* verbs (p. 319). Hence, according to them, their analysis of V1 as a ‘topic auxiliary’ only covers *GO*. I have showed multiple times that this assumption is not empirically correct, as both verb classes are featured commonly in speaker-oriented and inceptive PseCo.

V1 grammatically encodes a restriction on topichood in this construction. They base this assumption on their observation that V1 and V2 cannot have different subjects each (16b) or feature an overt pronoun in the embedded subject position (16c).

- (16) a. *Miguel va y se asusta*
 Miguel go.3s and cl.refl.3s freak-out.3s
 ‘Miguel gets frightened’
- b. **Miguel va y Marta se asusta*
 Miguel go.3s and Marta cl.refl.3s freak-out.3s
- c. **Miguel va y él se asusta*
 Miguel go.3s and he cl.refl.3s freak-out.3s

(Arnaiz & Camacho, 1999: 322: ex. 14)

According to these authors, the ungrammaticality of (16b, c) is not due to restrictions on subjecthood, but rather topichood, since an overt DP entails a change of topic (Lujan, 1985). In fact, the authors hold that subjects can be different as far as the topicalized subject of V1 is syntactically present in V2⁷³:

- (17) *Juan va y Maria lo besa*
 Juan go.3s and Maria.3s cl.acc.3s.m kiss.3s
 ‘Juan got unexpectedly kissed by Maria’

(Arnaiz & Camacho, 1999: 322: 16a)

In this regard, they further note that “the topic not only has to be common to both subjects, but it has to be syntactically present in the second one” (p. 322). This means that, in sentences like (17), the topic (Juan) is maintained as the object marked by the clitic *lo* in the second pseudo-conjunct. In addition, they propose an additional restriction: “the topic has to be related to an argument of the second conjunct” (p. 323). Thus, a sentence as (18), where *Juan* is related to a non-argument position, would not be acceptable under the discourse-oriented reading.

⁷³ In my opinion, in (17), an example generated by the authors, GO has a motion interpretation. Only if we include a narrative adverbial like *entonces* (‘then’) or *ahora* (‘now’), an emphatic reading seems barely acceptable.

(i) ¿¿Ahora/entonces Juan va y Maria lo besa
 now then Juan go.3s and Maria cl.acc.3s.m kiss.3s
 Id. ‘Juan got unexpectedly kissed by Maria’.

- (18) **Juan va y un perro se acerca hacia él*
 Juan go.3s and a dog cl.refl.3s approach.3s towards him

(Camacho & Arnaiz, 1999: 323; ex. 19a)

The analysis of ‘topic auxiliary GO’ proposed by Arnaiz & Camacho (1999: 327) consists of a ConjP with V1 in the specifier position and V2 as its complement. The general idea is that the transmission of a [+topic] straightforwardly follows from Wasow’s generalization (Pullum & Zwicky, 1986), which would also be responsible of the shared tense morphology. Furthermore, the authors say that their “analysis only predicts that the topic in the [Spec, (I, I)_{conj}] projection will have to be the same for both conjuncts. In particular, it does not prevent the existence of multiple topics” (p. 329). Concerning the subject of the construction, the authors assume that it is a case of raising from the lower IP to the Spec of the auxiliary. Since they argue that this construction can have different subjects (17), they just assume that the matrix subject must raise from an argument position.

The analysis of Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) contains both empirical and theoretical inconsistencies. First, as already observed by Montes (1963), invariant V1 are very common in this kind of construction. In the examples where V1 is invariant and not surrounded by a topicalized constituent, their prediction that the same topic is maintained in both conjuncts does not hold. In the same way, it is normal for V2 to bear tense morphology that do not match that of the invariant V1 (Present Indicative). Let us consider the following example:

- (19) a. (...) *me sentaba con los adultos y mis padres y va y habían invitado a la boda por compromiso una madre y su hijo, una réplica exacta de Seymour Skinner y su madre...*
 cl.refl.1s sit.imp.1s with the adults and my parents and go.3s and have(aux).imp.3s invite.pt to the wedding for compromise a mother and her son, a copy exact of Seymour Skinner and his mother
 ‘I was sitting with the adults and my parents, and, hilariously, they had invited mother and her son, an exact copy of Seymour Skinner and her mother...’
 [https://www.3djuegos.com/comunidad-foros/tema/50818588/0/alguna-vez-os-ha-tocado-sentarnos-en-la-mesa-de-los-chavalines/ Spain. Google]

In (19), the speaker is reporting that he was in a wedding ceremony when a mother and her son, who look exactly like Seymour Skinner and his mother (*The Simpsons*), entered the dining room. As we can see, GO is invariant in Present Indicative morphology, whereas

V2 is in the periphrastic past perfect, agreeing with a 3rd person plural *pro*. In this regard, V1 and V2 neither share a topic nor bear the same tense morphology. With respect to theoretical irregularities, I have already provided a few arguments against a coordination analysis of PseCo in (3.2) which would also hold for speaker-oriented PseCo. Let us consider the Law of Coordination of Likes, which prevents ‘unlike’ constituents from being coordinated. If PseCo was a coordination of TPs, as argued by Arnaiz & Camacho (1999), each conjunct should be a grammatical sequence out of the <V1 & V2> scheme, contrary to fact (20). In a few words, V1 and V2 are not syntactically alike and, hence, they cannot be in a coordination.

- (20) a. *Y va y habían invitado a Seymour Skinner y a su madre a la boda*
 And go.3s and have(aux).imp.3p invite.pt to Seymour Skinner and his mother to the wedding
 ‘Hilariously, they had invited Seymour Skinner and his mother to the wedding’
- b. **Y va*
 and go.3s
- c. *Habían invitado a Seymour Skinner y a su madre a la boda*
 and have(aux).imp.3p invite.pt to Seymour Skinner and his mother to the wedding
 ‘They had invited Seymour Skinner and his mother to the wedding’

Despite these drawbacks, Arnaiz & Camacho (1999) provide the first generative account of the pragmatic use of PseCo in Spanish. Although a coordination analysis of a ‘topic auxiliary’ may not be completely accurate, they show that V1 may function as a discourse-related operator. Recently, this line of reasoning is followed by Jaque et al. (2019), who focuses on the grammaticalization of V1 in the so-called ‘multiverb constructions of a finite coordinate verb’ (*construcciones multiverbales de verbo finito coordinado*). As held in the present dissertation, these authors claim that V1 has two different values, although these are not separated into two different constructions. They argue that the primary (objective) value is ‘interruptive aspect’⁷⁴ (Lichtenberk, 1983; Brettschneider, 1991; as cited in Jaque et al., 2018). That is, V1 is generally used to

⁷⁴ Bravo (2020) criticizes the use of this term, arguing that “interruption is not an aspectual category, no matter how you define aspect: be it as the classical notion of point of view (Comrie 1976), be it as the different phases in a situation (Dik 1989), be it as an interval along Smith’s (1991) and Klein’s (1994) lines”.

indicate that “the event introduced by the second verb occurs in an abrupt way, disrupting the normality defined by the previous discursive context” (Jaque et al., 2019: 222)⁷⁵. This may derive in a secondary (subjective) value, mirativity (DeLancey, 1997; Aikhenvald, 2012; Lau & Rooryck, 2017), given that the occurrence of a disruptive event would arise a response of counter-expectation.

Regarding the primary value of interruptive aspect, I will just show that their proposal is empirically incorrect, at least with respect to European Spanish, or rather, to the verbs studied here (GO and TAKE). According to the authors, the use of PseCo implies the presupposition of a series of event that define some sort of cultural, mental or physical normality, which the event introduced by V2 disrupts (21)⁷⁶, imposing a new state of affairs (Jaque et al. 2019: 229). For instance, in this regard, the reproach in (22) cannot be an objectively expected consequence, considering how much effort Diego has been putting into it.

(21)V1 y [e (V2)]*****

(22) *Diego, tanto esfuerzo que había hecho para lograr salir adelante en la vida, y ella venía y le recriminaba asuntos que, viendo bien las cosas, eran del todo normales*
 Diego, so much effort that have(aux).imp.3s do.pt for achieve.inf leave.inf forward in the life, and she come.imp.3s and cl.dat.3s reproach.imp.3s affairs that, see.ing good the things, be.imp.3p of-the all normal
 ‘Diego, despite all the effort that he had done to keep moving forward in life, and she used to come and reproach him about affairs that, considering things clearly, were quite normal’

(Jaque et al., 2019; 229: ex. 7)

First, that the reproach to Diego in (22) is unexpected seems subjective rather than objective in the sense that that these expectations are created by speaker, rather than something related to the internal composition of events. Secondly, there are instances of

⁷⁵ (...) *sirve para indicar que el evento introducido por el segundo verbo ocurre de modo abrupto, quebrantando una normalidad definida por el contexto discursivo previo.*

⁷⁶ This is the schematized representation of interruptive aspect according to Jaque et al. (2019: 229; ex. 6). The contextual normality is represented with dots, while the introduction of a disruptive state corresponds to asterisks. In addition, I have replaced the original *llegar* ‘to arrive’ with a generic V1. In this regard, it should be noted that the authors also apply the concept of interruptive aspect to pseudo-coordination with all the other V1s (p. 223; see also Jaque et al., 2018).

what I refer as inceptive PseCo where V2 denotes anticipated events. For instance, in (23a), the author of a blog is asking viewers to participate in the comments section. In this example, ‘to write for us through the comments section below’ does not seem to interrupt in any conventionalized ‘objective’ normality. In fact, it is not random that this demand is situated at the very end of the article, since it is presupposed that people are more willing to comment about an article once they have finished reading it. Also, if PseCo implied any disruption, it would be impossible to generate a sentence like (23b), where the event introduced by V2 is part of a sequence. Similarly, a sentence like (23c) cannot be predicted by Jaque et al.’s (2018, 2019) interruptive aspect, since the event is being described as conventional, even suitable in that particular context.

- (23) a. *Así que sólo tienes que ir y escribir para nosotros a través de la sección de comentarios de abajo!*
 So that only have(mod).2s to go.inf and write.inf for us to through of the sections of comments of below
 ‘So that you only have to go and write for use through the comments section below!’
[\[https://tecnologiasimplificada.com/como-anadir-gestos-de-raton-a-chrome-y-firefox/\]](https://tecnologiasimplificada.com/como-anadir-gestos-de-raton-a-chrome-y-firefox/)
- b. *Estoy muertísimo de hambre. Lo primero que voy a hacer después de llegar a casa es coger y hacerme un señor bocadillo.*
 be.1s death.sup of hunger. the first that go(aux).1s to do.inf after of arrive.inf to home be.3s take.inf and make.inf-cl.refl.dat.1s a sir sandwich
 ‘I’m freaking starving. The first think I am going to do after arriving home is go and make me one hell of a sandwich’
- c. *Aquí ando con una calor y una ya no sabe cómo vestirse, lo mejor es coger y tomar algo bien fresquito y unos buenos chapuzones*
 here walk.1s with a heat and one already not know.3s how dress.inf-cl.refl.3s, the best be.3s take.inf and take(2).inf something well fresh.dim and some good dips
 ‘Here I am, with some serious heat and no idea how to dress, the best thing one can do is go and grab something well-refreshing and take some good dips’.
[\https://fi.pinterest.com/pin/487373990928494306/ Spain. Google]

Jaque et al. (2019) correlate the two values of PseCo with different semantic and syntactic properties, which is a line of reasoning that this study also follows. They define the mirativity of PseCo as the subjective correlate of the so-called interruptive construction (p. 226). Similar to what Cruschina (2013) and Di Caro (2019) propose for the Sicilian PseCo, the authors hold that the subjective use of PseCo results from the

grammaticalization of V1 as a subjective marker (Traugott, 1995: as cited by Jaque et al., 2019: 235-236). In addition, following Roberts (2012), they predict that the objective-subjective dichotomy should be reflected by upward movement in the hierarchy of functional heads assumed by cartographic syntacticians (Cinque, 1999, 2004, 2005) (p. 238) and the vanishing of lexical and aspectual restrictions (pp. 223-224).

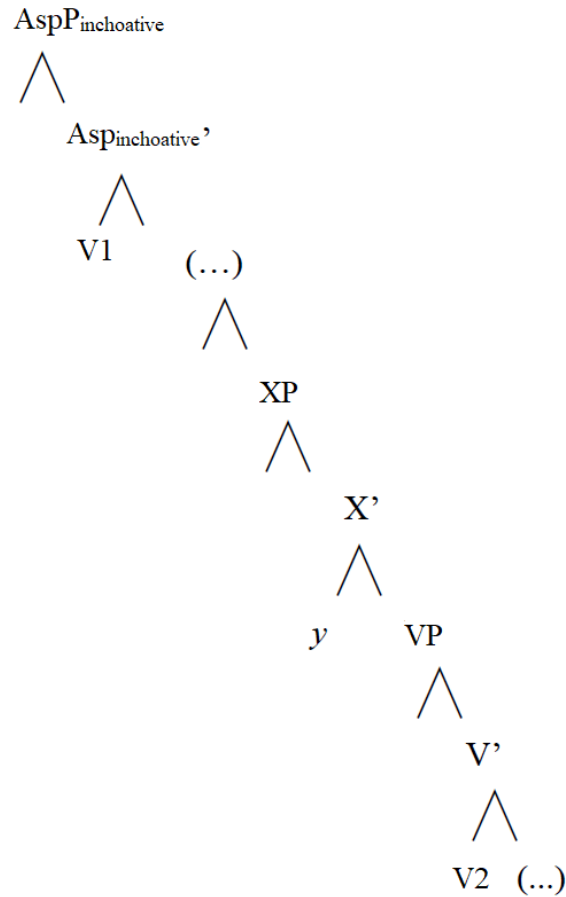
Similarly, Kornfeld (2019) studies a group of constructions in Spanish with the verb *GO* that, according to the author, are involved in the expression of mirativity and/or evidentiality⁷⁷. With respect to PseCo, the author notes that it codifies, at least, one of the meaningful components that Aikhenvald (2012) associates to mirativity⁷⁸: counter-expectation. Similar to Jaque et al. (2019), Kornfeld holds that this mirativity is not syntactically encoded by V1 in PseCo, but it is rather subsumed to the basic inchoative value of the construction (García Sánchez, 2007). In order to account for such properties, following the analysis of Sicilian PseCo in Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001), Kornfeld (2019) argues that V1 heads AspP_{inchoative} and copies the morphosyntactic features of V2. According to the author, the relevant construction is “strictly monoclausal” (p. 188) and features a “pseudo-auxiliary in the sense that it is transparent with respect to theta-role assignment” (p.187). The mirative meaning observed in some instances of PseCo does not have structural representation because it is not systematic. This analysis is represented as follows⁷⁹:

⁷⁷ Kornfeld (2019: 177-178) separates the previous literature concerning mirativity into two lines of reasoning. On the one hand, there are authors, such as Aikhenvald (2012), who think that the expression of surprise can be isolated from the discovery of the facts, that is, evidentiality. On the other hand, authors such as Mexas (2016) and Lau & Rooryck (2017) hold that mirativity always imply evidentiality as the primary value.

⁷⁸ The range of mirative meanings subsumes the following values included under the “mirativity” label: (i) sudden discovery, sudden revelation or realization (a) by the speaker, (b) by the audience (or addressee), or (c) by the main character; (ii) surprise (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character; (iii) unprepared mind (a) of the speaker, (b) of the audience (or addressee), or (c) of the main character; (iv) counter-expectation (a) to the speaker, (b) to the addressee, or (c) to the main character; (v) information new (a) to the speaker, (b) to the addressee, or (c) to the main character (Aikhenvald, 2012: 437).

⁷⁹ Adapted from Kornfeld (2019: 187; ex. 49). In the original example, V1 was *ir* (go) and V2 *muere* (die.3ps). Since the author also extends this analysis to TAKE (p. 186), I consider that my editing is not misleading.

(24)



The analysis in (24) is empirically incorrect for a number of reasons⁸⁰. First, in the previous chapter, I showed that inceptive PseCo does not have clitic climbing (3.4.4). Also, among other evidence of an embedded CP, there are instances in which V2 contains a pseudo-cleft (3.4.7). This can be observed in the example (25) collected from Google. The context of (25) involves a person who is troubleshooting his personal computer, hence a motion reading of GO is very unlikely. Also, since the speaker is narrating in the first person, it is unlikely that V1 has a mirative interpretation.

- (25) *Voy y lo primero que hago es desconectar todo y probar que está ocasionándolo*
go.1s and the first that do.1s is disconnect.inf all and try.inf what be(prog).3s
cause.ing-cl.acc.3s.m
'The first thing that I go and do is disconnecting everything and try what is causing
it (a short-circuit)
[\[https://www.reddit.com/r/Argaming/comments/evena6/la_fuente_me_esta_hacendo_cortocircuito_estoy/\]](https://www.reddit.com/r/Argaming/comments/evena6/la_fuente_me_esta_hacendo_cortocircuito_estoy/) Argentina. Google]

⁸⁰ I assume that the inchoative construction in (24) would correspond to what I refer as inceptive PseCo in this study.

In (2.2.4) I have showed that inceptive pseudo-coordination is restricted to agentive eventualities. The agency restriction cannot be predicted if V1 heads a functional phrase, as in Sicilian (Cardinaletti & Giusti, 2001). In the hierarchy proposed by Cinque (1999), AspP_{inchoative} (V1) scopes over AspP_{prospective} and ModP_{obligation}, whereas V1 in inceptive PseCo is visibly in a lower position (26). If V1 parasitically copied the morphological features of V2, one of the predictions would be a highly impoverished inflectional paradigm, as in Sicilian. However, Kornfeld notes that V1 can be inflected in all tense and moods except periphrastic tenses⁸¹ (p. 186).

- (26) *Al final vas a tener que coger y hacer foto de todas las ediciones*
 at-the end go.2s to have(obl).inf that take.inf and do.inf picture of all the editions
 ‘At the end, you are going to have to take and do a picture of all the editions’
 [<http://www.mubis.es/comunidad/aragornn/fotos/jurassic-park-la-evolucion-seabre-camino-vhs-dvd-blu-ray-blu-ray-3d> Spain. Google]

In addition to the structure in (24), the author proposes a slightly different derivation for those instances in which V1 is preceded by the negative particle *no* (lit ‘not’), which is not interpreted as negation but rather has an emphatic function tied to the mirative value of the sequence, as observed by Jaque et al. (2018: 178). According to Kornfeld (2019: 188), the sequence <*no va y + verb*> expresses as much as four of the properties of mirativity crosslinguistically (Aikhenvald, 2012): surprise, unprepared mind, counter-expectation and new information. She notes that this variation is morpho-syntactically more restricted in the sense that it is only possible in the third person and, marginally, the first person of historical present. According to the author, <*no va y + verb*> encode both mirativity and inchoativity. Syntactically, this is represented by having *no* heading Cinque (1999)’s MoodP_{evaluative}⁸², while the rest of the elements have the same representation as (24).

⁸¹ This is contradicted by the data showed in (2.2.6), from which I recall the following example (66a):

- (i) *Me ha informado de que van a instalar una escultura dedicada a las víctimas del franquismo. Así que he ido y he preguntado al internet*
 cl.dat.1s have(aux).3s inform.pt of that go.3p to install.inf a sculpture dedicated to the victims of franquismo. So that have(aux).1s go.pt and have(aux) ask.pt to-the Internet
 ‘She has informed me that they are going to put a sculpture dedicated to the victims of Franco’s regime. So I went and asked the Internet’.

⁸² Kornfeld (2019) holds that the <*no va y + verb*> does not imply that the speaker has witnessed the eventuality reported. That is, the expression of surprise, annoyance or any other type of evaluation is set

4.2. THE SPEAKER-ORIENTED PSECO IS NOT A COMPLEX PREDICATE

The aim of this section is to define the properties that characterize the use of V1 as subjective marker in Spanish PseCo. I intend to define what constitutes a separate construction (i.e., not a secondary value that co-exists with the inceptive/resultative one) referred as speaker-oriented PseCo, by contrasting its properties with inceptive PseCo, for which I proposed a complex predicate analysis in the line of Ramchand (2008).

Many of the properties that will be defined in this section were actually anticipated in Chapter 1, dealing with the diagnostics of V1 as a light verb. I showed several examples of PseCo in which V1 does not pattern with light verbs, but rather with functional heads (e.g., lack of restrictions, deficient morphosyntactic paradigm, high scope...). This section should be able to associate those particular instances to a single construction that encodes pragmatic information⁸³.

4.2.1. ABSENCE OF LEXICAL RESTRICTIONS

In inceptive PseCo, semantic subjects are always agentive. Following Ramchand (2008), I conceive agentivity as psychological involvement of the initiator of the actor⁸⁴ (3.3). However, when PseCo is associated to the expression of evaluative meaning, the so-called agency restriction is not maintained. That is, V1 is transparent when it comes to theta-role assignment, as can be observed in (27), where the subject is zero.

- (27) *Seguro que hoy, que dice Chumillas de salir, coge y llueve. Si es que me vi a **** en la pu... madre del cordero*
sure that today, that tell.3s Chumillas of leave.inf, take.3s and rain.3s. If be.3s that cl.refl.1s go.1s to [shit].inf in the [whore] mother-of-the lamb
'I am sure that today, when Chumillas had proposed to go out, it rains! For fuck's sake!

apart from the actual evidentiality of the sentence. In Cinque (1999: 86-88), these two values are separated into different functional projections, MoodP_{evaluative} and MoodP_{evidential} respectively.

⁸³ For this reason, I ask the reader to have an 'holistic consideration' of the observations made in this section. That is, if one does not relate the lack of semantic restrictions to the deficient inflectional paradigm, or, more importantly, to the prevalence of subjective meanings, we run the risk of not being able to see the bigger picture (a different construction).

⁸⁴ This 'shallow' definition of agentivity is related to the fact that V1, a light verb, is semantically impoverished. In turn, the bulk of the lexical-encyclopedic nature is added by V2. Whether we find a sense of 'determination' or 'responsibility' depends on V2, rather than V1, although it is the latter that ensures that agentivity is maintained (see also Butt & Geuder, 2001)

It has been generally assumed that Pseudo-Coordination forces a perfective reading (Coseriu, 1966; Camus, 2006; Silva Garcés, 2011). In this regard, I showed that inceptive PseCo is restricted to bounded eventualities (2.2.5). Jaque et al. (2019) observes that subjectivity is related to a “softening” of aspectual restrictions (p. 247). This softening is exemplified in (28), where imperfective events (28a) and states (28b) are depicted.

- (28) a. *Y a Telmo me lo encuentro en una sala de ordenadores (...) y coge y estaban jugando a un juego de futbol*
 And to(DOM) Telmo cl.refl.1s cl.acc.3s.m encounter.1s in a room of computers and take.3s and be(prog)).imp.3p playing to(DOM) a game of football
 ‘I found Telmo in a computer room and, hilariously, they were playing a football videogame’
[\http://www.valesco.es/corpus/intervenciones_view_1list.php?start=101
 Spain. Corpus Valesco 2.1]
- b. *Seguro que no lo ponen, como pasó con el Dress y Nanco Museum, que prometieron ponerlo en la store y va y están en el japones*
 sure that neg cl.acc.3s.m put.3p, as happen.pret.3s with the Dress and Nanco Museum, that promise.pret.3s put-cl.acc.3s.m in the store and go.3s and be(prog).3p in the Japanese
 ‘I am sure that they won’t added it, as happened with Dress and Nanco Museum, which promised to add it to the [digital] store and, to my disappointment, they are in the Japanese store’
[\https://dev.laps4.com/foro/5_general/175807-ninjas_ya_estan_home_america.html Spain. Google]

That is, the events depicted by V2 are not the result of an unspecified action or mental state denoted by V1. Rather, it seems that V2 is denoting an ‘unexpected’ situation, whereas V1 seems associated to some sort of evaluation. In this sense, these examples are relevant because they prove that the subjective reading does not necessarily co-exists with an ‘interruptive’ (Jaque et al., 2019)⁸⁵ or inchoative (Kornfeld, 2019) value.

4.2.2. TENSE RESTRICTIONS

In inceptive PseCo, V1 is characterized by the lack of tense restrictions (2.2.5). This is expected if the nature of V1 is lexical (light verb), as argued by Butt (2003, 2010). From

⁸⁵ Jaque et al (2019: 250) do not discard that the so-called mirative value may appear isolated from the ‘interruptive’ aspect that pseudo-coordination generally encodes according to them. The authors note that those instances usually involve the combination of V1 with stative eventualities (p. 243). In this regard, these authors should be included within the same line of reasoning followed in this study. That is, the subjective and objective instances of PseCo should be separated into two different constructions.

a probe-goal perspective, the lack of tense restrictions follows from the fact that lexical units are within the checking domain of Tense.

On the other hand, V1 in speaker-oriented PseCo has a highly defective inflectional paradigm. V1 only appears in present and, marginally, preterit tense morphology (also Bravo, 2020: 140), as showed in the following sentences featuring an unaccusative verb:

- (29) a. (...) *fui a descambiarlo. Me han dado otro juego nuevo (...). Y coge y pasa lo mismo*
 go.pret.1s to exchange.inf-cl.acc.3s.m cl.dat.1s have(aux).3p give.pt
 other game new and take.3s and happen.3s the same
 ‘I went to exchange it. They gave me a new game. And, to my dismay, the same thing happens!’
[\http://meristation.as.com/zonaforo/topic/1864832/ Spain. Google]
- b. *¿Y cogió/fue y pasó lo mismo*
 and take/go.pret.3s and happen.pret.3s the same
- c. **Y ha cógido/ha ido y ha pasado lo mismo*
 and have(aux).3s take.pt/go.pt and have(aux).3s happen.pt the same
- d. **Y cogerá/irá y pasará lo mismo*
 and take/go.fut.3s and happen.fut.3s the same

The combination with unaccusative verbs allows us to correlate the lack of agency with tense restrictions, and, more importantly, the evaluative function of V1 in these cases. Also, it shall be noted that tenses restrictions on V2 are laxer. That is, whereas V1 is usually invariable in the present tense, V2 may bear different morphosyntactic realization (30)⁸⁶, even a periphrastic one (30a).

- (30) a. *Pues él con todo su coñ* coge, y había quedado con sus amigotes*
 so he, with all his cunt, take.3s and have(aux).imp.3s meet.pt with his friends
 ‘So, blatantly, he had met with his friends’
- b. *Me han destrozado la inocencia, yo que pensaba que R2D2 y Chewbacca eran de verdad, y va y eran humanos!!!*
 cl.dat.1as have(aux).3p destroyed my innocence, I that think.imp.1s that R2D2 and Chewbacca be.imp.3p of truth and go.3s and be.imp.3p humans
 ‘They have destroyed my innocence. I, who thought that R2D2 and Chewbacca were real, and, to my astonishment, they were human!’

⁸⁶ Example (69) of Chapter 1 (2.2.5).

The uninflected form also reveals a relevant property of this construction in contrast to the inceptive PseCo studied in the previous chapter: the verb that is relevant to Tense is V2 (also Bravo, 2020: 158-159). As regards the Morphological Sameness Condition, following Wiklund (2007), I propose that this is the overt realization of total functional copying. That is, the embedded verb copies the functional values from the matrix verb. This is evidenced by the occurrence of double imperatives (31a) and ‘doubled’ periphrastic tenses (39b).

- (31) a. *Oriol y Emili se me quedan mirando y me dicen: “¡Ve y piensa en algo!”*
 Oriol and Emili cl.refl.3p cl.acc.1s remain.3p look.ing and cl.dat.1m
 tell.3p go.imp.2s and think.imp.2s in something
 ‘Oriol and Emili keep looking at me until they say to me: “go and think something”’
[\https://www.trentia.net/hoy-entrevistamos-a-los-socios-de-dear-intelligence/ Spain. Google]
- b. *Así que **he cogido y he llamado** a la Seat y para mañana por la mañana me tienen el coche preparado...*
 So that have(aux).1s take.pt and have(aux).1s call.pt to the Seat and for tomorrow by the morning cl.dat.1s have(aux) the car prepare.pt
 ‘So, I went and called Seat, and, by tomorrow morning, they have the car ready’
[\https://www.clubseatleon.net/viewtopic.php?f=8&t=82090&start=45 Spain. Google]

However, the invariant V1 of the speaker-oriented PseCo cannot be an instance of functional copying and, more generally, of a morphological sameness condition. In fact, the restricted inflectional paradigm of V1 suggests that it cannot be functional copying in the sense of Wiklund (2007)⁸⁷.

4.2.3. THE EMBEDDED SUBJECT

One of the predictions that the application of functional copying (Wiklund, 2007) allows us to make is the marginalization of an embedded spelled-out subject. Since copying complements involve the presence of a deficient T and C (Gallego, 2009, 2010), the embedded subject cannot receive case and, hence, it is not spell-out in the second conjunct (see 3.4.2).

⁸⁷ Also, functional copying is a property of embedded infinitivals according to Wiklund (2007).

However, if V2 is the verb that is relevant to Tense (i.e., that can check its features in a “normal” way), there should be an inconvenience concerning a spelled-out embedded subject. In fact, this is what can be observed in the following examples where V1 is a subjective marker:

- (32) a. *Y coge y la tía le suelta sin más: "pues aquí en el despacho hay más espacio, por si queréis pelear aquí"*
 And take.3s and the lady cl.dat.3s drop.3s without more so here in the office have(ex).3s more space for if want.2p fight here
 ‘To my astonishment, the lady nonchalantly says : “there is room here in the office in case you want to fight here”’.
[\https://shikitita84.wordpress.com/2004/12/15/revolcada-por-los-suelos-cual-croqueta/ Spain. Google]
- b. *Lo mío sí que es fuerte. Llamé al CM esta semana preguntando si se podía reservar ya y coge y me dice el tío (ATENCIÓN): “no, aun no se puede”.*
 the mine that be.3s is strong call.pret.1s to-the CM this week ask.ing if cl.imp can.imp.3p book.inf now and cl.dat.1s tell.3s the dude (attention):
 ‘non, yet not cl.imp can.3s
 ‘Mine is really astonishing. I called the CM last week asking if it was possible to book now and the dude responds (watch out): “No, it is not possible yet”’
[\https://www.elotrolado.net/hilo_reservas-del-zelda_147733 Spain. Google]

However, as in the Portuguese PseCo (Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016), it shall be noted that the DP subject may also precede V1:

- (33) a. *Y además el tío va y resulta que tiene razón*
 and the dude go.3s and result.3 that have.3s right
 ‘And, besides, to our surprise, it turns out that the dude was right!’
<https://www.soloarquitectura.com/foros/threads/cuando-dos-sectores-se-pueden-considerar-dos-edificios.5144/> Spain.Google]
- b. *Es como si yo soy alemana tengo un novio judío y mi hermano coge y se pone de parte de los nazis*
 be.3s like if I be.1s German have.1s a boyfriend jewis and my brother take.3s and cl.refl.3s put.3s of side of the nazis
 ‘It’s like if I am German and have a Jewish boyfriend and, to my disgust, my brother sides with the Nazis’
[\https://www.minidede.com/serie/los-100/4x06 Spain. Google]

Evidence that these examples are not instances of inceptive PseCo concerns the scope of V1 in (33a), which precedes evidential <*resultar que* + verb> (Serrano-Losada, 2017)

4.2.4. SCOPE

As noted by Jaque et al. (2019: 247), subjective readings are related to a very high position of V1 in Cinque (1999, 2006, 2010)'s universal hierarchy of functional heads, displayed in the following example:

(34) MoodP_{speech act} > MoodP_{evaluative} > MoodP_{evidential} > ModP_{epistemic} > TP(Past) > TP(Future) > MoodP_{irrealis} > ModP_{alethic} > AspP_{habitual} > AspP_{repetitive(I)} > AspP_{frequentative(I)} > ModP_{volitional} > AspP_{celerative(I)} > TP(Anterior) > AspP_{terminative} > AspP_{continuative} > AspP_{retrospective} > AspP_{proximative} > AspP_{durative} > AspP_{generic/progressive} > AspP_{prospective} > ModP_{obligation} > ModP_{permission/ability} > AspP_{Completive} > VoiceP > AspP_{celerative(II)} > AspP_{repetitive(II)} > AspP_{frequentative(II)}

(Cinque, 2004: 133; ex. 3)

In particular, Jaque et al. (2019) highlight those instances in which V1 precedes the evidential construction <*resultar que* + verb>, whose function can be compared to the English sequence <it turns out that + verb>. As can be seen in (34), evidential modality is remarkably high in the hierarchy of functional heads. If V1 can precede MoodP_{evidential} (33a), this shows that V1 is a very high operator. As pointed out by Jaque et al. (2019: 237-238), following Roberts & Rossou (2003)⁸⁸ this is not unexpected if we assume that V1 has undergone grammaticalization from an objective (event-related) to a subjective (speaker-oriented) marker, a grammaticalization path that is also assumed for emphatic *go* in Sicilian PseCo (Cruschina, 2013; Di Caro, 2019).

This contrasts with inceptive PseCo (see 2.2.6), which can be introduced by <*resultar que*>, as showed in the following examples:

(35) a. *Voy a todas las puas fiestas de mi pueblo y, por una a la que no voy, coge y resulta que va Harrison Ford y se pasea por la romería*
 go.1s to all the fucking celebrations of my village and for once to the that
 neg go.1s, take.3s and result.3s that go.3s Harrison Ford y cl.refl.3s
 walk.3s by the procession

⁸⁸ These authors are quoted in Jaque et al. (2019: 238) as follows:

The diachronic movement of a given morpheme, possibly tracked over many centuries through successive reanalyses, is always 'upwards' in the structural hierarchy of functional categories.
 (Roberts y Roussou, 2003: 36)

‘I go to every fucking party in my village, and, for once that I do not go, to my despair, it turns out that Harrison Ford goes and shows himself at the procession’

[https://twitter.com/x_wonderland/status/1038922067914223616 Spain. Twitter]

- b. (...) *un día, otro compa me dijo que era porque estaba calvo. **Resulta que fui y le pregunte** y me dijo que sí, que así es.*

Some day, another colleague cl.dat.1s tell.pret.3s that be.pret.3s because be(prog).imp.3s bald result.3s that go.pret.3s and cl.dat.3s ask.pret.1s and cl.dat.1s tell.pret.3s that yes, that thus be.3s

‘Some day, another colleague told me that it was because he was bald. It turns out that I went and asked him and he told me yes, it’s like that’

[<https://foro.recuperarelpelo.es/viewtopic.php?t=32459> Spain. Google]

- c. *Ahora resulta que cogí y desinstalé todos los BUS que había en administración de dispositivos, reinicié y conecté el disco duro externo...*

now result.3s that take.pret.1s and uninstall.pret.1s all the BUS that have(ex).imp.3s in administration of devices, reboot.pret.1s and connect.pret.1s the drive hard external...

‘Now, it turns out that I went and uninstall all the BUS that were in administration of devices, reboot and disconnects the external hard drive...’

[<https://foro.noticias3d.com/vbulletin/archive/index.php?t-437905.html> Spain. Google]

Among the previous examples, there is one that clearly stands out. (35a) contains an instance of both inceptive and speaker-oriented PseCo in the same sentence, in which subjective TAKE precedes evidential <*resultar que*>, which takes a finite complement containing inceptive PseCo with GO (*va Harrison Ford y se pasea por la romería*). The fact that the objective and the subjective values can be realized by different items, TAKE and GO respectively, within the same sentence supports the view that V1 have different Merge positions in each construction.

4.3. THE SYNTACTIC REPRESENTATION OF SPEAKER-ORIENTED PSECO

4.3.1. THE VALUE OF V1

The first aspect of speaker-oriented PseCo concerns the pragmatic value of V1. The idea is that V1 may be involved in the syntactic marking of a pragmatic value, e.g., focus (new information) will facilitate an explanation of, at least, their properties concerning its scope over other functional heads.

Considering the recent literature on the study of the subjective meaning in PseCo (Jaque et al., 2019; Kornfeld, 2019), there seems to be a consensus regarding the mirative value of V1. Mirativity generally refers to the expression of ‘surprise’, or rather, the syntactic marking of the element of ‘surprise’ (DeLaney, 1997). According to Aikhenvald (2012), mirativity subsumes the following values: (i) sudden realization, (ii) surprise, (iii) unprepared mind; (iv) counter-expectation and (v) new information. The first three values presuppose some sort of evidentiality. But this is contradicted in some of the examples given in the previous section, specifically those concerning the so-called ‘fear potential’ (Montes, 1963). For instance, in (36), it is presupposed that the speaker has no evidence of the eventuality denoted by the second verb, since the Tense is prospective present.

- (36) *¿Y si va y tiene las manzanas contadas?*
 and if go.3s and have.3s the apples counted
 ‘What if he has counted the apples?’

As Kornfeld (2019: 178) highlights, there are some scholars (Mexas, 2016; Lau & Rooryck, 2017) who criticized Aikhenvald’s lax conceptualization, reaffirming the relevance of evidentiality as a defining characteristic of mirativity. In fact, if one had to define mirativity as the grammatical encoding of counter-expectation or/and new information, this definition would be virtually equal to focus. For this reason, I will argue that speaker oriented PseCoin Spanish encodes the latter, that is, focus.

That the speaker-oriented PseCo can be a focus strategy seems straightforward if we consider the pragmatic functions of focus (Dik, 1989; as cited in Cruschina, 2012). First, V1 introduces the most relevant part of the sentence. That is, it constitutes the locus of attention. “The Focus of a sentence S = the (intension of a) constituent c of S, which the speaker intends to direct the attention of his/her hearer(s) to, by uttering S” (Erteschik-Shir (1997: 11). Secondly, the evaluative component of the PseCo involves the existence of a set of alternatives, which are contextually defined (counter-expectation). According to Rooth (1985, 1992), the evoking of a set of alternatives is an inherent property of focus.

Assuming a distinction between informative focus and contrastive focus, I suggest that V1 encodes the latter. I base this suggestion on the fact that V1 does not necessarily introduce new information, although the information is always sensitive with respect to a presupposed set of alternatives. Let us consider the example (28b), repeated in (37) for ease of exposition. I will assume that the focused constituent is actually the whole

eventuality denoted by V2, in this case, *están en el japonés* (lit. they are in the Japanese [store]). It is likely that this information is not contextually new. This can be deduced from the following assumption. The situational context of the utterance is an internet forum where it is presupposed that all participants have a given shared knowledge about videogames. Part of this knowledge includes the ‘file card’ (Erteschik-Shir, 1997) “Sony broke the promise that Dress and Nanco Museum would be released in the European store”. Therefore, the function of V1 cannot be related to the introduction of new information, but rather to the ‘updating’ of this card as part of a contextually given set of alternatives (Mólnar, 2002), which would correspond customer’s expectations regarding Sony’s market decisions.

- (37) *Seguro que no lo ponen, como pasó con el Dress y Nanco Museum, que prometieron ponerlo en la store y va y están en el japonés*
 sure that neg cl.acc.3s.m put.3p, as happen.pret.3s with the Dress and Nanco Museum, that promise.pret.3s put-cl.acc.3s.m in the store and go.3s and be(prog).3p in the Japanese
 ‘I am sure that they won’t added it, as happened with Dress and Nanco Museum, which promised to add it to the [digital] store and, to my disappointment, they are in the Japanese store’

It shall be noted that the grammaticalization of V1 from introducing a result (inceptive PseCo) to a focus marker (speaker-oriented PseCo) is not a particular path affecting pseudo-coordination only in Spanish. Similarly, Bravo (2013) notes that *GO* in resultative infinitival constructions (38) can be reanalyzed as a focus marker. In the resultative construction, *GO* is a semi-lexical verb selecting a goal argument which introduces a subevent of displacement (result). Following Guéron (1986) and Guéron & Hoekstra (1988), she proposes that *GO* “forms a resultative chain in the syntax with the resultative or directional preposition and the main verb” (p. 52)

- (38) a. *El coche fue a chocar contra el puente*
 the car go.pret.3s to crash.inf againsts the bridge
 ‘The car ended up bumping into the bridge’
- b. [VPP_{Process} Fue_i [ResultativeP a_i [VP el coche [V_{oj} chocar [ResultativePP contra_j [DP el puente]]]]]]]

(Bravo, 2013: 52; ex. 20)

Bravo (2013) shows that there are some instances in which GO loses its motion meaning and, instead of a result, license a negative polarity item (39a). In addition, the loss of semantics is related to a high position in the hierarchy of functional heads (39b). In order to account for these observations, Bravo (2013: 51) proposes an analysis where GO raises at LF to the specifier position of a FocusP in the left periphery (39c).

- (39) a. *Juan fue a contratar a un abogaducho*
 Juan go.pret.3s to hire.inf to a lawyer-dim.
 ‘Juan ended up hiring a cheap lawyer’
- b. **Debio de ir a contratar a un abogaducho*
 must(ep).pret.3s of go.inf to hire.inf DOM a lawyer-dim.
- c. [_{FocusP} Op_j [_{Focusj} min [_{Fuej}-[a-contratar]]] [_{TopicP} [_{IP} [_{Fuej}-[a-contratar]]] [_{AuxP} fue_j [_{XP} a [_{VP} Juan [_{VP} contratar [_{DP} a un abogaducho]_i]]]]]]]]]]

(Bravo, 2013: 51; ex. 15-16)

Considering Bravo (2013), it seems that there is a grammaticalization process affecting resultative constructions in Spanish (also Kornfeld, 2019). I tentatively take this as supporting evidence for the analysis proposed for the two constructions in this dissertation. However, the alleged grammaticalization path affecting resultatives needs further research.

4.3.2. THE SYNTACTIC REPRESENTATION OF SPEAKER-ORIENTED PSECO

As noted by Camacho (2006), there are several ways in which focus can be expressed in Spanish. On the one hand, there are focus strategies that involve movement to a higher CP, such as clefts (40a) and focus fronting (40b). On the other hand, elements can also be focused post-verbally through prosodic alignment, the so-called *in situ* focus (40c), which is TP-internal⁸⁹.

- (40) a. *Lo primero que hice fue llamar a mi madre*
 the first that do.pret.1s be.pret.3s call.inf DOM my mother
 ‘The first thing that I did was call my mother’

⁸⁹ I have vaguely described the usual focus strategies in Standard Spanish. However, there are regional varieties that may use different focus strategies. In fact, Camacho (2006) studies a type of *in situ* focus with a copular verb that is commonly found in Caribbean Spanish (cf. Bosque, 1999).

- b. *Un gato he adoptado, no un perro*
 a cat have(aux).1s adopt.pt not a dog
 ‘A cat I have adopted, not a dog’
- c. *He adoptado un gato*
 have(aux).1s adopt.pt a cat

I propose that speaker-oriented PseCo involves a higher CP projection for the following reasons. Firstly, it is generally considered (Zubizarreta, 1998, 1999; Gutierrez Bravo, 2002) that neutrally (identificational) focused constituents are the only ones that are licensed ‘in situ’. Despite that, in PseCo, the focused element (a sentence) seems to have a final position, coinciding with nuclear stress, the pragmatic implication of this focus can be defined in terms of contrast, as it can be deduced from the fact that it always involves a sort of evaluation (membership in a set). Following Cruschina (2012), I assume that contrastive focus is always licensed at the left edge. Secondly, I suggest that the focused element is a higher phase (CP), not a VP-internal constituent as in ‘in situ’ focus strategies (Camacho, 2006: 14-15). This is evident in those instances where the focused clause features sentential negation, as in (41). Thirdly, this type of instances shows that V1 as extraordinarily high scope, as can be also seen in those examples where V1 precedes evidential functional heads (33a, 35a).

- (41) a. *Tantísimo tiempo dedicado a un proyecto y va y no me renuevan contrato*
 such-sup. time dedicated to a project and go.3s and neg cl.dat.1s renew.3p
 contract
 ‘So much time dedicated to a project, and, to my disgust, they do not renew my contract’
[\https://www.codigonuevo.com/psicologia/despidieron-descubri-suenos-mentira-capitalista Spain. Google]
- b. *Que fuerte el puto 22 que me levanto y coge y no para y no va ni medio lleno*
 that strong the fucking 22 that cl.refl.1s stand.1s and take.3s and neg. stop
 and neg. go.3s nor half full
 ‘Holy fucking line 22, that I stand up and, to my surprise, it does not stop, and it isn’t even half full’
[\https://twitter.com/elisabetmoreeno/status/181692564649414656 Spain. Google]

From this observation, it follows that V1 merges as a functional head in the left periphery. A solution in which V1 moves from a lower position, as in the case of resultative GO (Bravo, 2013), is rejected because V1 in speaker-oriented PseCo carries neither tense

information nor resultative meaning. In addition, less commonly or even marginally, V1 may share TMA inflection with V2 (29b), although it seems restricted to perfect past morphology. I suggest that this option involves parasitic copying, as defined in Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001) and Giusti & Di Caro (2018) for Sicilian PseCo. However, Sicilian and Spanish differ with respect to the number of clauses. That is, while the Sicilian construction is monoclausal⁹⁰, Spanish PseCo is bi-clausal.

Another question concerns the clausal status of V2, I will assume that V2 is a CP. A bi-clausal analysis of speaker-oriented PseCo seems supported by the fact that V2 may have topicalized constituents (30a, 42). In this regard, PseCo in Spanish is structurally similar to Portuguese (Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016). However, I will leave open the question of whether the embedded CP is deficient in the sense of Gallego (2009, 2010) or not. On the one hand, spelled-out embedded subjects are grammatical, hence the embedding C can assign nominative case. On the other hand, less commonly, the subject may precede or follow V1 (41) and agrees with it. Since V1 does not subcategorize for any arguments, it is assumed that subjects DP would cross a strong phasal boundary (hyper-raising).

- (42) a. *Y coge y en vez de cambiarlo, va y me lo arregla y me pinta los dos asideros con pintura de esa cutre*
 and take.3s and instead of change.inf-cl.acc.3s.m go.3s and cl.dat.1s
 cl.acc.3s.m fix and cl.dat.1s paint.3 the two handles with paint of that
 shabby
 ‘And, to my surprise, instead of changing it, he goes and fixes it and paints the two handles with some shabby paint’

[<https://www.moterus.es/grupomotero/moterus/foros/categorias/atencion/temas/cuidado-con-estos-talleres> Spain. Google]

- b. (...) *y va y con mil trabas ponen límites aquí, 90 días allá, todo parece una tocamiento de ****^*****
 and go.3s and with thousand impediments put.3p limits here, 90 days there,
 all look.3s a touching of ****
 ‘And, annoyingly, with a thousand impediments, they set limitations here, 90 days there, all seems a kick in the *****’

[<https://www.xataka.com/otros/el-fin-del-roaming-en-la-ue-vendra-con-condiciones-no-mas-de-90-dias-al-ano> Spain. Google]

⁹⁰ In Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001), V1 is a functional head that merges higher than TP. This is evidenced by the fact that Sicilian PseCo feature climbing. On the other hand, in Spanish PseCo, clitic climbing is not allowed, meaning the clitic always attaches to finite V2, as can be seen in multiple examples.

The following examples syntactically represent the different scenarios in which we can find speaker-oriented PseCos. The less marked representations are in (43), (44) and (45). Specifically, (43) represents those instances where V1 is uninflected and subjects are spelled-out in the second pseudo-conjunct. (44) represents those sentences referred as ‘fear potential’ (*potencial de temor*) by Montes (1963). Following Rizzi (2004), I assume that the interrogative element *si* (lit. if) heads a IntP⁹¹. In the same way, when the negative element *no* (lit. ‘not’) precedes V1 and has an intensifying function (45), I tentatively propose that *no* heads a IntP. I take as potential evidence the fact that <*no* V1 and V2> sentences have the same intonation as questions, as opposed to ‘regular’ speaker-oriented PseCo:

- (43) a. *Coge/va y están fumando dentro de la habitación*
 Take/go.3s and be(prog).3p smok.ing inside of the room
 ‘To my dismay, they were smoking inside the room’
- b. [FocP V1 (invariant) [CP y [TP V2 [VP V2]]]]
- (44) a. *¿Y si coge/va y tiene las manzanas contadas?*
 and if take/go.3s and have.3s the apples counted?
 ‘What if he has the apples counted?’
- b. [ForceP y [IntP *si* [FocP V1 (invariant) [CP y [TP V2 [VP V2]]]]]]
- (45) a. *¿Pues no coge/va y me dice adiós?*
 so not take/go.3s and cl.dat.1s tell.3s bye
 ‘Can you believe that she says goodbye to me?’
- b. [ForceP *pues* [IntP *no* [FocP V1 (invariant) [CP y [TP V2 [VP V2]]]]]]

The marked options are those where the subject agrees with V1, which bears the same tense as V2 (46). The representation of tense-copying is based on Giusti & Di Caro (2018) for Sicilian PseCo.

- (46) a. *El chaval coge/va y me dice adiós*
 the fellow take/go.3s and cl.dat.1s tell.3s bye
 ‘To my surprise, the fellow says bye to me’
- b. [TopP DP [Top’ [Top0 OP] [FocP V1 + c[3sg] [CP y [FinP V2 + C[3sg] [TP...]]]]]]

⁹¹ With the adding of IntP (Rizzi, 2004), the CP is decomposed as follows:

(i) ForceP > TopP* > IntP > TopP* > FocP > TopP* > FinP > TP

4.4. SUMMARY

This chapter has focused on the use of Pseudo-Coordination in Spanish to express subjective meanings such as dismay, preoccupation, counter-expectation, etc. The same idea has been explored recently by several scholars who study PseCo in three different Romance languages: Sicilian (Cruschina, 2012; Di Caro, 2019); Portuguese (Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016) and Spanish (Jaque et al. 2019; Kornfeld, 2019). All of these studies share the common idea that V1 in PseCo has grammaticalized into a marker that encodes pragmatic meaning.

I have showed that, when pseudo-coordination is used to convey evaluation, the syntactic and semantic properties of the construction are significantly different from the rather lexical inceptive PseCo studied in the previous chapter. First, the semantic restrictions associated to theta-role marking (agentivity) and lexical aspect (boundedness) disappear, allowing the speaker to evaluate unaccusative predicates and stative eventualities, among others. Secondly, V1 shows a very high scope with respect to other functional heads, as opposed to inceptive PseCo. This means that, whereas V1 in inceptive PseCo has to follow negation and most aspectual and modal verbs, in speaker-oriented PseCo, V1 has scope over sentential negation, which has to be syntactically present in the second pseudo-conjunct (V2). Thirdly, since V1 is very high in the hierarchy, the verb that is relevant to Tense is actually V2, as opposed to inceptive PseCo, in which V2 is an embedded copying infinitival (Wiklund, 2007).

Considering the previous observations, I propose that pseudo-coordination in Spanish can be divided into two constructions: the more objective inceptive PseCo, and the more subjective speaker-oriented PseCo. This point of view rejects an analysis in which subjectification is syntactically represented by means of an upwards movement from a lower VP head to a CP internal position. At the expense of eliminating ‘intermediate stages’, my proposal involves two different configurations for PseCo in Spanish. In the case of speaker-oriented PseCo, I propose that V1 codifies contrastive focus, relating PseCo to other focus strategies in Spanish that derive from the subjectification of resultative meaning (Bravo, 2013). Following the cartographic decomposition of the CP (Rizzi, 1997; 2004), I propose that V1 heads an external FocusP, while V2 is an embedded

CP. Specifically, concerning the three different scenarios in which V1 is invariant, I propose the syntactic representations in (47). In addition, concerning the less common ‘variation’ in which V1 shows subject agreement and, in general, the same morphosyntactic realization of V2, I suggest that V1 parasitically copies the tense features of V2, whereas the DP subject may raise to a topic position (48).

- (47) a. [FocP V1 (invariant) [CP y [TP V2 [VP ~~V2~~]]]]
 b. [ForceP y [IntP *si* [FocP V1 (invariant) [CP y [TP V2 [VP ~~V2~~]]]]]]
 c. [ForceP *pues* [IntP *no* [FocP V1 (invariant) [CP y [TP V2 [VP ~~V2~~]]]]]]
- (48) [TopP DP [Top' [Top0 OP] [FocP V1 + c[3sg] [CP y [FinP V2 + C[3sg] [TP...]]]]]]

However, there are some questions which need further investigation. First, we need a more refined description of the second pseudo-conjunct, which contains the focused element. Specifically, it should be determined whether PseCo is a focus strategy that involves both an external and an internal FocusP. In this regard, a possible observation is that the focused element is aligned with the prosodic peak of the sentence, as in ‘in situ’ focus.

Another relevant question concerns the phasal status of V2. I proposed that V2 is a finite CP. As opposed to inceptive PseCo, subjects can spell-out in the second pseudo-conjunct in speaker-oriented PseCo. This is probably related to the fact that V2 is the relevant verb for Tense, and hence subjects can receive nominative case from the finite C. However, those instances in which the subject moves to a topic position in the upper CP challenge this assumption since movement out of a strong phasal boundary should not be allowed⁹².

Finally, I have assumed that *y* is a complementizer just like in inceptive PseCo. In this regard, the analysis of *y* as a complementizer is in a very raw stage. In my opinion, this assumption needs to be revised by means of a comparative study that includes other complementizers, which is out of the scope of this dissertation.

⁹² Colaço & Gonçalves (2016: 151) face the same theoretical problem in their description of Brazilian Portuguese PseCo. Following Nunes (2008), their solution involves treating this movement as a case of hyper-raising, which is available due to the weakening of the agreement paradigm in Brazilian Portuguese.

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation, I have provided a detailed description of Spanish Pseudo-Coordination. Generally, the label PseCo refers to the use of two verbs linked by a coordination (<V *and* V> to express a single act of predication. Specifically, I proposed that the <V *and* V> pattern in Spanish refers to two separated constructions. On the one hand, inceptive PseCo, analyzed in this dissertation as a complex predicate following Ramchand (2008)'s decomposition of the VP. On the other hand, speaker-oriented PseCo, which I have proposed is a contrastive focus strategy. I have structured the dissertation in a way that reflects this line of reasoning.

In Chapter 2, a diagnostics of light verbs mostly based on Butt (2003, 2010) and Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 2003) is applied to the first verb of Pseudo-Coordination (V1). The idea is to identify the properties of V1 with respect to functional and lexical items. In order to do so, the diagnostics of light verbs reflexes a continuum between functional and lexical. On the one hand, light verbs seem functional because they are deficient when it comes to license predication due to semantic impoverishment. Rather, light verbs modulate the lexical-encyclopedic information of main predicational units. On the other hand, light verbs are not aspectual or functional heads since they have theta-marking properties, among others. Also, their syntactic distribution patterns with regular verbs in the sense that they can be modified by auxiliaries and modals and do not have tense restrictions. Considering the previous bibliographical resources mentioned, I decided to 'test' the lightness of V1 in PseCo in the following scenarios:

- (1) (a) Deficiency: V1 cannot license predication.
- (b) Closed class membership: only semantically general verbs (DO, TAKE) are in V1.
- (c) Selection of the subject: V1 theta-marks the subject (agency restriction).
- (d) Aspectual restrictions: V1 only combines with bounded heterogeneous events.
- (e) Tense and syntactic position: V1 does not have tense restrictions and is hierarchically low (VP-internal).

Despite there were numerous exceptions, which would eventually come out as a separate construction (the speaker-oriented PseCo), I concluded that V1 is a light verb. Following this assumption, I propose a complex predicate analysis for PseCo in Spanish. I base my analysis on Ramchand (2008) decomposition of the VP into three subevental phrases:

- *initP* introduces the causation event and licenses the external argument ('subject' of cause = INITIATOR)
- *procP* specifies the nature of the change or process and licenses the entity undergoing change or process ('subject' of process = UNDERGOER)
- *resP* gives the 'telos' or 'result state' of the event and licenses the entity that comes to hold the result state ('subject' of result = RESULTEE)

I propose that V1 underspecifies both *init* and *proc*, leading to the semantics of agentivity. In Ramchand (2008), agents are 'theta-marked' by both *proc*, which is involved in the psychological involvement of the subject DP, and *init*, which selects the subject DP as the initiator of the event. Also, the co-identification of *init* and *proc* by the same lexical head involves a direct relationship of causation, which gives rise to the inceptive meaning of the construction (García Sánchez, 2007). In turn, V1 would underassociate a *res* feature, which must be realized by the second verb. In this sense, the construction is also resultative. The realization of a *res* feature has implications concerning bounded eventualities, hence explaining why this construction only denotes bounded heterogeneous events. A final remark about the semantic decomposition of PseCo concerns the lexical-cyclopedic knowledge of the complex predicate. In this case, inceptive PseCo is a 'poor *proc*, rich *res*' predicate, indicating that the bulk of the lexical content is provided by V2. In turn, the 'poor *proc*' condition of inceptive PseCo explains why TAKE and GO are the only verb classes available given their generic meaning.

Furthermore, following Wiklund (2007), I propose that inceptive PseCo two subordinated clauses where V1 is in the matrix clause and V2 is an embedded copied infinitival complement. A key aspect of the syntax of this construction is functional copying, an instance of Agree, which allows V2 ('a hidden infinitival') to copy the TMA values from V1. Generally, what is proposed is a bi-clausal configuration where the embedded clause contains an copying non-finite C (Gallego 2009, 2010).

- (2) [CP_(fin)...C_[j]] [TP...T_[k]...[AspP...Asp_[i]...[*init*P V1 [*proc*P V1 [CP & [CP_(non-fin) C_[j*]...[TP...T_[k*]...[AspP...Asp_[i*]...[*res*P V2]]]]]]]]]]]]]

The postulation of an embedded copying infinitival in inceptive PseCo allows us to predict the following observations about this construction.

- (3)
- (a) Lack of Tense restrictions: V1 checks its features in a regular way and these are copied onto V2.
 - (b) Sameness Morphological Condition: V1 and V2's T anaphoric: the sameness condition is a reflex of functional copying.
 - (c) Sentential negation precedes V1: V1 is the verb relevant to Tense.
 - (d) Subjects do not spell-out in V2: copied Ts and Cs cannot assign nominative case.
 - (e) Copied Ts cannot license T-adverbs, the verb relevant to Tense is V1.
 - (f) Copied Ts are not vacuous: clitics and other particles can attach to the embedded T.

In Chapter 4, I dealt with the so-called speaker-oriented PseCo. The fact that Pseudo-Coordination can be used to express subjective meanings has been studied recently by several scholars. Specifically, I referred to studies on Western Romance languages, such as Sicilian (Cruschina, 2013; Di Caro, 2019), Portuguese (Colaço & Gonçalves, 2016) and Spanish (Montes, 1963; Arnaiz & Camacho, 1999; Jaque et al., 2019; Kornfeld, 2019). These studies share the idea that V1 in PseCo is undergoing a grammaticalization path from lexical verb to subjective marker. As opposed to the inceptive PseCo described in Chapter 3, I showed that the speaker-oriented PseCo features a number of properties that suggest it is a different construction:

- (4)
- (a) Absence of lexical restrictions: no agency requirement (e.g., non-animate and zero subjects are allowed).
 - (b) Absence of aspectual restrictions: imperfective events are possible.
 - (c) Highly defective inflectional paradigm: V1 is generally invariant.

- (d) Subjects can spell-out in V2.
- (e) Embedded negation is in V2.
- (f) V1 has very high scope in Cinque and Rizzi's hierarchies.

Based on these observations, I propose that V1 expresses contrastive focus in the speaker-oriented PseCo. V1 not only introduces the most pragmatically relevant information (Erteschik-Shir, 1997; Rooth, 1985, 1992), but presupposes a contextually given set of alternatives (Mólnar, 2002) according to the event denoted by V2 is evaluated. The contrasted constituent is not a 'smaller' one, but a finite CP. For those instances in which an uninflected V1 is morphologically realized in the third person singular and the subject is spelled-out in the lower CP (V2), I propose a structure in which V1 heads a CFocP and V2 is within a finite CP (5a). This also includes those sentences referred by Montes (1963) refer as 'fear potential' (5b), as well as those sentences in which V1 is preceded by a pseudo-negative *no* that acts as intensifier (5c) (Kornfeld, 2019). In both cases, the interrogative particle *si* and the pseudo-negative *no* heads an IntP, which is reflected by the raising intonation that characterizes these types of sentences.

- (5) a. [FocP V1 (invariant) [CP y [TP V2 [VP ~~V2~~]]]]
- b. [ForceP y [IntP *si* [FocP V1 (invariant) [CP y [TP V2 [VP ~~V2~~]]]]]]
- c. [ForceP *pues* [IntP *no* [FocP V1 (invariant) [CP y [TP V2 [VP ~~V2~~]]]]]]

Furthermore, there is another scenario involving the speaker-oriented PseCo in which V1 is inflected and agrees with a DP-subject. In this case, I tentatively propose that V1 features parasitic copying as proposed by Cardinaletti & Giusti (2001, 2003) and Di Caro & Giusti (2018) for the Sicilian Inflected Construction. Regarding the position of the subject, I suggest it has moved from the lower CP to a topic position (6).

- (6) [TopP DP [Top' [Top0 OP] [FocP V1 + c[3sg] [CP y [FinP V2 + C[3sg] [TP...]]]]]]

A final remark concerns the existence of verbal asymmetries between the GO and TAKE classes of verbs. In this study, I have showed that the use of a given class is not correlated to the expression of different meanings. That is, both GO and TAKE may appear in V1 position regardless of whether the meaning expressed by PseCo is lexical (inceptive

PseCo) or pragmatic (speaker-oriented PseCo). This contrasts Bravo (2020)'s hypothesis that GO verbs are more grammaticalized than TAKE verbs.

5.1. LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Generally, the examples upon which the observations were collected from the Internet, specially from Google. This was motivated by the fact that Pseudo-Coordination in Spanish is mostly used in casual oral speech. Since at the moment of the creation of this dissertation I was not able to record oral samples, I decided that the language of the Internet would be the best substitute, since people are not particularly careful when writing on forums, social networks, etc. Nevertheless, the study of Pseudo-Coordination in Spanish clearly needs a more representative, extensive and quantified data collection that can be used as evidence to support the hypotheses established in this dissertation. Another limitation of the data that should be acknowledged is the fact that I have not considered the geographic distribution of Pseudo-Coordination across Spanish varieties. In this regard, there is uncertainty about whether the observations made on Pseudo-Coordination are representative of European Spanish in general or just, for instance, Andalusian Spanish.

Furthermore, the diachronic aspect of Pseudo-Coordination also needs to be addressed in future studies. For instance, following Wiklund (2007), I have assumed that Pseudo-Coordination derives from a re-analysis of consecutive coordination. In inceptive PseCo, this is reflected by some properties referred as coordination traces. For instance, as opposed to other complementizers that introduce infinitival complements, the pseudo-conjunction *y* can be omitted in enumerations as in ordinary coordination. Also, embedded infinitival cannot be preposed in the absence of a dummy verb, suggesting that altering the order of V1 and V2 can alter some of the truth conditions that also stand for consecutive coordination of independent events. Regarding speaker-oriented Pseudo-Coordination, it has been assumed that grammaticalization path affecting V1 is involved in the use of PseCo as a contrastive focus strategy. In turn, there are two possibilities out of which this use may have resulted. On the one hand, as proposed by Cruschina (2013) for Sicilian and Jaque et al. (2019) for Spanish, V1 may have grammaticalized in narrative contexts. On the other hand, it may be the case that grammaticalization not only affects V1, but resultative constructions in general, considering the fact that resultative BE has

also followed the same path (Bravo, 2013) and assuming that inceptive PseCo is a resultative construction. Nevertheless, none of the previous questions have been addressed properly in this dissertation.

Finally, there are several theoretical questions regarding the syntactic representation of the two constructions proposed in this study. Regarding inceptive PseCo, the question of whether the embedded subject is a PRO or a raising *pro* needs to be resolved. On the one hand, evidence from floating quantifiers in preverbal positions suggest that the embedded subject moves from its Merge position to the Left Edge of the infinitival complement, which suggest a raising subject. On the other hand, assuming that the DP-subject is selected by V1 as the specifier of a *procP* and *initP* (UNDERGOER-INITIATOR), there is not a clear explanation of why this DP subject should raise from the embedded VP. A possible explanation may be the lexically impoverished V1 cannot properly license a DP subject and depends on the encyclopedic meaning of V2 (a ‘rich’ *resP*). Also, as opposed to Swedish PseCo (Wiklund, 2007), the CP of the infinitival complement in inceptive PseCo seems more complex, as can be observed in those instances in which it contains a cleft sentence. In this regard, a more refined cartographic decomposition of the embedded CP is needed. With respect to speaker-oriented PseCo, one of the aspects that needs further study concerns the focused constituent. In this regard, I have proposed that the focus of speaker-oriented PseCo is a CP without giving further details. There is uncertainty on whether this CP contain an ‘in-situ’ FocP relevant to the interpretation of speaker-oriented PseCo or not. Also, for those instances in which V1 agrees with a DP subject, there are open questions regarding that movement.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

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