

Intraclausal complexity in Spanish. The case of depictive constructions

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Introduction

- In depictive secondary predicate constructions two events are coded as simultaneously happening, as in the following Spanish examples:

(1) a. *Herminia llegó **contenta** a la escuela.*

‘Herminia arrived to the school happy’.

b. *Tolomeo trabajó todo el día **cantando**.*

‘Tolomeo worked all day singing’.

- In (1a) it is reported that Herminia arrived to the school and that, at the same time, she was happy when that happened. In (1b) the speaker says that Tolomeo worked all day, and that at the same time he was singing.

Introduction

- The examples (1) are semantically complex constructions, where the adjective and the gerund in bold letters function as subsidiary predicates in respect to the finite verb, a fact that is captured in the linguistic tradition under the label of **secondary predication (SPC)**.

State of the art

- In the Hispanic Tradition the SPC includes a broad range of phenomena, as in (2):

- (2) a. *El público escuchó **silencioso**.* (Adjective, Optional)
‘The public listened silently’.
- b. *El hombre comió **sentado**.* (Participle, Controlled by subject, Optional).
‘The man ate seated’.
- c. *Rubén come su carne **cruda**.* (Adjective, Controlled by DO, Optional).
‘Rubén eats his meat raw.’
- d. *Teresa caminaba **cantando**.* (Gerund, Internal, subject oriented, Optional).
‘Teresa walked singing’.
- e. *Raquel ganó la competencia **entrenando mucho**.* (Gerund, Internal, verb oriented, Optional)
‘Raquel won the competition by training very hard’.

Phenomena included as SPC

- (2) f. *No **teniendo** María tabaco, no fumo.* (Gerund, Clausal, Optional).
‘If María doesn’t have tobacco, I don’t smoke’.
- g. *Jorge considera a Pedro **muy inteligente**.* (Adjective, Obligatory, Small clause).
‘Jorge considers Peter to be very Smart’.
- h. *Eduardo se puso **furioso** con la propuesta* (Adjective, Obligatory, Pseudo-copulative construction).
‘Eduardo got angry with the proposal’.
- i. *Graciela tiene el cabello **sedoso*** (Adjective Obligatory, Light verb construction).
‘Graciela has silky hair’.

State of the art

- In this presentation I follow Palancar & Alarcón (2007) in considering SP only those adjectival and gerundial predicates which are free, i. e., which are not arguments of the predicates they appear with, and which are intraclausal.
- In the current Hispanic Linguistic bibliography SP are considered as peripheral modifiers of the clause (Demonte and Masullo 1999; Palacar and Alarcón 2007, among many others). That is, in syntactic terms they are not treated as predicates.
- **A clause with a SP, then, is considered semantically complex, but a simple structure in syntactic terms.**

Introduction

- In this sense, the SP does not have a suitable syntactic status.
- This mismatch between their syntactic and semantic identity is understood if one follows the traditional idea that syntactic complexity only exists between or among clauses, but not inside clauses, because clauses are considered the basic or smallest grammatical units that express a complete thought.
- In this sense, the syntactic status of secondary predicates as an adjunct is a consequence of the lack of a theoretical and conceptual frame that allows to treat them syntactically as predicates, and the clauses where they appear as complex structures.

Alternative proposal

- To consider that SPC are semantically and syntactically complex.
- For this, one needs to recurre to an analytic framework that permits to understand the clause as an internally complex syntactic unit.
- That model is RRG (Van Valin 2005), which start from de idea that the clause is integrated by different internal levels.

The layered structure of the clause in RRG

CLAUSE

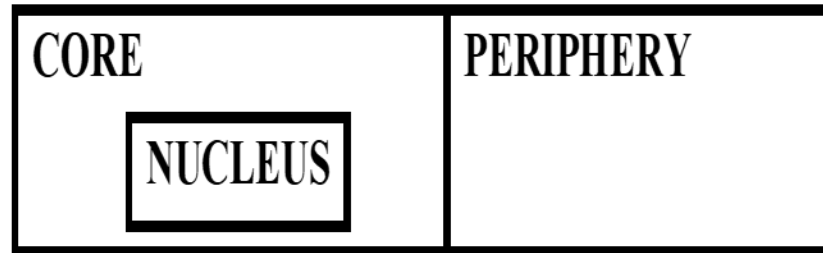


Figure 2: *Components of the layered structure of the clause.*

Intracause complexity in RRG

- The clause can be composed by two or more nuclei.
- It can be integrated by two or more cores (*core*); that is two or more predicates with their argument structure.

Nexus types in RRG

- Additionally, RRG has analytic tools that allow to see the syntactic complexity phenomenon in a new light. Besides coordination and subordination it posits a third type of complex relation:

Coordination (-dependency, -integration)

Subordination (+dependency, +integration)

Cosubordinación (+dependency, -integration).

The proposal

- The SPC is a phenomenon that implies complex intraclausal syntactic relations.
- The SPC in Spanish supposes a CORE juncture with a cosubordination nexus, both in the case of adjectival and gerundial predicates.

Presentation lay out

1. Introduction.
2. The secondary predication. The phenomenon description.
 - 2.1. Semantics of the SPC.
 - 2.2. Syntax of the SPC.
 - 2.3. Adjectivals SP.
 - 2.4. Gerundials SP.
3. Syntactic complexity in RRG.
 - 3.1. Junctures.
 - 3.2. Nexus.
4. A preliminary analysis of the SPC in Spanish.

2. Characteristics of the SPC.

2.1. Semantic characteristics of the SPC

- a) **Complexity:** The SPC has two predicates: one principal (PP) and one secondary (SP). The example (4) says, on one hand, that a certain man performed an event of eating; on the other, it is reported that the same man was seated during that process.

(4) *El hombre comió **sentado**.*
'The man ate seated'

- b) **Simultaneity:** In SPC, it is expressed that two different events take place in the context of the same temporal frame (MEP).

- c) **The SPC has two main semantic types:** It can be of the depictive type, as in (4), or it can be a resultative construction, as in (5). These last ones are not very productive in Spanish, and therefore in this presentation I'm focusing on the depictive type.

(5) a. *Georgina pintó la casa **negra**.*
'Georgina painted the house black'.
b. *Leonel cortó la zanahoria **en pedazos**.*
'Leonel cut the carrot in pieces'.

Semantic characteristics of the SPC

d) ‘Orientation’: The SP is ‘oriented’ to one of the arguments of the main verb (Argument orientation); That is, the SP predicates of this argument.

(7) a. *Georgina venía silbando por el camino.* (argument orientation)
‘Georgina came whistling along the way.’

This contrast with the verbal orientation of some adjectives and gerunds, which modify the main verb, as in (8a), and because of that, have an adverbial semantics: **these are not SP.**

(8) a. *María hablaba tranquila* = ‘Mary was speaking and she was calm’.
‘Mary spoke calmly’.

b. *María hablaba tranquilo:* = ‘The way she was speaking was calmly’
‘Mary was spoke calmly’.

2.2. Syntactic characteristics of the SPC

Based on Schultze-Berndt & Himmelmann (2004) and on Palancar & Alarcón (2007)

a) **The SP predicates of its controller independently of the main verb (PP).** It is not part of a periphrastic unit.

- (9) a. *María llegó a casa contenta* . = Mary arrived home and Mary was happy.
‘Mary arrived home happy’
b. *María comenzó a cantar.*
‘Mary started to sing’ = *Mary started and Mary sang.

b) **The SP is obligatorily controlled:** It has to agree with an argument of the PP – (10a)-, and it cannot have an independent subject –(10b)-.

- (10) a. *María llegó content-a / *content-o.*
Mary arrived happy -3SGF / *happy -3SGM
‘Mary arrived happy’.
b. **Martha caminaba silbando Pedro.*
‘Martha walked, Pedro whistling.’

Syntactic characteristics of the SPC

c) The SP is a partially non-finite predicate. The adjectival predicate does not have TAM, but it carries person and number, as the contrast between (11a) and (11b) shows. The gerund predicate only have aspect.

(11) a. *Luis llegó a casa **destrozado**.*

‘Luis arrived home exhausted’.

b. *María y Tere llegaron **destrozadas**.*

‘María and Tere arrived exhausted’.

c. *Martha caminaba por el parque **silbando**.*

‘Martha walked along the park whistling’

d) The SP is not an argument of the PP; it is optional.

(12) a. *Luis llegó a casa (**destrozado**).*

‘Luis arrived home exhausted’.

b. *Martha caminaba por el parque (**silbando**).*

‘Martha walked along the park (whistling)’.

Syntactic characteristics of the SPC

e) **The SP is not a modifier in the periphery:** in (13a) *destrozado* does not modify the verb; it is not a ‘manner of arriving’. In contrast, the gerund in (13b) does modify the verb *ganar* ‘win’; *entrenando duro* ‘training hard’ can be a manner, a condition or a cause for winning.

- (13) a. *Luis llegó a casa **destrozado**.* (The SP does not have an adverbial function)
‘Luis arrived home exhausted’.
- b. *Martha ganará la medalla **entrenando duro**.* (The SP has an adverbial function)
‘Martha will win the medal by training hard’.

f) **The SP is part of the same intonational unit as the PP:**

- (14) a. **Luis se fue a casa, **destrozado**.*
‘Luis went to his home, exhausted’
- b. **Destrozado Luis se fue a casa.*
‘exhaustedd Luis went home’.
- c. ***Completamente destrozado (Pedro), Luis se fue a casa.*** (This is another construction)
‘Once Pedro was exhausted, Luis went home’.

2.3. Adjectival SP.

Semantic characteristics.

a) The SP has to denote a physical or psychological condition or state:

(15) a. *Irene sonrió **contenta**.*

‘Irene smiled happily’.

b. *Juan se come su carne **cruda**.*

‘John eats his meat raw’.

b) The SP has to have a stage level or episodic meaning. It cannot be of an individual nature.

(16) a. *Mauricio bostezo nervioso /***tonto**.*

‘Mauricio yawned nervously /***fool**’.

b. *Mauricio respondió **confiado** /***inteligente**.*

‘Mauricio answered trustfully/ ***intelligent**’.

c) The main predicate (PP) has to be eventive or not stative aswell:

(17) **Juan **sabía la respuesta confiado** / Juan **escuchó la respuesta confiado**.*

‘John knew the answer trustfully’ / ‘John listened to the answer trustfully’.

Adjectival SP.

Syntactic characteristics.

a) **The SP shows a syntactic dependency.** It has to agree in gender and number with its subject:

(18) a. *Filemón llegó a casa **destrozado**.*

‘Filemón arrived home exhausted’.

b. *Martha y Marilú llegaron **destrozadas** / ***destrozado**.*

Martha and Marilú arrived exhasuted’.

b) **The SP can be controlled by the subject or the DO of the main verb:**

(19) a. *Irene sonrió **contenta**.*

(SP controlled by subject)

‘Irene smiled happily’.

b. *Juan se comió la **carne cruda**.*

(SP controlled by DO)

‘John ate the meat raw’.

Adjectival SP.

Syntactic characteristics.

c) **The syntactic relation of the SP** is different from the attributive and the predicative functions, as the pronominalization and passive tests show:

- (20) a. *Arturo lavó la camisa **limpia*** (SP)
‘Arthur washed the shirt, when it was already clean’.
- a’. *Juan la lavó **limpia**.* (SP)
John 3SGF whased clean
- b. *La camisa fue lavada **limpia**.* (SP)
‘The shirt was washed when it was already clean’.
- c. *Juan lavó la **camisa roja*** (Attributive)
‘John washed the red shirt’.
- c’. **la camisa fue lavada roja.* (Attributive)
‘The shirt was washed red’.
- d. *Juan es **inteligente*** (Predicative)
‘John is intelligent’.
- d’. **Juan lo es **inteligente**.* (Predicative)
John 3SG is intellingent

Adjectival SP.

Syntactic characteristics.

d) The SP has an immediate postverbal position. A verbal argument can take that position, but not an adjunct. The SP cannot be fronted, as (21c') shows. It is possible to have the adjective in an initial position, but a pause is needed, and it is another construction (21d):

(21) a. *Juan regresó cansado a su casa.*

'John return home tired'.

a'. *Juan regresó a su casa cansado.*

'John return home tired'.

b. *Juan llegó feliz con regalos*

'John arrived happy with presents.'

b'. ??*Juan llegó con regalos feliz.*

'John arrived happy with presents'.

c. *Lucy trabajaba feliz.*

'Lucy worked happily'.

c'. ??*Feliz Lucy trabajaba.*

'Lucy worked happily'.

d. *Feliz el niño, la mamá duerme tranquila.*

'When the child is happy, his mother sleeps calmly.'

2.4. Gerundial SP.

Semantic characteristics.

- a) **The SP is oriented to an argument of the main verb.** It denotes a concomitant action and it is not an adverbial modifier of the main verb. Adverbial gerunds, which are ‘verb oriented’ has a manner, cause or conditional value.

- (22) a. *Rubén entró **silbando** al salón.* (SP)
‘Rubén went into the hall whistling’.
- b. *María y Julieta llegaron **hablando** de la película.* (PS)
‘Mary and Juliette arrived talking about the movie’.
- c. *María iba por el camino **arrastrándose*** (Adverbial subordinate)
‘Mary was crawling along the way.’
- d. *Luis ganará la medalla **esforzándose*** (Adverbial subordinate)
‘Luis will win the medal by striving’.

- b) **The gerund SP and the main verb has to be eventive and cannot be states:**

- (23) a. **Rubén sabe matemáticas estudiando.*
‘Rubén knows maths studying.’ (Main verb is a state)
- b. **Fabrició camina sabiendo la respuesta.* (Gerund is a state)
‘Fabricio walks knowing the answer.’

Gerundial SP.

Syntactic characteristics.

a) The SP is controlled by an argument of the main verb:

- (24) a. *Mauricio cantaba lavando los platos *Jorge.*
'Mauricio sang Jorge washing the dishes'
b. *Fernanda salió pidiendo ayuda *su mamá.*
'Fernanda went out her mother asking for help'.

b) The SP can appear next to the main verb. But if an argument appears, it tends to immediately follow the verb, displacing the SP:

- (25) a. *Conrado entró gritando.*
'Conrado went in shouting'.
b. *Conrado entró a la casa gritando fuertísimo.*
'Conrado went into the house shouting loudly.
c. *??Mauricio lavaba cantando los platos.*
'Mauricio washed the dishes singing'.
d. *Mauricio lavaba los platos cantando.*
'Mauricio washed the dishes singing'

Gerundial SP.

Syntactic characteristics.

c) The SP gerund cannot be fronted:

- (26) a. *Rubén entró **silbando** al salón.*
‘Rubén went into the hall whistling’.
- a’. **Silbando Rubén entró al salón.*
‘Whistling, Rubén went into the hall’.
- a’’. *Silbando suavemente la cafetera, Rubén entró a la cocina.*
‘Whistling softly the coffee pot, Rubén went into the kitchen’.
- b. *María y Julieta llegaron **hablando** de la película.*
‘Mary and Juliette arrived talking about the movie’.
- b’. **Hablando de la película María y Julieta llegaron.*
‘Mary and Juliette arrived talking about the movie’.
- b’’. *Hablando de la película los niños, María y Julieta llegaron.*
‘When the kids were talking about the movies, Mary and Juliette arrived’.

Gerundial SP.

Syntactic characteristics.

d) The SP gerund is distinguishable from clausal or external gerunds:

(27) a. *Comprando casa Fernando, Tere se va a vivir con él.*

‘As soon as Fernando buys a house, Tere will move in with him’.

b. *Ganando la lotería Lucía, sus hijos se van de vacaciones.*

‘As soon, as Lucía wins the lottery, her sons will go on vacations’.

e) The gerundial SP can be controlled by the subject –(28a)- or the DO of the main verb –(28b)-:

(28) a. *Etelvina corre por el pasillo cantando.*

‘Etelvina runs down the hall singing.’

b. *Julio encontró a su novia llorando.*

‘Julio found his girlfriend crying’.

**3. Complex structures
in RRG:
junctures y nexus**

Representation of the clause in RRG



Figura 1. *Universal oppositions underlying clause structure*

The layered structure of the clause (LSC)

CLAUSE

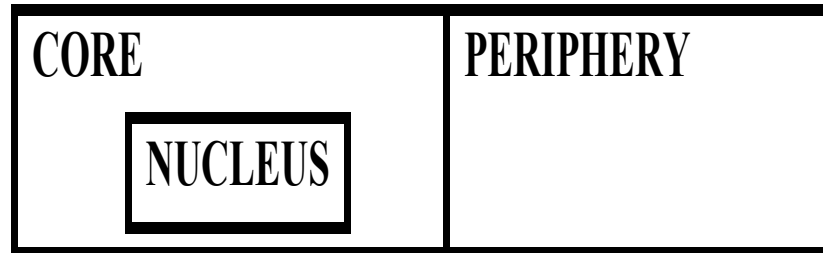


Figure 2: *Components of the layered structure of the clause.*

The layered structure of the clause

CLAUSE

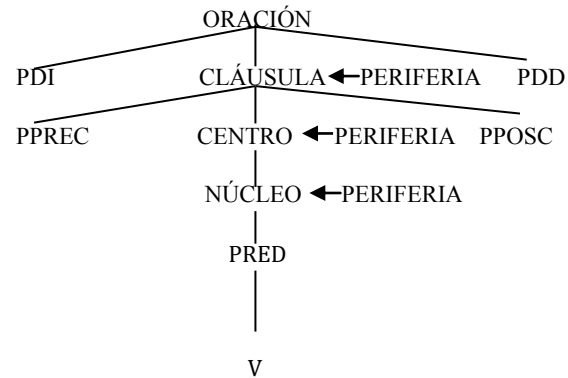
CORE	PERIPHERY
John gave a book to Mary	in the library

NUCLEUS

Figure 3: *Layered structure of John gave a book to Mary in the library.*

The LSC and the peripheries.

Diagrama 1. Capas o niveles de la oración



Intraclausal complexity

- The postulation of the nucleus and the core as part of the clause implies the recognition of the clause as an internally complex unit.
- The CORE has been identified as the minimal syntactic unit correlated with the *Macro-Event Property* (MEP) (Bohnenmeyer et al. 2007; Bohnemeyer and Van Valin 2017).
- The MEP is the simpler meaning and form correlation for the linguistic expression of conceptually complex events. In terms of the MEP, linguistically simple events are constrained by its expression inside a single temporal and locative frame.

Junctures in RRG

- Intraclausal complexity allows to foresee that the basic units can link up with each other, yielding complex structures.
 - a. [CORE ... [NUC ...] ... + ... [NUC ...] ...] Nuclear juncture
 - b. [CLAUSE ... [CORE ...] ... + ... [CORE ...] ...] Core juncture
 - c. [SENTENCE ... [CLAUSE ...] ... + ... [CLAUSE ...] ...] Clausal juncture

(1) a. *Kim painted the table red.* English (Examples from Van Valin 2005)

b. *Je ferai manger les gâteaux 'a Jean.* French
1sg make.FUT eat the cakes to John

(2) a. *Gid-ip g̃or-meli-yiz.* Turkish

go-CLM see-MOD-1pl
'We ought to go and see.'

b. *Fu fi fase isoe.* Barai (Olson 1981)
3sg sit letter write [Papua-New Guinea]
'He sat (down) and wrote a letter.'

Characteristics of the Junctures in terms of argument structure

- 1. Nuclear Juncture:** Two or more nuclei link up together forming a single argument structure, with one single nuclear periphery.
- 2. Core juncture:** Two or more cores obligatorily share one argument (typically the subject), but each one of the cores can have the expression of other arguments.
- 3. Clausal Juncture:** There can be cross-reference, but not argument sharing.

Type of complex or nexus relations

- Coordination: [-integration, -dependency]
- Subordinación: [+integration, +dependency]
- Cosubordinación: [-integration, +dependency]

Type of nexus relations



Coordination



Subordination



Cosubordination

Kewa examples

(Papua-New Guinea, Franklin 1971/Van Valin 2005)

- (3) a. *Nip'u 'ipu-la* *pare* *n'i paal'a na-p'ia*.
3sg come-3sgPRES but 1sg afraid NEG-be.1sgPRES

‘He is coming, but I am not afraid.’

Coordination

- b. *(N'i) 'Epo l'a-ri '* *epa-wa*.
1sg whistle say-SIM.SS come-1sgPAST

‘I whistled while I came,’ or ‘I came whistling.’

Cosubordination

- c. *(N'i) 'Epo l'a-lo-pulu irikai* *'epa-lia*.
1sg whistle say-1sgPRES-CAUSAL dog come-3sgFUT

‘Because I am whistling, the dog will come.’

Subordination

Subordination: +Integration

Subordination implies the **integration** of one unit (the subordinate) to another unit (the matrix), functioning as an argument (completive), or as a modifier (adverbial):

(4) a. *Pat wanted a new car.*

a'. *A new car was wanted by Pat.*

a''. *It was a new car that Pat wanted.*

b. *Leslie regretted Kim's losing the election.*

b'. *Kim's losing the election was regretted by Leslie.*

b''. *It was Kim's losing the election that Leslie regretted.*

c. *Pat wanted to open the door.*

c'. **It was to open the door that Pat wanted.*

c''. **To open the door was wanted by Pat.*

(Examples from Van Valin 2005)

Cosubordination: + syntactic dependency

- a) **Non-finite forms: TAM dependency.**
- b) **One argument is obligatorily shared.**
- c) **One single Locative and/or temporal periphery (MEP restriction).**

- (5) a. *Ted tried to open the door.* **English** (Core Cosubordination)
a'. **Ted tried John to open the door.*
- b. *X-in-y-a' mak-a' naj t-aw-et.* **Jakalteco** (Nuclear Cosubordination)
PAST-1sgABS-3ERG-cause hit-INF 3sg AUG-2sgERG-to
'He made you hit me.'
- c. *Vai kuba i-re kei si-re fu-m-e.* **Chauve** (Clausal Cosubordination)
man stick take-SS dog hit-SS ir-3SG-IND
'The man took a stick, hit the dog and went away'.

(Examples from Van Valin 2005)

d) Operator sharing

In a cosubordinate linkage at a given level of juncture, the linked units are dependent upon the matrix unit for expression of one or more of the operators for that level. (Van Valin 2005).

a) **Relevant operator in nuclear junctures:** Aspect.

Barai (Olson 1981)

(6) a. *Fu kai fu-one kume-fie va.* (Nuclear Cosubordination)

3sg friend 3sg-POSS **call-listen** continue

‘He continued calling and listening for his friend.’

b. *Fu vazai ufu furi numu akoe.* (Nuclear Coordination)

3sg grass cut finish pile throw.away

‘He finished cutting, piled, and threw away the grass.’

Relevant operators in each juncture level

b) Core operators: eventive quantifiers; **modality** (deontic y desiderative) and negation.

Turkish (Van Valin 2005)

- (7) a. *Gid-ip g̃or-meli-yiz.* (Core Cosubordination)
go-CLM see-MOD-1pl
'We ought to go and see.'
- b. *M̃uzik dinle-yerek uyu-yabil-ir-im.* (Core Coordination)
music listen-CLM sleep-MOD-AOR-1sg
'(While) listening to music, I can sleep.'

Relevant operators in each juncture level

c) Clausal operators: Epistemic modality; external negation; evidentials, tense and **Illocutionary force**.

Kewa (Clausal coordination: one assertion and one question)

(8) a. *Roto-m'e nip'u t'a-a pae ake-me nip'u t'a-a pae?*
stick-ERG 3sgABS hit-3sgPAST or what-ERG 3sgABS hit-3sgPAST or
'A stick hit him, or what hit him?'

Tonkawa (Clausal cosubordination; Imperative scope)

b. *Tekeke?ek špa pa-ta ke-yaše-w!*
in.that.bush hide-SS 1sgOBJ-watch-IMP
'Hide in that bush and watch me!'

4. A preliminary RRG analysis of the SPC on Spanish

Adjectival SPC

- Juncture level: **Core**

a) **The adjective is controlled partially independently by its subject through the gender and number agreement.** That is not the case in English.

(9) a. *Clemente salió contento.*

‘Clement went out happily’.

b. *Silvana y Dolores salieron contentas.*

‘Silvana and Dolores went out happily’.

c. *Ted wiped the table **clean** / Ted wiped **the dishes clean**.*

(Nuclear juncture)

b) **The SP and the main verb can express their own arguments:**

(10) a. *Clemente salió de la junta contento con la negociación.*

(No pause needed)

‘Clemente went out of the meeting, happy with the negotiation.’

b. *Herminio regresó a México enamorado de Londres.*

‘Herminio came back to Mexico, in love with London’.

Adjetival SP

Juncture level: core

c) Not fixed order. The adjectival SP can be in a postverbal position or be separated from the verb by an argument, without a different meaning. Nuclear Juncture typically implies the juxtaposition of the two nuclei. If the language allows it and they are not juxtaposed, the meaning is different and it is a different construction.

(11) a. *Clemente **salió contento** de la junta.*

‘Clemente went out of the meeting happy’.

b. *Clemente **salió** de la junta **contento**.*

‘Clemente went out of the meeting happy’.

c. *Fu fase fi isoe.* (Barai)

3sg letter sit write

‘he sat writing a letter.’

d. *Fu fi fase isoe.*

3sg sit letter write

‘He sat and wrote the letter’.

e. *Ted wiped the table clean / *Ted wiped clean the table.*

Adjetival SP

Juncture level: core

d) Presence of differentiated nuclear periphery, but not of core periphery. The adjectival SP follows the MEP restriction.

(12) a. *Clementina llegó **completamente cansada** a casa.*

‘Clementina arrived home completely tired’.

b. *Clotilde salió del cine **apenas asustada**.*

‘Clotilde went out of the cinema barely frightened.’

c. **Teodobaldo caminó **durante dos horas cansado un rato**.*

‘Teodobaldo walked for two hours tired for a momento’.

d. **Teodorico cantaba **en el bar feliz en su casa**.*

‘Teodorico was singing in the bar happy in his house’.

Adjectival SP

- Nexus type: cosubordination:

a) **One argument is obligatorily shared:** the SP cannot have an independent subject.

(13) a. **Clementina llegó feliz María.*

‘Clementina arrived, Mary happy’.

b. **Clotilde salió del cine triste su prima.*

‘Clotilde went out of the cinema, his cousin sad’.

b) **Non finite forms:** Adjectives in Spanish cannot express TAM (though they do express gender and number), even when they come from verbal forms (participles):

(14) a. *Clementina llegó destruida del maratón.*

(main verb = past, indicative)

‘Clementina arrived very exhausted from the marathon’.

b. *Ojalá Clotilde no llegue destruida del maratón.*

(main verb = present, subjunctive)

‘I hope that Clotilde doesn’t arrive exhausted from the marathon’.

Adjectival SP: cosubordination

c) The scope of the operators is shared, and the SP obligatorily depends on the operators of the main verb. It cannot express its own operators.

Modality

- (15) a. *Justino puede dormir cansado.* (Obligatory scope over the SP)
‘Justino can sleep tired’.
- b. **Justino puede dormir debería cansado.* (The SP cannot express modality)
‘Justino can sleep, he should tired’.
- c. *Cuando ya podría estar cansado, Justino debería dormir.* (Both clauses express modality)
‘The moment he get tired, Justino should sleep’.

Negation:

- (16) a. *Clementina no llegó cansada.* (Obligatory scope over the SP)
‘Clementina didn’t arrive tired’.
- b. **Clementina llegó no cansada.* (The SP cannot express negation)
‘Clementina arrived not tired’.
- c. *No cansada, Clementina es imparable.* (The SP expresses its own negation)
‘When she is not tired, Clementina is unstoppable’.

Gerundial SP

Juncture level: core

a) The Gerund obligatorily shares an argument with the main verb. It cannot express a different subject.

(17) a. **Lorena cocina silbando María.*

‘Lorena cooks, Mary whistling’.

b. **Leopoldo venía cantando Josefina.*

‘Leopoldo came, Josefina singing’.

c. *Cantando Josefina, se fueron de la fiesta.*

(Clausal Juncture)

‘Once Josefina had sang, they left the party’.

b) The Gerund can express its own arguments (other than its subject):

(18) a. *Lorena cocinó la comida platicando con Juliana sobre política.*

‘Lorena cooked the meal, while talking to Juliana about politics’.

b. *Leopoldo caminaba cantando una tonadilla.*

‘Leopoldo walked singing a ditty’.

c. *Luis estudió el proyecto cocinando.*

(The main verb expresses a not shared argument)

‘Luis studied the Project while cooking’.

Gerundial SP

Juncture level: core

c) **Not fixed order:** Yuxtaposition is not favored in the presence of one argument of the main verb.

(19) a. *Leopoldo **hablaba** de sus primos **llorando**.*

‘Leopoldo talked about his cousins, while he was crying’.

a’. *Leopoldo **hablaba llorando** de sus primos.*

‘Leopoldo talked about his cousins, while he was crying’.

b. *Lorena **cocinó** la comida **cantando**.*

‘Lorena cooked the meal, while she was singing’.

b’. ??*Lorena **cocinó cantando** la comida.*

‘Lorena cooked the meal, while she was singing’.

c. *Iliana **estudió** su proyecto **comiendo**.*

‘Iliana studied his Project, while she was eating’.

c’. ??*Iliana **estudio comiendo** su proyecto.*

‘Iliana studied his Project, while she was eating’.

Gerundial SP

Juncture level: core

d) The SP Gerund can have its own nuclear periphery (modals), but cannot have a differentiated core periphery (locatives and temporals):

(20) a. *Lorena venía gritando fuertemente.*

‘Lorena came shouting loudly’.

b. *Iliana hablaba llorando amargamente.*

‘Iliana talked crying bitterly’.

c. **Luis estudió en la escuela viendo la tele en casa.*

‘Luis studied at the school, while he watched the TV at home’.

Gerundial SPC

Nexus type: cosubordination

a) Obligatorily shared argument:

- (21) a. **Lorena cocina silbando María*.
‘Lorena cooks, Mary whistling’.
- b. **Leopoldo viene a casa cantando Pedro*.
‘Leopoldo comes home, Pedro singing’.

b) Non-Finite form: although the gerund keeps its own aspectual value, it depends on the main verb for mood and tense.

- (22) a. *Si pudiera Lorena cocinaría viendo la tele*.
‘If possible, Lorena would cook watching TV’.
- b. *Ojalá Leopoldo viniera a casa cantando*.
‘I wish Leopoldo would come home singing’.

Gerundial SP cosubordination

c) The scope of the operators is shared, and the SP obligatorily depends on the operators of the main verb. It cannot express its own operators.

Modality

- (23) a. *Justino puede trabajar cantando.* (Obligatory scope over the SP)
‘Justino can work singing’.
- b. **Justino trabaja puede cantando.* (The SP cannot express its own modality)
‘Justino works, he can singing’.
- c. *Cantando María, Justino puede dormir.* (The Scope is only over the main predicate)
‘When Mary is singing, Justina can sleep’.

Negation:

- (23) a. *Clementina no llegó cantando.* (Obligatory scope over the SP)
‘Clementina did not arrive singing’.
- b. **Clementina llegó no cantando.* (The SP cannot express its own modality)
‘Clementina arrive, she was not singing’.
- c. *No cantando María, Justino no puede dormir.* (Both predicates express their own negation)
‘When Mary is not singing, Justino cannot sleep’.

Conclusions

- Adjectival and gerundial depictive constructions have been described as semantically complex but as syntactically simple constructions.
- This mismatch is a product of the use of an analytic frame that does not recognize the intraclausal structure as inherently complex.
- RRG is a theoretical model that do allows us to describe the SPC as semantically and syntactically complex, by recurring to:
 - Labeled structure of the clause.
 - The theory of juncture
 - And the postulation of a third type of complex relation: Cosubordination.

Conclusions

- The SPC, both the adjectival and the gerundial ones imply a Core cosubordination relation. This is different in English, where the Adjectival SPC is considered to be a case of cosubordination at the nuclear juncture.
- So similar constructions in different languages can have different type of relations.

Gracias