

NEGATION OF RESULTATIVE AND PROGRESSIVE PERIPHRASES*

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ABSTRACT. This paper focuses on resultative and progressive periphrases in Spanish: <estar 'to be' + participle> and <estar 'to be' + gerund>, respectively. These periphrases have been associated with several negated constructions. On the one hand, the negative particle *no* 'not' can precede the auxiliary verb (<*no estar* 'not to be' + participle> and <*no estar* 'not to be' + gerund>); on the other hand, we have the structure <estar *sin* 'to be without' + infinitive>. Contrary to what has been suggested in the literature, I will show that these negative constructions have a different interpretation and develop a semantic analysis of them. Furthermore, I will offer new evidence in favor of the existence of negative events.

Keywords. Resultative constructions; progressive periphrasis; states; negation; subeventive structure; negative events

RESUMEN. En este trabajo nos centraremos en las perífrasis resultativa y progresiva en español: <estar + participio> y <estar + gerundio>, respectivamente. Estas perífrasis han sido relacionadas con varias construcciones negativas. Por una parte, la partícula *no* puede preceder al verbo auxiliar (<*no estar* + participio> y <*no estar* + gerundio>); por otra, tenemos la estructura <estar *sin* + infinitivo>. En contra de lo que se ha sugerido en la bibliografía, mostraremos que estas construcciones negativas tienen una interpretación diferente y propondremos un análisis semántico para cada una de ellas. Además, el estudio de estas estructuras nos permitirá ofrecer evidencia a favor de la existencia de los eventos negativos.

Palabras clave. Construcciones resultativas; perífrasis progresiva; estados; estructura subeventiva; eventos negativos

1. Introduction

This paper focuses on the negation of two periphrases in Spanish: <estar 'to be' + participle> and <estar 'to be' + gerund>.¹ Later on, I will offer a formal analysis of the interpretation of these periphrases; at this point it is enough to mention that the former is a resultative construction while the latter is a progressive periphrasis. Thus, in (1a), the periphrasis expresses that the subject has the property caused by the event of watering. The construction <estar 'to be' + gerund> is called *progressive periphrasis* because it focuses on an internal part of the event (see (1b)):

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¹ Although in this paper I assume that <estar 'to be' + gerund> is a periphrasis where *estar* 'to be' plays the role of the auxiliary verb, the proposals that I will develop are compatible with the analysis that considers that this construction is not a periphrasis (Hengeveld 1986; Porroche 1990; Fernández Leborans 1999).

- (1) a. Las plantas están regadas.
the plants are watered
'The plants are watered.'
- b. Las plantas se están regando.
the plants CL are watering
'The plants are being watered.'

<Estar 'to be' + participle> and <estar 'to be'+ gerund> can be denied introducing the particle *no* 'not' before the auxiliary verb (see (2)). What is interesting is that in the literature these periphrases had been related to other negative construction: the one created by <*sin* 'without' + infinitive> (see (3)) (RAE 2009; Moreno Cabrera 2011):

- (2) a. Las plantas no están regadas.
the plants not are watered
'The plants are not watered.'
- b. Las plantas no se están regando.
the plants not CL are watering
'The plants are not being watered.'
- (3) Las plantas están sin regar.
the plants are without to-water
'The plants are without being watered.'

The main goal of this paper is to offer a semantic analysis of the constructions in (2) and (3). I will show that there are important differences between these constructions and that their interpretation is not the same. I will propose that while in (2) is denied that the event takes place, the sentence in (3) expresses that the plants have a particular property. Moreover, I will explain why the particle *no* 'not' cannot be before the gerund in the progressive periphrasis (see (4a)), although it can occupy that position in other periphrases (see (4b)):²

- (4) a. *Las plantas se están no regando.
the plants CL are not watering
'The plants are not being watered.'
- b. Las plantas siguen no regándose.³
the plants keep not watering
'The plants are still not being watered.'

This paper is divided as follows: section 2 introduces the theoretical model that I will assume. This is the relational semantics of events (Moreno Cabrera 2003). I will explain the types of events that are established in Moreno Cabrera's theory and the analysis of result states within this approach. I will also point out the difference between negative and negated events and determine what type of events the former

² Bosque (1980) shows that negation can also precede a gerund in non-periphrastic constructions.

³ Note that the periphrasis <*seguir* 'to keep' + gerund> is related with another negative structure: <*seguir sin* 'to keep without' + infinitive>:

(i) *Las plantas siguen sin regarse.*
the plants keep without to-water-CL
'The plants are still without being watered.'

I will analyze the difference between (i) and (4b) in section 3.2.

are. Section 3 focuses on the negation of resultative and progressive periphrases. Having in mind Moreno Cabrera's approach and the distinction between negative and negated events, I will offer a semantic analysis of the different ways of negating these periphrases. Section 4 concludes.

2. The relational semantics of events

This section explains the relational semantics of events proposed by Moreno Cabrera (2003). I will assume this approach in order to study the negation of resultative and progressive periphrases. In section 2.1, I will introduce the three types of events that Moreno Cabrera proposes: states, processes and actions. In section 2.2, I will present the analysis of result states claimed by this author. This proposal is crucial for our goals because Moreno Cabrera develops a formal semantics of resultative and progressive periphrases. In section 2.3, I will establish what type of events the ones in which negation precedes the predicate are. This will allow us to understand the differences between negating the periphrases with *no* 'not' or with *sin* 'without'.

2.1. States, processes and actions

Moreno Cabrera (2003) distinguishes three types of success (or events): states, processes and actions. States express that the entity denoted by the subject has a property (see (5a)) or is localized in a place (see (5b)). The former are called *attributive states*; the latter, *locative states*:

- (5) a. El libro está abierto. (Attributive state)
 the book is open
 'The book is open.'
 b. El libro está en París. (Locative state)
 the book is in Paris
 'The book is in Paris.'

Processes are relations of transition between at least two states attributed to the same entity. They express the change between two states. This transition can relate attributive states or locative states. In the first case, the event is a *mutation*; in the second situation, a *displacement*. These two types of process are illustrated in (6):

- (6) a. El libro se abrió. (Mutation)
 the book CL opened
 'The book was opened.'
 b. El book fue de Madrid a París. (Displacement)
 the book was from Madrid to Paris
 'The book was from Madrid to Paris.'

The events in (6) are processes because they express a change of state: in (6a), the book goes from being closed to be open; in (6b), from being in Madrid to be in Paris. There is a relation between attributive states (see (6a)) or locative states (see (6b)).

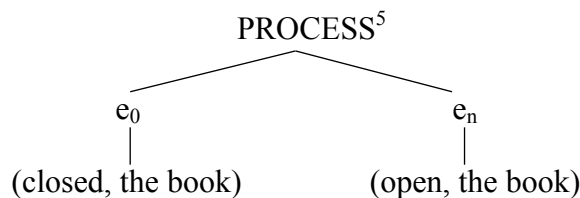
Actions are relations of agentivity or causativity between processes and entities. What characterizes these events is that there is an entity that causes or controls the process. This is what happens in (7):

- (7) a. Juan abrió el libro. (Modificative action)
 John opened the book
 ‘John opened the book.’
 b. Juan llevó el libro de Madrid a París. (Locomotive action)
 John took the book from Madrid to Paris
 ‘John took the book from Madrid to Paris.’

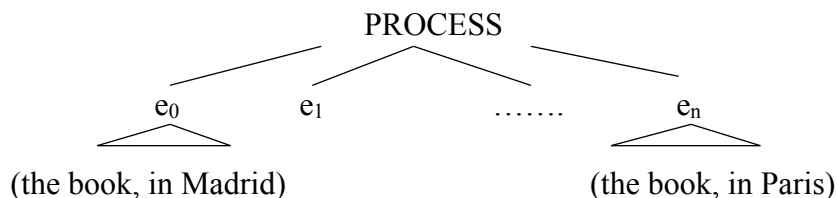
These examples differ from the ones in (6) because the change of property and location is caused by an entity, John. There are two types of actions depending on whether the process that is related to the entity is a mutation or a displacement: *modificative actions* or *modifications* (see (7a)) and *locomotive actions* or *locomotions* (see (7b)), respectively.

In this approach, states are primitives or, in other words, are the basic events. Processes are defined from states, since they are relations of transition between states; actions are defined from processes because they relate processes to entities. States lack subeventive structure, unlike processes and actions. The reason is that states do not have substates related by a transition; processes and actions do have. As I pointed out, processes relate at least two properties or locations. This means that their subeventive structure has two or more than two substates.⁴ The first situation is illustrated in (8a), where the process has two substates that are contiguous. As a consequence, it is a punctual event. The situation is not the same in (8b), where there are several states between the initial state (e_0) and the final state (e_n). Thus, the subeventive structure of this process has more than two substates, as is shown in the graphic. The intermediate states constitute a path and since there is a path, the event is durative:

- (8) a. El libro se abrió.
 the book CL opened
 ‘The book was opened.’



- b. El libro fue de Madrid a París.
 the book went from Madrid to Paris
 ‘The book went from Madrid to Paris.’

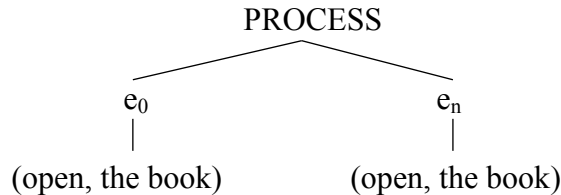


⁴ The same happens with actions, since they are constituted by processes.

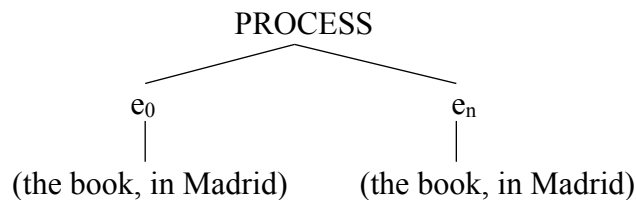
⁵ Moreno Cabrera resorts to negation in the initial state: \neg (open, the book). Since I do not subscribe his analysis of negative constructions, as I will explain in section 3, I avoid negation at this point.

The processes in (8) involve changes of states. However, there are processes that do not involve changes. These processes are conceived as relations of void transition between states. The void transitions are characterized by connecting identical states. This is what happens in (9):

- (9) a. El libro sigue abierto.
 the book keeps open
 ‘The book is still open.’



- b. El libro sigue en Madrid.
 the book keeps in Madrid
 ‘The book is still in Madrid.’



According to Moreno Cabrera (2003: 141), these sentences do not have the same meaning than *El libro está {abierto/ en Madrid}* ‘The book is {open/ in Madrid}’. The propositions in (9) are true if the book was {open/ in Madrid} before the speech time. Therefore, two identical properties (see (9a)) or locations (see (9b)) are related. It is expressed that a state remains for a period of time and therefore, there is no change, unlike what happens with no void transitions⁶.

2.2. Result states

Once I have introduced the main ideas of Moreno Cabrera’s model, I will present his analysis of result states. The reason is that my proposal about negation of resultative and progressive periphrases departs from it. Moreno Cabrera (2011) argues that *<estar ‘to be’ + participle>* denotes a result state, that is, the final state of a process. Let me consider the following examples:⁷

- (10) a. El problema está difícil.
 the problem is difficult
 ‘The problem is difficult.’
 b. El problema está resuelto.
 the problem is solved
 ‘The problem is solved.’
 (Moreno Cabrera 2011: 12)

⁶ As suggested by an anonymous reviewer, this analysis should be applied to verbs like *mantener* ‘keep’.

⁷ The translation is mine.

In (10b), the predicate is a result state but in (10a) it is not. This is due to the fact that while (10b) attributes to the entity denoted by the subject the final state of a process, (10a) does not. In (10b), there is an attributive path whose final state is reached when the property expressed by the participle is acquired. Evidence for the presence of a path in (10b) comes from the possibility of introducing adverbs that refer to the states that are part of it. This is not possible in (10a) because the predicate is not a result state and there is not an attributive path:

- (11) a. El problema está casi {resuelto/ *difícil}.
the problem is almost solved difficult
‘The problem is almost {solved/ difficult}.’
b. El problema está medio {resuelto/ difícil}.
the problem is half solved difficult
‘The problem is half {solved/ difficult}.’
(Moreno Cabrera 2011: 12)

According to Moreno Cabrera (2011), the adverbs can refer to different points of the path because a participle such as *resuelto* ‘solved’ can be associated with the final state or with the intermediate states. The first situation is illustrated in (12a), where *estar* ‘to be’ forces the stative interpretation; the other case is exemplified in (12b), since *ser* ‘to be’ induces the reading that refers to the path.⁸

- (12) a. El problema está resuelto.
the problem is solved
‘The problem is solved.’
b. El problema es resuelto.
the problem is solved
‘The problem is solved.’

In order to describe the attributive paths, Moreno Cabrera resorts to the algebraic structure of groups $(Q, +)$, where Q refers to the set of rational numbers, and $+$ to the properties of addition. This author uses $1/10$ to represent the division of an entity in ten fractions. This idea is illustrated in (13):

- (13) $(1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) = 10/10 = 1$
(Moreno Cabrera 2011: 16)

Moreover, it is possible to refer to partial additions with other rational numbers, as is shown in (14):

- (14) $(1/10) + (1/10) = 2/10$; $(1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) = 3/10$; $(1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) + (1/10) = 5/10 = 1/2$; $(5/10) + (5/10) = 10/10 = 1$
(Moreno Cabrera 2011: 16)

These fractions have a crucial property for analyzing attributive paths: they are ordered from lowest to highest:

⁸ As is well known, Spanish has two main copulative verbs: *ser*, which is an individual level predicate, and *estar*, which is a stage-level predicate.

- (15) $9/10 > 1/10 > 0$; $5/10 < 9/10 < 1$
 (Moreno Cabrera 2001: 16)

Having this structure in mind, it is possible to formalize attributive paths that are associated with result states. For this, Moreno Cabrera adopts the notation $R^x(i)$, where $x \in Q$, R refers to the property denoted by the participle and i to the entity. Attributive paths contain an initial state, in which the entity does not have the property denoted by the participle, a final state, which denotes that the mentioned property has been acquired completely, and several intermediate states, which refer to the process of acquiring the property. I represent the initial state in (16), the final state in (20) and the intermediate states in (17-19). The examples also illustrate the sentences that express the different states:

- (16) $R^0(i)$:
 a. El problema no está resuelto.
 the problem not is solved
 ‘The problem is not solved.’
 b. El problema está sin resolver.
 the problem is without to-solve
 ‘The problem is unsolved.’
 c. El problema está por resolver.
 the problem is by to-solve
 ‘The problem is to be solved.’
- (17) $R^{3/10}(i)$: El problema está poco resuelto.
 the problem is little solved
 ‘The problem is not very solved.’
- (18) $R^{1/2}(i)$: El problema está medio resuelto.
 the problem is half solved
 ‘The problem is half-solved.’
- (19) $R^{9/10}(i)$: El problema está casi resuelto.
 the problem is almost solved
 ‘The problem is almost solved.’
- (20) $R^1(i)$: El problema está resuelto.
 the problem is solved
 ‘The problem is solved.’
 (Moreno Cabrera 2011: 18)⁹

Moreover, Moreno Cabrera utilizes this system to describe the interpretation of progressive periphrasis (<*estar* ‘to be’ + gerund>). As I pointed out, this periphrasis expresses progressive aspect and, therefore, focuses on an internal part of the event. According to Moreno Cabrera’s proposal, this means that the periphrasis can refer to an intermediate state of the path (see (21)) or to the transition between at least two intermediate states (see (22)). The first reading is called *photographic interpretation*; the second one, *cinematographic interpretation*:¹⁰

⁹ The translation is mine.

¹⁰ For a detailed analysis of the progressive periphrasis within Modelo Cabrera’s framework see García Fernández (2009).

- (21) $R^x(i)$, where $0 < x < 1$:
- En este preciso momento el problema está siendo resuelto.
in this precise moment the problem is being solved
'At this very moment the problem is being solved.'
 - A las cinco y media de la tarde el problema estaba siendo resuelto.
at the five and half in the afternoon the problem was being solved
solved
'At five thirty in the afternoon the problem was being solved.'
- (22) $R^{[x_1, \dots, x_n]}(i)$, where $0 < x_1 < \dots < x_n < 1$:
- Han estado resolviendo el problema durante dos días.
have been solving the problem for two days
'They have been solving the problem for two days.'
 - Estuvieron dos horas resolviendo el problema.
were two hours solving the problem
'They were solving the problem two hours.'
- (Moreno Cabrera 2011: 18)

This author also applies his analysis to resultative constructions that are transitive, as the one in (23):

- (23) Iván tiene el problema resuelto.
Iván has the problem solved
'Iván has the problem solved.'
(Moreno Cabrera 2011: 21)

These resultative constructions are defined as relations between entities and result states: in (23), for example, the relation is established between the individual denoted by *Iván* and the final state expressed by *El problema está resuelto* 'The problem is solved'. The representation of this idea is the following: $T(i, R^1(ep))$, where T refers to the relation established between the entity denoted by the subject, i , and the property predicated of the problem, $R^l(ep)$, where ep represents the problem. The same happens with transitive resultatives that are associated with intermediate states:

- (24) a. $T(i, R^{3/10}(ep))$: Iván tiene el problema poco resuelto.
Iván has the problem little solved
'Iván does not have the problem very solved.'
- b. $T(i, R^{1/2}(ep))$: Iván tiene el problema medio resuelto.
Iván has the problem half solved
'Iván has the problem half-solved.'
- c. $T(i, R^{9/10}(ep))$: Iván tiene el problema casi resuelto.
Iván has the problem almost solved
'Iván has the problem almost solved.'

2.3. Negative events vs. negated events

When negation modifies a verbal phrase, as in (25), the sentence can be used to negate that the event took place in the Topic Time¹¹ (see (25a)) or to affirm that a negative event took place in the Topic Time (see (25b)) (Klein 1994: 49; González Rodríguez 2011):¹²

- (25) Juan no corrió.
 John not ran
 ‘Juan did not run.’
 a. ‘It did not happen that Juan ran in the Topic Time.’
 b. ‘It happened that Juan did not run in the Topic Time.’

In (25a), there is no event, since the sentence denotes that the event does not take place. In (25b), an event occurs, in particular, a negative event.

The behavior of negation in the periphrasis <llegar a ‘to go so far as’ + infinitive> provides evidence for our proposal (Carrasco Gutiérrez 2006, 2008; González Rodríguez 2011). Carrasco Gutiérrez proposes that this periphrasis behaves as an additive discourse marker such as *incluso* ‘even’. This type of markers relates arguments that point toward the same conclusion; for example, (26) contains two predicates that constitute arguments for the conclusion ‘the individual was very angry’:

- (26) Gritó e incluso dio una patada al hombre.
 yelled and even gave a kick to-the man
 ‘He yelled and even kicked the man.’

Carrasco Gutiérrez argues that the periphrasis <llegar a ‘to go so far as’ + infinitive> behaves as additive markers. This periphrasis, like *incluso* ‘even’, relates the argument introduced by the lexical verb with other arguments:

- (27) Gritó y llegó a dar una patada al hombre.
 yelled and became to to-give a kick to-the man
 ‘He yelled and went so far as to kick the man.’

Note that the event denoted by the infinitive points to the same conclusion that the one introduced previously. Moreover, that event is the stronger argument from a discursive point of view.

Carrasco Gutiérrez notes that in this periphrasis, the negative particle *no* ‘not’ can precede the auxiliary verb (see (28a)) or the infinitive (see (28b)):

- (28) a. Juan estaba muy contento, pero no llegó a ir a la fiesta.
 John was very happy but not became to to-go to the party
 ‘John was very happy, but he did not go so far as to go to the party.’

¹¹ Following Klein (1992), the notion *Topic Time* refers to the span of time for which an assertion is made.

¹² Both options have been proposed in the literature. Asher (1993) and Kamp and Reyle (1993) argue that when negation precedes a predicate, there is no event. Przepiórkowski (1999), Swart & Molendijk (1999) and Weiser (2008) consider that in these cases there is event. I propose that both options are available. Negative events are also studied by Higginbotham (2000).

- b. Juan estaba muy enfadado y llegó a no ser educado.
 John was very angry and became to not to-be polite
 ‘John was very angry and went so far as to not be polite.’

According to González Rodríguez (2011), when negation precedes the auxiliary (<*no llegar a* ‘not to go so far as’ + infinitive>), an event is negated. Let me illustrate this point:

- (29) Juan estaba muy motivado; se matriculó de todas las asignaturas y
 John was very motivated CL enrolled of all the subjects and
 se compró los libros de texto. Sin embargo, no llegó a asistir
 CL bought the books of text however not became to to-attend
 a clase.
 to class
 ‘John was very motivated; he enrolled in all subjects and bought the
 textbooks. However, he did not go so far as to attend class.’

This construction includes three predicates which constitute arguments for the conclusion ‘Juan was highly motivated’, as is shown in (30):¹³

- (30) to enrol in all subjects < to buy the textbooks < to attend class

In (29), the first two arguments point toward that conclusion (‘Juan was highly motivated’) because the events denoted by them took place. In contrast, the last argument is negated and, consequently, it reverses the argumentative orientation, as is shown by the presence of *sin embargo* ‘however’.

When the negative particle precedes the infinitive (<*llegar a no* ‘to go so far as to not’ + infinitive>), a negative event is asserted, because the last argument of the sequence, which is, indeed, a negative event, took place (González Rodríguez 2011). Let me compare (29) to (31):

- (31) Juan estaba desmotivado; se matriculó sólo de tres asignaturas, se
 John was unmotivated CL enrolled only of three subjects CL
 olvidó de comprar los libros de texto y llegó a no asistir a
 forgot of to-buy the books of text and become to not to-attend to
 clase.
 class
 ‘John was unmotivated; he enrolled in only three subjects; he forgot to buy
 the textbooks and went so far as to not attend class.’

The conclusion associated with (31) is that John was not motivated. The arguments that point toward this conclusion are illustrated in (32):

- (32) to enrol in only three subjects < to forget to buy the textbooks < to not attend class

It must be noted that the strongest argument in (31) is not, as in (29), *asistir a clase* ‘to attend class’, but the negative event of not attending class. Negation does not deny

¹³ These predicates are ordered from weakest to strongest from an argumentative point of view.

that the event has taken place. All the arguments are affirmed and, as a consequence, the argumentative orientation is not reversed, as is shown by the impossibility of introducing *sin embargo* ‘however’:

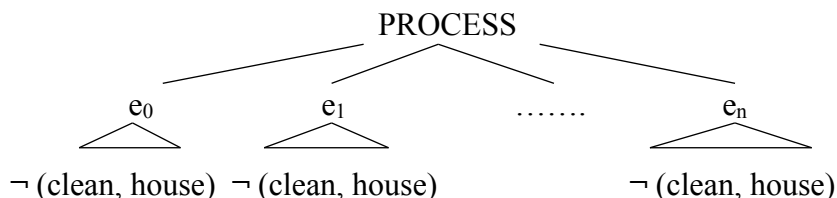
- (33) #Juan estaba desmotivado; se matriculó sólo de tres asignaturas, se olvidó de comprar los libros de texto y, sin embargo, llegó a no asistir a clase.
 John was unmotivated CL enrolled only of three subjects CL forgot of to-buy the books of text and however become to not to-attend to class
 ‘John was unmotivated; he enrolled in only three subjects; he forgot to buy the textbooks and, however, went so far as to not attend class.’

González Rodríguez (2011) also analyzes the subeventive structure of negated and negative events. This linguist proposes that the question is not relevant for negated events, since it is not possible to characterize an event that does not take place. With respect to negative events, Carrasco Gutiérrez & González Rodríguez (2011) argue that they are processes constituted by identical substates related between them.¹⁴ The transitions between identical substates are void because they do not yield a change of state.¹⁵ This type of process denotes that a state persists during an interval of time and accounts for the absence of change of state. Negative events have exactly this interpretation. Let me consider the sentence in (34), which contains a negative event, and the representation in (35), which illustrates the process denoted by that event:

- (34) Cuando le dije a la asistenta que no le subiría el sueldo me puso mala cara e incluso llegó a no limpiar la casa. En lugar de limpiar, estuvo toda la mañana viendo la televisión.
 when to-her told to the cleaning-lady that not to-her would-raise the salary to-me made bad face and even become to not to-clean the house in place of to-clean was all the morning watching the television.

‘When I told the cleaning lady that I would not raise her salary, she pouted and went so far as to not clean my house. Instead of cleaning, she watched television all morning.’

- (35) no limpiar la casa
 not to-clean the house
 ‘to not clean the house’



¹⁴ Although I use the term *process*, negative events are actions when an entity causes or controls the process, as in (34).

¹⁵ In the literature, it has been noted that negation yields stative predicates (Verkuyl 1993: 63). However, according to Moreno Cabrera’s (2003) framework, it is not possible to assume that negative predicates are states. For this issue see Carrasco Gutiérrez and González Rodríguez (2011).

The sentence in (34) denotes that the negative event <no limpiar la casa> ‘<to not clean the house>’ persists during an interval of time in which it was expected that the corresponding affirmative event took place. In order to account for this interpretation, it is necessary to relate states that take place in different moments of the same interval. This idea is illustrated in (35). Since the substates are identical, there is no change of state.

Note that while the negative event in (34) is durative, the one in (36), <no devolverle el saludo> ‘<to not return her the greeting>’, is punctual. The reason is that in (36) the corresponding affirmative event is expected to take place just after Mary greets Juan:

- (36) Juan y Pedro se vieron en la fiesta de María. Pero a Juan le
 John and Peter CL saw in the party of Mary but to John to-him
 cae tan mal Pedro que no le miró a la cara y llegó a no
 dislikes Peter that not to-him looked to the face and become to not
 devolverle el saludo.
 to-return-to-him the greeting
 ‘Juan and Mary saw each other at Peter’s party. But Juan dislikes Mary so
 much that he did not look at her and went so far as to not return her greeting.’

This is not a problem for our proposal. Although the negative event is punctual, it is conceived as a relation of void transition. As is shown in (37), the only difference between (34) and (36) is that the second negative event is only constituted by two contiguous substates: an initial state and a final state. Since both substates are identical, there is not any change of state:

- (37) no devolver Juan el saludo a María
 not to-return John the greeting to Mary
 ‘to not return John Mary’s greeting’



That the negative event in (34) is durative while the one in (36) is punctual is shown by their (in)compatibility with complements such as *durante dos horas* ‘for two hours’. This complement is allowed in (34) (see (38a)) but it is rejected in (36) (see (38b)):

- (38) a. Cuando le dije a la asistenta que no le subiría
 when to-her told to the cleaning-lady that not to-her would-raise
 el sueldo, me puso mala cara e incluso llegó a no limpiar
 the salary to-me made bad face and even become to not to-clean
 la casa durante dos horas.
 the house for two hours
 ‘When I told the cleaning lady that I would not raise her salary, she pouted
 and went so far as to not clean my house for two hours.’

- b. Juan y Pedro se vieron en la fiesta de María. Pero a Juan
 John and Peter CL saw in the party of Mary but to John
 le cae tan mal Pedro que no le miró a la cara y llegó
 dislikes Peter that not to-him looked to the face and become
 a no devolverle el saludo (*durante dos horas).
 to not to-return the greeting for two hours
 ‘John and Mary saw each other at Pedro’s party. But John dislikes so
 much Mary that he would not look at her and went so far as to not return
 her greeting (for two hours).’

This contrast follows from the different durativity of the negative events. The punctual event <*no devolverle el saludo*> ‘<to not return her greeting>’ can only be modified by *durante dos horas* ‘for two hours’ if it is possible the iterative reading of the predicate. This is what happens in (39):

- (39) A Juan le caía tan mal Pedro que no le miraba a la cara y
 to John to-him dislikes Peter that not to-him looked to the face and
 llegó a no devolverle el saludo durante dos semanas.
 become to not to-return the greeting for two weeks
 ‘John dislikes Mary so much that he did not look at her and went so far as to
 not return her greeting for two weeks.’

3. The negation of resultative and progressive periphrases

Once I have introduced Moreno Cabrera’s model, his analysis of result states and the difference between negative and negated events, I will study the negation of resultative and progressive periphrases. As noted in the introduction, there are several negative constructions that have been related to these periphrases. In section 3.1, I will focus on the constructions in which negation precedes the auxiliary verb (<*no estar* ‘not to be’ + participle> and <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + gerund>) and the relation between this structure and the construction <*estar sin* ‘to be without’ + infinitive>. In section 3.2, I will analyze why the particle *no* ‘not’ can precede the gerund in <*seguir* ‘to keep’ + gerund> but not in the progressive periphrasis.

3.1. <No estar ‘not to be’ + participle>, <no estar ‘not to be’ + gerund> and <estar sin ‘to be without’ + infinitive>

As I pointed out in section 2.2, Moreno Cabrera (2011) argues that <*estar* ‘to be’ + participle> expresses that an entity has the property denoted by the final state of an attributive path (see (40a)); in contrast, <*estar* ‘to be’ + gerund> refers to an intermediate state of the path (see (40b)) or to the transition between intermediate states (see (40c)):

- (40) a. R¹(i): El escaparate está limpio.
 the shop-window is clean
 ‘The shop window is clean.’
 b. R^x(i), where 0 < x < 1:
 A las dos el escaparate se estaba limpiando.
 at the two the shop-window CL was cleaning
 ‘At two the shop window was been cleaning.’

- c. $R^{[x_1, \dots, x_n]}(i)$, where $0 < x_1 < \dots < x_n < 1$:
 Durante dos minutos se estuvo limpiando el escaparate.
 for two minutes CL was cleaning the shop-window
 ‘For two minutes the shop window was been cleaning.’

Remember that the mentioned author proposes a unified analysis of *<no estar ‘not to be’ + participle>* and *<estar sin ‘to be without’ + infinitive>*. According to him, both structures refer to the initial state, which expresses that the entity does not have the property denoted by the participle:

- (41) a. $R^0(i)$: El escaparate no está limpio.
 the shop-window not is clean
 ‘The shop window is not clean.’
 b. $R^0(i)$: El escaparate está sin limpiar.
 the shop-window is without to-clean
 ‘The shop window is without being cleaned.’

Although I assume Moreno Cabrera’s model, I do not subscribe to his analysis of constructions such as the one in (41a). I consider that *<no estar ‘not to be’ + participle>* does not refer to the initial state of the attributive path. On the other hand, I consider, following Moreno Cabrera, that *<estar sin ‘to be without’ + infinitive>* is associated with the initial state. However, I do not agree with the idea that this structure denies that the entity has the property denoted by the participle. My proposal is that this is precisely what happens with *<no estar ‘not to be’ + participle>*, while *<estar sin ‘to be without’ + infinitive>* expresses a negative property. The former structure denies the final state; the latter affirms a negative state, in particular, the initial state. In other words, *<no estar ‘not to be’ + participle>* denies that the entity has the property denoted by the participle; *<estar sin ‘to be without’ + infinitive>* affirms that the entity has a property. The particular characteristic of the last construction is that the property is a negative state. This proposal is illustrated in (42):

- (42) a. $\neg [R^1(i)]$: El escaparate no está limpio.
 the shop-window not is clean
 ‘The shop window is not clean.’
 b. $R^0(i)$: El escaparate está sin limpiar.
 the shop-window is without to-clean
 ‘The shop window is without being cleaned.’

In (42a), it is denied the result state of the corresponding positive sentence, that is, that the shop window has the property denoted by *limpio* ‘clean’. Therefore, there is no event. In (42b), there is, in contrast, an event; the property of not being clean is attributed to the shop window. Although in this example I use the same notation than Moreno Cabrera (2011), $R^0(i)$, the semantics I propose for that structure is different. As I have pointed out, this linguist considers that sentences such as the one in (42b) expresses that the shop window does not have the property denoted by the final state (*to be clean*); I argue that the initial state is attributed to the shop window (*to not be clean*). In other words, I propose that *<estar sin ‘to be without’ + infinitive>* does not deny an event but affirms a negative event. This explains why it is possible that negation precedes *estar* ‘to be’:

- (43) El escaparate no está sin limpiar.
 the shop-window not is without to-clean
 ‘The shop window is not without being cleaned.’

Note that this sentence means the same than *El escaparate está limpio* ‘The shop window is clean’. The reason is that the particle *no* ‘not’ denies the negative event denoted by $\langle \textit{estar sin} \textit{ ‘to be without’} + \textit{infinitive} \rangle$, that is, that the shop window has the property expressed by the initial state. As a consequence, the sentence refers to the property corresponding to the final state. The relation between (43) and *El escaparate está limpio* ‘The shop window is clean’ is parallel to the one between the sentences in (44): (44a) follows from (44b):

- (44) a. La puerta no está cerrada.
 the door not is closed
 ‘The door is not closed.’
 b. La puerta está abierta.
 the door is open
 ‘The door is open.’

With respect to $\langle \textit{no estar} \textit{ ‘not to be’} + \textit{gerund} \rangle$, I propose that negation plays the same role than in $\langle \textit{no estar} \textit{ ‘not to be’} + \textit{participle} \rangle$: the corresponding positive sentence is negated. Remember that the progressive periphrasis can have two readings (the photographic interpretation and the cinematographic one). As a consequence, we have the same two readings when negation precedes *estar* ‘to be’ in these cases (see (45)).¹⁶ Under the photographic reading, it is denied that the entity has the property on the degree corresponding to an intermediate state (see (45a)). Under the cinematographic interpretation, it is denied that a transition between at least two intermediate states of the path takes place (see (45b)).¹⁷

- (45) El escaparate no se está limpiando.
 the shop-window not CL is cleaning
 ‘The shop window is not being cleaned.’
 a. $\neg [R^x(i)]$, where $0 < x < 1$
 b. $\neg [R^{[x_1, \dots, x_n]}(i)]$, where $0 < x_1 < \dots < x_n < 1$

My proposal can be extended to transitive resultatives such as the one in (46). As I pointed out in section 2.2, this construction establishes a relation between the entity denoted by *Juan* and the result state introduced by *El escaparate está limpio* ‘The shop window is clean’:

- (46) Juan tiene el escaparate limpio.
 John has the shop-window clean
 ‘John has the shop window clean.’

When *no* ‘not’ precedes the verb, the sentence denies that there is that relation (see (47a)). If we use the structure $\langle \textit{sin} \textit{ ‘without’} + \textit{infinitive} \rangle$, the sentence expresses that

¹⁶ In this example I do not use complements in order to distinguish the two readings because the relevant modifiers show restrictions when they appear with negated events.

¹⁷ This analysis of $\langle \textit{no estar} \textit{ ‘not to be’} + \textit{gerund} \rangle$ also applies to the progressive periphrases which are not related to a resultative structure (*Juan (no) está trabajando* ‘John is (not) working’).

there is certain relation between the entity denoted by the subject and a state. The difference with (46) is that (47b) refers to the initial state instead of being associated with the final state of the attributive path:

- (47) a. $\neg [T(i, R^1(ee))]$: Juan no tiene el escaparate limpio.
 John not has the shop-window clean
 ‘John does not have the shop window clean.’
 b. $T(i, R^0(ee))$: Juan tiene el escaparate sin limpiar.
 John has the shop-window without to-clean
 ‘John has the shop window without being cleaned.’

Let me now give evidence in favor of my analysis. I will show that, as I have proposed, *<no estar ‘not to be’ + participle>* and *<no estar ‘not to be’ + gerund>* deny an event and, therefore, there is no event; in contrast, *<estar sin ‘to be without’ + infinitive>* attributes to the entity the initial state of the path. Evidence for this proposal comes from the different behavior between negative and negated events. Firstly, I will describe these asymmetries. Secondly, I will study the behavior of the negative structures studied in this paper.

The first asymmetry arises depending on whether negation precedes the auxiliary verb of *<llegar a ‘to go so far as’ + infinitive>* or follows it. When negation precedes the auxiliary verb, we have a negated event but not a negative event. If *<no estar ‘not to be’ + participle>* and *<no estar ‘not to be’ + gerund>* deny an event, these constructions should be incompatible with *<llegar a ‘to go so far’ + infinitive>*. This is what happens (see (48a) y (48b)). *<Estar sin ‘to be without’ + infinitive>* does not show that restriction, since this periphrasis yields a negative event (see (48c)):

- (48) a. *Llegó a no estar dormido.
 become to not to-be asleep
 ‘He went so far as to not be asleep.’
 b. *Llegó a no estar durmiendo.
 become to not to-be sleeping
 ‘He went so far as to not be sleeping.’
 c. Llegó a estar sin dormir.
 become to to-be without to-sleep
 ‘He went so far as to be without sleeping.’

The second argument is based on the (in)compatibility of the structures that I am studying with frequency adverbs. Negated events reject these modifiers because it is not possible to express how often an event that does not take place occurs. Negative events, in contrast, are compatible with frequency adverbs. This asymmetry is illustrated in (49).¹⁸

¹⁸ It must be excluded the reading in which the denied constituent is *frecuentemente* ‘frequently’. The same happens in (50), and in (51)-(52) with the durative adverbial.

- (49) a. Juan estaba muy motivado; se matriculó de todas las asignaturas
 John was very motivated CL enrolled of all the subjects
 y se compró los libros de texto. Sin embargo, no llegó a
 and CL bought the books of text however not become to
 asistir a clase (*frecuentemente).
 to-attend to class frequently
 ‘John was very motivated; he enrolled in all subjects and bought the
 textbooks. However, he did not go so far as to attend class (frequently).’
- b. Juan estaba desmotivado; se matriculó sólo de tres asignaturas,
 John was unmotivated CL enrolled only of three subjects
 se olvidó de comprar los libros de texto y llegó a no
 CL forgot of buy the text of books and become to not
 asistir a clase frecuentemente.
 to-attend to class frequently
 ‘Juan was unmotivated; he enrolled in only three subjects; he forgot to
 buy the textbooks and went so far as to not attend class frequently.’

While <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + participle> and <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + gerund> cannot co-occur with frequency adverbs (see (50a) and (50b))¹⁹, <*estar sin* ‘to be without’ + infinitive> does not show this restriction (see (50c)):

- (50) a. El traje no está planchado (*frecuentemente).
 the suit not is ironed frequently
 ‘The suit is not ironed (frequently).’
- b. El traje no se está planchando (*frecuentemente).
 the suit not CL is ironing frequently
 ‘The suit is not being ironed (frequently).’
- c. El traje está sin planchar frecuentemente.
 the suit is without to-iron frequently
 ‘The suit is without being ironed frequently.’

The same situation arises with durative adverbials, which are rejected when an event is negated (see (51a)). This incompatibility is due to the fact that it is not possible to measure the duration of an event that does not take place. Negative events can co-occur with durative adverbials (see (51b)):

- (51) a. Como el sector inmobiliario había experimentado un gran auge,
 since the sector real-state had experienced a great rise
 Juan creó una empresa constructora y compró varios terrenos
 John found a company building and bought several lands
 para edificar en ellos. Sin embargo, su empresa no llegó
 in-order-to edify on them however his company not become
 a construir casas (*durante un año).
 to-build houses for a year
 ‘Since the real-state sector had experienced a great rise, John found a
 company building and bought several lands in order to edify on them.
 However, his company did not go so far as to build houses (for a year).’

¹⁹ As pointed out by a reviewer, the sentences in (50a) and (50b) have at least another reading: ‘It is not the case that the suit is frequently {ironed/ being ironed}’. I propose that in this case, the sentences are grammatical because the negation has an external interpretation.

- b. Como la venta de pisos había bajado, los directores de
 since the sale of apartments had dropped the managers of
 esa constructora tuvieron que despedir a muchos empleados,
 that building-company had that to-fire to many employees,
 perdieron dinero y llegaron a no construir casas durante un año.
 lost money and become to not to-build houses for a year.
 ‘Since the sale of apartments had dropped, the managers of that building
 company had to fire many employees, lost money and went so far as to
 not build houses for a year.’

Again, <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + participle> and <*no estar* ‘not to be’+ gerund>
 behave as negated events (see (52a)); <*estar sin* ‘to be without’ + infinitive> shows
 the same behavior than negative events (see (52b)):

- (52) a. *El traje no estuvo planchado durante una hora.
 the suit not was ironed for an hour
 ‘The suit was not ironed for an hour.’
 b. *El traje no se estuvo planchando durante una hora.
 the suit not CL was ironing for an hour
 ‘The suit was not being ironed for an hour.’
 c. El traje estuvo sin planchar durante una hora.
 the suit was without to-iron for an hour
 ‘The suit was without being ironed for an hour.’

Negated events and negative events also differ in the possibility of being embedded
 under the perception verb *ver* ‘to see’. The literature has distinguished two types of
 perception: epistemic and non-epistemic perception (Dretske 1969; Mittwoch 1990;
 Carrasco Gutiérrez 2010). Non-epistemic perception refers to what has been perceived
 through vision. We have this type of perception when the complement of *ver* ‘to see’
 is a determiner phrase or a non-inflected clause (Felser 1999). This is what happens in
 (53a) and (53b), where it is expressed that John has been an eye-witness to the object
 and to the event denoted by the complement, respectively:

- (53) a. Juan vio una bicicleta.
 John saw a bicycle
 ‘John saw a bicycle.’
 b. Juan vio morir a María.
 John saw to-die to Mary
 ‘John saw Mary die.’

Epistemic perception arises when the complement is an inflected clause, which
 expresses a proposition. As noted by Dretske (1969) and Carrasco Gutiérrez (2010),
 epistemic perception refers to the knowledge that is connected with a visual
 experience. Non-epistemic perception differs from epistemic one in which the latter
 attributes a belief-state to the perceiver. Thus, the embedded clause in (54) describes
 the belief of Mary being dead:

- (54) Juan vio que María estaba muerta.
 John saw that Mary was dead
 ‘John saw that Mary was dead.’

Moreover, Dretske (1969) and Carrasco Gutiérrez (2010) distinguish between two types of epistemic perception: primary epistemic perception and secondary epistemic perception. The difference between them depends on whether the belief attributed to the subject is based on a direct visual experience (primary epistemic perception) or on an indirect one (secondary epistemic perception). In the former, the individual has the belief because he has perceived the situation described by the embedded clause; in the latter, the belief is acquired through an inference triggered by other sensory data. The following sentence illustrates this idea:

- (55) Juan ha visto que llovía a cántaros.
 John has seen that rained cats-and-dogs
 ‘John has seen that it rained cats and dogs.’

In (55), we have an example of epistemic perception because it attributes a belief-state to John: that it has rained cats and dogs. The reading of primary epistemic perception arises if John was an eyewitness to the event of raining. In the secondary epistemic interpretation, John perceived another fact such as an effect of raining: for example, the wet ground. This datum allows him to infer that it has been raining.

As noted by Carrasco Gutiérrez (2010), primary and secondary epistemic perceptions show a different behavior regarding negated events. These events are incompatible with primary epistemic perception, but not with secondary one (Carrasco Gutiérrez 2010). Remember that in the primary epistemic reading, the embedded clause describes what the subject perceives. Negated events cannot appear in that context because it is not possible to perceive an event that does not take place. If the relevant reading is the secondary one, negated events do not show that restriction. The reason is that the embedded clause does not describe what the subject perceived but the conclusion that he reaches. Thus, the second sentence in (56) is grammatical only if Peter has seen, for example, dirt and, as a consequence, has inferred that the cleaning lady did not clean the house:

- (56) La asistenta estaba muy enfadada porque no le habían subido
 the cleaning-lady was very angry because not to-her had raised
 el sueldo. Pedro vio que no llegó a limpiar la casa.
 the salary Peter saw that not become to to-clean the house
 ‘The cleaning lady was very angry because they had not raised the salary to her. Peter saw that she went so far as to not clean the house.’

Evidence for the incompatibility between primary epistemic perception and negated events comes from examples such as the following, where the complementizer is *como* ‘how’ (Gallego 2004; García Fernández 2004):

- (57) *La asistenta estaba muy enfadada porque no le habían
 the cleaning-lady was very angry because not to-her had
 subido el sueldo. Pedro vio como no llegó a limpiar la casa
 raised the salary Peter saw how not become to to-clean the house
 ‘The cleaning lady was very angry because they had not raised the salary to her. Peter saw how she did not go so far as to clean the house.’

The ungrammaticality of this construction is due to the fact that negated events cannot co-occur with primary epistemic perception, which is the only reading

available if the complementizer is *como* ‘how’. This particle blocks the secondary epistemic interpretation (González Rodríguez 2013). Thus, (58) denotes that John is an eyewitness to the event of raining. The secondary epistemic reading is not available in this sentence:

- (58) Juan ha visto como llovía a cántaros.²⁰
 John has seen how rained cats-and-dogs
 ‘John has seen how rained cats and dogs.’

Let me now study what happens if negative constructions analyzed in this paper appear in a clause embedded under *ver* ‘to see’. These constructions do not show restrictions when the complementizer is *que* ‘that’ (see (59)). However, my proposal predicts that <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + participle> and <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + gerund> reject the primary epistemic reading, since the event is negated in these structures. <*Estar sin* ‘to be without’ + infinitive> affirms a negative event and, as a consequence, my hypothesis predicts that this structure is compatible with both epistemic readings. These predictions are borne out. Note that (59a) and (59b) attribute to John a belief-state acquired through an inference triggered by other sensory data; for example, if John knows that the papers were not marked (or were not being marked) because he has perceived that the teacher had gone on a trip without them. What these sentences do not describe is a situation in which John sees the unmarked works. In (59c), in contrast, both readings are available:

- (59) a. Juan vio que los trabajos no estaban corregidos.
 John saw that the papers not were marked
 ‘John saw that the papers were not marked.’
 b. Juan vio que los trabajos no se estaban corrigiendo.
 John saw that the papers not CL were marking
 ‘John saw that the papers were not being marked.’
 c. Juan vio que los trabajos estaban sin corregir.
 John saw that the papers were without to-mark
 ‘John saw that the papers were without being marked.’

The data in (60), where the complementizer is *como* ‘how’, confirm that my description is right. Since this complementizer blocks the secondary interpretation, <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + participle> and <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + gerund> are rejected (see (60a) and (60b)). The structure <*estar sin* ‘to be without’ + infinitive> does not show that restriction because it is compatible with the primary epistemic reading and with the secondary one (see (60c)):

- (60) a. *Vi como los trabajos no estaban corregidos.
 saw how the papers not were marked
 ‘I saw how the papers were not marked.’
 b. *Vi como los trabajos no se estaban corrigiendo.
 saw how the papers not CL were marking
 ‘I saw how the papers were not being marked.’

²⁰ Note that *a cántaros* ‘cats and dogs’ blocks the manner reading of the complementizer. This interpretation must be excluded throughout this paper.

- c. Vi como los trabajos estaban sin corregir.
 saw how the papers were without to-mark
 ‘I saw how the papers were without being marked.’

So far, the evidence I have offered in favor of my analysis comes from the different behavior between negative and negated events. Now, I want to reinforce my proposal by the following data:

- (61) a. El traje no está {planchado/ cosido}.
 the suit not is ironed sewn
 ‘The suit is not {ironed/ sewn}.’
 b. El traje está sin {planchar/ coser}.
 the suit is without to-iron to-sew
 ‘The suit is without being {ironed/ sewn}.’
- (62) a. María no está {arrepentida/ equivocada}.
 Mary not is been-sorry been-wrong
 ‘Mary is not {sorry/ wrong}.’
 b. *María está sin {arrepentirse/ equivocarse}.
 Mary is without to-be-sorry to-be-wrong
 ‘Mary is without being {sorry/ wrong}.’
- (63) a. El jardín no está rodeado por una valla.
 the garden not is surrounded by a fence
 ‘The garden is not surrounded by a fence.’
 b. *El jardín está sin rodear por una valla.
 the garden is without to-surround by a fence
 ‘The garden is without being surrounded by a fence.’

The contrast between (61) and (62)-(63) shows that while some verbs allow the two negative constructions studied here (see (61)), other verbs are compatible just with <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + participle> (see (62)-(63)). In order to understand this contrast, we need to analyze the meaning of these participles in affirmative sentences. As several authors have pointed out, the participles in (61a) differ from these in (62a) and (63a), at least when they appear when the auxiliary verb *estar* (‘to be’). As regards the participles in (61), they are derived from transitive and telic predicates (*planchar el traje* ‘to iron the suit’ and *coser el traje* ‘to sew the suit’, respectively). When these participles are combined with *estar* (‘to be’), the periphrasis gets the resultative reading that I have already described above. Thus, the sentences in (64) express that the suit has acquired the property corresponding to the final state of a process. Since the participles of these sentences refer to a process, it is possible to deny the final state (see (61a)) and to affirm the initial state (see (61b)):

- (64) El traje está {planchado/ cosido}.
 the suit is ironed sewn
 ‘The suit is {ironed/ sewn}.’

The participles in (62a) and (63a) do not give rise to the same interpretation. The participles in (62a) derive from unaccusative verbs and have adjectival properties (Bosque 1990; Camus 2006a). The sentences in (65) refer to a state but this is not

associated to a process (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1624).²¹ It can be denied that the subject has the property denoted by the participle (see (62a)). However, it is not possible to affirm the initial state of a path, as is shown in (62b). The reason is that these sentences do not refer to any process:

- (65) María está {arrepentida/ equivocada}.
 Mary is been-sorry been-wrong
 ‘Mary is {sorry/ wrong}.’

A similar situation arises in (63), where the participle is derived from a transitive verbs. These verbs, which are atelic, are not allowed in *ser*-passives and give rise to locative structures when they are combined with *estar* (Mendikoetxea 1999: 1624; Camus 2006a). The sentence in (66) does not denote that the subject of predication has the property corresponding to a final state and, as a consequence, it is not possible to affirm the initial state of a path (see (63b)). The sentence in (63a) is grammatical because it is denied the locative structure:

- (66) El jardín está rodeado por una valla.
 the garden is surrounded by a fence
 ‘The garden is surrounded by a fence.’

The arguments that I have presented are strong evidence in favor of my proposal, that is, that negation does not play the same role in <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + participle> and <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + gerund> than in <*estar sin* ‘to be without’ + infinitive>. In the former, it denies the event denoted by the corresponding affirmative construction: in the latter, it yields a negative event that attributes to the entity the initial state of the path.

3.2. <Estar no ‘not to be’ + gerund> vs. <seguir no ‘to keep not’ + gerund>

In this section, I will study why the particle *no* ‘not’ can precede the gerund in the periphrasis <*seguir* ‘to keep’ + gerund> but no in <*estar* ‘to be’ + gerund>:

- (67) a. *El escaparate estuvo no limpiándose.
 the shop-window was not cleaning-CL
 ‘The shop window was not being cleaned.’
 b. El escaparate siguió no limpiándose.
 the shop-window keeps not cleaning-CL
 ‘The shop window is still not being cleaned.’

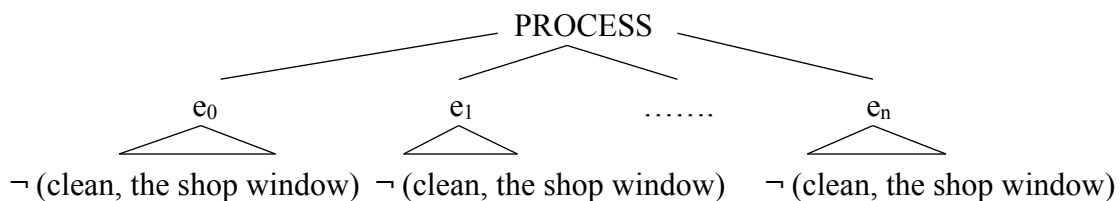
In order to explain this contrast, I will offer a semantic analysis of (67b) and account for the ungrammaticality of (67a). With respect to the first issue, there are two important questions: a) the interpretation of the periphrasis <*seguir no* ‘to keep not’ + gerund>; and b) the role of negation. Let me start for the second question. I have shown that the particle *no* ‘not’ can deny that the event takes place or yield a negative event. I consider that the last role is the one that it plays in (67b), where we have the negative event <no limpiar el escaparate> ‘<to not clean the shop window>’. Evidence comes from the possibility of introducing frequency and duration adverbs:

²¹ See Bosque (1990), (1999) and (2014) for a more detailed description of participles in Spanish.

- (68) a. El escaparate siguió no limpiándose frecuentemente.
the shop-window keeps not cleaning-CL frequently
‘The shop window is still not being cleaned frequently.’
b. El escaparate siguió no limpiándose durante un año.
the shop-window keeps not cleaning-CL for a year
‘The shop window is still not being cleaned for a year.’

As I pointed out in section 2.3, negative events are processes constituted by identical states that are related between them. These processes are conceived as relations of void transitions, since they do not yield any change of state. Thus, the subeventive structure of an event such as <no limpiar el escaparate> ‘<to not clean the shop window>’ is the one illustrated in (69):

- (69) no limpiar el escaparate
not to-clean the shop-window
‘to not clean the shop window’



The periphrasis <*seguir* ‘to keep’ + gerund> expresses that the event denoted by the gerund takes place in the speech time and in a period before it (Camus 2006b). <*Seguir* ‘to keep’ + gerund> relates two identical events. In (67b), these events are identical processes constituted by identical states. This property allows us to distinguish the construction in (67b) from *El escaparate sigue sin limpiar* ‘The shop window is still without being cleaned’, where two identical events are related. The difference is that (67b) relates two processes while the mentioned sentence relates two states.

Now, I will explain why the progressive periphrasis, unlike <*seguir* ‘to keep’ + gerund>, rejects a negative event such as <no limpiar el escaparate> ‘to not clean the shop window’. I consider that the ungrammaticality of (67a) is due to the fact that the subeventive structure of negative events is incompatible with the interpretation of <*estar* ‘to be’+ gerund>. I have pointed out that this periphrasis focuses on an internal part of the event and, in particular, on an intermediate state or on the transition between states of this type. This property avoids the presence of states in that periphrasis; in other words, (70) is ungrammatical because states do not have subeventive structure and, therefore, it is not possible to focus on an (or several) intermediate state(s):

- (70) *Está teniendo fiebre.
is having fever
‘He is having a fever.’

It does not seem that there is any problem with negative events, since their subeventive structure consists of more than one state (see (69)). However, remember that negative events relate identical properties and, as a consequence, there is no change of state. I propose that this fact is crucial to understand why a negative event

cannot appear in the progressive periphrasis.²² If the states that constitute a negative process do not express any change or progress, they cannot be focused by the progressive periphrases because this construction denotes the progress of an event.

4. Conclusions

In this paper I have analyzed the negation of resultative and progressive periphrases within Modelo Cabrera's (2003) framework. I have argued that when the particle *no* 'not' precedes the auxiliary verb, it denies the corresponding affirmative sentence. <*No estar* 'not to be' + participle> denies that the entity has the property denoted by the participle, which refers to the final state of an attributive path. <*No estar* 'not to be' + gerund> denies that the entity has the property expressed by some of the intermediate states. Moreover, I have shown that these constructions differ from <*estar sin* 'to be without' + infinitive>: the latter does not deny an event but denotes that the entity has the property that corresponds to the origin state of the path. Finally, I have explained why negation cannot precede the gerund of the progressive periphrasis (<**estar no* 'to be not' + gerund>). My proposal has been that in these constructions, negation yields a negative event and the subeventive structure of these events is incompatible with the semantic requirements of the periphrasis.

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²² Carrasco Gutiérrez and González Rodríguez (2011) show that states and the processes that are conceived as void transitions have the same behavior regarding their possibility of being embedded under *ver* 'to see'.

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