

The negation of resultative periphrasis

Raquel González Rodríguez (Raquel.Gonzalez@uclm.es)
University of Castilla-La Mancha

This talk focuses on the negation of resultative periphrasis in Spanish (<*estar* ‘to be’ + participle>) (1). This periphrasis can be denied introducing *no* ‘not’ before the auxiliary verb (2a). What is interesting is that this construction had been related to another negative structure: the one created by <*sin* ‘without’ + infinitive> (2b) (Moreno Cabrera 2011). Contrary to what has been suggested, I will show that negative constructions in (2) have a different interpretation and provide evidence for the existence of negative events:

- (1) El traje está planchado.
‘The suit is ironed.’
- (2) a. El traje no está planchado.
‘The suit is not ironed.’
- b. El traje está sin planchar.
‘The suit is without being ironed.’

My proposal is based on Moreno Cabrera’s analysis of result states. According to this author, <*estar* ‘to be’ + participle> expresses that an entity has the property denoted by the final state of a process. Thus, in (1), there is an attributive path whose final state is reached when the property expressed by the participle is acquired. Note that it is possible to introduce adverbs that refer to the states that are part of the path:

- (3) El traje está {casi/ medio} planchado.
‘The suit is {almost/ half} ironed.’

In order to formalize attributive paths Moreno Cabrera (2011) adopts the notation $R^x(i)$. R refers to the property denoted by the participle; i refers to the entity; and $x \in Q$ (the set of rational numbers):

$$(4) \quad R^0(i) \Rightarrow R^{1/10}(i) \Rightarrow R^{1/2}(i) \Rightarrow R^{9/10}(i) \Rightarrow R^1(i)$$

I will propose that <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + participle> denies the final state ($\neg R^1(i)$), while <*estar sin* ‘to be without’ + infinitive> affirms the negative property denoted by the origin state ($R^0(i)$). In other words, the former structure denies that the entity has the property denoted by the participle; the latter affirms that the entity has a property. The particular characteristic of the last construction is that the property is a negative state. Thus, in (2a), it is denied the result state of the corresponding positive sentence, that is, that the suit has the property denoted by the participle. Therefore, there is no event. In (2b), there is an event; the property of not being ironed is attributed to the suit. I will offer evidence for this analysis showing the different behavior of the structures in (2). One of these asymmetries is their incompatibility with durative adverbials. Since it is not possible to measure the duration of an event that does not take place, my proposal predicts that <*no estar* ‘not to be’ + participle> cannot co-occur with that type of adverbials while <*estar sin* ‘to be without’ + infinitive> can. This is what happens:

- (5) a. *El traje no estuvo planchado {durante/ en} una hora.
'The suit was not ironed {for/ in} an hour.'
- b. El traje estuvo sin planchar durante una hora.
'The suit was without being ironed for an hour.'

References

- Moreno Cabrera, J. C. (2003): *Semántica y gramática. Sucesos, papeles semánticos y relaciones sintácticas*, Madrid, Antonio Machado Libros.
- Moreno Cabrera, J. C. (2011): "La aspectualidad fásica de los estados resultativos desde el punto de vista de la semántica relacional de sucesos", in Ángeles Carrasco Gutiérrez (ed.): *Sobre estados y estatividad*, München, Lincom, pp. 8-25.