Temporal Non-Impersonal Constructions. Spanish Light Verbs *Llevar* and *Tener**

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In this paper we analyze the behavior of some temporal constructions in two varieties of Spanish: those with the verb *llevar* 'to carry', which appear in the Standard variety, and those with *tener* 'to have', which are characteristic of some American dialects. Our purpose is twofold, on one hand, we try to account for the argument structure of these constructions and, on the other, we seek to give an analysis of the aspectual restrictions them. Both verbs are light verbs which accept incorporation of an abstract preposition, allative in case of *llevar* and of central coincidence in the case of *tener*.

1. Spanish temporal constructions.

In Spanish, temporal constructions[1] are usually impersonal sentences which contain a light verb like *ser* 'to be' plus a temporal NP (1a) or an adverbial phrase (1b), or *hacer* 'to do/ make' or *ir + para* 'to go for', plus a temporal NP and a CP (1c, d).

(1)   a. Son las cinco.
            are the five
            'It's five o'clock.'
         b. Es tarde.

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[1]   We use *temporal* because that is the traditional term used in Spanish grammars, although *aspectual constructions* might perhaps be more accurate.

is late
        'It's late.'
    c. Hace cinco años que vivo aquí.
        makes five years that (I) live here
        'It is five years that I'm living here.'
    d. Va para cinco años que vivo aquí.
        goes for five years that (I) live here
        'It is almost five years that I'm living here.'

Together with these temporal impersonal constructions, there are others, semantically similar to (1c), but with a 1st, 2nd or 3rd person subject which agrees with the verb. These constructions show dialectal variation. In Peninsular Spanish the only verb used in non-impersonal temporal sentences is *llevar* 'to carry', as shown in (2), whereas in some varieties of American Spanish it is the verb *tener* 'to have' which appears in these constructions, as shown in (3).[2] In dialects that use *tener*, *llevar* also exists, but it is much less frequent.

(2)   a. Llevo viviendo aquí cinco años.
            (I) carry living here five years
            'It is five years that I'm living here.'
        b. Tu hermana lleva durmiendo muchas horas.
            your sister carries sleeping many hours
            'It is many hours that your sister is sleeping.'

(3)   a. Tengo de vivir aquí cinco años.
            (I) have of live here five years
            'It is five years that I'm living here.'
        b. Ni un año tiene de haberse casado.
            not-even a year (he) has of have got married
            'It's not even a year that he got married.'

        The purpose of this paper is twofold, on one hand, we seek to give an analysis of the syntactic restrictions characterizing these temporal constructions and, on the other, we try to account for their argument structure. We will start by trying to determine the precise status of the finite verbs *llevar* 'to carry' and *tener* 'to have'. It will turn out that the two verbs under study display different structures. This fact will derive, we hope to show, from different lexical composition.

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[2] Unless otherwise indicated, examples with *llevar* are constructed by us and the ones with t*ener* are provided by our informants or taken from corpora and texts from different countries, specially Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and those of the Caribbean zone, or from Kany (1951).

2. The status of *llevar* and *tener*.

We would like to start by arguing that, contrary to what has been usually assumed,[3] the finite verb *llevar/ tener* does not give raise to a complex, periphrastic form such as Spanish *tener que* + infinitive (*tener que estudiar* 'have to study'), *haber de* + infinitivo (*haber de estudiar* 'have to study') or *estar* + gerund (*estar estudiando* 'be studing'). There are some facts that can be taken as evidence for the preceding claim. First, contrary to periphrastical forms in (4), *tener* and *llevar* and the non-finite verbs (infinitive / gerund) do not have to be adjacent, as shown in (5).

(4)   a. Juan todavía <u>tiene que trabajar.</u>
          John still has that work
      b. *Juan <u>tiene</u> todavía <u>que trabajar.</u>
          John still has that work
      c. Juan todavía <u>ha de trabajar.</u>
          John still has of work
          'John still has to work.'
      d. *Juan <u>ha</u> todavía <u>de trabajar.</u>
      e. A las cinco tú <u>estabas trabajando.</u>
          at the five you were working
          'You were working at five o'clock'
      f. *Tú <u>estabas</u> a las cinco <u>trabajando.</u>

(5)   a. <u>Tengo</u> cinco años <u>de vivir</u> aquí.   (cf. (3a))
          (I) have five years of live here
          'It is five years that I'm living here.'
      b. No <u>tiene</u> ni un año <u>de haberse casado.</u>   (cf. (3b))
          not ((s)he) has a year of have got married
          'It's not even a year that (s)he got married.'
      c. <u>Llevo</u> cinco años <u>viviendo</u> aquí. (cf. (2a))
          (I) carry five years living here
          'It is five years that I'm living here.'
      d. Tu hermana <u>lleva</u> muchas horas <u>durmiendo</u> (cf. (2b))
          your sister carries many hours sleeping
          'It is many hours that your sister has been sleeping.'

      Second, together with the infinitive or gerund, an adverbial phrase, an adjective or participial phrase, or a PP can appear in these constructions. We provide some examples in (6).

(6)   a. Lleva cinco años aquí / de médico / sin trabajar.
          carries five years here / of doctor /without working
          'He has spent five years / as a doctor / not working.'
      b. Tengo aquí más de dos horas.
          (I) have here more of two hours

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[3] See, for example, Yllera (1999), Marín Gálvez (2000), Camus (2004), and most traditional grammarians.

'I have been here for more that two hours.'
c. Este monasterio tiene un siglo de fundado.
this monastery has a century of founded
'This monastery was founded a century ago.'

In fact, in these constructions the alternation gerund /*sin* 'without' + infinitive is obtained (Bosque 1980) (cf. (7a)), while true periphrastic forms with *sin* + infinitive are impossible, as shown in (7b and c):

(7) a. Llevo cinco días estudiando / sin estudiar.
        I carry five days studying /without studying
     b. Estoy estudiando / *sin estudiar.
         I am studying / without studying
     c. Esto viene costando / *sin costar 3 euros.
        This comes costing / without costing 3 euro
        'This costs around 3 euro.'

Incidentally, in other Romance languages, we find the equivalent of Spanish *llevar* in similar syntactic contexts, as can be seen in (8). These constructions have not been analyzed as periphrastic:

(8) a. Leva tres días durmindo/ sen durmir / en Oviedo. (Gallegan)
          He carries three days sleeping / without sleep / in Oviedo.
          'He spent 5 years sleeping / not sleeping / in Oviedo.'
     b. Leva muito tempo con saudades / fora daqui / sem comer.
         (Portuguese)
         He carries a lot of time with homesickness/ out of here/   without
         eating.
         'It's a long time that he is with homesickness / out of here / without
         eating.'
     c. Porto un mes en aquesta casa / casat / sense dormir. (Catalan)
         I carry a month in this house / married / without sleeping
          'It's a month that I am in this house / married / without sleeping.'

Third, with auxiliary verbs such as periphrastic *tener que / haber de* 'have to' negation cannot appear with the infinitive (see (9)). In contrast, the constructions under study can have the negation in both verbs, although it is not 'transparent' with regard to its scope, as shown in (10).

(9) a. No tengo que trabajar tanto / *Tengo que no trabajar tanto.
        (I) not have that work so much / (I) not have to work so much
        'I do not have to work so much.'
     b. No he de trabajar tanto / * He de no trabajar tanto.
        (I) have that not work so much / (I) have of not work so much
        'I do not have to work so much.'

(10) a. No tiene (ni) un día de andar con gripa
         ((S)he) not has even a day of walk with flu
         'It's not even a day that (s)he has the flu.'

≠ Tiene un día de no andar con gripa.
  ((S)he) has a day of not walk with flu
b. No llevo mucho tiempo trabajando aquí.
  (I) not carry much time working here
  'It's not too long that I work here.'
  ≠ Llevo mucho tiempo sin trabajar aquí.
  (I) carry much time without working here
  'It's a long time that I don't work here.'

Fourth, the non-finite clause constitutes (weak) islands, in the sense that extraction (of an adjunct) is impossible, in clear contrast with periphrastic constructions. See the examples in (11) and (12):

(11)   a. ¿Qué estabas leyendo?
          What were you reading?
        b. ¿Dónde estabas leyendo?
          Where were you reading?
        c. ¿Qué libro tienes que leer?
          Which book do you have to read?
        d. ¿Dónde tienes que leer el libro?
          Where do you have to read the book?

(12)   a. ??¿Qué libro llevas tres meses leyendo?
          which book (you) carry three months reading
          What book have you been reading for three months?
        b. *¿Dónde llevabas tres meses leyéndolo?
           where do you carried three months reading it
           (cf. 'Where were you reading?)
         c. ??¿Qué libro tienes tres meses de haber leído?
           What book have you three months of have read
           'what book is it three months that you read?'
        d. *¿Dónde tienes tres meses de haber leído el libro?
           Where have you three moths of having read the book?

Fifth, it is a well known fact that clitics can "climb" from the non finite to the finite verb in the case of periphrastic constructions and so called "restructuring verbs" (Rizzi 1982). This can be seen in (13).

(13)   a. Tengo que leer*lo*.
          I have to read CL
        b. *Lo* tengo que leer.
        c. Estoy leyéndo*lo*.
          I am reading it
        d. *Lo* estoy leyendo.

Now, at least in Catalan (13a and b), clitic climbing from the embedded verb is impossible. Spanish data in are not so clear with *llevar*, although most speakers prefer the structure without climbing (especially if one of the clitcs is *se*).

(14)   a. Porto sense veure-*la* vuit dies.
              (I) carry without see her eight days
              'It's eight days that haven't see her.'
         b. *La* porto sense veure vuit dies
              (I) her carry without see eight days
         c. Llevan peleándo*se* toda su vida
              (they) carry arguing all their lives
              'They have been arguing-*cl* . for all their lives.'
         d. *??*Se* llevan peleando toda su vida.
              (they) *cl.* carry arguing all their lives
         e. Ya tienes de haber*los* terminado tiempecito, tus estudios.
              (you) already have of have-them finished some time your studies
              'It is some time that you have finished your studies'
         f. *Ya *los* tienes de haber terminado tiempecito, tus estudios
              (you) already them have of have finished some time your studies

     Sixth, in the constructions under study, ellipsis of the non finite form is possible in some contexts, as shown in (15). This is not the case for periphrastic forms.

 (15)   a. Empezó a trabajar aquí sin seguridad, y ya lleva ocho años.
              He started to work here without security and he carries 8 years.
              'He started working with no safety and has been here for 8 years'
         b. - Pero ya tienen ahí diez años, ¿verdad?
                But you have there ten years, right?
             - Pues tenemos un montón.
                Well we have a lot.
              'But it's ten years that you are there, right?
             - Well, it's a long time.'

(16)   a. *Tengo que trabajar tres horas y tú tienes (que) cinco.
               I have to work three hours and you have (to) five
         b. *Estuvo trabajando tres horas y tú no estuviste.
              He was working for three hours and you were not

     What data form (4) to (16) show is that one cannot propose a complex verbal form for the cases under study. We will see in what follows that, in fact, the non-finite verbal form, as well as the non-verbal ones in (6), are complement of a(n) (abstract) preposition and that *llevar* and *tener* do not behave as real predicates.
     Being more precise, what we would like to propose is that temporal sentences with *llevar* and *tener* give raise to two complex structures whose global meaning is practically equivalent but which display different properties. The difference between them, we would like to claim, is to be attributed to the different lexical nature of both light verbs and to the close relation they establish with the just mentioned abstract prepositions which, we will maintain, have different locative values. Thus, although the sentences in (17) are synonymous,

tener, but not *llevar*, can coappear with a participle such as *nacido* 'born'. See (18).[4]

(17)   a. El cadáver tenía varios años de enterrado.
            the corps had$_{imp}$ some years buried
            'The corps had been buried for some years.'
        b. El cadáver llevaba varios años enterrado.
            the corps carried $_{imp}$ some years buried
            'The corps had been buried for some years'

(18)   a. Apenas tenía un día de nacido.
            hardly (he) had $_{imp}$ a day of born
            'It was hardly a day since he was born.'
        b. *Apenas llevaba un día nacido.
            hardly (he) carried $_{imp}$ a day born

    But the crucial property in which the constructions under study seem to differ has to do with the fact that *llevar* imposes strict aspectual restrictions on the sentence, while *tener* does not seem to have this requirement. More specifically, sentences such as (19), with *llevar*, are impossible while those in (20), with *tener*, are perfect:

(19)   a. * Llevó tres años de profesor en su juventud.
             He carried $_{perf}$ three years of professor in his youth
        b. *Ha llevado tres horas esperando.
            Has carried three hours waiting

(20)   a. Tuviste varios días de estar enfermo. (Mexico).
            you had $_{perf}$ some days of be sick..
            'You have been sick for some days.'
        b. Había tenido un año de dar clases. (Mexico)
           he had had a year of give classes
           'He had been teaching for a year.'
        c. El 22 de abril, Miguel tuvo un año de haber vivido en Boston.
           (Dominican Republic)

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[4] In other constructions with these verbs a similar situation holds. For example in small clauses like the following:

(i) a.   Tiene los labios pintados.
            (s)he has the lips painted
    b.   Lleva los labios pintados.
            (s)he carries the lips painted
            '(s)he has lipstick on.'
(ii) a.   Tiene la frente ancha.
            (s)he has a wide forehead
    b.   *Lleva la frente ancha.
            (s)he carries a wide forehead

 See also Marín Gálvez (2000) for other similar constructions.

on April 22nd Miguel had a year of have lived in Boston.
'On April 22nd, Miguel had been living in Boston for a year.'

    d. El 22 de abril, Miguel tuvo un año de malpasarla. (id)
      on April 22nd, Miguel had a year of passing it bad.
      'On April 22nd, Miguel had been having a bad time for a year.'

    e. Ya ha tenido un año de malpasarla, tratemos de ayudarlo. (id)
      already he has had a year of passing it bad, lets try to help him
      'He has already had a hard year, lets try to help him.'

    f. Ya hemos tenido 5 años de vivir en Boston. Solicitemos la
      already we have had 5 years of live in Boston. Let's apply for
      ciudadanía. (id)
      citizenship
      'We have already lived in Boston for 5 years. Let's apply for
      citizenship.'

We will address these two aspects in the next section and make them follow from differences in argument structure.

3. Argument Structure.

We will now be dealing with argument structure of the predicates in this temporal constructions. In so doing, we will adopt Hale & Keyser's (1993, 2002) work. We will analyze the "basic predicates" of these constructions and the arguments they select.

      Our hypothesis is that in the constructions under study *llevar* y *tener* behave as light verbs: they are not real predicates but mere hosts for an abstract preposition as well as carriers of tense and agreement properties. Thus temporal *llevar* and *tener* host an abstract prepositional predicate of temporal location. The head of this predicate (the preposition) must incorporate to the light verb to be licensed. We will also claim that temporal *llevar* and *tener* are in some sense raising verbs (Chomsky 2001a, 2001b), since their grammatical subject is generated inside a selected small clause.

3.1. The verb *llevar.*

In its basic sense, when *llevar* 'to take/ carry' behaves as a verb which expresses an action which implies that something or someone causes movement of something *to* some point far from the speaker. For this case, the structure we propose is the one schematically depicted in (21):

(21)   María [$_v$ [lleva [$_{PP}$ los libros a la escuela]]]
         Maria takes the books to school

      The verb *llevar* takes as its complement a PP whose head is a dynamic preposition with a destination (i.e. allative) value, *a* (Hale 1986). In (21) the Spec of such a preposition is the DP *los libros*, while its complement is the DP *la escuela*. This verb, being selected by a causative small *v,* also takes an external argument (*María).*

In contrast with (21), in the constructions under study, our claim is that *llevar* admits incorporation of the dynamic preposition, provided this does not have phonological content. One of the most intriguing properties of this use of *llevar*, which is not displayed by the one analyzed in (21), is its impossibility to appear in sentences in past tense and perfect aspect, like those in (19). In order to account for this peculiarity we will assume recent theories on tense and aspect such as the ones developed by Zagona 1995, Stowell 1996, Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 1997, 2000, among other. The basic idea of these authors is that Tense and also Aspect can be analyzed as predicates, be it dynamic predicates – destination or source-, or static predicates which express mere coincidence. Observe that from this point of view one can easily explain why some movement verbs are frequently used across languages as temporal auxiliaries (Hale 1986) (Spanish: *venir a* 'to come to', *ir a* 'to go to', *echar a* 'to throw to', *llegar a* 'to arrive to' + infinitive, *andar* 'to walk', *venir* 'to come', *seguir* 'to go on' + gerund; Catalan: *arribar a* 'to arrive to', *anar* 'to go' + infinitive; Portuguese: *ir* 'to go' + infinitive…).

In particular, Demirdache and Uribe- Etxebarria (2000) propose to analyze perfective tenses as dynamic predicates, which do not express static coincidence, but source. In other words, past tense and perfect aspect have a meaning which is similar to the preposition *from*. If we accept this proposal we can account for the temporal-aspectual restrictions displayed by Spanish temporal *llevar* (Marín Gálvez 2000: 203; Camus 2004). The same is true for Catalan *portar*:

(22)   a. *Juan llevó tres años en Inglaterra. (Spanish)
              Juan carried$_{perf}$ three years in England
          b. *He llevado un mes trabajando aquí. (Spanish)
              Juan has carried a month working here
          c. *En Joan portà tres anys a Anglaterra. (Catalan)
          d. *En Joan ha portat un mes treballant aquí. (Catalan)

Temporal *llevar /portar* are incompatible with tense and aspect which do not mean source (ordering from one point to another). The source value of past tense and perfect aspect does not fit in the meaning of the destination preposition we have assumed to incorporate onto temporal *llevar*. The verb *llevar* is itself directional, but in our constructions it also admits incorporation of a predicate of abstract temporal location equivalent to the preposition *to*. Thus, the value of the real predicate of the construction –the abstract preposition- is added to the directional value of *llevar*. This reinforced destination value of the predication –which carries the meaning of "towards"- does not match the temporal-aspectual predicate's source value characteristic of past tense and perfect aspect.

In sum, the destination or allative preposition incorporated on the verb *llevar* is incompatible with the source relation expressed by past tense and

perfect aspect. This would explain the temporal/ aspectual restrictions shown above.[5]

As expected, other uses of *llevar* do not show the just mentioned restrictions, as shown in (23):

(23)   a. Juan llevó los libros al colegio.
              Juan took the books to school
          b. Nos llevó mucho tiempo escribir este artículo.
              It took us a long time to write this paper
          c. Juan llevó/ ha llevado una vida muy tranquila.
              Juan had$_{Perf}$ / has had a quiet life

Our proposal for all these cases is that *llevar* does not incorporate a destination preposition, although it can select for an explicit one as its complement, as in (23a).

One piece of evidence which supports our analysis is provided by the fact that there are other temporal constructions, such as *ir para* 'go for', in which the destination preposition appears explicitly. This construction, as one would expect, also shows incompatibility with past tense and perfect aspect. We provide some examples in (24):

(24)   a. Va para tres meses que no llueve.
              It goes for three months that it doesn't rain
              'It will soon be three months that it has not rained.'
          b. *Fue para tres años que se había ido.
              It go$_{Perf}$ for three years he had left
          c. *Ha ido para tres meses que no llovía/llovió.
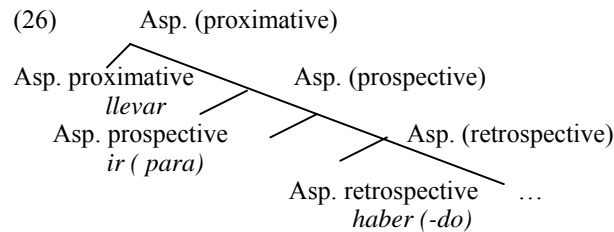   It has gone for three months that it didn't rain

Once again, the verb *ir* 'go', when it is not used in temporal constructions but as a predicate and is followed by a selected destination PP, does not respect any of the above restrictions, as seen in (25):

(25)   Hemos ido/ fuimos para la playa.
          We have gone / went$_{Perf}$ towards the beach.

Our hypothesis would fit very well into Cinque's (1999) proposal, according to which there is a universal hierarchy of functional categories some of which have an aspectual nature. Auxiliary movement verbs would generate in these aspectual projections (see also Cardinaletti and Giusti 1998). This could be the case for *ir* and, we could propose, for our temporal *llegar*. Due to the destination preposition with which they relate, their corresponding aspectual category would be prospective or proximative. This would be incompatible

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[5] Observe that imperfect past is compatible with temporal *llevar*, since it has an inconclusive aspectual value (see Brucart 2003, García Fernández and Camus 2004): *Llevaba tres días sin dormir* 'I carried$_{imp}$ three nights without sleep' .

with perfective aspect expressed by some past tenses.[6] The representation for the relevant structures would be something like (26):

(26)　　　Asp. (proximative)

Asp. proximative　　　Asp. (prospective)
　　llevar
　　　Asp. prospective　　　Asp. (retrospective)
　　　ir (para)
　　　　　Asp. retrospective　…
　　　　　haber (-do)

The directional nature of the abstract preposition incorporated on temporal *llevar* also accounts for data such as (18b), repeated in (27a). What these type of data show is that our temporal constructions with *llevar* only admit stage adjectives and participles whose lexical aspectual properties are, in some sense, "durative" (such as *buried, sick, drunk,* but not *born, executed, watered, spitted, criticized…*). A "durative" phrase is the only one which is compatible both with the main preposition and the time measure phrase it selects. That is, the time phrase which appears with *llevar* is only semantically compatible with stages which admit a possible continuation. For the same reason *llevar* is also incompatible with predicates which express an achievement, as in (27b):

(27)　　a. *Apenas llevaba un día nacido.
　　　　　he hardly carried a day born
　　　　b. *Lleva tres horas llegando / sin llegar a la oficina.
　　　　　he carries arriving/ without arriving at the office three hours

So far we have dealt with the nature of the light verb *llevar*. Now we will go deeper into the structure we propose for this verb. In particular, we will try to show that in a sentence like (28a) the grammatical subject (*María*) is the semantic subject of a small clause whose predicate is the directional preposition. Observe that if the real head of the predication is a P, our verb *llevar* will no longer be an action verb which relates to an agent argument. It occurs in the sentence to support tense and aspect. In (28b) we provide a schematic argument structure corresponding to (28a):

(28)　a.　María lleva tres años en esta empresa.
　　　　　Maria carries three years in this company
　　　　　'It is two years that Maria is in this company.'

　　　b.　　　V

(tres) años en (esta) empresa
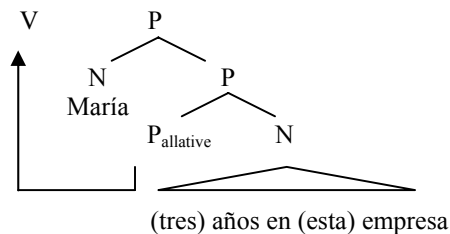
In (28b) there is no position for an external argument, contrary to what we proposed for (21). *Llevar* is a light verb which selects for a PP whose head is an abstract allative preposition. This preposition's Spec is filled by the N (*María*) which will raise to the sentential subject position.

If we follow Hale & Keyser (2002: 221), the structure for a PP with an allative preposition is more complex than expected, since these prepositions not only imply destination but also central coincidence (although this is not always visible to syntax.). This means that the complement of a destination P establishes a semantic relation with another coincidence, static preposition. Thus a preposition like English *into* can be analyzed as *to + in,* with incorporation.

(29)   Getting [the baby into bed] is hard (Hale & Keyser 2002: 222) [*into= to + in*]

Let us now turn to the structure of the embedded temporal measure N in (28b). The temporal phrase *(tres) años* 'three years' conceptually requires a qualification which defines the value of this time interval.[7] This requirement is not of a syntactic-lexical but semantic-conceptual nature. In order to achieve relevance, some property must be attributed to the temporal expression. In other words, for the relation between the subject and the temporal interval to be understood it needs a special qualification to be completed. That is to say, from a (lexical-)syntactic point of view, the construction *María lleva tres años* is well formed, but some property must necessarily be attributed to those three years, depending on the context. In (28) this is fulfilled by the occurrence of a phrase in apposition which introduces another predication relation. This conceptual requirement is not particular to our constructions: in other contexts, such as those with verbs like *tener* 'to have', *quedar* 'to be/ have left', when constructed

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[7] The time interval might also be an expressed by elative PP which indicates the point in time from which the time elapse starts.:

(i) Yo llevo trabajando desde las 10:30 de la mañana.

   I carry working since 10:30 in the morning

   'I've been working since10:30 in the morning.'

This might indicate that what we have in complement position of P is a more complex structure in which *desde* 'since' in (i) relates the utterance time with the time expression:

(ii) [*NOW* since 10:30 in the morning] .

with a measure phrase, expressions such as *de vacaciones, para hacerlo* are needed[8] to properly interpret the sentence:

(30)   a. Tienes quince días de vacaciones.
             You have fifteen days of vacation
         b. Me quedan cinco minutos para hacerlo.
             I have five minutes left to do it

Our temporal *llevar*, whose destination meaning is reinforced by incorporation of an allative preposition, is only compatible with a non-terminative phrase inside the measure complement. So in a sentence like (28a) together with the predication headed by the allative preposition, another relation of predication is established which ensures that the measure value (*tres años*) coincides with the permanence of the subject in the location (*en esta empresa*).

When the central coincidence preposition is negative *sin* 'without', it allows a proposition as its complement, as shown in the syntactic structure (31b):

(31)   a. María lleva tres años sin dormir.
             María carries three years without sleeping
         b. [lleva [María P [tres años [sin [PRO Iº dormir]]]]][9]

Together with cases like (28) and (31), where the embedded central coincidence P is explicit, there are cases where it is invisible because an N incorporates onto it, as in (32a). We claim, as many other authors (cf. Mateu & Amadas 1999), that gerund is a prepositional form. In fact, as Bosque (1980) claims, *sin* 'without' + infinitive is the equivalent of the negation of the gerund. This prepositional nature can be extended to adjectives and, of course, to adverbs, in lexical syntax, as in (32b and c)[10]:

(32)   a. *trabajando* = [$P_{coincidencia}$ + *trabaj-*] (Mateu & Amadas 1999)
         b. *enojado* =   [$P_{coincidencia}$ + *enojo*]   (Mateu 2002)
         c. *aquí* = [$P_{coincidencia}$ + *aquí*] (Mateu 2002)

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[8] If the required phrase is implicit, it is interpreted by default as *de existencia*, 'of existence', *de edad* 'of age', as in (i):

(i) El edificio /el niño tiene cinco años.

   The building / the boy has six years

[9] One has to assume the existence of peripheral functional categories in the *v* phase in order to allow for movement of the coincidence preposition and its complement in cases such as

 (i) María lleva sin dormir tres años.

    María carries three years without sleeping

[10] Another instance of this construction would be (i):

(i) Lleva tres años de directora.

   (She) carries three years of director$_{Fem}$

In this case, the preposition *de* has an "attributive" value (similar to *como* 'as a'), which also obtains in structures with nouns which mean profession, role, etc. such as *Trabaja de camionera* 'She works as a truck driver'.

In sum, in constructions with temporal *llevar* constituents which are apparently complements of the verb are in fact the complex complement of an abstract allative P.

Our analysis can also account for other similar cases where *llevar* occurs with a complement which is not a (time) measure phrase but (necessarily) a quantified phrase. These constructions also show temporal-aspectual restrictions:

(33)   a. María llevaba seis cartas escritas.
          María carried six letters written
          'Maria already had six letters written.'
       b. Ya lleva tomadas seis copas.
          Already carries drunk six drinks
          '(S)he already has six drinks.'
       c. *María llevó seis copas tomadas.
          María carried$_{Perf}$ six drinks drunk

In this case, the quantified phrase selected by the destination preposition also requires to be "conceptually completed". This is fulfilled by the past participle of a verb which takes an internal argument, whence the passive meaning of the quantified phrase. This type of passive meaning is impossible to obtain with the measure phrases of temporal *llevar*, since they can never be real internal arguments.

3.2. The verb *tener*.

We will now analyze temporal constructions with *tener* from American Spanish. In section 2 we gave some examples of temporal *tener*. They are similar to the ones in (34):

(34)   a. Tuviste varios días de estar enfermo. (Mexico)
          You had some days of be sick
          'You were sick for some days.'
       b. Tiene varios años de andar de puto. (Mexico)
          He has several year of go of whore
          'It's several years that he has been having a hard time.'
       c. Ya tienes cinco años de haber terminado tus estudios. (Mexico)
          You already have five years of have finished your studies
          'It is five years that you have finished your studies.'
       d. Tenía un año de haber llegado de Puerto Plata. (Dom. Republic)
          He had one year of have arrived from Puerto Plata.
          'It was five years since he had arrived from Puerto Plata.'
       e. Tenemos dos años de haber trabajado de profesoras en nido. (Mexico).
          we have two years of have worked as professors in kindergarten
          'We have worked as school teachers for two years.'

Tener can also appear, although much less frequently, with gerunds and *sin* 'without' + infinitive. There are some examples in (35):

(35)   a. Los pueblos indios ya tenemos mucho tiempo oyendo esto.
          Indian people already have$_{1ps}$ a lot of time hearing this
          'We Indians have been hearing this for a long time.' (Mexico)
    b. Tengo tres noches sin dormir.
        I have three nights without sleeping

It might even be the case that in (35) what we have is an implicit *de estar*, that is, that the construction could be like:

(36)   a. Los pueblos indios ya tenemos mucho tiempo de estar oyendo esto.
          Indian people already have$_{1ps}$ a lot of time of be hearing this
    b. Tengo tres noches de estar sin dormir.
        I have three weeks of be without sleep

Our proposal is that *tener* is also a light verb which selects a PP headed by an abstract preposition. In this case, the preposition is one of central coincidence, i.e. static, which will also incorporate onto the verb to be licensed. Actually, this analysis is compatible with the one proposed for the verb *to have* in Romance by Benveniste (1960) and Kayne (1993), among other.[11] Being stative itself, the verb *tener* accepts incorporation of a central coincidence preposition. Given the non directional nature of the incorporated preposition, one would expect that constructions with temporal *tener* do not show aspectual/ temporal restrictions. This prediction is borne out, as seen in (20), repeated in (37):

(37)   a. Tuviste varios días de estar enfermo. (Mexico).
          you had some days of be sick..
          'You have been sick for some days.'
    b. Había tenido un año de dar clases. (Costa Rica)
        he had had a year of give classes
        'He had been teaching for a year.'
    c. El 22 de abril, Miguel tuvo un año de haber vivido en Boston. (Dominican Republic)
        on April 22nd Miguel had a year of have lived in Boston.
        'On April 22nd, Miguel had been living in Boston for a year.'
    d. El 22 de abril, Miguel tuvo un año de malpasarla. (id)
        on April 22nd, Miguel had a year of passing it bad
        'On April 22nd, Miguel had been having a bad time for a year.'
    e. Ya ha tenido un año de malpasarla, tratemos de ayudarlo. (id)
        already he has had a year of passing it bad, lets try to help him
        'He has already a year of bad time, lets try to help him.'
    f. Ya hemos tenido 5 años de vivir en Boston. Solicitemos la

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[11] In old Spanish the temporal stative verb was *haber* 'there be'. Nowadays we still have such expressions as *Años ha que no lo veo* 'It is years that I have not seen him', as an impersonal construction.

already we have had 5 years of live in Boston. Let's apply for
ciudadanía. (id)
citizenship
'We have already lived in Boston for 5 years. Let's apply for
citizenship'.

In (38b) we give the structure we propose for temporal constructions with
tener:

(38)   a. María tiene tres años de trabajar aquí.
           Maria has three years of working here
           'María has been working here for three years.'

b.

(tres) años de trabajar aquí
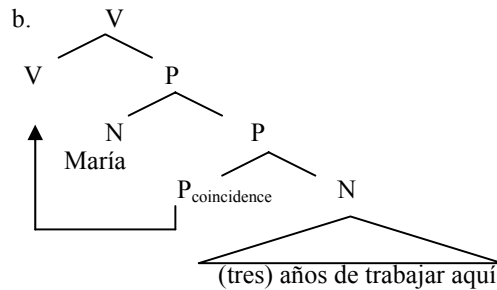
In (38b) the static preposition selects a Specifier (*María*) and a temporal
measure phrase as a complement (*años* 'years'), which will be quantified by *tres*
'three' as in the case of *llevar*. Both the quantifier and the measure noun can be
implicit (*tiempecito* 'some time', *años* 'years', *mucho, un montón* 'a lot'…).

As in the case of *llevar*, the structure of the complement N is complex: a
predication relation is established between the temporal measure phrase (*tres)
años* and a PP which appears in apposition. This PP is headed by the originally
source preposition *de*.[12] The complement of such a preposition is an infinitive
clause which can contain a copulative verb, a form of the perfect with *haber*
'have' or even the negation.[13]

(39)   a. Tenía un año de (estar) fundado. (Costa Rica)
           It has a year of (being) founded
           ' It was founded a year ago.'
        b. Tengo (de estar) aquí más de dos horas. (Ecuador) .
           (I) have (of being) here more of two hours

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[12] One could alternatively propose that what we have is an attributive construction with a
complementizer, represented by a source preposition. See Kayne (1994), Rooryck (2001), and
references therein.

[13] (i) would be the syntactic structure for (38). As can be seen, a PRO appears as the subject of the
infinitive, which is controlled by the sentential subject *María*:

(i) [[tenía [María P coincidencia [N (tres) años [de [PRO Iº trabajar aquí]]]]]]

'I have been here more that two hours.'
 c. Ya tiene cinco años de haberla visto. (Domican Republic)
   already has 5 year of having seen her
   'It is five years that (s)he saw her.'
 d. Yo tengo mucho de no ver a Flora .(Costa Rica)
   I have a lot of no see Flora
   'It is a long time since I last saw Flora.'

On the other hand, the constituent which appears inside N can be a finite clause, as seen in (40):

(40)   a. Ya tengo tres meses que no me viene la regla (Costa Rica).
             already I have three months that does not come my period
             'It is three months that I don't have my period.'
        b. Ya tengo tres años que no me hablo con ella. (Peru)
             already I have three years that I don't talk with her
             'It is five years that we don't talk to each other.'

In these cases, some constituent in the finite clause has to establish a semantic relation with the derived subject of *tener*. Thus in (41), the presence of the ethical dative *me* 'on me' which refers to the sentential subject, allows for a finite clause.

(41)   Tengo dos semanas que se *(me) casó el príncipe.
             I have two weeks that on me the prince got married
             'It is two weeks that the prince got married (on me)'

As it is the case for *llevar* (see fn.7), the time interval can be calculated from the meaning of a prepositional phrase similar to *desde... (hasta ahora)* 'from … (till now)'. We have a good example of this in (42):

(42) -…¿Cuántos años lleva aquí?
         How may years do you carry here?
         'How long is it that you have been here?'
         - Tengo... de 1974, que ingresé, a la fecha que es 87: son trece años de servicio.
         I have…from 1974, that I entered, to the date which is 87: it is thirteen years of service
         'It is... since 1974, when I enrolled in August, till now, 87: it is thirteen years of duty.'

The fact that the measure phrase and the attributive PP headed by *de* form a constituent is not surprising. In Spanish (and in other Romance languages), we find similar structures also introduced by an explicit static preposition (*con* 'with'/ *a* 'at') (see (43)), and even as exclamative constructions like (44):

(43)   a. <u>Con tres años de trabajar contigo</u> me bastó.
             with three years of working here was enough to me

'Three years working here were enough for me.'
b. <u>Con tres años de (estar) licenciado</u>, encontrará trabajo.
with three years of being graduated (s)he will find a job
'After three years of having graduated (s)he will find a job.'
c. <u>A los tres meses de nacido / haberse conocido</u> se separaron.
to the three years of born / having met they separated
'They separated three months after he was born / they met.'
d. <u>Amb tres anys de ser metge</u> no n'hi ha prou. (Catalan)
with three years of being doctor it is not enough
'Three years of being doctor it is not enough.'

(44)   ¡Catorce años ya que nos conocemos!
        fourteen years already that we met!

The verb *cumplir* 'to turn (years old)' can also appear with these complex measure phrases:

(45)   Enrique cumple diecisiete años de muerto. (Mexico)
        Enrique turns seventeen years of death
        'It is fourteen years that Enrique died.'

However, when the constituent in apposition is a finite clause the preferred construction in Spanish is one with the verb *hacer* 'to do/ make'. In these cases we get an impersonal construction: [14]

(46)   Hace dos semanas que se casó el príncipe.
        makes two weeks that got married the prince
        'It is two weeks that the prince got married.'

This is obviously the case when there is no semantic relation between the arguments of the constituent in apposition and the subject of the main predicate. Nevertheless, in the dialects under study it is not rare to find examples of *tener* used as impersonal such as the following:[15]

(47)   Lo siento, no tiene ni media hora que ella dejó el departamento que
        Sorry, does not have even half an hour that she left the apartment that
        estaba rentando.   (Venezuela)
        she was renting
        'Sorry, it's not even half an hour that she left the apartment that she
        was renting.'

4. Conclusions

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[14] On temporal impersonal constructions in Romance see Rigau (2001) and, for Spanish, Sáez (1990), and also Porto Dapena, (1983).

[15] See also Kany (1951).

In this paper we have analyzed the lexical properties and syntactic behavior of temporal non impersonal constructions in two varieties of Spanish: those with *llevar* 'to carry', which are standard, and those with *tener* 'to have', which are characteristic of some Latin American dialects. We have taken the most widely accepted analysis for *tener*, according to which it incorporates a preposition, and we have adapted it to constructions with *llevar*. It has been shown that aspectual restrictions which the latter constructions seem to obey do not depend upon the verb itself but upon the nature of the preposition it incorporates which is allative, as opposed to the central coincidence one incorporated onto *tener*. In both cases we have a light verb. While analyzing the properties of these two verbs and the corresponding impersonal constructions, a parallelism has been established between *llevar* and *ir para* 'to go for', on one hand, and *tener* and *hacer* 'to do/ make', on the other.

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