

XP-movement of participles and the rise of periphrastic tenses in Romance

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AIMS:

- to present a specific generative syntax analysis for periphrastic tenses in Romance, and
- to show how this sort of proposal is able to explain syntactic change that otherwise cannot be coherently understood.

PART ONE:

1. On periphrastic tenses ([Aux+Participle])

→ Aux is in a separate projection from the main lexical verb, T, ie, it is the extended projection of a lexical (main) verb.

→ Transparency effects are explained:

- Obligatory clitic climbing in Romance:

- (1) a. *Gianni m'ha baciato.* [Italian]
Gianni me.CL-has kissed
'Gianni has kissed me.'
b. **Gianni ha baciato me.*
c. **Gianni ha me-baciato.*

- Impossibility for Clausal Negation to appear between Aux and Participle¹ (cf. Kayne 1989, the Neg head also prevents clitic climbing in French):

- (2) a. *Maria não tem visto o Luís.* [European Portuguese]
Maria not has seen the Luís
'Maria has not seen Luís'.
b. **Maria tem não visto o Luís.* [European Portuguese]
Maria has not seen the Luís

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¹ I assume this is the case in pre-verbal negative Romance languages.

- Impossibility for the realization of a pronoun (co-referent with the subject) to appear between the auxiliary and the main verb:

- (3) **O João tem ele (mesmo) estudado o problema.* [European Portuguese]
 The João has HE studied the problem
 ‘João himself has studied the problem’

→ Problems: how to account for some facts:

- Brazilian Portuguese (BP), a Romance language does not follow this pattern *wrt* to periphrastic tense structures (cf. Cyrino 2008a,b):

- (4) a. *A Maria tem te visto.* [Brazilian Portuguese]
 The Maria not has you.CL seen
 ‘Maria has not seen you’.
 b. **A Maria te tem visto.*
 The Maria you.CL has seen.

- (5) a. *eu **tenho não vivido** todos esses anos, em que de forma sistemática fomos separados pelas circunstâncias...* (ocioquasecriativo.zip.net/arch2006-03-01_2006-03-15.html) [Brazilian Portuguese]
 I have not lived all these years in that of form systematic were separated by circumstances

‘And I have not lived all these years in which we have been separated in a systematic way due to the circumstances’

- b. *Desde já admito, posso perfeitamente **ter eu percebido** a conversa assim, ...* (http://bp3.blogger.com/_2PH0Em0ew3A/) [Brazilian Portuguese]

Since already admit-1st can perfectly have I notice the conversation so..

‘Right now I admit, I may have perfectly noticed the conversation like that...’

- c. *Realmente me encontrei nesse texto...eu também sou puro amor, e **tenho eu mesma feito** barreiras, principalmente imaginárias, para me impedir de viver. ...* (valeartenaveia.blogspot.com/2009/01/meu-in-consciente-e-eu.html)

really me.CL found in this text... I also am pure love, and have I myself made barriers, mainly imaginary, to me.CL stop from living

‘Really, I found myself in this text... I am also pure love, and (I) myself have put up barriers, mainly imaginary ones, to prevent me from living...’

- In Slavic languages, the participle can raise, originating that what has been called Long Head Movement (cf. Lema&Rivero 1989, Rivero 1991):

- (6) a. *čel sŭm knigata* [Bulgarian]
 read.PART.F.SG be.AUX.PRES.1SG book-the
 ‘(I) have read the book’
 b. **Az čel sŭm knigata*
 c. **čel az sŭm knigata*

Proposal:

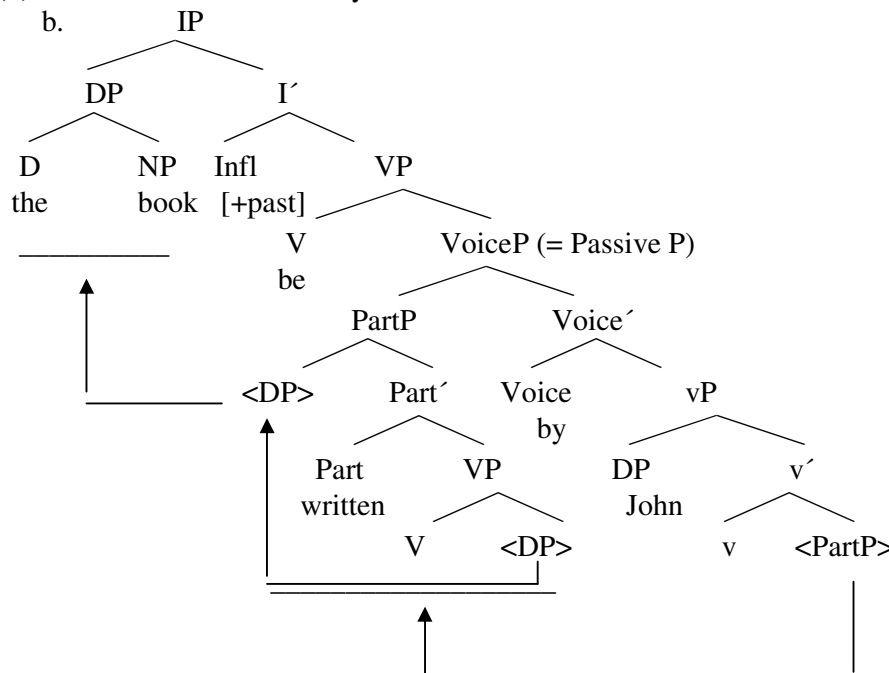
- Periphrastic tenses are the result of the XP-movement of a Participle Phrase (PartP) into the specifier of the Auxiliary Verb, ie, into the [spec, VP] position (ie, a “smuggling” approach to the [Aux+Participle], cf. below)
- Auxiliaries external merge in a V head, V_{Aux} .
- Tense/Aspect = T_1 & T_2 (cf. Julien 2001)²

→ A “smuggling” approach...

- Collins (2005): original “smuggling” analysis for passives, whereby the (underlying) position of the external argument is the same in both passive and active constructions.

- Net effect of “smuggling”(XP-movement) in passives (5) : the DP (object) gets close enough to the upper verb so that it can move from there to the [spec, IP] position (ie. avoidance of Minimal Link (Chomsky 2000:122) and Relativized Minimality (Rizzi 2003) violations seen in (8):

(7) a. The book was written by John.



(8) *The book was by John written.

² Cf. other biclausal proposals (cf. Kayne 1993, Alexiadou 1997, Taraldsen 1995; Julien 2001, Giorgi & Pianesi 1997, ia.) where Aux is a V, it has its own extended projection, and hence it selects another V projection (with its own separate extended projection) as a complement.

2. A “smuggling” approach to periphrastic tense structure

→ Trigger for XP-movement: an EF (Edge Feature) of V_{Aux} as “a nominal requirement/deficiency”³ which probes for a nominal category, and attracts it to its spec (cf. also Cyrino 2008a,b)

→ The participle is the goal: it is the ‘nearest’ nominal category (assuming participial projections are nominal projections, [+V,+N], cf. below).

→ Crucially, BE is different from HAVE in that the latter has a v^*P in its extended projection (being derived from ‘I grasp’, cf. Baldi 2002). I follow a view (cf. Hoekstra 1984, 1986, Roberts 1987, Broekhuis & Van Dijk 1995, Migdalski 2006), where:

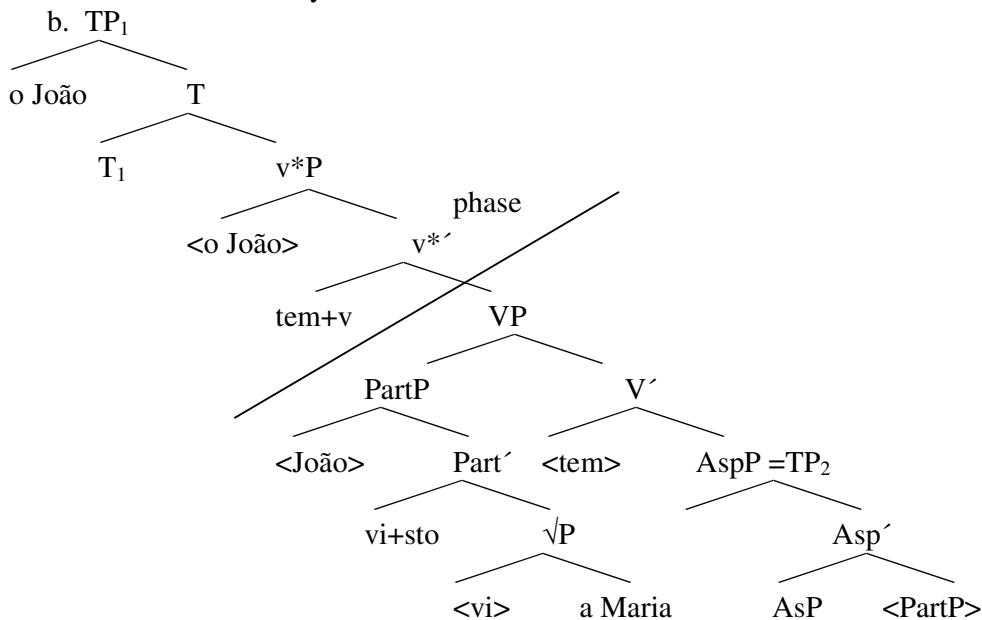
be is an “unaccusative” auxiliary, it is a V category (and not a $\sqrt{}$),

have is a “transitive” auxiliary, it is a V category (and not a $\sqrt{}$) introducing an external argument;

→ Hence, PartP movement (XP-movement) to [spec, V] is triggered by EF feature of the V_{Aux} , inherited from v^* , cf. (9a,b):

(9) a. O João tem visto a Maria.
 ‘John has seen Mary’.

[Portuguese]



³ EF can be seen as “nominal requirements” or “nominal deficiency” of a head. Áfarli & Eide (2001) propose that “predication is not only restricted to the canonical subject–predicate relation of the clause, but that it is relevant at each phrase structural layer of the clause, like Chomsky’s EPP-features are.” In this sense, they “seek to reconstruct the effects of Chomsky’s “EPP-features” in terms of semantic saturation, i.e. by reducing their effects to conditions of the conceptual–intentional interface.” See also Alboiu (2006).

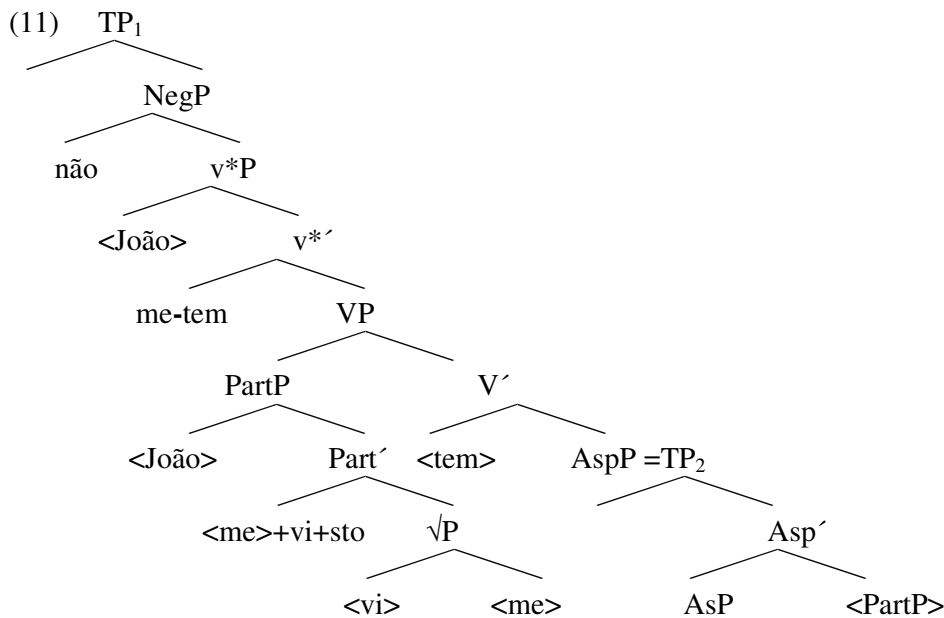
- v* = phase
- the embedded domain has no independent (finite) Tense
- AspP is TP₂ (perhaps, a nonfinite Tense, in the sense of Julien 2001)
- the external argument of the main verb is raised from its [spec PartP] to the spec TP, triggered by the EF of C-T, as usual.

→ This analysis explains several facts:

1. Clitic climbing in Romance is obligatory in periphrastic tenses:

- (10) a. Gianni m'ha baciato. [Italian]
Gianni me.CL-has kissed
 'Gianni has kissed me.'
 b. *Gianni ha baciato me.
 c. *Gianni ha me-baciato.

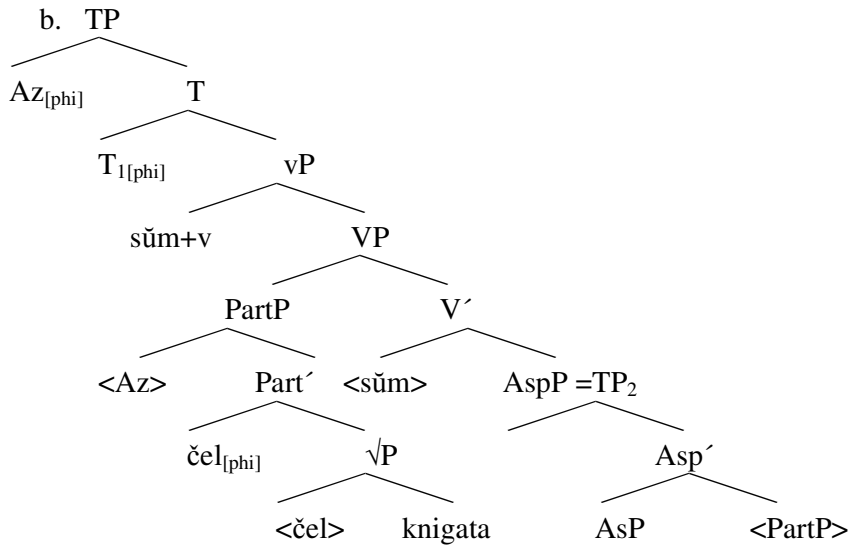
→ Assuming Roberts (2008)'s analysis for cliticization, we have (11) for (10):



2. Slavic participle fronting:

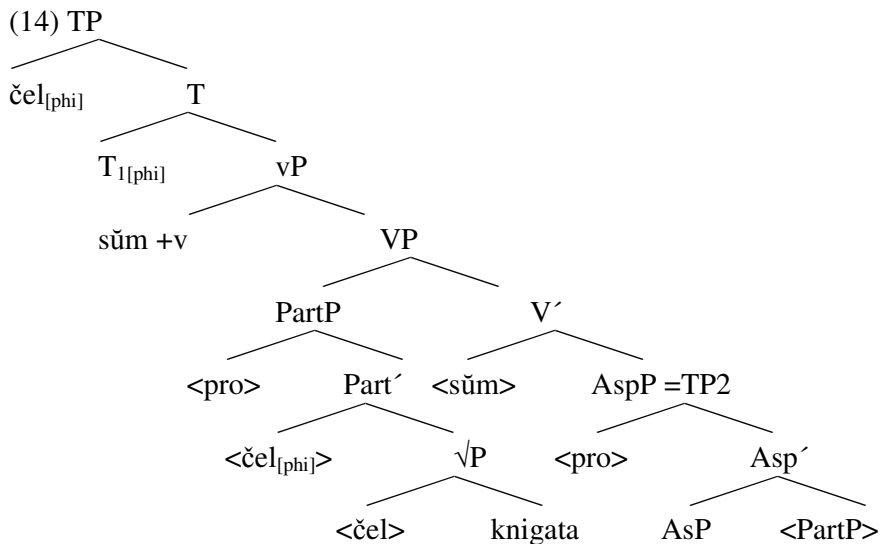
- Because the auxiliary is BE, we have no phase involved.
- The subject is probed by T₁, and the auxiliary raises to v, as usual.
- the fact that the participle with the auxiliary BE is not within a phase allows for the (optional) raising either of the participle or of the subject, see below.

- (12) a. Az sũm čel knigata [Bulgarian]
 I be.AUX.PRES.ISG read. PART.F.SG book-the
 'I have read the book'



→ In these Slavic languages, the *l*-participle has phi-features, so its nominal character can also be the goal for the probe EF in T. In fact, either the subject or the participle appears in that position, in strict adjacency to the auxiliary, but not both (cf. (13b,c)).

- (13) a. čel sũm knjigata [Bulgarian]
 read. PART.F.SG be.AUX.PRES.1SG book-the
 ‘(I) have read the book’
 b.*Az čel sũm knjigata
 c.* čel az sũm knjigata

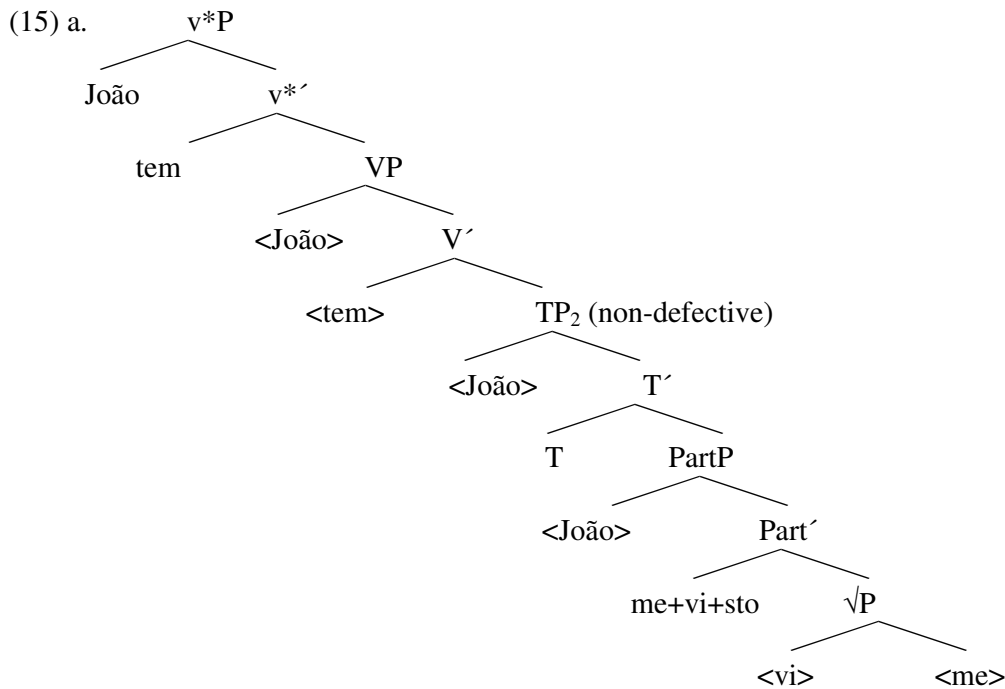


→ The structure with the raising participle is represented in (14). This analysis circumvents all the problems pointed out in Migdalski (2006)⁴ plus the problems arisen by this apparent violation of the Head Movement Constraint.

3. Brazilian Portuguese facts:

→ Cyrino (2008a,b) shows BP lost “smuggling” movements, due to a change in the features of nonfinite T⁵ (in this case, T₂).

→ Hence, periphrastic perfects in BP are as (15)



- clitics are trapped in proclisis to the participle
- NegP can occur either related to the upper or to the lower TP, since the latter is non-defective (5a)
- Pronouns and emphatic pronouns can occur in the lower TP (5b,c)

⁴ Migdalski (2006) convincingly argues that the raising of the participle is to a [spec,TP] position, but he proposes that this is the result of A XP remnant movement, as opposed to Long Head Movement, since there is no pied-piping of objects or PPs.

⁵ Other phenomena in BP can be thus explained (cf. Cyrino 2008a, 2008b)

PART TWO:

1. The rise of periphrastic tenses from Latin to Romance

→ Traditional proposal: periphrastic tenses (16) are the result of a grammaticalization process (17):

1- lexical verb *habere* ('to have, to possess') becomes an auxiliary

2- an adjectival/stative/resultative participle is interpreted as a verbal component in the periphrastic tense which denotes anteriority (cf. Salvi 1987, Vincent 1982, among others):

(16) epistulam scriptam habeo
letter.ACC written.ACC have.1st.sg
'I have the written letters' = the letters are written

(17) [VP *habeo* [AP NP PartP]] > [VP 'habeo' [VP VP NP]]

→ Problems with this proposal:

- We still have the resultatives and statives (ie, structures with accomplishment verbs, where there is agreement between the participle and the 'object'):

(18) a. *O João tem as cartas escritas.*
The João has the.FEM.PL letters.FEM.PL. written.FEM.PL
'João has the written letters'.
b. *O João tem as cartas escritas por Maria*

- Semantic change - have (poss)> have (aux) – leading the syntactic change.

What was the trigger?

→ In face of the evidence that

- there were other constructions with HAVE as auxiliary around
- there were other constructions with Aux+Part around

(17) could not be the input for the rise of periphrastic perfects with HAVE in Romance

Other scholar observations:

→ Cennamo (2008), quoting Pinkster (1987)'s examples, points out that sentences as (16) (resultative sentences), ie, where there is no identity between the subject of the auxiliary and that of the participle verb were NOT the only possibility: activity and stative verbs were also possible in early and classical Latin:

(19) a. *De Caesare satis hoc tempore dictum habeo* (Cic. Phil. 5, 52)
about Caesar-abl enough this.abl time.abl say.pp.n.sg have.1s.pres.ind
'I shall regard what I have said of Gaius Caesar as sufficient at present'
b. *haberem a Furnio . . . tua . . . consilia cognita* (Cic. Fam. 10, 12, 1)
have.subj.impf from Furnius.abl your intention.pl.known.pp.pl
'I had been made thoroughly acquainted with your purposes by our friend

Furnius'

- c. *perfidiam* Haeduorum *perspectam habebat* (Caes. Gall. 7.54)
wickedness.acc Haedui.gen..pl perceive.pp.f.s.acc have.impf.3s
'He had realized/recognized/perceived the Haeduis' wickedness'
- d. *quid* Athenis *exquisitum habeam*
what Athens.abl find-out.pp.n.sg have.pres.subj.1s (Cato, ad fil. Frg. 1)
'(I will say about those Greeks, my son Marcus, in due place) what I have
found out in Athens' (exquirere = to investigate, to look for, to try to find
out')

→ Pinkster (1987): points out that there are some patterns where there is either the omission of the object or a sentential object—those can only be understood, since there is no ambiguity as to the subject of both verbs (20):

- (20) a. *de ea re supra scriptum habemus* (Vitr. 91,14)
about this.abl thing.abl above write.pp.n.s have.pres.ind. ipl
'(As)we have written above on the matter'
- b. *cum cognitum habeas quod sit summi*
when know.pp.n.s have.2s.pres.ind what be.3s.pres.subj supreme.gen
rectoris. . .numen (Cic. *Fin.* 4,11)
lord.gen will
'When you realize the will of the supreme lord'

→ However, there is evidence of variation between the use of a synthetic perfect and an analytic perfect already in Classical Latin, as pointed out by Cennamo (2008:119) and Pinkster (1987). Here, *habeo absolutum* is used instead of *absolvi*:

- (21) *quod me hortaris ut absolvam, habeo*
what I.acc urge.pres.ind.2s for finish.pres.subj.1s have.pres.ind. 1s
absolutum (= absolvi) . . . epos ad Caesarem (Cic. Q. fr. 3,9,6)
finish.pp.n epic to Caesar.acc
'As to you urging me to finish my job, I have now finished my epic to Caesar,
and a charming one it is in my opinion'

→ In fact, the constructions in (20) are the ones proposed to be the basis for the periphrastic tenses in Romance, which clearly appear very late, from the 6th century onwards.

→ These facts lead Cennamo (2008) to claim that *habere* is a perfect auxiliary already in Classical Latin, and to conclude that the real change in Latin is not its auxiliary status, but the change that led to its use as a marker of A (as opposed to *esse*, the other auxiliary for perfects in Latin).

→ Turning to this change, we might wonder how it was possible. In other words, having a diachronic syntax theory (cf. Roberts 2007) of reanalysis by language learners – and not the usual *analogy* explanation – the question is: what triggered this change?

→ I claim that this change was possible due to **the existence of other analytic perfects where the only possibility was the identity between the subject of the auxiliary and the subject of the participle**: the case of the Deponent Verbs.

<p>Question: What was the structure that induced learners to assume the new Have+Participle as an analytic perfect?</p> <p>Answer: 1. The existence of perfect tenses with the smuggling structure (with <i>esse</i> in deponents, but also with <i>habeo</i>) 2. The spread of deponent morphology (and, I assume, perfect tense formation) to other non-deponent verbs (intransitive and transitive verbs)</p>
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2. Periphrastic tenses as smuggling structures in Latin: the case of deponent verbs

2.1 Deponents and deponentization

→ the only way to understand the change is to consider the existence of deponent verbs:

- a) the external argument of the auxiliary verb is always the same as the external argument of the participle (main) verb
- b) the perfect of the deponents is always analytic (smuggling), aux+participle
- c) deponents occur not only with intransitive, but also with transitive verbs in classical Latin

→ Deponent verbs: “passive in form, active in meaning” - , cf. Tuttle (1986: 250, Flobert 1975, among others): verbs of emotion; verbs of entreating; verbs of fulfilling of (bodily or official) function; verbs of change of state of position (movement)

→-R morphology marks the fact that what is appearing in “subject” position (ie, agreeing with the verb) is not an ‘agent’. In other words, if we assume an argument structure as (cf. Platzack 2008), deponents are related to the B or C family of thematic roles:

Thematic roles (Platzack 2008):

A-family: Agent, Clause, Instrument, Holder of state (Ramchand 2008), externally merged at Spec-vP

B-family: Experiencer, Goal, Beneficiary, Location, Materiality (Christensen 2008), Patient, Possessor, externally merged at spec, VP (in Platzack, spec-√P).

C-family: Path, Theme, externally merged in the complement of V.

amor

morior

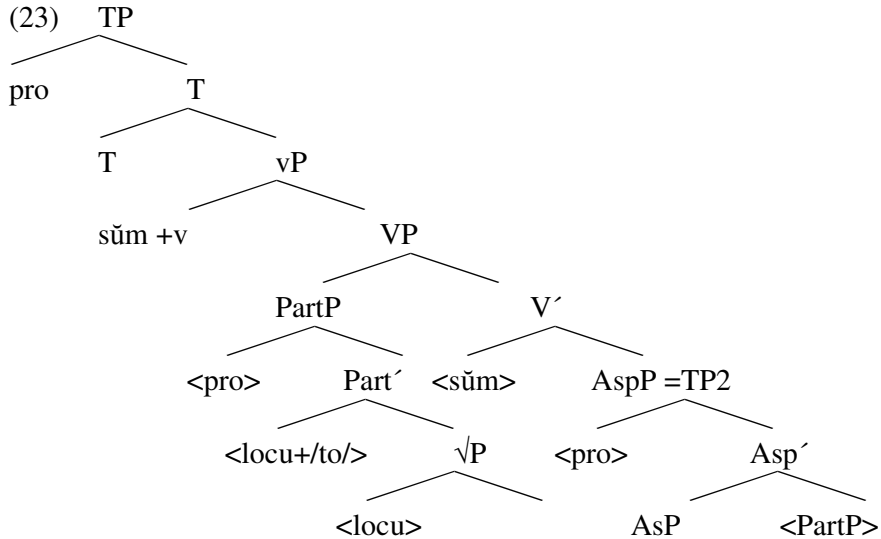
lavor

locutor

→ Participles are formed by a √ + /to/ and they encode stativity – they are also related with the B or C family of thematic arguments

→ Perfectum of deponents (and passives) were analytic: of course the auxiliary verb is then BE, which is ‘stative’, and hence it is there to supply the tense/agreement morphology which is lacking in the participles (ie, smuggling movement takes place)

- (22) *Locūtus sum* = perfect 'I am (in a state of) having spoken'
 Reading Latin (Peter V. Jones & Keith C. Sidwell. P. 76).



→ However, Cennamo (2008:124-5) shows that the structure of perfect tense in deponents spreads to other non-deponent (ie, intransitive first and then intransitive) verbs from the imperial age on:

- (24) a. *sorores una die obitae sunt* (CIL VI 17633) (= *obierunt*)
 sisters.nom same.abl day.abl die.pp.f.pl.nom be.pres.ind.3pl
 'The sisters died on the same day'
 b. *praeteritus est dies* (= *praeteriit*) (Plin. *Epist. Traian.* 10, 46)
 go.pp.m.sg.nom be.pres.ind.3sg day.nom
 'The day is over' (lit. is gone)
 c. et . . . *cogniti sunt Romulides* (= *cognoverunt Romani*) (Agnell. 81)(p. 333, 25)
 (6th cent. A.D) (Norberg 1943: 155)
 and learn.pp.m.pl.nom be.3pl.pres.ind
 'And . . . the Romans (have) learnt'
 d. *certati sunt cursu* (Hygin. *Fab.* 273, 12) (Norberg 1943: 153) (1st cent. A.D)
 compete.pp.pl.m.nom be.3pl.pres.ind race.abl
 'They (have) had a race (lit. they were competed in the race)
 e. *lacrimatus est* (Vetus Latina, *Joh.* (a) 11, 35) (Flobert 1975: 209) (3d cent. A.D.)
 cry.pp.pl.m.nom be.3sg.pres.ind.
 'He was in tears (lit. He is cried)'

→ Embick (2004) assumes deponents can be transitives as well:

- (25) L. Licinius Crassus cōnsul quōsdam . . . cōnsectātus est
 L. Licinius Crassus consul PRON-ACC.INDEF hunt-down-PART BE-pres.3sg

et interfēcit
 and kill-PERF.3SG (Cic., *Dē Inventione* II.32.111)
 ‘L. Licinius Crassus when consul hunted down and destroyed (a certain group)’

→ Chronology of the change

	Perfect of (transitive or not) deponents	Have + participle _{cognitive} (with same subject)	Have + obj + adjective (resultative)
Early Latin (Republic ends in 1 st century BC) – up to about 100 BC – OV stage	Most ancient deponents are intransitives (Flobert 1975:590): <i>conōr</i> ‘try’, <i>lābor</i> ‘slide down’, <i>liquor</i> ‘dissolve’, <i>morior</i> ‘die’, <i>queror</i> ‘complain’, <i>orior</i> ‘rise’, <i>sequor</i> ‘follow’		
Classical Latin (Golden Latin) – from 100 BC to the death of Livy, soon after the death of Augustus, 14 AD Cicero } literary activity Caesar } 81-43 BC	Drinka 2003:117 – in Cicero’s time (160-240 A.D.), a proliferation of the use of passive transitive deponents with past participles had appeared. Cennamo (1998) : <i>esse</i> +pp may occur in active function, not only in the <i>perfectum</i> of deponents, but of all verbs, both transitive and intransitive from the imperial age onwards	imperial age the auxiliary function of <i>habere</i> is only rarely attested (Cennamo)	v
Late Latin – from 150 AD into Medieval Latin Tertullian - 155-230 AD	Large numbers of new deponents had been created		Bauer 2006: these (DO+TV+ <i>Habere</i>) disappear in the period between 3 rd - 5 th cent.
7 th century on	Full activation of deponents	Bauer 2006: these appear clearly here;	v Cennamo 2008: from the 6th century A.D. onward <i>habere</i> is well-attested as a perfective auxiliary, most typically with the past participle agreeing with the object, although some rare examples with lack of agreement also occur
	By the 7th century A.D., <i>esse</i> and <i>habere</i> appear to start differentiating two subclasses of intransitives, corresponding to what are usually known in the literature as unaccusatives/class SO verbs and unergatives/class SA verbs), with past participle agreement too coming to mark this partitioning. The use of <i>habere</i> as a perfective auxiliary with intransitive verbs, however, is a late and rare phenomenon, compared with the use of <i>esse</i>		

→ At some point, perfects with BE both in active and non-active function, with both transitive and intransitive verbs.

→ However, even in Cicero's writings we have examples like (24) (cf. Pinkster 1987, Cennamo 2008), which show that already *have* was possible with transitive verbs:

- (24) *de Caesare satis hoc tempore dictum habeo* Cic. *Phil.* 5,52)
about Caesar enough this time say-PP-ACC.SG I.have
'I shall regard what I have said of Gaius Caesar as sufficient at present'

→ Hypothesis for the change: deponent morphology begin to occur with transitive verbs. In the perfectum, *esse* gets replaced by *habere* (due to existing possibilities as (24) and since the latter provides an external (agent) argument position, *habere* gets into place with perfect periphrastics:

- (25) a. *haec omnia probatum habemus* (Oribasius, 4th century, *syn.*7.48)
'we have proved all these things'
b. *episcopum invitatum habes* (Gregory of Tours, 6th century, *Vit.patr.*3,1)
'you have invited the bishop'

→ Gradually and together with other changes in voice, case (cf. Cennamo 2008) and word order, we have the smuggling structure occurring with HAVE and BE as auxiliaries, with variation in languages (even within languages).

2.2 Observations on smuggling structure for Latin periphrastic

→ Order is variable in Latin (cf. Devine & Stephens 2006). However, they state (p. 180): "In main clauses with a final auxiliated verb, for the auxiliary to be postverbal the verb has to be the main information asserted in the nuclear clause and it is almost always eventive and perfective (often inherently punctual), rather than a stative property predicated of the subject. The verb (the participle) is the focus and any other arguments or adjuncts appear to its left:

- (26) a. *Orgetorix mortuus est* (BG 1.4)
Orgetorix died
b. *Ita proelium restitutum est* (BG 1.53)
Thus the fortunes of battle were restored
c. *subitum bellum in Gallia coortum est* (BG 3.7)
A sudden war broke out in Gaul
d. *hostium copias conspicatus est* (BG 5.9)
Caught sight of the enemy's forces (BG 5.9).

→ "If on the other hand the main information being communicated is not the occurrence of the event encoded by the verb but the identity of one of the participants in the event or of some circumstantial factor, then the auxiliary raises to the head of the focus projection and consequently appears to the left of the participle." (Devine & Stephens 2006: 181). So do degree words (24b) and quantifiers (24c), as well as conjunctions in subordinate clauses (24d):

- (27) a. *in dextro cornu erant conlocatae* (BC 3.88)

Had been stationed on the right wing
b. *eiusmodi tempestates sunt consecutae uti...* (BG 3.29: app. crit.)
Such storms followed that...

c. *Multum erat frumentum provisum et convectum superioribus temporibus* (BC 1.49)
Much grain had been provided and conveyed in earlier times

→ Negation occurs preceding the inflected verb (auxiliary) in Latin: “The negative particle *non* has a blocking effect on raising of the auxiliary and appears immediately before the auxiliary, not before the participle” (Devine & Stephens 2006: 183. Hence the following variation is found:

- (28) a. *profectus non est* (De Inv 2.124)
Did not depart
b. *non est profectus* (Ad Att 9.7.1)
Did not depart
c. *non profectus est sed profugit* (Phil 5.24).
He didn't leave, he bolted

→Crucially, no negation occur between the auxiliary and the participle

(29) **est non profectus*.

→ This fact, together with the lack of occurrence of object unstressed pronouns in between the auxiliary and participle (as compared, for example, with what happens with *habeo+INF*, as reported by Bauer 2006, cf. below), shows that smuggling was there.

→ The “weak pronoun” is placed above the compound structure (cf. Devine & Stephens 2006: 277-312). Some examples:

- (30) a. *Nemo erit praeter unum me... qui credat, te invito, provinciam tibi esse decretam* (Phil 11.23)
There will be no-one apart from me who believes that a province was decreed to you against your wishes (Phil 11.23)
b. *Quis enim tibi molestus esset...?* (Verr 2.2.168)
For who could be annoying to you? (Verr 2.2.168)
c. *omnibus enim nervis mihi contendendum est* (Verr 2.3.130).
For I must strain with every sinew (Verr 2.3.130)

Conclusion and further questions

Why is *HAVE* chosen as the auxiliary in perfect constructions in many languages, whereas *BE* was kept in others?

When both are possible, why do they trigger auxiliary selection in some languages?

- Cennamo (2008): “disruption of grammatical voice and and the concomitant loss of a firm notion of grammatical relations” in Latin
- McFadden & Alexiadou (2006): on Old English
 - have* → real specification for anteriority at the clausal level
 - be* → a resultative stative participle combined with a simple copula.
- Change:** the change in relative frequency of *be/have* + changes in the *have* perfect (used for counterfactuality).

Are other Auxiliary+non-finite forms smuggling structures?

- Cyrino (2008a,b): **yes**
- Adams (1991), Bauer (2006) : *Habere*+ Infinitive vs. Infinitive+ *habeo*
Synthetic future forms in Romance: *habere* as obligation
Smuggling structure

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