

Parasitic temporal morphology: the case of the *Gerúndio Composto* in Portuguese

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Structure

1. Introduction
2. Properties of the non-anteriority Compound Gerund
3. Some comparative data: Parasitic participles in Germanic
4. Hypothesis
5. Discussion



1 Introduction

The *Gerúndio Composto* (Compound Gerund) in European Portuguese adjunct clauses and its temporal interpretations

Form: *tendo* (gerund of the auxiliary) + past participle

- (1) ***Tendo acabado o trabalho, a Ana foi para casa.***
AUX.GER finish.PP the work the Ana went for home
'Having finished her work, Ana went home.'

[finish work] < [go home]
Anteriority relation



1 Introduction

- (2) *A Ana saiu de casa, tendo levado um chapéu consigo.*
the Ana left of house AUX.GER take.PP a umbrella with_her
'Ana left home, having taken an umbrella with her.'
(*'Ana left home, and took an umbrella with her.'*)

[leave home] O [take an umbrella]
Overlapping relation

- (3) *A Ana saiu de casa, tendo ido diretamente ao aeroporto.*
the Ana left of house AUX.GER go.PP directly to_the airport
'Ana left home, having gone directly to the airport.'
(*'Ana left home, and went directly to the airport.'*)

[leave home] < [go to the airport]
Posteriority relation



1 Introduction

Kamp & Reyle's compositional analysis of compound tenses (1993, see Peres 1994 on Portuguese): participle indicates the presence of a [+ anterior] feature

Questions:

- Where does the [+ ant] feature come from in the case of non-anteriority Compound Gerunds?
- What are the syntactic configurations in which it occurs?



1 Introduction

Previous studies:

- CG with a non-anteriority reading are possible in peripheral adjunct clauses (Lobo 2006)
- CG can express anteriority either in relation to the situation described by the main clause or to speech time (Leal 2001, Cunha, Leal & Silvano 2008)
- "Sometimes there seem to be no significant semantic differences between the two forms (which is perhaps somewhat unexpected and deserves further study)" (translation of Móia & Viotti 2005: 725)



2 Properties of the non-anteriority CG

a) Position: only after the main clause (cf. Lobo 2006)

- (4a) ***Tendo ido diretamente ao aeroporto, a Ana saiu de casa.**
 AUX.GER go.PP directly to_the airport the Ana left of house
 'Having gone directly to the airport, Ana left home.' **Posteriority**
- (4b) **Tendo acabado o trabalho, a Ana foi para casa.**
 AUX.GER finish.PP the work the Ana went for home
 'Having finished her work, Ana went home.' **Anteriority**



2 Properties of the non-anteriority CG

b) Correlation with Tense of the main clause

- (5a) *A Ana saiu de casa, tendo ido diretamente ao aeroporto.*
 the Ana left of house AUX.GER go.PP directly to_the airport
 'Ana left home, having gone directly to the airport.'
 ('Ana left home, and went directly to the airport.') **Posteriority**
- (5b) **A Ana vai sair de casa, tendo ido diretamente ao aeroporto.*
 the Ana will leave of house AUX.GER go.PP directly to_the airport
 'Ana will leave home, having gone directly to the airport.'
 ('Ana will leave home, and go directly to the airport.') **Posteriority**



2 Properties of the non-anteriority CG

b) Correlation with Tense of the main clause

Data from the corpus CETEMPúblico: occurrence only with certain verb forms in the main clause

- *pretéritos mais-que-perfeitos*
- *pretéritos perfeitos* → beg (ev) < speech time
- *pretérito imperfeito*
- *futuro do pretérito (condicional)*



2 Properties of the non-anteriority CG

b) Correlation with Tense of the main clause

- (6) *O João vive em Paris desde 1999, tendo comprado um apartamento nessa cidade em 2004.*
 the João has been living in Paris since 1999 AUX.GER buy.PP
 a apartment in_this city in 2004
 'João has been living in Paris since 1999, having bought an apartment in that city in 2004.'
 → beg (ev) < speech time



2 Properties of the non-anteriority CG

c) Alternation with the Simple Gerund (analysis based on corpus CETEMPúblico, see also Mória & Viotti 2005)

- (7a) *A Ana saiu de casa, tendo tomado / tomando o pequeno-almoço*
 the Ana left of house AUX.GER take.PP/ take.GER the breakfast
a caminho do trabalho. **Posteriority**
 on way of_the work
 'Ana left home, having eaten breakfast on her way to work.'
- (7b) *A Ana saiu de casa, tendo tomado / *tomando o pequeno-almoço*
 the Ana left of house AUX.GER take.PP/ take.GER the breakfast
na cozinha a correr. **Anteriority**
 in_the kitchen in run
 'Ana left home, having eaten breakfast in the kitchen in a hurry.'



2 Properties of the non-anteriority CG

Summary

	anteriority CG	non-anteriority CG
a) position	any	only after main clause
b) Tense in the main clause	any	beg (ev) < S
c) alternation with SG	impossible	possible



3 Parasitic participles in Germanic

“Participles selected by a modal, which normally can only combine with an infinitival complement.” (Wurmbrand 2012: 131-2)

Frisian, German, Norwegian, Swedish

- (8) *Jeg hadde villet lest / lese boka.*
 I had want.PP read.PP/read.INF book.DEF
 ‘I would have liked to read the book.’
 (Norwegian, Wiklund 2001: 201)



3 Parasitic participles in Germanic

Common properties of the parasitic participles (Wurmbrand 2012: 132)

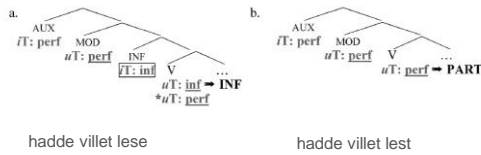
- Participle is optional, and alternates freely with the infinitive.
- They are only possible with the appropriate licensing head (overt or covert auxiliary).
- The parasitic morphology is semantically vacuous.

Similarities with the non-anteriority Compound Gerund in Portuguese



3 Parasitic participles in Germanic

Feature valuation through Reverse Agree (Wurmbrand 2012: 137)



4 Hypothesis

The non-anteriority Compound Gerund arises as a consequence of feature valuation on the gerund T head in Reverse Agree with the main clause T head.



4 Hypothesis

Underspecification of features (Rooryck 1994)

- Specified features, ex. [+ ant], [- ant]
- Variable underspecified features, [? ant]
- Nonvariable underspecified features [0 ant]

Variable underspecified features must be valued in the course of derivation



4 Hypothesis

- In Portuguese gerund clauses the V-T complex raises to C due to strong temporal features in C (Lobo 2006: 17)
 > Word order: AUX – S – PP or AUX – PP – S
- Strong temporal features in C codify the discourse relation
- T_{ger} is merged with a variable underspecified temporal feature [? ant]



4 Hypothesis

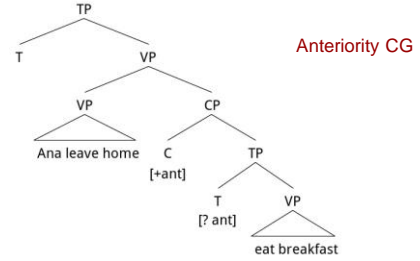
Anteriority Compound Gerund

(9) *A Ana saiu de casa, tendo tomado o pequeno-almoço.*
 the Ana left of home AUX.GER take.PP the breakfast
 'Ana left home, having had breakfast.'

- C_{ger} is merged with [+ ant] feature
- V-T_{ger} raises to C_{ger} and values its temporal features
- The Compound Gerund arises as a result of this valuation



4 Hypothesis



4 Hypothesis

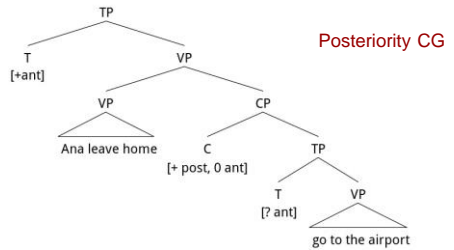
Posteriority Compound Gerund

(10) *A Ana saiu de casa, tendo ido diretamente ao aeroporto.*
 the Ana left of home AUX.GER go.PP directly to_the airport
 'Ana left home, having gone directly to the airport.'

- C_{ger} is merged with [+post, 0 ant]
- T_{main} is merged with [+ ant]
- If c-commanded by T_{main}, T_{ger} can value [+ ant] through Reverse Agree



4 Hypothesis



4 Hypothesis

Alternation between Simple and Compound Gerund

- C [+post, - ant] → Simple Gerund
- C [+post, 0 ant] → Compound Gerund



5 Discussion

Advantages of the proposed analysis

- Position of the gerund clause
- Non-anteriority interpretation
- Alternation between Simple and Compound Gerund



5 Discussion

Advantages of the proposed analysis

- Predictions: non-anteriority Compound Gerunds cannot appear when C is lexically realized or when T does not raise to C
 - Confirmed for Portuguese: Gerund clauses introduced by *em* do not display non-anteriority Compound Gerunds (Lobo 2006)
 - Confirmed for French: non-anteriority Compound Gerunds are impossible



5 Discussion

Data from other Romance languages

- | | |
|------|---|
| (11) | <i>*Anne est sortie de la maison, (en) étant allée directement au aéroport.</i> (FR)
Anne AUX leave.PP of the house (in) AUX.GER go.PP directly to_the airport |
| (12) | <i>*Anna usci di casa, essendo andata direttamente all'aeroporto.</i> (IT)
Anna left of house AUX.GER go.PP directly to_the airport |
| (13) | <i>*L'Anna va sortir de casa, havent anat directament a l'aeroport.</i> (CAT)
the_Anna AUX leave of house AUX.GER go.PP directly to_the airport |
| (14) | <i>?/*Ana salió de casa, habiendo ido directamente al aeropuerto.</i> (ES)
Ana left of house AUX.GER go.PP directly to_the airport |
| (15) | <i>?/*Ana saiu da casa, tendo ido diretamente ao aeroporto.</i> (GAL)
Ana left of_the house AUX.GER go.PP directly to_the airport |

(Amália Mendes, Chiara Truppi, Anna Paradis, Iria del Río p.c.)



5 Discussion

Problems of the proposed analysis

- Reverse Agree
- Classification of non-anteriority CG as peripheral adjuncts (Lobo 2006, 2012)
 - Cleft structures
 - Scope of negation and focalizing adverbs
 - Answer to partial interrogatives
 - Pause between main and gerund clause



5 Discussion

Preliminary conclusions:

- Parasitic participles (broad sense) exist outside the Germanic language family.
- The non-anteriority CG suggests the presence of a T head with temporal features in Portuguese adjunct gerund clauses.



5 Discussion

Directions for further study:

- Comparative analysis of the temporal interpretation of Compound Gerunds in Romance languages
- Unexpected morphology in Portuguese
 - Inflected infinitives
 - Pseudo-inflected infinitives
 - Inflected gerunds



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