Amare aveva or *amare iva*? A new look at the grammaticalization of Portuguese Conditional

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Abstract: V2 structure and clitics position are used to explain the formation of portuguese future. Based on data from Archaic Portuguese, the paper argues that Portuguese conditional and future tense are derived from the same grammaticalization process. Moreover, it claims that future tense did not serve as a model for conditional formation. It is suggested that future tense is a result of the reanalysis of a verbal periphrasis with *haver* and the conditional is a result of the reanalysis of a verbal periphrasis with *ir*.

Keywords: future, conditional, clitics, afix, gramaticalization, V2.

Introduction

According to the literature, the origin of the Romance future is in the periphrasis with the verb *habere*+infinitive (*habeo*+*amare*), replacing the synthetic latin form *amabo*, which, in turn, has an analytical origin (Ernout, par.229/234). The periphrasis that formed the Romance future might have appeared on the Christian literature, around III a.D. (Benveniste 1968). The word order change of *habeo*+infinitive to infinitive+*habeo* would have occurred in Late Latin or at the first phase of the Romance. Apart from the word order change, the development of the future is related to phonetic reduction in the present forms of the verb *habeo*, transforming the present paradigm into verbal morphemes, giving birth to forms like: *amar´aio, *amar´ás, *amar´át, etc.

Such periphrasis is largely found in Romance Languages, except to Romain and Ladin, which had other verbs as basic forms, such as *velle* and *venire*, respectively. As

for the conditional, Tagliavini (1949) and Nunes (1989/9ª. ed) suggest that it had the same reconstruction process of the future, but it differs in that the conditional is formed by the infinitive+*habebam* (Imperfective Indicative). This form would have been reduced to *abéam, followed by the loss of *ab-*, similar to what happened to the present form.

Anyway, according to these authors, the future and the conditional result from the same process, in which the former serves as a model to the latter. In this paper, I intend to argue that the future and the conditional derive from the same grammaticalization process, however, one does not serve as a model for the other. In other words, I accept that the forms *amarei* ("I will love") and *amaria* ("I would love") are the result of reanalysis of a verbal periphrasis, in which one of the full verbs turns into an auxiliary. However, I suggest that the auxiliary verb used to form the future and conditional is not the same.

The paper is organized in the following way: In the first part, I present the proposal of grammaticalization in the formal theory approach; in the second part, I take Lema and Rivero (1990) proposal of V2 construction to explain the future of Romance languages; in the third part, I present the passage clitic > affix in the formation of the future, as proposed by Roberts (1992); in the forth part, I review the hypothesis for the formation of the condicional in Portuguese. Next, I propose that the formation of the conditional paradigm precedes the future one and involves the verb *ir*.
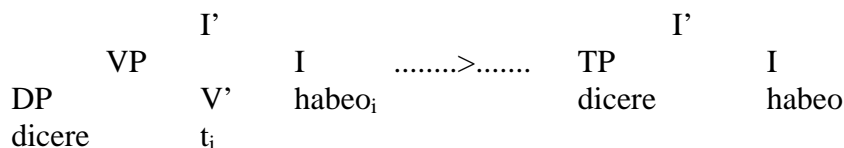
The formal approach for the grammaticalization:

Roberts (1992) states that the development of the Romance future is the result of grammaticalization. In his view, grammaticalization is the process in which a lexical item becomes a functional one, in the sense that an item generates in VP turns to be generated under IP. Based on this approach, grammaticalization is the loss of thematic structure and the change of Verbal category to Inflectional category. The author adopts the following sequential process of grammaticalization to explain the derivation of Romance futures:

Full verb > lexical auxiliary > functional auxiliary > Clitics > Affix.

Roberts recaptures Lema e Rivero (1990) hypothesis in which there are two kinds of auxiliaries (the strong and the weak ones) and assumes that the aspectual auxiliaries are lexical (=strong) and, therefore, generated under VP and move up to Inflectional node. The functional auxiliaries (=weak) are generated under Inflection node and can appear as free morphemes and affixes.

The change of category Verbal to Inflectional occurs when the verb reanalysed as being generated under Inflectional node. In this sense, grammaticalization is the process that eliminates a syntactic movement through a diachronic reanalysis. As for the Romance future, we have:

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                I'                                    I'
        VP              I      ........>.......    TP            I
DP              V'      habeoᵢ                     dicere        habeo
dicere          tᵢ
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that is, the movement of *habere* from V-to-I was eliminated. *Habere* comes to be generated under I, i.e., it fails to be a lexical auxiliary and comes to be a functional auxiliary. Such reanalysis might have occurred by the end of the Imperial period, when

the periphrasis already presented a future value (Benveniste 1968, Bourciez 1930, Tekavcic 1972).

1.   Ego... si interrogatus fuero, veritatem <u>dicere habeo</u> (Cod. dipl. long, Siena 715)
        Eu... se fosse interrogado, direi a verdade
        I... if asked I-was, truth-acc to-say I-have
   Eng. I… if I were questioned, I will tell the truth.

This reanalysis does not convert *habere* into affix. In that case, it would be necessary to postulate the grammaticalization: clitic > affix.

Inf+*habeo* order: na instantiation fo V2 construction

Lema & Rivero (1990) show that in Old Spanish the position of infinitive, auxiliary and pronominal clitics reflected on the future form:

2   a.   INFIN - CL - AUX
                dezir   lo   hades al rey?   (Zif 124)
                = dir-lo-eis ao rei?
                Tell it you-will to-the king?
                Will you tell it to the king?

        b.   INFIN - AUX - CL
                escalentar án   se uno a otro   (Ecl.4:11)
                = machucarão um ao outro
                warm-sill –SE one to the other
                they will warm each other

The infinitive-clitic-auxiliary order involves the movement of the infinitive to the head of the sentence in order to avoid the clitic to appear in the first position. To Rivero (1993), the infinitive, a nuclear element of the Verbal [-fin], moves to C position:

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            CP
C                   IP
Vᵢ          I            VP
        cl-Aux           tᵢ
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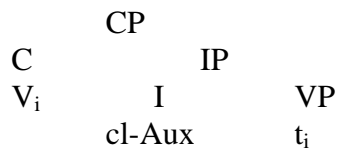
There is a problem with such proposal. In this operation, the infinitive skipps an intervening Auxiliary, a nuclear element, Aux, and so violates the *Head Movement Constraint* proposed by Travis (1984), according to which a head can not move skipping another head.

Ribeiro (1995) reviews Rivero´s hypothesis and derives the Romance future from V2 constructions, which characterize Medieval Romance languages: the inflectional verbl is always in second position. The author found evidence that *aver* in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (13th century poetry) was a lexical auxiliary, a condition to the movement of a VP to SpecC´ (Lema e Rivero):

3. Mais aquel dia que <u>sayr</u> / <u>avia</u> sabad´era (C.M. 237.34)
    (lit.) But that day when (he) <u>leave</u> /<u>had to</u> was saturday.

4. Pois que soube que <u>avian</u> / as reliquias y <u>andar</u> (C.M. 362.17)
    (lit.) Then (he) learned that <u>had to</u> / the gifts there <u>go</u>.

To Ribeiro, the infinitive is an XP element (maximal projection) and not na X one (a nuclear), and, therefore, it moves to SpecC, not to C, as it happens to topicalization and focalization of a XP constituent. Mesoclisis derives from topicalization of V[-f] to SpecC´ and movement of V[+f] to the head C:

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        CP
  Infᵢ          C´
        C            IP
        Clc  C    tc   tᵢ tf
            V[+f]f
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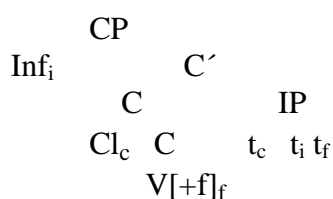
amar lo hei

Obviously, in this stage, the verb *habeo* was a functional auxiliary generated under I. However, it hadn´t acquired an affix status even if it had undergone phonological reduction.

From clitic to affix: the new status of *habere*

In order to explain the changing of *habeo* to affix, Roberts adopts the grammaticalization theory which pressuposes the stage clitic > affix in Old Spanish. In this language, besides the clitics pronouns, the auxiliary *habeo* couldn´t occur in first position either. In his view, the auxiliary would not occur in first position for the fact that the auxiliary was, itself, a clitic. As a clitic, the verb *habeo* required a preposing element, in accordance with the first position constraint for the clitics in Romance languages. In this way, the auxiliary caused the movement of the infinitive and cliticized to it.

At the same time we had the loss of Tobler-Mussafia law, that is the loss of the first position clitic constraint, the clitic turned into an affix. Roberts (1991, 1992) proposes that affixal morphemes are typically of the X^{-1} level, while free morphemes are X´s. So, the functional auxiliary, as an affix, comes to be generated under I^{-1}. In this case, the affix selects an infinitive morphologically and causes its movement forming one word with it. From that stage on, there is no way of any other element to intervene in this construction.

IP
    I´
I   VP
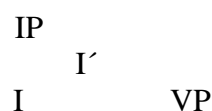
$$V_i \quad I^{-1} \qquad V$$
$$\text{lo} \quad \text{hacer}_i \quad \text{ei} \qquad t_i$$

These were the structural changes that caused the grammaticalization of *habeo* into a future affix in most Romance languages, as in Portuguese.

The origin of Portuguese conditional

Roberts discussion in an attempt to explain the grammaticalization of the future in Romance languages. Even though he states that the conditional paradigm also derived from infinitive+*habere*, he doesn´t make any reference to the derivation of this tense. I suppose that the explanation given to the future is to be extended to explain the conditional tense.

Nevertheless, there is a crucial difference between the two forms of *habere* that might have given birth to both paradigms. The present forms, which are the base to the formation of the future tense, were phonological reduced, what, together with the fact that the Spanish *habere* dido not occur in first position, made Roberts postulate that these forms were clitics. However, there is no empirical evidence that the imperfective forms used in the conditional formation have undergone a phonological reduction, even though the grammarians have proposed it.

If the process of the grammaticalization of conditional is identical to that of the future, it is expected that the functional auxiliary to have been a clitic in both cases, once the cliticization is an early stage of the affix. However, if the imperfective portuguese form has never undergone phonological reduction, it is not possible to postulate an stage in which the imperfective would have acquired a clitic status before becoming an affix.

There might be two alternatives to explain the conditional origin: either the imperfective morpheme has been incorporated into the infinitive to form the conditional or the conditional paradigm in Portuguese derives from another verb, not from *haver*. The migration of imperfective morpheme would have obeyed the relevance principle proposed by Bybee (1985), according to which the most semantically relevant morphemes show higher ´fusion degree´, with the verbal root and other morphemes. If they are present in the source of verbal suffix, they have to be recovered with the previous property. This is why the imperfective morpheme –i- would have migrated with number and person morphemes: -ia (1st sg.), -ias (2nd sg.), -ia (3rd, sg.), etc.

However, this alternative is invalidated by the mesoclisis phenomenon. This would be the only verbal paradigm made of root and verbal suffixes with interpolation elements. Thus, this hypothesis shall be given up.

The second alternative proposed to explain the origin of conditional tense is in the use of the verb *ir* ('to go') meaning direction and non-movement, or fictitial movement (as Leonard Talmy). To Bybee, Pagliuca & Perkins (1991:30), the presence of the movement verb signals that the subject is on the way to move towards a purpose, but the movement verb does not active, by itself, the idea of the future. In this same way, Hopper (1993) states that the meaning of the future of *be going to* is derived from the preposition with purpose value *to* and from the verb *go* and not only from the latter.

In *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, it is not rare to find the use of the verb *ir* with the Idea of non-movement and without the direction preposition *a*, when the complement is a gerundive or an infinitive form:

5.   Poren vos quero contar / o que ll´aveo um dia
        de Páscoa, que <u>foi entrar</u> na eygreia, u viia
        o abad´ant´o altar / e aos moços <u>dand´ya</u> / ostias de comungar. (CM 4:25-31)

However I want to tell you / what happened to him one day of
Easter, when (he) <u>went to enter</u> the church, where he saw
The priest in front of the altar / and to the boys <u>went [imperf.] giving</u> Holy
Communion

6.   Mas no ryo que soya / passar <u>foi morrer</u> / dentr´afogado. (CM., 11:32-34)
             But by the river (he) used to pass (he) <u>went to die</u> inside drowned

7.   Esto foi em Catalonna, u el jogava um dia
             os dados ant´un´eigreja da Virgen Santa Maria;
             E porque <u>ya perdendo</u>, creceu-lhi tal felonia (CM, 154:11-14)

             That happened in Catalonna, where he was playing the dice in front of the Lady
             Mary´church / And because (he) <u>went losing</u>, *he got anger*

The examples above suggest that the conditional might have originate from the

verb *ir* in the imperfective *ia*, but without the preposition *a*. As a free morpheme, this

verb allows the interpolation of the clitic, resulting in the mesoclisis:

8.   E daquest´um gran miragre vos quer´eu ora contar,
             Que fezo Santa Maria por um monge, que <u>rogar-</u>
             <u>ll´ia</u> sempre que lle mostrasse qual bem em Parais´á (CM 103:6-10)

             And about this great miracle, I want to tell you now,
             That Lady Mary did for a monk, who <u>pray</u>
             <u>Her went</u> always for her to show him what good there´s in Paradise

This alternative does not eliminate, however, the existence of the periphrasis

constructed with the imperfective form *havia*, as can be observed in the examples above

(3-4).

There might have been competition between infinitive+*ia* and infinitive +*havia*.

Both auxiliaries had a functional status, generated under Inflectional node. The

difference between them is that only the auxiliary *ia* had a phonological reduced form,

what allowed it to aglutinate to the infinitive, turning into an affix.

Which paradigm underwnt grammaticalization first, conditional or future?

On the test *Inquirições*, also from 13th century, only the synthetic form of conditional is observed:

9. se o Rrio fosse aberto [...] <u>matariã</u> mais pescado e <u>aueria</u> ende el Rey o te*rç*o e [...] e <u>seeria</u> grande sa p*ro*l. (Inq.)
    if the river were wide [...] (they) would kill more fish and the king would have one third of it

On the contrary, the elements composing the basis to the formation of future are free morphemes. They display the order [*habeo*+infinitive] and encode the modality idea, according to the literature. However, such idea seems to be restricted to cases in which the preposition *de* follows *haver*. To my mind, the verb *haver* encodes the future in the presence of the preposition *a*. In the absence of any preposition, there is an ambiguous interpretation (modality and/or future):

10. disserõ que a hi hûû terreo [...] e <u>a sse de p*a*rtir</u> polo juiz...
    (they) said that there is a piece of land [...] and it has to be shared by the judge

11. E Paay P*i*riz [...] disse que deu este foro [...]. Se correrê o monte e o demãdarê ca <u>lho a a dar</u> aa porta.
    And Paay Piriz [...] said that he had given this contract […]. If they climb the montain and ask it, (he) will give it to them at the door

12. e <u>ha aduzer</u> do*us* pares de ferraduras se lhas madarê aduzer.
    and (he) has to / will bring two pais of horsehoe if (they) ask him to bring it

These examples point to the relevance of the preposition *a* in the formation of the future in Portuguese. In this case, not with the verb of movement *ir*, but with the verb *haver*. It is possible that the modality of *haver* started to be encoded by the

preposition *de* and the idea of temporality by the preposition *a,* with a directional meaning.

The synthetic form, wich involves the inf+*habeo* order change, might have been the result of the loss of the preposition *a*, or at least might have followed such loss. In other words, the future form might have grammaticalized late in Portuguese due to the presence of the preposition *a*, which encoded the Idea of direction > purpose > futurity.

The conditional case is exactly the opposite to the future. As the verb *ir* did not select the preposition *a* when the complement was an infinitive or a gerund, the aglutination of both verbs was an earlier process, in advance of the grammaticalization of the future. For this sake, on the text *Inquirições*, the future is always periphrastic and the conditional synthetic.

Conclusions

The formation of Portuguese future and conditional obeyed the same process of grammaticalization, but the basis of the auxiliarity was different. The futurity marker is the verb *haver* in the Present. The conditional affix is the Imperfective of the verb *ir*. This hypothesis does not eliminate the others. It is probable that the verb *ir* was also used to encode the future idea, competing with the preposition *a*, and later, with the verb *haver*. The use of *ir* in the formation of the future is suggested by many authors (Fleischman 1982, Castilho 1997, among others) relative to Modern Portuguese. In the same way, it is possible that the verb *haver* in the Imperfective could be in competition with the verb *ir* to encode the conditional idea.

The competition between both verbs can be represented as in Table below:

FUTURE	amar hei X amar vou
CONDITIONAL	amar havia X amar ia

Both forms represent a stage of grammaticalization, but the maximal degree took place with just one of the variants for each tense, *amar hei* for the Future and *amar ia* for the Conditional.

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