

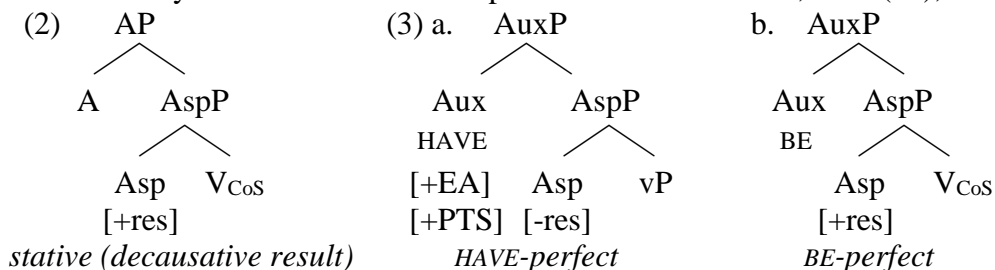
The converging grammaticalisation paths of passive and perfect participles: deriving eventive past participles from decausative resultatives

The grammaticalisation of past participial forms in verbal periphrases seems to follow analogous paths in Germanic and Romance: both passive as well as perfect periphrases may be traced back to stative predecessors. The deverbal adjectives in such (co)predicative configurations (with the copula BE or the possessive verb HAVE) share that they are decausative ([-EA]) and resultative ([+res]). Upon reanalysis, these (re)gain verbal characteristics, featuring an external argument arbitrarily bound by existential quantification (Abraham 2000: 152f.; Roberts 2019: 431) and aspectual properties that oscillate between (im)perfectivity depending on the properties of the underlying predicate (Breul & Wegner 2017: 44ff.). The concomitant auxiliiation of HAVE and BE/BECOME in verbal periphrases adds salient grammatical features in the former but not the latter case: the perfect auxiliary HAVE contributes the means to overtly license the suppressed argument (Ackema & Marelj 2012) and perfect properties (Iatridou et al. 2001: 220). The present paper retraces the historical development of participial periphrases, arguing that the core of these is a single past participle and that this conclusion is not challenged by two apparent pitfalls: (i) tracing the Romance passive back to the Latin PPP, which is a verbal form all along, and (ii) the delay of the grammaticalisation of perfect in comparison to passive periphrases not just in the transition of Latin to Romance but also in Germanic.

The grammaticalisation of perfect periphrases in Germanic and Romance may be traced back to stative configurations like those in (1) from Old High German and Latin.

- (1) a. Phigboum habeta sum giflanzotan in sinemo wingarten.
fig.tree.ACC.SG have somebody planted.ACC.SG in his vineyard
 ‘Somebody possessed a fig tree (which was) planted in his vineyard.’
- b. Habeo cibum coctum.
have.1.SG food.ACC.SG.M cooked.ACC.SG.M
 ‘I possess food that is (in the state of having been) cooked.’

The deverbal adjectives in these configurations are derived from transitive predicates and attribute the result of a decausative change of state to a nominal referent that is modified. This is structurally represented in (2): A selects for the resultative state provided by Asp on the basis of the simple transition V_{CoS} . While this stative variant lives on in configurations like *John has his head shaved*, reanalysis leads to the abolishment of the adjectival layer and thus frees Asp of its restriction to select a simple V_{CoS} . Rather, eventive past participles may select v as well as V_{CoS} , but only denote completion with the latter. The participial properties, however, prevent v 's EA from being properly licensed. It is the auxiliiation of HAVE that supplies an overt instantiation of the suppressed argument, as represented in (3a). Additionally, HAVE denotes a Perfect Time Span, thus making up for Asp's lack of [+res]. This configuration is analogically extended to both intransitive vPs (unergatives) and VPs (unaccusatives) in HAVE-only languages, while the latter is taken care of by BE in languages with auxiliary alternation. This perfect auxiliary selects a resultative Asp and thus forces a V_{CoS} , as in (3b), reminiscent of A.



The reanalysis of decausative adjectives as in (2) together with the auxiliiation of HAVE and BE leads to periphrastic perfect configurations like those in (4) from Modern German and Italian.

- (4) a. Jemand hat einen Feigenbaum gepflanzt.
somebody has a fig.tree planted
 ‘Somebody has planted a fig tree.’
- b. Ho cucinato il cibo.
have.1.SG cooked the food
 ‘I have cooked the food.’

