CHAPTER 58

Tense and aspect

PIER MARCO BERTINETTO AND MARCO SQUARTINI

58.1 Introduction

Traditional descriptions of the Romance verb system include a list of paradigmatic sets of forms called 'tenses' (e.g. Cat. temps verbaux, Fr. temps verbaux). This terminology implies that the semantic functions of these forms are restricted to expressing relations on the time axis. However, the term 'tense' indicates not only temporal localization of the event but also different aspectual perspectives (or viewpoints) on the situation, by presenting it either as a bounded whole (perfective) or as an open situation whose endpoint is left undetermined (imperfective). In addition, the Romance verb paradigm displays a full set of forms (compound) tenses, which in most cases express temporal anteriority with respect to a contextually defined reference time (current relevance or perfect aspect). In what follows we discuss the mutual interplay of temporal reference and aspect, and the relative discreteness of these two categories, by focusing on their morphological expressions. In dealing with some 'tenses' we will also show to what extent temporal and aspectual connotations interact with the degree of factuality of the situation represented by the verb, thus highlighting the encroaching of Romance 'tenses' on the domain of modality (see Ch. 59).

The overall structure of the tense-aspect system (continues the Latin model, preserving the basic past/present/future structure, with an explicit perfective/imperfective divide in the past domain. The main difference concerns the introduction of the compound tenses and new inflectional futures, plus various temporal/aspectual/modal periphrases. 1

58.2 Temporal and aspectual values in present and past 'simple' tenses

Romance Imperfects and Simple Past are representatives of a system in which aspectual marking (imperfectivity vs.

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1 Unlike simple tenses, these analytic forms will be glossed by pointing out their individual components. Capital initials will be used for words designating grammatical tenses. Thus, 'Past' (as a tense denomination) should not be confused with 'past' as designating a time domain.

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This contrast in temporal interpretation goes hand in hand with the aspectual opposition imperfective vs. perfective: sentences (1a-c) exemplify progressive aspect, whereas (1d) features a prospective situation seen as a whole. But the range of aspectual values accessible to the Present is much wider. Minimal contextual changes may bring about major consequences: (2d) is an instance of progressive aspect, while (2a-c) illustrate what Bertinetto and Lenci (2012) call 'grammatical imperfectivity', namely sentences featuring a characterizing attitude (2b), a habitual event (2c), or a permanent quality of an individual based on what is often referred to as an (individual)-level predicate (2a). In such cases, the Present indicates that the situation overlaps 5, but with no implication that the event is actually implemented at that very moment. For instance, (2b) does not entail that somebody is smoking at 5:

(2) a. Acel copil este mereu fericit. (Ro.)
that-child BEM.SG.3S never happy
"That child is always happy."

b. Mon frère fume la pipe. (Fr.)
your brother smokes the pipe
"My brother smokes a pipe."

c. Aquéllos obreros trabajan duro. (Sp.)
those workers work.REFL.3S hard
"Those workers work hard."

d. Guarda, il treno partirà (It.)
look.REFL.2S the train leave.REFL.3S
"Look, the train is leaving!"

These examples show that the Romance Present is aspectually ambiguous, despite its frequent use in imperfective contexts. Besides the values highlighted above, it can for instance convey a perfective value in performative situations, such as (3), where the linguistic act of promise is fulfilled at 5:

(3) Premetto di comportarmi bene. (It.)
promise.REFL.1.SG behave.REFL.3S well
'I promise to behave.'

In addition, the Romance Present is temporally flexible. It is often present-referring as in (1a-c), (2a-d), and (3), but may convey future reference as in (1d) and (4), or past reference as in the so-called 'historical' Present of (5). In the latter case the Present may have both a perfective (accade, aprire, vedere) and an imperfective reading (mangiare):

(4) Mi vibe stasera a cena. (Ro.)
tomorrow evening I bring.REFL.3S home
"Tomorrow I go home."

(5) A quel punto, accade un fatto, a that point happens.REFL.3S a fact occurs
vento apre un foresto a fact, wind opens.REFL.3S the door
la porta e tutti vedono Maria la door and all see.REFL.3S Maria
che mangia la torta. (It.)
who eats.REFL.3S the cake
'At that point, something unforeseen happened: the wind blew the door open so everybody saw Maria eating the cake.'

Furthermore, the Present is used in omnitemporal situations (Fr. La terre tourne autour du soleil 'The earth goes around the sun') and atemporal contexts (such as stage instructions).

5.2.2 Perfective and imperfective pasts

The aspectual contrast is overtly manifested in the past domain, where the (imperfective) Imperfect contrasts with a past perfective form (the Simple Past or its analytic substitutes; cf. §5.6.2.3). The sharpest contrast is between an ongoing (namely, progressive) situation (6a) and a situation viewed globally (6b), for which the term 'aspectual aspect' has been proposed (Bertinetto 1986; Thieroff 2000/2005). With telic predicates such as the accomplishment in (6a), the progressive view allows no inference concerning the actual fulfillment of the event. In the case in point, the aspectual contrast also has consequences at the temporal level in terms of overlapping (6a) vs. sequentiality (6b), and this is often exploited in narratives to suggest a vague and undetermined temporal relationship among the events (6c), as opposed to a nearest alignment of events (6d) (cf. Thieroff and Ballweg 1994; Thieroff 1995).

(a) Quand la maman est arrivée, when the mother BEG.SG.3S arrived arrive.REFL.3S
l'enfant futal see.REFL.3S his duties, (Fr.)
the child DOVNG.3S his duties, 'When the mother came, the child was doing his homework.'

(b) Quando la mamma è arrivata, when the mother BEG.SG.3S arrived arrive.REFL.3S
l'infante faa see.REFL.3S his duties. (Fr.)
the child has.REFL.3S do.REFL.3S his duties
'When the mother came, the child did his homework.'

(c) Tutti erano felici: alcuni saltarono, all beav.PRE.3S happy some jump.PRE.3S others gridarono. (It.)
other shout.REFL.3S
'Everybody was happy: some people were jumping, some others were shouting.'

(d) Tutti erano felici: alcuni saltarono, all beav.PRE.3S happy some jump.PRE.3S others gridarono. (It.)
other shout.REFL.3S
'Everybody was happy: some people jumped, others shouted.'

In traditional descriptions the aspectual contrast conveyed by Imperfect vs Simple Past is translated into a durative vs punctual opposition, but the data in (6) suffice to disprove this, for the events referred to can be the same. The difference lies in the way they are depicted: (6c) readily suggests a possible exchange of roles among the participants (as well as the possible reiteration of the events within the situational context), whereas (6d) divides the participants into two sets of jumping vs shouting people and conveys the impression of single, non-iterated events (although this is a mere conversational implication).

The perfective pasts are (relatively speaking) self-sufficient, as opposed to the inherent contextual dependency of the Imperfect. The need for a broader context is much sharper in (7b) than in (7a):

(7) a. Diemenge, la Núria va redacçar la Sunday the Núria go.3G write.SG.3 the nota de promesa. (Cat.) note of press
'to press.
'On Sunday, Núria wrote [put] the press note.'

b. ? Diemenge, la Núria redactava la nota Sunday the Núria write.REFL.3G the note de promesa. (Cat.)
of press
'On Sunday, Núria wrote [put] the press note.'

The Romance Imperfect is intrinsically imperfective. Besides the progressive aspect of (6a) and the 'continuous' aspect (Bertinetto 1986) of (6c), the Imperfect can express any sort of 'gnomic' imperfective value. Thus, the Present in (2a-c) could be replaced by the Imperfect, the only effect being that of shifting the temporal reference to the past (Ro. ena. Fr. famait. Sp. trabajaban). Precisely because of its strong imperfective character, the Imperfect is the vehicle for a sort of aspectual metaphor in the so-called 'narrative'

Imperfect, whereby its insertion in a perfectly oriented context conveys stylistic effects of vividness, exploited in literary texts, as well as e.g. in sports reports or historical narratives.

(8) il 7 dicembre 1941 l' aviazione giapponese colpiva la flotta USA la Pearl Harbor, a Pearl Harbor, la Pearl Harbor was attacked, (It.)
in the conflict. (It.)
a turn in the conflict, 'On December 7 1941 the Japanese air force struck the USA fleet in Pearl Harbor. This marked a turning point in the war.'

Due to its imperfective tendency—which (especially in progressive and continuous contexts) entails a remarkable degree of indeterminateness in relation to the boundaries of the event—the Romance Imperfect has developed a wide range of modal meanings. It is for instance employed: when reporting the content of a dream or imagined situation (8a), colloquially, in counterfactual hypotheticals (8b); in children's speech when dealing with role assignment in games (8c). All such uses presuppose not only a vague temporal localization, but most importantly a shift into the 'irrealis'. It is thus not surprising that the Imperfect is often used as an attenuative device, lessening the pragmatic impact of a request (8d). In addition, the Imperfect is one of the tense forms used in free indirect speech and may colloquially be used to express future-in-the-past (cf. §5.6.5.3).

(9) a. Stanotte ho fatto un sogno. last night have.REFL.3G dream
last night I had a dream. There was a fire and I was a fireman.

b. Si l'aggiunsero, nos if come.REFL.2S before we.add.
divertiamoci mucho. (Sp.)
let's have fun.REFL.1.SG
much 'Had you come earlier, we would have had fun.'

c. Io ero el xèf i tu el lladre. (Cat.)
I beav.PRE.3G the sheriff and you the thief
'Let's pretend I'm the sheriff and you are the thief.'
58.2.3 The Simple Past and its analytic competitors

Although strongly resilient in some languages (especially Portuguese, Galician, parts of southern Italian Romance), and in some (though not all) varieties of American Spanish), over vast areas the Simple Past has transferred its aoristic function to the Compound Past, thus gradually eroding the etymological con-
tact between the Simple and the Compound Past in terms of aoristic vs. (present) perfect aspect (58.3). This competition can also be expressed by two analytic forms, as in Catalan and some Occitan dialects, where the equivalent of the 'simple past' is an infinitival construction (e.g. *ser go'. finite). This con-
struction goes in the opposite direction with respect to the tensity of 'go' auxiliaries to express future, despite the same origin as inchoative periphrases (Detges 2004).

In some languages, such as northern Italian-Romance vernaculars, the Simple Past has been lost outright, so that the Compound Past has come to cover any sort of periphrastic

nuance. In French and Romanian the Simple Past has virtu-
ally disappeared from spoken language, but in written texts it preserves its role as the 'progressive' tense, indicating a further

temporal stage in the thread of events (Bertinetto 2003; cf. temps de l'histoire 'historical tense' in Benveniste 1959 or erasible Rede 'narrated speech' in Weinrich 1966). Interest-
ingly, this foregrounding function in sequential narratives, which represents the last stronghold of French Simple Past, seems to be also relevant as an intermediate stage in the grammaticalization of the Cat. aux + infinitive construction from inchoative to aoristic temporal colon (1961; Valdávila 1988; Pérez Saldanha and Huálate 2003; Detges 2004).

A frequently mentioned difference between Simple and Compound Past concerns the distance from S, with the Compound Past normally employed to suggest relative proximity. This is most clear in Catalan, where Compound Past are mandatory with hodiernal temporal localizations and excluded by prehodiernal contexts (ho quan faveu així as set apart mateix així ho took (it. ha taken) the place at seven this morning/yesterday); Pérez Saldanha 2002:2621; Corell and Col 2007). To a certain extent, peninsular Spanish,

some varieties of American Spanish (northwestern Argentine, parts of Peru and Bolivia), and southern Iberian-

Romance dialects (Bedwyn 2004:589-589) confirm this ten-
dency, even though the Spanish distinction between hodi-

eral and prehodiernal seems less rigid than in Catalan and strongly influenced by regional variation (Kempas 2007; 2008; Azpiazu 2012). Regional variation also characterizes the competition between Simple and Compound Past in Ita-

lian, although traditional descriptions that considered southern varieties as necessarily more conservative oversimplify (Bertinetto and Squarotti 1998). Generally speaking, a 'prox-

imal' context does indeed favour the Compound Past in standard Italian (10a), but this tense is also found in contexts referring to a distant past (10b). Interestingly, in Oltenerian Romani (10c) the situation is reversed, with the Simple Past indicating relative proximate space (Graz 1607; Hase 1999:413).

(10) a. Stamatina, il Presidente della Repubblica
tiquesta morning, the president of the republic [preoccupa ha preoccupato] ha [uttered it ha uttered utter(+pr)]
un discurso al Parlamento. (lt.) a speech at the parliament
'This morning, the President of the Republic gave a
talk to the Parliament''

b. Tre anni fa mi *successe /
three years ago me- [happened it had 3s] succeeded
una cosa strana. (lt.)

'three years ago, a strange thing happened to me'

c. jeri dim'nigatsa m am suku [at]
yesterday morning suku la I have got up,
ja hanna ka m am
I have dressed, suku la I have
spal'a fi jo [... i] tot a'fa fa[
'so washed also i
al also this do suku [v] today
dim'nigatsa. m suku la [... i] (up) morning
'as suku la I have got suku [u] after
kum saar [u] suku la [... i] as say saar suku [u]
milk-suki [u] cow the
fa saar [u] [milk] ka[e] [... i] (Cantic, Oltinen)
make say suku la food
'Yesterday morning I too got up, I dressed, I washed.
I did just the same this morning, I got up, as I said, I milked the cow I prepared food.'

Although both the Simple and the Compound Past are past tenses, their time reference possibilities are not iden-
tical. The latter tense can be used in future-referencing con-
texts when it designates a future R with respect to which a specific consequence arises (11a). In such cases, the Compound Past is often (although not necessarily) com-
bined with a future-referencing present. Such a possibility is definitely excluded for the Simple Past in most of Romance, for it cannot appear in sentences such as (11b). By contrast, the Compound Past is marginally acceptable, although in Italian—to quote one case—the most natural construction

The non-past uses of the Compound Past described in 58.2.3 confirm the intrinsic nature of Romance compound forms as relative tenses indicating temporal anteriority with respect to a given R. But it is also a viewpoint that allows the speaker to present the situation as a completed whole (perfective aspect), which gives rise to the special semantic combination typical of a 'perfect': a completed situation seen from the perspective of its current conse-
quences at a subsequent it.

This interplay of temporal reference and aspectual mean-
ing characterizes the grammaticalization process leading to the formation of the comprehensive paradigmatic set of Romance compound 'perfects.' Past participles are the lexical elements of these analytical verb forms, whose aux-
ilaries have different Latin etymologies (including possessive (Lat. haeve 'have'), tense 'hold') and copular verbs (Lat. esse

58.3 Compound forms: resumptives, perfects, and perfectives

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Towards aortic functions is still regulated by pragmatic and semantic restrictions (catalan, most of peculiar Spanish, and the Tuscan regional variety of Italian). A diagnostic that in these languages 'aortic drift' is also robustly under way is the availability of contexts in which Compositional Programs collocate with temporal indications localizing T (e.g. Sp. Manuel fue salido a las cinco 'Marcel left (it has left) at 5'), but the starting point of this process (the real 'transition' from perfects to perfective) has been recognized in contexts that are now precise temporal indications, denote single perfective occurrences localized in the past, as is most prominently the case with perfects of recent past that introduce noteworthy events (hot news perfects): Sp. El español ha ganado 'Elco Espanol have won'; Schweizer 1994a:1016; Detges 2004:222-4) and in other temporally indefinite occurrences of Compound Pasts (Schwenter 1994b; Schweizer and Torres Cacoullos 2008; Coppe 2013) which have been traditionally interpreted under the controversial notion of 'current relevance'. In principle, any situation might be considered 'relevant' in the speaker's subjective perspective, and this makes this notion hard to falsify, as demonstrated by corpus-based observations of variational patterns (Schwenter and Torres Cacoullos 2008). However, it is precisely the subjective indeterminacy of current relevance that perhaps favoured the pragmatic 'reanalysis' of bridging contexts, which eventually moved the aortic drift forward (Detges 1999; 2006). Under these conditions, aortic drift seems to be a single continuum determined by the 'skewed' aspectual perspective of perfects and driven forward by the pragmatic indeterminacy of what should be understood as currently relevant, in which interlinguistic variation is only a question of pace (Langacker 2013:105). The perfect, apart from distinguishing different arrangements of the competition between Compound Past and Simple Past within the aortic drift, an even more radical divide (Martines Atienza 2008) should be posited between those languages in which aortic drift has been set in motion and those where there are no hints of such a development, and the Compound Past shows a restrictive behaviour as a form severely specialised to a limited set of contexts (§5.3.3.3), which not only excludes aortic interpretations but also uses traditionally considered as prototypical of 'well-behaved' perfects (Laca 2010a).

58.3.3 Specialized perfects

58.3.3.1 Inclusive only

A situation can be related to a subsequent R not only because its consequences are still continuing at R but also because the situation itself continues at R. This interpretation (called 'inclusive') with R included in E or

continuative' reading) satisfies the main requirement of perfect semantics and is thus admitted by Romance Perfects, as the Portuguese Compound Past demonstrates.

(1) Teio estudou interna desde

há 12 anos.... estudou e... des-de-tão-que

decidi fazer o exame.

Teio has been studying since

decide to take the examination.

Although more restricted in French (Laca 2010a; Howe 2012), this 'inclusive' reading is generally admitted in Romance. But, unlike the other languages where this is just one among various uses, Portuguese admits inclusivity as the only context productively available to the Indicative Compound Past. Since inclusive contexts necessarily refer to time spans, the Portuguese Compound Past only denotes durative situations. Duration until R necessarily excludes typical perfectial contexts of current relevance in which a change of state triggered by a telic non-durative predicate (achievements in Vendler’s terminology) is evaluated in its current consequences at R. Even when they indicate recent past localization (R. *João tem chicapo agora *João has arrived right now) or current relevance (R. *João tem chicapo *João has already arrived), achievements are not grammatical with the indicative Portuguese Compound Past, unless they are iterated so as to occupy a durative timespan: reaching 5º (R. João tem chicapo tarde *João recently has (repeatedly) arrived late).

An inclusive situation (intrinsically durative or secondarily durativized via 'paralexinality') is not necessarily completed (the situation continues afterwards), perhaps since it is a special intermediate reading between perfectivity and imperfectivity. A Compound Past specialized in this function minimizes the competition with the Simple Past and instead competes with present imperfective forms (Howe 2013). Anselm and Howe (2012) show how the original resulative value of Portuguese ter + + + indicates that has been lost and reinterpreted in relation to paralexinality, but what remains unclear is whether inclusivity should also be posited as an intermediate stage within the general grammaticalization path of Romance perfects for those languages which are now following the aortic drift (as suggested by Harris 1982), or whether inclusivity is as a peculiar choice which sets Portuguese apart (Squantini and Bertinetto 2000a:19E; Laca 2010a).

Portuguese is not unique in this specialization, which, apart from Galician (Rojo 1974:128-32) and Judeo-Spanish (Malnowski 1984), has also been detected in a northern Italian dialect, Fiemontese (Ricca 1998), where non-participal constructions coexisted with the typical northern

les' and its 'dynamic' variant non 'become', cf. ito fi be', O'sc/Q/ONIRE, fica as futures of fi')

In the new analytic perfects the particle's aspectual meaning interacts with the deixis localization of R on the temporal axis, as specified by the indirect evidentiality of the auxiliaries (e.g. a Pluperfect denotes past R, a Compound Future denotes future R), but before grammaticalizing into perfect auxiliaries, copular and possessive verbs occurred (and still do) in stative constructions with resultative mood, some of which can be traced back to Latin (Pinkster 1987).

58.3.1 Resultative constructions

Even though the occurrence of in as a perfect auxiliary might have been influenced by the model of Latin analytic perfective passives and intransitive verbs with analytic perfective forms, so-called deponents (see §6.3.2.1.1, 493, 502), the new comprehensive analytic paradigm of Romance compound and derived forms derive from Latin perfective constructions denoting an imperfective state sequentially after that province). These were originally bionalual structures (They have a lot of money') (the money is invested in that province) 'reasoned as monovalent (They have invested a lot of money'), whose subject inherits the semantic role from the argumental structure of the past participle (hovemente 1968/86-f; Ramat 1982; Detges 2000).

Knowledge acquisition and mental activity verbs such as cognos havr 'I have (it) found out (that...') (Vincent 1982/83-f; Pinkster 1987/200.4 in which the subject and the experiencer of the mental process are necessarily identical, might have favored the interpretation as perfects (but see also Farkas 1987). Tele predicates triggered a resultative reading in Latin diachronic precursors of Romance Perfects (Othoni habebi 'he had made') cf. Pinkster 1987/200-201; indeed, the relationship between resultativity and velicity still characterize the resultative reading of perfective constructions in modern Romance. Excluding those cases where the Perfect auxiliary has lost its lexical use (e.g. Sp. haber), Romance productively administers resultative readings even when perfective meaning sharing the same auxiliary with Perfects (e.g. Pl. ter + + + Haanne 1991; Detges 2000.

The synthetic coexistence of resultatives with heomophonic constructions having different syntactic structures is a general Romance phenomenon which also involves the relationship with passives (Creissels 2003; Lagae 2003). In pastives are typically ambiguous between a state-resultative and an eventive reading (lt. la porta a esperto 'The door is open/
58.3.4 Competing Pluperfects and doubly compound forms

Apart from Compound and Simple Past, the competition between analytic and synthetic forms is a phenomenon which—as confirmed by the relationship between Simple and Compound Conditionals as futures-in-the-past in Italian (§58.5.3)—affects other temporal and modal forms (see also the spread of the compound forms of the subjunctive from old to modern Italian, Squarlini 2010:292f).

Since Latin synthetic Pluperfects are partially continued in Romance, competition in this area is in principle possible, even though its diachronic origins and synchronic distributions are varied. Romance synthetic Pluperfects derive not only from the Latin Indicative tense CURABEAM 'I had sung', but also from the subjunctive CONSAEVE 'I had sung' (see Silbernag 2009). In most languages where synthetic forms derived from the Latin Indicative Pluperfect occur, they have modal functions as subjunctives and conditionals (Dietrich 1987), but in Iber-Romance they have more extended uses. Apart from Galician, where Pluperfects can only be synthetic (Santanarina 1971:133-134; Söhrman 2013), sp. contu 'I had sung' indicates temporal anteriority (for background information in subordinate clauses Lunn and Crawf 1991; Herménegildo 1992), and the competition between the synthetic PL. contu and the analytic Pluperfect TINTA contu was still apparently regulated on a temporal-aspectual basis in nineteenth-century Portuguese (Squarlini 1998).
Table 58.1 Survey of the morphological manifestations of progressive periphrases in Romance (adapted from Bertinetto 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATE-PROG</th>
<th>MOTION-PROG</th>
<th>OTHER FORMS</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Catalan</td>
<td>estar + gerund</td>
<td>estar + gerund (aller + gerund)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>French</td>
<td>être en train de + infinitive (être allant + infinitive)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Italian</td>
<td>stare + gerund</td>
<td>stare + gerund (andare/venire + gerund)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>estar + infinitivo</td>
<td>ir/andar/vir + gerund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romanian</td>
<td>estar + gerund</td>
<td>a fi in curs de + infinitivo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>estar + gerund</td>
<td>ir/andar/vir + gerund</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

vels (Ledgeway 2008b). Stages (iii) and (iv) may coexist. Thus, besides the strictly focalized contexts of the type: when X veniva, Y era venendo, state-mov verbs can often be used in durative contexts of the type: while X veniva, Y era venendo. This is the case in Catalan, Occitan, Galician, Portuguese, and various insular and southern varieties of Italian, and to a large extent also in Spanish; cf. Cat. Est va estar a la porta 'The policeman was continually taking notes of what the speaker was saying,' By contrast, the standard Italian and French state-mov are only used in the strictly focalized reading (stage iv). Thus, in order to express the equivalent of a hyperbolic sentence such as Sp. Sì, se n'è troppo (Georgenheim 2019; Wettore 1980).

Even within the state-prog type, a substantial diachronic evolution took place. Late Latin presented various constructions, showing a chaotic phase of grammaticalization (Dietrich 1973: the following examples stem from New Testament versions (Vetus Latina and Nepote) and late Latin authors: (a) esse + imperfective Participle (e.g. esse en transitum was shunting), (b) esse + ablative gerundive (e.g. veniendo estoy (t)ohes) was shunting), (c) esse + imperfective Participle (e.g. veniendo he was progressing), (d) esse + ablative gerundive (e.g. veniendo was progressing). Modern continuants of state-mov (see Table 58.1) present either the gerundive or the innovative infinitival variant, but in earlier stages the imperfective Participle was also attested (e.g. fourteenth-century it. 1 parla (‘t’ohes) is speaking). Considering that stative predicates could be freely used in the late Latin and early Romance constructions, the meaning of the latter could range from static durative to dynamic progressivity. The compatibility with states was lost and only readapted as a later development (Torres Cacoullos 2012), in some Romance languages, with the interpretation of contingent, limited duration (cf. de abouve).

As a consequence, with respect to the whole Romance evolution, Bertinetto (2000) proposed the notion of ‘imperfective drift’ (Table 58.2). The only Romance state-mov device exhibiting stage (iv) appears to be the Sotolino construction sta (stam, invariant) - Present/Impertec (e.g. sta copiaca ‘I understand,’ found in any sort of imperfective context even with stative verbs being on for the given period of time until now, with no entailment of fulfilled telicity. The latter reading has been called ‘inclusive,’ for it includes 1 in its scope and leaves open the possibility that the event continues beyond that point (58.8.3.3). The inclusive reading is also available to the puperfect progressive (habet esse estare ‘had been reading’). The absence of telicity entailment suggests that, despite the perfective morphology of the auxiliary, these periphrases retain a substantially imperfective value, although not as strong as the focalized reading of state-mov (stage iv), which rejects perfective morphology.

The following morphological features should be pointed out. The Romance state-mov devices may have infinitive morphology, for instance in conjunction with modal verbs, although this is much more natural for the gerundial than the infinitival variants. However, while, for example, the Spanish verb can receive the deontic reading (deben estar constantemente producidos ‘they must be constantly producing’), the Italian and French periphrases, because of their purely focalized meaning, only have the epistemic reading (e.g. devo stare dormendo, devo stare a dormire ‘supposedly’ she or he must be sleeping ‘now’). Thus, the imperfective, despite the pragmatically ingrained contexts in which it appears, sounds acceptable to Catalan and Portuguese speakers (Estiver tristemente Vou estar a trabalhar! ‘be working!’ e.g. when I come back!), but impossible to Spanish, Italian, and French speakers. The passive construction is hardly used in Italian, but can occasionally be found in the other languages (e.g. Jean est en train d’être servé ‘Jean is being served’).

Finally, the future reading of the progressive periphrasis, is apparently only to be found—within Romance—in some colloquial varieties of Latin American Spanish (Squarzini 1998) and southern Italian varieties (e.g. Sici. sto venendo white ‘I’m coming soon’).

58.4.2 Progressive periphrasis: motion-prog

The motion-prog devices evolved out of de-assertive constructions. Despite its high degree of grammaticalization, the finite verb may be occasionally used in its full lexical meaning (e.g. Sp. andar tendencia los pies (‘they’ walk by...
58.5 Futures: tense interacting with modality

58.5.1 A rich variety of forms

Marginal relics aside (Ledgeway 2012:134), modern Romance Futures do not continue Latin inflectional forms. New Futures, whose precursors are sparsely attested in Latin (Pinkster 1985; 1987; 1988; Adams 1991:35ff; Havering 2010:397f), have been arrived at by subdividing a functionally imperfective form (mostly infinitive, but in Romanian also subjunctive) into the lexical verb to functional words showing various degrees of phonological erosion, syntagmatic coalescence, and morphological fossilization and specialization.

The lexical sources which have grammaticalized into functional words (cf. §64.3.2.2) include Vollstän dig verbs (Romanian, Friulian, southern Italian dialects), motion verbs (including ‘belé’/‘bé’ in Romani as well as ‘go’ in western Romance, with extensions to Italian and Ibero-Romance vernaculars, cf. Valentini 2007; Ledgeway 2008b), deontic modals (Sc. d. prièr ‘it will rain’ from Lat. omen ‘owe’, must), but also Fr. devoir as applicable for certain verbs (Sp. hacer ‘do’). From the same source, but with the opposite word order and prepositional linking, are infinitival modals (usez/ais ‘be infinitival in Sardin- ian, old Tuscan, southern Italian dialects, Bero-Romance) while a parallel formation with the subjunctive is one among various Romanian analytic Futures (ava ‘have’ + subjunctive). Extreme phonological reduction and complete morphological fossilization is represented by Romanian uninflected c (e.g. vale ‘wants’), whence infinitival (a plicu ‘it will rain’) as well as subjunctival (a placi ‘it will rain’) Futures derive.

None of these forms occurs throughout Romance. The traditional view of its ‘unpopularity’ in southern Italian dialects should be revised (Loprcarico 1999a), but the inflec- tional Future is not documented at all in Romanian and Sardinian, nor in Dalmatian (cf. §4.3). The only form which admits future meaning without areal restrictions is the
indicative Present (§85.2.1). But among the forms that admit future meaning one should list other moods (conditional and subjunctive), which are even mandatory as future markers under given syntactic conditions (e.g. the Spanish subjunctive in temporal clauses; see Ch. 59).

58.5.2 Future situations: modal uncertainty and prospectivity

What is deictically localized in the future has not yet occurred and therefore pertains only to the realm of possi-

bility. This blurs the distinction between temporality (understood as ‘localization on the time axis’) and modal reductions of factuality, explaining why Romance infe-

ctional Futures also occur as markers of conjunctural modality in contexts where they have present (it. C’è senza il factur

That must be the postman) or past temporal reference (it. A quest’ora Michele è già uscito ‘By now Michele will have already left’). Similarly, Romanian ‘de-volitive’ Futures admit not only future but also present conjunctural readings, their gerundial forms being specialized as conjunctural mark-

ers (a fi dormit or ar fi căsătorit ‘it’ll be sleeping at this time’; Iliecu 1999; Squaritini 2000).

The connection between tense and modality is confirmed by the lexical sources of Futures. Apart from deontic modals developing future meaning (most prominently in Sardin-

ian), deontic necessity (Fleischmann 1982:266, Adams 1999) and ‘predetermination’ (Benveniste 1968:40f) seem to be involved in all main constructions. What remains unclear is the connection between these deontically inclined sources and the conjunctural meaning expressed by Romance infe-

ctional Futures. Albeit marginal in some areas (see Peréz Saldánaya 2002:207 on Catalan), the conjunctural use of the Future has elsewhere been attested since old Romance, e.g. in old Italian, where it combined with other non-factual meanings (Squaritini 2001a). Therefore, instead of considering epistemic modality as a secondary develop-

ment from temporality (Fleischmann 1982), the original deontic meaning might have included epistemic extensions from the very beginning of the grammaticalization path (Bertinetto 1999).

Not all Futures derive from modal sources. As suggested by Dahl (2008), the Romance ‘de-ventitive’ construction might have evolved from non-agentive contexts where ‘become’ collocates with metalexicographical argument-less predications. This is confirmed by marginal occurrences of Italian ‘c’èm infinitive, limited to metalexicographical predi-

ctions (Viene a piuver ‘it’s going (lit. it. come) to rain’).

Western Romance de-ventative constructions are trad-

itionally described as markers of the speaker’s intentions, which, unlike the Romance de-ventitive Future, imply ager-

Antivity. Yet neither Dahl’s (2008) elicited data comparing Spanish and French o futures, nor statistical analyses of oral and written diachronic data from Canadian and Europe-

ean French (Poplack and Turpin 1981; Poplack and Dion 2000; Lindstrom 2011) and Brazilian Portuguese corpora (Poplack and Malvar 2007), confirm specialization with first

persons of agentive predicates. What has been demon-

strated is the role of the proximate future as the primary specializations of o futures, which may start competing with the infe-ntional Future and other expressions of futurity including the Simple Present. The diachronic evolution from proximate to ‘remote’ future is reminiscent of the expansion of Compound Past (cf. §58.3.2) from recent to remote past, suggesting that, although they do not neces-

sarily represent personal intentions, o futures are anchored in the speaker’s deictic he de nuna. Thus, §5 might function as an R for this ‘proscriptive’ aspect (Fleischmann 1982; Bravo 2003; Luca 2005), which mirrors the ‘anterior’ perspective of perfects and temporally corresponds to the ‘retrospective’ (Luca 2005) meaning of recent past periphrases (§58.4.3). Like the temporal/aspectual competition between Compound Past and Simple Past (Fleischmann 1983), the grammaticalization of western Romance o futures may lead to a final stage in which the ‘older’ syn-

thetic Future totally disappears from oral infonoinal varieties (Brazilian Portuguese), with possible semi-final phases in which the infe-ntional Future is still preferred as a temporal marker in specific syntactic contexts (negative clauses in Canadian French; Poplack and Turpin 1999). But the process should only be considered as completed when the de-ventative construction, which has various pragmatic expansions (Schrott 1997; Bres and Labeau 2012: cf. also §58.4.3), also encroaches on the modal conjunctural domain typical of infe-ntional Futures, as in French: Il va encore avant d’aller à la mer ‘he must have forgotten to feed the dog again’ (Leray 2005:339).

58.5.3 Futures-in-the-past

The process by which (cantare nasci) has gradually coalesced into the infe-ntional Future is mirrored by a parallel evolu-

tion of synthetic Conditionals, which might have had dia-

chronic priority over Futures (Benveniste 1968: 89f; cf. §46.3.2.2). Unlike Futures, Conditionals have auxiliaries with past tense inflections derived either from the Simple Past (cantare nacquero ‘lit. ‘sangui in hadam’ > it. cantareo ‘it would sing’) or from the imperfect (cantare nascere, lit. ‘sangui in hadam’ > sp. cantar ‘it would sing’). Consistently with their structural parallelism, Conditionals and Futures share func-

tions in which tense interacts with non-factuality, epistemic

modality, and evidentiality (Squaritini 2001b; 2004; see also Ch. 59), but it is especially when they are used as anaphoric tenses indicating posteriority to a past vantage point that Conditionals mirror their etymological nature as past forms of Futures (Sp. amalo dito que legarto a los cinco ‘Manuel said he would arrive at five’.

Along with Simple Conditionals, French and Iber-

o-Republica Compound Conditionals occur as futures-in-the-
past whenever an aspectual interpretation of ‘perfectal’ anteriority is required. In Fr. Paul disait que, dis qu’on l’avait prévenu, il arriverait l’immédiatement, lit. ‘Paul said that, as soon as we would have informed him, he would arrive immediately’, the French Compound Conditional aurait pré-

venu is anterior to the Simple Conditional arriverait ‘would arrive’. By contrast, modern Italian (cf. parallel developments in Gascor; see Field 2003) has completely dissimilated Simple Conditionals as futures-in-the-past by generalizing compound forms, either Compound Conditionals or Planner-

fect Subjunctivs depending on complementizer choice (lt. Paola diceva che, quando l’avremmo avvertito/ancora appena l’a-

vemmo avvertito, sarebbe arrivato subito, lit. ‘Paolo said that, when we would have informed him [now] as soon as we would have informed him [soon], he would arrive (lit. would have arrived) immediately’).

From a general Romance perspective, the Italian develop-

ent is another instance of competition between simple and compound forms, which in this case has led to the specialization of the Simple Conditional as a modal. How-

ever, due to the multiformic nature of Conditionals—where aspect, tense, and modality intertwine—the dismissal of the Simple Conditional as a future-in-the-past might have been influenced by various factors, including a modal reinterpret-

ation of the distinction between simple and compound

forms in terms of different degrees of factuality (Maiden 1994c) and loss of the etymological connection to past

temporal reference (Squaritini 1994c), which is still main-

tained in modal uses of other Romance Simple Conditionals (e.g. Sp. Ayer Manuel saldría sobre las tres ‘Yesterday Manuel must have left [lit. would leave] around five’).

Apart from Conditionals, the list of Romance futures-
ine-the-past includes imperfective pasts of periphrastic futures (e.g. descendente de Latin esset ‘he must’ + infinitive occur as futures-in-the-past in Sardinian, French, and Italian) as well as the simple form of the imperfective in-

fect (e.g. lt. Paola disse che partiva alle 5 ‘Paolo said that he would leave at 5’), which confirms the composite combinat-

ion of TAM features (§85.2.2). The interaction between past tense and modality is also demonstrated by o futures, whose past imperfective forms, apart from occurring as futures-in-the-past and proximate periphrases (§58.4.3), may also be contextually reinterpreted as ‘approximative’ counterfactually (Kuteva 1998; Bellista von Colbe 2001; Radatz 2003: cf. Sp. A le vro tien m de Berna, pero hago no pudo hacerlo ‘At 3 Juan was about to call her, but then he couldn’t’, García Fernández 2000:231) – a function in which Portuguese has specialized the periphrasis ir/‘go’+ gerund (O rapaz ira sema atreceder pelo automóvel ‘The boy was nearly knocked over by the car’; Bellista von Colbe 2004:164).

The coexistence of temporal and modal functions in one and the same form is not ubiquitous. As mentioned above, the Italian Simple Conditional has lost its temporal use by specializing only as a modal, and this tendency is more radically observable in the case of Romanian, where condi-

tional forms are only modal, following the loss of temporal uses attested in old texts (Avram 1976;555-5; Popeșcu 2013:54).

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