

From verb complexes to complex predicates in European Portuguese

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Sequences of the type finite Verb + non-finite Verb (1)-(4)) have been the focus of wide and rich research regarding their syntactic and semantic properties. These structures mainly raise two related issues: (i) what is the status of the first verb – auxiliary or main verb; (ii) what are the properties of the non-finite domain, in particular concerning the absence or the presence of T, and, in case T projects, its relation with matrix T.

- (1)
 - a. Essa empresa tem entrevistado muitos candidatos estrangeiros.
 - b. Os candidatos estrangeiros foram entrevistados pela empresa.
- (2) A empresa quer contratar os candidatos estrangeiros.
- (3) A empresa pode contratar os candidatos estrangeiros.
- (4) O administrador mandou entrevistar os candidatos aos diretores.

The first issue results by and large from the fact that, contrary to English, Portuguese auxiliary verbs do not exhibit a specific behaviour concerning, for example, negation and subject-auxiliary inversion (Huddleston & Pullum 2005), which distinguishes these verbs from main verbs. This led to divergent classifications, particularly in Portuguese traditional grammars, which mostly considered notional criteria to distinguish auxiliaries from main verbs. When syntactic criteria are considered (see, a.o, Pontes 1973, Gonçalves 1992, Gómez Torrego 1999), there is a consensus on the auxiliary nature of *ter* and (passive) *ser* followed by the Past Participle of a main verb (1), a structure I will call *verb complex*; nevertheless, the status of other verbs is subject to discussion. This is the case of a subset of Control, Raising and causative verbs (see (2)-(4), respectively), which allow (although not necessarily) for clitic climbing (5) and passive –*se* along with long object movement (6), two phenomena that make those verbs close to auxiliaries. Structures of this kind have been analysed as instances of complex predicates: Restructuring in the case of Control and Raising verbs (after Rizzi 1982; see Gonçalves 1999 for E(uropean) P(ortuguese)); *faire-Inf* (FI) in the context of causative verbs (after Kayne 1975; see Raposo 1981, Gonçalves 1999 for EP).

- (5)
- a. A empresa não os quer contratar.
 - b. A empresa não os pode contratar.
 - c. O administrador não {os mandou entrevistar aos diretores. / lhes mandou entrevistar os candidatos}.
- (6)
- a. Querem-se contratar candidatos estrangeiros nessa empresa.
 - b. Podem-se contratar candidatos estrangeiros nessa empresa.
 - c. Mandaram-se entrevistar os candidatos aos diretores.

The second issue relates to the monoclausal/biclausal approach to the finite Verb + non-finite Verb sequence. For auxiliaries, a monoclausal structure has been unanimously accepted, in the sense that only one T projects. However, different analyses have been proposed to complex predicates: some authors consider that Restructuring and FI are monoclausal (e.g., for Restructuring, Wurmbrand 2001, 2015; Cardinaletti & Shlonsky 2004; Cinque 2006; for FI, Guasti 1993, Gonçalves 1999); others propose a biclausal structure in the case of Restructuring (see Bok-Bennema & Kampers-Manhe 1994; Gonçalves 1999, in press; Gonçalves, Cunha & Silvano 2010; Oliveira, Cunha & Gonçalves 2004; Paradís 2019).

The main goal of this talk is to compare verb complexes with complex predicates in order to show that: (i) the same transparency effects may result from different structures – biclausal Restructuring vs. monoclausal FI and auxiliaries; (ii) the similarity between biclausal complex predicates and monoclausal structures results from the projection of a defective T in the former, a case of tense dependence, and the lack of T in the latter. This will allow to establish a scale of reduced non-finite complements: auxiliaries>FI>Restructuring.

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