Periphrasis as precursor of analytic inflection. BE and HAVE in the (pre-)history of German

There are two recent mainstream explanations of grammaticalisation processes: functionalist approaches focus on performance, arguing that speakers tend to either improve expressiveness or economise speech production by varying the application of the rules of grammar. This may result in conventionalisation and finally even change the rules of grammar or create new functional elements. The formalist generative account regards grammaticalisation as reflecting structural reanalysis through parametric change during language acquisition, resulting in recategorisation of lexical elements as functional heads in syntactic structure.

This paper is intended to integrate the advantages of both approaches. Basically, it is argued that performance based conventionalisation plays a central role for grammaticalisation by providing the linguistic preconditions for recategorisation of lexical elements as functional ones, or semi-functional elements as fully functional ones. We claim that changes of the basic rule system of grammar, which includes the parametric lexicalisation of functional heads in syntactic structure, cannot occur but through structural reanalysis during language acquisition. On the other hand, the input for language acquisition is speech, which may be created through manipulation of the functional rules of the grammatical system by the speaker. The part of grammar that is accessible to manipulation by the speaker is called 'fringe-grammar' in generative theory. Thus the central claim will be: *in processes of grammaticalisation, change of the core grammar is often initialised by functional variation at the fringe.* The whole process may include several steps of alternate performance based and parametric changes, the prime example being the rise of analytic inflection via periphrastic constructions. Our model will be exemplified by the case study of periphrastic perfect tense in Germanic and Romance.