RELATION BETWEEN CHANGES: 
THE LOCATION AND POSSESSIVE 
GRAMMATICALIZATION CYCLE IN SPANISH

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ABSTRACT
The evolution of the semantic values and the syntactic uses of the verbs HABERE, TENERE, ESSE and STARE from Latin to Old and Modern Spanish followed parallel and interrelated ways. In this chapter, we propose a comparative approach focusing on the coincidences and differences noticed among several Romance languages (Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, French and Italian) and also paying attention to the diachronic (Old and Modern Spanish, Old and Modern Catalan) and dialectal (European and Brazilian Portuguese) variation that allows us to figure out the grammaticalization process undergone by the Latin lexical verbs HABERE, TENERE and STARE. According to this, we conclude that the syntactic changes involved should be analyzed in terms of a grammaticalization cycle related to the syntactic realization of aspectual features like [±delimitated] and predicative, locative and possessive structures.

12.1. INTRODUCTION
The main goal of this chapter is to study the relation among different ways of expressing possession, existence, location and telicity, as well as the syntactic features involved. Therefore, we examine the syntactic configurations with haber (< HABERE), ser (< ESSE), tener (< TENERE), and estar (< STARE) in Old Spanish, from the 12th to the 15th centuries, and their semantic value. Accordingly, we pay attention to the following empirical facts:

(i) possession is expressed by means of aver and tener (with relevant differences between them), instead of ser (as in Latin MIHI EST);

1 This study has been partially funded by the projects HUM2005-08149-C02-02/FILO, 2005SGR00568 and HUM2006-07217 (MCyT).
(ii) *aver* loses the possessive meaning and *tener* acquires the original possessive values of *aver*;

(iii) *aver* develops an existential meaning when combined with a locative element;

(iv) *aver* replaces *ser* in compound perfect verbal forms;

(v) *ser* alternates with *estar* in copulative and passive constructions, and the choice between them is linked to a [±delimitated] aspectual feature (in contrast with other Romance languages like French or Italian, and also with English).

The data attested concerning the previous statements, as well as the comparison with similar configurations in other Romance languages, provide empirical evidence of the fact that ESSE is gradually being replaced by other verbs, the semantic content of which is more substantial with reference to certain aspectual features. In Modern Spanish, the verb used in possessive constructions is *tener*, Old Spanish *ser* is replaced by *haber* in existential constructions and as auxiliary in perfect compound tenses, and *estar* alternates with *ser* in copulative and passive constructions (that is, *estar* appears in some of the syntactic contexts of Latin ESSE). This leads us to the preliminary conclusion that the evolution of Latin HABERE, TENERE, ESSE, STARE and *FIGICARE* in Romance languages could be envisaged as a grammaticalization cycle.

Section 12.2. is devoted to the Modern Spanish syntactic configurations regarding the verbs mentioned above (i.e., predicative and transitive constructions, auxiliary uses, existential and locative structures, the relation with light predicates in Romance and with related Romance verbs such as Portuguese *ficar*). Next, in section 12.3., we look at their origin and evolution, and offer a detailed description of their distribution so as to point out their essential characteristics from a comparative perspective, taking into account some recent studies concerning aspect and telicity. Section 12.4. is devoted to drawing an outline of the grammaticalization stages reached by these verbs in different Romance languages, which is illustrated in several tables. Section 12.5. comments on a preliminary explanation of the processes and relevant features involved. Finally, in section 12.6., we offer the conclusions of our study, the most important of which points out to the fact that the *ser*/*estar* opposition which was developed in Spanish (in contrast with what happens in French or Italian, for example) follows from the fact that *haber* comes to be used as the only auxiliary verb in compound perfects.

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2 This point will be developed in further research. As it is a complex wide-ranging subject, this paper only focuses on the departing picture of such research.
12.2. Modern Spanish

As it was stated above, this chapter takes into consideration the grammatical changes that affect four Spanish (and Romance) verbs: haber (< Lat. HABERE), tener (< Lat. TENERE), ser (< Lat. ESSE) and estar (< Lat. STARE). We will relate the grammatical changes concerning the syntax and semantics of these verbs through aspectual features like [+ delimited], among others. First of all, we should take into account the semantic and syntactic values of each verb in Modern Spanish, which are described in the following subsections. A preliminary approach to the study of these verbs shows that:

(i) tener is the only one that can be used as a main verb (i.e., it is the only one with lexical content)

(ii) ser is, probably, the verb that has less intrinsic semantic content (i.e., it is the most polysemic)

12.2.1. Haber

The verb haber is mainly used as auxiliary in perfect tenses (Aux + past participle):

(1) Juan ha comprado tres libros.

It is also the verb that appears in existential constructions (which show definiteness effect in Spanish):

(2) En la mesa hay tres libros.

Besides, it is an auxiliary in modal constructions (Aux + que/de + infinitive):

(3) a. Hay que hacerlo mañana.
   b. Nosotros hemos de sacar un cinco para aprobar.
   c. Mañana se ha de publicar la noticia de la dimisión de la ministra.

According to García Fernández (2006), the ‘haber de + infinitive’ construction can express deontic necessity, as in (3b), or future, as in (3c). ‘Haber que + infinitive’ is also interpreted as deontic necessity, but, in contrast with the structure with

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3 The syntactic consequence of the definiteness effect is that in existential contexts definite nominals cannot occur:

(i) a.*En la habitación hay los libros / Carlos.
    b.*There are the books / John and Mary.
de, it is syntactically and semantically impersonal. The impersonal interpretation constitutes the main difference between ‘haber que + infinitive’ and ‘haber de + infinitive’ and is responsible for the grammatical contrasts that hold between both constructions:

(i) use of the impersonal/existential form hay of third person present tense instead of ha in ‘haber que + infinitive’: ‘ha que hacerlo mañana (cf. (3c));

(ii) no subject can appear with ‘haber que + infinitive’: ‘él hay que hacerlo mañana (see (3b));

(iii) no chance to turn ‘haber que + infinitive’ into an impersonal sentence with se: ‘se hay que hacerlo mañana (see (3c)).

Concerning these periphrases in Old Spanish, see Yllera (1973).

12.2.2. Ser

Passive constructions with past participles are built with this verb (Aux + past participle):

(4) El libro será publicado por la nueva editorial.

Additionally, it is used in copulative sentences:

(5) Juan es alto.

And it is also involved in some existential and locative constructions whose predicate denotes time or space:

(6) a. El concierto es a las seis de la tarde.
   b. El concierto es en el pabellón.

As a copula, it appears in copulative sentences with possessive meaning:

(7) El libro es de Juan / suyo.

In these configurations the possessive meaning comes from the PP or the possessive pronoun that acts as an attribute, which are the elements usually employed to express possession inside nominal expressions (el libro de Juan / suyo ‘Juan’s book / his book’).
12.2.3. Tener

As a main verb, tener conveys possession in Spanish:

(8) Juan tiene tres libros.

In addition to that, it appears with predicative complements headed by a past participle or an adjective and a direct object:

(9) a. Te lo tengo dicho.
   b. Tenemos previsto invertir un millón de euros.
   c. Juan la tiene muy preocupada.
   d. Juan ya lo tiene muy visto.
   e. Juan tiene a su hija enferma.

In this configuration, both the direct object and the past participle are required (*Juan tiene muy preocupada; *tenemos invertir un millón de euros; */#Juan la tiene; *tenemos previsto) and the verb tener loses the possessive meaning and looks like a (kind of) auxiliary verb expressing the idea of “putting or maintaining in a given state or condition”. This suggests that the syntactic configuration of this construction should incorporate a predicative structure, as complement of tener, containing both the predicative and the argument that acts as a direct object. The syntactic structure would be similar, to some extent, to the one generally assumed for exceptional case marking verbs such as considerar ‘to consider’ within the generative framework. In these predicative structures, tener and the past participle form a periphrasis (Aux + past participle) with an aspectually perfective resultative interpretation. That is, a periphrasis that expresses the result of an event that the speaker considers completely finished. In some of these examples (9a, b), the verb tener can be replaced by haber in order to obtain the completely equivalent perfect tense forms: te lo he dicho; hemos previsto invertir un millón de euros. This shows that the semantic head of the construction is the past participle, not the verb tener.4

There is another predicative construction with the verb tener followed by a PP headed by the preposition por, which functions as a predicative complement of the direct object:

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4 Yllera (1999: 3427) comments on the fact that, in the same kind of construction, the predicative complement is not always compulsory:

(i) Tiene el anillo guardado en la mesilla. / Tiene el anillo en la mesilla.

However, when the predicative is absent, the locative complement is obligatory because it conveys the predicative configuration required by the secondary predication present in this use of the verb tener: “tiene el anillo vs. tiene guardado el anillo, tiene el anillo en la mesilla.”
(10) Nos tiene por idiotas/amigos.

In this use, the verb tener has a semantic and syntactic value closer to the verb considerar 'to consider' (nos tiene por idiotas = nos considera idiotas). There are certain coincidences between the predicative constructions in (10) and (9), but we cannot consider that they are exactly the same because the predicative complement is expressed by an adjective or a past participle in one case or by a PP 'por + NP' in the other. The verb tener has different semantic values in each case, and this difference deserves a separate treatment, at least by now. Probably, the basic predicative structure is the same for both constructions and, maybe, the semantic differences follow from the lexical elements introduced and the way they express the grammatical features involved.

Moreover, it is a light verb in syntactic configurations where it is followed by a (direct object) NP which acts as the actual semantic head:

(11) tener miedo [= temer]; tener necesidad [= necesitar]
    'to be afraid, to fear; to have the need, to need'

And it is also a modal verb that expresses obligation (Aux + que + infinitive):

(12) a. Juan tiene que comprar los libros.
    b. María tiene/tenía/tendría que replicarle.

García Fernández (2006) considers that the basic meaning of 'tener que + infinitive' construction is deontic or epistemic necessity, as in (12a), and that some other possible meanings, such as the desiderative one expressed in (12b), derive from the original idea of obligation. This construction is semantically closer to the 'haber de + infinitive' structure described above, but, probably, it is more generally used.

12.2.4. Estar

The verb estar can also occur in copulative sentences. In Spanish we have copulatives either with ser or with estar, which differ in several aspectual values (Fernández Leborans 1999; Marín 2000, 2004; Batllori and Roca 2004, in press).

(13) Juan está cansado.

And it can appear with a past participle in a certain kind of passive construction:

(14) El libro está publicado por la nueva editorial.
Besides, it is the auxiliary verb in progressive constructions with gerunds (Aux + gerund):

(15) Juan está cantando.

And it is also used in existential constructions:

(16) a. Los libros están en la mesa.
    b. ¿Está Juan?

12.3. Origins and evolution

Concerning the evolution of haber and tener from Latin to Spanish (and to Modern Romance) the aspectual differences seem to be related to [±delimitated], [±durative] and/or [±stative] specifications. In this sense, the different possessive meanings of HABEO and TENEO are especially relevant (see the Oxford Latin Dictionary sv. habeo and teneo, for instance).

12.3.1. Haber

In Latin this verb expresses [-del] possession, as illustrated below:

(17) Dociles auditores habe re poterimus [Rhet.Her.1.7; OLD: 782]
    ‘We will be able to have a gentle/an attentive audience.’

In the following example we have a predicative adjective.

(18) Habet inimicissimam Galliam [Cic.Phil.10.10; OLD: 782]
    ‘He had Gaul at odds.’

Habeo can be constructed with a past participle as well (also called perfect participle by some authors). This indicates that the object has been brought into certain condition from the point of view of the subject, and usually by the action of the subject (i.e., the object is to be interpreted as affected).

    ‘They have undervalued us and our adolescence.’

    b. Hi quos augurum libri scriptos habent sic … [Var.L.5.58; OLD: 782]
    ‘These augural books which have been written this way.’

    "relation between changes: the location and possessive grammaticalization cycle in Spanish"
According to Pinkster (1990: 112-115, 160) both kinds of constructions with *habeo* have a predicative complement (object complement according to him) of the direct object: “the Object constituent [is] specified by a noun, and adjective or something comparable [...] The nuclear predications denote various states of affairs [...] The ones containing *habere* and *putare* denote Positions” (Pinkster 1990: 22). Therefore, the object complement is easily regarded as a predicative complement. Drinka (2007: 106-107) claims that the adoption of a calqued Greek pattern with HABERE + perfect participle introduced a new grammatical distinction in Latin between anterior and aorist, and she explains that “most cases of *habeo* + P[assive] P[erfect] P[articiple] fall into the “objective complement” category, i.e., according to the pattern HAVE + direct object + objective complement participle, with the participle showing agreement with the object, rather than the subject. This objective complement formation is usually presumed to be the starting point for the eventual development of HAVE as a true auxiliary in Latin (Harris 1982; Ramat 1982, 1987; Pinkster 1987). Already in Early Latin, Plautus (who wrote between c. 205-185 BC) provides us with abundant examples of this construction [...] The close ties of Plautus to Greek are evident everywhere in his work: his plays are based largely on existing Greek comedies, are set in Greece, and are composed with the expectation that his audience was familiar with Greek.”

There is another kind of meaning associated to *habeo* which is closer to “consider” (equivalent to current Spanish *tener por* ‘take for’).

(20) a. Nos odiosas haberí [Pl.Aul.123; OLD: 781]
   ‘To consider us nasty / to consider us to be nasty.’

b. parentes caríssimos haberemus” [Rhet.Cent 2; OLD: 781]
   ‘we should treat relatives as dearly loved’

These predicatives will be replaced by *tener por* ‘take for’ or *considerar* ‘to consider’.

12.3.1.1. HABERE from Latin to some Romance languages

As we mentioned above, in Latin, HABERE was essentially a transitive verb with possessive meaning. It is the verb which most Romance languages will take as existential and as an auxiliary in perfect constructions (in Modern Catalan and Modern Spanish it is the only auxiliary verb used, whereas in Italian and French it alternates with ESSE descendants).

12.3.1.1.1. Transitive HABERE: Possessive meaning

Old Spanish *aver*/*haber* sometimes preserves its etymological meaning (i.e., the expression of bare and plain possession), but it is gradually replaced by *tener* from the early texts onwards – see Corominas-Pascual (*DCECH*, sv. *haber* and
(21) a. Non aya ninguno esperança en ninguna buena manera, nin en ninguna buena bondad que omne aya [Caílla: 323]

b. E don Bernal de Cabrera … dixo al cardenal del Boloña que si el pudiesse fazer con el rrey de Castilla que ouiessen los rreyes treguas [Pedro: I, 102.47a]

c. Aquesto tenet cierto, que es verdat provada, que onra et grand vicio non an una morada [Lucanor: 197]

d. Et este nombre ouieron comunalmiente aquellos libros de la terçera destas ordenes [GEII: 5.32b]

e. Et él ha fama que es muy buen christiano et muy cuerdo, pero guisólo Dios assí que só yo más rico et más poderoso que él [Lucanor: 232]

(22) a. que fuessen bien armados e bien guisados delante los otros linnages, lidiando fasta que ouiessen la tierra que les era prometuda [EII: 7.29b]

b. Non tenián escaleras nin las podían aver [LAlex: e. 2225c]

c. Un omne bueno avía una casa en la montaña [Lucanor: ex. XII]

d. Las quales cosas como el rey don Alonso oyese e fuese naturalmente anbiçioso, començo a dar fe a lo que el maestre dezia, como le paresçiese el pudiese aver los reynos de Castilla e de Leon [Enrique IV: 456]

(23) a. Et desta donna Rica ovo una fija la qual ovo nombre donna Sancha [GEI, CORDE]

b. Avié el rey consigo un hermano de Darío [LAlex: e. 1910a]

c. Non avién compañeras [LAlex: e. 623c,d]

d. Assí acaesçi que yo avía un pariente a qui amava mucho [Lucanor: ex. XXI]

e. Pues ansí aver non puedo a la dueña gentil, / aver la he por trabajo e por arte sotil [LAB amor: e. 600c,d]

f. Ovo un fijo de otra mujer [Fuero de Navarra, CORDE]
g. Quien non ha amigos sino por lo que les da, poco le durarán [Lucanor: 267]

h. A mí acacéció que oye un rey muy poderoso por enemigo [Lucanor: e.283]

12.3.1.1.2. Existential HABERE

Latin existential meaning was mainly expressed by copulative ESSE and a nominative noun phrase – see Allen-Greenough (1888-1903/1979: § 284), Bassols (1956: I.272) and Mariotti-Sani (1960: 5):

(24) Deus est.
    ‘God exists.’

In Late Latin this existential configuration cooccurs with a newly developed structure in which HABERE conveys an existential value – see Väänänen (1963: § 296), Moreno Bernal (1978), Ernout-Thomas (1951/1953:210). The most relevant aspect of this new structure is the fact that the verb habere selects an accusative argument (librum elephantinum) and a locative argument (in biblioteca Ulpia) which would syntactically act as the subject of the sentence – see Castillo (2003) and Fernández Soriano-Táboas (1999).

(25) a. habet in biblioteca Vlpia librum elephantinum [Tacit 8.1; Väänänen 1968: 227]
    ‘In the Ulpia library there is a book made out of ivory’

b. habebat autem de eo loco ad montem Dei forsitan quattuor milia
    [Peregrinatio 1, 2; Väänänen 1968:225]
    ‘There were also approximately four miles from this place to the mountain of Gods’

This will become the most common way to express existence in Spanish and it is documented from the origins, as illustrated by the examples in (26), where the locative argument is represented by means of a prepositional phrase (PP) and/or the clitic pronominal adverb y.5

(26) a. Et avia en aquel monte muchos gatos [Calila: 343]

b. Et avía y una bestia que l’dezian Jauzana [Calila: 196]

5 In Modern Spanish this particle is found only in the present tense, but in Old Spanish it can appear in any tense, even with infinitives.
c. E quando la uio, marauillos ella e todos los que y estauan de cómo pudiera acaeçer que tan fonda yazie su tierra, nin qui la metiera allí seyendo la tierra de suso sana e entera que nunqua oviera y poblança alguna [GEII: 435.30b]

d. En el grand mar Oceano, de la parte de cierço, ay muchas yslas assi cuemo Inglaterra, a que llamaron antiquamientre Bretanna la mayor [CG: 5.56a]

e. En la Sacra Escritura, y aun en otras ystorias auténticas ay désto asaz enxemplos [CRC, 91.26]

f. sabor han de casar con sus fijas amas a dos (...) abrá y ondra e crecrá en onor [Cid, vv. 1902, 1905]

g. esto le gradesçió el rey mucho, et paresçiol que segund estas palabras que non podía aver y ningún engaño [Lucanor: 128]

Similarly, Modern and Old Catalan structures with *haver/aver* in third person singular and the locative *hi/y* or a subcategorized locative PP also express existence, see (27a). Notice, however, that both in Old Catalan and Old Spanish *ser hi/y* exhibits an existential value, as illustrated in (27b) and (53) below.

(27) a. Atressí deseretava e avia desposseït de son regn e ·I· rey que avia en Jerusalenm, qui era rey de Xipre, qui ·l avia posseït ben ·XII· anys e gasayat de sarraïns, qui l’ agren pres Acre e tota la encontrada, si él no fos qui hi estava e y despenia tot son tresor en cavalers e en servens per defensar la terra als sarraïns qui hi venien cascun ayn ab grans hostis. [Desclot, Crònica: II. 184, 14]

b. D’on vos dich e us man que ab aquexes ·XXV· galeres anets a aquelles e, si les sabíets seguir per tot lo món, null temps no tornets assi tro que les ma amanets preses ab los hòmens que y són; e no ausiats los hòmens, si guardar-vos-han podets, [Desclot, Crònica: II. 112, 28]

In Modern French existentials are expressed by means of *avoir* in third person singular preceded by the expletive *il* and the locative *y*.

(28) Il y a un livre sur la table.

As for European Portuguese, *haver* was replaced by *ter* in the expression of possession and as auxiliary verb (see section 12.3.3.1.4. below), but existential constructions still take *haver* (however, in Brazilian Portuguese *ter* also appears in these configurations; see Avelar 2008: 319-353 and § 3.3.1.5.):

It sounds better with plural indefinite quantifiers than with a singular indefinite like *um ‘a*. In this case, the verb *estar* is preferred (see section 12.3.4.1.3. for the relation between indefinite nominals and existential *estar*):

(i) a. ?&rá *um livro sobre a mesa.*

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(29) a. Há várias calças no armário.
   b. Hoje há muita gente na praia.
   c. Há uma lista telefónica em cima daquela mesa.
   d. Há um monte de livros em cima da mesa.

12.3.1.3. HABERE [NP/DP + AdjP/PartP]: A predicative construction

As commented above, Latin HABERE selects “an object complement of the direct object”, which in most cases is an adjective or a past participle. According to Pountain (1985: 344), “haber retained its value as a verb of unmarked possession until the 15th century, and so in theory the verb phrase haber + past participle + direct object and even more likely haber + direct object + past participle could express simple possession with a past participle functioning as an adjective dependent on the direct object, as tener + direct object + past participle would in Modern Spanish.” Actually, the configuration described by Pountain is a predicative construction.

(30) a. Dos son los que veen: el que ha los ojos claros et el sabio [Calila: 293]
   b. Avié el mesquiniello los braços encorvados [VStoDomingo: e. 550]
   c. De Enebrada era una mugier lazrada, / avié la mano seca, la lengua embargada [VStoDomingo: e. 606-608]
   d. Los uessos avié solos, cubiertos del pellejo [VStoDomingo: e. 583]
   e. Parientes ovo buenos, del Criador amigos [VStoDomingo: e.6]

Notice that the predicative complement of this construction can either be subcategorized (30a-d) or non-subcategorized (30e). There are several additional differences between the two groups of examples that can affect the optionality of the predicative adjective. First, the nominal is not preceded by the definite article in (30e), and, secondly, the noun functioning as a direct object in (30e) does not designate an inalienable possession relation of the ‘part of the body’ kind.
12.3.1.1.4. HABERE [NP]: A light predicate

As stated in the OLD (sv. habeo: 781), one of the values of Latin HABERE appeared “with verbal nouns or other nouns expressing an action, feeling, etc., on the part of the subject […] fidem habere, to trust; gratiam habere, to be grateful, to thank; honorem habere, to honour, rationem habere, to take into consideration” and finem habere which corresponds to Spanish finalizar. Although some of these structures were replaced by synthetic verbs in Old Spanish (for example, initium habere gives Spanish iniciar), the Latin pattern is largely attested in this period, see (31):

(31) a. Et ella, quando vido que el rey avía visto las señas que le fizo Belet, dexó los paños et tomó la corona por que non oviese sospecha della [Calila: 288]
   avér sospecha = sospechar ‘to suspect’

   b. Et començó de conortarse et de esforçarse, et avía vergüença de preguntar a Belet qué fiziera del pleito de Helbed [Calila: 290]
   avér vergüança = avergonzarse ‘to be ashamed’

   c. Dido sopo traer art e maestría por que salio de poder de su hermano. Et pues que se uio en alta mar e alongada de la su tierra, ovo muy grant alegría [GEII: 434.17]
   avér alegría = alegrarse ‘to be happy’

   d. Fiço el bon conféssor como avié costumbre / al ciego porfioso embïóle ala lumbre [VStoDomingo: e. 611]
   avér costumbre = acostumbrar ‘to be accustomed’

   e. Et l’espeçiero preguntol cómmo avían nombre aquellas pellas et el golfín dixo que avían nombre tabardíe [Lucanor: 123]
   avér nombre = llamarse ‘to be called’

   f. E del gran miedo que ovo el marqués de los moros [Historia de Enrique fijo de doña Oliva, CORDE]
   avér miedo = asustarse / tener miedo ‘to be afraid’

   g. Tu yrás con ella, Sempronio, que ha temor de los grillos que cantan con lo escuro [Celestina: VI.184]
   avér temor = temer ‘to fear’

   h. Sólo he menester que vuestra merced me pague el gasto que esta noche ha hecho en la venta [Quijote, 197]
   avér menester = necesitar ‘to need’
12.3.1.5. Auxiliary HABERE

In Romance languages the expression of voice and perfective aspect undergoes a series of changes. Concerning passive voice, Romance languages lose passive morphology and its meaning will be expressed by the syntactic construction used in Latin passive perfect tenses: ‘past participle + Auxiliary ESSE’ (see Yllera 1973: 221 - 224).

(32) Puella amata est.

‘The girl is loved.’

In Latin there were many verbs that lacked a passive past participle form because they could not be inflected for passive voice. As is well-known, most of them developed a participle through analogy with the verbs that originally had it and, thus, the Latin passive perfect construction with ESSE could be extended to Romance verbs in general – see Vincent (1988: 57), Par (1923: 312).

This process, along with the tendency to construct active perfects analytically, is one of the causes of the loss of past participles passive value. The descendants of Latin perfects tend to display one of their values syntactically by means of an analytic periphrasis (for instance: HABET CANTATUM; see Yllera 1973: 275 - 281). As stated above, the construction ‘HABERE + past participle’ was already used in Classical Latin to convey the result of an action (see examples in (19)). The evolution from Latin to Romance languages shows a tendency to favour the anteriority temporal features at the expense of the aspectual ones, which will imply that temporal features are going to prevail in spite of the fact that at the beginning this periphrasis could still convey an aspectual feature denoting a completed action. However, some verbs could not accommodate to this periphrastic construction with HABERE for semantic reasons concerning verbal typology, as we will see immediately below – see Vincent (1988: 57).

Most of Old Spanish verbs selected the auxiliary haber in active compound tenses. The sphere of haber as an auxiliary verb was constrained to transitive verbs (33a-c) and to unergative verbs (33d-g). The coordination of the two past participles in the example (33h) clearly shows that both kinds of verbs must be grouped together with respect to the selection of the auxiliary:

(33) a. Tinié que avié preso un grand quebrantamiento [VSto Domingo, e. 156]

b. Luego que ovo dicho el leedor: “Secuencia” “Gloria tibi Domine”, dixo la de Palencia [VSto Domingo, e. 567]
On the other hand, the verb ser, which was, and still is in Modern Spanish, the auxiliary of passives, was also the auxiliary of the active compound tenses of unaccusative verbs in Old Spanish (see section 12.3.2.1.3.). As generally observed, unaccusatives are the set of intransitive verbs that exhibited duality regarding auxiliary selection. Auxiliary ser lost ground progressively to the point that it disappeared in this Spanish construction in favour of haber (in contrast, it is still used in other Romance languages such as Italian or French). Among the great number of studies examining auxiliary selection, it is worth mentioning the line of research taken by Sorace (2000, 2004) and Cennamo (2001) because, despite being a descriptive approach, if we apply it to Spanish, we obtain a detailed account of the fact that some verbs take either haber or ser from early texts, while there are others which admit both auxiliaries in similar contexts in the same periods. Furthermore, it explains why the replacement of ser by haber follows a gradual evolution which does not take place at random, since some semantic verbal classes are more affected than others. Mateu (2008: 360) shows that the verbs that do not involve change of state or place of the subject (i.e., the subject is not affected by the event in any way) are the first ones to take haber. On the contrary, those verbs whose subject is affected by the event (change of state or place) are the most reluctant ones to take this auxiliary. Sorace and Cennamo defend a gradual lexical and semantic model to explain these cases, and establish an Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (ASH) for intransitive verbs. This hierarchy is based in four interactive semantic parameters: the degree of telicity, the degree of control or subject affection, the conceptualization of the situation described by the verb either as an activity or a result state, the notions of internal and external causation.

The combination of these parameters results in two different sets of verbs: core verbs and non-core verbs. The former (which are verbs of change of place or change of state, on the one hand, and verbs of controlled process without movement, on the
other) will be the most reluctant to accept auxiliary variation in early texts. In these cases, the lexical inherent aspect determines either the selection of the auxiliary *ser* or that of *haber*. The latter, the non-core verbs (which are statives, verbs of emission, verbs of manner of movement, etc.) can use both *ser* and *haber* in compound perfect tenses. In these examples, the compositional aspect determines the selection of either auxiliary. Notice that these will be the verbs which will first display the definitive replacement of *ser* by *haber*.

The cut-off point between the lexical-semantic classes related to auxiliary selection is set gradually and varies within languages (Italian, French, Catalan, Spanish). The tables which are given below show the fact that in French the area of *ser* is more limited than in Italian. While *être* is only selected by telic verbs of change of place and state (*sortir, morir*), *essere* appears with these verbs (*uscire or morire*) as well as with atelic verbs, both verbs of atelic change (*crescere*) and verbs of existence (*esistere*). In contrast, in French, the latter (*grandir and esister*) select *avoir*. In Old Spanish (see Castillo 2002 and Mateu 2008) and Old Catalan (see Mateu 2008) the diagram shows the existence of many similarities with French. The more reluctant verbs to admit *haber-haver* were those expressing change of place and state with the feature [+ telic].

Table 1: Italian (Sorace 2000: 863, quoted by Mateu 2006 and 2008: 364-365)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHANGE OF LOCATION</th>
<th>selects essere</th>
<th>--least variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CHANGE OF STATE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTINUATION OF A PRE-EXISTING STATE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXISTENCE OF STATE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>select avere</td>
<td>--least variation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(34) a. Gianni è/*ha arrivato.
   b. Gianni è/*ha morto.
   c. La pianta è fiorita/*ha fiorito due volte questo anno.
   d. I miei nonni sono sopravvissuti/hanno sopravvissuto al terremoto.
   e. La guerra è durata/?ha durato a lungo.
   f. I dinosauri sono esistiti/?hanno esistito 65 milioni di anni fa.
   g. Il nuovo ballo brasiliano è/ha attechito anche in Italia.
   h. La campana ha rintoccato/?è rintoccata.
   i. Maria ha corso/è corsa velocemente.
   j. È corsa/?ha corso voce che Maria si sposa.
k. Gianni ha lavorato/*è lavorato.

Table 2: French (Mateu 2006; examples from Sorace 2000)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHANGE OF LOCATION</th>
<th>selects être--least variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TELIC CHANGE OF STATE</td>
<td>&quot;cut-off point&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATELIC CHANGE OF STATE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTINUATION OF A PRE-EXISTING STATE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXISTENCE OF STATE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCONTROLLED PROCESS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTROLLED PROCESS (MOTIONAL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTROLLED PROCESS (NONMOTIONAL)</td>
<td>selects avoir--least variation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(35) a. Marie est arrivée / *a arrivé en retard.
    b. Ma fille est née / *a née a cinq heures du matin.
    c. Marie a rougi / *est rougi de honte.
    d. Mes parents *sont survécus / ont survécu au tremblement de terre.
    e. Le dinosaures ont existé / *sont existé il y a 65 millions d’ans.
    f. (no example of ‘uncontrolled process’ is given by Sorace; avoir is selected)
    g. Marie a couru/*est courue (jusqu’à la maison).
    h. Les policiers ont travaillé/*sont travaillés toute la nuit.

Table 3: Old Catalan and Old Spanish (Mateu 2006, Mateu 2008: 368; examples from Par 1923: 318-324)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TELIC CHANGE OF [LOCATION/STATE]</th>
<th>selects ésser/ser -- least variation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ATELIC CHANGE OF [LOCATION/STATE]</td>
<td>&quot;stable cut-off point&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPEARANCE OF STATE</td>
<td>&quot;unstable cut-off point&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXISTENCE OF STATE</td>
<td>&quot;unstable cut-off point&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCONTROLLED PROCESS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTROLLED PROCESS (MOTIONAL)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTROLLED PROCESS (NONMOTIONAL)</td>
<td>selects haver/haber -- least variation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(36) a. tan ne eres anat avant
   b. e com lo pare ... fos vengut\(^8\)
   c. que lom es mort los seus amichs nol ploren
   d. qui ... han viscut en lo mon

(37) a. ...quando sopo que su hermana era ida... [Primera Cónica General: 34]
   b. A mí es venido un mensajero... [CORDE]
   c. Maguer Dario es muerto; nos nada non ganamos [CORDE]
   d. E tanto avia trabajado aquel día que se sentió muy cansado [CORDE]

With respect to the use of auxiliaries, perfect tenses were built with ser, haver, and tener in Old Portuguese. The first one is used with unaccusatives, and the other two with unergatives and transitives – see Mira, Brito, Duarte, Faria et al. (2003: 513-4):

(38) a. (…) vi ua pastor, que pois fui nado, nunca vi tan bela.
   b. Idas som as frores.
   c. O meu filho he morto.

(39) a. (…) do meu amigo aquele que que mentiu do que mi já jurado.
   b. Os serviços que avien feito ao seu padre.
   c. Aquelas cousas que ten aparelhadas.

12.3.2. Ser

Individual level predicate Latin sentences take ESSE in copulative constructions.

(40) a. Ardua prima via est. [Ovidi, Metamorfosis, II. 63]
   'The first path is hard and steep.'
   b. Aureus axis erat. [Ovidi, Metamorfosis, II. 110]

\(^8\) Mateu (2008: 369) provides some examples of venir with auxiliary haver from the 16\(^{th}\) and 17\(^{th}\) centuries in Catalan. However, as he points out, the use of this auxiliary is found only with non-prototypical meanings such as that of appearance (ia). It is not attested with the prototypical movement meaning of venir (ib):

(i) a. Vuy, que contam a 3 de desembre, ha vingut nova com don Alonso no havie ynnovat alguna cosa (16\(^{th}\) c.)
   b. A 14 de yuliol, per les noves que heren vingudes que los tortosins havien deixat pasar lo conseller per Toritsa, ... (16\(^{th}\) c.).
‘It was a golden chariot.’

c. Pater et filius beati sunt.
‘(Both) father and son are happy.’

As for copulatives with stage level predicates, Latin generally uses ESSE:

(41) bene est.
‘He is well.’

However, if the predicate is to be interpreted as “remaining or being in some place” or with a [+del] value, STARE can also be used, as in (42):

(42) stabat nuda Aestas et spicae serta gerebat, stabat et Autumnus, calcatis sordidus uvis. [Ovidi, Metamorfosis. II. 78-79]
‘Summer was naked and had a garland of wheat spikes on and autumn was dirty stepping on the grapes.’

In contrast, location was expressed by STARE, ADESSE, SEDERE and ESSE in Latin.

(43) a. Stabat ad ianuam.
‘(It) was at/in front of the door.’ [+del]

b. Pugna stetit.
‘The battle continued.’

(44) Canis tuus adest ad ianuam.
‘Your dog is at/in front of the door.’ [+del]

(45) a. purpurea uelatus ueste sedebat in solio Phoebus claris lucente smaragdis. [Ovidi, Metamorfosis, II. 23-24]
Phoebus uelatus purpurea ueste sedebat in solio lucente claris smaragdis.
‘Phoebus, in a purple veil, was sat on a throne which was shining because of the emeralds.’ [+ del]

b. Sella in curuli struma Nonius sedet. [Catulli carmina. LII, v. 2]
‘Nonius (…) sits on the bench.’ [+del]

(46) Caesar in Gallia est.
‘Caesar is in Gaul.’

The difference between the last group of examples and (42) lies in the fact that the construction with STARE in (42) displays a predicative participle, while in the other examples the verb appears alone, (43b), or with a locative complement, (43a) and (44)-(46). So the construction in (42) could be taken as the origin of the Romance copulative structure with STARE.

Concerning existential constructions, ESSE was the verb used in Latin, as the following examples show:

(47) a. Namque fatebor enim, dum me Galatea tenebat, nec spes Libertatis erat, nec cura peculi. [Virgili, Bucolica: Tityrus. I, v. 31-32]
   ‘So I will certainly confess it, while Galatea possessed me, there was neither hope for freedom nor care for savings.’

b. Alter erit tum Tiphys, et altera quae uehat Argo delectos heroas; erunt etiam altera bella. [Virgili, Bucolica: Pollio. IV, v. 34-35]
   ‘Then another Tiphys will exist and there will also be another Argo, which will carry the elected heroes; there will also be other wars.’

According to Väänänen (1968: 225), the impersonal use of haber with an object complement is a Vulgar Latin development: habebat autem de eo loco ad montem Dei forsitan quattuor milia ‘there was also from this place to the mountain of Gods perhaps four miles’ [Peregrinatio 1, 2] – see 12.3.1.1.2. above.

Besides, in Classical Latin ‘ESSE + dative’ expressed possession (i.e., quibus opes nullae sunt (Sall. Cat. 37), [those] who have no wealth). See Allen-Greenough (1903: 232-233) for more information and also section 12.3.2.1.1. and footnote 9 below.

As for Latin passive perfect tenses, which were analytic constructions, they took ESSE as auxiliary verb:

(48) a. amatus sum  [indicative present perfect]
b. amatus eram  [indicative past perfect]
c. amatus ero  [indicative future perfect]
d. amatus sim  [subjunctive present perfect]
e. amatus essem  [subjunctive past perfect]

In passives, ‘ESSE + past participle’ can express [-dyn, -del] states.

(49) a. Nulla postest mulier tantum se dicere esse vere, quantum a me Lesbia amata mea est. [Catulli carmina. LXXXVII, v. 1-2]
‘No woman can consider herself to be so truly loved as you, my Lesbia, are loved by me.’ [-dyn, -del]

b. passer mortuos est meae puellae [Catulli carmina, III, v. 3]
‘My beloved bird is dead.’ [-dyn, -del]

Besides, it can appear in eventive [+dyn, +del] structures:

(50) Alea iacta est.
‘Chance is cast.’

With regard to progressive constructions with gerund or present participle, Latin always takes ESSE, which clearly contrasts with the fact that most Romance languages display STARE from the beginning:

(51) a. Quos semper uideas bibentes esse in Thermopolio. [Plauto, Curculio, 292]
‘Those who you always see drinking in Thermopolio.’

b. Tunc in monte erat Darius vociferando et congregando multitudinem hostium. [Leo, Historia Alexandri Magni, 2.14]
‘Then Darius was crying gathering the armed crowd in the mountain.’

12.3.2.1. ESSE from Latin to some Romance languages

12.3.2.1.1. Possessive ESSE (with Dative)\(^9\)

In Early Old Spanish there are usual residual instances of this possessive configuration in which a prepositional phrase, generally introduced by de ‘of’ or en ‘in’, substitutes for the Latin dative noun phrase:

(52) a. qual dueno get ena honore. (translation of Latin CUI (DOMINO) EST HONOR) [Glosas Emilianenses]

b. De .c. annos era Abraam quando naçio so fijo Ysaac. [Fazienda: 46]

c. Isaach era de .xl. annos quando ovo por mugier a Rebeca, e non podian aver fijo. [Fazienda: 47]

---

\(^9\) Notice that the Latin text in (52a) is a clear example of Latin possessive configurations with ESSE + dative. As is well-known, "the dative is used with esse and similar words to denote possession: est mihi domi pater (Ecl. iii. 33), I have a father at home". See Allen-Greenough (1888-1903/1979: 232-233).
d. E fue el Criador con Joseph e aproveció todo lo que \emph{era en su poder}. [\textit{Fazienda}: 52]

e. Moisen \emph{era de edat de } lxxx. \emph{anos}, Aaron \emph{era de otros tantos e .iii. de mas}. [\textit{Fazienda}: 65]

f. Moysen a los viejos de tierra de Israel e dixole s como prisiessen el carnero e fiziessen la pascua. Fue ya la media noche e el Sennor mato al mayor fijo que \emph{era de Pharaoh} troal menor que era en la casa de la carcel e la mayor de las bestias. [\textit{Fazienda}: 70]

12.3.2.1.2. \textit{ESSE with a locative complement}

These structures, where the locative complement is realized as the pronominal adverb \textit{y}, yield examples with a clear physical locative interpretation, like the following ones:

(53) a. Prisioneron Çebola & quanto que \textit{es y adelant}. [\textit{Çid}: v. 1150]
   b. Desi adelante, quantos que \textit{y son} [\textit{Çid}: v. 742]
   c. E todos los otros que \textit{y son} [\textit{Çid}: v. 1998]
   d. E Diego & Ferrando \textit{y son} amos ados [\textit{Çid}: v. 3009]
   e. Con estos cunplanse çiento delos buenos que \textit{y son} [\textit{Çid}: v. 3072]
   f. Con todos sus parientes & el vando que \textit{y son} [\textit{Çid}: v. 3162]

This kind of constructions is quite frequent in the \textit{Cantar de Myo Çid}. As exemplified above, they display number agreement with the verb, whereas the locative constructions with \textit{haber} do not: \textit{Entre Minaya & los buenos que y ha} [\textit{Çid}: v. 3058] – see 12.3.1.1.2.

Moreover, the same constituents (ESSE plus locative) appear in constructions with a less physical (or abstract) locative interpretation closer to the one of existential sentences.

(54) a. Tu eres myo sennor segunt la alteza e la dignidad que \textit{es en ti}, e myo ermano por la compandida de las letras que aprixiemos en uno. [\textit{Fazienda}: 43]
   b. dixo el padre: “Tornatvos alla e conpradnos de la cevera, que la fambre \textit{es en la tierra}”. [\textit{Fazienda}: 55]
   c. el entendimiento que \textit{era en aquella carta}. [\textit{Calila}: 92]
   d. el amor que \textit{es entre los buenos}. [\textit{Calila}: 207]
   e. sobre un monte blanco \textit{es} un elefante blanco. [\textit{Calila}: 287]
In Modern Romance existential sentences rarely exhibit ESSE, with the exception of Italian:

(55) C’è un libro sul tavolo.
‘There is a book on the table.’

12.3.2.1.3. Auxiliary ESSE

12.3.2.1.3.1. The structure of auxiliary ESSE

The structure of auxiliary ESSE configurations can be expressed schematically as in (56), where the DP-subject and the predicate appear within the same constituent (a kind of small clause) and there is agreement between the DP and the adjective, the participle or the noun:

(56) ESSE [DP + AdjP/PartP/PP/NP]

In Old Spanish *ser* is used as an auxiliary with some intransitive verbs, most of them unaccusative:

(57) a. Maguer Dario es muerto; nos nada non ganamos. [1240-1250, CORDE]

b. Cuenta la estoria que despues que fue sonado por todas las tierras de commo el çid auie ganado valencia sopolo el Rey de seuilla et pesol de coraçon. [1270-1284, CORDE]

c. … quando sopo que su hermana era ida… [Primera Crónica General: 34]

d. … quando el sol es andado ccc.lxv días e vja horas si ha cunplido su curso… [1400-1425, CORDE]

e. A mi es venido un mensajero… [1431-1445, CORDE]

f. E así fue ido y volado de entre nosotros el cuerpo de un tanto duque… [1442, CORDE]

As we have already noticed in section 12.3.1.5., this auxiliary alternates with *haber* and the choice of auxiliary depends on the ASH put forward by Sorace (2000, 2004) (see also Castillo 2002 and Aranovich 2003 for the particular case of Spanish, and Mateu 2006 and 2008 for Spanish and Catalan).

With respect to Old Portuguese, *ser, haver*, and *tener* alternate as auxiliaries in perfect tenses. The first one is used with unaccusatives, and the other two with inergatives and transitives – see Mira, Brito, Duarte, Faria *et al.* (2003: 513-4) and Said Ali (1971):
(58) a. (...) vi ua pastor, que pois fui nado, nunca vi tan bela.
   b. Idas som as frores.
   c. (...) do meu amigo aquele que que mentiu do que mi á jurado.
   d. Os serviços que avien feito ao seu padre.
   e. Aquelas cousas que ten aparelhadas.

12.3.2.1.3.2. ESSE in passives

ESSE is also the verb appearing in passive sentences in Old Spanish since the very beginning:

(59) a. Esso fue apriessa fecho. [Çid, v. 1506]
   b. Moros en paz, ca escripta es la carta. [Çid, v. 527]
   c. Vayamos posar, ca la çena es adobada. [Çid, v. 1003]
   d. El libro es acabado. [Calila: 355]
   e. Pues qu' él fue adormido et dormieron todos. [Calila: 140]
   f. et acaesçió que el pozo era derrundiado, et él tornóse a ella et díxole: -Ya llegué fasta el caño et fallé el pozo caído. [Calila: 112]

Only after the 13th c. estar competes with ser in resultative passives (see section 12.3.4.1.2.).

12.3.2.1.4. Locative ESSE

Both in Latin and in Romance, locative ESSE shows the same behaviour. It expresses a pure locative meaning, which corresponds to the typical use of estar in Modern Spanish locative constructions (el profesor está en el aula 'the teacher is in the classroom', la catedral está al lado de la plaza mayor 'the cathedral is next to the main square'). In fact, as has already been mentioned, this modern use of estar coappears with that of ser from the 13th c. onwards.

(60) a. Hya salieron al campo do eran los moiones. [Çid, v. 3588]
   b. el señor que es en çielo. [Çid, v. 1094]
   c. Dos ladrones contigio; estos de señas partes, El vno es en parayo, ca el otro non entro ala. [Çid, v. 349-350]
   d. Mynaya Albarfanez fuera era enel campo. [Çid, v. 1772]
   e. ¿Dónde eres? [Calila: 131]
   f. et aquí es el pasto çerca de nos. [Calila: 220]
Italian, French and Catalan maintained ESSE to express location, whereas Spanish adopted *estar* and Portuguese took *estar* and *ficar* – see section 12.3.4.1.1. below.

In Modern Spanish there are a few contexts where *ser* conveys this locative value:

(61) a. El congreso *es* en la Sala de Grados.

b. *Es* muy lejos ese sitio. [Cuervo, DCRLC: s.v. *estar*]

In (61a) the subject NP must have an eventive reading and the use of *estar* is excluded (*El congreso *está* en la Sala de Grados*); in (61b) the predicate expresses a permanent location and *ser* alternates with *estar* (*¿*Está muy lejos ese sitio*?*).

12.3.3. Tener

When TENE0 selects predicative adjectives or participles, it means “to cost, to remain, to keep, to maintain (in a given condition)”. This construction is less used than the one with HABEO.

(62) a. Servitute oppressam tenuit civitatem. [Cic. Tusc. 5.57; OLD: 1920]

‘He had the citizens subjugated by slavery.’

b. Magnam partem Galliae in officio tenuit. [Caes. Gal. 5.54.1; OLD 1920]

‘Most of Gaul was faithful to him.’

c. Ipse in suspensu tenuit, vetandi metu vel agnoscendi pudor. [Tuc. Hist 1.78; OLD: 1920]

‘He himself held it in suspense forbidding fear and being aware of bashfulness.’

Although TENE0 and HABEO can both express possessive meaning (see section 12.3.1.), there are several grammatical differences between them that can temptatively be summarized as follows:

— TENE0 is aspectually [+dur] and [+del] (in the sense of maintaining something for a given period of time).
— HABEO is aspectually [-dur] and [-del].

10 With respect to Catalan, Vañó Cerdà (2006) claims that in locative constructions *ser* alternates with *estar* since the Middle Ages.
12.3.3.1. **TENERE from Latin to some Romance languages**

12.3.3.1.1. *Transitive TENERE*

In Old Spanish *tener* presents the original values of ‘maintaining, retaining or keeping something’ and ‘durative possession of discrete realities’. It also acquires the meaning of possession referred to abstract entities, as we have seen for the case of *aver* in section 12.3.1.1.1. The former values are closer to the original meaning of *TENEO* in Latin, whereas the latter is closer to that of Latin *HABEO*. The examples in (63)-(65) show these three meanings of *tener*, respectively.

(63) a. *Tenié enna su mano dos preciosas coronas* [VStoDomingo, e 233]
   b. *(…) que tenié en su cerco mucha piedra preciosa* [VStoDomingo, e. 234]
   c. Vino Pero Vermuez, que *la seña tiene en mano* [Cid, v. 611]
   d. Echarono por suert en la mar a Jonas e tragolo. i . pez e tovolo. iii . dias [Fazienda, p. 190]

(64) a. Acostos avn aguazil que *tenie buen cauallo* [Cid, v. 749]
   b. sobre los dozientos marcos que *tenie el Rey Alfonso* [Cid, v. 3246]
   c. Dizen que un rey muy poderoso, que avía nombre Varamunt, *tenía una ave que dezían Catra* [Calila: 272]
   d. El rey de Navarra *tenía un castillo en Normandía rribera de la mar* [Enrique II, 406]
   e. *Si pan solo toviessen non avrién nula pena* [VStoDomingo, e.455]
   f. Otrossy por la mar el rrey no fuera aperçebido e non *tenian viandas ni nauios* [Enrique II, 370]

(65) a. *grandes tuertos me tiene myo Cid el de Biuar* [Cid, v. 961]
   b. *non tiene poridad* [Cid, v. 2668]
   c. Si tú *tovieras memoria*, hijo Pármeno, del passado amor que te tuve, la primera posada que tomaste venido nuevamente a esta cibdad, havía de ser la mía [Celestina, VII.193]
   d. Responde Melibea a su padre, Pleberio, fingiendo que *tenía sed* [Celestina, XII. 255]
   e. Don Juan Pacheco entro en Portogal, por fablar al rey don Alonso que en aquel tiempo entre todos los prinçipes christianos *tenía fama de ser mas prudente e mas caucho* [Enrique IV, 455]
In Old Spanish, *tener* coexists with *aver/haber* to express plain and abstract possession and in some other contexts such as inalienable possession (66).

(66) a. Grado al Criador e a sancta Maria madre, / Mis fijas e mi mugier que *tengo* aca [Cid, v. 1637 – 1638]

b. en la ysla desnuyo cuandol tomaron el señorío que *tení* [1325-1335, Lucanor, CORDE]

Some examples with *aver* equivalent to those in (65) and (66) with *tener* can be observed in (67) and (68).

(67) a. Non *ay* ninguno esperança en ninguna buena manera [Calila: 323]

b. el conde don Fernando, mas brrauo que serpyente, / *avía* la grrand fuerça con el dia caliente [Poema de Fernán González, estr. 514]

(68) a. *seremos* yo e *su mugier* e *sus fijas* que el a [Cid, v. 1411]

b. Assí acaesçió que yo *avía* un pariente a qui amava mucho [Lucanor: ex. XXI]

This indicates that in Old Spanish *tener* had already acquired all the semantic values of Latin HABEO, as noticed by many scholars (Yllera 1973: 285-294, Pountain 1985: 345-347, Delport 2004: 395-420, among others) and that, consequently, both verbs were usually found in the same context, as in (69).

(69) a. el sacre et el borny *han mucho piojo* [P. López de Ayala, Libro de las aves de caça, 45]

b. jamás nunca bien podrá fazer el falcón en quanto *piojo tousie* [P. López de Ayala, Libro de las aves de caça, 39]

However, it is important to remark that, in spite of the fact that both verbs *aver* and *tener* alternate in many documents from the 14th century onwards, the use of *tener* is less frequent than the use of *aver*:11

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11 This confusion is not attested in French, which preserves the etymological Latin distinction. In this language *avoir* keeps the possessive meaning, (ia), in addition to its use as an auxiliary in perfect tenses, and *tenir* is closer to the semantic values of Latin TENEÓ (ib, c).

(i) a. Marie a une voiture
b. Il *tenait* un téléphone portable avec sa main gauche
c. Il *tenait* un rôle dans la série
12.3.3.1.2. TENERE in predicative contexts

Tener was also used in constructions which include a predicative structure on the direct object. The predicative complement can either be subcategorized, (70c), or not, (70b), and it is mostly a participle, (70a-c, e-h), or a prepositional phrase headed by por, (70d).

(70) a. Espuelas tienen calçadas los malos traydores [Cid, v. 2722]
    b. vio david el angel perucient que tenie el espada sacada en su mano e
       matava la yent [Fazienda: 142]
    c. Et non tenían cosa alguna sinon los paños que tenían vestidos [Calila: 325]
    d. Touo los por muy bien fechos [G. Estoria I]
    e. En tod esto cataua Thereo a Philomena, e quanto mas la cataua, tanto
       mas se deleye por ella, et quando ueye cuemo uesaua ella a su padre e
       cuemol tenie los braços echados al cuello, tal le era como aguijones de lo
       que desseaua [GEII, 247.34b]
    f. Tenién su conducho todo aparejado [VStoDomingo, e.364]
    g. … tenía una lanza arrimada a la encina adonde estaba arrendada la
       yegua [Quijote, 65]
    h. Tiene esta buena dueña al cabo de la cibdad, allá cerca de las tenerías,
       en la cuesta del río, una casa apartada, medio caýda, poco compuesta y
       menos abastrada [Celestina, I.110]

In these exemples the participle is the predicate of a secondary predication and the whole structure cannot yet be considered as a periphrasis as in Modern Spanish (example Tengo puesta la mesa desde la una y aún no han venido ‘I have had the table laid since one o’clock and they are not here yet’), where the verb tener is an auxiliary and the participle is the real head of the predication.

Yllera (1973: 293) gives some examples in which the participle appears in an invariable masculine singular form in a way that seems very close to the use of the auxiliary haber in perfect contructions in Spanish and of tener in Modern Portuguese perfects:

(71) a. de los grandes yerros que tu tienes fecho [Baena II, 973, 491, 10]
    b. E el rrey de Persia tenia cercado la cibdat onde hera obispo [ABC 257, 8902-3]

However, this auxiliary use did not catch on in Spanish as it did in Asturian, Galician, and Portuguese (see 12.3.3.1.4.). From the 13th century onwards, we find examples where tener coexists with the past participle, but in the first examples
attested tener still seems to convey a possessive meaning (spiritual possession, according to Yllera) or a value closer to ‘keep or hold’. This shows that in these Spanish constructions the participle is a predicative complement.

In Spanish tener can also have a PP headed by por ‘for’ as a subcategorized predicative complement:

(72) a. auos tiene por señor [Çid, v.1339]

   b. Muchos tienen por Ricos los ylantes de Carrion [Çid, v. 2510]

   c. Tienes por desondrado [Çid, v. 2950]

Furthermore, there are additional predicative structures in which tener behaves as considerar and takes a propositional complement (either a sentence or a predicative):

(73) a. Esto peso a Jacob e tovo a grant desleetat [Fazienda: 136]

   b. E abriola e vio el ninno que plorava … e tovo que de los Ebreos era [Fazienda: 62]

12.3.3.1.3. TENERE as a light verb

In a parallel way to the use of HABERE seen in 12.3.1.1.4., in Old Spanish tener coexists with verbal nouns or nouns expressing a feeling, an action, etc. In these cases tener and the noun semantically function as a predicative unit that can usually be paraphrased with a single verb (for instance, tener deseo ‘lit. to have wish’= desear ‘to wish’):

(74) a. Esto peso a sos ermanos e el padre tovo mientes en esta cosa [Fazienda, p. 51]

   tener mientes = pensar ‘to think’

   b. e tovo duelo por so fijo muchos dias [Fazienda, p. 51]

   tener duelo = lamentarse ‘to mourn’

   c. tengo desseo [Cancionero de Juan del Encina: 73; García Gallarín (2002: 17)]

   tener deseo = desear ‘to wish’

   d. no puedo tener querella [Cancionero de Juan del Encina: 113; García Gallarín (2002: 17)]

   tener querella = querellarse, pelearse ‘to argue’
e. *tener afición* [Cancionero de Juan del Encina: 131; García Gallarín (2002: 17)]

\[ \text{tener afición = aficionar} \] *to be keen on*

e. *tener mejora* [Cancionero de Juan del Encina: 169; García Gallarín (2002: 17)]

\[ \text{tener mejora = mejorar} \] *to get better*

g. *tener esperanza* [Cancionero de Juan del Encina: 222; García Gallarín (2002: 17)]

\[ \text{tener esperanza = esperar} \] *to hope*

12.3.3.1.4. Auxiliary TENERE

In Romance *tener* developed an auxiliary use in constructions where it combines with a past participle. At the beginning, the construction displayed a resultative meaning due to the durative nature of the past participle verb, but later on (late 15th – early 16th c.) *tener* occurs with non-durative active verbs such as *decir* or *fablar* and the construction is not necessarily interpreted as a resultative, and acquires an intensive meaning. This configuration could be considered the first step towards the grammaticalization of *tener* as an auxiliary in Modern Portuguese and Galician (or for its current use in Asturian).

In European Portuguese, in addition to its use as auxiliary in perfect tense, (75f), *tener* is also used as a transitive verb to express possession, (75a-d), and in periphrastic deontic constructions, (75e).

(75) a. Gosto da vida que tenho.

b. Eu não tenho tempo de pegar as fotos.

c. Tenho algum livro sobre isso.

d. Aqueles salmonetes têm um óptimo aspecto.

e. Ela tem de escrever uma carta aos amigos.

f. Eu tenho visto na tv ontem.

With respect to the use of auxiliaries, in Old Portuguese perfect tenses were built with *ser*, *haver*, and *tener*. As mentioned above, the first one was used with unaccusatives, like the examples in (76), and *haver* and *tener* with inergatives and transitives as shown by (77) and (78), respectively – see Mira, Brito, Duarte, Faria et al. (2003: 513-4).
(76) a. (...) vi ua pastor, que pois fui nado, nunca vi tan bela.
   b. Idas som as frores.
   c. Nos tres dias que cometeo o vao, eram mortos vinte Portugueses. [Barros, Déc. 1, 6, 5; Said Ali (1971: 150)]

(77) a. (...) do meu amigo aquele que que mentiu do que mi já jurado.
   b. Os serviços que avien feito ao seu padre.

(78) a. Uns as armas alimpam e renovam que a ferrugem d a paz gastadas tinha.
   [Camões, Lus. 4, 22; Said Ali (1971: 150)]
   b. Foram perdendo o que tinham ganhado. [Vieira, Serm. 8; 267; Said Ali (1971: 150)]
   c. Respondeo elle que já tinha morto hum urso. [Vieira, Serm. 9, 417; Said Ali (1971: 151)]

12 According to Said Ali, the past participle morto(s) used to take ser as its auxiliary in Portuguese writers of the 16th (quinhentistas) and the 17th (seiscentistas) centuries.

13 It is worth taking into account that the participle morto in (76c, d) is unaccusative, while in (78c) it is transitive and it means ‘killed’. This explains the selection of the auxiliary in each case.

14 In European Portuguese existential constructions are constructed with aver:
   (i) a. Houve um acidente.
      b. Há muita gente na praça.

12.3.3.1.5. Existential TENERE in Brazilian Portuguese

One of the relevant aspects to be pointed out concerning Brazilian Portuguese is the use of ter in existential constructions.¹⁴

(79) a. Tinha um livro sobre a mesa. [BrP]
   b. Tem várias calças no armário.
   c. Hoje tem muita gente na praia.

Notice that this use is not restricted to oral speech since it can also be found in contemporary Brazilian literature texts. Delport (2004: 477-478) gives the following examples:
(80) a. Paizinho, tem tanta novidade que nem sei por onde começar. [J. Amado, *Os pastores da noite*, p. 35; 1964]

b. - Obrigado … - disse ele – tu é que sabe, se tu nao quer ir, tu nao vai, isso é lá com você … Só, tem uma coisa que eu quero dizer. [J. Amado, *Os pastores da noite*, p. 144; 1964]

c. *Tinha* um senhor parado perto de mim, um homem todo lorde e ‘tava me olhando. [J. Amado, *Os pastores da noite*, p. 31; 1964]

12.3.4. *Estar*

As commented at the beginning of section 12.3.2., the verb *STARE* in Latin has a [+del] feature and occurs with stage level predicates in copulative structures, as shown in the example (42) above, repeated here as (81).


‘Summer was naked and had a garland of wheat spikes on and autumn was dirty stepping on the grapes.’

The main use of *STARE* in Latin, though, is the locative one, as has been said in section 12.3.2. and illustrated in the examples in (82), which correspond to (43) above:

(82) a. *Stabat* ad ianuam.

‘It was at/in front of the door.’ [+del]

b. *Pugna stetit.*

‘The battle continued.’

12.3.4.1. *STARE* from Latin to some Romance languages

12.3.4.1.1. Locative *STARE*

The basic locative meaning of STARE is preserved in Spanish and most Romance languages from early texts:

(83) a. Çerca *está* el alcald de nos [Calila: 233]

b. enbiame a ella et *está* tú en tu lugar fasta que yo torne a ti [Calila: 135]

c. me dixieron que tu marido *está* en la ribera de la mar [Calila: 254]

d. dixiéronle que su marido *estava* a la puerta [Calila: 111]
In European Portuguese, locative constructions can either appear with *estar* or with *ficar*. The difference among them is related to the kind of predicate: individual predicates choose *ficar* (*FIGICARE* < *FIGERE* “fix, stick, set, nail, get frozen”), whereas stage predicates choose *estar*:

(84) a. O João *está* em casa logo à tarde.
    b. O livro *está* em cima da estante.
    c. As chaves da garagem *estão* aqui.

(85) a. A Torre de Belém *fica* em Lisboa.
    b. A refinaria de petróleo *fica* em Sines.
    c. O Museu *fica* perto da Estação de Santa Apolónia.

The fact that *ficar* alternates with *ser*, as opposed to *estar*, with [-del] feature predicates (as shown in (86)) provides further empirical evidence for the semantic difference between these verbs:

(86) a. O museu *fica* longe.
    b. O museu *é* longe.
    c. *O museu *está* longe.

12.3.4.1.2. **STARE in resultative and passive constructions**

In Spanish, as well as in Catalan (see Batllori and Roca 2004, in press), the verb *estar* is also found in resultative passive constructions:

(87) a. Tengo que el asno *está* escarmentado. [Calila: 260]
    b. et *está* ligado de su onbligo [Calila: 117]
    c. veía otrosí que su cuerpo *estava todo bañado* en sangre [Calila: 280]
    d. Et él *estava asentado* [en] su lugar. [Calila: 329]
    e. commo la cola del can que, mentre *está atado*, tiénela derecha, et
       quando lo desatan, tórnase commo era, corva et tuerta [Calila: 150]
    f. et *estava* un atanbor colgado del árbol [Calila: 135]
    g. Más razón es que *esté* lo suyo *guardado* que non lo mío. [Calila: 95]

This use of *estar* competes with the same construction with *ser* (see section 12.3.2.1.3.2.) from the 13th century onwards (see Pountain 1985, among others).
12.3.4.1.3. Existential STARE

This verb also appears in structures that present a similar meaning to that of existential sentences with haber. This suggests that estar conveys, at least in these constructions, a [-del] in contrast with the basic [+del] interpretation commented on above. A relevant example from Old Spanish is the one in (88).

(88) Et estava en la casa un niño [Calila: 249]

This sentence means the same as había un niño en la casa “there was a boy in the house”. This existential meaning (linked to the presence of the [-del] feature) results from the compositional semantic interpretation of the syntactic cooccurrence of a locative phrase and an indefinite nominal expression. With true locative STARE Spanish requires definite nominals. Bare NPs are clearly ungrammatical, and indefinite NPs must be interpreted as [+specific], as shown by the contrast between (89b), where the relative clause in indicative correlates with the [+spec] interpretation, and (89c), where the relative clause appears in subjunctive and the [+spec] interpretation cannot be obtained.

(89) a. En la casa estaban los niños.
   b. En la casa estaban unos niños que habían venido del parque.
   c. *En la casa estaban unos niños que hubiesen venido del parque.
   d. *En la casa estaban niños.

Modern Portuguese data support the above correlation between the existential value of verbs like estar and ficar (and also other verbs such as andar; see Mira, Brito, Duarte, Faria et al. 2003: 543), and the presence of the non-definite nominals and locatives (see the contrast between (90) and (91)):

(90) a. Está um fantasma na biblioteca.
   b. Ficaram treinta turistas em Belém.
   c. Andam melodias antigas no ar.

(91) a. *Está o fantasma na biblioteca.
   b. *Ficaram os treinta turistas em Belém.
   c. *Andam as melodias antigas no ar.
12.4. **Syntactic contexts**

In this section we review several syntactic and semantic configurations related to the distributional occurrences of HABERE, TENERE, ESSE, and STARE – the four verbs that are generally found as auxiliaries and have endured semantic bleaching in Romance. We also examine some data concerning the verb FIGICARE because it shows a similar behaviour in certain Romance varieties. The syntactic configurations we focus on are existential sentences, auxiliary uses, progressive constructions with gerunds, present participles, or infinitives introduced by a preposition, copulative and passive sentences, locative and possessive constructions, predicative and light verb structures, and, finally, the original verb with its lexical meaning. We consider that all these configurations are interconnected. The syntactic relations that hold among them allow us to figure out the evolution of these verbs/predicates from Latin to Romance as well as the parametric variation noticed among several Romance varieties – see table 4 below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>European Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HABERE Hi ha un llibre a sota de la taula</td>
<td>HABERE C’è un libro sul tavolo</td>
<td>HABERE Hoy demasiados libros en el estante</td>
<td>HABERE Hí vairás calças no armário.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Deus est (HABERE Vulgar Latin)</td>
<td>Il y a un livre sur la table</td>
<td>Et avia en aquel monte</td>
<td>Este um fantasma na biblioteca</td>
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<tr>
<td>habet in biblioteca</td>
<td></td>
<td>muchos gatos. non podía</td>
<td>‘FIGICARE Ficaram treinta</td>
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<td>Vpia librum elephantinum</td>
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<td>Marie a rogui de bona</td>
<td>HABERE La Maria ha anat al cinema</td>
<td>HABERE Os serviços que avien feito ao seu padre</td>
<td>[HABERE]</td>
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<tr>
<td>HABERE Gianni ha lavorato</td>
<td>qui ...han viscut en lo mon [ESSE/HABERE]</td>
<td>[ESSE]</td>
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<td>ESSE/ HABERE</td>
<td>A 14 de yulio per les noves que heren</td>
<td>Luego que ovo dicho el leedor:</td>
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<tr>
<td>La pianta e fiorito</td>
<td>ha vingut nova com don Alonso</td>
<td>“Secuencia” “Gloria tibi Domine”.</td>
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<tr>
<td>due volte</td>
<td>no havie ynnovat alguna cosa [ESSE]</td>
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<td>el cauallo ha corrido</td>
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<td>Gianni è morto</td>
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<td>o anda luenga iornada</td>
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<td>tan ne eres anat avant [ESSE]</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>European Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Capitive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESSE</strong></td>
<td>La maison est très jolie</td>
<td>Casa è bellissima</td>
<td>Casa es muy bonita</td>
<td>Casa está muy bonita</td>
<td>Casa está muito bonita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESSE</strong></td>
<td>La fama è vera. Bernat Metge.</td>
<td>La fama es buena</td>
<td>La fama está muy buena</td>
<td>La fama está buena</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESSE/STARE</strong></td>
<td>La mia anima era japoc trista.</td>
<td>La meva anima è trista</td>
<td>STARE Fatigat estic e enuhat de posseir e tractar los bens temporals. Llull. Els divendres estic molt cansat</td>
<td>La mia anima era molto trista.</td>
<td>Com este vestido a Maria està molt cansat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Passive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESSE</strong></td>
<td>La maison était truffée d'explosifs</td>
<td>La casa fu costruita dai muratori</td>
<td>PLA Amatus sum (perfect indicative)</td>
<td>PLA Marya será acomiadada da la feina Car en la prudencia es feta la temptació e vençuda. Llull.</td>
<td>La casa fu costruita dai muratori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESSE/STARE</strong></td>
<td>L'habitation est pintada d'aquest matí</td>
<td>Pots doncs entendre la manera per la qual home habituat de força de coratge e de savia com està ordenat e reglat per sentir e ymaginar e per racionar. Llull.</td>
<td>STARE Firme estido Pero Vermuez</td>
<td>Juan està de pie</td>
<td>STARE Com este vestido a Maria està molt cansat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Localise</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESSE</strong></td>
<td>Marie est au jardin</td>
<td>Maria sta in biblioteca</td>
<td>Una vegada se sdevench que aquell rey era en una bataylla. Llull</td>
<td>La cena est en el comedor de enfrente.</td>
<td>A casa finalmente construida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>STARE</strong></td>
<td>Sto ad ianuam.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Una vegada se sdevench que aquell rey era en una bataylla. Llull</td>
<td>La cena est en el comedor de enfrente.</td>
<td>O escritor ficou privado do seu computador portátil,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only predicate that appears with STARE in Myo Çid / Cid is *FIGICARE*. Notice that in Latin, *FIGICARE* also occurred with the subjunctive *esse*.

---

**Table 4**

- **Latin:** Pater et filius beat sunt
- **French:** La maison est très jolie
- **Italian:** La casa è bellissima
- **Catalan:** Bernat Metge. La fama està bona
- **Spanish:** La calle era estrecha. Els diners estaran al banc fins que em mori
- **European Portuguese:** O Paulo é alto. O museu fica longe. O dinheiro ficará no banco.

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>European Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>La casa està ja no poc trista.</td>
<td>La meva anima està trista.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernat Metge.</td>
<td>Com este vestido a Maria està molt cansat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La fama està boni.</td>
<td>Com este vestido a Maria està molt cansat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La fama està veri.</td>
<td>Com este vestido a Maria està molt cansat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatigat estic et demudado.</td>
<td>Com este vestido a Maria està molt cansat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELS diners estaran al banc fins que em mori.</td>
<td>Com este vestido a Maria està molt cansat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Table 4**

- **Passive:** PLA Amatus sum (perfect indicative)
- **Passive:** PLA Amatus eram (past perfect indicative)
- **Passive:** PLA Amatus eram (future indicative)
- **Passive:** PLA Amatus eram (perfect subjunctive)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>European Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ESSE (+ dat.)</td>
<td>Mihi est librum</td>
<td>C’est à moi un livre</td>
<td>La macchina è mia</td>
<td>Libro è mio</td>
<td>El libro es mío</td>
<td>Pedro, o livro é do João. Não dá pra levar para escola...&quot;. E ele: “Não. É meu”.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE Dociles auditores habere poterimus</td>
<td>[HABERE] e avia una fila q avia mal de demonis. Homilies d’Organyà.</td>
<td>TENERE Son pare tenia lo forn on la mare de la dita Catalina cou. Clams e Crims.2</td>
<td>En Pere tenia una casa a la muntanya</td>
<td>El libro es mío</td>
<td>Marta tiene un coche rojo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE Habet inimicissimam Galliam. Nos odiosas haberi. Nos nostramque adulescentiam habent despicatum</td>
<td>[HABERE] e l’ altra fila avia nom done Maria. Desclot.</td>
<td>TENERE lo cap tenia ja bruxellat. Spill.</td>
<td>En Joan té el braç trençat La Maria té els ulls blancs T’ho tinc dit</td>
<td>[HABERE] Dos son los que veen: el que ha los ojos claros et el sabio.</td>
<td>TENERE Espuelas tienen calzadas los malos traydores. Tengo los labios cortados Te tengo dicho que debes venir antes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicative</th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>European Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>[HABERE] Ha la gamba ingessata</td>
<td>[HABERE] e l’ altra fila avia nom done Maria. Desclot.</td>
<td>TENERE lo cap tenia ja bruxellat. Spill.</td>
<td>En Joan té el braç trençat La Maria té els ulls blancs T’ho tinc dit</td>
<td>[HABERE] Dos son los que veen: el que ha los ojos claros et el sabio.</td>
<td>TENERE Espuelas tienen calzadas los malos traydores. Tengo los labios cortados Te tengo dicho que debes venir antes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE Habet</td>
<td>Marie a les yeux laissés, les mains repliées sur la poitrine.</td>
<td>Marie a les yeux marrons</td>
<td>En Joan té el braç trençat La Maria té els ulls blancs T’ho tinc dit</td>
<td>En Joan té el braç trençat La Maria té els ulls blancs T’ho tinc dit</td>
<td>[HABERE] Dos son los que veen: el que ha los ojos claros et el sabio.</td>
<td>TENERE Espuelas tienen calzadas los malos traydores. Tengo los labios cortados Te tengo dicho que debes venir antes</td>
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<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>[HABERE] Ha la gamba ingessata</td>
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<td>TENERE lo cap tenia ja bruxellat. Spill.</td>
<td>En Joan té el braç trençat La Maria té els ulls blancs T’ho tinc dit</td>
<td>[HABERE] Dos son los que veen: el que ha los ojos claros et el sabio.</td>
<td>TENERE Espuelas tienen calzadas los malos traydores. Tengo los labios cortados Te tengo dicho que debes venir antes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Table 4 | | | | | | |

<p>| HABERE | Habet inimicissimam Galliam. Nos odiosas haberi. Nos nostramque adulescentiam habent despicatum | TENERE lo cap tenia ja bruxellat. Spill. | En Joan té el braç trençat La Maria té els ulls blancs T’ho tinc dit | [HABERE] Dos son los que veen: el que ha los ojos claros et el sabio. | TENERE Espuelas tienen calzadas los malos traydores. Tengo los labios cortados Te tengo dicho que debes venir antes | TENERE Maria tem os olhos cobertos por uma pequena toalha branca |
| HABERE | Habet inimicissimam Galliam. Nos odiosas haberi. Nos nostramque adulescentiam habent despicatum | TENERE lo cap tenia ja bruxellat. Spill. | En Joan té el braç trençat La Maria té els ulls blancs T’ho tinc dit | [HABERE] Dos son los que veen: el que ha los ojos claros et el sabio. | TENERE Espuelas tienen calzadas los malos traydores. Tengo los labios cortados Te tengo dicho que debes venir antes | TENERE Maria tem os olhos cobertos por uma pequena toalha branca |</p>
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<tr>
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<th>Italian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>European Portuguese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>[HABERE] un rich drap de seda que non avia por de podrir per aya ne per altre cosa. Questa del sant Grasal.</td>
<td>[HABERE] tomó la corona por que non ovieste sospecha della</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terror habet gratiam habere</td>
<td>J'ai peur</td>
<td>Paolo ha paura Maria ha dei sospetti</td>
<td>[HABERE]</td>
<td>[TENERE] Esto peso a sos ermanos e el padre tovo mientes en esta cosa</td>
<td>Quem tem medo de Fantasma?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Light Verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>La gent té per quan jo arribó</td>
<td>Tengo dolor de muelas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tene tu cistellam tib [Pl. Cist.771]</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>TENERE Tieni il giornale Tieni un attimo la tazza</td>
<td>TENERE Tenme el paraguas, por favor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical *FIGICARE 'fix, remain'</td>
<td>*FIGICARE</td>
<td>*FIGICARE</td>
<td>*FIGICARE *FIGICARE -------- -------</td>
<td>*FIGICARE *FIGICARE --------- -------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGERE</td>
<td>Fixit leges pretio atque refixit [Verg.A.6.622]</td>
<td>Fixit</td>
<td>*FIGICARE Il le fichait à la porte On fichait les gens en prison [Jean Camion]</td>
<td>*FIGICARE aquello mismo que conoció cuando le fazían la premia &amp; fico después en aquella comosencia Siete Partidas</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pacem cum Romulo fixit [Amp.39.I] Fixit in terram pilis [Liv.2.65.3]</td>
<td>*FIGICARE</td>
<td>*FIGICARE Car aquell glay e aquella lance partia de la dolor e de la passió de son fisè e ficava en lo cor de nostra Dona [Llibre de Sancta Maria] Lo consul o dictador de Roma ficava un clau en la paret del temple de Júpiter [Primera part de la Història de València] ¿On has ficat els llibres?</td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Table 4

RELATION BETWEEN CHANGES: THE LOCALIZATION AND POSSIBILITIES OF VERBALIZATION CIRCLES IN SPANISH
The structure chosen by each Romance language to express possession may vary. But in any case it will conform to one (or some) of the following syntactic configurations. According to Heine (1997), in natural languages the semantic notion of possession can be expressed through eight different syntactic configurations:

(92) (i) X takes Y → ACTION pattern
(ii) Y is located at X → LOCATION pattern
(iii) X is with Y → COMPANION pattern
(iv) X’s Y exists → GENITIVE pattern
(v) Y exists for/to X → GOAL pattern
(vi) Y exists from X → SOURCE pattern
(vii) As for X, Y exists → TOPIC pattern
(viii) Y is X’s property → EQUATION pattern

For instance, as we have already shown, in Latin, possession was expressed by means of two verbs, HABEO and TENEOD, which had possessive meaning, and both appeared in transitive configurations. In addition, it was also carried out by means of a copulative structure with ESSE: *mihi est* ‘DP + Dative + ESSE’. This pattern is maintained in French, where *avoir* (and *tenir*), as well as a copulative construction with *être* and a PP headed by locative *à* are used to express possession.

As can be seen in table 4, the evolution of predicates involving verbs like *tener* and *haber* in Romance seems to have followed several steps. Each step gives way to differentiated uses of these verbs attested across Romance languages. The general picture about their evolution would be:

(i) First, each verb has a lexical meaning which corresponds to the expression of possession. In this case, the verb (*tener* or *haber*) accommodates to the syntactic configuration illustrated by Heine (1997) – see (92i) above–, which is the transitive use (explained in sections 12.2. and 12.3.). The verbs used in this configuration are HABEO in Latin, *haber* in Old Spanish, *avere* in Italian, *avoir* in French, *tener* in Modern Spanish and Modern Portuguese, and *tenir* in Catalan.17

(ii) Secondly, these verbs are also used as light predicates, in which case they lose part of their lexical aspectual values and do not express possession.

---

17 The transitive use of these verbs is also found to express possession related to a particular state or to the idea of maintaining something in a particular state. This is the original meaning of Latin TENEOD and also of *tenir* in French and *tenere* in Italian today. These semantic values are expressed in Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese with derivative verbs, such as *mantener, retener, sostener*, etc. in Spanish and *entretenir, maintenir, soutenir, retenir, detenir*, etc. in French.
anymore. The kind of syntactic configuration involved in this case is ‘DP(subject) + V + NP(object)’ and the relevant part of the semantic content comes from the NP in object position. HABEO in Vulgar Latin, haber and tener in Old and Modern Spanish, as well as in Old and Modern Catalan, avoir in Modern French, avere in Modern Italian and tenere in Modern Portuguese can display this syntactic behaviour.

(iii) Thirdly, HABERE and the descendents of TENERE in Romance appear completely devoid of the lexical content of possession in syntactic configurations requiring a predicative complement and a direct object (Juan nos tiene preocupados). In these constructions, the predicative complement (which is predicated of the object) is crucial for the semantic interpretation of the whole construction and the verb looks like an auxiliary. This kind of predicative construction may be the basis for the development of the use of haber and tener as auxiliary verbs in Romance.

(iv) Fourthly, the descendents of HABERE and TENERE (haber in Old and Modern Spanish, haver in Old and Modern Catalan, avoir in Modern French, avere in Modern Italian, and tener in Old and Modern Portuguese) can also be used as an auxiliary in perfect tenses. The ‘DP(subject) + V_{aux} + V_{p.p.}’ configuration of perfect tenses allows the presence of ser as an auxiliary in Romance. This happens nowadays in French and Italian (two languages with auxiliary alternation – avoir/être, avere/essere –, in which the auxiliaries are sensitive to the syntactic and semantic properties of the main verb) and it was also possible in Old Spanish, Old Catalan and Old Portuguese. Therefore, auxiliary selection brings about two different patterns in the evolution of Romance languages: French and Italian, on the one hand, and Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese, on the other. In the early stages of the latter group there was auxiliary alternation, but it was gradually lost and the Modern stages of these languages do not have it any longer. This indicates that the verb ser is progressively losing its syntactic values in favour of the auxiliary haber or tener and, in this sense, Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese seem to have gone further than French or Italian.

(v) Finally, they can appear in existential constructions of the type ‘V (+ locative particle) + NP/DP’. The verbs used are HABEO in Vulgar Latin, haber in Old and Modern Spanish, haver in Old and Modern Catalan, avoir in Modern French, haver in European Portuguese, and tener in Brazilian Portuguese. Classical Latin existential constructions used ESSE and in Old and Modern Spanish, ser, estar and haber can still express existence, but in Modern Spanish ser is less frequent. This can be interpreted as another instance of the gradual replacement of ser by other verbs in Romance. Notice, though, that the verbs ser and être clearly retain this existential meaning in sentences like “je pense, donc je suis”, “Il était une fois”, “Quelle heure est-il?”, “Erase una vez” and “¿Qué hora es?”, among other uses that sometimes are regarded as literary.
According to this, it could be said that the evolution of *tener* and *haber* in Romance languages follow a change from lexical verbs (linked to a very clear semantic meaning, i.e., that of possession) to existential verbs which are almost semantically empty. Thus, each Romance language would have reached a different stage in this evolution, as can be illustrated below in the case of *haber*:

(i) Italian *avere* is used as a lexical verb, as a light predicate, and as an auxiliary in perfect tenses, but it is not used in existential constructions. This indicates that this verb has not achieved the four stages outlined.

(ii) French *avoir* can be used in the four configurations, that is, it has lexical content, but it also appears in light predicate constructions, auxiliary structures, and existential configurations. So we can say that it has completed the four stages and that it is used in all of them.

(iii) Spanish and Catalan *haber* and *haver* have lost their lexical possessive meaning and their ability to appear in light predicate constructions. They are the auxiliaries of perfect tenses and are also used in existential patterns. It seems, then, that they have gone through the four stages mentioned above and that, in addition, they have completely lost the option to appear in the first two syntactic configurations: possessives and light predicates (see table 5).

(iv) Portuguese *haver* is only found in existential constructions. The impossibility to appear in the other configurations is also due to semantic bleaching. It seems that Portuguese went further than Spanish or Catalan in the loss of uses of *haber*, which has been displaced by *tener* in several configurations. Portuguese represents a further step of *tener* in Romance: *tener* as the auxiliary of perfect tenses (and as the verb of existential constructions in Brazilian Portuguese).

Table 6 offers an accurate picture of Modern uses in French, Italian, Catalan, Spanish and European Portuguese.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Catalan</th>
<th>Modern Catalan</th>
<th>Old Spanish</th>
<th>Modern Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Existential</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avia desposseït de son regne</td>
<td>Hi ha un llibre a sota de la taula</td>
<td>En aquel monte</td>
<td>Hay demasiados</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3- rey que avia en Jerusalem</td>
<td>non podia aver y ningun engaño</td>
<td>muchos gatos.</td>
<td>libros en el estante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td><strong>ESSE</strong></td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En una ciutat era un bisbe qui sobre totes coses</td>
<td>En una ciutat era un bisbe qui sobre totes coses</td>
<td>Ca el amor que es entre los buenos.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amava almoyna Llull, Meravelles, IV, 216</td>
<td>amava almoyna Llull, Meravelles, IV, 216</td>
<td>Calila’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>STARE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+dur]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les divinals penses són sobre totes les causes que estan, e</td>
<td>Les divinals penses són sobre totes les causes que estan, e</td>
<td>STARE [+dur]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viven sobre totes les autres vivens, e entenen e conexen sobre</td>
<td>viven sobre totes les autres vivens, e entenen e conexen sobre</td>
<td>et estava en la casa un niño</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sen e rason; e, pus que totes causes estan e desien bela e bona causa,</td>
<td>sen e rason; e, pus que totes causes estan e desien bela e bona causa,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>en aquél participen.</td>
<td>en aquél participen.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Auxiliary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qui ... han viscut en lo mon</td>
<td>La Maria ha anat al cinema</td>
<td>Luego que ovo dicho el leedor:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE/HABERE</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Secuencia” “Gloria tibi Domine”.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A 18 de yuliol per les noves que heren vingudes que los</td>
<td>Vuy, que contam a 3 de desembre ha vingut nova</td>
<td>ESSE/HABERE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tortosins havien deixat pasar lo conseller de Tortosa.</td>
<td>com don Alonso no havie ynnovat alguna cosa</td>
<td>el cauallo ha corrido o anda luenga iornada</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vuy, que contam a 3 de desembre</td>
<td>tan ne eres anat avant</td>
<td>Mas quando es corrido al medio lugar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha vingut nova</td>
<td></td>
<td>e de aries la ora es la meytat…</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>com don Alonso no havie ynnovat alguna cosa</td>
<td></td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE/HABERE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tan ne eres anat avant</td>
<td>La Maria ha anat al cinema</td>
<td>Luego que ovo dicho el leedor:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“Secuencia” “Gloria tibi Domine”.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Progressive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE (+ger.)</td>
<td>STARE (+ger.)</td>
<td>STARE (+ger.)</td>
<td>STARE (+ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elyes propheta ere en lo desert dormín, entre</td>
<td>La Maria está escrivint</td>
<td>Pagado es myo Çid que lo esta aguardando</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males serps e vipres.</td>
<td>un article.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1425_1449:C-Ferrer, Sant</td>
<td>1425_1449:C-Ferrer, Sant</td>
<td>1425_1449:C-Ferrer, Sant</td>
<td>1425_1449:C-Ferrer, Sant</td>
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<td>Vicent-Sermons</td>
<td>Vicent-Sermons</td>
<td>Vicent-Sermons</td>
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<td>(Segle XVA - DocC03): 74</td>
<td>(Segle XVA - DocC03): 74</td>
<td>(Segle XVA - DocC03): 74</td>
<td>(Segle XVA - DocC03): 74</td>
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<td><strong>Copulative</strong></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La fama es vera. Bernat Metge.</td>
<td>La fama és bona</td>
<td>Et llegó a la cueva et era muy ancha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La mia ànima era ja no poc trista. Rois de Corella.</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE / STARE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ex nafrat / està nafrat, Tirant.</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE / STARE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>STARE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatigat estic e enuiat de posseir e tractar</td>
<td>Fatigat estic e enuiat de posseir e tractar</td>
<td>et por què eres triste [et] demudado. Calila</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>los béns temporalls. Llull.</td>
<td>los béns temporalls. Llull.</td>
<td>¿Por què estàs triste?. Calila.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Firme estido Pero Vermuez”</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Catalan</td>
<td>Modern Catalan</td>
<td>Old Spanish</td>
<td>Modern Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Passive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>Car en la prudencia <em>es feta</em> la temptació e vençuda. Llull.</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>Juan fue expulsado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>Pots doncs entendre la manera per la qual home habituat de força de coratge e de saviea com <em>està ordenat</em> e reglat per sentir e ymaginar e per racionar. Llull.</td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>El libro está acabado</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>Una vegada se sdevench que aquell rey <em>era</em> en una batalla. Llull</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>La cena es en el comedor de enfrente.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>Esdevench-se una vegada que un canonge <em>estava</em> en una seu. Llull</td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>La cena está en el comedor de enfrente.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possessive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE (Adj./+de...)</td>
<td>Una galea de C remis que jo havia, que <em>era</em> mia. Crònica de Muntaner, f. 136r</td>
<td>ESSE (Adj./+de...)</td>
<td>El llibre és meu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>e avia una fila <em>que</em> avia mal de demonis. Homilies d’Organyà, p. 123</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>Quella que ho viatja deus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>Son pare tenia lo forn on la mare de la dita Catalina cou. Clams e Crims.2</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>Tenia un coche rojo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Predicative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>e l’ altra fila <em>nom</em> <em>dona</em> Maria. Desclot.</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>Dos son los que veen: el que ha los ojos claros et el sabio.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>lo cap tenia ja bruxellat. Spill.</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>Tengo los labios cortados</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5
### Table 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Old Catalan</th>
<th>Modern Catalan</th>
<th>Old Spanish</th>
<th>Modern Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un rich drap de seda que no avia por de podrir per</td>
<td>La gent té por quan jo arribó</td>
<td>tomó la corona por que non</td>
<td>Tengo dolor de muelas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ayna na per altre cosa. Questa del sant Grasal.</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>aviese sospecha della</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>Hom té por. Tirant.</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>Esto peso a sos ermanos e el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td></td>
<td>padre tova mientes en esta cosa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TENERE en sa mà tenia una espasa Llull Felix pt. 1 c. 1.</th>
<th>TENERE</th>
<th>TENERE</th>
<th>TENERE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TÉ, agafa-ho!</td>
<td>Téní enna su mano dos preciosas coronas</td>
<td>Témme el paraguas, por favor.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“FIGICARE”</th>
<th>“FIGICARE”</th>
<th>“FIGICARE”</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Car aquell glay e aquella lança partia de la dolor e de la passió de son fiel e ficava en lo cor de nostra Dona [Llibre de Sancta Maria]</td>
<td>¿On has ficat els llibres?</td>
<td>aquello mismo que conosció quando le fazian la premia &amp; fico después en aquella conosçencia Siete Partidas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lo consul o dictator de Roma ficava un clau en la paret del temple de Júpiter [Primera part de la Història de València]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Italian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Existential</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HABERE</strong> Deus est</td>
<td>Il y a un livre sur la table</td>
<td>C'è un libro sul tavolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESSE</strong> Marie a rougi de honnête</td>
<td>Ma fille est née a cinq heures du matin</td>
<td>Gianni ha lavorato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Auxiliary</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>HABERE</strong> Marie a rougi de honnête</td>
<td>Nous sommes en train d'aller à Paris.</td>
<td>La Maria ha anat al cinema.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TENERE</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amatus sum</strong> (perfect indicative)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Amatus eram</strong> (past perfect indicative)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Amatus eris</strong> (Future indicative)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Passive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ESSE</strong></td>
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</table>

<p>| <strong>Table 6</strong> |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>European Portuguese</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE Roma in Italia est.</td>
<td>Marie est au jardin</td>
<td>ESSE Piero è in cortile</td>
<td>ESSE En Joan és al jardi</td>
<td>ESSE ()</td>
<td>ESSE O museu è longe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STARE Sto ad ianuam.</td>
<td></td>
<td>STARE Maria sta in biblioteca</td>
<td>STARE Els diners estaran al banc fins que em mori</td>
<td>STARE La cena està en el comedor de enfrente</td>
<td>STARE O Joan está no jardim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Possessive</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE (+ dat.) Mibi est librum HABERE Dociles auditores habere poterimus</td>
<td>ESSE (+à...) C'est à moi HABERE Ha un livre</td>
<td>ESSE (Adj./+de...) La macchina è mia HABERE Ha un libro</td>
<td>ESSE (Adj./+de...) El libro è mio HABERE Ha la gamba ingessata</td>
<td>ESSE (Adj./+de...) El libro es mio HABERE Ha la gamba ingessata</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Predicative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE Habet inimicissimam Galliam. Nos odoas haberi. Nos nostramque adolescentiam habent despicatam</td>
<td>HABERE Marie a les yeux baissés, les mains repliées sur la poitrine. HABERE Ha la gamba ingessata</td>
<td>TENERE En Joan té el braç trencat La Maria té els ulls blaus T'ho tinc dit</td>
<td>TENERE Tengo los labios cortados Te tengo dicho que debes venir antes</td>
<td>TENERE Maria tem os olhos cobertos por uma pequena toalha branca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE terror habet gratiam habere</td>
<td>HABERE Jai peur</td>
<td>HABERE Paolo ha paura Maria ha dei sospetti</td>
<td>TENERE La gent té per quan jo arribo</td>
<td>TENERE Tengo dolor de muelas</td>
<td>TENERE Quem tem medo de Fantasma?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexical 'FIGICARE' (fix, put)</td>
<td>Lexical TENERE 'hold, keep'</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>FIGERERE</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
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<tr>
<td>acque retinxer</td>
<td>Qui tenebat</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Verg. A. 6.402]</td>
<td>[Ulp. dig. 9.1.1.5]</td>
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<tr>
<td>in terram</td>
<td>Tene tu cistellam</td>
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<tr>
<td>pilis</td>
<td>tibi</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Amp. 39.4]</td>
<td>[Pl. Cist. 771]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pacem cum Romulo</td>
<td>Fixit</td>
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<td>[Amp. 39.4]</td>
<td>[Liv. 2.65.3]</td>
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<td>Fixit</td>
<td>Fixit</td>
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<tr>
<td>in terram</td>
<td>in terram</td>
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<td>pilis</td>
<td>pilis</td>
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<td>[Jean Camion]</td>
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<td>[Jean Camion]</td>
<td>[Jean Camion]</td>
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</tbody>
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**Table 6**

19 In Vulgar there existed existential constructions with HABERE, where in Portuguese the verb is TENERE: Hoje tem muita gente na praia.

20 Currently, in Brazilian Portuguese existential constructions are built with TENERE: Hoje tem muita gente na praia.

21 In Old Portuguese HABERE and ESSE were used as auxiliaries: o serviços que avien feito ao seu padre, as frores.

22 In Modern Portuguese the verb ficar (< FIGICARE) means 'remain', the original meaning of STARE: O Jorge ficou na mesa.
12.5. An explanation

Concerning the relation between the syntactic configurations examined in this chapter, we think that, on the one hand, the next step is to explore Heine's (1997: 205) proposal, according to which the evolution of possessive constructions accommodates to the following Grammaticization chain:

(93) Postural verb > Locative copula verb > Possessive verb > One-place copula of existence > Two-place copula of identity

On the other, in relation to the semantic and aspectual meaning of the verbs involved, the data examined can be accounted for by the usual distinction between events, states and processes.

| Event: | punctual situation that happens in a certain spatial and temporal frame; [+delimited]; found in locative constructions |
| State:  | progressive event; [-delimited]; found in existential constructions |
| Process: | change from one event to another event; [+dynamic]; found in predicative constructions with TENERE |

It is also important to pay attention to the properties of possessive configurations in relation with these aspectual features. Avelar (2008), for instance, shows that in Brazilian Portuguese possessive existential structures have developed from possessive TENERE constructions. If we apply the above features as well as [+durative] (i.e., continuous, denoting continuing action) and [+habitual] (i.e., usual, very frequent and regularly recurring action) to the verbs under study we get the following picture:

- **Tener**  
  [-hab], [+dur], [+del] (transitive; the object indicates an inherent property in Old Spanish)  

  `Tenía los brazos echados al cuello`  
  [OSp.]
**- Haber**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+hab], [-dur], [-del] (transitive; the object indicates a permanent property in Old Spanish)</td>
<td>Oviessen los reyes tregua</td>
<td>OSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+del] (existential; the locative complement is compulsory; Old Spanish)</td>
<td>Myo Cid con quantos que y a</td>
<td>OSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-del] (auxiliary; Old and Modern Spanish)</td>
<td>Tanto avía trabajado aquel día que se sentió muy cansado</td>
<td>OSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Había comprado un coche</td>
<td>MSp.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**- Ser**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+dyn], [-del] (passive; Old and Modern Spanish)</td>
<td>Mas aquel que de Dios es amado ... [-dyn, -del]</td>
<td>OSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tu mujer es amada por otro hombre [-dyn, -del]</td>
<td>MSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>El perro ha sido acariciado [+dyn, -del]</td>
<td>MSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[+dyn], [+del] (passive; Old Spanish)</td>
<td>El libro es acabado</td>
<td>OSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-del] (existential; the locative complement is compulsory; Old Spanish)</td>
<td>... adiesso es alto, adiesso baxo, adiesso puya ...</td>
<td>MSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-dyn], [-del] (copulative, active; Old and Modern Spanish)</td>
<td>Juan es alto</td>
<td>MSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>echóse a dormir porque era cansado</td>
<td>OSp.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**- Estar**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Language</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[+dyn], [+del] (passive; Modern Spanish)</td>
<td>El libro está acabado</td>
<td>MSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-dyn], [+del] (copulative, active; Modern Spanish)</td>
<td>... Está cansado</td>
<td>MSp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-del] (existential; the locative complement is compulsory; Old Spanish)</td>
<td>Estava en la casa un niño</td>
<td>OSp.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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24 See Batllori and Roca (2004, in press) for a detailed analysis of the aspectual values of copulative sentences with ser and estar in Old Spanish.

25 As for the use of ser and estar in this kind of constructions, in Old Spanish we find three different stages: in the 12th c. only ser was used; during the 13th c. both verbs alternate; and from the 14th c. on estar is generally employed (see Batllori and Roca 2004, in press, and references cited therein).
Furthermore, the evolution of the verbs under study can be temptatively associated to the following syntactic and semantic feature changes:

(94) Tener  [+del] [+action] > [-del] [+poss]
Haber  [-del] [+poss] > [+del] [+poss] > [-del] [+loc] / [-del] [+aux] > [α del]
Ser  [+del] [+poss] > [-del] [α poss]
Estar  [+del] [+loc] > [+del] [α loc]

The feature specification [-del] [+poss] coincides with the possibility of having a light verb construction: aver menester (Old Spanish), tener necesidad (Modern Spanish). The [+del] [+poss] specification for haber is attested in Vulgar Latin (3rd century).

All these aspects deserve a more detailed analysis than the one sketched here. However it exceeds the limits of the present work and we leave it for further research.

12.6. Conclusion

To sum up, we have shown that there is circumstantial evidence, both from a diachronic and from a synchronic comparative viewpoint, to conceive the semantic, syntactic and aspectual changes undergone by HABERE, TENERE, ESSE, STARE and *FIGICARE in several Romance languages (Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, French and Italian) as a chain and to envisage the whole picture as a grammaticalization cycle. The data attested have provided us with a general representation of the grammaticalization stages reached by the verbs under analysis and have allowed us to explore the features that may have triggered the change, which can be summarized as [±delimitated], [α possession] and [α location]. The syntactic configurations examined (lexical verbs, existential structures, auxiliary selection in perfect tenses, progressive constructions, copulatives, passives, locatives and possessives) sustain that the direction of change is the following: Lexical possessive meaning > loss of aspectual values (light verbs) > auxiliary uses > possibility to appear in existential configurations.