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 [isolated] and predicative, locative and possessive structures.

1.2.1. 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 avar and tener (with relevant differences between them), instead of ser (as in Latin MIHI EST);

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1 This study has been partially funded by the projects HUM2005-08149-C02-02/FILO, 2005SGR00568 and HUM2006-02177 (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 [delimited] 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.²

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 reflexivity. 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): 3

(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 dichos 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 Yilma (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."
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:

(1) tener miedo [– tener]; 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 que replicarle.

Garcia Fernandez (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 copuleives either with ser or with estar, which differ in several aspectual values (Fernández Leborans 1999; Marin 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 [delimited], [durative] and/or [statative] 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 *habere* 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 [Gic. 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).

(19) a. Nos nostramque adolescentiam *habent* desplicatam [Ter.Eu. 384; OLD: 782]
    *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.*
According to Pinkster (1990: 112-115, 160) both kinds of constructions with \textit{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 \textit{habeo} and \textit{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 \textit{HABERE} + perfect participle introduced a new grammatical distinction in Latin between anterior and aorist, and she explains that “most cases of \textit{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 \textit{habeo} which is closer to “consider” (equivalent to current Spanish \textit{tener por} ‘take for’).

(20) a. Nos odiosas habēri [PLAul.123; OLD: 781]

‘To consider us nasty / to consider us to be nasty.’

b. parentes carissimos habēre debemus” [Rhet.Cent 2; OLD: 781]

‘we should treat relatives as dearly loved’

These predicatives will be replaced by \textit{tener por} ‘take for’ or \textit{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 \textit{avér/haber} sometimes preserves its etymological meaning (i.e., the expression of bare and plain possession), but it is gradually replaced by \textit{tener} from the early texts onwards – see Corominas-Pascual (DCECH, sv. \textit{haber} and
also sv. tener). It is worth noticing that many 14th century documents show certain confusion between these verbs in the sense that aver is also used instead of tener – see Pountain (1985: 343). Broadly speaking, it can be said that in Old Spanish tener expresses 'property and discrete physical realities' and aver relates to 'abstract entities', as exemplified in (21), or to the sense of 'acquiring something which is taken as inalienable possession', as shown by the examples in (22) and (23) – see Pountain (1985), Garcia Gallarín (2002) and Hernández Díaz (2006).

(21) a. Non aya ninguno esperança en ninguna buena manera, nin en ninguna buena bondad que omne aya [Catilia: 323]

b. E don Bernal de Cabrera ... dixo al cardenal del Boloña que si el pudiesse fazer con el rey de Castilla que ouiessen los reyes tregunas [Pedrez I, 10247a]

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

d. Et este nombre ouieron comunamente aquellos libros de la tercera destas ordenes [GEI: 5.32b]

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

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

b. Non tenían 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 anbicioso, comença a dar fe a lo que el maestre dezía, como le pareciiese el pudiese aver los reynos de Castilla e de Leon [Enrique IV: 456]

(23) a. Et desta donna Ríca ovo una fijja la qual ovo nombre doma Sancha [GEI, CORDE]

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

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

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

e. Pues así aver non puedo a la dueña gentil, i aver la he por trabajo e por arte sotil [LBAmor: 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 acaesció que ove 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
(1956:1272) 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: §
aspect of this new structure is the fact that the verb habere selects an accusative
argument (librum elephatinum) and a locative argument (in biblioteca Ulpia)
which would syntactically act as the subject of the sentence – see Castillo (2003) and

(25) a. habet in biblioteca Ulpia librum elephatinum [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 (en) and/or the
clitic pronounal adverb y.5

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

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

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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, ma raullós ella e todos los que y estauan de cómo pudiera acaecer que tan fonda yazie su tierra, nin qui la metiera allí seyendo la tierra de suso san a e enter a que nunqua oviera y poblança alguna [GEL: 435,30b]

d. En el grand mar Oceano, de la parte de cierço, ay muchás yslas assi cuemo Inglaterra, a que llamaron antiquammente Bretanna la mayor [CG: 5,56a]

e. En la Sacra Escritura, y aun en otras ystorias auténticas ay désto asaz enxempes [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 graciesió el rey mucho, et pareció que segund estas palabras que non podía aver y ningún engano [Lucanor: 128]

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

(27) a. Atressi deseretava e avia despósseis de son regne ã- rey que avia en Jerusalem, qui era rey de Xipre, qui l’ avia posseis 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 casmus ayn ab grans hostis. [Descloit, Crònica: 2. 184, 14]

b. D’on vos dich e us man que ab aquexes XXV- galeres anets a aqüelles e, si les sabiots seguir per tot lo món, null temps no tornets assi tro que les ma amanets prese ab los hòmens que y són e no ausiats los hòmens, si guardar-vos-han podets. [Descloit, Crònica: 2. 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 12.3.3.4. below), but existential constructions still take haver (however, in Brazilian Portuguese ter also appears in these configurations; see Averal 2008: 319-353 and § 3.3.1.5.).

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6 It sounds better with plural indefinite quantifiers than with a singular indefinite like ou ‘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. ?Hóublom livros sobre a mesa.
(29) a. Há várias calças no armário.
   b. Hoje há muita gente na praia.
   c. Há uma lista telefônica em cima daquela mesa.
   d. Há um monte de livros em cima da mesa.

12.3.1.1.3. HABERE \(\text{NP/DP } + \text{ AdjP/PartP}\): 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 [Calilla: 293]
   b. Avió el mesquiniello los brazos encorvados [VStoDomingoz c. 550]
   c. De Enebrada era una mugier lazerada, t avió la mano seca, la lengua embargada [VStoDomingoz c. 606-608]
   d. Los uessos avió solas, cubiertos del pellejo [VStoDomingoz c. 583]
   e. Patientes ovo buenos, del Criador amigos [VStoDomingoz c. 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.

b. Está um livro em cima da mesa.
c. Há uma lista telefônica em cima daquela mesa.

The example (ic), which is the same as (29c), should not be treated as a counterexample to this because, despite having the indefinite ana, the noun conveys a plural quantificational meaning. Such a quantificational meaning is also present in existential impersonal sentences with temporal value:

(ii) a. Haverá vinte anos que tenho luz em casa.
   b. Isso passou há muitos anos, mas aquele dia estará sempre na minha memória.

We would like to thank Ana Maria Martins for providing us with the European Portuguese data.
12.3.1.1.4. HABERE [NP]: A light predicate

As stated in the OLD (sw. habere: 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, initial 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 vistol las señas que le fizo Belet, dexó los paños et tomó la corona por que non aviese sospecha della [Calila: 288]

\[\text{aver sospecha = sospechar 'to suspect'}\]

b. Et començó de cortorarse et de esforçarse, et avía vergüenza de preguntar a Belet que fiziera del pleito de Helbed [Calila: 290]

\[\text{aver vergüenza = avergonzarse 'to be ashamed'}\]

c. Did o sopó traer art e maestria por que salió de poder de su hermano. Et pues que se uio en alta mar e alondada de la su tierra, ovo muy grant alegria [GEL: 434.17]

\[\text{aver alegria = alegrarse 'to be happy'}\]

d. Fíco el bon conféssor como avió costumbre / al ciego porfioso embióle ala lumbre [VStoDomingo: c. 611]

\[\text{aver costumbre = acostumbrar 'to be accustomed'}\]

e. Et l'espeñero preguntol cómmo avian nombre aquellas pellas et el golfin dixo que avian nombre tabardie [Lucanor: 123]

\[\text{aver nombre = llamarse 'to be called'}\]

f. E del gran miedo que ovo el marqués de los moros [Historia de Enrique fijo de doña Oliva, CORDE]

\[\text{aver miedo = asustarse / tener miedo 'to be afraid'}\]

g. Tu yrás con ella, Sempronio, que ha temor de los grillos que cantan con lo escuro [Celestina: V.1.184]

\[\text{aver temor = temer 'to fear'}\]

h. Sólo he menester que vuestra merced me pague el gasto que esta noche ha hecho en la venta [Quijote, 197]

\[\text{aver menester = necesitar 'to need'}\]
i. grande fue tu desventura el día que tal hiziste, *auo fin* tu gran altura

[Romances (Cancionerillos de Praga), CORDE]

*aer fin* = *finalizar* ‘to finish’

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 amat a 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 (199). 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 (33b) clearly shows that both kinds of verbs must be grouped together with respect to the selection of the auxiliary:

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

b. Luego que *ovo dicho* el lecder: “Secuencia” “Gloria tibi Domine”, dixo la de Palencia [VSto Domingo, e. 567]
c. A sos castielllos alos moros dentro los an tornados [Alex 1924c]  
d. Et otrossi se face quando el caulto ha corrido o anda luenga iornada [CORDE, 1250]  
e. Mas en quanto tu dizes en todo as mentido [CORDE, 1293]  
f. E tanto avia trabajado aquel dia que se ssentió muy cansado [CORDE, 1180-1493]  
g. Despues que vn poquillo avia descansado la m’ peñola describir [CORDE, 1402]  
h. Desque el Rey don Garcia avio corrido & robado todo el Condado; torno se a su Regno [Alfonso X, Estoria de España, II]  

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 affecion, 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, 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 exister) 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-luver 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>&quot;cut-off point&quot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNCONTROLLED PROCESS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTROLLED PROCESS (MOTIONAL)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONTROLLED PROCESS (NONMOTIONAL)</td>
<td>selects 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 atteso anche in Italia.
    h. La campana ha rintoccato/è rintoccata.
    i. Maria ha corsa/è corsa velocemente.
    j. E corsa?/ha corso voce che Maria si sposa.
k. Gianni ha lavorato"è lavorato.  

Table 2: French (Mateu 2008; 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 / "à 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 survenus / ont survécu au tremblement de terre.  
  e. Le dinosaures *ont existé / *ont 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 / "ont travaillé 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 havar / haver / haber -- least variation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(36) a. tan ne eres anat avant
   b. e com lo pare ... fos vengut\textsuperscript{8}
   c. que lom es mort los seus amichs nol ploren
   d. qui ... han viscuit en lo mon

(37) a. ...quando sopo que su hermana era ida... [Primer Cònica General: 34]
   b. A mi es veno un mensajero... [CORDE]
   c. Maguer Dario es muerto; nos nada non qanamos [CORDE]
   d. E tanto avia trabajado aquel día que se sentsió 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 \textit{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 à jurado.
   b. Os serviços que avien feito ao seu padre.
   c. Aquelas cousas que ten aparelhadas.

12.3.2. \textit{Ser}

Individual level predicate Latin sentences take ESSE in copulative constructions.

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

\textsuperscript{8} Mateu (2000: 369) provides some examples of \textit{venir} with auxiliary \textit{haver} from the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{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 \textit{venir} (ib):

(i) a. Vay, que contam a 3 de desembre, ho vingut nova com don Alonso no havie yu novat alguna cosa (16\textsuperscript{a} c.)
   b. A 14 de yuliol, per les noves que heren vingudes que los tortosins havien deixat pasar lo conseller per Tortosa, ... (16\textsuperscript{a} 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 spicata serta gerebat, stabat et Autumnus, calcitis sordidus uitis. [Ovidii, Metamorphosis 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 sedet in solio Phoebus claris lucente smaragdis. [Ovidii, Metamorphosis II. 23-24]

"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. [Catelli 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 hercous; 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 Viiklnnen (1968: 225), the impersonal use of haber with an object complement is in Vulgar Latin development: habebat autem de eo loco ad montem Dei forstar quattuor milea '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 opin nullo 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 verbs:

(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 dicer 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. passor 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. Tune in monte era 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 era honore. (translation of Latin CUI (DOMINO) EST HONOR) [Glosas Emilianenses]
   b. De c. annos era Abraam quando nacio so fijo Ysaac. [Fazienda: 46]
   c. Isaach era de ixl. 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 (Ec. iii. 33), I have a father at home." See Allen-Greengough (1888-1903/1979: 232-233).
d. E fue el Criador con Joseph e aproveció todo lo que era en su poder. [Fazienda: 52]

e. Moisés era de edad de ¡xxx! años. Aaron era de otros tantos e ¡iii! de más. [Fazienda: 65]

f. Moisés a los viejos de tierra de Israel e dixoles como prisiessen el carnero e fíziessen la pasqua. Fue ya la media noche y el Senyor mato al mayor fijo que era de Pharaón tron menor que era en la casa de la carcel e la mayor de las bestias. [Fazienda: 70]

12.3.2.1.2. ESSE with a locative complement

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

(53) a. Prisieron Çebola & quanto que es y adelant. [Cid: v. 1150]
    b. Desí adelante, quantos que y son [Cid: v. 742]
    c. E todos los otros que y son [Cid: v. 1998]
    d. E Diego & Ferrando y son amos ados [Cid: v. 3009]
    e. Con estos cumplanse ciento delos buenos que y son [Cid: v. 3072]
    f. Con todos sus parientes & el vando que y son [Cid: v. 3162]

This kind of constructions is quite frequent in the Cantar de Mio Cid. As exemplified above, they display number agreement with the verb, whereas the locative constructions with haber do not: Entre Muyata & los buenos que y ha [Cid: 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 senor segunt la alteza e la dignidad que es en ti, e myo ermano por la companía de las letras que aprisiemos en uno. [Fazienda: 43]
    b. dixo el padre: “Tornativos alla e compradnos de la cevera, que la fambre es en la tierra”. [Fazienda: 55]
    c. el entendimiento que era en aquella carta. [Calila: 92]
    d. el amor que es entre los buenos. [Calila: 207]
    e. sobre un monte blanco es un elefante blanco. [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 muerta nos nada non ganamos. [1240-1250, CORDE]
    b. Cuenta la estoria que despues que fue sonado por todas las tierras de
       como el cid auie ganado valencia sopolo el Rey de seuilla et pesol de
       coracon. [1270-1284, CORDE]
    c. ... quando sopo que su hermana era lida... [Primera Crónica General: 34]
    d. ... quando el sol es anulado ecc.Ixn dias e vja horas si ha cumplido su
       curso... [1400-1425, CORDE]
    e. A mi es venido un mensajero... [1431-1445, CORDE]
    f. E asi 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 avier feito ao seu padre.
    e. Aquelas cousas que ten aperelhadas.

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. Eso fue apriessa fecho. [Cid, v. 1506]
    b. Moros en paz, ca escripta es la carta. [Cid, v. 527]
    c. Vayamos posar, ca la cena es adobada. [Cid, v. 1003]
    d. El libro es acabado. [Calila: 355]
    e. Pues qu'el fue adormido et dormieron todos. [Calila: 140]
    f. et acaesgió que el pozo era derrumbado, et el tornóse a ella et dixoyle: -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, [Cid, v. 3588]
    b. el señor que es en cien. [Cid, v. 1094]
    c. Dos ladrones contigo; estos de señas partes. El vno es en parayso, ca el otro non entro ala. [Cid, v. 349-350]
    d. Mynaya Albarfanez fuera era en el campo. [Cid, v. 1772]
    e. ¿Dónde eres? [Calila: 131]
    f. et aqui es el pasto cerca de nos. [Calila 220]
relation between changes the location and possessive grammaticalization cycle in Spanish

Italian, French and Catalan\textsuperscript{10} maintained ESSE to express location, whereas Spanish adopted \textit{estar} and Portuguese took \textit{estar} and \textit{ficar} – see section 12.3.4.1.1. below.

In Modern Spanish there are a few contexts where \textit{ser} conveys this locative value:

\begin{enumerate}[a.]
\item El congreso es en la Sala de Grados.
\item Es muy lejos ese sitio. [Cuervo, DCRLC: s.v. \textit{estar}]
\end{enumerate}

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

12.3.3. \textit{Tener}

When TENE\textit{O} 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.

\begin{enumerate}[a.]
\item Servitus oppressam \textit{tenuit} civitatem. [\textit{Cic.Tusc.} 5.57; \textit{OLD}: 1920]
  ‘He had the citizens subjugated by slavery.’
\item Magnus partem Galliae in officio \textit{tenuit}. [\textit{Caes.Gal} 5.54.1; \textit{OLD} 1920]
  ‘Most of Gaul was faithful to him.’
\item Ipse in suspenso \textit{tenuit}, vetandi metu vel agnosendi pudor. [\textit{Tac.Hist} 1.78; \textit{OLD}: 1920]
  ‘He himself held it in suspense forbidding fear and being aware of bashfulness.’
\end{enumerate}

Although TENE\textit{O} 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:

\begin{itemize}
\item TENE\textit{O} is aspectually [+dur] and [+del] (in the sense of maintaining something for a given period of time).
\item HABEO is aspectually [-dur] and [-del].
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{10} With respect to Catalan, Vaño Cerdà (2008) claims that in locative constructions \textit{ser} alternates with \textit{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. The former values are closer to the original meaning of TENEOR 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. Teníe una su mano dos preciosas coronas [VStoDomingo, e 233]
   b. (...) que tenía en su cerca muchas piedras preciosas [VStoDomingo, e 234]
   c. Vino Pero Vermuez, que la seña tiene en mano [Cid, v. 611]
   d. Echaron por suert en la mar a Jonas e tragalo, i. pez e tovolo, iiii. dias [Fazienda, p. 190]

(64) a. Acostos avn aguaclaz que tiene buen cavallo [Cid, v. 749]
   b. sobre los dozientos marcos que tiene el Rey Alfonso [Cid, v. 3246]
   c. Dízen que un rey muy poderoso, que avia nombre Varamunt, tenía una
      ave que dezían Catra [Camilio, 272]
   d. El rey de Navarra tenía un castillo en Normandía ribera de la mar
      [Enrique II, 406]
   e. Si pan solo toviessen non avríen nula pena [VStoDomingo, e 455]
   f. Otrossy por la mar el rey no fuera apercébido e non tenía viañas ni
      nauíes [Enrique II, 370]

(65) a. grandes tuertos me tiene myo Cid el de Biuar [Cid, v. 961]
   b. non tiene poridad [Cid, v. 2688]
   c. Si tú tovieras memoria, hijo Pármeno, del pasado amor que te tuve, la
      primera posada que tomaste viendo nuevamente a esta cidad, havía de
      ser la mia [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 princeses christianos tenía fama de ser
      mas prudente e mas cauto [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, / Mí fijas e mi mugier que las tengo aca [Gdi, v. 1637 – 1638]

b. en la yslo desnuyo cuandol tomaron el señorío que tenté [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 aya ninguém esperança en ninguna buena manera [Gdilla: 323]

b. el conde don Fernando, mas brauo que serpente, / ayye la gran fuerça con el dia caliente [Poema de Fernán González, estr. 514]

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

b. Assi acaesció que yo aya 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 touiese [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 TENEIO (ib, c).

(i) a. Marie est 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 calzadas los malos traydores [Cid, v. 2722]
   b. vio david el angel percutient que tenie el espada sacada en su mano e matava la yent [Fasienda: 142]
   c. Et non tenian cosa alguna sinon los paños que tenian vestidos [Calila: 325]
   d. Toco los por muy bien fechos [G. Estoria I]
   e. En tod esto cataua Thereco a Philemena, 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 dessea [GEIH, 247.34b]
   f. Tenian su conduecha todo aparejado [VSstoDomingo, 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 tenerias, en la cuesta del río, una casa apartada, medio cafeta, poco compuesta y menos abastrada [Cestestina, 1.110]

In these examples the participle is the predicate of a secondary predication and the whole structure cannot be 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 hecho [Baena II, 973, 491, 10]
   b. E el rey 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 tien por señor [Cid, v.1339]
    b. Muchos tienen por Ricos los ylantes de Carrion [Cid, v. 2510]
    c. Tienes por desandrado [Cid, 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 tovolo a grant deslevat [Fazienda: 136]
    b. E abriola e a 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 dueo por so fijo muchos dias [Fazienda, p. 51]
    tener dueo = 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 = quebrillarse, pelearse 'to argue'
e. tener afición [Cancionero de Juan del Encina: 131; García Gallarín (2002: 17)]

\[ \text{tener afición} = \text{aficionarse 'to be keen on'} \]

f. tiene en todo mejoría [Cancionero de Juan del Encina: 169; García Gallarín (2002: 17)]

\[ \text{tener mejoría} = \text{mejorar 'to get better'} \]

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

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

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 hablar 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, (75), 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).

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(76) a. (...) vi ua pastor, que pois fui nado; nunca vi tan bela.
   b. Idas som as feres.
   c. Nos tres dias que cometeo o vao, emam mortos vinte Portugueses. [Barros, Déc. 1, 6, 5; Said Ali (1971: 150)]

(77) a. (...) do meu amigo aquelle que que mentiu do que mi é jurado.
   b. Os serviços que avier feito ao seu padre.

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

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:

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

¹³ It is worth taking into account that the participle *morte* in (76c, d) is unaccusative, while in (76c) 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 *avem*:
   (i) *Ave* um acidente.
   (ii) *Avem* muita gente na praça.

The examples of Brazilian Portuguese have been extracted from Avelar (2008).
(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 la 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).

(81) *stabat nuda Aestas et spicce sarda 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.’

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. *Cerca está el alcalde de nos* [Calila: 233]

b. *enbiamme a ella et está tū 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. *dixieronle 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. *Está* ligado de su obligo [Calila: 117]
    c. veía otros o que su cuerpo *estava* todo bañado en sangre [Calila: 280]
    d. Et él *estava* asentado [en] su lugar. [Calila: 329]
    e. como la cola del cañ que, mientras *está* atado, tiene derecha, et
       quando lo desatan, tórnase comino era, corva et tuerta [Calila: 150]
    f. *Estava* un asturbor colgado del árbol [Calila: 135]
    g. Más razón es que *esté* lo suyo guardado que non lo mio. [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) El estaba en la casa un niño [Galliá: 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 [+spc] interpretation, and (89c), where the relative clause appears in subjunctive and the [+spc] 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 behavior 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>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>Deus est</td>
<td>Habere</td>
<td>Habere</td>
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<tr>
<td>(HABERE)</td>
<td>Vigilat Latan</td>
<td>Illy un libre sur la table</td>
<td>HABERE Illy un libre a sota de la taula</td>
<td>HABERE HAY deis libros en el estante</td>
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<tr>
<td>Isabo in biblioteca</td>
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<td>HABERE Este libro es sobre la mesa</td>
<td>HABERE HAY en aquel monte</td>
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<td>Vulpa librum</td>
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<td>HABERE Este libro está en el suelo</td>
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<td>ESSE</td>
<td>Maria a vuit de hont</td>
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<td>ESSE (+ger.)</td>
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<td>Nous sommes</td>
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<td>en train d'aller a Paris.</td>
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<td>faciendo</td>
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<td>1425_1449_C.Ferrer, Sant Vicent-Sermonts (Segle XVa - DocC13): 54</td>
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*Note: The table includes a mix of Latin, French, Italian, Catalan, and Spanish phrases, possibly indicating a study or discussion of these languages.*
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<th>Table</th>
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*Note: The table entries are placeholders and do not reflect the actual content of the image.*
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<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>J'ai</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>[HABERE]</td>
<td>[HABERE]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tene/r haberi</td>
<td>j'ai pour</td>
<td>Provo hae</td>
<td>un rich drap de seda que no aidia</td>
<td>teño la corona porque non</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gratia/i haberi</td>
<td></td>
<td>patti</td>
<td>per de podir per aigua ne per altre</td>
<td>osiese sospecha della</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Maria ha</td>
<td>cosa. Questa del sant Cris explained.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dei suspecti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>Que camem tensebat</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>[TENERE]</td>
<td>[TENERE]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[Up. dig.9.1.1.5]</td>
<td>Ma madre</td>
<td>en sa mà tensa una esposa</td>
<td>Tente avec sus manos dos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenene tu castellam</td>
<td>[PL Cist.574]</td>
<td>tena/di en sa man</td>
<td>en su mano</td>
<td>preciosa corona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>si crox</td>
<td>en un riendo</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>d'argent et priez</td>
<td>tenia una taza</td>
<td>Té en la mano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TENERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Té, teja la bar</td>
<td>Té en el paraguas, por favor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIGICARE</td>
<td>Estós leges próxim a l'equiv</td>
<td>FIGICARE</td>
<td>FIGICARE</td>
<td>FIGICARE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>referen: [Verg. A. 6.62]</td>
<td>[l'hochat</td>
<td>[car aquel glay e aquella</td>
<td>aquel mismo que conocía</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pucem cum Romulo</td>
<td>a la porte</td>
<td>la lança</td>
<td>quando le tenia la prema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fist</td>
<td>On faient</td>
<td>partia de la doloré de la passió de</td>
<td>&amp; figà después en aquella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[l'emp. 50.4]</td>
<td>les gens en</td>
<td>un cel en la part del temple de Júpiter</td>
<td>conocía Siete Partidas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Feit en terram</td>
<td>person [Jean</td>
<td>[Primera part de la Historia de València]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>plus [Ltv.2.65.3]</td>
<td>Camon]</td>
<td>+On has ficat els lliber</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

\[(92) \text{(i)} \quad \text{X takes Y} \quad \rightarrow \text{ACTION pattern} \]

\[(\text{ii}) \quad \text{Y is located at X} \quad \rightarrow \text{LOCATION pattern} \]

\[(\text{iii}) \quad \text{X is with Y} \quad \rightarrow \text{COMPANION pattern} \]

\[(\text{iv}) \quad \text{X's Y exists} \quad \rightarrow \text{GENITIVE pattern} \]

\[(\text{v}) \quad \text{Y exists for/to X} \quad \rightarrow \text{GOAL pattern} \]

\[(\text{vi}) \quad \text{Y exists from X} \quad \rightarrow \text{SOURCE pattern} \]

\[(\text{vii}) \quad \text{As for X, Y exists} \quad \rightarrow \text{TOPIC pattern} \]

\[(\text{viii}) \quad \text{Y is X's property} \quad \rightarrow \text{EQUATION pattern} \]

For instance, as we have already shown, in Latin, possession was expressed by means of two verbs, HABEO and TENEOR, 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 *a* 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:

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

\[(\text{ii}) \quad \text{Secondly, these verbs are also used as light predicates, in which case they lose part of their lexical aspectual values and do not express possession} \]

---

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 TENEOR and also of *tenir* in French and *tener* in Italian today. These semantic values are expressed in Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese with derivative verbs, such as *mantener, retenen, sostener, etc.* in Spanish and *entretenir, maintenir, soutenir, retenir, detenir, etc.* in French.

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anymore. The kind of syntactic configuration involved in this case is \( \text{DP(subject)} + V + \text{NP(object)} \) and the relevant part of the semantic content comes from the NP in object position. HABEO in Vulgar Latin, \textit{haber} and \textit{tener} in Old and Modern Spanish, as well as in Old and Modern Catalan, \textit{avoir} in Modern French, \textit{avere} in Modern Italian and \textit{tene} 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 (\textit{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 \textit{haber} and \textit{tener} as auxiliary verbs in Romance.

(iv) Fourthly, the descendents of HABERE and TENERE (\textit{haber} in Old and Modern Spanish, \textit{haver} in Old and Modern Catalan, \textit{avoir} in Modern French, \textit{avere} in Modern Italian, and \textit{tener} in Old and Modern Portuguese) can also be used as an auxiliary in perfect tenses. The \( \text{DP(subject)} + V_{\text{aux}} + V_{\text{pp}} \) configuration of perfect tenses allows the presence of \textit{ser} as an auxiliary in Romance. This happens nowadays in French and Italian (two languages with auxiliary alternation – \textit{avoir\textasciitilde{e}tre}, \textit{avere\textasciitilde{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 \textit{ser} is progressively losing its syntactic values in favour of the auxiliary \textit{haber} or \textit{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 \( V + \text{locative particle} + \text{NP/DP} \). The verbs used are HABEO in Vulgar Latin, \textit{haber} in Old and Modern Spanish, \textit{haver} in Old and Modern Catalan, \textit{avoir} in Modern French, \textit{haver} in European Portuguese, and \textit{tener} in Brazilian Portuguese. Classical Latin existential constructions used ESSE and in Old and Modern Spanish, \textit{ser}, \textit{estar} and \textit{haver} can still express existence, but in Modern Spanish \textit{ser} is less frequent. This can be interpreted as another instance of the gradual replacement of \textit{ser} by other verbs in Romance. Notice, though, that the verbs \textit{ser} and \textit{être} clearly retain this existential meaning in sentences like "\textit{je pense, donc je suis}", "\textit{il était une fois}", "Quelle heure est-il?", "\textit{Erase una vez}" and "\textit{¿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 follows 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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>Habiua un lleny a sota de la taula</td>
<td>HABERE Itwas en aquel monte muchos gatos, non podía aver y ningún guardó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es escomen de son regne d' rey que vina a Jerusalem</td>
<td></td>
<td>non podía aver y ningún guardó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>Habiua un lleny a sota de la taula</td>
<td>HABERE Itwas en aquel monte muchos gatos, non podía aver y ningún guardó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td></td>
<td>ESSE Non podía aver y ningún guardó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En una ciutat eran un bisbe qui sobre totes coses</td>
<td></td>
<td>Non podía aver y ningún guardó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anava al mona de Lull, Meravelles, IV, 216</td>
<td></td>
<td>Non podía aver y ningún guardó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STARE [ser]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Non podía aver y ningún guardó</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les divínals pensen són sobre totes les causas que estan e</td>
<td></td>
<td>En el amor que es entre los buenos. Calle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viven sobre totes les altres vives, e entenen e conuen sobre</td>
<td></td>
<td>STARE Es tan en la casa un niño</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sem i racion, e, pus que totes caus es an e desgen bala e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bona causa, en aquell participem'. Vides de Sant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russelloneses (Segle XI) - Doc C02</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE qui...han viscat en lo mon</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>HABERE Luego que as dicho el lector:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE/HABERE</td>
<td>la Maria ha anat al cinema</td>
<td>&quot;Sectencia&quot; &quot;Gloria tiba Domine&quot;,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A H de juliol per les noves que beren cirques que los</td>
<td>ESSE/HABERE</td>
<td>ESSE/HABERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tortosins/haberes desit+at pasar lo coronel de Tortosa.</td>
<td>el cuadillo ha corrido o nada luenga ierna</td>
<td>el cuadillo ha corrido o nada luenga ierna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vun, que contam a 3 de desembre ha vingut nova</td>
<td>Mas quando es corrido al medio liger e de aries la otra es la mejor...</td>
<td>Mas quando es corrido al medio liger e de aries la otra es la mejor...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cosa don Alonso no havent y nova at alguna cosa</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE tan ne cres anat ara at</td>
<td>quando sompo que a berra ma era ierna.</td>
<td>cuando sompo que a berra ma era ierna.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE (ger.)</td>
<td>STARE (ger.)</td>
<td>STARE (ger.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elies i proheba eren el desert dormir, entre</td>
<td>la Maria esta escriuient</td>
<td>Pagés es muy Cid que lo esta guardat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>males corbs e vípres, 1425-1440 C-Ferre, Sant Vicent-Sermonts (Segle XV) - Doc C03) P</td>
<td>un article.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La terna es vera. Bernat Metge.</td>
<td>La terna de bona</td>
<td>It llegó a la cueva e est ma enta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESSE/STARE</td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>ESSE/STARE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La mia anima era jo no pocrista. Rots de Corella.</td>
<td>Els dovendres est é molt cansat</td>
<td>et por que estes triste? Cidha.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>es nafrant i est nafrant, Tirant.</td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>Fungit est i emigt de posar e tractar</td>
<td>Fungit est i de Perdament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En bens temorals. Lull.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fungit est i de Perdament</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Catalan</td>
<td>Modern Catalan</td>
<td>Old Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>POts donc entendre la manera per a la qual home havia de ferçç de coratge e de</td>
<td><strong>STARE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>xarau com estava ordenat e reglat per sentir e imaginat e per racionar, Lluïl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td><strong>ESSE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ESSE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Una vegada se sdevend que aquell rey era en una batalla. Lluïl</td>
<td>En Joan és al jardi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>STARE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ESSE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Esdevend se una vegada que un camone estava en una seu. Lluïl</td>
<td>Els diners sestan al banc fins que em morir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>ESSE (Adj./de-)</strong></td>
<td><strong>ESSE (Adj./de-)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Una gobe de Creus que jo havia, que era mia. Crónicas de Montaner, f. 136r</td>
<td>El libre és meu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tot era de Nostre Senyor. Homilies d’Organyó, p. 123</td>
<td>El cotxe és de la Maria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Eos avia una fila q avia mal de demònis. Homilies d’Orpana.</td>
<td>En Pere tenia una casa a la muntanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bon pare tenia fam als mil de la de la Catalina com. Claudi e Crino. 2</td>
<td>En Pere tenia una casa a la muntanya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Locative</strong></td>
<td><strong>HABERE</strong></td>
<td><strong>HABERE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>e’l altra fila avia nom dona Maria. Desclot.</td>
<td><strong>TENERE</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>TENERE</strong></td>
<td>ENS TENÉ el braç trençat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lo cap tenia ja bracejat. Spill.</td>
<td>La Maria té els ulls blaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>T’ho tinc d’al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Catalan</td>
<td>Modern Catalan</td>
<td>Old Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| un rics dip de seda que no avia per de poderre per aixa no per altre cosa. Questa del sant Graal. | La gent té per quan jo escribo ho. | tení la corona per què non aviu sorpresa de la.
<p>| TENERE        | Hui té per. Titant. | TENERE       | Estic posso a sus ermanos el padre leve mineste en esta cosa |
| [TENERE]      | [TENERE]       | [TENERE]     |
| ens ma tournia una espasa Llull Felix pt. I c. 1. | Ti, agafa-ho! | Teneré      | Teuré en una su mano doss preciosas coronas |
| &quot;FIGICARE&quot;    | &quot;FIGICARE&quot;     | &quot;FIGICARE&quot;   |
| Car aquell glar e aquella sanya partia de la dolor e de la passió de son fiu eيفلصوئون cor de nostra Dons [Llibre de Santa Maria] | ¿On has ficat els llibres? | aquello mismo que conoció quando le fazeau la premia e facieron en aquella comenció Siete Partidas |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Etc</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Existential | DEUS es erat<sup>1</sup> | HABERE y a un libro | ESSE C’è un libro sul tavolo | HABERE Hi ha un llibre a sota de la taula | HABERE Hay dos libros en el estante | HABERE Habeis varios libros.  
STARE Estamos en la clase.  
FIGCAR.  
Escriben el proyecto | TENERE Aquelas coisas |
| Auxiliary | HABERE Marie a usato de due ore | HABERE Construi ha lavorato | ESSE/HABERE La pianta è finita/ 
ha finito due volte  
quattro anni  
ESSE Gianni è entrato | HABERE La Maria ha finito  
al cinema | HABERE Apenas acabada  
las deberes | HABERE Aquelas coisas |
| Progressive | ESSE (eger.)  
Tunc in monte erat  
Darious rexerat  
et congruendo  
multitudinem hostium | ESSE (a entrain  
de + in)  
Nous sommes en  
voyage d’aller à Paris | STARE (eger.)  
Stiamo facendo la pasta.  
STARE (eger.)  
La Maria está  
escrivendo un articolo. | STARE (eger.)  
Maria está  
leyendo un libro  
STARE (eger.)  
Maria está  
e escribiendo el libro | STARE (ger.)  
A María está  
cuando esta  
libro  
*FIGCAR.  
A María está  
Depois inter  
prertasbilo  
STARE (ger.)  
A María está  
e escribiendo el libro |
| Copulative | ESSE  
Pater et filius  
bonae sunt  
ESSE  
La casa è bella  
ESSE  
La fama è bona  
ESSE  
La casa è bella  
ESSE  
La calculo è estrella  
STARE  
Stiamo facendo la pasta.  
STARE  
Els divorcés està  
molt cansat  
ESSE  
O Paulo è lìto  
STARE  
Com estes vest  
STARE  
Com estes vest  
*FIGCAR.  
O escribre a  
computador |
| Passive | ESSE Amatus amavit  
perfect  
infective  
Amatus amavit  
past  
infective  
Amatus amavit  
infective  
Amatus amavit  
infective  
ESSE  
Habituus erit  
perfect  
infective  
Amatus amavit  
infective  
Amatus amavit  
infective  
Amatus amavit  
infective  
ESSE  
La lettera è stata  
scritta da Maria  
La casa è stata  
constructa  
dai muratori  
ESSE  
La Maria serà  
aoccupiata  
dall’abate  
ESSE  
La abadía  
è stata  
pintada  
diquest mut | ESSE  
La casa è stata  
pintada  
diquest muti  
ESSE  
Habeis expuesto  
STARE  
han estoe  
STARE  
Habeis expuesto  
STARE  
Habeis expuesto  
*FIGCAR.  
O escribir a  
computador |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Latin</th>
<th>French</th>
<th>Italian</th>
<th>Catalan</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>Marie est au jardin</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>Es l'hosta és al jardí</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>La cosa es en el jardín en el frente.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bonae in Italia est.</td>
<td></td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>STARE</td>
<td>La cosa est en el frente.</td>
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<tr>
<td>STAEDIAM</td>
<td>Maria sta in biblioteca</td>
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<td>Maria esta en el frente.</td>
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<tr>
<td>ESSE (+ dat.)</td>
<td>C’est un livre</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>Es llibre és un</td>
<td>ESSE</td>
<td>El llibre es una cosa.</td>
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<td>Alium est librum</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
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<td>HABERE</td>
<td>fis un livre</td>
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<td>HABERE</td>
<td>Marc a les teus bracs,</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>Tenere a la garba inzussata</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>Tengo los labios cortados.</td>
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<td>HABERE</td>
<td>les mans repliche</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
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<td>sur la pointe.</td>
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<td>HABERE</td>
<td>Maria a les teus marrons</td>
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<td>HABERE</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tenere la teva pausa</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>Tengo que descanzar antes.</td>
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<td>HABERE</td>
<td>Habiens habit gratiam habere</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>ITENERE</td>
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<td>Tener que decir</td>
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<td>Hai pears</td>
<td>HABERE</td>
<td>La gent té per quan jo arribó</td>
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<td>Tengo que decir</td>
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<td>HABERE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lexical 'TENERE' 'hold, keep'</td>
<td>Lexical 'CUCICARE' 'fix, put'</td>
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<tr>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>FIGURE</td>
<td>TENERE</td>
<td>CUCICARE</td>
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<tr>
<td>Quédínto</td>
<td>Lipidínto</td>
<td>Teneré</td>
<td>Cucicaré</td>
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</table>

Table 6
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 Grammaticalization 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>punctual situation that happens in a certain spatial and temporal frame; [+delimited]; found in locative constructions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>progressive event; [-delimited]; found in existential constructions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Process</td>
<td>change from one event to another event; [+dynamic]; found in predicative constructions with TENERE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)
  Tenta los brazos echados al cuello [OSP.]
- Haber

[-hab], [-dur], [-del] (transitive; the object indicates a permanent property in Old Spanish)

Oviessen los reyes trugas [OSp.]

[-del] (existential; the locative complement is compulsory; Old Spanish)

Myo Cid con quantos que y a [OSp.]

[-del] (auxiliary; Old and Modern Spanish)

Tanto ahi trabajado aquel dia que se sentió muy cansado [OSp.]

Había comprado un coche [MSp.]

- Ser

[-dyn], [-del] (passive; Old and Modern Spanish)

Mas aquel que de Dios es amado ... [-dyn, -del] [OSp.]

Ahi fue nuestro seymor besado de Judas [-dyn, -del] [OSp.]

Tu mujer es amada por otro hombre [-dyn, -del] [MSp.]

El perro ha sido acariciado [-dyn, -del] [MSp.]

[-dyn], [-del] (passive; Old Spanish)

El libro es acabado [OSp.]

[-del] (existential; the locative complement is compulsory; Old Spanish)

El diego e Ferrando y son amos a dos [OSp.]

[-dyn], [-del] (copulative, active; Old and Modern Spanish)

... adiess es alto, adiess bajo, adiess puya ... [OSp.]

Juan es alto [MSp.]

[-dyn], [-del] (copulative, active; Old Spanish)

echóse a dormir porque era cansado [OSp.]

- Estar

[-dyn], [-del] (passive; Modern Spanish)

El libro está acabado [MSp.]

[-dyn], [-del] (copulative, active; Modern Spanish)

Está cansado [MSp.]

[-del] (existential; the locative complement is compulsory; Old Spanish)

Estaba en la casa un niño [OSp.]

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24 See Battlori 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 Battlori 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:

\[(94) \text{Temer} \quad [+\text{del}] [+\text{action}] > [-\text{del}] [+\text{poss}]\]

\[
\text{Haber} \quad [-\text{del}] [+\text{poss}] > [+\text{del}] [+\text{poss}] > [-\text{del}] [-\text{loc}] / [-\text{del}] [+\text{aux}] > [\text{a del}]\]

\[
\text{Ser} \quad [+\text{del}] [+\text{poss}] > [-\text{del}] [\text{a poss}]\]

\[
\text{Estar} \quad [+\text{del}] [+\text{loc}] > [+\text{del}] [\text{a loc}]\]

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 [a delimited], [a possession] and [a 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.