CHAPTER SIX

RETHINKING THE GENESIS OF THE ROMANCE PERIPHRASTIC PERFECT

1 Introduction

Latin and Romance scholars have long known that the Romance periphrastic perfect, the verb form embodied in the Spanish *pretérito perfecto,* the French *passé composé,* the Italian *passato prossimo*, etc., comprises reflexes of two Latin constructions: <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> and <*sum* + perfect participle.NOM> (henceforth <*habeo* + perfect participle> and <*sum* + perfect participle>. The endpoints of the development of these constructions from the Classical Latin period to the present may be superficially described as follows:

Table 6.1   *Sources and reflexes of some Romance* have-*perfects*

Lat *Ego librum scriptum habeo* > Sp *Yo he escrito un libro* 'I have written a book'
Lat *Ego librum scriptum habeo* > Fr *J'ai écrit un livre* 'I wrote/have written a book'
Lat *Ego librum scriptum habeo* > It *Io ho scritto un libro* 'I wrote/have written a book'

Table 6.2   *Sources and reflexes of some Romance* be-*perfects*

Lat	*Ego mortuus sum*	> OSp *muerto so* 'I have died'
Lat	*Ego mortuus sum*	> Fr *je suis mort* 'I died/have died'
Lat	*Ego mortuus sum*	> It *sono morto* 'I died/have died'

Despite an abundant literature on the emergence of *habeo* as a tense-aspect auxiliary, two basic questions about these developments have not yet been satisfactorily answered: how is the early ability of *habeo* to predicate possession connected with its later role in the *habeo*-perfect? what were the syntactic structures and meanings of <*habeo* + perfect participle> in the stages preceding the emergence of the periphrastic *habeo*-perfect?

This chapter examines the early history of *<habeo* + perfect participle> and offers a detailed account of the genesis of the periphrastic perfect. Using corpus evidence from pre-Classical and Classical Latin, I show that before the periphrastic *habeo*-perfect existed, the string *<habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> corresponded to three distinct syntactic structures, each with its own particular meaning: an adnominal type, an attained state type (which denotes the attainment, and possibly the maintenance, of a state), and an affectee type. At least two of these types, the adnominal and attained state types, co-existed from the earliest literary Latin until the emergence of the periphrastic perfect (and beyond). A close inspection of the three types of *<habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in Latin reveals that only one is a likely source of the periphrastic *habeo*-perfect: the attained state type.

This chapter is organized as follows. § 2 discusses perfectum verbal forms in Latin before the emergence of the *habeo*-perfect. These include synthetic perfectum forms and the periphrastic *sum*-perfects of deponents and passives. § 3 discusses two constructions with *sum* 'be'*,* one of which, *mihi est* 'there is to-me,' parallels *habeo* in a number of ways. § 4 examines the expression of predicative possession in Latin and discusses the three types of constructions embodied in the string *<habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. § 5 critiques some previous accounts of the emergence of the periphrastic *habeo*-perfect, and § 6 proposes a new account in which the periphrastic *habeo*-perfect developed from the attained state type of *<habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. § 7 sketches out the later developments of this construction and considers when the *habeo*-perfect emerged.

2   The Latin perfectum system: form, meaning, and syntactic role

Tense-aspect marking in Latin is governed by a complex, highly articulated system of rules. The aim of §§ 2.1-2.3 is to give the reader a basic sense of what this

marking encodes. These sections focus on just a few elements of the Latin tense-aspect system.

2.1   Form

In the active voice, Latin verbs have two main types of morphological marking: (i) contrasting sets of suffixes, including stem formants (e.g., *–ba-, -bi-*) and endings (e.g., *-m, -s, -t*), which mark tense and aspect, as well as person, number, voice, and mood, and (ii) contrasting types of stems, traditionally known as *infectum* ('incomplete') stems and *perfectum* ('complete') stems, which encode aspectual and temporal oppositions[46]. The two kinds of stem, *infectum* and *perfectum*, encode oppositions relating both to aspect (imperfective *vs.* perfective) and to relative tense (non-previous or unmarked *vs.* previous or relative past[47]). We may illustrate the morphological means of expressing tense and aspect with the 1st person singular active indicative conjugation of the verb *amo* 'love'.

Table 6.3 *Morphologically-encoded tense and aspect: active indicative*

	INFECTUM (*am-*)		PERFECTUM (*amav-*)	
PRES.	*amo*	'I love'	*amavi*	'I have loved/ I loved'
FUT.	*amabo*	'I will love'	*amavero*	'I will have loved'
PAST	*amabam*	'I loved'	*amaveram*	'I had loved'

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[46] In Latin, one could also express marked aspectual types like frequentative and inchoative by (secondary) morphological means, namely stem increments, but this morphology does not survive as such in the Romance languages, and will not concern us here.

[47] In the indicative mood, the *infectum-perfectum* opposition encodes both an aspectual and a temporal opposition, but tense-aspect marking is organized according to different criteria in the subjunctive mood. The well-known sequence of tenses rule, which determines the types of subjunctives that may follow different types of indicatives in certain kinds of subordinate clauses, treats the *infectum-perfectum* opposition as essentially a temporal opposition. For this rule, *perfectum* forms denote previous action, while *infectum* forms denote non-previous action (see § 2.2 for a fuller description). There are a number of other subsystems of tense-aspect marking in Latin (*e.g.*, the system for commands, the system for prohibitions, the system for purpose clauses) that are governed by idiosyncratic rules, where the *infectum-perfectum* opposition encodes still other types of contrasts.

In the passive voice, there is a deeper divide between verbal forms in the *infectum* and *perfectum* systems. Passive *infectum* verbal forms are synthetic; they encode temporal and aspectual information just as active forms do. Passive *perfectum* forms are analytic; they are composed of <*sum* + perfect participle>, with tense, person, number, and mood marked by an inflected form of *sum* and number, case, gender, and aspectual category marked by the inflected perfect passive participle. This synthetic/analytic divide can be seen in the 1st singular passive indicative conjugation of *amo* (masculine subject):

Table 6.4 *Morphologically-encoded tense and aspect: passive indicative*

	INFECTUM (*am-*)		PERFECTUM (*amav-*)	
PRES.	*amor*	'I am loved'	*amatus sum*	'I have been loved/ I was loved'
FUT.	*amabor*	'I will be loved'	*amatus ero*	'I will have been loved'
PAST	*amabar*	'I was loved'	*amatus eram*	'I had been loved'

The class of verbs known as deponents, which are passive in form but active in meaning, are also conjugated as in Table 6.4. Thus the present *perfectum* of *morior* 'I die' is *mortuus sum* 'I died/I have died'.

It should be noted that some deponent verbs seem to be verbs whose syntactic subject is not an agent, but rather a patient. Now and again, linguists will attempt to characterize the entire class of deponents along these lines. For example O'Grady (1980, cit. in Dryer 1981) writes that passive morphology is used in Latin "whenever the verb denotes an event over whose development the referent of the grammatical subject does not have full control". As Dryer (1981: 57) points out, this is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for the use of passive morphology, and in particular cannot characterize the deponents. There is a significant number of pairs of verbs, one morphologically active, the other morphologically passive, which overlap

in meaning. Their forms seem to have nothing to do with degree of control over the action. For example: *orior* 'rise' and *surgo* 'rise', *dico* 'speak, say' and *loquor* 'speak, say', *ineo* 'enter' and *ingredior* 'enter', *promitto* 'promise' and *polliceor* 'promise', *credo* 'believe' and *arbitror* 'believe', *cado* 'fall' and *delabor* 'fall'. Thus despite occasional attempts at a unified characterization of the class of deponents, the deponents are commonly held to be an arbitrary class of verbs.

2.2 Meaning

Since we will be concerned chiefly with the category of 'present perfect', let us consider the meanings encoded by present *perfectum* forms. In the indicative mood, synthetic present perfectum forms had two values: (i) present perfect, denoting a situation which has continuing relevance in the present[48]; and (ii) perfective past, denoting a completed situation without regard to its internal structure. This double value would seem to stem from a historical coalescence of perfect and aorist forms[49] in the development of Latin from Proto-Indo-European (Sihler, 1995: 579). The two aspectual values of the present perfectum can readily be ascertained with corpus evidence and syntactic evidence. The primary syntactic evidence is as follows: in Latin there is a rule, known as the sequence of tenses rule, for choosing the tense of subjunctives in certain kinds of subordinate clauses that require subjunctives. It divides the tenses into two groups: (i) primary tenses, which include all tenses that refer to the present and future, and (ii) secondary tenses, which include all tenses that refer to the past. According to the rule, primary tenses can only follow primary tenses

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[48] For a few verbs, the present *perfectum* denoted a present state resulting from a past situation. This extension of the present perfect is often translated with the English present tense. For example: *memini* 'I remember' (= 'I have recalled'), *novi* 'I know' (= 'I have learned').

[49] But this is not necessarily the cause of the double value. These two values—present perfect and perfective past—converge on perfects in languages (e.g., modern Dutch) where an appeal to merging Indo-European forms makes no sense. See § 7.5.

and secondary tenses can only follow secondary tenses. The present perfectum behaves both like a primary tense and like a secondary tense, *i.e.,* it can follow or be followed by both primary and secondary tenses. Accordingly, it has both the aspectual value of a perfectum that refers to the present (*i.e.,* present perfect) and of a perfectum that refers to the past (*i.e.,* perfective past).

When a *perfectum* appears in a syntactic context governed by the sequence of tenses rule, its value—present perfect or perfective past—depends on what precedes or follows it. For example:

(6.1) Me   a   portu   praemisit domum   ut   haec
me.ACC from port.ABL sent.PF.3S home.ACC that these.NEUT.P.ACC

nuntiem   uxori   suae
tell.PS.SUBJ.1S wife.DAT his.DAT.F
'He has sent me home ahead of him from the port to tell these things his wife'
<div align="right">(Plautus, Amphytrion 195)</div>

(6.2) Optavit   ut in currum   patris   tolleretur
Wished.PF.3S that in chariot.ACC father.GEN taken.IMP.PASS.SUBJ.3S
'[Phaeton] wished to be taken up in his father's chariot'
<div align="right">(Cicero, De Officii 25, 94)</div>

In both examples, a perfectum form appears in the main clause. In (6.1), where the subordinate clause contains a present subjunctive, *nuntiem* 'inform', the perfectum form in the main clause is interpreted as a primary tense, a present perfect: *praemisit* 'has sent ahead'. In (6.2), by contrast, the subordinate clause contains an imperfect subjunctive *tolleretur* 'be taken up', and the perfectum form in the main clause is interpreted as a secondary tense, a past perfective: *optavit* 'wished'.

Analytic present perfectum forms, *i.e.,* those composed of <*sum* + perfect participle>, require careful attention. The verbal form known as the "perfect passive participle" of Latin is the reflex of a Proto-Indo-European deverbal adjective that was

formed by adding **-to* to zero-grade verbal roots in the proto-language. The suffix **-to* formed adjectives expressing the accomplishment or attainment of the stem, and it bears mentioning that **-to* could also be combined with nominal stems to form attributive denominal adjectives, *e.g.,* Lat *cornutus* 'horned,' *alatus* 'winged', *iustus* 'just' (Watkins 2000: 93).

When **-to* was applied to a verbal stem, it formed a deverbal adjective which came to be incorporated into the Latin verbal paradigm as the fourth principal part, the perfect passive participle. Like other adjectives, this participle inflected for number, gender, and case only, and would not originally have expressed any tense or voice. In the development of Latin from Proto-Indo-European, **-to* participles came to be predominantly perfect and passive. Sihler (1994: 622) explains the growth of the perfect value as an implicature-turned-entailment: **-to* forms expressed a state of accomplishment or attainment and first implied, later entailed, an event preceding this state. However, there are **-to* participles which exhibit present meaning, or have a present value as one of their primary values. For example: *cohortatus* 'encouraging', *oblitus* 'forgetting, having forgotten', *veritus* 'fearing, having feared', *potitus* 'holding, having held', *congressus* 'meeting, having met', *ratus* 'thinking, having thought', *tacitus* 'silent, having fallen silent', *amplexus* 'embracing, having embraced', *circumspectus* 'looking around, cautious', *infensus* 'attacking, hostile'. Moreover, seemingly regular **-to* participles can sometimes be used with present meaning, as in:

(6.3)   Gallia est   omnis   divisa   in partes   tres
        Gaul is.PS.3S all.NOM divided.NOM.F in parts.ACC.PL three
        'Gaul as a whole is divided into three parts'   (Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1,1)

(6.4)   locus   qui   nunc saeptus   est
        place.NOM which.NOM.M now enclosed.NOM.M is.PS.3S
        'the place which is now enclosed'   (Livy, *Ab Urbe Condita* 1,8)

But strictly speaking (6.3-6.4) are not true presents, as they only denote a present situation resulting from a previous event.

Latin *-to* participles were prevailingly passive; a noun that combined syntactically with a *-to* participle was normally construed as the object of the verbal stem, *e.g. lapis fractus* 'a broken stone' (*frag-* 'break'). By contrast, nouns that were syntactically the subject of the verbal stem, if expressed, would normally appear as a dative, like *mihi* 'me' in (6.5), or as an ablative with instrumental sense, like *his rebus* 'these considerations' and *auctoritate* 'influence' in (6.6).

(6.5)　Mihi　　res　　　tota　　　provisa　　　est.
　　　　Me.DAT thing.NOM all.NOM.F provided.NOM.F is.PS.3S
　　　　'I have had the whole thing provided for'　　　(Cicero, *In Verrem* 4,42,91)

(6.6)　His　　　rebus　　　adducti　　et auctoritate　Orgetorigis
　　　　These.ABL.P things.ABL.P swayed.NOM.P and authority.ABL Orgetorix.GEN

　　　　permoti...
　　　　stirred.NOM.P
　　　　'Swayed by these considerations and stirred by the influence of Orgetorix...'
　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Caesar, *De Bello Gallico* 1,3)

A large class of exceptions to the prevailing passivity of *-to* participles is the perfect participles of deponent verbs, which have active meanings. For this class of verbs, the *-to* participle is active, as in: *fatus* 'having spoken', *ortus* 'rising, having arisen', *gressus* 'having entered', *comitatus* 'having accompanied', *copulatus* 'having joined', *medicatus* 'having healed', *palpatus* 'having stroked'. A number of exceptional non-deponent verbs also have active reflexes of *-to* participles, *e.g., potus* 'having drunk', *cenatus* 'having dined', *occasus* 'setting, having set', *pransus* 'having lunched', *quietus* 'resting', *sessus* 'sitting, having sat'.

2.3   Syntactic role

The syntactic structures associated with the verb forms we have been considering thus far can be examined through two sentences, *amavi illam* and *amatus sum:*

1	P	2
(ego)	amavi	illam
I.NOM	loved.PF.1S	her.ACC.F

'I have loved her/I loved her'

Figure 6.1   *Synthetic perfectum*

2	P		1
1	P		Cho
1	Cho	P	Cho
(ego)	amatus	sum	UNSPEC
I.NOM	loved.NOM.M	am.PS.1S	

'I have been/I was loved' *or* 'I am loved'

Figure 6.2 *Analytic perfectum or <*sum + *perfect participle> w/present meaning*

Fig. 6.1 shows a monostratal clause whose two meanings come from the two temporal-aspectual values of *amavi* : present perfect and perfective past. Fig. 6.2 shows an auxiliated clause. Recall that in the framework employed here, auxiliary verbs are distinguished from other kinds of predicates by their ability to inherit a 1 from a previous stratum (cf. Chapter 4 § 1).

Since *amatus* is the perfect participle of a transitive verb, in Fig. 6.2 the subject *ego* is initialized as a 2 by the valence of *amatus* and advances to 1 within the P-

sector[50] of *amatus, i.e.,* before reaching the P-sector of *sum.* The three meanings of the sentence—'I have been loved', 'I was loved', 'I am loved'—fall out of the three possible temporal-aspectual values of *amatus:* 'loved (perfective past)', 'loved (present perfect)', 'loved (present)'.

Note that *amatus sum* 'I have been loved/I was loved' and *mortuus sum* 'I have died/I died', which exist in the earliest literary Latin, are periphrastic perfects like the *sum*-perfects which now appear in some Romance languages. Indeed, the syntax of the clause with the deponent verb *morior* 'die' has remained unchanged to the present day; we would represent its modern reflexes, Fr *je suis mort,* It *sono morto*, etc., in the same way. The same can also be said of the passive clause, although the past meaning has become unavailable; Sp *soy amado,* Fr *je suis aimé,* It *sono amato*, *etc.,* mean only 'I am loved'.

3 Latin existential constructions and possession with *sum* + noun.DAT

3.1 Existential Construction

Existential constructions have at least three distinct functions: they are used to predicate (i) *existence* of entities; (ii) *presence* of entities; and, (iii) *occurrence* of situations. An example of (i) is *There is just one capital of France.* Function (ii) is exemplified by *There is some cocoa in the cupboard.* An example of (iii) is *There is an embargo with Spain.*

In Latin, the existence or presence of entities is expressed by <*sum* + noun.NOM>[51], as in:

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[50] A P-sector is the set of strata in which a given element bears the P relation. In Fig. 6.2, the P-sector of *amatus* is the first two strata, while the P-sector of *sum* is the last stratum.
[51] Or less often, with a verb of position, such as *stare* 'stand', *iacere* 'lie', *sedere* 'sit', and a nominative.

(6.7)   Post mortem   in morte   nihil   est
        after death.ACC in death.ABL nothing is.PS.3S

        quod   metuam   mali
        that.NOM.NEUT.S fear.SUBJ.3S ill.GEN
        'After death there is no ill in death for me to fear'   (Plautus, *Captivi* 741)

(6.8)   Quin   occidisti extemplo?   Gladius   non erat.
        why-not slay.PF.2S immediately sword.NOM not was.IMP.3S
        'Why did you not slay him immediately? There was no sword'
                                                                   (Plautus, *Rudens* 841)

The occurrence of situations is typically expressed by an impersonal verb in the passive (*e.g., pugnatur* 'there is fighting) or by <*sum* + noun.NOM> with the event expressed as a noun, *e.g.*:

(6.9)   inter   quos   magna   fuit   contentio
        amongst whom.ACC.P great.NOM.F was.PF.3S contest.NOM
        'amongst whom there was a great contest'   (Nepos, *Miltiades* 4.4)

    La Fauci and Loporcaro (1997) analyze Romance existential constructions as auxiliated nominals. Adapting their proposed structure of existentials to Latin, the syntactic structure of a sentence like *gladius erat* 'there was a sword' can be represented as in Figure 6.4 below. The sentence *Hic gladius est* 'this is a sword' is provided in Figure 6.3 for the sake of comparison.


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       2              P
       1              P
  _____
       1          Cho          P
      hic       gladius       est
  this.NOM.M   sword.NOM    is.PS.3S
'This is a sword'
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Figure 6.3   Sum *as a copula*

		P, 2
2		P, Cho
1		P, Cho
1	P	Cho
Expl	erat	gladius
	was.IMP.3S	sword.NOM

'There was a sword'

Figure 6.4   Sum *as an existential auxiliary*

In Fig 6.4, EXPL is a dummy expletive, a nominal without features.

In Fig. 6.3, the attribute of being a sword is predicated of *hic* 'this'. Accordingly, *gladius* 'sword' originates as a predicate that takes one argument, *hic.* As a predicate, *gladius* is unaccusative and initializes its argument as a 2. *Hic* originates as this 2, advances to 1, and *est* auxiliates the clause. Fig. 6.4 is formed in a parallel manner, with two important differences: (i) since existence is predicated, *gladius* is both a predicate and its own 2; (ii) since Fig. 6.4 is impersonal, there is a dummy expletive which functions as subject of the sentence. The two syntactic roles of *gladius,* P and 2[52], give formal status to the notion that common nouns can simultaneously refer and predicate existence, or refer and predicate category membership (La Fauci and Loporcaro, 1997: 9). The dummy expletive, null in Latin[53], formally expresses that *erat* in Fig. 6.4 is an impersonal verb.

3.2   The Possession Construction <noun.DAT + *sum* + noun.NOM>

In Latin, possession is often expressed by the construction <noun.DAT + *sum* + noun.NOM>, *e.g., Mihi est gladius* 'I have a sword'. I propose that this construction is

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[52] Although *gladius* 'sword' bears nominative case (in Figs. 6.3 and 6.4), it is not a 1 in any stratum. In Fig. 6.3, *gladius* agrees in case with *hic.* In Fig. 6.4, *gladius* agrees in case with the dummy expletive by a type of agreement known as 'Brother-in-Law agreement' (cf. Perlmutter 1983).
[53] But realized in other languages, *e.g.* French *il* in *il y a une épée,* English *there* in *there is a sword.*

an existential construction with the possessor attached as a dative; its structure is consequently an expanded version of *Est gladius* 'there is a sword':

	3		P,2
2	3		P, Cho
1	3		P, Cho
1	3	P	Cho
Expl	mihi	est	gladius
	me.DAT	is.PS.3S	sword.NOM

'I have a sword'

Figure 6.5   *Structure of* <noun.DAT + *sum* + noun.NOM>

Having looked at existential constructions with and without an associated dative, we are prepared to consider *habeo* and the three types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in Latin.

4   Types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in Latin

4.1   *habeo* and *mihi est*

Recall Heine's (1997) schemas for predicative possession:

Table 6.5   *Schemas for Predicative Possession*

action schema	X takes/grasps Y
location schema	Y is located at X
companion schema	X is with Y
genitive schema	X's Y exists
goal schema	Y exists for/to X
source schema	Y exists from X
topic schema	as for X, Y exists
equation schema	Y is X's (property)

Two of these schemas are frequent in Latin: the goal schema (*e.g., gladius mihi est* 'I have a sword') and the action schema (*e.g., habeo gladium* 'I have a sword'). Latin genitives are normally used attributively (*e.g., gladius regis* 'the king's sword'), but there are some corpus examples of the equation schema that employ genitives predicatively (*e.g., Hic versus Plauti non est* 'this verse is not Plautus',' in Cicero, *Fam.* 10, 16, 4)[54].

In pre-Classical and Classical Latin, *habeo* is the unmarked verb of possession in "action" constructions, though it has a wide range of meanings that extend beyond possession. Its principal senses include: (i) 'hold, contain'; (ii) 'possess, have power over'; (iii) 'carry, have about one, wear'; (iv) 'keep, maintain'; (v) 'have in mind'; (vi) 'consider, regard in a certain light'. *Habeo* can also be used in a number of periphrases, in which it has the function of coupling predicative nouns or adverbs with subjects: thus, with *iter* 'journey', *habeo iter (Romam)* 'make a journey (to Rome)'; with *oratio* 'speech', *habeo orationem* 'give a speech'; with *sermo* 'conversation', *habeo sermonem* 'have a conversation, converse'; with *honor* 'honor', *habeo (alicui) honorem* 'pay an honor (to someone)'; with *invidia* 'envy', *habeo invidiam* 'be envious'; with *bene* 'well', *bene habet* 'it is well'; *etc.* (cf. Siefert 1930 for a more exhaustive enumeration of the meanings of *habeo*).

Habeo is not perfectly synonymous with *mihi est*. Though the two constructions overlap in their domains of usage, the following broad distinctions can be drawn. *Mihi est* emphasizes the possessum and de-emphasizes the possessor. Its content is entirely rhematic, or "relation-prominent" in the sense of C. Lehmann (1996). *Mihi est* is ill-suited for asserting attributes of the possessor, so complex noun

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[54] More commonly, the Latin genitive used predicatively refers to duties or roles: *Damnatio est iudicum, poena legis* 'Condemning is the judges' (duty), punishment is the law's' (Cicero, *Sull.* 22, 63).

phrases seem to be incompatible with it (?*Magno viro multarum divitiarum qui Romae habitabat est filius* 'a great man with many resources who used to live in Rome has a son'). *Mihi est* predominates with abstract nouns, which would seem to reflect a specialization, or narrowing, that resulted from the introduction and diffusion of *habeo*.

   Habeo does not emphasize the possessum. Instead, it underscores the possessor and is theme-oriented. *Habeo* favors, but is not restricted to, concrete objects, which is not only consistent with its probable lexical origins as a transitive verb meaning 'give' or 'receive', but also with the complementary tendency of *mihi est* to occur with abstract objects. But *habeo* occurs freely from the beginning of the literary period with such abstract nouns as *fames* 'hunger,' *timor* 'fear', *sapientia* 'wisdom', *memoria* 'memory', *potestas* 'power', *gloria* 'glory' and many others.

   Latin *habeo* is a transitive verb with the following structure:

<div align="center">

1   P   2
(ego)   habeo   gladium
I.NOM   have.PS.1S   sword.ACC
'I have a sword'

</div>

Figure 6.6   *Habeo* + nominal complement

Sentences like the one shown in Fig. 6.6 can be passivized, *e.g., gladius habetur a milite* 'the sword is held by the soldier'. Corpus examples of this type of passivization include:

(6.10) polio   Musaeus   et Hesiodus   perungui   iubent
       hulwort.ABL Musaeus.NOM and Hesiod.NOM besmear.PASS.INF bid.PS.3S

       dignationis gloriaeque   avidos,   polium   tractari,
       honor.GEN   glory.GEN-and eager.ACC.M.P hulwort.ACC handle.PASS.INF

       coli,   polium   contra venena   haberi
       cultivate.PASS.INF hulwort.ACC against poison.ACC.P have.PASS.INF
       'Musaeus and Hesiod bid those who are ambitious for honor and glory to rub
       hulwort over themselves, and for hulwort to be handled, cultivated, carried (on
       the body) to counteract poisons'   (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* 21, 145)

(6.11) Potest   enim ‹tunicam› muliebrem   vir,   virilem   mulier
       can.PS.3S indeed tunic.ACC womanly.ACC man.NOM manly.ACC woman.NOM

       habere, ut in scaena   ab actoribus   haberi   videmus.
       have.INF as on stage.ABL by actors.ABL.P have.PASS.INF see.PS.1P
       'For a man can wear a woman's tunic, and a woman a man's, as on the stage
       we see (them) being worn by actors'   (Varro, *Ling. Lat.* 10, 27)

It should be noted that passives of *habeo* with the meaning 'be held, be carried, be

worn' are exceedingly rare, however. Passive forms like *haberi* normally mean 'be

considered', as in the following example:

(6.12) formae   gloria   fluxa   est... virtus
       beauty.GEN fame.NOM.F fleeting.NOM.F is.PS.3S virtue.NOM

       clara   aeternaque   habetur
       bright.NOM.F eternal.NOM.F-and had.PS.PASS.3S
       'the fame of beauty is fleeting...virtue is held (considered) to be bright and
       eternal'   (Sallust, *Bell. Cat.* 1,4)

This meaning of 'consider, hold (in the mind)' appears to be an extension of the

principal transitive meanings of *habeo.*

4.2   Adnominal type

Having examined the syntax and meaning of *habeo* in single-predicate clauses, we now consider the different types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. We first examine the adnominal type (cf. Chapter 5 § 6), in which the perfect participle occurs inside the noun phrase headed by the noun.ACC. Three corpus examples of this construction are:

(6.13) Thais   habet   nigros,   niveos   Laecania   dentes
       Thais.NOM has.PS.3S black.ACC.P snowy.ACC.P Laecania.NOM teeth.ACC.P

       quae   ratio   est? emptos   haec   habet,
       what.NOM.F reason.NOM is.PS.3S bought.ACC.P this.NOM has.PS.3S

       illa   suos
       that.NOM her.ACC.M.P
       'Thais has black, Laecania snowy-white teeth. What is the reason? The latter
       has purchased (teeth), the former her own'   (Martial, *Epigrams* 5,43)

(6.14) longa   nomina,   contortiplicata   habemus
       long.ACC.NEUT.P names.ACC.P twisted.ACC.NEUT.P have.PS.1P
       'we have long, complicated names'   (Plautus, *Persa* 707)

(6.15) qui   gnatum haberem   tali   ingenio   praeditum.
       who.NOM son.ACC have.IMP.SUBJ.1S such.ABL character.ABL endowed.ACC.M
       'who should have a son endowed with such a character'
                      (Terence, *Andria* 98)

Examples like (6.13) are potentially ambiguous, but often the context will suggest a particular interpretation. The series *nigros-niveos-emptos-suos* suggests that *emptos* is to be interpreted as an attributive adjective (like *suos* 'her'), not as part of a complex predicate. In (6.14), the participle *contortiplicata* 'complicated' functions adjectivally along with *longa* 'long', while in (6.15) *tali ingenio praeditum* 'endowed with such a character' ascribes an attribute to the son. The participles in each of these examples

could be substituted by a relative clause (e.g., *ea habet dentes qui empti sunt* 'she has teeth which were purchased').

The structure of the adnominal type, which is fully explained in Chapter 5 § 6, is provided again below for the Latin sentence *habeo gladium fractum* 'I have a broken sword.'

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
1 & P & 2 \\
(ego) & habeo & [gladium \quad fractum] \\
\text{I.NOM} & \text{have.PS.3S} & \text{sword.ACC} \\
& & \text{broken.ACC.M}
\end{array}
$$

'I have a broken sword'

Figure 6.7   *Habeo gladium fractum—adnominal type*

4.3   Attained State type

Traditional Latin grammars identify a type of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> which expresses the active maintenance of a result, with an emphasis on the acquired state of the object (Gildersleeve and Lodge, 1897: 160; Ernout and Thomas, 1953: 223, 277). The subject of *habeo* in this type may or may not be the agent of the situation predicated by the perfect participle, but the maintenance of this situation must remain under the active control of the subject.

The traditional grammars tell only part of the story here, for the type they describe is in fact the attained state type (cf. Chapter 5 §3), which potentially describes *two* stages of a complex situation: an achievement and a resultant state. In the first stage, which traditional grammars overlook, the subject of *habeo* is an instigative agent who achieves a lasting result. In the second stage, the resultant state persists for some duration, though not necessarily under the control of the subject.

The attained state type exists from the earliest stages of literary Latin, as the following examples show:

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Stage 1: The subject achieves a result

(6.16) dicam   de istis   graecis   suo   loco,   Marce
say.FUT.1S of these.ABL M.P Greeks. ABL P its.ABL M place.ABL Marcus.VOC

fili,   quid   Athenis   exquisitum   habeam
son.VOC what.ACC Athens.LOC ascertained.ACC.NEUT have.PS.SUBJ.1S
'I will say about those Greeks in due place, my son Marcus, what I have found
out in Athens'   (Cato, *Ad Filium* 77,2)

(6.17) quod   is   emptum   habuerit
which.NEUT.ACC he.NOM bought.NEUT.ACC have.FPF.3S
'which the said person shall have purchased'   (CIL 585, 65)

(6.18) nam ego   multos   saepe vidi   regionem fugere consili
for   I.NOM many.ACC.M.P often see.PF.1S path.ACC flee.INF advice.GEN

prius   quam repertam   haberent
before than   found.ACC.F have.IMP.SUBJ.3P
'for often have I seen many a person lose the way to good advice before they
found (*lit.* had found) it'   (Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 885)

(6.19) liberos   parentibus   sublectos   habebis?
children.ACC.P parents.ABL.P picked.ACC.P have.FUT.2S
'you will snap children up (*lit.* have them snapped up) from their parents?'
                                              (Plautus, *Rudens* 748)

Stage 2: The resultant state persists for a duration

(6.20) illa   omnia   missa   habeo
those.ACC.NEUT.P all.ACC.NEUT.P abandoned.ACC.NEUT.P have.PS.1S

quae   ante   agere occepi
which.ACC.NEUT.P before do.INF undertook.PF.1S
'I have all those things abandoned which before I undertook to do'
                                              (Plautus, *Pseudolus* 602)

(6.21) *C:* Pessumis   me   modis   despicatur domi
   awful.ABL.P me.ACC ways.ABL.P scorns.PS.3S home.LOC

  M: Hem, quid   est?   dic   idem—   nam pol   hau satis
   well what.NOM is.PS.3S say.IM same.ACC for by-Pollux oh enough

   meo   corde   accepi   querellas   tuas—   opsecro.
   my.ABL heart.ABL grasped.PF.1S complaints.ACC.P your.ACC.F.P beg.PS.1S

  C: Vir   me   habet   pessumis   despicatam   modis.
   husband.NOM me.ACC has.PS.3S awful.ABL.P scorned.ACC.F ways.ABL.P
  '*Cleostata:* He scorns me in awful ways at home
  Myrrhina: Well, what's that? Say again, I beseech you—for by Pollux I
  haven't understood your complaints[55]
  Cleostrata: My husband has me scorned in awful ways'
                 (Plautus, *Cassina* 186-9)

(6.22) Te   auratam   et vestitam   bene habet
  you.ACC bejeweled.ACC.F and dressed.ACC.F well has.PS.3S
  'He has you bejeweled and well dressed' (Plautus, *Menaechmi* 801)

(6.23) hominem servom   suos   domitos   habere oportet
  man.ACC   servant.ACC his.ACC.M.P controlled.ACC.M.P have.INF is-proper.PS.3S

  oculos   et manus
  eyes.ACC.P and hands.ACC.P
  'It behooves a manservant to have his eyes and hands controlled'
              (Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus* 546)

(6.24) nequiquam abdidi,   absconidi,   abstrusam   habebam
  fruitlessly hidden.PF.1S concealed.PF.1S tucked.ACC.F had.IMP.1S
  'In vain I've hidden her, concealed her, had her tucked away'
              (Plautus, *Mercator* 360)

(6.25) conclusam   hic habeo   uxorem   saevam
  enclosed.ACC.F here have.PS.1S wife.ACC fierce.ACC.F
  'Here enclosed I have my fierce wife' (Terence, *Phormio* 744)

(6.26) quos   vivos...   relictos   atque
  who.ACC.M.P alive.ACC.M.P abandoned.ACC.M.P and
  desertos   habueris?
  deserted.ACC.M.P had.PF.SUBJ.2S
  who while living... you had (them) abandoned and deserted?'
              (Cornelia, *Epist. ad Gaium*)

---

[55] *literally* 'I haven't grasped your complaints in my heart'

(6.27) nihil   opust   nobis   ancilla   nisi   quae   texat,
        nothing is-need us.DAT slave.NOM.F except who.NOM.F weave.PS.SUBJ.3S

        quae   molat,   lignum   caedat,   pensum
        who.NOM.F grind PS.SUBJ.3S wood.ACC chop.PS.SUBJ.3S yarn.ACC

        faciat,   aedis   verrat,   vapulet,
        make.PS.SUBJ.3S room.ACC.P sweep.PS.SUBJ.3S be-flogged.PS.SUBJ.3S

        quae   habeat   cottidianum familiae   coctum
        who.NOM.F have.PS.SUBJ.3S daily.ACC.M household.DAT cooked.ACC

        cibum.
        food.ACC.M
        'we are in need of no maid-servant except one who can weave, grind, chop wood, make yarn, sweep out the house, take a beating, and who can have every day's food cooked for the household'   (Plautus, *Mercator* 396-398)

How can we tell that these are not instances of the adnominal type or the affectee type? In the adnominal type, the noun.ACC and perfect participle form a noun phrase together, so the noun.ACC of an adnominal example cannot be replaced with a referring pronoun (cf. Chapter 5 § 6). The fact that in the examples above pronouns can appear as the noun.ACC, as in (6.17, 6.21-22) shows that these are not instances of the adnominal type. In the affectee type, the subject undergoes a situation not of his or her own making. In these examples of the attained state type, by contrast, the subject of *habeo* is agentive and brings about the situation described by the noun.ACC and the perfect participle.

    There a few ways to tell that the attained state type is not yet a periphrastic perfect. First, the time reference of the whole construction coincides with the time reference of *habeo.* When *habeo* is in the present tense, as in (6.21) and (6.27), then the attained state type has present time reference. Thus in (6.21) *me habet despicatam* 'he has me scorned' paraphrases a present tense, *me despicatur* 'he scorns me', while in (6.27) *quae habeat coctum cibum* 'that she have food cooked' rounds out a list of

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present tense verbs: *texat, molat, lignum caedat, pensum faciat, aedis verrat, vapulet* 'weave, grind, chop wood, make yarn, sweep out the house, stand a beating.' When *habeo* is in the imperfect, as in (6.24), the attained state type has past imperfect time reference. Thus *abstrusam [eam] habebam* 'I had her tucked away' is coupled with the perfectum forms *abdidi, abscondidi* 'hidden, concealed'.

A second way to tell that the Latin attained state type is not a periphrastic perfect at this early stage is that the subject of *habeo* need not be the same as the logical subject of the verb appearing as a perfect participle. Consider these examples from Cato's *De Agri Cultura:*

(6.28) villam   conversam mundeque habeat;   focum   purum
      farm.ACC swept.ACC.F tidily-and have.PS.SUBJ.3S hearth.ACC clean.ACC.M

      circumversum   cotidie, priusquam cubitam   eat
      swept-round.ACC.M daily   before   reclined.ACC.F go.PS.SUBJ.3S

      habeat...   cibum   tibi   et familiae   curet
      have.PS.SUBJ.3S food.ACC you.DAT and household.DAT care.PS.SUBJ.3S

      uti coctum   habeat
      that cooked.ACC.M have.PS.SUBJ.3S
      'Let her have the farm swept up and tidy; let her have the hearth clean and swept around daily before she goes to sleep... let her keep a supply of cooked food on hand for you and the servants'   (Cato, *De Agri Cultura* 143, 2)

(6.29) uvas   in vinaceis   et in urceis   in terra   obrutas
      grapes.ACC.P in dregs.ABL.P and in jugs.ABL.P in earth.ABL buried.ACC.F.P

      et nuces   praenestinas   recentes   in urceo in terra
      and nuts.ACC.P Praenestine.ACC.F.P fresh.ACC.P in jug.ABL in earth.ABL

      obrutas   habeat
      buried.ACC.F.P have.PS.SUBJ.3S
      'Let her have the grapes in dregs and in jugs buried in the earth, and let her have fresh Praenestine nuts in a jug buried in the earth.
                                             (Cato, *De Agri Cultura* 143, 3)

(6.30) mala   scantiana   in doliis   et alia
apples.ACC.P Scantian.ACC.NEUT.P in jars.ABL.P and others.ACC.NEUT.P

quae   condi   solent   et silvatica,
that.ACC.NEUT.P preserve.PASS.INF are-wont.PS.3P and wild.ACC.NEUT.P

haec   omnia   quotannis diligenter uti
these.ACC.NEUT.P all.ACC.NEUT.P yearly   diligently that

condita   habeat
preserved.ACC.NEUT.P have.ps.subj.3s
'as for Scantian apples and others which are wild and usually preserved in jars,
let her diligently have them all preserved each year'

(Cato, *De Agri Cultura* 143, 3)

These instructions for the lady of the house direct her to oversee a certain household

order; it is not assumed that she will carry out all of specific tasks herself. Much of

the work of sweeping around the hearth, cooking the food, burying the jugs of grapes

and nuts, and preserving the apples was no doubt left to slaves. The same phrase,

habeat cibum coctum '(that) she have food cooked,' has a different implicature in

(6.27), where it is applied to a slave, than in (6.28), where it is applied to the lady of

the house.

A third way to tell that the Latin attained state type is not yet a periphrastic

perfect is that the whole construction can be passivized, as in:

(6.31) iudicum   patronorumque   nomina   utei scripta   in
jurors.GEN.P pleaders.GEN.P-and names.NOM.P that written.NOM.NEUT.P in

taboleis   habeantur
registers.ABL.P had.PS.PASS.SUBJ.3S
'The names of jurors and pleaders are to be preserved in writing in the
registers'   (CIL 583, 26)

(6.32) et   mihi   te   et tibi   consulere et monere; neque
      and me.DAT you.ACC and you.DAT counsel.INF and warn.INF neither

occultum   id   haberi   neque per
hidden.ACC.NEUT.S it.ACC.NEUT.S have.PASS.INF nor   for

metum   mussari
fear.ACC whisper.PASS.INF
'I should counsel and advise you and you me for it not to be kept hidden nor
whispered for fear'   (Plautus, *Aulularia* 131)

Although traditional grammars group together <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect
participle> and <*teneo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, only the attained state
construction with *habeo* can express the punctual achievement of a result. Similar-
looking constructions with *attineo* 'hold' and *teneo* 'hold' tend to imply physical
holding and only denote the subject's maintenance of a state. For example:

(6.33) addictum   ‹me›   tenes
      bound.ACC.M me.ACC hold.PS.2S
      'You hold me as a slave'   (Plautus, *Poenulus* 720)

(6.34) Stoici...   te   inretitum   tenerent
      Stoics.NOM.P you.ACC entangled.ACC.M hold.IMP.SUBJ.3P
      'The Stoics...would keep you entangled'   (Cicero, *De Oratione* 1,43)

(6.35) me   vadatum   amore vinctumque   attines
      me.ACC bound.ACC.M love.ABL fettered.ACC.M-and hold.PS.2S
      'you've got me bound over to you and fettered by love'
                                                         (Plautus, *Bacchides* 181)

(6.36) ...testis   vinctos   attines
      witnesses.ACC.P fettered.ACC.M.P hold.PS.2S
      '...the witnesses you keep tied up'   (Plautus, *Truculentus* 837)

The structure of the attained state type, which is given and justified in Chapter
5 §3, is provided again below for the Latin sentence *is te auratam habet* 'he has you
bejeweled':

```
                        2              P
            1           2             Cho          P
            is          te            auratam      habet
            he.NOM      you.ACC       bejeweled.ACC.F   has.PS.3S
```

'he has you bejeweled'

Figure 6.8   *Is te auratam habet —Attained State type*

4.5   Affectee type:

The affectee type (cf. Chapter 5 § 4) is rare in Latin. It is not mentioned at all in traditional descriptive grammars, and does not seem to be attested until the first century B.C. Recall that the affectee type seems to be a syntactic device for promoting to subject an argument with low syntactic and thematic prominence. The final subject *habeo* in this type is thematically a beneficiary, sufferer, recipient, experiencer, source, possessor, or person for whom the statement holds true, but never agent, causer, patient, or theme. Two Latin examples of the affectee type are:

(6.37) hoc   autem ita esse   a serpentibus   licet   aspicere,
        this.NOM.NEUT but   so be.INF in snakes.ABL.P may.PS.3S observe.INF

        quae   per calorem cum   exhaustam   habent   umoris
        which.NOM.F by heat.ACC when drawn.ACC.F have.PS.3S moisture.GEN

        refrigerationem, tunc acerrime moventur
        chill.ACC   then quickest move.PS.PASS.3S
        'That this is true may be observed in snakes, which move quickest when they
        have the chill of dampness drawn away by the heat'
                                                    (Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 6,1,9)

(6.38) cum   sint   autem meridianae   nationes   animis
       though are.PS.SUBJ.3P but   southern.NOM.F.P peoples.NOM.P mind.ABL.P

       acutissimis   infinitaque   sollertia   consiliorum, simul
       acutest.ABL.P infinite.ABL.F-and cleverness.ABL.F counsel.GEN.P meanwhile

       ad fortitudinem ingrediuntur   ibi   succumbunt, quod   habent
       to courage.ACC enter.PS.PASS.3P there yield.PS.3P   because have.PS.3P

       exsuctas   ab sole   animorum virtutes
       drained.ACC.F.P by sun.ABL spirit.GEN.P valor.ACC.P
       'Although the southern peoples are of acute intelligence and infinite resource,
       they give way when courage is demanded because they have their strength
       drained away by the sun'   (Vitruvius, *De Architectura* 6,1,10)

In these examples, *habeo* clearly does not mean 'possess' or 'hold'. We can be sure
these are not instances of the attained state type or of the periphrastic perfect because
the overt agent of the perfect participle is not the same as the subject of *habeo.*

The structure of the affectee type, given in Chapter 5 §4, is provided below for
the Latin sentence *nationes habent exsuctas ab sole virtutes* '[southern] peoples have
their strength drained by the sun':

        nationes habent   virtutes   exsuctas   ab sole
        peoples.NOM have.PS.3P strengths.ACC.P drained.ACC.F.P by sun.ABL
        '[southern] peoples have their strength drained by the sun'
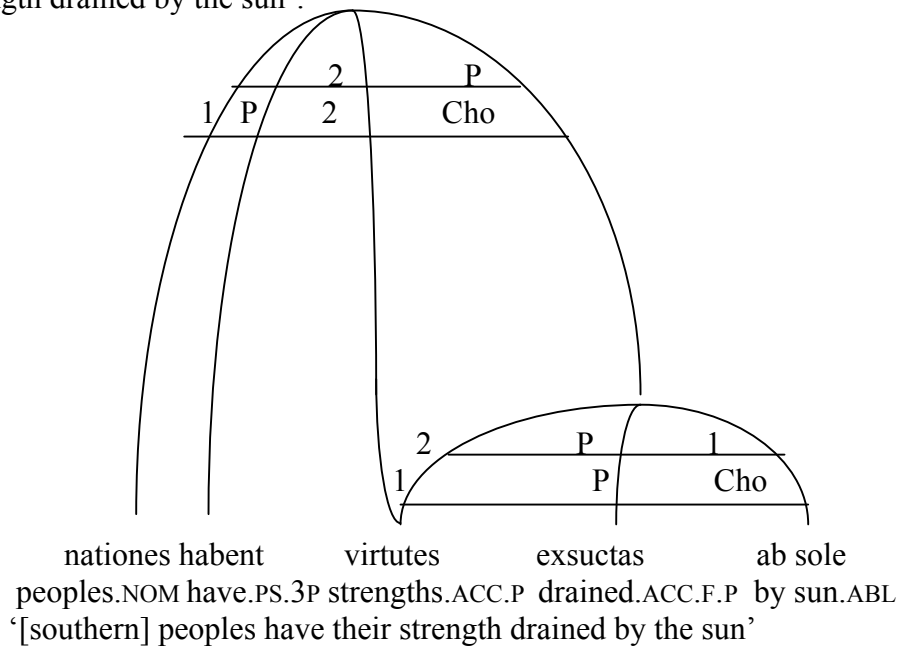
Figure 6.9 *Nationes habent exsuctas ab sole virtutes—affectee type*

In this sentence, the subordinate clause *virtutes exsuctas ab sole* 'strengths drained by the sun' is an unauxiliated passive clause. This clause functions as an unaccusative predicate in the main clause, where it initializes *virtutes* 'strengths'.

4.6   Where do the attained state and affectee types come from?

I propose that the attained state and affectee types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> grow out of the ability of *habeo* to predicate *relations of pertaining*, a class of relations that includes but is not limited to possession. To understand what is comprised by these relations of pertaining, let us first consider the range of values of *mihi est,* and then turn to *habeo.*

The examples of *mihi est* proffered by traditional grammars as most representative or emblematic are those in which *mihi est* occurs with a simple nominal, *e.g., mihi est gladius* 'I have a sword.' Constructions like *mihi est gladius* predicate possession, an abstract asymmetrical association between a possessum and its possessor. In the case of *mihi est gladius* 'I have a sword,' the association seems to be a moral or legal condition obtaining between a physical object and a physical human subject: the human subject is morally or legally accorded the right (probably the exclusive right) to handle or otherwise deal with the physical object. There are instances of *mihi est* with a simple nominal that does not denote a physical object, *e.g., nomen Marcus est mihi* 'my name is Marcus,' *mihi est fames* 'I am hungry,' *mihi est dolor* 'I ache.' These instances of *mihi est* show that the association expressed by *mihi est* is not limited to a moral or legal right to handle; in the case of *mihi est fames* 'I am hungry,' for example, the human subject undergoes an individual experience that results from a bodily condition.

This ability to predicate such disparate things as legal right to handle and bodily experience is not a peculiarity of *mihi est*, of course. Heine (1997) notes that

languages regularly use one or more of their schemas of predicative possession to express such ostensibly dissimilar notions as 'I have a car' and 'I have a problem.' He considers at length whether there are defining characteristics of possession—such as control, influence, proximity, or interest—that account for the whole range of use of predicative possession schemas, and finds that no characteristic is unproblematic.

Even if possession cannot be succinctly defined, it can be generally characterized. The relation of possession is subjectively created, *i.e.,* it originates in speakers' minds, though not without the mediation of culturally transmitted, conventionalized knowledge about the world. It is an abstract relation; it does not inhere in the physical world and does not affect it. Poessession is noetic, *i.e.,* it is the product of intellectual intuition about material phenomena. Speakers know possession, or intuit it, when they see it. Possession is an asymmetrical relation: a "minor" member is felt to be connected to a "major" member as an appendage, accessory, dependent, attribute, adjunct, duty, concern, experience, product, etc. The fact of being the major or minor member in a possession relation is not intrinsic in the material world, though it may correlate to some material fact, such as relative size or relative position. Possession is essentially a stative relation; it primarily denotes a non-dynamic association between the major and minor member, though this association may well be conceived as having a punctual beginning (the moment of taking, occupying, getting, receiving, contracting, being affected or afflicted, etc.).

Even this general characterization cannot account for all of the uses of predicative possession schemas. Let us return to Latin *mihi est* to see how some possession constructions appear not only with a simple nominal possessum (a noun phrase) but also with a situation (a noun phrase plus a predicate) that befalls the argument in the dative. The construction with *mihi est* we will consider is the periphrastic passive perfect with a dative of interest, *e.g., id certum est mihi* 'I have

resolved it'. The dative case in Latin, in addition to marking indirect objects and possessors, can mark the person interested in a situation. This includes a person observing the situation, the person towards whom the situation is directed, the person who obtains an advantage or disadvantage from the development of the situation, the person for whom the statement of the predicate holds good, and even the agent of the action (Gildersleeve and Lodge 1897: 225). It was common to infer that this person was the agent when no other agent was supplied in a sentence, and in perfect passive constructions, it was common in prose to express an agent by using a dative. For example:

(6.39) ego   istuc   furtum   scio   quoi
        I.nom this.NOM.NEUT.S robbery.NOM know.PS.1S who.DAT

        factum   est
        done.NOM.NEUT.S is.PS.3S
        'This robbery, I know who did it'   (Plautus, *Rudens* 958)
        literally 'I know for whom this robbery was done'

(6.40) nunc (id)   certum   est   mihi
        Now it.NOM resolved.NOM.NEUT.S is.PS.3S me.DAT
        'I have now resolved it'   (Plautus, *Captivi* 772)
        literally 'Now it is resolved for me'

(6.41) Mihi   res   tota   provisa   est
        me.DAT thing.NOM all.NOM.F.S provided.NOM.F.S is.PS.3S
        'I have had the whole thing provided for'   (Cicero, *In Verrem* 4,42,91)
        literally 'The whole thing has been provided for with me as the interested party'

(6.42) Carmina   nulla   mihi   sunt   scripta
        songs.NOM.P none.NOM.NEUT.P me.DAT are.PS.3P written.NOM.NEUT.P
        'Poems, I have none written'   (Ovid, *Tristia* 5, 12, 35)
        literally 'No poems have been written for me'

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The structure of these constructions is like that of Figure 6.2 *amatus sum,* with a dative of interest, a noun bearing the 3-relation, attached. The structure of *id certum est mihi* 'I have resolved it', for example, is as follows:

2	P		3
1	P		3
1	Cho	P	3
id	certum	est	mihi
it.NOM.NEUT.S	resolved.NOM.NEUT.S	is.PS.3S	me.DAT

'I have resolved it'
literally 'it is resolved for me'

Figure 6.10 *Id certum est mihi*

I have suggested that possession is just one instance of a more general set of relations, *relations of pertaining.* These relations link an entity (*i.e.,* a nominal possessum) or a situation (a noun plus a predicate) to another entity. Relations of pertaining are subjectively created, abstract, and noetic, just as the more specific relations of possession are. Pertaining relations are also asymmetrical: something belongs to or befalls the "major" member of the relation, but not vice versa. While possession relations are essentially stative, relations of pertaining may be stative or eventive, depending on the aspectual properties of the "minor" member. For example, Eng *I had a rock thrown at me* expresses that a subject is affected by a dynamic event because *a rock thrown at me* denotes a dynamic event.

We have just seen that in Latin, *mihi est* can predicate not only that an entity belongs to the dative argument, but also that a situation befalls the dative argument. In other words, *mihi est* can predicate *relations of pertaining* in the sense just explained.

The attained state and affectee types show that *habeo* could also predicate relations of pertaining. That is to say, the ability of *habeo* to predicate possession

appears to be a specific manifestation of its more general ability to predicate the relation between targets and the things that befall or belong to them. Just as one can say *habet famem* 'he is hungry,' *habet odium* 'he hates,' *habet febrem* 'he has a fever' to speak of states and conditions that befall subjects, one can employ types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> to speak of situations that subjects experience or by which they are affected. If the situation in question arises through the agency of the subject of *habeo*, the result is the attained state type; if the situation befalls the subject of *habeo* through the agency of someone or something else, the result is the affectee type. These outgrowths of the action schema with *habeo* would have been buttressed by parallel but earlier developments that had affected the goal schema with *mihi est*.

The difference between the attained state and affectee types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is essentially due to the thematic role that is assigned to the subject. The specific meaning of attained state type follows from the role assigned to the subject of *habeo,* which appears to be the role of *attainer* in the sense defined in Chapter 5: an attainer is a kind of experiencer for whom the experience is one of active completion. Note that the datives of agent in the *mihi est* examples (6.51-54) seem to have agentive attainer roles. The meaning of the affectee type follows from the thematic role assigned to its subject, which can be any one of a number of non-agentive experiencer roles (cf. § 4.5 and Chapter 5 § 3). Note that these roles overlap with the roles associated with non-agentive datives of interest.

A historical development in Portuguese[56] seems to support the proposal that the attained state and affectee types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> grow out of the ability of *habeo* to predicate relations of pertaining. In medieval Portuguese, *ter* (<Lat *tenere* 'hold') replaced *aver* (<Lat *habere*) as the unmarked verb

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[56] This development is evident, to a lesser degree, in Spanish.

of possession in "action" constructions. In modern Portuguese, the action construction with *ter* is the least marked way to express possession predicatively. For example:

(6.43) tenho   um libro.
       have.PS.1S a.M book
       'I have a book'

In modern Portuguese, the verb *ter* also participates in the attained state and affectee types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. For example:

(6.44) tenho   o   problema resolvido
       have.PS.1S the.M problem solved.M
       'I have the problem solved'

(6.45) tenho   o   meu   acesso bloqueado
       have.PS.1S the.M my.M access blocked.M
       'I have my access blocked'

Portuguese has innovated a new way to predicate possession, *estar com,* which is an instance of Heine's (1997) companion schema—*X is with Y.* For example:

(6.46) estou   com um problema
       am.PS.1S with a.M problem
       'I have a problem'

The *estar com* construction may have its origins in the Latin descriptive ablative, which overlapped somewhat with a descriptive genitive (*e.g., vir magna sapientia, vir magnae sapientiae* 'a man of great wisdom'). Whatever its history, in modern Portuguese the *estar com* construction seems to be limited to abstract and transient possessa, while the *ter* construction is not restricted in this way.

Notably, the *estar com* construction can predicate not only that an entity belongs or pertains to someone, but also that a situation befalls someone. When this

situation occurs through the agency of the subject of *estar*, the construction has the same meaning as the attained state type—the subject attains a result. When this situation befalls the subject of *estar* through the agency of someone or something else, the construction has the same meaning as the affectee type—the subject undergoes a situation. For example:

Same meaning as the attained state type

(6.47) já   estou   com a   reforma ministerial resolvida na   cabeça
       already am.PS.1S with the.F reform   ministerial solved.F in-the.F head
       'I already have the ministerial reform figured out in my head'

(6.48) você está   com todas   as   xícaras no   armário
       you are.PS.3S with all.F.P the.F.P cups.P in-the.M cupboard
       'You have all the cups in the cupboard'

Same meaning as the affectee type

(6.49) estava   com o   corpo todo arranhado   por arbustos
       was. IMP.3S with the.M body   all.M scratched.M by   bushes
       'He had his body all scratched up by bushes'

(6.50) estava   com a   casa   cheia de ratos
       was.IMP.3S with the.F house full.F of mice.P
       'He had his house full of mice'

This historical development in Portuguese supports the proposal that possession may be just one instance of *pertaining*, and provides further evidence that the attained state and affectee types might be natural outgrowths of predicative possession.

5   Previous accounts of the genesis of the *habeo*-perfect

In Chapter 1, we considered some general weaknesses of previous accounts of the genesis of the *have*-perfect in Romance and Germanic. We saw that these accounts were impaired by two unmotivated assumptions: (i) that at first, *have* must

mean 'possess' or 'hold' and the perfect participle must be an attributive adjective; (ii) that *have* bleaches gradually, and that this bleaching somehow drives the emergence of the *have*-perfect. We now consider some of the more noteworthy accounts that refer specifically to the Romance development.

Some scholars who adopt the premise that the *habeo*-perfect comes from the adnominal type contend that the periphrastic perfect emerged from instances of the adnominal type in which the subject of *habeo* and the agent of the participle were the same (Meyer-Lübke 1906, Benveniste 1966, Vincent 1982, Pinkster 1987). For instance, Meyer-Lübke (1906) suggests that the evolution from the adnominal type to the perfect periphrasis was first achieved with verbs that express intellectual activity, such as *cognitum habeo* 'have known', for which the logical subject of the verb appearing as a participle is necessarily the same as the subject of the finite verb *habeo*. The putative change happens gradually as the participle comes to be the primary predicate of the construction while the "full" lexical meaning of *habeo* bleaches. Note that *cognitum habeo* cannot normally be understood as an adnominal construction, however. A sentence like *voluntatem eius cognitam habeo* 'I have his will understood' is not usually parsed 'I have [his understood will]' because the result of understanding makes little sense without an explicit subject of *cognitam* 'understood'.

For Vincent (1982), who advocates a three-stage approach, the connection between the adnominal "stage" and the second "stage" is that the subject of *habeo* is assigned the same thematic role, *location*, in both constructions. He does not explain what constitutes the second stage in his account, but even if we concede that his second stage is the attained state type, it would remain unclear what *location* has to do with the subject of the sentences in (6.25-6.40), like *illa omnia missa habeo* 'I have all those things left abandoned'. Elaborating on Meyer-Lübke (1906), Vincent argues

that the mechanism for the grammaticalization of *habeo* is the identity, in verbs with experiencer subjects, of the subject of *habeo* and agent of the perfect participle.

Pinkster (1987) argues along the lines of Meyer-Lübke and Vincent, stating that the adnominal type first develops into a periphrastic perfect with participles of verbs of perception and cognition (204). In a parallel argument, he also contends that in instances where the noun.ACC is replaced by a sentential complement, *habeo* must already be an auxiliary. Two examples of this, from early and late Latin, are:

(6.51) ille, quod   in se   fuit,   accuratum   habuit
        he   what.NOM.NEUT.S in REFL.ABL was.PF.3S cared.ACC.NEUT.S had.PF.3S

        quod   posset   mali   faceret   in me
        what.ACC.NEUT.S can.PS.SUBJ.3S ill.GEN do.IMP.SUBJ.3S in ME.ACC
        'As far as in him lay, he took pains to do me all the harm he could'
                                       (Plautus, *Bacchides* 550)

(6.52) Auditum   habemus   quod...
        heard.ACC.NEUT.S have.PS.1P that.ACC.NEUT.S
        'We have heard that...'   (St. Jerome, *Galatas* 1,23)

Thus for Pinkster, instances of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> with participles of verbs of communication, such as *scriptus* 'written' and *auditus* 'heard,' appear to be at the vanguard of the development of the *habeo*-perfect. Pinkster seems to reason that since the sentential complement cannot be the object of *habeo* when *habeo* means 'possess' or 'hold,' examples like (6.51-52) must contain the new auxiliary *habeo*[57]. This is not a necessary conclusion if we consider alternatives to the adnominal type, like the attained state type and the affectee type. Attained state type constructions can take a clausal complement in some languages, like modern Spanish:

(6.53) Tengo   oído   /entendido   que...
        have.PS.1S heard.M/understood.M that...
        'I hear/understand that...'

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[57] If this were true of the example from Plautus, that would make the *habeo*-perfect very old indeed!

In Spanish, a *que* 'that' clause can replace the middle term of <*tener* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, which is not a true perfect like <*haber* + perfect participle>. If the Latin examples in (6.51-52) are examples of the attained state type, then there is no reason to think that *habeo* is a perfect auxiliary. We will have more to say about examples like (6.51-52) in § 6.

In an ingenious and original account, La Fauci (1988) envisions the change from serial construction to perfect periphrasis as follows:

A. *serial* <*habeo* + perfect participle>   B. *periphrastic perfect*

		2	P				1	2	P
1	P	2	Cho	>		1	P	2	Cho
ego	habeo	librum	scriptum			ego	habeo	librum	scriptum
I	have	book	written			I	have	book	written

'I have a book written'   'I have written a book'
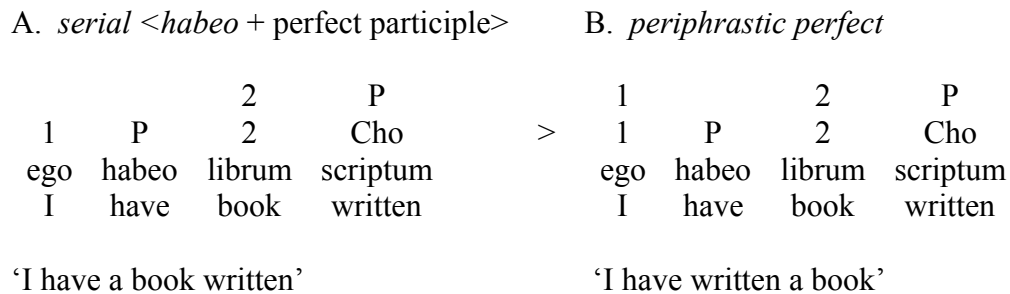
Figure 6.11 *Change from a serial construction to periphrastic perfect*

Under this analysis, the change of serial <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> occurs when *habeo* loses its ability to initialize a 1 (*i.e.,* to have a subject distinct from that of the perfect participle). Under that condition, the 1 existing in structure A in Figure 6.11 can only be interpreted as having been initialized by the inner P, *scriptum* 'written'. Therefore, the language learner revises the valence of *scriptum* so that it can initialize a 1 like *scribo* 'write'. With the resulting reanalysis, given in structure B, *habeo* inherits its 1 from the previous stratum, thereby becoming an auxiliary.

La Fauci's account is generally sound, and has the tremendous merit of providing an explicit structure for the source construction. However, it omits three important particulars. First, this two-stage approach does not say anything about *habeo* as a verb of possession. The possessive value of *habeo* is not explicitly

connected to the source structure A. Second, the meaning and aspectual value of the serial <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in structure A is left unclear; we only know that it is not the adnominal type. Is it the attained state type? The affectee type? Is it something else? Recall that there were other verbs in Latin that could be employed in serial constructions very similar to <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. We have seen examples of *attineo* 'hold' and *teneo* 'hold' employed in this way, yet *teneo* and *attineo* do not participate in the same developments as *habeo,* because <*teneo/attineo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> has a different aspectual value from the attained state type. It is important to show, with corpus evidence, what meaning and aspectual value is associated with structure A. Third, this account leaves unclear how *habeo* lost its ability to initialize a 1, *i.e.,* how it lost its capacity to have a subject distinct from the subject of the perfect participle. Was this a historical accident or was it motivated by something in Latin?

6   New account of the genesis of the *habeo*-perfect, **taking the attained state type as source**

I propose that the *habeo*-perfect resulted from a reanalysis of the attained state type of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. The syntactic representation of this reanalysis coincides with La Fauci's (1988) description of the change, shown in Figure 6.11, with the added specification that the source construction—structure A—is the attained state type. This account of the genesis of the *habeo*-perfect obviates all of the problems associated with taking the adnominal type as source.

As I argued in §4.6, the attained state type of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is an outgrowth of the ability of *habeo* to predicate relations of pertaining. Thus I explicitly address two of the questions that La Fauci leaves unanswered: I connect possessive *habeo* to the source construction for the *habeo*-perfect and I fully

characterize this source construction in terms of its syntactic, semantic, and aspectual properties.

Now, can we address the third unanswered question? That is, can we explain how *habeo* lost its capacity to have a subject distinct from the subject of the perfect participle? As noted above, Meyer-Lübke (1906) and a number of others argue that certain perfect participles force the interpretation that the subject of *habeo* is the logical subject of the verb appearing as a perfect participle. These are the perfect participles of verbs that have been variously characterized as verbs of intellectual activity, verbs with experiencer subject, and verbs of perception and cognition. For these authors, the perfect participles of a special group of verbs (henceforth just *perception and cognition verbs*) play a pivotal role in the putative development from the adnominal type to the periphrastic perfect.

The perfect participles of perception and cognition verbs may well have played an important role in the genesis of the *habeo*-perfect, but perhaps not in the way that previous accounts suggest. To begin with, we must recognize that in addition to the adnominal type, there was an attained state type and an affectee type. The attained state type, which admits a wide range of perfect participles, normally has an agentive subject who directly or indirectly acts upon the noun.ACC. Indeed, the existence of the attained state and affectee types seems to logically precede the ability of participles denoting mental activities, like *cognitus* 'known,' to participate in a construction of the form <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. However, Meyer-Lübke's proposal may still help us to explain the reanalysis of the attained state type into a periphrastic perfect. In La Fauci's (1988) account, the change of serial <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> into a periphrastic perfect occurs when *habeo* loses its ability to have a subject distinct from that of the participle. It should be pointed out that *habeo* lost this ability only in one syntactic context, namely the new periphrastic

perfect. The adnominal, attained state, and affectee types survive from Latin into the Romance languages, showing that in other contexts *habeo* could still initialize a separate subject.

Now, in what context would *habeo* lose its capacity to initialize a subject? When *habeo* appeared in the attained state type of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> with the participle of a perception or cognition verb, the pragmatic implicature would have been that the subject of *habeo* was the subject of the participle. If this implicature became an obligatory entailment, then *habeo* would have lost its ability to initialize a separate subject in the presence of the participle of a perception or cognition verb. In the resulting construction, shown in Figure 6.11, structure B, the requirement that the participle be formed on a perception or cognition verb would later have been relaxed, and other kinds of perfect participles would have come to participate in the new periphrasis.

Pinkster's (1987) idea that instances where the noun.ACC is replaced by a sentential complement are at the vanguard of the change may be a sagacious one, though his account must be modified somewhat to suit our needs. In his account, these instances are special because they do not admit an adnominal reading. Pinkster concludes that when the noun.ACC is replaced by a sentential complement, *habeo* must already be an auxiliary. I have shown that the attained state type can appear with a sentential complement, so despite Pinkster's reasoning *habeo* need not be an auxiliary in these instances. However, when the attained state type of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> has a sentential complement instead of the noun.ACC, there seem to be two factors that that would favor a reanalysis: (i) the sentential complement is extraposed to the right, bringing *habeo* and the participle into proximity, (ii) sentential complements appear with perception and cognition verbs, which pragmatically imply that the subject of *habeo* is the subject of the perfect participle.

These considerations show that the question (i) *how did* habeo *lose its capacity to initialize a subject distinct from the subject of the perfect participle?* is perhaps better formulated (ii) *in what syntactic contexts did* habeo *lose its capacity to initialize a separate subject?* Question (i) suggests that a change in *habeo* drove the process of reanalysis, a questionable assumption. Question (ii) recognizes that the reanalysis of the attained state type only affected *habeo* in particular contexts, and asks what those contexts were. We have speculatively identified these syntactic contexts as instances of the attained state type that involve the perfect participle of a perception or cognition verb, particularly when a sentential complement appears in place of the noun.ACC.

In the account proposed here, the attained state type is an outgrowth of the ability of *habeo* to predicate relations of pertaining, and the attained state type of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is reanalyzed into a periphrastic perfect in specific syntactic contexts that have to do with the noun.ACC and the perfect participle, not with *habeo.* Indeed, I claim that there is nothing special about *habeo* per se, and now I will advance some evidence showing that *habeo* and the "action" schema are only incidentally parts of the periphrastic perfect.

We saw in § 4.1 that in Latin, there are two primary ways to express possession predicatively, the "action" schema with *habeo* and the "goal" schema with *mihi est.* In § 4.6 we saw that both of these constructions can be used to predicate relations of pertaining, and I suggested that the attained state type <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> corresponds to the periphrastic passive perfect with an agentive dative of interest (e.g., *id certum est mihi* 'I have it resolved'). Now, if there is nothing special about *habeo* per se, then the new periphrastic perfect could just as easily have resulted from the reanalysis of the periphrastic passive perfect with an agentive dative of interest. That is to say, the new periphrastic perfect could have

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been built upon the Latin goal schema (*e.g., id certum est mihi* 'I have it resolved) instead of the action schema (*e.g., habeo id certum* 'I have it resolved').

There are some languages in which a periphrastic perfect or past tense results from the reanalysis of a goal schema with an associated passive or perfect participle. Benveniste (1960: 201) reports than in Ancient Egyptian, possession was predicated by means of a prepositional dative:

(6.54) nb   n -j
       gold to-me
       'I have gold'

The perfect of transitive verbs also contains a prepositional dative:

(6.55) me   n- j   sn
       loved to-me brother
       'I loved my brother'

Thus in Ancient Egyptian, the perfect of transitive verbs seems to have originated as a periphrastic *be*-perfect (or perfect without a copula) with an agentive dative, similar to Lat *id certum est mihi* 'it is done for me/I have done it'.

Likewise, in Syriac (modern eastern Aramaic), the old synthetic perfect has been replaced by a new past tense that appears to be the result of reanalyzing a goal schema with an associated participle. The new periphrastic tense, which began with transitive verbs and was extended to intransitives, has the form <passive participle + noun.DAT> (Hetzron, 1969). For example:

(6.56) súdre-l-e
       sent -to-him
       'he sent'

Other possession schemas that express relations of pertaining can also be reanalyzed into a periphrastic perfect when they co-occur with a perfect/past or

passive participle. Benveniste (1960) reports that in Classical Armenian, possession is predicated by means of the equation schema:

(6.57) Nora   tun   e
       his.GEN house is
       'He has a house'

The perfect of intransitive verbs is formed with *be* and a passive participle:

(6.58) sa   ekeal e
       he.NOM come is
       'He has come'

The perfect of transitive verbs is formed in a similar way, but the subject appears in the genitive instead of the nominative:

(6.59) nora   teseal e
       his.GEN seen is
       'He has seen'

The development of (6.59) is easy to imagine if we envision the predication of possession in (6.57) as a predication of pertaining. In (6.57) an entity belongs to the argument in the genitive case, but the same schema was most likely employed to predicate that a situation befalls the genitive argument. This predication of pertaining is naturally extended into a resultative or affectee type construction when a passive participle is present, and the resultative (or attained state) type can be reanalyzed into a perfect in the specific syntactic contexts outlined above.

In Persian, an equation schema with an associated **-to* participle is reanalyzed to form a new past tense (Cardona, 1970). In Old Persian, possession can be expressed by a form of the equation schema, *X's Y is,* as in (from the Darian inscription, cit. in Cardona):

(6.60) utataiy   tauma   vasiy   biya
       and-you.GEN seed.NOM greatly be.OPT.3S
       'you will have a large family'

When a genitive[58] argument co-occurs with the reflex of the PIE *-to* participle, the

resulting construction denotes this argument's active accomplishment.

(6.61) θatiy   darayavaus xsayaθiya ima tya   mana   krtam pasava yaθa
       says.3S Darius.NOM king.NOM this what my.GEN done after when
       xsayaθiya abavam
       king.NOM became.IMP.1S
       'Darius the king says: this is what I have done since I became king'

Notably, the construction *mana krtam* 'I have done' appears in the same context as the

unmarked form for past events, the imperfect *akunavam* 'I did':

(6.62) θatiy   darayavaus xsayaθiya ima tya   adam akunavam
       says.3S Darius.NOM king.NOM this what I.NOM did.IMP.1S
       'Darius the king says: this is what I did'

The reflexes of *mana krtam* are the past tenses of several descendants of Old Persian,

including modern Pashto.

    There are doubtless still other instances of possession schemas expressing

relations of pertaining that have been reanalyzed in this way.

7   Later developments of the *habeo-* and *sum*-perfects
7.1   Dating the emergence of the periphrastic perfect

    Having treated in depth the question of how a periphrastic perfect emerged

in the Romance languages, let us briefly consider the question of when this perfect

emerged. As noted above, the periphrastic *sum*-perfect appears in the earliest literary

Latin. In fact, it is presumably of pre-historic origin in Italic; it is found not only in

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[58] In fact the case is genitive-dative, but etymologically comes from a genitive.

Latin, but also in Oscan and Umbrian. The *sum*-perfect certainly existed at any stage we would call Proto-Romance. The periphrastic *habeo*-perfect is difficult to date, and its development in late Latin is obscure. The fact that some periphrasis of this type exists in every Romance language suggests that it emerged in common Proto-Romance, before the dissolution of the Roman Empire in the 5th century A.D. However, finding corpus evidence to date the emergence of the *habeo*-perfect is tricky because the putative early examples of *habeo*-perfects given in earlier work tend to be account-specific. They are examples of constructions that cannot be interpreted as adnominal, and that were only interpreted as perfects because no other option was entertained. Consider these oft-cited early examples of putative *habeo*-perfects:

(6.63) Ecce episcopum... invitatum   habes
        lo   bishop.ACC   invited.ACC.M.S have.PS.2S
        'Behold, you have the bishop invited'   (Gregory of Tours, *Vitae Patrum* 3,1)

(6.64) Auditum   habemus   quod...
        heard.ACC.NEUT.S have.PS.1P that.ACC.NEUT.S
        'We have heard that...'   (St. Jerome, *Galatas* 1,23)

(6.65) quemadmodum de ea   re   supra scriptum   habemus
        as   of that.ABL.F.S thing.ABL above written.ACC.NEUT.S have.PS.1P
        'as we have written above on that matter'   (Vitruvius, *De Arch.* 9,1,14)

Example (6.63) clearly cannot be interpreted as an adnominal <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>—one cannot normally own or hold a bishop—or as "maintenance of a result" (cf. §4.4). However, this example is perfectly compatible with an attained state reading: 'you have the bishop invited, i.e., you have accomplished that'. (6.64) and (6.65) are thought to be perfects on syntactic grounds. In (6.64), the object of *auditum* 'heard' is not a noun, but a sentential complement headed by the complementizer *quod* 'that'. We have already seen that the attained state type can take sentential complements, so this may well be an instance of the attained state type.

In (6.65), the object is lacking altogether, though the adverb *quemadmodum* 'in that manner' seems to be in its place. If *habeo* functioned only as a verb meaning 'possess' or 'hold', sentences with these types of objects would constitute examples of the sort of bleaching which other accounts have associated with the genesis of the *habeo*-perfect. However, as I have shown, *habeo* also participated in the attained state and affectee types. Thus it is unsurprising that sentences like (6.64-65) can be found in the earliest literary Latin. For example:

(6.66) ille, quod   in se   fuit,   accuratum   habuit
        he   what.NOM.NEUT.S in REFL.ABL was.PF.3S cared.ACC.NEUT.S had.PF.3S

        quod   posset   mali   faceret   in me
        what.ACC.NEUT.S can.PS.SUBJ.3S ill.GEN do.IMP.SUBJ.3S in ME.ACC
        'As far as in him lay, he took pains to do me all the harm he could'
        more literally: 'he had [doing me as much harm as he could] attended to'
                                                        (Plautus, *Bacchides* 550)

(6.67) in aliquot sacris   ac sacellis   scriptum   habemus:
        in some   chapels.ABL.P and shrines.ABL.P written.ACC.NEUT.S have.PS.1P
        Ne quod   scorteum   adhibeatur.
        not anything.NOM.NEUT.P leathern.NOM.NEUT.P brought-in.PS.SUBJ.PASS.3S
        'in some chapels and shrines we have this written:
        let nothing made of hide be brought in'   (Varro, *De Lingua Latina* 7, 84)

(6.68) Satis   iam   dictum   habeo
        enough already said.ACC.NEUT.S have.PS.1S
        'I already have enough said'   (Plautus, *Persa* 214)

There is little difficulty in accounting for these examples if the *habeo* we see here is not a verb meaning 'hold; or 'possess', but rather a serial verb in the attained state type of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. That is to say, once we recognize that the *habeo* in these examples need not be either a verb of possession or an auxiliary, these examples, along with (6.64-65), cease to be exceptional.

What would constitute an unequivocal example of an early *habeo*-perfect? The ideal example would lack the noun.ACC altogether, or have a non-agreeing participle. Either criterion would show that we are not dealing with the attained state type, and would indicate that <*habeo* + perfect participle> had become an independent verbal periphrasis. I know of just one late Latin example that fits either of these syntactic criteria:

(6.69) Haec   omnia   probatum   habemus
      these.ACC.NEUT.P all.ACC.NEUT.P approved.ACC.NEUT.S have.PS.1P
      'We have approved all these things' (Oribasius, *Synopsis ad Eustathium* 7,48)

In this example, the participle *probatum* is neuter (or masculine) singular, and does not agree with the neuter plural *haec omnia* 'all these things'.   The example is from a 4th century text by Oribasius, a man from Pergamum who served as Julian the Apostate's physician in Constantinople.

One example from Asia Minor is hardly evidence of a burgeoning Romance periphrastic perfect[59]. Why are there so few unequivocal examples of the *habeo*-perfect in late Latin? Pinkster (1987) writes:

> Our literary evidence in later Latin may not show much variation and may be essentially the same as in the classical period. However, this does not prove that in everyday speech the construction *habere* + participle was not less restricted than in the literary sources. Happ (1967) has shown that the construction is not found in the more colloquial parts of Plautus' comedies[60]. It is not restricted to Cicero's letters (which are more colloquial than his other works). Petronius has no examples of the construction at all. Still, this does not prove that the periphrastic expression had no support in colloquial Latin, as Happ wants us to believe (205).

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[59] One potential problem with this example is the possible influence of Greek on Byzantine Latin. According to the Greek rule known as *zoa trechei* 'the animals run' (*lit.* 'the animals runs'), neuter plurals could take neuter singular verb agreement.
[60] The evidence presented here suggests otherwise.

The evidence from late Latin may ultimately prove inconclusive. In the Romance-speaking regions, there is a continuous textual record that extends back to Latin, but it is a mistake to think that we can track every early Romance innovation in the late Latin period. Some of these innovations appear fully-formed in the earliest vernacular texts without any late Latin precedent. For example, there is no late Latin evidence of the phonological weakening of /f/ in Castillian Spanish (though we know that this weakening began before the first attestation of Spanish because of the treatment of Arabic loan words with /f/, /h/, and /H/).

The discrepancy between written and spoken language is a central problem in understanding the early history of the Romance languages. Before the first efforts to faithfully represent varieties of spoken Portuguese, Spanish, Catalan, French, Provençal, Italian, Romanian, etc., in writing, there are several centuries' worth of texts whose language is modeled not upon the contemporary speech of any group, but upon two canons of classic texts: (i) the pagan classics of Rome, including the works of Cicero, Caesar, Lucretius, Virgil, Juvenal, and Suetonius; and, (ii) the patristic classics, including the works of Tertullian, Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine. The language of these classic texts served as a linguistic archetype for later periods, offering exemplars of correctness and models for imitation. Owing to the extraordinary vitality of the Classical literary and rhetorical tradition in imperial times, and to the enormous influence of the Christian Church beginning in Late Antiquity and continuing throughout the Middle Ages, the language of the classic texts, executed by later writers with varying degrees of precision and skill, was the only written language until the first appearance of vernacular Romance texts in the 9th and 10th centuries. It is perfectly conceivable that in the Late Latin period the small minority who had learned to write—trained scribes and epigraphers—used the Latin synthetic perfect, which they were taught, and avoided the colloquial <*habeo* + perfect

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participle> construction, which was colloquial and not part of the formal, written register. Notably, there is no difficulty in finding examples of the new *habeo*-perfect in the first vernacular texts.

Squartini and Bertinetto (2000) point out another difficulty in finding the "first" instances of the periphrastic perfect in late Latin. At the time when the periphrastic perfect presumably came into being,

> the purely perfectal value of the [synthetic] Present perfect had started to show signs of obliteration. But this is precisely the point where a comprehensive story of the Romance CP [compound past] (and, concomitantly, of the SP [simple past]) becomes impossible, for its evolution is different in every language (405)

In other words, the first attested *habeo*-perfects may not be instances of the original pan-Romance periphrasis <*habeo* + perfect participle>; instead, they may already show developments of <*habeo* + perfect participle> that are specific to individual Romance languages.

Let us now consider in greater detail the early attestation of the *habeo*-perfect.

7.2   The *have*-perfect in early Romance: attestation and word order

In the earliest Romance vernacular texts, there are unequivocal examples of a verbal periphrasis <*have* + perfect participle> that is distinct from the attained state type in Latin. These examples have a non-agreeing participle or lack the noun.ACC which is an essential ingredient in the various types of Latin <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, including the attained state type. For instance:

(6.70) la   labia li   ad   restaurat
       the.F speech him.DAT has.PS.3S restored
       '(God) has restored speech to him' (*Vie de Saint Léger* 81)

(6.71) fata la   çintura el   espada legado   ha
       to   the.F waist the.M sword   reached has.PS.3S
       'the sword reached as far as his waist' (*Cantar de Mio Cid* 2424)

In (6.70), an Old French example, the perfect participle *restaurat* 'restored' does not agree in gender with the feminine object, *labia* 'speech'. In the Old Spanish example in (6.71), the periphrasis *legado ha* 'has reached' does not govern a direct object.

Given that the *have*-perfect exists in some form in the earliest Romance texts, we ought to wonder whether the word order properties of the early *have*-perfect correlate with other syntactic changes that transpired as late Latin gave way to the various Romance languages. There are two sets of questions connected with word order. First, Latin is known to have SOV order predominantly, though it is a very flexible SOV language in which many other orders are also found. By contrast, the modern Romance languages are predominantly SVO. Typologically speaking, in SOV languages auxiliaries tend to follow main verbs while in SVO languages they tend to precede main verbs (Dryer 1992). Does the new *have*-perfect emerge with a particular word order? If so, is it the more SOV word order object-participle-*have,* the more SVO word order *have*-participle-object, or something else?

The second set of questions concern the means of distinguishing the attained state type from the *have*-perfect. In the modern Romance languages, the attained state type shows gender/number agreement while the *have*-perfect usually does not. Moreover, the attained state type generally has the order *have*-object-participle while the *have*-perfect appears in the order *have*-participle-object (exactly as in Eng *I have the key hidden* versus *I have hidden the key*). If the *have*-perfect emerges with a particular word order in the earliest Romance, does this word order distinguish it from the attained state type?

To address these questions, we will briefly consider early instances of the *have*-perfect in Old French and Old Spanish. Instances of the *have*-perfect in Old French include:

(6.72) Franceis sont en la   chambre, si   ont   veüt les liz
       French.P are in the.F bedroom thus have.PS.3P seen the.P beds
       'The French are in the bedroom; they have seen the beds'
                                          (*Pélerinage de Charlemagne a Jérusalem* 1)

(6.73) Par ma fei, dame, vencu   les   unt   paiens
       By my faith lady, vanquished them.ACC.P have.PS.3P pagans
       'On my word, lady, pagans have vanquished them'
                                     (*La Chanson de Guillaume* 57)

(6.74) mais le   quaresme avoie   entroublié
       but the.M Lent   have.PS.COND.3S disrupted
       'But he would have disrupted Lent' (*Raoul de Cambrai* 76)

(6.75) Por qu' as   ma barbe et mes   guernons tiré
       For what have.PS.2S my.F beard and my.M.P whiskers pulled
       'Why have you pulled my beard and my moustache?'
                                     (*Le Charroi de Nîmes* 17)

(6.76) n' i   a   plus demoré
       NEG there has.PS.3S more tarried
       'he didn't tarry there any longer' (*Raoul de Cambrai* 52)

These Old French examples exhibit a variety of word orders. When a direct object is present, as in (6.72-6.75), at least the following orders are attested: *have*-participle-object, participle-object-*have*, object-*have*-participle, and *have*-object-participle. My review of the texts in Henry's *Chrestomathie de la littérature en ancien français* (1960) suggests that none of these orders was unusual in Old French, though perhaps the order seen in (6.73) was only favored with pronominal objects.

     Instances of the *have*-perfect in Old Spanish include:

(6.77) mi coraçón te   he   dicho
        mi heart   you.DAT have.PS.1S told
        'I have told you my heart' (*Libro de Buen Amor* 847)

(6.78) De   xx   arriba ha   moros matado
        From twenty up   has.PS.3S moors killed
        'He has killed more than twenty moors' (*Cantar de Mio Cid* 2454)

(6.79) Dexado ha   heredades & casas   & palaçios
        left   has.PS.3S estates   & houses & palaces
        'He has given up estates and houses and palaces' (*Cantar de Mio Cid* 115)

(6.80) Señor, vós avedes   aquí dicho muy grandes dos verdades
        Lord   you have.PS.2P here said   very big.P   two truths
        'Lord, you have said two important truths here' (*El Conde Lucanor* Ex. 50)

(6.81) Do   tanto   avedes   morado
        Where so-much have.PS.2P stayed
        'Where you have stayed so long' (*El Conde Lucanor* Ex. 27)

The Old Spanish examples also show multiple word orders. When a direct object is present, as in (6.77-6.80), at least the following orders are possible: object-*have*-participle, *have*-object-participle, participle-*have*-object, *have*-participle-object. Again, a review of Old Spanish texts, including the *Cantar de Mio Cid, Libro de Buen Amor, Milagros de Nuestra Señora,* and *El Conde Lucanor*, revealed that none of these orders was unusual.

The Old French and Old Spanish data suggest that the *have*-perfect did not emerge with a particular fixed word order in these languages. Instead, a variety of word orders were possible in the earliest vernacular texts. That said, instances of the order *have*-participle are more frequent than instances of the order participle-*have* (with or without an intervening object). Thus although we do not find *only* the exact order we might expect in an SVO language, namely *have*-participle-object, at least in the variety of orders that we do find, the auxiliary and the participle generally behave like those of an SVO language (i.e., *have*-participle is far more frequent than

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participle-*have*). Notably, the exact order we might expect in an SOV language, namely object-participle-*have,* is rare or non-existent.

In Old French and Old Spanish, the distinction between the attained state type and the *have*-perfect is not marked by word order. The same range of orders that we find for the *have*-perfect were also available for the attained state type. No doubt speakers used other means, including gender and number agreement on the participle, to signal the difference. Should it surprise us that the attained state type and the *have*-perfect have overlapping word orders in the earliest Romance texts? Not at all. There is nothing in our analysis of the two constructions (see Fig. 6.11) that refers to word order differences. Whatever diachronic syntactic changes operated on auxiliary-main verb pairs in late Latin/early Romance also operated on inner and outer serial verbs, and may have yielded similar results at first. The employment of order, particularly the placement of the direct object, to differentiate the *have*-perfect from the attained state type, appears to have been a later innovation.

We now turn to tense-aspect developments of the *habeo*-perfect, which we considered briefly in Chapter 3.

7.3   Values of <*habeo* + perfect participle> in Romance: an orderly diachronic progression

Recall from Chapter 3 that Harris (1982) identifies four distinct patterns of distribution in the modern Romance outcomes of <*habeo* + perfect participle> (and <*teneo* + perfect participle>, <*sum* + perfect participle>, in the languages that have them) when *habeo* is in the present indicative: (i) in languages like Sicilian, the synthetic Latin perfectum retains its two original values—perfective past and present perfect—while the modern reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> is a kind of retrospective present expressing ongoing present situations that began in the past or

present states resulting from past situations. (ii) In languages like Portuguese, the modern reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum retains its two original values, while the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> or <*teneo* + perfect participle> functions as a present perfect employed in a marked aspectual circumstance—when the situation described is a durative situation (possibly iterative) that began in the past and has continued until the present, without necessarily including the present moment. (iii) In languages like Castilian Spanish, the modern reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum survives only as a perfective past, while the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> is a present perfect. (iv) In languages like French, the modern reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum is restricted to formal written registers, and may be lost entirely, while the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> has two values: perfective past and present perfect.

There is some evidence that the languages in higher-numbered stages have passed through each of the lower numbered stages in order, and that therefore we can regard the four groups given by Harris (1982) as four stages of diachronic development. French, a language in stage 4, once behaved like a stage 3 language. Until the sixteenth century, the overt expression of a period of time that excluded the present, such as *hier* 'yesterday' normally required the use of the *passé simple,* the reflex of the Latin perfect. By the late seventeenth century, this French preterite was already lost from Parisian speech[61].

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[61] Foulet (1958, cit. in Engel 1990) reports that the distribution of *passé simple, passé composé,* and *imparfait* in Old French was haphazard, and that the tenses may have been used to achieve stylistic effects in the Old French period. I have not had an opportunity to verify this claim. If the account given here is correct, then we should find a stage of the Francien (Parisian) dialect which resembles stage 2. However, since dialects from elsewhere in what is now France may have been in stage 1 while Francien was in stage 2 (or 3) the textual record of "French" could easily give the impression of haphazard use. This impression of haphazardness could equally be the result of sociolinguistic factors: it is not unlikely that writers from the north, relatively innovative in their speech, imitated imprecisely the more conservative use of Provençal, which was a prestige dialect of some importance.

Castilian Spanish, currently in stage 3, once belonged to stage 2. Many dialects in the Americas resemble Portuguese in their use of the present perfect (Harris, 1982; Bertinetto & Squartini, 2000). In these dialects, the modern reflex of *<habeo* + perfect participle> tends to be reserved for sentences expressing durative past events extending into the present, like *Eso lo hemos discutido muchas veces* 'We've discussed that many times', while resultative and experiential perfect meanings are expressed with the reflex of the perfectum: *Escribiste a Fulano?* 'Have you written to so-and-so?'; *Alguna vez fuiste al circo?* 'Have you ever been to the circus?'. This use dates back to that of Spanish just before the Golden Age, which is of course the common ancestor of Castilian and the American dialects (Cartagena 1999: 2946-7). While Spanish dialects of the Americas remained fairly conservative, the dialect of Castile innovated to make *<habeo* + perfect participle> a full-fledged present perfect. Moreover, it appears as though some dialects of Castilian Spanish, particularly the vulgar spoken dialect of Madrid, are moving toward stage 4. In these dialects, sentences such as *Ha salido ayer* 'He left yesterday', *Lo he visto anoche* 'I saw him last night', with a present perfect and a time expression that explicitly excludes the present moment, are attested. These seem to be examples of present perfects of recent past, with the requirement of recentness relaxed somewhat.

Having connected stages 2, 3, and 4, we are now prepared to see how stage 1 fits into the diachronic progression. As I argue above, in Latin the string *<habeo* + perfect participle> corresponded to three distinct types: adnominal, attained state, and affectee. I claim that the likeliest source of the Romance periphrastic perfect is the attained state type. If this account is valid, then at the time that the *habeo*-perfect came into being, it had the same aspectual value as the attained state type—persistent state resulting from a previous situation containing an L. Notably, this is one of the two values of the modern reflex of *<habeo* + perfect participle> in Sicilian. The other

value—ongoing present situation with some extension into the past—is the result of extending the periphrasis to the participles of E and S type verbs. Some authors have claimed that the Sicilian present perfect has remained basically unchanged in this respect since the Late Latin period (Harris, 1982; Fleischman, 1983), but others point out that its value is no longer purely resultative (Squartini & Bertinetto, 2000). In any case, since all of the Romance languages were once Late Latin, it stands to reason that they all passed through something like stage 1, the stage currently represented by Sicilian and Calabrian.

7.4 An account of the changing values of *<habeo* + perfect participle>

In Stage 1, the reflex of *<habeo* + perfect participle> describes a durative situation in the present. This durative situation x is an extension of a previous situation y; the present situation x either continues y (if y is atelic, i.e., does not contain an L) or is the result of y (if y is telic, i.e., contains an L). The periphrasis, then, is a kind of aspectually marked present tense that at least entails a past situation. Meanwhile, the Stage 1 reflex of the Latin perfectum is an undifferentiated past—denoting that a situation preceded the present moment. This undifferentiated past includes two values: present perfect (which entails continuing relevance), and perfective past (which does not entail continuing relevance).

Given the denotation and entailment of *<habeo* + perfect participle> in Stage 1, namely that a present situation x continues or results from a past situation y, the complex situation $y + x$ may be thought of as a single durative event which begins before the present. Languages which combine y and x in this way enter into Stage 2, in which the reflex of *<habeo* + perfect participle> is a marked present perfect expressing the continuation of a durative event from the past into the present. The Stage 2 reflex of the Latin perfectum remains an undifferentiated past, with two

values: perfective past and present perfect. In particular, the reflex of the Latin perfectum may function as a present perfect that expresses the continuation of a durative event into the present. Thus in Stage 2, the coverage of the reflex of the Latin perfectum includes the value of <*habeo* + perfect participle>. The reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> is a kind of "extra" verb form that does not impinge on the range of meanings of the preterite.

Languages enter stage 3 by relaxing the requirement that the situation denoted by <*habeo* + perfect participle> be marked as one that continues into the present. The reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> now denotes a previous situation *y* with present relevance; this situation either continues into the present (if *y* is atelic) or has a present result (if *y* is telic). The new denotation of <*habeo* + perfect participle> is a less marked value for the periphrasis: true perfect. The true perfect combines some or all of the following values: resultative perfect, experiential perfect, continuative perfect, perfect of recent past. The new value(s) of <*habeo* + perfect participle> come into direct competition with some of the original values of reflex of the Latin perfectum. The coverage of the reflex of the Latin perfectum recedes, and its value is limited to perfective past (excluding present perfect).

Now the reflexes of <*habeo* + perfect participle> and the Latin perfectum may compete more intensely. It is probable that the battle between the analytic and synthetic forms is waged in the domain of the recent past, where neither of the forms carries implications about the present moment (see Chapter 3 § 4.4). The degree of recentness required for the use of <*habeo* + perfect participle> may be relaxed so that <*habeo* + perfect participle> encroaches more and more upon the reflex of the Latin perfectum. This encroachment may be aided by the formal parallelism of the

pluperfect and future perfect[62], in which the tense of the auxiliary uniquely determines the time of reference. At this stage, stage 4, the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> takes over many or all of the functions of the perfectum, and the reflex of the perfectum may disappear altogether.

These stages may be represented as follows:

Table 6.6 *Diachronic development of <habeo + perfect participle> and the perfectum*

	reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> denotes:	reflex of perfectum denotes:
Stage 1	*x,* a durative situation in the present; *x* continues a past situation *y* (if *y* is atelic) or is the result of *y* (if *y* is telic).	a past situation, with or without present relevance
Stage 2	(*y* + *x*), a durative event which extends from the past into the present	a past situation, with or without present relevance
Stage 3	*y,* a past situation; *y* is continued by a present situation (if *y* is atelic) or has a present result (if *y* is telic)	a past situation without present relevance
Stage 4	*y,* a past situation	nothing, or a past situation without present relevance

There is a logic to this chronology: each successive stage is reached by relaxing a particular requirement of the previous stage. Stage 1 passes into stage 2 when the present situation *x* ceases to be distinct from the past situation *y*. Stage 2 gives way to stage 3 when the past situation *y* is not required to extend into the present. Stage 3 yields to stage 4 when the previous situation *y* is not required to have any connection with the present. A different ordering of these stages is hardly conceivable.

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[62] The pluperfect and future perfect simply express previous action in the past and future, respectively. In Chapter 2, we saw why these tenses become relative tenses more quickly than does the present perfect; it should be noted that they are already relative tenses in stages 1, 2, and 3.

7.5   Advancing \<habeo + perfect participle\>, retreating perfectum

In Chapter 3, we noted that the various Romance reflexes of <*habeo* + perfect participle> are formally equivalent, apart from the choice of auxiliary—*habeo* or *teneo*—and wondered how best to explain the different patterns of distribution across their grammars. As we saw in that chapter, the modern Romance reflexes of the Latin synthetic perfectum, also the 'same' form morphologically and etymologically, vary from language to language, too. We concluded that synchronically, the distribution of preterites is interdependent with that of the reflexes of <*habeo* + perfect participle>. Diachronically, we observe that where <*habeo* + perfect participle> advances, the preterite retreats or, viewed alternatively, where the preterite retreats, <*habeo* + perfect participle> advances. What explains the degrees to which the preterite has yielded and <*habeo* + perfect participle> has advanced? Perhaps these degrees are historical accidents, but perhaps different circumstances permitted the spread of <*habeo* + perfect participle> to different extents. For the Germanic family, it has been proposed that *have*-perfects were widely successful because sound changes made the system of synthetic preterites increasingly complex. Below, I suggest that the extent to which Romance preterite forms were supported elsewhere in grammars may have played a part in the spread of <*habeo* + perfect participle>.

A number of linguists have argued that cross-linguistically the development of periphrastic past tenses follows a predictable trajectory (Benveniste 1966, Harris 1982, Bybee, Revere & Pagliucca 1994, Boogart 1999). This path of development may be represented as follows:

(6.69) RESULTATIVE > PERFECT > PERFECTIVE > PAST

How far will a given periphrastic past tense will travel along this path? According to Bybee, Revere & Pagliucca (1994), the available alternatives are the limiting factor. In particular, they hypothesize that the availability of an imperfective past form

determines whether a generalizing anterior form will become perfective or simple past. We saw that in French, the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> has encroached on the reflex of the Latin perfectum, ultimately supplanting it in the spoken language. The French *have*-perfect reached the PERFECT level by supplanting the preterite in its function as a perfect, and reached the PERFECTIVE level by supplanting the preterite in its function as a perfective past. Bybee et al. contend that the French *have*-perfect has not reached the PAST level because French has a robust imperfective past form that has never been challenged by the *have*-perfect. In other words, they claim that the availability of a robust imperfective past, with a clear and unchallenged domain of meaning, has braked the progress of the *have*-perfect. Bybee et al. note that in some German dialects, where there is no imperfective past form, the *have* perfect has reached the PAST level. They maintain that the explanatory factor at work is the absence of an imperfective past form that would have halted the progress of the *have*-perfect along its path of development.

Boogart (1999) qualifies Bybee et al.'s account of the development of periphrastic past tenses with some interesting facts about Dutch. In Dutch, he notes, the periphrastic perfect has taken over many of the former functions of the preterite. In particular, in non-narrative discourse, perfective past meaning is only expressed by means of the periphrastic perfect. For example:

(6.70) Hij   is   weggegaan   en later weer teruggekomen
       he.NOM is.PS.3S left   and later again returned
       'He left and came back later'

In this example, the present perfect *is weggegaan* 'has left' is compatible with the subject's return. Note that the exact equivalent is unacceptable in English, because the English *have*-perfect excludes perfective past values: [x]*He has left and later (has)*

returned. Interestingly, in non-narrative discourse the preterite has retained the domain of imperfective past. For example:

(6.71) Toen Jan   binnenkwam, schreef   Marie een brief
       When Jan entered.PT.3S wrote.PT.3S Marie a   letter
       'When Jan came in, Marie was writing a letter'

In other words, the Dutch preterite has yielded part-way to the periphrastic perfect, retreating in the domains of present perfect and perfective past, but maintaining a value of imperfective past[63]. Thus Boogart concludes that in Dutch "the unmarked past is interpreted as an imperfective past possibly *as a consequence of* the grammaticalization of the perfect, rather than the other way around" (156). In other words, the available alternative(s) to the advancing periphrastic perfect need not brake its progress or yield to it completely. They may brake or yield part-way. Boogart's qualification of Bybee et al.'s account conforms with the Romance evidence, which shows the reflex of the perfectum ceding to the periphrastic perfect in stages.

Why does the periphrastic form encroach upon the synthetic form, and not vice versa? The scope of this question extends far beyond the Romance languages, since it is a cross-linguistic tendency that analytic forms replace synthetic forms, but we may begin to address the question with our limited Romance data. In Romance, the question applies to Harris' groups 3 and 4 only. In groups 1 and 2, the periphrastic form has not yet begun to encroach upon the preterite, and the preterite still retains its original values. In groups 3 and 4, the reason for the direction of the encroachment might have nothing to do with the relationship between forms and meanings. It could simply involve learnability of the forms. Many preterite forms are irregular in Spanish

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[63] The exact English equivalent of (6.71) is acceptable, but can only be interpreted as a description of two successive events: *When Jan came in, Mary wrote a letter.* An interpretation with simultaneous events is presumably unavailable in English because English has a distinct inflectional form, the progressive, for expressing ongoingness: *When Jan came in, Mary was writing a letter.*

and French, and slightly fewer past participles are irregular. But whereas the perfect participle forms are supported elsewhere in the grammar by their use as adjectives and their use in other perfect tenses, the preterite is supported by nothing else. Historically, the only forms parallel to the synthetic Latin present *perfectum* were the synthetic future *perfectum* and the synthetic *plusquamperfectum*. The synthetic future *perfectum* was lost early in the history of the Romance languages, but the synthetic *plusquamperfectum* survived in Ibero-Romance. One wonders whether the survival of the preterite in Portuguese and Spanish might not be due in part to the long survival of the synthetic pluperfect in those languages[64]. The pluperfect was lost early in Sicilian, too, but then <*habeo* + perfect participle>, a marked present tense, never came into competition with the preterite in this language, so the preterite remained unchallenged as a past tense.

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[64] These languages also had a long-lasting future subjunctive (still existing in Portuguese), which is also built on the *perfectum* stem.

RETHINKING THE GENESIS OF THE ENGLISH PERIPHRASTIC PERFECT

1   Introduction

The English periphrastic perfect, the verb form which today consists of an inflected form of *have* and an invariant perfect participle, is known to be a reflex of Old English <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. The Old English source and its modern reflex may be superficially described as follows:

(7.1)   OE *Ic hine ofslægenne hæbbe* > Eng *I have slain him*

In older stages of English, the *have*-perfect complemented another periphrastic perfect, the *be*-perfect. This *be*-perfect may be known to present-day English speakers through such archaisms as *she is come* and *he is risen*. The *have*-perfect ultimately took over all of the functions of the *be*-perfect, which disappeared in English[65]. The English *be*-perfect was a reflex of Old English <*wesan/beon* + perfect participle.NOM>; the stages of this development may be summarized as follows:

(7.2)   OE *Ic am cuman* > *I am come*, replaced by Eng *I have come*

Like their counterparts in Romance linguistics, scholars working on English have devoted much attention to the genesis and development of the periphrastic *have*-perfect. Some linguists have attempted to explain the English and Romance developments, or indeed the Germanic and Romance developments, with one unified account. However, despite the abundant literature on this topic, in my view the same two questions that have not been satisfactorily answered for the Romance languages also remain unanswered for English, namely: how is the ability of *habban* to predicate possession connected with its role in the *habban*-perfect? what were the syntactic

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[65] A *be*-perfect still exists in other Germanic languages, e.g., German *Ich bin gekommen* 'I have come', Dutch *Ik ben gekomen* 'I have come', etc.

structures and meanings of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in the stages preceding the emergence of the periphrastic *habban*-perfect?

As noted in Chapter 1, Romance and Germanic scholars have long been aware that the periphrastic perfects of the Germanic and Romance language families are strikingly similar, synchronically and diachronically. These similarities suggest that a study of the Germanic periphrastic perfect might elucidate a study of the Romance periphrastic perfect, and vice versa (on the question of whether the two sets of constructions are related historically, see Chapter 1 § 4.1). However, as I suggested in the introductory chapter, so far as the *genesis* of the periphrastic perfect is concerned the Latin data are far more conclusive than the data from any attested stage of Germanic. Recall that in the earliest attested stages of Latin, certain types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> exist, but the perfect has not yet developed. Therefore it is possible to examine stages that precede the genesis of the periphrastic *have*-perfect and stages that follow it. The Germanic family, by contrast, presents sizeable lacunae for a linguist attempting to trace the genesis of the periphrastic *have*-perfect. Proto-Germanic (ca. 4th century B.C.) is not attested, but we can infer that it had no *have*-perfect because Gothic (attested 3rd century A.D.) has no *have*-perfect. By the time languages like English and German are attested (both in the 8th century A.D.), they already have a periphrastic *have*-perfect. The majority opinion is that the Old English *have*-perfect was a resultative perfect (Mustanoja 1960, Visser 1973, Mitchell 1985, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994), though some (e.g., Lee 2002) argue that it had other values as well. In any case, for English or any given Germanic language we can only examine a stage that follows the development of the perfect.

In Chapter 6, I offered an account of the genesis of the Romance *have*-perfect based on fine-grained distinctions between different types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> that existed in Latin before the emergence of the *have*-perfect.

In the current chapter, I will show that it is almost certainly impossible to create a similarly detailed account from English-internal data because the available Old English data are too inconclusive. Of course, it is quite possible to judge whether these data are compatible with different existing accounts of the genesis of the *have*-perfect. In this chapter, I will demonstrate that the English-internal data are difficult to reconcile with any account that takes the adnominal type as source, but are compatible with an account like the one proposed in Chapter 6, which takes the attained state type as source.

This chapter is structured as follows. § 2 shows why the Old English data are inconclusive and cannot serve as the sole basis for a detailed account of the genesis of the *have*-perfect. § 3 assesses to what extent the available data are compatible with various existing accounts of the genesis of the English *have*-perfect. § 4 considers whether the account proposed in Chapter 6 for Latin can be applied to the Old English data. § 5 concludes with a brief discussion of grammaticalization.

2   The inconclusive nature of the Old English data

Previous studies of the *have*-perfect in Old English have remarked upon the difficulty of interpreting the available data (Mitchell 1985; Brinton 1988; Elsness 1997). I agree that the Old English evidence is inconclusive, but not for the oft-cited reason that "the emergence of the present perfect was a gradual development" (Elsness 1997: 243), making it tricky to classify particular instances of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. As I argue in Chapter 1, we should reject the notion that the *have*-perfect emerged *gradually* from any type of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>; consequently, we should deny the possibility of vague "borderline" cases between, say, the adnominal type and the *have*-perfect. In my view, a given instance of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> can be ambiguous

between two or more types, but every resolution of the ambiguity must ultimately yield a particular type (adnominal, attained state, affectee, or perfect) with its associated structure and meaning. Admittedly, some ambiguous examples are too difficult for modern linguists to resolve, since we simply lack the information which would allow us to disambiguate between different types of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. Even so, there are enough unambiguous examples to show that in Old English various types coexisted.

Where this dissertation is concerned, the principal reason that the Old English data are inconclusive is not the difficulty of classifying particular examples of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>; rather, it is the fact that from the time English is first attested it already has a *have*-perfect. The available evidence does not allow us to directly establish that some types of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> chronologically precede the *have*-perfect, as we are able to do for Latin. The oldest English texts merely show that the *have*-perfect existed alongside the adnominal, attained state, and affectee types at some historical stage.

Is there any English-internal evidence that would allow us to reconstruct the chronological development of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>? Some scholars of Old English (e.g., Wattie 1931, Traugott 1972, Mitchell 1985) have attempted to make the best of scant evidence by closely examining the agreement/non-agreement of the perfect participle in <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. However, as Mitchell (1985) concludes, the data on participle agreement show little more than a protracted transition in usage between a *have*-perfect with agreeing participles and a *have*-perfect with non-agreeing participles.

In what follows, I lay out the evidence showing that Old English had a *have*-perfect (§ 2.1), and demonstrate that the adnominal, attained state, and affectee types coexisted with this *have*-perfect from the first attestation of English (§ 2.2). I then

show why it is difficult to conclude anything by examining participle agreement (§ 2.3).

2.1   The Old English *have*-perfect

Old English verbs have two main types of morphological marking: (i) contrasting sets of verbal endings which mark person, number, mood, and tense, and (ii) contrasting types of stems, which encode a two-way temporal opposition between present (or non-past) and past. Mitchell (1985) observes that in Old English the simple tenses (present and past) carry out more functions than their counterparts in Latin and modern English. Periphrastic forms, like the progressive <*beon* + present participle> and the perfect <*habban* + perfect participle> exist "only in embryo" (238). Thus some traditional Old English grammars include these periphrases in the verb paradigm (e.g., March 1873) while most do not (e.g., Sweet 1882, Wright 1914).

Some early studies of Old English <*habban* + perfect participle> (e.g., Hoffman 1934) contend that this periphrasis was not yet a true perfect, but nowadays most scholars of Old English agree that <*habban* + perfect participle> had at least some perfect values (Mustanoja 1960, Visser 1973, Mitchell 1985, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Lee 2002). How can we decide whether Old English <*habban* + perfect participle> was a true perfect? The answer to this question depends to some extent on our analysis of the genesis of the *have*-perfect, because it asks us to decide: (i) if <*habban* + perfect participle> can be considered distinct from its historical source according to some syntactic and semantic criteria, and (ii) if <*habban* + perfect participle> has true perfect time reference. First, let us consider the question of whether <*habban* + perfect participle> can be considered a distinct construction according to some syntactic and semantic criteria. In accounts where the *have*-perfect is thought to come from the adnominal type of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect

participle>, linguists have looked for the *have*-perfect in sentences in which *habban* is not a verb of possession or the perfect participle is not adjectival (cf. for example Mitchell 1985: 292-4 and Brinton 1988: 101). In the account presented in Chapter 6, I argue that the Romance *have*-perfect comes not from the adnominal type of Lat <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC>, but from the attained state type. If this account can be extended to English, then we must apply other criteria to decide whether <*habban* + perfect participle> is a true perfect. As it turns out, however, there is really no need to quibble over what set of criteria to use. Even if we demand the most stringent syntactic conditions—absence of the noun.ACC or non-agreement of the perfect participle (cf. Chapter 6 § 7.1)—we find in the earliest Old English texts instances of <*habban* + perfect participle> which qualify as true perfects. These stringent conditions guarantee that weaker syntactic and semantic conditions are met, *e.g.,* that *habban* is not a verb of possession and the perfect participle is not adjectival.

Old English examples of <*habban* + perfect participle> without the noun.ACC can be divided into two classes: instances of <*habban* + perfect participle> formed on intransitive verbs and instances of this periphrasis formed on transitive verbs without an accusative object expressed. In the following examples, <*habban* + perfect participle> is formed on intransitive verbs (7.3 from Mitchell 1985, others from Visser 1973).

(7.3) þa   he   hæfde   on þæm   emnete   gefaren   oþ
     then he.NOM had.PT.3S on the.DAT plain.DAT gone.NEUT until

     he   com   to Ticenan
     he.NOM came.PT.3S to Ticena.DAT
     'He had gone on the plain until he came to Ticena'   (*Orosius* 186, 22)

(7.4) me...   leanode...   syððan mergen com   and we   to
       me.DAT   repaid.PT.3S after   morning came.PT.3S and we.NOM at

       symble   geseten hæfdon
       banquet.DAT sat.NEUT had.PT.P
       'he [the Scyldings'-friend] repaid me when morning came and we had sat
       down at the banquet-board'   (*Beowulf* 2103)

(7.5) hie...   forð onettan,   oð hie   gegan   hæfdon
       they.NOM... forth hastened.PT.P until they.NOM gone.NEUT had.PT.P

       to ðan   wealgate
       to the.DAT   rampart-gate.DAT
       'they hastened forth until they had gone to [*i.e.,* come to] the rampart-gate'
                                                              (*Judith* 139)

(7.6) hæfde   ða forsiðod   sunu   Ecþeowes,   nemne...
       had.PT.3S then perished.NEUT son.NOM Ecgtheow.GEN   except
       'Ecgtheow's son would have perished, except...'
       Literally 'Ecgtheow's son had perished, except...'   (*Beowulf* 1550)

I have found no ostensible present *have*-perfects of intransitive verbs, only ostensible

pluperfects, in the oldest texts. As I note below and in Chapter 3, it is difficult to

argue on tense-aspect grounds that pluperfects are true perfects because their time

reference is often ambiguous between a true perfect and a relative past tense. Still, it

is worth remarking that <*habban* + perfect participle> can be formed with intransitive

verbs in the earliest Old English texts, since this is considered to be a late development

in Latin. Intransitive verbs like the ones in (7.3-7.6) also participate in the *be*-perfect

<*wesan/beon* + perfect participle.NOM> at an early date. It is notable that the perfect

participle of *beon* 'be' appears only in the *have*-perfect, never in the *be*-perfect, from

its first attestation in the 11th century (Visser 1973: 2044).

The following are examples of <*habban* + perfect participle> formed on transitive verbs without the object[66] expressed (7.7 from Lee 2002, 7.8 from Mitchell 1985, 7.9-10 from Visser 1973):

(7.7)   hæfde   Higelaces   hilde   gefrunnen wlonces   wigcræft
        had.PT.3S Higelac.GEN war.GEN heard.NEUT proud.GEN war-craft.GEN
        'he had heard of the warring of Hygelac, of the war-craft of the proud one'
                                                  (*Beowulf* 2952-3)

(7.8)   ðu   hæfst   alogen   þam   Halgan Gaste
        you.NOM have.PS.2S lied.NEUT the.DAT holy.DAT ghost.DAT
        'you have lied to the Holy Ghost'   (*Ælfric, Homilies* i. 316.27)

(7.9)   ða   geeton   hæfdon, hig   wunedon   ðær.
        when eaten.NEUT had.PT.P they.NOM remained.PT.P there.
        'when they had eaten, they remained there'   (*Ælfric, Genesis* 31: 54)

(7.10) þa   he   hæfde   gedruncen, þa   cwæð   he...
        when he.NOM had.PT.3S drunk.NEUT then said.PT.3S he.NOM
        'when he had drunk, he said...'   (*Ælfric, Genesis* 27:25-6)

The last two examples translate Lat *cum comedissent, manserunt ibi* 'when they had eaten, they remained there' and Lat *quo hausto, dixit...* 'with it [the wine] finished, he said...'. None of these examples can be interpreted as instances of the adnominal, attained state, or affectee types. The absence of the noun.ACC forces a perfect reading.

There are many examples of <*habban* + perfect participle> in which the participle does not show agreement with the noun.ACC. Indeed, Mitchell (1985: 284, 292) notes that even in the earliest Old English prose and poetry the majority of perfect participles were uninflected in instances of <*habban* + perfect participle>:

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[66] In (7.8) the unexpressed object is a cognate object: *You have lied (a lie) to the Holy Ghost.*

Examples with an inflected participle become less common with the passing of time... But they are not predominant in any OE text, either prose or verse.... According to Harrison (1887)... 18 out of 114 participles are inflected in the *Cura Pastoralis,* 30 out of 230 in the *Chronicle...* 8 out of 70 in Napier's *Wulfstan,* and 2 out of 39 in *Beowulf...* (1985: 284).

Two examples with nonagreeing participles are (from Lee 2002):

(7.11) hæfde   Kyningwuldor Grendle   togeanes swa guman   gefrungon
       had.PT.3S King-of-glory Grendel.DAT against   as   men.NOM learned.PT.P
       seleweard   aseted
       hall-guard.ACC appointed.NEUT
       'the King of glory, as men learned, had appointed a hall-guard against Grendel'   (*Beowulf* 665-7)

(7.12) eall   ic   wæs   mid blode   bestemed   begoten of þæs
       all.NOM I.NOM was.PT.1S with blood.DAT bedewed.NOM poured   from the.GEN

       Guman   sidan   siððan he hæfde   his gast   onsended
       man.GEN side.GEN after   he had.PT.3S his spirit.ACC sent.NEUT
       'I was all bedewed with blood, poured from the man's side after he had sent forth his spirit'   (*Dream of the Rood*, 48-9)

In (7.11), the neuter singular participle *aseted* 'set, appointed' does not agree with the masculine singular noun *seleweard* 'hall-guard', while in (7.12), the neuter singular participle *onsended* 'sent forth' does not agree with the masculine singular noun *gast* 'spirit.'

We have applied stringent syntactic criteria to show that the Old English *have*-perfect is distinct from its historical source—some kind of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>—in the earliest Old English. But to show that <*habban* + perfect participle> is really a true perfect in Old English, we must also show that it has true perfect time reference. Recall from Chapter 3 § 2.1 that a true perfect denotes a previous situation with continuing relevance at a reference time specified by the tense

of the auxiliary *have*. In present-day English, the *have*-perfect has four values: (i) resultative, *e.g., Catherine has arrived,* (ii) continuative, *e.g., I have known him since elementary school,* (iii) experiential, *e.g., Sean has been to England* (iv) perfect of recent past, *e.g., Louis has just coughed.* Recall, too, that not all languages which have a distinct true perfect express all four of the above meanings with this verbal category. For example, Castilian Spanish has a true perfect but tends to express continuative situations—those which began earlier and persist until the current moment—with the present tense.

When considering time reference, we can assert that Old English <*habban +* perfect participle> is a true perfect if it can express *any* of the four true perfect meanings—resultative, continuative, experiential, or recent past. Note what this implies: Old English <*habban +* perfect participle> can be a true perfect without being coextensive in meaning with the present-day English *have*-perfect, and without having the same distribution relative to the preterite as the present-day *have*-perfect. Thus if we encounter instances of the Old English preterite which we would translate with the present-day English *have*-perfect, this does not entail (as some accounts suggest) that Old English <*habban +* perfect participle> was not yet a true perfect; it merely entails that if <*habban +* perfect participle> was a true perfect, then the distribution between the perfect and the preterite was not the same in Old English as it is in present day English.

In the Old English corpus, we do find examples of <*habban +* perfect participle> with true perfect meaning. Sentence (7.8), for example, is most naturally interpreted with resultative meaning: *_u hæfst alogen* 'you have lied [so now you must suffer the consequences]'; the sentence describes the persistent state that follows the event of lying (an L or EL type event). The other examples above with the auxiliary *habban* in the past tense need not be interpreted as resultative perfects; they can be

interpreted as relative past tenses (cf. Chapter 3 § 1.2). For example, sentences (7.9)-(7.10) use <*habban* + perfect participle> to translate Lat *cum comedissent* 'when they had eaten' and Lat *quo hausto* 'with it [the wine] finished'. In these translations, <*habban* + perfect participle> seems to be expressing nothing more than relative anteriority.

Another example with resultative meaning is:

(7.13) Ic   hæbbe   gebunden   ðone   feond
       I.NOM have.PS.3S bound.NEUT the.ACC fiend.ACC
       'I have bound the fiend'   (Ælfric, *Homilies* 458, 18)

This can be classified as a perfect according to our syntactic criteria, since the neuter singular participle *gebunden* 'bound' does not agree with the masculine singular noun *feond* 'fiend'. The meaning seems to be 'I have bound the fiend [so he is now bound]', which describes the persistent state following the event of binding (an EL type event).

Did the Old English *have*-perfect have any true perfect values other than resultative? Lee (2002) argues that in addition to resultative value, the Old English *have*-perfect could express experiential and continuative values. Lee's claim is interesting and the evidence he presents is worth considering in some detail, not least because it shows the importance of considering non-perfect types of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> (in his article, Lee does not recognize the possibility of these other types). His evidence is ultimately inconclusive because many of his putatively perfect examples can be interpreted as examples of one of the non-perfect types.

Lee adduces four putative present perfect examples and a number of putative "past perfect" examples to show that the Old English *have*-perfect could have

experiential value. As Lee himself admits, all of the "past perfect" examples are inconclusive because they admit relative tense interpretations. I find the four putative present perfect examples to be inconclusive as well because they may well be examples of the attained state type. In three of the four putative present perfect examples, the middle term in <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is the indeclinable noun *fela/feala* 'much, many'. Consider one of Lee's examples with *fela/feala*:

(7.14) and we   eac for þam   habbað fela byrsta   and
       and we.NOM also for that.DAT have.PS.P many disaster.GEN.PL and

       bysmara   gebiden
       disgrace.GEN.PL bided.NEUT
       'and therefore we also have many disasters and disgraces abided/
       and therefore we have endured many disasters and disgraces'
                                       (*Lupi* 13-15)

The three examples with *fela/feala* 'much, many' do seem to have experiential value, but it is uncertain whether they are present perfects because they do not meet either of the stringent syntactic criteria given above: the noun.ACC is present and the perfect participle may be showing agreement (in fact, we cannot tell since the agreement with *fela/feala* 'much, many' would be neuter singular). For these three examples, we may be dealing with some non-perfect kind of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, perhaps the attained state type. If we are to argue that the Old English *have*-perfect had experiential meaning, we must be sure that our examples are not really examples of the attained state type, since attained state type constructions can approximate experiential perfect meaning when they refer to the subject's experience (*e.g.,* Eng *he has the poem memorized*). In the example above, our translation very much depends upon which periphrasis, the *have*-perfect or attained state type, we think is meant in the Old English sentence. If a perfect is intended, then

gebiden 'bided, abided, remained' can be translated as 'endured, experienced, suffered'. However, if an attained state type is meant, then *habba_... gebiden* must be interpreted as an achievement (the L stage of LS). This is quite possible if *gebiden* is rendered as 'abided, outlasted, outlived' or even 'surmounted'.

Lee's fourth example of a putative experiential present perfect is:

(7.15) Hæbbe   ic   eac geahsod þæt se   æglæca   for
      have.PS.1S I.NOM also heard.NEUT that the.NOM monster.NOM for

      wæpna   wonhydum ne recceð
      weapon.GEN.PL rashness.DAT not cares.PS.3S
      'I have also heard [it] said that the monster in his rashness does not care for
      weapons'   (*Beowulf* 433-4)

This sentence seems to have experiential meaning, but it is not certain to be a present perfect, either. If the clause headed by _*æt* 'that' is replacing the noun.ACC in <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, then we may again be dealing with the attained state type. Recall that attained state type constructions can take a clausal complement in some languages, like modern Spanish (*e.g., Tengo oído que...* 'I have heard that...'; cf. Chapter 6 § 5). All of Lee's putative examples of experiential present perfects therefore turn out to be inconclusive.

Lee presents three putative present perfect examples and several putative "past perfect" examples to show that the Old English *have*-perfect could have continuative value. Again, as Lee admits, the "past perfect" examples are inconclusive because they can be given relative tense readings. I find the three putative present perfect examples of continuative value to be inconclusive because they also admit resultative readings. For example:

(7.16) þu   wille   me   wesan fæle   freond   fremena   to
you.NOM.S will.PS.2S me.DAT be.INF faithful.NOM friend.NOM profits.GEN.PL as

leane   þara   þe ic   to   duguðum   ðe   gedon
reward.DAT which.GEN that I.NOM with power.DAT.PL you.DAT done.NEUT

hæbbe
have.PS.1S
'you will be a faithful friend to me, as [my] reward for those profits that I have
attained for you through [my] powers'   (*Genesis A* 2819-23)

Lee argues that in this example *fremena þara þe ic gedon hæbbe* 'profits that I have
attained[67]' is a continuative perfect because it describes the on-and-off persistence of
an E type situation, namely *attaining profits.* He provides additional context to show
that this putative E-type situation began in the past. Indeed, a *have*-perfect formed on
an E type situation must be continuative or experiential, not resultative (see Chapter 2
§ 2.2). However, this sentence may well be about *attaining those profits,* an EL type
event. The difference between *attaining those profits* and *attaining profits* is due to
the different lexical properties of *those profits,* which has some delimited extent, and
profits, which may be limitless. Thus the meaning may be resultative after all: 'I have
attained these profits for you [so now you have them, and must repay me]'. The
additional context provided by Lee does not show that the situation is still ongoing in
the present, a more telling characteristic of the continuative perfect.

  In summary, the Old English data show that there is a distinct *have*-perfect,
and that it has at least a resultative value. Despite Lee's (2002) attempts to show that
<*habban* + perfect participle> has other true perfect values, no data that we can regard
as conclusive data seems to show these other values. The data seem to corroborate
rather than challenge the majority view, namely that the Old English *have*-perfect had

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[67] We should not assume that the modern English translation is a present perfect just because *have* and
done are adjacent. Consider the noun phrase *the work that I have finished.* Negation reveals that there
are two possible underlying structures: *the work that I haven't finished* is a perfect*,* while *the work that I
don't have finished* is the attained state type.

resultative value only. It is worth noting here that Visser's earliest examples of continuative and experiential *have*-perfects come from the 13th and 14th centuries, respectively. Though we must be skeptical of Lee's conclusions, our consideration of Lee's data is nevertheless instructive because it demonstrates the importance of taking into account non-perfect types of **<*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>.** These will now be discussed in detail.

2.2   Three types of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in Old English

The *have*-perfect coexisted with three types of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>: the adnominal, attained state, and affectee types, which are now familiar from Chapters 5 and 6. Though many instances of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> are ambiguous between two of the types or between one of the types and the *have*-perfect, a few unambiguous examples can be cited to show the existence of three distinct types. In several cases, the Latin source is used to disambiguate an Old English translation. The fourth type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> identified for present-day English in Chapter 5, the causative type, did not exist in Old English. Visser's (1973: 2269) examples show the causative type to be a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century development.

The following example from Mitchell (1985) is an unambiguous instance of the adnominal type:

(7.17) se   læce...   hæfð   on his agnum   nebbe   opene
       the.NOM physician.NOM has.PT.3S on his own.DAT face.DAT open.F.ACC

       wunde   unlacnode
       wound.ACC uncured.F.ACC
       'the physician has on his own face an uncured open wound'
                                                         (*Cura Pastoralis* 61,2)

This example translates Lat ...*qui in facie vulnus portat* 'who bears a wound on his face'. OE *habban* is used to render Lat *portat* 'bears'; the OE participle *unlacnode* 'uncured' and the adjective *opene* 'open' are added by the Old English translator to describe the wound, which has no specified attributes in the Latin source. The pairing of the participle *unlacnode* with the adjective *opene* implies that the participle is functioning as an attributive adjective.

Possible examples of the attained state type must be carefully examined to make sure that a perfect reading is not possible. If a resultative interpretation is possible, then the example must be considered ambiguous between the attained state type and a resultative *have*-perfect. The following two examples seem to be unambiguous instances of the attained state type (from Visser 1973):

(7.18) gyt ge   habbaþ eowre heorte   geblende?
        yet ye.NOM have.PS.P your   heart.ACC blinded.N.ACC.SG
        'do you still have your heart blinded?'   (*OE Gospels*, Mark 8, 17)

(7.19) gief we   ðonne habbað sua micle   sorge   & sua micle
        if   we.NOM then   have.PS.P so great.F.ACC trouble.ACC and so great.F.ACC

        gieman urra   niehstena   sua sua ure selfra,   ðonne hæbbe
        care.ACC our.GEN.PL nearest. GEN.PL so   so our self.GEN.PL then have.PS

        we begen   fett   gescode   suiðe untællice
        we both.ACC feet.ACC.PL shod.M.ACC.PL very well
        'if we take as much trouble and care about our neighbors as ourselves, then we
        have both feet very well shod'   (*Cura Pastoralis* 44, 10)

Both examples are translations from Latin. The question in (7.18) translates Lat *adhuc caecatum habetis cor vestrum?* 'Do you still have your heart blinded'? In the Old English translation, as in the Latin original, there is an adverb meaning 'yet, still,' which describes the persistence of the blinded condition of the heart. From

context, we can see that the subject is the agent of the blinding, so an affectee reading is not possible. Since the subject maintains a degree of control over the resultant state of blindness, this must be an example of the attained state type, not the perfect. Sentence (7.19) is a translation of Lat *Si ergo ut nostram, sic curam proximi gerimus, utrumque pedem per calceamentum munimus* 'Therefore if we bear the concern of a fellow man as our own, we safeguard both feet with footwear'. This passage is part of a longer analogy between shoeing one's feet and caring for others; if we care just for ourselves, the analogy goes, that is like having just one foot shod, but if we also concern ourselves with others, then that is like having the other foot shod as well. In any case, the equivalence between 'we have both feet very well shod' and 'we safeguard both feet with footwear' only works if the former is given an attained state type reading. The subject must be agentive and must maintain a degree of control over the shoeing.

As in Latin, in Old English examples of the affectee type are relatively rare. The following is an example of this type (from Visser 1973):

(7.20) þa   hie   to ðæm   gemære   comon... þa hæfdon hie
       then they.NOM to the.DAT border.DAT came.PT.P then had.PT.P they.NOM

       hiera clusan   belocene
       their passage.ACC closed.F.ACC.SG
       'when they came to that border they had their passage closed'
                                                              (*Orosius* 112, 34)

Example (7.20) must be an example of the affectee type because someone other than the subject closed the passage. The traveling group is an affectee that experiences the situation described by *hiera clusan belocene* 'their passage [was] closed'.

2.3   Participle Agreement

In § 2.1, we found instances of <*habban* + perfect participle> which qualified as perfects even under the most stringent syntactic conditions: absence of the noun.ACC or non-agreement of the perfect participle. In the Romance languages, the loss of agreement in the perfect participle was a protracted development that has not been completed in some of the modern languages. In other words, there are modern Romance *have*-perfects which to this day show participle agreement under specific conditions. When we look at Old English data we may regard non-agreement of the participle as evidence that we are dealing with a *have*-perfect—because the adnominal, attained state, and affectee types syntactically require agreement—but we cannot regard agreement of the participle as proof of anything. The corpus data show that *have*-perfects with agreeing participles coexisted with *have*-perfects with non-agreeing participles into the Middle English period.

Mitchell (1985: 295) presents the following pair of examples as evidence of "a period of transition" between older *have*-perfects with agreeing participles and newer participles with non-agreeing participles:

(7.21) ða   ic   ða   ðone   wah   ðurhðyreludne   hæfde...
        when I.NOM then the.ACC wall.ACC through-dug.M.ACC.SG had.PT.1S

        ða   iewde   he   me   ane   duru   beinnan
        then showed.PT.3S he.NOM me.DAT one.ACC door.ACC within

        ðæm   wealle
        that.DAT wall.DAT
        'when I had dug in the wall he showed me a door within that wall'
                                   (*Cura Pastoralis* 153, 18)

(7.22) ða   ic   hæfde   ðone   weall   ðurhðyrelod,   ða   geseah
        when I.NOM had.PT.1S the.ACC wall.ACC through-dug.NEUT then saw.PT.1S

        ic   duru
        I.NOM door.ACC
        'when I had dug in the wall, I saw a door'   (*Cura Pastoralis* 155, 3)

These two examples, from the same text, are Old English versions of Lat *Et cum fodissem parietem, apparuit ostium unum* 'And when I had dug in the wall, a door appeared'; the Old English *have*-perfect translates a Latin pluperfect subjunctive. In (7.21), the perfect participle *ðurhðyreludne* 'through-dug' agrees in gender and number with the masculine singular noun *wah* 'wall', while in (7.22) the same participle *ðurhðyrelod* does not agree with the masculine singular noun *weall* 'wall'.

Similarly, two early examples of the *have*-perfect in the OED show evidence of a transition period.

(7.23) oþ þæt hie   hine   ofslægenne   hæfdon
        until that they.NOM him.ACC slain.M.SG.ACC had.PT.P
        'until they had slain him'   (*a*800 *OE Chron.* an. 755)

(7.24) oþ þæt hie   hine   ofslægen hæfdon
        until that they.NOM him.ACC slain.NEUT had.PT.P
        'until they had slain him'   (*a*800 *OE Chron.* an. 755)

The examples are identical in every respect except that (7.23), taken from one manuscript, shows agreement between the participle *ofslægenne* and the masculine singular pronoun *hine* 'him', while (7.24), taken from another manuscript, shows no agreement.

3   Are previous accounts of the *have*-perfect compatible with the OE data?

In Chapter 1, I offered a general critique of previous approaches that make two unwarranted assumptions about the genesis of the *have*-perfect: (i) that *have* means

'possess' or 'hold' and the participle is an attributive adjective at first, and (ii) that a gradual bleaching of *have* drives the genesis of the *have*-perfect. This general critique can now be related to the Old English data.

A number of scholars working on the *have*-perfect in Old English have assumed that at first *have* is a transitive verb meaning 'possess' or 'hold,' and that <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect-participle.ACC> is therefore to be analyzed as an adnominal construction (Jespersen 1931, Hoffmann 1934, Fridén 1948, Traugott 1972, Visser 1973, Mitchell 1985, Harris & Campbell 1995, Elsness 1997, and others). As I showed in § 2.2, in the earliest Old English the adnominal type existed alongside two other types of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC>, the attained state type and the affectee type. Because the attained state type can be shown to date back this far, and because the attained state type is manifestly closer in structure and meaning to the *have*-perfect than the adnominal type, any account that regards the adnominal type as the source of the *have*-perfect has the burden of proof. To date, most accounts proposing the adnominal type as source have done no more than appeal to unexamined intuitions about the original or basic meaning of *have*.

However, there is no positive evidence for regarding the meaning of 'possess' or 'hold' as basic. The following meanings of *habban* are attested in the earliest Old English: 'hold,' 'possess,' 'keep at one's disposal,' 'have as a kin,' 'bear,' 'contain,' 'comprise as a subordinate part,' 'have as an attribute or quality,' 'get, come into possession of,' 'experience, enjoy or suffer,' 'consider, regard as,' 'assert,' and others (OED). OE *habban* also appears in phrases like *habban in mode* 'have in mind, remember' and *habban spræce* 'have a conversation.'

Brinton (1988) and Watts (2001) argue that Germanic *have*-perfects like Old English <*habban* + perfect participle> and Old Saxon <*hebbian* + perfect participle> did arise through a reanalysis of adnominal constructions containing a lexical verb of

possession, but not through a syntactic reanalysis. Brinton introduces the notion of *semantic reanalysis* to account for the development of the new periphrastic form:

> There is no reason to believe ... that their reanalysis as perfects required either bleaching of the incipient auxiliaries or the inclusion of a wider range of verbs in the auxiliate. Rather than a gradual bleaching, the semantic change involved in the development of the perfect seems to have been metonymic. Since both the meanings 'hold' and 'have' are within the semantic range of HAVE, and since past participles express both a situation and its resultant state, the change from one meaning to the other involved only a metonymic shift in focus. The syntactic well-formedness of the perfect, on the other hand, seems to have been gradual. The requisite syntactic features were acquired slowly and rather arbitrarily, depending upon the frequency and spread of the construction. Thus, the syntactic changes were not causes, but rather consequences, of the semantic development of the perfect; they served as formal indicators that a semantic shift or 'semantic reanalysis' had taken place (1988: 102).

Watts (2001) elaborates Brinton's idea of semantic reanalysis in a detailed study of Old Saxon. According to Watts, Old Saxon *have*-perfects could have emerged through a novel interpretation of the two principal ingredients in the adnominal type: *have* and the perfect participle. The first ingredient, she argues, was a natural choice for an auxiliary because it was already polysemous. She freely concedes that OS *hebbian* 'have' could mean 'possess' or 'hold,' but shows that this was not the only meaning of this verb, citing idioms like *uuillean goden hebbian* 'to be of good will' and *gertalo tuelibi hebbian* 'to be twelve years old,' and perfects like *seldlikes gisehen habbiad* 'you have seen strange things' (130). Likewise, she admits that the perfect participle could function as an attributive adjective, but demonstrates that it was not limited to this function (among other examples, *seldlikes gisehen habbiad* 'you have seen strange things' is evidence of this). In Old Saxon, the perfect participle appeared in collocations not only with *hebbian* 'have', but also with *werðan* 'become', *wesan* 'be', positional verbs, and verbs of motion.

Watts contends that the meaning of the perfect participle drove the creation of the *have*-perfect. The discussion of the PIE suffix *-to* and its reflexes in Latin in Chapter 6 § 2.2 applies in equal measure to the Germanic family, where forms suffixed with *-to* persist as perfect passive participles (*e.g.,* Eng *filled*) and as adjectives (*e.g.,* Eng *bearded*). In the Germanic family, the class of perfect passive participles also includes reflexes of forms suffixed with of PIE *-no* (the source of Eng –n, -en), which like *-to* created participles from verbal roots (*e.g.,* Eng *broken, blown*) and adjectives from nominal roots (*e.g.,* Eng *earthen, ashen*). Watts concurs with the traditional view that the perfect passive participle of transitive verbs was the first non-finite form to participate in a periphrastic construction—the passive—and supposes that the Old Saxon *be*-perfect <*wesan* + perfect participle> "followed where intransitive participles were selected" (132).

She maintains that in the *Heliand,* a 9th century text, there is evidence of an older aspectual opposition between verbs prefixed with *gi-* and unprefixed verbs, such that prefixed verbs were originally marked as perfective[68], while unprefixed verbs were unmarked with respect to the perfective/imperfective opposition[69]. Already in the *Heliand* this opposition is mostly neutralized, but the use of prefixed verbs in this text correlates strongly with the situations containing a "completely affected direct object" (132). She writes:

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[68] Recall from Chapter 3 § 1.2 that *perfective* is an aspectual category that contrasts with imperfective. Perfective aspect presents a situation "as a single unanalyzable whole" (Comrie, 1976: 3), while imperfective aspect presents a situation with explicit reference to its internal constituency.

[69] This hypothesis originates with Streitberg (1891), who argued that Gothic *ga-* was a perfectivizing prefix. It has always been the object of much criticism. One problem with the idea that Gothic *ga-* forms perfectives is the fact that Greek imperfects are often translated by *ga*-prefixed preterites, while Greek aorists are not uncommonly translated by unprefixed preterites. Likewise, in Anglo-Saxon and Old High German, instances of the Latin imperfectum are often translated by *ge*-prefixed preterites, while instances of the perfectum are frequently translated by unprefixed preterites (Wedel 1997).

On a scale of features established by Hopper and Thompson (1980: 254-255), it is possible to treat transitivity as a cline, and thus to assign higher transitive values to situations which are events, not states, where the event occurs through the subject's volition, where the direct object is in the accusative and is highly individuated (a count, not mass noun, definite rather than indefinite), where it is totally affected by the action of the verb, and where that verb is telic and punctual (132).

Since situations containing a "completely affected direct object" are assigned higher transitive values on Hopper & Thompson's transitivity cline, and since these situations correlate strongly with prefixed verbs in Old Saxon, Watts concludes that "high transitivity", prefixation with *gi-,* and perfectiveness could all have become inter-associated. With such an inter-association in place, she claims, the perfect participle of a transitive verb (which was usually prefixed with *gi-*) would be the most prototypically perfective of all verb forms. She then offers this version of the genesis of the *have*-perfect:

I would like to propose that the development we observe involves a reanalysis whereby transitivity was identified as the salient feature of perfective verbs, and the second participle [*i.e.,* the perfect participle] where the direct object and the verb form are so intimately linked came to be viewed as the prototypical perfective form, and thus came to be used where formerly perfective pasts had been found (133).

In this account, *hebbian* merely tags along with the perfect participle because it lacks a clear core meaning and it allows the participle to function transitively in the collocation <*hebbian* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>.

Brinton's and Watts' accounts offer an interesting alternative to the traditional grammaticalization view, but they are problematic in a number of ways. In their attempt to obviate the syntactic problems associated with the putative reanalysis of the adnominal type into the *have*-perfect, they have opted for a notion of semantic reanalysis that gives rise to a different set of problems. Moreover, Watts' more

detailed account makes a series of unmotivated assumptions that cannot be extended to other historical episodes where the *have*-perfect emerged. The scope of her explanation does not match the scope of the phenomenon; this may be regarded as a major weakness of her account.

First, let us consider Brinton's argument that the putative change from the adnominal type to the *have*-perfect could have resulted not from a syntactic reanalysis but from a semantic reanalysis in the form of a "metonymic shift in focus". This shift in focus is thought to involve a double change in which *have* 'hold' is weakened to *have* 'have' and a perfect participle describing a resultant state is strengthened into a perfect participle describing a situation. One difficulty with this account is that the new meaning of *have,* namely 'have', is left unexamined. As I argue in Chapter 5, English *have* exhibits a range of meanings that vary with aspect and with the semantic roles of the arguments; the subject of the EL-type predicate *have lunch* is an agent, for example, while the subject of the S-type predicate *have a bicycle* is not. Another difficulty with Brinton's account is that the semantic change she describes must be accompanied by discrete structural changes, and yet she maintains that "the syntactic well-formedness of the perfect... seems to have been gradual". The genesis of the *have*-perfect could not have been a truly gradual development because there are not that many possible syntactic configurations of *have,* a perfect participle, and a noun in the accusative—in modern English there are four, and in Old English there seem to have been just three (excluding the *have*-perfect). A final difficulty with Brinton's account is that it takes the adnominal type as the source of the *have*-perfect, albeit in an unorthodox way. As I showed in §2.2, there is another type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in Old English, the attained state type, which was closer in meaning and structure to the new periphrastic perfect.

Next, let us consider Watts' detailed account of the emergence of the *have*-perfect in Old Saxon. All of the objections to Brinton's idea of semantic reanalysis can be extended to Watts' elaboration of it. Both accounts proceed by separating semantic value from syntactic structure, alleging that certain operations applied only to the semantic value, and finally associating the changed semantic value with a new syntactic structure. These approaches ignore the systematic and inextricable relationship between the structure and meaning of each of the three or four constructions containing *have* and a past participle (cf. Chapter 5).

What can we make of Watts' specific line of argumentation? First, it should be noted that her idea that OS *hebbian* makes a good auxiliary because it exhibits a wide range of meanings seems sound and is entirely consonant with the view of *have* advanced in this dissertation. In Chapter 6, I argued that as Lat *habeo* became an unmarked verb capable of expressing relations of pertaining, it was able to participate in periphrases like the attained state and affectee types. Watts' specific view of semantic reanalysis, which requires an inter-association of perfective aspect, the prefix *gi-,* and "high transitivity", is more doubtful.

She argues for this inter-association of perfective aspect, *gi-,* and "high transitivity" with reference to Hopper & Thompson's (1980) idea of a cline of transitivity based on a number of parameters. Whether or not we agree that transitivity can be regarded as scalar, the supposed correlation that Watts finds between prefixed perfective verbs and "high transitivity" may well be spurious. The presence of a completely affected direct object does require transitivity, of course, but it also requires a delimited situation. Limitless situations like *have a bicycle* and *ride a horse* cannot have a completely affected direct object, though they may be transitive. Thus the presence of a completely affected direct object correlates more closely with the presence of an L than with transitivity. Now, if perfective verbs tend to be prefixed

with *gi-* when the situation contains an L, then this tendency may indicate that *gi-* was (at least in some cases) an intensive prefix indicating completion or fulfillment. This seems to match some of the uses of its cognates, OE *ge-* and Lat *com-*.

These considerations cast serious doubt on the notion of an inter-association of perfective aspect, *gi-,* and transitivity, and should make us extremely skeptical of the rest of Watts' account. The idea of a semantic reanalysis "whereby transitivity was identified as the salient feature of perfective verbs" seems particularly unlikely, since Old Saxon speakers doubtless used perfective forms of transitive and intransitive verbs alike throughout the genesis and spread of the *have*-perfect.

4   Could the OE *have*-perfect have come from the attained state type?

In Chapter 6, I proposed that the Latin *habeo*-perfect resulted from a reanalysis of the attained state type of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> which, I argued, is an outgrowth of the ability of *habeo* to predicate relations of pertaining. Can the same account be applied to Old English? There is nothing to suggest it cannot, and this new account has the merit of avoiding all of the problems associated with taking the adnominal type as source.

The earliest history of OE *habban* (<**kap-* 'grasp') differs from that of Lat *habeo* (**ghabh-* 'give or receive'), but at some stage both verbs became unmarked verbs of possession in their respective languages. Both came to occur with concrete and abstract nominal complements, and both came to carry out the function of coupling predicative nouns or adverbs with subjects (*e.g.,* OE *habban spræce* 'have a conversation', Lat *habeo sermonem* 'have a conversation'). Ultimately, both came to predicate relations of pertaining and could co-occur with a second predicate.

In Old English, as in Latin, the outgrowths of the action schema with *habban* would have been buttressed by parallel but earlier developments that affected the goal

schema. In Old English, the main alternative to the action schema with *habban* is a goal schema with the possessor in the dative case. For example:

(7.25) him   wæs   an fæder
      he.DAT was.PT.3S a father.NOM
      'he had a father'   (*Exodus A* 1.2)

Like Latin *mihi est,* the Old English goal schema can predicate not only that an entity belongs to the dative argument, but also that a situation befalls the dative argument. This situation can take the form of a nominal complement, as in:

(7.26) him   wæs   manna   þearf
      he.DAT was.PT.3S man.GEN.PL need.NOM
      'He had need of men'   (*Beowulf* 201)

The situation that befalls a dative argument can also take the form of a periphrastic passive perfect, <*wesan/beon* + perfect participle> or <*weorðan* + perfect participle>, as in:

(7.27) Hiht   wæs   geniwad þam   þe þær bryne   _oledan.
      Hope.NOM was.PT.3S renewed them.DAT who there fire.ACC endured.PT.P
      'Hope was renewed for those who endured fire there' (*Dream of the Rood* 149)

(7.28) Him   wæren   gebundene þa   fet   & þa   handa
      He.DAT were.PT.P bound.NOM,PL the.NOM feet.NOM and the.NOM hands.NOM.P
      'His feet and hands were bound' (Gregory, *Dialogues* 3, 9.5.5)

      As in Latin, in Old English the periphrastic passive perfect with an associated dative can describe a variety of situations that the dative argument experiences or by which it is affected. If a situation befalls the dative argument through the agency of someone or something else, the result approximates the meaning of the affectee type of <*habban* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, as in (7.27-28). The thematic role assigned to the dative argument in sentences like (7.27-28) is an affectee role:

beneficiary, sufferer, recipient, experiencer, source, possessor, person for whom the statement holds true, or another similar role.

If the situation described by the periphrastic passive perfect arises through the agency of the dative argument, then the construction has a similar meaning to the attained state type of <*habban* noun.ACC + perfect participle>. In this case, the dative argument is assigned the role of agent, and may in some cases be assigned the semantic-aspectual role of agentive attainer. Examples of this type in Old English are (from Mitchell 1985: 576-77, with the dative agent glossed in italics):

(7.29) Biowulfe   wearð   dryhtmaðma   dæl   deaðe   forgolden
Beowulf.DAT became.PT.3S lord-hoard.GEN.P part.ACC death.DAT paid
'*Beowulf* paid the price of death for that precious hoard'   (*Beowulf* 2842)
Lit. 'the price of that precious hoard was paid to death for/*by Beowulf*'

(7.30) þa   wæs   on eorðan   ece   drihten feowertig
then was.PT.3S on earth.DAT eternal lord   forty

daga   folgad   folcum   gecyðed mancynne
days.GEN.P followed folk.DAT.P known mankind.DAT
'then for forty days, on earth, the eternal lord was followed *by peoples*, known *by mankind*' (*Christ and Satan* 557)

(7.31) þa ðreo forman   gebedu   beoð   us   ongunnene on ðysre
the three first.NOM.PL bidding.NOM.PL are.PS.P us.DAT undertaken on this.F.DAT

worulde   ac hi   beoð   a   ungeendode   on þære
world.DAT but they.NOM.P are.PS.P always unended.NOM.P on the.F.DAT

toweardan worulde
future.DAT world.DAT
'the first three biddings are undertaken *by us* in this world, but they remain forever incomplete in the future world' (Ælfric, *Homilies* i. 270, 18)

(7.32) Hi   ða heora   biscop   rædes   befrunon
They.NOM.P then their.GEN.P bishop.ACC counsel.GEN asked.PT.P

       hwæt him   be   ðam   to donne   wære
       what them.DAT concerning them.DAT to do.INF.DAT was.PT.3S.SUBJ
       'then they asked their bishop for counsel about what *they* would do concerning
       them' (Ælfric, *Homilies* i. 502, 23)
       Lit. '...what was to be done *by them* concerning them'

(7.33) Hengest and Horsa, fram Wyrtgeorne   gelaþode   Bretta
       Hengest and Horsa   from Vortigern.DAT invited.NOM.P Briton.GEN.P

       cyninge gesohton   Bretene   on þæm   stede   þe   is
       king.DAT besought.PT.P Britain.ACC at the.DAT place.DAT which is

       genemned Ypwines-fleot
       named   Ebbsfleet
       'Hengest and Horsa, invited *by Vortigern*, king of the Britons, came to Britain
       at the place named Ebbsfleet'   (*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, year 449)

It is a matter of debate whether there is a true dative/instrumental of agent in Old English. In part this debate has to do with the fact that the OE instrumental, a syncretic case that subsumed forms and functions the PIE locative and ablative, was itself subsumed under the dative. There is also some contention over how and when prepositionless forms were replaced by forms like *fram Wyrtgeorne* 'by Vortigern' in (7.33). Green (1914) writes:

> The Agent...seems to have been one of the first categories in Germanic to require the elucidative services of prepositions. Altogether there are but spare remnants in WULFILA, the BEOWULF, and the EDDIC poems of that prepositionless form of agency which, judging by the testimony of related Indo-European languages, must have been characteristic of the older stages of the Germanic dialects. But even these remnants furnish a sufficient and conclusive evidence (515-516).

It may be misleading to talk about a prepositionless dative of agent since these "agents" appear chiefly with non-agentive verbs, e.g., verbs of perception. But even

those who oppose the idea of an Old English dative of agent, such as Mitchell (1985), concede that at the very least there are datives of interest that express agency or active experience.

There is nothing improbable in the suggestion that the Old English action schema with *habban* could have been extended to express relations of pertaining. The Old English goal schema had already undergone the same development. Once *habban* could express relations of pertaining, then the attained state and affectee types were syntactically possible. As the evidence abundantly shows, the attained state type is the likeliest source for the *have*-perfect, not only in Latin, but also in Old English. Thus the account proposed for Latin in Chapter 6 is compatible with the Old English data.

5   Gradual Grammaticalization Revisited

In this dissertation, I have argued that that the English and Romance *have*-perfects did not emerge through a gradual bleaching of *have* in any type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. Instead, I have proposed that these periphrastic perfects emerged through a syntactic reanalysis of the attained state type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. This reanalysis, I have suggested, was a cataclysmic development, achieved not gradually but abruptly. And yet there must be something gradual about changes like the one that created the English and Romance *have*-perfects. Our day-to-day impressions of the languages we speak suggest relative stability, not cataclysmic change. In what ways could the emergence of the *have*-perfect in English and Romance have been gradual? In what ways must it have been abrupt?

Recall the characterization of *grammaticalization* given in Chapter 1: grammaticalization is an associated set of changes: (i) a semantic change of "bleaching" or "weakening" of meaning; (ii) a syntactic change involving reanalysis

of one or all of the following: constituency, hierarchical structure, grammatical categories, and grammatical relations; and, possibly (iii) a phonological change involving unusual attrition. The innovative change that brought about the *have*-perfect was a reanalysis of the attained state type. This change, though perhaps slight, was discrete and altered the syntactic configuration of *have* and the perfect participle.

From this discrete syntactic change, several series of incremental changes seem to have ensued. These ensuing changes constitute various types of diffusion. First, it seems that the new perfect may have originally been limited to particular syntactic contexts; it may have first emerged with verbs of cognition and perception that took a sentential complement. From this original context, the new perfect may have spread incrementally into less and less restricted contexts.

Second, the types of verbs that could appear in the new periphrastic perfect may have expanded incrementally. The attained state type admits participles of transitive verbs that contain an L. A *have*-perfect from this source would first have admitted transitive verbs containing an L, then transitive verbs in general, then transitive and unergative verbs (the stage reached in Italian), and finally all verbs. As a result of the later stages of this expansion, the *have*-perfect may have incrementally replaced the *be*-perfect (in the relevant languages).

Third, the types of subjects that could appear in the new periphrastic perfect may have expanded incrementally. The attained state type requires an animate attainer, usually human. From this source, the perfect would first have admitted animate subjects, then inanimate subjects, and finally impersonal subjects.

Fourth, the temporal reference of <*have* + perfect participle> could have changed incrementally, as suggested in Chapters 3 and 6. The attained state type is a kind of resultative construction, and the difference between the attained state type and a resultative *have*-perfect is very small indeed. From its source as a resultative

construction, the *have*-perfect seems to have followed a trajectory through these values: resultative, perfect, perfective, past. As a result of this expansion, the relation of the *have*-perfect to the simple past tense (the reflex of the perfectum or preterite) would have changed bit by bit.

Fifth, the environments requiring the agreement of the perfect participle could have eroded incrementally. Rosen and La Fauci (1992) argue that the increasingly restrictive range of environments for agreeement exhibited synchronically by modern Altamurano, standard Italian, Bonorvese, Grizzanese, and French are evidence of a diachronic development: the least restrictive are the most conservative, the most restrictive are the most innovative.

Sixth, in English and all of the Romance languages auxiliary *have* has undergone unusual phonological attrition; the phonological form of auxiliary *have* in <*have* + perfect participle> could have been reduced incrementally

Seventh, the new *have*-perfect may have spread incrementally in terms of various sociolinguistic variables, such as geography, class, and register. It is difficult to reconstruct these sorts of changes, for lack of evidence from late Latin and Old English.

Thus the idea of a cataclysmic syntactic change is reconcilable with our impression that language does not change abruptly. Where the *have*-perfect is concerned, the genesis of the new construction was cataclysmic in the sense that the new structure became available suddenly (in some contexts, for some speakers). It could not have happened otherwise. The aftermath of this genesis seems to have been several series of incremental changes, some of which continue to this day.

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