

Syntax and Semantics of Latin HAVE-statives

Lieven Danckaert & Gerhard Schaden
CNRS UMR 8163 STL & Université de Lille
{lieven.danckaert;gerhard.schaden}@univ-lille.fr

Formal Diachronic Semantics, 06/09/2021, Cologne

1 Introduction

- Most contemporary Romance languages have a periphrastic present perfect based on ‘have’ + PaPa (with possibly a secondary auxiliary ‘to be’ for unaccusatives)

- (1) a. a chanté [French]
has sung
b. ha cantado [Spanish]
has sung

- Origin of the construction: Latin structures involving a form of HABERE, an NP marked for accusative case (NP.ACC), and a past participle which phi-agrees with the NP (PaPa.ACC), as in (2):

- (2) quodsi magnam in his Hermagoras
if great.ACC.F.SG in DEM.ABL.N.PL Hermagoras.NOM
habuisset facultatem studio et disciplina
have.PLUPRF.SBJV.3SG ability.ACC study.ABL and discipline.ABL
comparatam
acquired.ACC.F.SG
‘if Hermagoras had, through study and commitment, acquired great skill in these matters’ (Cicero, *De inventione* 1.8, ca. 90-85 BCE)

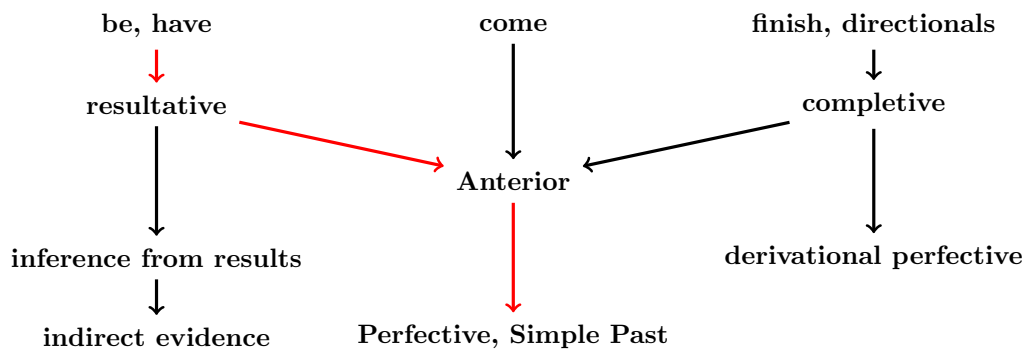
- What was the status of the Latin source construction? Opinions vary considerably:
 - Hertenberg (2015): the Latin construction could have full-fledged perfect readings from very early attestations on (Plautus, ca. 200 BCE).
 - Thielmann (1885) and Pinkster (1987): the first real perfects appear in Late Latin.
 - de Acosta (2011) and Târa (2014): the Latin structure was a (pre-)resultative¹

¹A note on terminology: We will use the term *pre-resultative* to refer to the Latin construction to convey that i) the relevant structure had a “resultative flavor”; but ii) it could interfere with the normal assignation of thematic roles, especially the agent. Since “resultative” is also used as denoting a

- Most authors are not very explicit about the precise syntactic and semantic structures they assume – can this situation be improved?
 - What exactly was the syntax and semantics of the construction(s)?
 - What is the contribution of HABERE?
 - What is the contribution of the participle?
 - How do we model the transition from the Latin construction to Romance HAVE-perfects?

1.1 The diachronic development of perfects (in Romance)

- Direction of linguistic change in the evolution of present perfects is well understood
- Pathway for Romance in red in the diagram of Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 105):



- What changed from Latin to Romance perfects (this version from Squartini and Bertinetto, 2000: 405):
 1. syntactic reanalysis of the construction (necessary coreference of subject of participle and subject of the conjugated verb)
 2. perfect participle becomes a purely lexical verb, and loses adjectival inflection
 3. inflected verb (HAVE) loses its lexical meaning and becomes mere auxiliary
- The studies on Latin cited above largely agree with this diachronic scenario (but as mentioned they tend to disagree on the timing of the various changes); see also Vincent (1982) and Fruyt (2011: 786-799). For a different line of analysis, which capitalizes on the role of (stative/inactive) argument alignment in Late Latin, see La Fauci (1997), Cennamo (2008) and Ledgeway (2012: 341-349).
- However, many open questions remain concerning **how** and **why** reanalysis happened and HABERE became an auxiliary: the fact that an instance of syntactic and semantic change is not irregular or unexpected does not eliminate the need for further explanations.
- Importance of investigating the source construction for the study of diachrony: the general idea that HABERE loses its possessive meaning (undergoing semantic bleaching), and that by this it transforms into a mere auxiliary (cf., e.g. De Mulder and Patard, 2020: 1497 or Squartini and Bertinetto, 2000: 405) is problematic.

view-point aspect (see Smith, 1991) – which should have no impact on argument-structure – we will use the term “pre-resultative”, rather than “resultative”.

1.2 Problems with semantic bleaching in the development of perfects

- The existing formal literature on HAVE-verbs does not agree on any basic meaning for these verbs, and some even deny that it has any meaning (cf., e.g., Myler, 2016)
- If there is some meaning to HAVE-verbs, it has to be extremely abstract (cf. Sæbø, 2009; Bassaganyas-Bars, 2017)
- In what seem to be the (non-temporal) core-uses, there are several different configurations in which HAVE-verbs appear, and they do not seem to have a (strong) common semantic core
- E.g., Heine (1997: 87f.) distinguishes 7 different kinds of possession:
 - physical possession (aka momentary possession)
 - temporary possession (aka accidental possession, temporary control)
 - permanent possession (aka inherent)
 - inalienable possession
 - abstract possession
 - inanimate inalienable possession (aka part-whole relationship)
 - inanimate alienable possession
- Consider, e.g., (3) and (4) (to illustrate that this is not limited to English *have* or words with the same etymology):

(3)	a.	Ethel has a car.	(4)	a.	Pilar tiene un coche.
	b.	Ethel has a sister.		b.	Pilar tiene una hermana.
	c.	Ethel has COVID.		c.	Pilar tiene el COVID.
- Differences in uses/meanings:
 - (3a)/(4a): *have* could be substituted by *possess* with roughly the same sense; direct object = sortal
 - (3b-c)/(4b-c): *have* could not be replaced by *possess*
 - (3b)/(4b): *sister* = relational noun; subject fills in argument slot of the noun
 - (3a) and (3c): relation does not originate in the object, and might be provided by *have*
 - (3c)/(4c): case of ABSTRACT POSSESSION: subject has no control over situation (cf. Stassen, 2009: 17)
- Questions:
 - What (if there is any) could be the semantic core of these meanings?
 - Are all HAVE-verbs the same? (the fact that one type of analysis is appropriate for, say, English, might not entail that it is also the right type of analysis for, e.g., Latin)
- Aims of the talk:
 - Evaluate the conflicting claims in the literature about the **status of the Latin construction(s)**
 - Link the claims to the recent discussion of the structure of the **participle** in passives (see Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Schäfer, 2015; Maienborn, Gese, and Stolterfoht, 2016) and to recent analyses of **HAVE-verbs** (see Myler, 2016; Bassaganyas-Bars, 2017)
 - Provide a **formal analysis** of the Latin source construction
 - Sketch how this construction has **evolved into Romance** perfects

2 The Latin prehistory of Romance HAVE-perfects

2.1 The meaning(s) of Latin *habere*

- The various usage of Lat. *habere* can be summarized as follows (based on the most detailed lexicographic treatment of this item, viz. that in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Bulhart, 1936)):

– ‘possess, hold (on to), carry (on one’s person)’

- (5) Tantas diuitias habet: nescit quid
so.many.ACC riches.ACC have.PRS.3SG not.know.PRS.3SG what.ACC
faciat auro.
do.PRS.SBJV.3SG gold.ABL
‘He possesses such wealth: he doesn’t know what to do with his gold.’
(Plautus, *Bacchides* 333-334, ca. 190 BCE)

- (6) ergo ille P. Rutilius [...] consularis
PRT DEM.NOM.M.SG Publius.NOM Rutilius.NOM consular.NOM
homo soccos habuit et pallium
man.NOM slippers.ACC have.PRF.3SG and cloak.ACC
‘That Publius Rutilius, an ex-consul, used to wear slippers and a cloak.’
(Cicero, *Pro Rabirio Postumo* 27, 54-53 BCE)

- (7) Quia non nostra formam habet dignam domo.
because not our. beauty.ACC have.PRS.3SG worthy.ACC house.ABL
‘Because she does not have they beauty worthy of our house.’ (Plautus,
Mercator 395, ca. 200 BCE)

– ‘keep, maintain’:

- (8) Silentium tamen habuere seniores.
silence.ACC PRT have.PRF.3PL older.NOM.M.PL
‘But the older men kept their silence.’ (Quintus Curtius, *Historia Alexandri Magni* 8.1.23, ca. 50-100 CE(?))

– ‘have’, as a light verb in combination with an accusative NP (e.g. *contionem habere* ‘have a meeting’, which is very close in meaning to *convenire* ‘meet with’). Also:

- (9) qui priuati coetum et concilium
who.NOM.M.PL private.citizens.NOM meeting.ACC and debate.ACC
habuissent
have.PLPRF.SBJV.3PL
‘who, though private citizens, had held a meeting and a debate’ (Livius, *Ab Urbe condita* 42.43.8, ca. 10 CE)

– ‘treat as’ (10)-(11); as a psychological predicate: ‘consider’ (12).

- (10) quo=que modo huius filias apud
which.ABL=and way.ABL DEM.GEN.M.SG daughters.ACC with
uos habebatis seruas
you.ACC.PL have.PRS.SBJV.2PL slaves.ACC.F.PL
‘[...] and how you keep his daughters with you as slaves’ (Plautus, *Mercator*

1246, 188-187 BCE)

- (11) *Quamquam illum mater arte contente=que*
although DEM.ACC.M.SG mother.NOM tight.ADV firm.ADV=and
habet
have.PRS.3SG
'although his mother keeps a tight and firm grip on him' (Plautus, *Asinaria*
1246, 212 BCE(?))

- (12) *amicos domini, eos habeat sibi*
friends.ACC master.GEN DEM.ACC.M.PL have.PRS.SBJV.3SG REFL.DAT
amicos
friends.ACC
'his master's friends, those he should consider friends of himself' (Cato, *De agri cultura* 5.3, ca. 160 BCE)

– impersonal usage with reflexive *se(se)*:

- (13) *aperte ita ut res sese habeat narrato.*
open.ADV so as matter.NOM REFL.ACC have.PRS.3SG tell.FUT.IMP.2SG
'Tell him honestly what the situation is like.' (Terentius, *Heautontimorumenos*
702, ca. 160 BCE)

– with non-finite verbs, viz.

* past participles (see (2) above)

* infinitives, with *habere* initially with clear modal (dynamic) force:

- (14) *habeo etiam dicere quem contra morem*
have.PRS.1SG even say.PRS.INF who.ACC.M.SG against custom.ACC
maiorum minorem annis LX de ponte
ancestors.GEN small.COMP.ACC.M.SG years.ABL sixty from bridge.ABL
in Tiberim deiecerit.
into Tiber.ACC throw.PRF.SBJV.3SG
'I can even tell you about a man, whom though younger than sixty, and
against the custom of our ancestors, he threw from a bridge into the Tiber.'
(Cicero, *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino* 100, 80 BCE)

- With respect to the two last usages containing a non-finite verb: although grammaticalized versions of both structures live on in present-day Romance, viz. as a perfect and a future tense, there are reasons to believe that the two developments are distinct:
 1. Early attestations of *habere* with a past participle are found in Plautus, Terence, Cato and Cicero, whereas up until the (early) third c. CE, *habere* with an infinitive remains rare.
 2. In infinitival context *habere* grammaticalizes to become a bound affix, whereas in the perfect, the outcome of grammaticalization is a free-standing auxiliary.
 3. The earliest attestation of the grammaticalized synthetic future dates from the second half of the sixth c. CE (Ledgeway, 2012: 136-137), whereas there is no Latin evidence for a grammaticalized perfective HAVE-auxiliary.
- Evidence corroborating this last claim is provided in section 2.3.

2.2 More than one structure for HABERE+PAPA.ACC

- There is a consensus that the combination of HABERE, an accusative NP and a PaPa can correspond to different syntactic structures and/or semantics interpretations:
 - Purely adjectival/adnominal structure:

(15) namque habent [...] [statuas amplas factas
 PRT have.PRS.3PL statues.ACC large.ACC made.ACC.F.PL
 egregie]
 exquisite.ADV
 ‘For they have large statues, which are exquisitely made.’ (Vitruvius, *De architectura* 2.7.4, ca. 20 BCE)
 - Attained State reading (de Acosta, 2011): subject of *habere* = understood Agent of the PaPa:

(16) istos [...] mercede conductos habebimus?
 DEM.ACC.M.PL payment.ABL rented.ACC.M.PL have.FUT.1PL
 ‘Shall we have them as mercenaries?’ (Cicero, *Ad Atticum* 2.1.8, 60 BCE)
 - Affectee interpretation (de Acosta, 2011): subject of *habere* ≠ Agent of the PaPa:

(17) cuius salutem a senatu [...] commendatam
 whose.SG welfare.ACC by senate.ABL commended.ACC.F.SG
habebam
 have.IPFV.1SG
 ‘whose welfare was commended to me by the Senate’ (Cicero, *Ad familiares* 15.4.6, ca. 50 BCE)
- NB: In all cases, the NP.ACC can be a referential pronoun, as *istos* (‘those’) in (16).
- What are the differences between these readings/meanings (according to Acosta)?
 - Adnominal type: NP.ACC + PaPa.ACC form a constituent (if pronominalized, PaPa cannot be maintained; probable analysis: NP.ACC ≠ independent & full DP (KP?) on its own, and without the PaPa.Acc)
 - Attained State:
 - * θ -role of HABERE = Attainer (i.e., Experiencer, where experience includes some active completion; see de Acosta, 2011: 165)
 - * situation arises through the agency of the subject of HABERE
 - * NP.Acc can be replaced by a referring pronoun (e.g., *vos*), while maintaining the PaPa.Acc
 - Affectee-type:
 - * subject of HABERE undergoes a situation not of their own making (usually: involuntarily)
 - * θ -role = non-agentive Experiencer (Beneficiary, Sufferer, Recipient, etc.) but never Agent, Cause, Patient, or Theme.
 - * subject must be an animate sentient being
- NB1: it is not clear to us that the distinction is semantic, and due to differing meanings attached to the construction, or differing syntactic structures – might be a pragmatic difference (and notice that according to de Acosta, 2011, there is a complementary

distribution wrt to θ -roles between Attained State and Affectee readings)

- NB2: To what extent should we assume that any of these examples is already a (more or less) *real* perfect? Answer by de Acosta (2011):
 - Spanish has a (present) perfect (*ha cantado*), which is not grammaticalized as a perfective past tense (*cantó*, which is fully functional in Spanish)
 - At the same time, Spanish uses *tener* for possession, which is also used as a temporal periphrasis (see García Fernández et al., 2006)
 - If a Latin construction HABERE + PaPa.ACC can be translated as TENER PAPA in Spanish, there is no reason to assume that it is a real perfect.

2.3 True HAVE-perfects in Latin?

- Many scholars maintain that throughout the attested history of the Latin language, there were no true HAVE-perfects (see among many others Herzog (1910), de Acosta (2011), Fruyt (2011), and Adams (2013)).
- Dissenting voices in this debate are Thielmann (1885: 516), Pinkster (1987: 203), Cennameo (2008), Hertenberg (2015) and Drinka (2017: 107-108). For example, Hertenberg (2015) claims that an example like (18) is a true perfect (note that de Acosta (2011: 158) classifies this example as an Attained State: see the previous section).

(18) quid Athenis exquisitum habeam
 what.ACC.N.SG Athens.LOC found.out.ACC.N.SG have.PRS.SBJV.1SG
 ‘what I have found out in Athens’ (Cato, *ad Filium* fr. 1, ca. 175-150 BCE)

- One problem with analysing (18) as a periphrastic perfect is that the structure is in fact ambiguous, also being compatible with a ‘small clause’ structure in which the past participle is an adjectival predicate (see 2.4).
- Similarly, Pinkster (2015: 479) claims that (19) features a true perfect; the author translates the relevant part of this example as “the words which we have not translated into Latin from Hebrew”.

(19) quaesisti, quid ea uerba, quae ex
 ask.PRF.2SG what DEM.NOM.N.PL words.NOM REL.ACC.N.PL out.of
 hebraeo in latinum non habemus expressa, apud
 Hebrew.ABL in Latin.ACC not have.PRS.1PL express.ACC.N.PL with
 suos sonarent
 their.ACC.M.PL sound.IPFV.SBJV.3PL
 ‘You asked what those words, which we don’t have translated from Hebrew to Latin, mean with them (i.e. the Jews)’ (Hieronymus, *Epistulae* 26.1, 384 CE)

- However, we think an alternative interpretation is available, namely one where the understood Agent of *expressa* is not Jerome himself, and where the first person plural of *habemus* is understood as the collective of Latin-speaking Christians. Compare the translation of Labourt (1951: 15): “[...] des mots hébreux que nous ne trouvons pas traduits en latin”.
- Perhaps the most conclusive piece of evidence that all Latin *habere* + PaPa constructions whose comes close to that of a periphrastic perfect are in fact compatible with an adjectival reading is the observation that no HAVE-perfects with intransitive verbs are found until after 900 CE, in the various Romance daughter languages (Herzog, 1910:

177-185).

- Thus Adams (2013: 646) on Latin *habere* + PaPa: “There is no sign of grammaticalisation within the Latin record, and it is pointless to speculate about when and why it occurred.”
- We agree with the first part of this statement, but towards the end of this talk we will in fact try to reconstruct how the Romance perfects developed out of the Latin source construction.

2.4 Hypothesis: HAVE-statives as passive pre-resultatives

- Working hypothesis: examples (16)–(18) are instances of the same underlying structure = *have*-statives.
- Difference to Hertenberg (2015):
 1. we reject the idea that HABERE is ever ditransitive, taking both the NP.ACC and the PaPa as arguments. Rather, we take it that in all cases the NP.ACC and the PaPa form a predicative unit, corresponding to a small clause with an adjectival predicate, which acts as the complement of HABERE. There is independent evidence that HABERE can select complements with a purely adjectival nucleus, see (20).
 2. (18) is unlikely to exemplify a true periphrastic perfect, with HABERE reduced to the status of an auxiliary: given the wide range of predicate types that can enter into the small clause complement of HABERE, we take it that (18) and similar examples are indeed compatible with a resultant state reading.
 3. (17) shows that there is no requirement that the subject of HABERE be the agent of the underlying agentive PaPa: we take it that cases where we see identity of the subject of HABERE and of the PaPa (e.g., with mental verbs like *cognoscere* ‘know’) also do not provide proof for grammatical perfecthood, as such coreferentiality can be inferred pragmatically.
- Though we agree with de Acosta (2011) that only the pattern in which the subject of HABERE and the agent of the PaPa are coreferential can be the historical source of the Romance perfect, we do not see a compelling reason to assign different structures to attained state reading like (16) and affectee interpretations like (17).
- It is therefore no surprise that lexical adjectives (such as *aridas* ‘dry, barren’) can be found in coordination with a past participle in the same small-clause complement to *habere*, as in (21).

(20) Anxium me et inquietum habet
anxious.ACC.M.SG me.ACC and worried.ACC.M.SG have.PRS.3SG
petitio Sexti Eruci mei.
candidature.NOM Sextus.GEN Erucius.GEN my.GEN
‘The fact that my friend Sextus Erucius is running for office makes me anxious
and worried.’ (Pliny the Younger *Epistulae* 2.9.1, ca. 105 CE)

(21) si illi qui divites sunt aridas et
if dem.nom.m.pl who.NOM.M.PL rich.NOM be.PRS.3PL barren.ACC.F.PL and
contractas manus habuerint ad elemosinas
drawn.ACC.F.PL hands.ACC have.FUTPRF.3PL for alms.ACC
faciendas
make.GDV.ACC.F.PL
‘if the hands of those who are rich are barren and drawn away from giving alms’
(Caesarius of Arles, *Sermo* 27.2, ca. 520 CE)

- We assume that the differences between the purely adjectival (20) and the (at least partially) verbal structures in (16)–(18) are determined by the amount of (verbal) functional structure of the PaPa.
- We will explore the hypothesis that the relevant structures are similar to what has been described in German as a *haben*-passive (see Gese, 2013).
- How much functional structure can have the adjectivized participle? Starting point: discussion of passive participles in Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, and Schäfer (2015) and Maienborn, Gese, and Stolterfoht (2016).

3 The functional make-up of the Latin PaPa

- NB: No guarantee that there are not different constructions with different participle structure in Latin as a whole
- At least potentially different: deponens - have full-fledged perfect meanings (cf. (24)–(26))
- General discussion in literature (mainly on passives):
 - how much (functional) structure is included under the PaPa?
 - does the PaPa denote an event-type, or an event-token?
 - what is the status of direct objects (incorporated or not)?

3.1 How much structure?

- Solid evidence for participial being at least a VoiceP: presence of agent-oriented adverbs such as *diligenter* ‘carefully’ (22) and *libenter* ‘gladly’ (23)
- Such adverbs cannot combine with states, and thus, modification of HABERE can be excluded. [Note that the relevant PaPas may both be adnominal (reduced relative clauses).]

(22) tunc **diligenter** tusos et cretos habebis
 then carefully crushed.ACC.M.PL and sifted.ACC.M.PL have.FUT.2SG
 ‘Then you will have them [grapes] carefully crushed and sifted.’ (Palladius, *De agricultura* 11.14.5, ca. 350 CE)

(23) quam illi [...] **libenter** receptam uera
 REL.ACC.F.SG DEM.NOM.M.PL gladly received.ACC.F.SG true.ABL.F.SG
 fatorum praedictione uictoriae ducem habuerunt
 fates.GEN prediction.ABL leader.ACC victory.GEN have.PRF.3PL
 ‘They received her gladly, and by virtue of her correct prophecies they had her as their leader to victory.’ (Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 1.5 ext. 1, ca. 30 CE)

- From at least Classical Latin onwards, *-to* participles could be agentive (and thus verbal, not (purely) adjectival) in deponent past participles in periphrastic perfects (where they appear with the auxiliary ESSE ‘be’). They can co-occur with agent-oriented adverbs like *diligenter* ‘carefully’ (24)–(25), *fortiter* ‘strongly’ (25) and *sapienter* ‘wisely’ (26).
- See also Grestenberger (2018: 499), who cites comparable examples with synthetic (finite) deponents from a number of older Indo-European languages.

- (24) de qua radícula **diligenter** ac saepius iam
 about REL.ABL.F.SG root.ABL careful.ADV and often.comp already
 locuti sumus
 spoken.NOM.M.PL be.PRS.1PL
 ‘We have already spoken about this little root, in great detail and on more than one occasion.’ (Columella, *Res rustica* 7.10.7)
- (25) quod ego et Tacitus iniuncta advocazione **diligenter** et
 that I.NOM and Tacitus.NOM imposed.ABL advocacy.ABL carefully.ADV and
fortiter functi essemus
 strong.ADV carried.out.NOM.M.PL be.IPFV.SBJV.1PL
 ‘[...] that I and Tacitus carefully and strongly carried out the legal duty assigned to us’ (Plinius, *Epistulae* 2.11.19)
- (26) magis tamen proderit scire, qua ducum
 more nevertheless be.useful.FUT.3SG know.PRS.INF REL.ABL.F.SG leaders.GEN
 quisque ratione in quali re, tempore, loco
 each.NOM.M.SG reason.ABL in which.ABL matter.ABL time.ABL place.ABL
 sit **sapienter** usus aut contra
 be.PRS.SBJV.3SG wise.ADV used.NOM.M.SG or otherwise
 ‘However, it will be more useful to know which methods each general used in which situation, at which time and in which place, wisely or otherwise.’ (Quintilianus, *Institutio Oratoria* 2.5.15)

3.2 Reference to event-tokens or only event types?

- Do we face an event-token or rather an event-type in the Latin construction?
- Recent literature on (stative) passives has insisted on this distinction: in German stative *sein*-passives and *haben*-passives, the participle does not denote an event-token, but only an event-type (see, e.g., Gehrke, 2012)
- Standard tests (availability of anaphoric uptake) are difficult to apply in a dead language.
- In some cases, like (27), a type-reading seems the only one available (cf. the *sicut*-clause (meaning ‘like, such as’)):

- (27) quia non habebant destinatum unum sacrificiorum
 because not have.IPFV.3PL designated.ACC.M.SG one.ACC sacrifices.GEN
 locum sicut iudaei in hierusalem
 place.ACC as Jews.NOM in Jerusalem.ACC
 ‘because they didn’t have a single place designated for sacrifices, as the Jews in Jerusalem did’ (Augustine, *De diuersis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum* 1.2.19, ca. 390 CE)

- Anaphoric uptake with equivalents of *so* is assumed to be a diagnostic for type-reference (see Gehrke, 2017)
- On the other hand, sentences like (28) seem to indicate to us that reference to an event-token was possible in Latin.

- (28) eos [...] facies habere combustas eo
 DEM.ACC.M.PL faces.ACC have.PRS.INF scorched.ACC.F.PL DEM.ABL.M.SG
 igne, quem sibi succenderant
 fire.ABL which.ACC.M.SG REFL.DAT.M.PL light.PLPRF.3PL

‘that their faces are scorched by that fire, which they had lit for themselves’
(Jerome, *Commentarii in Isaiam* 6.13.6, 408 CE)

- In (28): indication of an instrument, which is determined by a demonstrative (*eo igne*, ‘by that fire’) — does not seem to be compatible with a stative causal interpretation, as described in Maienborn and Herdtfelder (2017). Furthermore, the faces in question seem to be referential, and the interpretation of the events episodic, rather than generic.
- In some cases (like (29)), it is difficult to disentangle modifications: we have a temporal and a localizing specifier, and both of them can specify the state (which has to be a token).
- Spatial localization applies however also to the event-token (by entailment), and temporal localization also could shift to the event.

(29) quia in isdem diebus, qua sanctus moyses uel
that in same.ABL days.ABL which.ABL.F.SG saint.NOM Moses.NOM PRT
filii israhel contra illas ciuitates pugnauerant,
sons.NOM Israel against DEM.ACC.F.PL cities.ACC fight.PLUPRF.3PL
castra ibi fixa habuissent
camp.ACC there fixed.ACC.N.PL have.PLUPRF.SBJV.3PL
‘that in the same days in which Saint Moses and the sons of Israel fought against
those cities, they had struck their camp in that place’ (*Itinerarium Egeriae* 12, ca.
385 CE)

3.3 Are direct objects incorporated?

- NP.ACC constituent in a ‘HABERE+PaPa.ACC’ construction is not - or at least need not be - incorporated.
- This is evidenced by the fact that this element is eligible for referential uptake in subsequent discourse, as in (30):

(30) Si quis puellam cum uoluntatem patris sponsatam
if someone.NOM.M.SG girl.ACC with will.OBL father.GEN married.ACC.F.SG
habuerit, et ipsa puella [...] ad alium
have.PRF.SBJV.3SG and self.NOM.F.SG girl.NOM.F.SG to other.ACC
tendens, patri contradicat
reaching.NOM.F.SG father.DAT contradict.PRS.SBJV.3SG
‘if someone is engaged to a girl, with her father’s consent, and if that same girl,
acts against her father’s will by choosing another man [...]’ (*Lex Visigothorum*,
Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Leges nationum Germanicarum vol. 1, 3.1.2,
654 CE)

- Anaphora are difficult to detect (reliably) in unannotated corpora ...
- One of the criteria de Acosta (2011) gives for Attained-State and Affectee readings is their ability to have a referential pronoun as the direct object.
- Obligatory incorporation seems extremely implausible for the construction.

3.4 Summing Up

- PaPa in Latin construction seems much more verbal than German stative passives:

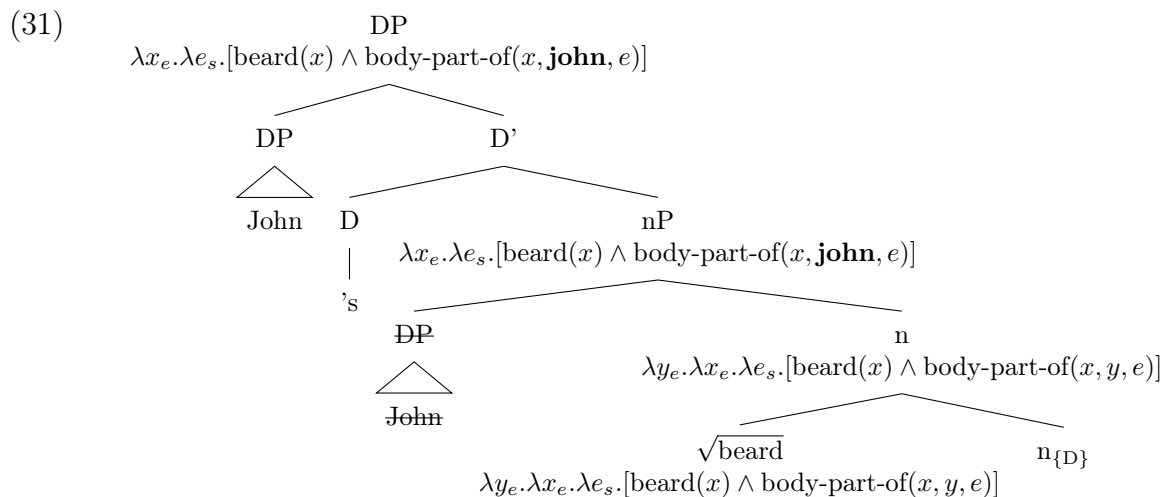
- no evidence for incorporation of the direct object
- token reference for events seems to be possible
- evidence for VoiceP from combination with adverbials

4 The meaning of HAVE

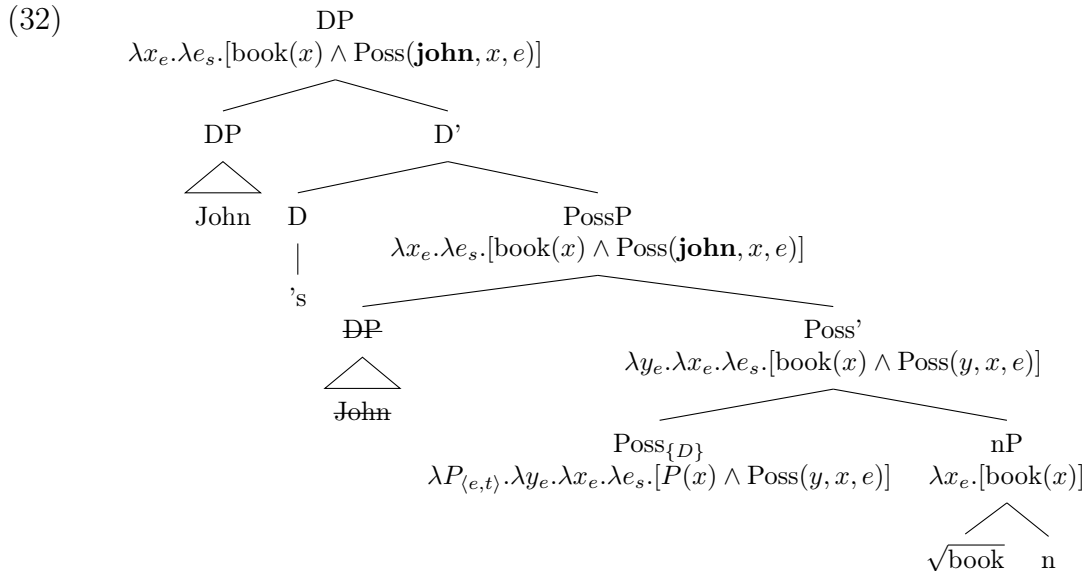
- Two different schools of thought:
 - HAVE has some meaningful semantic content, be it minimal (e.g. Guéron, 1995; Sæbø, 2009; LeBruyn, Swart, and Zwarts, 2013; Bassaganyas-Bars, 2017)
 - HAVE is one possible spell-out of the copula, and adds no meaning of its own – it denotes an identity function (see Myler, 2016)

4.1 Meaningless HAVE: Myler (2016)

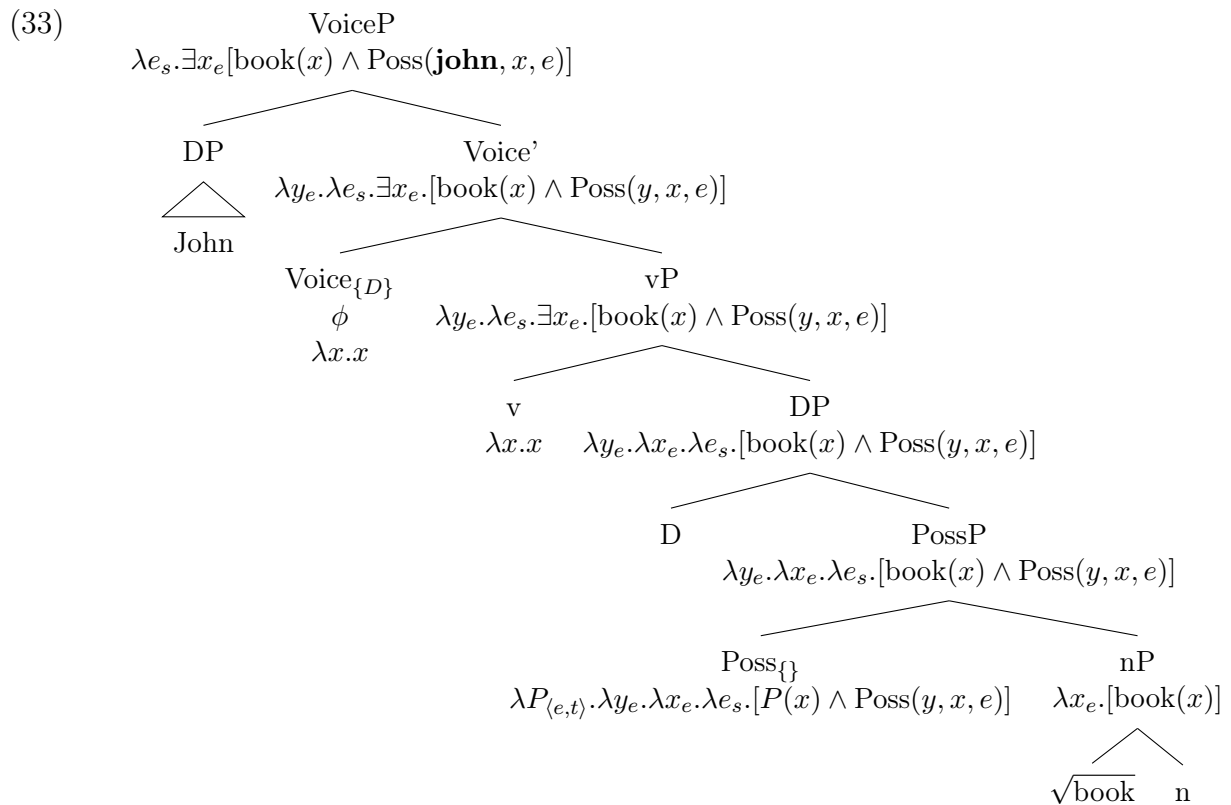
- Myler, 2016 assumes that genitives and HAVE-sentences share the same structure, and that the possession-relation originates in all cases within the possessee-DP
- According to Myler (2016: 51), (31) shows a derivation of an inalienable possession (for a DP “*John’s beard*”):



- If the noun is not intrinsically possessive/relational, there will be a PossP modifying it, as illustrated in (32) below, taken from Myler (2016: 52) (for a DP like “*John’s book*”):



- Myler (2016: 60) assumes the following basic architecture for a transitive possession construction (for sentences like English "John has a book"):



- Notice that all verbal elements in (33) (v and Voice) are just identity functions ($\lambda x . x$: take any element, and return it as is)
- For Myler (2016: 59), HAVE is a transitive version of BE, and v is spelt-out in case it appears in the context of a transitive Voice:

- (34)
- v \Leftrightarrow HAVE / _____ Voice_{D}, ϕ
 - v \Leftrightarrow BE / elsewhere

4.4 Taking Stock

- If HAVE has no meaning, there would be no semantic bleaching in the process of grammaticalization (and only syntactic reanalysis would be involved)
- Both theories can deal to a certain degree with the appearance of zeugmas with coordinating possession:

- (38) a. ?*John has a book and a beard. [?* inalienable possession of beard]
b. ?*Mary has 50 euros and blue eyes.

- Explication for Myler (at least, this is what he could say): coordination will yield a state that is both a state of possession and a state of being a body part (cf. (39)), and this is not possible:

- (39) $\lambda e_s. [\exists x_e [\text{book}(x) \wedge \text{Poss}(\mathbf{john}, x, e)] \wedge \exists x'_e. [\text{beard}(x') \wedge \text{body-part-of}(x', \mathbf{john}, e)]]$

- However, there are coordinations of *bona fide* possessions that seem better than others:

- (40) a. ??I have a house and three trousers.
b. I have a house and three cars.

Possession of houses and trousers should be the same type of possession. . .

Possible explanations:

- The second part of (40a) is just not relevant (cf. the relevance condition of Sæbø, 2009)
 - Assuming a global state variable introduced by HAVE and that has to be pragmatically inferred, (40b) offers something rather obvious (“*I’m rich*”), whereas nothing of the sort comes to mind for (40a)
- Even crossing different types of possession seems to be possible if there is a salient pragmatic state:
- (41) Don has a top model wife and a skyscraper in the center of New York.
[\rightsquigarrow Don is very rich]

- Indicates to us that *have* introduces a pragmatically inferable state

5 An analysis of Latin HABERE + NP.ACC + PaPa.Acc, and later developments

- In this section, we will provide a tentative of a formal analysis for the Latin construction
- Sketch of what changes (semantic & syntactic) where necessary to transform the assumed analysis in line with semantics assumed generally for full-fledged perfect tenses (without discussing what may cause such changes)

5.1 A formal analysis of the Latin construction

- Basic idea: take an approach to the participle *à la* Maienborn, Gese, and Stolterfoht (2016), and integrate it into a more standard syntactic framework (as illustrated in, e.g., Myler, 2016)
- Try to keep participial morphology and HAVE meaningful

- A detailed derivation of example (42) is given on the next page (we abstract away from the Tense properties of the higher clause). The derivation was done via the `lambdacalculator`.

(42) illa omnia missa habeo [...].
 DEM.ACC.N.PL all.ACC.N.PL abandoned.ACC.N.PL have.PRS.1SG
 ‘I have abandoned all these things.’ (Plautus, *Pseudolus* 602, 191 BCE)

Important assumptions/features of the proposed analysis

- Latin construction remains below the functional realm (AspP, TP)
- It remains a biclausal construction
- Link between subject of HABERE and Spec VoiceP of the participle is not grammatical in nature (may be coreferential, but it is not necessarily so)

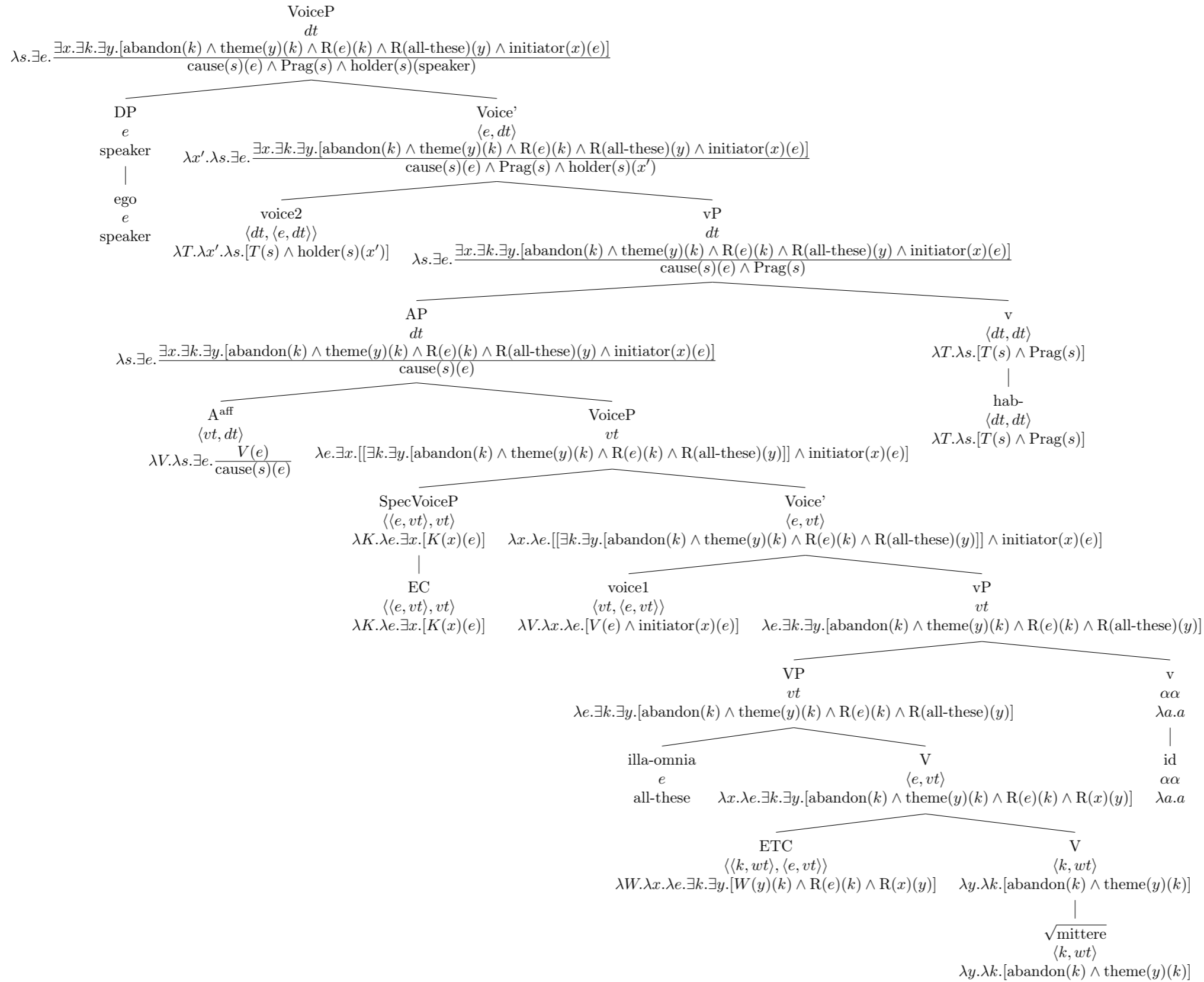
Notes on abbreviations and key elements in the derivation

- ETC: Event Type Closure, see Maienborn, Gese, and Stolterfoht (2016: 41) – transforms a predicate of event kinds into a predicate of event tokens
- EC: Existential Closure; in the Spec VoiceP in the Participle, the Initiator is existentially closed; it may be inferred that this is the same entity as the subject of HAVE, but this is not necessary
- **A^{aff}**: takes a vP, and adds a post-state to the event, with the provision that the state must be caused by the event (inspired by similar operators in Maienborn, Gese, and Stolterfoht, 2016)

Difference: demotes the content of the underlying vP to non at-issue content

(43) not at-issue
 at issue

- HAVE: introduces a property of the state, and specifies that this property has to be pragmatically inferred (written here as *Prag*).



5.2 Formal analyses of (Present) Perfects

- Different suppositions and theoretical obediences ...
- General syntactic assumption: *perfects* are either relative tenses (thus between TP and AspP; cf. (44a)) or aspects (and thus, in AspP; cf. (44b)):

$$(44) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } [\dots [\text{TP} [\textit{perfect} [\text{AspP} [\text{VoiceP} [\dots]]]]]] \\ \text{b. } [\dots [\text{TP} [\textit{perfect} [\text{VoiceP} [\dots]]]]] \end{array}$$

- What does content of feature *perfect* look like? (45a) taken from Schaden (2007: 48) = perfect as relative tense

$$(45) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } \llbracket \textit{perfect} \rrbracket^{\text{RT}} = \lambda V. \lambda i. \exists i' \exists s [i' \prec i \wedge \text{Prag}(s) \wedge i \subseteq \tau(s) \wedge V(i')] \\ \text{b. } \llbracket \textit{perfect} \rrbracket^{\text{Asp}} = \lambda V. \lambda i. \exists s. \exists e [\tau(e) \prec i \wedge \text{Prag}(s) \wedge i \subseteq \tau(s) \wedge V(e)] \end{array}$$

where:

- $\text{Prag}(s)$ = perfect state (and its predicate *Prag*, to be inferred)
- $\tau(x)$ = temporal trace of x (state or event)
- V = semantic content of AspP or VoiceP (set of intervals or set of events)

- How do we get from (46) (meaning of HABERE from 5.1) to (45)?

$$(46) \quad \llbracket \textit{hab-} \rrbracket = \lambda T. \lambda s. [T(s) \wedge \text{Prag}(s)]$$

HABERE loses its meaning (or is generated in in Asp relative tense?), and changing from a modifier of (sets of) states to a modifier of (sets of) intervals/events

Core meaning (introduction of a pragmatically inferred predicate for the state) does not change, but only “grammatical plumbing”

- More generally, we have to assume two steps in the grammaticalization pathway:
 1. pre-resultative stative to full resultative viewpoint aspect
 2. resultative viewpoint aspect to anterior (relative tense)

5.2.1 Preresultative to (grammatical) resultative

- Since we have chosen to have a meaningful representation for both the PaPa and HABERE, we need to keep track of two elements
- There is enough similarity between the assumed participial meaning in (47a) to (47b), the ‘normal’ resultative viewpoint aspect?

$$(47) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } \llbracket A \rrbracket^{\text{aff}} = \lambda V. \lambda s. \exists e. \frac{V(e)}{\text{cause}(s)(e)} \\ \text{b. } \llbracket \textit{resultative} \rrbracket = \lambda V. \lambda i. \exists e [\tau(e) \prec i \wedge V(e)] \end{array}$$

Assuming such a transformation is what happens,

- event is no longer backgrounded
- state is no longer introduced at this level⁴

⁴One might use alternatively a formulation which preserves the introduction of a state at this level, see (i):

$$(i) \quad \llbracket \textit{resultative} \rrbracket^{\text{alt}} = \lambda V. \lambda s. \lambda i. \exists e [\tau(e) \prec i \wedge \text{cause}(s)(e) \wedge V(e)]$$

However, this will result in a rather non-standard type for AspP (standard: $\langle i, t \rangle$; but here: $\langle \langle v \langle i, t \rangle \rangle$).

- causal relation between state and event is downgraded to a temporal relation between running time of event and running time of state
- entry reanalyzed upwards as expression of viewpoint aspect
- This will also lead to a reanalysis of the meaning of HABERE, which would go from the meaning in (46) to the one in (48), in order to be able to combine with the outcome of the resultative aspect:⁵

$$(48) \quad \llbracket \text{hab-} \rrbracket^{\text{step1}} = \lambda I_{\langle i,t \rangle} . \lambda i . \exists s [i \subseteq \tau(s) \wedge \text{Prag}(s) \wedge I(i)]$$

- This now introduces a state, rather than modifying it (but see footnote 5), and introduces also the pragmatically determined predicate of the state.
- Localizing temporal adverbials (assuming they attach systematically at AspP) will only be able to modify the subsequent state, but not the underlying event
- Where should HABERE go syntactically at this point?
 1. adjunction to AspP?
 2. Relative TP?

5.2.2 Resultative to Anterior/Relative Tense

- In Romance, perfects are aspectually perfective, so we will assume this here
- Assumption: anteriority relation encoded in Asp° will move up to RelT° (in red)

$$(49) \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{a. } \llbracket \text{Asp} \rrbracket^{\text{step2}} \text{ (or } \llbracket \text{A}^{\text{aff}} \rrbracket^{\text{step2}} \text{) from} \\ \quad \text{(i) } \lambda V . \lambda i . \exists e [\tau(e) \prec i \wedge V(e)] \text{ to} \\ \quad \text{(ii) } \lambda V . \lambda i . \exists e [\tau(e) \subseteq i \wedge V(e)] \\ \text{b. } \llbracket \text{hab-} \rrbracket^{\text{step2}} \text{ from} \\ \quad \text{(i) } \lambda I_{\langle i,t \rangle} . \lambda i . \exists s [i \subseteq \tau(s) \wedge \text{Prag}(s) \wedge I(i)] \text{ to} \\ \quad \text{(ii) } \lambda I_{\langle i,t \rangle} . \lambda i . \exists i' . \exists s [i' \prec i \wedge i \subseteq \tau(s) \wedge \text{Prag}(s) \wedge I(i')] \end{array}$$

- At this point, localizing temporal adverbials (assuming they attach systematically at AspP) will modify the event itself, and no longer the state)
- A^{aff} has lost all meaning

5.3 The change in the subject of have

- We have assumed in section 5.1 that the PaPa contains a VoiceP, but that the subject of the PaPa is existentially closed
- This has to change: subject of a perfect should be generated as the subject of the PaPa (or the lexical verb), and then move to become also the subject of HAVE
- General assumption for reason of change: pragmatically, it will often be the case that subject of PaPa = subject of HAVE

⁵Alternatively, if we go for the meaning outlined in footnote 4, the meaning of HABERE should be the following:

$$(i) \quad \llbracket \text{hab-} \rrbracket^{\text{step1-alt}} = \lambda R_{\langle v, \langle i,t \rangle \rangle} . \lambda i . \exists s [i \subseteq \tau(s) \wedge \text{Prag}(s) \wedge R(s)(i)]$$

6 Speculations about the shift from Latin to Romance

- Turning to the causes of the semantic change (grammaticalization of the periphrastic perfect), we would like to explore the hypothesis that the key trigger was an independent change, namely the **grammaticalization of definiteness**, as expressed by means of definite articles.
- Note first of all that the Latin HAVE-statives live on in two guises in Romance (as pointed out by De Mulder and Patard (2020), who themselves refer to Detges (2000) and Detges (2006)): one is the periphrastic perfect (50), the other is a structure much more akin to the Latin source construction (51) (examples taken from De Mulder and Patard (2020: 1496)).

(50) Li quens Rollant, il l'=ad e prise e fraite.
 the count Roland he it=have.PRS.3SG and taken.F and destroyed.F
 'Count Roland conquered it and destroyed it.' (*Roland*, v. 1555, ca. 1100)

(51) Escababi i ad le chef trenchet.
 Escababi he have.PRS.3SG the head cut
 'Escababi had his head cut off.' (*Roland*, v. 663, ca. 1100)

- (51) is reminiscent of the German *haben*-statives discussed in Businger (2013) and Gese (2013), in that both obligatorily feature an inalienable (relational) noun:

(52) Er hat den Arm verbunden
 He has the.ACC Arm bandaged.
 'He has his arm bandaged.'

- Let us then assume, with Vergnaud and Zubizarreta (1992), that Romance definite articles come in a **meaningful** and an **expletive** version.
- The latter can be found in inalienable possession constructions like (53), in which the NP (not the DP) denotes a type rather than a token, witness the distributive reading of *gorge* 'throat' (from Vergnaud and Zubizarreta, 1992: 597, their (5b)).

(53) Le docteur a examiné la gorge aux enfants.
 the doctor have.PRS.3SG examined the throat to.the children
 'The doctor examined the children's throats.'

- The structure of a DP with an expletive article (and a type-denoting NP, like (53)) is as in (54):

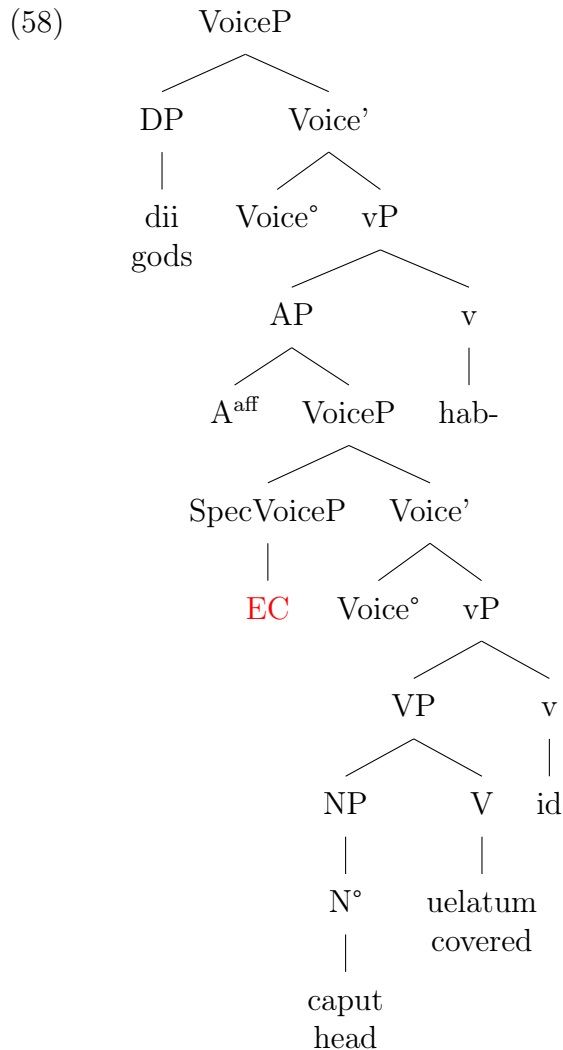
(54)

```

      DP
     /  \
    D    NP(x)
    |    |
    la   N(x)
    the  |
         gorge(x)
         throat(x)
  
```

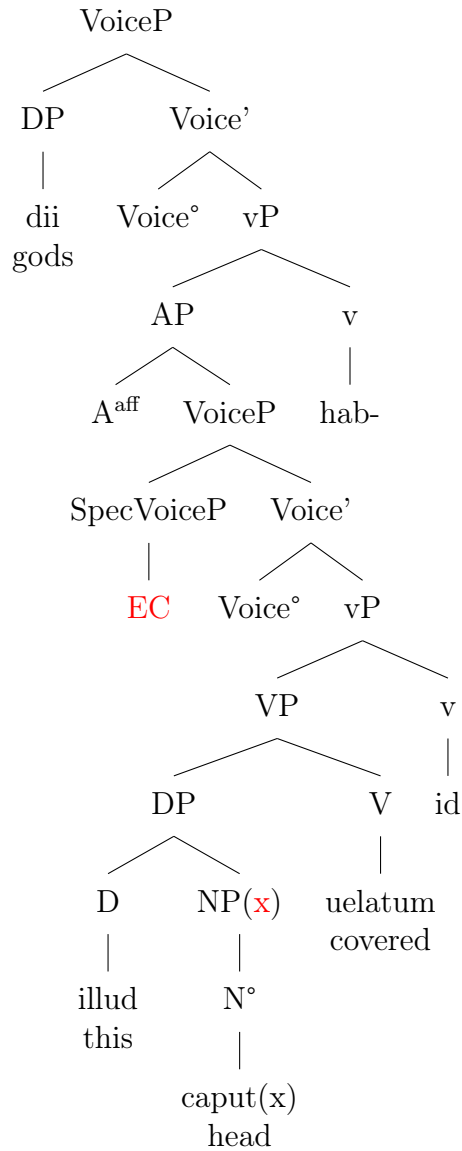

(*Servius auctus* 1.3, *ad uersum* 174, ca. 550 CE(?))

- As a result, the structure of a (Late) Latin example like (57) would not involve binding of the relational noun *caput* ‘head’ by a Possessor argument. Rather, the relevant argument position would be existentially closed, along lines explained above. A possible (and again much simplified) structure of the relevant portion of this example is given in (58):



- Once definite articles were grammaticalized out of the Latin demonstratives *ILLE* or, more rarely, *IPSE*, structures like (58) were no longer licit.
 - The new grammar, with a fully active D-system, requires the type/token distinction in the nominal domain to be encoded in the syntax (along lines of Vergnaud and Zubizarreta, 1992).
 - In the case at hand, the variant of an example like (57) would be in need of a DP–phonologically explicit or otherwise, see below—to bind the relational noun *caput* ‘head’.
 - One derivation that is not possible is binding by the externally merged state-holder of *HAVE*, as this configuration would not be sufficiently local (cf. Vergnaud and Zubizarreta, 1992: 609).

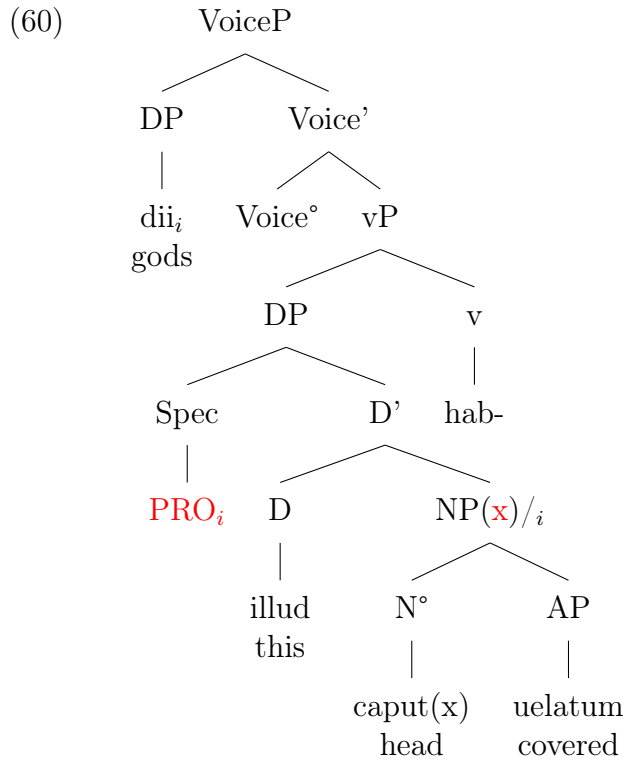
(59)



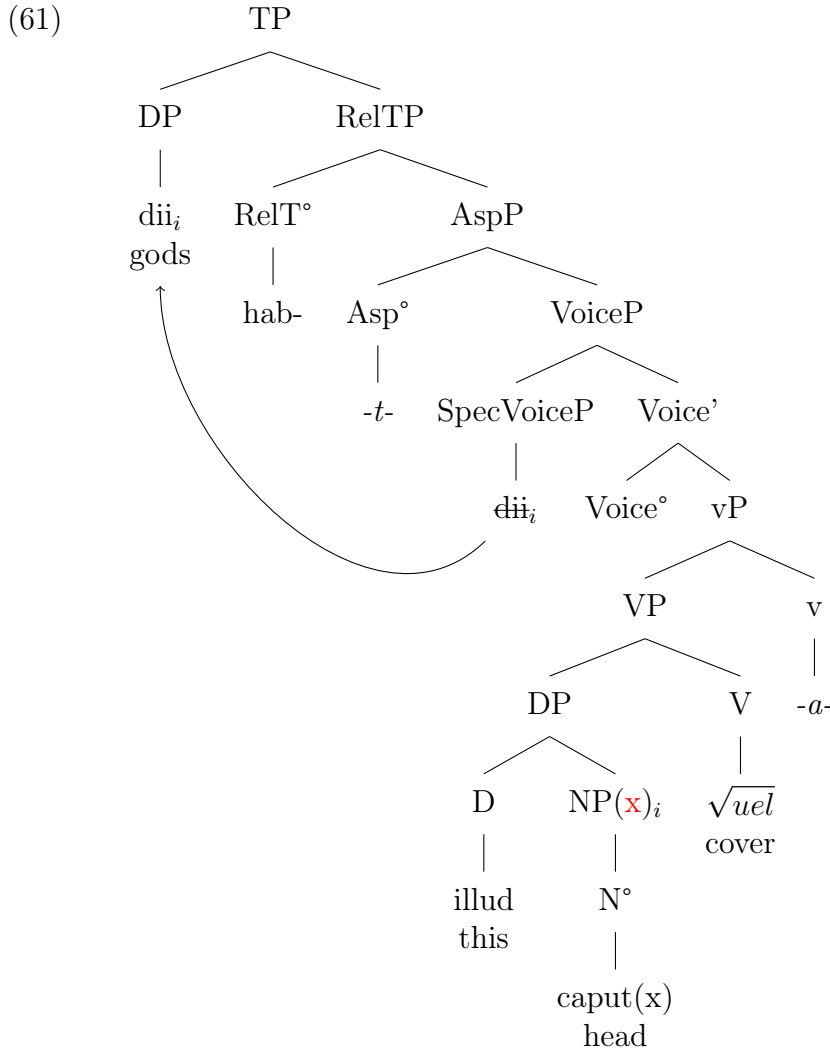
- We see two possible ways in which a binding category could be provided.

1. First, a structure like (59), once enriched with a definite article, could be reanalysed in such a way that the participle becomes a plain adjective, devoid of a Voice-layer. The understood possessor of the relational noun is now projected in the syntax, first merged in SpecDP. This structure corresponds to Old French (51), which is fairly close in meaning to the Latin HAVE-statives, and to present-day French utterances like *Les enfants ont la main levée*.

- The subject can either be a full DP, which may undergo further A-movement.
- Alternatively, it can be realized as PRO (on this possibility, cf. Guéron, 1995: 198), which itself is bound by the lexical DP subject of HAVE.



2. Alternatively, an Agent DP is projected in VoiceP, which binds the the type-denoting NP. This structure corresponds to present-day French utterances like *Les enfants ont levé la main* (under its distributive/inalienable possession reading). Crucially, this is a true periphrastic perfect. This reanalysis is arguably obligatory for participles which are unlikely candidates to function as (adnominal or predicative) adjectives (cf., e.g., Rapp, 1996; Kratzer, 2005).



- Under this scenario, the spread of HAVE-perfects in Romance progressed in three main stages:
 1. Initially the pattern was restricted to transitive verbs with a type-denoting (relational) DP as its internal argument.
 2. The pattern then spread to transitive verbs with a token-denoting DP as the internal argument.
 3. Finally, it also became possible with intransitives.
- Finally, what remains to be understood is why structures like (62) (with coreference between the state-holder of *habere* and the Agent of the PaPa) and (63) (with disjoint reference between the two subjects), as well as all ‘HAVE + PaPa + NP.ACC’ constructions with and indefinite DP eventually ceased to be acceptable. We leave this question for future research.

(62) Sed propheta [...] tamen etiam **illa** **Dei** **testimonia**
 but prophet.NOM PRT even DEM.ACC.N.PL God.GEN testimonies.ACC
 hereditate adquisita habet, quae sub
 inheritance.ABL acquired.ACC.N.PL have.PRS.3PL which.NOM.N.PL under
 testibus dicta sunt
 witnesses.ABL said.NOM.N.PL be.PRS.3PL

‘But nevertheless the prophet still has acquired through inheritance those testimonies of God which were spoken in the presence of witnesses.’ (Hilary of Poitiers, *Tractatus super psalmos, psalmus* 118, nun.19, ca. 365 CE)

- (63) [...] *totam sibi laudem tam cupide adseruit, ut*
 whole.ACC REFL.DAT praise.ACC so avid.ADV lay.claim.to.PRF.3SG that
anulo, quo signatorio utebatur, insculptam
 ring.DAT which.ABL.M.SG sign.ABL use.IPFV.3SG engraved.ACC.F.SG
illam traditionem haberet.
 DEM.ACC.F.SG surrender.ACC have.IPFV.SBJV.3SG
 ‘He claimed for himself the whole credit, so eagerly that he kept the surrender engraved on a ring which he used as a signet’ (translation from the Loeb Classical Library) (Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 8.14.4, ca. 30 CE)

7 Conclusion

- In agreement with de Acosta (2011) and Țâra (2014), we argued that the Latin construction ‘HABERE+NP.ACC+PaPa.ACC’ is not yet a full-fledged perfect, but rather a grammatically passive structure whose main verb is HABERE
- We have provided an analysis of the syntactic structure and its compositional semantics, combining insights of Legate (2014) and Maienborn, Gese, and Stolterfoht (2016) with the analysis of *have* by Myler (2016), under the assumption that de Acosta’s Attained-State and Affectee Type readings are grammatically identical
- We defend the hypothesis that the participle and its complement denote event (and state) tokens, contrary to what has been described for stative passives in languages like German.
- We speculate that definiteness and its expression were important for the evolution of the Romance perfects.

References

- Adams, J. (2013). *Social variation and the Latin language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alexiadou, A., E. Anagnostopoulou, and F. Schäfer (2015). *External Arguments in Transitivity Alternations. A Layering Approach*. Oxford Studies in Theoretical Linguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barker, C. (2011). “Possessives and Relational Nouns”. In: *Semantics: An International Handbook of Natural Language Meaning*. Ed. by K. von Stechow, C. Maienborn, and P. Portner. Vol. 2. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: pp. 1109–1130.
- Bassaganyas-Bars, T. (2017). “Have-Sentences in Discourse”. PhD thesis. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra.
- Bošković, Ž. (2008). “What will you have, DP or NP?” In: *North East Linguistics Society*. Vol. 37. 1: pp. 101–114.
- Bošković, Ž. (2009). “More on the no-DP analysis of article-less languages”. In: *Studia Linguistica* 63: pp. 187–203.
- Bulhart, V. (1936). “Habeo”. In: *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Vol. 6. 3. Leipzig: Teubner: pp. 2395–2462.
- Businger, M. (2013). “Haben-statives in German: A syntactic analysis”. In: *Non-canonical passives*. Ed. by A. Alexiadou and F. Schäfer. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: pp. 141–161.
- Bybee, J., R. Perkins, and W. Pagliuca (1994). *The Evolution of Grammar. Tense, Aspect and Modality in the Languages of the World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cennamo, M. (2008). “The rise and development of analytic perfects in Italo-Romance”. In: *Grammatical change and linguistic theory: the Rosendal papers*. Ed. by T. Eythórsson. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: pp. 115–142.
- de Acosta, D. (2011). “Rethinking the genesis of the Romance periphrastic perfect”. In: *Diachronica* 28.2: pp. 143–185.
- De Mulder, W. and A. Patard (2020). “Le verbe: les marqueurs de temps, mode et aspect”. In: *Grande Grammaire Historique du Français*. Ed. by C. Marchello-Nizia et al. Vol. 1. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton. Chap. 38: pp. 1486–1544.
- Detges, U. (2000). “Time and truth: the grammaticalization of resultatives and perfects within a theory of subjectivization”. In: *Studies in Language* 24: pp. 345–377.
- Detges, U. (2006). “Aspect and pragmatics: the *passé composé* in Old French and the Old Spanish *perfecto compuesto*”. In: *Change in verbal systems: issues on explanation*. Ed. by K. Eksell and T. Vinther. Bern: Peter Lang: pp. 42–72.
- Drinka, B. (2017). *Language contact in Europe: the periphrastic perfect through history*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fruyt, M. (2011). “Grammaticalisation in Latin”. In: *New perspectives on historical Latin syntax, volume 4: complex sentences, grammaticalization, typology*. Ed. by P. Baldi and P. Cuzzolin. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: pp. 661–857.
- García Fernández, L. et al. (2006). *Diccionario de perífrasis verbales*. Madrid: Gredos.
- Gehrke, B. (2012). “Passive States”. In: *Telicity, Change, and State*. Ed. by V. Demonte and L. McNally. Oxford: Oxford University Press: pp. 185–211.
- Gehrke, B. (2017). “The empirical foundation of event kinds and related issues”. Habilitation Dissertation. Paris: University Paris Diderot.
- Gese, H. (2013). “Another passive that isn’t one: On the semantics of German *haben-passives*”. In: *Non-canonical passives*. Ed. by A. Alexiadou and F. Schäfer. Amsterdam: John Benjamins: pp. 163–183.

- Guéron, J. (1995). “On HAVE and BE”. In: *North East Linguistics Society*. Vol. 25. 1: pp. 191–206.
- Heine, B. (1997). *Cognitive Foundations of Grammar*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hertzenberg, M. J. (2015). “*habere* + pp and the Origin of the Periphrastic Perfect”. In: *Journal of Latin Linguistics* 14.1: pp. 33–63.
- Herzog, E. (1910). “Das to-Partizip im Altromanischen: ein Beitrag zur Lehre vom syntaktischen Wandel”. In: *Prinzipienfragen der romanischen Sprachwissenschaft: Wilhelm MeyerLübke zur Feier der Vollendung seines 50. Lehrsemesters und seines 50. Lebensjahres gewidmet I*. Halle: Niemeyer: pp. 76–186.
- Kratzer, A. (2005). “Building Resultatives”. In: *Event Arguments: Foundations and Applications*. Ed. by C. Maienborn and A. Wöllstein. Berlin: de Gruyter: pp. 177–212.
- La Fauci, N. (1997). *Per una teoria grammaticale del mutamento morfosintattico: dal latino verso il romanzo*. Pisa: ETS.
- Labourt, J. (1951). *Saint Jérôme: Lettres, tome II. Texte établi et traduit par Jérôme Labourt*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.
- LeBruyn, B., H. de Swart, and J. Zwarts (2013). “‘Have’, ‘With’ and ‘Without’”. In: *Proceedings of SALT 23*. Ed. by T. Snider. Santa Cruz, CA: pp. 535–548.
- Ledgeway, A. (2012). *From Latin to Romance: morphosyntactic typology and change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Legate, J. A. (2014). *Voice and v: Lessons from Acehnese*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Maienborn, C., H. Gese, and B. Stolterfoht (2016). “Adverbial Modifiers in Adjectival Passives”. In: *Journal of Semantics* 33: pp. 299–358.
- Maienborn, C. and J. Herdtfelder (2017). “Eventive versus stative causation: the case of German causal *von*-modifiers”. In: *Linguistics and Philosophy* 40: pp. 279–320.
- Myler, N. (2016). *Building and Interpreting Possession Sentences*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Pinkster, H. (1987). “The strategy and chronology of future and perfect tense auxiliaries in Latin”. In: *Historical development of auxiliaries*. Ed. by M. Harris and P. Ramat. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: pp. 193–223.
- Pinkster, H. (2015). *The Oxford Latin syntax, volume 1: the simple clause*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Rapp, I. (1996). “Zustand? Passiv? — Überlegungen zum sogenannten “Zustandspassiv””. In: *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft* 15.2: pp. 231–265.
- Sæbø, K. J. (2009). “Possession and Pertinence: The Meaning of *Have*”. In: *Natural Language Semantics* 17: pp. 369–397.
- Schaden, G. (2007). “La sémantique du Parfait. Étude des “temps composés” dans un choix de langues germaniques et romanes”. PhD thesis. Université Paris 8.
- Smith, C. S. (1991). *The Parameter of Aspect*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- Squartini, M. and P. M. Bertinetto (2000). “The Simple and Compound Past in Romance languages”. In: *Tense and Aspect in the Languages of Europe*. Ed. by Ö. Dahl. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter: pp. 403–439.
- Stassen, L. (2009). *Predicative Possession*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Țăra, G. B. (2014). *Les périphrases verbales avec habeo en latin tardif*. Grammaire et linguistique. Paris: L’Harmattan.
- Thielmann, P. (1885). “*Habere* mit dem Perf. Part. Pass.” In: *Archiv für Lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik* 2: pp. 372–423, 509–549.
- Vergnaud, J.-R. and M. L. Zubizarreta (1992). “The definite determiner and the inalienable constructions in French and in English”. In: *Linguistic Inquiry* 23: pp. 595–652.

- Vikner, C. and P. A. Jensen (2002). "A Semantic Analysis of the English Genitive. Interaction of Lexical and Formal Semantics". In: *Studia Linguistica* 56.2: pp. 191–226.
- Vincent, N. (1982). "The development of the auxiliaries *habere* and *esse* in Romance". In: *Studies in the Romance verb: essays offered to Joe Cremona on the occasion of his 60th birthday*. Ed. by N. Vincent and M. Harris. London: Croom Helm: pp. 71–96.