The continuous path of grammaticalization in modern Peninsular Spanish

Sara Zahler, Indiana University   **Meagan Day,** University of Florida

Across the European languages, perfects have been found to be most commonly of resultative origin (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 53-74). *Haber + past participle* is an example of a resultative construction that evolved into a perfect form, known as the present perfect. This form derived from the Latin periphrastic perfect, which was "a possessive construction consisting of transitive *habere* followed by a direct object and agreeing past passive participle" (Lopez-Couso & Seoane 2008: 135-136). It was originally used similarly to *tener + past participle*, which in modern Peninsular Spanish may signify the present result of a past action (Harre 1991; Kato 1993), and also shared the same formal characteristics as *tener + past participle*, including obligatory presence of a direct object, agreement of the past participle with the direct object, and variable positioning of the past participle. Furthermore, this form was restricted to change-of-state verbs, which can be generalized to resultative constructions cross-linguistically (Bybee et al. 1994).

Gradually, as *haber + past participle* began to denote perfect actions more often than resultative actions, the agreement between the direct object and the past participle was lost (Holmes & Balukas 2011), and the position of the past participle was fixed to the left of the direct object. This construction also began to spread to dynamic verbs of all types, including those not requiring a direct object, such as motion verbs, and then to stative verbs (Bybee et al. 1994: 69). However, this form has evolved further, and has grammaticalized as the default past perfective in the peninsular variety of Spanish (Schwenter & Torres Cacoullos 2008), following the widely recognized perfect to perfective path of grammaticalization (Bybee et al. 1994; Squartini & Bertinetto 2000).

The current study considers whether the construction *tener + past participle* is following the same evolution as *haber + past participle* by diachronically extending into the realm of the perfect. Given occurrences of this construction with some psychological verbs, such as *entender*, as in (1a), with motion verbs, as in (1b), and without agreement, as in (1c), it is hypothesized that this form has extended semantically into the perfect. This expansion into the perfect is suggested to be a functional compensation for the loss of the former perfect meaning of *haber + past participle*, which is now primarily used to convey a past perfective meaning.

550 tokens of *tener + past participle* and 1083 of *haber + past participle* were extracted from the *Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual* (CREA), a Spanish-language database created by the Real Academia Española (RAE). All tokens were coded for several variables, in order to determine if *tener + past participle* expresses any, or all, of the four primary uses of the perfect (Dahl 1985: 132; Comrie 1976: 56-61). The data were then analyzed using the statistical program Goldvarb X (Sankoff et al., 2005).

Results indicate that *tener + past participle* remains principally a resultative form, as it most frequently occurs with several factors indicative of resultative uses. However, uses of this construction with psychological, perception, and communicative verbs, frequency adverbs, non-specific temporal reference, and without a direct object in some cases are indicative of an extension to perfect uses. These first steps are congruent with accounts of the evolution of the Romance, *haber* (Pinkster 1987, Vincent 1982, Benveniste 1968), and the Old English perfect (Carey 1994, 1995) from resultative constructions. The results will be discussed in terms of grammaticalization, renewal, and tense and aspect systems.

Keywords: grammaticalization, tense, aspect, perfect

(1) a. Y, por ejemplo, lo que pasó en este esto, bueno, según *tengo entendido* yo, que se
     pelearon delante del pub. (CREA)
     'And, for example, what happened with this this, well, according to what I
     understand, is that they fought in front of the pub.'

  b. Yo tengo ido *tenemos ido* a Muros, varias veces. (CREA)
     'I have gone we have gone to Muros several times.'

  c. Canalla, yo *tengo envestigado* una cosa rara por ahí. (CREA)
     'Canalla, I have investigated something strange there.'

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