

Cognition, Grammaticalization and Syntactic Change. The emergence of Compound Tenses in Portuguese¹

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Abstract: This article analyzes the historical process of the grammaticalization of *aver/ter* 'to have' in compound tenses, since Portuguese is somewhat isolated among Romance languages in this respect. Our research has shown that the change in *auer/ter*, from indicating possession to acting as auxiliaries, involved a process of recategorization similar to that seen with the verbs "go", "come" and "have" in some languages, sharing with them a fundamental characteristic: the fact that in one phase of the transition constructions developed which were capable of being interpreted in both ways (expressing both result and time). Thus, as in those languages, the process of recategorizing involves an intermediate step of structural ambiguity whereby a given construction can be interpreted in two different ways. We will try to clarify the gradual process of reanalysis of *ter* in the medieval period, based on a corpus of original juridical sources (13th – 16th centuries) which we have transcribed, originating from a particularly important centre in medieval Portuguese culture, the monastery of Alcobaça (between Coimbra and Lisbon). The *corpus* consists of 153 original documents not only from the monastery but also from the outlying areas under its jurisdiction, dating from between 1289 and 1565.

Keywords: Grammaticalization; Auxiliaries; Compound tenses.

Resumo: Este artigo analisa o processo histórico da gramaticalização de *aver/ter* em tempos compostos, uma vez que, a este respeito, o Português conheceu uma evolução quase única no espaço românico. A nossa pesquisa mostrou que a mudança de *auer/ter* indicando posse para estruturas em que funciona como auxiliar envolveu um processo de recategorização semelhante ao dos verbos *go*, *come* ou *have* em algumas línguas, partilhando com elas uma característica fundamental: o facto de, numa fase da transição, se terem desenvolvido construções passíveis de serem interpretadas de ambas as maneiras (expressando simultaneamente resultado e tempo). Assim, tal como nessas línguas, o processo de recategorização envolve um estágio intermédio de ambiguidade estrutural em que uma determinada construção pode ser duplamente interpretada. Tentaremos clarificar o processo gradual de reanálise de *ter* no período medieval, com base num *corpus* jurídico original (sécs. XIII-XVI), por nós transcrito, oriundo de um importante centro cultural medieval, o mosteiro de Alcobaça (entre Coimbra e Lisboa). O corpus é constituído por 153 documentos originais não apenas do mosteiro, mas igualmente dos 'coutos', áreas circundantes sob sua jurisdição, e datam de entre 1289 e 1565.

Palavras-chave: Gramaticalização; Auxiliares; Tempos compostos.

Introduction

"Aver" and "ter" indicating possession in medieval Portuguese

Throughout the archaic phase of Portuguese, *aver* and *ter* were

¹ This article is an extended version of a paper presented in Portuguese to *Congreso Internacional "Filología Románica Hoy"* (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, Facultad de Filología, 3, 4 y 5 de noviembre 2011).

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used concurrently to express possession. At first, *aver* was the general verb in such expressions, although both verbs coexisted in identical contexts within the same document, as in the following examples:

- (1) «vinhas que ela *auya*»/«vinhos que ora *teemos* en cubadas»;
`vineyards that she had'/ `wines that we now have in vats' (1343)
- (2) «feus bẽes de rraiz que elles *ham*»/«que ell nom *tijnha* agora dinheiros»
`their property which they have'/ `that he now had no money' (1444)
- (3) «nõ *avendo* poder»/«*tynha* hũa metade»
`not having power'/ `had a half' (1507)

From the 1480s or 1490s onwards, the percentages of *ter* relative to *aver* began to be reversed, with no surviving documents showing the generalization of *aver*. The expansion of *ter* at the expense of *aver* originated in structures where the complement of the verb expressed material possessions external to the owner (*ter terras*, *ter herdades*, *ter bens*, etc. ([`have lands, estates, possessions'])). Only later we find structures with complements expressing goods or properties, personal or acquired, which are or have become inherent to the `possessor', such as moral, spiritual, intellectual, emotional or social qualities: *ter amor*, *ter juízo*, *ter vaidade*, etc. ([`have love, sense, vanity']) or abstract concepts (*ter temor*, *ter poder*, *ter paz*, etc. ([`have fear, power, peace'])). Thus what we see here is a movement of *ter* to the area of `non-prototypical' possession. In chronological terms, as we have remarked elsewhere (CARVALHO, 2006, p. 582), the change in the behavior of *ter* and *aver* seems to have coincided with the new sociocultural horizons opened by the Portuguese Discoveries and by Italian humanism.

"Auer/ter" + past participle: from the notion of possession/result to that of time/ memory

Apart from typical structures indicating possession constructed with the verbs *aver/ter* and a noun complement, there were others where these verbs were followed by a past participle, sometimes appearing inflected, sometimes uninflected. It is this type of structure which we shall concentrate on here, since it is its evolution over time (from resultative, still linked to the idea of possession, to the notion of time) which may provide the key to understanding the emergence

of compound tenses in Portuguese. Thus, in modern Portuguese, compound tenses are formed with the auxiliary *ter* 'to have' (< Lat. TENERE) followed by an uninflected past participle («Eu *tenho escrito* muitos livros» 'I *have written* many books'/«Eu *tenho trabalhado* muito nas últimas semanas», 'I *have worked* hard in the last few weeks', «O João já *tinha ido* aos Estados Unidos», 'John *had* already *gone* to the United States'). In fact, the Romance languages, unlike Latin, formed new compound tenses to express past actions: besides the Imperfect «eu *trabalhava*» 'I used to work', the simple Preterite «eu *trabalhei*» 'I worked' and the Simple Pluperfect «eu *trabalhara*», 'I had worked', there appear the Compound Preterite and the Compound Pluperfect (this last with a common time value), which in most Romance languages are formed with *habere* (in Portuguese and Asturian with *tenere*, 'ter'): *j'ai fait/j'avais fait* (Fr.), *he hecho/habia hecho* (Sp.), *tenho amado/tinha amado* (Port.), *ho lavorato/avevo lavorato* (It.). Most Romance languages, particularly French and Italian, but also Spanish, often use the Compound Preterite, and in daily usage the simple Preterite is almost extinct. In this respect Portuguese differs from these other languages, tenaciously preserving the simple Preterite to express finished actions in the past: for Spanish «*ha comido ya*», «*ha dormido bien*» Portuguese has «*já jantou*», «*dormiu bem*»³. We should emphasize, however, that in Portuguese the simple Preterite and the Compound Preterite have very different temporal and aspectual values. Thus, in «*Tenho trabalhado* muito ultimamente» ('I *have been working* hard recently') or «*Tenho escrito* muitos livros» ('I *have written* many books'), we have actions («*trabalhar*», «*escrever*») which are still not finished in the present and which are still taking place at the moment of speaking (in English, they correspond either to the Present Perfect or to the Present Perfect Continuous, as in the examples above), while in «*Trabalhei* muito» ('I *worked* hard'), the action is already finished at the time of speaking, and a time expression can be used to anchor it to a particular past moment ('I *worked* hard last week', for example). The Compound Preterite is basically a tense which is not used with adverbs of time referring to specific moments in the past (**Tenho estudado* muito

³ The linguistic conditions of this phenomenon in Italy lead us to believe that the conservatism of Portuguese is a legacy from Roman times, since Italian dialects differ in the same way as those in the Iberian Peninsula. There too there is the same contrast between northern/ central varieties, with their widespread use of compound tenses, and southern dialects, some of which dispense completely with the new tenses: for «*esta manhã choveu*» (Port.), Sicilian uses «*chiuvíu*» instead of common Italian's «*ha piovuto*».

ontem/no ano passado/ há cinco minutos). In Portuguese compound tenses, as already mentioned, the past participle does not vary, not agreeing in number or gender with the direct object which may follow it: «*Tenho cantado* muitas canções»/«*Tinha cantado* muitas canções» ('I have sung many songs'/I had sung many songs').

The precise aim of this article, then, is to analyze the historical process of the grammaticalization of *auer/ter*⁴ in compound tenses, since Portuguese, the Romance language which went furthest in replacing *habere* by *tenere* (GARCÍA MARTÍN, 2001, p. 53), has been somewhat isolated among Romance languages in this respect.⁵ We shall therefore try to identify the cognitive, discursive (and possibly social) factors which gave rise to the change from the notion of possession/result to that of time or 'memory'. This was expressed in a phenomenon of grammaticalization, since the change of *aver/ter* into auxiliaries led to a process of reanalysis, with consequent loss of lexical meaning.

Gramaticalization and syntactic change

In recent years, special emphasis has been given to the historical nature of grammaticalization processes, linking them to a particular type of linguistic change, subject to certain general processes and mechanisms (such as metaphorical and metonymical transference, reanalysis, etc.) and characterized by certain consequences, such as changes in grammar. Like other linguistic changes, in this view, grammaticalization proceeds gradually, both in linguistic and in social contexts. In contrast with other phenomena (particularly phonetic and morphological), the evolutionary process whereby *ter* evolved in the direction of time in this construction was slow and gradual, leading us to conclusions on the gradual nature of syntactic change⁶. Thus, in phonology (except for types of free variation, stylistically conditioned), from the moment when the gradual change is completed, an entity perceived as distinctive (a phoneme, for example) completely replaces

⁴ When we speak of the grammaticalization of the verb *auer* (arc.) (*haver*, contemporary Port.) as an auxiliary, we are referring above all to Galician, which until the 14th century formed a linguistic unit with Portuguese in the west of the Peninsula. In fact the construction with the auxiliary *auer* was little used in Portuguese.

⁵ Hopper and Traugott (1993, p. 53) characterise the evolution of HABERE thus: "the path from *habere* to the perfect was via the locative-possessive-existential in transitive contexts of cognitive and sensory states".

⁶ This gradual character of grammaticalization processes has been stressed by Lichtenberk (1991: p. 37-80), with regard to a language spoken on the island of Malaita (southeast of the Solomon Islands, in Oceania).

the former so that at the level of perception a new linguistic situation is reached; in syntax, however, the two situations may coexist for a considerable time. Furthermore, after taking place in spoken language, the syntactic change is not immediately reflected in writing. There is usually a large time gap between the moment of syntactic innovation in speech and its subsequent written manifestations. The view which in our opinion best reflects the nature of the process is presented by Traugott as "a gradient phenomenon, whereby forms and constructions that at first express primarily concrete, lexical, and objective meanings come through repeated use in local syntactic contexts to serve increasingly abstract, pragmatic, interpersonal and speaker-based functions" (TRAUGOTT, 1995, p.32). Thus grammaticalization appears to be associated with the pragmatic-semantic process of *subjectivization*, where "meanings become increasingly based on the speaker's belief state/attitude toward the proposition" (TRAUGOTT, 1995, p.31).

Present state of the discussion

The study by Naro and Lemle (1977, p. 259-268), now recognized as classic, deals with the formation of Portuguese compound tenses, that is, the emergence of *ter* as an auxiliary in compound tenses, and thus the first known case of the reanalysis of this verb. However, the study was based on just one example, taken from a Portuguese religious text (the *Orto do Esposo*), originally composed between 1383 and 1417, and preserved in two manuscripts, A (Alc. 198/cclxxiii) and B (Alc. 212/cclxxiv), paleographically dated to the first half of the 15th century and to the end of the century respectively. As well as being insufficiently representative, then, there is the question of the textual transmission of the work, with all its possible risks of linguistic inauthenticity. But even apart from that, the example given by the authors contains a direct object which allows no other option than the unmarked (masculine) form, as seen here:

Grave imigo *tem ganhado* a castidade (Orto/307)

This sentence, a translation of the Latin *gravem inimicum sortita est castitas* (which includes the deponent verb *sortior*), could be rephrased as «A castidade *tem ganhado* grave imigo» 'chastity has

acquired a great enemy'. Obviously this is a construction with temporal meaning and not just with an adjectival complement. However, the direct object («grave imigo») is grammatically masculine, so there was no other possible choice for the agreement apart from *ganhado* (*A castidade *tem ganhada* grave imigo).

Advantages of an authentic juridical *corpus*, chronologically arranged

We will try to clarify the gradual process of reanalysis of *ter* in the medieval period, based on a corpus of original juridical sources (13th – 16th centuries) which we have transcribed,⁷ originating from a particularly important centre in medieval Portuguese culture, the monastery of Alcobaça (between Coimbra and Lisbon). The selected documents are part of the collection *Mosteiro de Alcobaça* (1st and 2nd *Incorporations*) from the "Institutos dos Arquivos Nacionais/Torre do Tombo" (Lisbon), the largest and most important national archive. The corpus consists of 153 original documents not only from the monastery but also from the outlying areas under its jurisdiction ('coutos'), dating from between 1289 and 1565.⁸ In the corpus we have found 8 tokens for the verb *auer* and 18 for the verb *ter* + past participle, and it is on these that we have concentrated our research.

We chose to study a single corpus, chronologically arranged, because we believe that it is by comparing texts of the same genre over time that we can arrive at 'authentic' diachronic variation. The universe of the discourse is the juridical language used in land and property contracts: documents concerned with buying, selling, rental, exchange, receipts and wills, for example. Through this double basis of the field of study – spatial and thematic – we can observe the continuous evolution of the texts and therefore, in parallel, of the language.

Analysis of the corpus (13th to 16th centuries)

As we shall now see, the change in *auer/ter* 'to have', from

⁷ Part of our doctorate, unpublished. The transcription has been based on rigorous criteria, on the principle of scrupulous respect for the language of the manuscript.

⁸ The selection criteria were essentially diatopic and diachronic, but obviously the corpus would never be perfect. We may recall Labov (1994, p. 11): "But the data that are rich in so many ways are impoverished in others. Historical documents survive by chance, not by design, and the selection that is available is the product of an unpredictable series of historical accidents (...). Historical linguistics can then be thought of as the art of making the best use of bad data".

indicating possession to acting as auxiliaries, involved a process of recategorization similar to that seen with the verbs “go”, “come” and “have” in some languages (in the Ivory Coast and Liberia, for example) (HEINE, 1993, p.116), sharing with them a fundamental characteristic: the fact that in one phase of the transition constructions developed which were capable of being interpreted in both ways (expressing both result and time), since there was an identification between the subject of the clause and the agent of the action expressed by the past participle. Thus, as in those languages, the process of recategorizing involves “an intermediate step of structural *ambiguity* whereby a given construction can be interpreted in two different ways”, as claimed by Heine (1993, p. 116).

The following examples are from contemporary European Portuguese:

- (i) *Temos/Tínhamos os carros reparados* ('We have/had got the cars repaired')
- (ii) (*?) *Temos/Tínhamos reparados os carros*
- (iii) *Temos/Tínhamos reparado os carros* ('We have/had repaired the cars')

Example (i) is a possessive structure, where the subject/ agent of the action expressed by the past participle may not necessarily correspond to the subject of the action expressed by the verb *ter*. Example (ii) is unacceptable⁹ in contemporary European Portuguese, but was common in medieval Portuguese, as we shall see in our analysis of the corpus. It was this second type of construction (where the subject of the action expressed by the past participle coincides with the subject of *ter*) which formed a transition to example (iii), which expresses temporal-aspectual meaning. With the Compound Preterite (no examples of which appear in our corpus), the meaning is progressive-iterative and not perfective, as for example in Spanish.

The innovation in modern Portuguese (15th – 16th centuries), as we shall see, is morphological in nature – the loss of agreement of the Past Participle in favor of the unmarked form.

⁹ The construction is grammatically possible. In use, however, the fact that it is ambiguous in its syntactic subject (which performs the action expressed by the past participle) makes it 'anomalous'. Thus the construction can only occur in very specific contexts, such as when the speaker wishes to emphasize the result of an action s/he has performed.

Verb "auer"/"ter" followed by adjectival status complement

Let us consider the following examples, with the verbs *ter* and *auer*, followed by a complement of adjectival status. We can see that, as in the examples shown above («*Temos/Tínhamos os carros reparados*»), what is being expressed is the result, at a particular moment (present or past) of the action described by the past participle:

Table 1 - Verb *ter* followed by adjectival status complement

Ter + Inflected Past Participle, indicating possession	
1343 Cós	(a) «pela gyffa que as [dytas couffas] el de mÿ tẽ rrendadas » 'by the way that he has got them [afore-said things] rented, from me'
1422 MA	(b) «que a [dicta quintaa] tjnha emplazada » 'that had got it [aforesaid farm] rented'

Firstly it should be pointed out that in certain past participle structures, the agent of the action is not the same as the subject of the verb *ter*, which is the beneficiary/locative of the result of a previous action. Thus, *ter* ('to have') is not an auxiliary but rather a predicative transitive, with participles such as *rrendadas*, *emplazada* 'rented', as predicatives of the direct complement, indicating a quality or state. This is therefore a structure which includes a predicative substructure with a specific format: a resultative passive construction¹⁰. Silva (1981, p.97) defines the structure as: "the verb *ter* followed by a complement with a participle of adjectival status". According to Naro and Lemle (1977, p. 265), "given the adjectival status of the participle in this construction, it does not necessarily have the same 'subject' as the verb *ter*".

According to Ali (1957, p. 126), this is "a periphrastic construction created by the approximation and semantic linking of an active element – *habere* or *tenere* – and a passive element, the former referring to the subject, the latter to the direct object".¹¹ In this type of construction,

¹⁰ Compare the example: «O Zé *tem* os livros *arrumados*» – 'Zé has got the books tidied'.

¹¹ In this type of structure we should include the "*tenho* apartadas" construction, occurring in the *Testamento de Afonso II* (the first document written in Portuguese) expressing the possession of a completed action already transformed into the past.

the earliest verb of possession in medieval Portuguese not semantically integrated with the adjective was *ter*. Exceptionally, there is one example of this same type with *auer*, from a period when this verb, in both possessive and past participle structures, was beginning its decline:

- (1) «e que a dita casa **ouuerom lleuãtada e coregijda** de parede e madeira» (1448 Alj)
 'and that they had got the aforesaid house built and equipped with walls and wood'

These examples are similar to others in our corpus which indicate a possessive structure, but which could not have been the origin of constructions with compound tenses in contemporary European Portuguese, since, as an auxiliary, *ter* can never appear in the Simple Preterite (thus, «Eu **tive** os carros *reparados*, but * Eu **tive** *reparado* os carros):

- (2) «**teuerõ rrêdadof** of seuf moinhos» (1412 Ped)
 'they had got their mills rented'
 (3) «**teuerom rrêdadof** of dictof moinhos» (1412 Ped)
 'they had got the aforesaid mills rented'

Constructions with "auer" / "ter" + inflected past participle

We shall now analyze constructions with *auer* / *ter* + past participle, rather different from those presented in the preceding section. In the data for this study dating from the 14th century, *auer* and *ter* appear with inflected participles, no longer functioning to express simple possession as seen previously, since both *auer/ter* and the past participle already contain the idea of time. As we have said above, it must be remembered that this type of structure (of the type «**Temos reparados os carros*») is not considered correct in present-day European Portuguese, though it was common in the medieval period:

Table 2 – Constructions with *auer* + inflected past participle

<i>Auer</i> + inflected past participle	
1328 Alj	(a) « <i>hũa citaçõ que nos auemos facta ao abade</i> » 'a document which we have produced'
1388 MA	(b) « <i>ajudas que eu hey rrecebidas do moefteiro</i> » 'help which I have received from the monastery'
1402 MA	(c) « <i>jniurias e palauras e defamamêtos que del ouuelle dados</i> » 'libels which he had committed against him' (d) « <i>diujdas que na dicta demãda auja factas</i> » 'debts which he had made in the aforesaid case'
1541 Sal	(e) « <i>que elles avyãõ a dyta demarquaçãõ afj ffeyta</i> » 'that they had got the property deed drawn up in this way'

Table 3 – Constructions with *ter* + inflected past participle

<i>Ter</i> + inflected past participle	
1304 Alc	(a) « <i>herdamêtos que diziã (...) que lhis nos (...) tijnhamos filhados</i> » 'estates that they said (...) we had taken from them'
1459 MA	(b) « <i>nom fazendo perjuizo a algũas escripturas fe lhas o dito moefteiro tem factas</i> » 'without prejudice to any deeds, if the aforesaid monastery has produced it for them'
1491 Alj	(c) « <i>todos os ffrujtos e rendas que aly tëem recebydos</i> » 'all goods and rents which they have thus received'
1526 Ped	(d) « <i>sẽ ãbargo da pofe que ja lhe tinã dada</i> »; 'despite the property which they had already given him' (e) « <i>fem embargo da [pofe] que ja lhe tinham dada</i> » 'despite the [property] which they had already given him'
1565 Alc	(f) « <i>por ser duujda poderẽ lha [escritura] fazer pela que tinã feita ja ao autor João Luis</i> » 'as it is not certain they can make it [the deed] by that they had already done to the plaintiff João Luis'

We may suppose that the verbs *auer/ter* are already acting as an auxiliary in a compound tense in all these constructions, even those with *auer*. Many tests to identify auxiliaryity¹² lead us to conclude that:

- (i) the agent of the action expressed by the past participle is the same as the subject of the verb *auer/ter*; that is, the subject of *auer/ter* is the same as that of the verbs *filhar*, *fazer*, *receber* and *dar* (principle of subject identity);
- (ii) nothing is interpolated between the verbs *auer/ter* and the past participle (apart from the example of 1541, where the discursal deictic *afj*, 'assim', 'thus', is interposed);
- (iii) the constructions include the idea of past time.

In fact, none of these requirements means that the verb *auer/ter* and the participle could not just as well be indicating a resultative state, the possession of the result of an action. One way to estimate the grammaticalization of *auer/ter* + PP constructions is to see if they can be replaced by other constructions with presumably the same function – that is, by the simple Pluperfect (*fizera*, *recebera*, *dera*). So, applying this test to the examples in tables 2 and 3, we see that the exchange is impossible without significantly altering the temporal-aspectual value of the construction. We believe that the idea of a resultative state is expressed morphologically by means of the agreement of the past participle with the preceding direct object. In the majority of examples, this agreement means that we cannot consider this verb as an auxiliary and therefore as grammaticalized. We are therefore close to the notion of auxiliaryity, but in fact *auer/ter* and the participle here do not make one indivisible unit of meaning.

In fact, in constructions where the forms of the past participle agree with the preceding direct object complement, it is clear that *auer/ter* could not be considered an auxiliary. Thus, the examples shown in tables 2 and 3 do not indicate the results of grammaticalization (despite their proximity to a semantic unit with temporal value), but rather lexical expansion. As Harre states: "The two developments – semantic expansion and an incipient auxiliary function – are presumably not entirely separate from each other". (HARRE, 1991, p. 120).

¹² A brief presentation of the principal questions related to the notion of auxiliaryity (problems, theories, criteria, definitions, properties) can be found in Heine (1993, p. 3-26).

*Constructions with ter/auer + uninflected past participle: cognitive, discursive and social factors in grammaticalization*¹³

In parallel with previous structures, others with *auer/ter* began to develop, not only expressing time, but also showing lack of agreement, as in modern Portuguese. Around the middle of the 15th century, structures with *auer* and *ter* expressing the notion of result began to disappear, at least in central-southern Portugal, where the norm would be established.¹⁴ It seems, however, that the construction with *auer* acting as auxiliary was already present in Galician prose chronicles. An interesting case is that found in the *Traducción gallega de la Crónica General y de la Crónica de Castilla* (LORENZO, 1975), a Galician literary text from the first half of the 14th century. This is *avedes sofrudo*, followed by two coordinated noun phrases (one masculine and the other feminine):

“*avedes sofrudo muyto afã et moyta lazeyra*” (chap. 235, p. 382, l. 17)
‘you have suffered great labour and hunger’

This example leads us to believe that in this type of construction the participle agrees with the first noun, but we would need to find further examples to draw any conclusions as to the degree of grammaticalization of *auer* as an auxiliary in this construction with a compound complement. In fact in Galician other constructions without any type of ambiguity prove that the structure with auxiliary *auer* + PP was known quite early, as we see in this example from the same chronicle:

“*que llj auia mandado os onrrados corpos*” (Lorenzo, 1975, p. 334, ls. 6-7)
‘because he *had sent* him the honoured bodies’

This is unquestionably a clear case of grammaticalization of *auer* as auxiliary in a compound tense, since the complement is in the masculine plural, showing no agreement with the past participle. In this same work we also find the following, with a noun phrase in the plural:

¹³ On grammaticalization (which, as we shall see, has the nature of a cognitive process) it would be interesting to analyze the evolution of the phenomenon over time in different kinds of corpora, to identify the origin of the innovation and the possible social stratification of the variants.

¹⁴ We know that in Galician, which began to be separate from Portuguese from the mid-14th century, the auxiliary is *aver*, not *ter*.

“Poys que uos *auemos contado et dito* todos os feytos del rrey don Fernando [...]” (chap. 496, p. 723, l. 2-3).

“Since we have related and told all the deeds of King Fernando”

The same is found in the following example from the same chronicle, with the past participle of the verb *dizer*:

«et a outras [nobrezas] muytas e grandes sem todas estas que *dito avemos*» (Lorenzo, 1975, p. 887, ls. 29-30).

“and to many other great [nobility] without all that we *have said*”

These two examples with *dizer* are extremely interesting, and also occur in our corpus. We have analyzed the behavior of the verb *auer* in these constructions:

Table 4 – Occurrences of uninflected past participle + *auer*

Inversion of order (PP + <i>auer</i>)	
1352 Ped	(a) «pola guifa que ia fufo dicto auja » 'as he had already said above'
1414 Alv	(b) «como dicto aujã » 'as they had said'
1435 Alj	(c) «pidjuo o djtto fstromẽto que pidjdo auja » 'he requested the aforesaid document which he had requested'

Since two of the examples occur in an intransitive structure, it could be claimed that the compound tense here was earlier than in transitive constructions, thus supporting Harre's idea, in her study of *tener* + participle (HARRE, 1991, p. 71), that “some intransitive verbs are accepted in the construction before all transitive verbs have been accepted”. Historically it is interesting, and surely no mere coincidence, that it was precisely with the participial form of the same verb that the first cases of compound tenses arose. Linking the synchronic (by means of a brief field study of Spanish informants) to the diachronic, Harre claimed that “The investigation of contemporary use of *tener* + past participle suggested that *tener dicho* was one of the most widely accepted uses of the construction” (HARRE, 1991, p. 103).

Carey (1994, p. 114), using concepts from pragmatics, concludes that “verbs of reporting [*say, tell, explain*], like mental state verbs,

nearly entail that the subject is the agent of the process, part (ii) of the *perfect*₁ meaning". Thus, an example such as "Nu hæble we ymb Affrica Landgemæro gesæd" 'Now we *have talked* about the African land'

typically involve a *perfect* rather than an *adjectival* meaning, and therefore play a role in lexicalizing the *perfect* meaning. Mental state and reporting verbs are semantically well-suited to cause the shift from the adjectival to the *perfect* relation because they appear in contexts in which the relevant final state is not the state of the object; it is instead the mental state of the subject in one case, and the state of discourse in the other (CAREY, 1994, p. 115).

One of her conclusions is that "the perfect meaning was likely to be conventionalized first in mental state verbs and verbs of reporting, a conclusion that is supported by the historical data" (Carey, 1994, p. 115). In a later article (Carey, 1995), she elaborates on this, using Traugott's notion of *subjectivization* (Traugott, 1995). Basing her argument on medieval English data, she claims that speakers often summarize what they say, using verbs of perception and reporting and thus creating coherence in the discourse. She points out that with these verbs it is the event which is highlighted, not the resultative state. That is, the speaker's intention in mentioning previous discourse is not so much to shift the focus to previous events as to relate these events to the current discursive situation. As Carey summarizes:

It is not surprising that the first uses of a perfect appear as implicatures with verbs of communication and perception: since a perfect construction relates a past event to the here-and-now of the discourse context, it is understandable that the notion of current relevance arises with verbs that directly relate to the ongoing discourse itself. What could be more currently relevant to the 'now' point of the discourse than what the speaker assumes has been said or heard previously? (CAREY, 1995, p. 92)

We must also emphasize the importance, at least in the first two examples from Table 4 (a and b), of the inversion of word order (PP + *auer*), since it partly supports Company's (1983, p. 249) claim that inverted order appears in highly specific contexts which favor the inversion of the participle: a) in exclamations and brief constructions, generally at the beginning of the phonic group; b) clauses which summarize everything previously expressed in the discourse.¹⁵

¹⁵ Notice that in these examples the compound tense is preceded by "ia fufo" 'already [said]' and "como" 'as [said] above', which create coherence in discourse.

Anyway, we should remember that the two first examples in Table 4 are quite crystallized, only admitting objects to the clause, which explains the fixing of the participle in the masculine form. To recognize the functions which are truly at work in a particular state of a language we must distinguish, as Coseriu says, between the free use of the possibilities offered by the linguistic system and the techniques of repeated discourse, for it is only the former which will produce valid conclusions¹⁶.

The inversion (PP + *auer*, as a compound tense) in our documents seems to have originated, socio-geographically, in rural or outlying areas, and might reveal an interesting metalinguistic mechanism in popular consciousness, to express a difference from structures with agreement of PP and direct object. However, it is of course impossible to know if there is agreement when the referent is masculine singular. The first examples in Table 4, while interesting for further study (such as in the order PP + AUX), are therefore not useful in showing early signs of compound tenses. However, since they occur in documents from rural areas beyond the monastery, they can point to the need to relate studies of grammaticalization with sociolinguistic research, for, as Hopper and Traugott (1993, p. 30) observe, "unfortunately, a fuller integration of sociolinguistic and developmental research with research on grammaticalization still remains to be worked out".

Gradually, the expansion of *ter* + participle took on a different character, and new developments in the structure arose, not originating in the lexical expansion of *ter* but rather in the loss of its lexical value in the construction. We shall therefore analyze these new, typically Portuguese, examples of *ter* (aux.) + past participle, where *ter* is fully grammaticalized:

¹⁶ It is therefore impossible to ascertain the degree of grammaticalization of *ter* in the infinitive construction "*tijna prometido ir*" 'had promised to go', as found in the *Traducción gallega de la Crónica General y de la Crónica de Castilla* (LORENZO, 1975, p. 314, ls. 6-7).

Table 5 – Occurrences of *ter* + uninflected past participle

Ter + uninflected past participle	
1434 SC	(g) «elles tjnhãm fecto hũ cõtrauto» 'they had made a contract'
1455 MA	(h) «obrjgaçom que ell ao dito senhor e ffeu moeftejro teuelle ffecto » 'obligation which he could have made to the aforesaid lord and his monastery'
1490 MA	(i) « <i>libelo</i> que dado tinham contra o dito Pero Lobo» 'libel that they had committed against the aforesaid Pero Lobo'
1529 MA	(j) «por terẽ ja mãdado veer os ditos matos» 'for having already asked to see the aforesaid forests'
1532 Tur	(k) « tjnhão vëdjdo Afõfo Djaz (...) hũa cafa» 'they had sold a house to Afonso Dias (...)'
1536 SC	(l) « tynham ffecto hũa çedolla» 'they had made a clause' (m) « tynham dell'emcaregado fuas comcyemcyas» 'they had satisfied their consciences' (n) « tynham mandado ffazer o que pertemçe a fuas almas» 'they had told them to do what their consciences tell them' (o) « tjnham deyxado ao prior e comuẽto do mof-teyro d' Allcobaça a omrra e louvor do Senhor Deus» 'they had left to the prior and the convent of the Monastery of Alcobaca the honour and praise of God'
1541 Sal	(p) « <i>ho prazo</i> que lhe tynhão dado » 'the property which they had rented to him'

As in the previous example, «*Tenho cantado* muitas canções»/«*Tinha cantado* muitas canções», these examples in Table 5 are already typical modern constructions, so that we can say that Portuguese compound tenses have now finally emerged in a written text. The subjects of the auxiliary verbs and of the actions expressed by the past participle have coincided, with loss of participial agreement (since the idea of possession has given way to the idea of temporal

'memory'). Due to the type of documents (giving juridical proofs), there are no occurrences of the Compound Preterite in this table. Almost all examples are of the Compound Pluperfect, expressing a past action occurring before another also in the past, constructed with the auxiliary *ter* in the Imperfect Indicative + uninflected past participle. Exceptionally, there appears a construction with Compound Pluperfect Subjunctive (Imperfect Subjunctive of *ter* + PP of the main verb: *tivesse fecto*).

Firstly, some chronological considerations in comparing the data in Table 5 to those in Table 2, 3 and 4: from the middle of the 15th century, structures of this type with the verb *auer* disappeared - apart from the late example from table 2: «*que elles avyãõ a dyta demarquação afj ffeyta*» (1541)¹⁷. Thus, from then on, *auer* was gradually replaced by *ter*, although there had been a tendency towards this 'almost synonymous' exchange of functions from the more archaic phase. The expansion of *teer* + participle thus followed the same steps as the expansion of *teer* with lexical value, as a verb of possession. These data are interesting because they show that *auer* + PP (indicating 'possession' of a resultative state) would already have begun to sound 'different' to ordinary people, among whom this construction seems to have died out by the mid-15th century, either to express a resultative state or a past action.

Curiously, the first examples of compound tenses with auxiliary *ter* presented by Harre are from the *Crónica de D. João I* by Fernão Lopes (mid-15th century); however, seven of the eight cases are preceded by *como* or *segundo* ('as'), which create coherence in the discourse: "**como** *teendes ouujdo*", "**como** *tinha hordenado*", "**segundo** *tinha hordenado*", etc. The data which we have presented here, together with the examples of the *Crónica de D. João I*, support the idea of the diffusion of the compound tense structure during the second half of the 15th century. It seems to us, in fact, that in this

¹⁷ Seifert observes that "El siglo XVI es la época de los juegos de palabras" (SEIFERT, 1930, p. 384). This sudden revival of this kind of construction could have been a reaction against grammaticalization which had already become established in other structures. One argument in favour of this hypothesis could lie in the interpolation of various elements between *auer* and the participle, since "the fact that something can be placed between *haber* or *tener* and the participle indicates a relatively low level of grammaticalization". (HARRE, 1991, p. 123). In our view, this aspect shows a high degree of linguistic awareness. Around 1540, *haver* seems to have been eliminated from norms established by grammarians, since in João de Barros's Grammar, *ter* no longer appears as a variant of *haver*. See Mattos e Silva (2002, p. 134). We should remember that Teyssier (1984, p. 147), in his study of Brazilian and European Portuguese, says that "*haver* no longer exists as an auxiliary except in certain standard written registers, particularly in Brazil".

process we must distinguish the phenomenon of diffusion from that of the implementation of the new structure, since "grammaticalised forms may coexist alongside nongrammaticalised ones, sometimes for many centuries"(Traugott, 1995, p. 32).

Concerning this syntactic-semantic change, the move from a perfective value with resultative character to a value of time, of 'memory', should be seen as a process of grammaticalization, with *ter* becoming an auxiliary. Harre's assertion on this grammaticalization (1991, p. 69) is relevant here: the frequent identification of the LOCATIVE of *tener* with the AGENT of the verb in participial form gradually leads to the obligatory identification of the two, and perhaps from there to the grammaticalization of the construction as a compound perfect form.

Thus, "it is the development towards a past tense interpretation which encourages the invariant participle construction" (Harre, 1991, p. 145). This type of evolution could be linked to a process of 'erosion', as claimed by Hopper and Traugott and by Heine (HOPPER & TRAUGOTT, 1993, p. 201; HEINE, p. 116). According to Hopper and Traugott, grammaticalization can be seen as a kind of 'routinization' of the language: a form or a construction occurs increasingly often and, from being an unusual way of marking or reinforcing a discursal aspect, with use it becomes the habitual, automatic (because unnoticed) practice. (HOPPER & TRAUGOTT, 1993, p. 201). Heine, presenting Marchese's conclusions on auxiliaries in the languages of the Ivory Coast and Liberia, states that one of the characteristics of reanalysis is that "it may be triggered by erosion [...], but it may also itself trigger erosion" (HEINE, 1993, p. 116).

Thus this gradual change from resultative to preterite is precisely an example of subjectivization in Traugott's sense, since what is said is gradually replaced by the here-and-now of the speaker/narrator, viewed as the most important site for past events. Furthermore, since meanings become more speaker-based, what the speaker/narrator implies in conversation are meanings that may not be codified linguistically, and their repeated use in localized syntactic contexts leads to their becoming conventionalized. Thus the interlinked notions of subjectivization and conventionalization of implicatures can explain the change from resultative state to temporal meaning in compound tenses.

"Ter" as an auxiliary verb: social history, change and awareness of change

The first document in our corpus showing what we may consider a true and typically Portuguese compound tense dates, therefore, from the second quarter of the fifteenth century (1434)¹⁸, but it was only in 1455 that the unchanging participle, lacking agreement, appeared for the first time. Thus, in the examples in Table 5, *ter* appears grammaticalized, as an auxiliary indicating time. Within the verb group, it has the inflectional function (mode/time), while it is the past participle – now unvarying for number and gender – which fulfills the lexical function.

According to Naro and Lemle (1977, p. 265), at least in the early linguistic stages of the new construction, all the formal peculiarities of the earlier structures (especially agreement in number and gender) were maintained, disappearing only gradually in the following centuries. Our research confirms this, but indicates that this coexistence of old and new structures is only seen in the second half of the 15th century, since in the 16th century we see only 3 examples of the earlier constructions (with agreement of gender and number) and 7 of the new forms, with temporal meaning. In fact, 4 of the latter are contained in the same document, dated 1536, produced in an outlying rural area, which suggests the need for wider research, not only in other similar collections of documents but also in other textual genres, in order to relate the evolution of the structure to sociolinguistic parameters. We think that a distinction should be made here between two different phases of change, diffusion and implementation, since the former is seen in the second half of the 15th century and the latter finally in the first quarter of the 16th century.

In terms of social and economic history, after the incident of Alfarrobeira (1449), when King Afonso V came to the throne, ending the crises and conflicts which had dragged on since the previous

¹⁸ This example seems to relate to the hypotheses of Company: "es probable que en la conciencia lingüística de la Edad Media la disminución de la concordancia del lexema participial se iniciara a partir de aquellos casos en que el objeto directo de la oración tenía un referente masculino singular y que constituía, por tanto, la forma no marcada frente al femenino y al plural". Thus, later it would have extended to the feminine singular and later to the plural: "se gramaticalizan primero los participios de verbos intransitivos y las construcciones transitivas con objeto directo no marcado, afectando posteriormente en un proceso gradual la no concordancia a objetos directos marcados por uno o más morfemas» As we do not have access to Company's dissertation (México), we are quoting it from García Martín (2001, p. 126-127).

century, it seems that compound tenses were definitely starting to become established. This syntactic change occurred in parallel with the African conquests, the first effects of overseas expansion on the life of the capital, and the strengthening of social networks as a result of demographic growth, which were clearly decisive in consolidating the language. So, in the 1480s, when the first winds of Italian humanism blew into Portuguese culture, and when commercial capitalism began to be established on a transcontinental scale, favored by the new Cape route, it can be said that this syntactic change in Portuguese, particularly significant in the framework of Romance languages, was now beginning to happen.

What was the linguistic consciousness or perception of speakers with regard to *ter* as an auxiliary verb and its consequent loss of lexical character? In Fernão Lopes (mid-15th century), our most important medieval chronicler, the large number of examples of the order PP + *ter* leads us to hypothesize that this structure reflected a metalinguistic consciousness related to the arrival of a new and different grammatical category, the focus of which was beginning to be the past participle as the marker of time, and not the verb *ter* with lexical meaning. This hypothesis must correspond to Harre's comment: "The high proportion of examples of the past participle + *ter* order in *RDJ* [charters of King João] seems to be due to a particular stylistic device of the author"¹⁹ (HARRE, 1991, p. 133). In fact, although the past participle sometimes agrees with the direct object, the inverted order could show awareness of a change taking place and of the emergence of a category with 'quasi-auxiliary' status (in which *ter* could still be a 'lexical auxiliary' and not yet a 'functional auxiliary'), that is, structures behaving as compound tenses but still containing formal markers characteristic of a previous state of the language²⁰.

Thus, from the second half of the 15th century, *ter* was clearly used in all constructions, although *haver* still persisted as a synonymous variant of *ter*, with temporal value, in the *Crónica de D. João I* of

¹⁹ This characteristic of the author, who was very aware of issues related to language change, (especially the adaptation of the language to the characters in the action) has been mentioned by us in another study (CARVALHO, 2003).

²⁰ The designation of 'quasi-auxiliary', curiously, has been proposed by several researchers. We refer the reader to Heine's definition (1993, p. 15): "Quasi-auxiliaries may be characterized as verbs that in most respects behave like full verbs but, when governing nonfinite (participial, gerundival, infinitival, etc.) verbs, tend to assume a grammatical or "formulaic" function [...]".

Fernão Lopes (HARRE, 1991, p. 136)²¹. Although a systematic analysis of the behavior of the two forms in Lopes's work is beyond the scope of this study, we think it would be interesting to list the contexts of *auer* + PP with perfective value, since *habere* (not *ter*) is the auxiliary verb in Spanish ²². This could indicate his linguistic awareness of an ongoing change and the need to recover what had been forgotten in common speech. Thus, the skill shown in the handling of this kind of 'syntactico-semantic specialisation', which also shows skill in metalinguistic awareness, would simply be an attempt to restore the semantically emptied *auer*, which had long since lost its notional value of possession. It constituted, we may say, an attempt at a literary revenge action against the inexorable advance of *ter* in all structures of the language.

As we have mentioned elsewhere, (Carvalho, 2003, p. 59-69), the modern phase of the language begins precisely with this new linguistic awareness, as seen in the social evaluation by speakers or writers of certain signs which they begin to see as archaic. The structure of compound tenses was certainly operating in the language when Fernão de Oliveira was writing his *Gramática* (1536). Seifert produced similar data for Spanish: "En el siglo XVI tiende *tener* a establecerse como auxiliar verdadero" (SEIFERT, 1930, p. 382).

Conclusions: towards a methodological issue for a cognitive and diachronic process

In analyzing this phenomenon we can present some generalizations with important implications at the level of syntactic change. The gradual move from *auer/ter* meaning 'possession' of the result of an action to *auer/ter* with grammatical significance as a tense auxiliary was based on a transference which was cognitive in nature, as claimed by Heine (1993, p. 86): "When talking about auxiliaries, we refer to one particular outcome of a *cognitive process* whereby concrete, schematic contents are employed for the expression of

²¹ According to C. Harre, there are 36 occurrences of *ter* and 15 of *auer* + PP in this work; in Lopes's successor as chronicler (Azurara), in the following decades (1460/70) the verb *auer* practically disappears.

²² In the *Crónica de D. João I* we see *haver* + PP, always indicating past action, in contrast to *ter*, which can also show a resultative state. Harre (1991, p. 137) says that "in this way *ter* + past participle has some specific uses linked to its lexical value, not open to *haver* + past participle".

abstract grammatical concepts”.

The fact that this was a process of ‘desemanticization’ of *auer/ter*, turning them from full verbs (with semantic content of possession) into auxiliaries²³, does not imply that the ‘phrasal constructions’ with *auer/ter* followed by the inflected participle were completely eliminated from the language; rather, there was a syntactic specialization which survives in current Portuguese (see “*Tenho estudado a lição*” versus “*Tenho a lição estudada*”: ‘I have studied the lesson’ v. ‘I’ve got the lesson studied’). This connects with Heine’s idea of ‘stages of grammaticalization’ which coexisted in the synchronic structure of the language in the form of ‘grammaticalization chains’ (Heine, 1993, p. 120). It also relates to the notion of ‘layering’ proposed by Hopper and Traugott, according to which when a form or construction emerges in a language it does not immediately replace or eliminate the earlier equivalent – rather, both coexist. There may be lexical, constructional, or sociolinguistic specialization, or they may present stylistic or discursive alternatives. (Hopper, 1991, p. 23; Hopper & Traugott, 1993, p. 114).

The concept of “layering” or “variability” can be seen as the synchronic consequence of a diachronic process, as Hopper and Traugott (1993, p. 123-124) suggest in their definition: “Layering is the synchronic result of successive grammaticalization of forms which contribute to the same domain”.

Ter (*teer*, in medieval Portuguese) in possessive structures and in structures with the past participle (where it functions as an auxiliary) is therefore a case of ‘divergence’, presented by Hopper (1991, p. 24) in these terms: “Divergence is applicable to cases where one and the same autonomous lexical item becomes grammaticized in one context and does not become grammaticized in another”. Curiously, the verb *haver* still survives as an auxiliary in compound tenses, particularly in the Compound Pluperfect (*havia visto, havíamos cantado*) in Brazilian Portuguese, while in the European variety it is confined to highly formal and specific written registers. In 1500, when Pedro Álvares Cabral reached the ‘new’ continent, the colonizers, probably socially stratified, still carried spoken forms of this auxiliary verb²⁴. On the

²³ For a schematic presentation of the so-called ‘bleaching model’ see Heine, Claudi & Hünnemeyer 1991, p. 109.

²⁴ It is curious that in the same structures where European Portuguese uses the verb *haver*, that is, in existential structures, Brazilian Portuguese uses *ter*, as in «*Há* muita fome no Rio de Janeiro» (Eur. Port.)/«*Tem* muita fome no Rio de Janeiro» (Bras. Port.), “There is a lot of hunger in Rio de Janeiro”.

other hand, it must have been through normative literary influence that *habere* reasserted its place in modern Castilian. José Saramago, the Portuguese writer (Nobel Prize for Literature 1998) who lived in Spain for the last 17 years of his life, used *haver* in this type of construction as a stylistic resource to give an archaic tone, of ancient chronicles or even of the Bible, within a novel.

Such considerations demand a variationist type of theoretical/methodological approach in the study of *aver/ter* as auxiliaries in compound tenses in Romance languages in general. This has been applied in recent years essentially to phonological and morphological questions, but it would yield equally good results with syntax. This methodology is based on the corpus, emphasizing its constituent text-types and genres, since social, contextual and situational factors play an important part in this process of change.

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Recebido em 17 de junho de 2013.
Aceito em 17 de outubro de 2013.