The Conceptual Nexus of BE and HAVE.

A network of BE, HAVE, and their semantic neighbors

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Introduction

Expressions for BE and HAVE in the IE languages are highly polysemous and are found in grammatical, as well as lexical, functions.[1] The use of a transitive verb 'have', common in many European languages, is somewhat rare cross-linguistically (see Heine 1997). Most languages use a construction with a verb 'be' plus a marker of location, accompaniment or the like. This notion of 'be' as HAVE provides one justification for linking the two concepts, but further reasons are provided by crossovers from 'have' to BE and by the numerous other similarities between BE and HAVE constructions. The concepts BE and HAVE have been brought together in at least two major articles, one by Benveniste (1971/1960) and another by Isačenko (1974). In addition to a single, polysemous lexeme for multiple concepts, we also encounter suppletion, in which two or more separate roots are used to express a single concept in various contexts. The origins of BE and HAVE, the forms these expressions take, and their subsequent involvement in fulfilling grammatical functions can all be accounted for if we consider these expressions to be part of a broad network of concepts including BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors. This semantic network, referred to here as a conceptual nexus structures the concepts BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors in a relationship of BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING, where the BECOMING category includes such concepts as BECOME, GET, DO/MAKE, GIVE, PUT, COME, all of which can act in an ingressive function as causative or reflexive-causative verbs, bringing on the state of BEING. The stative verbs in the BEING category include the two verbs most prone to

grammaticalization, 'be' and 'have', as well as related concepts including HOLD, KEEP, MOVE, and various expressions of position.[2] The UNBECOMING category contains the concepts that put an end to the state of BEING, among them DIE, TAKE, and GO/LEAVE. At this level, we are dealing with a sizeable, but limited set of universal concepts central to any language. When we move to the level of actual lexical manifestation in specific languages, we find varying degrees of syncretism involving, but not exclusively limited to verbs. The way in which the conceptual nexus is realized and changes over time is language specific. Whereas the concepts are universal, the importance of a given concept will vary from language to language, even in closely related ones like the Slavic languages considered in this volume. The relationships between concepts in the nexus will also vary from language to language. These often quite different verbal developments in Slavic are akin to the variations on a theme discussed for case use and time expressions in Slavic in Janda's paper in this volume. To some extent, the conceptual nexus represents a radial category (Lakoff 1987, Langacker 1987, 1991) with BE as the organizing prototype for the other concepts, yet the relationships and connections between various concepts in the nexus seem to be more complex than typical radial categories in language. As an analytical tool for linguists, the conceptual nexus provides a structure for the historical development and renewal of BE, it contains the most likely verbal candidates for grammaticalization as auxiliaries and modals, and provides structural motivation for the spread of certain constructions and case uses.

The concepts BE and HAVE find their linguistic expression through a complex combination of polysemy and suppletion in which various semantic concepts merge into a single lexeme or in which a single lexeme takes on the meanings and functions of neighboring concepts, expanding into a broad conceptual realm. The resulting situation is one in which renewal and change are accomplished as lexemes transfer from one position in the nexus to another, sometimes fully becoming something new, sometimes taking on a newer meaning in addition to older meanings. We see the results of these processes of renewal and change in the irregularity, suppletion, and polysemy of BE and HAVE expressions across languages. We see evidence that these processes are constantly ongoing in more recent replacements of or additions to BE and HAVE constructions.

The semantics of BE and HAVE and their neighbors is a motivating factor in the grammaticalization of auxiliaries and modal constructions. Although BE and HAVE are not found as verbs in all languages, where these verbs do occur, they tend to be among a core set of verbs that participate in auxiliary, causative, and modal constructions and that appear in a host of idiomatic expressions. The primary uses of 'be' as a copula and existential verb and 'have' as an expression of possession and other relationships (part-whole being the most significant among them, cf. Mitkovska in this volume for more on the treatment of part-whole in cognitive linguistics) are integral to their further development in grammatical functions. These meanings and functions of 'be' contribute to its use as a tense (e.g., Cz and P past tense auxiliaries) and mood marker (e.g., Cz *bych*, P *bym*, R *by*) and the benefits and responsibilities entailed in ownership are apparent in the extension of real world possession to the obligations of metaphorical possession in tense markers and modal constructions involving 'have' (Engl *have to*, Cz *mít*/P *mieć*'have; should, ought'). The semantic concepts behind auxiliaries 'be' and 'have' are still very much present in languages where these verbs have been grammaticalized. Rather than undergoing complete semantic bleaching, the central meanings of these verbs are still present in the grammaticalized forms.

In this paper, data has been assembled from the Slavic languages and from Hindi-Urdu, with frequent comparisons made to English BE and HAVE expressions. The notions of polysemy and suppletion as both phenomena and developmental processes are discussed in section 2. Section 3 provides a brief explanation of the structure of BE and HAVE assumed for Slavic in the current study. Section 4 then takes up the structure and nature of the conceptual nexus itself and section 5 provides further evidence of the conceptual nexus as a source for grammaticalization of auxiliaries. In order to understand the importance of the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING conceptual nexus, we must first understand the role of polysemy and suppletion in the composition of a language's constructions for BE and HAVE, then see that there are a host of other related concepts with similar complexity and behavior in language. Having identified the nature and relative quantity of the concepts involved, we can begin to explore the relevance of this conceptual structure for the extension and development of new grammatical categories. The Slavic languages discussed in this paper have utilized the conceptual nexus to

varying degrees and have developed grammatical and syntactic features of the nexus in unique ways. As in the other studies of Slavic in this volume, we see quite similar languages finding quite different ways of fleshing out the semantic and conceptual space in the minds of their speakers.

Polysemy and Suppletion with BE and HAVE

The linguistic manifestations of the concepts BE and HAVE take various forms. In many 'be' verbs we find suppletion, in which multiple, unrelated roots fill out the paradigm of the verb. For instance, we find three separate roots in English 'be' (PIE *bheuhx- 'be, become' > be, PIE *h1es- 'be' > is, PIE *wes- 'dwell' > was, were), two in Slavic 'be' (e.g., PIE *bheuhx- > P być'be', PIE *h1es- > P jest 'is' in addition to the zero form copula found in Russian), and at least (!) five in Old Irish (PIE *bheuhx -> OIr bíid 'is', PIE *h1es-> OIr is 'is', PIE *steh2- 'stand' > OIr a-tá 'is', PIE *ghabh-'takes' > OIr perfect rond-gabus [lit. 'I have taken it'] 'I am', OIr fil 'see!' > ní-m-fil [lit. 'See me not!'] 'I am not', see Thurneysen 1946). These examples demonstrate the possibility of multiple root forms but do not take into consideration the additional irregularities and morphophonemic alternations of a single root found within the conjugation of 'be' verbs, or the further suppletion that takes place if we understand the concept BE in a wider context, including such notions as PRESENCE/ABSENCE constructions (e.g., B ima/njama [has/not has] 'there is/there is not'), near-copula constructions (e.g., R javljat'sja 'appear' as a categorizing or general copula), or specific verbs of existence (e.g., R suščestvovat' 'exist'). This grouping of unrelated forms together into a coherent paradigm is an example of how the concept BE spreads its functions over various lexical forms, while maintaining a certain conceptual unity.

However, 'be' and 'have' verbs also have access to the conceptual level, where they may take on the additional meanings of their semantic neighbors. In the case of the IE concept BE, there has been a conflation of two major ideas: EXISTENCE and COPULA. For Benveniste, the situation in IE is merely a coincidence: "What matters is to see clearly that there is no connection, either by nature or by necessity, between the

verbal notion of 'to exist, to be really there' and the function of the 'copula'"
(1971/1960:164). It is easily demonstrable that the merger of EXISTENCE and COPULA
into one lexeme, particularly into a verb, is not necessary, many languages do utilize a
zero form copula, merely juxtaposing two items, or use a demonstrative or personal
pronoun. However, I challenge Benveniste's claim that there is no connection *by nature*
between EXISTENCE and COPULA. As Kahn (1978) tells us, the concepts
EXISTENCE, COPULA, and TRUTH do cohere from an extralinguistic philosophical
perspective which may be responsible for the polysemies we find in many languages.
Such conflation of ideas into a single lexeme may not be necessary, but there is
motivation for the grouping of meanings we find in the IE languages. In a language such
as Old Irish, the tendency was to spread the many functions of BE over several lexical
forms whereas in Ancient Greek, a single, polysemous verb expressed the concept BE.
Whereas languages such as Czech or Polish have a single verb 'have' for all possessive
notions, many languages make use of multiple construction types for different categories
of possession. In addition to the polysemy and suppletion we find with BE, many of the
other concepts in the conceptual nexus also demonstrate similar tendencies toward
polysemy (e.g., Cz *dát* 'give; put') and suppletion (e.g., R *brat'/vzjat'*, P *brać/wziąć*, and
Cz *brát/vzít* 'take'.

BE and HAVE in Slavic

English cover terms have been chosen to represent the concepts BE and HAVE
and their verbal and lexical manifestations, but care must be taken to ensure that the
language of academic discourse does not overly influence the analysis. For instance, what
meanings and functions constitute a verb 'be'? Is the expression of EXISTENCE (Engl *I
am*='I exist') primary? Are the uses of COPULA (R *On byl dovol'no vysokogo rosta* 'He
was fairly tall', *Praha je hlavní město České Republiky* 'Prague is the capital of the Czech
Republic', P *Jesteś dobrym studentem* 'You are a good student', R *Koška javljaetsja
mlekopitajuščim* 'The cat is a mammal', Cz *Nejsem v Texasu* 'I am not in Texas')
inconsequential? In COPULA uses, does 'be' equate two items, assign items to various

categories, or establish location? Is an existential expression of presence and absence necessary (Engl *There is a book on the table,* Engl *There are bananas on sale,* Engl *There isn't anyone at home*)? Must 'be' function as an auxiliary (Engl *I am reading,* Engl *This book was written in the 19th century*) or participate in impersonal constructions (Cz *Je mi zima* [Is-3sg me.DAT cold] 'I'm cold', Engl *It's too bad they couldn't come*)? For many of the IE languages, including Slavic, the verb 'be' performs all of these functions, expressing a semantic complex of two, largely inseparable, prototypical ideas, EXISTENCE and COPULA (see Figure 1). Likewise, the HAVE constructions in Slavic can be understood in terms of two main concepts, POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP (Figure 2). The structure of the diagram in Figure 2 is parallel to the diagram for BE in Figure 1. The two poles represent the two prototypes for HAVE: POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP. Under POSSESSION, we may consider POSSESSION PROPER, LOCATION, and AVAILABILITY to be related possessive notions closely associated with POSSESSION. POSSESSION PROPER concerns the notions of ownership and control of physical and abstract objects (Cz *Mají nové auto* 'They have a new car', Cz *Ten kluk má míč* 'That boy has a ball'). LOCATION deals with the possession of objects in a spatial or temporal domain ((Engl *I have five dollars with me*, *He has a meeting on Monday, The door has a note taped to it*). AVAILABILITY specifically expresses the accessibility of possessed objects (Engl *She has her mother's car for today*). RELATIONSHIP includes all of the various interactions that HAVE expressions deal with which cannot adequately be explained as possessive in nature such as kinship relations and body part possession (Engl *A spider has eight legs*, *The room has four walls*).
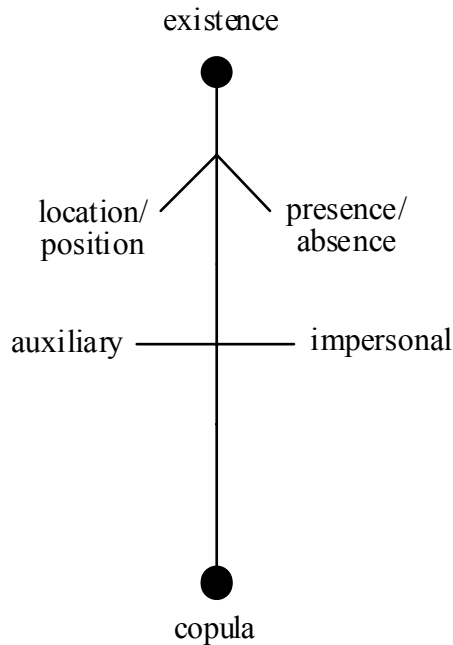
existence   possession

location/   presence/   location   availability
position   absence

auxiliary ——————— impersonal   auxiliary ——————— modality

copula   relationship

Figure 1   Figure 2
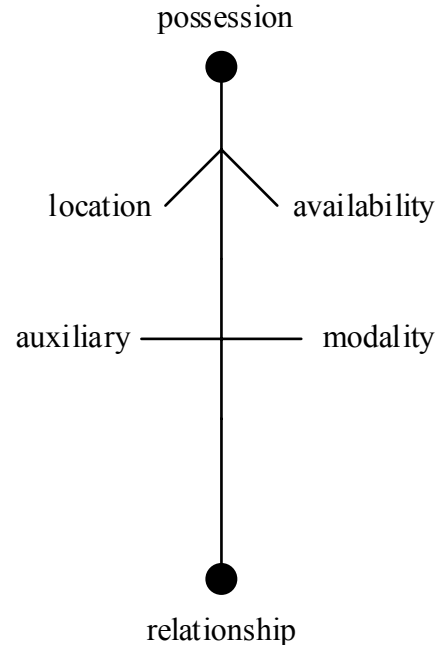BE   HAVE

Instead of finding simple verbs with straightforward usage, we have polysemous lexical items which serve both as main verbs and in grammatical functions. For BE, the conjugation is irregular, the paradigm is formed by suppletion, and we find both full and reduced forms.

It is far more common across languages to find HAVE constructions utilizing a verb 'be' than it is to find the transitive verbs 'have' that are familiar to us from modern European languages (see Heine 1997). Therefore, we may question the legitimacy of separate concepts, BE and HAVE. However, the use of a separate concept HAVE seems justified in light of Heine's (1997) research, indicating that various source domains provide constructions that become grammaticalized for the expression of possession and related notions. This BE/HAVE dichotomy leads to the use of the terms B-languages and H-languages (Isačenko 1974) to separate those languages with a dominant possessive construction with 'be' from those using a transitive verb 'have'. The Latin cover terms *mihi est aliquid* 'to me is something' and *habeo aliquid* 'I have something' (Benveniste 1971/1960) have also been used to make the same grammatical distinction. The misleading assumptions that HAVE constructions with a verb 'be' are somehow more primitive than the use of a transitive verb or that these HAVE constructions with 'be' are

a necessary first step for the development of transitive verbs 'have' is also encountered in the linguistic literature (Benveniste 1971/1960, Isačenko 1974). Heine (1997) points out that a construction with a transitive verb 'have' is more rare than a construction with 'be' because the transtive verb is featured in only one of eight source event schemas for HAVE constructions, whereas a verb 'be' may occur with each of the remaining seven event schemas. The event schemas arise from four conceptual domains: "what one does (Action), where one is (Location), who one is accompanied by (Accompaniment), or what exists (Existence)" (Heine 1997:45). Some of these domains are more frequently utilized, but there do not seem to be any prerequisites for the development of HAVE constructions. For the Slavic languages, only the Action and Location event schemas are relevant, but Heine notes that "it is quite common for a given language to derive expressions for predicative possession from three or more different schemas" (Heine 1997:72)[3]. The Action event schema gives rise to HAVE constructions with a transitive verb as in Cz *mít*, P *mieć*, B *imam*, and also R *imet'* 'have'. However, the most neutral and most common HAVE construction in Russian, *u* + X.GEN + (*est'*) + Y.NOM[at X ((there).is) Y] 'X has Y' is derived from the Location event schema.

The notions of POSSESSION and RELATIONSHIP cover the major functions of HAVE constructions well, and also adequately account for the variety of idiomatic expressions (syntactic calques such as Cz *Mám to rád* [have-1sg that.ACC glad] 'I like that', *Mám strach/hlad* [have-1sg fear/hunger.ACC] 'I am scared/hungry', or Cz *Mám ho za blázna* [have-1sg him.ACC for fool.ACC] 'I take him for a fool', all presumably based on German models) and grammatical functions played by HAVE constructions, including 'have' as a tense auxiliary (e.g., a new perfect construction in Czech and Polish of the type Cz ...*která má pro mû pfiichystané dva scénáfie* [which.NOMhas-3sg for me.ACC prepared.ACC two screenplays.ACC] 'who has prepared two screenplays for me') or modal verb (e.g., Cz *Máš být doma v sedm* [have-2sg be-INF at.home in seven.ACC] 'You're supposed to be home at seven'). These grammatical functions demonstrate that HAVE constructions deal with more than just possession.

Grammatical Categories	Russian	Czech	Polish	Bulgarian
PAST AUXILIARY	—	BE	BE	—
PERFECT AUXILIARY	—	—	—	BE
FUTURE AUXILIARY	BE	BE	BE	HAVE
CONDITIONAL/SUBJUNCTIVE	BE	BE	BE	BE
PASSIVE AUXILIARY	BE	BE	BE, BECOME	BE
"NEW PERFECT" AUXILIARY	(HAVE)	HAVE	HAVE	—
MODAL AUXILIARY OR VERB	BE	BE, HAVE	BE, HAVE	HAVE
FUNCTION WORDS	BE	BE	BE	BE

Table 1.Grammatical Uses of BE and HAVE in Russian, Polish, Czech, and Bulgarian.

Detailing the full uses of BE and HAVE as auxiliaries and modals in Russian, Czech, Polish, and Bulgarian would require more space than is available in this paper. However, Table 1 summarizes these broader uses of BE and HAVE in this representative sample of Slavic languages. As a past tense auxiliary, Russian (*ja čital* [I.NOMread-Msg] 'I read'), Czech (*četl jsem* [read-Msg am-AUX-1sg] 'I read'), and Polish (*czytałem* [read-Msg-AUX-1sg] 'I read') share a common, inherited past tense construction, however, the BE auxiliary is quite apparent in Czech, whereas it has been lost in Russian and has been grammaticalized into a desinence in Polish (see Anderson 1987). Bulgarian uses various tense forms of BE in a set of perfect tenses. The future tense of 'be' is used as a periphrastic future construction with imperfective verbs in Russian (*budu čitat'* [will.be-1sg read-INF] 'I will read'), Czech (*budu číst* [will.be-1sg read-INST] 'I will read'), and Polish (*będę czytał/czytać* [will.be-1sg read-Msg/read-INF] 'I will read') and Bulgarian has a negative future construction with 'have' (Bulgarian volitional future B *šte da* 'will', but 'have' future B *njama da* 'will not'). All four of these Slavic languages use forms of 'be' in the expression of the conditional or subjunctive. Polish and Czech use 'have' in a "new perfect" construction and even the non-verbal Russian HAVE construction with R *u* X+GEN is found as a perfect marker in dialectal Russian perfect constructions (Allen 1978, Timberlake 1993), further exhibiting that there is something integral to the

semantics of HAVE, making it so fruitful for grammatical exploitation, rather than a mere syntactic quality of a high-frequency verb. The verbs 'be' and 'have' are used in these Slavic languages as auxiliary verbs with modal adjectives and adverbs and in Polish and Czech, the verb 'have' has further developed into a modal verb meaning 'should, ought'. Additionally, forms of 'be' have taken been grammaticalized in a variety of function word constructions, among them P *bądź...bądź* 'either...or', Cz *jestli*/P *jeśli*/R *esli* 'if', and R *kto-nibud'* 'anyone', *čto-nibud'* 'anything', etc.

The becoming—being—unbecoming Nexus

Having discussed the prototypical ideas inherent in BE and HAVE and the role of polysemy and suppletion, we can now approach the content and structure of the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING conceptual nexus. Table 2 represents the broader structure of BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors. These concepts have been chosen based on three criteria: 1) the lexical items for these concepts provide source material for new expressions of BE and HAVE, 2) these are the concepts that most frequently take on grammatical functions (see also section 5), and 3) the lexical items for these concepts tend to exhibit both polysemy and suppletion. Expressions of BE and HAVE share many common features with their semantic neighbors in a conceptual network. The major portions of the network correspond directly to BE and HAVE, but several synonymous levels can be conceived of in terms of the BECOMING—BEING— UNBECOMING nexus (Table 2). For BE and HAVE, the BECOMING category can be subdivided into a causative BECOMING with the concepts MAKE/DO and GIVE as opposed to self-actuating, or reflexive-causatives, for BECOMING in the concepts BECOME and GET.

category	BECOMING	BEING	UNBECOMING
	MAKE/DO		
existence		BE	(UNMAKE)
	BECOME		
	GIVE, TAKE		TAKE, GIVE
possession		HAVE	
	GET		LOSE
creation	CREATE	EXIST	DESTROY
life	BE BORN	LIVE, GROW	DIE
visibility, presence	APPEAR	BE visible	DISAPPEAR
visibility, presence	SHOW	BE visible	HIDE
accessibility	FIND	KEEP	LOSE, LEAVE
motion	COME	STAY	GO/LEAVE
process	START/BEGIN	CONTINUE	FINISH/END
position	STAND UP	STAND	SIT DOWN/LIE DOWN
position	SIT DOWN/LIE DOWN	SIT/LIE	STAND UP
manipulation	PUT	BE in location	REMOVE
manipulation	PICK UP	HOLD	PUT DOWN

Table 2. The BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING Nexus.

The BEING category can be further subdivided according to markedness for duration or frequency (Table 3) in which BE fades into more durative REMAIN or STAY and into frequency with concepts such as HAPPEN or specific verbs marked for frequency (e.g. R *byvat'* 'be (frequentative)'). Similarly, the concepts OWN and KEEP suggest duration for HAVE and some concepts are specifically marked for frequency (e.g. Cz *mívat* 'have (frequentative)').

BEING		
(unmarked for duration or frequency)	(marked for duration)	(marked for frequency)
BE	REMAIN, STAY	HAPPEN, OCCUR, BE (frequentative)
HAVE	OWN, KEEP	HAVE (frequentative)

Table 3. Duration and Frequency with being.

Renewal and replacement of BE and HAVE expressions occurs in two ways. Polysemization provides one means of renewal, whereby a single lexical item extends its meaning to a semantic neighbor and broadens its range of concepts. In some cases, a lexical item slides from one position on the nexus to another, leaving its former meaning behind and replacing another lexical item. For example, in Old English, the verb for BECOME is OE weorðan 'become' and another verb OE becuman means 'come; obtain'. Over time, OE weorðan was replaced by OE becuman for the concept BECOME, yielding Modern English become. However, a similar process is taking place in which Engl become is being challenged by Engl get, making variation possible in sentences such as Engl I became angry and Engl I got angry. In other instances, a single lexical item merely expands its semantic territory to neighboring concepts (e.g., polysemization of verbs 'be' and 'have'). The two renewals of BECOME in English show how items in the nexus are related and can replace each other in certain contexts. Polish provides another example where the verb P zostać 'become, remain' has come to rival P być 'be' as an auxiliary with perfective past passive participles as in (1), whereas P być 'be' is still in use with imperfective passive constructions as in (2).

(1) P	*Tylko*	*tym*	*absolwentom,*	*którym*	*zostaną*
	Only	those.DAT	graduates.DAT	who.DAT	become.3PL
	zaliczone	*pełne*	*studia*	*z*	*Polski*
	credited.NOM	full	studies.NOM	from	Poland.GEN
	pozostaje	*jeszcze*	*do*	*zdobycia*	*30*
	Remains.3SG	still	until	finishing.GEN	30.NOM
	zamiast	*60*	*kredytów.*		
	instead	60.GEN	credits.GEN		

'Only for those graduates, to whom is credited a full course of study in Poland, there still remains 30 instead of 60 credits until finishing.'

(2) P	*Znajomość*	*angielskiego*	*oceniana*	*jest*	
	Familiarity.NOM	English.GEN	Evaluated.FSG	Is.3SG	
	przez	*uczelnie*	*na*	*podstawie*	*wyniku*
	through	school.ACC on	basis.LOC	outcome.GEN	
	uzyskanego	*przez*	*kandydata*	*na*	*egzaminie*
	received.GEN	through	candidate.ACC	on	exam.LOC

TOEFL.

TOEFL.

'Familiarity with English is evaluated by a school on the basis of the outcome received by the candidate on the TOEFL exam.'

New expressions for BE can also arise from changes in the nexus. HAVE

constructions quite easily become expressions of BE as demonstrated by R *imet'sja* [have-REFL/PASS] 'there is' as in (3), and also in B *ima me* [it-has me] 'I exist', P *Jak się masz*? [how REFL/PASS you-have] 'How are you?', and also the French expression Fr *il y a* [it there has] 'there is'.

(3) R	*...i*	*xot'*	*kakie-nibud'*	*mozgi*	*u*	*vas*
	...and	even	some.kind.of.NOM	brains.NOM	at	you.GEN
	v	*golove*	*imejutsja…*			
	in	head.LOC	have.3PL.R/P			
	'...and if there are any brains in your head at all...'					

Expressions for HAVE also provide BE expressions in the negative P *nie ma* [not has] 'there is not' as in (4), but positive P *jest* 'is' as in (5), and in both positive and negative contexts for B *ima/njama* 'there is/there is not'.

(4) P	*A*	*gdy*	*chodzi*	*o*	*grekę*	*to*	*sądzę,*
	but	when	goes.3SG	about	Greek.ACC	then	suppose.1SG
	że	*Bóg*	*myśli*	*po*	*grecku,*	*bo*	
	that	God.NOM	thinks.3S	along	Greek,	because	
	chyb	*nie*	*ma*	*bardziej*	*teologicznego*		
	probablynot		has.3SG	more	*theological.GEN*		
	języka		*od*	*greki.*			
	language.GEN		from	Greek.			

'But when it comes to Greek, then I suppose that Godthinks in Greek, because there probably is not a moretheological language than Greek.'

(5) P	*Jest*	*wiele*	*organizmów,*		*które*	*tak właśnie*
	is.3SG	more	Organism.GEN		which.NOM	so just
	czynią.					
	act.3PL					
	'There are more organism which behave just this way.'					

German shows an extension of GIVE to BE in the construction Gm *es gibt* [it gives] 'there is'. In Russian, the present tense forms of *byt'* 'be' have been mostly lost, leading to the development of new, frequently specialized BE verbs such as (6) with R *javljat'sja* 'appear', (7) with R *naxodit'sja* 'be located', (8) with R *suščestvovat'* 'exist', and (9) with R *stojat'* 'stand' among other verbs with specific meanings in more generic senses of 'be' (see Clancy, Forthcoming and 2001). Many of these expressions appear in certain stylistic contexts. For example, R *javljat'sja* 'appear' is limited to written contexts, particularly in academic discourse. These stylistic limitations somewhat frustrate the development of these new BE expressions in a way similar to the problems entailed in the development of a general verb of motion in Russian discussed in Rakhilina's paper in this volume.

(6) R	*Ja*	*ne*	*beremenna*	*i*		*ne*	*javljajus'*
	I. NOM	not	pregnant.NOM	and		not	appear.1SG
	biologičeskoj	*ili*	*priemnoj*		*mater'ju*		*rebenka*
	biological..INST	or	adopted.INST		mother.INST		child.GEN
	'I am not pregnant and am not the biological or adopted mother of a child.'						

(7) R	*Paul'Rudi*	*naxoditsja*	*v*	*tjur'me.*
	Paul Rudy.NOM	is.located	in	prison.LOC
	'Paul Rudy is in prison.'			

(8) R	*Suščestvujut*		*dve*	*točki*	*zrenija*	*po*	*ėtomu*
	exist.3PL		two.NOM	points.GEN	view.GEN	on	this

voprosu.
question.DAT

'There are two points of view on this question.' (Pande 1983: 275)

(9) R	*Mašina*	*stoit*	*na*	*ulice.*
	car.NOM	stands.3SG	on	street.LOC

'The car is on the street.'

HAVE expressions with a transitive verb typically develop from verbs meaning 'take', 'seize', 'grab', 'obtain', and so forth, showing the extension from GET to HAVE. English shows much flexibility with the BECOMING—BEING—UNBECOMING nexus, allowing such sentences as dial Am Engl *She made a teacher* or Engl *He went mad* for BECOME. English also shows many near copula expressions with concepts from the nexus such as *come*, *go*, *die*, *begin*, and others (see Horton 1996). Similarly, the conceptual nexus also provides motivation for the spread and extension of certain syntactic constructions such as the extension of the dative case from use with verbs meaning 'give' to verbs meaning 'take' in Czech and Polish. The dative has a high correlation with certain ideas in the conceptual nexus, but the instrumental is also highly correlated with notions of BE and BECOME, with the conceptual nexus again providing structure for analogical extensions of case usage as in the Russian examples in (10) and (11).

(10) R	*Bajron*	*pogib*	*sravnitel'no*	*molodym*
	Byron.NOM	died.MSG	relatively	young

čelovekom.
man.INST

'Byron died a relatively young man.' (Janda & Clancy 2002)

(11) R	*Odnosel'čan*	*našl*	*ego*	*mertvym.*
	Fellow.villagers.NOM	found.PL	him.ACC	dead.INST

'His fellow villagers found him dead.' (Janda & Clancy 2002)

When HAVE expressions are renewed, they may or may not be derived from the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING nexus. Since the nexus deals with concepts usually realized linguistically as verbs, new verbs meaning 'take', 'seize', 'hold', etc. can provide new HAVE expressions (e.g. the replacement in Romance of Lat *habēre* 'have' by Span *tener* < Lat *tenēre* 'hold'. Alternatively, another event schema may provide a new HAVE construction, as in the loss of a transitive verb 'have' in Hungarian in favor of an expression [Y exists for/to X] 'X has Y' (Heine 1997: 111). These new HAVE constructions may then compete with the already existing constructions for a contextual niche or may become the dominant or exclusive HAVE expression. Context and competition are always present in this type of renewal. Whenever a new construction enters the system, other lexical items may become limited or obsolete or shift their conceptual focus. Simply based on the archaism of BE constructions throughout the IE languages and the much later and independent development of transitive verbs 'have', constructions for BE would appear to be more stable over time, whereas HAVE expressions seem to have a shorter lifespan. This is not to say that BE is static, rather it appears to be more capable of taking in new lexical items in a coherent expression of BE, whereas HAVE constructions in the IE languages seem more inclined to competition and replacement. Why this should be so is unclear. Even taking into account the archaisms of BE expressions, we still see BE and HAVE constructions undergoing the same types of changes. When suppletization provides for the renewal of BE and HAVE expressions, a concept in the nexus extends into additional lexical items. When the renewal is by polysemization, a lexical item expands into new conceptual territory.

The Conceptual Nexus as Auxiliary Source

The Hindi-Urdu compound verb construction combines the root of a main verb with the conjugated form of an auxiliary verb (referred to as a vector verb by Hook), resulting in a verbal phrase that is often an expression of perfective aspect. The verbs used in this construction are well suited for membership in the BECOMING—BEING—UNBECOMING nexus. Hook (1978) identifies 22 vector verbs which participate in the compound verb construction in Hindi-Urdu, among which are verbs of motion (COME, GO, MOVE, FALL, THROW), verbs of possession or exchange (TAKE, GIVE, HOLD), verbs of position (RISE, STAND UP, SIT DOWN, PUT, STAY), and some others (DIE, BEAT).[4]

Each of these vector verbs has a range of meanings which adds to the meaning of the main verb. Let us consider the verbs H-U *jānā*'go', H-U *lenā*'take', and H-U *denā*'give'. Snell (1992:139) states that H-U *jānā*'go' "as auxiliary conveys a sense of completeness, finality, or change of state".

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(12) a. *is*   *laṛke*   *ne*   *miṭhāī*   *khāyī.*

| this | boy | ERG | candy | ate | | (simple verb) |

'The boy ate the candy.'

b. *is*   *laṛke*   *ne*   *miṭhāī*   *khā*   *gaī.*

| this | boy | ERG | candy | eat | went | (compound verb) |

'The boy ate up the candy.'

---

(13) a.	*is*	*mahīnẽ*	*ratẽ*	*garam*	*hotī*	*haĩ.*		
	this	month	nights	hot	be	are		(simple verb)

'The nights are hot this month.' (Snell 1992 :140)

b.	*is*	*mahīnẽ*	*ratẽ*	*garam*	*ho*	*jātī*	*haĩ.*	
	this	month	nights	hot	be	go	are	(comp.verb)

'The nights become hot this month.' (Snell 1992:140)

In the examples above, we see the impact of H-U *jānā*'go' on the meaning of the main verb. In (12) *jānā*'go' signifies a completed action and in (13) it indicates a change of state. The verbs H-U *lenā*'take' and H-U *denā*'give' represent opposite meanings. When H-U *lenā*'take' is used as an auxiliary, it refers the "action *to* the performer of the action, typically indicating that it is done for the performer's benefit" whereas H-U *denā*'give' "refers the action *away from* the performer" (Snell 1992:140). These meanings are consonant with the meanings of the verbs TAKE and GIVE. The following three sentences demonstrate these auxiliaries in action.

(14) a.	*vah*	*apnī*	*kitāb*	*paṛhtā*	*hai.*		
	He	own	book	reads	is		(simple verb)

'He reads his book' (Snell 1992: 140)

b.	*vah*	*apnī*	*kitāb*	*paṛh*	*letā*	*hai.*	
	He	own	book	read	takes	is	(compound verb)

He reads his book to himself.' (Snell 1992: 140)

c.	*vah*	*apnī*	*kitāb*	*paṛh*	*detā*	*hai.*	
	He	own	book	read	gives	is	(compound verb)

'He reads his book aloud.' (Snell 1992: 140)

The sentence in (14a) signifies the simple act of reading, whereas (14b) and (14c) use compound verbs to express reading to oneself as opposed to reading aloud. Using TAKE as an auxiliary refers the action of the verbal phrase back to the subject whereas

the use of GIVE involves other experiencers (in this case, those who hear the reading). One can see how the use of these auxiliaries may have been motivated by a metaphorical understanding of these verbs of the type discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). If one can take an object for one's own use, why not a verbal action? If one can give a present to a friend, then one can give a reading to others. We often view life as a journey, so to have eaten all the candy is to have completed a journey to a certain destination or perhaps to have caused all of the candy to go away.

Of the more than sixty vector verbs mentioned by various linguists, Hook identifies eight on which there is near universal agreement. These are the verbs H-U *ā*n*ā*'come', H-U *uṭhnā*'get up, H-U rise', H-U *jānā*'go', H-U ḍ*ā*ln*ā* 'pour, put, throw', H-U *denā*'give', H-U *paṛnā*'fall', H-U *baiṭhnā* 'sit down', and H-U *lenā*'take' (Hook 1974:43). The semantics of these eight verbs suggests a loose system of complementary or opposing notions: COME/GO, RISE/SIT DOWN, GIVE/TAKE. These notions fit in well with the above description of the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING conceptual nexus and provide further insight into the kinds of notions that belong in this semantic network. Hook begins to hint at these sorts of relationships in his more recent work, noting that all of the vector verbs "express a change in location or posture, or an action that entails such a change" (1991:59-60). Hook's wider list of vector verbs has been arranged in Figure 3 according to the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING diagram.
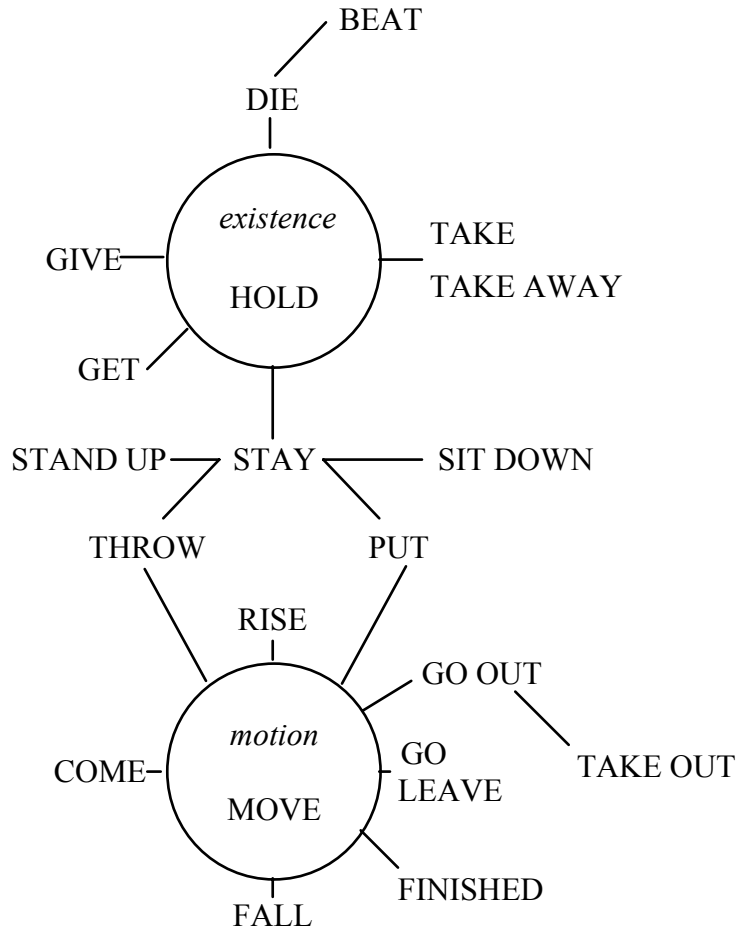
```
                          BEAT

                    DIE
                     |

               existence        TAKE
        GIVE                    TAKE AWAY
                    HOLD

             GET

   STAND UP      STAY        SIT DOWN

        THROW            PUT

               RISE
                                GO OUT

               motion     GO
        COME              LEAVE      TAKE OUT
                 MOVE

                      FINISHED
             FALL
```

Figure 3: A Verbal Nexus: The Hindi-Urdu Compound Verbs

The circle at the top of the figure represents the concept EXISTENCE and the circle on the bottom represents the concept MOTION. These two concepts serve as the organizing principles for the set of vector verbs. The verbal concepts in between EXISTENCE and MOTION form a transitional belt of verbs of position, either being in a certain position or entering a certain position, but all these concepts are part of the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING framework. By making use of such a representation of the set of vector verbs, we may come to understand why these verbs have come into service as vector verbs. Once a common verb such as 'go', 'give', or 'take' came to be used in the compound verb construction, it is conceivable that this motivated the use of their semantic neighbors in such a construction too, thereby extending the range of vectors to new verbs. This type of analogical extension is common

in languages throughout the world. Even if the historical evolution of the compound verb construction does not match the network represented in Figure 3, the diagram still provides a useful synchronic structure. Nevertheless, a historical analysis would be necessary to see the extension and development of the compound verb construction. Which verbs occurred first in this construction? What extensions were made? Which verbs were the main bearers of the construction? Have those prototypical verbs changed over time? Have the number of verbs available to the construction increased or diminished over time and have the vector verbs become more grammaticalized and therefore more semantically bleached (cf. Hopper and Traugott 1993:114)? Synchronically, the organizational principles behind the construction can be viewed as EXISTENCE and MOTION, but do these core concepts accurately represent the historical development of this Hindi-Urdu compound verb construction and, more broadly, can the concepts EXISTENCE and MOTION be considered the universal source of all auxiliary verbs across languages? If so, could we carry the analysis further and subsume the concept of MOTION into EXISTENCE so that all auxiliary verbs could be understood in terms of the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING conceptual nexus? These are all questions worthy of further exploration. From the discussion above of constructions for BE and HAVE in the Slavic languages, we saw many neighboring semantic concepts exchanging functions; the verb 'be' comes to mean HAVE and the verb 'have' comes to mean BE. Such language changes support the existence of a conceptual verbal network corresponding to the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING nexus. If the case can be made for the organization of the compound verb auxiliaries as presented here, this would also provide valuable evidence for our understanding of HAVE and BE constructions and for the grammaticalization of auxiliaries in general.

Whether or not all auxiliaries can be arranged around the concept EXISTENCE, there does seem to be a sort of lexical "grab bag" from which auxiliary source material is drawn. In the case of Hindi-Urdu, almost all the possible verbs from this interrelated nexus have been employed in auxiliary functions. Verbs of position, verbs of motion, and various ways of dealing with forces or permission have been grammaticalized in the compound verb construction as well as in other auxiliary functions in Hindi-Urdu.[5] In the compound verb construction, key conceptual items from the BECOMING-BEING-

UNBECOMING nexus have become grammaticalized in an auxiliary construction and that construction itself has further reached into the verbal nexus to extend the construction to semantically similar concepts through analogy.

Conclusions

This paper can only serve as a brief introduction to the complexities involved with the concepts BE and HAVE and their semantic neighbors. Both of these expressions are extremely common in languages and may therefore be overlooked in linguistic studies, in spite of the interesting and complex problems these concepts pose. Much fruitful analysis can be accomplished if the two concepts are examined not only together, but as a wider set of related semantic ideas. As an analytical tool in language it has explanatory power for:

1) identification of the sources for new expressions of BE and HAVE (renewal and **development** of BE and HAVE)
2) the motivation behind the frequent grammaticalization of these concepts as tense auxiliaries, modal verbs, function words, etc. (**grammaticalization**)
3) the presence of complex, multiple meanings (**polysemy**) and the involvement of multiple roots/lexical items (**suppletion**)
4) understanding the processes of polysemization and suppletization; that these concepts will adopt the meanings of their semantic neighbors

The predictive power of the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING conceptual nexus for studies of grammaticalization means that further research should be undertaken on precisely these concepts in various languages to see where new verbal auxiliaries, modals, and new grammatical categories may be in development. The BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING conceptual nexus provides motivation for the development of polysemous lexical items and suppletive paradigms. It provides a network of related semantic items which coincide with the verbal notions most frequently employed n auxiliary constructions. The nexus also motivates the extension of certain constructions through analogy. The Slavic languages examined in this paper have developed elaborate

systems involving the ideas in the conceptual nexus. The verbs 'be' and 'have' in these languages have multiple meanings and fill many different functions. These lexical items represent foundational concepts and maintain close ties with their semantic neighbors in the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING nexus. The continual process of replacement and renewal by other items in the verbal nexus makes for extremely rich constructions and provides a means of development for new grammatical categories. The Slavic languages considered here show varying degrees of grammaticalization of BE and HAVE. In Hindi-Urdu, the auxiliary construction known as the compound verb has accessed the conceptual nexus, casting a broad net to encompass other verbs associated with the concepts EXISTENCE and MOTION. The concepts in the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING nexus deal with the notions of EXISTENCE with its specificities of TIME (verbs showing duration or frequency) and SPACE (with concomitant notions of LOCATION and MOTION). From the perspective of cognitive linguistics research, the BECOMING-BEING-UNBECOMING conceptual nexus may have much to reveal about human cognition and categorization. The concepts BE and HAVE constantly reaffirm the objective reality in which we live and act, a world filled with all sorts of entities and objects. BE and HAVE expressions provide linguistic realization of the foundational concepts behind substance, life, and thought and give us a means of interacting with the world of both objects and ideas.

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[1] The cover terms BE and HAVE are used here in small caps to represent concepts as opposed to specific verbal lexemes 'be' and 'have' which are enclosed within single quotes or specific lexical items such as Cz *být* 'be' and Cz *mít* 'have', which are indicated by italics with glosses in single quotes. Unless otherwise noted, all examples are taken from various literary sources (newspapers, short stories, novels, etc.) or represent fairly simple statements in the respective languages examined here judged to be authentic by informants.

[2] The change of state concepts in the BECOMING and UNBECOMING categories and the stative concepts in the BEING category bear some resemblance to the inceptive, inchoative, and stative situation types discussed in this volume in Nesset's paper on accusative and locative time expressions.

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