<HAVE + PERFECT PARTICIPLE> IN ROMANCE AND ENGLISH:

SYNCHRONY AND DIACHRONY

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<HAVE + PERFECT PARTICIPLE> IN ROMANCE AND ENGLISH:

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Synopsis: At first glance, the development of the Romance and Germanic *have*-perfects would seem to be well understood. The surface form of the source syntagma is uncontroversial and there is an abundant, inveterate literature that analyzes the emergence of *have* as an auxiliary. The "endpoints" of the development may be superficially described as follows (for English):

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

The traditional view is that the source syntagma, <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, is structured [*have* [noun participle]], and that this syntagma undergoes change as *have* loses its possessive meaning.

In this dissertation, I demonstrate that the traditional view is untenable and readdress two fundamental questions about the development of *have*-perfects: (i) how is the early ability of *have* to predicate possession connected with its later role in the perfect?; (ii) what are the syntactic structures and meanings of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> before the emergence of the *have*-perfect? With corpus evidence, I show that that the surface string <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> corresponds to three different structures in Old English and Latin; all of these survive into modern English and the Romance languages. I propose that the likeliest source of the *have*-perfect is the structure exemplified in:

(2)   Now he has his opponent cornered.

Sentences like (2), amply attested in Latin and Old English, contain an aspectual periphrasis that potentially describes two stages of a complex situation: the subject's achievement of a result and a persisting resultant state. I hypothesize that the structure exemplified in (2) only became available after *have* had undergone semantic widening and entered into a systematic association with other expressions of possession and pertaining.

I also devote considerable attention to the differing values <*have* + perfect participle>. Though English and the Romance languages all have a formally equivalent verbal construction, the time reference of this "same" construction varies significantly across languages. I argue that the value of <*have* + perfect participle> in a given language is best understood, synchronically and diachronically, in terms of the values of the verb forms that it complements.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Diego A. de Acosta was born in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 1975. He was raised in Caracas, Venezuela, Madison, Wisconsin, and Shaker Heights, Ohio. He graduated from Princeton University in 1998, and in 1998-1999 worked as a Princeton-in-Asia intern teaching English as a second language in Almaty, Kazakhstan. He earned his Masters degree in linguistics from Cornell University in 2003. While enrolled at Cornell, he had the opportunity to take language and linguistics courses at the Universidade de Coimbra, the Universidade de Lisboa, and the Universidad Autónoma de Madrid.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

IN INTERLINEAR GLOSSES

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
DAT	dative
F	feminine
FUT	future
FPF	future perfectum (Latin)
GEN	genitive
IM	imperative
IMP	imperfective
IND	indefinite pronoun
INF	infinitive
LOC	locative case, locative clitic
M	masculine
N	neuter
NEG	negation particle (French *ne...pas*)
NOM	nominative
PASS	passive
PLU	pluperfect, plusquamperfectum (Latin)
PS	present
PF	perfectum (Latin)

PT   preterite/simple past

REFL   reflexive pronoun

S   singular

SUBJ   subjunctive

P   plural

VOC   vocative

IN OTHER TEXT

*   (before PIE roots) reconstructed

ˣ   (before sentences) ungrammatical

grammatical, but not under the intended reading

Eng   present-day English

Fr   French

It   Italian

Lat   Latin

OE   Old English

OS   Old Saxon

PIE   Proto-Indo-European

Pg   Portuguese

Sp   Spanish

RETHINKING THE STUDY OF <*have* + PERFECT PARTICIPLE>

1 Five types of <*have* + perfect participle>

This dissertation is a synchronic and diachronic study of five syntactic constructions in English and the Romance languages that contain the verb *have*[1] and a perfect participle. The following English sentences illustrate the five constructions:

(1.1) In his library, he *has* all the books *written* by Melville.   (adnominal)

(1.2) Now he *has* his opponent *cornered*.   (attained state)

(1.3) He *had* a rock *thrown* at him.   (affectee)

(1.4) The editor *had* the article *written* by one of his reporters.   (causative)

(1.5) She *has finished* her homework.   (perfect)

The labels *adnominal, attained state, affectee, causative,* and *perfect* are set forth and clarified in Chapters 2, 3, and 5. Briefly stated, the *adnominal* type is a collocation of lexical *have* and a noun phrase containing a participle functioning as an attributive adjective. The *attained state* type is an aspectual periphrasis that potentially describes two stages of a complex situation: a limit (see Chapter 2, § 2.2) and an ensuing state. Using Vendler's (1967) classification of predicates, this complex event can roughly be understood as the subject's achievement of a result followed by a persisting resultant state. The *affectee* type is a syntagma whose subject undergoes a situation brought about by someone or something else. The *causative* type is a construction whose subject causes someone else to perform an action. The *perfect* is a tense-aspect periphrasis describing previous events with current relevance.

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[1] Throughout this introductory chapter, I use *have* as a generic name for OE *habban,* Lat *habeo* and all of their present-day reflexes.

In this work, I contend that our understanding of the genesis of the periphrastic *have*-perfect in the Romance and Germanic languages (illustrated in 1.5) requires a detailed appreciation of the structures and meanings associated with other concatenations of *have* and a perfect participle (illustrated in 1.1-1.4). To date, no study has examined these other combinations of *have* and a perfect participle in sufficient detail, and as a consequence two basic questions about the genesis of the *have*-perfect have not been satisfactorily addressed: (i) how is the early ability of *have* to predicate possession connected with its later role in the *have*-perfect?; (ii) what were the syntactic structures and meanings of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in the stages preceding the emergence of the periphrastic *have*-perfect?

I address these two questions by providing a synchronic analysis of the syntactic and semantic characteristics of the perfect and of the various types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> which have survived from Old English and Latin into present-day English and the modern Romance languages. I then reconsider historical evidence—bringing a good deal of new Latin evidence to bear on this question—and argue that the periphrastic *have*-perfect resulted from a reanalysis of the attained state type (shown in 1.2 above), a type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> which has also survived independently. I further contend that the attained state type in Latin is an outgrowth of the ability of Lat *habeo* 'have' to predicate *relations of pertaining*, a class of relations which subsumes possessing/belonging and experiencing/befalling. Finally, I consider to what extent the development of the English perfect may have followed the same trajectory as that of the Romance perfect.

2 Why rethink <*have* + perfect participle>?

At first glance, the genesis of the *have*-perfect would seem to be well understood. There is a wealth of literature on this topic that documents the emergence

of *have* as a tense-aspect auxiliary and examines when and how the Romance and English *have*-perfects emerged. Indeed, the common attitude toward this diachronic change is that it has been "figured out", and that the emergence of the *have*-perfect may safely be offered to students in introductory texts and classes as an example of grammaticalization that presents few difficulties (cf. for example Campbell 2001: 252). Below, I review this *communis opinio* and offer my critique.

The historical "endpoints" of the development of the *have*-perfect are well known, at least as far as their surface forms go. They can be described as follows:

Table 1.1   *Sources and reflexes of some* have-*perfects*

Lat *Ego librum scriptum habeo* > Sp *Yo he escrito un libro* 'I have written a book'
Lat *Ego librum scriptum habeo* > Fr *J'ai écrit un livre* 'I wrote/have written a book'
Lat *Ego librum scriptum habeo* > It *Io ho scritto un libro* 'I wrote/have written a book'
OE *Ic hine ofslægenne hæbbe* > Eng *I have slain him*

In other words, the *have*-perfect is a reflex of a construction having the form <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC>. But what are the structures and meanings associated with the string <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> in Latin and Old English? According to many linguists (Brunot 1899, Bourciez 1910, Dauzat 1930, Jespersen 1931, Fridén 1948, Traugott 1972, Visser 1973, Mitchell 1985, Schwegler 1990, and others), at first <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> is to be analyzed as a concatenation of a transitive verb *have* meaning 'possess' or 'hold', and the object of this verb, a complex noun phrase including a perfect participle functioning adjectivally. This can be represented as follows for the Latin source given in Table 1.1:

(1.6) *Ego*   *habeo*   [*librum*   *scriptum*]
      I.NOM have.PS.1S   book.ACC.S   written.M.ACC.S
      'I hold/possess a written book'

In the Romance *have*-perfect, the reflexes of *habeo* 'have' and *scriptum* 'written' have become a complex verb form. This can be represented as follows for the French reflex given in Table 1.1:

(1.7) *J'*   [*ai*   *écrit*] *un livre*
      I.NOM have.PS.1S written a.M book
      'I wrote/have written a book'

Now, by what specific process could the structure in (1.6) have developed into the structure in (1.7)? The common answer to this question is *grammaticalization.* The term *grammaticalization* was coined by the Indo-Europeanist Antoine Meillet (1912: 132) to mean "the attribution of a grammatical character to a formerly independent word". In this case, the formerly independent Latin verb *habeo* has become the French auxiliary *ai* in this syntactic context.   In current historical syntax, grammaticalization is understood as an associated set of changes: (i) a semantic change of "bleaching" or "weakening" of meaning; (ii) a syntactic change involving reanalysis of one or more of the following: constituency, hierarchical structure, grammatical categories, and grammatical relations; and, possibly (iii) a phonological change involving unusual attrition. Thus Campbell describes the development of the Spanish *have*-perfect in these terms: "[Lat *habeo*/Sp *haber*] began to lose its possessive meaning and to consolidate the auxiliary function, resulting in compound tenses" (2001: 252). In this description of the change, semantic change (loss of possessive meaning) is associated with a set of syntactic changes: the main verb *have*

becomes an auxiliary, with all the changes of constituency, hierarchical structure, and grammatical relations that this implies.

The putative change from (1.6) to (1.7), with the notion of grammaticalization that it implies, suffers from two unwarranted assumptions that exclude the more likely scenarios for change. First, it is assumed that at first Lat *habeo* must mean 'possess' or 'hold' and the perfect participle must be an adnominal adjective. Second, it is assumed that *habeo* bleaches in a gradual manner and that this gradual semantic change somehow drives the syntactic change required to transform (1.6) into (1.7). Some of those who have sought to avoid the second assumption (e.g., Traugott 1972) have proposed that the structure in (1.6), with its associated meaning 'I have a written book', was simply reanalyzed into (1.7), though this seems to compound difficulties, since the proposed reanalysis involves an unlikely leap between dissimilar syntactic structures with dissimilar meanings (the only similarity being the surface string of words).

The evident dissimilarity between (1.6) and (1.7) has led some linguists to regard the genesis of the *have*-perfect as a three- or multi-stage development (Visser 1973, Vincent 1982, Mitchell 1985, Schwegler 1990), though no one advocating a three-stage or multi-stage approach has made the syntactic structures and meanings of the intervening stage(s) explicit. These analyses seem to depend on glosses, as shown in (1.8-10):

(1.8)   *Ego   habeo   librum   scriptum*
        I.NOM have.PS.1S book.ACC.S written.M.ACC.S
        'I hold/possess a written book'

(1.9)   *Ego   habeo   librum   scriptum*
        I.NOM have.PS.1S book.ACC.S written.M.ACC.S
        'I have a book written'

(1.10) *J'   ai   écrit   un livre*
  I.NOM   have.PS.1S written a.M book
  'I wrote/have written a book'

As I show in Chapter 5, there are four possible interpretations of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in English, so the gloss for (1.9) is far from clear even in purely semantic terms. And whatever its meaning, the accounts proposed to date offer no explicit structure for (1.9).

A number of linguists (Ernout & Thomas 1953, Rohlfs 1969, Pulgram 1978, Lapesa 1980, Penny 1991, La Fauci 1988, Loporcaro 1995, Watts 2001) have recognized the difficulty of incorporating possessive *have* into their account at all, and take as a starting point something like (1.9), leaving (1.8) out of the picture. Among these, only La Fauci (1988) has proposed a syntactic structure for (1.9). La Fauci's account is generally sound and represents a vast improvement over previous work. Indeed, I take La Fauci's account as the basis for my own, but explore three particulars that he disregards: (i) the connection between *have* as a verb of possession and *have* in constructions like (1.9); (ii) the precise syntactic, semantic, and aspectual properties of constructions like (1.9); and (iii) the most likely scenario for the reanalysis of (1.9) into (1.10). La Fauci's account is more fully described and critiqued in Chapter 6, after a discussion of the syntactic and aspectual frameworks used in this dissertation.

An unusual alternative to the standard grammaticalization account can be found in Watts (2001), who examines Old Saxon data primarily. Building on an account of the Old English *have*-perfect in Brinton (1988), Watts argues that it was the established meaning of the perfect participle that drove the creation of the *have*-perfect, not the changing meaning of *have*. *Have* simply made a natural choice for an auxiliary because it already exhibited a wide range of meanings in single- and multi-

predicate clauses. Though many of Watts' assertions are consonant with the ideas in this dissertation, she mentions only two types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>: the adnominal type (shown in 1.1) and the *have*-perfect (shown in 1.5). Watts contends that the *have*-perfect did not develop through a syntactic reanalysis of the adnominal type; she suggests instead that it arose through a "semantic reanalysis" of the adnominal type's two principal ingredients: *have* and the perfect participle. This radical departure from the traditional view is suggestive but it, too, excludes more likely scenarios for the genesis of the *have*-perfect because it still assumes the adnominal type is the source. Brinton's and Watts' arguments are taken up again in Chapter 7 after a discussion of the Latin and Old English data.

A linguist can never hope to *prove* how and why a syntactic change occurred; historical syntax is rather a matter of comparing scenarios for change and identifying the most likely. I have suggested that previous studies of the emergence of the *have*-perfect have been hampered by two groundless assumptions that have impeded consideration of the most likely scenarios for change. Although both of these assumptions have been questioned, no previous study has managed to disentangle itself completely from both of them. If we are to improve our understanding of the genesis of the *have*-perfect, we must be fully cognizant of the limitations of previous attempts. I therefore begin by examining these pervasive assumptions and showing that they are unnecessary.

3 Two unwarranted assumptions

3.1 First assumption: *have* means 'hold' or 'possess' at first

Many previous works on the genesis of the *have*-perfect assume that at first *have* meant 'hold' or 'possess' and that the perfect participle functioned as an attributive adjective. Visser (1973) offers a typical statement of this view:

> Originally *have* in colligation with a perfect participle was a notional verb denoting possession, while the perfect participle was a complement or attribute to the object and had a good deal of adjective force, *teste* its being (in the beginning) inflected in agreement with the gender and number of the object: *I have my work done = I possess or have my work in a done or finished condition* [his italics] (2189).

It seems to me that there are two errors with this view. First, the meaning of *have* is strikingly elastic, expressing a wide range of predicative relations; this is true not only of English *have* but also of Lat *habeo* and OE *habban*. It is therefore questionable to assume a specific "original" meaning at the time when the *have*-perfect emerged. Second, the source of the *have*-perfect, <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> need not be analyzed as [transitive verb + [object + adjective]]. That is to say, we must investigate all of the possible syntactic structures associated with the surface string <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC>, not just assume that one of them is the most basic and is therefore "original".

Now consider in greater detail the two errors just identified. First, it is unnecessary to assume a specific "original" or "core" meaning of 'possess' or 'hold' at the time when the *have*-perfect emerged. Consider the range of meanings associated with English *have* in these sentences (Latin *habeo* and OE *habban* also exhibit a wide range of meanings, as I show in Chapters 6 and 7):

(1.11) I have a book in my hand   (physical association, 'holding')

(1.12) I have a car   (possessing property)

(1.13) I have brown eyes   (comprising component parts)

(1.14) I have a sister   (kinship)

(1.15) I have a headache   (experiencing a bodily condition)

(1.16) I had a great time   (experiencing an event)

(1.17) I have an idea   (producing an object of thought)

What "core" meaning of *have* can account for (1.11-1.17), which show just part of the versatility of *have*? The writers of the Oxford English Dictionary rightly demur when they present this verb: "*have*... tends to uses in which it becomes a mere element of predication, scarcely capable of explanation apart from the context". It is a consequence of the elasticity of *have* that we pay special attention to the few instances in which *have* yields more readily to explanation, when *have* means 'hold' or 'possess'.   These are felt to be the full or emblematic senses of *have,* though sentences like (1.14-17) clearly diverge from these senses and are by no means unusual.

I do not assume that Eng *have,* Sp *haber*, Fr *avoir,* It *avere,* etc., have always been so elastic. As reconstructed, Proto-Indo-European had no verb meaning 'have'. Possession relations were marked by means of case. English *have* and Old English *habban* are reflexes of the PIE root **kap-* 'grasp' (Watkins, 2000). Latin *habeo* and its Romance reflexes derive from the PIE root **ghabh-* (also **ghebh-*) 'give or receive' (thus despite the phonological similarity of Lat *habeo* and OE *habban,* the two are not historically related; Lat *habeo* is cognate with OE *giefan,* Eng *give,* while OE *habban* is cognate with Lat *capio* 'take, seize'). The verbs meaning 'have' in the Romance and Germanic languages are all reconstructed with full lexical meanings in Proto-Indo-European, and notably none of these meanings is 'hold' or 'possess'.

Yet Lat *habeo* and OE *habban* undeniably mean 'hold' or 'possess' in some contexts. How do these meanings emerge from the earlier senses associated with *kap-* 'grasp' and *ghabh-* 'give or receive'? Heine (1997) looks at possession constructions in a range of languages and observes that the linguistic expression of predicative possession tends to be conceptually–and historically—related to different types of propositional structures, which may be described by eight "event schemas" involving an agent (X), patient (Y), and some situation. These schemas are:

Table 1.2   *Schemas for Predicative Possession*

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

OE *habban* < PIE *kap-* 'grasp' seems to be a straightforward instance of the action schema. Grasping or taking is an ingressive event that precedes a state of holding/possessing/having. Through a semantic-aspectual shift, the root *kap-,* which once designated the ingressive event, could come to designate the state that follows. The case of Lat *habeo* < PIE *ghabh* 'give or receive' is more complex. The two reconstructed meanings, 'give' and 'receive', are both associated with a transfer of possession, but imply opposite points of view[2]. I am inclined to think that in this case

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[2] This is less rare than one might suppose: it is also true of PIE *nem* 'assign, allot; take' and PIE *dô-* 'give', which appears in Hittite as *dâ-* 'take' (Watkins, 2000).

we simply do not know the "original" signification of the reconstructed root *ghabh-, though we believe it had to do with transfer of possession. The idea that 'hold' or 'possess' is the original meaning of *ghabh- has no factual basis.

It is instructive to investigate the development not only of the meanings 'possess' and 'hold', but also of all the meanings of *have* that are "scarcely capable of explanation apart from the context". How do we begin to explain the meaning of, say, Lat *habeo* in such expressions as *habeo sermonem* 'have a conversation, converse' and *habeo invidiam* 'have/experience envy'? In Chapter 6 I argue that unmarked verbs meaning 'have', like Eng *have,* Fr *avoir,* It *avere* form part of a system of predicative schemas containing some of the possibilities shown in Table 1.2. Though Heine (1997) labels these possession schemas, I prefer to think of possession as an instance of a more general set of conceptual relations, *relations of pertaining*. In this study, I want to pay special attention to the elastic meanings of Lat *habeo,* OE *habban* because I contend that a considerable amount of semantic change must have affected these verbs before there was any chance of the string <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> becoming a periphrastic perfect.

I have examined at length one error which is part of the unmotivated assumption that *have* means 'possess' or 'hold' at first, namely the error of treating *have* as possessing a specific "original" meaning at the time when the *have*-perfect emerged. I turn now to the second error, the error of analyzing <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> as only having the single structure [transitive verb + [object + adjective]].

This second error seems to involve a course of analysis in which each part of the source string <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> is studied separately and

then the three elements are added up mechanically[3]. This second error, I believe, grows out of the first. When *have* is assumed to have a specific original meaning of 'hold' or 'possess', it is analyzed as a transitive verb. Following this course of analysis, the transitive verb must have an object, and the noun.ACC is the only candidate. What is the function of the perfect participle? When they appear independently, perfect participles function adjectivally. Therefore, taking this course of analysis to its end, the participle must be an attributive adjective of the noun.ACC. The resulting structure is [transitive verb + [object + adjective]], with the meaning 'have a possession that is in such-and-such a condition'.

There are instances of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> in Old English and Latin that can be analyzed this way, but many cannot. I contend that the type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> which can be analyzed as [transitive verb + [object + adjective]] (which I call the adnominal type, shown in 1.1) played no role in the development of the *have*-perfect. It merely co-existed with other types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC>, one of which—the attained state type, shown in (1.2)—was reanalyzed into a perfect. In the attained state type, *have* is not a transitive verb of possession. The perfect participle is not an attributive adjective, but rather part of a verb complex with *have.*

In this discussion of the first unwarranted assumption and the two errors it comprises, I have set out to show that there are viable alternatives to this assumption. My aim here has not been to convince the reader that one of these alternatives is correct (I do argue for a particular alternative scenario in Chapter 6), but only to show that the first assumption is unwarranted because other alternatives are worthy of investigation. We turn now to the second unnecessary assumption.

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[3] The error of assuming that the source structure must have the form [transitive verb + [object + adjective]] is logically independent of whether or not modern instances of <*have* + perfect participle> are semantically compositional (see Chapter 3).

3.2   Second assumption: gradual bleaching of *have* drives the genesis of the *have*-perfect

The first unmotivated assumption is one that many authors make explicit, either by stating it directly or by incorporating it into their glosses. The second unnecessary assumption, that the bleaching of *have* in <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> proceeds by tiny increments (or even continuously) and drives the concomitant syntactic changes, is seldom stated explicitly but perniciously works its way into arguments about the emergence of the *have*-perfect.

To see clearly why it is problematic to regard the bleaching of *have* in <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in this way, consider the *sorites paradox* (from the Greek *soros* 'heap'). The paradox derives from a puzzle attributed to the Megarian logician Eubulides of Miletus. The original puzzle took this form: "Would you describe a single grain of wheat as a heap? *No*. Would you describe two grains of wheat as a heap? *No*. … You must admit the presence of a heap of wheat grains at some point, so where exactly do you draw the line?" It can also be stated in the following argument form:

Table 1.3   *The Sorites Paradox*

1 grain of wheat does not make a heap.
If 1 grain of wheat does not make a heap then 2 grain of wheat do not.
If 2 grains of wheat do not make a heap then 3 grains of wheat do not.
...
If 9,999 grains of wheat do not make a heap then 10,000 do not.
—————————————————————————————
10,000 grains of wheat do not make a heap.

This argument appears to be valid, its premises seem true, and yet the conclusion seems false. There is no consensus on how the paradox "works", but it is generally agreed that this paradox involves a problem of *vagueness* (Hyde, 2004).

In the logical sense, a *vague* predicate is one that has an imprecise meaning because there are borderline cases. *Tall* and *heap* are vague predicates because there seem to be cases intermediate between *not tall* and *tall,* between *not a heap* and *a heap.* Vagueness in this logical sense is distinct from *ambiguity.* An *ambiguous* predicate has more than one meaning. *Child,* for example, is ambiguous between "offspring" and "person before puberty" (the second meaning is also vague because there are borderline cases between *child* and, say, *adolescent*).

The assumption that the bleaching of *have* in <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> proceeds by tiny increments makes *have* vague (in the sense just defined) in the diachronic dimension. Assuming this type of bleaching, we are forced to imagine that an original meaning of 'hold' or 'possess' is gradually dismantled by removing tiny increments of meaning until eventually the verb *have* is an auxiliary without independent meaning. Since this assumption gives priority to semantic change, we must also imagine that all of the concomitant structural changes somehow fall out from the gradual bleaching. If we assume that *have* is vague in this way, we must further envision that during the course of the semantic bleaching there are borderline cases in which it is hard to judge whether *have* has a full lexical meaning of 'hold' or 'possess' or has lost its independent meaning. For just as the difference between *not a heap* and *heap* cannot be ascribed to the addition of a single grain of wheat, the difference between main verb *have* and auxiliary *have* cannot be ascribed to the subtraction of a single increment of meaning. Thus Elsness writes, "most writers hesitate to draw any hard and fast line between the two constructions [adnominal and perfect], seeing the emergence of the present perfect verb form as a gradual

development" (1997: 241). It is totally unclear what syntactic structures would correspond to such borderline cases.

A variant of this assumption is that the meaning of the whole construction <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> gradually bleaches from 'hold or possess something in a given state' into a perfect meaning. This seems to be Migliorini's (1969) view: "constructions like COGNITUM HABEO ('I hold as a known thing') became used more frequently until they became merely compound forms for past tenses" (23). Under the assumption of incremental bleaching, the specifics of the emergence of the *have*-perfect become so puzzling that the unlikeliest of causes (e.g., frequency) must be invoked.

The genesis of the *have*-perfect does not need to be so perplexing. The vagueness of *have* or <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in the diachronic dimension was probably not an important factor in the ultimate emergence of the *have*-perfect; the ambiguity of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, on the other hand, was essential. To begin with, we should note that it only makes sense to talk about the bleaching of *have*, incremental or otherwise, in some context, since semantic change does not operate independently of syntactic environment. Thus, for example, the semantic changes that operated on the Latin source (1.7) *Ego habeo librum scriptum* (not yet a perfect, whatever its meaning) to give the French outcome (1.8) *J'ai écrit un livre* 'I have written/I wrote a book' did not also operate on Latin *Ego fratrem habeo* 'I have a brother' (cf. Cicero *Rep.* 1, 37), which gives the synonymous French reflex *J'ai un frère* 'I have a brother'. Now, in the specific context of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, we find many cases of ambiguity—a single string having two or more meanings and their associated structures. For example English *I had the key hidden* has at least two meanings: (i) resultative, 'I got the key into a hidden state and/or kept it there', and (ii) causative, 'I caused the key to be hidden'.

Likewise, *I had a package delivered to my home* has at least two meanings: (i) causative, 'I caused a package to be delivered to my home, and (ii) "affectee" (see Chapter 5), 'A package was delivered to my home by someone'. Note that these instances of semantic ambiguity correspond to syntactic ambiguities. For example, if the meaning of *I had a package delivered to my home* is causative, then the subject *I* is an agent, but if this sentence has "affectee" meaning, then the subject *I* is not an agent. Thus the ambiguous thematic role of the subject goes hand in hand with the ambiguous meaning of the whole construction.

This fact about the correlation of syntactic and semantic ambiguities is well-known, of course (cf. Harris & Campbell 1995, for example). It is what motivates many accounts of syntactic reanalysis, including La Fauci's (1988) account of the emergence of the *have*-perfect in the Romance languages. Yet the notions of bleaching and reanalysis have been repeatedly misapplied to the genesis of the Romance and Germanic periphrastic perfects because of an unwillingness to question the assumption of gradual bleaching.

The account advanced in this dissertation is that the *have*-perfect did not emerge through a gradual bleaching of any type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, and certainly not through a gradual bleaching of the adnominal type exemplified by *Ego habeo [librum scriptum]* 'I hold/possess a written book'. Instead, I propose that the *have*-perfect arose through a reanalysis of the attained state type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> (shown in 1.2). This reanalysis was a quantum leap; no amount of inching along by gradually bleaching *have* could have arrived at a periphrastic perfect. Moreover, assuming that Lat *habeo* and OE *habban* derive from older forms meaning 'give or receive' and 'grasp', respectively, Lat *habeo* and OE *habban* must have undergone considerable semantic weakening *before* they were available for the type of syntactic combination evident in the attained state type;

so, the weakening of *have* was not the mechanism that ultimately created a periphrastic perfect. Finally, the weakening I argue for is qualitatively different from incremental bleaching (see Chapter 6).

4 Methodology

4.1 Comparing English and the Romance language family

Romance and Germanic scholars have long been aware that the periphrastic perfects of the Germanic and Romance language families are strikingly similar. Synchronically, the two language families exhibit the same forms (*have/be* + perfect participle) and a comparable range of meanings (cf. Chapter 3). Diachronically, the Romance and Germanic periphrastic perfects seem to have followed a similar trajectory, at least in part. To cite two uncontroversial diachronic similarities: (i) some Germanic and Romance languages have lost the *be*-perfect altogether; (ii) in some Germanic and Romance languages the periphrastic perfect has taken over the functions of the "simple past", i.e., the reflex of the Proto-Germanic preterite or Latin synthetic perfectum[4]. These similar outcomes suggest that a study of the Germanic periphrastic perfect might elucidate a study of the Romance periphrastic perfect, and vice versa.

However, where the *genesis* of the periphrastic perfect is concerned, it is not a simple matter to compare the developments in Germanic and Romance, because the available data do not allow us to weigh the same kind of evidence. The Romance language family has a very richly attested history, with the parent language attested in the form of written Latin. In the earliest attested stages of literary Latin (2nd century B.C.), certain types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> exist, but the

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[4] Lindstedt (2000) regards this development as an areal feature.

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perfect has not yet developed. Thus we can examine stages that precede the genesis of the periphrastic perfect and stages that follow it. The Germanic family, while far better attested than most of the world's language families, presents considerable lacunae for the historical linguist trying to trace the emergence of the periphrastic perfect. Proto-Germanic (ca. 4th century B.C.) is not attested, but we can deduce that it had no periphrastic perfect because Gothic (attested 3rd century A.D.) has no perfect of this type. By the time Old English is attested (8th century A.D.), it already has a periphrastic perfect—although some early studies of Old English <*habban* + perfect participle> (e.g., Hoffman 1934) maintain that it was not yet a true perfect, the majority view nowadays is that <*habban* + perfect participle> was a resultative perfect in Old English (Mustanoja 1960, Visser 1973, Mitchell 1985, Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994). Likewise, when Old High German is first attested (8th century A.D.), <*haben* + perfect participle> is already being used with perfect value. We do not know how early the periphrastic perfect emerged in English, or whether this emergence was independent of changes in German, Dutch, and other Germanic languages. In any case, the relevant stage of pre-Old English—sometime between the 4th century B.C. and the 8th century A.D.—is not attested.

The available data do not allow us to directly compare the emergence of the perfect in Latin with developments in a corresponding stage of Germanic, but it is possible to compare Romance and Germanic developments indirectly if we work by inference from the attested stages of Germanic languages. In this dissertation, only Old English and present-day English are considered in any detail; I consider whether my analysis of Latin is compatible with the Old English data, and compare the development of English with that of late Latin/early Romance. A more complete study would also consider German, Dutch, and other Germanic languages, but this is a difficult undertaking, since it involves detailed philological work on several distinct

sets of medieval texts. I chose to work on English for two reasons: (i) I have ready access to good historical materials on Old English, and (ii) being a native speaker of English, I have a clear sense of the fine-grained distinctions between the various types of English <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>.

One hypothesis that should be mentioned, but probably dismissed, is the hypothesis that the genesis of the Germanic *have*-perfects was due to Latin influence[5]. Benveniste (1966) rejects this possibility because it requires an overly long period of bilingualism involving Latin and each of several Germanic languages. He suggests instead that the perfect/passive periphrasis <*be* + perfect participle>—common to Latin and proto-Germanic—was what allowed the *have*-perfect to emerge independently in Germanic. Traugott (1972) writes that while the Latin *have*-perfect may not have influenced the creation of the Germanic *have*-perfect, it may have reinforced the burgeoning Germanic construction.

The matter of possible Latin influence is a difficult one to settle empirically. The approach taken here is consonant with Benveniste's suggestion. I argue that Latin/Romance and Germanic made similar use of similar syntactic ingredients. These ingredients—the perfect participle, *have,* the use of possession schemas to express relations of pertaining—were inherited independently from Proto-Indo-European by the two language families. Thus the *have*-perfect could have emerged independently in Germanic. In the absence of positive evidence showing Latin influence on Germanic, there is not reason to suppose that the Germanic development was not autochthonous.

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[5] Some linguists (Coseriu 1973, Dietrich 1973) have suggested that the Latin *have*-perfect was due to Greek influence. This view is not widely accepted, and to date no convincing evidence has been advanced to suggest that Latin could not have created the periphrasis independently.

4.2   The Synchronic and Diachronic Studies

Consider once again the emergence of the English *have*-perfect:

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

How are we to understand the symbol ">" in this formula? A naive interpretation of ">" is that the term to the right of ">" replaces the term on the left such that the term to the left ceases to exist. This is usually the case in phonological change, *e.g.,* OE *bróm* > Eng *broom*. In other types of change, however, the term on the left often continues to exist independently alongside its new offspring. Thus, for example, the formula Eng *mouse* 'small rodent' > *mouse* 'handheld computer input device' should not be interpreted to mean that *mouse* does not still mean 'small rodent' in present-day English. In this dissertation, formulas with ">" will signify that the term to the right of ">" is a reflex of the term to the left of ">". The right-hand term may be the single reflex of the left-hand term, or one reflex among two or more.

The various types of <*have* + perfect participle> (shown in 1.1-1.5 for English) each have a history; some of these types date back to the earliest attested stages of English and literary Latin. Could one of the modern types of <*have* + perfect participle> be the reflex of the source of the *have*-perfect? In order to investigate this possibility, I analyze the various types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in present-day English and the modern Romance languages and give a detailed description of their syntactic, semantic, and aspectual characteristics. Having made this detailed description of the various types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, I reconsider the emergence of the *have*-perfect by looking at Latin and Old English corpora.

Though there has been a great deal of corpus-based research on the genesis of the *have*-perfect in Latin, I found that most of the examples in the extant literature on Latin were not useful for my study. Since most previous accounts of the genesis of the

have-perfect attempt to show the putative bleaching of the adnominal type (shown in 1.1), the data in these accounts does not show the development of the other types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC>. I therefore gathered a new set of examples of the various types of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> with the aid of three internet databases[6]. With these examples, I am able to show that more than one type of <*habeo* + noun.ACC + perfect participle.ACC> existed in Latin, and that more than one of the types dates back to the earliest Latin literature. Once we become aware that these various types all existed before the *have*-perfect, we are in a position to see that the *have*-perfect could have developed through a reanalysis of the attained state type (shown in 1.2).

I have drawn Old English data from Visser (1973), Mitchell (1985), Carey (1990), Elsness (1997), and Lee (2002). As I argue in Chapter 7, their examples and commentary are sufficient to judge whether my account for Latin is compatible with the available historical evidence.

5   Dissertation overview

This dissertation is, by its very nature, not amenable to a concise preliminary overview unless key aspects of the analysis are omitted. The reason for this is twofold. First, the synchronic findings of this study depend upon fine-grained distinctions between the various types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>; these fine-grained distinctions are built up with reference to original views on aspect and syntax that I develop over the course of Chapters 2 and 4. Therefore, since the synchronic component is both detailed and new, it does not readily lend itself to a quick preview. Second, the force of my diachronic argument depends upon an

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[6] I searched the Bibliotheca Augustana (www.fh-augsburg.de/~harsch/augustana.html), the Pomerium Roman Authors page (www.pomoerium.com/links/textsl.htm), and the Patrologia Latina database.

original examination of particulars in the Latin data. The approach in this component is also new and detail-based and so, unfortunately, resists a brief description. Still, it will be useful to provide the reader with a foretaste of the arguments I advance, even if some of the notions I present now will not be made precise until later chapters. The structure and main arguments of this dissertation are as follows.

In Chapter 2, I present a classification of predicates according to lexical aspect. In this classification, based on work by Pustejovsky (1991) and de Miguel & Lagunilla (1998), three types of situation—Vendler's (1967) *states*, *activities*, and *achievements*—are regarded as simplex, and all other situations are regarded as complex, *i.e.,* composed of combinations of the first three This classification is more parsimonious than well-known classifications such as Vendler's, and is able to classify predicates that do not fit neatly into the traditional four-way division between *states*, *activities*, *accomplishments* and *achievements*. In particular, it admits the situation type I call attained state; this type of situation, an achievement followed by a state, plays an important role throughout the dissertation.

Chapter 3 discusses the aspectual category of *perfect* and examines the range of values of <*have* + perfect participle> across present-day English and the modern Romance languages. For the modern Romance languages, I show that the meaning of <*have* + perfect participle> ranges from retrospective present (Sicilian) to simple past (French, Italian). This chapter also explores the relationship between <*have* + perfect participle> and synthetic preterites.

In Chapter 4, I offer an analysis of complex predication in Relational Grammar. This analysis of complex predicates builds on work by Rosen (1997) and considers the ways in which inner and outer predicates can concatenate. The syntactic analysis in this chapter provides us with a means to establish explicit structures for the

varying concatenations of *have* and a perfect participle in the different types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>.

In Chapter 5, I identify the various types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> in present-day English and the modern Romance languages, and show how they can be distinguished by their syntactic, semantic, and aspectual characteristics.

Chapter 6 presents my account of the genesis of the *habeo*-perfect in Latin. I argue that before its attested history, *habeo* was subject to semantic widening, and that as a result of this widening it entered into a systematic association with other expressions of possession and pertaining, like *mihi est* 'there is to-me'. This systematic association, I contend, allowed the attained state type and the affectee type to develop. Ultimately, I contend, the attained state type was reanalyzed into a periphrastic perfect. This chapter also explores the growth of the new <*habeo* + perfect participle> construction in terms of its changing relationship with the Latin perfectum/Romance preterite.

Chapter 7 investigates corpus data that appears in the literature on the *have*-perfect in Old English. This evidence proves to be too inconclusive to create an account as detailed as the one offered in Chapter 6 for Latin. However, I am able to show that the Old English data are compatible with an account like the one presented in Chapter 6. This chapter concludes with a brief discussion of grammaticalization.

A CLASSIFICATION OF PREDICATES ACCORDING TO INHERENT LEXICAL ASPECT

1   Inherent lexical aspect

Every predicate describes a set of circumstances involving its arguments, or a succession of such sets. For example, *be solid* describes its argument's single unchanging condition, while intransitive *freeze* describes its argument's transition from one condition into another. Following the terminological convention in Comrie (1976), we may call this set of circumstances, or this sequence of ensuing sets of circumstances, the *situation*[7] associated with the predicate. Now, every predicate is endowed with information about how its associated situation unfolds over time. This information, known as the predicate's *inherent lexical aspect*, expresses whether the situation changes or remains constant; whether or not the situation occurs in differentiated stages; how the situation begins, proceeds, and ends; whether the situation occurs in an instant, for a delimited extent of time, or for a duration without specified boundaries.

This kind of aspect is said to be *lexical* not only when it resides in a single lexical unit (*e.g.,* the verb[8]), but also when it is calculated from the lexical properties of a verb together with its arguments. Consider the following examples:

(2.1)   Richard drank a glass of wine {in a minute/^{x}all day}

(2.2)   Richard drank wine {^{x}in a minute/all day}

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[7] The term *situation* is introduced in Comrie (1976) to denote a general aspectual category including both states and events.

[8] In fact, the predicate need not be a verb; it may be an adjectival phrase, a noun phrase, or a prepositional phrase. These types of non-verbal predicates are also endowed with inherent lexical aspect.

The situation in (2.1), *drank a glass of wine,* is durative and delimited—it has temporal extension but must cease at some point—while the situation in (2.2), *drank wine,* is durative and limitless—it may go on indefinitely. This contrast is essentially due to the different lexical properties of the countable noun phrase *glass of wine,* which refers to a delimited quantity of matter, and the mass noun *wine,* which refers to matter with physical extent but no limit. A drinker can reach the end of a *glass of wine*, but cannot reach the end of *wine,* so the former situation is delimited while the latter is not. These examples show how the lexical properties of an argument, in this case the direct object, may figure in the calculation of lexical aspect.

The label *lexical* also distinguishes this kind of aspect from *inflectional aspect*[9]. Lexical aspects, like *durative* and *delimited,* are inherent to predicates and their associated situations; as such, they are invariable[10] across the various morphological forms that predicates may take. Inflectional aspects, such as *progressive, perfective,* and *imperfective,* are marked by inflection and denote different ways of viewing the development of a given situation. Consider these examples:

(2.3) Richard drank wine {[x]in a minute/all day}

(2.4) Richard was drinking wine {[x]in a minute/all day}

Examples (2.3) and (2.4) both describe a durative limitless event, but while example (2.3) views the event as a whole, example (2.4) views the event in progress. The situation described by inflected forms of *drink wine* is invariably durative and limitless, but the simple past in (2.3) and progressive past in (2.4) offer alternative

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[9] There is no general consensus on the labels *lexical* and *inflectional aspect*, though the concepts are clear enough. In some literature, *lexical aspect* is called *actionality,* while *inflectional aspect* is simply (and somewhat confusingly) called *aspect.* The term *Aktionsart* is used in some circles to designate *inherent lexical aspect,* but for others *Aktionsart* refers to particular semantic groupings of verbal predicates (Squartini, 1998; Bertinetto & Delfitto, 2000).
[10] Or, to be more precise, the lexical aspect of a predicate supplies an invariable input that is manipulated by inflectional aspect. See § 3.5 in this chapter.

ways of contemplating this same situation. The interaction of lexical aspect and inflectional aspect is discussed in greater detail below.

The aim of this chapter is to develop an exhaustive classification of predicates according to lexical aspect. Probably the best-known classification of this type is that of Vendler (1967), who divides predicates into four classes: *states, activities* (atelic events)*, accomplishments* (durative telic events), and *achievements* (punctual telic events). Critics of Vendler's scheme have long noted that there are predicates that do not fit neatly into this four-way division. For example, *boil* describes a situation which begins in an instant and continues as an limitless event. These two subevents of *boil* are evident in the following examples:

(2.5)   When the water boiled, she added the macaroni.
        (=when it began to boil,...)

(2.6)   The water boiled for two hours.
        (=it continued to boil...)

An approach first articulated in Pustejovsky (1991) and elaborated in de Miguel & Lagunilla (1998) proposes that situations have internal structure and are semantically compositional. These authors contend that three types of situation, those described by Vendler's *states*, *activities*, and *achievements,* are simplex, and that all other situations are complex, *i.e.,* composed of combinations of the first three. Under this approach, the situation described by *boil* is regarded as a complex one, composed of an achievement followed by an activity. Other kinds of predicates that are not readily classifiable within Vendler's scheme also find determinate places in this new compositional system.

The classification I develop here generally follows the approach of de Miguel & Lagunilla (1998), though I define some basic notions rather differently and interpret some important data in a new way. I ultimately propose an original classification of

predicates. In what follows, I consider English predicates and describe how the classification may be extended to other languages.

2 Simplex situation types

2.1 State versus event

A *state* is a fixed and persisting set of circumstances, that is, a situation which does not change over time. States are contingent upon the continuing presence of certain conditions, and they persist in a uniform manner as long as these conditions remain unchanged. Examples of states are: *be Mexican, know English, want a pet, have a bicycle*. An *event* is a succession of different sets of circumstances, that is, a situation that varies across time. Examples of events are: *walk, write a poem, ride a horse.*

This notional distinction[11] between states and events corresponds to observed differences in the behavior of predicates. The first notable difference is that eventive predicates can appear in progressive forms while stative predicates normally cannot. Progressive forms usually express that some terminable stage of a situation is ongoing[12]. When an eventive predicate appears in the progressive, this morphological form expresses that circumstances are changing during some interval of time. Stative situations may not normally appear in progressive forms, since they are uniform throughout and cannot be divided into terminable stages.

(2.7)   ^xHe was being Mexican.

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[11] Like the oppositions between mass and count nouns, masculine and feminine gender, and accusative and unergative verbs, the aspectual opposition between events and states has some "natural" basis, but cannot be computed from the properties of the physical world. As we will see over the course of this chapter, the grammatically-diagnosed classes of events and states are not wholly coextensive with the notionally-defined classes of events and states. Lexical aspect types are ultimately grammatical; that is to say, they are registered in a grammar and not determined by characteristics of the physical world.

[12] We are leaving aside the progressive with future meaning, *e.g., He is leaving next week.*

(2.8)   ^xHe was knowing English.

(2.9)   ^xHe was wanting a pet.

(2.10) ^xHe was having a bicycle.

(2.11) She was walking.

(2.12) She was writing a poem.

(2.13) She was riding a horse.

This diagnostic generally produces good results, but it comes with two caveats. On one hand, there are apparently exceptional "states" that can appear in the progressive, as in *He was being kind to his brother*. These are not true states. *He was being kind* means 'he was doing something kind' or 'he was acting in a kind manner', *i.e.,* he was taking part in an event that we associate with kindness (cf. Comrie 1976: 37). On the other hand, there are some true states that do appear in the progressive. These are mostly temporary or contingent states (compare *I hate this class* vs. *I am hating this class, I live downtown* vs. *I'm living downtown*), and this usage is in line with the usual meaning of the progressive. When a state is known to be temporary or contingent, it may be conceived of as a terminable "stage" within a larger situation that extends beyond the state. During this "stage", which includes the state's whole extent, a temporary or contingent set of circumstances arises, persists for some time, and ultimately comes to an end.

A second difference in the behavior of stative and eventive predicates relates to agentivity: some events have agentive subjects, but states never do. Stative situations persist as long as certain conditions remain unchanged; while energy is required to change these conditions in order to enter or leave a state, states do not require energy to simply continue. Thus states do not involve the action of an instigative agent. For

this reason, stative predicates cannot appear in syntactic contexts where an agent is required, such as in commands and wh-clefts:

(2.14) ^xKnow English!

(2.15) ^xWant a pet!

(2.16) ^xHave a bicycle!

(2.17) ^xWhat Martin did was (to) know English.

(2.18) ^xWhat Martin did was (to) want a pet.

(2.19) ^xWhat Martin did was (to) have a bicycle.

By contrast, events involve change, and change requires energy. Sometimes this energy is provided by an agentive subject. Therefore, eventive predicates with agentive subjects, like *walk, write a poem,* and *ride a horse,* may appear in syntactic contexts that involve an agent. Eventive predicates with non-agentive subjects, like *be hit by lightning* and *receive a letter,* cannot appear in these contexts, of course.

(2.20) Walk!

(2.21) Write a poem!

(2.22) Ride a horse!

(2.23) ^xBe hit by lightning!   (non-agent subject)

(2.24) ^xReceive a letter!   (non-agent subject)

(2.25) What Catherine did was (to) walk.

(2.26) What Catherine did was (to) write a poem.

(2.27) What Catherine did was (to) ride a horse.

(2.28) ^xWhat Catherine did was (to) be hit by lightning.   (non-agent subject)

(2.29) ^xWhat Katherine did was (to) receive a letter.   (non-agent subject)

This diagnostic also comes with a pair of caveats. First, the same exceptional "states" that may appear in the progressive may also appear in commands, *e.g., Be kind to your brother!* As noted above, these are not true states, and the meaning of the imperative

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(2.15) ˣWant a pet!

(2.16) ˣHave a bicycle!

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(2.20) Walk!

(2.21) Write a poem!

(2.22) Ride a horse!

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(2.24) ˣReceive a letter!   (non-agent subject)

(2.25) What Catherine did was (to) walk.

(2.26) What Catherine did was (to) write a poem.

(2.27) What Catherine did was (to) ride a horse.

(2.28) ˣWhat Catherine did was (to) be hit by lightning.   (non-agent subject)

(2.29) ˣWhat Katherine did was (to) receive a letter.   (non-agent subject)

This diagnostic also comes with a pair of caveats. First, the same exceptional "states" that may appear in the progressive may also appear in commands, *e.g., Be kind to your brother!* As noted above, these are not true states, and the meaning of the imperative

shows that this is so. *Be kind* is an exhortation to 'act in a kind manner'; it cannot be construed as a command to 'be endowed with the attribute of kindness'. Second, there are imperatives like *Love your enemies!* and *Know yourself!* which seem to involve true states. However, these types of commands exhort listeners (i) to enter into a new state by some action or by an act of will; or, (ii) to actively monitor their actions to make sure they remain in a state. In either case, we are dealing with an event. Entering into a new state is an ingressive event requiring the effort of an agentive subject, while monitoring is a dynamic mental activity also requiring agentive effort.

2.2 Limit

In many systems of classification, *events* are subdivided into two types: *telic* and *atelic*. A *telic* event advances toward a point of completion, the first moment in time at which a special set of circumstances obtains. Examples of telic events are: *write a poem, build a tower, climb the mountain.* These situations advance toward the moment at which the poem is written, the tower is built, and the climber is at the summit of the mountain. At the instant when these special circumstances first obtain, the event described by the predicate is completed and cannot continue. An *atelic* event lacks a point of completion. Examples of atelic events are: *walk, ride a horse, play music.* In these events, circumstances change for an indefinite duration without any movement toward an endpoint. All states are necessarily atelic, since an unchanging situation cannot advance toward an endpoint.

Telic events may be further subdivided into two types: *punctual* and *durative.* A punctual event reaches completion instantaneously, or without any appreciable lapse of time, while a durative event extends over a span of time. Examples of punctual events are: *reach the summit, explode, arrive.* Examples of durative events are: *write*

a poem, build a tower, walk to the store. Atelic situations are necessarily durative because they cannot be said to reach completion at all, instantaneously or otherwise.

Predicates describing telic events are compatible with time expressions like *in a minute/hour/day* and *within a minute/hour/day,* which specify the time elapsed before a special point, possibly the point of completion, is reached. For durative telic events, expressions of this form encompass the whole event from beginning to end, while for punctual telic events, these expressions refer to the time elapsed between an earlier reference point and the time of the instantaneous event[13]. Predicates describing atelic events are not compatible with time expressions like *in a minute/hour/day* and *within a minute/hour/day,* since they lack a point of completion.

(2.30) Elliot wrote the poem within an hour.

(=an hour or less after he began to write the poem, he completed it)

(2.31) Elliot built the tower in three weeks.

(=three weeks or less after he began to build the tower, he completed it)

(2.32) Elliot climbed the mountain in four hours.

(=four hours or less after he began to climb the mountain, he reached the top)

(2.33) Louis reached the summit in two hours.

(=two hours or less elapsed before he reached the summit)

(2.34) The bomb exploded within three minutes.

(=three minutes or less elapsed before the bomb exploded)

---

[13] Sometimes the earlier reference point is the beginning of a related activity. Thus *Elliot found the cat within an hour* usually means 'he looked for the cat for an hour or less and then he found it'. This interpretation introduces a durative atelic event (*look for the cat*) into the situation, thereby creating a telic event composed of the durative atelic event *look for the cat* and the punctual endpoint *find the cat.* But *look for the cat* is not part of *find the cat* per se.

(2.35) Louis arrived within fifteen minutes.

(=fifteen minutes or less elapsed before he arrived)

(2.36) ^xRachel walked within an hour.

(2.37) ^xRachel rode a horse in an hour.

(2.38) ^xRachel played music in an hour.

As it turns out, the difference between telic and atelic predicates is just one instance of a more general contrast between delimited and limitless predicates. Just as situations may or may not end at a special point, they may or may not begin at a special point (cf. de Miguel & Lagunilla 1998: 145-150). An example of an event that begins at a point and continues as an event is the situation described by *boil*. An example of an event that begins at a point and continues as a state is the situation associated with *remember*. When these predicates appear with expressions of the form *within a minute/hour/day,* these time expressions specify the time elapsed before the special point at which the situations begin:

(2.39) The water boiled within a minute.

(=a minute or less elapsed before the water began to boil)

(2.40) Keith remembered the man's name within an hour.

(=an hour or less elapsed before Keith remembered the man's name)

Let us call each special point within a situation a *limit*, whether the point falls at the beginning or end of the situation. If a durative situation has neither a beginning limit nor an end limit, this situation is *limitless*. If a durative situation has a beginning limit or an end limit, this situation is *delimited*. Now, punctual events reach completion without any appreciable lapse of time; they begin and end at the same point. The

entirety of a punctual event can be regarded as a single limit, a beginning-cum-end which divides a preceding state from a following state (cf. de Miguel and Lagunilla 1998: 46). Consider the situation associated with *explode,* for example. Before the event of *explode* occurs, there is a state in which something—a bomb, say—is intact and contains latent explosive energy. After the event of *explode,* there is a new state in which the explosive energy has been released, and the bomb is in pieces. These anterior and posterior states are not part of *explode* per se, but are implied by *explode'*s liminal character. *Explode* functions as an end limit for the preceding state and as a beginning limit for the ensuing state.

2.3 The three simplex types

The classification we are developing is based upon a proposal in Pustejovsky (1991) and de Miguel & Lagunilla (1998), that situations have internal structure and are semantically compositional. What are the simplest aspectual units in the internal structure of a predicate? Or, to rephrase the question: what situations cannot be decomposed into simpler stages? In § 2.1, we observed that there is a basic distinction between states and events, and in § 2.2 we observed that some events are delimited while others are limitless. Having introduced the notion of *limit,* we noted that delimited durative events are composed of a durative event and a limit. We also observed that the whole of a punctual event may be regarded as a limit. From these observations, it follows that only three types of situation are not composed of simpler stages: states (*e.g., be Mexican*), limitless durative events (*e.g., walk*), and limits (*e.g., reach the summit*).

3   A classification of predicates

3.1   Building complex types of predicates from simplex types

Let us now consider how complex situation types are composed. Let the symbols *S, E,* and *L* stand for our three simplex types, as follows:

Table 2.1   *Three Simplex Types of Predicate*

S	state
E	limitless durative event
L	limit

To build complex predicate types, we simply concatenate these types: EL, LE, LS, *etc.* The order of concatenation is significant, i.e., EL ≠ LE.

Some concatenations of these situation types are not permitted. States are unchanging, so they cannot culminate in a point; therefore, there are no sequences of the type SL. Limits only delimit durative situations, so there are no sequences of the type LL.

Certain concatenations of these situations seem to exceed the possible complexity of a single linguistic predicate. We can imagine a complex situation of the type ELEL, say *He ran a lap around the track and went on to run a second lap*, but we must describe this type of situation with two predicates. There do not appear to be single predicates that encode four-stage situations.

3.2   Predicate types

Type S, states

Situations of type S are states like *be Mexican, know English, want a pet, have a bicycle, be hungry, look like the president, weigh a ton,* and *hate the mayor.* As already noted, these predicates cannot appear in progressive forms unless their associated situations are interpreted as temporary or contingent states. They also cannot appear in commands and wh-clefts.

Type E, durative limitless events

Situations of type E are limitless durative events like *walk, swim, play the guitar, read poetry, ride a horse, laugh, fidget,* and *meditate.* Predicates describing these situations may appear in the progressive, in commands, and in wh-clefts. These predicates are also compatible with durative time adverbials like *for a minute/hour/day,* which impose a duration on the situation. They are not compatible with time expressions like *in a minute/hour/day* and *within a minute/hour/day,* which specify the time elapsed before a limit is reached, since E-type situations lack limits.

(2.41) Lauren was {walking/swimming/playing the guitar/reading poetry/riding a horse/laughing/ fidgeting/meditating}

(2.42) Lauren {walked/swam/played the guitar/read poetry/rode a horse/laughed/ fidgeted/meditated} for an hour.

(2.43) ˣLauren {walked/swam/played the guitar/read poetry/rode a horse/laughed/ fidgeted/meditated} within an hour.

Type L, limits

Situations of type L are punctual events like *reach the summit, explode, arrive, spot an error, find the cat, flinch, sneeze,* and *leave.* Predicates describing these

events are compatible with punctual time adverbials like *at 4 o'clock, at that instant* which specify the time at which some limit is reached. They are also compatible with expressions of the form *in a minute/hour/day* and *within a minute/hour/day*, which specify the time elapsed before the occurrence of the whole instantaneous event. They are not compatible with durative time adverbials like *for a minute/hour/day*, since these events are normally regarded as having no duration.

(2.44) Gordon {reached the summit/arrived/spotted the error/found the cat/flinched/ sneezed/left} at that instant.

(2.45) ^xGordon {reached the summit/arrived/spotted the error/found the cat/flinched/ sneezed/left} for a minute.

(2.46) Gordon {reached the summit/arrived/spotted the error/found the cat/flinched/ sneezed/left} within a minute.

Type LE

Type LE, an ingressive situation composed of a beginning limit and a durative event, includes predicates like *boil, touch the wall, look in the mirror, smile, squeeze my arm, shine a light on me, stick your tongue out,* and *point at me*. These predicates are compatible with progressive forms, which express that the event stage is ongoing. They can appear with time adverbials like *for a minute/hour/day,* which express the duration of the event stage. They are also compatible with punctual time adverbials like *at 4 o'clock, at that instant,* which express when the initial limit occurs. Finally, they can appear with expressions of the form *in a minute/hour/day* and *within a minute/hour/day*, which specify the time elapsed before the beginning of the event.

(2.47) The water was boiling.

(2.48) James was {touching the wall/looking in the mirror/smiling/squeezing my arm/ shining the light on me/sticking his tongue out/pointing at me}.

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(2.49)   The water boiled for a few minutes.

(2.50) James {touched the wall/looked in the mirror/smiled/squeezed my arm/shined the light on me/stuck his tongue out/pointed at me} for a minute.

(2.51) The water boiled at that instant.

(2.52) James {touched the wall/looked in the mirror/smiled/squeezed my arm/shined the light on me/stuck his tongue out/pointed at me} at that instant

(2.53) The water boiled within a minute.

(2.54) James {touched the wall/looked in the mirror/smiled/squeezed my arm/shined the light on me/stuck his tongue out/pointed at me} within seconds.

Type LS

Type LS, an ingressive situation composed of a initial limit and a state, includes predicates like *remember her name, see Edgar, hear the music, recognize Edgar, believe the story,* and *understand the dilemma*. They are not compatible with the progressive, since the initial limit cannot be regarded as ongoing and the state stage is unchanging. They are compatible with punctual time adverbials like *at 4 o'clock, at that moment*, which express when the initial limit is reached. They are also compatible with time expressions like *in a minute/hour/day* and *within a minute/hour/day*, which specify the time elapsed before the beginning of the event.

(2.55) ^{x}Paul was {remembering her name/seeing Edgar with binoculars/hearing the music/recognizing Edgar/believing the story/understanding the dilemma}

(2.56) Paul {remembered her name/saw Edgar with binoculars/heard the music/ recognized Edgar/believed the story/understood the dilemma} at that instant.

(2.57) Paul {remembered her name/saw Edgar with binoculars/heard the music/ recognized Edgar/believed the story/understood the dilemma} within a few minutes.

Type EL

Type EL, a telic situation composed of a durative event and its final limit, includes predicates like *draw a circle, read a book, build a tower, climb a mountain, walk to the store, drink a glass of wine.* These predicates can appear in progressive forms, which express that the event stage is ongoing and the final limit has not been reached. They are compatible with time expressions like *within a minute/hour/day,* which express the duration of the event before the final limit is reached.

(2.58) Olivia was {drawing a circle/reading a book/building a tower/climbing a mountain/walking to the store/drinking glass of wine}

(2.59) Olivia {read the book/built a tower/climbed the mountain/walked to the store/drank a glass of wine} in an hour.

Type ELE

Type ELE, a situation composed of a durative event, a limit, and an ensuing durative event, includes predicates like *sit down, kneel, crouch, stand, raise one's hand, turn away.* These predicates can appear in progressive forms, which expresses that one of the event stages is ongoing. They are compatible with punctual time adverbials like *at 4 o'clock, at that instant,* which express when the internal limit is reached. They are also compatible with durative time adverbials like *for a minute/hour/day,* which express the duration of the second event stage. Finally, they are compatible with time expressions like *within a minute/hour/day,* which express the duration of the event before the internal limit is reached.

(2.60) Timothy was {sitting down/kneeling/crouching/standing/raising his hand/ turning away}

(=he was getting into a certain position OR he was maintaining that position)

(2.61) Timothy {sat down/knelt/crouched/stood/raised his hand/turned away} at that instant.

(2.61) Timothy {sat down/knelt/crouched/stood/raised his hand/turned away} for two minutes.

(2.62) Timothy {sat down/knelt/crouched/stood/raised his hand/turned away} in a matter of seconds.

Other situation types

If indeed there are no four-stage situations, then two other types of situations are logically possible: ELS and LEL. Thus far, I have been unable to find any examples of predicates associated with these types in English. They remain accidental gaps in our typology of situation types.

3.3   Summary of the classification

The classification of predicates developed above is based upon five diagnostics:

Table 2.2   *Five Diagnostics for Classifying Predicates*

> 1. Is the predicate compatible with the progressive?
>
> 2. Is it compatible with *for a minute/hour/day* ?
>
> 3. Is it compatible with *within a minute/hour/day*?
>
>   4. If so, what time does this expression refer to?
>
> 5. Is it compatible with *at that instant?*

For the reader's convenience, the results of these diagnostics are summarized in a table:

Table 2.3   *Classification of Predicates*

SITUATION TYPES	TESTS				
	1	2	3	4	5
S *he had a bicycle*	no	yes	no		no
E *he read poetry*	yes	yes	no		no
L *she reached the summit*	yes	no	yes	time elapsed before the whole event occurs	yes
LS *she heard the music*	no	yes	yes	time elapsed before the event begins	yes
LE *the water boiled*	yes	yes	yes	time elapsed before the event begins	yes
EL *he read a book*	yes	yes	yes	time elapsed between the beginning and completion of the event	no
ELE *she knelt*	yes, may refer to either E	yes	yes	time elapsed between the beginning and completion of the 1st E	yes

3.4   Extending the classification beyond English

In the classification proposed here, predicates are associated with situations, which can be formally described as combinations of the simplex situations types S, E, and L. We have just seen how this classification can be applied to English predicates, in which all predicates can be divided into seven types: S, E, L, LS, LE, EL, ELE.

If we are to successfully extend this classification to another language, we must take three precautions. First, the battery of tests in § 3.3 must be carefully translated so as to correctly distinguish states from events, durative events from punctual ones, and limitless situations from delimited ones. Second, we must be aware that an English predicate may have a different aspectual type from its "equivalent" in another language. For instance, Spanish *arrodillar(se),* the "equivalent" of English *kneel,* is a predicate of type EL[14], not of type ELE. Third, we must be aware the total number and range of situation types may vary from language to language. For instance, there do not appear to be any predicates of type ELE in Spanish.

3.5   What counts as a verbal predicate for this classification?

In § 1, we saw that *drink a glass of wine* describes a durative and delimited situation while *drink wine* describes a durative and limitless one (in our compositional classification, the former predicate is of type EL while the latter predicate is of type E). We also noted that this difference is due to the contrasting lexical properties of the direct objects *a glass of wine* and *wine*. Throughout the discussion of aspectual types above, all examples containing transitive verbs (*e.g., read*) were presented with some specific object (*e.g., a book, poetry*), because the properties of objects affect the lexical aspect of the predicate. In fact, the capacity to affect the lexical aspect of

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[14] It is not of type ELS. See the discussion of perfect participles in § 3.5.

predicates is not limited to objects; the lexical properties of all arguments, including subjects, figure in the calculation of lexical aspect. Consider these examples (cf. similar examples in de Miguel 1999: 3004-5):

(2.63) The army was defending the city from invaders.

(2.64) ˣThe city walls were defending the city from invaders.

The first of these sentences describes a durative, limitless situation; its predicate is of type E. The second sentence describes a state; its predicate is of type S. The difference in types is essentially due to the contrasting properties of the different subjects: an army can take part in an event through agentive effort, while city walls can only participate inertly in the persistence of a state.

It is conventional in works on aspect to refer to verbal predicates by naming the verb and its objects (*e.g., read a book*), but not naming the subject. That is the convention followed here, though it is somewhat imprecise. For the purposes of classification, predicates must be considered together with all of their arguments. Throughout this text, sample sentences are provided to clear up potential confusion about the type of subject meant.

The conventional formula for naming predicates (*e.g., break the window*) belies a second kind of complication. While it is convenient to refer to a verb in the (bare) infinitive, this usage says nothing about the status of different morphological forms the verb may take. Lexical aspect has traditionally been regarded as invariable across inflectional forms (including periphrases), but clearly inflection interacts with lexical aspect, and sometimes inflectional forms seem to alter the inherent lexical aspect of a predicate. For instance, we have seen that states cannot appear in the progressive, and that when events appear in the progressive, the progressive form describes a certain portion of the event:

(2.65) He was reading *The Arabian Nights* when the lights went out.

The progressive form of the EL-type predicate in this sentence tells us that the E-stage was ongoing, and the L-stage had not been reached[15]. Does this mean that there is an E-type predicate *be reading the book* distinct from the EL-type predicate *read the book?*

The view proposed here, and developed in the next chapter, is that inflectional forms operate upon lexical aspect in predictable ways. Lexical aspect is invariable across morphological forms in the sense that a given predicate (*e.g., read the book*) provides a constant input (*e.g.,* EL) for inflectional operations, but not in the sense that every morphological form of a given predicate will describe all of the same stages of the predicate's situation. Consider the progressive form in English. The progressive always describes a durative event stage from the predicate it is formed upon. It does this in several ways:

A. The progressive form can iterate an event of short duration.

(2.66) He was coughing. —iterated L-type predicate

(2.67) He was reading the sentence (repeatedly). —iterated EL-type predicate

B. The progressive form can pick out the eventive stage of a situation. For a predicate to participate in this kind of predicate, its type must contain an E.

(2.68) He was walking in a hurry. —E-stage of an E-type predicate

(2.69) He was reading the book. —E-stage of an EL-type predicate

(2.70) The water was boiling. —E-stage of an LE-type predicate

(2.71) He was slowly sitting down. —1st E of an ELE-type pred.

(2.72) He was sitting down the whole time. —2nd E of an ELE-type pred.

C. If an L-type instantaneous event is reinterpreted as an EL-type event of slight duration, the progressive form can pick out the eventive stage of this EL-type event:

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[15] If the situation has a short duration, the progressive may have an iterative interpretation. For example, *He was reading the sentence* can mean either 'He was in the process of reading it once' or 'He was reading it over and over.'

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(2.73) The climber was just reaching the summit.

Thus progressives operate on the lexical aspect of the predicates they are formed upon, consistently describing a durative event. Other inflectional forms, like the perfective past, operate uniformly upon their input but do not produce a single kind of output.

While we will generally treat inflectional forms as aspectual operators, not separate predicates, one "inflectional" form must be singled out for special consideration: the perfect participle of English and Romance verbs. Every non-defective verb in English and the Romance languages has a perfect participle, but not every verb has a perfect participle that can be used adjectivally:

(2.74) The door is locked right now.

(2.75) Jim is seated right now.

(2.76) ^{x}Jim is slept right now.

(2.77) ^{x}Jim is stood right now.

This fact about perfect participles is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. For now, it is sufficient to note that there are two kinds of words that are formed like the perfect participle. First, there are deverbal adjectives, like *locked, respected, painted, embarrassed.* These belong to a larger class of adjectives that also includes denominal adjectives like *horned, feathered, bearded,* and *armed.* They are all S-type predicates. Second, there are true perfect participles—words that appear only in periphrastic verb forms. Historically, the perfect participles of some verbs, like *lock,* were just identical with the corresponding deverbal adjectives. These morphological forms were incorporated into the Old English and Latin verbal paradigms as a principal part of the verb. For other verbs, like *walk,* which originally had no deverbal adjectives associated with them, new perfect participles were created on the model of existing participles, like *locked.*

Thus *locked,* when used adjectivally, is not exactly an inflectional form of *lock*; it is a separate predicate, a derived adjective of type S. We know these derived adjectives exist in the lexicon because they are available for further derivation just like other adjectives. For example: *unpaved, unpublished,* and *unfinished* must be formed by adding *un-* to the adjectives *paved, published,* and *finished,* on the model of *un + happy = unhappy.* These *un-* adjectives are not perfect participles of the non-existent verbs [x]*unpave,* [x]*unpublish,* and [x]*unfinish.* When the word *locked* is a deverbal adjective it is unaccusative, like all adjectives.

In inflectional forms like the passive *be locked (by someone)* and the perfect *have locked*, the word *locked* is not a separate predicate from the verb *lock*. It is a part of certain periphrastic inflectional forms that operate predictably upon the lexical aspect of their input.

3.6   Using this classification for difficult cases

The presentation of situation types in the preceding sections first discusses notional distinctions between situation types, and then illustrates the different behaviors of predicates associated with contrasting types of situations. So, for example, § 2.1 first says that *states* are unchanging situations while *events* are changing situations, and then proceeds to show that stative predicates cannot normally appear in the progressive while eventive predicates can.

Now consider the predicate *sleep* in English. The situation associated with sleep will strike many English speakers as unchanging, *i.e.,* state-like. Indeed, we may even talk about *the state of sleep.* However, *sleep* may appear in progressive forms, commands, and wh-clefts, like eventive predicates:

(2.78) Louise was sleeping.

(2.79) What Louise did was (to) sleep.

(2.80) Sleep, my darling!

So here we have an apparent conflict between our notional impression of the situation described by *sleep* and the behavior of the predicate *sleep.* What does our classification say about this case? Is *sleep* stative or eventive?

The classification developed above is to be understood as strictly based on the results of the five diagnostic tests of table 2.2, not on notional definitions of situation types. Notional definitions serve as a practical way to characterize situation types in general, but we are interested sorting individual linguistic predicates into categories according to their observed behavior. Thus we will say that *sleep* is a predicate of type E because it can appear in the progressive, is compatible with durative time adverbials like *for a minute/hour/day,* and is not compatible with time expressions like *within a minute/hour/day* or with punctual time adverbials like *at that instant.* According to our diagnostics, the verb *sleep* is unmistakably an E-type predicate, albeit that the situation associated with *sleep* may strike us as state-like. Indeed, if we consider the predicate *be asleep* in English, we see that while it ostensibly refers to the same situation as *sleep,* it is clearly a predicate of type S according to our classification.

To state the point more generally, we are primarily interested in linguistic phenomena, and only incidentally interested in the real-world phenomena that language refers to. At times, the behavior of a predicate may not appear to be in harmony with its apparent meaning; but just as the linguistic gender of a noun may or may not match the biological sex of its referent, so too the lexical aspect type of a predicate may or may not be in perfect accord with our notion of how its associated situation develops.

Next, consider the predicate *break* in English. When something breaks, say a bowl, it begins the event as an unbroken whole and ends the event in a number of

broken pieces. Are the initial and final states of the bowl part of the event described by *break?* According to our diagnostic tests, *break* is an L-type predicate. Although clearly the predicate *break* contains information about the initial and final states of its arguments, the predicate does not describe these states per se. In other words, the verb *break* describes a short, dynamic transition from one state into another, without describing either of the states directly. The S-type predicate *broken,* an adjective, can describe the resultant state, but as already noted, this adjective is not to be understood as a part of the verb.

Finally, consider the predicate *remember his name,* which we said was of type LS. Sometimes, this predicate describes an ingressive event consisting of a limit followed by a state, as in example (2.81) below. Other times, this predicate simply describes a state, as in example (2.82):

(2.81) Suddenly Joan remembered his name.

(2.82) Joan remembers his name. Since the day they met, she has never forgotten it.

Does this mean that the predicate *remember his name* is sometimes of type LS and sometimes of type S? The answer is no, *remember his name* is of type LS, but often we use a predicate to describe only one of the predicate's possible stages. Note, for instance, that we can use *boil* (type LE) to describe only the initial limit or *read the book* (type EL) to describe only the durative event stage:

(2.83) Water boils at 100 degrees Celsius.

(2.84) He was reading *The Arabian Nights* when the lights went out.

In a similar fashion, we can use *remember his name* (type LS) to describe only the stative stage of the situation associated with the predicate. Yet we ought to classify *remember his name* as a predicate of type LS to convey the maximum possible complexity of the predicate.

There appear to be two strategies for specifying which stage(s) of a predicate are meant when a particular predicate is used. The first kind of strategy we may call *syntactic:* a word or phrase is added that indicates how the predicate is to be interpreted. The following are examples of syntactic strategies to tell us that the event *Thomas read The Arabian Nights* (type EL) reached its endpoint (2.85-86) or did not reach it (2.87).

(2.85) Thomas read *The Arabian Nights* all the way to the end.

(2.86) Thomas read *The Arabian Nights* in two weeks.

(2.87) Thomas read *The Arabian Nights* for a few minutes.

All the way to the end indicates that the event occurs until its completion, while *for a few minutes* suggests just the opposite. *In two weeks* specifies how long the entire event took, so its presence entails that the event was performed in its entirety.

The second kind of strategy we may call *morphological,* or *inflectional.* The choice of morphological form can tell us which part of an event is meant, as in:

(2.88) Thomas was walking to the store when he saw Larry.

(2.89) Thomas has walked to the store.

In (2.88), the progressive form tells us that the eventive stage of *walk to the store* was in progress at the time when Thomas saw Larry. Therefore the endpoint had not been reached at that time. In (2.89) the perfect form tells us that all of the stages of *walk to the store* are complete, so the event has culminated in its endpoint.

We now turn to a detailed discussion of the perfect and its values.

CHAPTER THREE

<*HAVE* + PERFECT PARTICIPLE> IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH
AND IN THE MODERN ROMANCE LANGUAGES

1   Regarding <*have* + perfect participle> as a periphrastic perfect

1.1   Scope of the study

All of the Romance languages have a periphrastic verbal construction composed of: (i) a reflex of *habeo* 'have' (or *teneo* 'hold', in the case of Portuguese and Galician), inflected for person, number, tense, and mood, and (ii) a perfect participle. For a subset of verbs[16] in French and Italian, this same construction is composed of: (i) a reflex of *sum* 'be', inflected for person, number, tense, and mood and (ii) a perfect participle agreeing in person, gender, and number with the subject of the periphrasis. Although the various Romance reflexes of this periphrastic construction come from a common origin and are, in large part, formally equivalent, the modern synchronic distribution of this construction varies from language to language. That is to say, this "same" construction—etymologically and morpho-syntactically speaking—has different semantic values in the different Romance languages.

In some of the Germanic languages, including English, there is also a periphrastic verbal construction composed of a verb meaning 'have' (*have* in English) and a perfect participle, marked masculine singular in those Germanic languages which have preserved grammatical gender. This periphrasis cannot be traced back to Proto-Germanic, since some of the Germanic languages (e.g., Gothic) do not have it.

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[16] The unaccusative verbs in Italian and a subset of the unaccusative verbs in French, in addition to reflexive and "pronominal" verbs in both languages (cf. Perlmutter 1978, Legendre 1989)

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In the languages that do have the <*have* + perfect participle> construction, this "same" construction differs in meaning from language to language.

The <*have* + perfect participle> periphrasis in Romance and Germanic is generally known as the *perfect*, a name which has been a source of considerable confusion (see § 1.2). It is a matter of ongoing debate whether the perfect is a category of tense, aspect, or both. The view of the perfect developed in this chapter is that scholars use the term *perfect* to designate two different but related things. One is an inflectional aspect-cum-tense and the other is just a relative tense. On one hand, there are *true perfects*, which describe previous situations with continuing relevance at a time specified by the tense of auxiliary *have*. The true perfect is in part an inflectional aspect which operates in predictable ways upon the inherent lexical aspect of its predicate. The four types of true perfect and their operations are examined in §§ 2.1-2.3. On the other hand, there are *spurious perfects*, which look like true perfects or are reflexes of historical true perfects, but now simply function as relative tenses. Although *spurious perfects* are called *perfects,* they do not denote continuing relevance like true perfects. Spurious perfects are relative tenses, not inflectional aspects; they locate a situation in time and do not describe how a situation develops. A complicating factor is that sometimes a single verb form, like the English pluperfect, can function in two ways, both as a true perfect and as a relative tense. Thus while true and spurious perfects can be separated notionally, often there is no neat division of inflectional categories that allows us to isolate the true perfect by a simple formal criterion. Some synchronic reasons for this syncretism are discussed in §2.3.

In §§ 3-4, we examine the range of values of <*have* + perfect participle> across the modern Romance and, more briefly, across the Germanic languages. In § 5, we consider the difference between languages that have a particular morphosyntactic

construction that is identifiable as a true perfect and those that do not. In this section, we also consider whether the modern instances of <*have* + perfect participle> in Romance and Germanic are compositional, or whether they are best understood in terms of the values of the other verb forms (*e.g.,* preterites, imperfect pasts) that they complement. These sections, §§ 3-5, lay the groundwork for the diachronic analysis of the development of <*have* + perfect participle> in Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis.

1.2   Terminological preliminaries

In this thesis, as in most current work on tense and aspect, the terms *perfect* and *perfective* are used to designate very different things. The term *perfective* designates an aspectual category, and contrasts with the term *imperfective.* Perfective aspect presents a situation "without reference to its internal temporal constituency: the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalyzable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one" (Comrie, 1976: 3), while imperfective aspect presents a situation with explicit reference to its internal constituency.

The term *perfect* is used here to designate two sorts of temporal relations, which are diachronically related but synchronically quite distinct. A *true perfect* designates an anterior situation with continuing relevance at a time specified by the tense of the auxiliary *have.* For example, the English present perfect, a true perfect, describes a past situation with continuing relevance in the present. An instance of this is *Edmund has reached the summit,* which describes a previous event and entails something about the present moment, namely that Edmund is now at the summit. There are other English "perfects", like the future perfect and the pluperfect, that sometimes behave like true perfects, but at other times behave like relative tenses. Consider the following:

(3.1)   Is Edmund at the summit yet? Yes, all the climbers have reached the summit by now.

(3.2)   Was Edmund at the summit yet? Yes, all the climbers had reached the summit by then.

In (3.2), the pluperfect *had reached the summit* is a true perfect; it is the past-tense version of the present perfect in (3.1). When the pluperfect is construed in this way, it can be used to entail something about a time in the past: if all the climbers had reached the summit by then, then all of the climbers were at the summit, including Edmund.

However, the English pluperfect does not always function as a true perfect. Consider this example:

(3.3)   Janet learned that Edmund had reached the summit with the help of a guide.

In (3.3), the pluperfect simply describes an event completed before another event in the past—Edmund reached the summit before Janet learned about it. Here, the pluperfect simply functions as a relative past tense, a past-in-the-past or "double past". As we will see below, all English perfects other than the present perfect can function as relative past tenses. When a "perfect" denotes relative anteriority without continuing relevance, as the English pluperfect does in (3.3), we will call it a *spurious perfect*—it has the same morphological form as a true perfect, but does not have the corresponding meaning.

Finally, it should be noted that in the Indo-European tradition the term *perfect* is used to designate a paradigm for stative verbs. The PIE perfect became the preterite form in Germanic, and is one ingredient in the Latin *perfectum*, which in turn became the preterite form in the various Romance languages.

2   Four types of true perfect

2.1   Notional distinctions

A true perfect denotes a previous situation with continuing relevance at a time specified by the tense of the auxiliary *have*. The criteria by which continuing relevance is judged seem to be variable cross-linguistically, and as a result the true perfect has slightly different values across the languages which have it as a distinct verbal category. Previous work on perfects (Comrie, 1976: 56-61; Dahl, 1985: 133-138; Brinton, 1988: 10-11) has classified true perfects into four types according to their meanings. As we will see, not all languages which have a distinct true perfect express all four of these meanings with this verbal category. The four types are:

(i) RESULTATIVE TRUE PERFECT. In this type of true perfect, a current state is referred to as being the result of a previous situation. Thus, as Comrie (1976: 56-7) points out, the difference between *Catherine has arrived* and *Catherine arrived* is that *Catherine has arrived* implies that Catherine is still here, while *Catherine arrived* does not. Similarly *I have eaten* usually implies that I am still satisfied from my last meal, and do not immediately need to eat again, whereas *I ate* (e.g., *I ate, but that was hours ago!*) carries no such implication. In Danish, the resultative present perfect can be used to describe situations in which the product of an event persists, though the agent may no longer exist. For example, *Heiberg har skrivet Elverhøj* 'Heiberg has written *Elverhøj*' is possible in modern Danish, although *Elverhøj* was written in 1828 and the playwright Heiberg died in 1868 (see § 4). This is not possible in English or in the Romance languages.

In languages which do not have a present perfect distinct from a past tense, it is possible to express the present result of a past situation with a past tense that does not exclude perfect meanings. For example, Russian *ja ustal,* literally 'I got tired, have gotten tired' (perfective past), also means 'I am tired'. Likewise, in Latin, *memini,*

literally 'I recalled, I have recalled' (perfective past), means 'I remember', and *novi,* literally 'I learned, I have learned', means 'I know'.

(ii) CONTINUATIVE TRUE PERFECT. This type of true perfect denotes a situation which began earlier and persists until the current moment, perhaps even extending beyond this moment. English examples include *I have known him since elementary school, We have lived in New York for years.* Catalan, Castilian Spanish, and Portuguese, which have true perfects[17], tend to use the (non-progressive) present tense for this meaning. Cf. Spanish *Hace años que vivo en Santander* 'I live (=have lived) in Santander for years'. However, Portuguese can also use its present perfect to describe a persisting situation, *e.g., Tenho estado em Lisboa* 'I've been staying in Lisbon'.

(iii) EXPERIENTIAL TRUE PERFECT. This type of true perfect refers to situations which have held at least once before the present moment. A useful distinction drawn by Comrie (1976: 58-9) is that between *Sean has been to England* and *Sean has gone (away) to England,* where the first is a present perfect of experience, saying that Sean has visited England at some point in his life, while the second tends to be interpreted as a present perfect of result, implying that Sean is in England, or on his way to England, but in any case is not here. One of the requirements for present relevance in this type of true perfect is that the time frame be open. Thus ?*Tchaikovsky has been to Moscow* is anomalous in English because Tchaikovsky died in 1893 and it is impossible to attribute experiences to him now. Brinton (1988: 10) regards the experiential present perfect as a subtype of the resultative present perfect in which the focus is on the intangible results the subject has obtained from performing the previous action.

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[17] The Portuguese present perfect is quite different from that of Spanish and Catalan. See §§ 3.3-3.4.

(iv) TRUE PERFECT OF RECENT PAST. In this type of true perfect, the situation referred to is located before the current moment, but its location is recent enough that the situation is considered relevant at this moment. English examples include *Louis has just coughed, We have recently moved to New York.* The degree of recentness required for this use of the present perfect varies across languages.

2.2 The true perfect as aspectual operator

In § 3.4 of the previous chapter, we saw that inflectional aspects can be regarded as aspectual operators. As operators, they manipulate the inherent lexical aspects of the predicates that they are formed upon, and they do so in regular ways. Thus, for example, the progressive takes predicates from a restricted set of aspectual types and produces a durative event based on the lexical aspect of the predicate it is formed upon. It does this by iterating an event of short duration or picking out the event stage of a situation with a longer duration. The durative event described by the progressive holds over a time specified by the tense of auxiliary *be.*

The true perfect also works as an aspectual operator, but produces different results. It describes a state or habit (or iterated event) based on the inherent lexical aspect of the predicate it is formed upon[18]. This state or habit holds at a time specified by the tense of auxiliary *have.* It does this in a number of ways:

A.　If the predicate is of type S, the true perfect describes the persistence of the state from a previous moment into the current moment. This is one instance of the *continuative perfect*; it requires a durative time expression like *for years*:

(3.4)　Stan has known him for years.　　　　　　　　　　　—S-type predicate

(3.5)　Stan has wanted a pet hamster since he was five years old.　—S-type predicate

(3.6)　Stan has hated the mayor since before he was elected.　　—S-type predicate

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[18] Perhaps the true perfect of recent past cannot be regarded in this way.

B.   If the predicate is any type of eventive predicate–E, L, EL, LE, LS, ELE—the true perfect can describe an on-and-off persistence of the event into the current moment, in which case the situation is construed as a habit or iterated event and the kind of perfect formed is another instance of the *continuative perfect*; like A above, it also requires a durative time expression.

(3.7)   Peter has played tennis since the ninth grade.   —E-type predicate

(3.8)   Peter has always arrived right on time.   —L-type predicate

(3.9)   Peter has walked to work since he moved here.   —EL-type pred.

(3.10)   Peter has smiled at me at the beginning of every class.   —LE-type pred.

(3.11)   Peter has seen the lighthouse on every visit to the island.   —LS-type pred.

(3.12)   Peter has always stood up to speak in town meetings.   —ELE-type pred.

C.   There is a second alternative if the predicate is any type of eventive predicate–E, L, EL, LE, LS, ELE. The true perfect can describe a current (stative) attribute of the subject, namely the subject's currently-held experiential knowledge that is a result of having undergone a situation at least once in the past. This is the *experiential perfect*.

(3.13)   Chloe has ridden a horse before.   —E-type predicate

(3.14)   Chloe has reached the summit of Mount McKinley twice.   —L-type predicate

(3.15)   Chloe has read *Moby Dick.*   —EL-type pred.

(3.16)   Chloe has stuck her tongue out at someone before.   —LE-type pred.

(3.17)   Chloe has seen the Mona Lisa.   —LS-type pred.

(3.18)   Chloe has sat on a real throne before.   —ELE-type pred.

D.   Next, there is the *resultative perfect*. If the predicate contains an L—as in L, LE, LS, EL, and ELE—then the true perfect can describe a persistent state that follows this L. The persistent state is really a temporal extension of the special set of

circumstances described by the punctual L. In the examples below, the enduring state is given in parentheses.

(3.19) Sam has reached the summit.   —L-type predicate

(so now he is at the summit)

(3.20) Sam has drunk a glass of wine.   —EL-type pred.

(so now the glass is empty)

(3.21) The water has boiled.   —LE-type pred.

(so now the water is boiling, or boiling hot)

(3.22) Sam has understood the problem .   —LS-type pred.

(so now he understands it)

(3.23) Sam has sat down.   —ELE-type pred.

(so now he is sitting)

Note that the persistent state described by the resultative perfect follows the L, not the whole event. Thus, for instance, *Sam has sat down* does not tell us that the whole episode of sitting is over, only that the L of this ELE-type predicate has been reached; the stage of getting into sitting position has reached completion and the true perfect form implies that Sam is maintaining this position. In other words, he has not stood up yet.

E.   There is a second alternative if the predicate contains an L: the *perfect of recent past*. This type of true perfect expresses that the L was reached at a moment which is perceived to be close to the current moment. In English, this type of true perfect is most felicitous in contexts in which certain time expressions occur: *now, just, just now, recently, just recently, etc.* Time expressions that refer to specific times

(*e.g., five minutes ago*) are not compatible with any kind of present perfect in English[19].

(3.24) Justine has just coughed.   —L-type predicate

(3.25) Justine has just looked in the mirror.   —LE-type pred.

(3.26) Justine has just recognized the mysterious man.   —LS-type pred.

(3.27) Justine has just drawn a circle.   —EL-type pred.

(3.28) Justine has just raised her hand.   —ELE-type pred.

(3.29) ˣJustine has raised her hand five minutes ago.

2.3   True Perfects and Spurious Perfects: Tense, Inflectional Aspect, and Mood

We now consider how the interpretation of <*have* + perfect participle> is affected by the tense, inflectional aspect, and mood of the auxiliary verb *have.* We begin by explaining why the English present perfect always functions as a true perfect while the English pluperfect can function both as true perfect and as a relative tense.

In English, pluperfects can function like the past-tense versions of the various types of present perfect, as the following examples show:

RESULTATIVE PLUPERFECT

(3.30) Was John there at 8? Yes, I'm certain all the guests had arrived by 8.

CONTINUATIVE PLUPERFECT

(3.31) I had known George for 3 years when I found out he had a twin brother.

EXPERIENTIAL PLUPERFECT

(3.32) Burton was a man of the world; he had traveled to dozens of countries.

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[19] These restrictions are lifted when the perfect format serves to express past infinitive, e.g., *Justine may have raised her hand five minutes ago.*

(3.33) The lights had just gone off when we heard the noise.

As we saw in the discussion of (3.3), repeated here as (3.34), English pluperfects can also function like past-tense versions of simple pasts, without any requirement of continuing relevance.

(3.34) Janet learned that Edmund had reached the summit with the help of a guide.

The differing behavior of the present perfect and the pluperfect has some diachronic reasons[20], but in large measure the difference between the present perfect and the pluperfect can be explained in synchronic terms.

We saw in § 2.2 that the true perfect describes a state or habit (or iterated event) based on the inherent lexical aspect of the predicate it is formed upon. Now let us examine how states and habits are interpreted when they occur in the present and past tenses. Consider these examples.

(3.35) He is handsome.

(3.36) He always goes to the corner store.

(3.37) He was handsome.

(3.38) He always went to the corner store.

The state and habit in the present tense in (3.35-36) are interpreted as uninterrupted. These sentences describe a situation that holds over the present moment and into the foreseeable future. The state and habit in the past tense in (3.37-38) can be interpreted as interrupted; in non-narrative contexts, we assume that these situations have ceased to hold at some moment in the past. Sentences like (3.37-38) can be used in two subtly different ways. On one hand, a speaker can use these sentences to express that

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[20] For example, the present perfect has historically complemented the preterite and the imperfect in the domain of 'past' in Germanic and Romance, whereas the pluperfect has never had a corresponding complement in the domain of 'past-within-past'.

a state or habit held at some point in the past but no longer holds. In this case, the past tense is used because the speaker is primarily concerned with the interruption of the state or habit before the present.

(3.39) He was handsome as a young man but now he looks gaunt.

(3.40) He always went to the corner store when he lived around here. Now he lives in the city and shops at an enormous supermarket.

On the other hand, the speaker may be unconcerned with when the state or habit was interrupted, and may simply want to express that the state or habit was ongoing during a period in the past. In this case, the past tense conveys not interruption before the present, but continuance in the past.

(3.41) When Louise met Roger, she couldn't help noting he was a handsome man.

(3.42) In the survey on shopping habits, Roger said that he always went to the corner store.

Now consider the present and past forms of a perfect, *have arrived,* in English:

(3.43) Is John here? Yes, I think all of the guests have arrived.

(3.44) John was certainly there at 8. All the guests had arrived by then.

(3.45) We learned that John had arrived by car.

The present perfect in (3.43), *the guests have arrived,* describes a current state of affairs, namely that all of the guests are here. This sentence is normally interpreted to mean that this resultant state has not yet been interrupted (*i.e.,* the guests have not left yet—that is what makes this present perfect an appropriate answer to *Is John here?*). In (3.44), the pluperfect functions as a past-tense version of the present perfect in (3.43). This pluperfect expresses that the resultant state was persisting during some time in the past, and had not yet been interrupted. Pluperfects of this first type describe a situation analogous to the continuing situations in (3.41-42). By contrast,

the pluperfect in (3.45) is noncommittal about whether the resultant state of *arrived by car* has been interrupted at the time of the verb *learned*. Pluperfects of this second type describe a situation analogous to the interrupted situations in (3.39-40).

This brief argument shows that the condition of continuing relevance can only be strictly observed when the auxiliary verb *have* is in the present tense, since this is the only tense that logically entails that the state or habit described by <*have* + perfect participle> persists without interruption. The past-tense state or habit described by a pluperfect may be continuing in the past, in which case the pluperfect functions like a true perfect in the past, but it may also be interrupted, in which case the pluperfect functions like a relative past tense (of course, other material in the sentence will often force one or the other of these interpretations). Mutatis mutandis, the same can be said for the future perfect as for the pluperfect.

This basic difference between present perfect on the one hand, and pluperfect and future perfect on the other, has a number of manifestations cross-linguistically. In some languages (e.g. Swahili) there is a distinct present perfect, but no distinct pluperfect or future perfect. In other languages (e.g. Maltese), the pluperfect and future perfect exist as distinct verbal categories, but there is no distinct present perfect. In still other languages (e.g. Luganda), the present perfect on one hand and the pluperfect and future perfect on the other are not morphologically parallel[21] (Comrie 1976: 80).

Conditions on the syntactic distributions of the present perfect and pluperfect may also be different: In English, the present perfect cannot co-occur with an absolute time expression like *on Monday*[22], but there is no such prohibition in the pluperfect and the future perfect (*ibid* 79). So ˣ*Paul has arrived on Monday* is ill-formed, but

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[21] In Luganda, present perfects are synthetic, while the pluperfect and future perfect are periphrastic (Comrie, 1985: 80).
[22] They are compatible with some relative time expressions, such as *today.*

Paul had arrived on Monday and *Paul will have arrived on Monday* are not (but note that these "perfects" normally function as relative tenses to be compatible with *on Monday*[23]). In Portuguese, use of the present perfect is requires a durative situation, while the future perfect and pluperfect do not have this restriction. Thus ˣ*Tenho encontrado o gato às duas* 'I have been finding the cat at 2 o'clock' is ungrammatical while *Tinha encontrado o gato às duas* 'I had found the cat at 2 o'clock' is fine (and this "perfect" is also a relative tense).

This discussion of spurious perfects raises the question of whether the English pluperfect and future perfects ought to be considered perfects at all, or just relative tenses. On one hand, one could argue that these are basically relative past tenses that can describe all kinds of previous situations, including previous situations with continuing relevance. The "true perfect" value of the pluperfect and future perfect would, under this argument, be nothing more than a particular case of the forms' general past tense values. On the other hand, one could argue that the pluperfect and future perfect are basically inflectional aspects, and that their relative tense values emerge predictably through the interaction of aspect and tense, as described above. An advantage of this second view is that all constructions with the morphosyntactic form <*have* + perfect participle> would then have a uniform interpretation. We will leave this as an open question for now and address it at the conclusion of this chapter, with more data in hand.

We have seen that the tense of the auxiliary verb *have* affects the interpretation of <*have* + perfect participle>. We now turn our attention to the aspect of the auxiliary. In some Romance languages (Spanish, Italian), there are two kinds of

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[23] There is a bit of slippage in the meaning of the pluperfect and future perfect when *on Monday* is used to mean *by Monday*. For example in the sentences *Paul will have reviewed the proposal on Monday* and *Paul will have slept it off tomorrow morning,* the future perfect can have resultative meaning if we mean "by such-and-such a time the subject will be in the specified condition".

pluperfect because the auxiliary verb *have* can appear in two past-tense forms: imperfective and perfective past (*i.e.,* preterite). What values do these pluperfects have?

Again, we begin our discussion by considering the interpretation of states and habits when they appear in different inflectional forms, since the true perfect describes a state or habit (or iterated event) based on the inherent lexical aspect of the predicate it is formed upon. Consider these examples of states and habits in the imperfective and perfective pasts in Spanish.

(3.46) Era   guapo.
       was.IMP.3S   handsome.M
       'He was handsome'

(3.47) Siempre iba   al   mercado de la   esquina.
       always   went.IMP.3S to-the.M store   of the.F corner
       'He always went to the corner store'

(3.48) Fue   guapo.
       was.PT.3S   handsome.M
       'He was handsome'

(3.49) Siempre fue   al   mercado de la   esquina.
       always   went.PT.3S to-the.M store   of the.F corner
       'He always went to the corner store'

It is often thought that the imperfective past expresses continuance in the past while the perfective past expresses completion before the present. Indeed, the perfective past looks at a situation in the past in its entirety, and since the entirety of a situation includes its completion, the normal interpretation of the perfective past is 'completion before the present'. But the imperfective past does not necessarily exclude the completion of a situation. The imperfective past looks at some internal part of a past event and may be noncommittal about completion. In fact, like the English pasts *was*

handsome, went to the corner store in (3.37-38), the Spanish imperfective pasts in (3.46-47) can be used in two ways: to denote continuance in the past or to denote interruption before the present. These alternatives are illustrated for the state *era guapo* 'he was handsome' in the following:

(3.50) Era   guapo   de joven, pero ahora está   demasiado demacrado.
       was.IMP.3S   handsome.M of young, but now is.PS.3S too   gaunt.M
       'He was handsome as a young man, but now he is too gaunt'

(3.51) Cuando Luisa conoció a   Pepe,
       when   Luisa met.PT.3S to Pepe

       no   pudo   dejar   de notar   que era   guapo.
       not could.PT.3S stop.INF of notice.INF that was.IMP.3S handsome.M
       'When Luisa met Pepe, she couldn't help noticing that he was handsome'

By contrast, the Spanish perfective pasts in (3.48-49) can only be used to express completion before the present, as illustrated in this example with *fue guapo* 'he was handsome':

(3.52) Como matador,   Jiménez fue   guapo   y   diestro.
       as   bullfighter Jimenez was.PT.3S handsome.M and adroit.M
       'As a bullfighter, Jimenez was handsome and adroit'

This sentence tells us that on the occasion(s) in which Jiménez performed as a bullfighter he was handsome, but the choice of perfective past entails that Jimenez stopped performing as a (handsome) bullfighter before the present. Thus the imperfective past can express continuance in the past while the perfective past cannot.

From the evidence just presented, we expect a form of <*have* + perfect participle> in which *have* is in the imperfective past to function just as the English pluperfect does—sometimes as a true perfect and sometimes as a relative past—because the imperfective past can describe both continuance and completion.

This is indeed what we observe in the Romance languages. The most widespread pluperfect in the Romance languages has *have* in the imperfective past and can function in both of these ways. For example:

(3.53) Todos los   invitados habían   llegado antes de las   ocho.
       all   the.M.P guests.M.P had.IMP.3P arrived before of the.F.P eight.
       'All of the guests had arrived before eight.'

(3.54) Lucas había   llegado al   pueblo el   lunes   y había
       Lucas had.IMP.3S arrived to-the town   the.M Monday and had.IMP.3S

       partido dos días antes del   terremoto.
       left   two days before of-the.M earthquake
       'Lucas had arrived in town on Monday and had left two days before the earthquake.'

By contrast, we expect a form of *<have + perfect participle>* which has *have* in the perfective past (*i.e.,* preterite) to have only one value—relative past—because the perfective past only describes completion. These forms exist in Spanish (3.55) and Italian (3.56), albeit quite marginally, as these examples show (Cartagena 1999: 2951-2; Squartini 1998: 197-8):

(3.55) Luego que hubo   amanecido, salí.
       after   that had.PT.3S dawned   left.PT.1S
       'As soon as the day had dawned, I left'

(3.56) Non appena Paolo fu   uscito dalla   stanza,
       not scarcely Paolo was.PT.3S left.M from-the.F room,

       Giulio accese   una sigaretta
       Giulio lit.PT.3S a.F cigarette
       'As soon as Paolo had left the room, Giulio lit a cigarette'

In both languages, this form denotes the immediate anteriority of a situation, and in both languages it appears chiefly in writing and in a restricted set of temporal clauses.

Finally, we consider how the mood of the auxiliary verb *have* affects the interpretation of *<have* + perfect participle*>;* we will be concerned in particular with the Romance indicative and subjunctive. While the indicative normally describes a situation as a fact, the subjunctive describes a situation as conceived, not as a fact, and is used to describe a range of non-factual situations: desires, commands, exhortations, as well as contingent, hypothetical, and prospective situations.

In our discussion of tense above, we were concerned with which verbal forms logically entail that a state or habit persists without interruption and which do not, since the true perfect describes a state or habit that persists at the time specified by the tense of auxiliary *have*. When a state or habit is described with the a verb in the subjunctive mood, there is no entailment about whether the state or habit is interrupted, because we are not describing a factual state. Consider this example of a state in the subjunctive from Portuguese:

(3.57) Caso o   Luis não seja   um rapaz airoso,...
      if   the.M Luis not is.PS.SUBJ.3S a.M lad   handsome.M
      'If Luis is not a handsome lad,...'

We cannot say whether Luis is now a handsome lad, because this information is wholly absent from the sentence. Similarly, a present perfect in the subjunctive mood cannot tell us whether there is a factual state or habit ensuing from a previous situation, because it is unclear whether the situation occurs at all. Consider this example:

(3.58) Caso o   Luis não tenha   encontrado o   gato,...
      if   the.M Luis not has.PS.SUBJ.3S found   the.M cat
      'If Luis hasn't found the cat,...'

Just as the condition of continuing relevance in the here-and-now cannot be strictly observed in the past and future, it cannot be observed in the non-factual subjunctive.

Unsurprisingly, then, the present perfect subjunctive is often not a true perfect. This is evident in Portuguese, in which the present perfect indicative, a restricted kind of true perfect, requires a durative situation, but there is no such restriction on the corresponding subjunctive form. [x]*Tenho encontrado o gato às duas* 'I have been finding the cat at 2 o'clock' is ungrammatical in Portuguese while *Caso não tenha encontrado o gato às duas,...* 'If he hasn't found the cat at/by 2 o'clock,...' is acceptable.

3   <*have* + perfect participle> in Romance

3.1   Four Patterns of Distribution

Harris (1982) identifies four distinct patterns of distribution in the modern Romance outcomes of <*habeo* + perfect participle> (and <*teneo* + perfect participle>, <*sum* + perfect participle>, in the languages that have them) when *habeo* is in the present indicative: (i) in two languages of southern Italy, Sicilian and Calabrian, the modern reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> is a kind of retrospective present expressing ongoing present situations that began in the past or present states resulting from past situations. This periphrasis exists alongside the modern reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum, which retains its two original values: perfective past and present perfect. (ii) In Portuguese, Galician, and some Spanish dialects of the Americas, the modern reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum retains its two original values, while the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> or <*teneo* + perfect participle> functions as a present perfect employed in a marked aspectual circumstance—when the situation described is a durative situation (possibly iterative) that began in the past

and has continued until the present, without necessarily including the present moment. (iii) In Castilian Spanish, Catalan, Occitan, Norman, and certain varieties of Walloon, the modern reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum survives only as a perfective past, while the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> is a present perfect. (iv) In French, Northern Italian, and standard Romanian, the modern reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum is restricted to formal written registers, and may be lost entirely. The reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> has two values: perfective past and present perfect.

This section examines the reflexes of the Latin perfectum and <*habeo* + perfect participle> in four languages—one representative language from each of Harris' groups. We will consider data from Sicilian (group 1), Portuguese (group 2), Castilian Spanish (group 3), and French (group 4). These data relate to the distribution of the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> vis-à-vis the distribution of the reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum. We focus on the instances of <*habeo* + perfect participle> in which the auxiliary is in the present indicative, since this is where we expect to find the full range of perfect values (see § 2.3).

As Harris observes, the four patterns of distribution described above suggest four levels of diachronic development. In chapter 6, we consider Harris' argument that if we regard 1-4 as diachronic stages, then there is some evidence that languages now in group 4 passed through stages 1-3, languages now in group 3 passed through stages 1-2, and languages now in group 2 passed through stage 1. In what follows, we look only at the synchronic distribution of <*have* + perfect participle> in the Romance languages.

3.2   <*have* + perfect participle> in Sicilian

In Sicilian, the modern reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> is primarily an aspectual periphrasis, and appears to get its time reference externally. This periphrasis

refers to the current development of situations that began at a previous time or to current states resulting from previous situations, where *current* is to be understood as simultaneous with a time of reference externally provided. The situation referred to at the current time—resultant state or ongoing event—is necessarily durative. When the time of reference is unspecified in a sentence, this periphrasis is centered in the present. Examples of this construction (from Bonner, 2001), with the current situation underlined, are:

Present states resulting from past actions:

(3.59) L'   omu a   persu u   so riloggiu
        the.M man has.PS.3S lost   the.M his watch
        'The man has lost his watch <u>and now the watch is lost</u>'

(3.60) Ti   aiu   vinutu a vidiri
        you.ACC have.PS.1S come   to see.INF
        'I have come to see you <u>and now I'm here to see you</u>'

(3.61) L'   aiu   assagiatu autri   voti
        it.ACC have.PS.1S tried   other.F.P times.P
        'I have tried it [the wine] other times <u>and now I know what it's like</u>'

Ongoing present situations that have extension into the past

(3.62) A   statu veramenti friddu   stu   mmernu
        has.PS.3S been truly   cold.M this.M winter
        'It has been very cold this winter <u>and now it is still cold this winter</u>'

(3.63) A causa d' esami aiu   studiatu assai
        to cause of exams have.PS.1S studied   much
        'Because of exams, I've studied a lot <u>and now I am still studying</u>'

(3.64) Nun m'   a   vulutu sentiri   mai
        not me.ACC have.PS.3S wanted hear.INF never
        'You haven't wanted to listen to me <u>and now you still don't</u>'

(3.65) a   statu sempri bonu
       has.PS.3S been always good.M
       'it has always been good <u>and now it is still good'</u>

Since the current situation is at the fore in all of these sentences, they might be better glossed in English as '<u>the man's watch is now lost</u> since he has lost it', '<u>I am here now here to see you</u> since I have come to see you', etc., with the current situation in a more prominent position. Note that the construction refers to a resultant present state when the anterior situation is described by a predicate containing an L, as in (3.59-61), and refers to an ongoing situation when the previous situation is described by an S- or E-type predicate.

      When the time of reference is provided elsewhere in the sentence, the Sicilian reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> shifts its center of reference accordingly. Thus when we combine the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> with the preterite—the reflex of the Latin perfectum and the unmarked past tense in Sicilian—we get the following possibilities (from Giorgi & Pianesi 1997: 134):

(3.66) Mangiai u   pisci spada e mmi   fici   mali
       ate.PT.1S the.M fish   sword and me.DAT made.PT.3S bad
       'I ate swordfish and it made me sick'

(3.67) Haju   mangiatu u   pisci spada e mma   ffattu mali
       have.PS.1S eaten   the.M fish sword and me.DAT-have.PS.3S made bad
       'I ate swordfish and it has made me sick (<u>and I'm still sick from the swordfish</u>)'

(3.68) Haju   mangiatu u   pisci spada e mmi   fici   mali
       have.PS.1S eaten   the.M fish sword and me.DAT made.PT.3S bad
       ''I had eaten/had been eating swordfish and it made me sick'

(3.69) ^xMmi mangiai u   pisci spada e mma   ffattu mali
       REFL ate.PT.1S the.M fish sword and me.DAT-have.PS.3S made bad
       '^xI ate swordfish and it had made me sick'

In (3.66) two preterites are used and the events are understood as occurring in succession. In (3.67), no independent time reference is given, so the sentence refers to the present; the sentence describes a current situation, having eaten and being sick, which has resulted from a previous event. In (3.68), the second verb *fici* 'made' is a preterite, so the time reference is in the past. The periphrasis *haju mangiatu* is centered in the past, and means something like 'I had been eating' or 'I was in a state of having eaten'. In the ill-formed (3.69), *mangiai* 'ate' creates a past time reference, and the periphrasis *a fattu mali* must mean 'it had made me sick', which is pragmatically infelicitous given that causes cannot follow their effects.

The modern Sicilian reflex of *<habeo* + perfect participle>, an aspectual periphrasis, only approximates true perfect meanings, since it has no time reference of its own. True perfect meanings are expressed with the preterite, the modern reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum. Examples of preterites with resultative perfect and experiential perfect meaning are (from Bonner 2001):

(3.70) Iddu   vinniu   a   machina a nautra   pirsuna
        he.NOM sold.PT.3S the.F car   to another.F person
        'He has sold the car to someone else' *or* 'He sold the car to someone else'

(3.71) S'   accattaru   a   casa
        REFL   bought.PT.3P the.F house
        'They've bought the house' *or* 'they bought the house'

(3.72) Mamma! Mi   tagghiai u   iditu
        Mama   me.DAT cut.PT.1S the.M finger
        'Mama! I've cut my finger' *or* 'Mama! I cut my finger'

(3.73) Già   vitti   dda   pillicula
        Already seen.PT.1S that.F movie
        'I've already seen that movie'

It seems that when a preterite is used, *già* 'already' can be used to elicit a true perfect interpretation; we will see that this is also true of Portuguese *já* 'already'. Without

già, a perfect interpretation is possible unless canceled by: (i) a subject or object that no longer exists, in some sentences[24], or (ii) a time expression that explicitly refers to moments before the recent past, such as *avi du simani* 'two weeks ago' or *cincu uri arrè* 'five hours ago' (when five hours is not considered recent). These sorts of time expressions force a past interpretation upon a verb in the preterite.

Since the Sicilian reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> has no explicit time reference, all situations in the recent past are expressed with a preterite, as in (from Bonner 2001):

(3.74) Sta   matina chiuviu   tri   voti
this.F morning rained.PT.3S three times.P
'This morning it rained three times'

(3.75) Cincu uri   arrè chiuviu   e   ora ora chiuviu
five   hours ago rained.PT.3S and now now rained.PT.3S
'Five hours ago it rained and just now it rained'

The present in Sicilian can be used with continuative perfect meaning, as in:

(3.76) Ora avi   du simani ca mi   doli   stu   malidittu denti
now has.PS.3S two weeks.P that me.DAT hurts.PS.3S this.M damned.M tooth
'For two weeks now this damned tooth has been hurting me'

(3.77) Avi   tri   anni   c' abbitu   nna sta   città
has.PS.3S three years.P that live.1S.PS in   this.F city
'I've been living in this city for three years'

In summary, it seems that in Sicilian no past situation, however recent, can be directly expressed by <*habeo* + perfect participle>. Instead, the periphrasis <*habeo* + perfect participle> refers to past situations indirectly; it describes a current situation,

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[24] To give an English example of this, *Gilbert has broken the window* will be anomalous if Gilbert is dead or if the window was replaced (among other possible reasons for anomaly).

expressing in the current moment the consequences of a previous event or the current progress of a situation that began earlier.

3.3 *<have* + perfect participle> in Portuguese

In Portuguese, the modern reflex of *<teneo* + perfect participle> functions as a true perfect employed in a marked aspectual circumstance—when the situation described is a durative or iterative situation that began in the past and has continued until the present (but not necessarily including the present moment). Thus *<teneo* + perfect participle> in Portuguese is a very restricted sort of present perfect having continuative perfect values only. Examples of this construction in Portuguese are (3.82-84 from Cunha & Cintra 1984; others from Boléo 1936).

Durative situations beginning in the past and continuing until the present

(3.78) Tenho   estado doente ultimamente
       have.PS.1S been sick   lately
       'I have been sick lately'

(3.79) Tenho   estado em Lisboa
       have.PS.1S been   in Lisbon
       'I have been staying in Lisbon'

(3.80) Tenho   andado constipado e   ainda não me   passou   de todo
       have.PS.1S gone   constipated.M and still not me.DAT passed.PT.3S of all
       'I have been constipated and it still hasn't totally gone away'

(3.81) Como nós temos   envelhecido!
       how   we have.PS.1P aged
       'How we've aged!'

(3.82) Tenho   lutado   contra a   adversidade
       have.PS.1S struggled against the.F adversity
       'I have struggled against adversity'

Iterative (possibly habitual) situations beginning in the past and continuing until the present

(3.83) Eu tenho   cruzado o   nosso estado em ziguezague
       I   have.PS.1S crossed the.M our.M state   in   zigzag
       'I've been crossing (back and forth) across our country in a zigzag'

(3.84) Tenho   escrito bastantes poemas
       have.PS.1S written enough.P poems.P
       'I have written enough poems'

(3.85) O   João tem   escrito?
       the.M João has.PS.3S written?
       'Has João been writing (*i.e.,* writing letters, maintaining correspondence)?'

(3.86) Tenho   tomado banhos todos   os   dias
       have.PS.1S taken   baths   all.M.P the.M.P days.P
       'I have been taking baths every day'

Note that (3.78-80) are S-type predicates and (3.81-82) are E-type predicates. (3.83-86), which are iterative, are all EL-type predicates[25].

The meanings associated with the modern Portuguese reflex of <*teneo* + perfect participle> are not exclusive to this verbal periphrasis; they overlap with meanings included under the more widespread preterite and present. The preterite, the unmarked past in Portuguese, can be used with continuative perfect meaning, as in (Boléo 1936: 8):

(3.87) Tu foste   sempre o   meu genro   escolhido
       you were.PT.2S always the.M my.M son-in-law chosen.M
       'You have always been my chosen son-in-law'

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[25] *Escribir* 'write' in (85) is interpreted as 'write something' (*e.g.,* a letter), an EL-type predicate. If we interpret *escribir* 'write' as an E-type predicate, referring just to the activity of writing, then the interpretation of (85) becomes 'Has John been writing (until now)?', which is a durative situation beginning in the past and continuing until the present, like (78)-(82).

However, to get this interpretation in a sentence with a preterite, the sentence must have temporal adverb or phrase denoting duration into the present, such as *sempre* 'always', *até aqui* 'until now', *desde há algum tempo* 'for some time now'.

Continuative perfect meaning is commonly expressed by the present in Portuguese, as in:

(3.88) Há   dois dias que não vem   trabalhar
       has.PS.3S two.M days.P that not comes.PS.3S work.INF
       'He hasn't come to work in two days'

Experiential perfect and resultative perfect meanings are expressed with the preterite, as in:

(3.89) Já   recebeu   notícias de   Francisco?
       already received.PT.3S news.P from Francisco
       'Has he received any news from Francisco?'

(3.90) Eu li   aquele artigo
       I   read.PT.1S that.M article
       'I have read that article/I read that article'

(3.91) Perdi   o   meu livro
       lost.PT.1S the.M my.M book
       'I have lost my book/I lost my book'

As in Sicilian, in Portuguese when a preterite is used, *já* 'already' can be used to elicit a true perfect interpretation. Without *já,* a perfect interpretation is possible unless canceled by: (i) a subject or object that no longer exists, or (ii) a time expression that includes moments before the present, such as *ontem* 'yesterday'. As in Sicilian, these sorts of time expressions force a past interpretation upon a verb in the preterite.

Situations in the recent past are expressed with a preterite in Portuguese, as in:

(3.92) Esta   manhã   chouveu   muito
   this.F morning rained.PT.3S much
   'This morning it rained a lot'

 Finally, the Portuguese preterite can be used to express relative past in the future, as in:

(3.93) Um   exame mais e   terminei!
   One.M exam more and finished.PT.1S
    'One more exam and I will have finished'

 To sum up, the Portuguese reflex of <*teneo* + perfect participle> is a marked present perfect, appropriate for describing situations that have particular aspectual characteristics: these are durative or iterative situations which began at a previous moment and have continued until the current moment.

3.4 <*have* + perfect participle> in Castilian Spanish

 In the Spanish of Castile, and in other places that employ the Castilian standard, the modern reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> displays all of the types of true perfect values described in § 2: resultative perfect, continuative perfect, experiential perfect, and perfect of recent past. Examples of these values are (3.94-95 from Rojo & Veiga 1999, others from Cartagena 1999):

Resultative perfect

(3.94) Nuestros investigadores han   llegado a la   resolución del   problema.
   our.M.P   investigators.P have.PS.3P arrived at the.F resolution of.the.M problem
   'Our investigators have arrived at the solution to the problem'

(3.95) Grecia ha   legado   al   mundo las   bases
Greece has.PS.3S bequeathed to.the.M world   the.F.P bases.P

de la   cultura occidental.
of the.F culture western
'Greece has given the world the bases of western culture'

Experiential perfect

(3.96) He   escrito varias   novelas.
have.PS.1S written several.F.P novels
'I have written several novels'

(3.97) Ha   viajado al   extranjero y   tiene   un pasado
has.PS.3S traveled to-the.M abroad   and has.3S.PS a.M past

digno   de un gran hombre.
worthy.M of a.M great man
'He has traveled abroad and has a past worthy of a great man'

Continuative perfect

(3.98) Siempre ha   sido una chica muy guapa.
always   has.PS.3S been a.F girl   very pretty.F
'She has always been a pretty girl'

(3.99) Toda la   vida he   oído las   mismas críticas.
all   the.F life have.PS.1S heard the.F.P same.F.P criticisms.P
'All my life I've been hearing the same kinds of criticism'

Perfect of recent past

(3.100) Lo   he   visto hoy
him.M.ACC have.PS.1S seen today
'I saw him today'

(3.101) Hemos   emitido el   primer capítulo ya   en esta   semana.
have.PS.1P broadcast the.M first.M chapter   already in this.F week
'We already broadcast the first chapter (earlier) this week'

The Castilian Spanish reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> can even be used to express relative past in the future (this corresponds to the use of the present to refer to future situations):

(3.102) Hombre, el   mes   que viene   ya   he
        man   the.M month that comes.3S.PS already have.PS.1S

        presentado el examen.
        taken   the exam
        'Man, by next month I'll have taken the exam'

(3.103) Si ya   os   habéis   marchado a las   diez,
        If already REFL have.PS.2P left   at the.F.P ten

        podré   ir   aún al   cine.
        can.FUT.1S go.INF still to-the.M cinema
        'If you (pl.) have already left by ten o'clock, I'll be able to go to the movies'

(3.104) Cuando vea   que he   llegado al   término
        When   see.PS.SUBJ.1S that have.PS.1S arrived to-the.M limit

        de mis   fuerzas,   pediré   ayuda.
        of my.P strengths.P seek.FUT.1S help
        'When I see that I've reached the limit of my strength, I'll ask for help'

The preterite cannot be used in this way; the usage is felt strongly to correspond to the Spanish of other dialects. Thus, for example, Rojo and Veiga (1999: 2923) give the following as an example of Galician Spanish, a variety of Spanish that belongs to group 2:

(3.105) Cuando lleguen,   ya   me   fui.
        When   arrive.PS.SUBJ.3P already REFL go.PT.1S
        'When they arrive, I will have left'

The values of the present perfect are distinct from, and hence not included under, the values of the preterite in Castilian Spanish. There is, however, an area of potential overlap in the recent past. Compare the following:

Table 3.1   *Entailment of the perfect and preterite in Castilian Spanish*

perfect	present entailment	preterite	present entailment
ha escrito un libro 'he's written a book'	he is alive; the book exists	*escribió un libro* 'he wrote a book'	none
siempre ha sido guapa 'she's always been pretty'	she is alive; she is pretty	*siempre fue guapa* 'she was always pretty'	she isn't alive or she isn't pretty now
lo he visto hace un rato 'I saw it a short while ago'	none	*lo vi hace un tiempo* 'I saw it a while ago'	none

For *ha escrito un libro* 'he has written a book' (a resultative or experiential perfect) and *siempre ha sido guapa* 'she has always been pretty' (a continuative perfect), the choice to use a present perfect form carries specific entailments that differ from the entailments of the corresponding sentences in the preterite. By contrast, *lo he visto hace un rato* 'I saw it a short while ago' (a perfect of recent past) is only distinguished from *lo vi hace un tiempo* 'I saw it a while ago' by the speaker's subjective feeling that the event of seeing occurred at a moment close to the present. Further nuances of the present perfect/preterite distinction in the domain of 'recent past' can be found in Cartagena (1999); he observes that the following examples from Spanish of the Americas are anomalous according to Castilian usage because they use a preterite where a present perfect is required by Castilian norms:

(3.106) Buenos   días... Cómo amanecieron?
        Good.M.P days.P how   awoke.PT.3P
        'Good morning... how was your waking?'

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(3.107) Esta   noche dijiste   cosas   que me   dieron   asco
      This.F night said.PT.2S things.P that me.DAT gave.PT.3P disgust
     'Tonight you said things that disgusted me'

These are further cases in which the values of the preterite do not include those of the reflex of *<habeo* + perfect participle>. In Castilian Spanish, *cómo amanecieron?* 'how was your waking?' is not appropriate on the same morning of the waking and *dijiste cosas que me dieron asco* 'you said things that disgusted me' is not appropriate on the night when the things were said, because these are felt to be recent events. Indeed, we can make a generalization regarding sentences like (3.106-107): the use of certain temporal adverbs centered in the present (*e.g. hoy* 'today', *ahora* '(just) now') or of a time expression preceded by deictic *este, esta* 'this' strongly induces a Castilian speaker to use the present perfect when describing a past situation. By contrast, other adverbs (*e.g., ayer* 'yesterday') and time expressions preceded by deictic *ese, esa* 'that' or *aquel, aquella* 'that, yon' require a preterite.

Continuative perfect meaning is commonly expressed by the present in Spanish, using a construction similar to those of Sicilian and Portuguese:

(3.108) Hace   dos dias   que no   viene   a   trabajar
     makes.PS.3S two days.P that not comes.PS.3S to work.INF
     'He hasn't come to work in two days'

To recapitulate, the Castilian Spanish reflex of *<habeo* + perfect participle> is a true present perfect with a wide range of perfect values. These values are quite distinct from those Spanish reflex of the Latin perfectum, the preterite, but there is a slight area of potential overlap when recent situations are described.

3.5 ***<have + perfect participle>* in French**

In standard French, the modern reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum is absent from the spoken language, and is restricted to formal or semi-formal writing. Only 3rd person forms are encountered frequently in writing; 1st and 2nd person singular forms are not frequent and 1st and 2nd person plural forms are extremely rare (Hollerbach, 1994). The modern reflex of *<habeo* + perfect participle> (and *<sum +* perfect participle>, for a subset of verbs) has two values: perfective past and present perfect. For example:

Perfective past

(3.109) Messner a atteint le sommet de l' Everest sans oxygène
Messner has.PS.3S reached the.M summit of the.M Everest without oxygen
'Messner reached the summit of Everest without oxygen'

(3.110) Victor Hugo a écrit *Les Misérables* en 1862.
Victor Hugo has.PS.3S written *Les Misérables* in 1862
'Victor Hugo wrote *Les Miserables* in 1862'

Resultative perfect

(3.111) L' avion a aterri
the.M plane has.PS.3S landed
'The plane has landed'

Continuative perfect

(3.112) Je t' ai aimé dès que je t' ai connu
I.NOM you.ACC have.PS.3S loved since that I.NOM you.ACC have.PS.3S met
'I have loved you since I met you'

Experiential perfect

(3.113) J' ai écouté cette chanson des centaines de fois.
I.NOM have.PS.1S heard that.F song some.P hundreds.P of times.P
'I've heard that song hundreds of times'

Continuative perfect meaning is commonly expressed by the present in French, using a construction like those of Spanish, Portuguese, and Sicilian:

(3.114) Il y   a   deux jours qu' il   ne   travaille   pas.
       it LOC have.PS.3S two   days.P that he.NOM NEG   works.PS.3S NEG
       'He hasn't worked in two days'

The modern reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> can refer to future situations in certain types of clauses, as in:

(3.115)   Deux volumes   de plus   et   j' ai   fini.
         Two.P volumes.P of more and I.NOM have.PS.1S finished
         'Two more volumes and I'll have finished'

(3.116)   Si nous   avons   déjà   mangé à 10h,
         If we.NOM have.PS.1S already eaten at 10,

         je   pourrai   aller   au   ciné.
         I.NOM can.FUT.1S go.INF to-the.M cinema
         'If we have eaten by 10 o'clock, I'll be able to go to the cinema'

(3.117) Quand je   verrai   que j'   ai   perdu l' équilibre,
        When I.NOM see.FUT.1S that I.NOM have.PS.1S lost   the balance

        je   m'   aiderai   du   bâton.
        I.NOM me.ACC help.FUT.1S of-the.M stick
        'When I see that I've lost my balance, I'll help myself with the cane'

In summary, the modern reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> includes both present prefect and perfective past meanings: it is an indefinite past. The preterite is absent from spoken French.

4   **<*have* + perfect participle> in the Germanic languages**

Like the Romance languages, the modern Germanic languages exhibit a range of values for the "same" form, <*have* + perfect participle> (and <*be* + perfect

participle>, in some languages), and this synchronic range of values corresponds to differing levels of diachronic development. The Germanic situation differs from the Romance situation in two respects. First, the range of values of <*have* + perfect participle> is narrower in Germanic than in Romance. There is no modern Germanic language with a <*have* + perfect participle> like the one in Sicilian or the one in Portuguese. In all of the modern Germanic languages, <*have* + perfect participle> has reached the true perfect stage (equivalent to Harris' stage 3) or moved beyond this stage. Second, in some Germanic varieties <*have* + perfect participle> has become a general past tense, capable of expressing perfective, imperfective, and perfect meanings. This development seems to stem from the absence of a distinct imperfective past form in Germanic (see Chapter 6 § 7.4).

Let us briefly consider the range of values of <*have* + perfect participle> in the modern Germanic languages. We considered in § 2 the values of English <*have* + perfect participle>: it functions as a true perfect expressing resultative, experiential, continuative, and recent past values. The <*have* + perfect participle> constructions in Danish and Swedish function in most respects like their counterpart in English, but differ strikingly in sentences like the following:

DANISH   (from Allan, Holmes & Lundskær-Nielsen, 1995)

(3.118) Heiberg har   skrevet Elverhoj
         Heiberg has.PS.3S written Elverhoj
         'Heiberg wrote *Elverhoj*'

(3.119) Hvor   har   du   hørt det?
         Where have.PS.2S you.NOM heard that
         'Where did you hear that?'

(3.120) Vem har   skrivit Röda rummet?
        who has.PS.3S written red   room?
        'Who wrote *The Red Room*?'

(3.121) Var   har   ni   lärt   er   svenska?
        where have.PS.2P you.NOM.P learned your Swedish
        'Where did you learn Swedish?'

In Danish and Swedish, <*have* + perfect participle> is used when a past event leaves a lasting result, in the form of a enduring product (such as a book) or a persistent state (such as a subject's knowledge of something), even though the agent of the event may be gone (as in 3.118 and 3.120) or the event may not have been completed recently (as in 3.119 and 3.120). Thus the requirement of present relevance for resultative and experiential perfects is judged according to slightly different criteria than in English.

In English, Danish, and Swedish, <*have* + perfect participle> can be used with continuative perfect value:

(3.122) We have lived here for ten years.

(3.123) Vi   har   boet her ti år
        We.NOM have.PS.1P lived here ten years
        'We have lived here for ten years'

(3.124) De   har   varit gifta   många år
        They.NOM have.PS.3P been married many   years
        'They have been married many years'

Thus English, Danish, and Swedish can be roughly grouped together. In these three languages, the reflex of the Germanic preterite has a general past tense value, and

tends to denote completion in the past (it contrasts with the past progressive, which denotes continuance in the past).

In German and Dutch, the *<have* + perfect participle> is, in some contexts, equivalent to a preterite (Harbert, forthcoming). Consider these German sentences (3.126-127 from Harbert):

(3.125) Ich   habe   gestern   eine Webseite gesehen
       I.NOM have.PS.1S yesterday a.F   website   seen
       'I saw a website yesterday'

(3.126) Ich   bin   gestern   gekommen
       I.NOM am.PS.1S yesterday come
       'I came yesterday'

(3.127) Ich   kam   gestern.
       I.NOM came.PT.1S yesterday
       'I came yesterday'

In (3.125), *<have* + perfect participle> co-occurs with the past time adverbial *gestern* 'yesterday', which excludes the present moment. In (3.126), the German *be*-perfect *<be* + perfect participle> co-occurs with *gestern*. In (3.127), *gestern* co-occurs with a preterite. Note that a sentence like (3.125) is impossible in English: [x]*I have seen a website yesterday.* Sentences like (3.125-126) do not appear to be subject to the requirement of present relevance.

According to Harbert (forthcoming) and Boogart (1999), sentences like (3.125-126) occur more in non-narrative contexts, while sentences like (3.127) are mainly limited to narrative contexts. This is reminiscent of, but not analogous to, the situation in modern French, where the *passé simple* is restricted to formal written narrative, and the *passé composé* is used elsewhere. The analogy cannot be carried too far because the German and Dutch preterites enjoy much greater vitality than the French *passé simple.*

The German and Dutch situations are not completely analogous, either. In German, <*have* + perfect participle> can function as a general past, including perfective, imperfective, and perfect values, while in Dutch <*have* + perfect participle> can function as a perfective past and perfect, but not as an imperfective past. We return to the Dutch situation from a diachronic perspective in Chapter 6.

In German and Dutch, continuative perfect meaning is expressed with the present tense (though Dutch can also use <*have* + perfect participle>). Consider this Dutch sentence (from Boogart 1999):

(3.128) Ik   woon   nu tien jaar in Amsterdam
        I.NOM live.PS.1S now ten years in Amsterdam
        'Now I have lived ten years in Amsterdam'

In Upper German dialects, Yiddish, southern dialects of Dutch, and Afrikaans, <*have* + perfect participle> and <*be* + perfect participle> have replaced the preterite, which has been lost altogether. The periphrastic perfect functions as a general past, including perfective, imperfective, and perfect values. An example from Yiddish is[26]:

(3.130)   dinstik   hot   di politsey oysgefregt dem
        Tuesday has.PS.3S the police   questioned the

        yisroyldikn sfardishn   hoypt-rav...
        Israel   Sephardic chief -rabbi
        'Tuesday the police questioned the chief Sephardic rabbi of Israel...'

(*Yiddish Forward*, Friday 5/13/05, p.2)

In summary, the periphrasis <*have* + perfect participle> exhibits similar but not identical developments in Germanic and Romance. The Germanic languages have something akin to Harris' stage 3, in which <*have* + perfect participle> is a true

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[26] I am indebted to Devon Strolovitch (p.c.) for this example.

perfect, in English, Swedish, and Danish. The Germanic languages also have something akin to Harris' stage 4, in which <*have* + perfect participle> is a perfective past, in Dutch. In German, <*have* + perfect participle> has shifted further still, functioning as a general past alongside the preterite. And in the Upper German dialects and Yiddish, <*have* + perfect participle> also functions as a general past but the preterite has been lost altogether.

5   Systems with True Perfects and Systems Without

5.1   Isolable and Non-isolable True Perfects

In § 2.3, we saw that the English present perfect always functions as a true perfect, while the English pluperfect and future perfect function sometimes like true perfects and sometimes like relative past tenses. This fact about the pluperfect and future perfect raised the question of whether these past and future forms of <*have* + perfect participle> are essentially perfects or relative tenses.

We can divide the languages we have been considering into two rough categories: those whose tense-aspect systems contain an isolable true perfect form and those whose tense-aspect systems do not contain any such form. On one hand, there are languages in which <*have* + perfect participle> cannot function as a relative tense when *have* is in the present indicative. This group includes Portuguese, Spanish, and English. In these languages <*have* + perfect participle> can be regarded as an aspect-cum-tense which describes a current state or habit based on the inherent lexical aspect of the predicate it is formed upon; this state or habit holds at the time specified by auxiliary *have.* The pluperfect, future perfect, present perfect subjunctive, etc., can function as relative tenses, an effect of the interaction between aspect, tense, and mood.   Under this approach, then, the morphosyntactic form <*have* + perfect

participle> has a uniform interpretation that is adjusted in predictable ways according to the inflectional aspect, tense, and mood of auxiliary *have.* These are languages with an isolable true perfect form: <*have* + perfect participle>.

On the other hand, there are languages in which <*have* + perfect participle> can always function as a relative past tense, even when auxiliary *have* is in the present indicative. This group includes French and Standard Italian. In these languages the simplest analysis of <*have* + perfect participle> is that this morphosyntactic form describes all kinds of previous situations, including those having current relevance. The periphrasis <*have* + perfect participle> can have true perfect meanings, but this periphrasis is essentially a relative tense. Thus these languages do not have an isolable true perfect form.

5.2   Are the modern reflexes of <*have* + perfect participle> compositional?

The various Romance reflexes of <*habeo* + perfect participle> are formally equivalent, apart from the choice of auxiliary—*habeo* or the more innovative *teneo*. All of them are composed of an auxiliary verb 'have', marked for tense, and a past participle. The English present perfect has the same form. Is this construction semantically compositional in each of these languages? If so, how do we explain the different patterns of distribution across their grammars? That is to say, given that the construction has the same ingredients in each of the languages, how do we explain differences in the total meaning of the construction?

There is no consensus in the literature on whether <*have/be* + perfect participle> should be given a compositional analysis in the languages where it is distinct from the preterite. On the one hand, some linguists argue that this construction expresses its temporal meaning only as a whole, in opposition to the preterite (Wunderlich 1970, Comrie 1985, Nerbonne 1985). On the other hand, there

are linguists who argue that <*have/be* + perfect participle> can be analyzed as the sum of as many as four ingredients: the auxiliary, present tense, the verb stem, the part participle morpheme (Bäuerle 1979, Janssen 1988, Ballweg 1989, Ehrich & Vater 1989, Grewendorf 1995, Musan 2000).

Ballweg (1989), in a study of the German synthetic preterite and periphrastic present perfect, accounts for the difference in meaning between the two forms in the following way. The present perfect, a morphosyntactically complex form, consists semantically of two parts: (i) a situation that precedes the time of speech; (ii) the reference time, which coincides with the speech time. By contrast the preterite, a morphosyntactically simplex form, has only one semantic part: (i) a situation that precedes the time of speech. A language can deal with the two-part value of the present perfect in two ways: (i) ignore the second part (linking reference time and speech time)*,* in which case the present perfect has the same value as the preterite (as in some dialects and registers of German); or, (ii) include both parts. Ballweg suggests that if a language pursues the second way of computing the value of the present perfect, then pragmatic reasoning comes into play: the hearer applies Grice's Maxim of Quantity, and assumes that a cooperative speaker would not use the more complex form without reason. The probable reason is that the step of linking reference time and speech time puts the speech time into special focus. This accounts for the "quasi-aspectual" sense of relevance at the time of speech .

I have considerably simplified Ballweg's account, and now a clarification is in order: the second semantic part of the present perfect, linking reference time and speech time, does not always place the reference time at the present moment. In languages like German, this is only a default placement of reference time that occurs in the absence of past or future time adverbials. As Ballweg shows, the German present tense can refer to past or future events, provided that appropriate information

about the time of reference is provided. For Ballweg, the present perfect is a kind of present tense, a claim which he supports with data showing that German present perfects can also refer to past and future events, e.g., *Ich habe das Buch bald zu Ende gelesen* 'I will have read the book by tomorrow'.

What happens in languages that cannot combine the present with past and future time adverbials? We predict, based on Ballweg's claim that present perfect is a kind of present, that these languages should not be able to combine present perfect with past and future time adverbials. This is presumably borne out in English, where we have [x]*I do it yesterday* and *?I do it tomorrow* and also [x]*I have done it yesterday* and [x]*I have done it tomorrow.*

There are three problems with applying this account to our data. First, we know that in the process of historical change languages tend to replace synthetic forms with periphrastic forms, not vice versa (see Chapter 6). This tendency is evident in our Romance data, in which the most innovative languages have allowed *<habeo + perfect participle>* to take over all indefinite past time reference, supplanting the reflex of the synthetic Latin perfectum. Thus we have seen that in languages like French the preterite, if it exists at all, is a highly marked form, while the reflex of *<habeo + perfect participle>* is unmarked. According to Ballweg's account, group 4 languages like spoken French do not carry out a two-step computation of the value of *<habeo + perfect participle>*, so this would presumably explain why the French reflex of *<habeo + perfect participle>* is unmarked. In his account, there is no explanation of why the French preterite would be marked[27]. We have also seen that languages in groups 1-3 have perfects (or reflexes of *<habeo + perfect participle>* with other values) that are (pragmatically) marked, and that these languages have unmarked preterites. Now, if

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[27] It could be marked in some other way. That is, instead of being marked as morphosyntactically complex, it could be marked as morphologically irregular.

in a group 3 language the present perfect is marked and the preterite unmarked, how can this language ever move into group 4 without passing through an intervening stage in which the two forms have comparable degrees of markedness? There is no place in Ballweg's account for this, but I would argue that the innovating spoken dialect of Madrid is in such a stage. In this dialect, the present perfect and preterite are in a near-complementary distribution, but the two forms are competing directly in the domain of recent past (see Chapter 6 § 7.2).

The second problem with Ballweg's account concerns group 3 languages, like Castilian Spanish. As I have noted, in these languages the present perfect and preterite are essentially in complementary distribution, and it seems that the preterite has the value of a perfective past excluding present perfect. If this is correct, then both the present perfect and the preterite involve a two-step calculation in languages like Castilian Spanish. This would perhaps account for the comparable frequency of both forms[28].

Finally, Ballweg regards the German present perfect as a kind of present. In the Romance languages, such a description only seems to apply to Sicilian, in which the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> seems to be a marked retrospective present. Ballweg uses the "present-ness" of the present perfect to explain the possibility of using the German present perfect, but not the English one, to refer to future events; this presumably follows from differences between the German and English presents. However, the use of <*habeo* + perfect participle> to refer to future events is possible in Castilian Spanish and French, but not Portuguese, although there is no discernable difference in the use of the presents in these three languages: it can express ongoing situations, future situations, past situations (narrative present), past situations

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[28] Whereas in Portuguese <*teneo* + perfect participle> is infrequent and the preterite is frequent, and in spoken French <*habeo* + perfect participle> is frequent and the preterite is non-existent, in Castilian Spanish both forms occur frequently in speech and writing.

continuing uninterruptedly into the present (continuative perfect), etc.[29] I would argue that, at least for the Romance languages, <*habeo* + perfect participle> is functioning as a relative tense in these cases. Notably, Portuguese can use a preterite to refer to future events in this way.

We have studied Ballweg's (1989) compositional analysis of the German present perfect in some detail, and found three problems in applying it to the Romance data. There are other compositional analyses of German <*haben/sein* + perfect participle> which combine the constituent elements of the construction in different ways (Grewendorf 1995, Musan 2000), but these are no more amenable to the Romance facts. Perhaps it is useful to remember that the Romance and Germanic data need not come under a single unified analysis. Indeed, it is notable that the literature debating the semantic compositionality of <*have/be* + perfect participle> has focused on German and Dutch, two languages where the present perfect and the preterite have partially overlapping meanings.

5.3   Toward an answer: present perfect versus preterite

In the Germanic and Romance languages, the values of the preterite (the reflex of the Proto-Germanic preterite and the Latin synthetic perfectum, respectively) vary from language to language. As we have seen, the distribution of preterites is interdependent with that of the reflexes of <*have* + perfect participle>: the wider the range of meanings associated with <*have* + perfect participle>, the narrower the space left for the synthetic preterite. Consider any function of past tenses in Romance, like that of expressing relative past in the future in certain kinds of constructions. In

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[29] Attempting to apply a Ballweg-like analysis to the Romance languages, I have searched for differences in uses of the present tense. I found no significant differences between the uses reported for Sicilian (Bonner, 2001), Portuguese (Cunha & Cintra, 1984), Castilian Spanish (Rojo & Veiga, 1999) and French (Hollerbach, 1984).

Portuguese, where <*have* + perfect participle> expresses a highly marked type of past tense, <*have* + perfect participle> is a kind of "extra" verb form and there is no limiting effect on the range of meanings of the preterite. Thus in Portuguese we can have preterites that refer to a relative past in the future. In languages of groups 3 and 4, like Castilian Spanish and French, this function is carried out by the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle>. Why is the preterite not compatible with this functions in Castilian Spanish and French? The reason seems to be that the reflex of <*habeo* + perfect participle> has taken over this value of the preterite. We can make similar arguments about the functions of expressing situations in the recent past, of expressing situations with continuing results in the present, etc. Again and again, we observe that where <*have* + perfect participle> advances, the preterite recedes or, viewed conversely, where the preterite recedes, <*have* + perfect participle> advances. These diachronic processes are taken up in Chapter 6.

Synchronically, the key to unlocking the meaning of <*have* + perfect participle> when *have* is in the present tense may depend on the sum of its parts—perfect participle, present tense, and *have*. But since these parts are virtually identical, at least across the Romance languages, it seems unlikely that the meaning of present-tense <*have* + perfect participle> is not in some measure dependent on its opposition to the value of the preterite, a morphologically simplex form. For when one knows the range of values of the preterite, one can deduce the range of values of <*have* + perfect participle>. If the preterite is obsolete or obsolescent, then <*have* + perfect participle> is an indefinite past, including perfective past and true present perfect meanings (the value of <*have* + prefect participle> also extends to the imperfective past in some Germanic languages, where there is no distinct form for this value). If the preterite is a perfective past only, then <*have* + perfect participle> is a present perfect. If the preterite is an indefinite past, including perfective past and

present perfect meanings, then <*have* + perfect participle> denotes a marked aspectual type relating past situations to the present.

COMPLEX PREDICATES IN RELATIONAL GRAMMAR

1   Types of outer predicate: auxiliation vs. serialization

The syntactic framework employed here, Relational Grammar (RG), recognizes that a single clause can contain two or more predicates. In RG formalism, predicates that co-occur in one clause appear successively in multiple strata, as in these figures:

1		P		2
1	P	Cho		2
Janis	has	opened		the door

Figure 4.1   *Janis has opened the door*

		2		P
1	P	2		Cho
Janis	kept	the door		open

Figure 4.2   *Janis kept the door open*

Using Romance data, Rosen (1997) argues for a formal distinction between two ways in which a pair of predicates can concatenate: *auxiliation* and *serialization*. *Auxiliation* involves an auxiliary verb, where auxiliaries are distinguished from other kinds of predicates by their ability to inherit a 1 from a previous stratum:

(4.1)   *Auxiliary verb (definition):* auxiliaries are a lexically designated closed class of
         verbs whose defining property is that they inherit a 1 (Rosen 1997: 192).

Serialization involves a serial predicate, where serial predicates are defined against auxiliaries as follows:

(4.2)   *Serial predicate (definition)*: a serial predicate is any non-auxiliary occurring

as co-predicate in the same clause with some other non-auxiliary (Rosen 1997:

192).

This formal difference is illustrated in Figs. 4.1-2 above. In the first stratum of Fig.

4.1, the perfect participle *opened* is a main verb that initializes two arguments: the

opener *Janis* (the 1), and the opened *door* (the 2). In the second stratum, the null-

valent auxiliary *have* inherits both of these arguments from *opened*. In the first

stratum of Fig. 4.2, by contrast, the unaccusative[30] adjective *open* initializes just one

argument, the open *door* (the 2). The verb *keep* initializes a 1, *Janis,* the person who

maintains the situation described by *the door open.* This pair of predicates, *keep* and

open, are serial predicates and form a semantic unit[31].

When more than two predicates appear in a single clause, the relation obtaining

between each neighboring pair of predicates will be one of auxiliation or of

serialization. Consider this example:

				2	P
1		P		2	Cho
1	P	Cho		2	Cho
Janis	has	kept	the door	open	

Figure 4.3   *Janis has kept the door open*

In Fig. 4.3, auxiliation and serialization are combined. *Keep* and *open* are serial

predicates, while *have* is an auxiliary of *keep.*

If we were to look at many English and Romance sentences combining

auxiliation and serialization, we would discover that the order in which auxiliation and

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[30] We adopt the assumption that all non-verb predicates are unaccusative (cf. Rosen 1997: 179).
[31] This semantic unity is more evident when serial predicates form a non-compositional semantic unit, *e.g., turn off the radio.*

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serialization occur in Fig. 4.3— *i.e.,* the serialization strata precede the auxiliation strata—is immutable. In other words, we would find that serialization can only be preceded by serialization and auxiliation can only be followed by auxiliation. Rosen (1997) formulates this empirical observation in terms of two principles: *compactness* and *closure.*

(4.3)   *Compactness Principle:* The P-initial stratum of a serial predicate can be preceded only by other P-initial strata (192).

(4.4)   *Closure Principle:* An auxiliation stratum can be followed only by other auxiliation strata (192).

The compactness principle requires that serial predicates be introduced successively in the initial strata of a clause. No strata containing syntactic operations like advancement may be intercalated between the P-initial strata of two serial predicates. The closure principle requires that auxiliaries be introduced in the final strata of the clause, and that the entire auxiliation zone consist entirely of monostratal P-sectors.

The auxiliation/serialization dichotomy proposed by Rosen (1997) is essentially concerned with the outer predicate in a pair of clausemate predicates (that is, the leftmost predicate in English and the Romance languages). If a pair of predicates co-occur in a single clause and the outer predicate inherits a 1, this predicate is by definition an auxiliary and the relation between the pair of predicates is one of auxiliation. If the outer predicate is not an auxiliary, it is by definition a serial verb and the relation between the pair of predicates is one of serialization. In § 2 we turn our attention to formal distinctions between types of inner predicate.

2   Types of inner predicate

Consider these examples of serialization:

(4.5)   Poirot caught the cat burglar red-handed.

(4.6)   Poirot caught the cat burglar in the act.

(4.7)   Poirot caught the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels.

All three of these sentences express a basic predication, namely *Poirot caught the cat burglar*, and each sentence adds different circumstantial information about the cat burglar. In example (4.5), the verb *caught* and the adjective *red-handed* are serial predicates. Like all adjectives, *red-handed* is unaccusative; it initializes *the cat burglar* as its 2. *Caught* initializes the catcher *Poirot* (its 1) and reinitializes the caught *cat burglar* (its 2). The structure of this sentence is as follows:

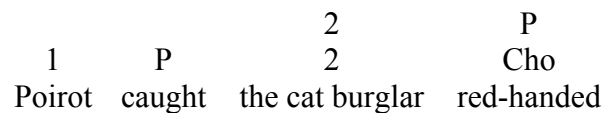|		2	P
1	P	2	Cho
Poirot	caught	the cat burglar	red-handed

Figure 4.4   *Poirot caught the cat burglar red-handed*

In example (4.6), the verb *caught* and the prepositional phrase *in the act* are serial predicates as well. The prepositional phrase *in the act* is unaccusative and initializes *the cat burglar* as its 2. As in (4.5), *caught* initializes *Poirot* and reinitializes *the cat burglar*. The structure of (4.6) is therefore the same as that of (4.5), mutatis mutandis.

Is the structure of (4.7) also just like that of (4.5)? Despite the superficial similarity between *caught the cat burglar red-handed, caught the cat burglar in the act,* and *caught the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels,* the syntactic structure of the last example must differ from those of the first two. At some syntactic level, *stealing* initializes not only *the cat burglar,* but also *the crown jewels. The crown jewels* is undoubtedly the direct object of *stealing,* and must be initialized as the 2 of this predicate. By the Stratal Uniqueness Law, *the cat burglar* cannot also be a 2 in the initial stratum of *stealing*, because this relation is assigned to *the crown jewels* in this

stratum. Thus *stealing* cannot simply be an unaccusative predicate like *red-handed* or *in the act.* Instead, *stealing* must be transitive in the stratum where it initializes *the cat burglar* (its 1) and *the crown jewels* (its 2).

In (4.7) *Poirot caught the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels*, there can be little question that the final 1 is *Poirot* and the final 2 is *the cat burglar*. Given that *stealing* is transitive and that *the cat burglar* is its 1 at some syntactic level, how can *caught, stealing* and their arguments combine congruously? I propose the following structure for *Poirot caught the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels:*

Poirot   caught   the cat burglar   stealing   the crown jewels
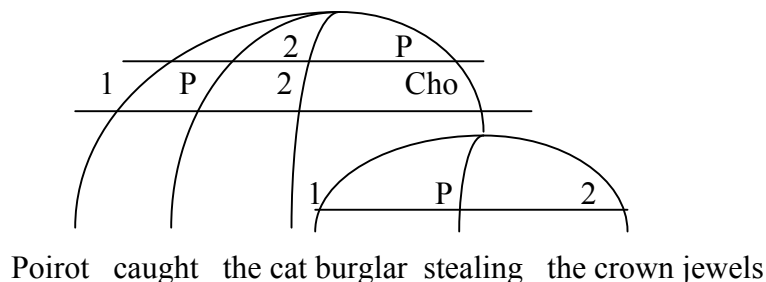
Figure 4.5   *Poirot caught the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels*

This structure has several merits. It shows that *stealing* is transitive in its initial stratum. At the same time, it treats a larger string containing *stealing,* namely *the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels,* as an unaccusative predicate that initializes *the cat burglar* as its 2; indeed, *the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels* is a predication about *the cat burglar*. In this configuration, the main clause of *Poirot caught the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels* has the same structure as the single clause of *Poirot caught the cat burglar red-handed.* Thus there is a structural manifestation to the superficial similarity between these two sentences.

In the structure for (4.5-6), given in Fig. 4.4, *red-handed* and *in the act* are unaccusative predicates that are immediately dominated by the same node that dominates the outer predicate. In the structure in Fig. 4.5, by contrast, the transitive

predicate *stealing* is immediately dominated by a subordinate clause node. This subordinate clause node not only allows *stealing* to be transitive at some syntactic level, it also accounts for the distribution of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns shown in the following data:

(4.8) Poirot$_i$ caught {himself$_i$/^{x}him$_i$} staring at the crown jewels.

(4.9) Poirot$_i$ caught the cat burglar staring at {him$_i$/^{x}himself$_i$}.

(4.10) Poirot caught the cat burglar$_i$ lowering {himself$_i$/^{x}him$_i$} into the museum lobby through the skylight.

Generally speaking, in English a reflexive pronoun must have an antecedent in the same clause, while a non-reflexive pronoun cannot have a clausemate antecedent[32]. Examples (4.8-10) show us that in a sentence of the form *X caught Y VERBing Z,* where *X, Y* and *Z* are arguments, *X* and *Y* belong to the same clause, *Y* and *Z* belong to the same clause, but *X* and *Z* do not. This is precisely the configuration depicted by the structure in Fig. 4.5. Only a structure in which *Y* is dominated by two different clause nodes can correctly account for the data in (4.8-10).

In Figures 4.4-4.5, *the cat burglar red-handed* and *the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels* are not noun phrases. This can be verified by the ungrammaticality of **It was the cat burglar red-handed that Poirot caught*, and by the unacceptability of *him red-handed as a noun phrase. It cannot be stressed enough that these modifiers (*red-handed, stealing the crown jewels*) are nominal-external. By analyzing this type of modifier as a serial predicate, clause-mate to the verb, I explain how it is licensed,

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[32] There may be exceptions to this generalization. For example, why do we say *Harriet$_i$ ignored the moisturizer on her$_i$* but *Harriet$_i$ spread the moisturizer on herself$_i$?* Perhaps in the first sentence *the moisturizer on her* forms a subordinate clause while in the second *on herself* functions as a main-clause adverb of *spread.* Or perhaps there is a semantic constraint at work: Kuno (1987) contends that in contexts where reflexive pronouns alternate with non-reflexive pronouns, the reflexive option marks the referent of the pronoun as a focus of *empathy* (*i.e.,* the speaker shares the point of view of the referent). Whatever the analysis of these sentences, the generalization about reflexives and their antecedents is robust enough to employ here. Of course, we must be sure not to base our claims about syntactic structure on any quirky examples.

how it can appear in the construction nominal-externally and, most strikingly, why it has to construe with the 2 of that verb. Note that if we were to try to place a similar construction where it can construe with the 1, it will turn out to take on a nominal-internal interpretation (e.g, *The cat burglar stealing the crown jewels saw Poirot*).

We have seen that if two predicates stand in a serial relation, and if the inner predicate is unaccusative (*e.g., red-handed* in 4.5), then the outer predicate can initialize a 1 in a stratum that appears under the same clause node. If two predicates are serial and the inner predicate initializes a 1 (*e.g., stealing* in 4.7), then this predicate forms part of a subordinate clause that itself functions as an unaccusative serial predicate combining with the outer predicate. Now, if the outer predicate is an auxiliary, then the outer predicate does not initialize a 1. Therefore the inner predicate can initialize all of its arguments in the same clause without ever needing a lower clause to do so. For example:

<div align="center">

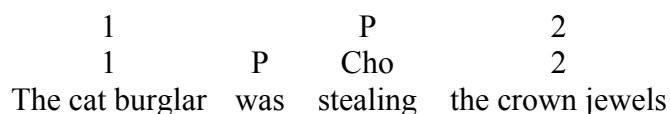| 1			P		2
1		P	Cho		2
The cat burglar	was	stealing	the crown jewels		

</div>

Figure 4.6   *The cat burglar was stealing the crown jewels*

In this auxiliated example, *stealing* initializes its two arguments and the auxiliary simply inherits both. Thus *stealing* requires a separate clause node in order to function as a serial predicate (as shown in Fig. 4.5), but when it functions as an auxiliated predicate this lower clause node is not necessary.

These considerations suggest that there are four basic types of inner predicate, of which two are syntactically similar.   First, there are *auxiliated inner predicates*. An auxiliated inner predicate initializes all of its arguments and the auxiliary simply inherits these arguments under the same clause node (as in Fig. 4.6). An auxiliated

inner predicate may be transitive, unergative, or unaccusative. There are three types of serial inner predicate. We may call the first two types *serial unergative inner predicates* and *serial transitive inner predicates*. Both of these types of inner predicate initialize a 1 and cannot combine with the outer predicate under a single clause node. They must be immediately dominated by a subordinate node which does not dominate the outer predicate. As shown above in Fig. 4.5 *Poirot caught the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels* (where *stealing* is a transitive inner predicate), serial unergative and transitive inner predicates are part of a subordinate clause which itself functions as an unaccusative inner predicate in the main clause. An example with an unergative inner predicate is *Poirot found the cat burglar coughing.* The other type of serial inner predicate we may call *serial unaccusative inner predicates*. This type initializes only a 2, and can combine compactly with the outer predicate under the same clause node. Serial unaccusative inner predicates are thus immediately dominated by the same node that dominates the outer predicate (as shown in Fig. 4.4). Examples of this type are found in *Janis kept the door open, Poirot caught the cat burglar red-handed,* and *Poirot caught the cat burglar in the act.*

At this juncture, another configuration of two or more predicates bears mentioning, if only to avoid confusion with the four types discussed above. Consider these sentences:

(4.11) Philip knows the old man drinking a coffee.

(4.12) Philip saw the mobster wanted by the police.

In (4.11-12), the "reduced relatives" *drinking a coffee* and *wanted by the police* are internal to the noun phrases *the old man drinking a coffee* and *the mobster wanted by*

the police. In this case, there is no concatenation of two predicates in a single clause (serial, auxiliated, or otherwise). The structure of (4.11) looks as follows[33]:

<div align="center">

1   P   2

Philip   knows   [the old man drinking a coffee]

</div>

Figure 4.7   *Philip knows the old man drinking a coffee*

Despite the superficial similarity between *Philip knows the old man drinking a coffee* and *Poirot caught the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels,* only the second sentence involves serialization. Note that the object of the outer predicate can be a referring pronoun or a proper noun only in the *caught...stealing* sentence (so we cannot say [x]*Philip knows him drinking a coffee*). Referring pronouns and proper nouns do not admit restriction by "reduced relatives."

How do the four types of inner predicate sketched above correspond to grammatical categories (*e.g.,* adjective, preposition, participle of a verb)? Serial inner predicates that are adjectives and prepositional phrases will always be unaccusative*,* since these types of predicates do not initialize a 1. Serial inner predicates that are *–ing* forms, by contrast, can be unaccusative, unergative, or transitive, depending on the valence of the verb.

Serial inner predicates that are "perfect participles" can be unaccusative or transitive. Recall from Chapter 2 § 3.4, that syntactically speaking, there are two kinds of word that look like a perfect participle. First, there are deverbal adjectives, which are S-type predicates that only describe resultant states, *e.g.* the adjective *locked* in *a locked door* or *he found the door locked.* These belong to a larger class of adjectives that also includes denominal adjectives like *bearded, feathered,* and *horned.*

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[33] As we are especially concerned with predicates here, we forgo analyzing the NP-internal structure of *the old man drinking a coffee.*

Morphologically-derived adjectives like *unpaved, unpublished,* and *unfinished,* which must be formed by adding *un-* to the adjectives *paved, published,* and *finished* (not by making perfect participles of the non-existent verbs [x]*unpave,* [x]*unpublish,* and [x]*unfinish*) show that these deverbal adjectives exist in the lexicon. Like all adjectives, they are unaccusative.

Second, there are true perfect participles. These appear in verbal periphrases that describe situations of various aspectual types; they are not limited to describing S-type situations. An example of a true perfect participle is *locked* in *she has locked the door* or *she heard the door (being) locked by the guard.* Note that in these sentences *locked* describes the event of locking, while in *he found the door locked* and *a locked door* it only describes the state that results from having been locked. True perfect participles have the same valence as finite forms of the verb; they may initialize a 1 if the verb does. When used as serial inner predicates, they are of the transitive type.

We may see the contrast between the deverbal adjective *locked* and the true perfect participle *locked* in the structures of *She found the door locked* and *She heard the door locked (by the guard)* shown in Figs. 4.8 and 4.9:
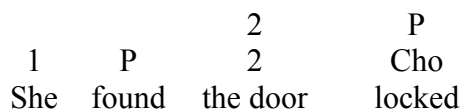
```
                              2          P
          1       P          2         Cho
         She    found    the door     locked
```

Figure 4.8   *She found the door locked*


```
                    She    heard    the door    locked    (by the guard)
```
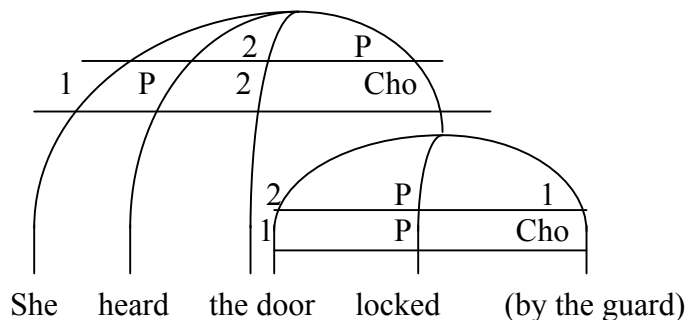
Figure 4.9   *She heard the door locked (by the guard)*

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In Fig. 4.8, *locked* is a deverbal adjective describing a resultant state. Here *locked* is an unaccusative inner predicate that initializes a single argument, *the door* (its 2). The outer predicate *found* initializes *she* (its 1), and the two predicates are in a serial relation. In Fig. 4.9, *locked* is the true perfect participle of a transitive verb describing an L- or EL-type situation. In this case, *locked* is a transitive inner predicate that initializes two arguments, *the guard* who locks (its 1) and the locked *door* (its 2). *The door* advances to 1, becoming the subject of the passive clause, and *the guard* is driven into chômage. The subordinate clause *the door locked by the guard*[34] acts as an unaccusative inner predicate in the main clause which contains the whole sentence. *Heard* initializes the hearer *she* (its 1), so *heard* and the clause-predicate *the door locked by the guard* stand in a serial relation.

3 Miscellanea: other multipredicate possibilities

Thus far our mini-typology of complex predicates has divided outer predicates into two types—auxiliaries and serial verbs—and inner predicates into four types—auxiliated, serial unergative, serial transitive, and serial unaccusative. In this section we consider some miscellaneous cases not described by this mini-typology. This is by no means an attempt to exhaustively classify complex predicates[35]; it is only a preview and discussion of some multipredicate configurations that appear in the four kinds of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> discussed in Chapter 5.

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[34] This clause has the same "content" as the finite sentence *The door was locked by the guard,* but it isn't auxiliated.

[35] To cite one example of a gap in our mini-typology: in all of the examples of two-predicate clauses we have considered the inner predicate of the matrix clause has taken as its sole argument the direct object of the outer predicate. That is to say, we have considered concatenations of two predicates only in sentences like *Janis kept the door open,* in which *open* is predicated of the direct object of *kept,* namely *the door.* There are of course instances of multipredicate clauses in which an inner predicate shares the subject with the outer predicate. For example: *Norma felt angry, Norma reached the summit alive.* These are not discussed here.

First, we examine two patterns of initialization that are possible with some serial outer predicates. Consider the following sentences:

(4.13) Poirot saw the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels.

(4.14) Poirot heard the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels.

(4.15) Poirot imagined the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels.

These sentences look superficially like *Poirot caught the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels,* but there can be a slight difference in the syntax, depending on how we interpret them. In the sentence with *caught the cat burglar...* it is clear that the verb *caught* initializes a 2; Poirot caught something, namely the cat burglar. In the examples with *saw, heard,* and *imagined the cat burglar...,* there are two possibilities. Either (i) Poirot saw, heard, or imagined something, namely the cat burglar, and this cat burglar happened to be stealing the crown jewels; or, (ii) Poirot saw, heard, or imagined a situation that included the cat burglar as a participant. At first glance, there may seem to be little or no difference between these two interpretations. After all, *Poirot saw the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels* entails *Poirot saw the cat burglar,* whether the interpretation is 'Poirot saw the cat burglar and the cat burglar was in such-and-such a circumstance' or 'Poirot saw a situation, namely the cat burglar doing such-and-such'. However, this entailment is pragmatic. In the physical world, we cannot see a situation without seeing all of its actors, too. But consider these sentences with *found* and *heard:*

(4.16) Poirot found the crown jewels missing.

(4.17) Poirot heard the museum guards getting bawled out by their boss.

In (4.16), Poirot found (came across) a situation, *the crown jewels missing.* He did not find *the crown jewels.* In (4.17), Poirot heard a situation, *the museum guards getting bawled out,* but did not hear *the museum guards.* These sentences show that a small

class of verbs (including *see, hear, imagine, remember, draw, photograph, find, discover,* existential *be, want, need,* and others) can either reinitialize their object or not when they combine with a serial inner predicate. The two possibilities are illustrated below (circles indicate initializations):
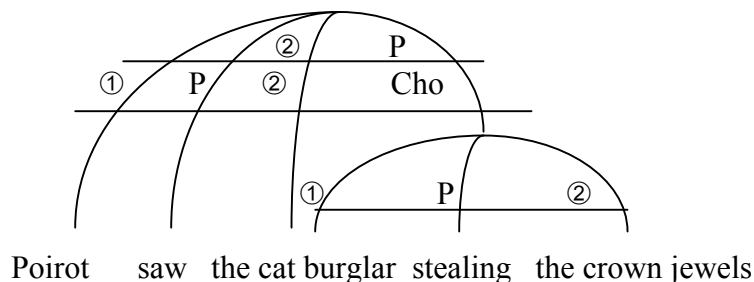
Poirot   saw   the cat burglar stealing   the crown jewels

Figure 4.10   *Poirot saw the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels—*reinitialization

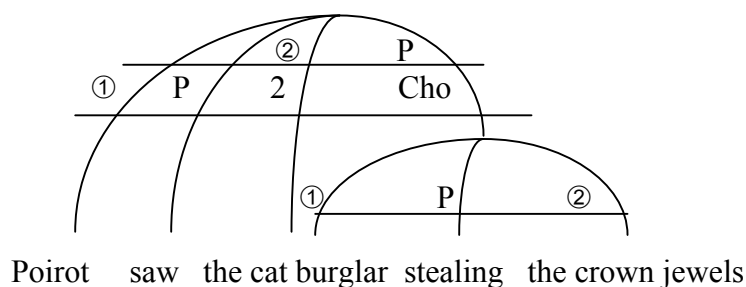Poirot   saw   the cat burglar stealing   the crown jewels

Figure 4.11   *Poirot saw the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels—*inheritance

In Fig. 4.10 the verb *saw* reinitializes *the cat burglar.* The interpretation is that Poirot has seen the cat burglar, and the inner predicate *the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels* describes circumstantial information about the cat burglar. In Fig. 4.11, *saw* does not reinitialize the cat burglar; it inherits this argument. The interpretation is that Poirot has seen a situation, *the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels.* Syntactically, *the cat burglar* appears as the object of *saw* but there is no semantic role assigned. If we were to diagram sentences like (4.16) *Poirot found the crown jewels missing* and

(4.17) *Poirot heard the museum guards getting bawled out by their boss* they would be represented like Fig. 4.11[36].

We now turn our attention to the English bare infinitive. In English, a finite verb can concatenate with a bare infinitive, as in these examples:

(4.18) She saw the guard fall.

(4.19) She saw the guard cough.

(4.20) She saw the guard lock the door.

As examples (4.18-20) show, the bare infinitive in such concatenations may be unaccusative, unergative, or transitive, depending on the valence of the verb. When the inner predicate is a bare infinitive, the finite verbs that can function as the outer predicate are limited to a few verbs of perception (*e.g., see, watch, look at, hear, listen to, feel*), a few verbs of causing and allowing (*e.g. make, let,* causative *have*—see Chapter 5 § 5),* and a few other verbs (*e.g., help,* affectee *have*—see Chapter 5 § 4).*

By examining data that show the distribution of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns in sentences of the type *X saw Y VERB Z,* we can show that *Y* (*the guard* in 4.18-20) is dominated by two different clause nodes:

(4.21) While looking in the mirror, she$_i$ saw {herself$_i$/^{x}her$_i$} shudder.

(4.22) She$_i$ saw the guard motion to {her$_i$/^{x}herself$_i$}.

(4.23) She saw the guard$_i$ reprimand {himself$_i$/^{x}him$_i$} for not locking the door.

These data show that *X* and *Y* belong to the same clause, *Y* and *Z* belong to the same clause, but *X* and *Z* do not.

We have seen that a sentence like *She saw the guard locking the door* has two possible structures, one in which *saw* reinitializes *the guard* and assigns it a semantic

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[36] A more conspicuous example of non-reinitialization is an English resultative like *I laughed myself silly.* Here, the serial predicate consists of an unergative outer predicate and an unaccusative inner predicate. Since *laugh* is intransitive, it does not reinitialize *myself.* Syntactically, *myself* appears as an object of *laughed,* but *laughed* does not assign a semantic role to *myself.*

role, and another in which *saw* simply inherits *the guard* and assigns it no semantic role. In both of these structures, given in Figs. 4.10-11, *the guard locking the door* is a subordinate clause that functions as an unaccusative predicate in the main clause. Surprisingly, perhaps, we can show that the structure of *She saw the guard lock the door* does not have a subordinate clause that functions in this way; thus it is not the same as either structure of *She saw the guard locking the door.*

We can show that the subordinate clause *the guard lock the door* does not function as an unaccusative predicate in the main clause by means of a syntactic test, which we may call the *painting title test*[37]. A common formula for naming a painting is supplying the name of a person or thing that is represented, as in *Starry Night, Flower Vendor, Irises.* These titles are examples of predicative nouns; they are a kind of shorthand for *This is a starry night, This is a flower vendor, These are irises,* in which the predicative nouns initialize a 2. Now, if the painter wishes to supply more information, the title may be expanded by adding a stage-level predicate after the initial nominal, as in *Nude Descending a Staircase, St. George Slaying the Dragon, Man in Hunting Costume, Paris Seen From the Artist's Window, Krishna Disguised as a Musician.* The expanded formula indicates the painting's subject—*this is a nude, this is St. George, etc.*—and tells us its current location, condition, or role in an unfolding situation. The whole title again functions predicatively, as an abbreviated version of *This is a nude descending a staircase, This is St. George slaying the dragon, etc.*

It is notable that we cannot employ a bare infinitive in the <noun + predicate> formula for naming a painting: ˣ*Nude Descend a Staircase,* ˣ*St. George Slay the Dragon,* ˣ*Paris be seen from Window.* This suggests that a subordinate clause containing a noun and a bare infinitive cannot function as an unaccusative predicate.

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[37] I am indebted to Carol Rosen (personal communication) for this ingenious test.

From the evidence about the distribution of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns presented in (4.21-23), we concluded that in a sentence like *She saw the guard lock the door* the noun phrase *the guard* is dominated by the main clause node and by a subordinate clause node containing *the guard lock the door*. Since the subordinate clause *the guard lock the door* cannot function as an unaccusative predicate (it cannot be a painting title), we are left with two possibilities: either the subordinate clause functions as a null-valent serial inner predicate or it functions as an argument of the verb *saw*. These two possibilities are shown below:
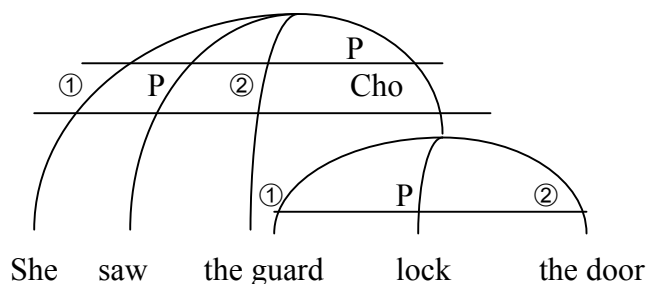
Figure 4.12   *She saw the guard lock the door* –null-valent inner predicate
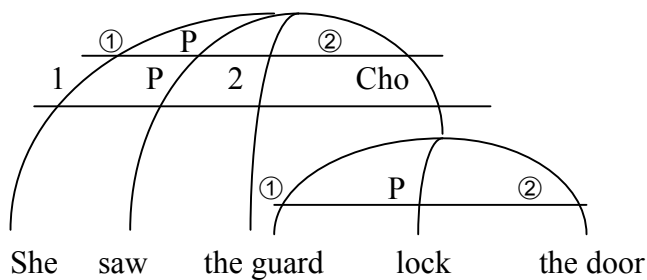
Figure 4.13   *She saw the guard lock the door*—raising

In Fig. 4.12, the subordinate clause *the guard lock the door* is an argument-less predicate of the main clause. In this structure, *saw* must initialize *the guard* as its 2, since it cannot inherit a 2 as in Fig. 4.11. This initialization causes problems; it is incompatible with our analysis of (4.13-4.17), which states that the argument following a verb like *saw* is not (re)initialized when the subject of *saw* sees a situation

(as opposed to seeing a thing). Sentences like *I've never seen it rain so hard* and *Let there be light,* in which the dummy subjects of the lower clauses cannot receive a semantic role from the main verbs, clearly cannot be analyzed as in Fig. 4.12. We therefore reject this structure.

The raising analysis in Fig. 4.13 poses no such difficulties. In this structure, the subordinate clause *the guard lock the door* is the 2 of *saw.* By the syntactic operation of raising, *the guard* becomes the 2 of *saw,* driving *the guard lock the door* into chômage. Since *saw* does not reinitialize *the guard,* we get the interpretation that the subject saw a situation[38].

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[38] One fact remaining to be explained is the grammaticality of *The guard was seen locking the door* versus the ungrammaticality of [x]*The guard was seen lock the door.* In the sentence with *–ing,* we can analyze *locking the door* as a depictive predicate that functions adverbially. The *-ing* example is open to the same analysis as *Poirot saw the cat burglar stealing the crown jewels*—we just add a passive in the higher clause. In the sentence with the bare infinitive, *the guard lock the door* is not a predicate, but nothing about Fig. 4.13 excludes passivization. However, passives are blocked out of all bare infinitives, e.g. causatives like **John was made leave.*

<*HAVE* + NOUN.ACC + PERFECT PARTICIPLE>
IN PRESENT-DAY ENGLISH AND THE MODERN ROMANCE LANGUAGES

1   Beyond the *have*-perfect: other instances of *have* and a perfect participle

Alongside the well-known <*have* + perfect participle> periphrases in the Modern Romance languages and Present-day English—that is, the periphrastic perfects and past tenses we examined in Chapter 3—there are a number of other periphrases constructed with *have* and a perfect participle. These have the form <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. Some English examples are:

(5.1)   He has his opponent cornered.

(5.2)   Julie had a rock thrown at her.

(5.3)   The police chief had the suspect's house watched by two officers.

(5.4)   The teacher still has the drawings done by last year's class.

The various types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> have received some attention in previous literature on the *have*-perfect, but few scholars have appreciated the roles of these periphrases in the genesis of the *have*-perfect (notable exceptions are Visser 1973 and La Fauci 1988). In Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis, which deal with the *have*-perfect in diachronic terms, I argue that one type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, the attained state type, is the historical source of the periphrastic perfect. Thus a clear understanding of the structures and meanings associated with the different types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> will prove indispensable for this study.

In this chapter, we briefly examine the syntax of the verb *have* (§ 2), then identify and characterize four different constructions corresponding to the string <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>: the attained state type (§ 3), the affectee type (§ 4),

the causative type (§ 5), and the adnominal type (§ 6). These four types are distinguished by their syntactic, semantic, and aspectual properties. Finally, we consider how the four types of *<have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> are distinct from the *have*-perfect (§ 7).

2   *Have* in present-day English and the modern Romance languages

Benveniste (1968) calls verbs like Eng *have* and Fr *avoir* "pseudo-transitives". In English, *have* is "among the verbs that are nowadays generally averse to being used in the passive" (Visser 1973: 2105). The passive of *have* is only acceptable with the meaning 'tricked, duped' (*e.g., I've been had!*) and, in some dialects, 'obtained, bought' (*e.g., These scarves can be had at Marks & Spencer*)[39]. A passive of *have* also appears in the facetious expression *A good time was had by all,* and minor variants of it. Though other meanings of *have* seem at first glance to be heavy (*e.g., I had a sandwich* 'I ate a sandwich'), passives of *have* are restricted to just the cases mentioned above.

Likewise, in the modern Romance languages, the reflexes of Latin *habeo* 'have' are only passivizable under special circumstances. In Italian, *avere* 'have' has no passive whatsoever (Serianni, 1997). In French, *avoir* 'have' has a passive only with the meaning 'duped, tricked' (Grevisse, 1961). Spanish *haber* and Portuguese *aver* are auxiliary verbs lacking a passive, while the unmarked verbs of having, Sp *tener* 'have' and Pg *ter* 'have', are passivizable only when they mean 'consider' (*e.g.,* Sp *Fue tenido por tonto* 'He was considered a dummy,' Pg *A sangria foi tido como um tratamento moderno* 'Bloodletting was considered a modern treatment').

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[39] In some dialects, *have up* means 'summon before a court of law', and this phrasal verb can be passivized (*e.g., You will be had up for parking here*). Note that the other passivizable senses, 'dupe' and 'obtain', express L-type situations.

How do we account for these facts about English and the Romance languages? In each of these languages, *have* is not the only way to predicate possession. In English, we may choose from such alternatives as *I have a cat, the cat belongs to me,* and *the cat is mine,* among others. In Portuguese, our options include *tenho um gato* 'I have a cat', *o gato é meu* 'the cat is mine', *o gato é o meu* 'the cat is mine (presupposes I have a cat)', *O gato pertençe a mim* 'the cat belongs to me', among others. In French, we may select between *j'ai un chat* 'I have a cat', *le chat est à moi* 'the cat is mine', *le chat est le mien* 'the cat is mine (presupposes I have a cat)', and *le chat m'appartient* 'the cat belongs to me', among others. And similarly for the other Romance languages. All of these sentences entail that I have a cat, but they have different information structures.

Recall from Chapter 1 Heine's (1997) schemas of predicative possession:

Table 5.1   *Schemas for Predicative Possession*

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

In three of the eight predicative possession schemas—the action, companion, and topic schemas—the possessor is subject or topic. In the other schemas, the possessum is subject. In English and Romance, *have* constructions take the possessor as subject and

topic. These action constructions with *have* favor indefinite possessa, and do not admit definite possessa in their more abstract meanings, e.g., *I have the cat* cannot mean I own it. By contrast, the other available possession constructions, like the French goal construction (*le chat est à moi* 'the cat is mine') and the English equation construction (*the cat is mine*), take the possessum as subject and topic. These constructions favor definite possessa.

In older stages of English and in Latin, the action construction could be passivized (cf. Chapter 6 and Visser 1973), but it seems that these languages fixed a particular division of labor between the action schema and the other available possession schemas. In this grammatically fixed division, which grows out of the information structure inherent in the various schemas, *have* is used when the possessor is subject; if the possessum is subject, speakers must select from the other available schemas.

The meaning and syntactic behavior of *have* depends greatly on context. Consider the contrast between the predicate *have a blue bicycle*, which cannot appear in an imperative, and *have a drink,* which can:

(5.5) ^{x}Have a blue bicycle!

(5.6) Have a drink!

A simple explanation for this contrast is that *have a blue bicycle* is an agent-less S-type predicate while *have a drink* is an EL-type predicate with an agent. States are always agent-less because they persist without any input of external energy. By contrast, the EL-type predicate in *have a drink* requires the energy of an agentive subject.

It may strike us as odd that the subjects of *have* in (5.5-6) differ so markedly. In order to convince ourselves that this is possible, it is instructive to examine the

range of semantic roles available to datives, which may also function as possessors. Consider these two Spanish examples:

(5.7) Me   vieron   la   cara. ~ Me   la   vieron.
      me.DAT saw.PT.3P the.F face   me.DAT it.ACC.F saw.PT.3P
      'They saw my face ~ They saw it.'

(5.8) Me   comí   un bocadillo. ~ Me   lo   comí.
      me.DAT ate.PT.1S a.M sandwich   me.DAT it.ACC.M ate.PT.1S
      'I ate (up) a sandwich ~ I ate it up.'

In (5.7), the semantic role associated with the dative *me* is possessor-experiencer: 'They saw *my* face, they saw the face *belonging to me*'. In (5.8), by contrast, the dative *me* is a "culminative clitic" which indicates that the L in the EL-type predicate *comer un bocadillo* 'eat a sandwich' has been reached (de Miguel & Lagunilla 1998). That is to say, the clitic *me* emphasizes that the sandwich was eaten completely (the *up* in the English gloss 'I ate it *up*' is meant to convey this). We might call the role assigned to *me* in (5.8) a semantic-aspectual role, *attainer*. The role of attainer is like that of experiencer, but for an attainer the experience is one of active completion: 'I ate the sandwich *and the event is over for me*'. The referent of *me* can appear as the subject of an imperative:

(5.9) Cómete   un   bocadillo ~ Cómetelo.
      eat.IM-you.DAT a.M sandwich   eat.IM-you.DAT-it.ACC
      'Eat (up) a sandwich' ~ Eat it up'

These datives and others are taken up again in Chapter 6.

3   LS type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>

We now turn to the four types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. The first type is an aspectual periphrasis that potentially describes two stages of a complex

situation[40]. In the first stage, the syntactic subject of *have* is an instigative agent who achieves a result; this result normally consists of getting the object (the noun.ACC) into the state described by the perfect participle, but it may involve getting the subject into a new state. In the second stage, the resultant state persists for some duration, possibly under the control of the subject. This type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is called the *attained state type* because it describes an ingressive situation composed of a initial limit and a state (see Chapter 2 § 3.2) [41]. Examples of the attained state type in English (5.10-12, 5.14-16), Spanish (5.13), and French (5.17) are:

STAGE 1: THE SUBJECT ACHIEVES A RESULT

(5.10) Now I have you convinced.

(5.11) He had the key hidden just in time to prevent Henry from seeing it.

(5.12) I hope to have the paper finished before the deadline.

(5.13) Tendré   el   trabajo terminado para el   martes.
        have.FUT.1S the.M work   finished.M for   the.M Tuesday
        'I'll have the paper finished by Tuesday'

STAGE 2: THE RESULTANT STATE PERSISTS FOR A DURATION

(5.14) Tomorrow's verdict will certainly be "not guilty." Our man has the jury convinced that Mickey is innocent.

(5.15) You won't find the key. I have it hidden.

(5.16) We always have the porch light turned on.

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[40] In English the first of these stages may often be expressed by <*get* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, the second by <*keep* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>.

[41] Possible counterexamples include *Your behavior has everyone worried* and *This scandal has everyone outraged,* which can only refer to the resultant state. One could argue that some agent must instigate the behavior and the scandal in these sentences, although it is not the agent, but rather a creation of this agent, that appears as subject.

(5.17) On avait   le   match gagné et   on   s'   est   loupé,
       IND had.IMP.3S the.M match won   and IND REFL is.PS.3S botched

       on   a   eu peur.
       IND has.PS.3S had fear
       'We had the match won and we blew it, we got scared'

Sentence (5.10) describes the point at which *you* enters the state of being convinced. Sentence (5.14), by contrast, describes *the jury*'s persistence in the state of being convinced that Mickey is innocent; the jury is in that state today, and is likely to remain in the same state when they deliver their verdict tomorrow. Likewise, sentence (5.11) depicts the point at which the key enters the state of being hidden, while sentence (5.15) depicts the key's persistence in that state.

3.1   Syntactic properties of the attained state type

When sentences like (5.10-12), (5.14-16) are negated or transformed into questions, *do*-support is required. This shows that *have* in the attained state type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is not an auxiliary verb. For example:

(5.18) I don't have you convinced.

(5.19) Do I have you convinced?

(5.20) I don't have the key hidden.

(5.21) Do I have the key hidden?

Though the *have* in the attained state type is not an auxiliary, it does not signify 'possess' or 'hold', either. This type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> can occur in contexts in which possession and physical association is explicitly denied. For example:

(5.22) I'll have the letter mailed by tomorrow.

(5.23) The real estate agent had the property sold in two days.

In these sentences, the subjects do not possess or hold the letter and the property at the end of the time specified by the temporal expressions *tomorrow* and *in two days*.

The attained state type of *<have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is not passivizable.

(5.24) ˣThe key was had hidden.

(5.25) ˣEl   trabajo será   tenido terminado para el   martes.
        the.M work   be.FUT.3S had.M finished.M for   the.M Tuesday
        'The paper will be had finished by Tuesday'

Thus this kind of *<have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> differs syntactically from the occasionally synonymous construction *<keep* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, which has a passive (*e.g., The key was kept hidden*).

Although we are especially concerned with the string *<have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, its should be pointed out that the attained state type need not include a perfect participle. Other predicates, such as present participles, adjectives, and prepositional phrases, may replace the third element of *<have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. For example:

STAGE 1: THE SUBJECT ACHIEVES A RESULT

(5.26) Henry had the radio working instantly.

(5.27) She had the safe open in a matter of minutes.

(5.28) The chess master had his opponent in checkmate in just fourteen moves.

STAGE 2: THE RESULTANT STATE PERSISTS FOR A DURATION

(5.29) When we got back to the cabin we found that Henry had the radio working.

(5.30) The bank always has that safe open; it's just for display.

(5.31) He thought about his next move for a minute before realizing his opponent had him in checkmate.

The subject of the attained state type is agentive, and may appear in contexts where agents appear, such as in imperatives:

(5.32) Have the radio working by tomorrow!

(5.33) Have the safe open!

Given these characteristics, we are prepared to consider the syntactic structure of the attained state type. In cases where the inner predicate is unaccusative, such as *Henry has the radio on,* the structure looks as follows:

		2	P
1	P	2	Cho
Henry	has	the radio	on
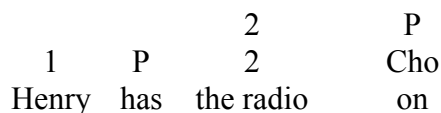
Figure 5.1   *Henry has the radio on*

In cases where the inner predicate is transitive or unergative, such as *Henry has the gardener trimming the hedges* (transitive)*,* the structure looks as follows:

Figure 5.2   *Henry has the gardener trimming the hedges*

These structures correspond with the syntactic characteristics of the attained state type. In Figs. 5.1-5.2, *have* is a serial verb, not an auxiliary—it does not inherit its 1—so *do*-support is required in the relevant syntactic contexts in

English. The whole construction is not passivizable for whatever reason *have* is not passivizable (cf. § 2). We can explain the gramma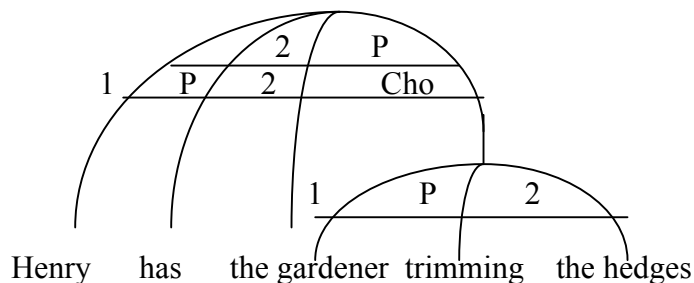ticality of imperatives shown in (5.32-33) by the argument we applied to *Have a drink!* in § 2. This type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> describes a situation in which the subject (i) gets something into a new state or (ii) maintains something in a state. This situation requires energy, which can only come from the agentive subject. Like the Spanish "culminative" dative in (5.7-9), the nominative subject of *have* in the attained state type seems to be assigned the semantic-aspectual role of attainer (note, though, that the nominative subject of the attained state type is not perfectly analogous to the culminative dative, because the attainer in the attained state type can maintain the attained state, while the dative argument in (5.7-9) has no further control over the situation once the L is reached).

The structure in Fig. 5.2 correctly predicts the distribution of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns in sentences of the type *X has Y VERBing Z,* where *X, Y,* and *Z* are arguments. The data below show that in sentences of this type, *X* and *Y* are clausemates, *Y* and *Z* are clausemates, but *X* and *Z* belong to different clauses:

(5.34) Fred$_i$ had {himself$_i$ /^{x}him$_i$}wondering what to do next.

(5.35) Fred$_j$ had his opponent$_i$ asking {himself$_i$ /^{x}him$_i$} what to do next.

(5.36) Fred$_i$ had his opponent$_j$ begging {him$_i$ /^{x}himself$_i$ } for mercy.

In (5.34), *Fred* (*X*) serves as an antecedent for *himself* (*Y),* showing that these two arguments are clausemates. Likewise, in (5.35) *his opponent (Y)* serves as an antecedent for *himself (Z),* indicating that these two arguments are also clausemates. In (5.36), however, *Fred (X)* cannot serve as an antecedent for *himself (Z),* revealing that these two arguments belong to separate clauses.

Since adjectives and prepositional phrases are unaccusative, sentences like *She had the safe open* and *The chess master had his opponent in checkmate* have the

structure shown in Fig. 5.1. By contrast, sentences with unergative and transitive *-ing* forms, like *Henry had the radio working* and *Henry had the gardener trimming the hedges,* have the structure shown in Fig. 5.2. What structure corresponds to the attained state type when the third element is a perfect participle? In sentences with the attained state type of *<have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle*>, e.g., I had you convinced, I'll have the paper finished, I have the key hidden,* the predicates *convinced, finished, hidden* do not describe events, they describe resultant states (compare *I saw the key (being) hidden by Gary*). The perfect participle in the attained state type is therefore a deverbal adjective, and as such it is an unaccusative predicate that participates in a structure like the following:

```
                        2           P
        1     P         2          Cho
        I    have    the key     hidden
```

Figure 5.3   *I have the key hidden*

We will review the aspectual evidence that the perfect participle in the attained state type of *<have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle*>* is a deverbal adjective, not a true perfect participle of the verb, in § 3.2. There is also some syntactic evidence to this effect. First, the perfect participle may be conjoined with an adjective:

(5.37) I had him convinced and eager to do what I wanted.

Second, the perfect participle in the attained state type is incompatible with a *by-*phrase:

(5.38) #I have the key hidden by an accomplice.

(5.39) #The realtor had the property sold by his assistant in two days.

These sentences are grammatical under some interpretations, but cannot have the meaning associated with the attained state type*,* namely that the subject has gotten the

object into the state described and/or maintains a degree of control over this resultant state. However, the problem with sentences (5.38-39) is not the fact that the subject of *have* is not the agent of the inner predicate. Examples of the attained state type like *I have the key hidden* do not necessarily entail that the syntactic subject of *have* is also the person who brings about the state *hidden*; a separate agent of *hide* is a semantic possibility. Indeed, when an active verb form like *trimming* is used, the inner predicate has an overt separate agent, *e.g., Henry has the gardener trimming the hedges.*

Since the attained state type does allow the inner predicate to have its own agent, but does not allow *by*-phrases when this predicate is a perfect participle, it makes sense to explain why (5.38-39) are excluded with special reference to the perfect participle. One argument, supported by aspectual evidence, is that the perfect participle in the attained state type is not a serial inner predicate of the transitive type, so it cannot have an overt agent. Instead, the perfect participle in the attained state type is a deverbal adjective, a serial inner predicate of the unaccusative type, as shown in Fig. 5.3. The agent in the *by*-phrase is excluded on two related grounds: first, the inner predicate is unaccusative and initializes only one argument, its 2; second, this predicate is stative, and stative predicates never have agents[42].

3.2 **Semantic and aspectual properties of the attained state type**

The attained state type behaves aspectually like an LS type predicate, according to the diagnostics laid out in Chapter 2. That is to say, it is incompatible with the progressive (5.40-41), and compatible with time expressions like *for a minute* (5.42-43) and *at that instant* (5.44-45). In order to be compatible with *for a minute,*

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[42] There are passive-looking constructions like *The painting was untouched by human hands.* These are formed on (stative) adjectives and admit a *by*-phrase, but do not refer to a whole situation like a true passive. The *by*-phrase here does not express agentivity.

the perfect participle must describe a reversible or changeable state. This type of <*have* + n o u n.ACC + perfect participle> is also compatible with *within a minute/hour/day* (5.46-47):

PROGRESSIVE

(5.40) #I am having you convinced of the truth/^{x}I am having you eager to do my bidding..

(5.41) #I am having the files organized/^{x}I am having the files ready.

(The sentences with # are acceptable only with causative meaning; see § 6)

TIME EXPRESSIONS LIKE *for a minute*

(5.42) I had you convinced for an hour.

(5.43) I had the files organized for a week.

TIME EXPRESSIONS LIKE *at that instant*

(5.44) At that instant I had you convinced.

(5.45) At that moment I had the files organized.

TIME EXPRESSIONS LIKE *within a minute*

(5.46) I had you convinced within an hour.

(5.47) I had the files organized within a week.

In order to be eligible for the attained state type, perfect participle must meet a semantic requirement. The perfect participle in the attained state type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> must describe events that leave lasting effects on their objects or subjects. Consider the following examples.

(5.48) Joan had the guitar {restrung/^{x}played} in an hour.

(5.49) Joan had the sonata {memorized/^{x}?played} in a few minutes.

In (5.48), *restrung* is permissible while *played* is not because the former describes a change in the state of the guitar while the latter does not. In terms of thematic roles, *guitar* is an (affected) theme of *restring,* but an (unaffected) instrument of *play.* In (5.49), the sonata is not changed by either *memorize* or *play,* but the first of these verbs describes a change in the condition of the subject while the second does not. In other words, we can conceive of *Joan* entering into a new state as a result of memorizing the sonata, but it is more difficult to conceive of her entering a new state as a result of playing it.

There is an aspectual requirement on the perfect participle as well: the predicate that the perfect participle is formed from must contain an L. Consider the following examples:

(5.50) ^xI have a bicycle had.   (S-type predicate)

(5.51) ^xI have poetry read.   (E-type predicate)

(5.52) I have the error spotted.   (L-type predicate)

(5.53) I have the water boiled.   (LE-type predicate)

(5.54) ?I have the problem understood.   (LS type predicate)

(5.55) I have a circle drawn.   (EL-type predicate)

(5.56) I have my hand raised.   (ELE-type predicate)

Note that examples like sentence (5.54), *I have the problem understood,* do appear in writing, though the use of this type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> seems to be less preferred when the perfect participle is formed on an LS type predicate. The simple predicate, *e.g., I understand the problem,* avoids unnecessary complication. Note also that the meaning of (5.52-56) varies according to the perfect participle employed. For instance, *I have the error spotted* describes an event with lasting effects on the subject, while *I have the water boiled* describes an event with lasting effects on the object (this sentence would be appropriate to describe a method for

killing bacteria, *e.g., Once you have the water boiled and cooled again it's safe to drink*).

We saw in the previous section that the attained state type is just one instance of a verbal periphrasis that can also be formed with a present participle (*e.g., have the radio working*), adjective (*e.g., have the safe open*), or prepositional phrase (*e.g., have one's opponent in checkmate*). Unlike the other kinds of *<have + noun.ACC + perfect participle>* (see §§ 4-5), however, the attained state type cannot be formed with a bare infinitive. For example:

(5.57) ^xI had the water boil.

(5.58) ^x?I had the radio turn on (marginally acceptable as a causative; see § 6).

(5.59) #I had the gardener trim the hedges. (acceptable as a causative)

The reason for the impossibility of (5.57-59) seems to be that the attained state type describes the entry of an argument into a unchanging situation and the persistence of the argument in that situation. In order to be compatible with the attained state type, the predicate that appears as the final element of *<have +* noun.ACC *+ predicate>* cannot describe a changing situation per se. Adjectives and prepositional phrases describe states, while *–ing* forms (in this periphrasis) depict events as continuing or iterating in a homogeneous fashion. Perfect participles that are deverbal adjectives describe states, just like other varieties of adjective. By contrast, bare infinitives and true perfect participles can describe changing events, just like finite verbal forms. Hence just these latter two are excluded. This is another argument to show that in the attained state type the final term is a perfect participle that is a deverbal adjective, not a true perfect participle.

In summary, the attained state type of *<have +* noun.ACC *+ perfect participle>* is an aspectual periphrasis that modifies the inherent lexical aspect of inner predicates containing an L to depict a two-stage event. The first stage consists of the L alone: the

subject succeeds in getting itself or the object into the state described by the perfect participle; this success is conceived of as an instantaneous limit (an L), though it may be preceded by a process with some duration. In the second stage, the immediate results of the first stage are extended in time, possibly under the control of the subject. The second stage is a state or a homogeneous event.

4   Affectee type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>

A second type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, the affectee type, seems to function as means of promoting to subject an argument with low syntactic and thematic prominence. The final subject of the affectee type figures syntactically as a non-term in a clause describing a situation brought about by someone or something else. Thematically, the subject can have one of a number of "secondary" thematic roles—beneficiary, sufferer, recipient, experiencer, source, possessor, person for whom the statement holds true—but never agent, causer, patient, or theme. We will call the available cluster of secondary thematic roles *affectee* roles. Examples of the affectee type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> are (5.60-5.64 in English, 5.65-66 in Italian, 5.67-68 in French):

(5.60) Julia has a song named after her.

(5.61) Samuel had his appendix removed.

(5.62) Luke has his coat buttoned.

(5.63) I won't have it mentioned again.

(5.64) Wendy had a bullet fired at her.

(5.65) Luigi ha   avuto la   casa distrutta   da un bombardamento
        Luigi has.PS.3S had   the.F house destroyed.F by a.M bombing

        durante la   guerra.
        during   the.F war
        'Luigi had his house destroyed by a bombing during the war'

(5.66) Mario ha   avuto la   mano destra amputata.
       Mario has.PS.3S had   the.F hand   right.F amputated.F
       'Mario had his right hand amputated'

(5.67) Charlotte a   eu   sa   maison fouillée   de nombreuses fois.
       Charlotte has.PS.3S had her.F house   searched.F of many.P   times.P
       'Charlotte had her house searched many times'

(5.68) Marc a   eu   son nom rayé   du   registre.
       Marc has.PS.3S had his.M name scratched from-the.M register
       'Marc had his name scratched from the register'

4.1   **Syntactic properties of the affectee type**

Like the *have* in the attained state type, the *have* in the affectee type of <*have*
+ noun.ACC + perfect participle> is not an auxiliary verb. *Do*-support is required in
English when sentences like (5.60-64) are changed into negative declaratives or
interrogatives, as in:

(5.69) Wendy didn't have a bullet fired at her.

(5.70) Did Wendy have a bullet fired at her?

(5.71) Julia didn't have song named after her.

(5.72) Did Julia have a song named after her?

Like the *have* in the attained state type, the *have* in the affectee type does not
necessarily signify 'possess' or 'hold,' either. For example:

(5.73) Jack had his watch stolen.

(5.74) Jack had a rock thrown at him.

In these sentences *Jack,* the syntactic subject of *have,* does not possess or hold the
watch and the rock.

The subject of *have* in the affectee type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect
participle> is not an agent; this subject of *have* is submitted to a situation instigated by
someone else. Thus the affectee type cannot appear in imperatives and its subject is
incompatible with agentive adverbs like *deliberately* and *intentionally.* For example:

(5.75) #Have a bullet fired at you!

(5.76) #Wendy deliberately had a bullet fired at her.

(5.77) #Have a song named after you!

(5.78) #Julia intentionally had a song named after her.

These examples are grammatical only if we interpret (5.75-78) as causative sentences.

   The affectee type cannot be passivized:

(5.79) ˣA song is had named after her by Julia.

(5.80) ˣHis appendix was had removed by Samuel.

(5.81) ˣLa mano destra è stata avuta amputata da Mario.
   the.F hand right.F is.PS.3S been.F had.F amputated.F by Mario
   'His right hand was had amputated by Mario'

(5.82) ˣSa maison a   été eue fouillée de nombreuses
   her.F house has.PS.3S been had.F searched of many.P

   fois par Charlotte.
   times.P by Charlotte
   'Her house was had searched many times by Charlotte'

Like the attained state type of *<have + noun.ACC + perfect participle>,* the affectee type is just one instance of a periphrasis *<have + noun + predicate>* that can be formed with other predicates as the third element. In the affectee type, present participles, adjectives, and prepositional phrases can serve as the final ingredient of *<have + noun.ACC + predicate>.* In English, but not in the Romance languages, a bare infinitive can also serve as this final ingredient. For example:

(5.83) You have a customer waiting in your office.

(5.84) Now we have everyone blaming us for this mess.

(5.85) Now we have everyone angry at us.

(5.86) Stan had his hair all wet.

(5.87) We have a real situation on our hands.

(5.88) You have a customer on the phone.

(5.89) I had a funny thing happen to me today.

(5.90) I had three people thank me today.

The affectee type exhibits a distribution of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns that differs from that of the attained state type in two ways. First, the noun.ACC in this type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> may not be a pronoun of either type, reflexive or non-reflexive, that takes the syntactic subject of *have* as its antecedent. Consider the following:

(5.91) I$_i$ had {^{x}me$_i$/#myself$_i$} reported to the police.

(5.92) Mark$_i$ had {^{x}him$_i$/#himself$_i$} fingerprinted by the police.

(5.93) Janet$_i$ had {^{x}her$_i$/#herself$_i$} mentioned in a song.

In these examples, the non-reflexive pronouns are ungrammatical. The reflexive pronouns are grammatical only if the periphrasis <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is given a causative interpretation (see § 5).

Second, if a pronoun has the syntactic subject of *have* as its antecedent and appears in a phrase modifying the perfect participle, then this pronoun must be a non-reflexive pronoun. For example:

(5.94) I$_i$ had a book given to {me$_i$/#myself$_i$}.

(5.95) She$_i$ had a song named after {her$_i$/#herself$_i$}.

(5.96) I$_i$ had a bullet fired at {me$_i$/#myself$_i$}.

In these examples, the non-reflexive pronouns are grammatical under the affectee meaning. The reflexive pronouns are grammatical only if <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is interpreted with causative reading.

The affectee type allows perfect participles with an agent expressed in a *by*-phrase:

(5.97) Larry had his wallet stolen by a pickpocket.

(5.98) I won't have it mentioned again, by you or anyone else.

However, this is only possible if the perfect participle is a transitive true participle like *stolen* in (5.97) or *mentioned* in (5.98). If the perfect participle is a deverbal adjective, then it is unaccusative and cannot initialize a 1-agent. Hence the acceptability of *Julia had a song named after her by the Beatles,* in which *named* can be interpreted as a true participle expressing an event, but the unacceptability of [x]?*Julia has a song named after her by the Beatles,* in which *named* must be interpreted as a deverbal adjective expressing a state.

We now consider the syntactic structure of the affectee type. In a sentence like *You have your coat buttoned,* where the perfect participle is a deverbal adjective, the structure coincides with the attained state type and looks as follows:

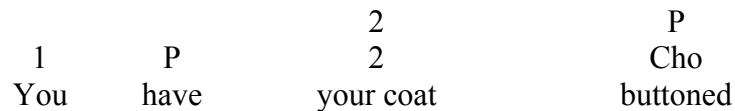|		2	P
1	P	2	Cho
You	have	your coat	buttoned

Figure 5.4   *You have your coat buttoned*

And in a sentence like *Samuel had his appendix removed,* where the perfect participle depicts an event, the structure looks as follows:
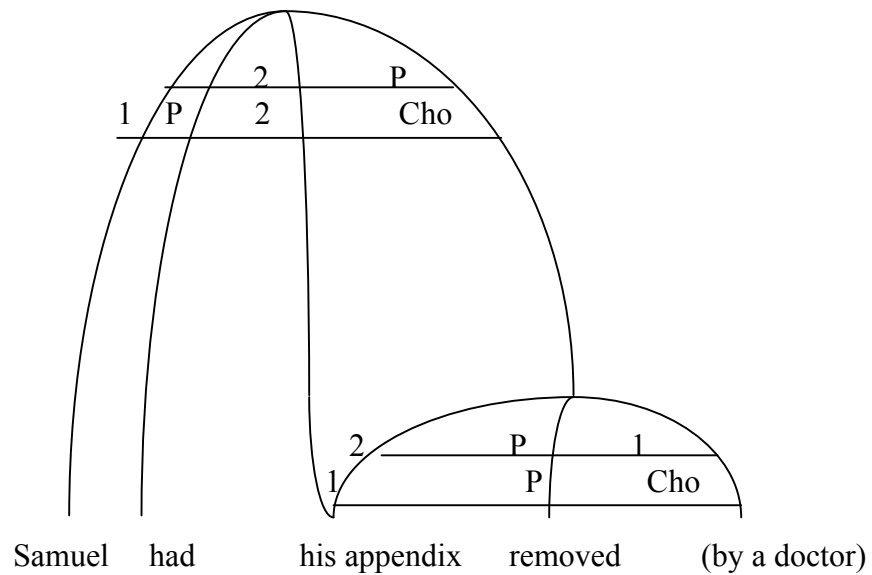
Figure 5.5   *Samuel had his appendix removed (by a doctor)*

In this case, the subordinate clause is an unauxiliated passive clause, *his appendix removed*. This clause functions as an unaccusative predicate in the main clause, where it initializes *his appendix*.

The structures shown in Figs. 5.4-5.5 correspond well with the syntactic characteristics of the affectee type discussed above. In both of the structures, *have* is a serial verb, so *do*-support is required in the relevant syntactic contexts in English. The affectee type is not passivizable for whatever reason *have* is not passivizable (cf. § 2). Imperatives of this construction are ungrammatical because the subject of *have* is an affectee—beneficiary, sufferer, recipient, experiencer, source, possessor, person for whom the statement holds true—and never an agent.

The distribution of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns is explained by the above structures only in part. The structure shown in Fig. 5.5, which shows that the perfect participle appears under a different clause node than the subject, explains why a pronoun that takes the syntactic subject of *have* as its antecedent and appears in a phrase modifying the perfect participle must be non-reflexive (*e.g., I had a book given*

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to {me/^{x}myself}). Such a pronoun is not a direct dependent of the same clause as its antecedent. However, neither of the structures above shows why the noun.ACC in the affectee type may not be a pronoun of either type if it takes the syntactic subject of *have* as its antecedent (as shown in 5.91-93).

This syntactic fact about pronouns in the affectee type seems to be related to the promoting function of the affectee type and the availability of alternative constructions. The affectee type of *<have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> functions as a means to promote to subject an argument with low thematic and syntactic prominence. In affectee-type sentences like *Samuel had his appendix removed, Lois had the same thing happen to her, Wendy had a bullet fired at her*, the final subject originates in deeply embedded locations—the genitive possessor in a noun phrase or the object of a preposition. Sentences like *#I had myself reported to the police, #Mark had himself fingerprinted by the police, #Janet had herself mentioned in a song* seem to make poor affectee type sentences because their final subjects originate in a syntactically and thematically prominent position: they are all patient or theme objects. When speakers want to make a final subject out of an initial patient or theme object, the simplest means is the passive voice—*I was reported to the police, Mark was fingerprinted by the police, Janet was mentioned in a song*. The felicitousness of passives like *I was reported to the police* may explain why affectee constructions like ^{x}*I had myself reported to the police* are awkward, and why we naturally interpret these would-be affectee sentences as causatives.

The subject of the affectee type cannot be the instigator of a situation nor a patient directly affected. Instead, this subject must be someone (a sentient being) who takes an emotional interest or possesses something in the situation described. In his

discussion of "have + perfect participle of a transitive verb," Visser[43] (1973: 2190) observes:

> More often than not this emotional interest is tinged with a feeling of possessorship... of the same kind as that which is implied in the statement '*We have* two fine oak-trees in from of our house' as compared with the neutral '*There are two fine oak-trees in front of our house*'.

The idea of drawing a comparison to *There are two fine oak trees/We have two fine oak trees in front of our house* is perspicacious. True affectee types like *You have your coat buttoned, Samuel had his appendix removed* are related to the "neutral" constructions *Your coat is buttoned, Samuel's appendix was removed* in precisely the ways Visser describes, namely: the *have* constructions emphasize that one argument experiences emotional interest and/or possessorship in relation to the situation described by the "neutral" construction. *We have two fine oak trees in front of our house* can be analyzed as an affectee construction as follows:

		2	P
1	P	2	Cho
We	have	two fine oak trees	in front of our house

Figure 5.6   *We have two fine oak trees in front of our house*

We noted that present participles, adjectives, prepositional phrases, and bare infinitives may substitute for the final ingredient of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. When an adjective or a prepositional phrase is the third element, the structure is as shown in Figs. 5.4, 5.6 above. When a present participle is the third

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[43] Visser (1973) does not draw clear distinctions between the three types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> I identify here; in some places he groups the affectee type and the causative type (*e.g.,* 2387-8), while in others he groups the affectee type and the LS type (*e.g.,* 2190).

term, the structure is as shown in Fig. 5.5 *Samuel had his appendix removed*, except that the subordinate clause is active, not passive.

When an infinitive is the third term, as in *I had three people thank me today,* the structure looks as follows:
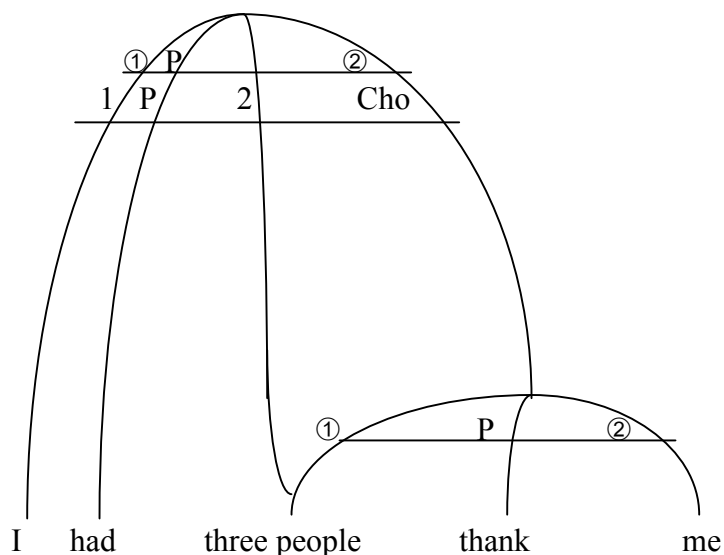
Figure 5.7   *I had three people thank me*

Recall that in our discussion of the structure *She saw the guard lock the door,* shown in Chapter 4 § 3 Fig. 4.13, we found that English bare infinitive complements like *the guard lock the door, three people thank me* do not function predicatively, but rather participate in raising constructions. In *I had three people thank me,* the bare infinitive complement is initialized as a 2 in the first stratum and *three people* raises to 2 in the second stratum.

4.2   Semantic and aspectual properties of the affectee type

As we saw in § 3.2, the attained state type is always associated with a single aspectual type. The affectee type, by contrast, varies in aspect according to the aspectual properties of the perfect participle. The following examples give some idea

of the variation. They show that different participles can give contrasting results for the diagnostics laid out in Chapter 2.

PROGRESSIVE

(5.99) He is having his luggage inspected.

(5.100)^xYour testimony is having the victim murdered at 10 P.M.

TIME EXPRESSIONS LIKE *for a minute*

(5.101) The Beatles had their new song played on the radio for 15 months.

(5.102)^xI had a bouquet of flowers delivered to my house for a week

      (meaning a single bouquet, not a series of bouquets)

TIME EXPRESSIONS LIKE *at that instant*

(5.103) I had a bouquet of flowers delivered to my house at 2 P.M. exactly.

(5.104)^xAt that instant, he had his novel reviewed in several top newspapers.

TIME EXPRESSIONS LIKE *within a minute*

(5.105) I had my book published within three months.

(5.106) #He had his coat buttoned within ten minutes.

      (only attained state type interpretation is possible).

As noted above, the subject of the affectee type is someone who possesses something or takes emotional interest in a situation. This subject must be an animate sentient being, as the following contrasts show:

(5.107) Luke's coat was buttoned ~ Luke had his coat buttoned.

(5.108) A bullet was fired at Wendy ~ Wendy had a bullet fired at her.

(5.109) The leg of the table is broken ~ ??The table has its leg broken.

(5.110) An arrow was shot at the tree ~ ^xThe tree had an arrow shot at it.

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As noted above, the subject of the affectee type is someone who possesses something or takes emotional interest in a situation. This subject must be an animate sentient being, as the following contrasts show:

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(5.108) A bullet was fired at Wendy ~ Wendy had a bullet fired at her.

(5.109) The leg of the table is broken ~ ??The table has its leg broken.

(5.110) An arrow was shot at the tree ~ [x]The tree had an arrow shot at it.

5   Causative type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>

In a third type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, the causative type, the syntactic subject of *have* causes an action to be performed by someone or something else, or causes a situation to be maintained by someone or something else. For example:

(5.111) I didn't write the report myself; I had it written by my assistant.

(5.112) The police chief had the house observed by two undercover officers.

(5.113) The warden had the light shut off by the guard.

This type exists in present-day English, but not in the modern Romance languages.

5.1   Syntactic properties of the causative type

Do-support is required when sentences like (5.111-113) are changed into negative or interrogative sentences, showing that the *have* in the causative type is not an auxiliary verb.   For example:

(5.114) I didn't have it written by my assistant.

(5.115) Did I have it written by my assistant?

(5.116) The police chief didn't have the house observed by two undercover officers.

(5.117) Did the police chief have the house observed by two undercover officers?

Like the *have* in the attained state and affectee types, the *have* in the causative type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> does not necessarily signify 'possess' or 'hold', either. The causative type can appear in contexts in which the syntactic subject of *have* does not possess the syntactic object. For example:

(5.118) The judge had the evidence removed from the courtroom.

(5.119) I'll have these forms signed by my boss.

The causative type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is not passivizable.

(5.120)^xThe report was had written.

(5.121)^xThe house was had observed by the police chief.

(5.122)^xThe light was had shut off by the warden.

Like the attained state and affectee types, the causative type is just one instance of a verbal periphrasis whose third term need not be a perfect participle. The causative periphrasis <*have* + noun.ACC + predicate> can alternatively involve a bare infinitive.

(5.123) I had my assistant write the report.

(5.124) The police chief had two undercover officers observe the house.

(5.125) The warden had the guard shut off the light.

The subject of the causative type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> is an agentive causer, and may appear in contexts where other agents appear, like commands:

(5.126) Have the paper written by your assistant!

(5.127) Have the light shut off by the guard!

As many of these examples show (including (5.126-127) above), *by*-phrases are permitted in the causative type.

Having looked at these syntactic characteristics, we may now consider the syntactic structure of the causative type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>. In cases where the last element is a perfect participle, the structure has this form:
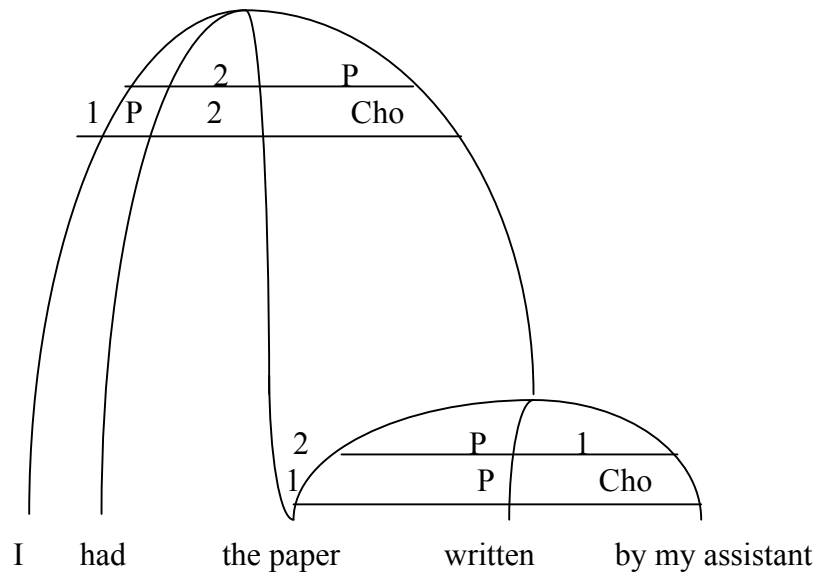
Figure 5.8   *I had the paper written by my assistant*

And in cases where the last term is a bare infinitive, the structure looks as follows:
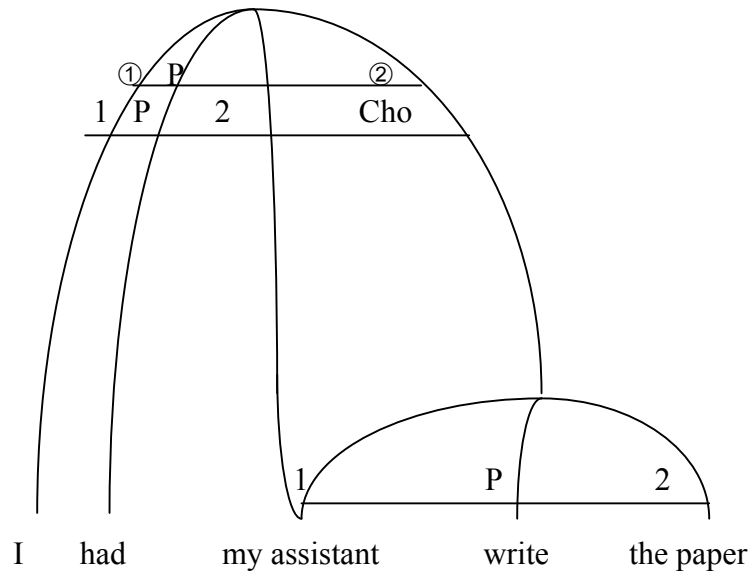

Figure 5.9   *I had my assistant write the paper*

These structures coincide with Fig. 5.5 and 5.7 above, showing that there is a syntactic similarity between the causative type and the affectee type.   The two differ primarily

in the semantic role assigned to the subject. Let's consider how the structures in Figs. 5.8-9 correspond to the syntactic characteristics of the causative type discussed above. In Fig. 5.8, since *have* does not inherit its 1, it is a serial verb, so *do*-support is required in questions and negations. *By*-phrases are permitted in structures like Fig. 5.8 because the perfect participle is an inner predicate of the transitive (not unaccusative) type. The whole construction is not passivizable for the same reason that *have* is not passivizable (cf. § 2).

The grammaticality of imperatives can be explained by the argument we applied to *Have a drink!* in § 2. The affectee describes a situation in which an agentive subject causes a second agent to do something. This situation requires energy, which comes in part from the agentive subject. The subject of *have* in the causative type is assigned the semantic role of causer.

The structures in Figs. 5.8-5.9 correctly predict the distribution of reflexive and non-reflexive pronouns in sentences of the type *X had Y PARTICIPLE Z,* where *X, Y,* and *Z* are arguments:

(5.128) Constantine$_i$ had {himself$_i$ /^{x}him$_i$} crowned emperor.

(5.129) Constantine$_j$ had the colony accorded the right to govern {itself$_i$ /^{x}it$_i$}.

(5.130) Constantine$_i$ had the capital$_j$ named after {him$_i$ /himself$_i$}[44]

The data above show that in sentences of this type, *X* and *Y* are clausemates, *Y* and *Z* are clausemates, but *X* and *Z* seem to belong to different clauses.

In sentences with the causative type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, *e.g., I had the report written by my assistant, The police chief had the house observed by two undercover officers, The warden had the light shut off by the guard* the perfect participles describe whole situations, not just resultant states

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[44] It is not clear why *himself* is possible in this context (recall the pattern seen in 5.94-5.96). The explanation for this may well be extra-syntactic, as explained in connection with (4.8-4.10).

(compare *I found the report already written, the warden kept the light shut off*). These perfect participles are true perfect participles, not deverbal adjectives, and are inner predicates of the transitive type, as shown in Fig. 5.8.

The aspectual evidence that these perfect participles are not adjectival will be considered in § 5.2. The grammaticality of *by*-phrases is a piece of syntactic evidence that shows these participles are of the transitive, true participle type.

5.2   Semantic and aspectual properties of the causative type

Like the affectee type, the causative type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> varies in aspect according to the aspectual properties of the perfect participle. That is to say, unlike the attained state type, the causative type cannot be uniformly characterized according to the diagnostics laid out in Chapter 2, since it may be compatible or incompatible with the progressive, with time expressions like *for a minute, at that instant,* and *within a minute/hour/day*, depending on the choice of perfect participle:

PROGRESSIVE

(5.131) I am having the report written by my assistant.

(5.132) ?The warden is having the light shut off by the guard

TIME EXPRESSIONS LIKE *for a minute*

(5.133) He had the house observed by two undercover officers for a week.

(5.134) ^{x}I had the report written by my assistant for a day.

TIME EXPRESSIONS LIKE *at that instant*

(5.135) At that moment the warden had the light shut off by the guard

(5.136) ^{x}At that instant he had the house observed by two undercover officers.

TIME EXPRESSIONS LIKE *within a minute*

(5.137) I had the report written by my assistant within a week.

(5.138)^x?The police chief had the house observed within a day.

Perfect participles that describe L-type events, like *(the light) shut off,* give L-type results, participles that correspond to EL-type events, like *(the report) written* give EL-type results, participles that express E-type events, like (*the house) observed,* give E-type results, and so on.

The meaning associated with the causative type is that one agentive subject causes another agentive subject to perform some action. Thus in order to for a perfect participle to be eligible for the causative type of *<have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>,* it must be formed from a verb that selects agentive subjects. This requirement excludes all perfect participles of S and LS type verbs, since stative predicates never have agentive subjects. It also excludes non-agentive eventive verbs of various aspectual types.

(5.139)^xThe teacher had English known by her students.   (S-type predicate)

(5.140) ^xThe newspaper had the mayor admired by the public.   (S-type predicate)

(5.141) ^xI had the fruit ripen.   (non-agentive EL-type predicate)

If the perfect participle is the participle of an agentive verb, then it may be of any aspectual type:

(5.142) The emcee had the speaker applauded by the public.   (E-type predicate)

(5.143) The editor had the error found by his assistant.   (L-type predicate)

(5.144) The director had the spotlight shined on Romeo.   (LE-type pred.)

(5.145) The queen had a tower built onto the castle.   (EL-type pred.)

(5.146) The warden had the prisoner's arms raised by a guard.   (ELE-type pred.)

As noted in § 5.1, the causative type of *<have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>* is just one instance of a verbal periphrasis that can also be formed with a bare infinitive (*e.g., I had my assistant write the report*). Unlike the other kinds of

<have + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, the causative type cannot be formed with an adjective, a prepositional phrase, or a present participle. For example:

(5.147) ˣGeorge had the shelf high (compare *George had the shelf raised*)

(5.148) #George had the shelf over the door.

(5.149) #George had the researchers working on the problem

The reason that (5.147-149) are unacceptable with a causative interpretation seems to be an aspectual one. The causative type of *<have* + noun.ACC + predicate> describes a situation in which one agent is caused to perform an action by another. In order to be compatible with the causative type, the predicate that appears as the final element of *<have* + noun.ACC + predicate> cannot describe just the resultant state of an action; it must describe the action per se. Adjectives and prepositional phrases describe states, while *–ing* forms (in this type of periphrasis) present events as perpetually fixed in one eventive stage. By contrast, bare infinitives and true perfect participles can express action in the form of changing events, just like other forms of verbs. For this reason, just these latter two are acceptable. Again, we see that bare infinitives and true perfect participles pattern together, and that these two verb forms pattern against adjectives, prepositional phrases, adjectival perfect participles. This, then, is aspectual evidence showing that in the causative type the final term is a true perfect participle, not a deverbal adjective.

One might wonder whether the attained state type periphrasis in shown in Fig. 5.2, *Henry has the gardener trimming the hedges,* is really causative, like the true causative type seen in *Henry had the gardener trim the hedges*. Indeed, attained state type sentences containing *–ing* forms seem to have causative meaning and they have a syntactic structure very much like that of *Henry had the gardener trim the hedges*. However, we want to classify this sentence as an attained state type sentence for

aspectual reasons. The attained state type sentence is incompatible with the progressive, while the causative type is not.

(5.150) ˣHenry is/was having the gardener trimming the hedges[45].

(5.151) Henry is/was having the gardener trim the hedges.

Thus while in Fig. 5.2 *Henry has the gardener trimming the hedges, Henry* has a degree of control over the situation *the gardener trimming the hedges,* this is not to be understood as a syntactic causative. Figure 5.2 and others like it are better classified as attained state type periphrases.

6 The adnominal type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>

The final type of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, the adnominal type, is a single-predicate clause in which *have* is the sole predicate. In this type, the perfect participle is internal to the noun phrase following *have*. For example:

(5.152) I still have [the papers written by my students].

(5.153) Last night I had [a meal prepared by my cousin].

6.1 Syntactic properties of the adnominal type

Like the *have* in the other types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, the *have* in the adnominal type is not an auxiliary verb. *Do*-support is required in English when sentences like (5.152-153) are changed into negative declaratives or interrogatives, as in:

(5.154) I don't have [the papers written by my students].

(5.155) Last night I didn't have [a meal prepared by my cousin].

(5.156) Do you still have [the papers written by my students]?

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[45] The ungrammaticality of this sentence has nothing to do with the incompatibility of two *–ing* forms. Compare the affectee type (see § 4) *I'm always having people telling me what to do.*

(5.157) Did you have [a meal prepared by my cousin]?

But unlike the *have* in the other types of <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, the *have* in the adnominal type does exhibit the range of meanings associated with single-predicate *have*: 'possess', 'hold', 'get', 'eat/drink', etc. It exhibits these meanings because it *is* single-predicate *have.*

In the adnominal type, the noun.ACC and perfect participle form a noun phrase together, so we cannot replace the noun.ACC with a referring pronoun (cf. Chapter 4 § 2):

(5.158) ^xI still have [them written by my students].

(5.159) ^xLast night I had [it prepared by my cousin].

A non-referring pronoun is possible, however:

(5.160) I have [those written by my students], but not the rest.

The reason for the ungrammaticality of (5.158-159) is that it is impermissible to modify a pronoun (except in poetic language, where this usage is a deliberate anomaly). Or, viewed alternatively, it is impermissible to pronominalize part of a noun phrase.

When *have* has a more agentive meaning like 'eat' it can appear in contexts requiring an agent, like imperatives. For example:

(5.161) Have [this delicious meal prepared by your cousin]!

But when *have* has an non-agentive meaning, like 'be related to' or 'have as an inalienable possession', it cannot appear in contexts requiring an agent:

(5.162) ^xHave [an older sister born in Canada]!

The adnominal type is a "reduced relative" variant of sentences like *I have the papers that were written by my students*. This type need not have a perfect participle as its third term. A prepositional phrase may appear as the third term, as in:

(5.163) I had [every item on the menu].

We are now prepared to consider the syntactic structure of the adnominal type. In this type of <have + noun.ACC + perfect participle>, the three elements form just one clause, because there is just one predicate, *have,* and two arguments, the subject of *have* and [noun.ACC + perfect participle]. The structure looks as follows:

<div align="center">

1   P   2

I   have   [the papers written by my students]

</div>

Figure 5.10   *I have the papers written by my students*

6.2   **Semantic and aspectual properties of the adnominal type**

As noted above, *have* in the adnominal type has the range of meanings associated with single-predicate have: 'possess', 'hold', 'get', 'eat/drink', etc. The aspect of the whole construction varies with the aspect of *have,* which in turn depends upon its meaning in context. The meaning 'own' yields an S type *have,* for example, while 'eat' yields an E type *have* (*e.g. have some food*) or an EL type *have* (*e.g., have a sandwich*).

7 **Distinguishing <*have* + noun.ACC + perfect participle> from the *have*-perfect**

Now we summarize the findings of §§ 3-6 and Chapter 3 § 2 in a table. The table below distinguishes the attained state type, affectee type, causative type, and adnominal type, and also shows how the various types of perfect differ from these four types.