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**CAUSER, RECIPIENT AND POSSESSOR: THE GRAMMATICAL
SUBJECT OF *GET* AND THE CONTEXT-SENSITIVITY OF P_{HAVE}**

ABSTRACT

The present paper argues that possessive HAVE GOT develops out of present perfect HAVE *got(ten)* ‘onset of possession’ *via* the conventionalization or semanticization of the conversational implicature ‘stative possession’ (Traugott & König 1991, Traugott & Dasher 2003). Structural differences between the two expressions are operationalized within the frameworks of Minimalism and Distributed Morphology (Chomsky 1995, Halle & Marantz 1993). The changes brought about by the conventionalization process include a switch of temporal reference from the pre-present to the present, a loss of the participial status of *got(ten)*, a loss of the eventive component in GET, and a change of the thematic role of the subject from recipient to possessor. HAVE GOT is analyzed as a hybrid of a present perfect and a present tense expressions, incorporating structural features of both.

KEYWORDS

Possession, possessive HAVE, auxiliary HAVE, present perfect, conventionalization of conversational implicatures, semanticization, lexical decomposition.

1. Preliminaries

HAVE GOT + DP_{possessee} as illustrated in (1) is one of the predicative possession markers in English. It has been argued that the meaning of ‘stative possession’ in HAVE GOT developed during the conventionalization and semanticization of the meaning component ‘possession’ in the present perfect expression HAVE *got(ten)* ‘have received’ as exemplified in (2) (Schulz 2012a: 104-132, Schulz 2012b).

- (1) John has got a car. ‘John possesses a car.’
 (2) John has got(ten) a car (from Mary). ‘John has received a car from Mary.’

The spelling HAVE *got(ten)* is adopted here to represent present perfect *have gotten, has gotten, have got, has got, ’ve gotten, ’s gotten, ’ve got* and *’s got*. While British English uses HAVE GOT to refer to both present perfect ‘have received’ and to stative possession, American English uses HAVE *gotten* for present perfect ‘have received’, with HAVE *got* reserved for stative possession (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 113; Biber *et al.* 1999: 467). Historically, both *gotten* and *got* were available in British English during the Early Middle English period and were used interchangeably in present perfect contexts (Crowell 1959: 285). *Gotten*, however, dropped out of use and *got* was subsequently used for both the present perfect and the possessive expression. In the following, the spelling HAVE *got(ten)* will be used to reflect both the American and the British spelling.

The present paper discusses differences between HAVE *got(ten)* and HAVE GOT brought about by the pragmatic process of the conventionalization of ‘stative possession’ and addresses them within the frameworks of Minimalism and Distributed Morphology (Chomsky 1995; Halle and Marantz 1993).

These differences between HAVE *got(ten)* and HAVE GOT are as follows: Temporal reference changes from pre-present to present. GET loses its eventive component v_{BECOME} and starts to signal stative possession in the invariable form *got*, while the thematic role of the subject changes from recipient to possessor.

Got(ten) loses its status as a past participle and a marker of ‘consequent state’ in the sense of Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), evidenced by the loss of *-en* in those varieties that mark the past participle overtly. Intriguingly, HAVE keeps its status as an auxiliary with respect to negation and question formation but is defective in its combinatorial properties. It does not occur in non-finite forms or in combinations with other auxiliaries and is commonly perceived to be excluded from past possession contexts (McIntyre 2010: 22).

Sections 2 and 3 of the present paper briefly lay out the conventionalization and semanticization processes and discuss evidence for the status of HAVE GOT as a stative rather than a perfect construction. Sections 4.1 and

4.2 are concerned with decompositional and relational accounts of possessive and auxiliary uses of HAVE and the structure of the present perfect in English, drawing mainly on Harley (1998, 2002, 2004) and Giorgi and Pianesi (1997).

Section 4.3 provides a decompositional account of GET ‘receive’ and the full structure for present perfect HAVE *got(ten)* ‘have received’. Section 5 discusses the differences between HAVE *got(ten)* and HAVE GOT and relates them to a change of the configuration of meaning components during the conventionalization of ‘stative possession’.¹

2. The conventionalization of conversational implicatures

The conventionalization of conversational implicatures was first proposed by Grice (1975: 58), who argues that it is possible “for what starts life [...] as a conversational implicature to become conventional”. The concept was then picked up by Traugott and König (1991) and promoted as one of the central pragmatic forces in the process of grammaticalization.

With reference to the Informativeness Principle (Atlas and Levinson 1981), Traugott and König (1991) argue that conversational implicatures arising from information strengthening processes become conventionalized and develop into new meanings: “The approach taken here is that distinct new polysemies of a form are new conventional meanings” (Traugott and König 1991: 193).

In a nutshell, conversational implicatures or invited inferences arise in so-called conducive environments and add an inferred meaning to the coded meaning of a particular expression in that environment. Over time the inferred meaning is conventionalized or semanticized and develops into a second coded meaning of the expression in question.

Examples for the conventionalization of a conversational implicature include inferred causation, where the initially purely temporal marker *since* acquires causal meaning in contexts of temporal overlap between two events, or inferred concessivity, where markers of concomitance like English *while* or

1. The verb GET is notoriously polysemous, ranging from lexical, motion verb uses to grammatical uses as a passive or obligation marker (cf. Gronemeyer 1999 and McIntyre 2005, 2010 for overviews). Instances of GET which warrant a brief note here include locative, small clause and obligational uses. These uses in some sense pattern with possessive HAVE GOT because HAVE and HAVE GOT can be used interchangeably in all four cases, as illustrated in (i)-(iv) adapted from Harley (1998: 202) and McIntyre (2010: 22). It is probably best to view them as extensions of the possessive use of HAVE GOT.

- | | | |
|-------|--|----------------------|
| (i) | John has/has got a car. | (stative possession) |
| (ii) | Calvin has/has got a marble in his mouth. | (locative) |
| (iii) | The director has/has got the actors singing. | (small clause) |
| (iv) | You have to/have got to stop dribbling during your talks. | (obligational) |

German *zugleich* ‘at the same time’ acquire concessive meaning (Traugott and König 1991).

The conventionalization of a formerly merely implied meaning can have an impact on the syntactic make-up of an expression. A classical example is the development of the future marker BE *going to*. For BE *going to* in a sentence like (3a), for example, two structural options can be postulated.

The original structure, a sequence of a full lexical verb followed by a purpose clause introduced by *to* as illustrated in (3b), is reanalyzed as an auxiliary verb in combination with a bare infinitive as illustrated in (3c), both modeled on the stages of development presented in Hopper and Traugott (2003: 69). Later during the development of the expression, instances can be found where only the reanalysed version of the underlying structure is viable, as illustrated in (4b)-(4c).

- (3) a. I am going to visit Bill.
 b. I [am going] [to visit Bill].
 c. I [am going to] [visit Bill].
- (4) a. I am going to like Bill.
 b. I [am going to] [like Bill].
 c. *I [am going] [to like Bill]
 Hopper and Traugott (2003: 69).

3. From onset of possession to ‘stative possession’

It has repeatedly been argued that the predicative possession marker HAVE GOT started its linguistic life as an inference of ‘stative possession’ in the context of the present perfect expression HAVE *got(ten)* ‘have received’/‘onset of possession’ (Johnson 1773; Jespersen 1931; Visser 1973; Plank 1984; Gronemeyer 1999). The present paper argues that this inference can be identified as a conversational implicature in the sense of Levinson (2000) and became conventionalized into the coded meaning of ‘stative possession’.

The present section will discuss the status of ‘stative possession’ as a conversational implicature in the sense of Levinson (2000) and the nature of its conventionalization and sematicization in the spirit of the conventionalization of conversational implicatures (Traugott and König 1991) and Invited Inferencing Theory (Traugott and Dasher 2003)². Levinson (2000) casts implicatures which arise from the Informativeness Principle in terms of Grice’s second Maxim of Quantity, Q2:

2. A more detailed account of the diachronic development of HAVE GOT and the conventionalization of the conversational implicature ‘stative possession’ can be found in Schulz (2012a,b).

Do not make your contribution *more* informative than is required. The underlying idea is of course, that one need not say what can be taken for granted... Brief and simple expressions thus encourage, by this heuristic, a tendency to select the best interpretation to the most stereotypical, most explanatory exemplification (Levinson 2000: 37).

The inference from ‘onset of possession’ to ‘stative possession’ is an implicature motivated by the Informativeness Principle, as ‘stative possession’ can be shown to meet the criteria for an implicature of that kind set out in Levinson (2000). It is *cancellable*, *nondetachable*, *reinforceable* and *calculable*. Example (5) demonstrates that ‘stative possession’ is cancellable.

- (5) John has got(ten) a lot of cars in his lifetime, but right now he does not have a single one.

‘Stative possession’ is also *non-detachable* in the sense that “an expression with the same coded content will tend to carry the same implicature” (Levinson 2000: 15), as illustrated in (6). *Have received* and *have been given*, like *have got(ten)*, combine the coded content ‘onset of possession’ with the present perfect. They all yield the implicature ‘stative possession’. (7) illustrates that the implicature ‘stative possession’ is also *reinforceable*.

- (6) John has received/John has been given a lot of cars in his lifetime.
 (7) John has got(ten) two cars from his parents and he still has both of them today.

The *calculability* of a conversational implicature is defined as “the more or less transparent derivation of the inference from premises that include the assumption of rational conversational activity” (Levinson 2000: 15). Calculability is given in the case of ‘stative possession’ with respect to the use of the present perfect, which commits the speaker to the current relevance of the utterance.

In light of the current relevance of the utterance expressed by the present perfect, an implicature from ‘onset of possession’ to ‘stative possession’ can be argued to be “the most stereotypical, most explanatory exemplification” (Levinson 2000: 37). Put differently, if the onset of possession has current relevance at the time of utterance, it is more natural to assume that the state of possession has not ceased to hold at the time of the utterance than to assume that it no longer holds.

The implicature ‘stative possession’ in its non-conventionalized form is frequently found in instances of present perfect HAVE *got(ten)* in the 17th century. Examples (8) and (9) taken from the LION database illustrate a situation typical for an invited inferencing process, as they exhibit different degrees of prominence of the coded and the inferred meaning:

- (8) Orest:
 By heauen you shall not, nay, I am decreed,
 Doe teare, teare me, yes, I haue deseru'd it.
 Cass.:
 O braue, O braue, hee's mad as well as I;
 I'me glad my madnes **hath got** companie.
 Thomas Gofe, *Orestes*, 1633 (LION).
- (9) There mournes another her vnhappy state,
 Held euer in restraint, and in suspect:
 Another to her trusty confident,
 Laments how she is matcht to such a one As
 cannot giue a woman her content. Another
 grieues how shee **hath got** a foole,
 Whose bed, although she loath, she must endure.
 Samuel Daniels, *Hymens Trivmph*, 1623 (LION).

Example (8) allows both an ‘onset of possession’ and a ‘stative possession’ reading. Cassius has just learned of Orest’s fate and his line might be read as a comment on this particular recent development. On that reading ‘stative possession’ would have the status of a conversational implicature only. On the other hand, Cassius’s line might also be read as a comment on the present state of affairs, where he is not alone in his madness. On this reading ‘stative possession’ could be argued to be fully semanticized.

A stronger case for semanticization can be made in (9). While *shee hath got a foole* admits both onset and stative readings, the inference of stative possession is very strong and reinforced by the context, where *vnhappy state* suggests a preoccupation with a present state rather than with how it came about.

Full semanticization is marked by the attestation of contexts which no longer admit the formerly coded meaning but only the formerly implied meaning. For ‘stative possession’ this is the context of inalienable possession, which is no longer compatible with the formerly coded meaning ‘onset of possession’. HAVE GOT starts to be attested in contexts of inalienable possession during the second half of the 17th century, as illustrated in (10) from the 1659 *The London Chaunticleres*.

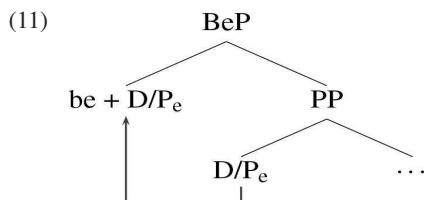
- (10) Pox:
 o'th' ugly Baboon, she **has got a face** like a Bartholmew fair baby, and **a mouth**
 like the whale that swallow'd a whole fleet, her fingers are rowling pins and her
 armes cowle-staffs, hang her, what shou'd women do with mony, or any thing
 that's good.
 Anonymous, *The London Chaunticleres*, 1659 (LION).

Example (10) is a clear case of inalienable possession as there is no sense of receiving one's individual body parts from somebody or something. Thus, the implicature 'stative possession' is fully semanticized here. Contexts of inalienable possession strongly support the case of HAVE GOT as a stative rather than a perfect marker. While present perfect HAVE *got(ten)* still exists with its meaning 'onset of possession' and its conversational implicature 'stative possession', the conventionalization of the implicature has led to the establishment of a new meaning, namely stative possession in the form of possessive HAVE GOT.

4. Decompositional approaches to HAVE and GET

4.1 Possessive HAVE

Decompositional accounts of HAVE go back to work by Freeze (1992) and Kayne (1993, 2000), where HAVE is the spellout of an empty preposition D/P_e incorporating into a verbal head that contains copula BE as illustrated in (11).



The concept of decompositional HAVE is extended and refined in Harley (1998, 2002, 2004) within the framework of Distributed Morphology. The abstract preposition D/P_e is recast as P_{HAVE} ; a regular vP is substituted for Kayne's BeP.

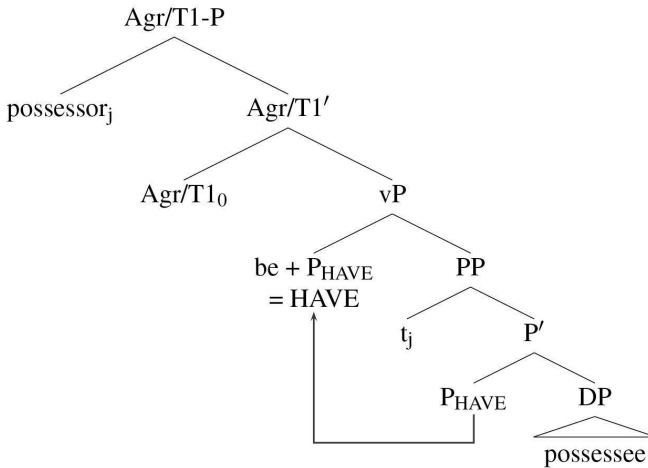
The meaning of P_{HAVE} is argued to be completely relational, "establishing a connection between two arguments but otherwise not contributing anything to their interpretation" (Harley 1998: 197).

The possessor-possessee relation is established via the structural configuration of Spec P_{HAVE} and the complement of P_{HAVE} . If the complement of P_{HAVE} contains an overt element co-referent with Spec P_{HAVE} , a locative reading is established. If the complement of P_{HAVE} does not contain an overt element co-referent with Spec P_{HAVE} , a possessor-possessee relation between the two is established, as illustrated in (12) and (13) (*cf.* Ritter and Rosen 1997 for a similar account).

(12) Calvin has a marble in his mouth. (locational reading)

(13) Calvin has a marble in a jar. (possessive reading)
Harley (2002: 202).

(14)



Thus, P_{HAVE} selects for two DPs which are assigned the roles of possessor and possessee by virtue of their structural configuration as specifier and non-co-referent complement of P_{HAVE} . The possessor then raises to Spec TP for EPP reasons (Harley 2004). The complete structure adapted from Harley (2004: 262) is provided in (14) above, incorporating a hybrid Agr/T1 head in the style of Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) which will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.

The relational account of the meaning contribution of P_{HAVE} sketched out here will be used for the subsequent discussion of present perfect *HAVE got(ten)* and possessive *HAVE GOT* as it lends itself very well to a unified account of both auxiliary and non-auxiliary uses of *HAVE*, which is envisaged but not completely worked out in Kayne (1993, 2000).

4.2. Auxiliary HAVE

For the auxiliary use of *HAVE*, Kayne's D/P_c does not take a possessee DP complement but a verbal complement, resulting in a "particular kind of nominalization, that is, a verbal (participial) structure embedded in a DP that is akin to a CP" (Kayne 2000: 111). The participial status of the verb and the assignment of present perfect meaning is handled within the framework of Giorgi and Pianesi's (1997) minimalist instantiation of the Split-Infl hypothesis, where "separate AGR_S and T categories are projected only when there is positive evidence in the morphosyntax" (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 69-70).

Giorgi and Pianesi (1997) build on Reichenbach's differentiation between speech time, event time and reference time and postulate two T-projections, T1

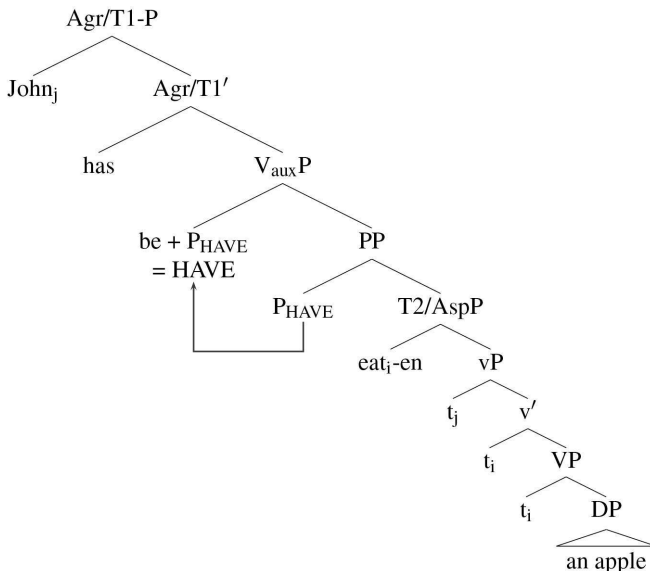
and T2, whose different values describe the relationship between reference time and speech time and reference time and event time. T-projections assign T-roles to event positions in the thematic grid of verbs. Every T has to have a verbal complement (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 27-30).

For the English present, past and future tenses a hybrid Agr/T1 head is postulated, which checks person and number on the subject and assigns nominative case, assigns a T-role to the verb and expresses the relation of the eventive variable of the verb to the speech event, as illustrated for present tense possessive HAVE in (14) above (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 70-71).

For the English present perfect two hybrid tense heads are postulated, Agr/T1 and T2/Asp. Agr/T1 checks nominative case, assigns a T-role to auxiliary HAVE in V_{aux} and ensures that the eventive variable of the auxiliary is coextensive with the speech event. T2/Asp assigns the aspectual value of 'consequent state' to the event denoted by vP and enters into a relationship with the eventive variable of V_{aux} (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 27-30, 38, 99-101). The notion of consequent state is conceptualized as a derivative rather than a primitive eventuality.

A consequent state is defined as a set of eventualities whose *left* temporal boundary co-incides with the *right* temporal boundary of a culminated event. Participial morphology thus has a two-fold function. It turns the event denoted by the vP into a culminated, topologically closed event and introduces the notion of 'consequent state' (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 97-99).

(15) John has eaten an apple



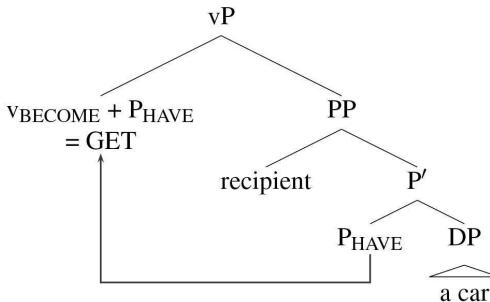
The relationship of T2/Asp with the eventive variable of V_{aux} then ensures that any event which follows the right temporal boundary of the V_{aux} variable will also follow the right temporal boundary of the consequent state variable (Giorgi and Pianesi 1997: 111-114). Within a framework that views the meaning contribution of P_{HAVE} as relational only, it can now be argued that the structural configuration of P_{HAVE} and the participle in T2/Asp assigns auxiliary verb status to HAVE. The full structure is provided in (15) above.

4.3. Decomposing GET

The most influential decompositional accounts of GET use the relational account of the meaning of possession sketched out in section 4.1 and postulate an additional inchoative marker (Harley 2004; McIntyre 2005, 2010). The structural configuration of two DPs as specifier and non-co-referent complement of P_{HAVE} posited for possessive HAVE is also part of GET and accounts for the ‘possession’ component.

The inchoative or ‘onset’ component in GET is identified as an additional v_{BECOME} in Harley (2004) and McIntyre (2005) and as $v_{CAUSE[-AG]}$, a causer-less causative marker, in McIntyre (2010). As both analyses fit my purpose equally well, the former will be adopted for simplicity’s sake. The whole structure is illustrated in (16), adapted from Harley (2004: 9).

(16) ...get a car (‘receive’).

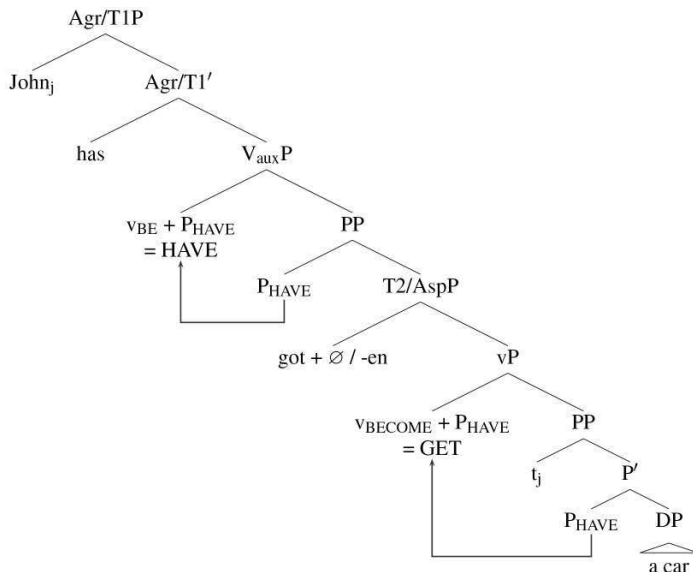


The combination of this structure with the one outlined for the present perfect in section 4.2 yields (17) for present perfect HAVE *got(ten)* ‘have received’. Note that there are two incorporation sites now. The meaning complex ‘onset of possession’ is contributed by v_{BECOME} in combination with the structural configuration of two DPs as specifier and non-coreferent complement of the lower P_{HAVE} .

The lower incorporation site has P_{HAVE} incorporate into v_{BECOME} and spell out as *get*, which subsequently moves to T2/Asp where it is assigned the

status of a past participle and marks ‘consequent state’. In American English the participle ending spells out as *-en*, in British English it spells out as \emptyset (cf. section 1).

- (17) John has got(ten) a car (from Mary).



The upper incorporation site has P_{HAVE} incorporate into v_{BE} and combine with T2/Asp, resulting in auxiliary HAVE in V_{aux} . Present perfect meaning is established via the relations between the two T-projections.

5. From present perfect HAVE *got(ten)* to possessive HAVE GOT

As outlined in section 1, differences between present perfect HAVE *got(ten)* and possessive HAVE GOT can be found with respect to the temporal reference of the expressions, the thematic role of the subject, the meaning contribution of GET, the status of *got(ten)* as a participle and the auxiliary properties of HAVE, as summarized in table 1.

The main aim of the present section is to frame these differences as direct consequences of the conventionalization of the conversational implicature ‘stative possession’ as outlined in sections 2 and 3, following the rationale that the conventionalization of a formerly only implied meaning can indeed have consequences for the structural make-up of an expression.

Most of the changes will be argued to be ultimately due to the difference in temporal reference between the original coded meaning ‘onset of possession’ and the conventionalized or semanticized meaning ‘stative possession’.

	HAVE <i>got(ten)</i>	HAVE GOT
temporal reference	pre-present	present
thematic role of subject	recipient	possessor
GET	‘onset of possession’	‘possession’
status of <i>got(ten)</i>	past participle	verb
status of HAVE	auxiliary	defective auxiliary

Table 1. Differences between present perfect HAVE *got(ten)* and possessive HAVE GOT

According to Declerck (2006), the present perfect locates an event in the so-called pre-present time zone, a time zone which precedes the utterance time t_0 . The present tense, on the other hand, locates an event not prior to but directly at t_0 (Declerck 2006: 148-149).

The coded and the conversationally implied meanings of HAVE *got(ten)* locate the event in different “time zones”. The coded meaning ‘have received’ locates the event in the pre-present time zone. The conversationally implied meaning ‘stative possession’, on the other hand, locates the event in the present time zone. During the conventionalization process the location of the event eventually switches from the pre-present to the present time zone.

Following Giorgi and Pianesi (1997), what changes during the conventionalization process is the ‘consequent state’ variable in T2/Asp, which introduced the meaning component of a set of eventualities situated to the *right* of the temporal boundary of the event denoted by vP.

HAVE GOT ‘stative possession’ no longer contains the meaning component of a set of eventualities following the event denoted by the vP. The loss of the ‘consequent state’ variable has direct consequences for V_{aux} , as the eventive variable in V_{aux} can no longer enter into a relationship with the eventive variable of ‘consequent state’ (*cf.* the discussion of the present perfect in section 4.2).

These changes have far-reaching consequences for the structural make-up of the present perfect expression HAVE *got(ten)* as depicted in (17). The consequences will be discussed in turn, starting at ground zero of the structure, as it were.

One of the few things which remain relatively intact is the expression of possessive meaning. While there is a change in the semantic role of the subject from *recipient* to *possessor*, it is a fairly straightforward one. Semantically, the

role of recipient is closely related to the role of possessor. Recipients have been described as “prospective possessors” (Pinker 1989: 48) and as “projected possessors” (Goldsmith 1980: 429, see also Green 1974, Goldberg 1995).

Structurally, both recipients and possessors are base-generated in Spec P_{HAVE} , as illustrated in (14) for HAVE ‘possess’ and (16) for GET ‘receive’ above. The structural configuration of P_{HAVE} , Spec P_{HAVE} , and the complement of P_{HAVE} remains intact during the conventionalization process and accounts for the possessive meaning of HAVE GOT.

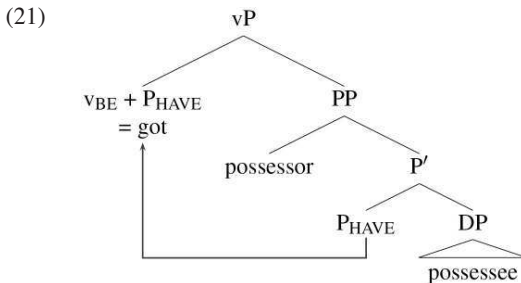
The change in the meaning contribution of GET is similarly straightforward. The inchoative component v_{BECOME} is not compatible with the semanticized meaning ‘stative possession’ and is dropped (*cf.* Gronemeyer 1999: 26). The absence of the eventive component v_{BECOME} from HAVE GOT can be illustrated with the help of the adverbial modification test (*cf.* Embick 2004: 357, 363). While HAVE *got(ten)* allows modification by a manner adverbial, possessive HAVE GOT behaves like HAVE_{POSS} in that it does not allow this type of modification, as illustrated in (18)–(20).

(18) John has quickly got(ten) a car. (‘onset of possession’)

(19) *John has quickly got a car. (‘stative possession’)

(20) *John quickly has a car. (‘stative possession’)

The absence of v_{BECOME} immediately raises questions about the make-up of the lower incorporation site of the expression. As outlined above, the structural configuration of P_{HAVE} and its specifier and complement is still intact and signals possession. The spellout remains intact as *got*. It will be argued here that during the semanticization process v_{BE} is substituted for v_{BECOME} and serves as a new incorporation site for the lower P_{HAVE} , as illustrated in (21).

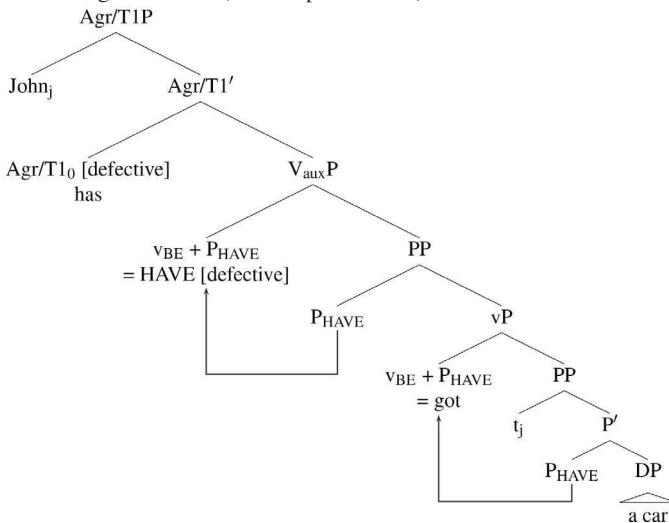


The spellout *got* at PF does not change to *have* (as might be expected for the incorporation of P_{HAVE} into v_{BE}) but is kept due to the shared meaning component of possession in both HAVE_{POSS} and GET ‘receive’ (*cf.* Quinn 2009: 228 for a similar argument within a slightly different framework).

The change in the value of the aspectual variable in T2/Asp can be observed most clearly in American English, where the past participle of GET spells out as *gotten*, while *got* is reserved for the possessive expression. The absence of the participial ending *-en* on the surface level clearly signals a loss of the notion of ‘consequent state’ here. In British English, on the other hand, the loss of ‘consequent state’ is evidenced only in the change of temporal reference but does not have any immediate repercussions on the surface level as *got* is the spellout in both the present perfect and the possessive expression (*cf.* section 1).

Variation between *got(ten)* and *got* as participle forms in earlier stages of British English as reported in Crowell (1959: 285) may have aided the loss of the meaning component of ‘consequent state’ through the process of exaptation, as learners assigned different meanings to the two forms (McIntyre 2010: 22, footnote 23).

- (22) John has got a car. (‘stative possession’)



There are good reasons for the assumption that it is not only the value ‘consequent state’ which is lost. As only complex tenses in English have both a T1 and a T2 projection (*cf.* section 4.2), the switch from present perfect to simple present during the semanticization process entails a loss of the whole T2/Asp projection. Structurally, this leaves HAVE GOT hanging, as it were, as a frozen hybrid of two different structures, as illustrated in (22) above.

The lower part is identical to that for HAVE_{poss} as illustrated in (14) save for the special spellout *got* (as per the discussion above). The *vP*, however, cannot behave like a regular *vP* as it is prevented from combining directly with *Agr/T1* and being assigned person, number and tense. *V_{aux}* is still present

either as a full form or a clitic, with a preference for the latter form (McIntyre 2010: 22).

Cases of complete elision of V_{aux} have been reported for American English, British English dialects and for African American Vernacular English but will not be discussed in detail here (Crowell 1959; Tagliamonte 2003; Howe 2005).

V_{aux} still has some of its auxiliary verb properties in HAVE GOT, as it negates directly and raises to Agr/T1 to be assigned person, as illustrated in examples (23a)-(24b). Dialectal material from Shropshire, Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire in Great Britain also shows Agr/T1 assigning tense, with past tense instances of HAVE GOT as illustrated in examples (25)-(27) (*cf.* Schulz 2012a).

- (23) a. We **haven't got** any cheesecake.
 b. *We **don't have got** any cheesecake.
 Quirk *et al.* (1985: 131-132).
- (24) a. John **has** got a car.
 b. I **have** got a car.
- (25) And, I think the band consisted of a drum, and one bloke **had got** a trumpet I think [...] it looked big enough for me to sleep in as a kid.
 Midlands (Nottinghamshire, NTT_16).
- (26) Yes, we had to resort to the candle when we **hadn't got** a penny, and that'd be a light.
 Midlands (Shropshire, SAL_17).
- (27) There was a major **he'd only got** one eye, he'd, he had us all lined up after we'd been riding around.
 Midlands (Nottinghamshire, SAL_02).

On the other hand, HAVE GOT does not have the gerund available to it, as illustrated in (28), which does not allow for a possessive reading, and has been reported to be marginal in combinations with other auxiliaries, as illustrated in (29).

- (28) She almost regrets **having got** a Ph.D.
- (29) ?She **may have got** plenty of money but that doesn't mean she can push us around.
 Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 112).

It is argued here that this type of partial defectiveness can be attributed to the impact of the loss of Asp/T2. In section 4.2 it was argued that the configuration of P_{HAVE} and its Asp/T2 complement assigns auxiliary verb status to HAVE. The loss of Asp/T2 destroys this configuration. P_{HAVE} still incorporates into vP_{BE} , spells out as *have* or *has* and can precede a NEG head. Combinations

with other auxiliaries, however, and infinitival forms are no longer an option. At the present stage we can only speculate why some auxiliary properties “survive” and others do not.

Agr/T1 still performs some of the functions it performed in the present perfect expression. It checks person and number, assigns nominative case and makes sure that the eventive variable of the auxiliary is coextensive with the speech event. Coextensiveness with the speech event effectively signals present tense, as Agr/T1 can no longer enter into a relationship with the consequent state variable of T2/Asp, which established reference to the pre-present time zone in the present perfect expression.

On the other hand, the loss of the relationship between Agr/T1 and T2/Asp renders Agr/T1 defective in some sense, freezing it in the form it had in those contexts in which ‘stative possession’ was semanticized. It cannot usually, for example, assign any other tense than present, as past tense uses of HAVE GOT are reported to be exceedingly rare to non-existent (see section 1).

6. Conclusion and outlook

The present paper has argued that possessive HAVE GOT developed out of present perfect HAVE *got(ten)* ‘onset of possession’ via the conventionalization or semanticization of the conversational implicature ‘stative possession’. The conventionalization and subsequent semanticization of ‘stative possession’ trigger a change in temporal reference from the pre-present to the present, a loss of the participial status of *got(ten)*, a loss of the eventive component v_{BECOME} in GET and a change of the thematic role of the subject from recipient to possessor. Structurally, HAVE GOT can be argued to be a hybrid of a present perfect and a present tense expression, incorporating structural features of both. The heart of the changes can be located in the loss of the Asp/T2 projection, which renders both V_{aux} and Agr/T1 defective and limits HAVE GOT to non-modalized, finite, present tense affirmative or negative statements.

As an anonymous reviewer of this paper has pointed out, the pragmatic, semantic and structural changes outlined here are idiosyncratic to stative HAVE GOT, rather than a productive pattern found throughout the language. This is mainly due to the expression-specific interaction between the meanings carried by the present perfect and the semantics of GOT, where ‘onset of possession’ develops into ‘stative possession’ and triggers a number of structural changes. The processes outlined here do have some value beyond an exercise in the development of an idiomatic verb complex in English, though, as they provide further evidence of work in grammaticalization that postulates effects of changes in the pragmatics and semantics of an expression on its syntax (*cf.* Diewald 2002).

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article défend l'idée que le possessif HAVE GOT dérive du *present perfect* HAVE *got(ten)* (exprimant la « prise de possession ») via la conventionnalisation ou sémanticisation de l'implicature conversationnelle « *stative possession* » (Traugott & König 1991, Traugott & Dasher 2003). Les différences structurelles entre ces deux expressions sont définies dans les cadres théoriques du Programme Minimaliste et la Morphologie Distribuée (Chomsky 1995, Halle & Marantz 1993). Le processus de conventionnalisation produit plusieurs changements, dont : un décalage de la référence temporelle du pré-présent au présent, une disparition du statut participial de *got(ten)*, une disparition du composant événementiel dans GET et un passage du rôle thématique du sujet de récipiendaire à possesseur. HAVE GOT reçoit une analyse hybride qui réunit des traits structurels d'expressions au *present perfect* et au présent.

MOTS-CLÉS

Possession, possessif HAVE, auxiliaire HAVE, *present perfect*, conventionnalisation d'implicatures conversationnelles, sémanticisation, décomposition lexicale.

