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## On HAVE and BE

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## On HAVE and BE

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### 1. Introduction<sup>1</sup>

1.1. It has recently been proposed, on the basis of partial overlap in the distribution of HAVE and BE, that HAVE is but an augmented form of BE. This paper argues that the two verbs are lexically distinct and offers an explanation for the partial overlap.

### 1.2. Distribution of HAVE and BE.

Main verb have appears in structures denoting possession, existence, and location, and in predications. Auxiliary have governs all active past participles in English.

- (1) John has a/the book.
- (2) Il y a un livre sur la table.  
(It there has a book on the table  
= There is a book on the table)
- (3) John has blue eyes.
- (4) John has money on him.
- (5) a. Mary has eaten/ broken the jug.  
b. Mary has arrived.

Replacing have by be in (1) - (5) results in ungrammaticality.

- (6) \* John is the book.
  - (7) \* Il y est un livre sur la table.
  - (8) \* John is blue eyes.
- 

1. Thanks to the Possession Group, GDR 120, CNRS and especially F. Nicol and L. Nash for comments on this work.

- (9) \* John is the money on him.  
 (10) a. \* Mary is eaten/ broken the jug.  
 b. \* Mary is arrived.

The contrast (5) vs. (10) is not universal, however. (10b) is grammatical and (5b) ungrammatical in many Romance and Germanic languages (cf. (11a)). And Kayne (1993) reports on Central Italian dialects in which transitive and unergative verbs take auxiliary be (cf. (11b)).

- (11) a. Jean est/ \*a arrivé.  
 Hans ist/ \*hat gekommen.  
 (John is arrived)  
 b. Maria è magnato/ róttà la bbròcca.  
 (Maria is eaten/ broken the jug)

Moreover, although HAVE in (1) cannot be replaced by BE + NOMINATIVE subject, equivalent sentences exist with BE + DATIVE subject.

## 2. The Benveniste-Freeze-Kayne (BFK) hypothesis

2.1. Citing widespread possessive alternations like (12a)/(12b), Benveniste (1966) proposes that the two structures are equivalent (cf. (13)).

- (12) a. mihi est pecunia  
 DAT NOM  
 (to me is money)  
 b. pro habeo pecuniam.  
 NOM ACC  
 (I have money)  
 (13) "Avoir n'est rien autre qu'un être à inversé".  
 (HAVE is nothing but BE + P (à) turned around)

Freeze (1992), going one step further, derives possessive have from BE plus incorporated abstract P in syntax.

Kayne (1993) expands this hypothesis. Generalising Szabolsci's (1983) analysis of the Hungarian possessive DP, Kayne posits BE as the universal auxiliary taking a DP complement. In (14a), the DP contains a possessor subject and an abstract Prepositional/Determiner head D/P°. If the possessor DP gets DATIVE case in Spec DP, it may stay in situ or else raise to Spec VP and Spec IP, deriving Ss like (12a) in Latin, Hungarian, Hindi, Russian, etc. Otherwise the possessor DP raises to Spec VP and Spec IP for NOM case. For technical reasons, the D/P° head then also raises to BE. BE + D/P° is spelled out as have in (14b), deriving (1) or (12b) in English, French, Latin, etc.

- (14) a. [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> BE [<sub>DP</sub> John<sub>poss</sub> [<sub>D/P°</sub> [<sub>QP/NP</sub> a book]  
 [DAT]]]]  
 b. [<sub>VP</sub> John<sub>poss/i</sub> [<sub>V'</sub> P/D°<sub>j</sub> + BE [<sub>DP</sub> t<sub>i</sub> t<sub>j</sub> a book]  
 [NOM]  
 John has a book



hypothesis wrongly predicts the existence in languages of the structures in (18), as Kayne points out.

- (18) a. \* John has [t happy]  
 b. \* John has [t a doctor] (= John is a doctor)  
 c. \* John has [t beaten t at chess by Mary]  
 d. \* John has [t writing a book]

2.2.3. If have and be are the same lexical item, they should select the same complement types. But they do not. For example, Have, unlike be, is incompatible with episodic complements. ((19) is adapted from Vikner and Sprouse (1988).)

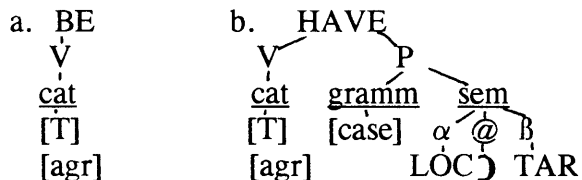
- (19) a. The door seems to be open.  
 b. \*? The door has seemed to be open. (Eng. have)  
 c. La porta è sembrata essere aperta. (Ital. be)

### 3. An alternative analysis.

3.1. Our analysis of have is essentially the BFK analysis "turned around".

Have is not BE plus a P acquired in syntax. It is a complex lexical item consisting of BE + P. Moreover, the P contained in have is not a determiner - the morphology and semantics of determiners indicates they should be assimilated to pronominals - but a *predicate*, like other Preps.

(20) Lexical entries of BE and HAVE.



We propose that BE contains only the categorial Fs of a verb, Tense and Agr. HAVE has a verbal segment and a P segment. As a verb, HAVE contains the same categorial Fs as BE. As a Prep, it has a grammatical F for case and a semantic structure which licenses two arguments. A Prep defines a spatial relation between a Target and a Location, as defined in Vandeloise (1986), p.20 (trans. JG).

(21) ...these prepositions [derrière/devant] which situate a small mobile object whose position is unidentified (the Target) with respect to a bigger and more stable object whose position is known (the Location).

We suggest that the P in have defines a relation of *inclusion* of the Target in the Location, like à in French "Jean habite à Paris" or in in English "John lives in

Paris". 1, 2

3.2. The semantic relation of inclusion which its incorporated P denotes remains constant over the syntactic distribution of the verb have.

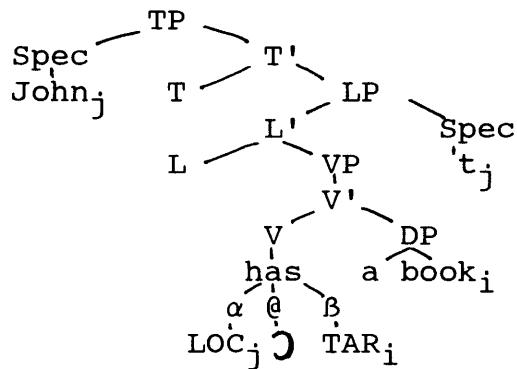
### 3.2.1. Possessive have

We associate (1) with (22). This structure has two subject positions, a spatial subject position, Spec Loc(ative)P, and a temporal subject position, Spec T(ense)P.

The P in have licenses two arguments, a Target and a Location. The Target a book is governed by a verb with case and theta-role features.<sup>3</sup> The Location John is generated in Spec LocP, where it saturates the external  $\Theta$ -role of have and then raises to Spec TP.

We have not shown AGR phrases but assume that the Target checks an ACC case F in AGRO, while the Location checks a NOM case F in AGRS (cf. Chomsky (1992)). LocP projects no AGRP of its own, but raises to and merges with T in LF.

(22) John has a book.



Spec LP and Spec TP are scopal positions. We propose that a VP which denotes a situation with a spatial extension licenses a locative subject (L-subject) which locates this situation in a spatial domain and defines its limits. (22) means that a book is included in a space physically defined by John. If the object were an idea instead of a

1. The order of LOC and TAR in (20) is arbitrary. The semantic relation P defines is spatial, not linear. Linearization of the arguments of P depends on the syntactic context, in ways which remain to be clarified. In general, a PP sc has the order TAR-LOC (cf. (35a) and (36a)), while a V incorporating a prep in the lexicon or a particle in syntax manifests the order LOC-TAR (cf. (22), (35b) and (36b)). Thanks to T. Kroch for a provocative question on this point at NELS.

2. Hale and Keyser (1993) p.105, suggest that "the English possessive verb 'have' ... is probably a realization of the universal category P, not V". For us, have realizes V and is just one of many verbs, like own or hold, which lexically incorporate a P. However, the leading idea that the transitivity of have is due to its P content (K. Hale p.c.) is the same.

3. On the case-assigning property of have, cf. Tremblay (1991).

book, the meaning of the S would be identical, with John defining a mental instead of a bodily space. If the object were a mountain on Jupiter, John would define a legal space.

A temporal subject (T-subject) functions as the temporal controller of the spatial situation which LP denotes, maintaining the situation over the time interval T. So the complete meaning of (22) is that John is maintaining the spatial situation "John have a book" over the present time interval.

The hypothesis that the subject of have is a T-subject as well as an L-subject accounts for the hitherto unexplained contrast in (23).

- (23) a. John has a book.  
b. \* The table has a book.

Have in conjunction with a DP complement defines a situation with a duration which needs a temporal controller.<sup>1</sup> An inanimate object like a table is not an appropriate controller, for it lacks the mobility, will, etc. to maintain the spatial relation of inclusion of a book in its boundaries over time.

Semantic scope corresponds to syntactic c-command. The hypothesis that the L-subject takes scope over a VP denoting a spatial extension, while the T-subject takes scope over an LP denoting a bounded configuration accounts for the hierarchical asymmetry between the T-subject, the L-subject, and the direct object. The minimal content we assign to VP and LP as spatial domains and to TP as a temporal domain motivates semantic constraints on L and T subjects, and should, when properly developed, eliminate the need for a thematic hierarchy. For example, an AGENT is a DP with properties of autonomy which allow it to function as a T-subject.

In possessive sentences like (1), the same DP functions as L-subject and T-subject. However, just as some VPs semantically license a T-subject but not an L-subject, in particular, those containing intransitive verbs, other VPs license an L-subject but not a T-subject. The latter contain epistemic and psychological verbs. In the Ss of (24), the situation which VP denotes has a (mental) spatial extension but lacks temporal duration. So only an L-subject, which locates the situation in a (mental) space, is licensed.<sup>2</sup>

.....

1. Have must therefore have some F which is construed in LF as implying temporal duration in the context of a DP complement. We propose that this F is a spatial F [+extension] of the P segment of have in British English but an aspectual F [+duration] of the V segment of have in American English. If we assume that aspectual content prevents verb raising to Infl, we can account for the fact that possessive have raises to Infl in British but not in American dialects of English.

2. The L-subject in (24c) (and in (26a) below) asymmetrically c-commands the D.O. but doesn't precede it. Our representation of the L-subject to the right of the D.O. is not incompatible with Kayne's (1994) hypothesis that asymmetric c-command translates as linear precedence, if we take seriously Kayne's intuition that this relation is based on the time dimension. The L-subject defines a *spatial* not a temporal relation. However, when the L-subject is also a T-subject, as in possessive structures, it occurs to the left of the object it asymmetrically c-commands, as expected in Kayne's framework.

- (24) a. Il me semble que la terre est plate.  
 (It me seems that the earth is flat)  
 b. Methinks it is like a weasel (Hamlet, III,2)  
 c. Il est arrivé une catastrophe à Pierre.  
 (It happened a catastrophe to Pierre)

An L-subject is *syntactically* licensed by case assignment to the direct object and *semantically* licensed by the spatial extension which a P-containing V plus its direct object denote.

In (24), the L-subject checks dative case in Spec LocP. We propose that the abstract P of a dative DP is a mark of Spec-head agreement in the absence of phi-F agreement. The status of this abstract P is parallel to that of "genitive" 's in Kayne's (1993) analysis of the English DP.

An L-subject may occur in a structure with an independent T-subject. In the inalienable possession structure (25a), the L-subject limits the spatial extension of the situation VP denotes. In (25b), a "benefactive" dative defines a psychological space which bounds the event.

- (25) a. Je lui prends la main.  
 (I take him the hand)  
 b. Je lui ai cassé sa tirelire.  
 (I broke him his piggybank)

The L-subject is also found in more complex structures in which VP denotes both a temporal and a spatial event. The causative, reflexive, and middle Ss of (26) have both a nominative T-subject and a dative L-subject.

The dative DP is syntactically licensed by case assignment to the direct object and semantically licensed by a VP denoting a spatial extension. However, because the event which VP denotes has a temporal dimension, the L-subject must also be construed as a T-subject. Here, the L-subject cannot raise to Spec TP which is occupied by the higher T-subject. Rather, the L-subject is integrated into the temporal event structure by saturating the unrealized external theta-role of the embedded predicate.<sup>1</sup>

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1. We lack space to fully justify our hypothesis that the possessive subject and the dative argument of impersonal, benefactive, causative, reflexive, and middle structures are the same syntactic element, a DP generated in Spec LP. Binding facts support the hypothesis that this element is uniformly in argument position. For example, the dative binds an inalienably possessed object DP in causative "Je fais lever la main à Jean" (I make raise the hand to John) just as in (25a). We assume binding to occur between A-positions. The ability of the dative DP to saturate an external  $\Theta$ -role in the Ss of (26) also locates it in an A-position.

The French dative DP and possessive subjects are moreover subject to the same syntactic and semantic constraints. Both require the existence of a direct object. Both are canonically animate, while the DO is canonically inanimate:

- (i) Je lui prends la main/\* le fils.



- (26) a. Je fais lire le livre à Jean.  
 (I make read the book to John)  
 b. Jean se lave les mains.  
 (Jean to self washes the hands)  
 c. Les pommes se mangent en automne.  
 (The apples to self eat in autumn =  
 One eats apples in autumn)

### 3.2.2. *Predicational have*

"Situational" sentences and "predicational" sentences have different properties.

(i) The subject of an S denoting a situation (event or state) has a *theta-role*: the subject denotes a participant in a situation associated with an e-role. The subject of a predication has no theta role, but merely identifies a pronominal in an independently saturated predicate.

In the structures of (27), associated with (3) and (4) above, the predicate DP or PP is saturated internally, and the subject John binds a PRO or a lexical pronoun in the predicate. (In (27a), PRO<sub>i</sub> is raised to a DP-internal A-bar position from the position of complement of the head N eyes (cf. Guéron, 1985, Tellier, 1990)).

- (27) a. John<sub>i</sub> has [<sub>DP</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> blue eyes t<sub>i</sub>] (= (3))  
 b. John<sub>i</sub> has [<sub>PP</sub> money on him<sub>i</sub>] (= (4))

(ii) The subject of a situation *controls* the duration of the situation. Possessive have, which assigns case and theta-roles, is associated with an e-role, so its subject must be a suitable controller. This constraint ruled out the inanimate subject of (23b) above. When have assigns no case or theta-roles, the S is analysed as a predication. As a predication has no duration, its subject has no controller function, and inanimate subjects are fine, as shown below.

- (28) a. \* The table has a book. (= (23b))  
 b. The table<sub>i</sub> has [<sub>DP</sub> PRO<sub>i</sub> three legs t<sub>i</sub>]  
 c. The table<sub>i</sub> has [<sub>PP</sub> a book on it<sub>i</sub>]

-----  
 ...Continued...

- (I take him the hand/\* the son.)  
 (ii) Elle fera lire un livre/\* tuer Jacques à Pierre.  
 (She will make read a book/\* kill Jacques to Pierre)  
 (iii) Les oeufs/\* Pierre et Jean se battent vigoureusement.  
 (One beats eggs/\* Pierre and Jean vigorously).

As for have, an animate object changes its status from a locative to an aspectual verb, and blocks raising to Infl, as with all English verbs with aspectual content.

- (iv) a. John has some/the money. John hasn't any/the money. Has John any/the money?  
 b. John (still) has Mary. \* John hasn't Mary. \* Has John Mary?

(iii) Predications manifest a definiteness effect (DE). An indefinite DP contains an open position, which we analyse as an empty operator in Spec DP, which the subject identifies. Alongside "personal" predications like "John is a doctor", existential structures are "locative" predications".<sup>1</sup>

In (29a) below, VP denotes a spatial extension which semantically licenses an L-subject. As BE is an empty verb with no case or theta-role Fs, the S does not denote a situation and there is no "controller" constraint on the subject. Inherently locative there raises to Spec TP for case. We propose that there functions as a *resumptive pronoun* denoting the discourse time and place. There assigns its inherent locative F to copula BE under a form of "dynamic" Spec-head agreement proposed in Rizzi (1991) for interrogative Ss. The empty verb is then construed as predicating a spatial property of pronominal there. Predication semantically satisfies the inclusion relation which the P content of have defines: the property which VP denotes is included in the set of properties which the subject denotes.<sup>2</sup>

(29) a. There is a book on the table. (cf. (16a))

There<sub>i</sub> T + BE<sub>i</sub> [LP [VP t [DP Op<sub>i</sub> a book]] t<sub>i</sub> ...]  
[+LOC] [+LOC]

French has a weak form of avoir (cf. 4.1 below) which assigns ACC case but lacks lexical content. In (29b), weak avoir takes two arguments, un livre and y. Y lacks the semantic attributes of a controller, so it can't be construed as possessor of un livre. The principle of Full Interpretation is respected by incorporation of y to avoir, creating an unaccusative locative verb. In (29b), the spatial extension which VP denotes is predicated of the resumptive pronoun il. Here, we assume that the locative F shared with il under Spec-head agreement originates in the predicate.

1. On the identity of existential and locative structures, see, e.g. Lyons (1967), also Guéron (1984).

2. Higginbotham (1987) considers and rejects a predicational analysis of there Ss, wrongly, we believe. Contrasts like (i) vs (ii), invoked by H., seem to us purely pragmatic: different properties are predicated of persons and of time/place pairs. Contrary to H., we do not even find (ii) ungrammatical, given the right context, for example as the answer to "What considerations can possibly prevent you from firing that inefficient fellow John?".

(i) John is everything I respect.

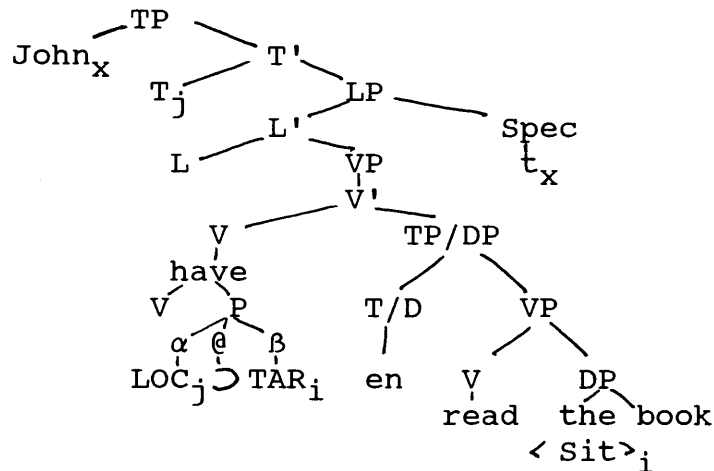
(ii) (\*) There is everything I respect about John.

(29) b. Il y a un livre sur la table.<sup>1</sup> (cf. (16b))

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{Il}_i \text{ y}_i + a \text{ } [_{\text{LP}} [_{\text{VP}} t [_{\text{DP}} \text{Op}_i \text{ un livre}]] t_i \\ [+ \text{LOC}] \quad [+ \text{LOC}] \end{array}$$

3.2.3. Auxiliary have also denotes inclusion of a Target in a Location. Here, the Target is not a DP denoting a *thing*, but a DP/TP denoting a *resulting situation*. Since the Target is not concrete, the Location is not a physical space. Rather, we suggest, the Location is the temporal interval which T denotes. The semantics of inclusion shifted to the temporal domain corresponds precisely to the traditional grammatical analysis of the present perfect as a Past-in-the-Present.

(30) John has read the book.



We propose that case assignment to a TP/DP closes the DP and prevents raising from within it. The hypothesis that auxiliary have is a case assigner accounts for the ungrammaticality of the Ss of (18), which require raising from a small clause, as well as that of (19b) if we suppose that epistemic verbs raise to Comp in LF to predicate a state of the Reference Time interval.<sup>2</sup>

This analysis implies that John does not raise from a participial Spec TP position in (30). We claim, moreover, that there is no such position. The lack of person agreement in (embedded) participial structures suggests that perfect participles lack both AGRS and TP and therefore can't accommodate a T-subject or controller (=AGENT). That they also lack LP is shown by the absence of dative subjects in Romance participles. L can't exist without T, with which it merges in LF.

1. In the Spanish equivalent of (29b), hay un libro, the locative dative is *lexically* incorporated into the verb haber. This precludes derivation of at least this instance of haber from BE + P in syntax. As for French, if avoir derives from BE + P, then y+avoir is derived by incorporation of locative y to a complex element [P + BE]. Such a complex incorporation process needs independent justification.

2. Following Enç (1987), we situate Reference time in Comp and Event Time in Infl.

We propose that in (30), as in causative (26a) above, John is a Benefactive argument syntactically licensed by case assignment to participial TP/DP. However, here the L-subject is not semantically licensed by a VP denoting a spatial extension. A participial TP/DP has no spatial extension: it denotes the result or last sub-event of the event the VP denotes. The entire structure has a temporal extension, however, licensed by the lexical aktionsart of have mentioned earlier. The L-subject is integrated into the entire structure by saturating the external theta-role of the embedded participle and functioning as the T-subject in Spec TP.

3.3. The arguments of main verb have are objects and human beings. The arguments of auxiliary have are times and situations. This sort of "typeshifting" is extremely rare for other spatial verbs such as own, get, hold or take. But it is typical of a subset of prepositions.

For example, in (31a), to in VP defines the spatial trajectory of a concrete Target, the book, towards a physical Location, Max. In (31b), however, to in Infl defines the modal trajectory of a Target which is a situation at the event time towards a Location which is a situation at a projected time.

- (31) a. I sent a book to Max.  
b. John wants to leave.

In (32a), with defines a relation of spatial contiguity between a Target John and a Location Mary. In (32b), however, the Target is the situation at the reference time which the adverbial denotes, and the Location is the situation at a projected time which the main S denotes. Contiguity of situations is interpreted by discourse rules as causality.

- (32) a. John is with Mary this evening.  
b. With John sick, we will lose the game.

The fact that have is unspecified for spatial or temporal arguments, like a subset of prepositions, supports our hypothesis that the sole lexical content of have is prepositional.

Other spatial verbs, like own, get, hold, take, etc., plausibly contain the same incorporated P denoting an inclusion relation as have.<sup>1</sup> These verbs do not function as auxiliaries, however. We suggest that these verbs contain verbal aspectual content in addition to their incorporated P. For example, own would have a [+durative] F and get a [+ingressive] change-of-state F. Assume that the aspectual content of a Verb is licensed by Tense. If we further assume that the aspectual content of V cannot be licensed by its own argument, it follows that a V with aspectual content cannot be an auxiliary, for auxiliaries take times, or situations at times, as their arguments.

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1. According to D. Ringe (p.c. via T. Kroch), Italic and German cognates of have derive from an I.-E. verb meaning take plus stative suffix. This diachronic filiation provides support for the text proposal according to which have and take share lexical (P) content as opposed to an analysis in which have is derived from a semantically empty copula.

4. A weaker HAVE, a stronger BE

We have analysed have as a transitive verb assigning case and theta-roles, and BE as a copula with no theta or case Fs. However, UG seems to contain weaker forms of have and stronger forms of be.

4.1. A weaker have

4.1.1. Imagine a verb have with an abstract P providing a case F but lacking semantic content. This P is a kind of transitive copula. It can function as an auxiliary, assigning case to a DP/TP participle, and predicating a situation of the event Time, as copula BE does in passive Ss, but in the absence of semantic content, it can not license an L-subject. Just such a have is Spanish haber. Haber functions as an auxiliary, which as we have seen, does not semantically license an L-subject. The possessive and benefactive functions of English have are satisfied in Spanish by tener, a transitive verb which means hold and which in our analysis contains a P denoting inclusion.

- (33) a. He visto a Juan.  
       (I have seen Juan)  
       b. Tengo un libro.  
       (I have a book)  
       c. Tengo a mi hermano enfermo.  
       (I have my brother sick)

As proposed above, existential predication in French and Spanish is also based on weaker have.<sup>1</sup>

4.1.2. We suggested earlier that raising is not possible from case-marked complements. In transitive and unergative auxiliary structures, the case have assigns to its object licenses a benefactive argument which saturates the external theta-role of the participle. But suppose the participle has no external theta-role to be saturated in syntax? Then the benefactive is not necessary, and it is possible to imagine a last resort weaker have which assigns no case and allows raising, as in (34).

- (34) a. John has come.  
       b. John<sub>i</sub> has [DP/TP e<sub>i</sub> come e<sub>i</sub>]

4.2. A stronger be.<sup>2</sup>

4.2.1. The BE of possessive (12a) ("mihi est pecunia") looks like that of existential (29) ("There is a book on the table"). Yet (12a) has the properties of a situational S,

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 1. Italian uses esserci (BE+LOC DAT) for existential structures. The possessive form averci found in some dialects (cf. Moro, 1993) would derive from the incorporation of locative ci into weak have in syntax, deriving the strong locative/possessive have of section 3.2.1. above.

2. For an authoritative analysis of weak copular be vs strong existential/locative be in Russian, cf. Chvany (1975).

not those of a predicational S.<sup>1</sup>

(i) The subject is a controller. It can't be inanimate.

(ii) There is no DE.

We propose that BE in (12a) is "augmented" by an incorporated particle.<sup>2</sup> Emonds (1976) analyses the particle as an intransitive Preposition. Modifying this idea slightly, we propose that both Prep and Prt are semantically *transitive*. They differ syntactically in that both arguments of a Prep are obligatorily realized in syntax, as shown in (35a), while only the Target argument of a particle is obligatorily realized in syntax. The Location is saturated by the T/L node, as in (35b).<sup>3,4</sup>

(35) a. John went up the hill.  
 John<sub>i</sub> T+ go [PP t<sub>i</sub> up the hill<sub>j</sub>]  

$$\begin{array}{c} P \\ \alpha \quad \beta \\ \text{TAR}_i \quad \text{LOC}_j \\ \text{e} \end{array}$$

b. John went up.  
 John<sub>i</sub> T/L<sub>j</sub>+ go [PrtP t<sub>i</sub> up t<sub>i</sub>]  

$$\begin{array}{c} \text{Prt} \\ \alpha \quad \beta \\ \text{LOC}_j \quad \text{TAR}_i \\ \text{e} \end{array}$$

Transitive verbs include Preps while unaccusative verbs include particles.

(36) a. John left Mary.  
 John<sub>i</sub> T left Mary<sub>j</sub>.  

$$\begin{array}{c} V \\ \cdot \cdot \cdot \quad \text{TAR}_i \quad \text{LOC}_j \\ \text{e} \end{array}$$

1. Thanks to Alain Rouveret for discussion of the Latin possessive construction.

2. One language with a clear morphological distinction between copula BE which functions as an Inflection and augmented BE which functions as a possessive verb is Georgian, analysed in Nash (1993).

3. This difference between preps and prts may follow from the semantic constraints on Target-Location structures mentioned in an earlier note and which itself follows from the scopal analysis of the L-subject: the Target is [-inanimate] while the Location is [+animate]. A Target which is itself [+animate] cannot be contained in the space defined by a [+animate] L-subject, for it has the same properties of mobility, will, etc., as the subject. But it can be contained in the space defined by the discourse time and place.

4. For the particle as predicate, cf. Kayne (1985), Guéron (1986b), and den Dikken (1992).



(cf. Chomsky 1992). Our proposal is that dative case must be semantically licensed by a VP denoting a spatial extension. Since past participle constructions lack spatial extension, dative case on the DP generated in Spec LP would not be licensed in LF and the derivation would crash. A DP which is semantically unlicensed in Spec LP must have a nominative case F, not a dative case F, in the lexicon. The DP raises to Spec TP where it checks its nominative case F and functions as T-subject. This hypothesis makes the strong prediction that dative T-subjects are possible in possessive structures, but not in auxiliary + past participle structures.<sup>1, 2</sup>

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1. The Classical Armenian past participle construction discussed in Benveniste (1966) has a Genitive not a Dative T-subject (Lamberterrie, 1984). The Georgian past participle construction does have a dative subject (L. Nash p.c.). However, in our terms, the dative DP functions as L-subject, while the direct object, which is nominative and controls person agreement on the verb, functions as T-subject.

2. The distinction we are making between a dative spatial controller which can remain in Spec LP in French and a nominative temporal controller in Spec TP accounts for the contrast between (i) and (ii) if we assume that possession implies temporal extension, but intellectual perception has only spatial extension.

(i) \* il lui<sub>i</sub> a un livre t<sub>i</sub>.  
It to him has a book  
(cf. Jean<sub>i</sub> a un livre t<sub>i</sub>)

(ii) Il lui<sub>i</sub> semble t<sub>i</sub> que la terre est plate.  
It to him seems that the earth is flat.



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