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PARAMETERS OF HAVE/BE SELECTION IN GERMANIC AND ROMANCE

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1. Introduction.

1.1 Variation Across Germanic and Romance Languages.

A survey of the world's languages would reveal that a salient property of the Romance and Germanic languages is the existence of two items, apparently lexical verbs, exemplified by English have and be.¹ In this paper, we take the goal of a have/be selection analysis to be not the broad one of accounting for where have or be may occur and what they mean, but rather the more limited one of explaining or predicting for each occurrence of have why it may or may not be replaced by be and vice versa. Thus, we will not be concerned with the ungrammaticality of have in (1a), since be is also ungrammatical here, (1b):

- (1) It. a. *Giacomo ha stato venuto
b. *Giacomo è stato venuto
"Giacomo has/is been come"

Rather, we will try to account for the ungrammaticality of have in

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(2a), as be would be grammatical here, (2b):

- (2) It. a. *Giacomo ha venuto
 b. Giacomo è venuto
 "Giacomo has/is come"

Restricting ourselves to the Germanic languages English, Danish, and German, and the Romance languages Spanish, French, and Italian, we may note the following variation in selection:

Left side: Germanic	Right side: Romance
(almost) no auxiliary selection	
(3) English	(6) Spanish
B a. Mary is ill	B a. María está enferma
<u>B b. Mary is photographed</u>	<u>B b. María es fotografiada</u>
H c. Mary has come	H c. María ha venido
H d. Mary has been ill	H d. María ha estado enferma
H e. Mary has slept	H e. María ha dormido
H f. Mary has seen John	H f. María ha visto a Juan
H g. Mary has photographed herself	H g. María se ha fotografiado

auxiliary selection, but have is the auxiliary of be and other raising verbs

(4) Danish	(7) French
B a. Marie er syg	B a. Marie est malade
B b. Marie er fotograferet	B b. Marie est photographiée
<u>B c. Marie er kommet</u>	<u>B c. Marie est venue</u>
H d. Marie har været syg	H d. Marie a été malade
H e. Marie har sovet	H e. Marie a dormi
H f. Marie har set Hans	<u>H f. Marie a vu Jean</u>
H g. Marie har fotograferet sig selv	B g. Marie s'est photographiée

full auxiliary selection

(5) German	(8) Italian
B a. Maria ist krank	B a. Maria è malata
B b. Maria ist fotografiert	B b. Maria è fotografata
B c. Maria ist gekommen	B c. Maria è venuta
<u>B d. Maria ist krank gewesen</u>	<u>B d. Maria è stata malata</u>
H e. Maria hat geschlafen	H e. Maria ha dormito
H f. Maria hat Hans gesehen	<u>H f. Maria ha visto Gianni</u>
H g. Maria hat sich fotografiert	B g. Maria si è fotografata

All six of these languages use be with predicate adjectives, as in the (a) sentences, and also in the passive constructions, as in the (b) sentences.² Danish, French, German, and Italian also use be as the perfect auxiliary for ergative verbs, while English and Spanish use have, as illustrated in the (c) sentences. Among the former four, in the case of the verb be itself, presumably an ergative predicate as well, only German and Italian use be as the

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perfect auxiliary, while Danish and French use have, as shown in the (d) sentences. In all six languages have is used in both intransitives and transitives, as shown in the (e) and (f) sentences. Given the pattern developed thus far, it is perhaps surprising that when the direct object is a reflexive pronoun, as in the (g) sentences, French and Italian (but not Spanish) return to the use of be. Several accounts exist of have/be selection in various languages, although none of the ones with which we are familiar seriously attempt to account for this range of variation in an explicit way.

1.2 Two Previous Accounts of Have/Be Selection.

Perhaps the best known is Burzio's (1986) account of be selection in Italian. According to Burzio (1986:63), be is selected in Italian if and only if the subject binds a "VP-internal" element at S-structure. This class of VP-internal elements includes all clitics as well as traces in object position, but it excludes reflexives in object position and also inverted subjects. We have two objections to this account: 1) The class of "the VP-internal elements" is not a very natural one (though motivated as the class of elements whose binding relations necessarily hold at S-structure (Burzio (1986:399))). 2) While it provides an account of the selection of be as the perfect auxiliary in the case of passives, ergatives and reflexive clitics, it does not explain why be is the passive auxiliary itself, nor why the perfect auxiliary and the main verb be are the same word.

Haider (1985) and Hoekstra (1984) independently suggest a somewhat different approach based on the assignment of thematic roles. In essence, this approach associates the selection of have with the assignment of an external thematic role. While this provides an appealing account of German (and Dutch, where the facts are essentially the same), it too suffers from certain limitations: 1) Like Burzio's account, this account only covers a limited number of instances of have/be selection. 2) It fails to extend to French/Italian reflexive clitic constructions, where an external theta-role is indeed assigned, but be is selected as the perfect auxiliary. 3) It does not extend to be itself and other raising verbs in French and Danish, where no external theta-role is assigned, but have is selected as the perfect auxiliary.

2. Be-Selection as a Coindexation Requirement.

The basic idea of our analysis is the following: Have and be are alike in that each is a lexicalisation of an I° or a V°, as suggested also by Bach (1967) in an earlier framework. Have and be differ in that be must govern a coindexed A-bound NP, whereas have cannot do this. Intuitively, be signals identity in that it must occur between two coindexed NPs, as in (9):

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(9) ... [NP_i [be_i NP_i]] ...

The coindexed NP that triggers be is a trace in the specifier position of the complement of be. Such a trace is motivated by the ECP, if traces must be antecedent governed. This is assumed in Chomsky (1986a:77), where it is achieved through coindexation of I° and V°, as in (10)³. The subject in (10) is coindexed with the I°, the I° and V° are coindexed, and the V° is therefore able to antecedent govern the trace in object position.

(10) [IP [NP_i Mary][I' [I_i was][VP [V_i photographed][NP_i e]]]]

However, we assume that I° and V° are coindexed only if they merge at S-structure (for example by V° raising to I°). This means that in the cases where have or be is present, there is no such coindexation. In an example like (11), VP or V' will therefore be a barrier. We avoid this barrier by means of another trace, which is antecedent governed by the subject, and which antecedent governs the trace in object position.

(11) [IP [NP Mary] [I' [I_i was] [VP [NP_i e] [V' [V photographed] [NP_i e]]]]]

This intermediate trace is in the specifier position of VP, as in (11). It is antecedent governed by the subject via I°, assuming the narrow minimality condition on government (see Chomsky (1986a:42)). This means that V' is the barrier for VP-external government of the VP-complement. The trace in VP-specifier then antecedent governs the trace in object position, as we assume that government from XP-specifier into X' is always possible: Even assuming narrow minimality, the specifier in NP-internal passives like must antecedent govern its trace in the complement, as in (12).

(12) [the city_i's [destruction e_i]]

Note further the compatibility of our claim that be is triggered by a trace in VP-specifier with Kayne's (1985) analysis of Fr. and It. past participle agreement as specifier-head agreement, i.e., agreement between the trace in VP-specifier and the past participle in V°.

Given the existence of the trace in VP-specifier position and coindexation between the subject NP and I, we are ready to account for the lexicalisation of I as be and not have in (11). Be is selected because I governs a coindexed A-bound NP.⁴

If there is no A-bound NP coindexed with and governed by have/be, be is never selected, even if there is an A'-bound NP which is both coindexed with and governed by have/be. This is

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illustrated by the following topicalisations:

- (13) It. Se stessa, Maria ha/*è sempre odiato/*odiata
 "Herself, Maria has/is always hated"
- (14) Da. Sig selv har/*er Peter aldrig kritiseret
 "REFL self has/is Peter never criticised"
- (15) Ge. Sich hat/*ist Hans am meisten gelobt
 "REFL has/is Hans most praised"
 ((3) in Haider (1985:225))

which are all taken to have the following structure:⁵

- (16) [CP NP_i [C' C [IP e_i [I' I_i [VP e_i [VP V e_i]]]]]]

Here there is a trace adjoined to VP, but this is not A-bound, only A'-bound, by the topicalised NP in CP-specifier position. That there is no trace in VP-specifier can be seen from the missing participle agreement in (13): odiato ("hated(masc-sg)") could not be replaced by odiata ("hated(fem-sg)").

3. Movement of Unstressed Pronouns (or Romance vs. Germanic).

3.1 Be-selection.

Having laid out a basic framework for have and be selection, we turn now to some cases of variation across languages. Consider first the well-known fact that Germanic perfects with reflexive objects select have, while the apparently analogous Fr. and It. constructions be. (See the (g) examples in (3)-(8).) Given the assumption that have/be selection is insensitive to A'-bound traces, we claim that this difference is in fact a difference between the nature of pronoun movement in the two language groups.

Consider the first German example in (17):

- (17) Ge.
 [C'[C daß] [IP [NP meine Freunde] [I' [NP_i sich] [I' [VP [NP_i e]
 [V' [NP_i e] [V getroffen]] [I haben]]]]]]
 "... that my friends REFL met have"

(The example is a subordinate clause to abstract away from verb-second effects.) Though at first glance it may seem that sich in (17) has not moved at all, as direct objects in German always occur to the left of the verb, it is possible to see that sich has moved if the sentence contains adverbials, as in (18):

- (18) Ge.
 daß meine Freunde [sich_i] gestern im Park e_i e_i getroffen haben
 "... that my friends REFL yesterday in the park met have"

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(19) Ge.

- a. daß meine Freunde gestern im Park [einen Mann] getroffen haben
 "that my friends yesterday in the park the man met have"
- b.?*daß meine Freunde [einen Mann] gestern im Park getroffen haben
 "that my friends a man yesterday in the park met have"

The examples in (19) show that when the direct object is not an unstressed pronoun (and in the absence of VP-internal topicalisation and focus movement), it must occur adjacent to the verb. Thus, (19a) is fine, while (19b) is ungrammatical. As the position of *sich* in (17) is not one where arguments normally appear, cf. (19b), we take it to be an A'-position, and its trace inside VP is thus A'-bound.

Let us now contrast this with the syntactic properties of Romance reflexive clitics, which A-bind their traces. Thus, we will argue for the following structure:

(20) Fr.

- [IP [NP_i Mes amis][I' [I_i [Cl_i se][I_i sont]][vp [NP_i e] [v' [v rencontrés] [NP_i e]]]]]
 "My friends REFL are met"

Romance clitics are genuine clitics, as can be seen from the fact that they can move into an X° position together with the verb, as in I° to C° movement in (21):

(21) Fr.

- [CP [CP-spec D'où] [C le connais] [IP [IP-spec -tu] ...]]
 "From-where him know you (= Where do you know him from?)"

The Germanic unstressed pronoun is not a clitic and cannot do this. We cannot get (22a), but only (22b). When the verb moves to COMP, the German pronoun cannot move with it:

(22) Ge.

- a. *[CP [CP-spec Woher] [C ihn kennst] [IP [IP-spec du] ...]]
 "whence him know you"
- b. [CP [CP-spec Woher] [C kennst] [IP [IP-spec du] ... ihn ...]]
 "whence know you him"

The trace of the Romance reflexives is A-bound because it is bound from I°. (See note 3.) Romance clitic reflexives are thus predicated to trigger *be*-selection (and past participle agreement), as the intermediate trace is A-bound, and therefore must be in an A-position.

There are two potential objections to the analysis in (20). One is that the clitic moves first to an XP position, and then to

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an X° position. This can be solved by adopting the analysis of of Muysken (1983:60), who classifies projection levels in terms of two binary features: [\pm maximal, \pm projection]. We analyse the Romance clitic as [+maximal, -projection], that is, an inherently maximal category. This is not that unreasonable, as even without the movement through VP-specifier the clitic is base-generated in an NP-position and it ends up adjoining to an X°. If we revise the constraints on movement from Chomsky ((1986a:4), (2b) and (2c)) to the following:

- (23) a. only [+maximal] can adjoin to or substitute an XP
 b. only [-projection] can adjoin to or substitute an X°

the movement properties of Romance clitics fall out directly.

Another objection that might be made against the analysis of (20) is that there may be a conflict between distinct indices when the clitic is not reflexive, as in (24):

- (24) [_{IP} [_{NP_j} Mes amis][_{I'} [_{I_j} [_{Cl} l']][_{I_j} ont]] [_{VP} [_{NP_i} e] [_{V'} [_V rencontrés][_{NP_i} e]]]]
 "My friends her have met"

We adopt the suggestion made by Chomsky (class lectures, M.I.T., fall, 1987), based on Pollock (1987), that I° is 'transparent' for the clitic: The clitic can govern as if it were in the position of I° but it cannot be governed as if this were the case. Since I° need not get the index of the clitic by percolation, there is no conflict with I°'s own index. This means that index percolation from Cl to I° in (24), is unnecessary.

3.2 Derived Subjects.

Exploiting the A/A'-binding distinction between Romance and Germanic reflexives, we can also account for fact that only in German(ic) can be the reflexive cooccur with a derived subject. As discussed by Rizzi (1986) and others, Romance reflexive clitics are incompatible with derived subjects, as illustrated in (25; from Rizzi (1986:70)):

- (25) It. *I nostri amici si sono stati presentati
 "Our friends to-each-other are been introduced"

Rizzi (1986) accounts for the ungrammaticality of (25) by assuming a chain wellformedness condition that crucially depends on each link of the chain locally binding the next link and on each chain only containing one argument. Thus, in (25) a wellformed chain between *i nostri amici* and its *th*-assigned trace inside VP cannot be constructed, because the trace has a binder more local than the subject, namely *si*.

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In German, however, there is no prohibition against moved unstressed reflexives cooccurring with derived subject:

(26) Ge.

daß deine und meine Freunde sich schon gestern vorgestellt wurden
 "that your and my friends to-each-other already yesterday
 introduced were"

We consider this compatible with Rizzi's approach outlined above, provided it is specified that each link of a chain must locally A-bind the next one. Then, sich, which is in an A'-position, cannot interfere with the chain formation.

We analyse (25) and (26) as follows, cf. (20) and (17).

(27)

- a. It. NP_i [I° si_i sono] [VP e_i e_j [V' stati presentati e_i e_j]]
 b. Ge. NP_i [I° sich_i [I' [VP e_i [VP e_j [V'e_j e_j vorgestellt]]
 wurden]]]

In both cases the two th-roles are assigned to the two traces inside VP. In (27a) the th-role assigned to the trace of the reflexive is transferred to one of the traces in specifier of VP, and from there to si. The th-role assigned to the trace of the subject is also transferred to one of the traces in specifier of VP, and from there also to si, which is the local binder. Therefore, this th-role cannot reach the subject, which is left without a th-role. Thus, the sentence with the structure (27a) is ungrammatical.

In (27b) the th-role assigned to the trace of the reflexive is transferred to the trace adjoined to VP, and from there to sich, which is in an A'-position. Thus, it is possible for it to move out of the VP via the adjoined position, an option which is not open to si, which we took to A-bind its immediate trace. The th-role assigned to the trace of the subject is transferred to the trace in specifier of VP, and from there to its local (A)-binder, the subject. Thus, the sentence with the structure (27b) is grammatical.

The ungrammaticality of (27a) cannot be ascribed to VP-specifier being filled with two different traces, as the following examples are grammatical, even though both the clitic and the subject must move through the specifiers of both VPs. (The linear order of the two traces is irrelevant.) ((28a) is from Rizzi (1986:70).):

(28)

- a. It. I nostri amici_i gli_j sono [e_i e_j stati [e_i e_j [presentati e_i e_j]]]
 "Our friends to-him are been introduced"

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- b. Fr. Ce livre_i lui_j a [e_i e_j été [e_i e_j [donné e_i e_j]]]
 "This book to-him has been given"

4. Other constructions (or It./Ge. vs. Fr./Da. vs. Sp./En.).

Although reflexives do not necessitate direct parameterization of the basic idea from section 2, some of the other constructions listed in the introduction cannot be accounted for, unless the principle that be must govern a coindexed A-bound NP, and that have cannot, is parameterized to accommodate the three following groups of languages: 1) German and Italian, 2) Danish and French, and 3) English and Spanish. We claim that there is a locality restriction on the NP that triggers be-selection in Fr., Da., En., Sp.: it must be m-commanded by its th-assigner (as opposed to It. and Ge., where there is no such restrictions). In Sp. and En. the th-assigner of the NP must furthermore be in the complement of a V°, not of an I°.

4.1 Predicative Adjectives.

Consider the predicative adjective construction, the (a) sentences of (3)-(8). The adjective is assumed to assign one th-role, which is external, to its specifier position. The subject in (29) is thus base-generated in AP-specifier and then it moves directly to the subject position:

- (29)
 [IP [NP Mary_i] [I' [I is_i/*has_i] [VP [V e_i] [AP [NP e_i] [A'
 ill]]]]]]
 It., Ge., Fr., Da., Sp., En.: B

Evidence for the trace in specifier position can be found in the agreement between the adjective and (the AP-specifier trace of) the subject in Da., Sp., Fr., and It. This agreement is thus assimilated to past participle agreement in that both are a kind of head-specifier agreement.

V° is realised as be, as it governs a coindexed A-bound NP. Thus, It. and Ge. select be straightforwardly. Fr. and Da. select be as the trace is m-commanded by its th-assigner (it is inside AP), and Sp. and En. select be, as the th-assigner is in the complement of a V°. Adjectival passives, which also show agreement in Da., Sp., Fr., and It., as well as En. present participles with -ing may be analysed in a similar way.

4.2 Passives.

The next construction to be considered is the passive, the (b) sentences of (3)-(8), which we analyse schematically as (30):
 (30)

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[_{IP} [_{NP} Mary_i] [_{I'} [_I is_i/*has_i] [_{VP} [_{NP} e_i] [_{VP} [_{NP} e_i] [_{v'} [_v photographed] [_{NP} e_i]]]]]]]]
 It., Ge., Fr., Da., Sp., En.: B

The subject in (30) is base-generated as the object of photographed, and then it moves to the subject position via the VP-specifier position. Evidence for the trace in specifier position can be found in the agreement in It., Fr., and Sp., again given the analysis of Kayne (1985).

It. and Ge. select be, because V° governs a coindexed A-bound NP, Fr. and Da. select be, because the trace is m-commanded by its th-assigner (it is inside VP), and Sp. and En. select be, as the th-assigner is in the complement of another V°.

4.3 Ergatives.

In ergative constructions, the (c) sentences of (3)-(8), be is only selected in two of the three groups.

(31)
 [_{IP} [_{NP} Mary_i] [_{I'} [_I is_i/has_i] [_{VP} [_{NP} e_i] [_{v'} [_v come] [_{NP} e_i]]]]]]
 It., Ge., Fr., Da.: B; Sp., En.: H

Following Burzio (1986), we assume that the subject of (31) is base-generated as the object of come. Under the present analysis, it then moves to subject position via VP-specifier. Evidence for the trace in VP-specifier is again found in the agreement in It., (8c), and Fr., (7c), and also in Icelandic (Fridjónsson (1978:82)) and in a Norwegian dialect, as discussed in Christensen and Taraldsen (1987:1).

It. and Ge. select be, because V° governs a coindexed A-bound NP. Fr. and Da. select be, because the trace is m-commanded by its th-assigner (it is inside VP).⁶ Sp. and En., however, select have, because the th-assigner is not in the complement of a V°, but of an I°.

4.4 Ergatives with Expletive Subjects.

It is also possible to have expletive subjects in the ergative constructions, as shown by the examples in (32):

- (32) a. It. Sono venute tre ragazze
 b. Ge. Es sind drei Mädchen gekommen
 c. Fr. Il est venu trois filles
 d. Da. Der er kommet tre piger
 e. Sp. Han venido tres chicas
 f. En. There have come three girls

Here the NP which is assigned the th-role stays in object posi-

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tion.⁷

(33)

[_{IP} [_{NP} There_i] [_{I'} [_I are_i/have_i] [_{VP} [_{NP} e_i] [_{V'} [_V come] [_{NP} three girls_i]]]]]]

It., Ge., Fr., Da.: B; Sp., En.: H

We assume that an expletive subject of the kind of occurring in (32) and (33) needs some form of linking to a th-assigned chain, as discussed for Danish in Vikner (1987a), perhaps motivated by expletive replacement at LF, as discussed in Chomsky (1986b:132ff, 179).

As with the other type of ergatives, there is evidence for the trace in specifier from past participle agreement in It., as in (32a) above and in a dialect of Norwegian discussed by Christensen and Taraldsen (1987:8). There is also evidence that the trace in VP-specifier is coindexed with the subject in these constructions: There is also agreement between the inflection (sono) in (32a) and the postverbal NP.

As the trace in VP-specifier is exactly parallel to the one in ergative constructions without completive subjects, the have/be selection is predicted to be the same as in the other type of ergatives: It. and Ge. select be, because V° governs a coindexed A-bound NP, Fr. and Da. select be, because the trace is m-commanded by its th-assigner (it is inside VP), but Sp. and En. select have, because the th-assigner is not in the complement of a V°, but of an I°.

4.5 Be and Other Raising Verbs.

Be itself belongs in the third major type of construction discussed in the introduction to selection 4, the type where only It. and Ge. have be, but Fr., Da., Sp., and En. have have. As be does not assign any th-role, we assume with Burzio (1986:148) and references therein that it is a raising verb. We analyse the (d) sentences of (3)-(8) as follows:

(34)

[_{IP} [_{NP} Mary_i] [_{I'} [_I is_i/has_i] [_{VP} [_{NP} e_i] [_{V'} [_V been_i] [_{AP} [_{NP} e_i] [_{A'} ill]]]]]]]]

It., Ge.: B; Fr., Da., Sp., En.: H

The trace in AP-specifier in (34) and the realisation of V°, because be has already been discussed in connection with (29), section 4.1. That there is a trace in the specifier of been can be seen from the fact that been shows agreement in Italian:⁸

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- (35) It. Maria_i è_i [e_i [stata_i [e_i [malata]]]]
 "Maria is been(fem-sg) ill(fem-sg)"

The trace in the specifier of VP is A-bound, and it is governed by and coindexed with the I°. Therefore It. and Ge. select be. However, it is not m-commanded by its th-assigner, and so Fr., Da., En., and Sp. all select have.

Two constructions seem to be problematic from the point of view of this analysis, the English gerund (being), and the Germanic (except En.) passives with the verb meaning become. The problem with En. being is that it selects be:

- (36) En. a. Peter is being silly/b. *Peter has being silly

where have might have been expected, as we have just assumed that be is not a th-assigner in English. For be to be selected as the auxiliary immediately preceding being, the relevant trace would have to be m-commanded by its th-assigner and this th-assigner should be in a complement of a V°. Although the gerund is in the complement of a V° rather than an I°, it does not seem to be a th-assigner. However, there is reason to believe that being contributes to the th-properties of (36). In gerund constructions like (36) there seem to be some agentive properties predicated of the subject, as seen in the contrast between the ungrammatical gerund (37b) and the grammatical non-gerund construction, (38b):

- (37) En. a. Peter is being difficulty/ b. *Peter is being dead

- (38) En. a. Peter is difficult/ b. Peter is dead

Perhaps being reanalyses with an adjective to form an element that assigns an agent th-role. Therefore, the trace in the specifier of being is m-commanded by its th-assigner (and this th-assigner is in the complement of a V°); hence, it triggers be-selection.

This is reminiscent of the become-passives, in which in Ge. and Da. we get be where have would have been expected:

- (39) Ge. Maria ist/*hat fotografiert worden
 "Mary is/has photographed become"

- (40) Da. Marie er/*har blevet fotograferet
 "Mary is/has become photographed"

Again there may be reason to assume that become plays a role from a thematic point of view. It does not merely correspond to be but it adds some meaning of its own, as seen in the distinction between Mary was ill and Mary became ill, where the latter contains more information than the former. Thus, become might

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contribute part of the th-role of a passivised subject, perhaps by some reanalysis of become and the participle as one verb. This would explain why even in Da. (where be takes have) the auxiliary for become-passives is be, because the trace governed by be is here under the maximal projection of its theta-role assigner (i.e. become or become-photographed).

The other raising verbs pattern like be, i.e. It. has be, and Fr., Da., Sp., and En. have have. For reasons that we do not understand, speakers of Ge. (and Dutch) accept neither be nor have, i.e. these two languages seem not to have any perfect tenses of raising verbs:

- (41) a. It. Maria è/*ha sembrata essere contenta
 b. Ge. *Maria ist/hat froh zu sein geschienen
 c. Fr. Marie a/*est semblé être contente
 d. Da. Marie har/*er syntes at være glad
 e. Sp. María ha/*es parecido estar contenta
 f. En. Mary has/*is seemed to be happy

The data in (41) are analysed as follows:

- (42)
 [IP [NP Mary_i] [I' [I is_i/has_i] [VP [NP e_i] [V' [v seemed_i] [IP
 [NP e_i] [I' [I to_i] [VP [NP e_i] [V' [v be_i] [AP [NP e_i] [A'
 happy]]]]]]]]]]]
 It.: B; Ge., Du.: *(??); Fr., Da., Sp., En.: H

The traces in specifier positions of AP and the lower VP were discussed in sections 4.1 (AP) and 4.5 (lower VP). The trace in specifier position of the lower IP is a standard assumption in GB. The trace in specifier position of the higher VP is taken to exist because of the agreement in the It. example of sembrata ("seemed(fem-sg)"). This trace is A-bound, and it is governed by and coindexed with the I°, which is sufficient for be-selection in It. As this trace is not m-commanded by its th-assigner, it does not cause be-selection in Fr., Da., Sp., or En.

4.7 Intransitives and Transitives.

Note that intransitives and transitives take have in all the six languages, as in the (f) and (g) sentences, respectively, of (3)-(8). Intransitives and transitives both assign an external th-role to the VP-specifier. This is then absorbed by the past participle ending, and may be reassigned by have/be to its specifier position, i.e. IP-specifier. Intransitives assign only this single th-role, whereas transitives furthermore assign an internal th-role to their object position.

The analysis is as shown in (43) for intransitives and in

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(44) for transitives. In neither case could be possibly be selected, because there is no trace coindexed with and governed by I°:

(43)

[IP [NP Mary_i] [I' [I has_i/*is_i] [VP [V slept]]]]
It., Ge., Fr., Da., Sp., En.: H

(44)

[IP [NP Mary_i] [I' [I has_i/*is_i] [VP [V seen] [NP John]]]]
It., Ge., Fr., Da., Sp., En.: H

5. Conclusion.

In this paper we have developed a have/be-selection analysis and shown how it accounts for have/be selection in a number of constructions in three Romance and three Germanic languages. While extending both the number of languages and the number of constructions under consideration, we have attempted to keep otherwise unmotivated stipulations to a minimum. It remains for future investigation both to extend the coverage of this analysis and to derive our present stipulations from more general properties of the languages under consideration.

Notes.

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² We will disregard the difference between the Spanish verbs ser and estar, the latter of which we take to introduce certain aspectual information. Furthermore, Spanish represents something of an unusual case among the languages we are considering, in that in addition to the verb haber, Spanish also has the verb tener, which has many of the functions that the verb have has in the other languages. We will have nothing further to say about this here.

³ The structures of (10) and (11) have been simplified.

⁴ Even though in section 3 below we take I° to be an A-position in some sense, given its obligatoriness and its nominal features (cf. the SUBJECT idea of Chomsky (1981:209)), we take it that I° cannot be a binder, since it is not an NP.

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⁵ In (16) we abstract away from three things: the position of the adverbials, the I° to C° movements in Da. and Ge., and the internal structure of I' in Ge.

⁶ Note that there are many apparently ergative verbs in French that take have. These facts are not expected under our analysis (cf. also Burzio (1986:140)).

⁷ On the structure of (32a), see Belletti (1987).

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