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Not all *have*-clauses are alike

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Abstract

Are all phonologically-null *have*s alike?

Proposal: No

- DO constructions – prepositional stative *have*
- desideratives – verbal stative *have* and verbal telic *have*
- evaluatives – verbal telic *have*

This explains:

- (Lack of) verbal behavior of complement
- Availability of different semantic relations
- Tense/aspect interactions with semantic relations

Phonologically-null *have*-clauses

- Desideratives (*need*-type ITVs)

(1) John wants a cookie. ≈ John wants to have a cookie.

(2) John needs a cookie. ≈ John needs to have a cookie.

- Double object (DO) constructions

(3) John gave Mary a cookie. ≈ John caused Mary to have a cookie.

(4) Mary got a cookie. ≈ Mary came to have a cookie.

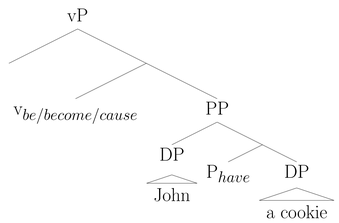
- We note: evaluatives + modification shows same behavior
  → we propose they too take null *have*

(5) John likes a cookie after dinner. ≈ John likes to have a cookie after dinner.

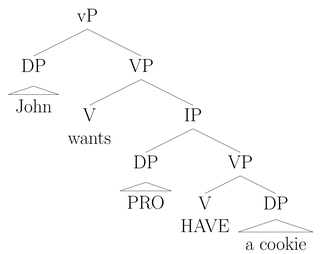
- All take *have*-clauses, but display different behavior

Previously proposed structures

- DO constructions – null *have* as P (Harley, 1995, 2002; Richards, 2001; Beck and Johnson, 2004)



- Desideratives – null *have* as V (McCawley, 1974; Ross, 1976; Marušič and Žaucer, 2006; Schwarz, 2008)



Evaluatives – null *have* as ???

- We argue evaluatives' *have*-clause behaves verbally (like desideratives'), but allows fewer semantic relations

Verbal behavior

V diagnostic	DO constr.	desideratives	evaluatives
1. Adverb ambiguity	no	**yes**	**yes**
2. *Too* ambiguity	**yes**	**yes**	no*
3. VP ellipsis ambiguity	no	**yes**	**yes**
4. Sentential anaphor ambiguity	no	**yes**	**yes**
5. Opaque DP	no	**yes**	no**
6. Non-specific DP	no	**yes**	**yes**
7. No preservation under replacement	no	**yes**	**yes**

*Bad diagnostic (see handout)

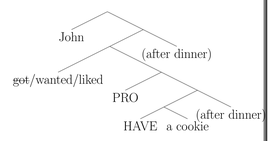
**Evaluatives are non-opaque because the require prior experience with the object of evaluation

E.g. Adverb ambiguity

(6) John got a cookie after dinner.
  a. 'There was a time after dinner at which John got a cookie.' (*got*)
  b. *'John's 'becoming' was to have a cookie after dinner.' (*have*)

(7) John wanted a cookie after dinner.
  a. 'There was a time after dinner at which John wanted a cookie.' (*wanted*)
  b. 'John's desire was to have a cookie after dinner.' (*have*)

(8) John liked a cookie after dinner.
  a. 'There was a time after dinner at which John liked a cookie.' (*liked*)
  b. 'John was positively disposed toward having a cookie after dinner.' (*have*)



Desideratives and evaluatives pattern similarly and, unlike DO constructions, are better described has having null **verbal** *have*

- According to Marušič and Žaucer (2006):
  - DO constructions take null P_{have} (Harley, 2002)
  - Desideratives take null V_{have} (stative) and V_{get} (punctual)
    - Sometimes only one works in the context:

(9) a. John wants a compliment / kiss / pat on the back. (Harley, 2004)
  b. #John wants to have a compliment / kiss / pat on the back. (stative+punctual)
  c. John wants to get a compliment / kiss / pat on the back. (punctual+punctual)

- Given that desideratives and evaluatives pattern similarly above, we ask – do evaluatives select the same two null verbs, V_{have} and V_{get}, as desideratives?
- Semantic relations suggest not ↓

Semantic relations

Drawing on Pustejovsky (1998) and Vikner and Jensen (2002), we examine the lexical semantic relations allowed under each null *have*, summarized in (10)

(10)

overt *have*	inherent	part-whole	~~agentive~~	control	typical-use
DO constructions	inherent	part-whole	~~agentive~~	control	~~typical-use~~
desideratives	inherent	part-whole	~~agentive~~	control	typical-use
evaluatives	~~inherent~~	~~part-whole~~	~~agentive~~	~~control~~	typical-use

E.g. control and typical-use relations

	control	typical-use
overt *have*	The girl has car 'the girl has the car at her disposal'	The girl had a cookie 'the girl ate a cookie'
DO constructions	The girl got a car 'someone caused the car to be at the girl's disposal'	The girl got a cookie #'someone caused the cookie to be eaten by the girl'
desideratives	The girl wants a car 'wants a car to be at her disposal'	The girl wants a cookie 'wants to eat a cookie'
evaluatives	The girl likes a car when she has errands to run #'likes having a car at her disposal'	The girl likes a cookie after dinner 'likes eating a cookie'

- Nouns are lexically associated with different qualia, verbs select for nouns with a particular set of qualia
  - E.g. *cookie* has a lexical quale TELIC that provides a typical-use relation of 'eating', verbs like *eat* select for such verbs

Desideratives and evaluative do not allow same lexical semantic relations → do **not** use the same null *have*s

Tense/aspect interactions with semantic relations

Note interaction between tense/aspect and semantic relations with overt *have*

(11) Sandra is having a cookie — * control, ✓typical-use
(12) Sandra has a cookie — ✓control, * typical-use
(13) Sandra had a cookie — ✓control, ✓typical-use

Proposal:

- TELIC quale has a time-interval argument, it is type $\langle e\langle e\langle st\rangle\rangle\rangle$ (cf. Davidson, 1967)

  E.g. *cookie*
  Argument structure: $\lambda x_e.cookie(x)$
  Qualia structure:
  TELIC: $\lambda x_e.\lambda y_e.\lambda i_s.eat(x)(y)$ ← typical-use
  Control relation also available via Ctr type-shifting function (Vikner and Jensen, 2002):
  $Ctr(W) = \lambda x_e.\lambda y_e.W(x)$ & $control(x)(y)$ ← control

- *Have* is polysemous, takes argument of $\langle e\langle e\langle st\rangle\rangle\rangle$ (typical-use relations) or $\langle e\langle et\rangle\rangle$ (for control relations and others)

Combining under simple aspectual heads yields the patterns in (11)-(12) (see handout for derivations)

	control/stative	typical-use/telic
Progressive	* + $have_{\langle e\langle et\rangle\rangle}$ (type mismatch)	✓+ $have_{\langle e\langle e\langle st\rangle\rangle\rangle}$
Present	✓+ $have_{\langle e\langle et\rangle\rangle}$	* + $have_{\langle e\langle e\langle st\rangle\rangle\rangle}$ (type mismatch)
Past	✓+ $have_{\langle e\langle et\rangle\rangle}$	✓+ $have_{\langle e\langle e\langle st\rangle\rangle\rangle}$ (past is also polysemous)

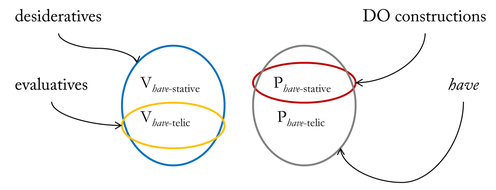
And, we can use this *have* polysemy to address the available semantic relations across DO constructions, desideratives, and evaluatives ↓

Conclusions

All phonologically-null *have*-causes are **not** alike
Proposal:

- Maintain V/P distinction in Marušič and Žaucer (2006)
  - DO constructions – P
  - desideratives – V
  - ADD: evaluatives – V (based on verbal behavior)
- Maintain two different null verbs for desideratives in Marušič and Žaucer (2006), renamed $V_{stative}$, V_{telic} (stative allows control relation and others, telic allows typical-use relation)
- Propose two prepositional forms, $P_{stative}$, P_{telic}
- Propose:
  - *have* selects $P_{stative}$, P_{telic}
  - DO constructions select $P_{stative}$ only (lack typical-use relation)
  - desideratives select $V_{stative}$, V_{telic}
  - evaluatives select V_{telic} only (lack control relation and others)

  } matches (10)



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