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**A Synchronic and Diachronic Study of Light Verbs in English:
With Special Reference to Grammaticalization**

（英語における軽動詞についての共時的・通時的研究—文法化を中心に）

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久米 祐介

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**A Synchronic and Diachronic Study of Light Verbs in English:
With Special Reference to Grammaticalization**

by

Yusuke Kume

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Abstract

The term “grammaticalization” has received much attention in the literature on language change since it was introduced by Meillet (1912) to describe the development of new grammatical items from lexical words. This thesis observes unique properties of constructions including some light verbs such as *come*, *go*, *have*, *see*, and *take* in Present-day English, discusses processes of grammaticalization from lexical verbs to light verbs based on data from historical corpora and literatures and dictionaries, and proposes structural change of relevant

constructions within the frame work of the minimalist program proposed by Chomsky (1995, 2001, 2006).

Chapter 1 shows main aims and the organization of this thesis.

Chapter 2 reviews Hopper and Traugott (2003), which introduces outline of grammaticalization: mechanisms, i.e. reanalysis and analogy, pragmatic factors including pragmatic inference through metaphorical and metonymic processes, and semantic enrichment and bleaching, and the hypothesis of unidirectionality which involves processes such as generalization and decategorialization.

Chapter 3 examines the historical development of “Double Verb Constructions” and grammaticalization of *come* and *go*. In Present-day English, some motion verbs including *come* and *go* can be followed by another verb, forming so called “Double Verb Constructions”, in which both verbs are not allowed to appear in inflected forms. This inflectional restriction is argued to be attributed to their development from V *and* V constructions in infinitive and imperative uses through some stage of grammaticalization in Middle and Modern English. As a result of grammaticalization, these motion verbs are merged in *v* as a light verb, and take an infinitival VP complement in Present-day English. It is also argued that some unique properties of Double Verb Constructions, including the inflectional restriction, are explained in terms of the proposed structure and historical development.

Chapter 4 presents the historical change of complement structures and grammaticalization of *see*. In Present-day English,

inanimate subjects can be selected by a class of perception verbs, especially *see*, which denote the existence or causation of the events expressed by their complements. It is suggested that the semantic difference between existence and causation is associated not only with the types of inanimate subjects, i.e. time/location vs. others, but also with the two possible complement structures of *see*, i.e. Asp(ect)P vs. VP. Moreover, it is proposed that *see* was grammaticalized into a light verb denoting existence/causation during the Late Modern English period via generalization, shift of meaning, and semantic bleaching.

Chapter 5 discusses the historical development of *have a N* constructions. In Present-day English, *have* selects bare nominal complements following the indefinite article *a/an* which are identical to the base form of the verb, forming so-called *have a N* constructions, where the subject of the main verb *have* must also be the subject of its complement NP. However, the subject of the deverbal nominal complements with the overt affix, which is preceded by the definite article and genitive pronouns, is not necessarily identical to that of *have*. It is suggested that *have a N* constructions are derived through the loss of D licensing the subject of bare nominal complements in Modern English Period. It is also suggested that the reason why bare nominal complements in *take a N constructions* are restricted to a subset of the complements that occur in *have a N* constructions is due to presence or absence of lexical meaning of the main verbs.

Chapter 6 is the conclusion of the thesis and summarizes the proposals made in each chapter.

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in this thesis:

ACC	accusative case	INF	infinitive
ADJ	adjective	LF	logical form
AGR	agreement	ME	Middle English
AGT	agent	MED	Middle English dictionary
ASP(P)	aspectual (phrase)	MOD	modal
ART	article	ModE	Modern English
AUX	auxiliary	NEUT	neuter
C(P)	complementizer (phrase)	Nom	nominative case
Co(P)	coordinate (phrase)	N(P)	noun (phrase)
CSC	coordinate structure	Num(P)	number (phrase)
	constraint	OE	Old English
CTF	counter factual mood	OED	Oxford English dictionary
DAT	dative case	PART	participle
Dem	demonstrative	PARTIT	partitive
D(P)	determiner (phrase)	PE	Present-day English
DVC	double verb construction	PF	phonetic form
ERG	ergative case	PL	plural
GEN	genitive case	Poss	possessive pronoun
IMP	imperative	P(P)	preposition (phrase)

Pres	present
PRN	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PVC	perception verb complement
SG	singular
Sub(P)	subordinate (phrase)
T(P)	tense (phrase)
V(P)	verb (phrase)
v(P)	small verb (phrase)
1	first person
1AEX	1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law
2	second person
3	third person

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1. Aims of the Thesis

The term “grammaticalization” has received much attention in the literature on language change since it was introduced by Meillet (1912) to describe the development of new grammatical items from lexical words. According to Hopper and Traugott (2003), the term “grammaticalization” has two meanings: one is a research framework within which to account for language phenomena, and the other is the phenomena themselves. In the first sense, grammaticalization refers to a conceptual, general study of language change which is concerned with how lexical items and constructions appear in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions or how grammatical items acquire more grammatical functions. This research framework is also associated with cross-linguistic correlations over time among semantic-pragmatic, morphosyntactic, and phonological changes in the light of the tension between relatively unconstrained lexical structure and more constrained syntactic, morphosyntactic, and morphological structure. In the second sense of actual phenomena of language, grammaticalization refers to the steps whereby particular items become more grammatical through time, focusing on the more

individual linguistic phenomenon of structuration, through which configurations of items come to be unified to serve certain more grammatical functions.

Grammaticalization has been studied from two perspectives. One is a synchronic perspective, in which grammaticalization is seen as a syntactic, pragmatic phenomenon in fluid language use involving its system of grammatical units, rules, and lexical items, and their meaning, that is, its grammar. The other is a diachronic perspective, where grammaticalization is thought of as linguistic changes linking a synchronic state of a grammatical item or configuration to the former (more lexical) states of the same item or configuration based on the investigation of the sources of the grammatical form and the stages of change which it undergoes. In this thesis, greater emphasis is put on the diachronic dimension.

Main aims of this thesis is to describe unique properties of constructions including some light verbs such as *come*, *go*, *have*, *see*, and *take* in PE, to discuss processes of grammaticalization from lexical verbs to light verbs based on data from historical corpora and literatures and dictionaries, and to propose syntactic structures of relevant constructions to provide a principled account for their unique properties within the frame work of the minimalist program proposed by Chomsky (1995, 2001, 2006).¹

1.2. The Organization of the Thesis

The body of this thesis is organized as follows: Chapter 2

overviews Hopper and Traugott (2003), which introduces outline of grammaticalization: mechanisms, i.e. reanalysis and analogy, pragmatic factors such as pragmatic inference through metaphorical and metonymic processes, and semantic enrichment and bleaching, and the hypothesis of unidirectionality which involves processes such as generalization and decategorialization.

Chapter 3 examines the historical development of “Double Verb Constructions” and grammaticalization of *come* and *go*. In PE, some motion verbs including *come* and *go* can be followed by the bare form of another verb, forming so-called “Double Verb Constructions,” which have some unique properties like the inflectional restriction, the selectional restriction on their subjects, and the single event interpretation. These properties are argued to be closely related to their development from *V and V* constructions in infinitive and imperative uses through grammaticalization in ME and ModE. It is shown that as a result of grammaticalization, the relevant motion verbs have been reanalyzed into light verbs located in *v* that take an infinitival VP complement.

Chapter 4 explores the historical change of complement structures and grammaticalization of *see*. In PE, there are some cases in which inanimate subjects are selected by a class of perception verbs, especially *see*, which denote the existence or causation of the events expressed by their complements. It is suggested that the semantic difference between existence and causation is associated not only with the types of inanimate subjects, i.e. time/location vs. others, but also

with the two possible complement structures of *see*, i.e. Asp(ect)P vs. VP. Moreover, it is proposed that *see* was grammaticalized into a light verb denoting existence/causation during the LModE via generalization, shift of meaning, and semantic bleaching.

Chapter 5 discusses the historical development of *have a N* constructions. In PE, *have* selects bare nominal complements following the indefinite article *a/an* which are identical to the base form of the verb, forming so-called *have a N* constructions, where the subject of the main verb *have* must also be the subject of its complement NP. However, the subject of the deverbal nominal complements with the overt affix, which is preceded by the definite article and genitive pronouns, is not necessarily identical to that of *have*. It is suggested that *have a N* constructions are derived through the loss of D licensing the subject of bare nominal complements in ModE. It is also suggested that the reason why bare nominal complements in *take a N constructions* are restricted to a subset of the complements that occur in *have a N* constructions is due to presence or absence of lexical meaning of the main verbs.

Chapter 6 is the conclusion of the thesis and summarizes the proposals made in each chapter.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹ Here are the historical periods of English standardly assumed: Old English (OE: 700-1100), Middle English (ME: 1100-1500), Early Modern English (EModE: 1500-1700), Late Modern English (LModE: 1700-1900), and Present-day English (PE: 1900-).

Chapter 2

Grammaticalization

2.1. The History of Grammaticalization

The term “grammaticalization” was first introduced by the French linguist Antoine Meillet at the beginning of the 20th century. Meillet (1912) defines grammaticalization as “the attribution of grammatical character to an erstwhile autonomous word (l’attribution du caractère grammatical á un mot jadis autonome).” However, after the work of Meillet in the first two decades of the century, grammaticalization was regarded as a subdiscipline even in the field of historical linguistics. In the middle of the 20th century, synchronic approaches were the main stream of linguistics, and historical linguistics, including grammaticalization, was of secondary interest. Language change came to be seen as the process of rule adjustment, which begins with one stage and ends with another, and therefore there was little interest in the gradual steps in a diachronic perspective. It was not until the end of the 20th century that grammaticalization in itself was paid great attention to by a number of linguists. For example, Bybee et al. (1994: 149) crucially see grammaticalization as both semantic and formal in nature, claiming that “grammatical morphemes or ‘grams’ can be studied not only as language-specific phenomena, but also as

‘gram-types’ that are substantive universal categories analogous to ‘voiceless dental stop’ in phonetics.” Hopper and Traugott (2003) also suggest that “they tend to be polysemous in similar ways across languages, and to undergo similar paths of development as a result of human discourse and interaction,” quoting Bybee et al. (1994: 302): “they reflect the metaphorical processes that are based on human cognitive make-up, and they reflect the inferences that humans commonly make when they communicate.”

2.2. The Definition of Grammaticalization

Hopper and Traugott (2003) suggest that “grammaticalization as the process whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions, and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions,” which is schematized as the cline of grammaticality in (1).

- (1) content item > grammatical word > clitic > inflectional affix
(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 7))

It is clear that each item is more grammatical and less lexical than that to the left, which, as pointed out by Amano (2006), suggests that “grammaticalization is a historical process whereby analytic forms gradually change to synthetic ones, and phonological reduction of lexical items is the most transparent symptom of grammaticalization.”

Roberts and Roussou (2003), on the other hand, claim that

“grammaticalization is a regular case of parameter change not fundamentally different from other such changes.” However, as pointed out in Nawata (2005), there are some differences between grammaticalization and parameter change: the former, being typically continuous, causes a sudden and equal change in all members which belong to a certain class, whereas there is a gradual change of individual items in the process of grammaticalization. Given the difference, therefore, I define grammaticalization not as parameter change but as the change of morphosyntactic and phonetic features within the system of linguistic performance. Before illustrating some examples of grammaticalization, we will overview Hopper and Traugott (2003), which suggest the two crucial mechanisms of grammaticalization: reanalysis and analogy, pragmatic factors as a motivation of grammaticalization including pragmatic inference through metaphorical and metonymic processes, and semantic enrichment and bleaching, and the hypothesis of unidirectionality that grammaticalization is hypothesized to be prototypically a unidirectional phenomenon in the diachronic perspective with processes, e.g. generalization and decategorialization.

2.3. Mechanisms of Grammaticalization: Reanalysis and Analogy

Reanalysis and analogy have been widely seen as significant for morphosyntactic change. Reanalysis causes change of underlying representations on meaning, morphology, and syntax, which in turn leads to that of rule. Analogy, on the other hand, in itself does not

affect rule change although it does modify surface manifestations and bring about rule spread within the linguistic system and the community.

2.3.1. Reanalysis

Langacker (1977: 58) defines reanalysis as “change in the structure of an expression or class of expressions that does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation.” Harris and Campbell (1995: 61), from this perspective, suggest that reanalysis involves a change in constituency, hierarchical structure, category labels, grammatical relations, and cohesion. It should be noted that the reanalysis itself is covert until some recognizable modification in the forms reveals it. Hopper and Traugott (2003) cite examples of reanalysis in a single lexical item: *hamburger* and a syntactic sequence: *try and VERB*. First, *hamburger*, which is intended by speaker as [Hamburg] + [er] ‘item of food from Hamburg,’ is heard as [ham] + [burger] so that [ham] is replaced by the word cheese or beef. However, this substitution is merely the symptom of the covert change that has already occurred. Second, the sequence of *try and* in (2a) has been reanalyzed as Auxiliary, but *tried to* in (2b) and *try and* in (2c) have not:

- (2) a. I'll try and contact her.
 b. I'll try to contact her.
 c. They have tried and failed to contact her.

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 50))

They suggest that *try and* in (2a) has only been reanalyzed as a single word because “(i) the *and* is intonationally and phonetically bound to *try* (try-ən), (ii) only *try*, not *tried*, *trying*, *tires*, is possible (e.g., not **He tries and contacts her*), (iii) adverbs may not intervene between *try* and *and* (e.g., *I'll try hard to contact her*, but not **I'll try hard and contact her*), and (iv) the meaning of *try and* is more modal-like than *try to* because the former shows the agent's inability to achieve the complement verb and the speaker's lack of confidence in the agent's success (see Hopper (2002)).

Another example of reanalysis involves change from the relation of a head noun and a dependent noun to that of a (complex) preposition and a head noun, as illustrated in (3).

- (3) a. [[back] of the barn] >

- b. [back of [the barn]] (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 51))

The shift from (3a) to (3b) illustrates the first three of the five changes suggested by Harris and Campbell (1995): constituency change, i.e. rebracketing (what goes with what), hierarchical structure change

(what is dependent on what), category label change (the noun *back* to an adposition in a complex preposition).¹ What is important here is that in the case of reanalysis in *try and*, the lexical verb *try* on the left side is altered into the more functional auxiliary, and in the case of *back of*, the noun *back* on the left is likewise changed into the more functional adposition.

Changes in grammatical relations are illustrated by the development of subject out of topic:

- (4) a. That new yacht of his, he has spent a fortune on it.
b. That new yacht of his has cost him a fortune.

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 28))

In (4a), *that new yacht of his* is regarded as a topic, while in (4b) the same noun phrase is a subject. Depending on the type of language, a lot of properties distinguish topics from subjects: there is agreement between subject and verb but not between topic and verb in many languages; sometimes subjects can be referred to by a reflexive pronoun in the same clause, but topics cannot; some languages have no or very few topics, while others have topics as the usual role of primary noun phrase. Li and Thompson (1976: 484) note that the difference between topic and subject is only that of degree of grammaticalization: “subjects are essentially grammaticalized topics.”

Changes in degree of cohesiveness are illustrated by reanalyses in (5a, b).²

(5) a. be going to > be gonna

b. let us > let's > lets (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 51))

In both cases, a separable morpheme on the left hand has become fused with the one that preceded it. These changes usually involve rebracketing although not all changes in rebracketing involve changes in cohesiveness. Hopper and Traugott (2003) argue that it is fusion that the type most often associated with grammaticalization.³

2.3.2. Analogy

As mentioned above, reanalysis refers to the covert rebracketing from old structures to new ones, while analogy refers to the overt application of new structures to already existing constructions. According to Jakobson and Halle (1956), reanalysis and analogy involve innovation along different axes: the former works along the syntagmatic axis of linear constituent structure, whereas the latter operates along the paradigmatic axis of options at any one constituent node (see Figure 1 in section 2.6.2.).

First, let us consider the examples of analogy at the morphological level. In child language, the singular-plural alternation *cat-cats* is applied to *child*, yielding *child-childs*, as illustrated in (6).

(6) cat: cats = child: X

X = childs

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 64))

In the history of English, the singular-plural alternation *stan-stanes* ‘stone-stones’ is also applied to *shoe-shoen*, which is analogized to what it is today, as shown in (7).

(7) stone: stones = shoe: X

X = shoes

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 64))

Hopper and Traugott (2003) point out that it gives no account of why one member of the pair is selected as the model although there are some tendencies to replace a more constrained form with a more general one, not vice versa, arguing that it is impossible that neither analogy nor rule generalization is applied to all the cases because there are irregular singular-plural alternation such as *foot-feet*, *mouse-mice* alongside of regular one such as *stone-stones*, and irregular present-preterit alternation like *run-ran* alongside of regular one like *love-loved*.

Second, consider the development of the Romance perfect at the level of syntax.

- (8) Metuo enim ne ibi vos habebam fatigatos.
 fear-1SG for lest there you-ACC:PL have-1SG tired-ACC:PL
 ‘For I fear that I have tired you.’

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 65))

In (8), accusative plural agreement is overt on *vos* ‘you’ and *fatigatos* ‘tired.’ However, there are cases in which it is ambiguous whether there is agreement or not, as shown in (9).

- (9) a. Promissum habeo... nihil sine
 promised-NEUT:SG(?) have-1SG nothing-NEUT:SG without
 eius consilio agere.
 his advice do-INF
 ‘I have promised to do nothing without his advice.’

(sixth century, Gregory of Tours; cited in Fleischman 1982: 120)

- b. Quae cum ita sint, de Caesare saits
 which since thus be-SUBJUNCT, about Caesar enough
 hoc tempore dictum habeo.

this time said have-1SG

‘Under the circumstances, I shall regard what I have said of
 Caesar as sufficient as present.’

(c. 40BC, Cicero, *Phil.* 5, 52; cited in Pinkster 1987: 204)

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 62))

This is because zero neuter singular *nihil* ‘nothing’ in (9a) and *satis* ‘enough’ in (9b) are the default gender/number markers in Latin. In (9a, b), therefore, it is not clear whether reanalysis, which is covert, has occurred or not. It is not until lack of agreement becomes detectable between object and participle that we recognize that the perfect has arisen via reanalysis:

- (10) Haec omnia probatum habemus.
 those-ACC:PL all-ACC-PL tried-PART(?) have-1PL
 ‘We have tried all those things.’

(sixth century, Oribasius; cited in Fleischman 1982: 120)

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 65))

In (8), similarly, it is not possible to tell whether reanalysis has occurred because *fatigatos* ‘tired’ is ambiguous between adjectival and perfect participle, and whether the understood subject of the participle is either ‘I’ as in the translation ‘I fear that I have tired you (perfect participle)’ or some other unspecified individual as in ‘I fear I have/see you tired (adjectival participle).’ In (10), on the other hand, it is clear that reanalysis has occurred and there is no ambiguity between adjectival and perfect participle because the lack of agreement is unambiguously detectable and the understood subject of the perfect participle must be the subject of the sentence. Again, it is not until analogy from neuter singular contexts to other contexts occurs that we can recognize reanalysis from the adjectival participle to the perfect

participle.

Among examples of the cyclical interaction of reanalysis, analogy, and reanalysis is the development of negation in French. According to Hock (1991), Schwegler (1988), and Hopper and Traugott (2003), the six following stages are found in the sequence of changes: “(i.) Negation was accomplished by placing the negative particle *ne* before the verb. (ii.) A verb of motion negated by *ne* could optionally be reinforced by the pseudo-object noun *pas* ‘step’ in the context of verbs of movement:

- (11) Il ne va (pas).
he not goes (step)
‘He doesn’t go (a step).’ (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 65))

(iii.) The word *pas* was reanalyzed as a negator particle in a structure of the type *ne V-movement (pas)*. (iv.) *Pas* was extended analogically to new verbs having nothing to do with movement; i.e., the structure was now *ne V(pas)*:

- (12) Il ne sait pas.
he not knows not
‘He doesn’t know.’ (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 66))

(v.) The particle *pas* was reanalyzed as an obligatory concomitant of *ne* for general negation: *ne V pas*. (vi.) In the spoken vernacular *pas* came to replace *ne* via two stages: (*ne*) *V pas* (reanalysis of *ne* as

optional), *V pas* (reanalysis by loss of *ne*), resulting in:”

- (13) Il sait pas.
 he knows not
 ‘He doesn’t know.’ (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 66))

What is important here is that, as mentioned repeatedly, we cannot realize that the reanalysis of *pas* from the pseudo-object noun to the negator particle had taken place at stage (iii.) without the analogy at stage (iv.) through which verbs other than motion verbs came to appear between *ne* and *pas*, and that it is the semantic bleaching of *pas* that made possible the reanalysis of *ne* as optional and the replacement of *ne* with *pas* at stage (vi.) because the semantic content ‘step’ would have interfered with the changes.⁴

2.4. Pragmatic Factors

As mentioned in section 2.3., the two mechanisms, i.e. reanalysis and analogy, play crucial roles in grammaticalization. However, the important question remains why the mechanisms occur. These section overviews pragmatic factors as motivations of grammaticalization, such as pragmatic inference through metaphorical and metonymic processes, and semantic enrichment and bleaching.

2.4.1. Pragmatic Inference

Inference, which is especially called implicational inference

(implicature in the linguistic term) or conversational inference in Grice (1975), is made in linguistic contexts from one clause to another or even from one utterance to another. Grice (1975) suggests that inference is computable with lexical meanings and implicature from speech act maxims, i.e. the first maxim of Quantity: “Make your contribution as informative as is required,” the second maxim of Quantity: “Do not make your contribution more informative than is required,” the maxim of Relation: “Be relevant,” the maxim of Manner: “Be perspicuous.”⁵ According to Hopper and Traugott (2003), the second maxim of Quantity and the maxim of Relation are especially important in the process of grammaticalization, and most conversational implicatures are abductive in that “given an utterance, hearers may relate it to a general heuristic, and guess the speaker’s intent, [and] the guess may be wrong because the heuristics can always be fluted, e.g., it is possible for speakers to be uninformative or to lie. Furthermore implicatures are ‘cancelable’ either by the speaker (in which case an explanation is given), or by hearers’ inferences from the situation.”

Conversational inference typically leads to conventional implicature, which needs to be learned as part of the polysemy of the word because it is usually arbitrary and not cancelable. Let us consider the semantic polysemy of *since* between the temporal and causal meanings:

(14) a. I have done quite a bit of writing since we last got together.
(temporal)

b. Since I have a final exam tomorrow, I won't be able to go out
tonight. (causal)

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 80))

The meaning of *since* in (14a) is temporal because both main and subordinate clauses refer to events in the past, while that of *since* in (14b) is causal because one clause refers to a non-past or stative event. The causal event is conventional and not cancelable, as in (15).

(15) *Since I have a final exam tomorrow, I won't be able to go out
tonight, but not because of the exam!

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 81))

The difference between temporal and causal meanings in (14) involves the syntactic difference between the past or non-past tenses, but there is a case in which the difference of meanings is syntactically obscured and ambiguous, as illustrated in (16).

(16) Since Susan left him, John has been very miserable.
(temporal or causal)

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 81))

Given these facts, therefore, it is concluded that *since* is semantically ambiguous and polysemous.

In addition to the semantic ambiguity, there are pragmatic ambiguities and polysemies, as exemplified in (17).

(17) After we read your novel we felt greatly inspired.

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 81))

The sentence in (17) may be interpreted as temporal sequence in a literal sense, while it also implicates a causal reading: *Because we read your novel we felt greatly inspired*, which strengthens informativeness. What is important here is that the implicature enriches the relation between the subordinate and main clauses in (17) without any regular syntactic correlates for this relationship (see Horn (1989) and Sweetser (1988) for further discussion on pragmatic and semantic ambiguities).

Hopper and Traugott (2003), citing Dahl's hypothesis in (18), suggest that "in early stages of grammaticalization conventional implicature frequently become 'semanticized' that is, become part of the semantic polysemies of a form."

- (18) If some condition happen to be fulfilled frequently when a certain category is used, a stronger association may develop between the condition and the category in such a way that the condition comes to be understood as an integral part of the meaning of the category. (Dahl (1985: 11))

As mentioned in Dahl (1985), it should be noted that only if inference frequently occurs, it can play a significant role in grammaticalization because only stereotypical inference can continue to have an impact on the meaning of an expression just as in the inference of *since* and *after* from the temporal sequence to the causal interpretation.

2.4.2. Metaphorical Processes

According to Sweetser (1988), metaphorical processes are sorts of inference across conceptual boundaries, i.e. ‘mappings’ or ‘associative leaps’ from one domain of image schema with very concrete sources to another with abstract concepts. Among well-known examples of mappings in the lexical domain are *see* and *grasp*:

- (19) I see/grasp the point of your argument.
(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 84))

In (19), the relatively concrete concepts denoted by *see* and *grasp* as bodily experience is mapped onto the relatively abstract one as

psychological states, which is called the “mind-as-body metaphor” (see Sweetser (1990)).⁶

Hopper and Traugott (2003) suggest that the early stage of grammaticalization is especially motivated by metaphorical processes although most of them in language change have been discussed at the level of the lexicon, following the line put forward by Bybee and Pagliuca (1985: 75) that “Rather than subscribe to the idea that grammatical evolution is driven by communicative necessity, we suggest that human language users have a natural propensity for making metaphorical extensions that lead to the increased use of certain items.”

One of the most typical examples of metaphorical processes in grammaticalization is the development of spatiotemporal terms. According to Claudi and Heine (1986) and Heine, Claudi, and Hünemeyer (1991a, b), a body part such as *behind* can metaphorically shift to spatial terms (an example of the shift from OBJECT > SPACE), which can subsequently alter into temporal terms via the further metaphorical process, (an example of the shift from SPACE > TIME) as in *We are behind in paying our bills*.

2.4.3. Metonymic Processes

It is generally accepted that metaphorical processes, as discussed in the previous section, play an important role in grammaticalization. Hopper and Traugott (2003), however, put more emphasis on the importance of metonymic processes because in many cases a

grammatical item is not derived from a lexical item relatively dependently of contexts but out of semantic contiguity of utterance contexts.⁷ Let us consider the development of *while*. Traugott and König (1991) argue that *while* is derived from the adverbial phrase *þe hwile þa* in OE translated as ‘*at the time that*’ consisting of the accusative distal demonstrative, the accusative noun and the invariant subordinate which denotes simultaneity with *hwile*, as illustrated in (20).

(20) & wicode þær þa hwile þe man þa
 and lived there that:DAT time:DAT that one that
 burg worhte & getimbrode
 fortress worked-on and built

‘And camped there at the time that/while the fortress was worked on and built.’

(Chron A[Plummer] 913.3)

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 90))

This adverbial phrase *þe hwile þa* was reduced to the simple conjunction *wile* in late OE:

(21) Ðæt lasted þa [xix] wintre wile Stephne was king.

‘That lasted those 19 winters while Stephen was king.’

(ChronE [Plummer] 1137. 36)

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 91))

In (21), the demonstrative *þe* denoting the explicit simultaneity was lost and therefore the subordinate clause came to be interpreted not only as temporal but also causal for the situation from conventional inference, as in *the disasters lasted nineteen years because Stephen was king*. Such an inference to grounds for the situation became dominant over temporality in the later of the 14th century:

(22) Thar mycht succed na female,

Quhill foundyn mycht be ony male.

‘No female was able to succeed while any male could be found.’

(1375, Barbour's Bruce 1.60 [*OED* while 2a])

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 91))

As a result, causal inference from *while* such as in (22) did not become semanticized in ModE, and instead the different inference of surprise concerning the overlap in time or the relations between event and ground came to dominant, leading to the adversative, concessive inference in the similar way of the development of *as long as* and *at the same time* in the 17th century:

(23) Whill others aime at greatnes boght with blod,
Not to bee great thoug styves, bot to bee good.

‘While others aim at greatness that is bought with blood, you
strive to be not great but good.’

(1617, Sir W. Mure, *Misc. Poems* xxi. 23 [*OED* while 2b])

It is true that there is ambiguity between simultaneous and concessive interpretations in the sentence in (23), but a strong inference reinforced by the inversion in the second line and the fact that it is unusual not to be bloodthirsty makes us interpret the sentence as concessive. In PE, there are unambiguous sentences of concessive meanings, typically involving present-tense stative verbs, as exemplified in (24).

(24) While you like peaches, I like nectarines.

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 91))

The development of *while* from the temporal to causative or concessive meaning demonstrates a shift from a concrete state to a relatively abstract and subjective interpretation, which is referred to as “subjectification,” See Traugott (1989, 1995) and Akimoto (2004) for more details.⁸

causative meaning but via a perfective meaning, which comes from pragmatically in past tense causative contexts: *did him gyuen up dat abbotrice* can be interpreted as expressing not only that the king made him give up the abbey but also that he gave up his abbey. In this perfective interpretation, more emphasis is put on the action itself rather than the agent, and this inference is more likely to occur with no overt subject of the non-finite clause following *do*, as shown in (27).

(27) And so thei dede bothe deseieue ladies and gentilwomen, and bere for the diuerse langages on hem.

‘And so they both mocked ladies and gentlewomen, and made various allegations against them.’

(c. 1450, Knt. Tour-L, 2.24; cited in Denison 1985: 50)

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 95))

It should be noted that semantic bleaching is not incompatible with pragmatic enrichment including metaphorical and metonymic inferences discussed above. It is true that more abstract meanings are always derived from original lexical meanings by either metaphorical or metonymic processes, yielding polysemy but after the shift of meanings occurs in the initial phase of grammaticalization, the loss of meaning begins in the later phase, but not vice versa.⁹ This is supported by the phenomenon called ‘persistence’ (Hopper (1991)): when an item is grammaticalized into a functional item, there can still remain some traces of its original lexical meanings, which continue

constraining its grammatical distribution. First, compare an accusative case marker in Latin with *k* in Gã (a Benue-Kwa language of West Africa). The Latin accusative case marker, which has fully developed, appears irrespective of the semantic relation between the verb and the object. Therefore, most, if not all, objects are case-marked as accusative. In Gã, on the other hand, the accusative marker *k* is allowed in (28a), but not in (28b):

- (28) a. È k wòlò ñmè-s.
 she ACC book lay-down
 ‘She put down a book.’ (Load (1993: 118))
- b. *È k wól ñmè.
 she ACC egg lay
 ‘She laid an egg.’ (Load (1993: 120))
- c. *T t k K kă nà.
 Tete ACC Koko saw
 ‘Tele saw Koko.’ (Load (1993: 120))

This restriction on grammatical distribution of *k* is due to the difference of the semantic relation between the verb and the object: in (28a), the object is ‘affected’ (e.g. changed, moved, grasped, etc.) through the action of the verb, while in (28b, c) the objects are ‘effected’ (e.g. produced, brought about, experienced, etc.) by the action of the verbs (Load (1982) and Hopper (1986)). The accusative case marker *k* can only be followed by ‘affected’ objects in Gã.¹⁰ The reason why

$k\bar{\square}$ cannot cooccur with ‘effected’ objects is that the grammatical morpheme derives from the lexical verb denoting ‘to take,’ and therefore only objects that can be ‘taken’ are marked morphologically as accusatives in Gã.

Second, take as another example of persistence the modal auxiliary *will*, which is ambiguous between prediction (the ‘pure’ future), willingness, and intention in PE. As mentioned in Bybee and Pagliuca (1987), *will* already showed two of these meanings in OE: willingness and intention, as exemplified in (29).

- (29) a. Gif he us geunnan wile, þæt we hine swa
 if he us grant will, that we him so
 godne gretan moton...
 generous greet should...

‘If he will/is willing to grant that we should greet him who is so gracious...’
 (*Beowulf* 346-347)

- b. Wen’ ic þæt he wille, gif he wealdon mot, in
 think I that he will, if he prevail may, in
 þæm guðsele Geotena leode etan unforhte.
 the war-hall of-Geats men eat unafraid
 ‘I believe that he will, if he should prevail, devour the people of
 the Geats without fear in their war-hall.’

(*Beowulf* 442-444)

(Bybee and Pagliuca (1987: 113))

Then, the predicative future developed out of the intention or promise meanings in ME when inanimates without volition began to appear as the subject of *will* (Aijmer (1985)). However, it does not mean that the old meanings of prediction and willingness were replaced by the new meaning of prediction. The polysemy of *will* in PE can be thought of as the result of the addition of the new meaning and the persistence of the original lexical meanings.

2.5. The Hypothesis of Unidirectionality

Grammaticalization, as already mentioned above, is hypothesized to be diachronically a unidirectional phenomenon, which involves processes such as generalization and decategorialization. When lexical items come to be used in certain highly constrained local contexts, the items go through reanalysis and acquire more syntactic and morphological functions. Then the grammaticalized items must be semantically general and play common discourse functions. Eventually, they may be syntactically fixed and morphologically amalgamated as clitic or affix. What is important here is that the path of grammaticalization is a one-way process, as schematized in (30).¹¹

- (30) lexical item used in specific linguistic contexts > syntax >
morphology (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 100))

2.5.1. Generalization

As discussed in the previous sections, early stages of grammaticalization do not see semantic bleaching but the shift from more concrete lexical meanings to more abstract grammatical ones through pragmatic strengthening and increased informativeness. Generalization is a process of an increase in the polysemies (generalization of meaning) and an extension of grammatical function (generalization of grammatical function).

The lexical meanings of items which grammaticalize must be general: superordinate terms such as *say*, *move* and *go* are more likely to grammaticalize than more specialized terms such as *whisper*, *chortle*, *assert*, *squirm*, and *writhe*, which can be grammaticalized only after their meaning has become enough general. For example, Latin *ambulare* 'walk' had been generalized into French *aller* 'go' before it was grammaticalized into a future auxiliary. Lexical items with general meaning come to be used in more various contexts and gain wider distribution, and then they begin to take on grammatical functions. Meanings generalize, i.e., expand their range through the development of various polysemies in grammaticalization.

As pointed out by Hopper and Traugott (2003), in so far as grammatical items retain meanings, they will come to serve in larger and larger range of morphosyntactic contexts. One of typical examples of generalization of grammatical function is the development in Finnish of the genitive case morpheme to indicate the underlying subject of a non-finite clause. In Finnish, in both older and modern

periods, objects are indicated in the following different systems:

- (31) a. with the accusative case if there is an overt subject, and the matrix verb is active
b. with the nominative if there is no overt subject
c. with the partitive if the verb is negated, or if the object is partially affected (Comrie (1981: 125-136))

In sentences such as (32) from Old Finnish texts, objects were case-marked following the case-marking system in (31):

- (32) a. Accusative

Seurakunnan hen lupasi psysyueisen oleuan.
congregation:ACC he promised long-lasting:ACC being:ACC
'He promised that the congregation would be long-lasting.'

- b. Nominative

Homatian se tauara ia Jumalan Lahia
observed it goods:NOM and God:GEN gift:NOM
poiseleua.
being-lacking:NOM

'It is observed that the goods and the gift of God are lacking.'

- c. Partitive

Eike lwle site syndic oleuan.
Not think this:PARTIT sin being:PART

'Not does one think this to be a sin.' (Timberlake (1977: 145))

In Modern Finnish, on the other hand, subjects in non-finite clauses are indicated with the genitive case, as shown in (33).

(33) Näen poikien menevän.

I-see boy:GEN:PL go:PART

‘I see the boys going.’ (lit. ‘I see the going of the boys.’)

(Anttila (1989: 104))

The replacement of the accusative, nominative, and partitive cases by the genitive case suggests that the nouns which were once construed as the objects of the main clause are reanalyzed as the subject of the subordinate clause.¹² What brought about the reanalysis was the ambiguity of the case morpheme: the accusative morpheme *-m* and the genitive *-n* of singular nouns became homophonous as a result of phonological change in which nasals in the end of words were unified as *n*. The reanalysis in very local contexts with singular agentive nouns was generalized: first singular NPs and pronouns, plural pronouns and plural agentive NPs, and plural non-agentive NPs. The process of generalization of grammatical function, as Timberlake suggests, reflects a spread along a functional hierarchy from more subject-like NPs to less subject-like ones.

2.5.2. Decategorialization

Decategorialization means the loss of syntactic and morphological

properties along the unidirectional cline from major categories such as nouns and verbs which tend to be phonologically longer and more distinct to minor ones such as auxiliaries, pronouns and demonstratives which tend to be less distinct and lighter:

- (34) major category (> intermediate category) > minor category
(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 107))

Almost all languages have at least the two major categories (nouns and verbs) whereas the minor categories, which often appear as affixes are various depending on the types of language.¹³ The hypothesis of unidirectionality suggests that all minor categories are derived from major categories.¹⁴

Decategorialization is typically exemplified by the development of the conjunction *while*, which, as discussed in section 2.4.3, was derived from the temporal noun *hwil* in OE. In the course of grammaticalization to the conjunction, *while* has lost grammatical features that identify it as the noun:

- (35) a. cannot take articles or quantifiers
b. cannot be modified by adjectives or demonstratives
c. cannot serve as a subject or as any other argument of the verb
d. can only appear in the initial position in its clause
e. cannot subsequently be referred to by an anaphoric pronoun

(cf. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 107))

It should be noted that decategorialization, the loss of the erstwhile properties as noun is accompanied by the acquisition of features of the conjunction via the pragmatic inference which makes it possible to link clauses and indicate temporal relationships in discourse (see section 2.4.3.).

Similarly, verbs also lose verbal properties of tense, aspect, modality, and person-number marking when they undergo grammaticalization. Let us consider the following pair of sentences in (36).

- (36) a. Carefully considering/Having carefully considered all the evidence, the panel delivered its verdict.
b. Considering (*having carefully considered) you are so short, your skill at basketball is unexpected.

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 108))

In (36a), the participle *considering*, which is understood literally, still retains verb-like properties: it can take adverbial modifier, can have a present or past tense form, and must have an understood subject identical with the subject in the main clause, while the counterpart in (36b) does not show these properties because it is understood as a conjunction.

As mentioned above, minor categories are derived from major categories, e.g. noun and verb, along the unidirectional path of

grammaticalization. If it is true, then it follows that the path of grammaticalization is divided into the two clines for nominal and verbal categories: a noun-to-affix cline and a verb-to-affix cline.

2.5.2.1. A Noun-to-Affix Cline

A noun-to-affix cline has a relational noun as its starting point which develops into an adposition, and eventually a case affix, as schematized in (37).

- (37) relational noun > secondary adposition > primary adposition >
agglutinative case affix > fusional case affix

(C. Lehmann (1985: 304))

Relational nouns such as *top*, *way*, *side*, *foot*, *head*, and *back* are a full lexical ones denoting a location or direction in relation to some other noun. It is usually a head noun of a phrase, such as *side* in *by the side of*, or an inflected noun, such as German *wegen* ‘ways [dative plural].’¹⁵

Adposition is a cover term for prepositions and postpositions. Secondary adpositions like *beside* and *ahead*, which are typically derived from relational nouns such as *side* and *head*, show concrete relationships as in *beside the sofa*, and *ahead of the column*. On the other hand, primary adpositions such as *of*, *by* and, *to* indicate pure grammatical relationships as in *arrested by a plain clothes policeman* as well as relatively concrete spatial meanings as in *a hotel by the railway station*.¹⁶

Moreover, primary adpositions are likely to be cliticized, and then may end up becoming affixes. For example, Hungarian agglutinative case affixes such as *-ban* in *házban* ‘house-inessive/in the house’ and *-ból* in *házból* ‘from the house’ can be traced back to postpositions. They are amalgamated with the stem with slight phonological adjustment, which makes the boundary between stem and suffix clear. On the other hand, Latin fusional case affixes like the dative/ablative plural suffix *-ibus* as in *militibus* ‘to/from the soldiers’ do not show the distinctive boundary because the nominative singular form *miles* ‘solder’ has lost the *-t-* of the stem *milet* through assimilation to the nominative singular suffix *-s*.

2.5.2.2. A Verb-to-Affix Cline

A verb-to-affix cline shows the path of the development from a full verb which has its lexical meaning into an auxiliary, a verbal clitic, and eventually a verbal affix:¹⁷

(38) full verb > auxiliary > verbal clitic > verbal affix

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 111))

Auxiliary verbs typically have more abstract semantic properties of tense, aspect and mood, and show grammatical behavior which is different from the former lexical verb. For example, the modal auxiliary *will* cannot appear in a certain temporal and infinitival

clauses in PE:

(39) a. *Let's wait till she will join us.

b. *I would like her to will join us.

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 111))

One of the typical examples of the development from full verb via (quasi) auxiliary to clitic includes *have*, as demonstrated in (40).

(40) main verb: have a book

quasi-auxiliary: have a book to read/have to read a book

full auxiliary: have had a book clitic: we've had a book

(cf. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 111))

Moreover, there are cases in which French clitics have developed into affixes, e.g. *ils parleront* 'they will speak,' where *-ont* is the affix of future tense derived from cliticized auxiliary 'have.'

However, an additional position intermediate between the main verb and the auxiliary verb has been discussed in Hook (1974, 1991). Hindi and Indo-Aryan languages have a class of compound verbs consisting of the finite main verb which has a lexical meaning and the non-finite vector verb which carries markers of tense, aspect, and mood:¹⁸

- (41) a. māī ne das baje aap ko fon kar.
 I AGT 10 o'clock you DAT phone make
 liyaa
 VECTOR/brought
 'I telephoned you at 10 o'clock.'
- b. māī ne use paise de diye.
 I AGT him:DAT money give VECTOR/gave
 'I gave him the money.' (cf. Hook (1994: 166-167))

The vector verbs *liyaa* and *diye* are in the past tense and do not show their lexical meanings 'bring' and 'give,' because in (41b) the main verb is also *de* 'give.' The vector verbs are not necessarily obligatory and (41) can be phrased with the main verb alone:¹⁹

- (42) a. māī ne das baje aap ko fon kiyaa.
 I AGT 10 o'clock you DAT phone made
 'I telephoned you at 10 o'clock.'
- b. māī ne use paise diye.
 I AGT him:DAT money gave
 'I gave him (the) money.'
- (cf. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 112))

In (42) the main verbs *kiyaa* and *diye* are in the past tense and there are questions about whether the call was successfully put through and

whether all the money was given while in (41) these questions do not arise, which therefore indicates that the vector verbs in (41) express all of the semantic complexities of perfective aspect, such as emphasis on completion, full affectedness of the object, and involvement of an agent.

2.6. Examples of Grammaticalization

This section discusses two typical examples of grammaticalization, i.e. those of *lets*, and *be going to*, on the basis of the ideas suggested by Hopper and Traugott (2003): the mechanisms of reanalysis and analogy, the pragmatic factors including semantic bleaching, and the hypothesis of unidirectionality, e.g. generalization and decategorialization.

2.6.1. *Lets*

Let us begin with the example of *lets*. In PE, there are cases in which *let* is used in the second person imperative, as shown in (43).

- (43) a. Let us go. (i.e., release us)
b. Let yourself down on the rope.
c. Let Bill go. (i.e., release Bill)

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 10))

The second person pronoun *you* is interpreted as the subject of *let*, and the objects of *let* are *us* in (43a), *yourself* in (43b), and *Bill* in (43c), which may be the subjects of passives, as exemplified in (44).

(44) We were let go. (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 10))

What is important here is that the meaning of *let* ‘allow’ has shifted to the imperative. As mentioned in section 2.4.4, grammaticalization in its early stages usually involves a shift in meaning, which occurs only in a highly specific context, as in the case of the imperative *let us*: first, the meaning of permission has been extended to that of suggestion, and then the sense of *let* has become less specific and more general (see section 2.5.1.).²⁰

In addition to the ordinary imperative constructions in (43a-c), *let* can be used in so called adhortatives like urging or encouraging sentences:

(45) Let’s go to the circus tonight.
(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 10))

As this construction is regarded as a “first-person imperative” in Quirk et al. (1985), the understood subject of *let* is interpreted as *I*, and *us* is the subject of the dependent verb *go*, not the object of *let*, which cannot be the subject of a passive, as in (44). According to Quirk et al. (1985), *lets* is used to mean *let me* in very colloquial English, as shown in (46).

(46) Lets give you a hand. (i.e. let me give you a hand)
(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 10))

In some varieties of English, moreover, the first-person-plural subject *us* of *let's* (*lets*) is reinforced by *you and I*. Moreover, the first-person pronoun *I* can be omitted or replaced by the third-person pronoun *him*:

(47) a. Let's you and I take 'em on for a set.

(1929, Faulkner, *Sartoris* III. 186; *OED* let 14.a)

b. Lets you and him fight.

c. Lets you go first, then if we have any money left I'll go.

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 11))

In (47a), a first-person-plural pronoun *us* is cliticized as in *let's*, and in (46) and (47b, c), it has lost the boundary between the verb and the clitic, and become a single word *lets*. The unified form *let's* (or *lets*) can still be analyzed as *let* and *us* as long as the subject of the dependent verb are first-person-plural as in (47a), but when it cooccurs with non-first-person-plural subjects as in (46) and (47b, c), the final *-s* of *lets* has lost the meaning of *us* and its status as a separate morpheme, and become a simple phonemic constituent of the word, as schematized in (48).

(48) (let)us > (let)'s > (let)s

word affix phoneme

(cf. Givón (1979: 208-209))

Eventually, second or third-person subject pronouns have gone and *lets* simply expresses the speaker's condescending encouragement:

- (49) a. Lets wash your hands.
b. Lets eat our liver now, Betty. (Cole (1975: 268))

The development of *lets* demonstrates that there were innovations from an earlier inflectional expression to a phrasal expression of the modalities of the verb, which is part of the very general change to periphrasis from the morphological expression, i.e., the rise of modern auxiliaries and semi-auxiliaries such as modal auxiliaries and *be going to*.

2.6.2. *be going to*

In PE, the phrase *be going to* is used as a main verb and (part of) an auxiliary:

- (50) a. I am going to London.
b. I am going to marry Bill. (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 3))

Generally, *go* in (50a) is analyzed as a main verb, while *go* in (50b) as an auxiliary. The latter auxiliary *go*, which expresses immediate futurity, derives historically from the former lexical verb *go*, which denotes deictic motion. This change occurs only in a highly specific context, where the preposition phrase expressing the goal of the motion

is replaced by a purposive infinitive complement because in the absence of an overt directional phrase, the futurity of the purposive *to* can become salient:

- (51) Thys onhppy sowle... was going to be broughte into helle for the synne and onleful [unlawful] lustys of her body.

(1482, Monk of Evesham [*OED* go 47b])

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 89))

The sentence in (51) expresses that after death the soul goes on a journey with the purpose of being rewarded or punished for the actions in life. It should be noted that in this example, the directionality of *go* has shifted to a more abstract meaning because *into helle* is an adjunct not of *going to* but of *brought* (a metaphorical process), and the future meaning of *be going to* is derived by the semanticization of the dual inferences of *go* and *to*, not of *go* alone, and the progressive *be -ing* denoting the activity in process motivated *be going to* to be interpreted as an imminent purposive (a metonymical process).²¹

The shift of the purposive *be going to* to a future auxiliary involves reanalysis:²²

- (52) I am going [to marry Bill] > [I [am going to] marry Bill]

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 3))

As mentioned in 2.3.1, the reanalysis, being a covert change, is

detectable only when *be going to* has been generalized or analogized to appear in contexts that were unavailable before, as shown in (53).

(53) a. I am going to like Bill.

I am going to go to London. (Hopper and Traugott: 2003: 3)

Similarly, it is possible to say that semantic bleaching has happened in this stage because the sentence in (52) has a structural ambiguity and semantic polysemy. Therefore, it is plausible to argue that semantic bleaching only occurs in a late stage of grammaticalization, although shift in meaning appears in an early stage.

Even after the reanalysis, however, the original purposive meaning is persistent and continues to affect the distribution of the auxiliary. The auxiliary *be going to*, denoting the future of intention, plan, or schedule, which come from the original meaning through shift in meaning, can occur in contexts where the modal auxiliary *will* cannot:

(54) a. If interest rates are going to climb, we'll have to change our plans.

b. *If interest rates will climb, we'll have to change our plans.

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 3))

This persistence of meaning indicates that the older form and the new auxiliary use coexist in PE and *go* has not lost all its lexical meaning

after the reanalysis.

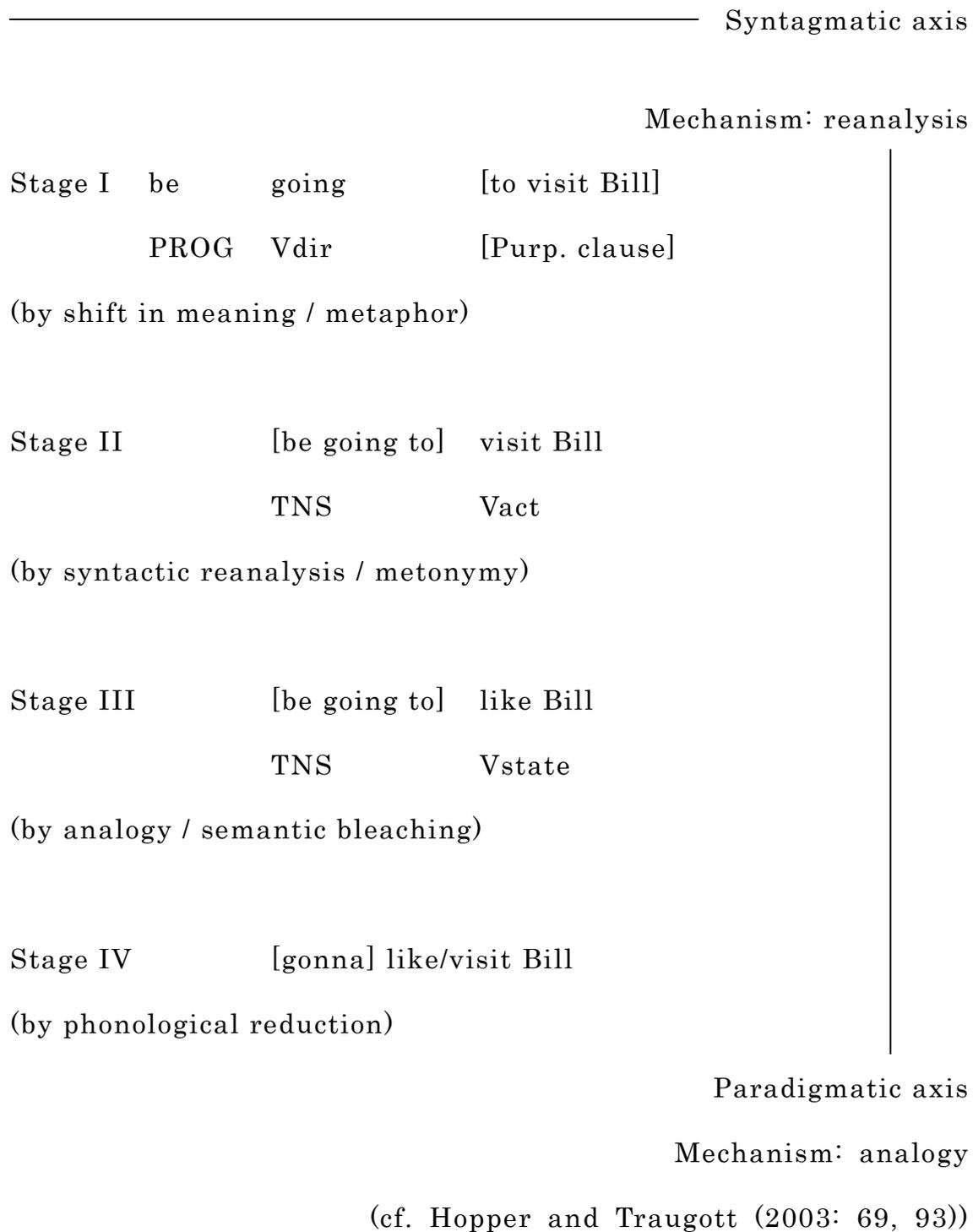
Once the reanalysis occurs, *be going to* can go through a phonological reduction, where the three morphemes, i.e. *go*, *-ing*, and *to* are reduced into *gonna*:

(55) Bill is gonna go to college after all.

(cf. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 1))

The phonological reduction is made possible only because there is no longer a phrasal boundary between *going* and *to*. The development of the auxiliary *be going to* is shown as in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Schema of the development of the auxiliary *be going to*



However, as pointed out by Amano (2006), a question arises here: what is the syntactic category of [*be going to*]? It cannot be an auxiliary because just *be*, not the whole phrase *be going to*, raises to C in the corresponding interrogative sentence. Therefore, it would be that *be* is an auxiliary verb, *going* is a verb, and *to* is an infinitive marker both before and after the reanalysis. Amano (2006) suggests that it is very difficult to see what kind of categorical reanalysis has happened in the development of *be going to* although he agrees that some kind of grammaticalization is happening, and that the process of grammaticalization is still at an immature stage and a categorical reanalysis is going to happen at some time in the future.²³

Given the problem just pointed out, the development of *be going to* is not suitable enough to illustrate grammaticalization. Instead, chapter 3 cites *come/go* in double verb constructions as one of the most typical examples of grammaticalization, involving the categorical reanalysis of main verb to light verb.

2.7. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter we have overviewed the theoretical and methodological background on grammaticalization on the basis of Hopper and Traugott (2003). Section 2.1 noted the history of the study of grammaticalization. Section 2.2 defined that grammaticalization as the path from a lexical item to a functional one, which is schematized as a cline. Section 2.3 discussed the major

mechanisms of change that can cause grammaticalization: reanalysis and analogy. The former is a covert structural change (rebracketing), and the latter is the overt application of a new structure to already existing constructions. Section 2.4 argued that motivations of grammaticalization are pragmatic factors such as pragmatic inference through metaphorical and metonymic processes, and semantic enrichment and bleaching. In section 2.5, it was hypothesized that grammaticalization is diachronically a unidirectional phenomenon, which involves processes such as generalization and decategorialization. In section 2.6, we saw two examples of grammaticalization in detail to illustrate several of its characteristics.

Notes to Chapter 2

¹ Word order changes also involve changes in constituent order. See note 3 for discussion about whether word order changes are outcomes of grammaticalization.

² The reanalyses of *lets* and *be going to* are discussed in detail as examples of grammaticalization in section 2.6.

³ Although Meillet identifies reanalysis with grammaticalization, not all cases of reanalysis are cases of grammaticalization. In case a new grammatical affix which does not exist in the old sequence has appeared in the process of reanalysis, it could be that grammaticalization results from reanalysis. However, the new affix necessarily comes from the process of reanalysis, and the effect is, on the contrary, mainly on the lexicon, not on the grammar, which is a case of reanalysis without grammaticalization referred to as lexicalization, e.g. *bo'sun* from *boat* + *swain* 'man,' *hussy* from *house* + *wife* 'woman,' *fishwife* from *fish* + *wife* 'woman,' and *sweetmeat* from *sweet* + *meat* 'food.' *Swain*, *wife*, and *meat*, all have not been reanalyzed as grammatical morphemes (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 58)).

As mentioned in note 1, word order changes also involve reanalysis. The question here is whether they exemplify grammaticalization, or they are merely types of reanalysis that do not

necessarily involve grammaticalization. If it is the case that word order changes are caused by parameter changes along the line advocated by Roberts and Roussou (2003) and Roberts (2008), it could be that word order changes themselves are not instances of grammaticalization although they may be outcomes of or factors for grammaticalization (see section 2.2). This is supported by the fact that word order changes are not subject to the hypothesis of unidirectionality, which will be discussed in section 2.5.

⁴ Semantic bleaching is one of the most important pragmatic factors as motivations of grammaticalization. See section 2.4. for more details.

⁵ There are some linguists who suggest that the maxim of Relevance alone is sufficient to account for pragmatic inference. See Horn (1996), and Levinson (2000) among others.

⁶ Traditionally metaphorical processes were regarded as semantic. However, some linguists such as Levinson (1983), Sperber and Wilson (1986) and Green (1989) recently have suggested that they should be seen as pragmatic because they are not subject to truth condition but based in communicative use.

⁷ Metonymic processes were not thought to be so significant. For example, Dirven (1985) refers to metaphor as “major associative leap” but metonymy as “minor process.”

⁸ Subjectification, which is one of the processes assumed on the hypothesis of unidirectionality, indicates that the speaker gradually enhances his or her subjectivity on the propositions, as schematized in (i).

(i) propositional > textual > expressive / interpersonal

(Akimoto 2004: 12)

⁹ Therefore meaning changes in grammaticalization are not arbitrary, and semantic bleaching does not occur suddenly.

¹⁰ No accusative case markers appear in front of ‘effected’ objects in Gã:

(i) a. È ŋmè wɔ̀lɔ̀.

she lay egg.

‘She laid an egg.’

b. Tɔ̀tɔ̀ na` Kɔ̀kã.

Tete saw Koko

‘Tete saw Koko.’

(Load (1993: 120))

¹¹ There are, though not many, counter examples to the hypothesis of unidirectionality, which have been referred to specific terms such as “degrammaticalization,” “lexicalization,” and “exaptation.” Although the term degrammaticalization is sometimes used for many typical

cases of grammaticalization in the final phase, it is also used for backward changes on the unidirectional cline:

- (i) phrases/words > non-bound grams > inflection

(Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1990: 40))

Lexicalization, which is more properly called “conversion,” is often regarded as putative counterexamples to grammaticalization. For example, in German and French the second-person-singular familiar pronouns *du* and *tu* are lexicalized as the verbs *dozen* and *tutoyer*, which both mean ‘to use the familiar address form.’ Given that lexicalization is a process to enrich the lexicon, it may have virtually nothing in common with grammaticalization. However, there are some cases in which lexicalization has much to do with grammaticalization. Erstwhile compositional forms like *garlic* (< *gar* ‘spear’ + *leac* ‘leek’), *halibut* (< *halig* ‘holy’ + *butte* ‘flat fish’), *arise* (< ‘on’ + ‘rise’) now become non-compositional, single lexical items, N or V. On the other hand, *already* (< all + ready), *hafta* (< from have + to), and *sorta* (< sort + of) become single grammatical units, i.e. an aspectual marker, modal, and a degree word. This shows that lexicalization can lead to grammaticalization (Hagège (1993), C. Lehmann (1989, 2002), and Wischer (2000)). In fact, *as long as* had been lexicalized before it was grammaticalized into a subordinate conjunction.

Exaptation is the process by which features acquire functions that they were not originally adapted or selected for. Norde (2001)

expands the notion of exaptation to account for the replacement by a clitic of the inflectional genitive in English. In OE, the inflectional genitive demonstrated concord with the possessive NP, but in ME a clitic began to be used in similar constructions:

- (ii) ðæs cyning-es sweoster Ecgfrið-es
 the: GEN king-GEN sister: NOM Ecgfrið-GEN
 ‘the sister of Ecgfrith the king’

(c. 1000, Aelfric Hom 11, 10 87, 215)

- (iii) the god of slepes heyr
 ‘the god of sleep’s heir’

(c. 1368, Chaucer, Book of Duchess 168)

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 136))

The replacement of the inflectional genitive by the clitic *-s* provides counterevidence for the hypothesis that there is unidirectionality in grammaticalization from clitic to affix but not vice versa.

¹² The participle in the non-finite clause has also changed: in Old Finnish it inflected via agreement with the object whereas in Modern Finnish it is invariable. As pointed out by Hopper and Traugott (2003), it is thought to be a result of the loss of nominal properties of inflection.

¹³ Adjectives and adverbs are characterized between the major and minor categories and can be derived from participial verbs and nouns denoting location and manner respectively.

¹⁴ This can be a potential problem for the hypothesis of unidirectionality because it logically implies that no grammatical morphemes can arise without lexical origins. However, there is no evidence just yet that all grammatical items have lexical origins.

¹⁵ *By the side of* has turned into *beside*, and the meaning of *wegen* has been shifted to ‘because of’, as in *wegen des Wetters* ‘because of the weather.’

¹⁶ The spatial meanings of primary adpositions tend to be general and are recovered by some sort of reinforcement: *by the railway station* > *down by the railway station*, and *in the house* > *within/inside the house*.

¹⁷ This verbal cline will be modified in chapter 3.

¹⁸ It should be noted that in modern Indo-Aryan languages vector verbs are derived from main verbs carrying general meanings such as ‘go, give, take, throw, strike, let go, get up, come, sit, fall,’ and so forth (see chapter 3).

¹⁹ There are certain types of construction where vector verbs are obligatory.

²⁰ According to Traugott (1995), the imperative *let* has been available since the fourteen century.

²¹ Hopper and Traugott (2003) suggest that the metaphorical process of mapping a spatial motion onto a trajectory in time does not give adequate insight into why the progressive and the purposive *to* are involved in *be going to*. For example, in French the future inference arises out of the directional verb without overt purposive.

²² The reanalysis in (52) also involves the change from the progressive aspect to the immediate future.

²³ Amano (2006) argues that only semantic bleaching has happened to *be going to* up to now, and it will trigger a syntactic reanalysis whenever it reaches the stage at which the bleached meaning is totally incompatible with the original syntactic category.

Chapter 3

On Double Verb Constructions

3.1. Introduction

In PE, there is a class of motion verbs including *come* and *go* that can be followed by the bare form of another verb, which in turn expresses the purpose or intention of the motion that they denote, as shown in (1). I will call the relevant class of verbs COME/GO verbs and the configurations as in (1) Double Verb Constructions (henceforth, DVCs).

- (1) a. They come talk to me everyday.
b. He will go talk to his advisor today.
c. I expect him to come talk to you tomorrow.

(Pollock (1994: 303))

As observed by a number of linguists (Shopen (1971), Carden and Pesetsky (1977), Jaeggli and Hyams (1993), and Ishihara and Noguchi (2000), among others), DVCs exhibit an interesting restriction in PE, which is called the inflectional restriction: if either the COME/GO verb or the following verb appears in any inflected form such as a third person singular present form, a past tense form, and a participial form,

it leads to ungrammaticality, as illustrated in (2)-(5).^{1, 2}

(2) a. *He often goes smoke in the restroom.

b. *He often go smokes in the restroom.

c. *He often goes smokes in the restroom.

(Ishihara and Noguchi (2000: 133))

(3) a. *John went visit Harry yesterday.

b. *John go visited Harry yesterday.

c. *John went visited Harry yesterday.

(Carden and Pesetsky (1977: 83))

(4) a. *I am coming talk to you this afternoon.

b. *I come talking to you this afternoon.

c. *I am coming talking to you this afternoon.

(Ishihara and Noguchi (2000: 133))

(5) a. *He has gone talk to John.

b. *He has go talked to John.

c. *He has gone talked to John.

(Ishihara and Noguchi (2000: 133))

This chapter has three main goals: to identify the source of DVCs diachronically, to clarify their development in terms of grammaticalization, and to provide a syntactic explanation for the

inflectional restriction in such a way as to relate it to the development of DVCs.

This chapter is organized as follows. Section 3.2 discusses the status of DVCs in PE, reviewing some previous analyses including the quasi-auxiliary analysis, the *to*-deletion analysis, and the *and*-deletion analysis. Section 3.3 examines the development of DVCs, based on the data from historical corpora, Visser (1969), and *The Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth, OED), and suggests that DVCs were historically derived from V *and* V constructions (e.g. *They go and visit the dentist every year.*), not from V *to* V constructions (e.g. *The children go to visit the dentist every year.*), in ME. Section 3.4 presents the change of DVCs from V *and* V constructions in terms of grammaticalization, and argues that the COME/GO verb in DVCs, which has both lexical and functional properties, is a light verb in PE that occupies an intermediate position between full verbs and auxiliaries on the verbal cline of grammaticalization proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003). Section 3.5 proposes that as a result of grammaticalization, the COME/GO verb in DVCs is generated in *v* as a light verb. Given such a structure of DVCs as well as their historical development, the inflectional restriction and other unique properties of DVCs are shown to be given a syntactic account. Section 3.6 is the conclusion of this chapter.

3.2. The Status of DVCs in PE

3.2.1. Against the Quasi-Auxiliary Analysis

Shopen (1971) suggests that the COME/GO verb in DVCs is moving into the category of modal categories, on the basis of the fact that both of them must take bare forms of verbs as their complements. Jaeggli and Hyams (1993), however, adduce the following arguments against the quasi-auxiliary analysis. First, unlike modal auxiliaries, the COME/GO verb can occur in subjunctive complements, as illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. The police insist that Bill go talk to the counselor once a week.
I requested that she come discuss this problem with me in
b. person.
c. *I require that he can be there by 3.

(Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 318))

Second, the contrast between (7) and (8) shows that the COME/GO verb may follow a modal auxiliary and the infinitival maker *to*, while modal auxiliaries cannot.

- (7) a. I will go read a book.
b. It's important for you to go talk to him about this.

(Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 318))

- (8) a. *I will can read a book.
b. *I want to can see that movie.

(Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 318))

Furthermore, the COME/GO verb must be deleted under VP-deletion and can be preposed under VP-fronting as shown in (9) and (10), while the examples in (11) indicate that modal auxiliaries cannot undergo these two operations.

- (9) a. (Whenever the opportunity arises), I go watch a movie, and you do/*go, too.

- b. I come talk to my advisor every week and you do/*come, too.

(Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 318))

- (10) a. Mary wanted to go join the Army, and go join the Army she did.

- b. John arranged to come fix the roof and come fix the roof he did.

(Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 318))

- (11) a. John may be late for the appointment and Mary may too.

- b. *Mary said that she would write and would write she did.

(Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 318))

Crucially, while modal auxiliaries can undergo Subject-Aux Inversion and precede the negative marker *not* and the emphatic markers *too/so*, the COME/GO cannot, as illustrated in (12).

(12) a. *Go you see a movie every day?

(cf. May I go see a movie?)

b. *I come not talk to my advisor as often as I should.

(cf. I should not talk to my advisor at this point.)

c. *I come too/so talk to my advisor every day.

(cf. I will too/so talk to my advisor every day.)

(Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 319))

3.2.2. Against the *To*-Deletion Analysis

Carden and Pesesky (1977) suggest that if DVCs are derived from *V to V* constructions by *to*-deletion, as illustrated in (13), the fact that the verb following the COME/GO verb must be in its bare form is immediately explained.

(13) The children go to visit the dentist every year. →

The children go visit the dentist every year.

(Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 321))

Shopen (1971), Jaeggli and Hyams (1993), and Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001), however, do not regard this analysis as descriptively adequate. This is because the COME/GO verb in *V to V* constructions does not have the inflectional restriction, as shown in (14).

- (14) a. He came to talk to you yesterday.
b. She comes to see him every day.

(Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 321))

Furthermore, DVCs have a different truth condition from *V to V* constructions. Consider the examples in (15).

- (15) a. *They go buy vegetables every day, but there never are any
vegetables.
b. They go to buy vegetables every day, but there never are any
vegetables. (Shopen (1971: 258))

As Shopen (1971) observes, the DVC in (15a) means that the purchase has taken place and hence yields a contradiction in interpretation, while the *V to V* construction in (15b) does not. This indicates that *buy* is the main predicate of the sentence in (15a), while *go* plays this role in (15b).

3.2.3. Against the *And*-Deletion Analysis

Visser (1969) assumes that DVCs are derived from *V and V* constructions through the deletion of *and*.

(16) They go and visit the dentist every year. →

They go visit the dentist every year.

(Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 319))

This assumption is supported by the fact that DVCs have the same semantic property as *V and V* constructions, in that the purpose or intention which the verb following the COME/GO verb expresses cannot be canceled, unlike *V to V* constructions, as shown in (15) and (17).

(17) *They go and buy vegetables every day, but there never are any vegetables. (Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 387))

However, as discussed by Shopen (1971) and Jaeggli and Hyams (1993), this approach is problematic, because the COME/GO verb and the following verb in *V and V* constructions can appear with inflectional affixes, as long as both verbs share the same morphological marking:

(18) a. He came and left immediately.

b. She comes and sees him every day.

(Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 320))

Actually, there are some cases where the inflectional restriction is imposed on *V and V* constructions. I will discuss the inflectional

restriction on *V and V* constructions in more detail in section 3.3.

Another important difference between DVCs and *V and V* constructions is concerned with selectional restrictions imposed on their subjects. While the COME/GO verb in *V and V* constructions allows either a non-agentive or an agentive interpretation for the subject, that in DVCs requires an agentive subject, as illustrated in (19).

- (19) a. Pieces of driftwood come and wash up on the shore.
b. *Pieces of driftwood come wash up on the shore.
c. Our sewage might go and pollute town water supply.
d. *Our sewage might go pollute the town water supply.

(Shopen (1971: 259))

In summary, I have discussed the status of DVCs in PE, arguing that the COME/GO verb in DVCs behaves differently from modal auxiliaries, and DVCs do not have a derivational relation to *V to V* constructions or *V and V* constructions, at least synchronically in PE. In the next section, I will clarify when and how DVCs appeared in the history of English, and trace the source of DVCs diachronically by analyzing instances of DVCs in early English.

3.3. Diachronic Aspects of DVCs

3.3.1. COME/GO + Infinitive in OE

Visser (1969) observes that in OE, both types of infinitives with

and without *to* were used to express the purpose or intention of the motion denoted by the COME/GO verb, as illustrated in (20).

- (20) a. nelle ge wenen þæt ic come towerpan þa læge.
 not think that I come-1sg.Past destroy-Inf the law
 ‘Do not think that I came to destroy the law?’ (O.E.Gosp., Mt. 5, 17)
- b. ne com ic rightwise to gecigeanne.
 not come-1sg.Past I righteous to call-Inf
 ‘I didn’t come to call righteous people.’ (O.E.Gosp., Mt.9, 13)
- c. Nu ge moton gangan... Hroðgar geseon.
 Now ye may go-Inf... Hrothgar greet-Inf
 ‘Now you may go to greet Hrothgar.’ (Beowulf 395)
- d. ic and þæt cild gaþ unc to gebiddenne.
 I and that child go-3pl.Pres us to stay-Inf
 ‘I and that child go to stay for us two.’ (Ælfric, Gen, 22, 4)
 (Visser (1969: 1391-1399))

In view of the similarity in form and meaning, it might be assumed that DVCs were historically derived from the configuration of the COME/GO verb followed by a plain infinitive in OE. However, this assumption seems to be problematic because both the COME/GO verb and the plain infinitive appeared with inflectional affixes in OE, in violation of the inflectional restriction. Furthermore, as Los (2005) argues, plain infinitives with the meaning of purpose or intention went out of use after motion verbs by late OE, which caused the development of

to-infinitives with this function. Instead, plain infinitives acquired an imperfect or progressive meaning, and they were later replaced by present participles, as observed by Visser (1969).

- (21) a. oðri uutudilice ðegnas on scip l̥ on
 other disciples fishes in ship little on
 rouing cuomon.
 drag-PresPart come-3pl.Past

‘the other disciples came in the little ship dragging the net of fish.’

(Lindisf. Gosp., John 21,8)

- b. huy him eoden alle þretning.
 shout him go-3pl.Past all threaten-PresPart

‘shouting him went threatening all.’

(c1300 Childhood Christ (Alteng. Legenden) 408)

(Visser (1969: 1392-1396))

3.3.2. *V and V* Constructions in Early English

Another candidate of the historical source of DVCs is *V and V* constructions where the verb following *and* expresses the purpose or intention of the COME/GO verb. Visser (1969) observes that *V and V* constructions began to be attested in late OE, as shown in (22) with both verbs inflected.³

(22) a. he ærest mid his geforum to ðære seonoðstonwe
 he first with his comrade to that meeting place
 cume & gesitte
 come-3sg.Pres and sit-3sg.Pres
 ‘he first comes and sits with his comrade to that meeting place.’

(cobede,Bede_2:2.100.31.951)

b. ac he swiðe goað & geomrað hine swa
 also he swithe go-3sg.Pres and mourn-3sg.Pres him so
 gebundenne beon.
 bound be

‘also he swathe goes and mourns him so he is bound.’

(cobede,Bede_1:16.88.14.806)

It might be suggested that the historical source of DVCs is not *V and V* constructions, because both verbs could involve inflectional markings in the latter. In order to check the validity of this suggestion, I have examined instances of *V and V* constructions in early English from historical corpora, Visser (1969), and OED.

Table 1 shows the numbers of tokens and forms of *V and V* constructions in YCOE.

Table 1

	COME <i>and</i> V	GO <i>and</i> V
infinitive	0	0
imperative	2	0
ambiguous imperative/subjunctive	0	0
present tense, unambiguous indicative	0	2
present tense, unambiguous subjunctive	3	0
present tense, ambiguous form	0	0
past tense, unambiguous indicative	0	0
past tense, unambiguous subjunctive	0	0
past tense, ambiguous form	0	1
present participle	0	0
past participle (verbal or adjectival)	0	0
Total	5	3

It should be noted that in OE, there are very few tokens of V *and* V constructions; moreover, no instances are found of V *and* V constructions in infinitival forms.

In ME, as the inflectional system of verbs became weaker, V *and* V constructions came to be more frequently used in less marked forms,

such as infinitive and imperative forms. The relevant examples are given in (23), and the results of the survey based on *The Second Edition of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (henceforth, PPCME2) are shown in Table 2 below.

(23) a. Gaes and fottes me in hij Mine aun armur.
 Go-_{Imp} and fetch-_{Imp} me in high Mine on weapon
 ‘Go and fetch me in high Mine on weapon.’ (c1300 Cur. M. 7519)

b. He schal come, and lese these tilieres.
 He shall come-_{Inf} and lose-_{Inf} these tillers
 ‘He shall come and destroy these tillers.’
 (c1380 Wyclif, Luke 20, 16)

c. Every manne was suffred to come and speke
 Every man was suffered to come-_{Inf} and speak-_{Inf}
 with hym.
 with him
 ‘Every man was suffered to come and speak with him.’

(c1498 John Warkworth, Chron. Reign King Edw. IV (Camd.))

(Visser (1969: 1395-1399))

Table 2

	COME <i>and V</i>	GO <i>and V</i>
infinitive, all other verbs	9	10
imperative	3	1
present (including present subjunctive)	4	2
present participle	0	0
past (including past subjunctive)	11	3
perfect participle	0	1
Total	27	17

As shown in Table 2, more tokens of *V and V* constructions are attested in ME than in OE, mainly because of their appearance in the infinitival form. According to Visser (1969) and OED, it is also in ME that DVCs began to appear. What is important here is that the appearance of DVCs roughly coincides with that of the use of *V and V* constructions in less marked forms, and all the instances of DVCs in ME from PPCME2, OED, and Visser (1969) are used in imperative sentences, after modal auxiliaries, or after the infinitival marker *to*, as shown in (24) from OED. Therefore, these facts point to the close connection between the two constructions, suggesting that DVCs were historically derived from *V and V* constructions in less marked forms.

(24) a. Ga purches land quhar euir he may.

Go-_{Imp} purchase-_{Imp} land where ever he may

‘Go purchase land where ever he may.’

(1375 Barour Bruce 1, 433)

b. He must come flatter.

He must come-_{Inf} flatter-_{Inf}

‘He must come flatter.’

(c1430 Lydg. Bochas IV. ix.(1554) 107b)

c. I be-seche yow.. thys daye to com dyne

I beseech you.. this day to come-_{Inf} din-_{Inf}

at my hows.

at my house

‘I beseech you.. this day to come din at my house.’

(c1485 Digby Myst. (1882) III. 618)

In ModE, when the inflectional system of verbs became further weakened, present tense verbs, except those with third person singular subjects, came to have no overt inflectional markings and became phonologically identical with their infinitival and imperative forms. This would have made it possible for DVCs to appear not only in infinitival and imperative forms but also in finite sentences, in accordance with the inflectional restriction, as illustrated in (25), which is attested in *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts*.

- (25) a. “I go speak Massa Tommy,” said Juno, running to the house.
b. “Massa Tommy, you come help me to milk the goats,” said
Juno. (1841 Captain Marryat, Masterman Ready)

On the basis of the diachronic consideration of DVCs and *V and V* constructions so far, it seems plausible to assume that DVCs were derived from *V and V* constructions by the deletion of *and* in ME: *V and V* constructions, which first appeared in late OE, came to be frequently used in imperatives, after modal auxiliaries, and after the infinitival marker *to*, undergoing the phonological attrition of *and* in ME. Furthermore, with the further weakening of the inflectional system of verbs in ModE, the use of DVCs in their finite forms became possible when both verbs are not overtly inflected, namely when they are in the same form as imperative and infinitival ones. Therefore, it follows that the inflectional restriction on DVCs is traced back to the fact that *V and V* constructions, the historical source of DVCs, were frequently attested in less marked forms in ME.

However, it might be objected that this scenario is problematic because there are examples of *V and V* constructions in PE where both verbs are inflected, as shown in (18), expediently repeated here as (26).

- (26) a. He came and left immediately.
b. She comes and sees him every day.

(Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 320))

Given that like DVCs, *V and V* constructions in less marked forms spread to finite sentences, the inflectional restriction should be imposed on the latter constructions as well. In order to solve this problem, I follow Carden and Pesetsky (1977) in assuming that *V and V* constructions are divided into two subcategories. One is the *real-and* construction, in which the same inflected verbs are coordinated. The other is the *fake-and* construction, on which the inflectional restriction is imposed and both verbs must be in their bare forms. *Fake-and* constructions are different from *real-and* constructions in semantic, phonological and syntactic properties. Semantically, as Quirk, et al. (1985) and Suzuki (1986) observe, the COME/GO verb in *real-and* constructions bears more lexical properties, and the following verb does not necessarily mean the purpose or intention of the COME/GO verb. Phonologically, the *fake-and* is pronounced as [n], while a pause is normally put before the *real-and*, which has the full pronunciation. This phonological difference serves to distinguish the two kinds of *and* in speech:

(27) a. John will try [n] catch Harry. (fake-*and*)

b. John will try, and catch Harry. (real-*and*)

(Carden and Pesesky (1977: 85))

Syntactically, the fake-*and* construction is not subject to the Coordinate Structure Constraint (CSC) in (28) proposed by Ross (1967). Consider the examples in (29).

(28) Co-ordinate Structure Constraint

In a coordinate structure, no conjunct may be moved, nor may any element contained in a conjunct be moved out of that conjunct. (Ross (1967: 98-99))

(29) a. *Bill is the man that John tried, and caught in the last 200m.

(real-*and*)

b. Bill is the man that John will try and catch. (fake-*and*)

(Carden and Pesesky (1977: 86))

In the real-*and* structure (29a), the extraction of the object of the second conjunct is not allowed, while it does not lead to a violation of the CSC in the fake-*and* structure (29b). Moreover, parentheticals may appear in the middle of the real-*and* structure, while it is impossible in the fake-*and* structure, as illustrated in (30).

- (30) a. John will, unfortunately, try and catch me.
b. John will try, unfortunately, and catch me.
c. John will try and, unfortunately, catch me.

(Carden and Pesesky (1977: 86))

Thus, there is good reason to distinguish two types of *V and V* constructions, namely *real-and* and *fake-and* structures, only the latter of which obeys the inflectional restriction and hence is regarded as the historical source of DVCs.

3.4. The Grammaticalization of the COME/GO Verb in DVCs

In the previous section, I argued that DVCs were historically derived from *V and V* constructions via the deletion of the *fake-and*. In this section, I discuss what motivated this change and what effects it had on the status of the COME/GO verb, building the discussion upon the notion of grammaticalization in the sense of Hopper and Traugott (2003). Grammaticalization generally refers to a process of change from open lexical categories to closed functional categories. If the COME/GO verb in DVCs has undergone grammaticalization in the history of English, it should have more functional properties than that in *V and V* constructions or *V to V* constructions in PE.

3.4.1. Functional Properties

3.4.1.1. Closed Classes

Belonging to closed classes like determiners, complementizers, and auxiliaries is one of the most typical properties of functional categories. As shown in (31), only three verbs can appear in DVCs, and the number is the least of the three constructions under consideration. This implies that the COME/GO verb in DVCs belongs to the most closed class, so that it is the most functional.

- (31) a. DVCs: *come, go, run*
b. *V and V*: *come, go, run, try, be sure, hurry up*
c. *V to V*: *come, go, run, try, be sure, hurry up, walk, fly, rush,*
etc. (Carden and Pesetsky (1977: 82))

3.4.1.2. Impossibility of Argument Insertion and Modification

DVCs are also different from *V to V* and *V and V* constructions with respect to the possibility of argument insertion and modification. As shown in (32) and (33), only the COME/GO verb in DVCs lacks both lexical properties of taking an argument and being modified by an adjunct. On the other hand, the COME/GO verb in *V to V* constructions can take an argument as well as an adjunct, while that in *V and V* constructions can take an adjunct, but not an argument.

- (32) a. I go all the way there to eat.
b. #I go all the way there and eat.⁴
c. *I go and eat all the way there.
d. *I go all the way there eat.
e. *I go eat all the way there.

(Cardinaletti and Giusti (2000: 378-379))

- (33) a. They go to eat by car.
b. They go and eat by car.
c. *They go eat by car. (Cardinaletti and Giusti (2000): 379)

3.4.2. Lexical Properties

3.4.2.1. Semantic Content

The COME/GO verb in the three constructions under consideration behaves like a lexical verb in that it preserves its semantic content of deictic motion.⁵ The completely functional use of *go* in (34), which constitutes a future auxiliary, lacks its semantic content of motion to a goal.

- (34) He is going to leave. (Cardinaletti and Giusti (2000: 392))

According to Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001), in order to express a designated aspect, *going* in examples like (34) lacks all the semantic content of deixis, while the COME/GO verb in the three constructions

does not display this property. It retains its motion meaning and does not necessarily contribute aspectual information to the sentence.

3.4.2.2. Availability of *Do*-support

As shown in section 3.2.1, the COME/GO verb in DVCs cannot undergo Subject-Verb Inversion unlike auxiliaries. Instead, like ordinary lexical verbs, *do*-support applies to DVCs in questions and negative sentences, as shown in (35) and (36). Needless to say, the same is true of *V to V* and *V and V* constructions.

- (35) a. He does not go swim every Sunday.
b. Does he go swim every Sunday?

(Ishihara and Noguchi (2000: 133))

- (36) a. Did John go visit Harry yesterday?
b. John didn't go visit Harry yesterday.

(Carden and Pesetsky (1977: 84))

3.4.2.3. A Secondary Theta-role

As discussed in section 3.2.3, only the COME/GO verb in DVCs requires an agentive subject, which leads Jaeggli and Hyams (1993) to assume that it assigns a secondary (agentive) theta-role to its subject.

- (37) a. Big boulders (*come) roll down this hill every time there is an earthquake.
- b. Big boulders come down this hill every time there is an earthquake. (Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 321))
- (38) a. The smoke fumes (*go) inebriate the people upstairs.
- b. The smoke fumes go upstairs and disturb the neighbors. (Shopen (1971: 259))
- c. The smoke fumes go and inebriate the people upstairs. (Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001: 394))

(37a) and (38a) are ungrammatical, because the agentive theta-role assigned by the COME/GO verb is incompatible with the non-agentive subject. In (37b) and (38b), on the other hand, since *come/go* is used as a lexical verb, the non-agentive subject is grammatical. It should be noted that the grammaticality of the non-agentive subject in (38c) indicates that the COME/GO verb in V *and* V constructions does not assign a secondary (agentive) theta-role to its subject. Assuming that the possibility of assigning a theta-role is a prerogative of lexical verbs, the fact that the COME/GO verb in DVCs assigns a different theta-role from its lexical counterpart shows that it has not lost all the lexical properties.

3.4.3. The Status of the COME/GO Verb in DVCs

From the observations above, it can be concluded that the COME/GO verb in DVCs has acquired functional properties by PE, while it still retains some lexical properties. Then, what status do such elements have that have both functional and lexical properties? Although the verbal cline proposed by Hopper and Traugott (2003) as a path of grammaticalization shows the change from a full verb to an auxiliary, it does not postulate an intermediate category which neither behaves as a full verb nor as an auxiliary:

(39) full verb > auxiliary > verbal clitic > verbal affix

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 111))

However, as discussed in 2.5.2.2, Hook (1991) suggests that there is an additional position intermediate between a full verb and an auxiliary. Compound verbs in Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages consist of a main or primary verb with the main verbal meaning and a vector or light verb with the makers of tense, aspect, and mood, which is homophonous with basic lexical verbs, such as GO, GIVE, TAKE, THROW, LET GO, GET UP, COME, STRIKE, SIT, FALL, and so on. In such compound verbs, the main verb is non-finite, while the vector is finite. The order of the two verbs is main-vector because Hindi-Urdu languages are head-final. The examples of compound verbs in Hindi-Urdu are given in (40).

- (40) a. agar mAI ne darvazaa band kar diyaa ho-taa...
 if I ERG door shut make GAVE be-CTF
 ‘If I had closed the door...’
- b. baat vahII xatam ho jaa-tii
 thing there over become GO-CTF
 ‘The matter would have ended right there.’ (Hook (1991: 60))

In (40), *diyaa hotaa* and *jaatii* are the finite forms of the vectors *de* ‘give’ and *jaa* ‘go’, respectively, whereas *kar* and *ho* are the non-finite forms of primary verbs.

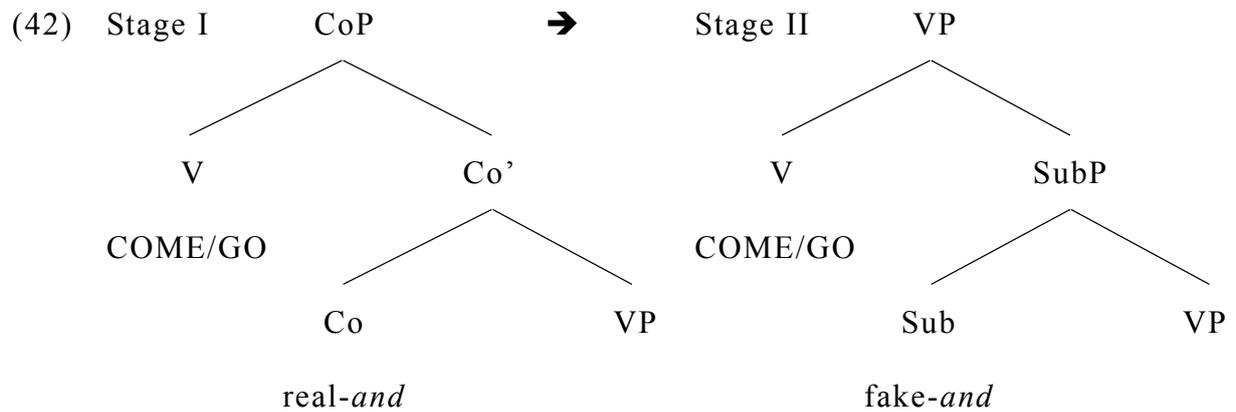
I assume that the COME/GO verb in DVCs in PE is equivalent to the light or vector verb in Hindi-Urdu compound verbs, and the light verb COME/GO is located in a position intermediate between a full verb and an auxiliary, which is schematically shown on the verbal cline as revised in (41).

- (41) full verb > light verb > auxiliary > verbal clitic > verbal affix

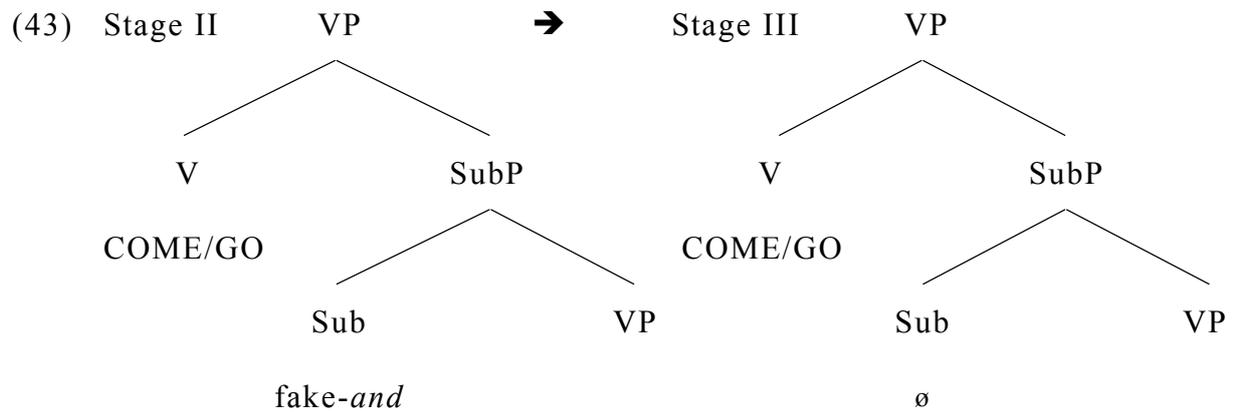
3.4.4. The Change of V *and* V Constructions into DVCs

Based on the discussion so far in section 3.4, together with the conclusion in section 3.3 that the historical source of DVCs is V *and* V constructions, I argue that V *and* V constructions have changed into DVCs through the deletion of the fake-*and* under the system of grammaticalization: pragmatic inference, reanalysis, and analogy (or

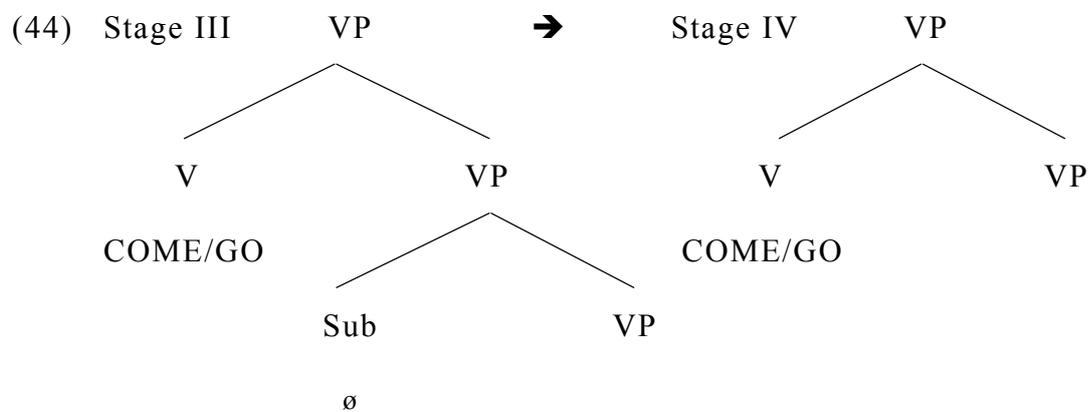
rule generalization). First, let us assume that the pragmatic inference of motion to achieve a purpose or intention was promoted, when *V and V* constructions, which appeared in late OE, came to be frequently used in less marked forms, such as infinitive and imperative forms in ME.⁶ In this stage, the *real-and* coordinating two verbs changed into the *fake-and*, which served as a subordinate conjunction with the meaning of purpose or intention. This change of the *real-and* into the *fake-and* involved the reanalysis in (42).



Second, the *fake-and* pronounced as [n] was phonologically attrited altogether, giving rise to DVCs in ME:



When the *fake-and* was phonologically deleted, the COME/GO verb became contiguous with V, which in turn made it possible for the former to take an infinitival VP complement, as shown in (44).



In ModE, with the reduction of verbal morphology, the condition on the form of DVCs was revised from (45) to (46) via analogy, so that DVCs came to appear in finite clauses.⁷

(45) DVCs are allowed if they appear in an imperative or infinitive form.

(46) DVCs are allowed if they appear in an imperative, infinitive, or non-third person singular present tense form.

In summary, the development of DVCs is schematized as in Figure 1.

Figure 1 Schema of the development of DVCs

<hr/>			Syntagmatic axis
			Mechanism: reanalysis
Stage I	COME/GO	real- <i>and</i> V	
	inf/imp	coordinate clause	
Stage II	COME/GO	[fake- <i>and</i> V]	
	inf/imp	[purposive subordinate clause]	
(by syntactic reanalysis / metonymy)			
Stage III	COME/GO	[Ø+V]	
	inf/imp		
(by phonological reduction)			
Stage IV	[COME/GO]	[V]	
	inf/imp		
Stage V	[COME/GO]	[V]	
	inf/imp/non-3per.sg.pres		
(by analogy)			Paradigmatic axis
			Mechanism: analogy

(cf. Hopper and Traugott (2003: 69, 93))

3.5. The Structure of DVCs and the Inflectional Restriction

Having established the path of grammaticalization that DVCs have gone through in the history of English, this section proposes the structure of DVCs and provides a syntactic account of the inflectional restriction on DVCs. Before proceeding, let us brief review three previous analyses of the inflectional restriction on DVCs, pointing out their problems.

3.5.1. Previous Studies

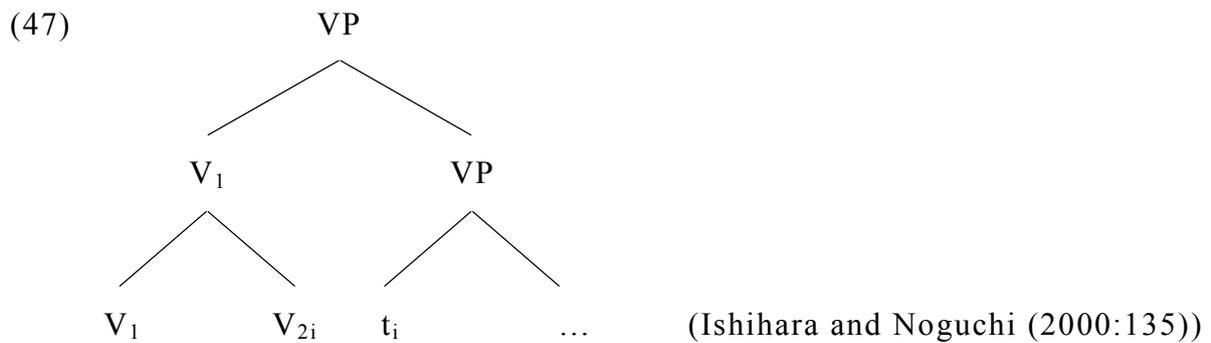
3.5.1.1. Jaeggli and Hyams (1993)

First, Jaeggli and Hyams (1993) propose to account for the inflectional restriction on DVCs, by arguing that neither of the two operations of affixation, namely verb raising and affix lowering, can apply in DVCs, so that they are licit only in bare forms that do not involve these two operations. According to them, the COME/GO verb in DVCs assigns a secondary theta-role (see sections 3.2 and 3.4), so it cannot raise to AGR in the syntax because AGR in English is opaque for theta-role assignment in the sense of Pollock (1989). Moreover, affix lowering is also blocked in DVCs, for the same reason as the failure of verb raising, that is, the COME/GO verb in DVCs assigns a secondary theta-role, which makes impossible its LF raising to AGR to eliminate the otherwise improper chain created by affix lowering, (t_{AGR} , t_T , [V+[T+AGR]]). However, this approach is problematic, in that no principled explanation is given as to why secondary theta-role assigners cannot raise to AGR at LF, unlike primary theta-role

assigners including English main verbs, which can freely appear in inflected forms and hence can raise to AGR at LF.

3.5.1.2. Ishihara and Noguchi (2000)

Second, Ishihara and Noguchi (2000) argue that the sequence of the COME/GO verb and the following verb in DVCs forms a complex verb in the syntax by adjoining the latter to the former, which is a prefixal light verb, as shown in (47).



According to them, the verb following the COME/GO verb in DVCs cannot be merged with inflectional features, because the COME/GO verb, being the syntactic head of the complex verb, is the target of merger under the structural adjacency imposed on affix hopping. Moreover, the COME/GO verb cannot be an appropriate host of inflectional features, because it is not a morphological head under the right-hand head rule for morphologically complex words (Williams (1981)). Therefore, neither the COME/GO nor the following verb can be inflected in DVCs, due to their "morphosyntactic mismatch". However, this approach has a serious problem, in that it is unclear

whether affix hopping is applied in the syntax or at PF. If it is a syntactic operation, inflectional features can be merged with the COME/GO verb that is the syntactic head of the complex verb. On the other hand, if it is a morphological operation at PF, the following verb can be a host of inflectional features, because it is the morphological head of the complex verb in the right-hand position and syntactic headedness should be irrelevant at PF.

3.5.1.3. Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001)

Third, Cardinaletti and Giusti (2001) suggest that the COME/GO verb in DVCs is merged in the same extended projection as the following verb in the sense of Grimshaw (1991), and try to derive the inflectional restriction under the feature checking approach to verbal morphology. After the merger of the COME/GO verb, it is impossible for the following verb to raise to a functional head to check its inflectional features at LF, because of a minimality violation when it crosses the COME/GO verb. Therefore, it must appear in a bare form which does not have inflectional features to be checked. The COME/GO verb, on the other hand, can raise to check its features at LF. But it cannot display different features from the following verb, because the two verbs are in the same extended projection, so that it must also be in a bare form. Although their analysis appears to be successful at first sight, the assumption that the two verbs in DVCs must have the same features because they belong to the same extended projection obviously contradicts the standard analysis of auxiliary

constructions, in which the auxiliary is merged in the same extended projection as the main verb, with the former being finite and the latter being nonfinite. Moreover, they do not provide a concrete syntactic structure of DVCs, nor make explicit where the COME/GO verb is merged and how a secondary theta-role is assigned to its subject.

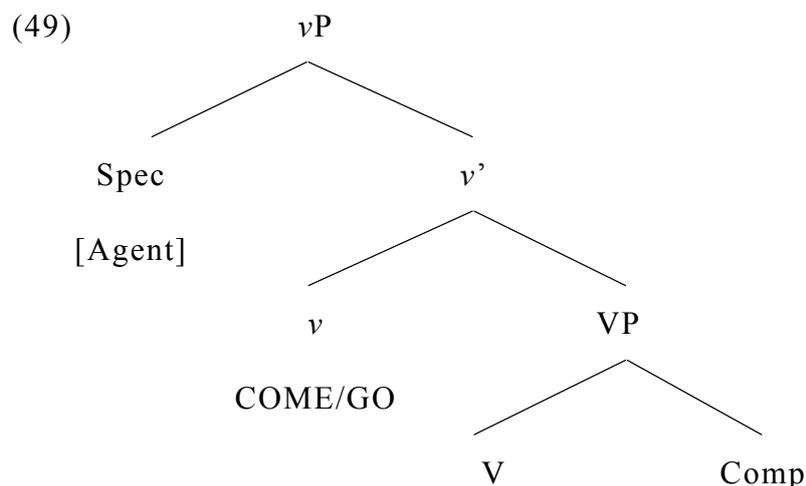
3.5.2. The Structure of DVCs It is generally assumed that the lower VP in a VP-shell structure determines the theta-role of objects, and the higher *v*P determines that of subjects. According to Roberts and Roussou (2003), while lexical verbs with full argument structure are merged in V, epistemic modals, which have become functional and have no argument structure in PE, are directly merged in T. In addition, they assume that dynamic modals are merged in *v* because they participate in the determination of the external theta-role of subjects, which is supported by the fact that dynamic modals are subject-oriented and express the subject's will and ability. The relevant structure is shown in (48).

(48) [TP Mod_{Epistemic} [_vP Mod_{Dynamic} [_{VP} V]]]

(cf. Roberts and Roussou (2003: 47))

As for the COME/GO verb in DVCs which has been grammaticalized into a light verb, recall that it assigns a secondary agentive theta-role to its subject (see section 3.4). Given the standard assumption that a light verb participates in theta-role assignment to

its subject in the v -VP configuration (Chomsky (1995)), it seems plausible to assume that the COME/GO verb is merged in v above the lexical VP like dynamic modals, as illustrated in (49).



3.5.3. A Syntactic Account of Properties of DVCs

3.5.3.1. The Inflectional Restriction on DVCs

As we saw above, DVCs obey the inflectional restriction in that both the COME/GO verb and the following verb cannot appear in inflected forms. First, let us consider why the COME/GO verb cannot be inflected. Recall that DVCs were historically derived from the imperative and infinitive uses of *V and V* constructions, in which the fake-*and* deletion made the COME/GO verb contiguous with the following verb, thereby leading to its grammaticalization into a light verb. Even after DVCs came to be used in finite clauses by analogy, the COME/GO verb cannot be inflected due to the influence of their source constructions in uninflected forms. Therefore, it seems plausible to assume that the COME/GO verb in DVCs does not have a

slot for inflectional features such as number, gender, person, and tense, since it still retains as a grammaticalized light verb the property of its ancestor without inflections. Namely, this is taken to be a case of retention in the sense of Brinton and Stein (1995), where grammaticalized items retain properties of their ancestors after grammaticalization (see also section 2.4.4).

Next, the fact that the verb following the COME/GO verb cannot be inflected in DVCs follows immediately from their proposed structure in (49), where the COME/GO verb takes an infinitival VP as its complement.⁸

3.5.3.2. Consequences of the Proposed Structure of DVCs

This section argues that some unique properties of DVCs in PE can be explained as consequences of the structure proposed in (49). First, as discussed in section 3.2, DVCs have a single event interpretation, in that the events denoted by the COME/GO verb and the following verb are interpreted as being simultaneous with each other, as shown in (15), repeated here as (51) for the sake of convenience.

- (51) a. *They go buy vegetables every day, but there never are any vegetables.
- b. They go to buy vegetables every day, but there never are any vegetables. (Shopen (1971: 258))

In the structure of DVCs proposed in (49), the COME/GO verb merges in the extended projection of the following verb, meaning that DVCs have a monoclausal structure. Assuming with Higginbotham (1985) that verbs bear an event argument that has to be bound by T, the contrast of grammaticality in (51) immediately follows: the events denoted by the COME/GO verb and the following verb in *V to V* constructions are associated with the matrix T and the infinitival T, respectively, and hence they are assigned different tense interpretations. On the other hand, the two events are within the domain of the same T in DVCs, yielding a single event, simultaneous interpretation.

Second, Zwicky (1969), Shopen (1971), Jaeggli and Hyams (1993), and Ishihara and Noguchi (2000) show that the COME/GO verb is neither compatible with stative nor non-agentive psychological verbs in DVCs, as illustrated in (52) and (53). As is well-known, psychological verbs are normally ambiguous between an agentive and a non-agentive interpretation: (53a) either means that my children intentionally bother Mary, or that my children cause Mary to be bothered. On the other hand, (53b), in which the psychological verb appears in DVCs,

has only the agentive interpretation, and the ambiguity disappears.

- (52) a. *Come know the answer to this problem.
b. *Go be tall. (Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 322))
c. *You must come understand our problem.
d. *You should go know your answer.

(Ishihara and Noguchi (2000: 134))

- (53) a. My children bother Mary.
b. My children go bother Mary. (Jaeggli and Hyams (1993: 322))

Recall that the COME/GO verb is involved in the assignment of a secondary agentive theta-role to its subject. Given the structure of DVCs proposed in (49), [Spec, vP] is the subject position not only of the COME/GO verb but also of the following verb. Therefore, DVCs are grammatical only if the latter is compatible with the secondary agentive theta-role that the former assigns, thereby excluding stative verbs or non-agentive psychological verbs in DVCs that require non-agentive subjects.

Finally, this analysis also applies to the contrasts in (37) and (38), which are repeated here as (54) and (55), respectively.

- (54) a. Big boulders (*come) roll down this hill every time there is an earthquake.
b. Big boulders come down this hill every time there is an earthquake.
- (55) a. The smoke fumes (*go) inebriate the people upstairs.
b. The smoke fumes go upstairs and disturb the neighbors.

In DVCs, the COME/GO verb merged in *v*, which assigns a secondary agentive theta-role to its subject, is incompatible with inanimate subjects, as shown in (54a) and (55a). On the other hand, if *come* and *go* are merged as a lexical verb in *V* as in (54b) and (55b), they may occur with non-agentive subjects, because they are unaccusative verbs lacking external arguments and hence do not assign an agentive theta-role to their subjects.

3.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed some unique properties of DVCs in PE including the inflectional restriction, as well as the development of DVCs in the history of English. It was argued that the historical source of DVCs is the infinitival and imperative uses of *V and V* constructions in ME. The proposed path of grammaticalization of DVCs is that the structure of COME/GO coordinated with the following verb was reanalyzed into that of COME/GO followed by a subordinate

clause with the fake-*and*, and the subsequent deletion of the fake-*and* resulted in the grammaticalization of the COME/GO verb into a light verb. As a result, the COME/GO verb in DVCs is merged in *v* and takes an infinitival VP complement in PE. Finally, it was claimed that some unique properties, especially the inflectional restriction, are explained in terms of the proposed structure of DVCs.

Notes to Chapter 3

¹ As noted by the linguists mentioned above, even though the past participle of *come* is homophonous with its bare form, it cannot appear in DVCs, as shown in (i).

- (i) a. They often come sleep at our house.
b. * They have often come sleep at our house.

(Shopen (1971: 254))

This contrast indicates that the inflectional restriction is associated with syntax, rather than phonology.

² In this paper, I will not address the issue whether uninflected verbs in DVCs have zero morphology or are bare stems, because the analysis of the inflectional restriction to be presented below will remain unchanged under either of the two options

³ The examples in (22) are cited from *The York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* (henceforth, YCOE).

⁴ The # diacritic is used here to show that the sentence is grammatical under the irrelevant interpretation as a coordination.

⁵ The COME/GO verb in the three constructions does not necessarily retain the same full semantics as its lexical counterpart, because it lacks the ability to appear with a goal argument. For more details, see Suzuki (1986).

⁶ Hopper and Traugott (2003) argue that one of the most important factors for grammaticalization is pragmatic inference. In order for inference to play a significant role in grammaticalization, it must frequently occur. If inference frequently occurs in a context, it comes to be conventionalized or semanticized.

⁷ Pullum (1990) and Ishihara and Noguchi (2000) observe that in PE some speakers obey the revised condition, while others do not. It would be the case that the former are liberal speakers, whereas the latter are conservative speakers.

⁸ Ishihara and Noguchi (2000) argue that the COME/GO verb in DVCs, which is a prefix as well as a light verb, attracts the following verb to form a complex verb. However, as discussed in section 3.4, the COME/GO verb in DVCs has not yet been grammaticalized into a prefix that is part of a complex verb. This is supported by the following examples from *The Collins Wordbanks Online*, where the adverb appears between the COME/GO verb and the following verb, contrary to the prediction of Ishihara and Noguchi.

- (i) a. ... they go actually get sent to district manager ...
- b. ... you come just throw a blanket over it ...

Chapter 4

On the Usage of *See* as a Light Verb

4.1. Introduction

In PE, a class of perception verbs including *see* can select an inanimate subject, as shown in (1).¹

- (1) a. Next year sees the centenary of Verdi's death.
b. This stadium has seen many thrilling football games.

(Onoe and Suzuki (2002: 32))

Langacker (1991) notes that inanimate subjects that denote time or location may cooccur with *see* and give a setting for the event expressed by its complement. Igarashi (1997) also points out that expressions of time as well as location can appear in the subject position of *see*. Moreover, most dictionaries state that inanimate subjects of *see* are semantically restricted to time or location:

- (2) a. to be the time when an event happens
b. to be the place where an event happens

(*Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary*)

However, as observed by Onoe and Suzuki (2002), *see* can select other types of inanimate subjects, as exemplified in (3).

- (3) a. Hayes's determination to work their way back into the match
saw them lift the tempo even higher.
- b. Requisite changes to Lower's diet have seen his weight rise.

(Onoe and Suzuki (2002: 33))

While sentences like (1) with subjects denoting time or location mean the occurrence or existence of the event denoted by the complement of *see*, sentences like (3) with other types of inanimate subjects can be interpreted as causative. Onoe and Suzuki (2002) refer to *see* selecting inanimate subjects as semantically light *see* and suggest that the semantic difference between existence and causation comes not from the lexical meaning of *see* but from the types of inanimate subjects, i.e. time/location vs. others.

This chapter examines the development of *see* with inanimate subjects in the history of English by analyzing the data from the historical corpora, *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (PPCEME) and *The Corpus of Late Modern English Texts* (CLMET), and proposes that the semantic difference between existence and causation is associated not only with the types of inanimate subjects but also with the complement structures of existential and causative *see*. This chapter is organized as follows: Section 4.2 reviews some previous analyses, i.e. Perlmutter and Postal (1984),

Levin (1993), Igarashi (1997), and Onoe and Suzuki (2002). Section 4.3 proposes that existential *see* with subjects denoting time or location takes an Asp(ect)P complement, which shows the distinction between progressive and perfective aspect, whereas causative *see* with other types of inanimate subjects selects a VP complement without aspectual distinction and is interpreted as causative through complex predicate formation, along the lines of Ritter and Rosen's (1993) analysis of causative *have*. Section 4.4 provides support for the above proposal by analyzing the data from CLMET. Based on the data from PPCEME and CLMET, section 4.5 argues that *see* developed into a light verb during the LModE period via generalization, shift of meaning, and semantic bleaching in the course of its grammaticalization. Section 4.6 concludes this chapter.

4.2. Previous Analyses

In this section, we will review some previous analyses found in the literature.

4.2.1. Levin (1993) and Perlmutter and Postal (1984)

Levin (1993) argues that the sentence in (4b) is derived from (4a) by replacing the agentive subject *the world* in (4a) with the subject denoting time *1492*, which is dubbed 'Time Subject Alternation':²

- (4) a. The world saw the beginning of a new era in 1492.
b. 1492 saw the beginning of a new era. (Levin (1993: 79))

Perlmutter and Postal (1984) suggests that the alternation illustrates the 1-Advancement Exclusiveness Law (1AEX), which states that the number of advancements to the subject position cannot be more than one. The ungrammaticality of (5b) would follow straightforwardly because if the subject of (5a) is advanced element, replacing it with another element will be another advancement, which violates the 1AEX:

- (5) a. 1939 saw the United States on the brink of disaster.
b. *The United States was seen on the brink of disaster by 1939.
(cf. Perlmutter and Postal (1984: 92))

As pointed out by Igarashi (1997), however, there are several problems with this analysis. First, there is no evidence for deriving (5a) from the original sentence with an agentive subject and an oblique adverbial except that (5b) shows the 1AEX violation.

Second, the replaced agentive subject cannot be recovered from the sentence with the subject denoting time, and there is some doubt as to whether sentences with agentive subjects and those with subjects denoting time are synonymous.

Third, as Farrell (1992) observes, there is no adequate reason to assume that time must be only advanced from the adverbial position to

the subject while some dummy element or even the object cannot advance:

(6) a. *There found the United States on the brink of the disaster in 1939.

b. *The United States found on the brink of disaster in 1939.

(Igarashi (1997: 167))

Therefore, the 1AEX cannot explain why the only element to advance is a temporal adverbial. In addition, if the subject denoting time does not advance from the adverbial position, the 1AEX does not prevent the sentence from passivizing, either.

Third, if the 1AEX accounted for the non-passivisability of subjects denoting time, then it should be able to explain the similarly non-passivisability of subjects denoting place:

(7) a. In 1906 Cambridge saw three or four of her most learned men compare for the Greek chair.

b. *In 1906 three or four of her most learned men were seen to compare for the Greek chair by Cambridge.

(cf. Igarashi (1997: 168))

However, there is no comment on this in Permuter and Postal (1984).

4.2.2. Igarashi (1997)

Igarashi (1997), following Lakoff's analysis (1970), also suggests that time and location can be raised to the subject position because the agent element in (8a) and (9a) has somehow ceased to affect the event in the object position:

- (8) a. [\langle agentive \rangle] see { \langle event \rangle \langle time \rangle }
b. [\langle time \rangle] 'see' { \langle event \rangle } (Igarashi (1997: 174))
- (9) a. [\langle agentive \rangle] see { \langle event \rangle \langle place \rangle }
b. [\langle place \rangle] 'see' { \langle event \rangle } (Igarashi (1997: 174))

According to Lakoff (1970), a locative or temporal adverbial modifies an event, which is specified by a full sentence rather than a verb. Assuming the same about subjects denoting time (or location), he proposes that the structure (10b) for the sentence (10a), in which the temporal adverbial modifies the event of Nixon's winning:

- (10) a. Nixon won in 1968.
b. [S [NP *it*] [S Nixon won]] [VP [V ? [NP 1968]]]]
(Igarashi (1997: 171))

'?' in (10b) stands for a verb which means 'take place' or 'is located in,' and the pronoun *it* refers to the S that contains Nixon's winning only. Let us consider (11) and (12).

(11) a. Nixon won in 1968, but it won't happen in 1972.

b. *[_{NP} it [_S Nixon won then_{*i*}]] won't happen in 1972_{*i*}.

(Igarashi (1997: 171))

(12) a. Noon found Harry making love to Zelda.

b. [_S [_{NP} Noon][_{VP} found [_{NP} it [_S Harry was making love to
Zelda]]]]

(Igarashi (1997: 171))

The ungrammaticality of (11b) is due to the coindexing because the antecedent of *it* in (11a) cannot be the fact that Nixon won in 1968 but Nixon's winning, just as in (10). If the analysis in (10b) is adopted, *it* can refer to the S that contains Nixon's winning only, thereby making the coindexing in (11b) unnecessary. In (12b), *found* is filling the slot of '?' although the word order is different from that in (10b), which Lakoff considers to be a simple matter of 'subject-object inversion.' Given that (10a) and (12a) essentially have the same structure, this analysis explains why no temporal elements can be attached to following sentences:

(13) *Noon found Harry making love to Zelda at 12 o'clock.

(Igarashi (1997: 171))

(14) *Noon found Harry making love to Zelda then.

(Igarashi (1997: 171))

This is because the verb *found* specifies the time reference for its complement sentence. Moreover, under the analysis of (10b) it is impossible to place deictic expressions such as ‘then’ and ‘there’ on to the subject position as in (6a) because they cannot be coindexed to another temporal or locative element outside of the event, as in (11).

The reason why the time and location are the only elements that appear in the subject positions of the sentences with verbs of visual perception is that temporal and locative subjects are derived from either bare-NP adverbs or PP adverbs. As Bresnan and Grimshaw (1978) and Larson (1985) assume, bare-NP adverbs such as *that day*, *that way*, *someplace*, and so on appear with no case assigner, and therefore Ns of bare-NP adverbs are assigned feature [+F] in the lexicon, where F is temporal, locative, directional, or manner. When Ns bearing [+F], which is a default Case-assigner is combined with some determiners, the NPs are assigned an Oblique Case. Thus, preforms or deictics such as *here*, *there*, *now*, and *then*, which are not combined with determiners are assigned an Oblique Case in the lexicon, and they cannot cooccur with any other Case-assigner. F, being an optional Case-assigner, does not assign an Oblique Case to *day* or *place* when a nominative or accusative case is assigned to them, as illustrated in (15).

- (15) a. That day passed very quickly.
b. Few places with a view could be found.
c. We spent that day in New York.
d. We visited few places with a view. (Igarashi (1997: 173))

Therefore, if subjects denoting time or location are derived from bare-NP or PP adverbs, they can appear in the subject positions of verbs of visual perception.³

This analysis would be supported by the fact that subjects denoting time behave differently from normal agentive subjects although to a certain extent they do in the same way as agent. First, subjects denoting time can appear with the present perfect, where visual perception verbs agree in number with the subjects:^{4, 5}

- (16) It is encouraging that the past two years have seen the appearance of attempts by two formal semanticists (...) to construct model-theoretic accounts of thematic roles.

(Igarashi (1997: 168))

Second, time subjects can appear in coordination:

(17) The close of the reign and the end of the century saw the so-called 'feudal' society of the countryside still in being, but under changing conditions indicative of the advance of democracy even in rural England, and the penetration of village life by forces and ideas from the cities.

(G.M. Trevelyan, *op. cit.*)

(Igarashi (1997: 168))

Third, they can be antecedents of relative clauses:

(18) Although Daniel Defoe was born in 1660, the year which witnessed the collapse of the Puritan experiment in English government and the restoration of the Stuarts to the throne, he is frequently discussed as if he were the intellectual contemporary of Bunyan and Milton.

(M.E. Novak, *Defoe and the Nature of Man*)

(Igarashi (1997: 169))

Forth, they can appear with a raising adjective:

(19) The next four or five years are likely to see more industrial production. (*COUBUID*)

(Igarashi (1997: 169))

Fifth, they can appear with modals expressing future:

- (20) 1993 will see a complete change. (*COUBUID Word Bank*)
(Igarashi (1997: 169))

Sixth, they can appear in the subjunctive:

- (21) Attempts to deny that the relatively near future could witness large-scale disaster rest, it seems to me, more on optimism than on scientific analysis. (Igarashi (1997: 169))

The sentences in (16) to (21) clearly show that to a certain extent the behavior of subjects denoting time is the same as normal agentive subjects. However, the subjects are not agentive in that they cannot bear the pseudo-cleft agentive test, which is put forward by Cruse (1973), while putative agentive subject can:

- (22) a. *What 1939 did was to see the United States on the brink of disaster.
b. What happened in 1939 was that the United States was on the brink of disaster.
c. What we did in 1939 was to see the United States on the brink of disaster. (Igarashi (1997: 169))

The complements of the visual perception verbs with subjects denoting

time are also constrained: they must be propositional, normally events in the past or future, as illustrated in (23).

- (23) a. The next few days saw Francis becoming increasingly agitated by my failure to stick close to the molecular models.

(J.D. Waston, *The Double Helix*)

(Igarashi (1997: 170))

In (23) if the present participle complement ‘*becoming ...*’ is deleted, the sentence becomes ungrammatical, whereas if the subjects denoting time is replaced by an agentive subject, it still remains grammatical without the complement.

Thus Igarashi suggests that visual perception verbs with a subject denoting time have a function different from those with an agentive subject, i.e. the former does not involve visual perception at all, but just presents the event that happened or will happen on the specific time expressed by the subject.

However, there seem to be some problems with Igarashi’s analysis. First, it is unclear that time or location can or must replace agentive in the argument structure in (8) and (9) although subjects denoting time and location are not arguments of the visual perception verb. Second, the reason why ‘?’ is realized as *found* in (12) while it is not in (10), and the difference of the word order are not accounted for. Third, which is related to the first problem, if it is true that subjects denoting time or location are derived from bare-NP adverbs, what can explain why they

behave in the same way as the agent to an extent, and why they can only be subjects of verbs denoting visual perception.

4.2.3. Onoe and Suzuki (2002)

According to Onoe and Suzuki (2002), inanimate subjects of *see* is semantically restricted to time and location, and the meaning of *see* is existential in the sense that it means the occurrence and existence of an event denoted by the complement of *see*, as given in (24).

(24) The past 18 months have seen unprecedented chaos.

(Onoe and Suzuki (2002: 31))

In addition, the following examples might be considered to have inanimate subjects which denote time and location in some extended sense:

(25) a. Theirs is the view which sees young women heading out on the town in mini skirts.

b. This novel sees some of his finest writing to date.

c. Miklosko's brainstorm saw him place a goalkick straight at Strurridge's feet.

(Onoe and Suzuki (2002: 33))

On the basis of data from *The Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Observer*, and others, they suggest that *see* can be associated with a kind of causative meaning:

- (26) a. The outbreak of war in September 1939 saw him at the regimental depot at Fort George on the Moray Firth.
- b. Celtic, with the sturdiness that has seen them keep a clean sheet in their past six matches, look equipped to maintain a grueling struggle. (Onoe and Suzuki (2002: 32-33))

In (26), the inanimate subjects *The outbreak of war in September 1939* and *the sturdiness*, which may not be considered to be time or location in any reasonably extended or metaphorical sense, can be naturally interpreted as a kind of causer of the events expressed by the complements.

Onoe and Suzuki (2002) note that the interpretive differences of *see* between existence and causation are not from distinct lexical meanings of *see*. Let us consider the sentence in (27).

- (27) The heavy snows have seen several regions declare states of emergency. (Onoe and Suzuki (2002: 34))

There are two interpretations in (27): during the heavy snows, the several regions declared states of emergency, or the heavy snows caused the several regions to declare states of emergency, which indicates that either interpretation is possible in one and the same context. This is because when the subject *the heavy snow* is taken to mean the period of snowing, the sentence is interpreted as existential,

whereas when it is taken to denote an event of snowing, the interpretation of the sentence is causative. Thus, this suggests that what is crucial for the interpretation of the sentence is the semantic properties of the subject NPs rather than the lexical meaning of *see*. It is suggested that in general inanimate subjects denoting time or location lead to existential readings while other eventive subjects make causative interpretations possible.

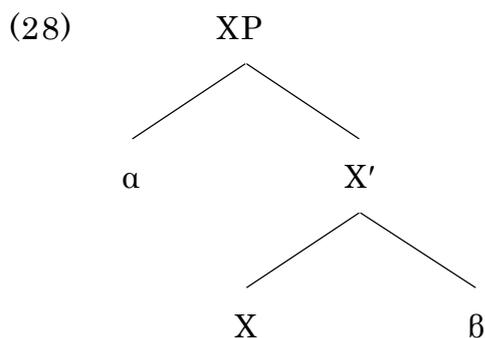
Moreover, it should be noticed that for the causative interpretation to arise, the two events denoted by the subject and the complement must be placed sequentially in time. More precisely, the event denoted by the subject must precede the event denoted by the complement. It seems that this sequential relationship of two events is the core meaning of causative *see*, and that the sense of causation comes from the human cognitive system, which is inclined to assume a causal relation on such temporarily sequential events. Therefore, they suggest that causation is not specified in the lexical meaning of *see*.

On the other hand, when *see* associates a time or location expressed by the subjects with an event denoted by the complement, there is only one event and thus no sequentiality of events involved. The existential meaning of *see* comes from the time or location which indicates when or where the event happens. Therefore, even the notion of the sequential connection of events is not included in the lexical meaning of *see*.

The discussion above gives rise to the question of what is left in

the meaning of *see*, or how it can be represented. Onoe and Suzuki (2002) suggest that *see* expresses the notion of central coincidence, which is the bare minimum relation that holds between α and β when α and β co-exist in a certain place at a certain time, arguing that this type of *see* is semantically light in the same way as the verb *have* (Hale (1986, 1995), Suzuki (1999); for the light verbs, see Chomsky (1995), Miyagawa (1999), and Richards (2000)). To put it another way, central coincidence could be informally expressed as ‘ α at β ’ because it shows that the location of α coincides with the location of β . Conversely, non-central coincidence could be shown as ‘ α to β ’ because it indicates that the locations of α and β coincide partially in time or place (see Demiradache and Uribe-Etxebarria (2000: 176)).

Central coincidence is one of the basic meanings that are encoded in l-syntax (Hale and Keyser (1993), Dèchaine (1996), and Suzuki (1999)):

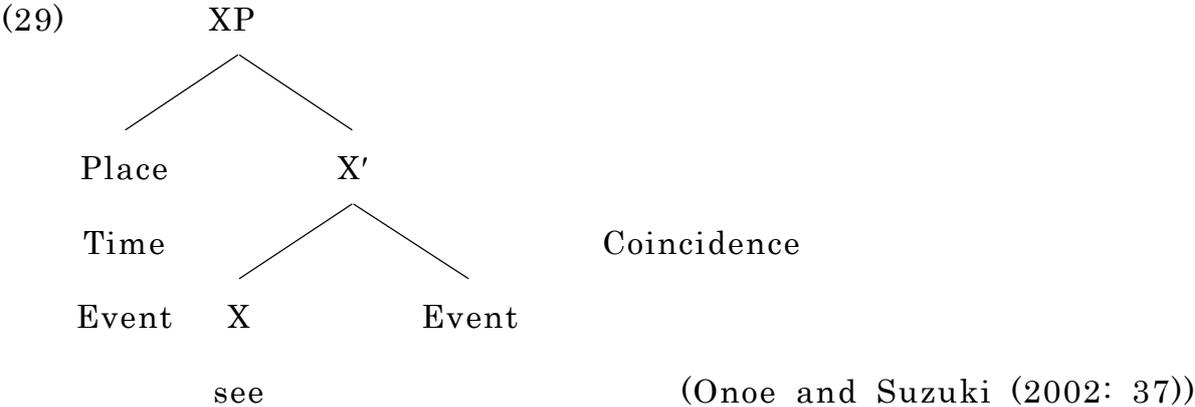


have

(Onoe and Suzuki (2002: 37))

According to Suzuki (1999), the predicate of *have* is associated with l-syntactically encoded meaning but no other semantic features.

Based on the analysis of *have*, they propose that *see* has the structure in (29), which expresses coincidence between a place, time, or event in the subject position and an event in the complement position.



The centrality of coincidence, being neutral, is determined by the semantic properties of the arguments of *see*. When two events are associated by *see*, the sentence is interpreted as causative although the causation is not included in the lexical meaning of *see* because the relation is sequential, i.e. one event starts/happens and later the other starts/happens, and thus the coincidence between the two events is non-central. When *see* relates a time or location with an event, on the other hand, the sentence is interpreted as existential and shows when or where the event happens because there is only one event, and thus the coincidence between a time or location and an event is naturally central.

However, some questions remain to answer in Onoe and Suzuki’s analysis. First, why has the lexical meaning of *see* become semantically light? Second, how can semantically light *see* be related

to the other usages of *see*? Third, is it true that the difference of the meaning of *see* between existence and causation arises only from the types of inanimate subjects, i.e. time/location vs. event? The rest of this chapter attempts to answer these questions.

4.3. The Syntactic Structures of Perception Verb Complements

4.3.1. Direct and Indirect Perception

This section presents an overview of the properties of two functions of perception verbs: direct (non-epistemic) and indirect (epistemic) perception. The different properties between direct and indirect perception have been widely discussed in the literature. Verbs of indirect perception, as Higginbotham (1982) argues, select propositions as its complement, which cannot be directly perceived with referential tense, whereas direct perception verbs take event complements without referential tense, which allows simultaneous interpretation (Guasti (1993: 153f) and (Felser (1999: 239))).⁶

Moreover, direct perception predicates cannot contain a stative verb, as shown in (30).

(30) a. *I saw John own a house.

b. *we saw John know the answer. (Miller (2002: 245))

In fact, however, things are more complex. Let us consider examples in (31).

- (31) a. I saw the man lie on the bed.
 b. *I saw the glasses lie on the bed.
 c. we saw John be(ing) obnoxious.
 d. *we saw John be(ing) tall. (Felser (1999: 43, 45))

According to Carlson (1980), individual-level predicates, which denote properties of true or permanent states, are excluded as complements of perception verbs. (31a) is acceptable because *lie* can be regarded as a stage-level predicate, which applies to statives such as *sit*, *stand*, and *lie*, as well as to non-stative situations, i.e. activities and events. (31b), on the other hand, is ungrammatical because *lie* can only be interpreted as an individual predicate. Similarly, the contrast between (31c) and (31d) is attributed to the difference that *obnoxious* is a stage-level predicate, while *tall* is an individual-level predicate.

As Guasti (1993) argues, the reason why individual-level predicates are excluded as complements of perception verbs is that an event without limited duration cannot be seen directly. Furthermore, in Zucchi (1993: 18, 73), *see* is divided into *see_p* involving the relation between individuals and propositions, as in (32a), and *see_e* involving the relation between individuals and situations, as in (32b).

- (32) a. John noticed/saw that Mary arrived.
b. John noticed/saw Mary's arrival.
c. John saw Mary eat the apple. (Miller (2002: 246))

Guasti (1993) also notes that the complement of *saw* in (32c) is an event, while *that*-clause in (32a) is a proposition because it does not have an eventive structure (Peterson (1997: 92f)). This is confirmed by the fact that *watch*, which is exclusively a verb of direct visual perception, never selects individual-level complements (Felser (1999: 43)).

To sum, *see* selects at least two types of complement: when it is used as indirect perception, the complement is propositional, and when it is direct perception, the complement is eventive. In ME, as Miller (2002) argues, the propositional complement was derived from a *that*-clause or *to*-infinitive, while the eventive complement started to split aspectually between present participle and bare infinitive.

4.3.2. The AspP Analysis

Tunstall (1994), Felser (1998), Miller (2002), and van Gelderen (2004) assume that perception verb complements (henceforth, PVCs) are not a bare VP, but involve at least one functional category, such as Asp or Voice, on the basis of the distribution of floating quantifiers and VP adverbs. First, given that floating quantifiers are associated with the base position of subjects (Sportiche (1988)), the position of *all* in (33) implies that the subject of PVCs, *the children* has moved from its

base position in VP to the specifier position of some functional category.

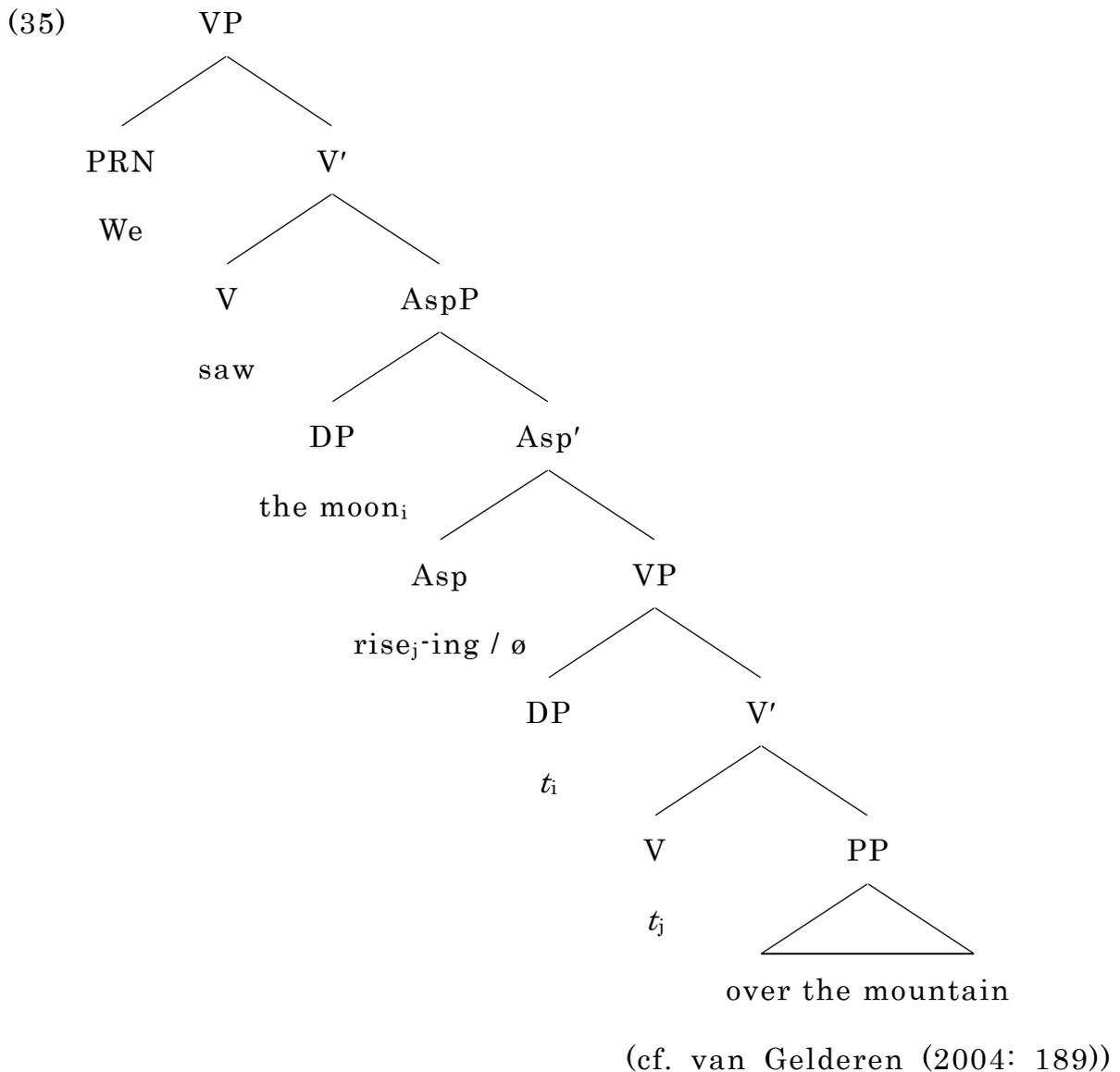
- (33) I saw the children_i [_{VP} all *t_i* leave]. (cf. Miller (2002: 247))

Second, the distribution of VP adverbs like *completely* is adduced as evidence that PVCs contain a functional category.

- (34) a. *John saw [_{VP} completely [_{VP} Mary destroy her car]].
b. John saw Mary_i [_{VP} completely [_{VP} *t_i* destroy her car]].
(cf. Miller (2002: 247))

Assuming that these adverbs are adjoined to VP, the contrast between (34a) and (34b) will indicate that the subject of PVCs moves to the specifier position of some functional category above VP.

Based on these arguments, I assume that perception verbs with animate subjects have the syntactic structure schematized in (35).



In (35), *rise* raises to Asp, merging with the progressive affix *-ing* or the perfective zero affix, and *the moon* moves to Spec AspP. According to Declerck (1982), the difference between present participle and bare infinitive complements is only aspectual: the former denote progressive aspect, while the latter denote perfective aspect. This fact is given a straightforward account in terms of the content of Asp (*-ing* vs. \emptyset) in the

structure of (35). The well-known aspectual differences between present participles and bare infinitives as PVCs are illustrated in (36) to (40).

(36) Telic/completive

- a. I saw her write a letter completely.
- b. *I saw her writing a letter completely.

(Miller (2002: 256))

(37) Cyclic/iterative

- a. we saw John blink. [one time]
- b. we saw John blinking. [more than once]

(Miller (2002: 256))

(38) Generic/habitual

- a. I see her write a letter often (every day, etc.)
- b. ?I see her writing a letter often. (Construe *often* with writing a letter, not with *see*.)
- c. seeing her swim is exciting (Miller (2002: 256))

(39) Progressive (action in progress)

- a. *I see her write a letter right now.
- b. I saw her writing a letter for twenty minutes.

(Miller (2002: 256))

(40) Durative

- a. ?I saw her write a letter for twenty minutes.
- b. I saw her writing a letter for twenty minutes.
- c. what I heard was Kim tapping (*tap) on the window.

(Miller (2002: 256))

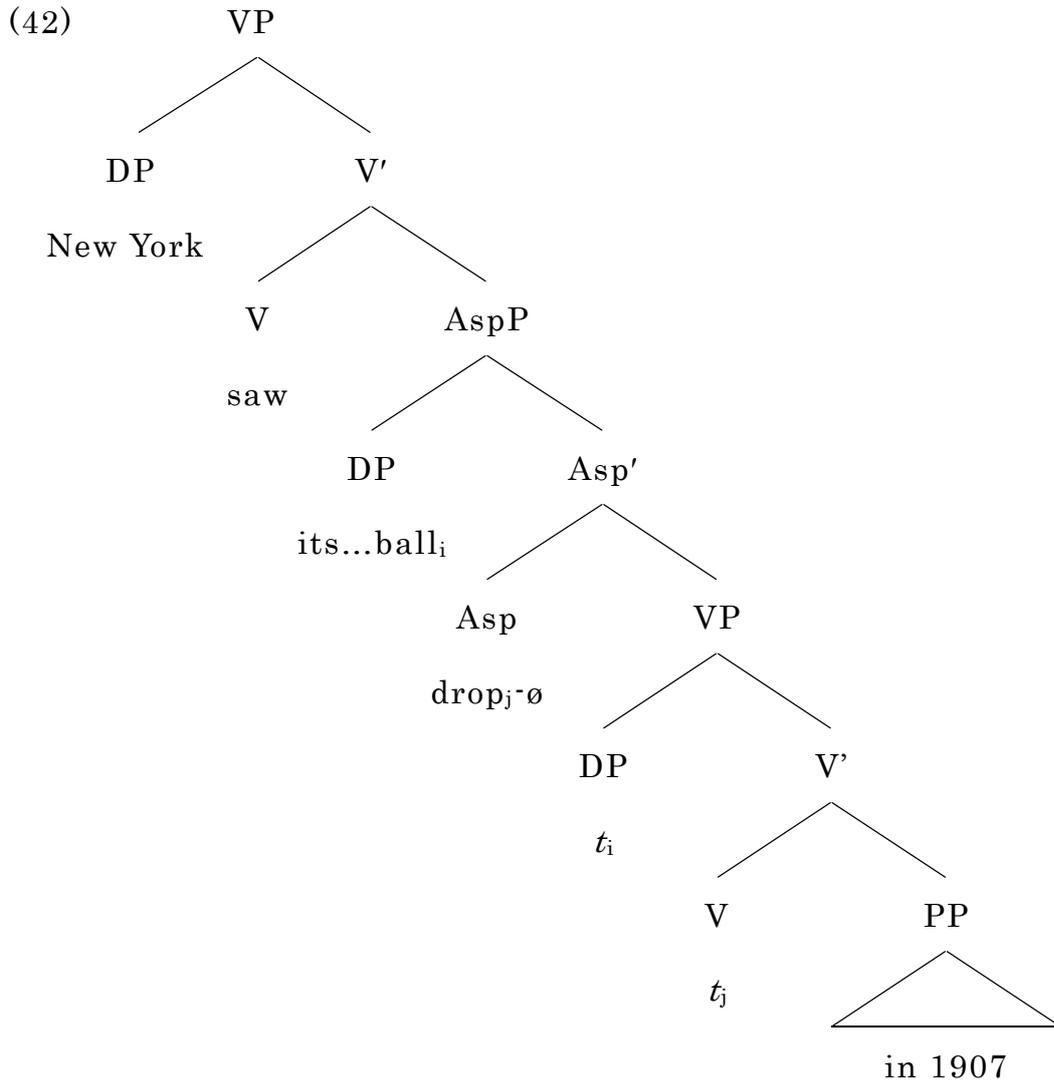
A bare infinitive complement, as Miller argues, denotes a genericized but telic event with focus on its completion, whereas a present participle complement expresses non-completive, particularized event in progress that can have duration. It should be noted that the present participle complement is not necessarily progressive in contexts in which the bare infinitive complement cannot appear such as pseudocleft in (40c), while the bare infinitive complement cannot be perfective when the perception predicate is non-stative, as in (38c) (see Declerck (1982), and van Gelderen (2000)).

4.3.3. The Complement Structures of *See* with Inanimate Subjects

Turning now to *see* with inanimate subjects, this section proposes to modify the claim of Onoe and Suzuki (2001) that the semantic difference between existential and causative *see* comes from the types of their subjects, arguing that it is also associated with their complement structures with or without Asp. As illustrated in (41), existential *see* with subjects denoting time or location selects either a present participle or bare infinitive complement, showing the

distinction of aspect. It is associated with the interpretation that there exists an event which is in progress or completed, so it is plausible to assume that its complement has the syntactic structure with Asp as in (42). In (42), the embedded subject, which is base-generated in Spec VP, moves to Spec AspP, and the embedded verb raises to Asp to merge with the affix.

- (41) a. New York saw its first New Year's ball drop in 1907.
b. Of late every London recital has seen her trying out a new one. (Onoe and Suzuki (2002: 31-32))

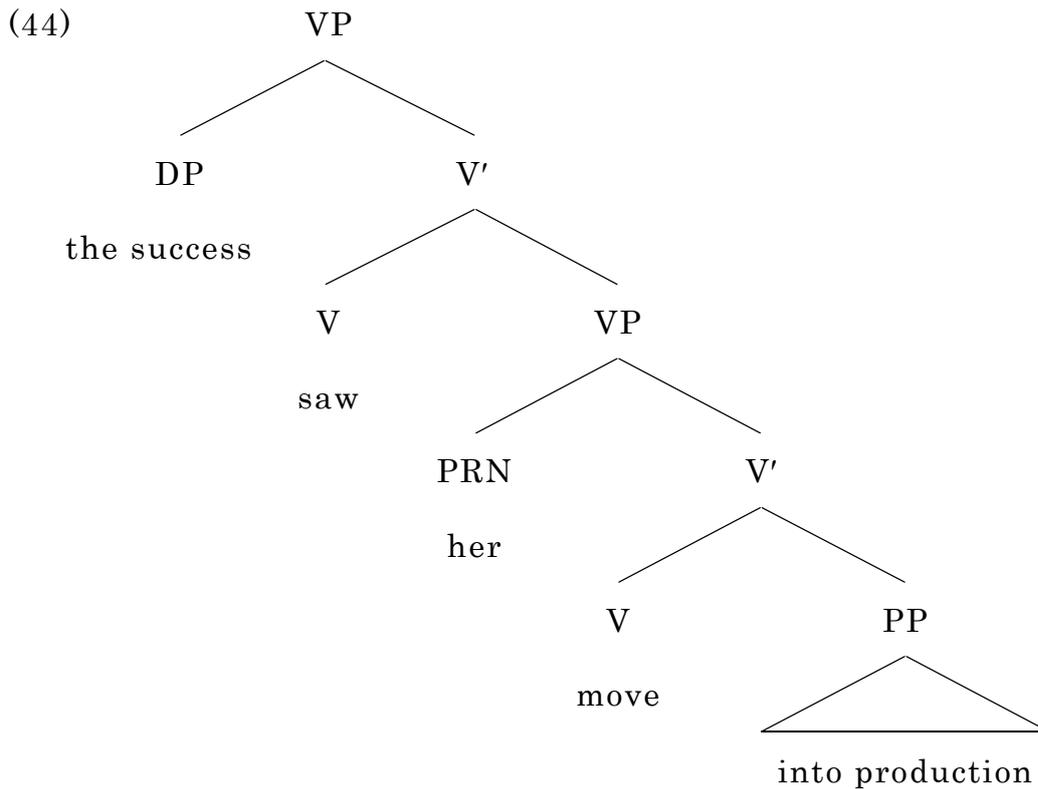


On the other hand, as shown in (43), causative *see* with other types of inanimate subjects than time or location takes only a bare infinitive complement lacking aspectual distinction, which will lead us to assume that its complement structure is a bare VP without Asp as in (44).⁷

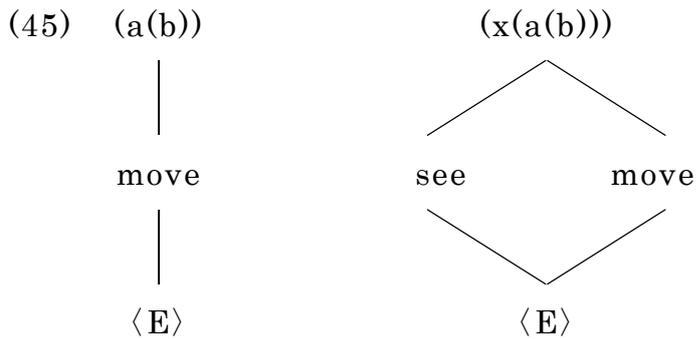
(43) a. The success of the strategy saw her move into production.

(Onoe and Suzuki (2002: 32))

b. ??The success of the strategy saw her moving into production.



In (44), since there is no functional category intervening between the matrix and embedded verbs, the argument structures of the two verbs are amalgamated through complex predicate formation, yielding the causative interpretation, as represented in (45).



The function of *see* is simply to add one new argument (x) to the argument structure of another verb: as a result, the argument structure of *move* (a(b)) is changed into (x(a(b))) in (45), where the two verbs together denote a single event represented by <E>, an event argument in the sense of Higginbotham (1985), under complex predicate formation.

This mechanism rests on the analysis of causative *have* by Ritter and Rosen (1993). They suggest that although *have* introduces one argument, it cannot project into the syntax as an independent verb because it lacks the capacity to assign a θ -role to the argument; therefore, if complex predicate formation were not applied, the argument of *have* could not be interpreted at LF, resulting in a violation of the Principle of Full Interpretation (Chomsky (1986)). Then, Ritter and Rosen (1993) propose a mechanism for interpreting the argument of *have*, called complex predicate formation, through which the argument structure of *have* is combined with that of an independent predicate. In (46), for example, the event *walk out* is embedded under *have*, with its argument *John* added to the argument

structure of *walk out*. When the event is extended backward on the axis of time, the argument of *have* is interpreted as a causer.⁸

(46) a. John had half the students walk out of his lecture.

b. *walk out* |---Walk out of class---|

c. *have & walk out* |--Cause---|---Walk out of class---|

(Ritter and Rosen (1993: 525))

Applying Ritter and Rosen's (1993) analysis, it follows that *see* with other types of inanimate subjects than time or location also adds its argument to the argument structure of the embedded verb, with the result that the event denoted by the latter is extended backward on the axis of time and the argument of *see* is interpreted as a causer.^{9, 10}

4.4. Historical Data

By analyzing the data from the LModE corpus CLMET, this section attempts to provide support for the analysis in the previous section that existential *see* with subjects denoting time or location takes AspP as its complement, whereas causative *see* with other types of inanimate subjects selects a bare infinitive VP complement. All the tokens attested in CLMET including *see* with inanimate subjects are classified according to the types of subjects and complements for the purpose of a rather comprehensive survey, yielding the results shown in Table 1 to Table 4.¹¹ In Table 1 to Table 4, TIME, LOCATION and OTHERS stand for subjects denoting time like *day* and *year*, subjects

denoting location like *world* and *country*, and other types of inanimate subjects than time and location, respectively. Instances with each type of inanimate subject from CLMET are given in (47).

- (47) a. The next minute saw me hurrying with rapid strides in the
detection of
Wildfell Hall&mdash. (1848 *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall*)
- b. The land has seen several settlements from outside.
(1888 *William the Conqueror*)
- c. Drury’s genius saw his temple swell.
(1812 *Rejected Addresses*)

Table 1: Tokens of *see* with inanimate subjects in LModE

	TIME	LOCATION	OTHERS
1710-1780	14	14	6
1780-1850	11	40	4
1850-1920	34	37	6
Total	59	91	16

Table 2: Tokens of complements of *see* with TIME

	DP	CP	DP+DP	DP+AP	DP+PP	DP+INF	DP+PastP	DP+PresP
1710-1780	12	1				1		
1780-1850	6			1			2	2
1850-1920	21		2		5		2	4
Total	39	1	2	1	5	1	4	6

Table 3: Tokens of complements of *see* with LOCATION

	DP	CP	DP+DP	DP+AP	DP+PP	DP+INF	DP+PastP	DP+PresP
1710-1780	9	2		1		2		
1780-1850	27	3		3	2	3	1	1
1850-1920	33	1			1		1	1
Total	69	6	0	4	3	5	2	2

Table 4: Tokens of complements of *see* with OTHERS

	DP	CP	DP+DP	DP+AP	DP+PP	DP+INF	DP+PastP	DP+PresP
1710-1780			1			3	2	
1780-1850						2	2	
1850-1920				3		1	2	
Total	0	0	1	3	0	6	6	0

The reason why instances of other types of inanimate subjects make up only about 10 percent of the total is mainly due to the number

of DP complements. On the one hand, there are 39 examples of DP complements appearing with subjects denoting time (around 66 percent of their tokens), and there are 69 examples of DP complements appearing with subjects denoting location (around 76 percent of their tokens). On the other hand, no instances are attested in which other types of inanimate subjects occur with DP complements. This suggests that *see* with subjects denoting time or location may denote the existence of the referent of its DP complement, whereas *see* with other types of inanimate subjects cannot take a DP complement because it is given the causative interpretation through complex predicate formation as in (11), and hence it requires a predicate with which it is amalgamated. Furthermore, while there are six examples of bare infinitive complements with other types of inanimate subjects, they do not occur with any present participle complements. The fact strongly supports the assumption that the complement structure of *see* with other types of inanimate subjects is a bare VP, as shown in (44).¹²

4.5. Grammaticalization

This section discusses the rise of the existential and causative interpretations of *see* in the light of grammaticalization, which is defined as the course of the change from open lexical items to closed functional and grammatical ones. As a result of grammaticalization, an item weakens its syntactic dependence and undergoes the attrition of its semantic content. Hopper and Traugott (2003) propose the verbal cline as schematized in (45).

(45) full verb > auxiliary > verbal clitic > verbal affix

(Hopper and Traugott (2003: 111))

Based on the functional properties of *see*, which are parallel to those of *have* (see section 4.3.3.), it is suggested in this section that *see* with inanimate subjects has been grammaticalized into a light verb, which is located between a full verb and an auxiliary on the following verbal cline modified by Kume (2009) and chapter 3.¹³

(46) full verb > light verb > auxiliary > verbal clitic > verbal affix

(Kume (2009: 143))

The course of the change of *see* to a light verb selecting inanimate subjects which gives rise to existential and causative interpretations is shown to be explained by three processes of grammaticalization, i.e. generalization, shift of meaning, and semantic bleaching.

4.5.1. Three Processes of Grammaticalization

According to Hopper and Traugott (2003), generalization is the process in which expressions restricted to some limited circumstances come to occur in wider circumstances (see chapter 2).¹⁴ Moreover, they distinguish the levels of the attrition of semantic content, arguing that the early stage of grammaticalization primarily involves shift of meaning, but not semantic bleaching, which occurs after shift of

meaning.¹⁵ They cite the development of *be going to* as a typical instance involving generalization, shift of meaning, and semantic bleaching:

- (47) a. An earthquake is going to destroy that town.
b. I am going to like Bill. (Hopper and Traugott (2003: 92-93))

Be going to has lost selectional restrictions on its subject and complement via generalization in the course of grammaticalization into a future auxiliary. As a result, it can now appear with inanimate subjects and stative complements, as illustrated in (47a, b), respectively. On the other hand, in the development of *be going to*, the meaning of deictic motion shifted to the abstract meaning of conceptual motion, and then a new future meaning was derived via semantic bleaching of the latter meaning.¹⁶

4.5.2. The Development of Existential and Causative *See* as a Light Verb

According to *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), *see* began to take inanimate subjects denoting time or location during the LModE period. The following is the earliest example given in OED:

- (48) Hail the Day that sees Him rise, Ravish'd from our wishful
Eyes. (1739 C. WESLEY Hynin)

However, the investigation based on PPCEME has revealed that *see* began to be attested with inanimate subjects in EModE, as shown in Table 5, followed by some representative examples.

Table 5: Tokens of *see* with inanimate subjects in EModE

	TIME	LOCATION	OTHERS
1500-1570	0	5	0
1570-1640	0	4	0
1640-1710	0	3	0
Total	0	12	0

(49) a. ...and the worlde seith me no more:

(TYNDNEW-E1-P1,XIV,1J.215)

b. ...the worlde may see that tyme curethe in weak myndes that
discretion...

(ELIZ-1590-E2-P2,44,G.8)

It should be noted that all the inanimate subjects of *see* attested in PPCEME denote location; moreover, their head nouns are restricted to those which imply the existence of a group of people, including *court*, *house*, and *world*. This will indicate that *see* retains the meaning of perceptual discernment in EModE examples like (49), whose subjects undergo a kind of personification. Thus, *see* was still a lexical verb in EModE, having nothing to do with generalization, shift of meaning, and

semantic bleaching.¹⁷

Then, let us consider the development of existential *see*. It was not until the LModE period that the grammatical function of *see* was generalized so that it began to select inanimate subjects denoting time as well as location, beyond the restricted types of subjects denoting location as observed in EModE. This development cannot be explained in terms of personification mentioned above, but it clearly indicates that the meaning of perceptual discernment shifted to that of existence. It does not involve any structural alteration; the complement of existential *see*, just like that of *see* denoting visual perception, contains the functional head Asp, which expresses either progressive or perfective aspect. (Recall from sections 4.3 and 4.4 that existential *see* with inanimate subjects denoting time or location may select bare infinitive and present participle complements.) Existential *see* has only undergone shift of meaning, but not semantic bleaching, and therefore it retains the conceptual meaning of existence, which in turn explains the fact that it may take DP complements, as discussed in section 4.4.¹⁸

Second, as for the development of causative *see*, further generalization caused *see* to cooccur with other types of inanimate subjects than time or location. Furthermore, its meaning became bleached to the extent that it must be amalgamated with another predicate for its interpretation. This led to a structural change under the pressure of the Principle of Full Interpretation; *see* came to take a bare infinitive VP without Asp as its complement, which in turn made

it possible for it to get the causative interpretation via complex predicate formation (see section 4.3.3). Therefore, the reason why causative *see* cannot select a DP complement (see Table 4) is that it depends on the embedded verb for its interpretation.¹⁹ In addition, as shown in Table 1 to Table 4, the frequency of causative *see* is far lower than that of existential *see*. This would follow from the present analysis: causative *see* has developed through the complex process involving a structural alteration, and hence it is more marked than existential *see*.²⁰

4.6. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the existential and causative usages of *see* whose subject positions are occupied by inanimate subjects. While existential *see* with subjects denoting time or location selects AspP as its complement, causative *see* with other types of inanimate subjects takes a bare infinitive complement and is given the causative interpretation via complex predicate formation. This is supported by the data from the historical corpus, CLMET: existential *see* cooccurs with present participle complements, but causative *see* does not. In addition, it is argued that in their grammaticalization into a light verb, existential *see* has undergone the processes of generalization and shift of meaning, whereas causative *see* has undergone those of generalization and semantic bleaching.

Notes to Chapter 4

¹ Other verbs denoting visual perception such as *find*, *witness*, *catch*, and *mark* can also select an inanimate subject.

² Levin (1993) includes this alternation in the oblique subject alternation.

³ According to Igarashi (1997), the fact that directional or manner elements do not so frequently form bare-NP adverbs as temporal or locative elements would be related to the fact that time and place can be only placed in the subject position of the visual perception verbs.

⁴ Notice that subjects denoting time appear with preterits in a preponderance of cases.

⁵ Igarashi (1997) suggests that it is natural to suppose that such agreements are caused by the subject denoting time, and that the subjects and verbs with matching tenses together present events expressed by objects.

⁶ In addition to the direct and indirect perception verbs, imaginative perception verbs select complements denoting change of state, allowing independent tense, as shown in (i).

- (i) I see John owning a house (three years from now)

(Boivin (1998: 112))

⁷ Onoe and Suzuki (2002) cite some potential examples in which causative *see* selects a present participle complement, pointing out that the future-denoting auxiliary *will* somehow forces the causative interpretation of such examples.

- (i) a. The deal, which will see the award-winning sports writer Hugh McIlvanney working with Ferguson, was signed yesterday...

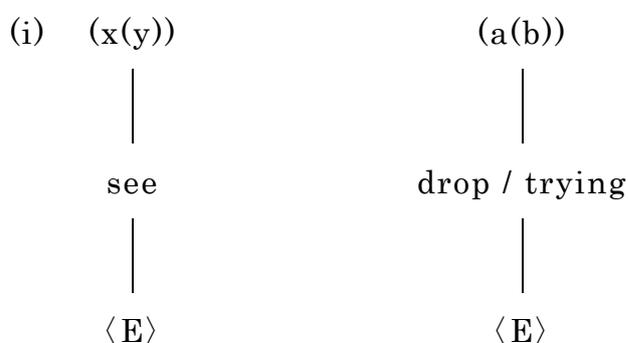
- b. The sale will see 1,500 staff transferring to Alexon,...

(Onoe and Suzuki (2002: 35))

However, given the contrast in (43), this paper continues to assume that causative *see* cannot select a present participle complement, putting aside examples like (i) as exceptional where the availability of causative interpretation depends on the presence of *will*. The ungrammaticality of (43b) is based on the data provided by my nine informants, six of whom judge it to be unacceptable or marginal at best.

⁸ According to Ritter and Rosen (1993), when the event is extended forward to include a consequent state, the experiencer interpretation is derived.

⁹ On the other hand, existential *see* takes two arguments (a subject denoting time or location and an AspP complement) and can assign θ -roles to them without complex predicate formation, because it retains the meaning of existence unlike causative *see* (see also section 4.5.2). Therefore, the argument structures of the two verbs in sentences like (41) will be as follows, where they denote separate events.



¹⁰ Ritter and Rosen (1993) observe that causative *have* may also select a present participle complement, which might imply that its complements show the distinction between progressive and perfective aspect, like perception verb complements:

- (i) John has Bill shelving books whenever the boss walks in.
(Ritter and Rosen (1993: 536))

However, the present participle complement of causative *have* shows different behavior from that of perception verbs, as shown in (ii).

- (ii) a. ??They saw him belonging to a rightist organization.
b. They had him belonging to a rightist organization.

(cf. Declerck (1991: 169))

According to Declerck (1991), verbs denoting relation or state, such as *belong to*, *depend on*, *remain* and *possess* are not compatible with progressives. If this is correct, the contrast in (ii) (from my informants) will provide evidence that the present participle complement of causative *have*, though it features the *-ing* form of a verb, is not progressive in its aspect, as opposed to that of perception verbs. This will in turn mean that complements of causative *have* do not show aspectual distinction, lending support to the present analysis that their structure is a bare VP lacking Asp.

¹¹ I have excluded from the survey idiomatic expressions such as *see the light*, *see better days*, *see long service* and so on, as well as examples with subjects denoting part of a body such as *eye* and *flesh*.

¹² As shown in Table 4, causative *see* may select a past participle complement. If it were to involve a functional category, it would pose a problem for the present analysis; the intervening functional category would prevent causative *see* from being interpreted via complex verb formation. Although a detailed analysis of past participle complements is beyond the scope of this paper, it should be noted that they do not show aspectual distinction, which in turn indicates that

they lack Asp. See Stowell (1983) for a bare VP analysis of past participle complements.

¹³ See Kume (2009) and chapter 3 for arguments that *come/go* in double verb constructions are light verbs (e.g. *They come/go talk to me every day*).

¹⁴ Hopper and Traugott (2003) suggest that generalization is associated with both meaning and grammatical function. The discussion here only focuses on generalization of grammatical function because the meaning of *see* is general enough to undergo grammaticalization.

¹⁵ Bybee et al. (1994) and Amano (2006) regard semantic bleaching as one of the necessary conditions for grammaticalization.

¹⁶ Sweetser (1998) and Akimoto (2004) note that basic lexical verbs such as *go* and *see* are likely to undergo semantic bleaching, and the loss of meaning is caused by the change of image schema from an objective area to a conceptual one.

¹⁷ Note that personification is not involved in the grammaticalization of *be going to* discussed in the previous section. The kinds of processes involved in grammaticalization may vary among lexical items being grammaticalized, since it is basically a lexical phenomenon.

¹⁸ One might suggest the possibility that when it selects DP complements, *see* still functions as a lexical verb with its inanimate subjects undergoing personification of the kind seen in (49). However, it is clear that the inanimate subjects denoting time in examples like (i) do not imply the existence of a group of people, so they cannot be taken to involve *see* as a lexical verb with the meaning of perceptual discernment.

(i) a. A few hours now will see an end of all our dangers.

(1894 *Sequel to The Prisoner of Zenda*)

b. ...every year will see rapid improvement in their efficiency.

(1902 *The Dominion of the Air: The story of Aerial Navigation*)

Therefore, it seems plausible to assume that *see* with inanimate subjects which selects DP complements has been grammaticalized into a light verb denoting existence via shift of meaning.

¹⁹ It should be noticed that the absence of DP complements of causative *see* is due to semantic bleaching, which occurs after generalization in the course of grammaticalization. There are some cases in which a new restriction comes to be imposed only with semantic bleaching. As we saw in section 4.5.1, *be going to* comes to appear with inanimate subjects and stative complements through generalization, but once it is further grammaticalized into a future auxiliary via semantic bleaching, it can no longer be used with *will* (see Hopper and Traugott (2003:

89-90)).

²⁰ Inoue (1984) also points out the correlation between frequency and the complexity of a developmental process, arguing that the frequency of predicates preceded by *as* after verbs such as *regard* decreases in the order of NP > AP > PP because *as* + PP involves the most complex (derivational) process; it is derived from *as* + AP, which is in turn derived from *as* + NP, the most basic form, in the history of English. See Pinker (1989), Inoue (1991, 1993), Goldberg (1995) and Koizumi (1996) for relevant discussion.

Chapter 5

On *have a N* Constructions

5.1. Introduction

In PE, *have* selects deverbal nominal complements with the indefinite article *a/an* which are identical to the base form of the verb, as shown (1). In this chapter, I call the configuration *have a N* constructions.¹

- (1) a. have a walk in the garden
b. have a swim in the river
c. have a sit-down in the river
d. have a look at the baby
e. have a think about the solution
f. have a talk with Mary (Dixon (1991: 336-337))

As Wierzbicka (1982, 1988), Dixon (1991) and Amagawa (1997) observe, in *have a N* constructions, the subject of the main verb *have* must also be the subject of its complement NP, as illustrated in (2).

- (2) a. I had a little stroll round the garden this morning.
 b. John had a punch from Bill. (Amagawa (1997: 67))

In (2a), the understood subject of the complement *stroll* is the same as *have*, whereas in (2b), the subject of *have* is John and Bill, not John, is interpreted as the subject of the complement *punch*. Therefore, sentences like (2b) are different from the *have a N* constructions in (1).²

On the other hand, deverbal nominals which have overt affixes such as *-tion* are preceded by the definite article *the* and genitive pronouns as well as the indefinite article:

- (3) a. have the conversation
 b. have the discussion of accessibility
 c. have his decision

However, the subject of the deverbal nominal complements with the overt affix is not necessarily identical to that of *have*, as shown in (4).

- (4) I must have your decision on or before May 10.

Also, *take* selects deverbal nominal complements with the indefinite article, forming so-called *take a N* constructions:

- (5) a. Chuck took a drink of water.
 b. John took a run in the park. (cf. Amagawa (1997: 75))

Just like in *have a N constructions*, actions denoted by the bare nominal complement must be done by the subject of *take*. Interestingly, complements in *take a N constructions* are restricted to a subset of the nouns that occur in *have a N constructions*, as illustrated in (6).

- (6) a. have a sleep / a talk / a chat / a cuddle / a cry / a cough / a row
b. *take a sleep / a talk / a chat / a cuddle / a cry / cough / a row
(cf. Wierzbicka (1988: 794))

This chapter has three main goals: to observe unique properties of light verb constructions, especially *have a N constructions*, to examine the historical development based on the data from historical corpora, and to propose the structural change to account for the properties of the relevant constructions. The chapter is organized as follows: section 5.2 reviews previous analyses i.e. Wierzbicka (1982, 1988), Dixon (1991) and Amagawa (1997), and points out some problems of their analyses. Section 5.3 analyzes the data from historical corpora, *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English Second edition* (henceforth, PPCME2), *The Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English* (henceforth, PPCEME) and *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English* (henceforth, PPCMBE). Section 5.4 discusses the historical development of *have a N constructions*, arguing the structural change of light verb constructions and the loss of the functional head D on the basis of the data analyzed in section 5.3, and

gives a syntactic explanation to the properties observed in section 5.1. Section 5.5 is the conclusion of the chapter.

5.2. Previous Analyses

This section overviews three previous analyses: Wierzbicka (1982, 1988), Dixon (1991) and Amagawa (1997), which all assume that complements of *have* are V, not N although they follow the indefinite article.

5.2.1. Wierzbicka (1982, 1988)

Wierzbicka (1982, 1988) proposes the following semantic invariant of *have a V* constructions:

- (7) X had a V.=
For some time, not a long time
X was doing something that could cause him to come to feel /
know something
he was doing it not because he wanted anything to happen to
anything other than himself
he could do it again. (Wierzbicka (1982: 758-759))

As shown in (7), the *have a V* construction is agentive, experiencer-oriented, anti-durative, atelic, and reiterative. She suggests that it is clear that the indefinite article followed by the verb stem has a delimiting and singularizing effect: it suggests a portion of

the activity which could be pluralized or repeated. Moreover, *have a V* constructions are divided into ten subtypes, and each semantic and syntactic formula is postulated.³

She also has a brief observation concerning the relation between the *have a V* and *take a V* types, and postulates a semantic formula of the *take a V* frame:

(8) X took a V. =

At moment *t*, X moved some part(s) of his body

because he wanted to do something for a short time which
could cause him to feel / know something

for a short time, he was doing it

he was doing it not because he wanted anything to happen to
anything other than himself

he could do it again.

(Wierzbicka (1982: 794))

In contrast to *have a V* constructions, *take a V* constructions show a definite moment of time as the starting point of the action, which need not be momentary but is extended in time. However, they must have a definite initial impulse — momentary, deliberate, and apparently involving physical motion. For example, *take a ride* is acceptable but *take a row* is not, because rowing requires a prolonged action which cannot be seen as resulting from the initial movement. Similarly, *take a sip*, *a lick*, *a sniff*, or *a bite* are grammatical but *take a chew*, *a suck*, or *a smoke* are not because the quick unitary acts of *sipping*, *licking*,

sniffing or *biting* can be seen as resulting from an initial movement of the relevant parts of the body, while the prolonged iterative action of *chewing*, *sucking* or *smoking* cannot.

In addition, the activity described by *take a V* constructions must be unitary with a natural beginning and end point, while the activity referred to by *have a V* constructions is an arbitrary chunk. The action denoted by *take* must be controllable by the agent as well as limited in time. For example, *take a walk* shows a definite idea of the direction and period of time, while *have a walk* implies an aimlessness and an indefinite idea of space and time. Moreover, let us consider *take a nap* vs. **take a sleep*. ‘A nap’ is not only short but also controllable, so the agent is not entirely unconscious and can plan and adjust the length of the action, whereas ‘a sleep’ is not controllable, and thus its length neither foreseeable nor plannable.

Finally, joint mutual action like *kissing* cannot appear in *take a V* constructions because subjects involving the action are required of initial impulse of will. It would be impossible that two people decide on the same joint action at exactly the same moment. Similarly, expressions like *take a chat* are excluded because the action does not result from initial movement.

5.2.2. Dixon (1991)

Dixon (1991) suggests that *have a V* constructions carry the meaning elements in (9).

- (9) a. something done voluntarily, by the subject
 b. to indulge himself in something he enjoys doing, or which provides relief
 c. the activity being done ‘for a bit’, at the subject’s whim (rather than to achieve any transcendental goal).

(Dixon (1991: 347-348))

He describes semantic properties of the constructions, dividing them into subtypes: *motion and rest*, *affect*, *giving*, *corporeal*, *attention*, *thinking*, and *talk*.⁴

He also suggests that *take a V* constructions are restricted to a unit of activity that is volitional and premeditated involving physical effort.

- (10) a. have a cry / a cough / a sit-down / a talk / a think
 b. *take a cry / a cough / a sit-down / a talk / a think

(Amagawa (1997: 70))

The physical effort component explains why (10a) is acceptable but (10b) is not.

5.2.3. Amagawa (1997)

Amagawa (1997) suggests that the condition in (11) is imposed on *a + V* frame and the semantic restriction in (12) is laid down on *have +*

a + V.

- (11) Verbs in *a + V* is restricted to ones without elements setting an event in time which are categorized as active predicates.

(Amagawa (1997: 71))

- (12) Activities denoted by *have + a + V* are limited to ones which are positive to subjects, or bring joy or relief.

(Amagawa (1997: 75))

Even if verbs satisfy the condition in (11), the violation of the semantic restriction in (12) leads to the ungrammaticality: the verbs in (13) cannot occur in *have a* constructions because they violate (12) in spite of the satisfaction of (10).

- (13) *have an exercise, a pray, a study, a swear, a talk over, a work...

(Amagawa (1997: 76))

Amagawa also argues that verbs which are compatible with the lexical meaning of *take* in (14) only appear as complements of *take a V* constructions.

- (14) a. TAKE x FROM y → bite, drink, lick, sip, smell, smoke, sniff
b. TAKE x TO y → jog, ride, run, stroll, swim, walk, ...
→ glance (at), look (at), pee

(Amagawa (1997: 76))

TAKE x FROM y represents verbs denoting the intake of an object into the domain of the subject, while TAKE x TO y stands for verbs meaning the transference of the body of the subject from one place to another and the cast of a glance or the ejection of urine. The reason why verbs such as *chat*, *chew*, *cry*, *laugh* and *listen to* cooccur with *have* but not with *take* is that they are not compatible with the lexical meaning of *take*, i.e. TAKE x FROM y nor TAKE x TO y although they satisfy the condition in (11).

5.2.4. Some Problems of the Analyses of Wierzbicka, Dixon , and Amagawa

It is true that Wierzbicka, Dixon, and Amagawa observe semantic properties of *have a N* constructions in great detail, but their analyses have some problems. First, Wierzbicka and Dixon postulate many different semantic formulas for the single construction, which are only descriptions and far from an organized explanation although they suggest that the construction is not a jungle of idiosyncrasies but exhibits orderly and systematic behavior.

Second, there are arbitrary and contradictory components in the

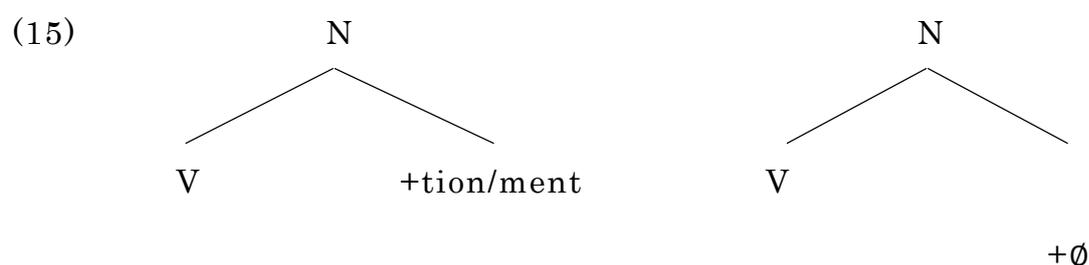
semantic formulas proposed by all the three linguists. For example, as for the component of ‘for some time, not a long time,’ which is contained in all the types of semantic formula, Wierzbicka argues that when one swims for ten hours, *have a swim* is not used. As Amagawa points out, however, the boundary is unclear and arbitrary; if one swims for five hours or an hour, can it be used? Moreover, the component of ‘X was doing something which could cause him to feel good’ is also unclear and arbitrary because the reason why walking and swimming cause the agent to feel good, but working does not is not given any adequate explanation.

Finally, Wierzbicka, Dixon and Amagawa all merely describe the properties of the construction, and postulate the semantic and syntactic formulas because they do not explain why the category of the complement is V, not N in spite of the fact that it is preceded by the indefinite article *a*, why the construction contains the indefinite article, not the definite counterpart or genitive pronoun, why the complement appears as the base form without any affixes, and why the subject of the complement must be the same as that of *have*. Sections below attempt to approach the questions which are not taken into consideration in the three previous analyses, discussing the historical development of *have a N* constructions based on the data from historical corpora: PPCME2, PPCME, and PPCMBE.

5.3. The Historical Data

Yonekura (1998) suggests that zero (bare) nominalizations, i.e.

nominals derived from verbs by adding the null affix without phonetic realizations, rose in ME. This is because verbs, which had appeared in very various inflectional forms in OE, were undergoing the leveling of inflectional affixes in the period. According to Roeper (1987), the null affix alters verbs into nominals in the same way that overt affixes with phonetic forms such as *-tion* and *-ment* do, as illustrated in (15).



According to Visser (1969) and Yonekura (1998), *have a N* constructions also appeared in the same period that the zero nominalizations occurred although they were not so dominant as in PE, and it was not until in ModE that they began to be of frequent occurrence.⁵ Examples with deverbal nominal complements without affix in ME are given in (16).

- (16) a. we had a nere rune.
 b. lett me haue my rest (c1450 Mankind 603 (Brandl))
 (Visser (1969: 139))

It should be noted that in (16b), the bare nominal *rest* is preceded by

the possessive pronoun *my*, not the indefinite article *a/an* like in (16a). In order to examine the shift of tokens of deverbal nominals selected by *have* as its complement, I conducted the rather comprehensive survey with the three historical corpora, PPCME2, PPCEME and PPCMBE, focusing on typical complements in *have a N* constructions in PE: *bite*, *chat*, *cross*, *cry*, *debate*, *drink*, *look*, *rest*, *run*, *sleep*, *talk*, and *walk*. The result is shown in Table 1.

Table 1

	ME	EModE	LModE	Total
bite	1	4		5
chat			1	1
cross		2		2
cry	1	1		2
debate		1		1
drink		5		5
look			1	1
rest	25	7	1	33
run		1	3	4
sleep		1	2	3
talk		4	12	16
walk		2		2
Total	27	28	20	75

As shown in Table 1, the tokens increase from 27 in ME to 48 in ModE (EModE and LModE), and as discussed just above, intermediate elements between *have* and the bare nominal were not restricted to the indefinite article.⁶ Instances in Table 1 are arranged in Table 2 according to the intermediate element.

Table 2

	definite article	possessive	quantifier	no element	indefinite article
ME	2	4	9	11	1
EModE	5		5	8	10
LModE	1		6	1	12
Total	8	4	20	20	23

In ME, as shown in Table 2, only one instance with the indefinite article is attested and there are 2 examples with the definite article and 4 examples with possessives. Some instances with each type of the definite article and possessive from PPCME2 are given in (17).

- (17) a. For sche had hir fyrst cry at Ierusalem, as is wretyn be-forn.
‘For she had her first cry at Jerusalem, as is written before’
(CMKEMPE,105.2382)
- b. ac habben þa reste, & þa blisse þe heo hadde+d geearnod.
‘but have the rest and the bless that he had earned’

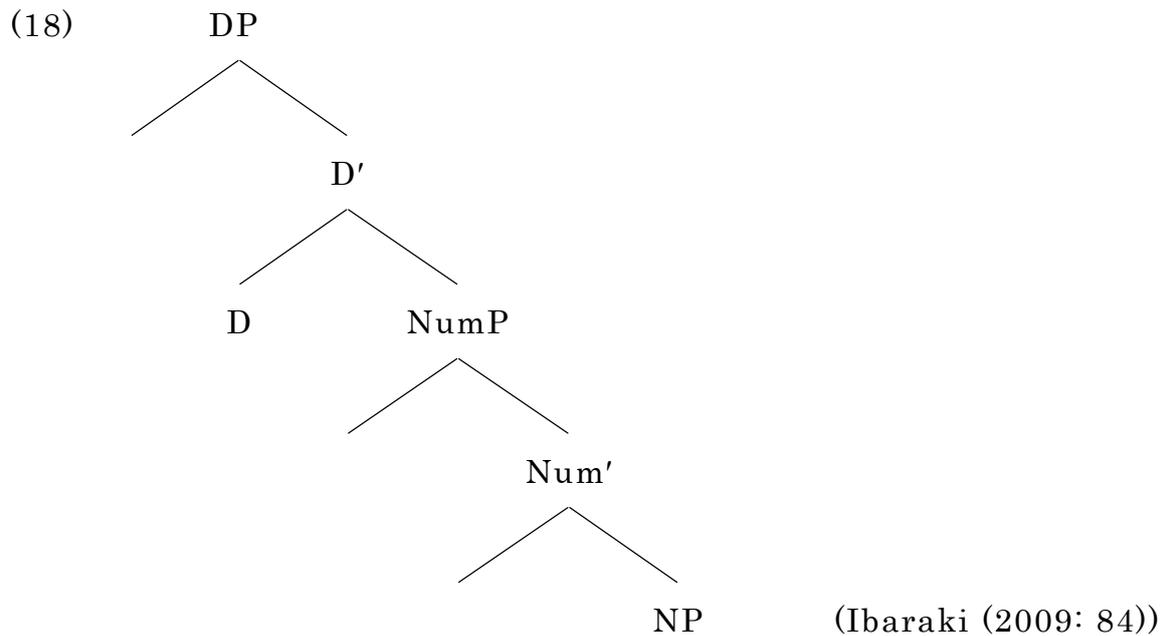
Instances with the indefinite article markedly increase by 9 to 10, and on the other hand, no instances with possessives are attested in EModE. Moreover, there are 12 examples with the indefinite article while only one example with the definite article is found in LModE. This suggests that bare nominal complements of *have* gradually lost the definiteness during the ModE period.

5.4. The Historical Development of *Have a N* Constructions

This section discusses the historical development of *have a N* constructions on the basis of the data observed in the previous section. *Have a N* constructions appeared in ME, and the bare nominal complement had almost lost the definiteness. Before the discussion of the development of *have a N* constructions, let us overview that of DP.

5.4.1. The Historical Development of DP

Following Abney (1987), Carstens (2000), Bernstein (2001) and Ibaraki (2009), I assume the DP structure schematized in (18), and the licensing condition on definite noun phrases in (19) proposed by Ibaraki (2009).

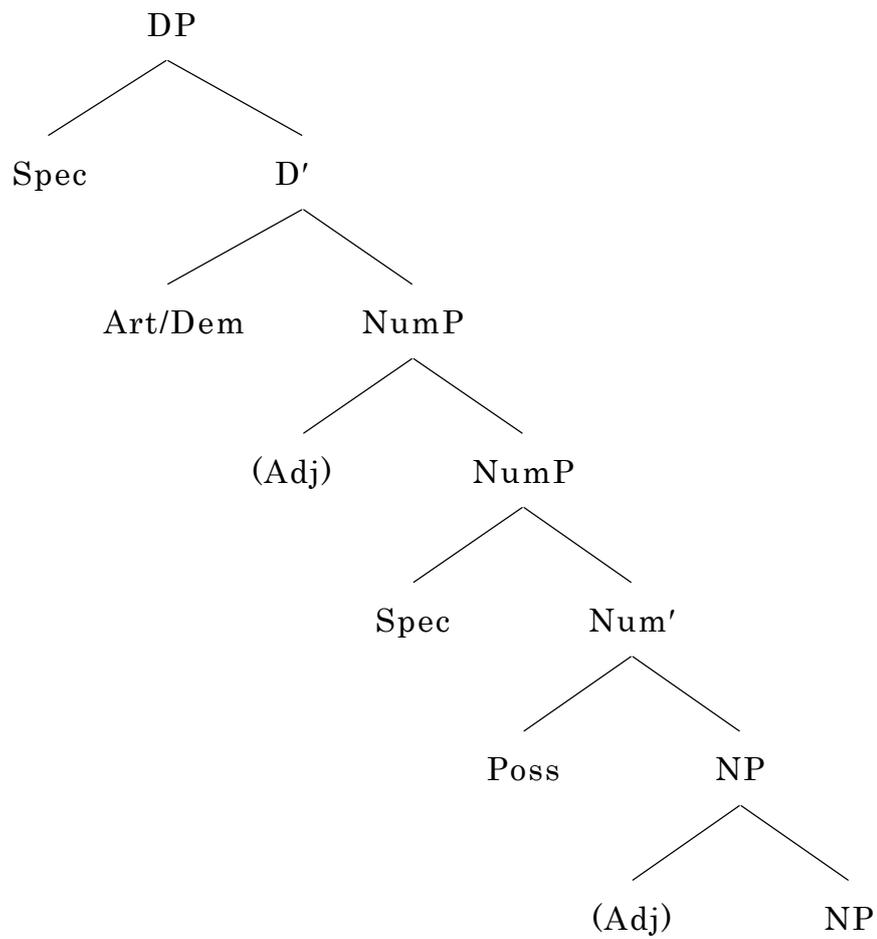


(19) Definite noun phrases are licensed iff the [+definite] feature of D enters into a checking relation with its matching element(s) in a Spec-head and/or a head-head configuration.

(Ibaraki (2009): 84)

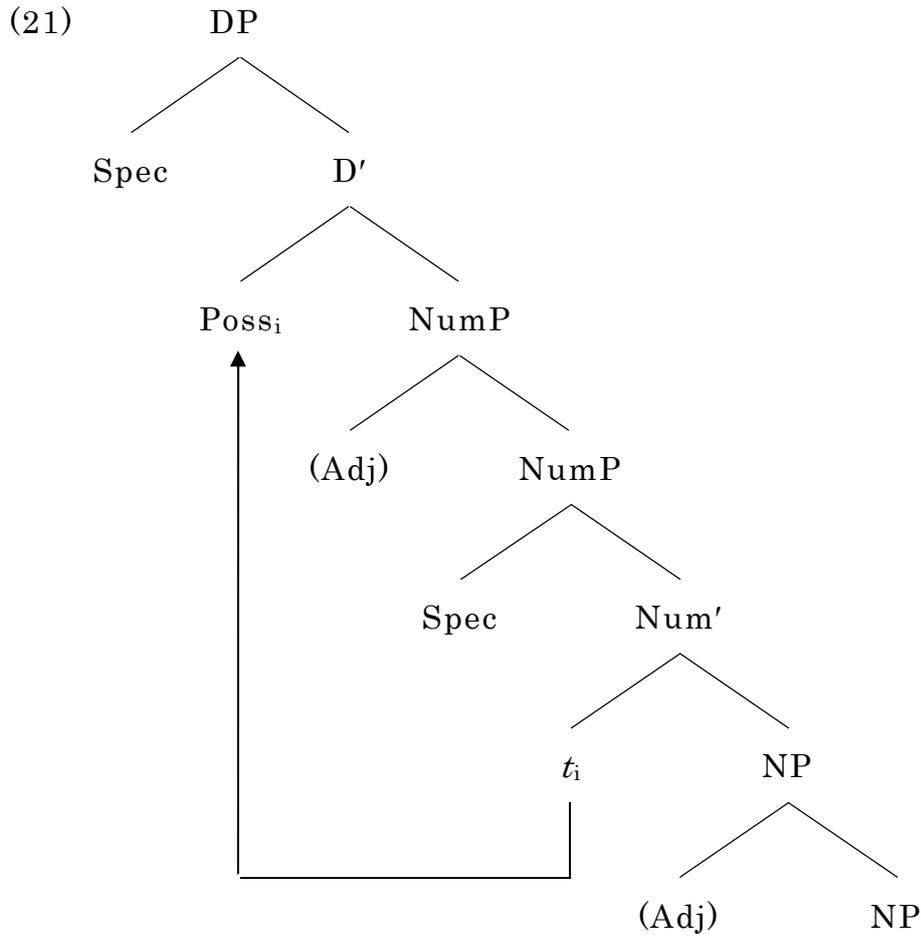
Given the licensing condition in (19), the definite article and demonstratives in ME are base-generated in the head of DP with possessive pronouns in the head of NumP, and the [+definite] feature of D is checked by the definite article and demonstratives in the head of DP, as illustrated in (20).

(20)



(cf. Ibaraki (2009: 90))

On the other hand, in the case where the definite article and demonstratives do not appear in the head of DP, possessives obligatorily move there to check the [+definite] feature of D:



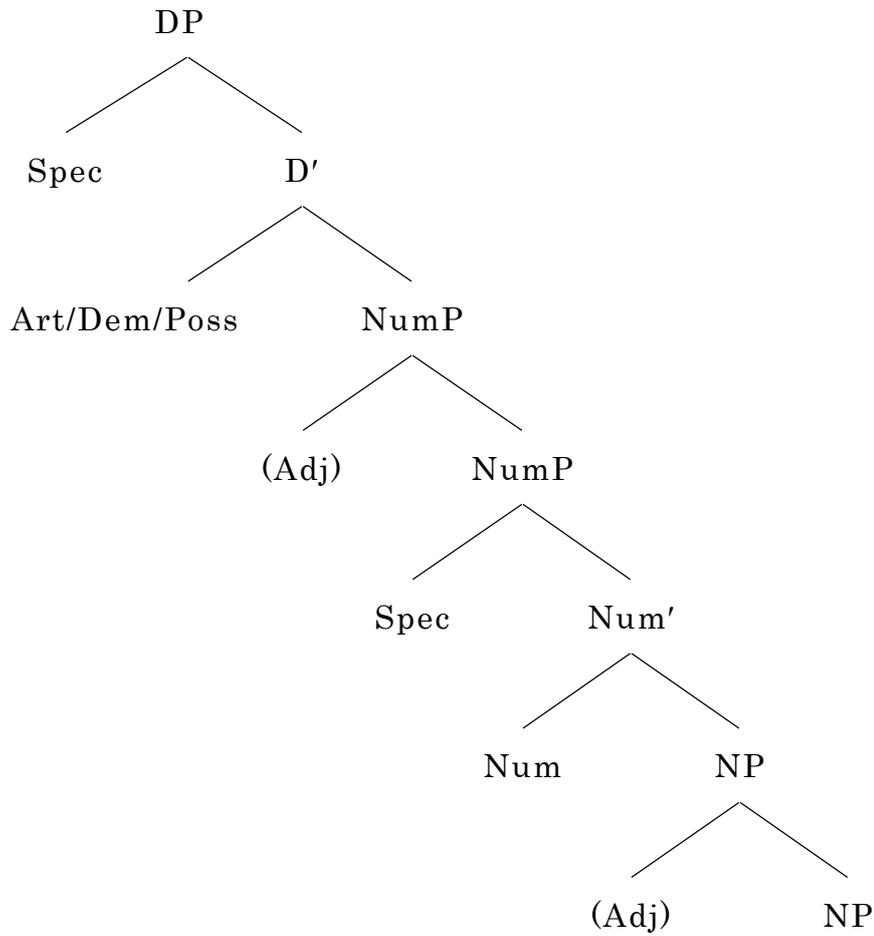
(cf. Ibaraki (2009: 90))

Furthermore, in accordance with van Geldren's (2004) Late Merge Principle in (22), it is suggested that in ModE possessive pronouns came to be base-generated in the head of DP instead of moving there in the absence of the definite article or demonstratives, as schematized in (23).

(22) Late Merge Principle

Merge as late as possible. (van Gelderen (2004: 12))

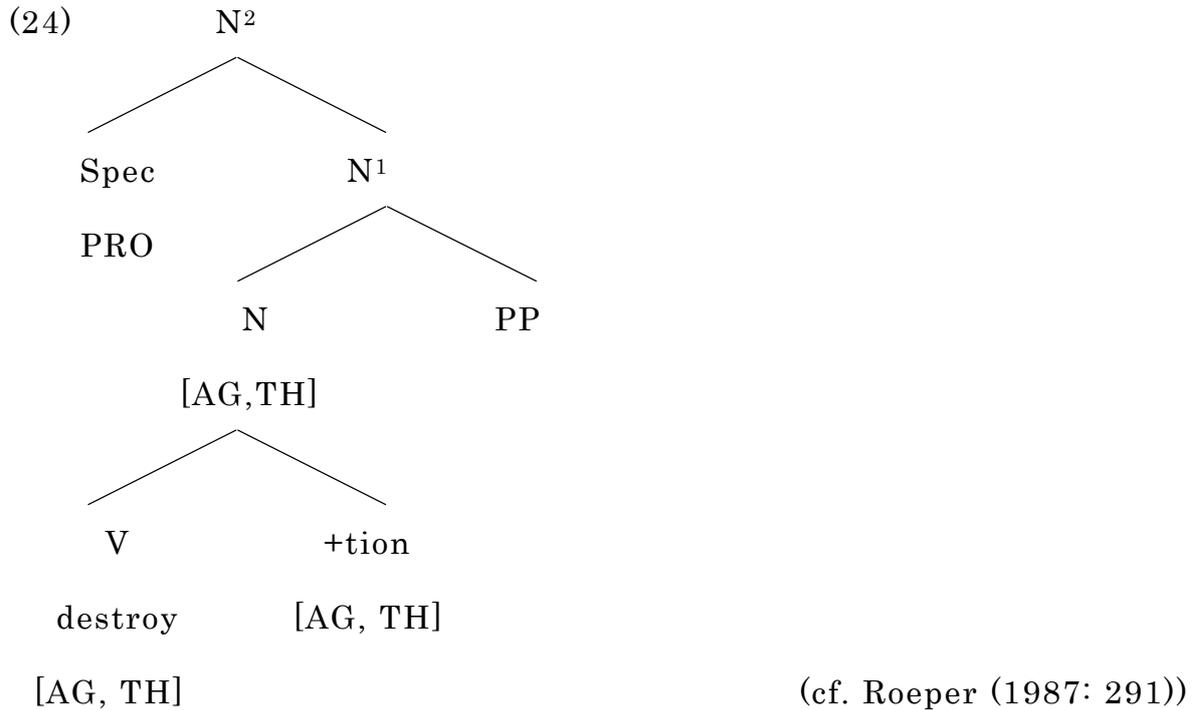
(23)



(Ibaraki (2009: 91))

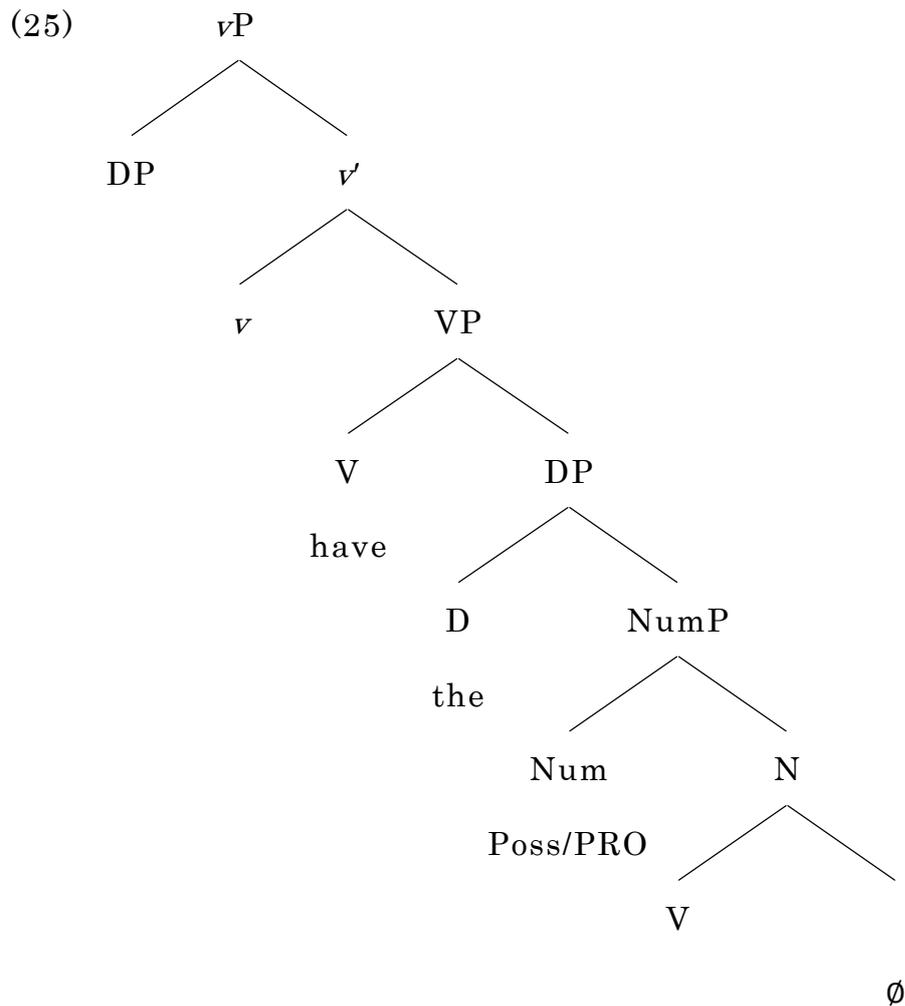
5.4.2. The Rise of *Have a N* Constructions via the Loss of D

As observed in section 5.3, only in ME *have a N* constructions included the definite article and possessives, which can be interpreted as subjects of N.⁷ Roeper (1987) suggests that the subject position of deverbal nominals can be occupied by PRO, arguing argument structures in the light of percolation, as schematized in (24).



The argument structure [Agent, Theme] of *destroy* is shared with the affix *+tion*, and advances to the N node but not the N¹ node. From the N node, it c-commands the PP under N¹. Furthermore, it is lifted into a higher position for the assignment of agent to the external argument position (PRO).

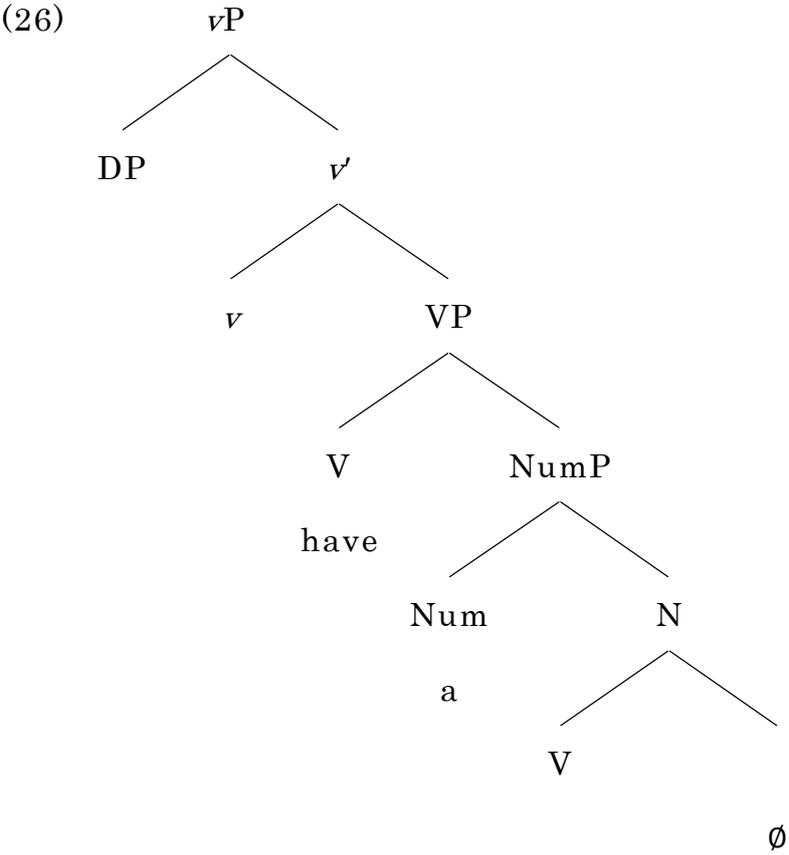
Recall that the definite article and possessive pronouns occurred in *have a N* constructions in ME and the licensing condition on definite noun phrases in (19). Given this, it is natural to assume that bare nominal complements with the definite article and possessive pronouns constituted DP, as illustrated in (25).



I assume that PRO, which is interpreted as subject like possessive pronouns, is generated in the head of Num on the basis of the fact that possessive pronouns cooccurred with the definite article and demonstratives in ME. As in (21), in case the definite article does not appear, possessive pronouns or PRO move to the head of D and check the [+definite] feature there. Therefore, bare nominal complements took different subjects from *have* unless they are coreferential.

As mentioned in section 5.3, the definite article and possessive

pronouns followed by bare nominal complements of *have* were replaced by the indefinite article in ModE, which in turn leads us to assume the structural change from (25) to (26) via the loss of DP:

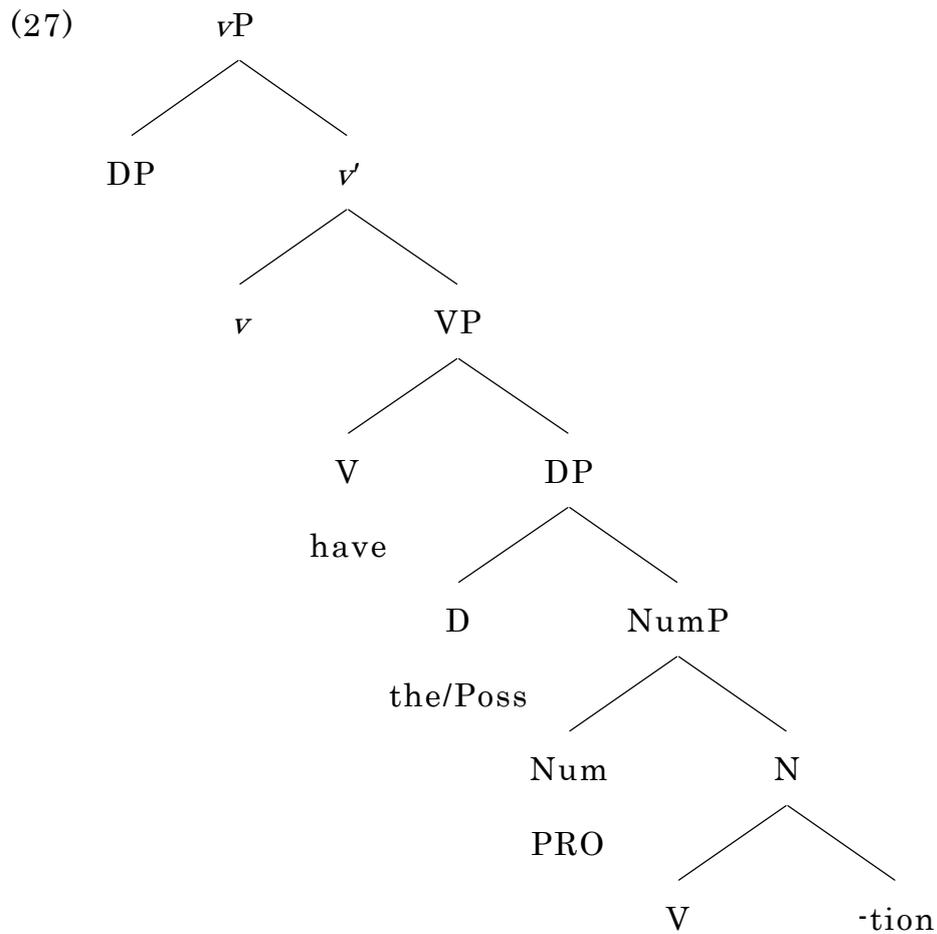


In (25), the definite article, demonstratives and possessive pronouns are (re)merged in the head of D and check the [+definite] feature, while in (26), because of the loss of D, there are no location for them to appear in this structure, and instead Num comes to be realized by the indefinite article, which suggested by Wierzbicka, has a delimiting and singularizing effect: the indefinite article shows a portion of the activity denoted by the bare nominal complement which could be

pluralized or repeated.⁸ Recall semantic properties described by previous analyses overviewed in section 5.2. More precisely, the aspectual properties described as “for some time, not a long time,” “he could do it again”, and “for a bit” in semantic formulas of Wierzbicka (1982) and Dixon (1991) are attributed to the function of the indefinite article.⁹ Therefore, as pointed out in section 5.2.4, the reason why when one swims for ten hours, *have a swim* is not used is that events denoted by the bare nominal complements must be regarded as a portion of the activity which can be repeated by the speaker. In addition, *work* is not compatible with the *have a N* constructions not because the action denoted by *work* could not cause the subject to feel good but because the action cannot be quantified by the indefinite article.

As a result, moreover, the loss of D makes it impossible that bare nominal complements take their own subject, and they cannot help depending on the subject of *have* for their own interpretation of subject. As discussed in section 5.1, thus, the subject of *have* must also be the subject of bare nominal complement.

On the other hand, as shown in (27), the deverbal nominal complement with the overt affix *-tion* appears with the definite article as in (4a, b), or possessive pronouns as in (4c) and (5). (4) and (5) are repeated here as (28) and (29), respectively.



- (28) a. have the conversation
 b. have the discussion of accessibility
 c. have his decision

(29) I must have your decision on or before May 10.

In (28a, b), PRO in Num functions as the subject of N although it can refer to the subject of *have*, while in (28c) and (29) the possessive pronouns in D serve and are interpreted as the subject of the N different from that of *have* because they still constitute DP.

5.4.3. *Have a N* and *Take a N* Constructions

As discussed in section 5.1, *take* also selects bare nominal complements with the indefinite article, which are restricted to a subset of the nouns that occur in *have a N* constructions, as shown in (6), which is repeated here as (30) for the sake of convenience.

- (30) a. have a sleep / a talk / a chat / a cuddle / a cry / a cough / a row
b. *take a sleep / a talk / a chat / a cuddle / a cry / cough / a row

(cf. Wierzbicka (1988: 794))

As argued in section 4.3.3, Ritter and Rosen (1993, 1997) suggest that in PE, eventive *have*, whose meaning is not fixed at the level of lexicon, has no independent semantic content. It is, therefore, assumed that the various interpretations for eventive *have* listed in (31) are derived from the syntactic structure. More precisely, the meaning of *have* is determined depending on the interpretation assigned to its subject, which in turn receives the interpretation on the basis of the complement.¹⁰

- (31) a. John had the students read three articles. Causative
b. John had a party. Nominal event
c. John had his car stole. Experiencer

(Ritter and Rosen (1997: 296))

Ritter and Rosen make three postulates and several associated consequences, as in (32) and (33).

(32) *Postulates*

- a. *There* is only one verb *have*.
- b. *Have* is a functional item; it has no specific thematic content, and no thematic roles to assign.
- c. *Have* provides the additional syntactic structure necessary for the insertion of an extra argument, and/or for the modification of event structure.

(Ritter and Rosen (1997: 296))

(33) *Consequences*

- a. *Have* lacks the lexical semantic content necessary to provide an interpretation for its subject argument (Ritter and Rosen (1993)).
- b. The subject of *have* must be related to some other constituent in order to get an interpretation.
- c. The meaning of *have* is determined post-lexically by the nature of the relation it sets up, i.e. by the possible construal or the items related.

(Ritter and Rosen (1997: 296))

It is argued that *have* does acquire an interpretation from the syntax, more precisely from the relation between the subject and the predicate (complement), and the subject argument which is added and licensed by

have cannot receive a thematic interpretation from *have* itself because it lacks lexically specified meaning for θ role assignment. Instead, since all arguments in an eventive predicate receive a syntactically determined event role, the subject of *have* in an eventive predicate is interpreted in accordance with the role that it plays in the event. Therefore, like the verbal predicates discussed in the previous chapter, the subject of *have* is a participant in the event donated by the DP complement. Since events denoted by the bare nominal complement lack independent reference, the subject of *have*, which plays the role of instigator, is responsible for there being an event.¹¹

The assumption that in PE, eventive *have* has no lexical content, and therefore the subject is interpreted depending on the complement would be confirmed by the development of causative *have* in the history of English. Baron (1977) suggests that periphrastic causative *have* developed directly from possessive, resultative *have* with past participle complements which modify the accusative noun as adjectives, as exemplified in (34), where *geleornode* is a past participle which agrees in gender, number and case with the accusative plural feminine *boc*.¹²

(34) ða (he) þas boc hæfde geleornode
 when he those books had in-a-state-of-learnedness

Alfred, *Boethius* 1.8

(Baron (1977: 79))

Periphrastic causative *have* did not select infinitives but clauses as its complement in the 12th century, as exemplified in (35).¹³

- (35) Ðe wæl3a rice... walde Ða habban Lazarum... Ðæt
the mighty rich would then have Lazarum... that
he mid his fingræ hure his tunga drypte
he with his fingers at least his tongue moisten
'the mighty rich man ... would then have Lasarus... that he
with his fingers at least moisten his tongue.'

(c1175 *Bod. Hom.* 68/25)

(Baron (1977: 82))

It is in the afternoon of the 14th century that causative *have* started to select infinitival complements, as shown in (35).^{14, 15}

- (36) a. [they] wold haue had Balen leue his swerd ...
[they] would have had Balen leave his sword ...
'they would have had Balen leave his sword ...'

(1470-85 Malory, *Morte d'Arthur* 92, 21)

- b. I had a horse run away with me.

(1860 *Grandmother's Money* I. 119 (Hoppe))

OED 18

(Baron (1977: 85-86))

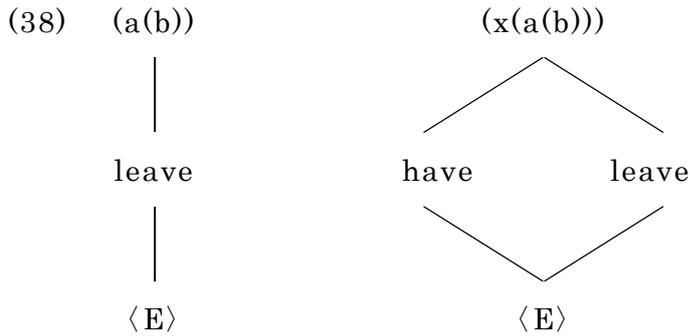
Baron (1977), based on the historical observation, suggests that

infinitive complements of causative *have* derived from active subordinate clauses, as illustrated in (37).¹⁶

- (37) clause: he would have it that [I help him] ⇒
infinitive: he would have me help him

(cf. Baron (1977: 86))

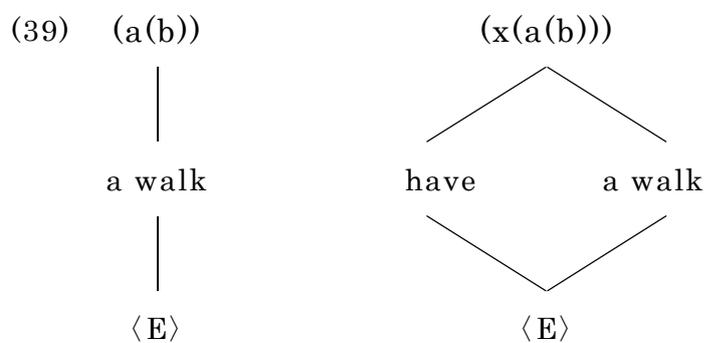
The shift from the finite to the infinite complement means that *have* has lost the functional heads embedded C and T. The reason for the loss of the functional categories is associated with the process of semantic bleaching of *have*. When the possessive meaning of *have* as in (34) shifted to the causative in (35), the lexical meaning of *have* had not completely lost because it is clear that *have* assigned θ role to the subject as well as the complements (see section 4.5.2 for shift of meaning). To put it another way, it is not until the loss of the functional heads that the semantic bleaching of causative *have* is recognized. More precisely, the loss of the functional heads C and T between *have* and the VP complement in (36) enabled causative *have* to form the complex predicate with the complement in order to assign θ role to the added external argument, as illustrated in (38).



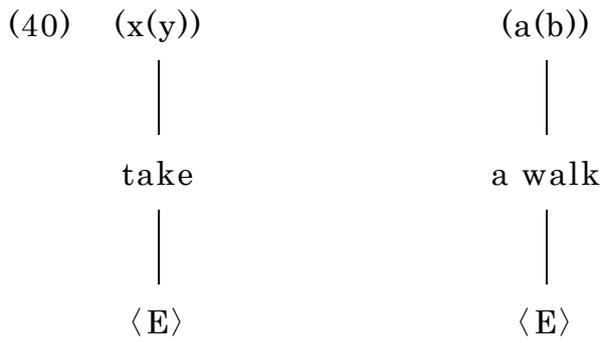
As discussed in section 4.3.3, the function of *have* is simply to add one new argument (x) to the argument structure of another verb. In (37), the argument structure of *leave* (a(b)) is extended into (x(a(b))), and therefore the two verbs together denote a single event represented by $\langle E \rangle$ under complex predicate formation. Although *have* introduces one argument, it cannot project into the syntax as an independent verb because it lacks the capacity to assign a θ -role to the argument; therefore, if complex predicate formation were not applied, the argument of *have* could not be interpreted at LF, resulting in a violation of the Principle of Full Interpretation (Chomsky (1986)). Then, Ritter and Rosen (1993) propose a mechanism for interpreting the argument of *have*, called complex predicate formation, through which the argument structure of *have* is combined with that of an independent predicate.

It should be noticed that *have* lost the semantic content and the complex predicate formation was possible via the loss of the functional category C and T at the almost same period that *have a N* constructions appeared through the loss of D, as observed in section 5.3. This

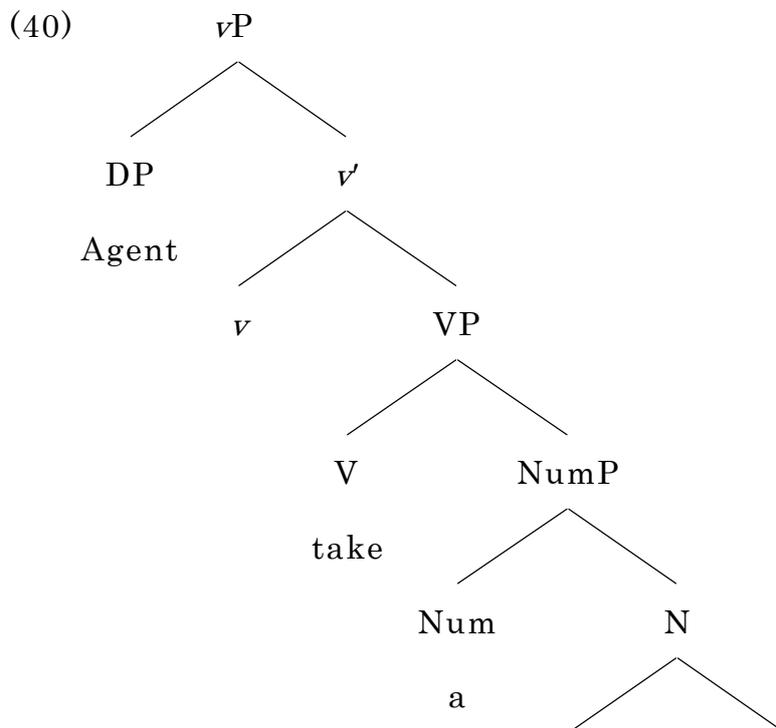
temporal coincidence supports the structural change proposed above via the loss of the functional category of D, and leads us to suggest that *have* in *have a N* constructions also forms the complex predicate with the bare nominal complement in order to assign θ role to the external argument added by *have*. Therefore, it is impossible that the added argument fails to be compatible with the subject required by the bare nominal complement:¹⁷



On the other hand, since *take*, as pointed out Wierzbicka (1982) and Amagawa (1997), still carries the lexical content, and therefore assigns the agentive θ role to the subject, there is no need for *take* to form a complex predicate with its bare nominal complement, and thus it is possible that *take* and the bare nominal complement carry distinct argument structures:



However, the bare nominal complement must depend on the subject of *take* for its interpretation of subject because it lacks the place to realize its own external argument because of the loss of D, as schematized in (40).



The fact that bare nominal complements of *take* is restricted to a subset of complements in *have a N* constructions can be accounted for in the following way. When the subject required by bare nominal complements of *take* is agentive, it is not incompatible with that of *take*, which assigns agentive θ role to its subject, while when the subject of bare nominal complements requires a non-agentive subject such as experiencer, causer, and patient, it is incompatible with that of *take*, which leads to ungrammaticality:

- (41) a. take a walk / take a look / take a wash / take a lick
 b. *take a cry / take a cough / take a talk / take a think

(cf. Wierzbicka (1982: 794))

On the other hand, it is impossible that the subject of *have* is incompatible with that of bare nominal complements because *have* lacks its semantic contents and the ability to assign θ role to its subject, and thus the subject of *have*, which receives θ role from the whole predicate via the complex predicate formation, is not restricted to agent:

- (42) a. have a walk / have a look / have a wash / have a lick
b. have a cry / have a cough / have a talk / have a think

(cf. Wierzbicka (1982: 794))

5.6. Conclusion

This chapter has discussed light verb constructions, especially *have a N* constructions. Although Wierzbicka (1982, 1988), Dixon (1991) and Amagawa (1997) describe the semantic properties of the construction in detail, they do not explain why the construction contains the indefinite article, not the definite counterpart or genitive pronouns, why the complement appears as the base form without any affixes, and why the subject of the bare nominal complement must be the same as *have*. By analyzing the data from historical corpora, it was suggested that *have a N* constructions appeared via the structural change through the loss of D in ModE after zero nominalization was possible in ME, and that the reason why the subject of deverbal nominal complements must be the same as *have* is that *have* has lost all the semantic contents and forms the complex predicate with the complement to assign θ role to the subject. On the other hand, *take* still carries the lexical meaning and assigns the agentive θ role to the subject so that it does not allow bare nominal complements which require subjects other than agent.

Notes to Chapter 5

¹ This paper does not also address idiomatic phrases such as *have a break*, and *have a go*, whose complements are not interpreted literally.

² I assume that nominal complements like *punch* in (2b) are not derived in syntax but specified as noun in the lexicon.

³ I add the ten subtypes and each semantic and syntactic formula of *have a N* constructions postulated by Wierzbicka as appendix I to this chapter.

⁴ The Dixon's descriptions are also added as Appendix II to this chapter.

⁵ Against previous analyses, I assume that the category of complements of *have* is N, not V because they are preceded by articles, and modified by adjectives, and pluralized with *-s*.

⁶ The reason why much more instances of *rest* would be that it is not deverbal noun but denominal verb. According to OED and Yonekura (1998), the oldest nominal example of *rest* (*raeste*) appeared in c825, while the earliest verbal instance of *rest* (*raestan*) was given in c900.

⁷ Roeper (1987), Grimshaw (1990), and Alexiadou and Grimshaw (2007) suggest that nominals derived from verbs without overt affix behave as simple event nouns and/or individual nouns, which denote an event but are not associated with an event structure and hence not with an argument structure. However, some zero derived nominals do seem to license arguments:

- (i) a. My constant change of mentors.
- b. The frequent release of the prisoners by the governor.

(Alexiadou and Grimshaw (2007: 3))

⁸ The indefinite article *a/an* can be substituted by *another*, and the bare nominal complements can be pluralized in *have a N* constructions, as illustrated in (i).

- (i) a. She had another look at the ring. (Dixon (1991: 341))
- b. So far we have only had informal talks.

⁹ Wierzbicka (1982) speculates that the bareness and therefore the shortness of nominal complements in *have a N* constructions has an iconic effect, which emphasizes the limitation of time of the action, citing Jespersen's remark: 'In not a few instances, substantives formed from verbs without change of form compete with substantives formed by means of derivative endings, especially Latin formatives. There is often a difference in sense, the role of the shorter word being generally

to denote a single occurrence' (Jespersen (1942: 119)).

¹⁰ Ritter and Rosen (1997) suggest that non-eventive *have* like (i) also lacks its semantic content.

- | | | |
|--------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| (i) a. | John has a hat on today. | Location |
| b. | John has a sister. | Inalienable possession |
| c. | John has a new car. | Alienable possession |
| d. | John has read the NYT. | Auxiliary |

(Ritter and Rosen (1997: 296))

¹¹ There are well-known tests to examine whether bare nominal complements of *have* are events or not. First, only events appear in the progressive, as shown in (i).

- (i) Mary is having a talk with Bill.

(Ritter and Rosen (1997: 303))

Second, only events can follow the phrase 'what happened was...', as illustrated in (ii).

- (ii) What happened was that Mary had a talk with Bill.

(Ritter and Rosen (1997: 303))

Moreover, the subject of *have* has a volitional control over the event,

which is shown by the fact that it can appear in an imperative sentence:

(iii) Have a talk with Bill! (Ritter and Rosen (1997: 303))

Ritter and Rosen (1997), based on the availability of well-formed imperatives, suggest that in a nominal event, the subject of *have* can be an agent assigned the instigator role of the event.

¹² According to Baron (1977), perfective *have* was derived from the resultative aspect of possessive *have* while causative was derived from both resultative and inchoative aspects.

¹³ Causative *have* took locative, adjectival, and past participle complements as well as clausal complements in this period.

¹⁴ Note that causative *have* selecting infinitive complements had appeared with the future auxiliary before the 17th century, and *have* without future auxiliary is happenstance rather than causative:

(i) Jacob had his wife Rachel to dye suddenly in his journey on
his hand. (Baron (1977: 86))

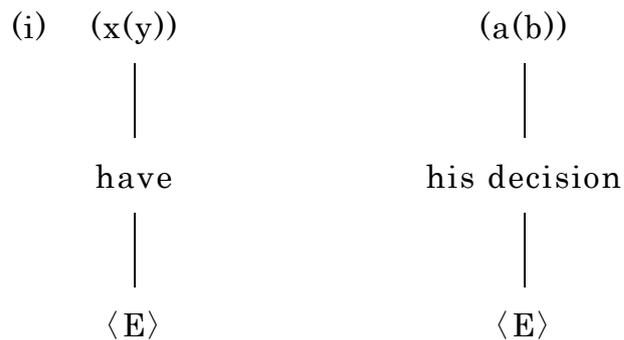
¹⁵ Baron (1977) points out that use of to-infinitive complements of causative *have* had been dominant in late ME and early ModE although

it declined by the 19th century.

¹⁶ Tranka (1924) associates the infinitive infinitive complements with purpose clauses:

(i) He would have me for to help him. (Baron (1977: 86))

¹⁷ When *have* selects deverbal nominals with overt affix *-tion* as its complement, the verb and the complement have the distinct argument structures:



(2) Action aiming at perception which could cause one to know something and which would not cause one to feel bad if it didn't

example: *have a look (at), a listen (to), a smell (of), a feel (of), a taste (of)*

The syntactic formula is:

NP	have + AUX	a	V-Inf.	(PP)
human			two arguments	concrete
			intentional	
			perception	

The semantic formula is:

X had a listen (to Y). =

For some time, not a long time

X was doing something that could cause him to come to know something about Y

he would not feel anything bad if he did not come to know anything about Y because of doing it

he was doing it not because he wanted anything to happen anything other than himself

he could do it again. (cf. Wierzbicka (1982: 763, 765))

- (3) Tentative action which could cause one to come to know something and which would not cause one to feel bad if it didn't

example: *have a try (at), a look (for), a think about*

The syntactic formula is:

NP have + AUX a V-Inf. (PP)

human

intentional

two arguments

tentative (finding out)

The semantic formula is:

X had a look for Y. =

For some time, not a long time

X was doing something that could cause him to come to know something about Y

X knew that he might not come to know anything about Y because of that

he would not feel anything bad if he didn't come to know anything about Y because of that

he was doing it not because he wanted anything to happen to anything other than himself

he could do it again. (cf. Wierzbicka (1982: 766, 768))

(5) Consumption of small parts of objects which could cause one to feel pleasure

example: *have a bite, a lick, a suck, a chew, a nibble*

The syntactic formula is:

NP	have + AUX	a	V-Inf.	of+NP
human			two arguments	concrete
			intentional	definite
			consumption	(preferably possessed)
			no total change in the object	

The semantic formula is:

X had a lick (of Y). =

For some time, not a long time

X was doing something

which could cause him to feel pleasure

introducing through his mouth into his body small parts of Y

which could cause him to feel pleasure

introducing through his mouth into his body small parts of Y

which could become indistinguishable from parts of his body

he was doing it not because he wanted to cause anything to happen to anything other than himself

he could do it again. (cf. Wierzbicka (1982: 771-773))

(6) Consumption of non-discrete substances which could cause one to feel pleasure

example: *have a drink of (orange juice), a smoke, a sip of (wine), a sniff of (petrol)*

The syntactic formula is:

NP	have + AUX	a	V-Inf.	of+NP
human			transitive	mass
			intentional	indefinite
			consumption	
			atelic	

The semantic formula is:

X had a drink (of substance Y). =

For some time, not a long time

X was doing something that could cause him to feel pleasure

[he was] introducing into his body some substance which could become indistinguishable from parts of his body

it was something that he could do for as long as he wanted

he was doing it not because he wanted anything to happen to anything other than himself

he could do it again. (cf. Wierzbicka (1982: 774, 776))

(7) Activity superficially involving another entity, which could cause one to feel pleasure

example: *have a kick of the football, a throw of the boomerang, a read*

The syntactic formula is:

NP have + AUX a V-Inf. (PP) *Mod.[atelic→telic]

human intentional

two arguments

atelic

The semantic formula is:

X had a kick of the football. =

For some time, not a long time

X was doing something with object Y that could cause him to feel pleasure

he was doing it not because he wanted anything to happen to anything other than himself

it was something that he could do for as long as he wanted

he could do it again. (cf. Wierzbicka (1982: 777-779))

(8) Self-directed action which could cause one to look better

example: *have a wash, a shave*

The syntactic formula is:

NP have + AUX a V-Inf. *PP

human trans.→intrans.

intentional

telic (in time *t*)

The semantic formula is:

S had a wash (shave). =

For some time, not a long time

X was doing something to some parts of his body which could cause something bad to cease to be perceivable about his body

he could feel better because of that

he was doing it not because he wanted anything to happen to anything other than himself

it was something that one usually does to cause something bad to cease to be perceivable about one's body

he could do it again. (cf. Wierzbicka (1982: 779, 782))

(9) Joint bodily activity which could cause the people involved to feel pleasure

example: *have a kiss, a cuddle, a dance*

The syntactic formula is:

NP have + AUX a V-Inf. *PP

human two arguments

plural intentional

(whole) body

The semantic formula is:

X and Y had a hug. =

For some time, not a long time

X and Y were doing something together which could cause them to feel pleasure

causing their bodies to come into contact

one could think of them as of one thing because of that

they were doing it not because they wanted anything to happen to the other person

they could do it again. (cf. Wierzbicka (1982: 782-783, 785-786))

(10) Joint speech activity which could cause the people involved to feel pleasure

example: *have a chat, a gossip, a laugh*

The syntactic formula is:

NP have + AUX a V-Inf. (about + NP)

human two arguments

action

intentional

durative

atelic

communication

The semantic formula is:

X and Y had a chat. =

For some time, not a long time

X and Y were doing something together which could cause them to feel pleasure

saying thing to one another

it was something that one person could not do if no other person wanted to do the same thing

one could think of them as of one thing because of that

they were doing it not because he wanted anything to happen to the other person

it was something that they could do for as long as they wanted

they could do it again. (cf. Wierzbicka (1982: 786-787))

APPENDIX II: Dixon's Descriptions

The subtype of motion describe a mode of motion with no end point such as *run, walk, crawl, slide, roll, climb, dive, stroll, jump*, and *swim*, which only occur in the periphrastic construction when the activity is done for its own sake, not when it has some definite goal, as shown in (1).

- (1) a. He had a jump down the path.
b. *He had a jump over the fence. (Dixon (1991: 354))

The subtype of rest such as *sit (down), stand (up), lie (down), crouch (down), lean, float*, is possible in *have a V* but not *take a V* constructions. Note that the subtype of rest has two meanings. For example, *sit* can be interpreted not only as getting into a sitting position, but also as being in a sitting position. It can only appear in *have a V* constructions, when it has the latter sense of a continuous activity with no end point:

- (2) I had a bit of a sit-down after lunch. (Dixon (1991: 355))

The subtype of affect such as *kick, shoot, hit, stab, rub*, and *touch* can occur in *have a V* constructions, where the subject indulges in the activity, and the result of the activity is quite secondary.

The giving type such as *borrow*, *rent*, and *loan* refers to temporary transfer of possession for a short while. Interestingly, the focus appears always to be on the recipient. For example, *borrow* has the recipient as subject:

- (3) Can I have a borrow of your boat for the weekend, please?

(Dixon (1991: 355))

Have a V constructions are possible with many verbs of the subtype of corporeal, which describe something taken into or expelled from the body, or just refer to a bodily gesture or state, e.g. *drink*, *chew*, *suck*, *smoke*, *bite*, *taste*, *sniff*, *sleep*, *hug*, and *kiss*. Some verbs of the corporeal type, such as *bite*, *swallow*, and *sniff* are also used in *take a V* constructions.

The subtypes of attention, such as *look*, *watch*, and *listen* shows that the perceiver directs his attention, and this may be done just a bit:

- (4) a. Have a look at this photo.
b. Have a listen to my new record, if you like.

(Dixon (1991: 359))

When the subject has to move to see, *look* may also occur in *take a V* constructions. Dixon suggests that other verbs denoting attention such as *see*, *hear*, *notice*, *show*, *recognize*, *discover*, and *witness* are not found in *have a V* nor *take a V* constructions because they denote some

definite act of perception which could not be done a bit.

Have a V constructions can be used with the thinking type which can refer to a general, undifferentiated chain of thought, e.g. *think*, *ponder*, and *meditate*. On the other hand, verbs like *remember*, *assume*, *suppose*, *know*, and *believe* do not appear in *have a V* constructions because they express some definite act, and therefore they are incompatible with an *indulge* or *do a bit* interpretation.

Finally, *have a V* constructions can take as its complement the talk subtype denoting the activity of vocal communication such as *talk*, *chat*, and *joke*. According to Dixon, *speak* just refers to the fact that someone uses a language, while *talk* describes the way it is used. Thus, the activity denoted by *talk* can be done for a bit, as illustrated in (5).

- (5) John and Mary had a talk in the lounge.
=John and Mary talked in the lounge. (Dixon (1991: 360))

With *speak*, on the other hand, it is impossible to express the activity performed for a bit:

- (6) *John and Mary had a speak in the corridor.
=John and Mary spoke in the corridor. (Dixon (1991: 360))

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Chapter 1 showed three goals of the thesis: to describe unique properties of constructions including typical light verbs such as *come*, *go*, *see*, *have*, and *take* in English, to discuss processes of grammaticalization from lexical verbs to light verbs based on data from historical corpora and literatures and dictionaries, and to propose syntactic structures of relevant constructions within the frame work of the minimalist program.

Chapter 2 introduced outline of grammaticalization reviewing Hopper and Traugott (2003), which illustrates mechanisms, i.e. reanalysis and analogy, pragmatic factors such as pragmatic inference through metaphorical and metonymic processes, and semantic enrichment and bleaching, and the hypothesis of unidirectionality which involves processes such as generalization and decategorialization.

Chapter 3 discussed some unique properties of DVCs in Present-day English including the inflectional restriction, as well as the development of DVCs in the history of English. It was argued that the historical source of DVCs is the infinitival and imperative uses of V *and* V constructions in Middle English. The proposed path of

grammaticalization of DVCs is that the structure of COME/GO coordinated with the following verb was reanalyzed into that of COME/GO followed by a subordinate clause with the fake-*and*, and the subsequent deletion of the fake-*and* resulted in the grammaticalization of the COME/GO verb into a light verb. As a result, the COME/GO verb in DVCs is merged in *v* and takes an infinitival VP complement in Present-day English. Finally, it was claimed that some unique properties, especially the inflectional restriction, are explained in terms of the proposed structure of DVCs based on their historical development.

Chapter 4 discussed the existential and causative usages of *see* whose subject positions are occupied by inanimate subjects. While existential *see* with subjects denoting time or location selects AspP as its complement, causative *see* with other types of inanimate subjects takes a bare infinitive complement and is given the causative interpretation via complex predicate formation. This is supported by the data from the historical corpus, CLMET: existential *see* cooccurs with present participle complements, but causative *see* does not. In addition, it is argued that in their grammaticalization into a light verb, existential *see* has undergone the processes of generalization and shift of meaning, whereas causative *see* has undergone those of generalization and semantic bleaching.

Chapter 5 has discussed light verb constructions, especially *have a N* constructions. By analyzing the data from historical corpora, it was suggested that *have a N* constructions appeared via the structural

change through the loss of D in ModE after zero nominalization was possible in ME, and that the reason why the subject of deverbial nominal complements must be the same as *have* is that *have* has lost all the semantic contents and forms the complex predicate with the complement to assign θ role to the subject. On the other hand, *take* still carries the lexical meaning and assigns the agentive θ role to the subject so that it does not allow bare nominal complements which require subjects other than agent.

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