Downward reanalysis and the rise of stative HAVE *got*

Heidi Quinn, University of Canterbury
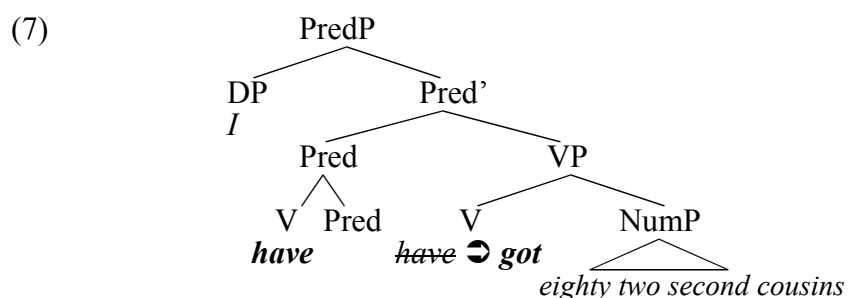*heidi.quinn@canterbury.ac.nz*

This paper investigates changes in the syntactic properties of stative HAVE in New Zealand English (NZE), and examines the implications of the observed developments for a formal theory of downward reanalysis.

Data from the Origins of New Zealand English (ONZE) corpus and additional empirical surveys suggest that speakers of current NZE generally favour HAVE *got* in positive present tense sentences with a stative interpretation (1), even though they frequently use DO+*have* in corresponding negative declaratives (2) and tag questions (3). In the past tense, we consistently find *had* in declaratives (4), and DO+*have* in negatives (5) and questions (6).

(1) I'**ve got** eighty two second cousins (fyn98-1, female, nonprofessional, born 1978)

(2) and we **don't** actually **have** any normal light bulbs but we'<u>ve got</u> the long ones (fyn01-10a, female, nonprofessional, born 1981)

(3) They'<u>ve got</u> quite a big house, **don't** they.

(4) we **had** a Zodiac car Mum'<u>s</u> still <u>got</u> her Zodiac car (fyn95-13, female, nonprofessional, born 1965)

(5) cos they **didn't have** an answer phone (fyn98-1, female, nonprofessional, born 1978)

(6) what **did** they **have**? [training options] (fon94-25c, female, nonprofessional, born 1940)

The popularity of DO+*have* in negatives and questions suggests that stative HAVE belongs to the category V in current NZE and tends to lack the [neg] and [Q] features associated with head-movement to T and C. I propose that the form HAVE *got* results from the Copy Spell Out (cf. Grohmann 2003) of a stative HAVE that has undergone short movement to a functional head within the Θ-Domain (7). The lack of the additional *got* in the past tense indicates that the head in question is Delfitto's Pred, which is automatically projected in the imperfective simple present, but not in the perfective simple past (cf. Delfitto 2004: 126, 137). I assume that the movement of HAVE to Pred is blocked in any derivation containing auxiliary DO, because auxiliary DO has the category feature Pred.
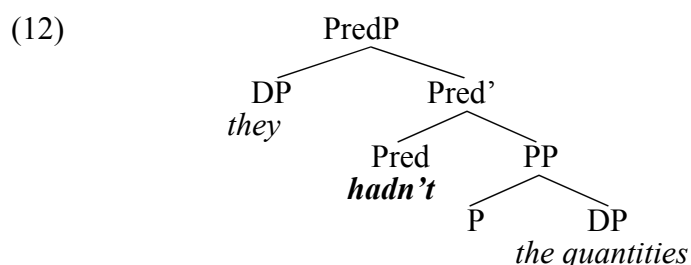
(7)

Evidence from the earliest subcorpus in the ONZE archives suggests that stative HAVE had very different syntactic properties in early NZE. Many speakers born in the late 19th and early 20th century favour HAVE without *got* in positive present tense utterances (8), and they readily use HAVE rather than DO+*have* in questions, negative declaratives, and VP ellipsis, both in the simple present (9)-(10) and in the simple past (11).

(8)   Aunt Izy here **has** one of his medals no . <u>hasn't</u> (mu-41b, male, born 1871)

(9) eight hundred was our population and what **have** we now? (mu-1c, female, born 1894)

(10) A: have you any idea what they charged them for bringing them through
    B: no I'm sorry I **haven't**   (A = interviewer; B = mu-12b, male, born 1899)

(11) oh they **hadn't** the quantities (mu-1c, female, born 1894)

The data in (9)-(11) suggest that in early NZE, the lexical entries for all tensed forms of stative HAVE contained [neg] and [Q] features triggering movement to T and C. At the same time, the absence of the additional *got* indicates that stative HAVE did not undergo movement within the Θ-Domain. This will fall out naturally, if we assume that stative HAVE had the category Pred for the speakers concerned.

In the analysis proposed by Delfitto (2004: 126, 137), the projection of PredP imposes a subject-predicate structure on a sentence and elevates one of the arguments of its complement to the subject of predication. Pred thus has all the properties typically associated with copular BE. Drawing on Freeze's (1992) and Kayne's (2000[1993]:110f) observations on the similarities between stative HAVE and copular BE, I propose that in early New Zealand English stative HAVE is a Pred which takes a complement headed by an empty P (12).

(12)
```
                    PredP
                   /     \
                 DP       Pred'
                 they    /     \
                       Pred     PP
                      hadn't   /   \
                              P     DP
                              the quantities
```

According to Roberts & Roussou (2003: 207f), 'upward' change (grammaticalization) typically affects only certain members of a category and tends to change the category of the head/phrase involved. Downward reanalysis, on the other hand, is argued to apply across the board and is assumed to involve a loss of movement, but no category change. The evidence presented in this paper suggests that Roberts & Roussou's (2003) definition of downward reanalysis is too restrictive. The increasing popularity of HAVE *got* in positive present tense utterances but DO+*have* in negatives and questions indicates that stative HAVE has not only suffered a loss of features triggering movement to T and C, but has also undergone a categorial reanalysis from Pred to V. It thus appears that downward reanalysis may affect individual lexical items rather than all members of a class, and, when this is the case, may also entail a change in the category status of the item concerned.

Delfitto, Denis. 2004. On the logical form of imperfective aspect. *The syntax of time*, ed. by Jacqueline Guéron and Jacqueline Lecarme, 115-142. (Current Studies in Linguistics, 37) Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
Freeze, Ray. 1992. Existentials and other locatives. *Language* 68. 553-595.
Grohmann, Kleanthes K. 2003. *Prolific domains: on the anti-locality of movement dependencies*. (Linguistik Aktuell/Linguistics Today, 66) Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
Kayne, Richard S. 2000[1993]. Toward a modular theory of auxiliary selection. *Parameters and universals*, 107-130. (Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Roberts, Ian and Anna Roussou. 2003. *Syntactic change: a minimalist approach to grammaticalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.