

Stative-resultative participial structures and the loss of the BE perfect in English

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Developments in the perfect auxiliaries in the history of English have been well studied, and the broad patterns are now reasonably well understood (see e.g. Fridén, 1948; Johannisson, 1958; Rydén and Brorström, 1987; Kytö, 1997; McFadden and Alexiadou, 2006, 2010). Like the other Germanic languages, earlier English had such periphrases with both *have* and *be*, which went back to transparent constructions with a regular stative-resultative participle. In the course of OE and early ME, both constructions seem to have developed more or less in parallel, their usage expanding but remaining restricted to resultative contexts. Around 1350, there is a sudden jump in the frequency of *have*, which quickly becomes considerably more common than *be*, and starts showing up for the first time, under certain circumstances, with prototypical unaccusative verbs. McFadden and Alexiadou (2010) account for this development by proposing that both constructions were originally restricted to a perfect-of-result interpretation, but then around 1350, the one with *have* expanded to be used as an experiential perfect, while the one with *be* remained purely resultative. This is similar to the current situation in Norwegian and Icelandic (Yamaguchi and Pétursson, 2003), but differs from Dutch and German, where the construction with *be* has also become a full-fledged perfect. This situation with a general *have* perfect alongside a restricted perfect of result with *be* seems to have remained fairly stable into the 18th century, when *have* finally began to actually replace *be*. However, our understanding of exactly how and why this happened remains limited, in no small part due to the lack, until 2010, of a large-scale parsed and annotated corpus for Late Modern English (LModE)

This talk will take a first step toward filling this gap, using the *Penn Parsed Corpus of Modern British English*, 2nd edition (Kroch et al., 2016). Consider the following data, those from 1640-1710 coming from McFadden and Alexiadou (2010), the rest being novel here:

Period	<i>be</i> -perfect	% of clauses	intrans. <i>have</i> -perfect	% of clauses
1640-1710	276	.35%	940	1.18%
1707-1758	218	.27	685	0.86
1758-1810	362	.30	1238	1.03
1810-1861	110	.11	1412	1.42
1861-1913	155	.15	1579	1.53

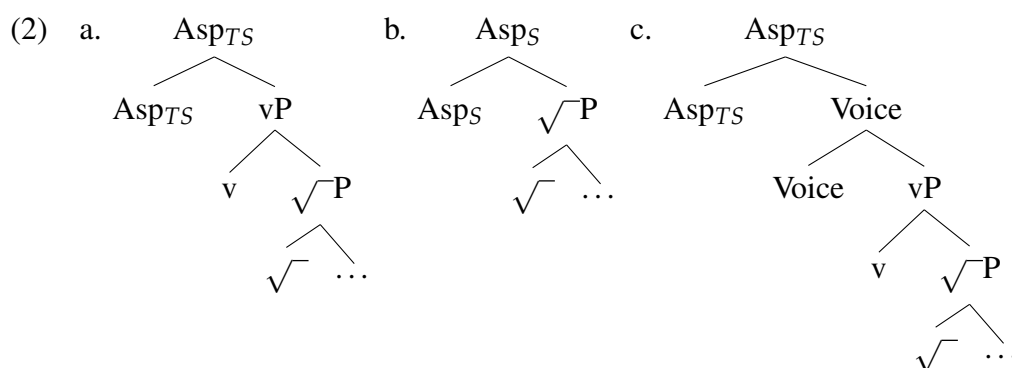
The patterns for 1707-1758 and 1758-1810 suggest continuity with what came before. The *be* perfect still occurs in roughly one quarter of all intransitive perfects, and the frequency of intransitive perfects with *be* and *have* relative to the total number of clauses in the corpus is rather similar to what McFadden and Alexiadou (2010) report for the last EModE period 1640-1710. After that, however, the frequency of *be* crashes, representing a clear break with what came before. Not only does the *have* perfect become more common, but for the first time it seems to be directly replacing the *be* perfect, which is clearly in decline, as shown by examples like 1 where we find *have* with *come* in a context that favors a resultative interpretation.

- (1) Porridge **has** just come in. (CARLYLE-1835,2,297.618)

I will explore then the question of what changed around 1800 to throw out of balance a system that had been stable since the innovation of the experiential perfect with *have* 550 years earlier. I will consider and reject the hypothesis that the change primarily amounted to *be* becoming increasingly lexically restricted to *come* and *go*, thereby ceasing to be a productive part of the grammar. While the corpus shows some fluctuation in the frequency of different lexical verbs with *be*, there is no clear trend in the development, and the construction is still being used productively with arbitrary verbs with the right semantics right to the end. Rather, it seems

that what changed was the general availability of a particular syntactic structure. According to McFadden and Alexiadou (2010), the earlier English *be* perfect was just the copula with a stative resultative participle. Since English obviously still has copular *be*, the fact that the *be* perfect is no longer available must mean that the relevant participle has been lost. Of course, the language still has stative-resultative participles in stative passives, reduced relatives and certain attributive uses, as in *The flowers are already crushed*, *The flowers, crushed by my ineptitude, still smelled nice* and *The crushed flowers*, but recent work has uncovered considerable variety in the semantics and morphosyntax of such forms (Kratzer, 2000; Marvin, 2002; Embick, 2004; Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou, 2008). It is thus reasonable to think that the language lost a particular type of stative-resultative participle while retaining others.

I will propose an explicit structural analysis to account for the properties of the participle in the *be* perfect and will present evidence independent from the *be* perfect that that structure was lost around 1800. The possibility of certain types of adverbial modification (e.g. *John is just come from Ramsgate*, (AUSTEN-180X,166.133)) show that it must be resultative rather than a pure stative, and the perfect-of-result semantics shows that it must specifically be a target rather than a resultant state. (2a) fits the bill, where little *v* is responsible for the eventivity and Asp_{TS} specifically derives target state participles (see Kratzer, 2000). This is the structure that must have been lost. As for structures that are currently available, for pure statives we can essentially follow Embick (2004) with (2b), where the lack of little *v* reflects the lack of eventivity and also allows for more sensitivity to the identity of the root for the form, interpretation and even availability of the structure, which is heavily restricted with unaccusatives (*the fallen leaves*, **the arrived bus*); Asp_S delivers the pure stative semantics. This is plausibly the structure for *gone* in *I'm gone* and *fallen* in *the fallen leaves*, in addition to Embick's *open*, *rotten*. For the stative passive, we can adapt Marvin (2002) and Embick (2004) with the idea that the external argument is introduced by a head distinct from little *v* (Pylkkänen, 2002; Alexiadou et al., 2006) and propose (2c). Crucially, this structure can be restricted to transitives if Asp_{TS} is dependent on the presence of Voice, which will be lacking in unaccusatives. This lets us state the relevant difference between earlier English and the contemporary language: (2a) has been lost, and with it the ability to form *be* perfects, but (2b,c) are still around, hence we still have some pure statives with unaccusatives, as well as stative passives of transitives.



If (2c) was really lost at the relevant time, there should be consequences outside of the *be* perfect. I will present corpus evidence suggesting that this is correct, showing participles of unaccusatives occurring more freely in attributives and reduced relatives in earlier periods and disappearing around the same time as the *be* perfect. Finally, what might have actually triggered the loss of this participial structure and the *be* perfect with it? I will discuss preliminary evidence from the corpus on the rise of cliticized forms of *have* and *be*, which result in ambiguity between *has* and *is*, showing that the timing is close enough to the loss of the *be* perfect to at least merit further investigation of whether they might be connected.

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