

On the non-incorporation of P_{Have}

Marijke De Belder
University of Oldenburg

marijke.debelder@uni-oldenburg.de
 marijkedebelder@yahoo.com

1. MAIN CLAIMS

Main claims

- Little p^o and of a big P^o for P_{Have} in Germanic predicative possessive constructions are always available to project, but whether they do merge is **construction-specific**.
- Their presence or absence goes hand in hand semantic and lexical distinctions and (non-incorporation).

Main data

3 structurally different predicative possessive constructions in Dutch:

- *hebben* 'to have'
- *bezitten* 'to possess'
- *zitten met* 'to have as a problem'(Lit. to sit with)

Overview

1. Main claims
 2. Introduction
 3. Background: Previous proposals on P
 4. Hebben
 5. Bezitten
 6. Zitten met
 7. Conclusion
- Appendix
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 9. The syntax and semantics of the copula *zitten*

2. INTRODUCTION

2.1 Have = P + be

HAVE spells out BE + an incorporated abstract preposition (Freeze 1992, Kayne 1993, Den Dikken 1995, Harley 2002, Levinson 2011).

Hence, HAVE alternates with copula + P constructions across languages and even within languages (examples taken from Den Dikken 1995: 129):

- 1) a. Jean **a** le livre. have (French)
 Jean has the book
 'Jean has the book.'
- b. Le livre **est** à Jean. copula + P (French)
 the book is to Jean
 'Jean has the book.'

2.2 Research question: Which P?

Main research question of this talk:

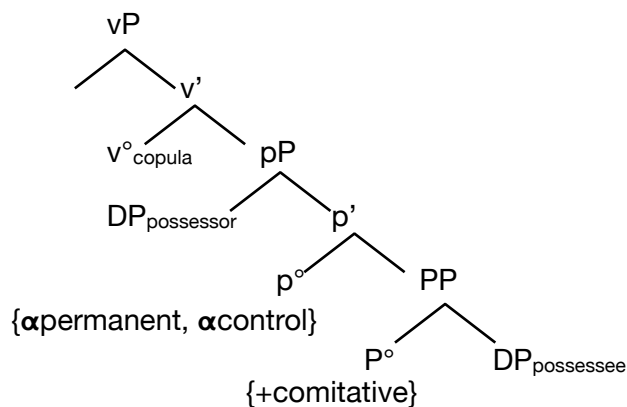
- What is the nature of the P (in Germanic)?

This question is related to 2 other questions:

- Does the possessor merge in the Spec of P° and the possessee as its complement or vice versa?
- Are the answers to the two previous questions universal, i.e. are all predicative possessive constructions underlyingly universally the same?

2.3 Main claims: A decomposition of P_{Have} in Germanic

P_{Have} in Germanic can be decomposed as follows (building on Levinson 2011):



The presence of a little p° and of a big P° for P_{Have} is **construction-specific**.

Their presence/absence goes hand in hand with

- semantic distinctions
- lexical distinctions
- (non-)incorporation of the P° into the v°: P° incorporates in the absence of p° (as in Levinson 2011)

This state of affairs results in 3 different possessive constructions in Dutch:

- 1) De dame **heeft** een fiets. claim: only P° - incorporation
the lady has a bike
'The lady has a bike.'
- 2) De dame **bezit** de Eiffeltoren. claim: only p° - no incorporation
the lady owns the Eiffel.tower
'The lady owns the Eiffel Tower.'
- 3) De dame **zit met** de griep. claim: p° and P° - no incorporation
the lady sits with the flu
'The lady has the flu (and that is a nuisance).'

Auxiliary claim: *zitten* 'to sit' is a copula.

3. BACKGROUND: PREVIOUS PROPOSALS ON THE P

3.1 Freeze's (1992) and Den Dikken's (1995) proposals

[_{PP} POSSESSEE [_{P'} P_{LOCATIVE} POSSESSOR]] (Freeze 1992)

[_{SC} POSSESSEE [_{PP} P_{DATIVE} POSSESSOR]] (Den Dikken 1995a,b,1998)

- P = a dative/locative P ('to')
- the possessee c-commands the possessor
- this configuration is universal (even though surface word order may vary)

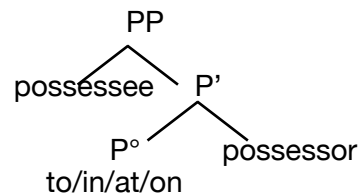
3.2 The typological proposal (Stassen 2009)

Four types of possessive constructions (Stassen 2009):

Typologically, possessive constructions systematically fall into four categories (Stassen 2009:48), whereby the nature of the P and the merge order of the arguments go hand in hand semantically:

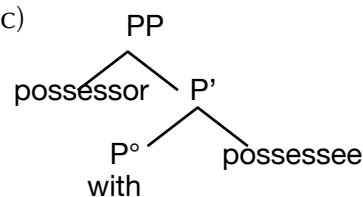
- the locational possessive: "a possessee is **to** the possessor"

4) Le livre **est** à Jean.
 the book is to Jean
 'Jean has the book.'



- the with-possessive: "the possessor is **with** a possessee" (example from Levinson 2011)

5) Jón **er með** gleraugu. (Icelandic)
 John.NOM is with glasses.ACC
 'John has glasses.'



- the topic-possessive: "as for the possessor, a possessee exists."
 Non-Indo-European languages (and included here for completeness)

- the have-possessive

6) John has a book.

In sum

- predicative possessive constructions are not unified universally
- the nature of the P and the merge order of the arguments go hand in hand semantically
 - a possessee_{subject} is **to** the possessor_{complement}
 - a possessor_{subject} is **with** the possessee_{complement}

3.3 Harley's (2002) proposal

[_{PP} POSSESSOR [_{P'} P_{HAVE} POSSESSEE]] & [_{PP} POSSESSEE [_{P'} P_{LOC} POSSESSOR]]

- P = P_{HAVE}, which contrasts with P_{LOC}
- the availability of P_{HAVE} is language-specific; if it is absent the language expresses possession by means of P_{LOC}
- there is a strict relation between the nature of the P and the merge order of the arguments:
 - [_{PP} POSSESSOR [_{P'} P_{HAVE} POSSESSEE]]
 - [_{PP} POSSESSEE [_{P'} P_{LOC} POSSESSOR]]
- HAVE is an incorporation of P_{HAVE} in BE

Confirmation of the presupposed c-command relations:

- P_{LOC} languages: the possessor does not c-command the possessee (examples taken from Harley 2002:24)

7) *Tá a_i pheann-fhéin ag chuile_i bhuachail (Irish)
 Is his pen-self at every boy
 Intended: 'Every boy has his pen'

- P_{HAVE} languages: the possessor c-commands the possessee (examples taken from Harley 2002:27)

8) Every girl_i has her_i test paper.
 9) * Its owner_i now has every dog_i

3.4 Levinson's (2011) proposal

- builds further on Harley (2002)
- P_{HAVE} in Germanic is P_[+comitative], i.e. 'with'

2 arguments (see Levinson 2011 for more careful discussion)

- a non-incorporating possessive construction in Icelandic realises the P overtly:

10) Jón **er með** gleraugu. (Icelandic)
 John.NOM is with glasses.ACC
 'John has glasses.'

- the illicitness of to BE + WITH in incorporating languages (P + BE → HAVE) due to obligatory incorporation:

11) the man in the garden.
 12) the man is in the garden

13) the man with a beard
 14) * the man **is with** a beard
 15) the man **has** a beard

- P_{Have} may merge with a little p°
- little p° carries the feature [control], which introduces a possessive notion. [control] contrasts with the feature [symmetric], which expresses an associative reading ‘together with’ when merged with ‘with’.

Levinson proposes that there are incorporating and non-incorporating languages:

Non-incorporating languages	Incorporating languages
example: Icelandic	example: English, German
P _{Have} always merges with a little p°	little p° is not available
the feature [control] merges on the little p°	the feature [control] merges on P _{Have} itself
little p°, a case-assigning head, assigns case to the possessee	P° incorporates into v° (i.e. the copula) , allowing v° to assign case to the possessee

3.5 Summary

I adopt the basic insights of Harley (2002) and Levinson (2011):

- in Germanic languages P_{Have} is available
- P_{Have} is ‘with’, i.e. [+comitative]
- P_{Have} may merge with a little p° introducing additional features such as [control]
- the possessor c-commands the possessee

Indeed, for all 3 Dutch constructions under discussion the possessor c-commands the possessee:

16) a. ledere mens_i **heeft zijn**_i dromen.
 every person has his dreams
 ‘Every person has his dreams.’

b. We hebben elkaar.
 we have each.other
 ‘We have got each other.’

17) a. ledere koningin_i **bezit** haar_i kroon.
 every queen possesses her crown
 ‘Every queen possesses her crown.’

b. Die bedrijven bezitten elkaar.
 thosecompanies possess one.another
 ‘Those companies possess one another.’

18) a. ledere_i moeder **zit met** haar_i kind.
 every mother sits with her child
 ‘Every mother is stuck with her child.’

- b. We zitten met elkaar.
 we sit with each.other
 'We are stuck with one another.'

As will become clear, I deviate from Levinson (2011) in the following respects:

- The presence/absence of little p° is not language-specific, but construction-specific.
- Little p° realizes the features [control, permanence]
- Its merger is motivated semantically and its presence goes hand in hand with lexical distinctions and (non-)incorporation of the P° into the v° within a single language.

Disclaimer: the present talk

- ▶ does not take it for granted that with-possessives and locational possessives can be unified (cf. Stassen 2009, Harley 2002),
- ▶ is therefore explicitly limited to Germanic, for which I adopt the view that its predicative possession is a *with*-possessive underlyingly,
- ▶ only comments on the structure of the P in *with*-possessives.

3.6 The 4 main categories of predicative possession (Stassen 2009: 17-20)

Relevance of this section:

Specific readings of specific possessive types are set apart by feature sets that, as we will see later, merge in the structure.

i) Alienable possession

Default, prototypical possession

- 19) She has a bicycle.

ii) Inalienable possession

body parts

kinship terms

- 20) He has grey eyes.

- 21) I have a sister.

also (in some languages):

part-whole relationships, social relationships (friend), some implements of material culture (house, pet) and the agents and patients of actions

iii) Temporal reading (see also Smith 2014)

Legal possession is irrelevant; a temporal reading is about availability.

The permanency of the relation between the possessor and possessee is not implied. Control is implied.

Prototypical readings:

- the weapon reading
- 22) Look out! That guy has a knife!

- the witness reading
23) I saw her with a knife.

iv) Abstract possession

There is no ownership and, hence, no control over the possession.

The possessee is not an object and it is typically not there to stay:

- problems (I have a problem.)
- diseases (I have a cold.)
- emotions (Have no fear!)
- other abstract notions (I have an idea!, She has too much time.)

The four types result from the crossing of two features (Stassen 2009:17):

Permanency: Is the possessive relation permanent?

Control: Does the possessor have control over the relationship?

Type	example	Permanency	Control
alienable	She has a bike.	+	+
inalienable	She has blue eyes/a caring mother.	+	-
temporal	She has a knife!	-	+
abstract	She has time/the flu.	-	-

—> These features will become relevant.

4. HEBBEN

4.1 No featural specification for permanency or control

Claims:

- *Hebben* 'to have' lacks the features [permanency] and [control]
- *Hebben* 'to have' shares this property with *met* 'with'

4.1.1 *Hebben* and *met* combine with all four categories of possession

Hebben 'to have' and *met* 'with' combine with all four types of possession

—> They are not marked for specific feature values for permanency and control.

Alienable:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 24) a. De dame heeft een fiets.
the lady has a bicycle
'The lady has a bicycle.' | b. De dame met een fiets
the lady with a bicycle
'The lady with a bicycle.' |
|--|---|

Inalienable:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 25) a. De dame heeft blauwe ogen.
the lady has blue eyes
'The lady has blue eyes.' | b. De dame met blauwe ogen
the lady with blauw eyes
'The lady with blue eyes.' |
|--|--|

Temporal:

- 26) a. De dame heeft een mes!
 the lady has a knife
 'The lady has a knife!'
- b. De dame met een mes
 the lady with a knife
 'The lady with a knife'

Abstract:

- 27) a. De dame heeft de griep.
 the lady has the flu
 'The lady has the flu.'
- b. De dame met de griep.
 the lady with the flu
 'The lady with the flu.'

4.1.2 *Hebben* 'to have' and *met* 'with' are underspecified

The precise reading will depend on the context and the maxim of relevance.
 —> it is not encoded syntactically

- 28) Hij had blauwe ogen.
 he had blue eyes
 'He had blue eyes.'

Type	Example context	Reading of the example
alienable	A doll manufacturer has blue eyes in his drawer to be used for the dolls.	legal possession
inalienable	He was born with blue eyes.	body part
temporal	Imagine a fantasy world in which a monster spoons out someone's blue eyes which subsequently can be used as a weapon; they explode when he throws them at someone.	weapon
abstract	After a fight, he had two black eyes. (=Lit. 'blue eyes' in Dutch)	disease

4.2 Absence of [control]: Inanimates

hebben 'to have' and *met* 'with' allow for an inanimate possessor:

- 29) a. Het huis heeft een lekkend dak.
 the house has a leaking roof
 'The house has a broken roof.'
- b. het huis met een lekkend dak
 the house with a leaking roof
 'the house with a broken roof'

This fact implies the absence of the feature [control]: [control] can only combine with possessors that can exercise control (i.e. mostly animates, but also official institutions). The reading is merely comitative: in the zones of the house there is a roof.

4.3 No non-comitative legal possession readings

Hebben 'have' and *met* 'with' resist a specific possessive construction, which I call the non-comitative legal possession reading. It is a subtype of alienable possession.

30) In an imaginary world an extremely wealthy lady is, since years, in the legal possession of the Eiffel Tower or the planet Mars, without the tower or Mars having moved from their usual position and thus without them being physically closer to her than to others in a certain, perhaps loose, but significant way:

De dame heeft Mars / de Eiffeltoren.
 the lady has Mars/ the Eiffel tower

De dame met Mars / de Eiffeltoren
 the lady with Mars/ the Eiffel tower

What we observe is that *hebben* and *met* both imply an accompaniment/contact/comitative reading (and are thus illicit in the absence of a comitative reading). Levinson (2011) proposes that this {+comitative} is expressed on P°.

4.4 Interim summary

hebben 'have' and *met* 'with'

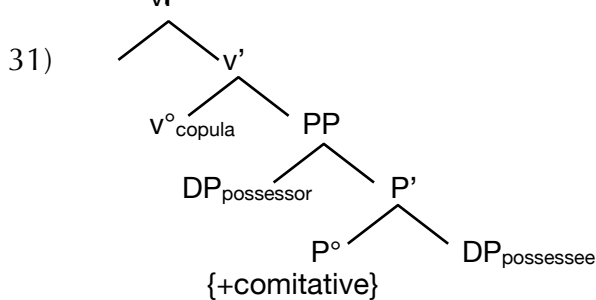
- are not marked for the features [permanency] and [control]
- are marked for the feature [comitative]

I adopt Levinson's (2011) proposal that

- [control] is marked on p° (and I assume [permanency] is marked there too)
- [comitative] is marked on P°

It now follows that *hebben* 'have' and *met* 'with' only have a P°:

[permanency] and [control] are absent for *hebben* → no p°
 [comitative] is present for *hebben* → P°



4.5 Incorporation

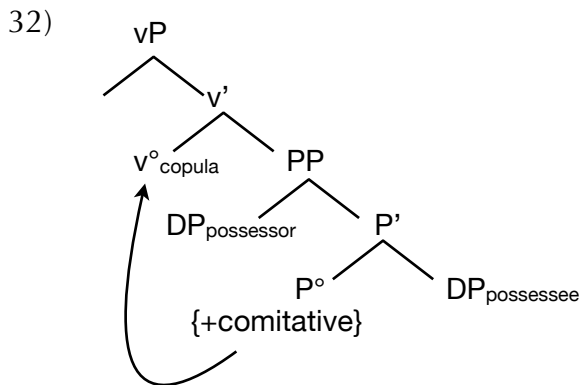
Recall Levinson's core idea:

No incorporation	Incorporation
little p° is present	little p° is absent
little p°, a case-assigning head, assigns case to the possessee	P° incorporates into v° (i.e. the copula) , allowing v° to assign case to the possessee

Back to hebben ‘to have’

for hebben little p° is absent, hence P° incorporates into little v° :

COPULA + P \rightarrow HEBBEN



Technically, this incorporation is realised by *hebben* by assuming the following vocabulary item:

33) hebben \leftrightarrow [+comitative] / COPULA + _____

Note, similarly, that the feature [+comitative] can also be realised by means of *met* ‘with’:

34) met \leftrightarrow [+comitative]

5. BEZITTEN

5.1 Not comitative

The Mars/Eiffel Tower context requires the use of the verb *bezitten* ‘to possess’:

35) In an imaginary world an extremely wealthy lady is, since years, in the legal possession of the Eiffel Tower or the planet Mars, without the tower or Mars having moved from their usual position and thus without them being physically closer to her than to others in a certain, perhaps loose, but significant way:

✓ De dame **bezit** Mars / de Eiffeltoren.
 the lady owns Mars/ the Eiffel tower

this context is non-comitative (see above)

\rightarrow *bezitten* ‘to possess, to own’ realises a structure that lacks P°

Recall

- P° (in Dutch possessive structures) is realised by means of *hebben* ‘to have’ or *met* ‘with’.
- *Bezitten* lacks P°

\rightarrow We expect *hebben* and *met* not to be contained in *bezitten* ‘to possess’. This is obviously true.

5.2 [+permanency, +control]

Despite the absence of P_{Have} , *bezitten* ‘to possess’ is clearly possessive and it is marked for specific features:

bezitten 'to own' invariably expresses alienable possession, i.e. [+control, +permanency] (see Stassen 2009 on 'to own'):

✓Alienable possession:

36) De dame bezit een fiets.
 the lady possesses a bicycle
 'The lady owns a bicycle.'

* Inalienable possession:

37) # De dame bezit blauwe ogen.
 the lady possesses blue eyes

* Temporal possession:

38) # De dame bezit een mes!
 the lady possesses a knife

* Abstract possession:

39) * De dame bezit de griep.
 the lady possesses the flu

alienable possession is defined as [+permanency, +control]

—> *bezitten* realises [+permanency, +control], which are features realised on little p°

Note that the presence of the feature [control] is confirmed by the impossibility of possessees that cannot exercise control:

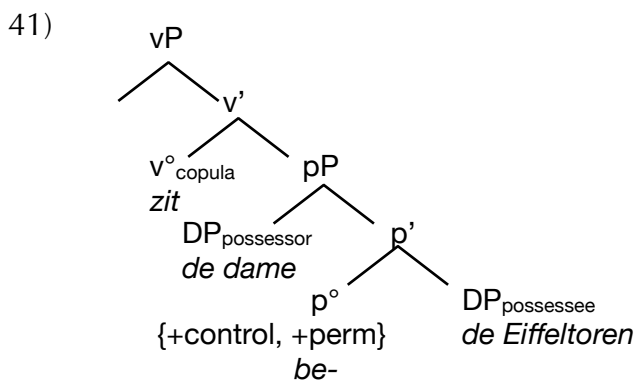
40) * Het huis bezit een tafel.
 the house possesses a table

5.3 Summary

bezitten 'to possess'

- is marked for the features [+permanency] and [+control]: little p°
- is not marked for the feature [comitative]: no P°

I assume that *be-* realises little p° and that it merges with *zit* 'to sit' post-syntactically due to its affixal status (hence, there is no syntactic incorporation):



Note that it is implied that *zitten* is a copula. I postpone this discussion till section 8.

6. ZITTEN MET

6.1 Empirical expectation

Hypothetically, it is possible that a Dutch predicative possession construction merges both P° and p°.

This construction is expected to have the following properties:

	semantically	lexically
due to P°	[+comitative]	'met'
due to p°	[αcontrol, αpermanency]	non-incorporating

Claim: the Dutch *zitten met* construction has these properties:

- 42) De dame zit met een probleem/de griep/een kapot dak/een fiets
 the lady sits with a problem/the flu/a broken roof/a bicycle
 'The lady has a problem/the flu/a broken roof/a bicycle (and that is a nuisance).'

The lexical expectations are clearly borne out: *zitten met* contains *met* and is non-incorporating.

6.2 [- permanent, - control]

The *zitten met* construction only allows for an abstract possession reading.

- problems
- diseases
- concrete objects are shifted to problems:

- 43) Ze zit met een fiets.
 she sits with a bike
 'She has a bike and she is stuck with it in a problematic way.'

abstract possession is [- permanent, - control]
 —> p°

Note that [+ permanent] readings are indeed excluded:

- 44) * Ze zit met blauwe ogen.
 she sits with blue eyes
 Intended: 'She was born with blue eyes and that is a problem.'

Note that the feature [control] is indeed present, as the construction only allows possessors that can actually exercise control:

- 45) * Het huis zit met een tafel.
 the house sits with a table

The feature [control] is present! Yet, its value is negative: [-control]
 (This gives rise to a problem reading).

6.3 [+comitative]

Problems and diseases are inherently [+comitative]. This can be concluded from the fact that they can combine with *hebben* 'to have', which is [+comitative]:

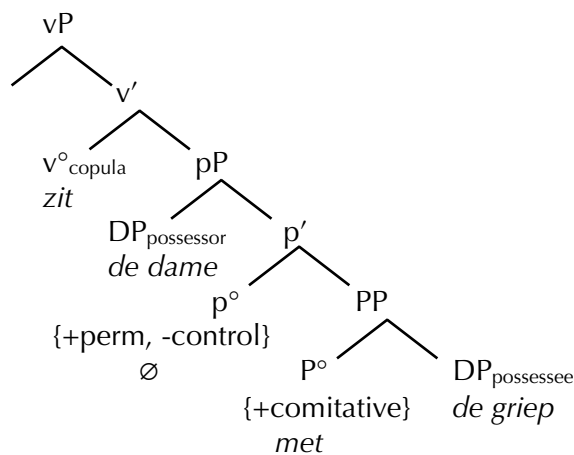
- 46) De dame heeft een probleem/de griep.
 the lady has a problem/the flu
 'The lady has a problem/the flu.'

6.4 Conclusion

zitten met

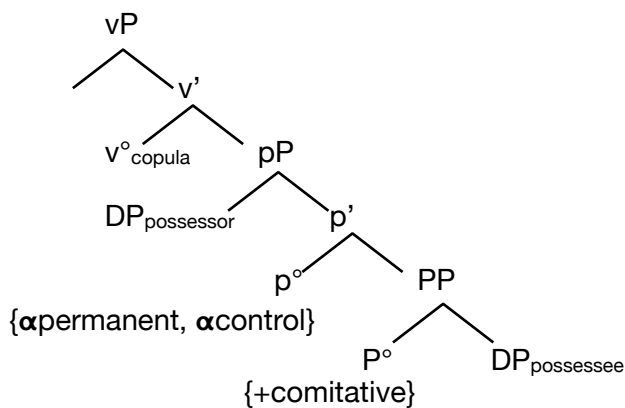
- is marked for the features [-permanency, -control]: little p°
- is marked for the feature [+comitative]: P°

- 47) De dame zit met de griep.
 the lady sits with the flu
 'The lady has the flu (and that is a nuisance).'



7. CONCLUSION

P_{Have} in Germanic can be decomposed as follows (building on Levinson 2011):



The presence of a little p° and of a big P° for P_{Have} is **construction-specific**.

Their presence/absence goes hand in hand with

- semantic distinctions
- lexical distinctions
- (non-)incorporation of the P° into the v° : P° incorporates in the absence of p° (as in Levinson 2011)

In Dutch:

	P° <i>met</i> 'with' [+comitative]	p° [α permanent, α control]	incorporation
hebben 'to have'	✓	*	✓
bezitten 'to possess'	*	✓	*
zitten met	✓	✓	*

The verb *zitten* 'to sit' is used as a copula in these constructions.

APPENDIX

8. The copula *zitten*

8.1 Copula splits

8.1.1 Splitters versus sharers

Stassen (2009: 266):

Sharers: Languages for which the copula for locational predications is used for nominal predications.

Splitters: Languages for which the copula for locational predications differs from the copula for nominal predications.

Examples of sharers:

- 48) a. John **is** a tall man. (English)
 b. John **is** in France.

- 49) a. Maria hayko-v-č **yu-m.** (Yavapai, Stassen 2009:266)
 Maria Anglo-DEM-SUBJECT be-ASPECT
 'Maria is an Anglo.'

- b. Cnapuk-č miyul **yu-m.**
 ant-SUBJECT sugar-in be-ASPECT
 'The ant is in the sugar.'

Examples of splitters:

- 50) a. El siete **es** un número impar. (Spanish, Zagana 2012:303)
 the seven is a number odd
 'Seven is an odd number.'
- b. El coche **está** en el garaje.
 the car is in the garage
 'The car is in the garage.'
- 51) a. Lämma ṭəru təmari **nä-w** (Amharic, Hartmann 1980: 292
 Lämma good pupil COPULA-3SG.M.PRES in Stassen 2009: 266)
 'Lämma is a good pupil.'
- b. l.:ǧǧi-tu 'əgäbaya **'allä-čč** (Hartmann 1980: 297 in Stassen
 at-market-the girl be-3SG.F.PRES 2009: 266)
 'The girl is in the market.'

8.1.2 Dutch is a spectacular splitter

- 52) a. Jan **is** een grote man.
 John is a tall man
 'John is a tall man.'
- b. Jan **zit** in Frankrijk.
 John sits in France
 'John is in France.'
- c. De Eiffeltoren **staat** in Frankrijk.
 the Eiffel.tower stands in France
 'The Eiffel Tower is in France.'
- d. Mijn fiets **staat** achter de muur.
 My bike stands behind the wall
 'My bike is standing behind the wall.'
- d. De lamp **hangt** aan het plafond.
 the lamp hang on the ceiling
 'The lamp hangs on the ceiling.'
- e. Het wrak/de boot **ligt** bij Larnaca.
 the wreck/the boat lies near Larnaca
 'The wreck/the boat lies near Larnaca.'
- f. De val van de muur **viel** in de 20^{ste} eeuw.
 the fall of the wall fell in the 20th century
 'The fall of the wall is situated in the 20th century.'

- g. Ze **komt** uit Frankrijk.
 she comes from France
 'She is from France.'

—> These are all instances of verbs that grammaticalised and that can be used as locative copulas.

Note: Typologically, it is common in a split-configuration for one of the copulas to intrude the domain of the other one (see Stassen 2009).

This is true for Dutch: *zijn* may intrude the domain of the others:

- 53) Jan **zit/is** in Frankrijk.
 John sits/is in France
 'John is in France.'
- 54) Anna **komt/is** uit Frankrijk.
 Anna comes/is from France
 'Anna is from France.'

8.2 Lexical verbs of position versus locative copulas

8.2.1 Problem: How to distinguish between the lexical verbs and the copulas?

The following sentences are ambiguous between a lexical reading and a copula reading:

- 55) Annazit in de tuin.
 Annasits in the garden.
 Lexical reading: 'Anna is sitting in the garden.'
 Copula reading: 'Anna is in the garden.'
- 56) Annazit in haar bed.
 Annasits in her bed.
 Lexical reading: 'Anna is sitting in her bed.'
 Copula reading: 'Anna is in her bed.'

Question:

How to distinguish between the lexical verb and the copula?

8.2.2 Distinction in meaning

The lexical verb implies the subject is in the position referred to by the verb.

- 57) Annazit in de stoel.
 Annasits in the chair
 'Anna is sitting in the chair.'
 —> It is implied that she is literally sitting. She is, for example, not walking around.

As such, lexical readings of position verbs can be contrasted:

58) A: **Ligt** de hond in zijn mand?
 lies the dog in his basket
 'Is the dog lying in his basket?'

B: Nee, hij **zit** in zijn mand.
 no, he sits in his basket
 'No, he is sitting in his basket.'

Copulas do not imply a specific position:

59) Anna zit in Parijs.
 Anna sits in Paris
 'Anna is in Paris.'
 —> She may be walking around.

As such, no contrast with another position verb is possible:

60) A: Zit Anna in Parijs?
 sits Anna in Paris
 'Is Anna in Paris?'

B: # Nee, ze ligt in Parijs
 No, she lies in Paris

8.2.3 No durative reading for the copula in locatives

The lexical verbs occupy a different spot in the classification of aspect of verbal predicates than the locative copulas (Dowty 1979 : 184, see also Filip 1999: 31-32):

- locative copulas: stage-level states
- lexical verbs *zitten* 'to sit', *staan* 'to stand', *liggen* 'to lie' and *hangen* 'to hang': interval states
- lexical verbs *komen* 'come' and *vallen* 'to fall': achievements

Interval states and achievements (i.e. the lexical verbs) can get a durative reading:

- 61)a. De clown is op de schommel aan het **zitten**.
 the clown is on the swing on the sit.INFINITIVE
 'The clown is sitting on the swing.'
- b. De acrobaat is op zijn hoofd aan het **staan**.
 the acrobat is on his head on the stand.INFINITIVE
 'The acrobat is standing on his head.'
- c. De komeet was aan het **vallen**.
 the comet was on the fall.INFINITIVE
 'The comet was falling.'

In contrast, stage-level states resist a durative meaning:

This is true for the bona fide copula *zijn* 'to be' in its locative use:

62) a. Hij is in Parijs
 he is in Paris
 'He is in Paris.'

b. *? Hij is in Parijsaan het zijn.
 he is in Paris on the be.INFINITIVE

And it is true for the other locative copulas (which would all have been okay if it weren't for the durative aspect):

63)a. * Hij is in Parijs aan het zitten.
 he is in Parijs on the sit.INFINITIVE

b. * De Eiffeltoren is in Frankrijk aan het staan.
 the Eiffel.tower is in France on the stand.INFINITIVE

c. * Mijn fiets is achter de muuraan het staan.
 my bike is behind the wall on the stand.INFINITIVE

d. * De lamp is aan het plafond aan het hangen.
 the lamp is on the ceiling on the hang.INFINITIVE

e. * De val van de muur was in de 20ste eeuw aan het vallen.
 the fall of the wall was in the 20th century on the fall.INFINITIVE

f. * Camembert is uit Frankrijk aan het komen.
 Camembert is from France on the come.INFINITIVE

Note that the syntactic restriction holds regardless whether we perceive the location as permanent or temporary:

64) * Het wrak/de boot is bij Larnaca aan het liggen.
 the wreck/the boat is near Larnaca on the lie.INFINITIVE

8.2.4 Distinction in grounds

Spacious grounds trigger the copula reading

65) Hij zit in de tuin.
 hesits in the garden
 ambiguous:
 Lexical reading: 'He is sitting in the garden.'
 Copula reading: 'He is in the garden.'

66) Hij zit in Frankrijk.
 he sits in France
 Only copula reading: 'He is in the garden.'

8.2.5 Distinction in animacy

If the subject is animate, then

- *zitten* 'to sit' and *komen* 'to come' are the only ones that can get both the lexical reading and the copula reading
- all others immediately get a lexical meaning (or shift to metonymy)

67) Mijn man **zit** in de tuin.
 my husband sits in the garden
 ambiguous:
 Lexical reading: 'My husband is sitting in the garden.'
 Copula reading: 'My husband is in the garden.'

68) Mijn man **staat** in de tuin.
 my husband stands in the garden
 Only lexical reading: 'He is standing in the garden.'

Spacious grounds trigger metonymy to an inanimate reading:

69) Mijn man **staat** in Frankrijk.
 my husband stands in France
 Only copula reading: 'My husband (in fact, the caravan under control of my husband) is standing in France.'

9. The syntax and semantics of the copula *zitten*

9.1 Syntactic requirements of *zitten* as a copula

zitten requires a prepositional complement:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>70) a. Ze zit in Frankrijk.
 she sits in France
 'She sits in France.'</p> | <p>locative <i>zitten</i> + PP complement</p> |
| <p>b. Ze zit met de kinderen.
 she sits with the children
 'She is stuck with the children.'</p> | <p>possessive <i>zitten</i> + PP complement</p> |
| <p>c. Ze zit op haar limiet.
 she sits on her limit
 'She did everything she could.'</p> | <p>PP complement is a metaphoric location</p> |
| <p>d. Ze zit in de put.
 she sits in the hole
 'She is depressed.'</p> | <p>PP complement is a metaphoric location</p> |
| <p>e. Ze zit in mijn hart.
 she sits in my heart
 'I love her.'</p> | <p>PP complement is a metaphoric location</p> |

- 71) a. Ze is/*zit een vrouw. *NP complement
 she is/*sits a woman
 Intended: 'She is a woman.'
- b. Ze is/*zit intelligent. *AP complement: individual-level predicate
 she is/*sits intelligent
 Intended: 'She is intelligent.'
- c. Ze is/*zit dronken. *AP complement: stage-level predicate
 she is/*sits drunk
 Intended: 'She is drunk.'
- d. Ze is/*zit stervende. *complement is a participle
 she is/*sits dying
 Intended: 'She is dying.'
- e. Wees/*zit jezelf. *complement is a pronoun
 be/*sit yourself
 Intended: 'Be yourself.'

Note: Spanish *estar* has a comparable, yet slightly more liberal syntactic distribution as Dutch *zitten* (as it does allow for some AP complements, see Zagona 2012).

9.2 Semantic requirements of locative *zitten*

9.2.1 Two restrictions

• Restriction #1: no paths

Dutch *zitten* does not tolerate PP complements expressing a path:

- 72) a. * Ze zit naar Frankrijk.
 she sit to France
- b. * Ze zit uit Frankrijk.
 she sits from France

This has been observed before for Spanish *estar*:

- 73) El libro está en/encima de/debajo del escritorio.
 the book is on/on top of/under the desk
 'The book is on/on top of/under the desk.'

- 74) *El libro está e del/al/hacia el escritorio.
 the book is from/to/toward the desk

• Restriction #2: no events

First note that *feest* 'party' and *val* 'fall' are event nouns:

- 75) a. * een stoel van drie uur
 a chair of three hours

- b. een **feest** van drie uur
a party of three hours
'a party that takes three hours'
- c. een **val** van drie uur
a fall of three hours
'a fall that takes three hours'

- 76) a. voor de stoel ✓location/*moment in time
before the chair
'in front of the chair'
- b. voor het feest ??location/✓moment in time
before the party
'before the party'
- c. voor de val ??location/✓moment in time
before the fall
'before the fall'

Dutch *zitten* does not tolerate an event noun as its subject or complement:

- 77) a. Het feestje is/*zit in de disco. subject is an event noun
the party is/*sits in the disco
Intended: 'The party takes place in the disco.'
- b. * De val van de muur zat in Berlijn. subject is an event noun
the fall of the wall sat in Berlin
- c. * Een open grens zat bij de val van de muur. compl is an event noun
an open border sat at the fall of the wall
- d. * Het feest zat al tijdens de val. both are event nouns
the party sat already during the fall

The same effect has been observed before for Spanish *estar* (Zagona 2012:12).

9.2.2 Zagona (2012) on *ser* and *estar*

Zagona (2012) observed that *estar* is incompatible with paths and events. She provides a syntactic account:

- *estar* needs to check an unchecked prepositional feature: [uP]
- Directional PPs are more complex than locational PPs: directional PPs contain a locational PP.
- Directional PPs: headed by an aspectual head whose value is incompatible with [uP], leaving it unchecked. At the same time, this head interferes and prevents checking with the included locational PP
- Locational PPs can check *estar*'s [uP]
- She further assumes that eventive nominals include a path

(for earlier and alternative proposals on *ser* and *estar*, see Diesing 1988, Kratzer 1995, (Maienborn 2005, Camacho 2012)

Central observation:

Spanish *estar* and Dutch *zitten* are incompatible with

- paths
- event nouns

—> There must be a semantic property shared by paths and events that restricts the use of certain copulas in both languages.

9.2.3 The distribution of anti-motion verbs and motion verbs

Subject: an event?	Copula	Examples
-	Anti-motion verb	ZITTEN 'to sit': Anna zit in Frankrijk 'Anna is in France' HANGEN 'to hang': De lamp hangt aan de muur. 'The lamp is on the wall'
+	Motion verb	VALLEN 'to fall': De oorlog viel in de 20ste eeuw. 'The war took place in the 20th C'
Compl: a path?	Copula	Examples
+	Motion verb	KOMEN 'to come': Anna komt uit Frankrijk 'Anna is from France'

Note: in all of the above examples, the verb could be replaced by the copula 'to be'

Question: What do paths and events have in common?

9.3 Events are paths (Krifka 1998)

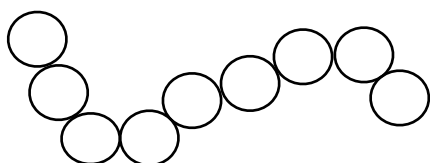
Types of part structures:

- part structure: a sum operation over a set of parts
- path: a sum operation over a set of parts for which adjacency holds
- directed path: a sum operation over a set of parts for which adjacency and precedence hold

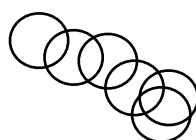
Adjacency

part relations form only paths when their elements are adjacent

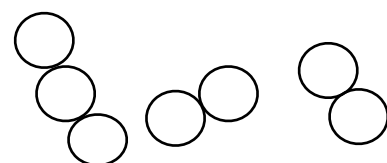
78) Adjacent:



Non-adjacent:

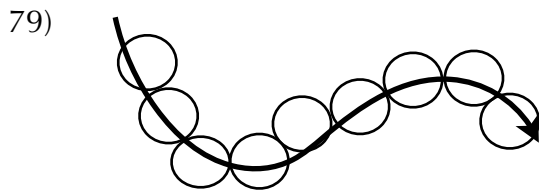


Non-adjacent:



Precedence: defines directionality

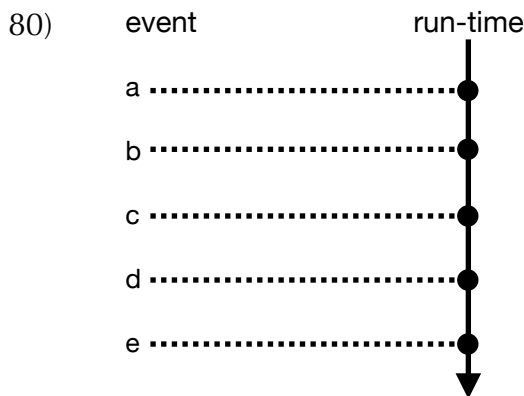
whenever two subpaths of a directed path do not overlap, one must precede the other



Examples of directed paths

- paths in space
- changes in a one-dimensional domain (e.g. a change in temperature)
- **time**
- **events**

—> An important example of a one-dimensional directed path: TIME
 EVENTS are part structures of which the parts are mapped to a time structure (i.e. the path 'time')



In sum: events are paths

9.4 The distribution of the Dutch grammaticalised copulas

Krifka's generalisation on motion verbs

Motion verbs map a path structure to another path structure

New, enriched generalization:

- Motion verbs (*komen, vallen, ...*) map paths to other paths.
- Anti-motion verbs (*zitten, staan, hangen, liggen*) map non-path part structures to other non-path part structures.
- and when we say paths, we mean both spatial paths and events (see previous section)

In sum

- Motion verbs (e.g. *komen* 'to come', *vallen* 'to fall') when used as copulas map entities to paths (i.e. spatial paths or events).
- Anti-motion verbs (e.g. *zitten* 'to sit', *hangen* 'to hang') when used as copulas imply the absence of a path.

9.5 *Zitten* 'to sit' and possession

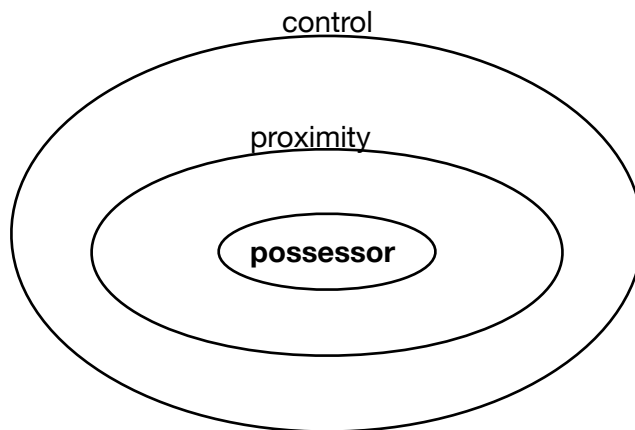
The semantics of possession: location, not direction

Belvin (1996):

- possession can be understood, semantically, as zonal inclusion (i.e. a location): the possessee is in the zones of the possessor.

a (simplified!) representation:

81)



Why only *zitten* 'to sit' in possessives (and not *hangen* or *staan*, for example)?

Recall:

bezitten: [+permanency, +control]

zitten met: [-permanency, -control]

—> the presence of the feature [control] requires animacy

Recall further:

If the subject is animate, then *zitten* 'to sit' and *komen* 'to come' are the only ones that can get both the lexical reading and the copula reading.

Komen is excluded as it is a motion verb. **Hence, *zitten* is the only grammaticalized copula compatible with the syntactic environment.**

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