On the (non-)incorporation of P$_{Have}$
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Get the hand-out!

CARL VON OSSIETZKY universität OLDENBURG

Main message

P$_{Have}$: "Have" = copula + P

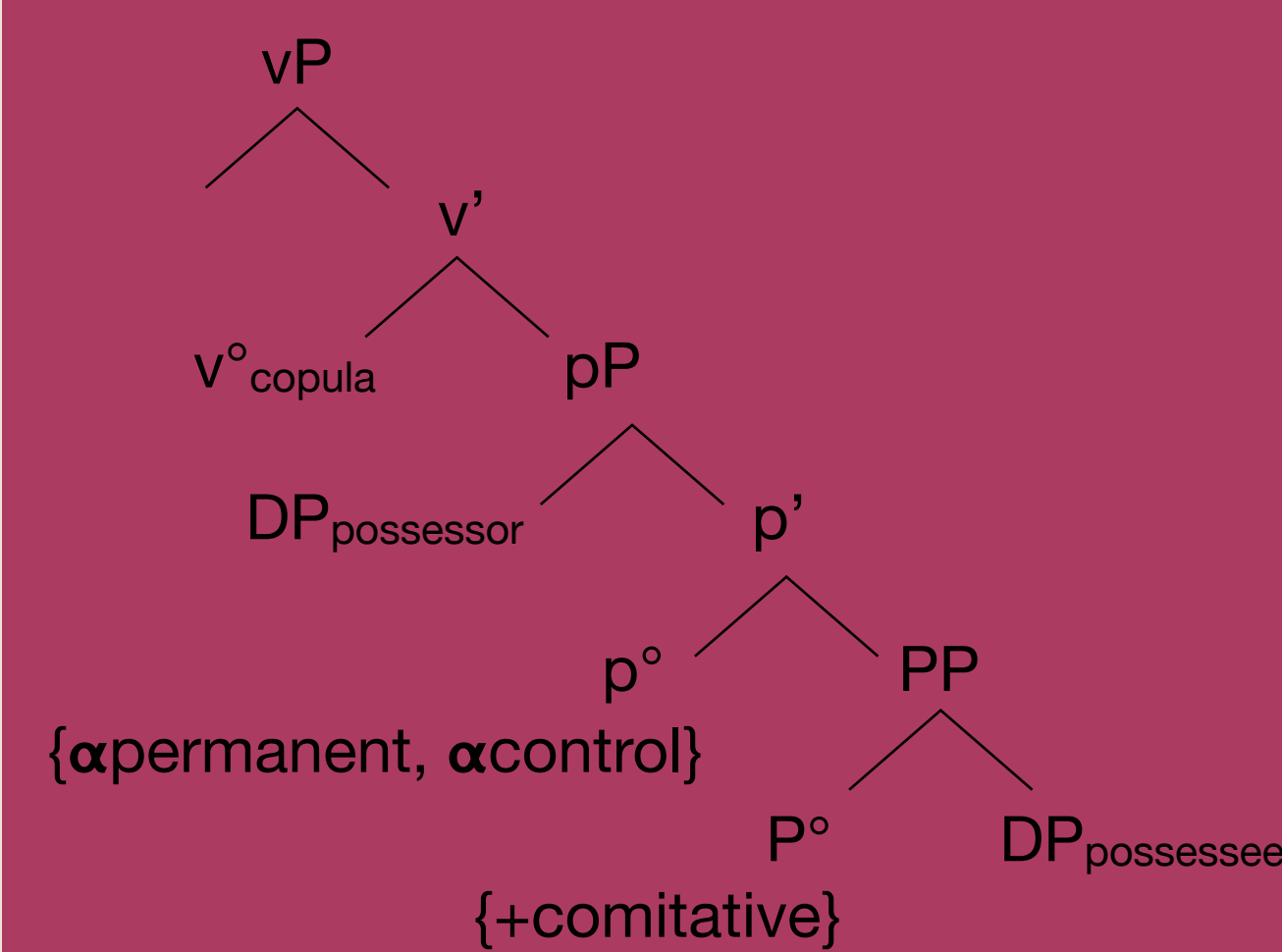This P is called P$_{Have}$, it incorporates in the copula (Freeze 1992, Kayne 1993, Den Dikken 1995, Harley 2002)

(1) Jón   **er   með** gleraugu.
    John.NOM **is with** glasses.ACC
    'John **has** glasses.' (Icelandic, Levinson 2011)

Main claim:
The syntax of P$_{Have}$ is construction-specific

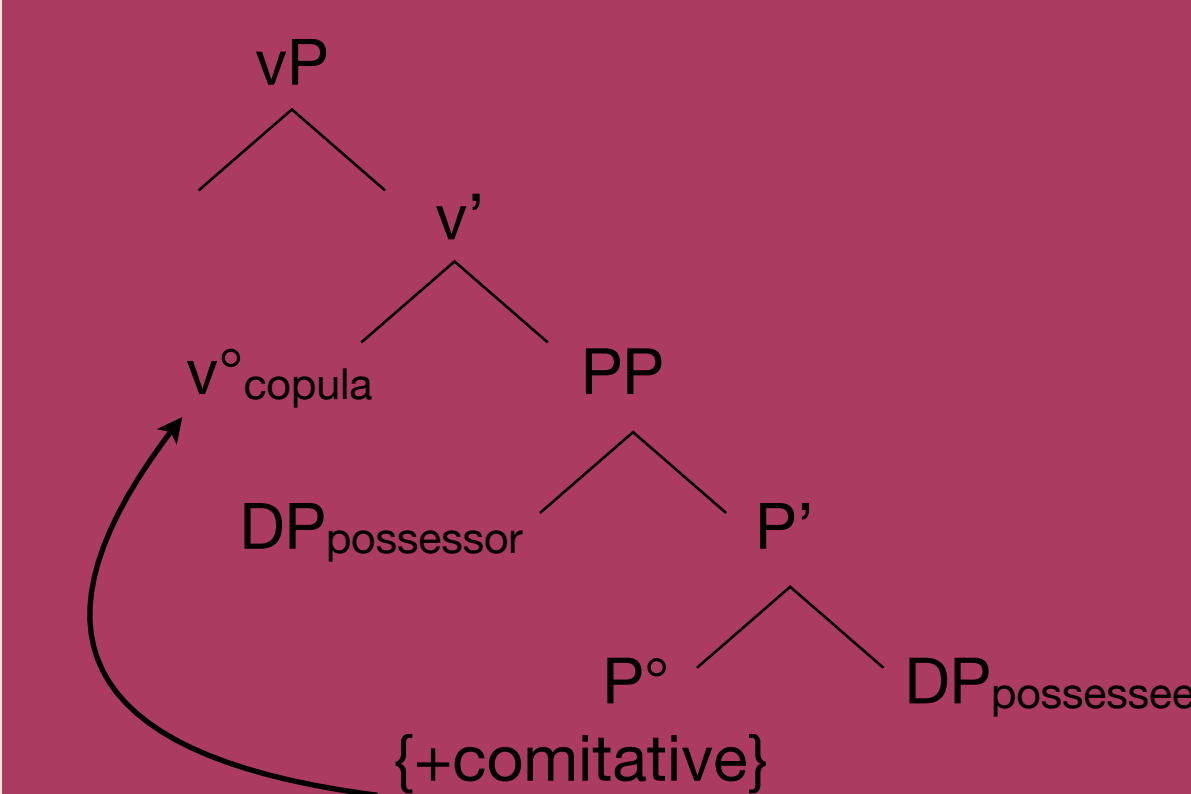- P$_{Have}$: two layers, viz. p° + P° (as in Levinson 2011)
- p° and P° in Germanic predicative possessive constructions are always available to project, but whether they do merge is **construction-specific and depends on the features of the type of possession**
- The presence or absence of these layers goes hand in hand **semantic and lexical distinctions and (non-)incorporation**.
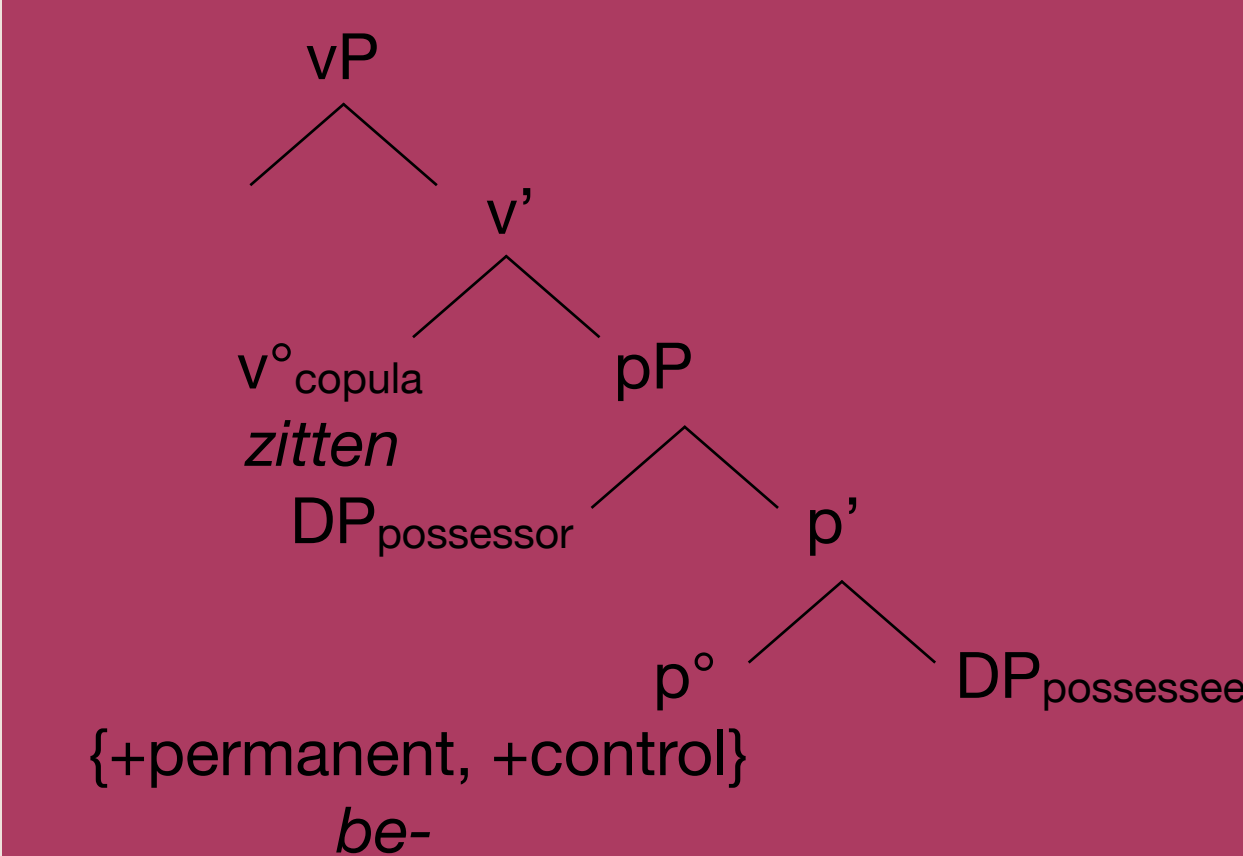
vP
  v'
 v°$_{copula}$ pP
     DP$_{possessor}$ p'
          p°   PP
       {αpermanent, αcontrol}
              P°   DP$_{possessee}$
              {+comitative}

	P°	p°	incorp.
hebben 'to have'	✔	✱	✔
bezitten 'to possess'	✱	✔	✱
zitten met 'to be stuck with'	✔	✔	✱

Hebben 'to have'

vP
  v'
 v°$_{copula}$ PP
     DP$_{possessor}$ P'
          P°   DP$_{possessee}$
          {+comitative}

Bezitten 'to possess'

vP
  v'
 v°$_{copula}$ pP
  zitten
     DP$_{possessor}$ p'
          p°   DP$_{possessor}$
   {+permanent, +control}
        be-

Zitten met 'to be stuck with'

vP
  v'
 v°$_{copula}$ pP
  zitten
     DP$_{possessor}$ p'
          p°   PP
 {-permanent, -control}
           P°   DP$_{possessee}$
         ∅   {+comitative}
               met
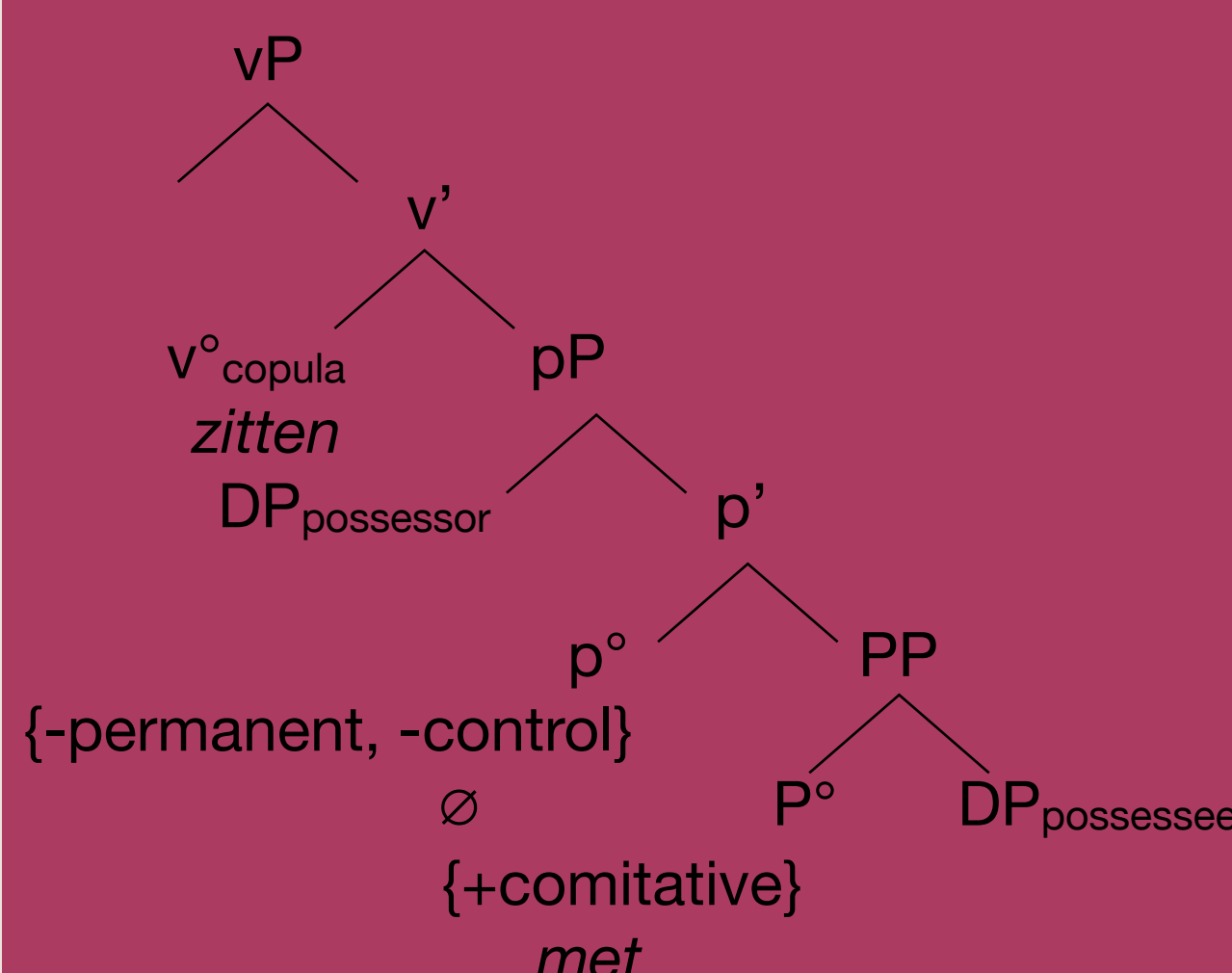
### So, *zitten* 'to sit' is a Dutch copula?
Well, yes. 11 pages on that in the hand-out! Get it via the QR-code (see above).

Background

P$_{Have}$ in Germanic (Levinson 2011):   Little p°-layer is language-specific

Non-incorporating languages (copula + P)	Incorporating languages (copula + P -> have)
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

pP
 p°   PP
[control]
      DP   P'
   Possessor
          P°   DP
         with   Possessee
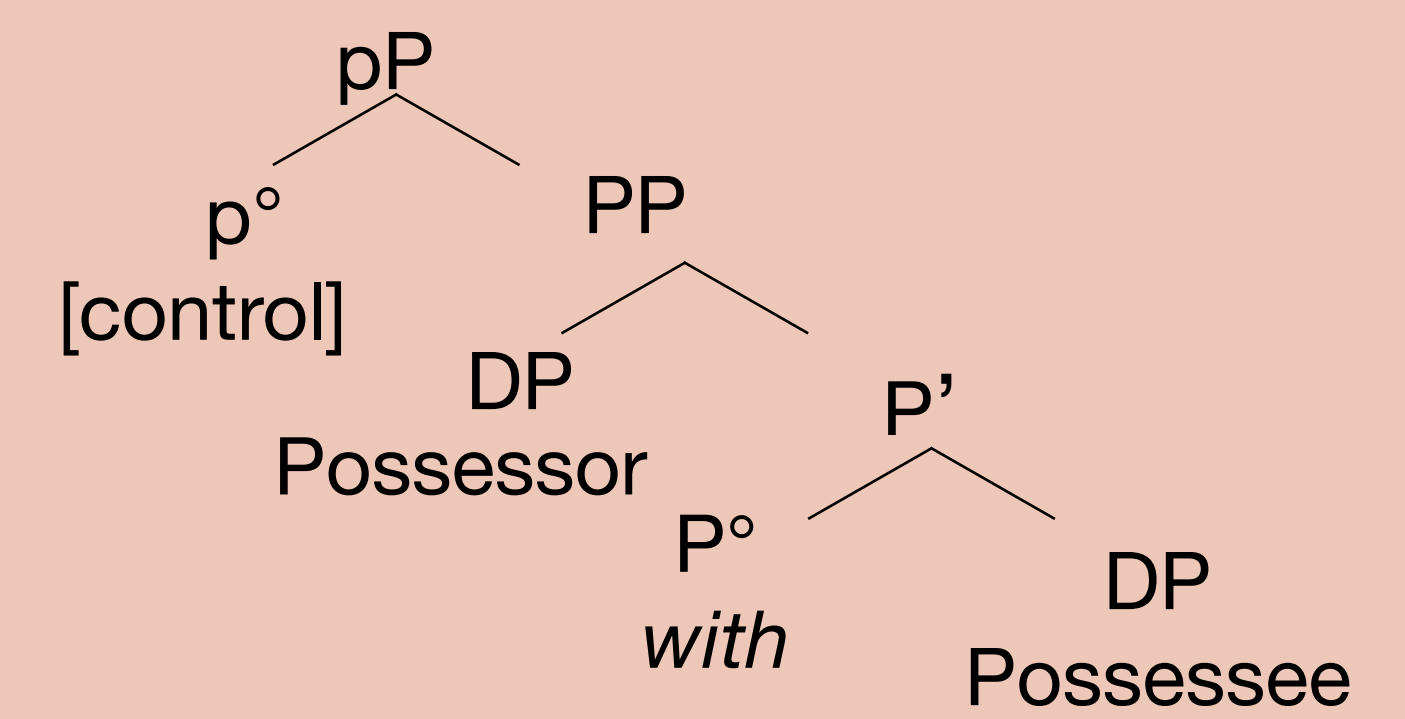
(The feature [control] defines 'possession'. It contrasts with [symmetric] ('together with'))

The typology of possession (Stassen 2009) → the features of little p°

Alienable possession	Inalienable possession	Temporal reading (see also Smith 2014)	Abstract possession
default, prototypical possession	body parts and kinship terms	mere availability, no true possession	problems, diseases, emotions, …
She has a bicycle.	*He has grey eyes/a sister.*	*She has a knife!*	*She has a problem/a cold/time*
[+ Permanent, + Control]	[+ Permanent, - Control]	[- Permanent, + Control]	[- Permanent, - Control]

Detailed Analysis

Hebben 'to have'

No syntactic marking for control or permanency → no little p

✓Alienable possession:
  2) De dame heeft   een fiets.
     'The lady has a bicycle.'
✓ Inalienable possession:
  3) De dame heeft   blauwe ogen.
     'The lady has blue eyes.'
✓ Temporal possession:
  4) De dame heeft   een mes!
     'The lady has a knife!'
✓ Abstract possession:
  5) De dame heeft   de griep.
     'The lady has the flu.'

The reading depends on the context and the maxim of relevance.
→ it is not encoded syntactically, hence no features [control] or [permanency]
6) Hij had blauwe ogen. 'He had blue eyes.'

Alienable	Temporal
Inalienable	Abstract

No control: inanimate possessors
7) Het huis heeft een lekkend dak.
   'The house has a leaking roof.'

+ comitative → P
no non-comitative legal possession reading:

8) In an imaginary world an extremely wealthy lady is, since years, in the legal possession of Mars:

   #De dame heeft /met Mars
    the lady   has /with Mars

‣ *hebben* and *met* both imply comitativity
‣ Levinson (2011):{+comitative} = 'with' = P°

9) hebben ⟷ [+comitative] / COPULA + ____
10) met   ⟷ [+comitative]

Bezitten 'to possess'

Syntactic marking for alienable possession → p$_{\{+permanent, +control\}}$

✓Alienable possession:
  11) De dame bezit   een fiets.
      the lady possesses a bicycle
      'The lady owns a bicycle.'
✱ Inalienable possession:
  12) #De dame bezit   blauwe ogen.
      the lady possesses blue   eyes
✱ Temporal possession:
  13) #De dame bezit   een mes!
      the lady possesses a   knife
✱ Abstract possession:
  14) ✱ De dame bezit   de griep.
      the lady possesses the flu

alienable possession is defined as [+permanent, +control]
—> *bezitten* realises [+permanent, +control], which are features realised on little p°

[+control]: no inanimate possessors
  15) ✱ Het huis bezit   een tafel.
       the house possesses a   table

Not comitative → no P
non-comitative legal possession reading:

16) In an imaginary world an extremely wealthy lady is, since years, in the legal possession of or Mars:

   ✔ De dame bezit   Mars.
      the lady possesses Mars
      'The lady owns Mars.'

‣ *No P-layer*

Zitten met 'to be stuck with'

Hypothetical expectation:
the possibility of a Dutch possession construction merging 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:

17) De dame zit   met een probleem.
    the lady sits with a.   Problem
    'The lady has a problem.'

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

Syntactic marking for abstract possession → p$_{\{-Permanent, -Control\}}$

The *zitten met* construction only allows for an abstract possession reading.
- problems
- diseases
- concrete objects are shifted to problems:

18) Ze zit   met een fiets.
    she sits with a   bike
    'She has a bike (and that is a problem)'

abstract possession: p$_{[- permanent, - control]}$

[+ permanent] is indeed excluded:
  19) ✱ Hij zit met blauwe ogen.
       He sits with blue   eyes

[-control]: no inanimate possessors
  20) ✱ 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).

[+comitative]

Problems and diseases are inherently [+comitative], as they combine with *hebben* 'to have', which is [+comitative]:

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

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