

Ida Larsson

PARTICIPLES IN TIME

The Development of the Perfect Tense in Swedish

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29

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The Development of the Perfect Tense in Swedish

(Svensk sammanfattning)

Ida Larsson



GÖTEBORGS UNIVERSITET
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Abstract

Title: Participles in Time. The Development of the Perfect Tense in Swedish.

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This thesis is concerned with the syntactic-semantic development of the perfect tense from a construction with possessive HAVE and a tenseless participial complement. Both participles and auxiliary are assumed to have internal syntactic structure, and the different perfect-type constructions can thus be related synchronically and diachronically to each other. Cross-linguistic variation is tied to the properties of the present tense, the auxiliary, and the aspectual composition of the participle. Possessive and temporal HAVE are assumed to involve prepositional elements in languages like Swedish and English: possessive HAVE involves a possessive preposition and temporal HAVE a temporal preposition. This accounts for the difference between the two types of HAVE, as well as for the restricted semantics of the perfect in Swedish and English. Participles differ both with regard to the parts of the verb phrase they include and the presence/absence of tense and aspect.

The thesis contains a study of the early occurrences of perfect-type constructions with HAVE in Old Germanic, an investigation of the use of BE + active participle in older Swedish and of the loss of BE in Early Modern Swedish. A distinction between resultant state participles and target state participles is shown to be relevant for the analysis of the construction with BE + active or passive participle in older Swedish. The loss of BE is analysed as a change in the properties of the participial stativizer. In Present-Day Swedish, resultant state participles are formed only from verbs with an external argument, but these include also certain verbs with unaccusative behaviour.

The perfect tense is argued to have developed from a resultant state construction which expresses bounded or resultative aspect. The establishment of the perfect in the linguistic community can be observed as a change in the relative frequency of perfects and resultant state expressions over a considerable period of time.

Keywords: Scandinavian syntax, Swedish, language change, tense, aspect, perfect, participle, supine, resultative, unaccusativity, auxiliary selection

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Abbreviations

Acc.	Accusative
AP	Adjective Phrase
AspP	Aspect Phrase
AST	Assertion time
C.	Common gender
Comp.	Comparative
CP	Complementizer Phrase
Dat.	Dative
DP	Determiner Phrase
E	Event time
ECM	Exceptional case marking
EVT	Evaluation time
F.	Feminine
Gen.	Genitive
I.E.	Indo-European
Impf.	Imperfective
Inf.	Infinitive
M.	Masculine
N.	Neuter
Nom.	Nominative
VP	Verb Phrase
Obj.	Object form
Perf.	Perfective
Pass.	Passive
Pl.	Plural
Poss.	Possessive
Pres.	Present
Pret.	Preterite
Prt.	Particle
Ptc.	<i>en</i> -participle
R	Reference time
Refl.	Reflexive
S	Speech time

Sg.	Singular
Sup.	Supine
TP	Tense Phrase
Unacc.	Unaccusative

1. Introduction

It has long been established that the perfect tense with HAVE (or BE) + perfect participle in the Germanic languages has developed from a resultative construction with largely the same form (see e.g. Meillet 1917).¹ The development is sometimes viewed as a case of grammaticalization which is well-attested among auxiliaries that take infinitival complements (see e.g. van Gelderen 2004). The starting point is a lexical verb HAVE with a possessive meaning which takes a resultative participial complement, as in (1:1a). In the final stage, the construction is reanalysed as a complex tense, as in (1:1b).

- (1:1) a. Han har fönstren tvättade.
he has the.windows clean.PTC.PL
 ‘He has the windows cleaned.’
- b. Han har tvättat fönstren.
he has clean.SUP the.windows
 ‘He has cleaned the windows.’

The present thesis reviews this description of the development, taking into account a more elaborate syntax-semantics of perfect-type constructions, as well as the historical data. We are not simply dealing with the grammaticalization of HAVE; the development is, in fact, not restricted to constructions with HAVE, but can also involve BE. Importantly, there are changes also in the properties of the participle. In the first stage, the participle is adjectival (and passive); in the last stage it has an active reading and is part of a periphrastic tense. In Swedish, the perfect participle has become morphologically distinct from the past or passive participle; the form is traditionally called the *supine*. Compare

¹ Capitalized BE and HAVE are used to cover forms of *be* and *have* in English, *vara* and *ha* in Swedish, *sein* and *haben* in German and so on, abstracting away from cross-linguistic and diachronic differences in realization. Similarly, BECOME and GET refers to the different verb forms meaning ‘become’ and ‘get’, respectively.

the neuter singular passive participle *skrivet* ‘written’ in (1:2a) to the perfect with the supine form *skrivit* ‘written’ in (1:2b).²

- (1:2) a. Brevet är skrivet av någon annan.
the.letter.N.SG is write.PTC.N.SG by somebody else
 ‘The letter has been written by somebody else.’
- b. Hon har skrivit brevet.
she has write.SUP the.letter
 ‘She has written the letter.’

The historical development does not only result in changed properties of auxiliaries and participles, but also in a change in the temporal-aspectual system of the Germanic languages. Gothic lacked a perfect tense, while the Old Scandinavian languages had one. We should therefore address the questions how the perfect tense should be understood, what it means for a language to have or not to have a perfect tense, and what it means to say that a tense develops. We will see that several elements contribute to the syntax-semantics of perfect-type constructions, and may do so in different ways in different languages and at different times. On the basis of differences in e.g. possibilities of adverbial modification, verb types and temporal and aspectual interpretation, I will argue that participles have internal structure which can vary depending on participle and language, as well as over time. In this way, the present understanding of the historical development of the perfect can be extended.

In this thesis, the focus is on the Scandinavian languages, particularly Swedish, but comparative data is often required in the discussion. All the Present-Day Germanic languages have developed a periphrastic perfect with HAVE or BE and a participle formed by the suffixes **-þa-* (I.E. **-to-*) or **-ena-/*-ana-* (I.E. **-e/o-no-*); weak verbs form participles with **-þa-* (English *-ed*) as in Present-Day Swedish *väntad* ‘expected’ and English *expected*, whereas strong verbs form participles with **-ena-/*-ana-* (English *-en*) as in *skrivet* ‘written’ and *written*. The development has several common traits in the different languages, but there are also striking formal differences with regard to both auxiliary and participle, as well as differences in the semantics of the perfect. For example, not all Germanic languages have a split auxiliary system, with

² Supine morphology is glossed SUP. Participial morphology is otherwise glossed PTC or with the inflectional form (e.g. N.SG). The glosses give only the necessary morphological information; participle agreement is therefore only marked when relevant. Forms like *barnen* ‘children + definite suffix’ are glossed as ‘the.children’ throughout. For examples from previous work, the glosses have sometimes been changed to fit the present purposes better.

an alternation between HAVE and BE. Some languages allow so-called positional past time adverbials (e.g. *yesterday*, *some ten years ago*) in the present perfect, whereas other languages do not. In some languages, the perfect can have a future reference time. In the Scandinavian languages, the periphrastic construction with HAVE + participle has modal uses. The analysis must allow for these differences between the languages, while maintaining a partly unified syntax-semantics of the perfect and the participles.

The historical change is only partly explicable in terms of syntactic structure or as dependencies between different phenomena in the linguistic system (such as a correlation between verb movement and morphology). Looking at the differences between the Scandinavian languages and the development of Standard Swedish, it is evident that we have to consider also the linguistic community and the actual behaviour of the speakers at particular times. Languages do not change because the system mechanically drifts one way or another, but because people acquire language and speak it, and do so in different ways. The Scandinavian languages have therefore developed differently, and they have done so through the different communities and their language use. At the same time, also the historical study concerns the grammars of individuals, and our understanding of these grammars is therefore still of crucial importance. Central to the historical study are questions of how variation and shifts in the frequencies of grammatical phenomena are to be understood and how they relate to structure and changes in structure. The historical development is syntactic and semantic and involves changes in the properties of lexical or functional items. In this thesis, the discussion of change will be tied to the historical data, and to the syntactic-semantic analysis of these data.

1.1. Aim

The general aim of this thesis is to attain a better theoretical understanding of the development of the perfect tense, particularly in Swedish. The focus is on grammatical change; I study how older constructions develop into perfects and not e.g. how present, past and perfect tenses distribute in the usage when the perfect develops. The primary questions are what changes and how it changes. In order to understand the historical development, some comprehension of the syntax-semantics of the constructions involved is clearly required. One of the main questions explored in the thesis is therefore what characterizes a

perfect and how it relates syntactically and semantically to other similar constructions involving participles. Since the aim is to understand the development of a tense, the temporal-aspectual properties of participles are of importance.

1.2. Terminology

The perfect is referred to as a tense and not (as in e.g. Comrie 1976) an aspect; see chapter 3 for discussion. It includes present, past and non-finite perfects. The *perfect-type* constructions include perfects and constructions that have the same or similar morphology; they generally involve HAVE or BE and a participle. Perfect-type constructions that are not perfects are referred to as *perfect-like constructions*; these include active and passive constructions with HAVE or BE + a stative participle.³ For simplicity, I often refer to the participial suffixes collectively as *-en*, and the participles under investigation as *en-participles*; the *en-participles* include also participles with *-ed*, like *expected* (or Swedish *väntad*).

1.3. Scope and outline

An analysis of the perfect must take into account tense, aspect and the structure of events, neither of which is fully understood, as well as the relation between the three, which is even more intricate. As will become evident, I take central aspects of tense, aspect and event structure to be determined by independent syntactic principles. I assume that syntax builds semantic structure, i.e. that semantics is read off structure. Systematic differences in interpretation are therefore tied to differences in structure. Although the syntactic principles are assumed to be common to all languages, the structures of participles and perfect-type constructions can, as we will see, vary between languages.

This thesis does not aim at a full analysis of any one of the relevant domains. Technical detail has to give way to the more general, and the discussion will often necessarily be kept informal. The focus is on syntactic-semantic aspects of the change, rather than on questions of (changes in) morpho-phonological realization. The discussion of the

³ The perfect-like constructions are often referred to as resultatives (see e.g. Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988). As we will see, this is a misnomer since these constructions do not always have a resultative reading.

syntax-semantics of participles is mainly confined to constructions with auxiliaries. Attributive participles and reduced relatives are not investigated systematically. Eventive passives with BECOME and GET will be discussed only briefly. Instead, most of the discussion concerns active participial constructions with HAVE and BE, as in (1:3), and stative passives with HAVE and BE, as in (1:4).

- (1:3) a. Han har kommit hem
he has come home
 'He has come home.'
 b. Han är hemkommen.
he is home.come
 'He has come home.'
- (1:4) a. Han har blommorna vattnade (av en trädgårdsmästare).
he has the.flowers watered by a gardener
 'He has the flowers watered (by a gardener).'
- b. Blommorna är vattnade (av en trädgårdsmästare).
the.flowers are watered by a gardener
 'The flowers have been watered (by a gardener).'

The thesis contains three (partly) independent historical studies, which focus on active participles in the complement of HAVE or BE. First, I investigate the early occurrences of perfect-type constructions with HAVE in some Old Germanic texts. This is the focus of chapter 4. Secondly, since it is often assumed that older Swedish, unlike Present-Day Swedish, had a split auxiliary system (see e.g. Johannisson 1945), I consider the use of BE + active participle in older Swedish (chapter 5) and the subsequent loss of BE (chapter 7). It turns out that the constructions with BE should not be treated as perfects, and that we need finer distinctions among the perfect-type constructions. The material and principles for data collection are presented in connection with the individual studies, in chapters 4, 5 and 7, respectively.

In addition to the historical studies, I investigate a variety of present-day data. Chapter 2 introduces the basic distinctions among the *en*-participles and the structure of the verb phrase. In chapter 3, I suggest an account in which the perfect involves a biclausal structure with a non-finite past tense, and that the semantics of the past and present perfects depends on the combination of this non-finite tense with the semantics of the auxiliary and a matrix tense. The perfect participle is taken to be a tensed participle. Following Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) and Pancheva (2003), the different readings of the perfect are assumed to depend on the aspect of the participle.

Modern data are used not only to establish the end-point of the change (the perfect tense), but also to clarify the analysis of the different stages in the development. As we will see, the constructions that the perfect has developed from are still (with some exceptions) available in Present-Day Swedish. In chapter 6, I introduce a distinction between different kinds of tenseless stative participles largely on the basis of present-day examples. I show how Kratzer's (2000) distinction between resultant state participles and target state participles is relevant for the analysis of the construction with BE + active participle in older Swedish. In chapter 8, I discuss the structure of the stative participles. I argue that the participles differ with respect to the parts of the verb phrase that they include, as well as to tense and aspect. In chapter 9, I discuss perfect-like constructions with HAVE and argue that HAVE can take largely the same tenseless complements as BE. I also discuss how possessive HAVE relates to the temporal auxiliary HAVE, and to BE. In the analysis of HAVE, I take Kayne's (1993) account of HAVE as BE + an abstract preposition (or prepositional determiner) as a starting point, but suggest that while possessive HAVE involves a possessive preposition, temporal HAVE involves a temporal preposition, in languages like Swedish and English; this accounts for the difference between the two types of HAVE, as well as for the restricted semantics of the perfect. As we will see, there is reason to assume that temporal HAVE does not involve a prepositional element in languages like German.

Chapter 10 brings together the results from the previous chapters and discusses the consequences for our understanding of the historical development of the perfect. I look closer at examples with HAVE + agreeing participles in Old Norse and consider the question of participles and case. In the final chapter, I briefly discuss the question of participle morphology and summarize some of the main points of the thesis.

1.4. Historical and modern data and sources

The history of Swedish is divided into the following periods: Old Swedish (c. 800–1500), Early Modern Swedish (c. 1500–1700) and Late Modern Swedish (c. 1700–). In the period of Old Swedish, I include both what is traditionally called Runic Swedish (c. 800–1225) and Old Swedish (c. 1225–1526); the distinction between the two is based mainly on extra-linguistic or textual factors not relevant here. The period of Modern Swedish includes Swedish from the 16th century to the present-day. In addition, I use the term *older Swedish* to refer to both Old

Swedish and Early Modern Swedish, that is, Swedish up to the 18th century.⁴ Older Swedish is, however, not intended to be a precise term: it is used as a convenient way of referring to a Swedish system that differs from Present-Day Swedish in some relevant sense. The term *Present-Day Swedish* refers to the current standard and to the language that I have native intuitions about.⁵

1.4.1. *Historical data*

As changes in frequencies of morpho-syntactic phenomena tend to suggest ongoing change, quantitative data from large historical corpora are important tools in the study of a historical development. They are also a means for investigating correlations between grammatical phenomena (as shown by Kroch 1989 among others). However, while such a study can show how the change proceeds in a linguistic community, it does not necessarily have much to say about how the change of the individual's linguistic competence comes about, and how the changes in frequencies should be explained. In order to understand shifts in the frequencies of a linguistic phenomenon, we have to consider finer syntactic-semantic distinctions as well as factors relating to the wider context. The investigation should be micro-comparative in the sense that it should focus on (minimal) grammatical differences between individuals (which have as much in common as possible). During a period of change, the grammatical variation between individuals is expected to be considerable; even in a more stable historical context, phenomena such as auxiliary selection tend to vary between speakers. Not only the frequencies, but also the factors that determine the variation, can vary. Here, the emphasis is on the qualitative and grammatical aspects of the historical development. For the larger historical perspective and for pinpointing the time of change, I rely on data from previous studies, when possible.

⁴ Similarly, the term *older English* refers to English up until around the 19th century.

⁵ See e.g. Holmberg & Platzack (1995, 2005) for an introduction and discussion of the morphosyntax of the present-day Scandinavian languages and Faarlund (2004) for a syntax of Old Norse. I refer to Bandle et al. (2002) for a comprehensive overview of the history of the Scandinavian languages; see e.g. the paper by Ottósson on the historical records and the paper by Delsing on the morphology of Old Swedish and Old Danish.

As always in historical studies, we have to build our understanding on a fragmentary and often disparate material, together with our theoretical knowledge (as well as cross-linguistic data). The historical material is selected in the light of results of previous studies and of what we otherwise know about the historical records. It ranges over a substantial period of time, from the oldest Germanic sources to modern times; it is heterogeneous also with regard to text-types, and it includes several different languages. The choice of texts is obviously more limited for the oldest material. For Old English and Old High German, I rely on texts with commentaries and with available concordances of the relevant examples, and on previous work.

The texts are deliberately chosen to cover different aspects of the development. In the Old Germanic (particularly Scandinavian) sources, all constructions with HAVE + participle are investigated; in the Old and Early Modern Swedish texts, the focus is instead on participles of unaccusative verbs embedded under HAVE or BE. Auxiliary omission and morphological passives in the perfect tense are systematically investigated in the Early Modern Swedish material. At the same time, a number of examples of other morphological and periphrastic passives are collected. For additional examples, I have sometimes used historical dictionaries of Swedish (Söderwall, Schlyter and SAOB) and the historical parts of the corpus of Icelandic at Orðabók Háskóla Íslands, which I refer to as the FORNRIT corpus. The details of the material are given when relevant. For the abbreviations of the texts, see the Bibliography, where the material is presented in its entirety.

1.4.2. Modern data

The historical records offer no good means of investigating differences with regard to e.g. diagnostics for unaccusativity or passives; in these respects, the historical records taken by themselves are simply far too limited to give a reliable picture of the linguistic system in earlier times, at least in a way relevant for the present study. Modern data therefore become necessary, not only to establish the endpoint of the change, but to give clues to the linguistic competence of e.g. speakers of Swedish in the 17th century. The assumption is that the most general properties of participles and verbs in the modern languages also pertain to earlier stages of these languages – unless there is clear evidence to the contrary. While we know that linguistic systems vary and change, we also know that they are stable and change only slowly, and we do not expect any

rapid turns in the history of a language. Moreover, we can assume that 17th century Swedish, which on the surface looks very similar to Present-Day Swedish, also shares features with Present-Day Swedish on a more abstract level, and is governed by the same general cognitive, linguistic principles. Although this is primarily a historical study, much of the discussion will therefore concern modern examples, and the results will in many cases have a bearing on our understanding of the present-day language. In the historical study, I am confined to authentic examples and evidence from actual usage, in a fragmentary material. In the modern data, I am generally not concerned with what contextual factors determine the choice between different equally possible examples but what the general semantic and syntactic properties of the constructions are. In other words, the question is not whether one or the other construction is preferred in a specific context, but whether an example would be grammatical or make sense in an imaginable context.

The modern examples are largely based on my own (Swedish) intuitions and judgements from informants. To get a picture of the present-day usage, I have occasionally used Google and the tagged corpora of Present-Day Swedish, PAROLE and SUC. For Norwegian, I have used the Bokmål and Nynorsk parts of the Oslo corpus of written Norwegian and the NoTa-corpus of spoken Norwegian. All authentic examples are followed directly by a reference to the source.⁶

⁶ When a text is not paginated, I give page number within brackets. For the examples from poetry, the reference gives song and/or line; for examples from laws, the reference gives section and paragraph. In the references to the laws and the *Edda*, I use the abbreviations given in the edition. For *Gutalagen*, I refer to the number of the section given in the edition and in the electronic version of the texts. Emended parts are given in italics; italics or bold face in the original text have not been marked. When I give the full reference to examples taken from previous studies, the example has been checked in the (edition of the) text.

2. Participles, categories and events

The development of the periphrastic perfect involves changes in the syntax of past participles: a (passive) participle with adjectival properties is reanalysed as a perfect participle which is employed to form a complex tense. In this chapter, some of the relevant distinctions and problems are introduced. In section 2.2, I give an overview of the properties of the *en*-participles and introduce some distinctions among them. In section 2.3, I point to questions concerning lexical categories and category features. In the second part of the chapter, I consider the types of intransitive verbs and introduce the verb phrase structure that will be assumed in the following chapters.

2.1. Terminology

Following Bach (1981), I refer to both stative and non-stative predicates as denoting *eventualities*. However, I use the terms *eventive* and *event* to cover all non-stative predicates; with the terminology of Vendler (1967), these include activities like *read*, accomplishments like *build a house* and achievements like *reach the top*. The term *event structure* refers to the structure of eventualities, and *event time* refers to the time of eventualities.

Throughout, the term *passive* is used informally to refer to constructions where an argument (the external argument) of the verb is demoted, independently of whether the structure involves an implicit argument (which typically can be realized by means of a *by*-phrase) or not. Adjectival participles are passive when they modify what would correspond to an object in an active clause. Active participles do not involve a demoted argument, and, in prenominal position, they modify the DP that corresponds to the subject of an active clause.

The term *unaccusative verbs* refers to the group of verbs (e.g. *arrive* and *wilt*) which are sometimes called *ergatives* (see e.g. Burzio 1986); since the latter term is associated with the ergative-absolutive distinction, it is avoided here. Verbs like *sleep* and *work* are referred to as

unergative, largely following standard practice. Precisely how these groups of verbs should be distinguished will be discussed in the following. As we will see, unaccusativity and unergativity are not necessarily properties of verbs, but rather depend on the entire verb phrase. Despite this, I often talk about unaccusative verbs, rather than unaccusative structures, for convenience. The term *variable behaviour verbs* is used in the standard sense to refer to verbs that have variable unaccusative or unergative behaviour (e.g. *travel* and *run*).

One of the properties that typically distinguishes unaccusative verbs is that they have active participles in the complement of BE and in prenominal position; see (2:1) and (2:2) (and see further section 2.4).⁷

(2:1) Barnen är redan hemkomna.
the.children are already home.come
 ‘The children have already come home.’

(2:2) de nyligen hemkomna barnen
the recently home.come children
 ‘the children who recently came home’

As will become evident in the following, the construction with BE + active participle is not a perfect in Swedish (as the English translation might suggest), and the participle is not a perfect participle. Instead, the active participles in the complement of BE share important properties with passive participles of transitive verbs in examples like (2:3) and (2:4) below.

(2:3) Barnen är redan hämtade av sin moster.
the.children are already picked.up by POSS.REFL aunt
 ‘The children have already been picked up by their aunt.’

(2:4) de nyligen hämtade barnen
the recently picked.up the.children
 ‘the children who recently were picked up’

I refer to the group of participles that are active or passive depending on verb type as (active or passive) *past participles* and avoid the standard term *passive participle*. The term *perfect participle* is restricted to participles in perfects (including the Swedish supine). Further distinctions among the participles will be made when relevant.

⁷ I translate the examples with BE + participle with English perfects throughout, although they differ from perfects in important respects (to be specified below).

Like Danish and Norwegian, Swedish has three different canonical passive constructions: periphrastic passives with BE + participle, periphrastic passives with BECOME + participle and morphological passives with the suffix *-s*; cf. the examples in (2:5).⁸

- (2:5) a. Barnen är redan hämtade av sin moster.
the.children are already picked.up by POSS.REFL aunt
 ‘The children have already been picked up by their aunt.’
- b. Barnen blev hämtade av sin moster.
the.children became picked.up by POSS.REFL aunt
 ‘The children were picked up by their aunt.’
- c. Barnen hämtades av sin moster.
the.children picked.up.PASS by POSS.REFL aunt
 ‘The children were picked up by their aunt.’

In the literature, the BE-passive is sometimes referred to as the adjectival passive, as opposed to the verbal passive with BECOME. Since many stative passives have verbal properties, I avoid these terms. The passive with BE is instead referred to as the stative passive, and the passive with BECOME the eventive passive. Participles in the complement of BE are referred to as stative, and participles in the complement of BECOME as eventive (see chapter 8, section 8.4.1). Apart from the passives with BE and BECOME, Swedish also has stative passives with HAVE and eventive passives with GET; see (2:6). The passive construction with HAVE is discussed in chapter 4 and 9, and GET-passives are considered in passing in chapter 9 and 10.

- (2:6) a. Hon hade fönstren tvättade av en trevlig fönstertvättare.
she had the.windows cleaned by a nice window.cleaner
 ‘She had the windows cleaned by a nice window cleaner.’
- b. Hon fick fönstren tvättade av en trevlig fönstertvättare.
she got the.windows cleaned by a nice window.cleaner
 ‘She got the windows cleaned by a nice window cleaner.’

In Swedish, the construction with BE + past participle is not necessarily passive, as noted. Among the perfect-like constructions with BE, I include both stative passives with BE (like (2:5a)) and the stative construction with BE + active past participle of an unaccusative verb (like (2:1a)). The perfect-type constructions with BE include also the BE-perfects in languages like German. Similarly, the perfect-like constructions

⁸ In older Swedish, and in varieties of Present-Day Swedish, the auxiliary in eventive passives is often *varda* ‘become’ and not *bliva* ‘become’, as in the examples I give here (see chapter 7 below).

with HAVE include passives with HAVE (like (2:6a)), but not perfects, whereas also perfects are included among the perfect-type constructions.

2.2. Participles

It is well known that *en*-participles sometimes have verbal properties, but at other times appear to be adjectives. Like verbs, participles can take nominal complements, as in (2:7a), or adjectival complements, as in (2:7b).⁹ They largely have the distribution of adjectives and can occur in prenominal position and be coordinated with adjectives, as in (2:8) and (2:9). The passive auxiliaries BE and BECOME can also take AP complements; cf. (2:10).

(2:7) a. Alexander blev erbjuden den lyra som tillhört Paris.
Alexander became offered the lyre that belonged Paris
 ‘Alexander was offered the lyre that [had] belonged to Paris.’
 (PAROLE)

b. Jag blev slagen medvetslös av ett gäng killar.
I became beaten unconscious by a gang guys
 ‘I was beaten unconscious by a gang of guys.’
 (PAROLE)

(2:8) en nyanländ gäst
a new.arrived guest
 ‘a recently arrived guest’

(2:9) Han är nyklippt och alldeles korthårig.
he is new.cut and quite short.haired
 ‘His hair has recently been cut and is quite short.’

(2:10) a. Han var glad.
he was happy
 b. Han blev glad.
he became happy
 ‘He was happy.’

Not all participles are equally adjectival. The verbal semantics of participles can be more or less salient and is sometimes completely absent (cf. SAG 1999, 2:583). In the following, I consider some of the diagnostics that have been proposed in the literature to distinguish verbal

⁹ In Present-Day Swedish, finite forms of temporal HAVE can be omitted in subordinate clauses, as in (2:7a). I return to this in chapter 7 and 9.

from adjectival participles; largely the same tests can be applied in Swedish as in English (see e.g. Wasow 1977, Levin & Rappaport 1986, Anagnostopoulou 2003a and, for Swedish, Lindroth 1906, Platzack 1980, Sundman 1987, Malmgren 1990, Hedlund 1992). I distinguish one group of participial forms as adjectival and exclude them from the investigation. We will see that the participles which I refer to as past participles have both adjectival and verbal properties. Hence, a study of participles will raise questions relating to the criteria for identifying categories (i.e., what is meant by ‘verbal’ and ‘adjectival’); these will be specified in section 2.3 below.¹⁰

2.2.1. Adjectival participles

In his investigation of the differences between verbal and adjectival participles in English, Wasow (1977) uses participles of double object verbs as examples of unambiguously verbal participles, since these take DP complements, unlike adjectives. Among other things, passives of ditransitives do not allow degree modifiers like *very*, but allow modification by (*very*) *much*; see (2:11). In this respect they behave like verbs and not like adjectives; cf. (2:12a) which disallows *very* without *much*, and (2:12b) which allows *very* but not *much*.

(2:11) John was very *(?)much taught the value of a dollar.
(Wasow 1977:344)

(2:12) a. John very *(much) respects your family.
b. John is very *(much) fond of your family.
(Wasow 1977:340)

Swedish participles of ditransitive verbs behave in the same way with respect to degree modifiers like *ganska* ‘pretty’; cf. (2:13) and (2:14).¹¹

¹⁰ SAG (1999) does not categorize participles as verbs or adjectives, but places them with present participles in a separate category.

¹¹ The participle *garanterad* ‘guaranteed’ allows modification by *rätt* ‘right, rather’. Other degree modifiers (e.g. *ganska* ‘pretty, rather’) are, on the other hand, not allowed; see (i). The verb *garantera* ‘guarantee’ has a stative reading.

(i) Peter är *ganska/rätt garanterad en lysande framtid.
Peter is pretty/rather guaranteed a bright future
‘Peter is *pretty/rather guaranteed to have a bright future.’

- (2:13) a. Peter är (*ganska) erbjuden ett jobb.
Peter is pretty offered a job
 'Peter has been (*pretty) offered a job.'
- b. Peter är (*ganska) berövad sitt jobb.
Peter is pretty deprived POSS.REFL job
 'Peter has been (*pretty) deprived of his job.'
- (2:14) a. Peter respekterar (*ganska) din familj.
Peter respects pretty your family
 'Peter (*pretty) respects your family.'
- b. Peter är ganska respektabel.
Peter is pretty respectable
 'Peter is pretty respectable.'

The restriction is not limited to participles of ditransitive verbs. Also participles of intransitive or monotransitive verbs often disallow degree modifiers; cf. (2:15).

- (2:15) a. Boken är (*ganska) skriven.
the.book is pretty written
 'The book has been (*pretty) written.'
- b. Han är (*ganska) hemkommen.
he is pretty home.come
 'He has (*pretty) come home.'

Other participial forms allow modification by *ganska*; consider the examples in (2:16) which involve adjectival participles.

- (2:16) a. Hon är ganska begåvad.
she is pretty gifted
 'She is pretty gifted.'
- b. Hon är ganska utmattad.
she is pretty exhausted
 'She is pretty exhausted.'
- c. Det är ganska utplockat i affären.
it is pretty out.picked in the.store
 'There is rather little to choose from in the store.'

Wasow (1977) further notes that passives of double object verbs cannot occur as complements of verbs that select only for APs. In the complement of the verb *seem*, a participle like *given* is not possible unless the passive auxiliary BE is also included; cf. (2:17a) which is ungrammatical, and (2:17b) which is well-formed. With adjectives there is no such restriction; in (2:18), *to be* is optional.

- (2:17) a. * John seems given first prize every time we have a contest.
 b. John seems to be given first prize every time we have a contest.
 (Wasow 1977:343)

(2:18) John seems (to be) happy.

In Swedish, verbs like *spela* ‘act’ and *låta* ‘sound’, which take AP complements, are ungrammatical with a passive of a ditransitive verb; see (2:19) and (2:20).

- (2:19) a. Han spelar tokig.
he acts crazy
 ‘He acts crazy.’
 b. *Han spelar erbjuden en medalj.
he acts offered a medal

- (2:20) a. Han låter tokig.
he sounds crazy
 ‘He sounds crazy.’
 b. *Han låter erbjuden en medalj.
he sounds offered a medal

Again, the restriction is not constrained to participles of ditransitive verbs; examples like those in (2:21) are also ungrammatical.

- (2:21) a. *Han spelar hemkommen från en resa till Afrika.
he plays home.come from a trip to Africa
 Intended: ‘He plays someone who has recently come home from a trip to Africa.’
 b. *Den låter skriven av Strindberg.
it sounds written by Strindberg
 Intended: ‘It sounds as if it was written by Strindberg.’

However, the restriction does not apply to all participial forms; cf. the examples in (2:22) which, with the terminology of Wasow (1977), involve adjectival participles.

- (2:22) a. Han spelar förälskad.
he acts fallen.in.love
 ‘He acts in love.’
 b. Han låter berömd.
he sounds known
 ‘He sounds famous.’

The participles *förälskad* ‘in love’ and *berömd* ‘known, famous’ can also be modified by degree modifiers; see (2:23) and cf. (2:16) above.

- (2:23) a. Han är ganska förälskad.
he is pretty fallen.in.love
 ‘He is pretty in love.’
 b. Han är ganska berömd.
he is pretty known
 ‘He is pretty famous.’

Furthermore, there is no verb *förälska* of which the participle *förälskad* is formed, and *berömd* does not have a reading corresponding to that of the verb *berömma* ‘praise, commend’ (see further e.g. Sundman 1987:398 and SAG 1999, 2:591ff.).

There is sometimes a morphological distinction between verbal and adjectival participial forms in the Scandinavian languages, as in English; see the Swedish examples in (2:24) (and cf. Embick 2004a for English). The verbal forms *öppnad* ‘opened’, *ruttnad* ‘rotted’ etc. do generally not allow degree modifiers: cf. (2:25).

- (2:24) a. Han är ganska öppen.
he is pretty open
 ‘He is pretty frank.’
 b. Detta är ganska ruttet.
this is pretty rotten
 ‘This is pretty rotten.’
- (2:25) a. Fönstret är (*ganska) öppnat.
the.window is pretty opened
 ‘The window is (*pretty) opened.’
 b. de (^{??}ganska) ruttnade bananerna
the pretty rotted the.bananas
 ‘the (^{??}pretty) rotted bananas’

In Danish, adjectival participles tend to have the suffix *-nt*, rather than *-t*; cf. the verbal participle *slebet* ‘sharpened’ in (2:26a) to the adjectival participle *slebent* ‘sharp’ in (2:26b).

- (2:26) a. Kniven/Sværdet er (blevet) slebet.
the.knife/the.sword is become sharpened
 ‘The knife/sword has been sharpened.’
 b. Hans væsen er slebent.
his being is sharpened
 ‘He is sharp.’
 (Diderichsen 1944:263)

The same distinction can be found in Norwegian Bokmål; see (2:27).

- (2:27) a. ett påtvunget löfte
a forced promise
 ‘a forced promise’
 b. et utvungent vesen
an un.forced being
 ‘a relaxed character’
 (Faarlund et al. 1997:378).

So-called voice reversals are sometimes possible with adjectival participles. This is the case with participles like *drucken* ‘drunk’ both in Swedish and English; the adjectival participle in (2:28) modifies what would be the subject of the verb *dricka* ‘drink’.

- (2:28) Hon är ganska drucken.
she is pretty drunk
 ‘She is pretty drunk.’

It is often the case that the properties and interpretation of adjectival participles cannot be predicted from the properties of the corresponding verb, and, as we have seen, there might not even be a corresponding verb. Since the development of the perfect is expected to be tied to participles with some verbal properties, adjectival participles are not included among the past participles that are studied here. Instead, the focus is on the verbal properties of past participles and the way they relate to type of verb and to tense and aspect. As we will see, when the adjectival participles are disregarded, it is often predictable whether a participle has an active or a passive reading in the complement of BE (and if they are at all possible in the complement of BE).

There is one group of verbs which appears to form adjectival participles systematically, or where it is generally not possible to distinguish the adjectival participle from the verbal, namely stative verbs like *känna* ‘know’ and *tycka om* ‘like’; see the examples in (2:29).

- (2:29) a. Hon är ganska känd.
she is pretty known
 ‘She is pretty famous.’
 b. Hon är ganska omtyckt.
she is pretty liked
 ‘She is pretty liked.’

I will have little to say about the structure of participles of stative verbs (and about the structure of stative verbs in general).

2.2.2. Past participles

In Swedish, past participles are inflected for number and, in the singular, also for gender; see (2:30).¹² In this respect, they behave just like adjectives; cf. the adjectives in (2:31).

- (2:30) a. Brevet var redan *skriven/skrivet.
the.letter.N.SG was already written.C.SG/written.N.SG
 ‘The letter had already been written.’
- b. Artikeln var redan skriven/*skrivet.
the.paper.C.SG was already written.C.SG/written.N.SG
 ‘The paper had already been written.’
- c. Alla artiklar var redan skrivna/*skriven/*skrivet.
all papers.PL were already written.PL/ written.C.SG/written.N.SG
 ‘All papers had been written.’
- d. De blev tilldelade/*tilldelat medaljer av kungen.
they became awarded.PL/awarded.N.SG medals by the.king
 ‘They were awarded medals by the king.’
- (2:31) a. Brevet var *fin/fint.
the.letter.N.SG was nice.C.SG/nice.N.SG
 ‘The letter looked nice.’
- b. Boken var fin/*fint.
the.book.C.SG was nice.C.SG/nice.N.SG
 ‘The book looked nice.’
- c. De var fina/*fin/*fint.
they were nice.PL/ nice.C.SG/nice.N.SG
 ‘They looked nice.’

Agreement is optional with predicative participles in Danish; see (2:32). The neuter singular form is generalized also with attributive participles, and inflection is generally restricted to number (Christensen & Christensen 2005:105f.); see (2:33).

- (2:32) a. Glassene er vaskede/vasket.
the.glasses are washed.PL/washed.N.SG
 ‘The glasses are washed.’
- b. Strømperne er stoppede/stoppet.
the.socks are darned.PL/darned.N.SG
 ‘The socks are darned.’
 (Christensen & Christensen 2005:106)

¹² Apart from the distinction between subject and object forms of personal pronouns, Present-Day Swedish lacks case morphology, just like English. In Old Swedish, as in Icelandic, past participles are inflected also for case.

- (2:33) a. en skrevet seddel
a.C.SG written.N.SG note.C.SG
 ‘a written note’
- b. en bundet hund
a.C.SG tied.N.SG dog.C.SG
 ‘a tied dog’
 (Christensen & Christensen 2005:106)

In Norwegian, there is considerable variation with regard to participle inflection. In Bokmål, not all past participles are inflected; consider the examples in (2:34) (and see Faarlund, Lie & Vannebo 1997:518ff.).

- (2:34) a. Cellene er utstyrt med både dusj og fjernsyn.
the.cells are equipped.N.SG with both shower and TV
 ‘The cells are equipped with both shower and TV.’
 (BOKMÅL)
- b. 35-40 firma er plukket ut
35-40 companies are picked.N.SG out
 ‘35–40 companies have been picked out’
 (BOKMÅL)

Adjectival forms like *åpen* ‘open’ are in general obligatorily inflected in Bokmål; cf. the inflected forms of *åpen* ‘open’ in (2:35) with the non-agreeing verbal form *åpnet* ‘opened’ in (2:36) (and see Faarlund et al. 1997:764–773ff.).

- (2:35) a. Vårt system er *åpen/åpent.
our system.N.SG is open.C.SG/open.N.SG
 ‘Our system is open.’
- b. Den er ikke åpen/*åpent.
it.C.SG is not open.C.SG/open.N.SG
 ‘It is not open.’
- c. Utstillingene vil være åpne/*åpent i neste uke.
the.exhibitions will be open.PL/open.N.SG in next week
 ‘The exhibitions will be open next week.’
- (2:36) a. Vårt system er åpnet.
our system.N.SG is opened.N.SG
 ‘Our system has been opened.’
- b. Den er ikke åpnet.
it.C.SG is not opened.N.SG
 ‘It has not been opened.’
- c. De er åpnet.
they.PL are opened.N.SG
 ‘They have been opened.’

Platzack (1980) assumes that all passive participles are adjectives in Swedish, but that verbal participles include the semantic representation of the related verb in their semantic representation, while adjectival participles do not: “The crucial difference seems to be that the past participle focuses on the act referred to by the verb, whereas the adjective just denotes a state of affairs” (1980:76). To Platzack, the category ‘adjective’ is purely formal, and an adjective can therefore have verbal semantics. On this view, the syntactic restrictions on e.g. participles of ditransitive verbs noted above are still unexplained.

There are also further differences between past participles and adjectives, which mainly relate to argument structure (or event structure). As pointed out by Emonds (2006:27), participles take the same range of complements as verbs, and the obligatory arguments of participles are generally predictable from the argument structure of the verb. As we have already seen, participles can take DP or AP complements.¹³

Adjectives can sometimes take *by*-phrases that express a Cause, but they can never be modified by agentive *by*-phrases as (many) passives can; cf. (2:37a) and (2:37b) (where Peter is interpreted as Agent).

- (2:37) a. Hon blev uppiggad av Peter.
she became up.cheered by Peter
 ‘She was cheered up by Peter.’
 b. Hon blev glad av det fina vädret^{??} av Peter.
she became happy by the good weather/by Peter
 ‘She got happy from the good weather^{??} by Peter.’

Agent-oriented adverbials like *avsiktligt* ‘intentionally’ are possible both with passive past participles and with adjectives, but with different readings: in the passive in (2:38a), the primary reading is that the intentions are associated with the Agent of the participial event; in (2:38b) this reading is unavailable, and the adverbial is necessarily associated

¹³ There are a few adjectives that take DP complements in Swedish. Some of these may also take a PP complement; cf. (i).

- (i) a. Det är mig främmande.
it is me foreign
 b. Det är främmande för mig.
it is foreign for me
 ‘It is foreign to me.’

Since the complementation pattern of a past participle is predictable from the argument structure of the participial verb, it should preferably be derived in the same way. I will not discuss the complementation of adjectives.

with the clause subject. An inanimate subject makes adverbials like *avsiktligt* ‘intentionally’ semantically awkward with adjectives, but not with past participles; cf. (2:39a) and (2:39b).¹⁴

- (2:38) a. Honⁱ blev avsiktligt^{??i} lugnad av Peter^j.
she became intentionally calmed by Peter
 ‘She was intentionally calmed by Peter.’
 b. Honⁱ blev avsiktligt^{i/*j} lugn (^{??}av Peter^j).
she became intentionally calm by Peter
 ‘She intentionally got calm (^{??}by Peter).’
- (2:39) a. Båten blev avsiktligt sänkt (av Peter).
the.boat became intentionally sunk by Peter
 ‘The boat was intentionally sunk (by Peter).’
 b. # Båten blev avsiktligt blöt.
the.boat became intentionally wet

In the present context, it is particularly important that participles, but not adjectives, can include an eventive (and aspectual) component, i.e. they can express a transition or process. Many participles can therefore occur with an adverb like *nyss* ‘recently’ and present tense of BE (see Lindroth 1906:23, Platzack 1980:57); cf. the past participle in (2:40a) with the adjectival participle in (2:40b) and the simple adjective (2:40c).

- (2:40) a. Fönstret är nyss öppnat.
the.window is recently opened
 ‘The window has recently been opened.’
 b. Fönstret är (*nyss) öppet.
the.window is recently open
 ‘The window is (*recently) open.’
 c. Sara är (*nyss) glad.
Sara is recently happy
 ‘Sara is (*recently) happy.’

For *nyss* to be possible with present tense BE + participle, it is not only necessary that the participle expresses an event, but also that this event lies before the time set by the matrix tense (i.e. the present tense). In other words, participles like that in (2:40a) convey anteriority in some sense. For the development of the perfect, this is crucial. In the following chapters, I argue that the emergence of the perfect is to be understood as a reinterpretation of a construction with tenseless participles

¹⁴ I use # to mark an example as semantically infelicitous, as opposed to * (and [?], ^{??} and ^{??*}) which marks ungrammaticality; the distinction is, however, sometimes difficult, if not impossible, to make.

that conveys anteriority as a construction with a perfect participle that has a past tense value. As we will see in chapter 6 and 8, there are past participles that do not convey anteriority, and some past participles lack event implications altogether.

To account for the verbal argument structure, we could assume that a participle which shows verbal properties embeds (parts of) a verb phrase. In this line, Josefsson (1998) suggests that the structure of verbal participles contains a verbalizer (*v*), while the structure of adjectival participles does not. The verbal argument structure, as well as the eventive semantics, is thus captured syntactically. In chapter 8, I develop an account of the structures of past participles which accounts for the different possibilities of adverbial modification. Like Josefsson, I assume that past participles include verbal structure, but my account also differs from Josefsson's analysis, partly because I assume a somewhat more fine-grained structure of verbs and more fine-grained distinctions among the participles.

Before we turn to perfect participles, a few words on the prefix *o-* 'un-' are in place, since it has often been used to distinguish adjectival from verbal participles (cf. Wasow 1977 and references cited there). One reason for this is that DP complements are not grammatical with participles that are negated by *o-*; cf. (2:41) and (2:42).¹⁵

- (2:41) a. Hon skrev (honom) ett brev.
she wrote him a letter
 'She wrote (him) a letter.'
 b. Brevet är skrivet[?] (till) honom.
the.letter is written to him
 'The letter has been written to him.'

- (2:42) a. Brevet är oskrivet (*honom).
the.letter is unwritten him
 'The letter is unwritten (*him).'
 b. *Han är oskriven brevet
he is unwritten the.letter

Note, however, that not only DP complements are impossible, but also PP complements; cf. (2:43).

- (2:43) Brevet förblev oskrivet (*till honom).
the.letter remained unwritten to him
 'The letter remained unwritten (*to him).'

¹⁵ I am grateful to Sven-Göran Malmgren for pointing out these examples to me.

The group of participles that allow negation by *o-* does not coincide with the participles that allow degree modifiers. The participle *skriven* ‘written’ is, for example compatible with the former but not with the latter; see (2:44). As we will see in chapter 8, participles of verbs like *skriva* ‘write’ always have event implications, and in this sense, they are verbal.

- (2:44) a. Artikeln är (*ganska) skriven.
the.paper is pretty written
 ‘The paper has been (*pretty) written.’
 b. Artikeln är (*ganska) oskriven.
the.paper is pretty unwritten
 ‘The paper is (*pretty) unwritten.’

To complicate matters, degree modifiers are sometimes possible only in the presence of negation by *o-*; cf. (2:45a), which is degraded with *ganska* ‘pretty’ (for some speakers), to (2:45b), which is not.

- (2:45) a. Tröjan är (^{??}ganska) använd.
the.sweater is pretty used
 ‘The sweater has been (^{??}pretty) used.’
 b. Tröjan är ganska oanvänd.
the.sweater is pretty unused
 ‘The sweater has not been used much.’

Adjectives do not systematically allow prefixation by *o-*. Moreover, in Standard Swedish, *o-* is often better with verbal forms like *öppnad* ‘opened’ than with adjectival forms *öppen*; cf. (2:46a) and (2:46b). This is true also for English; cf. **unopen* and *unopened* (and see Embick 2004a:359).

- (2:46) a. [?] Dörren är oöppen.
the.door is unopen
 ‘The door is not open.’
 b. Dörren är oöppnad.
the.door is unopened
 ‘The door is unopened.’

Since the syntax of *o-* is unclear, and since it is difficult to know what it tests for, I will not use negation by *o-* as a diagnostic for distinguishing between different participles.

2.2.3. *Perfect participles and the supine*

In the influential analysis of verbal passives by Baker, Johnson & Roberts (1989), the participial suffix *-en* is assumed to be the external argument of the participial verb and to carry a theta role (like Agent or Cause). The structure of perfect participles clearly has to be analysed differently. In perfects, the participle has an active reading (disregarding the possibility of morphological passives); see (2:47).

- (2:47) Lisa har nyss öppnat fönstret.
Lisa has recently opened the.window
 ‘Lisa has recently opened the window.’

It has been suggested that the auxiliary HAVE restores the external argument (as in e.g. Hoekstra 1984:281ff.), but this can obviously not account for verbs that do not have an external argument.¹⁶ Throughout the Indo-European languages, unaccusative verbs like *arrive* form active participles independently of which auxiliary is used, and also in the absence of an auxiliary; see the examples in (2:48) below.

- (2:48) a. en nyligen anländ deltagare
a recently arrived participant
 ‘a recently arrived participant’
 b. Samtliga deltagare är redan anlända.
all participants are already arrived
 ‘All participants have already arrived.’
 c. Deltagarna har redan anlänt.
the.participants have already arrived
 ‘The participants have already arrived.’

If we assume that the participial suffix absorbs or carries a theta role in passives and that HAVE can restore this theta role, we would still have to conclude that some active participles are accidentally homonymous with passives (with shared allomorphy), or at least that the suffix *-en* has more than one function, and the function would partly be predictable from the participial verb.

Independently of verb type, there are differences between (passive or active) past participles and perfect participles which cannot depend exclusively on HAVE. In Swedish, the two can involve different suffix-

¹⁶ Hoekstra (2000) suggests that the notion of transitivity is derivative, and that HAVE offers one way of introducing an external argument. In Swedish, it is clear that the external argument is introduced in the verb phrase embedded under HAVE; among other things, the supine form can passivize (see below).

es; strong verbs form perfect participles that are morphologically distinct from the neuter singular of past participles; the form is traditionally called the supine (Swed. *supinum*).¹⁷ Compare the past participle in (2:49a) with the active participle in (2:49b) and the supine in (2:49c).

- (2:49) a. Boken är skriven/*skrivet.
the.book.C.SG. is write.PTC.C.SG/write.PTC.N.SG
 ‘The book has been written.’
- b. Det blev inte skrivet någon bok.
there became not write.PTC.N.SG any book.C.SG.
 ‘No book was written.’
- c. Hon har skrivit en bok.
she has write.SUP a book.C.SG.

Also for weak verbs, there can be a morphological distinction between past participle and supine, apart from the fact that the former has adjectival inflection while the latter does not. A post-vocalic final *-t* of the supine can be dropped in some varieties of spoken Swedish (including my own); this is not possible in passives; cf. (2:50a) and (2:50b).

- (2:50) a. Hon har målat/måla huset.
she has painted the.house
 ‘She has painted the house.’
- b. Huset blev målat/*måla.
the.house became painted
 ‘The house was painted.’

In Swedish descriptive grammars, the supine is generally not treated as a participial form but as a non-finite verb form. Like finite verbs and infinitivals, but unlike past participles, the supine can take passive morphology; cf. the perfects in (2:51) with the participles in (2:52) and the verbs in (2:53).

- (2:51) Huset har målats av en noggrann målare.
the.house has paint.SUP.PASS by a careful painter
 ‘The house has been painted by a careful painter.’

- (2:52) a. *Huset är målats.
the.house is paint.PTC.PASS
- b. *Det är målats ett hus.
there is paint.PTC.PASS a house

¹⁷ Some varieties of Swedish do not make the distinction, but Standard Swedish does, as do e.g. the varieties spoken in the central parts of Sweden (Stockholm, Uppsala), including my own.

- (2:53) a. Huset målades av en noggrann målare.
the.house paint.PAST.PASS by a careful painter
 ‘The house was painted by a careful painter.’
 b. Huset ska målas av en noggrann målare.
the.house will paint.INF.PASS by a careful painter
 ‘The house will be painted by a careful painter.’

While past participles incorporate particles, finite verbs and infinitives do not; see the passives in (2:54) and the active examples in (2:55) and (2:56).¹⁸

- (2:54) a. Kontraktet är påskrivet.
the.contract is on.written
 ‘The contract is signed.’
 b. *Kontraktet är skrivet på.
the.contract is written on
- (2:55) a. *Frida påskrev kontraktet.
Frida on.wrote the.contract
 b. Frida skrev på kontraktet.
Frida wrote on the.contract
 ‘Frida signed the contract.’
- (2:56) a. *Frida ska påskriva kontraktet.
Frida will on.write the.contract
 b. Frida ska skriva på kontraktet.
Frida will write on the.contract
 ‘Frida will sign the contract.’

Again, the supine patterns with other verbs and not with past participles; cf. the perfects in (2:57).¹⁹

¹⁸ The examples involve the verb-particle complex *skriva på* ‘sign’; readings where *på* is a locative preposition meaning ‘on’ are disregarded.

¹⁹ There are a few cases where a particle optionally can incorporate also into a finite verb, infinitive or perfect participle; see (i). With past participles, incorporation is always obligatory; cf. (ii).

- (i) a. Han nedtecknar/tecknar ned uppgifterna.
he down.writes/writes down the.information
 ‘He writes down the information.’
 b. Han har nedtecknat/tecknat ned uppgifterna.
he has down.written/written down the.information
 ‘He has written down the information.’

- (2:57) a. *Frida har påskrivit kontraktet.
 Frida has on.written the.contract
 b. Frida har skrivit på kontraktet.
 Frida has written on the.contract
 ‘Frida has signed the contract.’

Platzack (1980) suggests that the differences between passive participles and the supine can be accounted for if we assume that the former are adjectives whereas the latter is a verb. Lie (1994) argues that the same distinction between passive participles (which are adjectives) and perfect participles (which are verbs) holds for Norwegian. Since the distinction is not morphologically realized, it is not acknowledged by traditional grammars. Among other things, Lie notes that, like the Swedish supine, perfect participles cannot incorporate particles in Norwegian; see (2:58). As we will see in chapter 10, also certain Norwegian dialects make a morphological distinction between perfect participle and past participle.

- (2:58) a. *De har bortreist.
 they have away.travelled
 b. De har reist bort.
 they have travelled away
 ‘They have gone away.’
 (Lie 1994:251)

With regard to past participles, there are differences between Swedish and Norwegian. As we have seen, Swedish past participles necessarily incorporate particles. With Norwegian past participles, incorporation is not obligatory; see (2:59) below. As noted in connection to (2:34) above, past participles are not (obligatorily) inflected in Bokmål. Adjectival forms that are inflected necessarily incorporate particles; cf. (2:60).

- (2:59) a. De er reist bort.
 they are travelled away
 b. De er bortreist.
 they are away.travelled
 ‘They are away.’
 (Lie 1994:251)

-
- (ii) Uppgifterna är nedtecknade/*tecknade ned.
 the.information is down.written/written down
 ‘The information has been written down.’

- (2:60) a. De har blitt nedgravd/gravd ned av Frida.
they have been down.buried/buried down by Frida
 ‘They have been buried by Frida.’
- b. Det er en ganske nedgravd/*gravd ned hemmelighet.
that is a pretty down.buried/buried down secret
 ‘It is a pretty well-kept secret.’

Hence, Norwegian past participles appear to have more verbal properties, or less adjectival properties, than Swedish participles do, since they often lack adjectival inflection, and since they do not require that particles incorporate. The difference between past and perfect participles in Norwegian can therefore hardly be fully accounted for by the assumption that the former are adjectives and the latter verbs. More generally, participles pose a challenge to a simple one-way distinction between adjective and verb.

2.2.4. Summary

Without going into too much detail, I have distinguished between three different kinds of *en*-participles. First, there is a group of adjectival participles (including forms like *öppen* ‘open’) which typically allow degree modifiers and which occur in the complement of verbs like *spela* ‘act’ and *låta* ‘sound’. Adjectival participles are generally inflected in both Norwegian and Swedish, and they incorporate particles in both languages.

Secondly, there is a group of participles which are inflected in Swedish, but not necessarily in Norwegian Bokmål, and which incorporate particles in Swedish but not necessarily in Bokmål. The participles in this group have verbal argument structure, and at least some of them have event implications. I refer to these participles as past participles. Past participles of unaccusative verbs are active, whereas past participles of transitive verbs have passive readings. These are the participles that form stative and eventive passives with BE and BECOME (or with HAVE and GET).

Finally, the third type of participle is the perfect participle. In the following, I will assume that the Swedish supine and the Norwegian participle used in the perfect tense are both perfect participles. The perfect participle does not have adjectival inflection in any of the Scandinavian languages, and it generally does not incorporate particles. Exactly how perfect participles should be understood depends on how the perfect is analysed; this is the topic of chapter 3. The morphological

distinction between past participle and supine is discussed at more length in chapter 10, where I also consider historical data.

In the following chapters, the difference between past and perfect participles will be investigated further, and further distinctions will be introduced. An analysis of participles has to account for the differences among them, while, if possible, maintaining some similarity between them which allows us to explain the homonymy as something other than an accident; I return to this problem in chapter 11.

Two questions underlie much of the discussion of the different participles. First, since past participles have verbal argument structure and an active or passive reading depending on verb type, an explicit account of verb phrase structure is called for. In section 2.4, I introduce the verb phrase structure that will be assumed in the following. In chapter 7 and 8, much of the focus is on verb phrase structure, and on the way the properties of the participles can be predicted from the structure of the verb.

The second, more fundamental, question concerns category membership; there is little point in arguing that participles are (or are not) adjectives, unless we have some idea what it means for something to be an adjective. The answer clearly depends on how we understand the division between lexicon, syntax and semantics.

2.3. Questions of syntactic category

According to Platzack (1980), both adjectival participles and past participles (verbal passives) are adjectives in Swedish, formed in the lexicon and related to the verb by a redundancy rule (cf. e.g. Jackendoff 1972). Platzack concludes that the lexicon should “contain at least two entries for each verb, one for the finite forms and the supine, another for the past participle” (1980:48). In this kind of approach, the lexicon is an ordered list of entries, with its own operations and rules (see e.g. Lieber 1980, Bresnan 1982). In the analysis of the passive by Baker et al. (1989), the division of labour between syntax and the lexicon has shifted somewhat and the verbal passive participle is syntactically derived: the suffix *-en* is assumed to be generated under Infl and then lowered to V. In this way, inflectional and derivational material plays a direct role in the syntactic derivation (though the syntactic suffix *-en* should obviously not be confused with its particular phonological expression). Lexical processes play a smaller part in their discussion. The adjectival

participle is, however, taken to be formed in the lexicon, and some operations specific to the lexicon still have to be assumed.²⁰

A general aim of the minimalist program is to reduce the language-specific principles and redundancy in the linguistic system to a bare minimum.²¹ The assumption is that the human linguistic competence – and cognition more generally – only includes one generative device, and that its properties can (to a large extent) be explained with reference to requirements imposed by the conceptual-interpretive and sensory-motor systems (e.g. on interpretability and linearization; see e.g. Chomsky 1995, 2007). Against this background, Josefsson (1998) proposes a purely syntactic account of participle formation (cf. also Abney 1987). While Bresnan (1982) argues that passive participles would not undergo lexical word-formation processes such as compounding if they were derived in syntax, Josefsson, who works in the framework of Distributed Morphology (see e.g. Halle & Marantz 1993 and Harley & Noyer 1999), assumes that also word-formation is syntactic. As we will see below, a syntactic account allows us to explain the partly different and partly similar syntactic behaviour of the different kinds of participles without adding any elements or processes that are not motivated also by e.g. clause structure and verb phrase structure, and without having to resort to lexical operations. This kind of framework (with a high level of abstraction and claim of generality) has some success in the analysis of the general and basic properties of perfects and participles, while still allowing for variation in the specific composition of participles in individual languages.

In Distributed Morphology, a lexical root does not carry category features (i.e., it lacks the feature bundle that is commonly summarized as category), but obtains its category membership from the inflectional or derivational material it merges with. To Josefsson (1998), an adjective is therefore a root (that typically denotes a property) merged with adjectival inflection, while a verb is a root (typically denoting an activity) merged with verbal inflection. Building on Jackendoff (1985), Josefsson suggests that verbal inflection can superimpose an eventive reading on an otherwise stative root, while adjectival inflection can superimpose a property reading.

As Platzack (2006a:2) notes, the same root can appear in different configurations and, apparently, belong to different categories. He gives

²⁰ See Emonds 2006 for a critical review of the treatment of the passive in the history of generative grammar.

²¹ For an introduction to minimalist syntax, see e.g. Hornstein, Nunes & Grohmann (2005).

examples of the root \sqrt{up} appearing as a preposition, an adjective, a noun and a verb; see (2:61).²²

- (2:61) a. There is a pub up the road.
 b. an up tendency
 c. He is on the up.
 d. And he ups and says...
 (Platzack 2006a:2)

By assuming that the difference between the various instances of *up* is syntactic and principled and that the lexical item is the same, the analysis gains in generality. This framework has a higher claim of universality and is far more abstract than the system assumed by Platzack (1980), where rules are tied to items in a Swedish lexicon. The syntactic principles are neither considered construction specific, nor specific to a particular language; the syntactic categories are universal and in principle independent of particular lexical (or conceptual) items.

While Platzack (1980) assumes that participles can be adjectives syntactically, but still have verbal semantics, Josefsson (1998) proposes that verbal semantics are due to an embedded verbal head (*v*) in the structures. If *v* is missing, so is the verbal semantics. Similarly, lexical items (like *up*) which do not (necessarily) carry eventive semantics in the lexicon can get an eventive interpretation in the right syntactic context. In this way, the systematic and generalizable part of what is traditionally referred to as lexical semantics is syntactically derived, and more of the computational load is carried by functional as opposed to lexical elements (cf. e.g. Hale & Keyser 1993a, 2002, Borer 2005a, b and Åfarli 2007).

Now, roots as flexible as \sqrt{up} are quite rare. Most lexical elements are more restricted as to what structures they can appear in. For instance, the root $\sqrt{förstör}$ ‘destroy’ requires a transitive structure; see (2:62).

- (2:62) a. *Staden förstörde.
the.city destroyed
 b. De förstörde staden.
they destroyed the.city
 ‘They destroyed the city.’
 (cf. Marantz 1998)

²² I follow the standard practise in Distributed Morphology and mark the root $\sqrt{\quad}$ (from Pesetsky 1995).

The root $\sqrt{\text{smält}}$ ‘melt’, on the other hand, is possible in both intransitive and transitive (causative) structures; see (2:63). For e.g. Marantz (1998), this difference between $\sqrt{\text{förstör}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{smält}}$ is a consequence of the meaning of the roots (i.e., what the speaker knows about what it is to destroy or to melt).

- (2:63) a. Isen smälte.
the.ice melted
 ‘The ice melted.’
 b. Frida smälte isen.
Frida melted the.ice
 ‘Frida melted the ice.’

If the generalizations that category features and other lexical specifications of syntactically relevant information have been used to capture always can be shown to be essentially semantically motivated, these lexical specifications can be dispensed with and semantics can be invoked directly. This is the goal of much current work on argument structure. One challenge is to rule out examples like (2:64) below; there is no apparent semantic reason why a reading like ‘Frida makes the boat arrive to the wharf’ should be excluded, nor is there a form meaning ‘make arrive’ that blocks a transitive *kommer* ‘comes’.

- (2:64) *Frida kommer en båt till bryggan.
Frida comes a boat to the.wharf

If we adopt the position that lexical items carry category features that determine in what structures the item can occur, we have a way of ruling out examples like (2:64), but we instead have to assume that the examples with *up* (2:61) above involve (abstract) category changing morphology. On the other hand, if we take it that lexical items lack category specifications, we would have to account for the fact that few roots are as flexible as $\sqrt{\text{up}}$. The challenge for a theory of argument structure is to account for the restrictions on lexical items like $\sqrt{\text{förstör}}$ ‘destroy’ and $\sqrt{\text{kom}}$ ‘come’ while allowing for enough flexibility to capture e.g. the behaviour of roots like $\sqrt{\text{smält}}$. In other words, the empirical question is how predictable the argument structure of a verb is, and how variable.

The question of category features has a bearing also on our understanding of cross-linguistic variation and change in argument structure. In Present-Day Danish and older Swedish, *komma* has also transitive uses; see the Danish example in (2:65) and the Old Swedish example in (2:66).

- (2:65) Man kommer to dråber i en skål varmt vand
one comes two drops in a bowl warm water
 ‘One puts two drops in a bowl of warm water.’
 (Google)
- (2:66) Þá iohannes hafþe komit mæsta del af asia tel cristendoms.
when John had come most part of Asia to Christianity
 ‘when John had christened most of Asia’
 (Leg c. 1300:154)

If lexical items lack syntactic features, a change in selectional properties or variability in argument structure could only be due to a change in the encyclopaedic content of the item. If instead we assume that lexical items have category features that determine the possible structures they can appear in, it is not (changes in) the restrictions on the occurrence of lexical items in structures that need to be explained, but (changes in) the variability. If the category features are semantically motivated, a change in argument structure must still correlate with a change in the encyclopaedic content of the item.

In the next section, I consider some diagnostics for unaccusativity that rely on the fact that verbs cannot freely occur in all kinds of structures. As we will see in the following chapters, we can to a large extent predict what kind of participles a verb can form, on the basis of the properties of the verb. To do so, we must specify what the relevant properties of an individual verb (or group of verbs) are. In other words, the relevant semantics of the verbs must be specified in some suitably abstract and general way. This can be done either by assuming that lexical items carry syntactically active features (i.e. category features), or by means of diacritics that determine class membership (as in e.g. Embick & Halle 2005 and Julien 2007). Following Ramchand (2008a), I will take the former stance and assume that verbs carry (combinations of) category features which determine what structures they can appear in and what interpretation they have. Note that it is possible to assume that lexical items carry category features without having a lexical module with its own operations and rules. By assuming that participles are syntactically formed, we predict that the syntactically relevant features of verbs will have an effect on the properties of the participle and on the possibility of forming a particular participle from a given verb.

The question of category features is independent of the question of what the relevant categories are. Even if roots are not lexically specified for category membership in Distributed Morphology, the lexical categories (can) still play a part in the analysis; the (functional) elements *v*, *n*, *a* and *p* can be attached to a root and turn it into a verb, noun, adjec-

tive or preposition, respectively, as in the case with *up* in (2:61) above. Josefsson (1998) analyses Swedish past participles as adjectives, albeit with internal structure. Another option would be to let participles belong to a particular category (participle). A full account must in either way specify what constitutes a category, in order to make it more than a label. Josefsson (1998) ties the categories to semantic notions like *property* or *event*. Baker (2003) instead argues that the category corresponds to syntactic configuration: verbs but not adjectives have a specifier.²³ In this thesis, I explore the possibility that the properties of participles are a consequence of combinations of functional elements (Tense, Aspect, Voice and verbal structure) and not a particular categorial element (an adjectival or participial head). I return to the consequences of this approach in chapter 11 below.

2.4. Unaccusatives and the structure of events

In section 2.2 above, I noted that participles can have the same argument structure as verbs. Moreover, whether past participles have an active or a passive reading depends on the properties of the verb; unaccusative verbs but not unergative and transitive verbs have active participles in the complement of BE in the Germanic languages. In this section, I introduce some central notions concerning verb phrase structure. Since much of the discussion in the following chapters concerns active participles in the complement of BE, the group of unaccusative verbs are of importance; therefore I start by considering the distinguishing properties of these verbs in section 2.4.1.²⁴ Section 2.4.2 outlines the verb phrase structure that will be assumed in the following chapters.

2.4.1. Unaccusatives and unergatives

One of the standard diagnostics used to distinguish unaccusative from unergative verbs is passivization. Unaccusative verbs like *vissna* ‘wilt’ and *gulna* ‘turn yellow’ cannot occur in impersonal passives, whereas

²³ See Thuren (2006, 2008) for a discussion of the category of Swedish present participles.

²⁴ The discussion is limited to intransitive verbs, leaving aside transitive verbs with unaccusative behaviour (see Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Pesetsky 1995, Bennis 2004 among many others). For an overview, see Alexiadou et al. (2004a) and references cited there.

unergative verbs like *sova* ‘sleep’ and *dansa* ‘dance’ can; cf. (2:67) and (2:68).²⁵

- (2:67) a. *Det vissnas i vasen.
there wilt.PRES.PASS in the.vase
 b. *Det gulnas i träden.
there turns.yellow.PASS in the.trees
- (2:68) a. Nu sovs det på mötet igen.
now sleeps.PASS there at the.meeting again
 ‘Now there are people sleeping at the meeting again.’
 b. På sommaren dansas det på bryggan (av alla och envar).
in the.summer dance.PRES.PASS there on the.wharf by all and each
 ‘In summer, each and everyone dances on the wharf.’

Similarly, unaccusative verbs do not form passive participles but have active past participles in e.g. prenominal position and postnominal reduced relatives; cf. (2:69) and (2:70).

- (2:69) a. de redan vissnade blommorna
the already wilted flowers
 ‘the already wilted flowers’
 b. en fallen ängel
a fallen angel
 ‘a fallen angel’
 c. de nyligen hitkomna gästerna
the recently here.come guests
 ‘the guests who recently came here’
- (2:70) a. blommorna, nyligen inköpta men redan vissnade
the.flowers recently in.bought but already wilted
 ‘the flowers that were bought recently but already have wilted’
 b. ärkeängeln, fallen i onåd
the.archangel fallen in disgrace
 ‘the archangel who fell in disgrace’
 c. gästerna, hitkomna från Stockholm med buss
the.guests here.come from Stockholm by bus
 ‘the guests who arrived from Stockholm by bus’

²⁵ In Swedish, impersonal passives are generally formed with the morphological passive. In Norwegian and Danish, on the other hand, the periphrastic passive is used (for Norwegian, see Áfarli 1992:101–103).

Unergative verbs do not occur in prenominal position or reduced relatives unless they modify the correspondence to a cognate object and have a passive reading; cf. (2:71) and (2:72).

- (2:71) a. *en dansad pojke
 a danced boy
 b. *en levd person
 a lived person

- (2:72) a. en dansad vals
 a danced waltz
 ‘a danced waltz’
 b. ett levt liv
 a lived life
 ‘a lived life’

In languages with a split auxiliary system, unaccusative verbs like *arrive* form perfects with BE, while unergative verbs like *sleep* have perfects with HAVE; see the Danish examples in (2:73). Note that in Danish, BE is not only possible in perfects with unaccusative verbs, but obligatory.

- (2:73) a. Peter *har/er ankommet.
 Peter has/is arrived
 ‘Peter has arrived.’
 b. Ole har/*er sovet.
 Ole has/is slept
 ‘Ole has slept.’
 (Bjerre & Bjerre 2007:7)

Also in Swedish, where the perfect auxiliary is HAVE independently of the type of predicate, some unaccusatives can form active perfect-like constructions with BE, while unergatives never do; cf. the unaccusative in (2:74a) and the unergative in (2:74b).

- (2:74) a. Deltagarna var redan anlända.
 the.participants were already arrived
 ‘The participants had already arrived.’
 b. *Han var redan arbetat/arbetad.
 he was already work.SUP/work.PTC.C.SG
 Intended: ‘He had already worked.’

The differences between unaccusatives and unergatives is standardly explained by the Unaccusative Hypothesis, which states that the subject of an unaccusative verb is generated as an internal argument, whereas the subject of an unergative verb is a subject on all levels of representa-

tion; see the structures in (2:75) (see Perlmutter 1978, Burzio 1986 and many others).²⁶

- (2:75) a. Unergative: *Lisa dances*
 [_{VP} DP V]
 b. Unaccusative: *Lisa arrives.*
 [_{VP} V [DP]]

The base position of the subject correlates with its theta role: the subject of unaccusatives carries the role Theme, whereas unergatives take agentive subjects. A standard assumption is that passive formation involves the demotion of the external argument; since unaccusatives lack external argument, they do not passivize.

As pointed out by e.g. Hoekstra & Mulder (1990:6), telic and atelic intransitives behave differently with regard to auxiliary selection; that is, the choice of auxiliary in perfects depends on whether the event has a natural end-point or not. As noted already by Paul (1902), the choice of auxiliary in e.g. Dutch and German also depends on telicity; cf. the Dutch examples in (2:76a), which is atelic and requires the auxiliary HAVE, and (2:76b), which is telic and degraded with HAVE.

- (2:76) a. Hij heeft/*is gelopen.
 he has/is run
 ‘He has run.’
 b. Hij [?]heeft/is naar huis gelopen.
 he has/is to home run
 ‘He has run home.’
 (Zaenen 1988:136)

More generally, variable behaviour verbs tend to behave like unaccusatives when they have a telic reading (e.g. when they are modified by a Goal PP), and like unergatives when they are atelic. For instance, a verb like *resa* ‘travel’ can only have an active participle in a reduced relative when it has a telic reading; see (2:77).

- (2:77) a. en pojke, hitrest från Stockholm med två-tåget
 a boy here.travelled from Stockholm with two-the.train
 ‘a boy who has come here from Stockholm with the two-train’
 b. *en pojke, kringrest i Europa i flera år
 a boy around.travelled in Europe for several years

²⁶ In minimalist accounts where the external argument is assumed to be generated in spec-*v*, the distinction between unergatives and unaccusatives is often understood as depending on the properties of *v* or on the presence/absence of *v*.

It has sometimes been argued that telicity is in fact the crucial property for unaccusativity (see e.g. Tenny 1994 and van Hout 2004; cf. also Paul 1902:166). For Tenny (1994), telicity is a consequence of the presence of an internal argument (a delimiting direct object); the Aktionsart of unaccusatives is therefore due to the base position of the subject, and the Unaccusative Hypothesis can thus be maintained.

By now, it is well known that the same diagnostics for unaccusativity cannot be applied to all languages and that certain verbs may be unaccusative according to one diagnostic and unergative according to another also within the same language. As we will see below, not all unaccusatives behave the same when BE becomes more restricted in Swedish. In Present-Day Swedish, only a smaller group of the verbs that have active prenominal participles can occur in the complement of BE; cf. (2:78a) and (2:78b).

- (2:78) a. det nyligen kallnade kaffet
the recently cooled coffee
 'the coffee that recently cooled down'
 b. *Kaffet är nyligen kallnat.
the.coffee is recently cooled

In older Swedish, on the other hand, a larger group of verbs could occur in the complement of BE than are (presently) possible in prenominal position; cf. (2:79) and (2:80) with the verb *fara* 'go'.

- (2:79) athy [at I] ware faren aff Westeraars til Stocholm.
that.you were gone from Västerås to Stockholm
 'that you were gone from Västerås to Stockholm.'
 (Siggesson a. 1500:15)

- (2:80) a. ??en till Stockholm faren pojke
a to Stockholm gone boy
 'a boy who has gone to Stockholm'
 b. ??en pojke faren från Stockholm med två-tåget
a boy gone from Stockholm with two-the.train
 'a boy who left Stockholm with the two o'clock train'

In the Scandinavian languages, some of the verbs that have active participles in prenominal position and postnominal reduced relatives are marginally possible in impersonal passives; see the examples in (2:81) which are grammatical on an iterative reading. Impersonal passives of telic variable behaviour verbs are less marked; cf. (2:82).

- (2:81) a. Det koms och gick hela dagen.
there come.PRET.PASS and go.PRET.PASS all the.day
 ‘People were coming and going all day.’
- b. Det fölls på isen (och skrattades).
there fall.PRET.PASS on the.ice and laugh.PRET.PASS
 ‘People were falling on the ice (and laughing).’
- (2:82) Det seglades till andra kontinenter och det
there sail.PRET.PASS to other continents and there
 gick genom djungler
walk.PRET.PASS through jungles
 ‘People sailed to other continents and walked through jungles.’
 (Google)

Icelandic is more liberal; cf. the impersonal passives with *fara* ‘go’ in (2:83) and (2:84) (and see Thráinsson 2007:267ff., and references cited there).

- (2:83) Það var farið snemma af stað.
there was gone early from place
 ‘People left early.’
 (Thráinsson 2007:268)
- (2:84) Svo eftir það var farið í smáralind
so after that was gone in Smáralind
 ‘So after that, people went to Smáralind’
 (Google)

I return to impersonal passives and the mismatches in the diagnostics of unaccusativity in chapter 7 below. As we will see, neither (non)agentivity nor (a)telicity necessarily distinguish the two groups of verbs. Given the mismatches in diagnostics, it is also clear that both groups are syntactically heterogeneous.

In the following chapters, the term *unaccusative* is used to refer to change of location verbs like *arrive* and change of state verbs like *break* and *wilt*; I include variable behaviour verbs in telic contexts (e.g. *travel to Stockholm*) when nothing else is said.²⁷ These are the verbs that have

²⁷ *Frysa* ‘freeze’ is only included among the unaccusatives when it denotes a change of state, and not when it expresses a persistent situation. Only in the former case is transitivity possible; cf. (i) and (ii).

- (i) a. Vattnet fryser.
the.water freezes
- b. Hon fryser vattnet.
she freezes the.water

active participles in the complement of BE in Old Swedish; in Present-Day Swedish, only a few of them still do; cf. the Old Swedish example in (2:85) and the ungrammatical present-day example in (2:86) (and see further below chapter 5 and 7).

(2:85) Herra Iwan ær ater vordhin stark
 Sir Ivan is again become strong
 ‘Sir Ivan has become strong again.’
 (Ivan c.1303:2509)

(2:86) *Ivan är återigen bliven stark.
 Ivan is again become strong

Other intransitives (e.g. *work, dance, exist*) are referred to as unergative; these include also the copula BE (but see chapter 7, section 7.6) and semelfactives like *hicka* ‘hickup’.

2.4.2. Ramchand’s First Phase Syntax

As pointed out in section 2.3 above, the challenge for a theory of argument structure is to capture both the variability in the behaviour of verbs and the restrictions on verbs that underlie e.g. the distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs. For instance, the argument structure of an unergative verb like *dansa* ‘dance’ is rather flexible, and although *dansa* is generally taken to be an intransitive and unergative verb, it is not incompatible with transitive structures; some of the possibilities are illustrated in (2:87) below (cf. Áfarli 2007). The transitive structures in (2:87c-d) have passive versions; see (2:88).

(2:87) a. Han dansade.
 he danced
 ‘He danced.’
 b. Han dansade hela vägen hem.
 he danced whole the.way home
 ‘He danced the whole way home.’

(ii) a. Lisa fryser.
 Lisa freezes
 ‘Lisa is cold.’
 b. * Hon fryser Lisa.
 she freezes Lisa
 Intended: ‘She is making Lisa feel cold.’

- c. Han dansade en vals.
he danced a waltz
 ‘He danced a waltz.’
- d. Han dansade henne till dörren.
he danced her to the.door
 ‘He danced her to the door.’
- (2:88) a. Idag dansades det bara vals.
today dance.PRET.PASS there only waltz
 ‘Today, only waltz was danced.’
- b. Hon dansades till dörren.
she dance.PRET.PASS to the.door
 ‘She was danced to the door.’

As noted, not all verbs are equally flexible. For instance, the unaccusative verb *komma* disallows transitive structures; cf. (2:89a) and (2:89b).

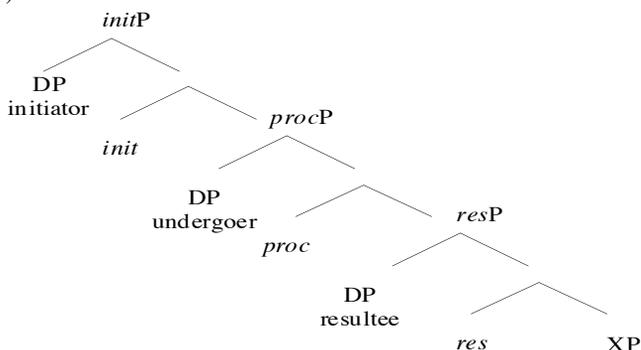
- (2:89) a. Han kom till affären.
he came to the.store
 ‘He came to the store.’
- b. *Hon kom honom till affären.
she came him to the.store

It is well known that variability in argument structure correlates with variation in a range of syntactic properties (relating to e.g. participle formation, passivization, auxiliary selection), as well as with variability in interpretation. As we saw above, variable behaviour verbs form perfects with BE in Dutch, when they occur with a PP or particle that provides a telos, but with HAVE in the absence of such. On its transitive use, the verb *smälta* ‘melt’ has a causative reading; on its intransitive use, it does not. In line with much current work, I take these systematic variations in argument structure and interpretation to be syntactically derived (see in particular Hale & Keyser 1993a). More generally, I assume that the regular and predictable semantics of an eventuality is a direct consequence of syntactic structure, and that the interpretation depends on syntactic structure in combination with the encyclopaedic content of the lexical items and the context. The particular approach to verb phrase structure that will be employed in the following is that developed by Ramchand (2008a), which has previously been used to account for a range of phenomena (see e.g. Ramchand & Svenonius 2002 on particles, Butt & Ramchand 2005 on complex predicates in Hindi/Urdu, Wiklund 2007 on pseudocoordination, Lundquist 2009 on nominalizations and participles, and Svenonius 2006 on case). As we will see, this system, which explicitly ties a binary-branching syntactic

structure to semantic interpretation, has some success in accounting for the properties of past participles and the different behaviour of different groups of verbs.

Ramchand argues that the verb phrase can be decomposed into three parts that correspond to three subeventualities of an event: *initP* represents the initial or causing state, *procP* the process or transition part of the event and *resP* the target state.²⁸ The structure of a full verb phrase is given in (2:90).²⁹

(2:90)



All the heads in the verb phrase require a filled specifier. The DP licensed in spec-*init* (the so-called external argument) is interpreted as *Initiator*, the DP in spec-*proc* is *Undergoer* (the entity that undergoes the change or process) while the DP in spec-*res* is *Resultee* (the entity of which the target state is predicated). The same DP can be merged in several positions; no Theta Criterion is assumed.

Consider the example in (2:91) with the verb *förstöra* ‘destroy’. The Initiator, Frida, causes the event to happen, while the lamp is directly

²⁸ I use Ramchand’s terminology, although it is somewhat unfortunate, since *resP* introduces a *target state* and not a *resultant state* in the sense of Parsons 1990 (see chapter 6 below).

²⁹ In the following, I often give a simplified representation of structures, using square brackets. When DPs are not relevant for the discussion, only the label and the head will be included in the representation; the verbal heads always have a specifier with a DP argument. The structure in (2:90) will therefore often be represented as in (i) or (ii) below.

(i) [_{initP} DP *init* [_{procP} DP *proc* [_{resP} DP *res* [XP]]]]

(ii) [_{initP} *init* [_{procP} *proc* [_{resP} *res*]]]

affected by the event and ends up in the state of being destroyed. In other words, the direct object of *destroy* is both Undergoer and Resultee.

- (2:91) Frida förstörde lampan.
Frida destroyed the.lamp
 ‘Frida destroyed the lamp.’

The Initiator-role is more general than the role Agent, and need not be animate (Ramchand 2008a:52; cf. Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2000). The subject of transitive *smälta* ‘melt’ is Initiator in both (2:92a) and (2:92b).

- (2:92) a. Frida smälte isen.
Frida melted the.ice
 ‘Frida melted the ice.’
 b. Solen smälte isen.
the.sun melted the.ice
 ‘The sun melted the ice.’

The projections are always ordered as in (2:90), but they do not all need to be present, and they are only present when they can be identified by being associated with lexical material. For instance, whereas *förstöra* ‘destroy’ identifies a target state, a verb like *skriva* ‘write’ in examples like (2:93) does not. As we will see in chapter 6 below, *resP* is only one of the possible complements of *proc*, and *procP* only one of the possible complements of *initP*; *procP* can also take small clause, PP or DP complements. However, the heads *init*, *proc* and *res* are primitives in the system, and they introduce separate subeventualities which together form the complex event (cf. Ramchand & Svenonius 2002).³⁰

- (2:93) Han skriver.
he writes
 ‘He writes.’

The semantics of the verbal heads is dependent on their syntactic position. Taken by itself, *initP* does not encode causativity; it is interpreted as a causative state only when it is combined with a *procP*. Similarly, *resP* only expresses a target state of following from an event when it is in the complement of a *proc* head. The *proc* head introduces eventive semantics; a *procP* is therefore not included in the structure of stative verbs. I refer to Ramchand (2008a:42ff.) for the precise semantics.

³⁰ The complement of *res* does not appear to be a possible argument position. I have no explanation for this.

To account for restrictions on argument structure, Ramchand assumes that verbs are lexically specified for a combination of the category features *init*, *proc* and *res* corresponding to the three verbal heads, and that these features determine the possible positions where the item can be inserted.³¹ An item with an *init* feature can associate with *init* in the verb phrase, and identify the content of the initial state; an item with a *proc* feature can associate with *proc* and an item with a *res* feature can associate with *res* and identify the target state. The same lexical item can associate with several positions, if it carries more than one category feature (2008a:57f.).³² The verb *skriva* in (2:93) carries an *init* and a *proc* feature, but not a *res* feature; hence, it identifies an initial state and a process event, but no target state.

The lexical items also impose a restriction on the coindexing of its arguments; this accounts for the fact that some verbs are obligatorily intransitive, and other verbs necessarily transitive. The item *förstöra* is lexically specified for the features *init*, *proc* and *res*, and requires the same argument to be both Undergoer and Resultee. That is, the verb *förstöra* appears in a transitive, causative structure, defines a target state, and takes an object DP which undergoes the destruction, and which holds the target state of being destroyed; consider the lexical entry and structure in (2:94); the identity of two DPs is marked by coindexing of the category features.

(2:94) Lexical entry for *förstöra* ‘destroy’: [init, proc_i, res_i]
 [_{initP} DP_j förstöra [_{procP} DP_i förstöra [_{resP} DP_i förstöra]]]

In other words, a child that acquires a verb like *förstöra* learns that it appears in a certain (transitive) structure, and, while doing so, that it involves the three subeventualities and that the subject referent causes the object referent to undergo a process and end up in a state.

Consider now the unaccusative verb *anlända* in (2:95).

³¹ Ramchand argues that the features are “in principle *interpretable*, since they are the features that trigger the semantics of event composition and are required for the proper interpretation of the first phase syntactic structure” (2008:58).

³² Following standard minimalist assumptions, I assume that lexical items can be inserted or merged/remerged in several positions. For the purposes of this thesis, the question of lexical insertion is not crucial (for discussion, see Ramchand 2008a and references cited there; cf. also Lundquist 2009). Since it is generally not important what positions are realized, I do not represent the highest instance in any particular way; when the full clause is built up, little lexical material will be realized within the verb phrase.

- (2:95) Han anlände klockan två.
he arrived the.clock two
 ‘He arrived at two o’clock.’

Like *förstöra* ‘destroy’, the lexical item *anlända* carries all three category features, and therefore expresses an initial state, a transition and a target state (see further chapter 6 and 7). However, unlike *förstöra*, *anlända* requires the same DP to be merged in all three specifier positions, and it is therefore obligatorily intransitive. The syntactically relevant information of the lexical entry and the verb phrase structure are given in (2:96).³³

- (2:96) Lexical entry for *anlända* ‘arrive’: [*init*_i, *proc*_i, *res*_i] [*init*P DP_i anlända [*proc*P DP_i anlända [*res*P DP_i anlända]]]

Since the category verb under this account is split in three, and since the Theta Criterion is discarded, the system is more flexible than more traditional accounts; it can therefore capture (some of) the variations in the behaviour of intransitive verbs, and it allows for more than two groups of intransitives (cf. e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2004). As we will see, this gives us a way of making predictions regarding the properties of participial constructions based on the properties of the participial verb and its feature specification. The framework provides a middle way between a lexical and a syntactic account of verb phrase structure, while still keeping the semantic base for the distinctions between the groups of verbs. Thus, it resolves (or rather dissolves) the question of whether the distinctions are semantic, lexical or syntactic (cf. e.g. van Valin 1990, Levin & Rappaport Hovav 1995, Borer 1998:62); all three approaches are partly right and add something to the understanding of verbs, and they are not mutually exclusive.

From the assumption that lexical items carry the category features *init*, *proc* and *res* it does not follow that verbs are necessarily marked as transitive, unergative or unaccusative in the lexicon. For instance, nothing excludes that an item which lacks e.g. an *init* feature appears in a causative and transitive structure, but, then, in the complement of a (zero) *init* morpheme (given that the language has such a morpheme). English presumably has a silent *init* head, and change of state verbs like

³³ The requirement of coindexed arguments specified in the lexical entry cannot be satisfied by a reflexive (at least not in the Germanic languages); cf. (i) which is ungrammatical.

- (i) *Han ankom sig klockan två.
he arrived REFL the.clock two

grow can therefore be transitivized without an overt change in morphology (see Ramchand 2008a:86f.).³⁴ The lexical item *break* has the category features *proc* and *res*; see (2:97). In the intransitive structure in (2:98a), there is no initial state and no Initiator, whereas in (2:98b), the abstract *init* morpheme identifies the initial state and an external argument is licensed.

(2:97) Lexical entry for *break*: [*proc*_i, *res*_i]

- (2:98) a. The vase broke.
 [*proc*_P the vase broke [*res*_P the vase broke]]
 b. She broke the vase.
 [*init*_P she ∅ [*proc*_P the vase broke [*res*_P the vase broke]]]

Moreover, verbs like *grow* or *dance* carry a *proc* feature, but no *res* feature, and the complement of *proc* is not specified in the lexical entry of the verb. In this way, the flexibility with regard to complementation illustrated in (2:87) above can be accounted for.

Ramchand assumes that lexical items can sometimes spell out a structure which does not include all the heads for which it is specified, i.e., items can have unlinked (underassociated) category features. For underassociation to be possible, the unlinked feature must be independently identified by some item in the verb phrase and the lexical content of the two items is unified (see further Ramchand 2008a:98, 135). This can for instance be the case in verb–particle constructions where both the verb and the particle carry *res* features, as in e.g. *break off* in (2:99) below (cf. Ramchand & Svenonius 2002). Here, the *res* feature of *break* can be underassociated (i.e. not associated with the *res* head) since the

³⁴ In Swedish, few verbs can be transitivized without a change in morphology; *smälta* ‘melt’ is one of these. There is, however, evidence for an *init* morpheme (corresponding to the old suffix *-ia*) in the change in the vowel of the stem (umlaut) in examples like *falla* ‘fall’ in (i), and *fälla* ‘fell’ in (ii).

(i) Trädet faller.
 the.tree falls
 ‘The tree is falling.’

(ii) Hon fäller träd.
 she fells trees
 ‘She is felling trees.’

Historically, also the causative and the inchoative uses of *smälta* can be assumed to correspond to two different verb forms, the former with weak inflection (pres. *smälta*, pret. *smälte*), the latter with strong inflection (pres. *smälta*, pret. *smalt*).

particle identifies *res*; in (2:99), the handle ends up in the state specified by *off*, and it does not necessarily become broken.

(2:99) John broke off the handle.
 (Ramchand 2008a:135)

In the following chapters, I will assume that category features can be underassociated also without the presence of items that can identify them, but that this has both morphological and interpretive consequences. Specifically, I will assume that certain stative participles involve verbs with underassociated features. The participial stativizer aborts the derivation of the verb phrase at some level (to be specified in the following); participles can therefore involve truncated verb phrases.

2.5. Concluding remarks

In this chapter, I have introduced a distinction between past and perfect participles which will be important in the following chapters; the former include participles that are active or passive depending on verb type. Among the perfect participles, I also include the Swedish supine. Since the development of the perfect (participle) presumably is tied to the verbal properties of participles, adjectival participles and the properties associated with these will not be discussed further. The fact that many constructions with an auxiliary + past participles convey that the participial event is anterior to the time of the auxiliary will, on the other hand, be important.

In the second part of the chapter, I introduced the distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs and an approach to verb phrase structure. Following Ramchand (2008a), I assume that lexical items (verbs) carry syntactic information which determines in what structures they occur. The more detailed investigation of the construction with BE + participles of unaccusative verbs in chapter 5 and 7 and the analysis of participle structure developed in chapter 8 provide a testing ground for the hypothesis that lexical items carry (the suggested combinations of) category features. Further details of the framework will be given when relevant. When the precise composition of the verb phrase is irrelevant for the discussion, the verb phrase will be summarized as VP.

While verbs carry lexical information relating to event structure, they are not lexically specified for tense or aspect. In the following chapters, I will pursue the idea that the verb phrase is the domain for spatial construal, and that the relations between verbal heads and their arguments

are spatial and not temporal (see Ramchand 2008a; cf. also e.g. Guéron 2008, Gehrke & Grillo 2009). Temporal semantics is introduced in the domain above the verb phrase (the T-domain), which I will assume is also (at least) tripartite (including T, Asp and Voice). As with verbal structure, not all heads in the T-domain need to be included in a given derivation, with interpretational and morphological consequences. The T-domain, and the perfect tense, is the topic of the next chapter.

3. Tense, aspect and perfect

This thesis aims at a better understanding of the historical development of the perfect. In this chapter, the focus is on the very end-point of this development: the perfect tense. I establish a framework for tense and aspect and an account of the perfect tense that will be used in the diachronic investigations in the following chapters.

There is a vast literature and a wide variety of semantic and syntactic formalizations on tense and aspect. Here, a comprehensive investigation of the semantics of tense and aspect would lead too far afield; consequently, the discussion is limited to giving a necessary background to the historical study. I take central aspects of tense-aspect and temporal interpretation to be determined by independent syntactic principles; following e.g. Zagona (1995, 2007), Stowell (1996, 2007) and Demir-dache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2007), tenses are understood as predicates of temporal ordering which take time-denoting expressions as their arguments.³⁵

The main aim of the chapter is to establish an analysis of the perfect tense that accounts for its syntax and semantics; one problem in previous analyses of the perfect has been to reconcile its semantics with a plausible syntactic structure.³⁶ I build the account of the perfect on the Extended-Now analysis in Iatridou, Anagnostopoulou & Izvorski (2001) and Pancheva (2003), but argue for a biclausal account of the perfect where the Extended-Now is a consequence of the interaction between the (finite) tense of the matrix clause, the non-finite tense of the participle, and the auxiliary HAVE. In this way, it is possible to account for the otherwise puzzling restrictions on positional past time adverbials in the present perfect. Despite the varying properties of perfects in the present-day Germanic languages, I assume that there is reason to talk about one perfect tense, common to all the languages.

³⁵ Zagona presents an early account in an unpublished manuscript from 1990.

³⁶ For an overview of the problems relating to the perfect, see Alexiadou et al. (2003a).

Section 3.2 introduces the perfect tense and the Reichenbachian framework. In section 3.3, I present a general account of tense and aspect, and argue for a biclausal analysis of the perfect tense. Sections 3.3 and 3.4 discuss the semantics of the perfect and the restriction on positional past time adverbials. The chapter ends with a brief excursus on the tense of infinitives and a note on the so-called inferential perfect. First, a terminological clarification is in order.

3.1. Terminology

The syntactic-semantic notion (grammatical or outer) *aspect* is not to be confused with morphological aspect. I use the terms *unbounded* and *bounded* aspect to refer to the aspectual values that can be realized as imperfective and perfective morphology, respectively.³⁷ Swedish does not distinguish perfective and imperfective verb forms, but still makes a semantic distinction between bounded and unbounded aspect. For instance, the example in (3:1a) expresses unbounded aspect, while the example in (3:1b) illustrates bounded aspect, although there is no difference in morphology.³⁸

- (3:1) a. Han duschade i åtminstone tjugo minuter.
 he showered for at.least twenty minutes
 b. Han duschade på tio minuter.
 he showered in ten minutes

In English, the distinction is morphologically marked; cf. (3:2). In this thesis, questions pertaining to morphological aspect are largely disregarded.

- (3:2) a. He was showering for at least twenty minutes.
 b. He showered in ten minutes.

Importantly, boundedness is distinct from perfect; the former is an aspect, the latter, I argue, is a tense. As we will see, the perfect tense may

³⁷ When explicitly referring to values of features, I use capitals, as in [BOUNDED], [UNBOUNDED] and [PAST].

³⁸ In Swedish, *in*-adverbials have the preposition *på* ‘on’, whereas *for*-adverbials have *i* ‘in’. For clarity, I gloss *på* as ‘in’ and *i* as ‘for’ and refer to these adverbials as *in*-adverbials and *for*-adverbials, respectively, independently of the language under discussion.

involve bounded aspect, but it need not. Precisely how I understand (un)boundedness will be made clear below.

Outer aspect should not be confused with *Aktionsart*, which concerns the type of eventuality involved.³⁹ Following e.g. Platzack (1979), aspect and *Aktionsart* will be kept strictly apart: the first relates to how the eventuality is connected to a temporal structure, the latter concerns its internal structure. Here, *Aktionsart* (event structure) is understood in terms of spatial and not temporal relations. This does, however, not mean that there is no interaction between the two. On the contrary, there clearly are correlations between aspectual interpretations and *Aktionsart* (see chapter 6 below).

3.2. Introduction to the perfect

Like the simple past sentence in (3:3), the present perfect in (3:4) states that there is an event of Frida eating an apple prior to speech time. In other words, both the perfect tense and the simple past involve temporal anteriority in some sense.⁴⁰

(3:3) Frida åt ett äpple.
Frida ate an apple
 'Frida ate an apple.'

(3:4) Frida har ätit ett äpple.
Frida has eaten an apple
 'Frida has eaten an apple.'

Whereas the past tense is compatible with positional past time adverbials like *yesterday* or *last week*, the present perfect is not, at least not in

³⁹ The term *Aktionsart* refers to what is often also called *lexical* or *inner aspect*. Since I take also the type of eventuality to be partly syntactically determined, I avoid the term *lexical aspect*.

⁴⁰ In Swedish, also a simple present tense can appear to involve a temporal interval that stretches from the present into the past; see (i).

(i) Hon är sjuk sedan igår.
she is sick since yesterday
 'She has been sick since yesterday.'

According to von Stechow (2002), this possibility is due to the meaning of the adverbial, and not to the present tense; the present tense never stretches into the past. I leave this and the so-called historical present aside.

languages like English and Swedish.⁴¹ In German, on the other hand, there is no such restriction; cf. Swedish in (3:5), English in (3:6), and German in (3:7).

- (3:5) a. Frida åt ett äpple igår/förra veckan.
Frida ate an apple yesterday/last week
 b. *Frida har ätit ett äpple igår/förra veckan.
Frida has eaten an apple yesterday/last week
- (3:6) a. Frida ate an apple yesterday/last week.
 b. *Frida has eaten an apple yesterday/last week.
- (3:7) a. Er arbetete gestern.
he worked yesterday
 'He worked yesterday.'
 b. Er hat gestern gearbeitet.
he has yesterday worked
 'He worked yesterday.' (Present perfect)

This restriction on positional past time adverbials in languages like English and Swedish is sometimes called the present perfect puzzle (see Klein 1992).

The perfect tense is often said to express the relevance of a past event to a later time (see e.g. Comrie 1976:52, Dahl 1985). Compare the simple past (3:8a) with the past perfect in (3:8b).

- (3:8) a. At two o'clock, Frida ate an apple.
 b. At two o'clock, Frida had eaten an apple.

Both the simple past and the past perfect are compatible with a positional past time adverbial (*at two o'clock*). However, while in the simple past the adverbial necessarily gives the time of the eating event, in the past perfect it can also specify a time to which the eating is anterior. In this way, the past perfect involves three times: the moment of speech

⁴¹ I disregard examples like (i) which are possible in Swedish (with an iterative reading).

(i) Jag har simmat i bassängen kl. 12, kl. 15 och kl. 18.
I have swum in the pool the clock 12 the clock 15 and the clock 18
 'I swam in the pool at noon, at three o'clock and at six o'clock.'
 (SAG 1999, 4:237)

Also the so-called inferential reading where the present perfect allows positional past time adverbials (see e.g. Falk 2002, Rothstein 2005, 2008) is disregarded here. I return to this reading in section 3.6.2 below.

(after two o'clock), the time of the eating event (prior to two o'clock) and a third time (two o'clock). Reichenbach (1947) terms this third time the *reference time*.⁴²

Reichenbach argues that also the simple tenses involve relations between three points in time: the time of speech (S), the time of the eventuality (E), and a reference time (R). Whereas the simple past places both E and R prior to S, the perfect tense states that the event time is prior to R and S, which coincide in a present perfect. The present tense properties of the present perfect are in this way dependent on the coincidence of R and S; the past tense properties depend on the anteriority of E with regard to R. Like a present tense, the present perfect is therefore compatible with (some) present tense adverbials; cf. (3:9) and (3:10).

(3:9) Frida has been sleeping for an hour now.

(3:10) Frida har sovit i en timme nu.
Frida has slept for an hour now
 'Frida has been sleeping for an hour now.'

In Swedish, but not in English, the present perfect can also have a future point of reference, just like the present tense; cf. the Swedish example in (3:11) and the corresponding, but infelicitous, English example in (3:12). German patterns with Swedish; cf. (3:13).

(3:11) Nästa vecka har jag läst klart boken.
next week have I read finished the.book
 'Next week, I will have finished reading the book.'

(3:12) #Next week, I have finished reading the book.

(3:13) Nächste Woche habe ich das Buch fertig gelesen.
next week have I the book finished read
 'Next week, I will have finished reading the book.'

In Reichenbach's system, where all tenses involve an ordering between E, R and S, the same morphosyntactic tense can sometimes correspond

⁴² Building on Reichenbach (1947), Vikner (1985) argues that a four-way system is required and introduces a second reference time. As pointed out by Julien (2001), examples that have more than one point of reference also involve more than one clause; cf (i) below.

(i) She promised in November that they would have received her paper by the first day of term.
 (Vikner 1985:91)

to several possible underlying temporal relations. If we instead take tenses to involve two separate relations, one between S and R and one between R and E, the system can be simplified and made to correspond better to the morphosyntactic tenses appearing in natural language (see e.g. Comrie 1985, Vikner 1985, Giorgi & Pianesi 1997). By assuming that there is no direct relation between S and E, we can also capture the fact that examples like (3:14) are vague with regard to the relation between the event time and the speech time; cf. the corresponding Swedish future perfect in (3:15).

(3:14) (I don't know if he has already, but) by the end of next week he will surely have written the paper.
 $E < R \ \& \ S < R$
 (E = the time of writing, R = the end of next week, S = now)

(3:15) (Jag vet inte om han har gjort det redan) men i slutet
I know not if he has done it already but in the end
 av nästa vecka har han säkert skrivit artikeln.
of next week has he surely written the paper
 $E < R \ \& \ S < R$
 (E = the time of writing, R = the end of next week, S = now)

In (3:16), a representation of tenses in the modified Reichenbachian framework is given, together with examples from English and Swedish (cf. e.g. Giorgi & Pianesi 1997:29).⁴³ Note that E and R always coincide in the simple tenses.

- (3:16) The tenses in English and Swedish, in a modified Reichenbachian framework:
- a. Present: $E = R \ \& \ R = S$
 - i. He is happy.
 - ii. Han är glad.
 - b. Simple past: $E = R \ \& \ R < S$
 - i. He was happy.
 - ii. Han var glad.
 - c. Simple future: $E = R \ \& \ S < R$;
 - i. He will be happy.
 - ii. Han kommer att vara glad.

⁴³ Some of the logically possible tenses are not included since they do not correspond to a tense in English and Swedish. I disregard the difference between *will* and *be going to* which sometimes has been analysed as a difference between simple future and prospective future (see e.g. Comrie 1976, Julien 2001).

- d. Present Perfect: $E < R$ & $R = S$
 - i. He has been happy.
 - ii. Han har varit glad.
- e. Past Perfect: $E < R$ & $R < S$
 - i. He had been happy.
 - ii. Han hade varit glad.
- f. Future perfect: $E < R$ & $S < R$
 - i. He will have been happy.
 - ii. Han kommer att ha varit glad.

In the following, I take the event time and the reference time to be intervals and not points in time, as Reichenbach assumes; the advantages will become clear below. In section 3.4, I turn to the semantics of the perfect.

3.3. Temporal-aspectual intervals and the syntax of the perfect

In this section, I introduce the syntax of tense and aspect that will be assumed throughout and propose a biclausal account of the perfect. I argue that the perfect tense is syntactically and semantically more complex than the simple tenses.

3.3.1. *The argument structure of tense and aspect*

In the following, I assume that there is no syntactic element that expresses a reference time in the Reichenbachian sense in the simple tenses. However, neither the complex nor the simple tenses can be fully accounted for simply in terms of the ordering of the time of the event and the time of speech. In the simple past, it is, for example, possible to specify the duration of a temporal interval that contains several instances of an event while independently specifying the duration of the individual events (see Zagana 2007:468); consider the example in (3:17) below.

- (3:17) People voted in three minutes for an hour.
 (Zagana 2007:468)

Here, the adverbial *in three minutes* specifies the time of the individual voting events. The adverbial *for an hour*, on the other hand, specifies an interval of one hour which contains a number of voting events. Following Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2007, 2008), I henceforth refer

to this interval as the *assertion time* (AST) (cf. the Topic Time in Klein 1994). The temporal relations of (3:17) can be illustrated as in (3:18); S is the speech time, and the square brackets represent the assertion time which contains an (indefinite) number of three minute long events of voting, represented as +.

(3:18) —[—+—+—+—+—+—]—S→

The assertion time corresponds neither to the Reichenbachian reference time (which is a point in time that coincides with E in the simple tenses; see (3:16) above) nor to the speech time. Rather, it is the time of which an assertion is made (cf. Klein 1994, Zagona 2007:474 and SAG 1999, 4:211). Consider the example in (3:19) below; it does not state that there is no eventuality of me turning off the stove at any past time, but that there is no such eventuality within a specific, contextually given interval in the past, namely within the assertion time. The eventuality, then, is not directly linked to the speech time, but to an interval which tense places before or after the speech time.

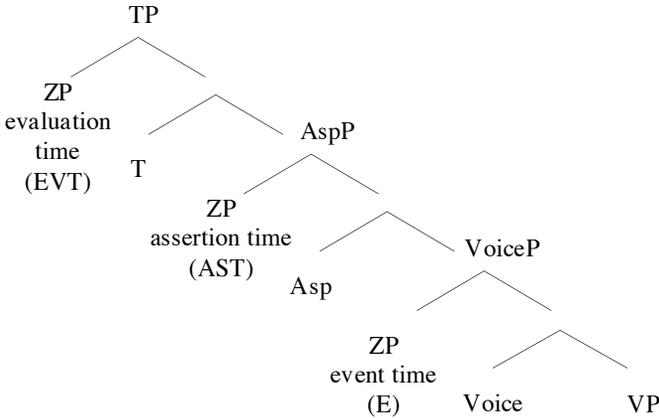
(3:19) I didn't turn off the stove.
 (Partee 1973:602)

Following Zagona (1995, 2007), Stowell (1996) and Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2007), I take tense and aspect to be predicates that establish a relation of order or inclusion between their time-denoting arguments.⁴⁴ In this framework, temporal intervals are thus taken to be present as arguments in the syntactic structure and they can be referred to directly (see e.g. Partee 1984, Kamp & Reyle 1993 and Kratzer 1998 for arguments for a referential approach to tense). In the case of a simple finite clause, tense (T) establishes a relation between the speech time and the assertion time, while an aspectual head (Asp) below T relates the assertion time to the event time which is introduced in a projection which I label VoiceP. Following e.g. Stowell (1996) and Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2007), I represent the temporal arguments as ZPs (Zeit Phrases). The external argument of T corresponds to the speech time in a simple clause, but as we will see, there are cases where it is interpreted as the event time of a higher clause; therefore I

⁴⁴ As argued by Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2000, 2007), the syntax-semantics of temporal prepositions can be assumed to parallel that of tense and aspect (cf. chapter 9, section 9.3.1).

sometimes refer to it as the *evaluation time* (EVT). The basic structure of the T-domain is given in (3:20).⁴⁵

(3:20)



As sketched in chapter 2 above, event structure does not by itself express temporal meaning, but can rather be taken as the domain for spatial construal; it establishes causal or spatial relations. When the verb phrase is related to temporal structure, these spatial relations are interpreted as temporal dependencies. Ramchand (2008a, 2008b) assumes that the event time is established by AspP, via a temporal trace function (in the sense of Krifka 1992, 1998) which maps the eventuality to its run time. In the present account, it is instead VoiceP that binds the event variable and introduces the time variable, while AspP introduces the assertion time and relates it to the event time (cf. Gehrke & Grillo 2009 for a similar suggestion). VoiceP can be viewed as the link between the spatial and the temporal domain. The distinction between AspP and VoiceP will be of some importance for the analysis of participles in chapters 6 and 8 below, as it allows for operations (e.g. stativization) that target the event argument and the event time also in structures that lack AspP. The generic readings in middle constructions and the differ-

⁴⁵ The structure in (3:20) raises questions relating to the position of DPs in the T-domain; for simplicity, I will assume that there can be multiple specifiers. It is possible that temporal arguments (which are always implicit) and temporal relations can only be construed in relation to eventualities and their arguments, and that T, Asp and Voice therefore must be linked to (Agree with) both some verbal structure and a DP.

ence between stage-level and individual-level predicates are presumably also related to the properties of VoiceP; I put these issues aside here.

Whereas tenses (the temporal relations established by TP) can be analysed in terms of order (e.g. \pm before the speech time), I will account for the aspectual relations established by AspP in terms of inclusion: the event time is either included in the assertion time interval or, the other way around, the assertion time is included in the event time interval (see Zagona 2007:467). This view of tense and aspect is fairly standard and largely consistent with the accounts by e.g. Smith (1991) and Klein (1994).

Consider the example in (3:21); + represents the event (E) and the square brackets the assertion time (AST). Past tense places AST anterior to the speech time (S); unbounded aspect, in turn, states that AST is included in the event time. Hence, the sentence in (3:21) states that there is a past time where the event of writing was ongoing. Since the assertion time interval is properly included in the event time, neither the beginning nor the endpoint of the event is asserted (cf. Iatridou et al. 2001:170).

(3:21) She was writing a page (but she didn't finish it).
 ———+#[++]+—S→

Bounded aspect as in (3:22), on the other hand, places the event within the assertion time.⁴⁶ The eventuality can therefore be viewed as a whole (cf. e.g. Smith 1991:3).

(3:22) She wrote a page (#but she didn't finish it).
 ———[—++++—]——S→

The internal structure of the verb phrase opens for several other possible aspects, and the aspectual head can presumably have more specific semantics and pick out only a specific part of the complex event (see e.g. Ramchand 2008b). For the present purposes, the simple distinction between bounded and unbounded aspect suffices (with some additions; see below).

While it is clear that an assertion time is present also in the simple tenses, there is little evidence for a Reichenbachian reference time outside the perfect tense. As we have already seen, an *at*-phrase cannot specify the Reichenbachian reference time in sentences in the simple past tense; instead, an *at*-phrase appears to give the time of the writing

⁴⁶ This is what Zagona (2008) refers to as contained perfectivity.

event (but see section 3.5 below); see (3:23) where Frida's writing takes place at noon. In past perfects, *at*-phrases are ambiguous; cf. (3:24) (see also (3:8) above).

(3:23) Frida wrote a letter at noon.
E(*write*) = noon

(3:24) Frida had written a letter at noon.
i. E(*writing*) = noon
ii. E(*writing*) < noon

Hence, while all tenses involve relations between the speech time, the assertion time and the event time, there is reason to assume that perfects have a more complex temporal structure than the simple tenses do.

3.3.2. *A biclausal perfect*

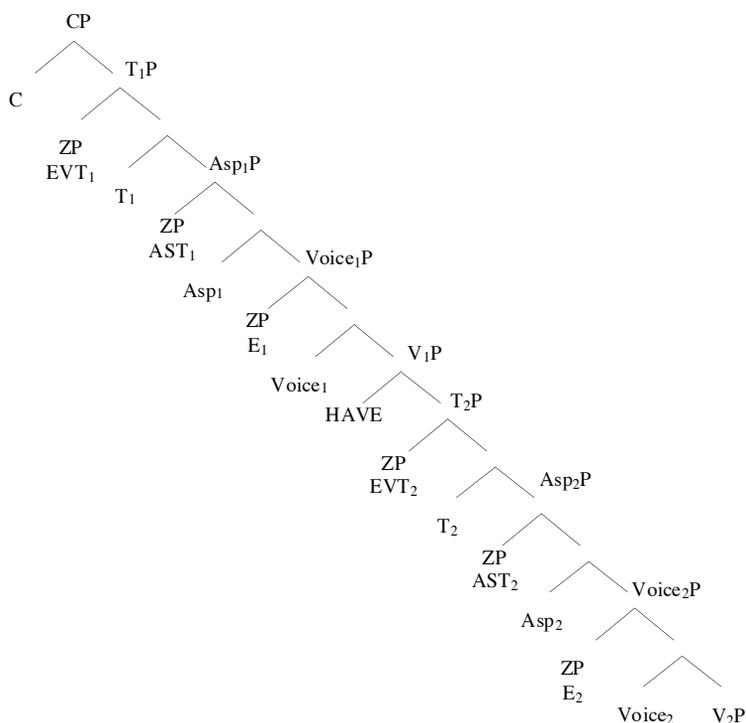
It has often been assumed that perfects are monoclausal, i.e., that the auxiliary in a periphrastic perfect is inserted in a functional head in the extended projection of the main verb (as in e.g. Cinque 1999). In this kind of approach, the perfect is either introduced by a particular temporal or aspectual head, say a Perfect head (as in e.g. Iatridou et al. 2001), or by an aspectual head that can also have the values [BOUNDED] and [UNBOUNDED] (see e.g. Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2007). In the former case, an element is introduced in the syntactic apparatus exclusively for the sake of the perfect, and this element is distinguishable only in the perfect tense. In the latter case, the combination of perfect morphology with other aspectual morphology (e.g. the progressive) requires further explanation (e.g. the assumption that Asp can recur in a clause). I will not discuss this latter alternative further here; it will become clear why the perfect should be kept apart from aspect.

On an account that assumes a perfect phrase, we could (following Cinque 1999) assume that this is present also in non-perfects, or we could take it to be present only when it is licensed by perfect morphology (more in line with the suggestions by e.g. Thráinsson 1996 and Bobaljik & Thráinsson 1998). On the first alternative, we could assume that also the simple tenses involve an additional temporal element, but that it can be identical with, and indistinguishable from, the assertion time established by aspect. In languages that lack a perfect tense, it would never be distinguishable (or the perfect phrase always empty). On this view, the historical development of the perfect is to be understood

as a development of a morphological realisation and a new value of a syntactic-semantic element which is previously present in the language, but never has been spelled out before. Under the second view, languages and constructions could differ with regard to the presence of the perfect phrase, and the historical development could be understood as the emergence of a construction involving a perfect phrase (and perfect morphology) within a language.

In the following, I will argue for an approach that does not assume a particular element in order to account for the perfect tense. Instead, I take the perfect to derive from a combination of independently motivated elements: it involves a reduced biclausal structure with two separate TPs, one introducing a finite tense relating to the speech time, the other introducing a non-finite tense with the value [PAST]. The structure of the present or past perfect is given in (3:25) (only the relevant parts of the structure have been included).

(3:25) The present or past perfect:

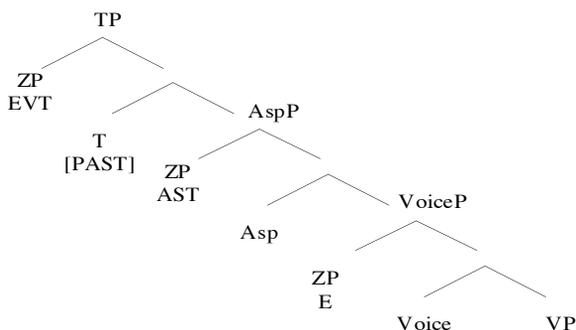


As will be seen, the non-finite past is a relative tense, in the sense that it orders the participial assertion time relative to the matrix event time and not relative to the speech time. In other words, while the external argument (EVT₁) of the finite tense in a matrix clause is interpreted as the speech time, the external argument of the non-finite T (EVT₂) is interpreted in relation to the time of HAVE.⁴⁷ For convenience, I refer to the lower T (T₂) as a non-finite tense, although T is never finite in and of itself; finiteness is always contributed by C (or a head in the C-domain).⁴⁸ Hence, the difference between T₁ and T₂ in the structure in (3:25) is what element it combines with. In this way, the syntax-semantics of the perfect can be derived using pieces that occur also in other constructions, regardless of our assumptions about the functional sequence. Moreover, given that finiteness and tense should be kept apart, we expect there to be both non-finite present and non-finite past tenses in natural language. Also on this analysis, the development of the perfect involves a change in a functional element already present, but this element (T) has been visible (in other contexts) also previously. What is new to the perfect tense is the perfect participle and the use of HAVE as an auxiliary. The structure of the participle clause is given in (3:26); it includes VoiceP, AspP and TP, and thus has a fully expanded T-domain (cf. (3:20) above).

⁴⁷ On this account, the difference between finite and non-finite tenses is not the presence/absence of the evaluation time (as in e.g. Bianchi 2003), but how it is interpreted.

⁴⁸ For simplicity, I take CP to be the highest projection in a full clause. The C-domain is generally assumed to link the information in the verb phrase and the T-domain to discourse (see Rizzi 1997). Here, I leave the question of a CP-level in the non-finite clause open (but see chapter 11). For discussion of restructuring, see e.g. Wurmbrand (2003) and Wiklund (2007), and references cited there.

(3:26) The perfect participle:



From a typological perspective, it is striking how often the perfect is periphrastic; 88 % of the perfects in the languages investigated by Dahl (1985) are periphrastic.⁴⁹ Under a biclausal analysis of the perfect, the participle and the auxiliary have separate extended projections, and HAVE is analysed as a verb and not as a functional element inserted in the extended projection of the main verb. One advantage of this account is that possessive and temporal HAVE can be unified (cf. e.g. Kayne 1993, Alexiadou 1997:98; but see chapter 9 below). As we will see, the properties of the perfect also depend partly on properties tied to the lexical item HAVE.

Unlike English modals, temporal HAVE behaves just like other verbs with regard to both morphology and position. Unlike modals, temporal HAVE has a non-finite form; cf. the non-finite perfect in (3:27) and the ungrammatical examples with modals in (3:28). The only form of HAVE that does not occur as a temporal auxiliary is the perfect participle (see below).

(3:27) He must have done it.

- (3:28) a. *He will must do it.
b. *he who shall must learn this book

In Swedish, all available forms of both auxiliaries and main verbs are realized below e.g. epistemic adverbs, negation and T-domain frequency

⁴⁹ In fact, also seemingly synthetic perfects can be analysed as being underlyingly periphrastic; this is how Giorgi & Pianesi (1997) treat the perfect in Classical Latin.

adverbs in subordinate clauses; cf. the perfects in (3:29) and the modals in (3:30).⁵⁰

- (3:29) a. han som inte hade gjort det
he who not had done it
 ‘he who had not done it’
- b. *han som hade inte gjort det
he who had not done it
 ‘he who had not done it’
- (3:30) a. hon som inte måste göra det
she who not must do it
 ‘she who dit not have to do it’
- b. hon som inte skulle vara där
she who not should be there
 ‘she who should not be there’
- c. *hon som måste/skulle inte vara där
she who must/should not be there

The order between certain modals and temporal HAVE can sometimes be reversed in Swedish, without a clear difference in meaning; see (3:31) and (3:32) (cf. also SAG 1999, 4:304 and, for Norwegian, Eide 2005:327f.). If the modal and the temporal auxiliary were generated in functional heads, we would expect the order between them to be fixed.

- (3:31) a. en bok som han hade kunnat läsa om han hade velat
a book that he had could.SUP read if he had wanted
 ‘a book that he had been able to read if he had wanted to’
- b. en bok som han kunde ha läst om han hade velat
a book that he could have.INF read.SUP if he had wanted
 ‘a book that he had been able to read if he had wanted to’
- (3:32) a. Det hade bort regna.
it had should.SUP rain
 ‘It should have rained.’
- b. Det borde ha regnat.
it should have rained
 ‘It should have rained.’

The monoclausal perfect in Cinque (1999) is partly motivated by the restrictions on the co-occurrence of adverbs relating to e.g. mood and

⁵⁰ Several of the diagnostics for auxiliaries given in SAG (1999, 2:541) are not applicable to temporal HAVE, as they involve the selectional restrictions of the auxiliary; unlike HAVE, modals like *måste* ‘must’ and *ska* ‘will, shall’ are not used as main verbs.

aspect, which are the same in perfects as in the simple tenses. Cinque argues that adverbs are generated in the specifiers of functional heads; since he assumes that a phrase can have only one specifier, only one adverb of each type is possible in monoclausal structures; cf. e.g. the equally ungrammatical examples in (3:33) and (3:34).

- (3:33) a. *Uppenbarligen fick hon möjligen jobbet.
obviously got she possibly the.job
 b. *Tyvärr fick hon lyckligtvis inte jobbet.
unfortunately got she luckily not the.job
- (3:34) a. *Uppenbarligen har hon möjligen fått jobbet.
obviously has she possibly got the.job
 b. *Tyvärr har hon lyckligtvis inte fått jobbet.
unfortunately has she luckily not got the.job

However, as noted by Alexiadou (1997:168), Greek allows two epistemic or evidential adverbs in periphrastic tenses, but only one in the simple tenses; see (3:35). This suggests that there are more positions available in the periphrastic constructions, i.e., that there is more than one clause involved.

- (3:35) a. *Pithanos profanos o Janis efige
probably obviously the Janis left
 b. *Pithanos o Janis profanos efige
probably the Janis obviously left
 c. o Janis profanos ehi pithanos figi
the Janis obviously has probably left
 (Alexiadou 1997:168)

A systematic investigation of the restrictions on T-domain adverbs would lead too far afield. Here it suffices to note that the possibility of adverbial modification is partly independent of clausality. We can, for example, observe that not all clauses allow epistemic or evidential adverbs in Swedish; neither certain non-finite clauses nor imperative clauses do; cf. the infinitivals in (3:36) and the imperative in (3:37) (and see further SAG 1999, 4:89).⁵¹

⁵¹ The infinitival marker *att* is generally taken to be in C in Swedish (see e.g. Christensen 2007 and references cited there).

- (3:36) a. Det är naturligtvis alltid ledsamt att
it is naturally always unfortunate to
 (*tyvärr/*uppenbarligen) inte få jobbet.
unfortunately/obviously not get the.job
 'It is naturally always unfortunate not to (*unfortunately/*obviously) get the job.'
- b. Han hoppas att (*lyckligtvis/*möjligen) få jobbet.
he hopes to luckily/possibly get the.job
 'He is hoping to (*luckily/*possibly) get the job.'
- (3:37) Gå (*förmodligen) till baren först om du vill hitta Viktor.
go probably to the.bar first if you want find Victor
 'Go (*probably) to the bar first if you want to find Victor.'
 (SAG 1999, 4:89)

The possibility of epistemic and evidential adverbs in non-finite clauses depends on factivity. In factive infinitivals, the event is presupposed, and the presupposition cannot be cancelled by a matrix negation (Kiparsky & Kiparsky 1970:150, Wiklund 2007:40). In the factive infinitival in (3:38a), the presupposition is therefore that he wins a prize; only the matrix predicate is negated. In the non-factive infinitival in (3:38b), on the other hand, also the embedded event is negated; (3:38b) implies that he did not read anything in the book at the relevant time.

- (3:38) a. Han var inte glad över att vinna ett pris.
he was not happy over to win a prize
 'He was not happy about winning a prize.'
- b. Han började inte att läsa boken.
he started not to read the.book
 'He did not start reading the book.'
 (cf. Wiklund 2007:40f.)

Epistemic and evidential adverbs are only possible in factive infinitivals; cf. the factive infinitival in (3:39a) and the non-factive infinitival in (3:39b).

- (3:39) a. Han var glad över att troligen/faktiskt vinna ett pris.
he was happy over to probably/actually win a prize
 'He was happy about possibly/actually winning a prize.'
- b. *Han börjar att möjligtvis/faktiskt läsa boken.
he starts to possibly/actually read the.book

Perfects pattern with non-factive infinitivals like (3:36b); cf. (3:40) where the participial eventuality is negated by a negation above the

auxiliary. The restriction on epistemic and evidential adverbs in the perfect is therefore not an argument against a biclausal analysis.

- (3:40) han som inte har vunnit ett pris
 he who not has won a prize
 ‘he who has not won a prize’

Hornstein (1990) presents another argument against a biclausal analysis of the perfect, concerning the restrictions on recursion of tenses. As natural language is otherwise characterized by the lack of restrictions on the number of possible embeddings, we might expect also the recursion of tense to be unconstrained. While the presence of two tenses in the same clause is excluded, there are cases where a clause with a non-finite tense embeds another clause with non-finite tense (see below section 3.6). A perfect of a perfect is, however, impossible; cf. (3:41a) and (3:41b).⁵²

- (3:41) a. På senare tid har hon ansetts ha skrivit
 on later time has she considered.PASS have written
 boken på 1890-talet.
 the.book in the.1890s
 ‘Lately she has been considered to have written the book in the
 1890s.’
 b. *Hon har haft skrivit boken.
 she has had written the.book

With Julien (2001:130), we could assume that there can be an infinite number of TPs in a sentence as long as they all have a function. Along similar lines, Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2007:348ff.) argue for an economy condition on the temporal computation. This condition successfully excludes e.g. the progressive of the progressive, but not necessarily the perfect of the perfect: if the perfect places the event time

⁵² Perfects of perfects should not be confused with copying constructions where a supine form embeds another supine, as in (i). These cases do not involve a perfect of the auxiliary HAVE. Semantically, the lower supine corresponds to an infinitive; (i) is therefore equivalent to (ii) (see Wiklund 2007, and cf. Hulthén 1944:228, Thráinsson et al. 2004:363).

- (i) Han hade kunnat skriva.
 he had could.SUP write.SUP
 ‘He had been able to write.’
 (ii) Han hade kunnat skriva.
 he had could.SUP write.INF
 ‘He had been able to write.’

anterior to a reference time, the perfect of a perfect would place a reference time anterior to another reference time (cf. Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2007:351). If the two reference times need not overlap, they can both ‘have a function’.

There are other possible ways of excluding a perfect of a perfect. If we phrase the restriction in terms of the selectional requirements of the auxiliary, rather than the restrictions on tense embedding, the impossibility of a perfect of a perfect is more expected: temporal HAVE cannot satisfy its own selectional restrictions.⁵³ If the restriction is due to properties of the auxiliary, there is a possibility for variation between languages. As noted by Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2007:351), perfects of perfects are in fact possible in Breton and certain varieties of French; see the dialectal French example in (3:42) below.⁵⁴

- (3:42) Quand j’ai eu dansé, je me suis désaltéré.
 when have.PRES.1SG have.PTC dance.PTC I quenched my thirst.
 (Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2007:351)

I conclude that the arguments against a biclausal analysis of the perfect are not compelling. The advantage, on the other hand, is clear: the biclausal analysis does without a particular perfect phrase, and makes reference to a non-finite tense which is independently motivated. However, it remains to be seen how the analysis as outlined this far accounts for the semantics of the perfect.

⁵³ As we will see below, there are modal contexts where perfect morphology does not express the semantics of perfect tense; if the restriction on recursion was due to the tense semantics, we would expect recursion of perfect morphology to be possible in these contexts, contrary to fact.

⁵⁴ Morphological perfects of perfects occur also in certain Southern German dialects; see (i) and (ii) (from Rowley 2003). These dialects do, however, lack synthetic preterite forms, and the examples should be interpreted as past perfects.

(i) I hön-s gahòt tsechen
 I have had seen
 ‘I had seen’
 (Rowley 2003)

(ii) I pin gaben khemmen
 I am been come
 ‘I had come.’
 (Rowley 2003)

3.3.3. Conclusion

One advantage of the biclausal analysis is that it does not rely on the stipulation of an element that is only visible in perfects. Instead, it involves an element (a non-finite T) which is required also in the analysis of certain infinitivals. There are languages where infinitival forms can be inflected for tense; cf. the Latin ECM infinitival in (3:43) which has a tensed infinitival form of BE. I return to the tense of infinitivals in section 3.6 below. Given that tense and finiteness are distinct, it would be unexpected if a non-finite T with a past tense value was missing in natural language.

- (3:43) Homerum caecum fuisse traditur.
Homer.ACC blind.ACC be.PERF.INF say.PRES.PASS
 ‘It is said that Homer was blind.’
 (Lundin 2003:72 fn. 6)

On the present account, the perfect participle (including the Swedish supine) is thus a non-finite verb form with a past tense value.⁵⁵ In the following chapters, I argue that perfect participles in this respect are crucially different from past participles, which are tenseless.

⁵⁵ It has sometimes been argued that perfect participles, including the Swedish supine form, do not denote anteriority and that the perfect tense semantics is contributed solely by the auxiliary (see e.g. Iatridou et al. 2001). The assumption is that reduced relatives involve the same participle as perfects, and that any difference between reduced relatives and perfects is due to the auxiliary. The fact that reduced relatives and perfects have participles with different morphology in Swedish suggests that this is not the case; cf. (i) and (ii).

- (i) ett brev skrivet av en känd författare
a letter write.PTC.N.SG by a famous author
 ‘a letter written by a famous author’
- (ii) En känd författare har skrivit brevet.
a famous author has write.SUP the.letter
 ‘A famous author has written the letter.’

As we will see, past participles differ from perfect participles precisely by not asserting anteriority.

3.4. The semantics of the perfect

Arguments in favour of a biclausal structure of the perfect have been put forward before, particularly in syntactically oriented studies (see e.g. Kayne 1993, Taraldsen 1995, Alexiadou 1997 and Julien 2001, 2002). However, the biclausal analysis as outlined so far runs into problems with the restrictions on adverbial modification in languages like English and Swedish (the so-called present perfect puzzle); if the present perfect simply involves an embedded past tense, we would expect it to be compatible with adverbials like *yesterday*. Moreover, it is not clear how the biclausal analysis can account for the polysemy of the perfect. In this section, I look closer at the semantics of the perfect. In section 3.5, I turn to the restrictions on positional past time adverbials and suggest a way to reconcile the biclausal analysis of the perfect with the semantics of the perfect and resolve the present perfect puzzle. The fact that the perfect involves a biclausal structure, and two assertion times, will be important.

3.4.1. The readings of the perfect

At least since McCawley (1971), the following meanings of the perfect have been distinguished (though the precise nature of the distinctions varies):⁵⁶

- | | | | |
|--------|----|--|------------------------|
| (3:44) | a. | Frida has visited Gothenburg many times. | EXPERIENTIAL PERFECT |
| | b. | Since 2004, Frida has lived in Gothenburg. | UNIVERSAL PERFECT |
| | c. | Frida has been sick (lately). | PERFECT OF RECENT PAST |
| | d. | Frida has just arrived. | RESULTATIVE PERFECT |

The difference between the examples in (3:44) concerns how the event time is located in relation to the Reichenbachian reference time; here, the event time must be understood as a temporal interval and not a point

⁵⁶ The terminology is from Iatridou et al. (2001), and partly follows McCawley (1971), partly Comrie (1976). The term existential perfect is sometimes used as a cover term for both resultative and experiential perfects and will therefore be avoided here. The ‘hot news’ perfect of McCawley (1971) is often understood as a subtype of the resultative, with a specific use. I prefer the pragmatically more neutral term ‘perfect of recent past’ when referring to a perfect that is silent about the inclusion of the reference time in the event time. Other types of perfects (such as the stative present) have also been suggested; see e.g. Kiparsky (2002) and Pancheva (2003) and references cited there.

in time. Experiential perfects like (3:44a) place the entire event time anterior to reference time and therefore typically allow it to be repeated.⁵⁷ The universal perfect in (3:44b), on the other hand, asserts that the embedded predicate holds throughout the interval from 2004 until now including its endpoints; i.e., Frida lived in Gothenburg in 2004, she lives there now, and she has lived there during the entire interval between 2004 and now. Hence, the event time is not completely in the past of the reference time (the present) in the universal perfect, but overlaps with it. The perfect of recent past in (3:44c) differs from both experiential and universal perfect in that it is silent about whether the embedded predicate holds at reference time or not (see Iatridou et al. 2001:161). In the resultative perfect in (3:44d), the transition (the arrival) precedes reference time, but its result still holds. The resultative perfect requires a telic predicate, i.e. a predicate with an inherent endpoint. All four meanings are available also in Swedish; see (3:45).⁵⁸

- (3:45) a. Frida har besökt Göteborg många gånger.
Frida has visited Gothenburg many times
 'Frida has visited Gothenburg many times.'
- b. Sedan 2004 har hon bott i Göteborg.
since 2004 has she lived in Gothenburg
 'Since 2004, she has lived in Gothenburg.'
- c. Hon har varit sjuk (den senaste tiden).
she has been sick the latest the.time
 'She has been sick (lately).'
- d. Hon har just kommit hem.
she has just come home
 'She has just come home.'

In a Reichenbach-style analysis, where the perfect is assumed to place the event time anterior to the reference time, the universal reading of the perfect is often accounted for in terms of vagueness with regard to the

⁵⁷ As pointed out by e.g. McCawley (1981) and Kiparsky (2002), the experiential perfect is often associated with the presupposition that the eventuality can be repeated. It is well known that the present perfect is unacceptable if the topic of the sentence cannot be a participant in present eventualities (the so-called life-time effect). Hence, the sentence in (i) is only acceptable if Princeton is the topic (e.g. in a discussion of what people have visited Princeton).

(i) Einstein has visited Princeton.
 (Chomsky 1971:212)

⁵⁸ All the examples involve present perfects, but the different readings are possible also in past, future and non-finite perfects and are thus independent of the tense of the auxiliary; cf. e.g. Pancheva (2003:278).

inclusion of the reference time (e.g. Klein 1992, Julien 2001); the different readings are assumed to be a consequence of pragmatic factors. This is what the analysis of the perfect as a non-finite past tense might suggest. Julien (2001), for example, points out that also a finite past tense is compatible with a reading where the event time holds at the speech time; consider the example in (3:46).

- (3:46) Han var i trädgården för en stund sedan (och där är han
he was in the.garden for a while ago and there is he
troligen fortfarande).
probably still
 ‘He was in the garden a while ago (and he is probably still there).’

There are, however, several reasons to assume that the inclusion of the reference time in the event time is not a question of vagueness in the universal perfect, and that the perfect tense in this respect differs from the simple past tense. First, there are languages (e.g. Hungarian and Bulgarian) that have a morphological distinction between the different perfects (see Kiparsky 1998, 2002, Iatridou et al. 2001 and Pancheva 2003). Compare the Bulgarian examples in (3:47); (3:47a) is an experiential perfect and has a participle with perfective morphology, and (3:47b) is a universal perfect with an imperfective participle.

- (3:47) a. Marija (*vinagi) e obiknala Ivan.
Maria always is love.PERF.PTC Ivan
 ‘Maria has (*always) fallen in love with Ivan.’
 b. Marija vinagi e običala Ivan
Maria always is love.IMPF.PTC Ivan
 ‘Maria has always loved Ivan.’
 (Iatridou et al. 2001:172)

Moreover, languages like Greek lack the universal perfect and therefore do not allow adverbials like *always* in the perfect tense; consider the examples in (3:48).

- (3:48) Echo (*panta) zisi stin Athina.
have.1SG always lived in.the Athens
 ‘I have (*always) lived in Athens.’
 (cf. Iatridou et al. 2001:170)

Also in English, the universal and the experiential readings can be shown to have partly different semantics. As pointed out by e.g. Mittwoch (1988) and Kiparsky (2002), examples like (3:49a) are not vague with respect to the experiential and the universal reading, but ambigu-

ous. Only the universal reading survives when the adverbial is preposed, as in (3:49b) (cf. Dowty 1979:343).

- (3:49) a. I have been in Hyderabad since 1977.
 b. Since 1977, I have been in Hyderabad.

The experiential reading excludes the present, whereas the universal reading includes it by assertion. On the experiential reading, (3:49a) is false if I was in Hyderabad in 1977 and have not been there since; it is false even if I am in Hyderabad at the moment of speech but was last there in 1977. On the universal reading, on the other hand, (3:49a) (and (3:49b)) is only true if the speaker was in Hyderabad in 1977, is there at the time of speech, and has been there during the entire interval between 1977 and now. In the universal perfect, the inclusion of the reference time in the event time cannot be cancelled; cf. (3:50) and (3:51).

(3:50) I have been in Hyderabad since 1977, but I am not there now.

(3:51) Since 1977, I have been in Hyderabad #but I am not there now.
 (Kiparsky 2002:118)

Hence, there is reason to assume (partly) different semantics for the different readings. To come to terms with the universal perfect, McCoard (1978) suggests that the present perfect denotes an interval (an Extended-Now) which starts in the past and extends to the present; importantly, the Extended-Now includes the speech time. In the next section, I present the Extended-Now analysis by Iatridou et al. (2001) and Pancheva (2003). In section 3.5.2, we will see how their account can be reconciled with the syntax of the perfect assumed here.

3.4.2. *The perfect time span*

Iatridou et al. (2001) and Pancheva (2003) argue that the perfect introduces an interval, the *perfect time span* (PTS), in which the time of the eventuality can be partially or completely contained, much like the assertion time intervals above.⁵⁹ However, unlike the assertion time in the simple past, the present perfect denotes an interval which starts in the past and extends to the present, including the speech time. It is

⁵⁹ Rothstein (2008) elaborates on this account of the perfect in a comparative study of German, English and Swedish.

therefore compatible with certain present tense adverbials. The right boundary of the perfect time span corresponds to the Reichenbachian reference time. We can represent the simple past and the present perfect as in (3:52); the assertion time is represented with simple square brackets, the perfect time span with barred double brackets, and the speech time as S.⁶⁰

- (3:52) a. The simple past:
 ———— [—] ———— S →
 b. The present perfect:
 ———— [[—] —] ———— S →

There are contexts where either a present perfect or a simple past can be used, with little difference in meaning. Consider the examples in (3:53) which are both perfectly fine in a context where two people are just getting into the car to go on holiday.

- (3:53) a. Jag glömde att stänga av spisen.
I forgot to turn off the stove.
 'I forgot to turn off the stove.'
 b. Jag har glömt att stänga av spisen.
I have forgotten to turn off the stove.
 'I have forgotten to turn off the stove.'

The difference between the examples is that in the simple past in (3:53a) an assertion is made about a past time interval, which is linked to the speech event by the context, whereas in (3:53b) an assertion is made about an interval that reaches from the past to the present, and includes the present. Note that nothing excludes that the event time is the same in both cases.

⁶⁰ The semantics of the perfect is given in (i); cf. the simple past in (ii) which simply places the assertion time before an evaluation time, which in the case of a matrix clause is the speech time (from Pancheva 2003:284).

(i) The perfect:
 [[PERFECT]] = $\lambda p \lambda i \exists i'$ [PTS (i', i) & p(i')]
 PTS (i', i) iff i is a final subinterval of i'
 (Pancheva 2003:284)

(ii) The simple past:
 [[PAST]] = $\lambda p \lambda i \exists i'$ [i' < i & p(i')]
 for any i ∈ I, the set of temporal intervals
 (Pancheva 2003:282)

Whether the perfect or the simple past is preferred can vary depending on language and context (and linguistic community). As pointed out by Faarlund et al. (1997:567), Norwegian tends to prefer the perfect rather than the preterite in examples such as (3:54). In English, on the other hand, the preterite is preferred; the translation of (3:54) is (3:55). Swedish patterns with Norwegian.

(3:54) Har du sovet godt?
have you slept well
 (Faarlund et al. 1997:567)

(3:55) Did you sleep well?

In other cases, either the simple past or the present perfect is excluded both in English and Swedish. Since the perfect time span includes the speech time in the present perfect, it cannot be modified with a positional past time adverbial (see below). On the other hand, the simple past excludes the present; consider the difference between (3:56a) and (3:56b). The simple past in (3:56a) conveys that the life span lies completely in the past (i.e. that she is not alive), whereas the present perfect in (3:56b) is only compatible with a reading where she is still alive (and living in Stockholm).

(3:56) a. Hon bodde i Stockholm i hela sitt liv.
she lived in Stockholm for whole POSS.REFL life
 ‘She lived in Stockholm her whole life.’
 b. Hon har bott i Stockholm i hela sitt liv.
she has lived in Stockholm for whole POSS.REFL life
 ‘She has lived in Stockholm her whole life.’

The perfect time span should not be confused with the interval between the event time and the reference time in the Reichenbachian framework, as it does not specify an interval between the time of an eventuality and a reference point (Iatridou et al. 2001:169). Instead, the left boundary of the perfect time span is set by an explicit or implicit adverbial. In this way, a perfect like 0 has a perfect time span that starts before the event time (located in 1993): it extends from 1991 until the present; the E_R interval, on the other hand, ranges from 1993 to the present.

(3:57) Since 1991, I have been to Cape Cod only once, namely in the fall of 1993.

Perfect time span:

—[1991—Fall 1993—S]→

E_R interval:

—[Fall 1993—S]→

In the next section, I review how this analysis can account for the different readings of the perfect.

3.4.3. *Deriving the readings of the perfect*

I have suggested that the perfect is a non-finite past tense, which combined with a matrix finite present or past tense has a present or past perfect reading. Hence, the perfect does not contribute aspectual meaning (boundedness or unboundedness). In languages like English, it can be combined with either bounded or unbounded aspect; consider e.g. the perfect of the progressive in (3:58) below. Progressive morphology is required for a universal perfect of a non-stative verb; cf. (3:59) which is ungrammatical on the universal reading.

(3:58) Since this morning, he has been reading the newspaper.

(3:59) * Since this morning, he has read the newspaper.

Iatridou et al. (2001) and Pancheva (2003) suggest that the different readings of the perfect depend on how outer aspect combines with the perfect (the perfect time span); just like the event time is partly or completely contained within the assertion time in the simple tenses, it is partly or completely contained within the perfect time span in the perfect. The difference between the simple and the complex tenses is just a question of the extension of the interval that contains the event time.

First, consider the universal perfect in (3:60) and the Swedish version in (3:61).

(3:60) At two o'clock, she had been writing for at least an hour.

(3:61) Klockan två hade hon skrivit i åtminstone en timme.
the.clock two had she written for at.least an hour

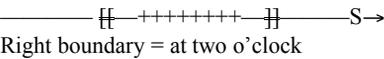
The universal perfect can be represented as in (3:62) below (cf. the simple tenses discussed in section 3.3.1 above); + represents the event of writing, the barred double brackets the perfect time span. Iatridou et al. (2001) assume that the adverbial *at two o'clock* specifies the right boundary of the perfect time span, which corresponds to the Reichenbachian reference time.

(3:62) ———+[[+++++++]]+—————S→
Right boundary = at two o'clock

Since the perfect embeds the progressive (unbounded aspect), the perfect time span is a subset of the event time. Hence, the universal perfect asserts that the eventuality is ongoing at the right boundary of the perfect time span. (For the precise semantics, see Pancheva 2003:285ff.)

Bounded aspect, on the other hand, sets up the event time as a subset of the perfect time span, and therefore yields an experiential reading, as in the examples in (3:63) (cf. Pancheva 2003:286). The experiential reading can be represented as in (3:64).

- (3:63) a. At two o'clock, she had written a page.
 b. Klockan två hade hon skrivit en sida.
the.clock two had she written a page

- (3:64)  S→
 Right boundary = at two o'clock

Iatridou et al. (2001:176) suggest that the universal reading is unavailable in Greek since Greek perfect participles are morphologically specified as perfective. The morphological distinctions between the different perfects in languages like Hungarian and Bulgarian can also be understood as depending on the aspectual morphology. In Bulgarian, a perfect with perfective morphology only has the resultative perfect reading, whereas the experiential and universal readings require neutral or imperfective morphology (see Pancheva 2003).

In English, progressive morphology is compatible with a reading where the eventuality does not hold at the right boundary of the perfect time span, and a universal reading seems to require the presence of a durative adverbial; cf. (3:65a) which does not assert that she is currently working and (3:65b) which does (see further e.g. Iatridou et al. 2001, Kiparsky 2002 and references cited there).

- (3:65) a. She has been working.
 b. For an hour, she has been working.

To account for the ambiguity of progressive morphology, Pancheva (2003) assumes that it can have neutral aspect (cf. Smith 1991). Neutral aspect merely refers to the beginning of an event and not to its endpoint, and is therefore vague with respect to the inclusion of the end-point of the event time in the assertion time/perfect time span. For the present purposes, a discussion of the precise semantics of unbounded aspect and the progressive would lead to far afield (but see e.g. Higginbotham 2004 and references cited there). In the following, I assume that unbounded

aspect yields a reading where the event time is not asserted to be completely contained within the assertion time, and that it therefore is compatible with a reading where some part of the event time lies outside the assertion time. I leave neutral aspect aside.

Pancheva (2003) introduces a resultative aspect as an aspect that only selects for telic events. With a perfect, it yields a resultative perfect; it asserts that the event has culminated and that its target state holds at the end point of the perfect time span; cf. (3:66a) and the corresponding Swedish example in (3:66b), which convey that the target state of the glasses being lost holds at present. The resultative perfect can be represented as in (3:67), where + represents the transition and × the target state.

- (3:66) a. Frida has just lost her glasses.
 b. Frida har just tappat sina glasögon.
Frida has just lost her glasses

(3:67) ———— $\{\{ - ++ \times \times S \} \} \times \longrightarrow$

The resultative perfect has often been assumed to be a subtype of the experiential perfect (see e.g. McCawley 1981). However, Kiparsky (2002) points out that the resultative perfect cannot trigger a tense shift from present to past in subordinate clauses, unlike experiential and universal perfects; cf. (3:68a) and (3:68b–c).

- (3:68) a. I have finally realized that the earth is/#was round. RESULTATIVE
 b. I have always known that the earth is/was round. UNIVERSAL
 c. I have often thought that the earth is/was round. EXPERIENTIAL
 (from Kiparsky 2002:121)

In chapter 6, I suggest that *en*-participles can have resultative and bounded aspect also outside the perfect. This will be of some importance for the understanding of the historical development of the perfect.

3.4.4. Conclusion

The analysis of the perfect outlined above has the advantage of accounting for the homonymy of the different readings of the perfect, as well as the partly shared semantics. It assumes that the different readings of the perfect all involve a common component which introduces a perfect time span present in all perfects. The difference between the pre-

sent and the past perfect lies in the tense of the matrix clause. The different readings of the perfect, on the other hand, are a consequence of the value of a lower aspectual phrase. Consequently, the aspectual morphology of the participle can restrict the possible readings of the perfect. In Greek, for example, the perfect participle has perfective morphology, and the universal reading (which requires imperfective morphology) is therefore excluded. From the historical point of view, the analysis allows us to view the development of the perfect as one change, rather than as several partly independent developments. In the following, I adopt the analysis by Iatridou et al. (2001) and Pancheva (2003) with regard to the perfect time span, and I assume that the different readings of the perfect depend on aspect (e.g. bounded and unbounded aspect). However, unlike Iatridou et al. (2001) and Pancheva (2003), I derive the perfect time span with a biclausal structure.

3.5. The present perfect puzzle, the perfect time span and the auxiliary

I have analysed the perfect as a non-finite past tense. Yet, in languages like English and Swedish, positional past time adverbials like *yesterday* are disallowed (with some exceptions; see below). In this section, I address this puzzle as well as the question how the perfect time span can be derived, given that perfects have a biclausal structure and that the perfect time span is not introduced by a specific functional element.

The section is organized as follows. First, I introduce the problem of the restrictions on adverbial modifications, and present a solution to it in terms of the right boundary of the perfect time span that has been proposed in the literature. Secondly, I suggest a way to derive the perfect time span by means of the elements present in the biclausal perfect and briefly discuss adverbial modification in the past perfect.

3.5.1. The present perfect puzzle and the perfect time span

As noted, positional past time adverbials are ungrammatical in the present perfect in languages like Swedish and English; consider again the examples in (3:5) and (3:6) above (repeated as (3:69) and (3:70) below).

- (3:69) a. Frida åt ett äpple igår/förra veckan.
Frida ate an apple yesterday/last week
 b. *Frida har ätit ett äpple igår/förra veckan.
Frida has eaten an apple yesterday/last week
- (3:70) a. Frida ate an apple yesterday/last week.
 b. *Frida has eaten an apple yesterday/last week.

In past perfects, on the other hand, a past time adverbial is generally ambiguous between a reading where it specifies a reference time and a reading where it appears to specify the event time; cf. (3:71a) and (3:71b) (cf. Klein 1992:327).⁶¹

- (3:71) a. Igår kom Frida till Peters kontor klockan sex.
yesterday came Frida to Peter's office the.clock six
 Men Peter hade gått hem klockan sex.
but Peter had gone home the.clock six
 'Yesterday Frida came to Peter's office at six o'clock. But Peter had gone home at six o'clock.'
 Right boundary = six o'clock
 E(*leaving*) < six o'clock
- b. Igår kom Frida till Peters kontor klockan sju.
yesterday came Frida to Peter's office the.clock seven
 Men Peter hade gått hem klockan sex.
but Peter had gone home the.clock six
 'Yesterday Frida came to Peter's office at seven o'clock. But Peter had gone home at six o'clock.'
 Right boundary = seven o'clock
 E(*leaving*) = six o'clock
 (cf. Klein 1992:327)

⁶¹ Kiparsky (2002) suggests that the ambiguity of adverbials in the past perfects depends on the fact that the perfect is ambiguous between a resultative and an experiential perfect reading. This predicts that adverbials are not ambiguous when the embedded predicate is atelic (since atelic predicates disallow the resultative reading). This prediction is not borne out; cf. the examples in (i), which are both ambiguous between the two readings (also cf. Rothstein 2008:125 on positional adverbials in the German present perfect).

- (i) a. Hon hade tvättat klockan fem.
she had washed the.clock five
 'She had washed at five o'clock.'
 b. Hon hade varit i Stockholm år 2007.
she had been in Stockholm year 2007
 'She had been to Stockholm in 2007.'

If the adverbial specifies the event time in examples like (3:71b), it is unexpected that it cannot do so in the present perfect, hence the puzzle. In the following, I therefore assume that positional past time adverbials never relate to the event time, despite the appearance of examples like (3.71b). Instead, I suggest that they always relate to the assertion time interval established by aspect (cf. e.g. Pancheva & von Stechow 2004). I return to the ambiguity of past perfects below.

An account of the present perfect puzzle must not only explain why positional past time adverbials are excluded in present perfects but ambiguous in past perfects, it should also say something about the cross-linguistic variation. As noted, the German present perfect is compatible with positional past time adverbials; see (3:72).

- (3:72) a. Er hat gestern gearbeitet.
 he has yesterday worked
 b. Er ist gestern angekommen.
 he is yesterday arrived

It has often been assumed that German perfect morphology expresses either a perfect or a simple past tense. However, as pointed out by Rothstein (2008:26), the simple past tense is not always exchangeable with a perfect tense in German, and the perfect does not behave just like a simple past tense (see Giorgi & Pianesi 1997 for similar arguments for Italian).⁶² Consider the examples in (3:73) below, where only the preterite is possible (Rothstein 2008:26f.; data originally from Wunderlich 1970:139).

- (3:73) a. Wir kamen über die Autostrada nach Florenz, das in
 we came via the Autostrada to Florence which in
 einem breitem Tal lag.
 a wide valley lay
 ‘We reached Florence, which was situated in a wide valley, via the
 Autostrada.’
 b. *Wir kamen über die Autostrada nach Florenz, das in
 we came via the Autostrada to Florence which in
 einem breiten Tal gelegen hat.
 a wide valley lain had
 (Rothstein 2008:26f.)

Hence, the difference between languages like Swedish or English and languages like German cannot be accounted for by the assumption that

⁶² Here and in the following, I disregard dialects that have lost the morphological preterite completely.

the German perfect morphology is ambiguous between a perfect and a past tense reading.

To account for the present perfect puzzle, Pancheva & von Stechow (2004) propose a modification (and weakening) of the semantics of the perfect as suggested by Iatridou et al. (2001) and Pancheva (2003). They argue that the perfect time span need not include the speech time in the present perfect in languages like German; instead, the present perfect sets up an interval that does not extend after a reference time (cf. also Rothstein 2008). In English and Swedish, on the other hand, the reference time is necessarily included in the perfect time span. The difference between German and English can be illustrated as in (3:74) and (3:75) below; the barred double brackets represent the perfect time span.

- (3:74) The German present perfect:
 a. ———— $\{\!\!\{ \quad \}\!\!\}$ ———— S →
 b. ———— $\{\!\!\{ \quad \}\!\!\}$ ———— S $\}\!\!\}$ →

- (3:75) The English present perfect:
 ———— $\{\!\!\{ \quad \}\!\!\}$ ———— S $\}\!\!\}$ →

While the perfect time span can, but need not, include the speech time in the German present perfect, it necessarily does so in English. If past positional adverbials always relate to the perfect time span and never to the event time, this account can explain why they are possible in German but not in English; I return to this below.

By weakening the semantics of the perfect in languages like German, but maintaining the stronger semantics for languages like English, Pancheva & von Stechow (2004) can account also for the difference between English and German illustrated in (3:76) below. In German but not in English, a universal perfect is compatible with a reading where the eventuality ends before the speech time, even if it holds throughout the perfect time span.

- (3:76) a. I have always lived here (*... until recently).
 b. Ich habe hier immer gewohnt... bis vor kurzem
I have here always lived until recently
 (Pancheva & von Stechow 2004 ex. (20)–(21))

Pancheva & von Stechow (2004) suggest that the difference between languages like German, on the one hand, and languages like English, on the other, is a question of the properties of the present tense. It is well known that the English present tense is restricted, and that it has a more

specified semantics than the present tense in languages like German. While the English present introduces a temporal interval which is coextensive with the speech time, the German present introduces an interval of which no part is anterior to the speech time. In German, the present tense can therefore have a future reading; cf. 0. In English, on the other hand, a future reading of the present is highly restricted; cf. 0.

(3:77) a. Nächste Woche ist das Wetter schlecht.
next week is the weather bad
 ‘Next week the weather will be bad.’
 (Pancheva & von Stechow 2004 ex. (11)).

(3:78) a. #Fred is sick in 10 days.
 b. #It is raining next week.
 (Pancheva & von Stechow 2004 ex. (10)).

The analysis in Pancheva & von Stechow (2004) has the advantage of relating the difference between German and English with regard to the present perfect to the well-known difference in the semantics of the present tense. However, as pointed out by Rothstein (2008), the analysis does not explain why the Scandinavian languages behave like English with regard to positional adverbials and universal perfects; the Swedish present tense shares the semantics with the German present, and not with English. Like the German present, the Swedish present tense can have a future reading, and, as noted, the present perfect can have a future reference time; cf. (3:79).

(3:79) a. Hon åker imorgon klockan två.
she leaves tomorrow the.clock two
 ‘She will leave tomorrow at two o’clock.’
 b. Hon har åkt imorgon klockan två.
she has left tomorrow the.clock two
 ‘She will have left tomorrow at two o’clock.’

The other Scandinavian languages pattern with Swedish and German; cf. Icelandic in (3:80), Norwegian in (3:81), and Danish in (3:82).

(3:80) a. Á morgun kemur Fríða.
tomorrow comes Frida
 ‘Tomorrow Frida will come.’
 b. á morgun hefur hann lifað í nákvæmlega 17 ár
tomorrow has he lived for exactly 17 years
 ‘Tomorrow he will have lived for exactly 17 years.’
 (Google)

- (3:81) a. I morgen er jeg på Lillehammer.
tomorrow am I on Lillehammer
 ‘Tomorrow I will be in Lillehammer.’
- b. Neste torsdag har vi levert innstillingen.
next Thursday have we handed.in the.proposition
 ‘Next Thursday, we will have handed in the proposition.’
 (Faarlund et al. 1997:568, 571)
- (3:82) a. I morgen kommer et nyt barn.
tomorrow comes a new child
 ‘Tomorrow, a new child will come.’
 (Google)
- b. I morgen har verden ændret sig
tomorrow has the.world changed REFL
 ‘Tomorrow, the world will have changed.’
 (Google)

However, with regard to positional past time adverbials, the Scandinavian languages pattern with English rather than with German; cf. Swedish in (3:83), Icelandic in (3:84), Norwegian in (3:85), and Danish in (3:86).⁶³

- (3:83) a. *Igår har Peter kommit hit.
yesterday has Peter come here
- b. *Jag har pratat med honom igår kväll.
I have talked to him yesterday night
- (3:84) a. *Jón hefur verið þarna í gær.
John has been there yesterday
- b. *Ég hef bakað köku í gær.
I have baked cake yesterday
 ‘I have baked a cake yesterday’

⁶³ There appears to be variation in Danish. According to Bjerrum (1931–32:119), there are Danish dialects with a perfect that has the properties of the German perfect; Bjerrum refers to this as a foreign phenomenon. Jespersen (1924) states that positional past time adverbials are grammatical in clause final position, but not in initial position; cf. (ia) and (ib).

- (i) a. * Igår har jeg set ham.
yesterday have I seen him
- b. Jeg har set ham igår.
I have seen him yesterday
 (cf. Jespersen 1924:271)

Examples like (ib) are, however, not accepted by all my informants.

- (3:85) a. *Igår natt har jeg sovet godt.
yesterday night have I slept well
 b. *Jeg har snakket med han i går kveld.
I have talked to him yesterday night
 (Faarlund et al. 1997:566)
- (3:86) a. *Han er kommet i går.
he is come yesterday
 b. *I går nat har Ole sovet.
Yesterday night has Ole slept

There are certain well-defined contexts where the adverbials are more generally possible in the Scandinavian languages. In particular, so-called inferential perfects allow positional past time adverbials; cf. Swedish in (3:87) and Icelandic in (3:88). I return to these contexts in section 3.6.2 below.

- (3:87) Han har (tydliggen) varit sjuk igår.
he has apparently been sick yesterday
 ‘Apparently, he was sick yesterday.’
- (3:88) Jón hefur verið fullur þegar hann sagði þetta.
John has been drunk when he said this
 ‘John was probably drunk when he said this.’
 (Thráinsson 2005:363)

In Swedish, there is some limited variation between speakers with regard to the acceptability of positional past time adverbials, and examples such as (3:89) do occur, however rarely (see SAG 1999, 4:238; cf. Lindström & Wide 2001). There is no corresponding variation in the availability of future readings of the present tense.

- (3:89) Klippan som tidigare varit delvis dold av träd och buskar
the.cliff that earlier been partly hidden by trees and bushes
 har 1987 frilagts.
has 1987 uncover.SUP.PASS
 ‘The cliff that earlier [had] been partly hidden by trees and bushes
 was uncovered in 1987.’
 (SAG 1999, 4:238)

It seems likely that examples like (3:89) should be treated together with the historical present, which also allows positional past time adverbials; cf. (3:90) (and see SAG 1999, 4:239).⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Schaden (2008) point to similar examples in English; see (i).

- (3:90) På hösten 1986 beslutar hon att frilägga klippan.
in the.fall 1986 decide.PRES she to uncover the.cliff
 Arbetet påbörjas i april 1987.
the.work start.PRES.PASS in April 1987
 'In the fall of 1986, she decides to uncover the cliff. The work is
 started in April 1987.'

Disregarding the well-defined modal contexts and contexts that allow a historical present tense, positional past time adverbials are not possible in the Scandinavian languages.

Also with regard to the universal perfect, Swedish patterns with English rather than with German. In the universal present perfect the event time necessarily holds in the present; cf. Swedish in (3:91) with German in (3:92). In other words, the perfect time span must include the reference time in Swedish, as in English; this has previously been argued by Rothstein (2008).⁶⁵

- (3:91) a. Jag har alltid bott här (#tills nyligen).
I have always lived here until recently
 'I have always lived here (#until recently).'

-
- (i) We have received information on F.S. from you on the 22nd of September last.
 (Schaden 2008:544)

⁶⁵ The Swedish data are not clear-cut. The adverbial *alltid* 'always' is sometimes compatible with a reading where the event time does not overlap with the time set by tense; cf. (i). These examples might involve an implicit adverbial *föret* 'before'. Importantly, *alltid* does not force a universal reading of the perfect, but is compatible with experiential readings; cf. (ii).

- (i) Jag har alltid bott i Stockholm (föret), #(men) nyligen
I have always lived in Stockholm before but recently
 flyttade jag till Göteborg.
moved I to Gothenburg

- (ii) Jag har alltid skrivit brev.
I have always written letters

An adverbial meaning *ever since*, gives sharper judgements:

- (iii) Jag har bott här ända sedan jag var barn
I have lived here ever since I was child
 (#men jag flyttade 1999).
but I moved 1999
 'I have lived here ever since I was a child (#but I moved in 1999).'

- b. Hon har alltid bott i Frankrike. (#1999 flyttade hon
she has always lived in France 1999 moved she
 till Tyskland.)
to Germany
 ‘She has always lived here. (# In 1999 she moved to Germany.)’
 (cf. Rothstein 2008:37)

(3:92) Véronique hat immer in Frankreich gewohnt.
Véronique has always in France lived
 1999 ist sie nach Deutschland gezogen.
1999 is she to Germany moved
 ‘Véronique always lived in France. In 1999, she moved to Germany.’
 (Rothstein 2008:38)

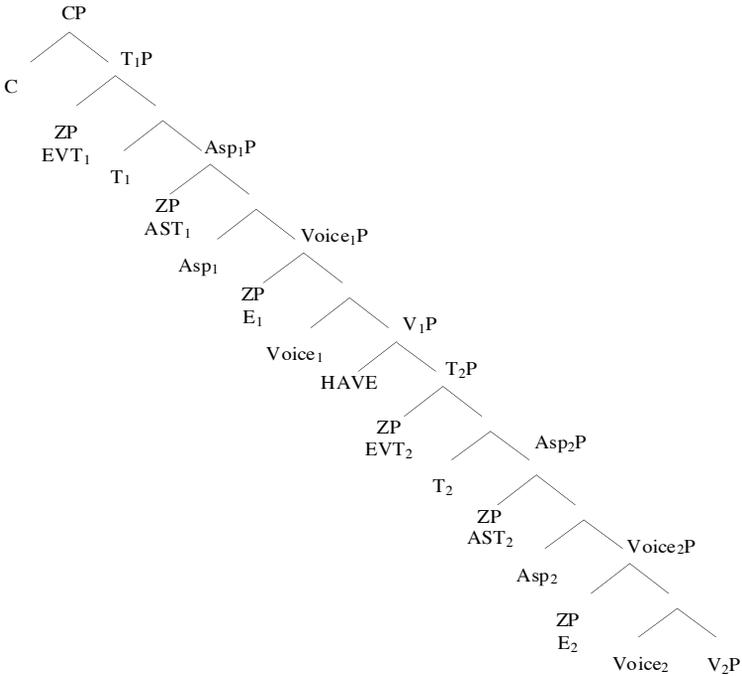
While I follow Pancheva & von Stechow (2004) and Rothstein (2008) in assuming that the difference between the Scandinavian languages and English, on the one hand, and German, on the other, can be understood in terms of the extension of the perfect time span, I suggest that this does not depend on the present tense, but on the properties of the temporal auxiliary.⁶⁶

3.5.2. *The perfect time span, the biclausal perfect and the contribution of HAVE*

Under the biclausal analysis of the perfect outlined in section 3.3.2 above, there is no individual element (e.g. a Perfect head) that introduces the perfect time span. The semantics of the perfect must therefore depend on the combination of elements and their interaction. I repeat the structure of a (present or past) perfect in (3:93) below.

⁶⁶ Rothstein (2008) tentatively suggests that the difference between the languages with regard to positional past time adverbials depends on whether the auxiliary asymmetrically c-commands the participle or not, but he does not develop this further.

(3:93) The present or past perfect:



A present or past perfect involves two separate assertion time intervals, one which the non-finite tense places anterior to the evaluation time, and one which lies in present in the case of a present perfect. In the following, I identify the perfect time span with the assertion time (AST₂) of the participial clause. The matrix assertion time (AST₁), on the other hand, corresponds to the Reichenbachian reference time (though it is an interval and not a point in time). The value of the lower AspP determines the reading of the perfect; bounded aspect yields an experiential perfect, unbounded aspect a universal perfect (in the presence of a durative adverbial) or a perfect of recent past, and resultative aspect a resultative perfect. The higher AspP presumably always carries unbounded aspect, but since HAVE is a stative verb, the progressive is excluded in English. In Greek, the auxiliary HAVE always has imperfective morphology (Alexiadou 1997:97).

This account straightforwardly derives one of the possible readings of the present perfect in German, namely the reading where the perfect time span lies completely in the past (as it does in (3:92) above). This

reading can be illustrated as in (3:94) below (cf. (3:74a) above); the barred double brackets represent AST_2 (the perfect time span), while the single brackets represent the matrix assertion time (AST_1), which in the present perfect lies in the present (or in the future; see below).

(3:94) One reading of the German present perfect:
 ————— $\{\!\!\{$ ——— $\}\!\!\}$ ——— $[-S-]$ →

Now, consider positional past time adverbials. I have assumed that positional past time adverbials always relate to the assertion time and never to the event time (see above). Specifically, an adverbial like *yesterday* places the assertion time within the interval of yesterday. Consider e.g. the example in (3:95), where the assertion time lies within *yesterday*; the assertion time, in turn, contains the event time.

(3:95) She read the paper yesterday.

In the German present perfect, AST_2 can lie completely in the past of the speech time and may therefore be included in the interval specified by an adverbial like *yesterday*. Positional past time adverbials are therefore possible in the German present perfect.

The restriction on positional past time adverbials in languages like English and Swedish, on the other hand, poses a challenge to the biclausal analysis. I will assume that the relevant difference between languages like English and Swedish and languages like German relates to the semantics of HAVE. The verb HAVE is often assumed to be composed of BE + a prepositional element. According to Kayne (1993), one of the possible realizations of the element that incorporates into BE to form HAVE is the preposition *in*. We can assume that the verb HAVE (or the preposition that it includes) can denote inclusion (on one of its readings); cf. (3:96) where the Possessors (the cup and the city, respectively) include the Possessums (the ear and the poor neighbourhoods, respectively). With inanimate subjects, the relation is necessarily one of inalienable possession; that is, the possessed element is necessarily a part of the Possessor (cf. Postma 1997:278 and Uriagereka 1998).

(3:96) a. The cup has an ear.
 b. The city has poor neighbourhoods.

I suggest that also temporal HAVE denotes inclusion, at least in languages like English and Swedish, namely the inclusion of the matrix assertion time (AST_1) in the embedded, participial assertion time (AST_2).

Possessive and temporal HAVE thus differ with respect to the argument of the prepositional element: with possessive HAVE, the preposition takes DP arguments, with temporal HAVE, it takes temporal (ZP) arguments. In this way, the preposition of HAVE is just like many other prepositions; cf. e.g. *the book on the table* where *on* takes DP arguments, and *do it on Thursday* where it takes temporal arguments. I return to the precise syntax of HAVE in chapter 9 below, where I suggest that the difference between the temporal auxiliary in languages like German and the temporal auxiliary in languages like Swedish and English is the presence/absence of the temporal preposition.

On this account, the perfect time span, which according to Pancheva & von Stechow (2004) necessarily includes the speech time in the present perfect, is derived as a combination of two assertion times with the semantics of HAVE. The English and Swedish perfect can in this way be represented as in (3:97); the barred double brackets represent AST_2 and the simple brackets AST_1 .

(3:97) — [[]] —→

If the event time holds throughout AST_2 , it will necessarily hold throughout AST_1 ; this yields a universal perfect. The universal perfect in (3:98) can thus be represented as in (3:99), where + represents the event time.

(3:98) Han har sprungit i minst en timme nu.
he has run for at.least an hour now
 ‘He has been running for at least an hour now.’

(3:99) — ++ [[]] ++ —→

In the present perfect, neither of the assertion times lies completely in the past, and neither can therefore be included in the interval of a positional past time adverbial.

The question is how the external argument (EVT_2) of the non-finite T is construed. I suggested above that it is interpreted relative to the event time of the matrix verb (HAVE). Since the aspect of HAVE presumably is unbounded, the event time of HAVE includes AST_1 ; if the non-finite tense placed AST_2 strictly before the event time of HAVE, AST_2 would also lie strictly before AST_1 , and AST_1 could not be included in AST_2 , as I have suggested.

Now, it is sometimes argued that the speech time should be viewed as a point in time, and not as an interval (see e.g. Giorgi & Pianesi 1997:

157ff., Cowper 1998); we can assume that the evaluation time in a simple finite clause is set as a point within the speech event. In a parallel way, we can assume that the evaluation time of a non-finite tense is set to some point within a matrix event time. Consequently, AST_2 is placed before some point within the event time of HAVE in a perfect, and, since the aspect of HAVE is unbounded, this point does not necessarily lie within AST_1 ; AST_1 can therefore be included in AST_2 . This gives us a perfect like that in (3:100), where the barred double brackets represent AST_2 , the simple brackets AST_1 , and + the event time of HAVE (the participial event time is not included).

(3:100) — [[[+ [+]]] +] —————>

Here, I will assume that the right boundaries of the two assertion times necessarily coincide, and that the matrix assertion time therefore is interpreted as the final subinterval of the participial assertion time.⁶⁷

Consider now the difference between English, on the one hand, and the Scandinavian languages and German on the other, with regard to present perfects with a future reference time; cf. again the examples in (3:11)–(3:13) above (repeated in (3:101)–(3:103)).

(3:101) Nästa vecka har jag läst klart boken.
next week have I read finished the.book
 ‘Next week, I will have finished reading the book.’

(3:102) # Next week, I have finished reading the book.

(3:103) Nächste Woche habe ich das Buch fertig gelesen.
next week have I the book finished read
 ‘Next week, I will have finished reading the book.’

As mentioned, the English present tense presumably introduces an interval which is coextensive with the speech time (i.e., it is a point in time), whereas the German and Scandinavian present tense has the value [-PAST] and therefore states that AST does not precede the speech time

⁶⁷ Without additional assumptions, nothing automatically excludes that the participial assertion time extends into the future of the matrix assertion time, as long as it precedes some point within the time of HAVE. However, we know that the boundaries of temporal intervals tend to be set in relation to other intervals (introduced e.g. by implicit or explicit temporal adverbials). A more elaborate account should consider also the interpretation of non-finite present tenses and the temporal interpretation of embedded finite clauses.

(in a matrix clause).⁶⁸ Since German and the Scandinavian languages thus allow AST_1 to lie after the speech time in the present perfect (as in the simple present), the present perfect can have a future reference time (AST_1).⁶⁹

3.5.3. Positional adverbials in past perfects

As we saw above, positional past time adverbials can be ambiguous in past perfects; consider again the examples in (3:71) above (repeated in (3:104) below). In (3:104a), the adverbial *klockan 6* ‘at six o’clock’ specifies the reference time. In (3:104b), on the other hand, it can appear to modify the event time. However, if this were actually the case, there would be no way of excluding positional past time adverbials in the present perfect; cf. (3:105) which is ungrammatical (disregarding a reading where the adverbial specifies a time in the future).

- (3:104) a. Igår kom Frida till Peters kontor klockan sex.
yesterday came Frida to Peter's office the.clock six
 Men Peter hade gått hem klockan sex.
but Peter had gone home the.clock six
 ‘Yesterday Frida came to Peter’s office at six o’clock. But Peter had gone home at six o’clock.’
 RB = six o’clock
 E(*leaving*) < six o’clock
- b. Igår kom Frida till Peters kontor klockan sju.
yesterday came Frida to Peter's office the.clock seven
 Men Peter hade gått hem klockan sex.
but Peter had gone home the.clock six
 ‘Yesterday Frida came to Peter’s office at seven o’clock. But Peter had gone home at six o’clock.’
 RB = seven o’clock
 E(*leaving*) = six o’clock
 (cf. Klein 1992:327)

⁶⁸ The present account is compatible with analyses that argue that English present morphology has perfective marking (Giorgi & Pianesi 1997), as well as with analyses in terms of a generic operator (Chierchia 1995, Alexiadou 1997:100f.).

⁶⁹ In English, a future reading of the present is possible if the eventuality is planned and certain to happen, as in (i). The present perfect, on the other hand, can never have a future reference time, presumably since the eventuality denoted by the auxiliary HAVE cannot be planned and certain to happen; cf. (ii).

- (i) The train leaves at two o’clock this afternoon.
 (ii) * The train has left at two o’clock this afternoon.

- (3:105) *Peter har gått hem klockan sex.
Peter has gone home the.clock six
 (Six o'clock < S)

Pancheva & von Stechow (2004) tie the restriction on positional adverbials in English to the semantics of the present tense, and the present perfect can therefore have properties different from those of the past perfect. According to Pancheva & von Stechow, the English past perfect is just like the German present perfect: the perfect time need not include the reference time. The ambiguity of an adverbial relates to the extension of the perfect time span. In my account of the perfect, this can hardly be maintained. Since the properties of the perfect are tied to the semantics of the auxiliary, we do not expect the matrix tense to affect the possibility of adverbial modification.

In the analysis in Pancheva & von Stechow (2004), universal past perfects in English and Swedish should behave like universal present perfects in German, since they should allow the perfect time span to end before the time set by tense. This does not appear to be the case; cf. (3:106) and (3:107) which are both infelicitous with an adverbial that expresses that the participial event time ended before the time set by the matrix clause.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Like Pancheva & von Stechow, Rothstein (2008) assumes that the perfect time span need not include the reference time in the past perfect in Swedish and English. He bases this on examples like (i) and (ii) below (cf. Rothstein 2008:53).

- (i) # Tills jag träffade en annan, har jag alltid älskat dig.
until I met another have I always loved you
- (ii) Tills jag träffade en annan, hade jag alltid älskat dig.
until I met another had I always loved you
 'Until I met someone else I had always loved you.'

However, these examples are not completely comparable. In (i) the adverbial specifies a time that necessarily lies before the reference time (the adverbial involves a past tense); in (ii) this is not necessarily the case (both the adverbial and the auxiliary HAVE are in the past). With a present tense adverbial, also the present perfect in (i) becomes available:

- (iii) Tills nu har jag alltid älskat dig.
until now have I always loved you
 'Until now, I have always loved you.'

With an adverbial introduced by *tills* 'until', a universal perfect presumably expresses that the participial eventuality holds throughout AST₂ and, hence, at the reference time, but that it does not extend past AST₂ and the reference time. In (ii)

- (3:106) Vid den tiden hade han alltid bott i Stockholm (#tills
at that the.time had he always lived in Stockholm until
 för ett tag sedan).
for a while ago
- (3:107) At that time, he had always lived in Stockholm (#until some time
 ago).

I therefore conclude that the perfect time span (AST₂) always includes the reference time (AST₁) in languages like English and Swedish.

The ambiguity of positional past time adverbials in the past perfect is actually predicted under the present account. Consider the representation of the past perfect in (3:108) below, where there are two intervals which can be specified by adverbials like *yesterday*. Since the matrix tense places AST₁ before the speech time in the past perfect, it can be a subset of *yesterday*. AST₂ includes AST₁ but is still anterior to the speech time; it too can be a subset of *yesterday*.

- (3:108) — [[— [—]]] — S →

Consider the example in (3:109) which is ambiguous between a reading where the departure took place before (some point within) yesterday and a reading where it took place yesterday.

- (3:109) Hon hade åkt igår.
she had gone yesterday
 ‘She had gone yesterday.’

On the first reading, AST₁ is included in yesterday, and AST₂ partly precedes yesterday. The eventuality lies within AST₂ and need therefore not have taken place yesterday. On the second reading, AST₂ lies within *yesterday* and the eventuality therefore necessarily does, too. The two readings are illustrated in (3:110a) and (3:110b), respectively; + represents the participial event time. For simplicity, I have placed the entire eventuality before AST₁, but this is not necessary.

- (3:110) a. — [[— +++ [—] yesterday]]] — S →
 b. — [[— +++ [—]]] yesterday — S →

above, the reference time lies in the past, and the state of loving therefore also ended in the past.

The account of the ambiguity of punctual adverbials is not quite this straightforward. Following Iatridou et al. (2001) and others, we could assume that punctual adverbials specify the right boundary of the assertion time. This means that in the past perfect in (3:104a) above, the adverbial *klockan sex* ‘at six o’clock’ specifies the right boundary of AST_1 , whereas in (3:104b) it specifies the right boundary of AST_2 . However, given a past perfect like (3:108), the right boundary of AST_1 and the right boundary of AST_2 coincide, and we might therefore not expect any ambiguity with this kind of adverbial. It is possible that the ambiguity depends on the placement of the participial event time; when the punctual adverbial relates to AST_1 it does not say anything about the position of the event time; when it relates to AST_2 , it does. It can be noted that the adverbial is not ambiguous in universal perfects; consider again (3:106) and (3:107) above. Another possibility is that these punctual adverbials do not specify the right boundary of the perfect time span, but rather allows us to view the assertion time as a point; this would make their semantics more similar to that of *yesterday*.

3.5.4. Conclusion

In the previous sections, I have proposed a way to reconcile the biclausal analysis of the perfect with the semantics of the perfect suggested by Iatridou et al. (2001) and Pancheva (2003) by taking the semantics of the auxiliary into account. The necessary assumption is that the evaluation time of the non-finite tense is a point in time (like the speech time) and that the assertion time of the non-finite clause therefore is placed anterior to some point within the event time of the auxiliary (and not anterior to the speech time). Understood in this way, the biclausal analysis is not only equally successful in deriving the semantics of the perfect as a monoclausal account, but also opens for a new solution to the present perfect puzzle, and an explanation for the ambiguity of positional past time adverbials in the past perfect.

Since the analysis pursued here links the semantics of the perfect to the meaning of the auxiliary (in combination with the non-finite past tense), it opens for variation between languages. As shown by Pancheva & von Stechow (2004) and Rothstein (2008), the perfect time span (AST_2 in my terminology) need not include the reference time (AST_1) in languages like German. We can assume that in German, the auxiliary HAVE is semantically empty (or that it does not necessarily express inclusion). This accounts for the possibility of positional past time ad-

verbials and for universal perfects where the eventuality holds throughout AST₂ but not at the reference time. I return to the syntax-semantics of HAVE in more detail in chapter 9 below.

3.6. A note on non-finite perfects and the inferential perfect

In this section, I comment briefly on non-finite perfects and the so-called inferential perfect. Although it is not morphologically visible in English and Swedish, some infinitival clauses seem to express a non-finite present or future tense (see e.g. Stowell 1982).

3.6.1. Tensed and tenseless infinitivals and non-finite perfects

According to Wiklund (2007), verbs like *påstå* ‘claim,’ *anse* ‘consider’ and *övertala* ‘persuade’ take tensed complements in Swedish, whereas verbs like *börja* ‘begin,’ *låta* ‘let’ and *hjälpa* ‘help’ do not. Unlike tenseless infinitivals, tensed infinitivals can have a temporal reference that is not overlapping with the matrix tense; see (3:111) and (3:112).

(3:111) a. *Han börjar att ha stekt en fisk igår.
he begin.PRES to have fried a fish yesterday

b. Han påstås ha stekt en fisk igår.
he claim.PRES.PASS have fried a fish yesterday

‘He is claimed to have fried a fish yesterday.’
 (Wiklund 2007:38f.)

(3:112) a. Igår hjälpte jag henne att komma hem (*imorgon).
yesterday helped I her to come home tomorrow
 ‘Yesterday, I helped her to come home.’

b. Igår beslutade hon att komma hem imorgon.
yesterday decided she to come home tomorrow
 ‘Yesterday, she decided to come home tomorrow.’

Wiklund argues that only tenseless infinitivals allow copying of the matrix morphology; cf. (3:113a) which allows doubling of the supine morphology and (3:113b) which does not.⁷¹

⁷¹ Copying of tense morphology is colloquial and not part of the written standard. It is, however, not uncommon, and it is attested also in Old Swedish (see Ljunggren 1934 and Wiklund 2007 for discussion).

- (3:113) a. Han har börjat steka/stekt en fisk.
he has begin.SUP fry.INF /fry.SUP a fish
 ‘He has begun to fry a fish.’
- b. *Han har påstått stekt en fisk.
he has claim.SUP.PASS fry.INF/fry.SUP a fish
 (cf. Wiklund 2007:45, 50)

As noted by Zwart (2007), infinitives can sometimes be compatible with a past tense adverbial without embedding a perfect, whereas at other times an infinitival perfect is needed; cf. the Dutch examples in (3:114a) and (3:114b). Zwart suggests that this is because the former are tenseless, while the latter are tensed; only when tense is present is an infinitival perfect needed for a past tense reading.

- (3:114) a. Dat slapen toen de telefoon ging was stom.
that sleep.INF when the phone go.PAST.SG be.PAST.SG stupid
 ‘Sleeping when the phone rang was stupid.’
- b. Jan beweert viool gespeeld te hebben toen de bom ontplofte
John claims violin played to have when the bomb exploded
 ‘John claims to have been playing the violin when the bomb exploded.’
 (Zwart 2007:8f.)

In Swedish, the infinitival in (3:115a) is compatible with a past tense adverbial without perfect morphology, whereas the infinitival in (3:115b) requires perfect morphology.

- (3:115) a. Att sova när telefonen ringde var dumt.
to sleep when the.phone rang was stupid
 ‘To sleep when the phone rang was stupid.’
- b. Han påstår sig *sova/ha sovit när telefonen ringde.
he claims REFL sleep/have slept when the.phone rang
 ‘He claims to *sleep/have slept when the phone rang.’

Note that the temporal adverbial of the infinitival in (3:115a) is dependent on the matrix tense; cf. (3:116), where the matrix clause is in the present tense. This suggests that the infinitival clause is tenseless.

- (3:116) *Att sova när telefonen ringde är dumt.
to sleep when the.phone rang is stupid

In the tensed infinitival, on the other hand, the matrix tense has nothing to say; in (3:117a) the infinitival perfect is embedded under a present tense, and in (3:117b) a present tense infinitival is embedded under a past tense.

- (3:117) a. Han påstår sig ha sovit när telefonen ringde.
he claims REFL have slept when the.phone rang
 ‘He claims to have slept when the phone rang.’
- b. Han påstod sig kunna sova även när telefonen ringer.
he claimed REFL could.INF sleep also when the.phone rings
 ‘He claims to be able to sleep also when the phone rings.’

As pointed out by Zwart (2007), perfect morphology is possible also in the tenseless infinitival; consider the example in (3:118) below.

- (3:118) Att ha sovit när telefonen ringer är bra.
to have slept when the.phone rings is good
 ‘To have slept when the phone rings is good.’

We can assume that structures can be tenseless in two different ways, either by having a deficient, unvalued T, or by lacking a T altogether (cf. Wiklund 2007). Whereas past participles can be assumed to lack T (see the following chapters), the tenseless infinitivals above presumably come with an unvalued auxiliary T which is valued (as present or past) by the matrix (finite) T.⁷² In other words, the participial tense is interpreted relative to the matrix finite tense. Since the matrix T has a present tense value in (3:118), the reading is that of a present perfect. As expected, positional past time adverbials are excluded; cf. (3:119).

- (3:119) *Att ha sovit när telefonen ringde är bra.
to have slept when the.phone rang is good

An adverbial like *nyligen* ‘recently’, which is compatible with a present perfect, is possible also in tenseless infinitivals; cf. the present perfect in (3:120a) and the tenseless infinitival in (3:120b).⁷³

- (3:120) a. Hon har nyligen somnat.
she has recently fallen.asleep
 ‘She has recently fallen asleep.’

⁷² As noted by Wiklund (2007), valuation and interpretation of tense is not ‘bottom-up’; an unvalued tense appears to be valued by a higher tense (even when there is a lower tense in the structure). Tenses are known to have anaphoric properties (see e.g. Partee 1973, Kratzer 1998).

⁷³ I disregard the fact that some tenseless infinitivals have future-oriented or modal reading which is incompatible with all kinds of past tense modification.

- b. Det är alltid irriterande att nyligen ha somnat när
it is always annoying to recently have fallen asleep when
 telefonen ringer.
the.phone rings
 'It is always annoying to have recently fallen asleep when the phone
 rings.'

When the finite tense instead is in the past, also a positional past time adverbial is possible; cf. (3:121).

- (3:121) Att ha sovit när telefonen ringde var bra.
to have slept when the.phone rang was good
 'To have slept when the phone rang was good.'

In tensed non-finite perfects, on the other hand, the auxiliary presumably comes with a present tense value; the non-finite past has participial morphology. The question then is why tensed infinitivals are not restricted in the same way as the present perfect with regard to positional past time adverbials; consider the examples in (3:122), where also the matrix is in the present tense.

- (3:122) a. Han påstås ha stekt en fisk igår.
he claim.PRES.PASS have fried a fish yesterday
 'He is claimed to have fried a fish yesterday.'
 b. Han är glad över att ha vunnit igår.
he is happy over to have won yesterday
 'He is happy to have won yesterday.'

One possibility is that the difference between present perfect and non-finite perfects in tensed infinitivals depends on the anchoring of the tense of the auxiliary clause. In finite perfects, the matrix tense relates the assertion time (AST_1) to the speech time. Since the participial assertion time includes AST_1 in languages like Swedish and English, positional past time adverbials are excluded when AST_1 lies in the present (i.e. in the present perfect). In tensed non-finite perfects, the tense of the auxiliary is presumably related to the matrix event time and not to the speech time; recall that I have assumed that the participial past tense is ordered in relation to (some moment in) the event time of HAVE, and not directly in relation to the speech time. Since the event time can partly precede the speech time, the non-finite present can be anchored to a moment before the speech time, and the participial assertion time can consequently also strictly precede the speech time. The prediction is therefore that the interpretation of the non-finite

perfect depends on the matrix event time and how it is related to an assertion time (i.e. on aspect); I leave an investigation of this for future work.

Non-finite perfects embedded under modals behave like tenseless infinitivals in the sense that the time of the modal and the time of the infinitive cannot be independently specified; consider (3:123). A non-finite perfect embedded under a modal with what seems to be present tense morphology is, however, compatible with a past time adverbial; cf. (3:124).

- (3:123) a. Han måste ha sovit igår.
he must have slept yesterday
 ‘He must have slept yesterday.’
- b. Idag måste han ha sovit (*igår).
today must he have slept yesterday
 ‘Today, he must have slept.’
- (3:124) Han ska ha sovit igår.
he is.said have slept yesterday
 ‘He is said to have slept yesterday.’

There are well-known complications with regard to modals and tense (see Eide 2005 for discussion). We could assume that the modal itself is tenseless (like e.g. Cinque 1999), and that the tense value is contributed by the infinitival alone. However, if the infinitive embedded under a modal has a present tense value, a non-finite perfect embedded under a modal would behave like a present perfect, and positional past tense adverbials would be excluded. In fact, constructions with modals do typically not make assertions about the speech time; in none of the examples in (3:125) is it asserted that the time of the event lies partly or completely within an interval that includes the speech time. Non-finite perfects embedded under modals do therefore not necessarily involve an assertion time that includes the speech time.

- (3:125) a. Hon måste sova nu.
she must sleep now
 ‘She must sleep now.’
 ‘She must be sleeping now.’
- b. Hon ska sova nu.
she shall sleep now
 ‘She will sleep now.’
 ‘She should sleep now.’

For the purposes of this thesis, it suffices that the analysis of the perfect as involving a biclausal structure and a non-finite past tense does not preclude an account of the properties of non-finite perfects. I will not discuss them further, but instead turn to a modal use of present perfect morphology.

3.6.2. *The inferential perfect*

As noted above, present perfect morphology is sometimes grammatical with positional past time adverbials in the Scandinavian languages; see the Swedish examples in (3:126), Icelandic in (3:127) and Norwegian in (3:128) (cf. also the examples in (3:87) and (3:88) above).

- (3:126) På försommaren 1814 har Stagnelius säkerligen återvändt
in the early.summer 1814 has Stagnelius surely returned
 till hemmet i Kalmar.
to the.home in Kalmar
 ‘In the early summer of 1814, Stagnelius surely returned to his home
 in Kalmar.’
 (Kinnander 1973:129; example from 1919)⁷⁴
- (3:127) Jón hefur verið fullur þegar hann sagði þetta.
John has been drunk when he said this
 ‘John was probably drunk when he said this.’
 (Thráinsson 2005:363)
- (3:128) De har trolig truffet hverandre mens de var i Paris.
they have probably met each.other while they were in Paris
 ‘They probably met each other while they were in Paris.’
 (Faarlund et al. 1997:632)

Examples like these have an epistemic reading and convey that the speaker makes an inference based on the evidence at hand; this use of the perfect is therefore sometimes referred to as the evidential or inferential reading.

The topic of the sentence need not be alive in the inferential perfect as it does in the present perfect; the poet Stagnelius died in 1823, but the example in (3:126) is from 1919; cf. the infelicitous present perfects in (3:129) (see also fn. 57 above).

⁷⁴ The spelling with *-dt* on the participle (*återvändt* for *återvänt*) was standard until the spelling reform in 1906, but is attested also after that.

- (3:129) a. #Stagnelius har dött 1823.
 Stagnelius has died 1823
 b. #Stagnelius har varit sjuk. (Disregarding the inferential reading)
 Stagnelius has been sick

Inferential perfects typically involve an epistemic adverb. Contrary to what Rothstein (2005, 2008) claims, the adverbial is, however, not necessary, and the inferential meaning therefore appears to be independent of it; cf (3:130) which is grammatical on an inferential reading also without the adverbial.

- (3:130) Han har (tydligen) varit sjuk igår.
 he has apparently been sick yesterday
 ‘Apparently, he was sick yesterday.’

The inferential reading is, however, not independent of the present perfect morphology. As pointed out by Izvorski (1997), an inferential reading is not generally available in different syntactic configurations in the absence of adverbials; for a present tense sentence like (3:131) to get an inferential reading, an adverbial is required. Similar patterns are reported also from other languages (e.g. Turkish and Bulgarian; see Izvorski 1997 and Bybee & Dahl 1989).

- (3:131) Han är sjuk.
 he is sick
 ‘He is sick.’
 not ‘He is apparently sick.’

The inferential perfect has often been assumed to have a simple past tense reading, rather than a perfect tense reading (for Icelandic see e.g. Thráinsson 2005:363). We could assume that the auxiliary HAVE in the inferential perfect is a modal, hence the similar behaviour of the inferential perfect and non-finite perfects under modals.⁷⁵ It is well known that tense morphology sometimes can be utilized to express modality (cf. chapter 5 below). Here, a full discussion of the inferential perfect would lead too far afield, and this reading is disregarded in the following.

⁷⁵ Rothstein (2005, 2008) postulates that the inferential reading is a non-finite perfect embedded under a zero modal auxiliary; also non-finite perfects embedded under modals allow positional past time adverbials. Among other things, this analysis runs into problems with accounting for the fact that the zero modal only occurs with present perfect morphology.

3.7. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued for a biclausal analysis of the perfect. The main argument for this is that it allows us to account for the perfect without assuming a particular perfect phrase. The challenge is to successfully account for the semantics of the perfect, allowing also for the universal reading, and to explain the restrictions on adverbial modification in languages like English and Swedish. I have shown that the biclausal analysis can, in fact, be reconciled with the semantics of the perfect suggested by Iatridou et al. (2001) and Pancheva (2003).

Moreover, I have suggested that the difference between languages like German, on the one hand, and languages like Swedish and English, on the other, is a consequence of the varying properties of the auxiliary; in Swedish and English, temporal HAVE places the matrix assertion time within the participial assertion time, whereas in German, the relation between the two assertion times is unspecified. The English and Swedish present perfect can be represented as in (3:132), whereas the German present perfect allows both this reading (represented in (3:133a)) and the reading represented in (3:133b).

(3:132) The English and Swedish present perfect:

————— { { ————— S { } →

(3:133) The German present perfect:

a. ————— { { ————— S { } →

b. ————— { { — { } ————— S →

Given the biclausal analysis of the perfect, the historical development of the HAVE-perfect can be viewed as a development of a participle with a non-finite past tense value (a perfect participle) and a temporal auxiliary HAVE. Since the different readings of the perfect share the syntax of the perfect, but differ with regard to aspect, the development of the perfect can be understood as a single change.

In the next chapter, I give an empirical overview of the earliest examples of perfect-type constructions and unambiguous perfects with HAVE in the Germanic languages.

4. Early perfects

The perfect with HAVE is generally assumed to originate in a construction with possessive HAVE + a stative participial complement as in (4:1a) below; cf. the perfect in (4:1b) (see among others Meillet 1917, Johannisson 1945:18, Kuryłowicz 1965, Bybee & Dahl 1989).

- (4:1) a. Frida har redan väskorna packade.
Frida has already the.bags pack.PTC.PL
 ‘Frida already has the bags packed.’
- b. Frida har redan packat väskorna.
Frida has already pack.SUP the.bags
 ‘Frida has already packed the bags.’

A similarity in form and meaning is a prerequisite for the reanalysis from a perfect-like construction to a perfect tense. However, there are also differences between the two constructions relating both to form and interpretation which make it possible to trace the development of the perfect in the historical records. In the investigation of the early development of the perfect in the Germanic languages, it is therefore crucial how we make the distinction between the perfect-like construction with HAVE and the HAVE-perfect. Much of the discussion in this and the following chapters will centre on what distinguishes the perfect from the perfect-like constructions.

In the preceding chapter, I distinguished four readings of the perfect: the experiential perfect, the universal perfect, the perfect of recent past and the resultative perfect. Following Iatridou et al. (2001) and Pancheva (2003), I assumed that these readings are a consequence of aspectual features that are not contributed by perfect morphology, but which occur also outside the perfect. The perfect-like construction with possessive HAVE is, however, generally restricted to the resultative reading, which states that the target state of a telic predicate holds at the time of the matrix clause. The experiential reading is generally not available; cf. the experiential perfect in (4:2) with the corresponding, ungrammatical perfect-like example in (4:3) below.

(4:2) Hon har packat väskorna tre gånger.
she has packed the.bags three times
 ‘She has packed the bags three times.’

(4:3) *Hon har väskorna packade tre gånger.
she has the.bags pack.PTC.PL three times

In this chapter, I give an empirical background to the early development of perfects with HAVE in the Germanic languages as it can be traced in the historical records. The focus is on the different readings of the perfect and the kind of predicate involved. Constructions with BE are largely disregarded; they are treated separately in the following chapters.

Section 4.1 discusses ways to distinguish perfect-like examples from perfects. The diagnostics are to be taken as a first attempt; they will be modified in the following chapters as the syntax and semantics of the perfect-like constructions are specified. In section 4.2, I investigate the occurrences of constructions with HAVE + participle in some of the oldest Germanic sources. In section 4.3, I look closer at the evidence for perfects in Old Scandinavian, and compare the results to previous studies on English. I return to the interpretation of the historical data in chapter 10, where I also take into consideration questions relating to participle agreement and case.

4.1. Distinguishing perfects

Disregarding possible differences in agreement-patterns and word order, perfect-like constructions and perfects can be formally identical, both involving HAVE (or BE) and a participial form. They can also have roughly the same meaning; consider the examples in (4:1) again (repeated in (4:4) below).

- (4:4) a. Frida har redan väskorna packade.
Frida has already the.bags pack.PTC.PL
 ‘Frida already has the bags packed.’
 b. Frida har redan packat väskorna.
Frida has already pack.SUP the.bags
 ‘Frida has already packed the bags.’

The construction with HAVE + agreeing participle in (4:4a) and the perfect with HAVE + supine in (4:4b) both state that there is a present situation (of packed bags) which results from an event of packing. In both cases, Frida is interpreted as the Agent of the packing (at least on

the primary reading). However, as soon as the event of packing (rather than the filled bags) is contextually relevant, only the perfect is possible. Hence, the resultative in (4:4a) cannot be used in a context where somebody has to empty a room by putting everything in it in bags and where the intended result is the empty room rather than the packed bags. On the other hand, the matrix subject and the Agent of the participial event can have disjoint reference in the construction with possessive HAVE, but not in the perfect; a possible reading of (4:5) is that Frida wanted somebody else to do the packing. Also a reading where Frida is the (intended) Agent of the packing is possible (e.g. in a context where Frida wanted to get time to do the packing before Thursday). Whether the subject is coreferent with the implicit argument of the participle or not appears to depend on the wider context.

- (4:5) Frida ville ha väskorna packade innan torsdag.
 Frida wanted have the.bags pack.PTC.PL before Thursday
 ‘Frida wanted to have the bags packed before Thursday.’

As pointed out above, the similarities in morphology and form between the constructions is a prerequisite for change; the more a construction resembles some other construction, the more likely it is that it is reinterpreted as involving the (structure of the) other construction. In the development of the perfect, the perfect-like construction is interpreted as a construction that was not previously present in the language. In the historical records, examples of unambiguous perfects constitute evidence for the reanalysis. In the following, I consider possible diagnostics that can be applied to the historical data in order to pinpoint unambiguous perfects.

As will be seen in chapter 10, the morphological distinction between past participle and supine is not yet established in Old and Early Modern Swedish, and it can therefore not be used as a diagnostic in the historical material. Furthermore, Present-Day Swedish can omit finite forms of temporal HAVE in subordinate clauses, as in (4:6). Finite auxiliary omission does not appear to be possible in Old Swedish, and in Present-Day Swedish it is always optional (see further chapter 9).

- (4:6) Jag vet att hon (har) skrivit brevet.
 I know that she has written the.letter
 ‘I know that she (has) written the letter.’

Also non-finite auxiliary HAVE can be omitted in certain context, e.g. in perfects embedded under modals with preterite morphology (see Julien 2002 for discussion); a present-day example is given in (4:7).

- (4:7) Han skulle (ha) skrivit den.
he should have written it
 ‘He should (have) written it.’

Non-finite auxiliary omission is attested also in Old Swedish, but examples are rare. Auxiliary omission is therefore not relevant as a diagnostic in the historical material investigated here.

4.1.1. Word order

In Present-Day Swedish, perfects and perfect-like constructions with HAVE differ in both morphology and word order. In perfect-like constructions, the object DP obligatorily precedes the participle; in the perfect, an object DP cannot occur in the position between auxiliary and participle:

- (4:8) a. *Hon har packade väskorna.
she has pack.PTC.PL the.bags
 b. *Hon har väskorna packat.
she has the.bags pack.SUP/PTC.N.SG

Unlike Present-Day Swedish, Old Swedish and Old Norse (and the other Old Germanic languages) allow both object–verb and verb–object orders in perfects and other auxiliary constructions; cf. (4:9a) and (4:9b) (cf. e.g. Delsing 1999:163f. and Faarlund 2004).⁷⁶

- (4:9) a. Nu kunnu synæmæn garþ wiliæ fællæ.
now might inspector farm want.INF convict
 ‘Now the witnesses might want to declare a farm useless.’
 (UL 1297:Vb. 6)

⁷⁶ The form *hawi* of HAVE is the present or past subjunctive (sg. or 3pl.). Subjunctive forms are fairly common in the Old Scandinavian texts, particularly in the laws.

- b. ok landboe hawi foregiört allu ærwþi sinu. utæn
and tenant has forfeited all inheritance his except
 husum enum
houses one
 ‘and a tenant has forfeited all his inheritance except one of the
 houses’
 (UL 1297:Jb. 10)

Word order can therefore not be used to distinguish perfect-like constructions from perfects in the historical data and will not be considered further. It should, however, be noted that the variable word order makes the formal similarity between the perfect and the perfect-like construction greater in the Old Germanic languages than in the present-day languages; this also makes a reanalysis more likely.

4.1.2. Agreement

In Present-Day Swedish, the participle is inflected for number and gender in perfect-like constructions. In perfects, on the other hand, the participle is never inflected; cf. (4:1) (repeated in (4:10) below) and the ungrammatical examples in (4:11).

- (4:10) a. Frida har redan väskorna packade.
Frida has already the.bags pack.PTC.PL
 ‘Frida already has the bags packed.’
 b. Frida har redan packat väskorna.
Frida has already pack.SUP the.bags
 ‘Frida has already packed the bags.’
- (4:11) a. *Frida har redan väskorna packat.
she has already the.bags pack.SUP/PTC.N.SG
 b. *Frida har redan packade väskorna.
she has already pack.PTC.PL the.bags

To some extent, agreement (or the lack thereof) can be used as a means of distinguishing perfects from perfect-like constructions in the historical records. Participles obligatorily agree with the object DP in a perfect-like construction with HAVE in Present-Day Swedish, and we do not expect less agreement in Old Swedish than in Present-Day Swedish; on the contrary, Old Swedish has richer morphology than Present-Day Swedish. We can therefore assume that a construction with HAVE + a non-agreeing participle is a perfect and not a perfect-like construction in Old Swedish, just as it is in Present-Day Swedish. The same can be said

with regard to Icelandic but not to Old English and German where predicative participles and adjectives lose their inflection at an early stage.

We can, however, not immediately exclude transitive, agreeing participles from perfects. As pointed out by Kayne (1989:95) and Belletti (2006:502), there are Italian dialects where the participle agrees with a full object DP also in a perfect with HAVE (cf. Egerland 1996). This is possible also in literary Italian; see (4:12) which, according to Belletti is marginally grammatical on the relevant stylistic level.

- (4:12) Maria ha conosciute le ragazze
 Maria has know.PTC.FEM.PL the girl.FEM.PL
 ‘Maria has known the girls.’
 (Belletti 2006:502)

Agreeing participles are more common in the complement of HAVE in the oldest Scandinavian sources than they are in the modern languages (see Ekbo 1943); one example is given in (4:13) below.

- (4:13) Ec hefí Hlórriða hamar um fólgin
 I have the.thunderer's hammer.M.SG.ACC PRT hidden.M.SG.ACC
 ‘I have the hammer of the Thunderer hidden.’
 (Edda Þrk.8)

The high number of agreeing participles can *a priori* suggest either that participles could be inflected also in perfects or that perfect-like constructions were more common (or a combination of the two). I return to these possibilities in chapter 10.

4.1.3. Case

In the Old Germanic languages the possessive verb HAVE always assigns morphological accusative case to a DP object. In perfects, on the other hand, it is the perfect participle that assigns case, and, depending on participial verb, the object can therefore appear with accusative, dative or genitive marking (or be missing). Compare the Old Swedish examples of possessive HAVE in (4:14a) and temporal HAVE in (4:14b); the former case has an accusative object, the latter a genitive object.

- (4:14) a. han haur liusan hy:
he has pale.M.SG.ACC skin.M.SG.ACC
 ‘he has pale skin’
 (Leg c.1300:204)
- b. Nu skal bonde þæn sins haur mist
now shall farmer who.M.SG.ACC POSS.REFL.M.SG.GEN has lost
ingangæ
in.go
 ‘Now a farmer who has lost his [property] shall go in’
 (ÅVgL c. 1220:Tj. 5)

It has sometimes been assumed that the case-marking of the object DP distinguishes perfects from perfect-like constructions, and that genitive and dative DPs only appear in the complement of HAVE in perfects. This would mean that they could be used as a diagnostic for perfects. However, we cannot immediately exclude that participles in the complement of possessive HAVE can assign case (at some stage in the development). It is well known that passive past participles can assign dative case in languages like Icelandic. I therefore do not *a priori* take genitive and dative objects as evidence for perfect structures. In the investigation of the early Germanic perfects, I note the case patterns, and they are discussed in chapter 10.

4.1.4. Intransitive verbs and perfect readings

In the investigation of the Old Germanic material in this chapter, I focus on contexts where only perfects are expected to be possible, as e.g. in non-resultative perfects (experiential perfects and universal perfects). As noted above, a perfect-like construction like (4:15a) asserts that the target state of the embedded predicate still holds; cf. the perfect in (4:15b) which allows also an experiential reading.

- (4:15) a. Hon har väskorna packade (# men hon har packat upp
she has the.bags packed but she has packed up
dem igen).
them again
 ‘She has the bags packed (#but she has unpacked them again).’
- b. Hon har packat väskorna (men hon har packat upp
she has packed the.bags but she has packed up
dem igen)
them again
 ‘She has packed the bags (but she has unpacked them again).’

Frequency adverbials and adverbials of iteration or repetition yield an experiential reading; they are therefore not possible in perfect-like constructions; see (4:16) which is ungrammatical with the adverbial *många gånger* ‘many times’.

- (4:16) Hon har väskorna packade (*många gånger).
she has the.bags packed many times
 ‘She has the bags packed (*many times).’

In addition, perfect-like constructions with HAVE are restricted to certain groups of verbs, whereas perfects are not. Possessive HAVE is, for instance, not possible with participles of stative verbs (cf. chapter 6 below). Consequently, stative verbs unambiguously form perfects with HAVE; see (4:17).

- (4:17) a. *Frida har svaret vetat.
Frida has the.answer known
 b. Frida har vetat svaret.
Frida has known the answer
 ‘Frida has known the answer.’

Moreover, perfect-like constructions with HAVE require an object DP in Present-Day Swedish. Examples of intransitive verbs in the complement of HAVE can therefore be taken to be unambiguous perfects, independently of whether the verb is unergative (like *sova* ‘sleep’) or unaccusative (like *ankomma* ‘arrive’); see (4:18) which show that agreeing participles of intransitive verbs are disallowed in the complement of HAVE.

- (4:18) a. Frida har sovit/*soven.
Frida has sleep.SUP/sleep.PTC.C.SG
 ‘Frida has slept.’
 b. Frida har just ankommit/*ankommet/*ankommen.
Frida has just arrive.SUP/arrive.PTC.N.SG/arrived.PTC.C.SG
 ‘Frida has just arrived.’

Since participles of unaccusative verbs can have an active reading in the complement of BE, and form perfects with BE and not HAVE in languages like German and Danish, I keep them apart from other intransitive verbs in the investigation of the early perfects with HAVE.

One complication is that the object need not always be explicit in perfect-like constructions. Present-day Swedish examples like (4:19a) are, in fact, ambiguous between a perfect and a stative perfect-like

reading. On the latter reading, the construction presumably involves an implicit object pronoun, which can also be spelled-out as in (4:19b).

- (4:19) a. Hon har alltid städat hemma.
 she has always cleaned at.home
 i. ‘She always has a clean home.’
 ii. ‘She has always cleaned at home.’
 b. Hon har det städat hemma.
 she has it cleaned at.home
 ‘She has it clean at home.’

In the old Germanic sources, examples with implicit objects should therefore be treated as possibly ambiguous.

4.1.5. Summary

In this section, I have pointed out a few possible ways of distinguishing unambiguous perfects. In the rest of the chapter, it will be particularly relevant that intransitive and stative verbs do not occur in the complement of possessive HAVE. Examples of these verbs in the complement of HAVE will be taken as evidence for a perfect tense in the language.

In the following sections, I consider the evidence for a perfect in some of the oldest Germanic sources. The aim is not to analyse all examples of HAVE + participle as either perfects or perfect-like constructions. As noted, the ambiguous cases are important for an understanding of the grammatical change, but unambiguous cases, and examples that clearly differ in type, are necessary for us to trace the development. Given the diagnostics employed here, the group of examples that are considered ambiguous and possibly perfect-like is larger than we would expect from looking at the perfect-like construction with HAVE in Present-Day Swedish; as we will see, not all of the ambiguous examples can be translated with a construction with possessive HAVE + agreeing participle in Present-Day Swedish. By keeping the group of unambiguous perfects small and well-defined, the diagnostics for pinpointing the early unambiguous perfects can also be explicit and precise. Furthermore, as we will see in the following chapters, there is more than one kind of perfect-like construction, and perfect-like constructions can look more or less like perfects. If we treated more cases as unambiguous perfects, this observation would be lost.

4.2. Early Germanic perfects with HAVE

In this section, I give an overview of the occurrences of perfect-type constructions with HAVE in some of the oldest Germanic sources, considering in turn Gothic, Old Scandinavian, Old High German and Old English. The focus is on the first unambiguous cases of perfects. In section 4.3 below, I investigate the distribution of perfect-type constructions with HAVE closer, focusing on the Scandinavian languages.

4.2.1. Material

The overview is based mainly on the collections of data in earlier studies, particularly Ekbo (1943) and Grønvik (1986). As a complement, the Scandinavian runic material, *Beowulf* and the 9th century Old High German text by Otfrid have been investigated; see Table 4.1.⁷⁷ The study of *Beowulf* is based on the concordance of participles given in Köhler (1886) with a couple of minor corrections and the addition of one example (from Grønvik 1986:63). For the investigation of the text by Otfrid, I follow Dieninghoff (1904) and Erdmann (1874–1876); Dieninghoff bases his investigation on Erdmann's but adds one example and corrects another. All examples of HAVE + participle have been included in the data set, whether the reading is unambiguously perfect or not.

TABLE 4.1. *Investigated Old Germanic texts.*

<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Language</i>	<i>Text type</i>	<i>Text size</i>
<i>Beowulf</i>	–	Old English	Poetry	3182 couplets
Otfrid's <i>Evangelienbuch</i>	c. 870	Old High German	Versification of the gospels	7104 couplets
Runic inscriptions	(mainly) c. 900 – c.1100	Old Scandinavian	Epigraphy	c. 6500 inscriptions

The material is disparate both with regard to origin and text type. The text by Otfrid is a versified periphrasis of the four Gospels, but it is also

⁷⁷ The runic inscriptions are available electronically. The examples are taken from the electronic corpus of Scandinavian runic inscriptions (Samnordisk runtextdatabas, <http://www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm>). The interpretations and English translations are based on those given there. The signature of the inscriptions are given in brackets.

partly based on other (Latin) sources; it is not a pure translation. The dating of *Beowulf* is uncertain; the manuscript is now generally taken to originate in the 11th century, though the text is assumed to be older.⁷⁸ The corpus of runic inscriptions includes around 6500 Viking Age and Medieval inscriptions of varying length; most of them can be dated to the period 900–1100. There is a slight possibility that some of the material has a conservative language and appears older than it is; we have no way of knowing whether differences between the texts are due to real time or apparent time, to use the terminology of Weinreich, Labov & Herzog (1968) and others. The purpose here is not, and cannot be, to trace the real time emergence and spread of the perfect in the speech community, and the difference between real time and apparent time need therefore not be of any concern.⁷⁹

In addition to this material, I refer to previous studies of e.g. the 4th century Gothic Bible (translated from Greek by Wulfila), the Old High German (Alemannian) texts by Notker (born c. 950), which are translations from Latin and of several hundred pages (including e.g. Aristotle, Boethius, Virgil and the Book of Psalms), and the Old Saxon versified gospel *Heliand* (9th century) which is approximately 6000 lines.

4.2.2. Gothic

It is well known that Gothic has two tenses, the present and the preterite (cf. e.g. Krause 1968). In the Gothic Bible, Greek perfects are translated into present tense or simple past tense forms; according to Pollak (1929:14), the normal translation is the simple past (cf. also Stolzenburg 1905).

There are, however, a few examples of constructions with HAVE + *en*-participle in the Gothic Bible (see Grønvik 1986:34; cf. Gering 1874:299f., Ekbo 1943:111). One example is given in (4:20) below; the verb is *galagjan* ‘place, put away’.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ See Kiernan (1981) for an overview and critical discussion of the origin and age of *Beowulf*.

⁷⁹ We do not generally expect any elaborate differences between genres or manipulation of the language in the earliest Germanic sources, at least not in a sense relevant for the present study.

⁸⁰ In Old Germanic, the prefix *ga-* (*gi-/ge-*) is not restricted to participles, but can occur also on other verb forms (and in other categories). Its position and semantics is debated.

- (4:20) frauja, sai, sa skatts þeins þanei habaida
lord see that pound your which.M.SG.ACC have.PRET.1SG.
 galagidana in fanin
place.PTC.M.SG.ACC in napkin
 ‘Lord, see this your pound which I had placed in a napkin.’
 (Luke 19:20)⁸¹

The perfect-type constructions with HAVE in Gothic involve possessive and not temporal HAVE. The example in (4:20) expresses that the money was in the state resulting from the placing of them in the cloth (i.e., it was in the cloth), and it is not a translation of a Greek perfect. Consider the corresponding example in Greek, Latin and Swedish, given in (4:21).⁸²

- (4:21) a. kúrie, idou hē mnā sou hēn
lord see that coin your which.F.SG.ACC.
 eīchon apokeiménēn en soudariō
have.IMPACT.1SG hide.PTC.F.SG.ACC. in napkin
 ‘Lord, see this your pound which I had hidden in a napkin.’
 b. Domine, ecce moneta tua, quam, habui
lord see coin your which.F.SG.ACC. have.PERF.1SG.
 repositam in sudario
hide.PTC.F.SG.ACC. in napkin
 ‘Lord, see this your pound which I had had hidden in a napkin.’
 c. Herre, här har du ditt pund. Jag har haft
lord here have you your pound I have have.SUP
 det undanlagt i en duk
it.N.SG away.put.PTC.N.SG in a cloth
 ‘Lord, here you have your pound. I have had it put away in a cloth.’

The Greek text has an imperfect of HAVE with a participial complement. In Latin, HAVE is in the synthetic perfect tense and takes a past participial complement (*repositam*). Finally, in the Swedish translation, the temporal auxiliary HAVE embeds a perfect participle of possessive HAVE + a past participle.

The participial forms derived by the suffixes **-þa-* or **-ena-/*-ana-* have adjectival properties in Gothic, as in Latin and Sanskrit (see e.g. Larsson 2006 and references cited there). Like adjectives, they are inflected for gender, number and case, as in (4:20) above. There is one example where a participle takes a comparative form; namely *þaúrftozo*

⁸¹ Codex Argenteus has *galagida ina*.

⁸² I am grateful to Elisabeth Engdahl and Erik Magnusson for glossing the Greek and Latin examples. The transliteration from Greek is based on the Perseus key, which is available at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/cgi-bin/resolveform>.

‘more needed’ in (4:22) (cf. Krause 1968:249); the verb is *þaurban* ‘need’ and the positive of the participle is *þaurfts*.

- (4:22) *apþan du wisan in leika þaurftozo in izwara*
but to remain in the.body need.PTC.COMP for you
 ‘but to remain in the body [is] more needed for you’
 (Philippians 1:24; from Suzuki 1989:32)

In the modern Germanic languages, the adjectival inflection on participles has often been lost, and most often only analytic comparison is possible. Adjectival participles do, however, sometimes take morphological comparison also in Present-Day Swedish, as in *frusen* ‘frozen’, *frusnare* ‘more frozen’, *frusnast* ‘most frozen’ (cf. SAG 1999, 2:607).

It should, however, be noted that Gothic participles are not always easily analysed simply as pure adjectives. On the contrary, passives with the auxiliary BE appear to have been compatible with agent adverbials, as in (4:23) (see Abraham 1992 for a discussion of passives in Gothic).

- (4:23) *daupidai wesun allai in Iaurdane abvai fram imma*
baptize.PTC.PL.NOM were all in Jordan river by him
 ‘all were baptized by him in the Jordan river’
 (Mark 1:5)

In this respect Gothic is unlike German but like Swedish (cf. chapter 8 below). As noted in chapter 2 above, passive participles can have verbal properties even though the inflection is adjectival.

4.2.3. *Scandinavian*

Of the 16 instances of the verb HAVE in the Swedish Viking Age runic inscriptions in Peterson (2006), at least 9 appear to involve perfect-type constructions.⁸³ Consider the example in (4:24) which has a non-

⁸³ The numbers are not definitive, but depend on the interpretation of the inscriptions. Peterson (2006) gives 17 examples of forms of HAVE ‘have,’ but one of these (ÖgN 288) should, according to Gustavson (2003), be given a different reading. I do not include as perfect-type constructions two examples (U 512, U 758) where the relevant parts of the inscriptions are completely or almost completely missing. In addition, one example (Vg 59), which can be assumed to involve a perfect-type HAVE in an elliptic construction, is excluded, since the participle is implicit.

agreeing participle of a stative predicate (*vara* ‘be’), and two agreeing participles (*brutna* ‘broken’ and *barþa* ‘beaten’).

- (4:24) **sbiut** × / × **saR** × **uisitaula** × **um** × **uaRit** : **hafþi** ×
Spjót *who* *in.the.west* PRT *been* *had*
burg × **um** **brutna** : **i** : **auk** × **um** **barþa**
towns.F.SG.ACC PRT *broken.F.SG.ACC* *in* and PRT *beaten.F.SG.ACC*
 ‘Spjót, who had been in the west, broken down and fought in towns’
 (Sö 106)⁸⁴

Since stative and intransitive verbs are ungrammatical in non-perfects with HAVE, the participle of *vara* must be a perfect participle. There are all in all three examples of stative predicates in the complement of HAVE in the Swedish Viking Age inscriptions; one is given in (4:25); the third (Sö 159) is similar.

- (4:25) **han** **hafþi** : **ystarla** **u(m)** : **uaRit** : **lenki** :
he *had* *in.the.west* PRT *been* *long*
tuu : **a:ustarla** : **mep** : **inkuari**
died in.the.east with *Ingvarr*
 ‘He had long been in the west; died in the east with Ingvarr.’
 (Sö 173)

We can note that the reading of (4:25) is experiential rather than universal: he had been in the west for a long time, but he was not there when he died.

Also in the Norwegian medieval runic inscriptions there is an example of the verb BE embedded under HAVE; it is given in (4:26) below (cf. Ekbo 1943:33).⁸⁵ Again, the reading is experiential: the writer is not still in the place where the cranny can be reached.

- (4:26) **ek** **hæfi** **ueærit** **þar** **mani** **na** **kranne**
I *have* *been* *where* *could* *reach* *cranny*
 ‘I have been where (one) could reach (into the) cranny.’
 (N 49)

Hence, the Scandinavian languages appear to have had a perfect tense with HAVE already in the earliest written records; in this respect they

⁸⁴ It is possible that the form *uisitaula* ‘the west’ should instead be read as *uisitarla* (cf. *ystarla* ‘the west’ and *a:ustarla* ‘the east’ in (4:25)). Runic **r** can sometimes be very similar to runic **u**.

⁸⁵ In addition, Ekbo (1943:39) gives an example from a Danish medieval inscription (DR 373) where the verb HAVE is partly unreadable.

are noticeably different from Gothic.⁸⁶ The observation is supported by data from the earliest Scandinavian texts written in the Latin alphabet. *Áldre Västgötalagen* (ÄVgL, c. 1220) has examples of perfects with atelic and intransitive verbs, as in (4:27) below. I return to the frequencies and usage of perfects in Old Scandinavian in section 4.3.

- (4:27) Vatn skal eigh vændæ af fornu fari. aþrum
water should not turn from old course other
 manni til andmarkæ aþruvis æn fyr haur runnit.
men to detriment otherwise than before have run
 ‘Water should one not lead from its old course to the detriment of
 other men, different than it has run before.’
 (ÄVgL c. 1220:Kv.)

Apart from the perfect-type constructions with HAVE in the runic inscriptions, there is one example of a perfect-type construction with *egha* ‘own’ + participle; see (4:28) below (cf. Grønvik 1986:63). The participle is *launat* ‘rewarded’.⁸⁷

- (4:28) (r)añi (t)(u)k [...] in a iak as(u) (þ)ui launat
Hraði took but own I Ása therewith rewarded
 ‘Hraði took [...], but I, Ása, have therewith rewarded it’
 (DR 263)

As we will see below, similar examples occur also in German.

4.2.4. German

The evidence for a perfect tense in the oldest German sources is weak, and the development has been assumed to occur later in German than in the other Germanic languages. In the translation of *Isidor von Sevilla* from the end of the 8th century, all (synthetic) Latin perfects (in the active) are translated as the simple preterite (Schröder 1955:7). According to Grønvik (1986:34f.), the first occurrence of a perfect-type construction with HAVE + a participle of a transitive verb appears in the

⁸⁶ I disregard the older runic inscriptions. In the inscriptions given by Antonsen (1975), there are no examples of perfect-type construction with HAVE. This material is, however, too limited to allow for any conclusions.

⁸⁷ There are two interpretations of the stone. Marstrander (1965:272) reads the inscription as ‘I, Ása, have therewith paid for it’. Moltke (1985:354), on the other hand, interprets it as ‘with that, I, Ása, have rewarded [somebody]’.

beginning of the 9th century; see (4:29). It does not involve HAVE, but *eigan* ‘own’ + non-agreeing participle of the verb *empfangen* ‘get, receive’.

- (4:29) ir den chriſtanun namun intfangan eigut
 he who Christian name.M.SG.ACC receive.PTC.N.SG owned
 ‘he who had received a Christian name’
 (Exhortatio c. 800:49; from Grønvik 1986:34f.)

Since neither adjectives nor participles need show agreement in Old High German (see e.g. Lockwood 1968:39), we cannot necessarily distinguish perfects from perfect-like construction by means of inflection, and the example in (4:29) is therefore not an unambiguous perfect (even if it, unlike the Gothic example with HAVE + participle above, is a translation of a synthetic Latin perfect; see Grønvik 1986:35).

In the early Old High German texts, constructions with HAVE and *eigan* + participle appear to have coexisted. According to Grønvik (1986:36), the first example of a perfect (or rather, of a perfect-type construction) with HAVE is only around thirty years younger than the example of *eigan* above; it is given in (4:30) below. We can note that it is not an unambiguous perfect either, but involves the transitive verb *gewirken* ‘achieve’.

- (4:30) pi daz er in uerolti kiuerkot hapeta
 for that he in world achieved had
 ‘for that which he had achieved in the world’
 (Muspilli c. 830:36; from Grønvik 1986:35f.)

The examples in (4:29) and (4:30) are the oldest examples of participles in the complement of HAVE or *eigan* in the Old High German records investigated by Grønvik. Grønvik’s study therefore suggests that Old High German lacked both perfects and perfect-like constructions with HAVE and *eigan* before the 9th century, or perhaps rather that examples were too uncommon to be attested in the limited historical records.

The number of occurrences of participles with HAVE and *eigan* increases somewhat during the 9th and 10th century (Grønvik 1986:36). The text by Otfrid (c. 870) has 51 examples of participles embedded under HAVE (33) or *eigan* (18). None of these involves a participle of an intransitive verb. There are, however, two examples which according to Grønvik (1986:37) lack objects; they are given in (4:31).

- (4:31) a. Laz iz sús thuruh gán, so wir éigun nu gispróchan
let it so through go so we own now said
 ‘Let it happen the way we have now said’
 (Otfrid c. 870:I 25:11)
- b. nu gene al éigun sus gidán
now those all own so done
 ‘now they all have done so’
 (Otfrid c. 870:III 18:36)

It is not clear to me that these examples necessarily involve intransitive structures. Both (4:31a) and (4:31b) involve verbs (*sprechan* ‘say’ and *duan* ‘do, achieve’) which generally take complements, and both examples have a pronominal adverbial corresponding to English *so*. In fact, it seems likely that (4:31a) has a relativized complement. Since there are no clear examples of intransitive verbs in the complement of HAVE in the text, it seems probable that also these examples should be treated as transitive, and possibly ambiguous.

In the 10th century texts by Notker, there are more than 550 examples of perfect-like constructions with HAVE or *eigan*, including a few unambiguous perfects; see the example in (4:32) (and cf. Dieninghoff 1904, Grønvik 1986:37). One of the examples involves *eigan*; see (4:33).

- (4:32) so hábet er gelógen
so has he lied
 ‘so has he lied’
 (Notker * c. 950:I 544; from Dieninghoff 1904:56)
- (4:33) Vuir eígen gesúndot sáment únsereu fórdereu
we own sinned with our forefathers
 ‘We have sinned with our forefathers’
 (Notker * c. 950:II 451; from Dieninghoff 1904:55)

Unlike Otfrid, Notker has examples of HAVE + participle and a genitive or dative object; see (4:34).

- (4:34) a. ába sînemo únrehte . dés ér begúnnen hábeta
from his injustice that.N.SG.GEN he begun had
 ‘the injustice from which he had begun’
 (Notker * c. 950:I 26; from Dieninghoff 1904:52)
- b. Uuánda si mir áber nú gesuíchen hábet
as she me.DAT but now left has
 ‘as she yet now has left me’
 (Notker * c. 950:I 8; from Grønvik 1986:37)

Schröder (1972) observes that the Latin perfect in a few cases corresponds to a perfect (i.e. HAVE/*eigan* + participle) in Notker's translation of Boethius, but he also notes that the preterite is often preferred.

The Old Saxon *Heliand* (9th century) has one example of HAVE + a participle of an unergative verb (see Grønvik 1986:62); it is given in (4:35) below.

- (4:35) Thar fundun sea ênna gôdan man /aldan at them alaha,
 ther found they a good man old by the altar
 aðalboranan, / the habda at them uuîha sô filu uuintro
 aethling-born that had at the temple so many winters
 endi sumaro / gilibd an them liohta
 and summers lived in the light
 ‘There they found a good old man by the altar, an aethling-born, that
 had so many winters and summers lived by the temple, in the light.’
 (*Heliand* 9th c.:6.463–466; from Grønvik 1986:62)

Considering the wider contexts, the example appears to have a universal reading: the man who had lived by the altar for many summers and winters could still be found there.

4.2.5. *English*

The status of the construction with HAVE + past participle in Old English is debated (see e.g. Mitchell 1985, Brinton 1988:102, Carey 1994, 1995, Wischer 2004). Part of the reason is that the criteria for distinguishing perfects from other constructions vary, and that neither word order nor inflection provides any clear evidence for a perfect tense. In Old English, participles in non-perfects did often not show any agreement; see (4:36) which has the non-agreeing participles *wund* ‘wounded’ and *berēafod* ‘deprived’.⁸⁸ It is well known that there was a great deal of variation also in word order in Old English (see e.g. Kroch & Taylor 2001).⁸⁹

⁸⁸ The translations of the examples from *Beowulf* are based on the translation by Heaney (1999).

⁸⁹ Mitchell (1985) assumes that participles never show agreement when they precede the object, but this is not necessarily the case, at least not in the oldest texts; cf. chapter 10.

- (4:36) Wīglāf lēofa, nū se wyrm ligeð, /
Wiglaf dearest now that dragon.M.SG.NOM lies
 swefeð sāre wund, since berēafod.
sleeps sorely wounded.N.SG treasure.N.SG.DAT deprived.N.SG
 ‘dearest Wiglaf, now that dragon lies dead, sleeps sorely wounded,
 deprived of the treasure’
 (Beowulf 2745f.)

Of the 46 examples of HAVE + participle in *Beowulf*, at least 4 have dative or genitive objects; two are given in (4:37).

- (4:37) a. Nealles ic ðām lēanum forloren hæfde
not.at.all I this.N.PL.DAT reward.N.PL.DAT lost had
 ‘I had not at all lost this reward’
 (Beowulf 2145)
- b. hē þæt sōna onfand / ðæt hæfde gumena sum
he that directly discovered that had man some
 goldes gefandod
gold.F.SG.GEN tampered.with
 ‘he directly discovered that some man had tampered with the gold’
 (Beowulf 2300f.)

There are also examples of perfects with participles of stative transitive verbs; see (4:38) which has the participle *genesen* ‘survived’.

- (4:38) Swā hē nīða gehwane genesen hæfde
so he combat each survived had
 ‘So he had survived each combat’
 (Beowulf 2397)

There are a few examples of intransitive verbs with HAVE in *Beowulf*; two of these are given in (4:39) below. Note that the example in (4:39b) has a counterfactual reading. Counterfactual perfects will be discussed at some length in chapter 5 below, where it will be argued that the occurrence of HAVE in past counterfactuals can be taken to support an analysis of HAVE as a temporal auxiliary.

- (4:39) a. oðþæt ymb āntīd oþres dōgores / wundenstefna
until after due.time second day curved.prow
 gewaden hæfde / þæt ðā līðende land gesāwon
gone had that the voyagers land sighted
 ‘until after due time the following day the curved prow had advanced
 so that the voyagers sighted land’
 (Beowulf 219–221)

- b. Hæfde ðā forsiðod sunu Ecgþēowes / under gynne grund,
had then perished son Ecgtheow's under wide earth
 [...] nemne him heaðobyrne helpe gefremede
if.not him war-corslet help provided
 ‘The son of Ecgtheow would have perished under the wide earth, [...] if not his war-gear had provided him with help’
 (Beowulf 1550)

As in Old High German, the frequency of perfect-type constructions with HAVE is low. In Ælfric’s grammar (c. 1000), the perfect is not distinguished as an English tense, and the English preterite is said to correspond either to the simple past or the perfect in Latin (cf. Traugott 1972:91). As pointed out by Traugott (1992:182f.), both the present tense and the simple past are used where Present-Day English has a present perfect; see the examples in (4:40).⁹⁰

- (4:40) a. Efne min wif is for manegum wintrum untrum
indeed my wife is for many winters sick
 ‘Indeed my wife has been sick for many years.’
 (Old English; Traugott 1992:182)
- b. Fæder min, se tima com
father mine that time came
 ‘Father, the time has come.’
 (Old English; Traugott 1992:183)

I return to the distribution of perfect-type constructions with HAVE in the Old English records in section 4.3 below.

4.2.6. Summary

Even if there are differences within Germanic, the early development is in many ways parallel in the different languages and takes place during roughly the same period. The starting point appears to be a perfect-like construction which involves the participle formed with the suffixes **-þa-* or **-ena-/*-ana-* and an originally possessive verb (HAVE or *eigan*). We have seen that perfects and perfect-like constructions can be very similar both formally and semantically, but that perfects are less

⁹⁰ As pointed out in chapter 3 above (fn. 40), Present-Day Swedish allows examples like (i) below, whereas Present-Day English does not; cf. (4:40a).

- (i) Hon är sjuk sedan flera år.
she is sick since several years
 ‘She has been sick for several years.’

restrictive as to e.g. what kinds of predicates they involve. Intransitive verbs seem to appear somewhat later in the complement of HAVE than transitive verbs do, presumably since they are not possible in perfect-like constructions with HAVE. The evidence discussed so far is, arguably, rather weak; perfect-like constructions with possessive HAVE (or *eigan*) are rare in the oldest Gothic and Old High German material.

It is likely that the participial forms have had some verbal properties throughout the history of Germanic; in Gothic, *en*-participles apparently form verbal passives with BE. If the participles had completely lacked verbal or aspectual properties, it would seem a strange coincidence that Germanic and Romance languages have employed them to form perfects with HAVE (and/or BE). Rather than being just a historical accident, the similarities depend on the properties of the participle in combination with the properties of the verb HAVE, as well as on the older Germanic temporal-aspectual system.

In subsequent chapters, I investigate the properties of perfect-like constructions and participles in some detail. In the next section, I look more closely at the early perfects and their frequencies.

4.3. Emerging perfects

Lightfoot (1999) argues that a grammatical change follows from changes in the usage of a linguistic phenomenon; changes in the linguistic input leads the child to acquire a different grammar than the parents. A plausible first step in the development of the perfect tense, then, would be an increase in the frequency of the perfect-like construction with HAVE. We have seen that perfect-like examples with HAVE were rare in the oldest Germanic sources; the Gothic Bible has only one or two good examples, and they are rare (or missing) also in the earliest Old High German records. The data reviewed so far does, however, not suggest any substantial increase in the frequency of constructions with HAVE preceding the first unambiguous examples of perfects. The text by Otfrid (7104 couplets) has only 51 occurrences of participles in perfect-type constructions with HAVE, whereas Notker about a century later has more than 550 examples, including a few unambiguous perfects (see above). Since the great majority of the early examples are ambiguous between perfect-like and perfect readings, we cannot exclude that the slightly increased frequencies are a consequence of the reanalysis of the perfect-like construction as a perfect, rather than a prerequisite. This would be more in line with work by Kroch (1989 et

seq.) who suggests, not that grammatical change results from changes in frequencies, but, the other way around, that grammatical change causes shifts in frequencies. (The two approaches, Lightfoot's and Kroch's, are not necessarily mutually exclusive.)

In this section, I study the distribution of perfect-type constructions with HAVE + participle in eight Old Scandinavian texts, and make some comparisons with previous studies of Old and Middle English. In the choice of texts, I take the results from the study by Ekbo (1943) into consideration. Unlike Ekbo, I am, however, not primarily interested in agreement patterns here, or in the connection between agreement and word order.

4.3.1. Material

As a comparison to the data from previous studies, and the data discussed in the previous section, I have investigated perfect-type constructions with HAVE in four Old Norse texts and four Old Swedish texts. The texts are listed in Table 4.2 and 4.3 below.

TABLE 4.2. *Investigated Old Norse texts.*

<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Text type</i>	<i>Size</i>
<i>The Poetic Edda</i>	–	Poetry	c. 310 pp.
<i>Grágás</i>	–	Law	48 pp.
<i>Íslendingabók</i>	c. 1130	Prose, history	25 pp.
<i>Landnámabók</i>	12 th century	Prose, history	c. 135 pp.

TABLE 4.3. *Investigated Old Swedish texts.*

<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Text type</i>	<i>Size</i>
<i>Äldre Västgötalagen</i> (ÄVgL)	c. 1220	Provincial Law	71 pp.
<i>Upplandslagen</i> (UL)	1297	Provincial Law	275 pp.
<i>Gutalagen</i> (GL)	c. 1300	Provincial Law	104 pp.
<i>Ett fornsvenskt legendarium</i> (Leg)	c. 1300	Legends	533 pp.

Since the study requires the oldest possible sources, the choice of texts is limited. *The poetic Edda* has been included since it seems clear that its language reflects a stage older than most of the Old Norse prose (cf. Ekbo 1943); the precise dating need not concern us here. As it is in verse, it is not particularly well suited for studies of e.g. the order between verbs and their complements, nor can the frequencies of linguistic

phenomena in it be taken to reflect the spoken language of earlier times. The present study mainly concerns perfects with intransitive verbs and participial agreement (see chapter 10 below); it seems highly unlikely that morphology would be produced if it were ungrammatical, or that perfects that were grammatically unavailable were used (be it poetry or prose). I avoid the Icelandic Skaldic poetry (which has been studied by Ekbo 1943) and investigate two of the older prose texts, *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók*, and one part (*Víglóði*) of the Old Icelandic Law, the *Grágás*, which is more conservative than the other two (see Ekbo 1943:61).⁹¹ The Swedish texts include one of the oldest religious texts (*Ett fornsvenskt legendarium*) and three laws (*Äldre Västgötalagen*, *Gutalagen* and *Upplandslagen*).⁹² *Äldre Västgötalagen* is the oldest preserved Swedish text in the Latin alphabet. *Gutalagen* is in a Swedish dialect spoken on the island Gotland in the Baltic; its language is conservative (cf. Ekbo 1943:8). *Upplandslagen* is from Central Sweden. It was the first law to be ratified by the Swedish king, and it was the model for several younger laws (see Larsson 2004). The electronic version of *Gutalagen* does not include the short *Guta saga* (10 pages). I have investigated the *Guta saga* by hand, but I have not noted any examples of perfect-type constructions with HAVE in it.

The study of the *Edda* is based on the list of examples given by Ekbo (1943); the prose is not included.⁹³ In the Swedish texts, which have

⁹¹ Only the parts of the edition of *Landnámabók* that come from *Sturlubók* have been investigated.

⁹² There are two relatively complete 15th century manuscripts of *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium*, and an older, but incomplete, manuscript from the 14th century (Codex Bureanus). I have investigated (an edition of) the latter. The text is based on a Latin original. Moreover, I have used Codex A of UL since it is available in electronic form, even if it is not the version that is closest to the original (see Larsson 2004 for discussion). It is unlikely that this choice affects the results in any significant way; as we will see below, all four Swedish texts behave alike. ÄVgL is preserved in fragments and in a manuscript from the second half of the 13th century. The age of GL is hard to determine, since it is written in dialect, but it is generally assumed to be from c. 1300; the manuscript is from the middle of the 14th century.

⁹³ The Eddic material includes a few poems that are not from the Codex Regius, but which are included in the edition by Neckel (1936), as well as in Ekbo's (1943) study. Neckel's (1936) edition has normalized spelling, and I therefore follow the edition by Neckel & Kuhn (1962) with regard to spelling, with the exception of examples from *Grógaldr* and *Fiqlsvinnzmál*, which are not included in the younger edition. For the interpretation of the examples, I follow Ekbo (1943) and the Swedish translation by Brate (1913). The analysis of the individual examples sometimes differs from Ekbo's, mainly since he counts examples with object-drop as intransitive. One uncertain example has been disregarded; it is given in (i) below.

been examined electronically, all forms of HAVE have been investigated. The material includes all participles embedded under HAVE, independently of their reading. Since nothing suggests that the tense of the auxiliary matters in the development, present and past perfect-type constructions are treated together.

In Old Swedish, as in Present-Day Swedish, non-finite temporal HAVE can be omitted in certain contexts, as noted above. Cases where the non-finite auxiliary HAVE is omitted have not been collected in the electronic texts.⁹⁴

4.3.2. *Verbs in the complement of HAVE*

If the increase in the usage of perfect-type constructions with HAVE in Old Germanic is a consequence of reanalysis, we might expect it to affect all kinds of predicates in the same way; in the modern Germanic languages atelic and telic, or transitive and intransitive, predicates are equally possible in perfects. In this section, I consider the occurrence of HAVE with participles of different kinds of verbs in Old Scandinavian and in Old and Middle English.

4.3.2.1. *Distinguishing verb types*

I have sorted the participles in the material according to verb class (i.e., whether they occur in a transitive or intransitive structure); as noted in section 4.2 above, intransitive verbs are not expected to form perfect-like constructions with HAVE. Since unaccusatives occur in perfect-type constructions with BE (see section 2.4.1 above and chapter 5 below), I distinguish between unergative verbs (e.g. *work* and *sleep*) and unaccusative verbs (*arrive*, *become*). Variable behaviour verbs in telic

Ekbo analyses it as a rare (unique?) case of *verða* ‘become’ in a transitive structure (1943:51); as the translation in (i) suggests, there are alternatives which perhaps lie closer at hand.

- (i) kvódoz okkr hafa orðit bæði
 said us have become both

Possible interpretation: ‘claimed us to have come together/become one’
 (Edda Od. 23)

⁹⁴ There might also be individual examples where HAVE is misspelt (e.g. where *h* is missing) or given in brackets (i.e., cases where the edition and the manuscript differ) that have not been covered.

contexts, as in (4:41a), are included among the unaccusatives. Atelic variable behaviour verbs, as in (4:41b), on the other hand, are counted as unergatives.⁹⁵

- (4:41) a. þe sagþo sik haua sighalt af nicomedia
they said REFL have sailed from Nicomedia
 ‘they claimed to have sailed from Nicomedia’
 (Leg c. 1300:523)
- b. Galtr ir at þriþia en hann hafr þria vintra fastr gangit
boar is as third if he has three winters ungelded gone
 ‘Thirdly, a boar is, if he has gone ungelded for three years’
 (GL c.1300:17)

As noted in section 4.1.4 above, also the distinction between eventive and stative predicates is relevant, since stative verbs do not occur in perfect-like constructions with HAVE. There are, however, no clear-cut ways of distinguishing eventive from stative predicates in the historical material, and typically stative verbs often have also inchoative uses; cf. (4:42a) where the verb *understanda* ‘understand’ has a stative reading and (4:42b) where it has an inchoative reading.

- (4:42) a. han [...] vet alt. ok vndistar alla tungor
he knows all and understands all tongues
 ‘He knows everything and understands all languages’
 (Leg c. 1300:204)
- b. þa vndistop þæt portugalie kunugar. ok kom mz
then understood that Portuguese kings and came with
his army to Spanish king
 ‘then the Portuguese king realized it and came with his army to the Spanish king’
 (Leg c. 1300:177)

Since few examples in the material are unambiguously stative, I disregard the distinction between stative and eventive predicates when giving frequencies.

The Icelandic *-sk*-verbs (*-st* in Present-Day Icelandic) do not form a homocyclic semantic-syntactic class; some of them have a medio-passive reading (see e.g. Anderson 1990, Thráinsson 2007:283ff.). Since most *-sk*-forms are ungrammatical in the complement of BE, they are not included among the unaccusatives; cf. the (Present-Day) Icelandic

⁹⁵ There are no occurrences of semelfactives (e.g. *hiccup*) embedded under HAVE in the investigated texts.

verbs *koma* ‘come’ and *ferðast* ‘travel’ in the examples in (4:43) and (4:44) below. I treat the *-sk*-verbs separately.

(4:43) Ég er komin til Grænlands.
I am come.PTC.F.SG.NOM to Greenland
 ‘I have come to Greenland.’

(4:44) *Ég er ferðast til Grænlands.
I am travelled.ST to Greenland
 (from Anderson 1990:243)

The distinction between transitive and unergative structures is complicated by the possibility of implicit objects. Examples like those in (4:45) with an implicit pronominal object can quite uncontroversially be treated as transitive.

- (4:45) a. at þeir skyldu drepa uxann ok segja, at
that they should kill the.ox and say that
 skógarbjörn hefði drepit
wood.bear had killed
 ‘that they should kill the ox and say that a wood bear had killed [it]’
 (Landnámabók 12th c.:43)
- b. ok síþæn swæri þæn til sins. sum mist hawær.
and then swear that to REFL who lost has
 ‘and then he who has lost [the property] swears that it was his’
 (UL 1297:Mb. 54)

Examples like those in (4:46) are more problematic, since the implicit element is not a pronoun. In order to keep the group of intransitive verbs more homogeneous, these are also counted as involving transitive structures. They generally have a telic reading.

- (4:46) a. ok hafði Helgi bræðrungr hans numit þar áðr.
and had Helgi first.cousin his taken there before
 ‘and had his first cousin Helgi taken [land] there before’
 (Landnámabók 12th c.:54)
- b. es enir spökustu menn á landi hér höfðu talit
that the wisest men in land here had counted
 í tveim misserum fjóra daga ens fjórða hundraðs
in two half.years four days that.GEN the.fourth hundred.GEN
 ‘that the wisest men in this land had counted [the year] in two half
 years and four days into the fourth hundred.’
 (Íslendingabók c. 1130:9)

- c. Nu sighthær lænsman mæþ aþrum witnum sworit hawæ.
now says sheriff with other witnesses sworn have
 ‘Now the sheriff says that they have sworn [oath] with other
 witnesses’
 (UL 1297:Þb. 9)

The group of transitive verbs includes eventive predicates with nominal (accusative, dative and genitive), verbal and clausal complements, as well as a couple of cases of prepositional objects, as in (4:47) below. Also the rare cases of reflexives, as in (4:48), are considered transitive. I have not attempted to distinguish so-called free dative Experiencers from true argument datives.

- (4:47) þeir høfðu þar spurt til Ingólfs vinar síns.
they had there heard to Ingólf friend POSS.REFL
 ‘they had from that place heard of their friend Ingolf’
 (Landnámabók 12th c.:68)
- (4:48) móðan hafði hann sic druccit
exhausted had he REFL drunk
 ‘he had drunk himself exhausted’
 (Edda Akv. 40)

Accusative DPs can sometimes function as adverbials; these are possible with different kinds of predicates and are not treated as objects here. The example in (4:49) below is therefore counted as involving an unergative predicate. As with reflexives and prepositional objects, the number of cases is too small to skew the results significantly.

- (4:49) En þrel þan sum ort hafr mala
a thrall who that worked has agreement
 ‘a thrall who has worked the time of his contract’
 (GL c.1300:16)

In the following, I give an overview of the types of predicates that occur with HAVE in the Old Scandinavian records. I investigate how many of the perfect-type examples with HAVE + participle involve unaccusative, unergative or transitive predicates, and I do not consider the frequency of perfects with the different kinds of predicates. Differences between texts and languages, and shifts in the relative frequencies, may still indicate change; unaccusatives and unergatives are as noted only possible in perfects, whereas transitive verbs also occur in the complement of possessive HAVE.

4.3.2.2. Perfect-type constructions with HAVE in the Scandinavian material

The Old Norse data are summarized in Table 4.4. Of the total 329 participles in perfect-type constructions with HAVE, 22 (7 %) involve unaccusatives, and 61 (19%) other intransitive verbs; *vera* ‘be’ alone occurs in perfects 35 times. The difference between the investigated texts is small, but a larger part of the examples in the Eddic poetry and in the *Grágás* involve transitive verbs than in the two other texts.

TABLE 4.4. *Verbs in the complement of HAVE in four Old Norse texts.*

<i>Text</i>	<i>Unaccusative</i>	<i>Unergative</i>	<i>-sk-forms</i>	<i>Transitive</i>	<i>ALL</i>
<i>Edda</i>	7 (5 %)	21 (14 %)	1 (1 %)	119 (80 %)	148
<i>Grágás</i>	4 (4 %)	12 (13 %)	2 (2 %)	76 (81 %)	94
<i>Íslendingabók</i>	4 (14 %)	11 (38 %)	2 (7 %)	12 (41 %)	29
<i>Landnámabók</i>	7 (12 %)	17 (29 %)	3 (5 %)	31 (53 %)	58
TOTAL	22 (7 %)	61 (19 %)	8 (2 %)	238 (72 %)	329

The pattern in Old Swedish is similar to that in the *Edda* and the *Grágás*, at least with regard to verb types; see Table 4.5. The difference between the Swedish texts is marginal.

TABLE 4.5. *Verbs in the complement of HAVE in four Old Swedish texts.*

<i>Text</i>	<i>Unaccusative</i>	<i>Unergative</i>	<i>Transitive</i>	<i>ALL</i>
ÄVgL	0 (0 %)	6 (14 %)	36 (86 %)	42
UL	2 (1 %)	24 (12 %)	181 (87 %)	207
GL	0 (0 %)	5 (13 %)	35 (88 %)	40
Leg	3 (3 %)	15 (15 %)	83 (82 %)	101
TOTAL	5 (1 %)	50 (13 %)	335 (86 %)	390

We can note that the number of unaccusatives embedded under HAVE (1 % in all) is lower in Swedish than in Old Norse (7 %). In both languages, examples of participles of unaccusative verbs embedded under HAVE generally have an experiential reading, as in (4:50a) below, or a counterfactual reading, as in (4:50b). Unaccusative verbs otherwise form perfect-type constructions with BE; I return to this in chapter 5.

- (4:50) a. þviat hvern hefi ec heim um komit
for every have I world PRT come
 ‘for I have come into every world’
 (Edda Vm. 43)
- b. hafþe þin kona hær comit. aldre skulde hon hæþan
had your wife here come never would she away
 coma: liuande:
come living
 ‘if your wife had come here, she would never get away alive’
 (Leg c. 1300:19)

The relative frequency of transitive verbs is higher (86 % in all) in the Swedish texts than in *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók*, as in the Eddic poetry and the Icelandic law. The reason for this difference is not necessarily grammatical, but may depend on the different contents of the texts. Examples like (4:51) are typical for *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók*, but are rare in the other texts in the material.

- (4:51) es Gizurr byskup hafði einn vetr verit hér á landi
when Gizurr bishop had one winter been here in country
 ‘when Gizurr had been bishop here in the country for one year’
 (Íslendingabók c. 1130:22)

The laws, on the other hand, have a larger number of occurrences involving verbs like *köpa* ‘buy,’ *sália* ‘sell,’ and *giálda* ‘pay’. In most of the cases, the reading is perfect rather than perfect-like; the focus is on the responsibility of the matrix subject rather than on the target state of the participial event; cf. (4:52a) and (4:52b) where it is important who is the Agent of the killing, and not necessarily who is in the target state of being killed.

- (4:52) a. ok sighthær han fyrræ hawæ banæn dræpit. dyli
and says he before have the.killer killed confirm
mæþ twæggia manna eþe.
with two men oath
 ‘and says he has earlier killed the killer. This is confirmed with the oath of two men.’
 (UL 1297:Mb. 1)
- b. kiærir annæt þeræ til þæs sum dræpit hawær.
charges the.other of.them to the.one who killed has
 ‘one of them makes a charge against him who has killed [the child]’
 (UL 1297:Mb. 7)

Stative verbs like BE and HAVE occur in the complement of HAVE in all investigated Scandinavian text; see the examples in (4:53) and (4:54). In *ÄVgL*, there is only a single example; it is given in (4:54c).

- (4:53) urðr qðlinga hefir þú æ verið
weird prince.PL.GEN have you always been
 ‘the nemesis of princes you have always been’
 (Edda Gðr. I 24)
- (4:54) a. oc taki laun eptir þi sum þriþiungr haftr
and take compensation after that which a.third has
 fyr wana hapt.
for habit had
 ‘and take compensation as the third part before has had as habit’
 (GL c.1300:42)
- b. en hælagnar man [...] som stephanus domare mæþan han
a holy man who Stephanus judge while he
 lifþe hafþe værþoghan hauat.
lived had worthy had
 ‘a holy man who the judge Stephanus had held in high esteem while he lived’
 (Leg c. 1300:418)
- c. at byr. þænni havir varit fullbyr bæþi i heþnu
that village this has been full.village both in heathen
 ok kristnu.
and Christian
 ‘that this village has been a full village both in heathen and Christian
 [times]’
 (*ÄVgL* c. 1220:Jb. 15)

Moreover, there are instances of universal and experiential perfects in all investigated Scandinavian texts; examples from *ÄVgL* with intransitive verbs are given in (4:55a) and (4:55b) below.

- (4:55) a. Þerra skal hvarghum innæn garz. kallæ þær sum
they.GEN should none inside fence call there that
 standit havir þrea vætær ok þ[r]im. længær.
stood has three winters and three longer
 ‘Of them should none demand a border inside a fence that has been standing for three years or longer than three.’
 (*ÄVgL* c. 1220:Jb. 16)
- b. Giuær maþær manni sak. at han havir lighæt hos
gives a.man man cause that he has laid with
 huskono hans.
thrall.woman his
 ‘If a man accuses a man that he slept with his thrall woman’
 (*ÄVgL* c. 1220:Gb. 5)

Hence, there is clear evidence for a perfect tense in all the investigated texts. Differences between the languages and texts (that are not due to the different contents of the texts) primarily relate to the frequency of unaccusatives with BE; this is the topic of chapter 5 below.

There is one further difference between the texts in the material. Many of the examples in the *Edda* and the *Grágás* have agreeing participles, while there are no examples of agreeing participles in the complement of HAVE in *Íslendingabók* and *Landnámabók* and only a few examples in the Swedish material. I return to agreement in chapter 10 below. In the next section, I consider data from previous studies of Old and Middle English.

4.3.2.3. *English*

As in the Old Scandinavian material, there are examples of participles of intransitive verbs in the complement of HAVE in the Old English records. Participles of transitive verbs are, however, considerably more common. According to Wischer (2004:245), 6 % (13) of the 232 occurrences of HAVE + participle in the Old English part of the Helsinki Corpus involve intransitive verbs; 94 % (219) are transitive.⁹⁶ Carey (1994, 1995) presents similar numbers; see the data in Table 4.6 below (from Table 1 in Carey 1994).⁹⁷ In the Old English material, only 3 % (5/200) of the present perfects involve intransitive verbs. There is no significant difference between the 9th century and the 11th century. Even in Carey's Early Middle English material, the frequency of intransitive verbs in perfects is low.

⁹⁶ I include also Wischer's "subject complement" in the intransitive verbs (1 example). The group of transitive verbs includes examples with genitive objects, prepositional objects and clausal objects, as well as accusative object DPs.

⁹⁷ Here, the group 'transitive verbs' includes Carey's mental state verbs, reporting verbs and perception verbs, as well as the group of 'other verbs'. In Old English, the mental state verbs (e.g. *understand*) could have a telic, non-stative reading (Carey 1994:107 fn. 1).

TABLE 4.6. *Verbs in the complement of present tense HAVE in Old and Early Middle English (adapted from Carey 1994: 107, her Table 1).*

<i>Text</i>	<i>Eventive intransitive</i>	<i>Stative intransitive</i>	<i>Transitive</i>	<i>ALL</i>
Alfred (c. 850)	2 (2 %)	0 (0 %)	91 (98 %)	93
Ælfric (c. 1050)	3 (3 %)	0 (0 %)	104 (97 %)	107
Early Middle English (1100–1250)	3 (5 %)	3 (5 %)	55 (90 %)	61
TOTAL	8 (3 %)	3 (1 %)	250 (96 %)	261

The first clear examples with participles of (transitive or intransitive) stative verbs embedded under HAVE appear in the Middle English period (Carey 1994:107). Carey (1995), who investigates also a 14th century text, notes a further increase in the cases with stative predicates from 4 % (7/161) in the 13th century to 15 % (7/47) in the 14th century (1995:86).⁹⁸ Also with regard to the types of adverbials occurring in perfect-type examples, there is a change between the 11th and the 14th century. In Carey's (1995) Old English material, there are no occurrences of past time adverbials such as *before that time* or *since then*, whereas more than a third of the examples have present adverbials like *now* (1995:86, Table 3). In the 13th century, 5 % (8/161) of the perfect-type examples have a past tense adverbial, and in the 14th century 15 % (7/47) do. At the same time, the number of present state adverbials drops; in the 14th century material there are no examples (1995:86f., Table 3). With the usual reservations for the limited material and the differences between varieties, the development of the perfect in English therefore seems to take place mainly at the beginning of and during the Middle English period.

Although the frequency of intransitive verbs (unaccusative + unergative) is lower in the Old Swedish texts (14 %) than in the Icelandic material (26 %, or, including *-sk*-forms, 28 %), it is still markedly higher than in Old English (6 % in Wischer 2004, 3 % in Carey 1994). Though the data only gives the frequency of intransitive verbs among perfects, without considering how frequent they are in the simple tenses, we would clearly expect a higher number of intransitive verbs in the Old English material if the perfect was equally established in Old English

⁹⁸ Carey gives the frequency 10.6 % for stative verbs in her 14th century material; given the numbers in her Table 2, this is incorrect (see Carey 1995:86).

and Old Scandinavian, particularly since participles of the copula BE are included in the material. Even in the very limited corpus of Scandinavian Viking Age Runic inscriptions there are a few examples of perfects of BE, as illustrated above; in Carey's Old English material, there is not a single one. Since stative intransitive verbs appear in the complement of HAVE somewhat later than eventive intransitives do, we could assume that the perfect does not occur with all kinds of predicates at the same time. A different possibility would be to say that a perfect has not emerged until all groups of verbs can occur in the complement of HAVE. I return to these possibilities in chapter 10.

In any case, the general picture is that the Old Scandinavian languages had a perfect tense with the same basic syntax-semantics as the modern languages. In Old English, on the other hand, the perfect was not yet fully established.

4.3.3. *Frequencies of perfects*

I have noted a difference between Old Scandinavian and Old English with regard to types of verbs that are embedded under HAVE. However, even in Old English, there are a few examples of participles of intransitive verbs in the complement of HAVE. To some extent, the difference between Old English, on the one hand, and Old Norse and Old Swedish, on the other, appears to be a matter of frequency. As observed in section 4.2.5 above, *Beowulf* has examples of stative as well as of intransitive verbs in the complement of HAVE. In this respect, *Beowulf* appears to be more modern than the Old English texts investigated by Carey (1994).

Also in the oldest Scandinavian texts, the frequency of perfects seems rather low; in ÄVgL, there is, in fact, only one example of a stative verb in the complement of HAVE. In order to get an estimate of the frequency of perfects, I have calculated the ratio of participles of the verb *vara* 'be' of all occurrences of the verb in UL; as participles of *vara* 'be' do not occur outside the perfect this gives the frequency of perfects for this verb.⁹⁹ For comparison, I have done the same thing with a balanced corpus of Present-Day Swedish, the SUC-corpus. The results are summarized in Table 4.7 below.

⁹⁹ The UL numbers are calculated on the basis of the data in Schagerström (1911: 59).

TABLE 4.7. *Frequency of perfects of the verb vara 'be' in UL and SUC.*

<i>Text</i>	<i># perfects of vara/all forms</i>	<i>% perfect</i>
UL	15/1619	0.9 %
SUC	968/21867	4.4 %

In UL, only 0.9 % of the occurrences with *vara* involve perfects. In SUC, the corresponding number is almost five times higher, 4.4 %. It could perhaps be argued that the difference depends on the particular style of the Old Swedish law; we do not have a balanced corpus of Old Swedish comparable to SUC, and we know that the frequencies of perfects can vary considerably between texts (see e.g. Elsness 1997). The present tense is far more common than the simple past in the Old Swedish laws: in UL, only 6.8 % of the forms of *vara* are in the past indicative, compared to 31 % in SUC.

However, also in texts where the simple past is the dominant tense, the frequency of perfects is low. For the Old Swedish texts in the material, I have calculated the frequency of HAVE + participle of all words; see Table 4.8 below. The number of words should be taken as a rough estimate; it includes all strings of numbers and letters separated by space on both sides, also e.g. paragraph numbers. In *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium* (Leg), which is a narrative text where the past tense dominates, the number of perfects per words (0.28 %) is even lower than in UL (0.43 %).

TABLE 4.8. *The overall frequency of HAVE + participles in the Old Swedish material.*

<i>Text</i>	<i># HAVE + participle/word</i>	<i>% HAVE + participle /word</i>
ÄVgL (c. 1220)	42/15010	0.28 %
UL (1297)	207/48148	0.43 %
GL (c. 1300)	37/12540	0.30 %
Leg (c. 1300)	101/36176	0.28 %
TOTAL	387/111874	0.35 %

It would in fact be surprising if the perfect tense were as common in the Old Scandinavian languages as it is in the present-day languages; we do not expect any rapid shifts in the frequencies of a linguistic phenomenon. On the contrary, language change typically proceeds along an s-shaped trajectory (see e.g. Kroch 1989, 2001). In the case of the development of the perfect, speakers that have a perfect tense in their

grammar generally have a choice between using a perfect tense or a simple tense. When the perfect is new to the language community and not yet acceptable to all speakers, it is expected to be the marked choice.¹⁰⁰ In connection with the spread in the language community, it will also become more established in the usage of the individual speaker, and more unmarked. In English, the frequency of perfects with HAVE appears to have risen steadily in English throughout the period 1150–1710, as expected. In the period 1150–1250, 0.33 % of all clauses in the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English were perfects with HAVE; between 1640–1710, the frequency of perfects is 1.18 % in the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English (McFadden & Alexiadou 2006a:277, Table 1; cf. Elsness 1997:264 Table 4.1). Of the Old Swedish texts investigated here, UL is expected to give the most modern impression (due partly to its Central Swedish origin); it also has the highest frequency of perfects.

In the following chapters, we will see further changes in the distribution of perfects and perfect-like constructions in Swedish up until the 18th century, and variations in the implications of the constructions. In chapter 10, the development will be investigated in more detail.

4.4. Borrowing and areal diffusion

It has traditionally been assumed that the development of the perfect in Germanic is dependent on parallel developments in Romance (see e.g. Meillet 1917:129f., Brinkmann 1931:26f., 52f., Lockwood 1968:115, Drinka 2003).¹⁰¹ Supposedly, then, the emergence of perfects in Germanic is due to syntactic borrowing and areal diffusion.

However, there is reason to take the development in the Germanic languages to be largely independent from Romance influence. First,

¹⁰⁰ The possibility of choice between tenses makes the development of the perfect significantly different from changes in e.g. word order, where there is often not a choice between alternatives at the end of the change. Nevertheless, also changes in word order follows an s-shaped curve, and speakers tend to disprefer the new alternant at the beginning of the change.

¹⁰¹ The Germanic strong preterite is formally the same as the perfects in Sanskrit and Classical Greek (see e.g. Meid 1971, Szemerényi 1996). An old assumption is that the Sanskrit and Greek systems are primary to the Germanic, and that the Germanic temporal-aspectual system has developed by simplification and reduction of the old Indo-European system. It is noteworthy that the Germanic languages have preserved the old forms more or less intact, but as past tense forms. For the present purposes, a discussion would lead too far afield.

even the limited data from the oldest Germanic sources give some evidence for a development from a perfect-like construction to a perfect, and it is therefore empirically unsatisfying to assume that the periphrastic perfect is simply borrowed from Late Latin.

Secondly, the assumption that the development of the perfect in Germanic is dependent on influence from Latin perfect-like constructions (as suggested by Meillet 1917) is problematic. As we have seen, perfect-like constructions (and perfects) are far more common in the Old Norse Poetic Edda than in the Gothic Bible and the text by Otfrid, and *Beowulf* even seems more modern than other Old English texts.¹⁰² An account in terms of diffusion would arguably have to assume a spread from Romance via the Scandinavian languages to English and German as appearing in the religious 10th century texts; from what we know of contact and substratum effects this is highly improbable. The Latin influence on the Scandinavian languages has generally come via German, and not the other way around.

Moreover, the Old Germanic languages originally lacked perfect forms, and an account in terms of borrowing would have to assume that functional material was transferred between languages that had partly different temporal-aspectual systems. Even in a case of extensive bilingualism, that kind of transfer is unlikely, if not impossible. More importantly, even if borrowing were involved, the recipient language would either already allow the borrowed construction (in which case there is no reason to talk about language change in the usual sense) or change so as to allow it (in which case the prerequisites for the change had to be present). In other words, the development cannot be understood as *either* grammatical change *or* syntactic borrowing. An account in terms of syntactic borrowing has little to say about the way the grammatical change is to be understood; at best, it gives an extra-linguistic cause, but without connecting it to the grammars of the speakers. Contact between people (i.e., communication) is necessary for language to change, but it cannot be invoked as an alternative to grammatical change.

Since an approach based on syntactic borrowing raises more questions than it answers, it will not be pursued further (but see Morris 1991 and Abraham 2004 for comprehensive discussion and additional arguments).

¹⁰² Although the text by Otfrid is not a pure translation, it is influenced by Latin and Greek texts. Otfrid is generally assumed to be the first to use end rhymes in German poetry.

4.5. Concluding remarks

This chapter has given an overview of perfect-type constructions with HAVE in some of the oldest Germanic sources, focusing particularly on what presumably are unambiguous perfects. We have seen that Gothic and the earliest Old High German lacked a perfect tense; given that the semantics of the perfect is tied to structure and morphology, they did not just lack the expression of a perfect. Perfect-like constructions with HAVE are rare in both Gothic and Old High German. There is some evidence for a perfect tense in *Beowulf*, but the development of the perfect appears to take place mainly in Middle English; this is when stative verbs occur more generally in the complement of HAVE. The Scandinavian languages have a perfect tense already in the earliest sources, though it is used less frequently than in the modern languages.

It has sometimes been suggested that individual speakers are bilingual in a situation of language change, in the sense that they have acquired both the new and the old grammar (see e.g. Kroch 1989, 2001). Under this view, syntactic change leads to competition between grammars. At the beginning of the change, the old grammar is preferred, but as the new grammar gains preference, the new phenomenon will also be more frequent; the preference for one grammar over the other is assumed to depend on (unspecified) extra-linguistic factors.

With respect to the development of the perfect from a perfect-like construction, there is no reason to assume that competition between grammars is involved; nothing excludes that perfects and perfect-like constructions are derived by one and the same grammar. In Present-Day Swedish, an example like (4:19a) above (repeated as (4:56) below) is ambiguous: it is either a perfect-like construction with an implicit object pronoun *det* 'it', or a perfect.

- (4:56) Hon har alltid städat hemma.
 she has always cleaned at.home
 i. 'She always has a clean home.'
 ii. 'She has always cleaned at home.'

Examples of possessive HAVE + past participle are attested also in Old Germanic languages like Gothic, but they were not ambiguous. Since Gothic lacked a perfect tense, examples corresponding to (4:56) only had a stative, perfect-like interpretation. The perfect, we can assume, emerges when the perfect-like construction is interpreted as involving a structure of a perfect, i.e. a biclausal structure with a temporal auxiliary which embeds a non-finite past tense. One prerequisite for this is mor-

phological; it must be possible for speakers to interpret the morphology of the perfect-like construction as spelling out the structure of a perfect. Another prerequisite is that the perfect-like construction has an interpretation similar to that of a perfect tense.

To get further, we need to consider the syntax of perfect-like constructions, as well as questions concerning case, agreement and the difference between unaccusative and unergative verbs. In the following chapters, I investigate the properties of perfect-like constructions, considering both historical and modern data. I return to the early Germanic perfects in chapter 10.

5. The HAVE/BE alternation in older Swedish

In the previous chapter, I examined the early occurrences of perfects with HAVE in the Germanic languages. So far, I have not discussed perfect-type constructions with BE, nor in any detail investigated the perfect-like construction that the HAVE-perfect presumably originates from. However, in order to understand the historical development of the perfect, the question how perfect-like constructions should be analysed and how they relate to perfects is clearly of importance. This is the topic of this and the following chapters.

One way of addressing the relation between perfects and perfect-like constructions is to consider cases where there is an alternation between the two, as in (5:1) below. In Present-Day Swedish, unaccusative verbs have active participles in the complement of BE as well as in the complement of HAVE; as we will see, the former is a perfect-like construction whereas the latter is a perfect.

- (5:1) a. Flyget är redan anlänt.
 the.flight is already arrived
 b. Flyget har redan anlänt.
 the.flight has already arrived
 ‘The flight has already arrived.’

In Present-Day Swedish, examples like (5:1a) are restricted, while examples like (5:1b) are rare in Old Swedish. It is therefore often assumed that BE was a temporal auxiliary in older Swedish, as in Present-Day Danish, and that older Swedish differs from Present-Day Swedish in this respect (see e.g. Johannisson 1945, Larsson 2007). Perfects with HAVE + unaccusatives were, however, not completely ungrammatical in older Swedish, which they are in Present-Day Danish. In an extensive study of the Old Norse and older Swedish records, Johannisson (1945) observes that there are several contexts that favour HAVE over BE; these include e.g. iterative and counterfactual contexts.

In this chapter, I investigate the distribution of HAVE and BE with unaccusative verbs in older Swedish, taking Johannisson’s (1945) study as a starting point. It turns out that while the construction with BE

shares several characteristics with the perfect, it differs from the perfect in important respects also in older Swedish, most notably with regard to the temporal interpretation of counterfactuals. I will argue that the difference between perfects and perfect-like constructions relates to the temporal value of the participle in older Swedish, as well as in Present-Day Swedish. At the same time, the fact that the construction with BE + active participle was less restricted in older Swedish than it is in Present-Day Swedish, and apparently had more in common with a perfect, calls for finer distinctions among the perfect-like constructions. This is the topic of chapter 6 below.

The chapter is organized as follows. In section 5.1, I introduce some of the properties of perfect-type constructions with BE + participle in the present-day languages. Section 5.2 presents the investigated material, and 5.3 gives an overview of the alternation HAVE/BE in older Swedish. In section 5.4, I consider examples with HAVE or BE which have a counterfactual reading, and discuss what counterfactuals can tell us about tense morphology. Section 5.5 investigates some of the contexts that favour HAVE according to Johannisson (1945). In particular, I consider the distribution of HAVE and BE in examples with an experiential reading, and the effects of adverbial modification on the choice of auxiliary.

5.1. Perfect-type constructions with BE + participle

In this section, I briefly introduce the properties of the construction with BE + participle in the present-day Scandinavian languages. Since stative passives are of some importance in the discussion, I give some diagnostics that distinguish stative from eventive passives. The description is preliminary and will be modified and nuanced in the following.

5.1.1. BE + active participle

Among the present-day Scandinavian languages, only Danish has a split auxiliary system: unaccusative verbs form perfects with BE, while transitive and unergative verbs form perfects with HAVE; cf. the Danish examples in (5:2) and (5:3) (see e.g. Vikner & Sprouse 1988, Platzack

1988a and chapter 2 above).¹⁰³ As noted, HAVE is largely ungrammatical with unaccusative verbs, and BE is not used with unergatives.

- (5:2) a. Han er/*har kommet.
he is/has come
 ‘He has come.’
- b. Der er/*har sket noget.
there is/has happened something
 ‘Something has happened.’
- c. Han er/*har vokset meget.
he is/has grown much
 ‘He has grown much.’
- (5:3) a. Jeg *er/har boet i Stockholm.
I am/have lived in Stockholm
 ‘I have lived in Stockholm.’
- b. Jeg *er/har arbejdet med artiklen.
I am/have worked with the paper
 ‘I have worked with the paper.’
- c. Han *er/har sovet længe.
she is/has slept long
 ‘He has slept for a long time.’

Stative verbs, including BE, form perfects with HAVE in Danish; see (5:4a).¹⁰⁴ The verb BECOME, on the other hand, has a perfect with BE; see (5:4b).

- (5:4) a. Hun *er/har været der i 20 år.
she is/has been there for 20 years
 ‘She has been there for 20 years.’
- b. Artiklen er/*har blevet færdig.
the paper is/has become finished
 ‘The paper has been finished.’

In Swedish, Norwegian and Icelandic, HAVE is the only perfect auxiliary; see the Swedish perfects in (5:5) below.

- (5:5) a. Han har kommit hit.
he has come here
 ‘He has come here.’

¹⁰³ Faroese largely patterns with Icelandic, but might be on its way towards a system like the Danish (see Thráinsson et al. 2004:73).

¹⁰⁴ Stative verbs generally form perfects with HAVE also in German. However, the verb BE has a perfect with BE in German.

- b. ArtikeIn har blivIt færdig.
the.paper has become finished
 ‘The paper has been finished.’
- c. Han har vuxit mycket.
he has grown much
 ‘He has grown much.’

However, as mentioned, active participles are not always illicit in the complement of BE, as they are in English; cf. Icelandic in (5:6) and the corresponding English examples in (5:7); passive readings are disregarded.¹⁰⁵ Hence, in Swedish, Norwegian and Icelandic, there is sometimes a choice between a perfect with HAVE and a construction with BE with unaccusative verbs.

- (5:6) a. Hann er nýlega kominn hingað.
he is recently come here
 ‘He has recently come here.’
- b. Skipið er sokkið og liggur á sjávarbotni
the.ship is sunk and lies on the.ocean.floor
 ‘The ship has sunk and lies on the ocean floor.’
- (5:7) a. *He is recently come here.
 b. *The ship is sunk and lies on the ocean floor.

Like a perfect, the construction with BE + active participle conveys that the participial event is anterior to the time of the auxiliary; the example in (5:6a) involves the adverb *nýlega* ‘recently’. However, unlike perfects, and like perfect-like constructions with HAVE, the construction with BE is generally incompatible with an experiential reading (but see further section 5.5 and chapter 6). Instead, it asserts that the target state of the participial event holds, just like a perfect-like construction with HAVE; (5:8a) can, in other words, only mean that John is currently on a trip to Boston (and not that he has the experience of going to Boston). Adverbs of iteration and frequency are therefore excluded, as in (5:8b) (see Jónsson 1992, Thráinsson 2007:12). Cf. also Swedish in (5:9) and Norwegian in (5:10).

- (5:8) a. Jón er farinn til Boston.
John is gone to Boston
 ‘John has gone to Boston.’

¹⁰⁵ There are a few exceptions to the restriction on BE with active participles in English; consider (i).

(i) He is gone.

- b. *Jón er þrisvar farinn til Boston
John is three.times gone to Boston

(5:9) Han är hitrest från Stockholm (*och har redan åkt igen).
he is here.travelled from Stockholm and has already gone again.
 ‘He has come here from Stockholm (*but has already gone again).’

(5:10) Han er reist till Kina (*og han kom tilbake forrige uke).
he is travelled to China and he came back last week
 ‘He has gone to China (*and he came back last week).’

Icelandic has eventive passives with BE, much like English (see e.g. Benediktsson 1980, Barðdal & Mólmar 2000, Svenonius 2006). Consider the contrasts between the passive with the participle *fryst* ‘frozen’ (from trans. *frysta* ‘freeze’) and the active construction with BE + the active participle *frosið* ‘frozen’ (from unacc. *frjósa* ‘freeze’) in (5:11) and (5:12) below; the former but not the latter allows manner adverbs like *hratt* ‘quickly’ and frequency adverbs like *oft* ‘often’.

- (5:11) a. Brauðið var fryst hratt.
the.bread was frozen quickly
 ‘The bread was frozen quickly.’
 b. Brauðið var frosið (*hratt).
the.bread was frozen quickly
 ‘The bread has frozen (*quickly).’

- (5:12) a. Brauðið var oft fryst.
the.bread was often frozen
 ‘The bread has been frozen often.’
 b. Brauðið var (*oft) frosið.
the.bread was often frozen
 ‘The bread has frozen (*often).’

In Swedish and Norwegian, on the other hand, also passives with BE are stative, and an experiential reading is generally disallowed; cf. the Swedish BE-passives in (5:13) with the passive perfects in (5:14).

- (5:13) a. Lådan är fylld (*men redan tömd igen).
the.box is filled but already emptied again
 ‘The box has been filled (*but has already been emptied again).’
 b. Staden var förstörd (*flera gånger).
the.city was destroyed several times
 ‘The city had been destroyed (*several times).’

- (5:14) a. Lådan har fyllts men redan tömts igen.
the.box has filled.PASS but already emptied.PASS again
 ‘The box has been filled but has already been emptied again.’
- b. Staden har förstörts flera gånger.
the.city has destroyed.PASS several times
 ‘The city has been destroyed several times.’

In the next section, I give a brief overview of what distinguishes stative from eventive passives and perfects.

5.1.2. *Stative passives*

There are several diagnostics which show that BE-passives are stative in Swedish, and which distinguish them from BECOME-passives and morphological passives. First, only eventive passives can occur in *wh*-clefts like those in (5:15).¹⁰⁶

- (5:15) a. *Vad som hände var att älgen var skjuten.
what that happened was that the.elk was shot
- b. Vad som hände var att älgen blev skjuten.
what that happened was that the.elk became shot
 ‘What happened was that the elk was shot.’

Perfects are restricted in *wh*-clefts, as well; this has sometimes been taken as evidence for the stativity of the perfect (see e.g. Katz 2003, Rothstein 2008). However, with perfects, the grammaticality appears to depend on the tense of the relative clause; see (5:16) where present and past perfects are grammatical in *wh*-clefts as long as the relative clause also includes a present or past perfect.

- (5:16) a. *Vad som hände var att älgen har/hade skjutits.
what that happened was that the.elk has/had shot.PASS
- b. Vad som har hänt är att älgen har skjutits.
what that has happened is that the.elk has shot.PASS
 ‘What has happened is that the elk has been shot.’
- c. Vad som hade hänt var att älgen hade skjutits.
what that had happened was that the.elk had shot.PASS
 ‘What had happened was that the elk had been shot.’

¹⁰⁶ The verb *hända* ‘happen’ expresses a punctual event and is therefore obligatorily bounded (see chapter 6 below); BE-passives are ungrammatical also with an atelic matrix verb like *pågå* ‘go on’:

- (i) *Vad som pågick var att älgar var skjutna.
what that went.on was that elks were shot

Stative passives, on the other hand, are ungrammatical in *wh*-clefts independently of tense; the examples in (5:17) are equally ungrammatical.

- (5:17) a. *Vad som hände var att älgen var skjuten.
what that happened was that the.elk was shot
 b. *Vad som har/hade hänt är/var att älgen är/var skjuten.
what that has/had happened is/was that the.elk is/was shot
 c. *Vad som hade hänt var att älgen hade varit skjuten.
what that had happened was that the.elk had been shot

Eventive passives are grammatical in the imperfective construction with *hålla på att* ‘keep at, be doing’; since BECOME is a punctual verb the construction with *hålla på att* does not have an ongoing reading, but expresses that the event is about to happen (i.e., it has a prospective reading; see chapter 6 below). Stative passives are ungrammatical with *hålla på att* on any reading; cf. the stative passive in (5:18a) and the eventive passive in (5:18b). In this respect, stative passives pattern with perfects; cf. (5:19).

- (5:18) a. *Älgen höll på att vara skjuten.
the.elk kept at to be shot
 b. Älgen höll på att bli skjuten.
the.elk kept at to become shot
 ‘The elk was about to be shot.’

- (5:19) a. *Älgen höll på att ha skjutits.
the.elk kept at to have shot.PASS
 b. *Älgen har hållit på att ha skjutits.
the.elk has kept at to have shot.PASS

Finally, manner adverbs like *snabbt* ‘quickly’ or *långsamt* ‘slowly’ are ungrammatical in stative passives, but not in eventive passives; cf. the stative passive in (5:20a) and the eventive passive in (5:20b).¹⁰⁷ There is

¹⁰⁷ I disregard the generic middle reading of participles in the complement of BE. Participial middles differ in important respects from the participles investigated here (see Klingvall 2008). They require an (incorporated) manner adverbial, but disallow agentive *by*-phrases; cf. (i) and (ii).

- (i) a. Kakan är snabbäten (*av Lisa)
the.cake is quick.eaten by Lisa
 ‘The cake eats quickly (*by Lisa).’
 b. Kakan är *(snabb)äten.
the.cake is quick.eaten

no restriction on manner adverbs in perfects; see (5:21). As we will see below, not all kinds of manner or instrument adverbials are equally restricted in stative passives; I suggest that adverbs like *snabbt* and *långsamt* differ from e.g. instrument adverbials by not being licensed (only) by some head in the verb phrase (e.g. *proc*), but by requiring (also) an eventive VoiceP (see chapter 8 below).

- (5:20) a. Tunnan var (*långsamt) fylld med vatten.
the.barrel was slowly filled with water
 ‘The barrel had been (*slowly) filled with water.’
 b. Tunnan blev långsamt fylld med vatten.
the.barrel became slowly filled with water
 ‘The barrel was slowly filled with water.’

- (5:21) Regnet hade långsamt fyllt tunnan med vatten.
the.rain had slowly filled the.barrel with water
 ‘The rain had slowly filled the barrel with water.’

Passives with BE in German differ from perfects with HAVE or BE in similar respects. Manner adverbials are, for example, possible in eventive passives and perfects, but not in stative passives; cf. (5:22a) and (5:22b–c).¹⁰⁸ As we will see below, experiential readings are restricted or unavailable in German stative passives, but not in perfects. The construction with BE + passive participle should therefore not be analysed as a passive perfect in German.

- (5:22) a. Die Tonne ist (*schnell) gefüllt.
the barrel is quickly filled
 ‘The barrel has been (*quickly) filled.’
 b. Die Tonne wird schnell gefüllt.
the barrel becomes quickly filled
 ‘The barrel is quickly being filled.’

-
- (ii) a. This bread cuts easily (*by John)
 b. This bread cuts *(easily).

Moreover, some adverbials like *snabbt* ‘quickly’ (but not *långsamt* ‘slowly’) can have a reading corresponding to ‘shortly’ rather than ‘in a quick way’ both in stative passives and with passive verbs like *gilla* ‘like’; this reading is also disregarded.

¹⁰⁸ Also in German, a manner adverbial is possible with BE on a generic reading (Julia Prentice p.c.); cf. (i).

- (i) So eine Tonne ist schnell gefüllt.
such a barrel is quickly filled
 ‘Such a barrel fills quickly.’

- c. Ich habe sie schnell gefüllt.
I have it quickly filled
 'I have filled it quickly.'

Also English has stative passives, although they are not morphologically distinct from eventive passives. With an agentive *by*-phrase, a passive like (5:23a) only has an eventive reading, and the simple present is therefore degraded (in the absence of progressive morphology); without the *by*-phrase, a stative reading is available, and the simple present is possible; cf. (5:23b).

- (5:23) a. ??Look! The milk is spilled by Gepetto!
 b. Look! The paint is spilled!
 (from Harley 1998:ex. (32))

Moreover, in the absence of a *by*-phrase, a positional past time adverbial is ambiguous in passives in English; cf. (5:24a) which is compatible with a reading where the writing takes place before two o'clock, as well as with a reading where it takes place at two o'clock. With a *by*-phrase only the latter reading remains; cf. (5:24b).

- (5:24) a. The letter will be written at two o'clock.
 b. The letter will be written by John at two o'clock.

As noted, BE-passives are always stative in languages like Swedish and German. However, this does not mean that they necessarily lack event implications or verbal structure; as we have already seen, participles in the complement of BE can be grammatical with adverbs like *nyligen* 'recently'. In Swedish, BECOME-passives and BE-passives differ in their aspectual properties, but not necessarily in the composition of the verb phrase. The structure of stative participles is discussed at some length in chapter 8 below. Now, I turn to the properties of the construction with BE + active participle and to the alternation between HAVE and BE in older Swedish.

5.2. Material

The present investigation builds on the study of HAVE and BE by Johannisson (1945), and the material has been chosen with consideration to his results. Johannisson argues that an extensive corpus is required in order to uncover the principles behind the alternation between HAVE and BE in the Scandinavian data (1945:6). In addition to con-

siderable Old Norse material, he investigates a large part of the Old Swedish records as well as a substantial number of Early Modern and Late Modern Swedish texts, covering different genres (laws, religious texts, chronicles, plays, letters etc.) and different geographical areas. All in all the material includes 8382 examples with HAVE or BE + participles of unaccusative verbs in Swedish texts from the 13th to the 18th century, and 2352 Old Norse examples. In this way, Johannisson's study provides an important overview of the material and indicates where variation is to be found; he also explicitly points out grammatical factors that are involved in the variation.

In the present study, the emphasis is on a qualitative analysis of the constructions with HAVE or BE + unaccusative verbs. For quantitative data, I rely on Johannisson's study, but in order to get an overview of the alternation, I have made a detailed investigation of a smaller older Swedish material. Since the focus is on (changes in) the individual grammars of speakers at earlier times, and since differences between speakers can correlate with time and geography (among other things), I have tried to establish the date and place of birth for the authors of the texts in the material. The date in connection with examples refers to the year of birth, unless there are several authors involved or the author (or date of birth) is unknown, in which case the (approximate) date of the production or publication is given (disregarding the age of the manuscript). The material is listed in Table 5.1 below, where also text type and the number of (investigated) pages are given.¹⁰⁹ When more than one text by the same author is included in the material, the texts are distinguished by the Roman numeral that follows the name of the author (see also the Bibliography).

¹⁰⁹ Text types are given simply in order to give some idea of the style of the texts, and they are not to be understood in a more precise genre theoretic sense. The biographical information comes from *Nationalencyclopedin* and *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon*. I date *Herr Ivan* to c. 1303, following standard practice; the manuscript is from the 15th century. *Prosaiska krönikan* is sometimes called *Sveriges krönika*; it is generally assumed to date to the period 1450–1457. It is preserved in a number of manuscripts dating from the middle of the 15th century to 1619. The oldest manuscript is the main codex (see Klemming's edition p. 293). The letters by Arvid Siggesson are preserved in original. Some of them can be assumed to be by his own hand, while others are written by a scribe in Siggesson's name. The edition of the text by Peder Swart is based on the original or a copy thereof (see the introduction to Edén's edition, p. iii); at least parts of it are written by a scribe. The text by Olaus Petri was most likely written in the period between 1530 and 1550 and the edition is based on a manuscript from around the same period, written by two different hands (see the introduction by the editor). The first 125 pages of the text have been investigated, and only the parts written by Hand A are included.

TABLE 5.1. *Investigated texts for the older stage (c. 1300–1560).*

<i>Author</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Text type</i>	<i>Nr of pages</i>
–	1297	Uppland	Upplandslagen, UL	Law	276
–	c. 1303	–	Herr Ivan	Verse	300
–	1405–1420	Uppland	Diplom	Charters	c. 16
–	c. 1450	–	Prosaiska krönikan	Chronicle	29
Ericus Nicolai I	1495	Bälinge, Uppland	Om djävulens frestelse	Religious	c. 49
Ericus Nicolai II	1514	Bälinge, Uppland	Ars moriendi	Religious	c. 33
Arvid Siggesson	†1520	(unknown)	Arvid Siggessons brevväxling (1488–1517)	Letters	c. 70
Olaus Petri	*1493	Örebro, Närke	En svensk cröneka	Chronicle	125
Peder Swart	†1562	(unknown)	Konung Gustaf I:s krönika (1560)	Chronicle	157

The material includes some of the texts from Johannisson's study which have more than a handful of examples of perfect-type constructions with BE. In addition, it contains a couple of texts that are not investigated by Johannisson, but which can be argued to reflect the language in Central Sweden at the time. These include a number of charters which according to Beckman (1917:115) reflect the language in or around Uppsala (located just north of Stockholm), two printed texts, *Om djävulens frestelse* [About the devil's temptation] and *Ars moriendi*, and the letters by Arvid Siggesson. Even though *Om djävulens frestelse* and *Ars moriendi* are translations, they exhibit several linguistic features particular to Central Sweden (see Henning 1927, Larsson 2004). The number of relevant examples in the individual texts is small; the charters and the prints only have a handful of examples of perfect-type constructions with unaccusative verbs.

Neither the Old Swedish material nor the 16th century records offer much choice with regard to text types and style; the preserved 16th century texts display a higher degree of uniformity than both the Old Swedish and the 17th century material. The two religious prints by Ericus Nicolai have traits in common with the translation of the New

Testament from 1526 (see Henning 1927). Olaus Petri and his brother Laurentius Petri were responsible for the translation of the New Testament, as well as the entire Bible from 1541; their production dominates the 16th century records. The translation of the Bible arguably has had a great deal of influence on the development of Modern Standard Swedish, but is hardly representative of spontaneous speech at the middle of the 16th century.

I have collected all examples of active participles of unaccusative verbs in the complement of BE or HAVE in the material.¹¹⁰ One text (UL) is electronic; from this, only cases with an explicit auxiliary have been collected. In the discussion, I use the examples provided by Johannisson and from my own material, including the material in chapter 4 and the Early Modern texts presented in chapter 7 below.

There is an extensive literature on the alternation between HAVE and BE, and it is well known that there is variation between speakers, and that some degree of idiosyncrasy can be involved. I do not attempt to account for all single instances of BE with active participles in the historical data, but I rather look for relevant generalizations. In the following, I focus on the examples that are unexpected from the perspective of the present-day Scandinavian languages, particularly cases with a counterfactual or experiential reading.

5.3. Overview of the HAVE/BE alternation in older Swedish

Unaccusative verbs only rarely occur in the complement of HAVE in Old Swedish; in the texts that were investigated in chapter 4, there were only 5 examples all in all (see Table 4.5 above). Telic change of location verbs like *komma* ‘come’ and change of state verbs like *bli* ‘become’ and *växa* ‘grow’ generally form perfect-type constructions with BE and not with HAVE; see (5:25) below.

¹¹⁰ In older Germanic, not only HAVE and BE take active participial complements; also BECOME sometimes does. In the texts investigated here and in chapter 7, there are a couple of examples; see (i). The cases are rare, and they are not included in the present study.

- (i) däck bleff inte mehr ähn en gård upbrunnin
 however became not more than one farm up.burned
 ‘However, no more than one farm burned down.’
 (Rosenhane *1611:89)

- (5:25) a. Han [...] spordhe hwi iak var komin hære
he asked why I was come here
 ‘He asked why I had come here’
 (Ivan c. 1303:462)
- b. Herra Iwan ær ater vordhin stark
Sir Ivan is again become strong
 ‘Sir Ivan has become strong again.’
 (Ivan c.1303:2509)
- c. är en qist vuxin ur thet ena trädh
is a twig grown out.of the one the.tree
 ‘has a twig grown out of the first tree’
 (Bureus I *1568:200)

Stative verbs like *vara* ‘be’ and unergatives like *arbeta* ‘work’ and *sova* ‘sleep’, on the other hand, form perfects with HAVE, as in (5:26), and they do occur in the complement of BE.

- (5:26) a. at iak swa længe hafuer varith medh tik
that I so long have been with you
 ‘that I have been with you for so long’
 (Ivan c. 1303:1062)
- b. þa hafþe liuat. xc ar
when had lived 90 years
 ‘when [she] had lived for 90 years’
 (Leg c. 1300:4)
- c. Och efter iagh desse dagar hafver arbetat på mitt Sigillo
and since I these days have worked on my seal
 ‘and since I these days have worked on my seal’
 (Bureus II *1568:98)
- d. En måron hade han såfwit långt in på dagen
one morning had he slept far in on the.day
 ‘One morning, he had slept well into the day.’
 (Columbus I *1642:30)

As in e.g. German, Dutch and Danish, variable behaviour verbs can, as a rule, occur in the complement of BE when they have a telic reading, but not when they are atelic; cf. the verb *rida* ‘ride’ in a telic context in (5:27a) and in an atelic context in (5:27b).

- (5:27) a. the ther [...] wore redne aff Kalmare
they there were ridden from Kalmar
 ‘those who had ridden from Kalmar’
 (Swart 1560:41)
- b. Tha iak hafdhe ridhit een litin stund
when I hade ridden a little while
 ‘When I had ridden for a little while’
 (Ivan c. 1303:251)

The group of variable behaviour verbs includes most of the intransitive verbs of motion that are telic or atelic depending on context. A telic reading can be achieved either with a prepositional phrase, as in (5:27a), or with a particle, as in (5:28).

- (5:28) äfter all snön war bårtgången
since all the.snow was away.gone
 ‘since all the snow had disappeared’
 (Rosenhane *1611:163)

A couple of the investigated verbs occasionally occur with a reflexive, but never in the complement of BE; cf. the verb *hända* ‘happen’ in (5:29a) (where HAVE is omitted) to (5:29b).¹¹¹ Unlike reflexives in the Romance languages, reflexive verbs do not have active participles in the complement of BE in Germanic (see chapter 7, section 7.6).

- (5:29) a. at det sedermera händt sig, at min Doter samtyckt
that it later.on happened REFL that my daughter consented
 ‘that it since then [has] happened, that my Daughter [has] consented’
 (Gyllenborg *1679:109)
- b. lag önskar tusenfalt dät aldrig wore händt!
I wish thousand.times it never were happened
 ‘I wish a thousand times that it had never happened.’
 (*Philomela* 1688:175)

The general picture, then, suggests that Old Swedish had a split auxiliary system just like Present-Day Danish. However, while unaccusatives are ungrammatical in perfects with HAVE in Danish (cf. above section 2.1), they are, as noted, not completely excluded with HAVE in Old Swedish; see the examples in (5:30) ((5:30b) = (4:50b) above).

- (5:30) a. hafpe þin kona hær comit. aldre skulde hon hæþan
had your wife here come never.would she away
 coma: liuande:
come living
 ‘if your wife had come here, she would never get away alive’
 (Leg c. 1300:19)
- b. The [...] sagdo at the haffdo tith komit alt affbrat
they said that they had there come all too.soon
 ‘They said that they had come there to soon’
 (Erikskrönikan 14th c.:1632f.)

¹¹¹ Examples where the (finite or non-finite) auxiliary are omitted are treated as HAVE-perfects; see chapter 7 below.

The alternation between HAVE and BE cannot be fully explained with reference to the structure of the verb phrase; cf. the examples in (5:31), which both involve the verb *tillgå* ‘happen’ (lit. ‘go to’). Instead, there is variation throughout the Old Swedish and Early Modern Swedish periods, within individual texts and with individual verbs.

- (5:31) a. Så seer man här tilgått wara
so sees one here about.gone be
 ‘one sees that things have happened in this way here’
 (Petri *1493:48)
- b. Kan man wel merkia huru thå haffuer tilgått
can one well notice how then has about.gone
 ‘One can well notice how things then has happened’
 (Petri *1493:31)

TABLE 5.2. *The frequency of HAVE with unaccusatives in some Old and Early Modern Swedish texts (from Johannisson 1945:135–136, Table 2–5).¹¹²*

<i>Text</i>	<i># HAVE</i>	<i>% HAVE</i>
<i>Östgötalagen</i> (ÖgL, c. 1290)	0/33	0 %
<i>Upplandslagen</i> (UL, 1297)	3/47	6 %
<i>Ett fornsvenskt legendarium</i> (Leg; c. 1300)	2/32	6 %
<i>Herr Ivan</i> (c. 1303)	11/91	12 %
<i>Pentateuchparafrasen</i> (c. 1330)	28/167	17 %
<i>Erikskrönikan</i> (c. 1330)	13/44	30 %
Jöns Budde, <i>Buddes bok</i> (*c. 1437)	32/73	44 %
Olaus Petri, <i>En swensk cröneka</i> (*1495)	86/283	30 %
Laurentius Petri, <i>Kyrkoordningen</i> (*1499)	9/91	10 %
Peder Swart, <i>Konung Gustaf I:s krönika</i> (†1562)	16/104	15 %

In Table 5.2, I give the frequencies of HAVE with unaccusatives for some of the texts in Johannisson’s (1945) study. While HAVE is rare or completely missing in some of the texts (ÖgL, UL and Leg), other texts have as much as 44 % HAVE with unaccusatives; the book by Jöns Budde is included in the table since it is the Old Swedish text in Johannisson’s corpus which has the highest frequency of HAVE. In

¹¹² The figures I gave in Table 4.5 above differ marginally from Johannisson’s; Johannisson has a slightly higher number of cases of HAVE in Old Swedish (three examples in UL, where I have counted only two). Most likely, this is because he includes also cases where the non-finite auxiliary is omitted in the numbers for HAVE.

Johannisson's study, all in all 17 % of the Old Swedish examples and 18 % of the examples from the time 1526–1600 contain HAVE (1945: 136, Table 4 & 5).

In the following sections, I consider contexts where HAVE is much preferred also with participles of unaccusative verbs throughout the Old Swedish and Early Modern Swedish periods. The most striking context involves counterfactuals.

5.4. Counterfactuals and tense

In the Swedish texts before the 17th century, a majority of the examples of unaccusatives embedded under HAVE are used in counterfactuals, as in the example in (5:32) below.

- (5:32) Hade ock iagh, tå dödt medh them, / Tå hade
had also I then died with them then had
 ey skeedt, that wij nu seem
not happened that we now see
 'If also I had died with them then, it would not have happened, what
 we now see'
 (Petri Tobie *1493:404; from Johannisson 1945:117)

In Johannisson's Old Swedish material, 185 (52 %) of the total 355 examples of HAVE with participles of unaccusative verbs involve counterfactuals (1945:97). Compare the counterfactual with HAVE in (5:33a) and the similar, but factual, example with BE in (5:33b).

- (5:33) a. Jach hade gerne och faaret medh tyl ider
I had gladly also gone with to you
 'I had gladly also gone with them to you'
 (Siggesson a. 1500:15)
- b. j samme dage fych iach Knwtz j Gylle scriffuile.
in same day got I Knut's in Gylle letter
 athy [= at I] ware faren aff Westeraars til Stocholm.
that.you were gone from Västerås to Stockholm
 'The same day, I got the letter from Knut in Gylle that you were gone
 from Västerås to Stockholm.'
 (Siggesson a. 1500:15)

The by far most common context for a counterfactual is the conditional. Johannisson notes around 300 examples of HAVE in conditionals in the material up until around year 1700. Only in nine cases is the auxiliary BE (1945:117); I return to these below. The variation in the frequency

of HAVE in Swedish texts before the 17th century is partly explained by the fact that past counterfactuals with perfect morphology are rare or completely missing in some texts (the laws), while common in other texts (e.g. the texts by Olaus Petri).

The relevant difference between the constructions with HAVE and BE can be related to tense morphology. In languages like English and Swedish, counterfactuals with pluperfect morphology have a past tense reading, whereas preterite morphology yields a present tense counterfactual; see (5:34) and the corresponding Swedish examples in (5:35) (and cf. Ekerot 1995:157 and SAG 1999, 4:268ff.).

- (5:34) a. I wish I had a car at present.
 b. I wish I had had a car back then.
 (Iatridou 2000:239)

- (5:35) a. Jag önskar att jag hade en bil nu.
I wish that I had a car now
 ‘I wish I had a car now.’
 b. Jag önskar att jag hade haft en bil på den tiden.
I wish that I had had a car at that time
 ‘I wish I had had a car back then.’

Sentences which are normally disallowed in the pluperfect are perfectly grammatical in pluperfect counterfactuals where they have a past tense and not a past perfect tense reading; see (5:36).

- (5:36) a. *Napoleon had been tall.
 b. Napoleon was tall.
 c. If Napoleon had been tall, he would have defeated Wellington.
 (Iatridou 2000:245)

Iatridou (2000) refers to the past morphology in counterfactuals as *fake past* since it does not receive a temporal past interpretation. She proposes that the morphology still makes a real contribution to the counterfactual, namely the counterfactual semantics itself. The suggestion is that past morphology does not directly encode past tense semantics in languages such as Greek and English (and Swedish), but rather spells out a more abstract feature which can be utilised to express counterfactuality. This feature, which Iatridou calls Exclusion feature, has the basic meaning given in (5:37), where *x* can range over either times or worlds; when it ranges over times we get a past tense, when it ranges over worlds we have a counterfactual (i.e., the worlds we are talking about excludes the actual world).

- (5:37) $T(x)$ excludes $C(x)$.
 $T(x)$ stands for ‘Topic (x)’ (i.e., ‘the x that we are talking about’). $C(x)$ stands for ‘the x that for all we know is the x of the speaker’ (Iatridou 2000:246).

A counterfactual, then, has the semantics of (5:38). Past tense, on the other hand, has the semantics given in (5:39), where the topic time corresponds to the assertion time interval set up by aspect (AST).¹¹³

- (5:38) Counterfactual: The topic worlds exclude the actual world.
 (from Iatridou 2000:247)
- (5:39) Past tense: The topic time excludes the utterance time.
 (from Iatridou 2000:246)

Consider the difference between the preterite and the pluperfect form in the examples in (5:34)–(5:36) again. A pluperfect presumably has two layers of past morphology, i.e. carries two Exclusion features; it is the combination of a finite past with a non-finite past (see chapter 3 above). In a counterfactual, one Exclusion feature ranges over worlds, but the other expresses a past tense. A preterite form, on the other hand, only has one Exclusion feature, and therefore gets a present reading in a counterfactual. Note that this analysis requires an account where the perfect contributes anteriority by assertion.

Now, consider constructions with BE. In Present-Day Swedish, both passive and active constructions with BE + participle have a present tense reading in counterfactuals; cf. (5:40) and (5:41).¹¹⁴

¹¹³ As Iatridou suggests, we could substitute ‘precedence’ for noninclusion: “The ‘before’ part of this skeletal frame when the latter is applied to the domain of worlds could then be said to be inapplicable or vacuously satisfied” (2000:246 fn. 19).

¹¹⁴ Passives like those in (i) are possible in counterfactuals, but despite the temporal adverbial, they do not have a past tense reading.

- (i) Jag önskar att jag vore född på 80-talet.
I wish that I were born in the 80s
 ‘I wish I were born in the 80s’

Here, the results of the event of being born hold at the present, but the event did not take place at the time of the adverbial; cf. the ungrammatical examples in (ii).

- (ii) *Om jag vore född när det hände hade jag varit där.
if I were born when it happened had I been there

- (5:40) a. Jag önskar att tröjan redan vore tvättad.
I wish that the.sweater already were washed
 'I wish that the sweater were washed already.'
- b. *Jag önskar att tröjan vore tvättad till festen igår.
I wish that the.sweater were washed to the.party yesterday
- (5:41) a. Jag önskar att han redan vore hemkommen.
I wish that he already were home.come
 'I wish that he were here already.'
- b. *Jag önskar att han vore hemkommen till mötet igår.
I wish that he were home.come to the.meeting yesterday

To get a past counterfactual reading, BE must be in the pluperfect, as in the examples in (5:42).

- (5:42) a. Jag önskar att tröjan hade varit tvättad till festen igår.
I wish that the.sweater had been washed to the.party yesterday
 'I wish that the sweater had been washed for the party yesterday.'
- b. Jag önskar att han hade varit hemkommen till mötet igår.
I wish that he had been home.come to the.meeting yesterday
 'I wish that he had come home to the meeting yesterday.'

The active and passive constructions with BE are incompatible with a past counterfactual reading also in Icelandic and Norwegian; cf. Icelandic in (5:43) and Norwegian in (5:44).¹¹⁵

- (5:43) a. *Ef hann væri kominn í gær, þá...
if he were come yesterday then
 'If he had come yesterday, then...'
- b. Ef hann væri kominn núna, þá...
if he were come now then
 'If he were here now, then...'
- (5:44) a. Sven har/er dratt till Stuttgart.
Sven has/is gone to Stuttgart
 'Sven has gone to Stuttgart.'

¹¹⁵ In Icelandic, subjunctive morphology is obligatory in counterfactuals. As pointed out by Iatridou (2000), this does not affect the possibility of past counterfactuals; Icelandic patterns with Swedish and English (where the use of the subjunctive is very limited).

- b. *Hvis Sven var dratt till Stuttgart, kunne han ha sett
if Sven was gone to Stuttgart could he have seen
 Mercedes museumet.
Mercedes the.Museum
 (McFadden & Alexiadou 2007:29f.)

Again, a past counterfactual reading is available in a pluperfect with HAVE; see the Norwegian example in (5:45).

- (5:45) Hvis Sven hade dratt till Stuttgart, kunne han ha sett
if Sven was gone to Stuttgart could he have seen
 Mercedes museumet.
Mercedes Museum
 ‘If Sven had gone to Stuttgart he could have seen the Mercedes
 Museum.’
 (McFadden & Alexiadou 2007:29f.)

In German and Danish, pluperfects with BE behave just like pluperfects with HAVE; cf. the Danish BE-perfect in (5:46) and the German perfects in (5:47) which are grammatical with a past counterfactual reading.

- (5:46) Jeg kunne godt have ønsket mig at han var
I could well have wished REFL that he was
 kommet til mødet i går.
come to the.meeting yesterday
 ‘I could well have wished that he had come to the meeting yesterday.’
- (5:47) a. Wenn er gearbeitet hätte....
if he worked had
 ‘If he had worked...’
 b. Wenn er ankommen wäre...
if he arrived were
 ‘If he had arrived...’
 (McFadden & Alexiadou 2006a:274)

Stative passives with past tense BE, on the other hand, have a present tense reading in counterfactuals in Danish and German, just like in Swedish; see the Danish passives in (5:48) and the German passives in (5:49).

- (5:48) a. Jeg havde håbet på at trøjen allerede var vasket.
I had hoped on that the.sweater already was washed
 ‘I had hoped that the sweater would already be washed.’
 b. *Hvis trøjen var vasket til festen igår, ville
if the.sweater was washed to the.party yesterday would
 jeg have brugt den da.
I have used it then

- (5:49) a. Ich wünschte der Pullover wäre schon gewaschen.
I wished the sweater were already washed
 'I wished that the sweater were already washed.'
- b. * Ich wünschte der Pullover wäre bis zur Party gestern
I wished the sweater were for.the Party yesterday
 gewaschen.
washed

As in Swedish, Icelandic and Norwegian, a past counterfactual becomes possible when BE is embedded under the temporal auxiliary; see the Danish example in (5:50) and the German example in (5:51).

- (5:50) Jeg havde håbet på at trøjen havde været
I had hoped on that the.sweater had been
 vasket til festen i går.
washed to the.party yesterday
 'I had hoped that the sweater had been washed for the party
 yesterday.'
- (5:51) Ich wünschte der Pullover wäre bis zur Party gestern
I wished the sweater were for.the Party yesterday
 gewaschen gewesen.
washed been
 'I wished that the sweater had been washed for the party yesterday.'

As noted, counterfactuals with BE are rare in the historical records. In the texts investigated here, there is no example with BE + active participle and a counterfactual reading.¹¹⁶ In Johannisson's extensive material, there are nine. As in Present-Day Swedish, these appear to have a present tense rather than a past tense reading; consider the examples in (5:52) below. The example in (5:52a) has the adverbial *nu* 'now'; in (5:52b) the antecedent (the condition) has a preterite form of the copula BE, whereas in (5:52c) the consequent is in the preterite, and includes

¹¹⁶ In the 17th century texts discussed in chapter 7 below, there is one example:

- (i) Jag önskar tusenfalt dät aldrig wore händt!
I wish thousand.times it never were happened
 I wish a thousand times that it never had happened!
 (*Philomela* 1688:175)

This example is quite exceptional, particularly since it is from the end of the 17th century, and from a text where the use of BE is otherwise restricted. I have no explanation for it.

an adverbial meaning ‘already’.¹¹⁷ Compare the modern example in (5:53) below; it is perfectly grammatical, but has a present tense reading.

- (5:52) a. hafðhe ey thenne dwale warith, tha waarom wi nw
had not this delay been then were we now
 annan tima ater komþne
second time again come
 ‘had it not been for this delay, we would now be back for the second time’
 (Pentateuchparafraſen c. 1330:244; from Johannisson 1945:117f.)
- b. Oc ware ey thz, tha ware nu werldin alreðho forganin
and were not that then were now the.world already passed
 ‘and was it not for that, the world would already be gone’
 (Själens tröst 15th c.:235; from Johannisson 1945:118)
- c. Wore någhor orett skeedd [...] wore wel tilbörlicht
were some unjustice occurred were surely appropriate
 at iagh hörde idher
that I heard you
 ‘had some unjustice occurred, it would surely be appropriate that I listened to you’
 (GVB 1541, Acts 18:14; from Johannisson 1945:118)

- (5:53) Om jag hade en cykel, vore jag redan där.
if I had a bike were I already there
 ‘If I had a bike, I would already be there.’

In light of the otherwise considerable variation with regard to auxiliary selection (and many other things) in older Swedish, the lack of variation in past counterfactuals seems highly significant. We can assume that HAVE is, in fact, the only possibility in past counterfactuals also in older Swedish, and that past tense of BE + participle had a present tense reading in a counterfactual. Following McFadden & Alexiadou (2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007), I assume that this is because the construction with BE was not a perfect.

Up until the end of the 19th century, English had an alternation between HAVE and BE much like older Swedish; see the examples in (5:54).

- (5:54) a. Our invitations for the 19th are arrived
 (Austen *1775:88; from Rydén & Brorström 1987:44)

¹¹⁷ Three of the nine examples with BE come from the same text (the letters by Magnus Stenbock *c. 1663) and are, according to Johannisson (1945:117), due to German influence.

- b. and so I am got home, and Lord knows what is become of Patrick.
(Swift *1667:279; from Rydén & Brorström 1987:50)

There are, however, examples of unaccusatives in the complement of HAVE already in Middle English. As in Swedish, BE appears to have been unavailable in past counterfactuals; see the older English examples in (5:55) which involve HAVE and a participle of the unaccusative verb *come*.

- (5:55) a. And if þow hadest come betyme, he hade yhade þe maistre
and if you had come timely he had had the master
'And if you had come in time, he would have prevailed.'
(Middle English, 1350–1420; from McFadden & Alexiadou
2006b:ex. (2a))
- b. and if they had come sooner, they could haue holpen them.
(Early Modern English, 1500–1710; from McFadden & Alexiadou
2006b:ex. (4a))

In their investigation of the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English and the Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English, McFadden & Alexiadou (2006a:271) find 903 examples of pluperfects with HAVE in counterfactuals and only seven (0.8 %) with BE. As in Swedish, the examples with BE all appear to have a present tense reading (2006a:274).

Based on Iatridou's (2000) account of counterfactuals, McFadden & Alexiadou argue that BE is unavailable in past counterfactuals because it is not a temporal auxiliary, but simply a copula that takes a stative participle as its complement. Hence, though the interpretation of the constructions with HAVE and BE are very similar, one is a perfect, and the other one is not. Recall also the distinction between perfect-like construction and perfect with HAVE in chapter 4 above; a preterite form of possessive HAVE has a present tense reading in counterfactuals, just like (passive or active) perfect-like constructions with BE; cf. (5:56). For a past counterfactual reading, possessive HAVE has to be embedded under a perfect, as in (5:57).

- (5:56) a. Om hon hade väskorna packade nu, skulle vi ha
if she had the.bags packed now would we have
kunnat åka.
been.able.to go
'If she had the bags packed now, we would have been able to go.'
- b. *Om hon hade väskorna packade igår, hade vi
if she had the.bags packed yesterday had we
kunnat åka då.
been.able.to go then

- (5:57) Om hon hade haft väskorna packade igår, hade vi
if she had had the.bags packed yesterday had we
 kunnat åka då.
been.able.to go then
 'If she had had the bags packed yesterday, we would have been able
 to go then.'

In the perfect-like construction with BE (or HAVE), the anteriority of the participial event is presumably not asserted by means of an Exclusion feature that ranges over time, but is only indirectly supplied by the participle by implication of what it means to have a target state (cf. McFadden & Alexiadou 2006b); when the target state of an event holds at present, the process or transition necessarily lies in the past. Hence, the past tense of a perfect-like construction with BE will get a present tense reading in a counterfactual, just like other preterite forms.

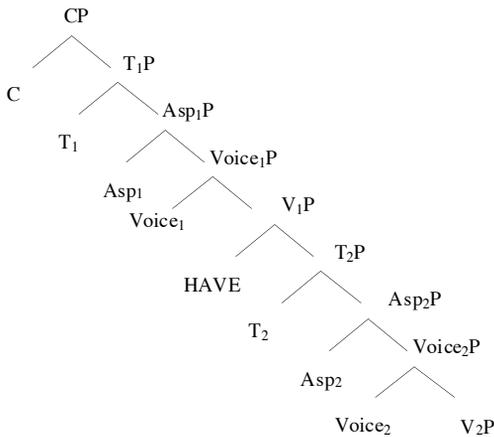
An analysis of the constructions with BE as non-perfects explains the differences between passive and perfect BE in German and Danish; since perfects but not passives with BE have two layers of past morphology, only perfects are possible in past counterfactuals. This account also straightforwardly extends to constructions with BE + active or passive participle in Present-Day Swedish, Icelandic and Norwegian where constructions with BE never are perfects, and therefore never have a past counterfactual reading. In the following, we will see further evidence for the analysis of BE + (active or passive) participle as a non-perfect construction in the present-day Scandinavian languages. I will assume that the same is true for older Swedish; in this way, the absence of BE in past counterfactuals can be explained.

McFadden & Alexiadou suggest that the temporal auxiliary HAVE carries both of the Exclusion Features of the pluperfect, i.e. that the auxiliary has double tense morphology, while the participle is tenseless; since BE is not a temporal auxiliary in Middle English and older Swedish, it only has one Exclusion feature. However, past and perfect participles can be shown to have different properties also in other respects (see chapter 2 above). As noted, they are morphologically distinct in Swedish; cf. the past participle in (5:58a) and the supine in (5:58b).

- (5:58) a. Flyget är redan ankommet.
the.flight is already arrive.PTC.N.SG
 b. Flyget har redan ankommit.
the.flight has already arrive.SUP
 'The flight has already arrived.'

I will therefore assume that neither BE nor HAVE can have more than one Exclusion feature (one layer of tense morphology), and that the difference between the constructions instead lies in the participle; this is more in line with the analysis of the perfect that I proposed in chapter 3 above. Whereas HAVE takes a perfect participle (which has a non-finite past value), BE takes a tenseless (and stative) complement; see the structures in (5:59) and (5:60) where the presence/absence of a lower T distinguishes perfects from perfect-like constructions (and perfect participles from past participles).¹¹⁸ Here, I take the participle in the complement of BE to have an aspectual phrase in its extended projection (cf. Embick 2004a). The structure of past participles is discussed at more length in chapters 6 and 8. I return to the internal structure of HAVE in chapter 9.

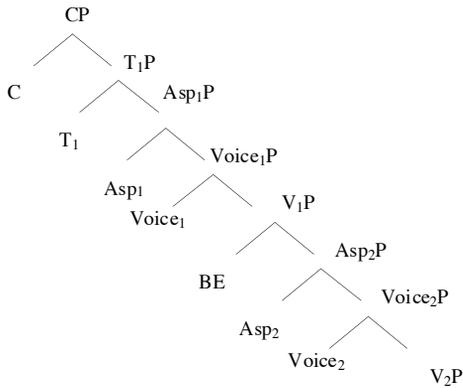
(5:59) Perfect:



¹¹⁸ Unlike the simple preterite, present perfect morphology is incompatible with a counterfactual reading; cf. (i). This suggests that only finite past tense morphology can yield a counterfactual reading.

- (i) * Om jag har tvättat tröjan idag, skulle jag ha den på mig.
if I have washed the.sweater today would I have it on me

(5:60) Perfect-like construction:



As noted, the perfect-like constructions with HAVE or BE are generally restricted to the target state reading (resultative aspect), whereas true perfects also can have an experiential reading or, in the case of an unbounded predicate, a universal reading. Hence, if BE is not a temporal auxiliary in older Swedish, we do not expect to find it in experiential and universal perfects. That is, we expect that the construction with BE and participle is restricted to examples which express that the target state of the participial event holds at the reference time (i.e. the matrix assertion time). As we have already seen, this is generally the case for the BE-passives and perfect-like constructions with HAVE in Present-Day Swedish.

There are, to my knowledge, no unaccusative verbs in universal perfects in the older Swedish material. Only few of the unaccusative verbs are possible in universal perfects (which require unbounded predicates and adverbial modification) with HAVE in Present-Day Swedish; consider the examples in (5:61) below.¹¹⁹

- (5:61) a. Han har vuxit i flera år nu.
he has grown for several years now
 'He has been growing for several years now.'
- b. Grytan har svalnat i flera timmar nu.
the.stew has cooled for several hours now
 'The stew has been cooling for several hours now.'

¹¹⁹ Punctual events like *arrive* require bounded aspect (see further chapter 6).

- c. *Hon har ankommit i flera timmar nu.
she has arrived for several hours now

Examples of unaccusatives with a universal reading are therefore expected to be rare or non-existent in the limited historical records, regardless of whether the construction with BE is a perfect or not; they are therefore disregarded in the following. Instead, I focus on BE in experiential contexts, i.e. in contexts where the construction with BE + participle does not assert that the target state of the participial event holds at the time of the matrix clause.

5.5. BE in experiential perfects

The correlation between experiential perfects and past counterfactuals is supported by facts from the present-day Scandinavian languages and German. We saw above that constructions with BE + active participles are possible in past counterfactuals in Danish and German, but not in Swedish, Norwegian and Icelandic; this is expected since Danish and German also allow experiential readings with BE. Passives with BE are, on the other hand, ungrammatical in both past counterfactuals and experiential contexts; cf. the German examples in (5:62). The perfects with HAVE and BE in (5:62a) and (5:62b) are both grammatical on the experiential reading; the passive in (5:62c), on the other hand, is not.

- (5:62) a. Ich habe mein Handy verloren und dann gleich
I have my cellphone lost and then immediately
 wieder gefunden.
again found
 'I have lost my cellphone and then found it again right away.'
- b. Mein Handy ist verschwunden und dann gleich
my cellphone is disappeared and then immediately
 wieder aufgetaucht.
again up.turned
 'My cellphone has disappeared and then shown up again right away.'
- c. * Mein Handy ist verloren, und ich habe es dann
my cellphone is lost and I have it then
 gleich wieder gefunden.
immediately again found
 Intended: 'My cellphone has been lost, and then I've found it again right away.'
 (McFadden & Alexiadou 2006a:275)

As noted, Swedish and Norwegian constructions with BE behave the same regardless of whether the participle is passive or active; they are illicit in past counterfactuals, and they generally do not have an experiential reading (cf. section 5.1 above).¹²⁰ In Icelandic, the construction with BE + active participle is ungrammatical in both experiential perfects and past counterfactuals (cf. (5:12) and (5:43) above).

Also in the older Germanic languages, there appears to be a correlation between the ungrammaticality of BE in past counterfactuals and the unavailability of the experiential reading, as expected if both require the syntax and semantics of a perfect tense. Many of the factors that have been proposed to account for the alternation between HAVE and BE in previous studies of older English and older Scandinavian can, with some modification, be reinterpreted as relating to the distinction between experiential and resultative readings, or rather, between perfects (which allow experiential readings) and perfect-like constructions (which generally do not). In his detailed study of the Scandinavian languages, Johannisson (1945) distinguishes a number of factors which pick out mainly the experiential as opposed to the stative perfect-like reading; these involve e.g. frequency adverbials, negation and temporal adverbials which focus on the time of the transition rather than the time of the target state, and they tend to favour HAVE and not BE. In a similar way, Kytö (1997:31) argues that the “distinction between state/result (indicated by *be*) and action (indicated by *have*) seems to have been one of the main distributional factors” influencing the alternation in older English. Among other things, she points to factors such as iteration, which promote the use of HAVE (1997:57; cf. also Fridén 1948:44f.); see the examples in (5:63). Adverbs of frequency or iteration are generally restricted to experiential perfects, but as we will see below, they are not always excluded in perfect-like constructions.

- (5:63) a. Fiue times he hath returnd / Bleeding to Rome
(Shakespeare Titus *1564:I.I.33; from Fridén 1948:45)
- b. Full thirtie times hath Phebus cart gone round.
(Shakespeare Hamlet *1564:3.2.165; from Fridén 1948:45)

¹²⁰ Since passives with BE behave like BE + active participle in Present-Day Swedish in the sense relevant here, but are lexically less restricted, I sometimes use passives to exemplify the properties of the perfect-like construction with BE. In Icelandic, passive and active participles in the complement of BE behave differently; as we have seen, the former but not the latter allow eventive readings. For Icelandic, I therefore restrict the discussion to active participles.

In the following, I review some of the factors that have been suggested to affect the alternation between HAVE and BE in older Scandinavian, focusing on the distinction between the resultative and the experiential reading. I first give an overview of the results from Johannisson's study and my own investigation. In section 5.5.3, I look closer at different kinds of adverbial modification. As we will see below, BE is less restricted in older Swedish than we would expect considering the data reviewed so far; Johannisson therefore concludes that BE was a temporal auxiliary in Old Swedish. I will argue that it was not, and instead suggest that the older Swedish data call for further distinctions among the perfect-like constructions.

5.5.1. *Experiential contexts and HAVE/BE in older Scandinavian*

With regard to BE + active participle, Old Norse (i.e. Old Norwegian and Old Icelandic) appears to be just like the modern languages; the construction was clearly more restricted than a perfect (cf. Johannisson 1945:65). In other words, there is no clear evidence for a grammatical change in the construction with BE + active participle in the history of Icelandic. In Johannisson's Old Norse material, there is only one example with BE and 25 examples with HAVE together with adverbs of frequency or iteration (1945:36). Consider the examples in (5:64a) and (5:64b); the former has HAVE and an experiential reading, the latter involves BE and has a resultative reading. The example with BE and a frequency adverbial is given in (5:65); the source is Norwegian.

- (5:64) a. þvíat hvern hefi ec heim um komit
for every have I world PRT come
 'for I have come into every world'
 (Edda Vm. 43)
- b. En er komit var til Ásólf, þá [...]
and when come was to Ásólf then
 'when they had come to Ásólf, then...'
 (Landnámabók 12th c.:62)
- (5:65) er iorð komin þrýsvár undir snúð ok undir snælldu
is earth come three.times under twirl and under distaff
 'the earth has passed a spindle three times' (i.e., 'the earth has passed three times through a woman's hand')
 (Gulathings-Lov p. 92; from Johannisson 1945:36)

Within the different categories investigated by Johannisson, there are altogether 15 Old Norse examples where BE is not straightforwardly analysed as a copula, whereas more than 250 examples with HAVE clearly have an eventive reading, according to Johannisson (1945:92). The problematic cases with BE tend to come from older sources, and eight are Norwegian (1945:92). Johannisson suggests that some of them may be due to German influence and that at least one case should best be seen as a mistake by the scribe (1945:45, 93).¹²¹ One of the examples that are problematic according to Johannisson is given in (5:66) below; it involves the participle *framkomin* ‘emerged’, and the adverbial *fyrst* ‘first’ which presumably relates to the event of emerging.

- (5:66) Þat er oc, at þeir scolo reifa mal þeirra. þav fyrst
it is also that they should sum.up case theirs that first
eru fram comin
are forward come
 ‘Moreover, they should sum up their cases, which have emerged first’
 (Grágás 41, p. 72; from Johannisson 1945:51)

However, while the example in (5:66) involves a verbal participle that has event implications, it is not incompatible with a resultative reading. Past participles in the complement of BE can obviously have an eventive component even if they do not have a T in their extended projection; as we will see in chapter 8, stative participles can have *procP* (and *initP*) in their structure. With the slightly different distinctions made here, the problematic examples therefore amount to 15 only if we count generously.

According to Johannisson (1945), the same factors favour the use of HAVE in Old Swedish as in Old Norse (and older English; cf. Fridén 1948). Also in older Swedish, unaccusative verbs form experiential perfects with HAVE, as in the examples in (5:67).

- (5:67) a. Kom ock teslikes Nicodemus, som tilförenna hadhe kommet
came also alike Nicodemus who before had come
 til Jesum om nattena, och baar een bländning
to Jesus at the.night and carried a mixture
 ‘Nicodemus who before had come to Jesus at night also in the same
 way came and carried a mixture’
 (GVB 1541, John 19:39; from Johannisson 1945:106)

¹²¹ One example from the *Snorra Edda* (183:9) has BE + participle (*var kominn* ‘was come’) where another version of the text has a simple past form (*kom* ‘came’); Johannisson suggests that the construction with BE is a contamination with a following expression (*eru komnir* ‘are come’) (1945:45).

- b. ath han hafwer ganska offtha fallith j syndh
that he has rather often fallen in sin
 ok faller än nw hwar dagh.
and falls still every day
 ‘he has rather often fallen into sin and still falls every day’
 (Nicolai I 1495:[45])

In (5:67a), the target state of Nicodemus coming to Jesus does not hold, and in (5:67b), the event of falling is repeated.

As noted in chapter 4 above, unaccusatives are, however, somewhat more common in the complement of HAVE in the Old Norse texts than in the Old Swedish texts. This is not just a difference in the frequency of experiential perfects with unaccusatives; even if we consider experiential perfect-type constructions only, BE is more common in older Swedish than in both Old and Present-Day Icelandic. In iterative contexts, Johannisson (1945:103 fn. 2) notes 56 examples with HAVE and 60 with BE in older Swedish (but see section 5.5.2.3 below). Two examples with BE are given in (5:68); they involve adverbials meaning ‘often’ and ‘always’ (which yields an iterative reading with a punctual event), and they therefore have an experiential and not a resultative reading.

- (5:68) a. Thet är offta skeedt, at [...]
it is often happened that
 ‘It has often happened that...’
 (Petri *1493:3)
- b. ther fore äro the offta kompne på obestond
therefore are they often come on insolvency
 ‘Therefore, they have often become insolvent.’
 (Petri *1493:82)
- c. Vbbo [...] bygde Vbsal / Ther altidh är skedt
Ubbo built Uppsala there always is happened
 Kongars waal
kings’ election
 ‘Ubbo built Uppsala where the election of kings have always taken place’
 (Messenius I *1579:4)

Johannisson (1945:106f.) claims that BE is as common as HAVE in perfect-type constructions in examples that do not express that the target state of the participial event holds, and that the older sources mainly have BE; he gives examples such as (5:69).

- (5:69) a. Hwar och en ande som bekänner, at Jesus Christus är
each and one spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ is
 kommen i kötet, han är aff Gudhi
come in the.flesh he is from God
 'Every spirit that confesses that Jesus Christ has come in the flesh is
 from God'
 (GVB 1541, 1 John 4:2; Johannisson 1945:106)
- b. at Christus är dödher för våra synder effter Scriffterna,
that Christ is dead for our sins after the.Scripture
 och at han är begraffuen, och at han vpstånden är
and that he is buried and that he resurrected is
 på tridie daghen
on third the.day
 'that Christ has died for our sins according to the Scriptures, that he is
 buried, that he has resurrected on the third day'
 (GVB 1541, 1 Cor 15:4; from Johannisson 1945:106)

For some of these examples, Johannisson's interpretation can be discussed; for instance, (5:69a) states that Jesus Christ has become flesh, and it seems likely that the intended interpretation is that the consequences of this change of state still remains. Note also that the example in (5:69b) involves the passive past participle *begraffuen* 'buried' in addition to the active participles *dödher* 'dead' and *vpstånden* 'resurrected'; we do not expect stative passives to allow an experiential reading either (cf. section 5.1 above). As we will see further below, the question is how the distinction between perfect and perfect-like construction is made, and what it means to say that the target state or result holds. I return to stative passives in the historical records in chapter 6 (section 6.4).

On the whole, unaccusative verbs are rather infrequent in experiential perfects, both with BE and HAVE. The number of cases is small even in the longer texts in the material; in the text by Olaus Petri (of which I have investigated 125 pages) the number of examples with BE with an experiential reading amounts to little more than a handful. This also means that differences between authors and texts are difficult, if not impossible, to trace. In any case, the occurrence of BE in experiential perfect-type examples does not seem to be limited to some writers or texts, and it does not appear to be exclusively lexically determined; both change of location verbs like *komma* 'come' and change of state verbs like *varda* 'become' and *ske* 'happen' occur with BE; see (5:68) and (5:69) above.

Based on the higher number of examples with BE in experiential contexts and with e.g. temporal adverbials that give the time of the transition or process, and not the time of the target state, Johannisson con-

cludes that BE is a temporal auxiliary in older Swedish, but not in Old Norse, Present-Day Icelandic and Present-Day Swedish. This would explain the difference between older Swedish and Icelandic with regard to examples with an experiential reading, but would leave the restriction on BE in past counterfactuals unexplained. Again, bearing the otherwise considerable variation in older Swedish in mind, the absence of BE in past counterfactuals is significant and should be taken into account. Moreover, if we analyse BE as a temporal auxiliary, the fact that also HAVE could form perfects with unaccusatives needs to be accounted for; in Present-Day Danish, unaccusative verbs are ungrammatical in HAVE-perfects. We could perhaps imagine a situation where both HAVE and BE form perfects with participles of unaccusative verbs, but where BE is a more marked alternative for experiential perfects and counterfactuals, while HAVE is the marked option in resultative perfects. This would mean that counterfactuals with BE were more marked than experiential perfects, and so marked that they were *never* used. It would clearly be preferred if the difference in distribution could be related to a syntactic-semantic distinction, and not to a notion of markedness not correlated with any syntactic or semantic difference between the constructions.

In the following section, I look closer at some of the examples that Johannisson takes as evidence for an analysis of the construction with BE as a perfect and compare them to stative passives in Present-Day Swedish. The large majority of the unambiguous cases involve adverbial modification of some sort; we therefore need to consider possible explanations for the (lack of) restrictions on adverbials that do not require the assumption that BE is a temporal auxiliary in older Swedish.

5.5.2. Adverbials and BE

When Johannisson (1945) points to factors that favour either HAVE or BE in the older Scandinavian languages, he largely focuses on adverbial modification; he investigates the effects that negation, temporal adverbials, locative adverbials and so on have the choice of auxiliary. For older Swedish, he notes a good deal of variation. For him, the relevant distinction is between eventivity and stativity, and he appears to assume that stative constructions that express resultativity cannot include an eventive component. I have instead tied the variation to the distinction between the experiential and the resultative readings, or, rather, to the distinction between perfect (which allows both readings) and perfect-

like construction (which disallows the experiential reading). However, while a certain kind of modification can be typical for the experiential perfect, the presence/absence of a particular adverbial does not automatically distinguish perfects from perfect-like constructions. The difference between perfects and perfect-like constructions is, as I have argued, a question of tense; the difference between the experiential and resultative readings, on the other hand, relates to aspect.

In the following, I consider negation, aspectual adverbials and manner adverbials with BE in older Swedish compared to the modern languages.¹²² Temporal adverbials will be discussed separately in section chapter 6 (section 6.3.3) below. I largely restrict myself to a descriptive overview of the adverbial modification with BE in older and Present-Day Swedish, without giving an account of the syntax of adverbs. In section 5.5.3.4, I briefly comment on the question how adverbs are licensed.

5.5.2.1. *Negation*

It has been suggested that the presence of negation favours HAVE in older English and older Scandinavian (Fridén 1948:46, Kytö 1997, Johannisson 1945:38). However, counterfactuals are more often negated than other sentences, and when McFadden & Alexiadou (2007:13) exclude counterfactuals from the investigation, there is no significant difference in the use of HAVE and BE between negated and non-negated perfect-type constructions in older English. Negation is generally not restricted to experiential perfects, but is possible in the perfect-like construction with BE in Present-Day Swedish; see (5:70) where the reading is that the result of the participial event is not (yet) attained. When negation with *o-* ‘un-’ is possible, it has a similar reading; cf. (5:71).

- (5:70) a. Alla deltagare är inte anlända (ännu).
all participants are not arrived yet
 ‘All participants have not arrived (yet).’
 b. Artikeln är inte skriven (ännu).
the paper is not written yet
 ‘The paper has not been written (yet).’

¹²² For an overview of the adverbial modification in passives with BE in Modern Swedish, see SAG (1999, 4:393ff.).

- (5:71) Artikeln är (fortfarande) oskriven.
the.paper is still unwritten
 ‘The paper has (still) not been written.’

Hence, Old Norse examples like (5:72) below, which are exceptional according to Johannisson (1945:38), could be treated as a negated perfect-like construction. In other words, the example in (5:72) states that none of the men are in the target state of falling or becoming wounded.

- (5:72) En i öllum þessum socknum. sem nú var frá sagt,
but in all these attacks that now were from said
 var engi hans manna fallinn og engi sarr vorðinn
was none.of his men fallen and none wounded become
 ‘But in all these attacks which now have been related, none of his
 men had fallen, and none had been wounded.’
 (Stjórn 14th c.:370; from Johannisson 1945:38)

Some variants of negation are, however, still expected to be illicit in perfect-like constructions with BE. These include examples negated by an adverb meaning ‘never’ which negates the existence of the entire underlying eventuality (and not only its result) within a time span that includes all past times. In Present-Day Icelandic, negation by *aldrei* ‘never’ is ungrammatical in examples such as (5:73). Instead, a perfect with HAVE is required, as in (5:74).

- (5:73) *Jón er aldrei farinn til Kína.
John is never gone to China
- (5:74) Jón hefur aldrei farið til Kína.
John has never gone to China
 ‘John has never gone to China.’

In older Swedish, there is, as expected, a contrast between examples like those in (5:75) below; (5:75a) is an experiential HAVE-perfect negated by *aldrig* ‘never’, while (5:75b) involves BE and has a resultative reading (cf. also Johannisson 1945:105 fn. 4).

- (5:75) a. Såsom än nu aldrig annars haffuer tilgångit
as yet never otherwise have happened
 ‘As yet never have happened otherwise’
 (L. Petri *1499:ii; Johannisson 1945:105)
- b. Bann är ingalunda til förachtandes, när ther med
excommunication is not.at.all to scorn when there with
 är rätteliga tilgånget
is rightly happened

‘Excommunication is not at all to be scorned, when it happens rightly’

(L. Petri *1499:33; Johannisson 1945:105 fn. 5)

However, there are a few examples with BE and negation by *aldrig* ‘never’ throughout the period up until the 18th century; see (5:76) (cf. also the examples listed by Johannisson 1945:104f.).

- (5:76) men som dhetta aldrig är skeet, ej heller hade någon
 but as this never is happened not either had any
 apparence til at kunna skee,
 appearance to to be.able.to happen
 ‘but as this has never happened, nor had any chance of happening’
 (Spegel *1645:111)

In some cases, an adverb meaning ‘never’ is in fact possible in the perfect-like construction, also in Icelandic; examples such as those in (5:77) are attested in Present-Day Icelandic.

- (5:77) ég var aldrei komin á fætur þegar þú komst frá Hofsósi.
 I was never come on feet when you came.ST from Hofsós
 ‘I was never on my feet when you arrived from Hofsós’
 (Google)

In (5:77), the adverb *aldrei* does not negate the existence of the event of getting up on the feet at any point in time; it does not state that the speaker has never been on her feet. Instead, the example states that there is no interval when you come to Hofsós and where the target state of the event of getting up on the feet holds (cf. Jónsson 1992:140f.). On a similar reading, the adverbial *aldrig* ‘never’ is possible both in stative passives and with e.g. adjectives and locative adverbials in Swedish. Consider the examples in (5:78) below (and the English translation of (5:77) above).

- (5:78) a. Fridas uppsats är aldrig färdigskriven när det är
 Frida’s essay is never finished.written when it is
 dags att lämna in.
 time to hand in
 ‘Frida’s essay is never finished when it is time to hand in.’
 b. Han är aldrig där (när jag kommer hem).
 he is never there when I come home
 ‘He is never there when I come home.’

The Present-Day Swedish passive in (5:78a) states that there is no temporal interval of which it is true that it is time to hand in and that the target state of the completion of Frida's essay holds; it does not state that Frida has not finished writing an essay at any point in time. Typically, a temporal adverbial is required to restrict the set of intervals that is negated.

However, the occurrence of *aldrig* 'never' with BE in older Swedish does not seem to be restricted to cases like those in (5:77) or (5:78). Consider the examples in (5:79) below where *aldrig* negates the existence of the participial eventuality; (5:79a) states that there has been no event of seeing them (thereafter), whereas (5:79b) expresses that there has been no event of such shame (to the one the king has sent out).

- (5:79) a. *sådan ära dhe i lapmarken aldrig sedda wordne*
thereafter are they in Lapland never seen become
 'after that they have never been seen in Lapland'
 (Tornæus 1653:55; from Johannisson 1945:105)
- b. *Then Konungen haffuer vthsändt / År aldrih sådan Nesa*
the.one the.king has out.sent is never such shame
händt
happened
 'Such shame has never happened to him who the King has sent out.'
 (Messenius I *1579:15)

Even if many of the examples with negation need not be treated as experiential perfects, the use of BE appears to be somewhat less restricted in older Swedish than we would expect if we treat the construction with BE as a stative perfect-like construction of the same kind as in Icelandic. The question is, however, further complicated by the fact that passives with BE can sometimes be negated by *aldrig* in Present-Day Swedish, even when *aldrig* negates the existence of the participial eventuality; consider (5:80a), which states that there is no event of somebody using the shirt at any point in the past. Also compare (5:80b) with the older Swedish example in (5:79a) above.

- (5:80) a. *Den här skjortan är aldrig använd.*
this here shirt is never used
 'This shirt has never been used.'
- b. *Ett sådant djur är aldrig tidigare skådat.*
a such animal is never before seen
 'Such an animal has never been seen before.'

We can conclude that negation (by adverbs meaning 'never') does not necessarily distinguish perfects from non-perfects. At the same time, we

need to account for the difference with regard to negation by ‘never’ between the Icelandic construction with BE + active participle, on the one hand, and the older Swedish active construction with BE and certain Present-Day Swedish passives with BE, on the other. In the next section, we will see that there is a difference between Swedish and Icelandic also with respect to adverbs of frequency and iteration.

5.5.2.2. *Adverbs of frequency and iteration*

Whereas Johannisson (1945) treats cases with adverbs of repetition or frequency and examples with a distributive reading in the same way, I disregard examples with a distributive reading but without aspectual modification, like that in (5:81).

- (5:81) the [...] äre så medh stomma synder [...] falne i gudz
 they are so with dumb sins fallen in God's
 grässeliga förtörnelse
 terrible anger
 ‘they have so through dumb sins fallen into the terrible anger of God’
 (Petri Klosterregler *1493:519; from Johannisson 1945:103)

Examples like this do not necessarily have an experiential reading; the example in (5:81) could instead express that the target state of the participial verb *falla* ‘fall’ holds for all individuals referred to by the subject.

As in the case of negation by *never* there are, however, still examples with BE that are expected to be unattested if BE was not a temporal auxiliary in older Swedish; cf. e.g. (5:82) below (repeated from (5:68) above).

- (5:82) a. Thet är offta skeedt, at [...]
 it is often happened that
 ‘It has often happened that...’
 (Petri *1493:3)
- b. Vbbo [...] bygde Vbsal / Ther altidh är skedt
 Ubbo built Uppsala there always is happened
 Kongars waal
 kings’ election
 ‘Ubbo built Uppsala where the election of kings have always taken
 place’
 (Messenius I *1579:4)

Like the negation ‘never’, adverbs of frequency and iteration are possible in perfect-like constructions if they take scope over the copula (or

rather, the matrix assertion time). Hence, the example in (5:83a) is grammatical only on a reading where the intervals where the target state of the locking out holds are frequent, and not on a reading where the events of locking the children out are. As in the case of negation, the first reading is often easier to get when a temporal adverbial restricts the set of intervals that the frequency adverb ranges over; cf. (5:83b).

- (5:83) a. ^(*) Barnen är ofta utelåsta ur huset.
the.children are often out.locked of the.house
 Intended: 'The children have been locked out of the house often.'
 Grammatical reading: 'It is often the case that the children are locked out of the house.'
- b. Barnen är ofta utelåsta ur huset när vi kommer hem.
the.children are often out.locked of the.house when we come home
 'Often when we come home, the children are locked out of the house.'

Also the position of the adverb has consequences for the reading; cf. (5:84a) and (5:84b).

- (5:84) a. * Staden var förstörd två gånger.
the.city was destroyed two times
 Intended: 'The city had been destroyed twice.'
- b. Två gånger var staden förstörd.
two times was the.city destroyed
 'On two occasions, the city had been destroyed.'

A sentence final adverb like in (5:84a) primarily has the (ungrammatical) reading where it specifies the number of occurrences of the participial event. The sentence initial adverb in (5:84b) on the other hand, has the grammatical reading; (5:84b) states that there were two occasions where the city was in the state of being destroyed, and not that the city had been destroyed twice.

However, as with *aldrig* 'never', frequency adverbs in sentence final position are sometimes possible with BE in Present-Day Swedish; consider the contrast between (5:85a) and (5:85b). The example in (5:85a) states that there have been many occurrences of the events of repainting the house, and not (necessarily) that there are many intervals when the house is repainted.

- (5:85) a. Huset är ommålat ofta.
the.house is repainted often
 'The house has been repainted often.'

- b. *Staden är förstörd ofta.
the.city is destroyed often

We find a similar contrast with adverbs of specific iteration; cf. (5:86a) and (5:86b).

- (5:86) a. Huset är ommålat två gånger.
the.house is repainted two times
 ‘The house has been repainted twice.’
 b. *Staden är redan förstörd två gånger.
the.city is already destroyed two times

Unlike (5:85b) (and (5:86b)), the example in (5:85a) (and (5:86a)) involves an event which can have effects (or a result in a wider sense) that accumulate when the event is repeated. A city which has been destroyed several times can still be rebuilt and will no longer be a destroyed city, while a house which has been repainted will always be a repainted house. However, the distinction is often subtle to make, particularly in the historical material. I return to it at more length in chapter 6 below, where I mainly discuss modern data.

We can conclude that the number of examples with BE and adverbs of frequency or iteration that are unexpected under an analysis of BE + participle as a perfect-like construction is considerably smaller than what Johannisson (1945) claims. The possibility of adverbs of frequency or iteration in constructions with BE is, in fact, not a strong argument for the analysis of BE as a temporal auxiliary, and it would force us to assume that also certain passives with BE are perfects. We have seen that older Swedish constructions with BE rather behave like certain stative passives with BE than like the active construction with BE in Icelandic. Again, the data seem to require a finer distinction than one between perfects and non-perfects.

5.5.2.3. *Manner adverbials*

In Present-Day Swedish, the construction with BE + participle allows certain kinds of manner modification, namely instrument adverbials and what I will refer to as resultative (manner) adverbials; cf. (5:87) and (5:88) respectively.¹²³ The resultative manner adverbials in (5:88) do

¹²³ The necessity of distinguishing resultative adverbials from other manner adverbials has been pointed out previously (see e.g. Alexiadou et al. 2003a).

not (only) specify the way that the process proceeds, but say something about its result.

- (5:87) a. Brevet är skrivet med bläckpenna.
the.letter is written with ink.pen
 ‘The letter has been written with an ink pen.’
 b. Fläckarna är borttagna med terpentin.
the.stains are away.taken with turpentine
 ‘The stains have been removed with turpentine.’
- (5:88) a. Lamporna är ordentligt släckta.
the.lamps are properly turned.off
 ‘The lamps have been turned off properly.’
 b. Fläckarna är försiktigt borttagna.
the.stains are carefully away.taken
 ‘The stains have been carefully removed.’

Manner adverbials like *långsamt* ‘slowly’ or *fort* ‘quickly’, which do not relate to the target state, are disallowed in passives with BE; see (5:89).¹²⁴

- (5:89) a. Brevet är (*långsamt) skrivet för hand.
the.letter is slowly written by hand
 ‘The letter has been (*slowly) written by hand.’
 b. *Fläckarna är borttagna (*med snabba rörelser).
the.stains are away.taken with quick movements
 ‘The stains have been removed (*with quick movements).’

Johannisson (1945:115f.) claims that BE is more common than HAVE in examples with manner adverbials in older Swedish; he notes 55 cases with BE and 23 with HAVE. However, judging from the list of examples, he includes several different kinds of adverbials in this group. As in Present-Day Swedish, BE is possible with instruments and resultative manner adverbials in older Swedish; cf. the example in (5:90) below which involves an instrument (*te häst* ‘by horse’).

- (5:90) boo'n [...] som var kommen te häst
the.farmer who was come by horse
 ‘the farmer who had come by horse’
 (Columbus I *1642:56)

¹²⁴ Many manner adverbs can have a resultative reading as well as a pure manner reading where only the process is modified; adverbs meaning ‘slowly’ and ‘quickly’ cannot.

Also agent-oriented adverbials, causes and purpose clauses are included by Johannisson, as in examples like (5:91). I return to these adverbials in chapter 7 and 8.

- (5:91) Ty the äro vthfarne för hans namns skul
because they are out.gone for his name's sake
 'Because they have gone out for the sake of his name'
 (GVB 1541, 3 John:7; from Johannisson 1945:116)

None of the examples listed by Johannisson has a manner adverbial like *långsamt* 'slowly', nor are there any clear examples in the texts investigated here.¹²⁵ The distinction among the adverbials is, arguably, difficult to make, and many adverbials are ambiguous. Here, it suffices that the possibility of BE with certain kinds of manner adverbials hardly provides a strong argument for an analysis of BE as a temporal auxiliary.

5.5.2.4. A remark on adverbs

With stricter distinctions which focus on the difference between experiential and resultative readings, the number of examples with BE for expected HAVE given by Johannisson (1945) should be shifted somewhat. We have seen that the mere presence of certain kinds of adverbial modification does not force an analysis of BE as a temporal auxiliary; negation and iteration are, for instance, not necessarily excluded in perfect-like constructions. However, there are examples of BE in examples with an experiential reading in older Swedish which are ungrammatical in Present-Day Icelandic and which do not appear in the Old Norse sources. These involve certain cases with an adverb meaning 'never', some of the cases with aspectual adverbs, and experiential examples which lack adverbial modification.

In the kind of framework assumed here, adverbial modification is an important diagnostic in the analysis of structure. In stative passives, the possibility of modification by an adverb meaning 'recently' suggests that the participle has an eventive component (see chapter 2, section

¹²⁵ There is one example from the 17th century text by Dahlberg which is a possible exception; see (i) below. This single example hardly allows for any conclusions.

- (i) detta war så secret och tyst tilgånget
this was so secretly and quietly happened
 'This had happened so secretly and quietly.'
 (Dahlberg *1625:195)

2.2.2), and in infinitivals the possibility of temporal adverbials with a different tense specification than the matrix tense suggests the presence of a non-finite tense (see chapter 3, section 3.6.1). In chapter 8 below, I also take the possibility of agentive *by*-phrases as evidence for the presence of an *initP* in the verb phrase. On the other hand, the impossibility of certain kinds of adverbial modification cannot necessarily be taken as evidence for the absence of a particular element in the structure. Most notably, present perfects are incompatible with positional past time adverbials in English and Swedish, but presumably still involve a non-finite past tense. Hence, a combination of elements can exclude a certain kind of adverbial, even if one of the involved elements in a different configuration would license it.

While the importance of adverbs is generally recognized, their syntax is debated (see e.g. Austin, Engelberg & Rauh 2004a and references cited there). As mentioned in chapter 3 above, e.g. Alexiadou (1997) and Cinque (1999) argue that adverbs are specifiers of functional heads. Others, e.g. Svenonius (2002), present arguments in favour of the possibility of multiple adjunction, which more straightforwardly accounts for variability in adverb placement. For my investigation, where the focus is not on the placement of adverbs relative to each other and other elements, it suffices that the possibility of adverbial modification is connected to the presence of (combinations of) functional heads; aspectual adverbials relate to AspP and agent adverbials and instruments to *initP*.

5.6. Concluding remarks

From the extensive investigation of the alternation between HAVE and BE in older Swedish and Old Norse, Johannisson (1945) concludes that BE was a temporal auxiliary in older Swedish, but not in Old Norse. Throughout the history of Icelandic, the construction with BE + active participle appears to have been a stative, perfect-like construction without the tense properties of a perfect. In examples with an experiential reading, HAVE is therefore the only option. The results from my investigation support the conclusion that there is a difference between Icelandic and older Swedish with regard to constructions with BE; BE is in several respects less restricted in older Swedish than in Icelandic. This does, however, not automatically mean that BE is a temporal auxiliary in older Swedish. In fact, the generalization that HAVE is favoured in experiential contexts holds for older Swedish too, although the variation is greater than in Icelandic. Moreover, the fact that BE is un-

attested in past counterfactuals suggests that BE was not a temporal auxiliary.

On the basis of Iatridou's (2000) account of counterfactuals, and following McFadden & Alexiadou (2005 et seq.), I have argued that a past counterfactual reading requires two layers of past tense morphology, one layer that contributes the past tense semantics and one layer that contributes counterfactuality. Therefore, a pluperfect, which involves a combination of a finite past tense and a non-finite past tense, is required for a past counterfactual. Since perfect-like constructions do not involve a non-finite tense, but a tenseless past participle, they can only get a present tense reading in counterfactuals. We have seen that this holds both for stative passives with BE and for the active construction with BE in Present-Day Swedish, Norwegian and Icelandic. In German and Danish, perfects with BE (or HAVE) are possible in past counterfactuals, whereas passives with BE are not.

McFadden & Alexiadou (2006a) suggest that HAVE did not replace BE in older English but appeared with unaccusative verbs as soon as it had developed into a perfect auxiliary. They also note that in English, the frequency of BE + unaccusative verbs as compared to the total number of clauses is rather stable throughout the period from 1150 to 1710, whereas the frequency of HAVE rises steadily during the same period (as noted in chapter 4, section 4.3.3).

Also in Middle Dutch and Middle Low German, BE was disfavoured in past counterfactuals, though HAVE was not categorical as in older English and older Swedish (see Kern 1912, Shannon 1995:485; cf. also McFadden & Alexiadou 2006b).¹²⁶ If the proposal by McFadden & Alexiadou is on the right track, the restriction on BE in counterfactuals was lost in Dutch (and German) when the construction with BE developed into a perfect. This also means that the perfects with HAVE was established slightly earlier than the perfects with BE in languages like Dutch; in English and the Scandinavian languages apart from Danish, BE never became a temporal auxiliary. In fact, in Danish, the perfect with BE appears to develop considerably later than the HAVE-perfect. Johannisson (1945:219) observes that HAVE was more common with unaccusative verbs in older than in Present-Day Danish, and that HAVE was particularly common in counterfactuals. He also notes that Swedish and Danish largely behave in the same way until the 17th century (cf. Falk & Torp 1900).

¹²⁶ Ledgeway 2003 points to a similar pattern in 14th and 15th century Neapolitan.

The historical data investigated in this chapter suggest that what we have in older Swedish is neither a perfect like the Present-Day Swedish perfect with HAVE nor a stative perfect-like construction with the same properties as the Icelandic construction with BE. Moreover, the Icelandic construction with BE + active participle does not always pattern with stative passives in Swedish; the latter are less restricted in experiential contexts. This clearly does not mean that stative passives are perfects; unlike perfects, they are not grammatical in past counterfactuals (unless embedded in a perfect), they disallow manner adverbials like *snabbt* ‘quickly’, and they are ungrammatical in *wh*-clefts (cf. section 5.1 above). In fact, given the account of the perfect outlined in chapter 3 above, the difference between experiential and resultative readings is independent of perfect semantics. Instead, it depends on aspectual distinctions that are expected to appear also outside the perfect. Hence, we seem to have perfect-like constructions with tenseless past participles which have varying aspectual values. In the next chapter, I therefore introduce further distinctions among past participles and discuss their aspectual properties.

6. Aspects of perfect-like results

The investigation of BE + active participle in older Swedish and the comparison with Icelandic in the previous chapter lead to the conclusion that BE was not a temporal auxiliary in older Swedish and Icelandic. At the same time, I noted that we need to make finer distinctions among the perfect-like constructions to account for the data; some examples with BE seem to have more in common with perfects than others.

In this chapter, I introduce a distinction between three different kinds of stative participles, progressive state, target state and resultant state participles. As we will see, resultant state participles have more in common with perfect participles than the former two, but none of them should be confused with the perfect participle. There are instead reasons to assume that the perfect has developed out of a resultant state construction.

The distinction between target states and resultant states is introduced in section 6.1. Since aspectual distinctions are of importance for the analysis of the different perfect-like constructions, section 6.2 concerns aspect and its connection to Aktionsart (telicity) in Swedish. In section 6.3, I discuss the aspect of different perfect-like constructions and the difference between Swedish and Icelandic. Grammaticality judgements and intuitions about possible contexts are required in order to make the relevant distinctions, and the discussion therefore centres around present-day examples. At the end of the chapter I make clear how the distinctions bear on the analysis of the older Swedish data.

6.1. Target states and resultant states

In the previous chapter, I noted that some stative passives allow negation by *aldrig* 'never' and modification by frequency adverbs like *ofta* 'often' in Present-Day Swedish, while others do not; cf. again the examples in (5:85) above (repeated in (6:1) below). I tentatively suggested that the difference depends on the reversibility (or cumulativeness) of the result of the eventuality.

- (6:1) a. Huset är ommålat ofta.
the.house is repainted often
 ‘The house has been repainted often.’
 b. Staden är förstörd (*ofta).
the.city is destroyed often
 ‘The city has been destroyed (*often).’

As noted by Kratzer (2000), some, but not all, stative passives in the complement of BE can be modified by the adverb *fortfarande* ‘still’; cf. (6:2) and (6:3).¹²⁷

- (6:2) a. Staden är fortfarande förstörd.
the.city is still destroyed
 ‘The city is still destroyed.’
 b. Däcken är fortfarande pumpade.
the.tires are still pumped.up
 ‘The tires are still inflated.’
 (6:3) a. Huset är (*fortfarande) ommålat.
the.house is still repainted
 ‘The house has (*still) been repainted.’
 b. Artikeln är (*fortfarande) utskriven.
the.paper is still out.printed
 ‘The paper has (*still) been printed out.’

With regard to modification by *fortfarande* ‘still’, participles like *om-målat* ‘repainted’ and *utskriven* ‘printed’ resemble perfects; perfects also disallow modification by *fortfarande*; cf. (6:4).

- (6:4) a. Artikeln har (*fortfarande) skrivits ut.
the.paper has still print.SUP.PASS out
 ‘The paper has (*still) been printed out.’

¹²⁷ There is sometimes an apparent mismatch between participles that disallow iterative adverbials, and participles that allow modification by *fortfarande* ‘still’. As we will see below, this is because a reading that makes iterative adverbials possible and *fortfarande* impossible can be forced with participles of most verbs. The fact that *fortfarande* can cooccur with iterative adverbials is irrelevant; it is only possible when *fortfarande* takes scope over the iterative adverbial; cf. (i) and (ii) (and see below).

- (i) Han har fortfarande läst boken två gånger.
he has still read the.book two times
 ‘He has still read the book two times.’
 (ii) * Två gånger har han fortfarande läst boken.
two times has he still read the.book

- b. Frida har (*fortfarande) målat om huset.
Frida has still repainted the.house
 ‘Frida has (*still) repainted the house.’

With the terminology of Parsons (1990), Kratzer (2000) suggests that the behaviour with respect to *still* brings out a distinction between stative passives which (like perfects) express a resultant state that necessarily holds forever, and target state passives which denote the in principle reversible target state specified by the participial predicate; cf. (6:5) below.¹²⁸

- (6:5) a. Resultant state:
 “For every event *e* that culminates, there is a corresponding state that holds forever after. [...] If Mary eats lunch, then there is a state that holds forever after: the state of Mary’s having eaten lunch.”
- b. Target state:
 “It is important not to identify the Resultant-state of an event with its ‘target’ state. If I throw a ball onto the roof, the target state of this event is the ball’s being on the roof, a state that may or may not last for a long time”
 (Parsons 1990:234f.; see also Kratzer 2000).

Since resultant states hold forever, they are incompatible with adverbs like *still*; the participle *pumpad* ‘pumped’ in (6:2a) above expresses a target state, whereas *utskrivnen* ‘printed’ in (6:2b) is a resultant state passive.¹²⁹

In the following, I use incompatibility with *fortfarande* ‘still’ as a way to distinguish resultant state participles from other stative participles. There are, however, contexts where this diagnostic does not apply, which will be disregarded. First, *fortfarande* is possible also with resultant state participles in the presence of sentence negation, as long as it takes scope over the negation; cf. (6:6a) and (6:6b). Negation makes *fortfarande* possible also in perfects; see (6:7).

¹²⁸ Similarly, SAG (1999, 2:593) suggests that compatibility with *fortfarande* is given as a test for adjectival participles, and ‘completely verbal participles’ are assumed to express an irreversible state.

¹²⁹ Kratzer (2000) points out that the test is not absolutely reliable; the example in (i) arguably expresses a target state, and given a particular context (where dead people can come back to life) modification by *still* is possible; cf. (ii) which is fine.

- (i) # Melchiades is still dead.
 (Kratzer 2000: ex. (3))
- (ii) The TV is still dead.

- (6:6) a. Brevet är fortfarande inte skrivet.
the.letter is still not written
 ‘The letter has still not been written.’
- b. *Brevet är inte skrivet fortfarande.
the.letter is not written still
- (6:7) a. Peter har fortfarande inte öppnat paketet.
Peter has still not opened the.parcel
 ‘Peter has still not opened the parcel.’
- b. *Peter har inte öppnat paketet fortfarande.
Peter has not opened the.parcel still

Also negation by *o-* ‘un-’ affects the possibility of *fortfarande*; cf. (6:8).¹³⁰

- (6:8) a. Brevet är fortfarande oskrivet.
the.letter is still unwritten
 ‘The letter is still unwritten.’
- b. Brevet är (*fortfarande) skrivet.
the.letter is still written
 ‘The letter has (*still) been written.’

Embick suggests that “an event in the scope of negation cannot be modified by an adverbial that takes scope over the negative” (2004a:360, fn. 6). Apparently, the possibility of modification by *fortfarande* can only be used to distinguish between different kinds of participles in the absence of negation.

¹³⁰ Verbs that do not form target state participles can have participles which are negated by *o-* ‘un-’, as in (i). This suggests that the negated participles are resultant state participles. However, in other cases negation by *o-* makes a degree modifier possible; cf. (ii) (and see chapter 2, section 2.2.2 above).

- (i) a. Brevet är (*fortfarande) skrivet.
the.letter is still written
 ‘The letter has (*still) been written.’
- b. Brevet är (fortfarande) oskrivet.
the.letter is still unwritten
 ‘The letter is (still) unwritten.’
- (ii) a. Den är (??ganska) använd.
it is pretty used
 ‘It has been (??pretty) used.’
- b. Den är (ganska) oanvänd.
it is pretty unused
 ‘It is pretty unused.’

Secondly, *fortfarande* ‘still’ is possible with resultant state participles and perfects in iterative contexts; see (6:9) and (6:10).

- (6:9) a. Hon är (*fortfarande) kammad i håret med guldkam.
she is still combed in the.hair with golden.comb
 ‘Her hair has (*still) been combed with a golden comb.’
 b. Hon är fortfarande kammad i håret med
she is still combed in the.hair with
 guldkam varje dag.
golden.comb every day
 ‘Her hair has still been combed with a golden comb every day.’
- (6:10) a. Hon har (*fortfarande) kammat håret.
she has still combed the.hair
 ‘She has (*still) combed her hair.’
 b. Hon har fortfarande kammat håret varje dag.
she has still combed the.hair every day
 ‘She has still combed her hair every day.’

Thirdly, *fortfarande* is sometimes possible on a modal reading, as in (6:11). Also this reading is disregarded in the following.

- (6:11) Han har fortfarande tömt brevlådan.
he has still emptied the.mail.box
 ‘[Whatever you say,] it is still true that he has emptied the mail box.’

Only telic verbs can form target state participles, but not all of them do; as we will see in chapter 8, they (generally) require a verb phrase that includes *resP* (which introduces a target state). Resultant states, on the other hand, are not lexically restricted; according to Parsons, they follow from every event that culminates (or terminates). Also atelic and semelfactive verbs can (at least marginally) form resultant state participles; cf. German in (6:12) and Swedish in (6:13).

- (6:12) a. Die Katze ist schon gestreichelt.
the cat is already petted
 ‘The cat has already been petted.’
 b. Dieser Kinderwagen ist schon geschoben.
this baby.carriage is already pushed
 ‘The baby carriage has already been pushed.’
 (Kratzer 2000:ex. (7))
- (6:13) a. Katten är klappad.
the.cat is petted
 ‘The cat has been petted.’

- b. Babyn är rapad.
the.baby is burped
 ‘The baby has been burped.’

As Kratzer (2000) points out, these examples sound “bizarre out of the blue, but as soon as we impose a ‘job is done’ or ‘that’s over’ interpretation they become fine”.¹³¹ For (6:12a) and (6:13a), we can, for example, imagine a situation where somebody has to take care of a cat and make sure to pet it once a day. An authentic (but elliptic) Swedish example is given in (6:14); it is a list of what has been achieved over Christmas.

- (6:14) Skinkan nästan uppäten, system hemfaren, släkten
the.ham almost up.eaten the.sister home.gone the.relatives
 träffad.
seen
 ‘The ham [has] almost [been] finished, the sister [has] gone home, the relatives [have been] seen.’
 (Google)

It is worth noting that the resultant state passives are possible in the very same contexts in Swedish and in German; according to Anagnostopoulou (2003a), the same is true for Greek resultant state passives.

Not all atelic predicates are equally marginal in stative passives; as soon as the eventuality has contextually known or conventional temporal limits, they are more generally available; consider the examples in (6:15).

- (6:15) a. Den tröjan är redan^{??} fortfarande använd.
that the.sweater is already/still used
 ‘That sweater has already^{??} still been used.’
 b. Blommorna är redan/*fortfarande vattnade.
the.flowers are already/still watered
 ‘The flowers have already/*still been watered.’
 c. Tröjorna är redan/*fortfarande tvättade.
the.sweaters are already/still washed
 ‘The sweaters have already/*still been washed.’

As noted, both German and Swedish stative passives of telic predicates generally assert that the target state holds at the time of the matrix clause (i.e., they have a resultative reading); cf. the German examples in (5:62) above (repeated as (6:16) below).

¹³¹ This reading is perhaps particularly salient with agentive predicates, but it is not restricted to these.

- (6:16) a. Ich habe mein Handy verloren und dann gleich
I have my cellphone lost and then immediately
 wieder gefunden.
again found
 ‘I have lost my cellphone and then found it again right away.’
- b. Mein Handy ist verschwunden und dann gleich
my cellphone is disappeared and then immediately
 wieder aufgetaucht.
again up.turned
 ‘My cellphone has disappeared and then shown up again right away.’
- c. *Mein Handy ist verloren, und ich habe es dann
my cellphone is lost and I have it then
 gleich wieder gefunden.
immediately again found
 Intended: ‘My cellphone has been lost, and then I’ve found it again
 right away.’
 (McFadden & Alexiadou 2006a:275)

However, contra what has been assumed so far, in the right context, stative passives need not assert that the target state holds at the time expressed by the auxiliary; otherwise both frequency adverbs and atelic predicates (which never specify a target state) would always be excluded in stative passives.

Also telic verbs can sometimes have an experiential reading in stative passives. Kratzer gives the example in (6:17) which can be “uttered truth-fully by a police officer who is reporting the successful evacuation of the building to his superior at a time when the tenants have moved back in again”. Note that although the example in (6:17) may have an experiential reading, it is not a BE-perfect; as we have seen, stative passives differ from perfect e.g. by disallowing manner adverbials and by being ungrammatical in past counterfactuals.

- (6:17) Das Gebäude ist geräumt.
the building is evacuated
 ‘The building has been evacuated.’
 (Kratzer 2000:ex. (23))

Also in Swedish, a stative passive of a telic verb generally asserts that the target state holds regardless of whether modification by *fortfarande* ‘still’ is available or not; see (6:18a), which disallows *fortfarande*, and (6:18b), which is infelicitous on a reading where the target state does not hold. In other words, the resultative reading is not restricted to the target state participle; we know that also perfects can have a resultative reading.

- (6:18) a. Dörren är (*fortfarande) öppnad.
the.door is still opened
 ‘The door has (*still) been opened.’
- b. #Dörren är öppnad, men någon har stängt den igen.
the.door is opened but somebody has closed it again

As in German, there are contexts where a Swedish stative passive is compatible with a reading where the target state does not hold; cf. (6:19).

- (6:19) a. Middagen är både framdukad och bortplockad. (Du är sen.)
the.dinner is both put.on.the.table and away.taken you are late
 ‘Dinner has both been put on the table and taken away. (You are late.)’
- b. Den boken är lånad, läst och tillbakalämnad.
that the.book is borrowed read and back.given
 ‘That book has been borrowed, read and returned.’

Parsons (1990) introduces resultant states to account for the semantics of the perfect. In her discussion of German stative passives, Kratzer suggests that resultant state participles have perfect aspect.¹³² As we have seen, resultant state participles can have either a resultative or an experiential reading, much like perfects. We could assume that the difference between examples like those in (6:19) and (active) perfects is a consequence of the composition of the verb phrase (e.g. the presence/absence of an external argument) and not of tense or aspect. However, the contextual restrictions on the experiential reading are the same across verb classes, and there are no parallel restrictions on perfects. Moreover, resultant state constructions differ from perfects, e.g. with regard to the availability of a past counterfactual reading. This remains unexplained under an analysis where they have the same temporal-aspectual composition.

Kratzer’s distinction among stative passives can straightforwardly be extended to active participles in Swedish; in fact, the participle *hem-faren* ‘gone home’ in the example in (6:14) above is active. Many participles of unaccusative verbs are incompatible with modification by *fort-farande* ‘still’; see the perfect-like examples with BE in (6:20) and the pronominal participles in (6:21).¹³³

¹³² She states that in “the terminology of Nedjalkov & Jaxontov 1988, target state passives would be resultatives and resultant state passives would be perfects” (Kratzer 2000, fn. 2).

¹³³ The form *ankommen* also have an adjectival use, meaning ‘drunk’ or ‘spoiled, going bad’. This is disregarded here and in the following.

- (6:20) a. Båten är (*fortfarande) ankommen till bryggan.
the.boat is still arrived to the.wharf
 ‘The boat has (*still) arrived to the wharf.’
- b. Deltagarna är (*fortfarande) hitresta från Stockholm.
the.participants are still here.travelled from Stockholm
 ‘The participants have (*still) come here from Stockholm.’
- (6:21) a. den (*fortfarande) ankomna båten
the still arrived the.boat
 ‘the (*still) arrived boat’
- b. de (*fortfarande) hitresta deltagarna
the still here.travelled participants
 ‘the participants that (*still) have come here’

Other unaccusatives form participles which can be modified by *fortfarande*; cf. (6:22) and (6:23).

- (6:22) a. Han är fortfarande bortrest.
he is still away.travelled
 ‘He is still away.’
- b. Han är fortfarande avsvimnad.
he is still off.fainted
 ‘He is still unconscious.’
- (6:23) a. den fortfarande bortresta grannen
the still away.travelled the.neighbour
 ‘the neighbour who is still away’
- b. den fortfarande avsvimnade mannen
the still off.fainted the.man
 ‘the still unconscious man’

As with passives, it is possible to construct a context where a participle of an unaccusative verb in the complement of BE is compatible with an experiential reading (i.e. a reading where the target state does not hold at the time of the matrix clause). The example in (6:24a) is, for instance, possible on a reading where an application has to arrive somewhere and then be sent off from there.¹³⁴ Typically, the end of the target state is

¹³⁴ The same holds for Norwegian constructions with BE + active or passive participle:

- (i) Sökнадene er både kommet inn og sendt avgårde. (Så alt
the.application is both come in and sent away so everything
 er under kontroll.)
is under control

planned; the example in (6:24b) expresses that Frida has managed something within a limited period of time.

- (6:24) a. Ansökan är inkommen och ivägskickad. (Så allt
the.application is in.come and away.sent so everything
 är under kontroll.)
is under control
 ‘The application has come in and has been sent away. (So everything is under control.)’
- b. Frida är både hemkommen och utgången. (Nu vet jag
Frida is both home.come and out.gone now know I
 inte var hon är.)
not where she is
 ‘Frida has both come home and gone out. (Now I don’t know where she is.)’

I conclude that resultant state participles are possible in the same contexts in Present-Day Swedish as in older Swedish, but that they occurred more frequently (and were less contextually restricted) in older Swedish. In this way, the fact that the active construction with BE looked more like a perfect in older Swedish than the typical stative passives do in Present-Day Swedish can be accounted for without assuming that BE was a temporal auxiliary. However, the difference between Swedish and Icelandic with regard to e.g. frequency adverbs in the active construction with BE still needs to be accounted for. It is not the case that Icelandic lacks active resultant state participles; cf. the examples in (6:25), which disallow modification by *ennþá* ‘still’.

- (6:25) a. Hún er (*ennþá) komin.
she is still come
 ‘She has (*still) come.’
- b. Það er (*ennþá) byrjað.
it is still begun
 ‘It has (*still) begun.’

In the following, I maintain that both target state participles and resultant state participles lack a TP, and that the difference between them

‘The application has come in and has been sent away. (So everything is under control).’

- (ii) Middagen er både dekket fram och satt bort. (Du er sen.)
the.dinner is both set out and taken away you are late
 ‘Dinner has both been put on the table and taken away. (You are late.)’

should be derived with aspectual distinctions. We must therefore look a bit closer at aspect and Aktionsart, and the difference between the two.

6.2. Times and events

The resultative aspect that Pancheva (2003) introduces to account for the resultative perfect selects for telic events and expresses that the target state of the event holds (see chapter 3, section 3.4.3). In the preceding section, we could note that also atelic verbs occur in stative passives, with a resultant state reading. Target state participles require telic predicates, but cannot be formed from all telic verbs; verbs like *ankomma* ‘arrive’ do not have target state participles. In this section, I address the question what characterizes a telic event, and how telicity can be derived. I also briefly discuss outer aspect in Swedish, and its relation to event structure. In Swedish grammars, aspect and Aktionsart are often not distinguished, and if they are, Swedish is simply assumed to lack aspect.¹³⁵ The discussion here is necessarily restricted to the most basic distinctions and diagnostics, focusing particularly on how the aspectual interpretation relates to the (a)telicity of the eventuality in Swedish, and how aspectual distinctions can be made in the absence of specialized morphology. I largely disregard complicating factors concerning e.g. iteration and genericity.

6.2.1. Deriving telicity

It is well known that (a)telicity of a transitive verb can depend on the properties of the direct object. In (6:26a), for example, the event of eating comes to an end once an apple is eaten. In this way, a direct object of specified quantity provides a telos (an intrinsic endpoint) for the event. In (6:26b), on the other hand, the direct object is of unspecified quantity (i.e., it is not quantized, in the sense of Krifka 1989); the eventuality therefore has no given endpoint.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ For an overview and discussion of the traditional view, see Platzack (1979) and references cited there.

¹³⁶ An expression like *an apple* is quantized since no subpart of an apple is also an apple. The expression *apples*, on the other hand, is not quantized, since apples can be a subpart of apples.

- (6:26) a. Frida äter ett äpple. (Telic)
Frida eats an apple
 ‘Frida is eating an apple.’
- b. Frida äter äpple. (Atelic)
Frida eats apple
 ‘Frida is eating apple.’

An atelic eventuality, say *eat apples*, is often said to be homogeneous in the sense that all parts of it are also events of eating apples. This is not the case for telic events; no part of *eating an apple* involves an event of eating an apple. The progressive of an atelic eventuality therefore typically entails the perfect, while the progressive of a telic event does not; cf. (6:27a) and (6:27b) (and see e.g. Vendler 1967, Dowty 1979).¹³⁷

- (6:27) a. Hon håller på att äta ett äpple ⇒ Hon har ätit ett äpple.
she keeps at to eat an apple she has eaten an apple
 ‘She is eating an apple’ ‘She has eaten an apple.’
- b. Hon håller på att äta äpple ⇒ Hon har ätit äpple.
she keeps at to eat apple she has eaten apple
 ‘She is eating apple’ ‘She has eaten apple.’

The correspondence between telicity and the quantization of the direct object has sometimes led to the assumption that the direct object is directly responsible for the telicity of the verb phrase (see e.g. Verkuyl 1972 et seq., Tenny 1994 among others). As pointed out by e.g. Jackendoff (1991) and Ramchand (2008a), there are also other means of getting a telic reading than having a quantized direct object. Consider the examples in (6:28) which are both telic; the direct object *guld* ‘gold’ in (6:28a) is not quantized, and the example in (6:28b) lacks an object DP altogether.

¹³⁷ As mentioned, Swedish lacks grammaticalized morphological marking of aspect. For an unambiguous unbounded reading, I therefore sometimes use pseudo-coordinations like (i) or the construction with *hålla på (med)* ‘keep at, be doing’ + infinitive as in (ii).

- (i) Hon satt och läste en bok i tio minuter.
she sat and read a book for ten minutes
 ‘He sat reading a book for ten minutes.’
- (ii) Hon höll på med att skriva ett brev i en timme, men det
she kept at with to write a letter for an hour but it
 blev aldrig klart.
became never finished
 ‘She was writing a letter for an hour, but it was never finished.’

- (6:28) a. De hittade guld.
they found gold
 ‘They found gold.’
 b. Frida reste bort.
Frida travelled away
 ‘Frida went away.’

Moreover, a quantized direct object does not always give rise to telicity; see the examples in (6:29) which are atelic regardless of the quantized objects *den nya skjortan* ‘the new shirt’ and *kärran* ‘the cart’ (cf. Ramchand 2008a:25f.).

- (6:29) a. Han använde den nya skjortan i tre dagar.
he used the new the.shirt for three days
 ‘He used the new shirt for three days.’
 b. Han drog kärran i flera timmar.
he pulled the.cart for several hours
 ‘He pulled the cart for hours.’

Ramchand (2008a) suggests that there is no element or feature directly responsible for telicity. Instead, a telic reading can be derived in several different ways, and a telic event can, but need not, involve a verb phrase which includes *resP* and therefore specifies a target state. Only when *resP* is missing do the properties of the direct object affect the (a)telicity of the event. On the other hand, since *resP* denotes a target state, it provides a telos regardless of the nature of the object. In (6:28a) above, the verb *hitta* ‘find’ identifies the *res* head, and in (6:28b) the particle *bort* ‘away’ does; consequently, both examples are telic, even though they lack quantized direct object.¹³⁸

Also verb phrases without *resP* can have a telic reading, by involving a quantized direct object, a bounded Path, or a scale with a contextual absolute value. Consider the verb *läsa* ‘read’ which, just like *äta* ‘eat’ above, is telic or atelic depending on its object; see (6:30).

¹³⁸ Following Ramchand (2008a:31) and others, I assume that iteration relates to outer aspect and can remove the conception of a telos (see below). In other words, the verb *anlända* ‘arrive’ is telic (but iterative) in both (i) and (ii).

- (i) a. Alla de nya gästerna anlände på en timme.
all the new the.guests arrived in an hour
 ‘All the new guests arrived in an hour.’
 b. Nya gäster anlände i flera timmar.
new guests arrived for several hours
 ‘New guests were arriving for several hours.’
 (SAG 1999, 4:337)

- (6:30) a. Hon läser. ⇒ Hon har läst. (Atelic)
she reads *she has read*
 ‘She reads/is reading’ ‘She has read.’
- b. Hon läser serier. ⇒ Hon har läst serier. (Atelic)
she reads comics *she has read comics*
 ‘She reads/is reading comics’ ‘She has read comics.’
- c. Hon läser en bok. ⇒ Hon har läst en bok. (Telic)
she reads a book *she has read a book*
 ‘She reads/is reading a book’ ‘She has read a book.’

Verbs like *äta* and *read* presumably carry the category features *init* and *proc*. In addition, they require a DP which is both Initiator and Undergoer; see (6:31). Unlike the object of e.g. *hitta* ‘find’ (which is Resultee), the object of *äta* is not generated in a specifier position but in the complement of *proc*. It is interpreted as Rheme, and it describes the event introduced by the *proc* head (see Ramchand 2008a:46f.).

- (6:31) Process transitives: x read y
 Lexical entry for *read*: [*init*_i, *proc*_i]
 [_{*init*} x read [_{*proc*} x read [y]]]
 (cf. Ramchand 2008a:64f.)

Ramchand points out that Rheme objects of verbs like *läsa* (or *read*) have properties in common with a Path, since it specifies the extent of the reading (2008a:47). Either the Rheme or the Path defines the trajectory that the Undergoer (the clause subject) traverses. Just like *läsa* gets a telic reading in the presence of a quantized object, a verb like *springa* is telic in the presence of a bounded Path; cf. the examples in (6:30) above and (6:32) below.

- (6:32) a. Frida springer på vägen. ⇒ Frida har sprungit på vägen.
Frida runs on the road *Frida has run on the road*
 ‘Frida is running on the road.’ ‘Frida has run on the road.’
- b. Frida springer en kilometer. ⇒ Frida har sprungit en kilometer.
Frida runs a kilometre *Frida has run a kilometre*
 ‘Frida is running a kilometre’ ‘Frida has run a kilometre.’

In the absence of *resP*, a telic interpretation requires a quantized object or a bounded Path, or a fixed final location in the complement of *procP*. An atelic reading, on the other hand, emerges in the absence of a quantized object, Path, a fixed final location (and a *resP*). The elements that affect telicity have in common that they occur in the complement of *procP* (like *resP*). An Undergoer, on the other hand, never affects telicity. Consider the examples in (6:33) and (6:34), which are all atelic

despite quantized Undergoers; the examples in (6:33) have subjects that are Initiators and Undergoers, while the examples in (6:34) have Undergoer objects.¹³⁹ For further discussion and precise semantics, see Ramchand (2008a:46ff. and references cited there).

- (6:33) a. Tre tjejer springer. ⇒ Tre tjejer har sprungit.
three girls run *three girls have run*
 ‘Three girls are running.’ ‘Three girls have run.’
- b. Tre tjejer läser. ⇒ Tre tjejer har läst.
three girls read *three girls have read*
 ‘Three girls are reading.’ ‘Three girls have read.’
- (6:34) a. Han drar en vagn. ⇒ Han har dragit en vagn.
he pulls a cart *he has pulled a cart*
 ‘He is pulling a cart.’ ‘He has pulled a cart.’
- b. Han använder tröjan. ⇒ Han har använt tröjan.
he uses the.sweater *he has used the.sweater*
 ‘He is using the sweater.’ ‘He has used the sweater.’

Now, consider deadjectival gradual change of state verbs like *lengthen*. Hay, Kennedy & Levin (1999) argue that the base adjective (*long*) provides a scalar structure which can, but need not, involve a fixed endpoint (much like a Path). Consider the examples in (6:35). The deadjectival verb *straighten* has a given endpoint, defined by the adjective *straight*; the expression *straighten the rope* in (6:35a) therefore has a telic reading. *Long*, on the other hand, defines an open scale; *lengthen the rope* in (6:35b) is therefore atelic.

- (6:35) a. They are straightening the rope. ⇒ They have straightened the rope.
 b. They are lengthening the rope ⇒ They have lengthened the rope.
 (Hay et al. 1999:(26), (27))

An endpoint can also be given by other material, or by the context and our real world knowledge. Consider the examples in (6:36); whereas *lowering the blind* is telic, *lowering the heat* is atelic, as shown by (6:37). The difference crucially depends on the fact that there is a contextually known natural endpoint to the lowering of blinds (due to our knowledge of blinds), but no such endpoint to the lowering of heat.

¹³⁹ Many previous accounts of the correspondence between direct objects and (a)telicity suggest that the relevant property of the object is ‘affectedness’ (see e.g. Tenny 1994); on the account adopted here, the object of verbs like *eat* is not affected, but rather specifies the extent to which the Undergoer (the clause subject) is.

- (6:36) a. Kim lowered the blind.
 b. Kim lowered the heat.
 (Hay et al. 1999:(28), (30))
- (6:37) a. Kim is lowering the blind \nRightarrow Kim has lowered the blind
 b. Kim is lowering the heat \Rightarrow Kim has lowered the heat
 (Hay et al. 1999:(29), (31))

The analysis in Hay et al. (1999) extends to gradual change of state verbs like *grow* or *increase* (though they are not based on an adjective that defines the scale). Consider the verb *falla* ‘fall’ in the examples in (6:38) (where the iterative reading is disregarded).

- (6:38) a. När Peter spelade hockey, föll han (#i tio minuter)
when Peter played hockey fell he for ten minutes
 ‘When Peter played hockey, he fell (#for ten minutes).’
 b. När Peter var ute i rymden, föll han (i tio minuter).
when Peter was out in the.space fell he for ten minutes
 ‘When Peter was up in space, he fell for ten minutes.’

Again, (a)telicity clearly depends on the context. In (6:38a), the implicit Path has a contextually given natural endpoint (the ground) and we get a telic interpretation; in (6:38b), there is no such given endpoint to the falling, and the eventuality is therefore atelic. As pointed out by Dowty (1979:61), also a sentence like *John swam* can have a telic interpretation in a context where John is known to swim a specific distance regularly.

SAG (1999, 4:326) argues that the distinction between telic and atelic predicates is not applicable to all verbal expressions in Swedish, but that the speaker can leave open whether the event is telic or not; in (6:39), what seem to be identical verbal expressions have different readings.¹⁴⁰ While the example *John swam* presumably involves an implicit (but contextually known) Path on its telic reading, the same can hardly be said about the examples with *bada* ‘bathe’, since *bada* does not involve directed motion and is incompatible with Paths; see (6:40).

- (6:39) a. Vi badade (på en kvart).
we bathed in a quarter
 ‘We bathed in fifteen minutes.’
 b. Vi badade (i en kvart).
we bathed for a quarter
 ‘We bathed for fifteen minutes.’
 (SAG 1999, 4:326)

¹⁴⁰ SAG (1999) does not make a distinction between aspect and Aktionsart.

- (6:40) Vi *badade/simmade en kilometer.
 we *bathed/swam a kilometre*
 ‘We *bathed/swam a kilometre.’

Now, if (a)telicity is sometimes given by the wider context, we could perhaps assume that verbs like *klappa* ‘pet’ in stative passives like (6:13a) above (repeated as (6:41) below) are telic in the particular context that is required for the resultant state participle to be possible. The interpretation that a ‘job is done’ requires that the petting of the cat is a well-defined task, and it arguably has an endpoint given by the context.

- (6:41) Katten är klappad.
the.cat is petted
 ‘The cat has been petted.’

However, the example is compatible with a *for*-adverbial just like an atelic eventuality; see (6:42). I return to these examples in section 6.2.2 below, where I argue that both the example with *klappa* ‘pet’ in (6:41) and the examples with *bada* ‘bathe’ in (6:39) are atelic.

- (6:42) Katten är redan klappad i tio minuter idag.
the.cat is already petted for ten minutes today
 ‘The cat has already been petted for ten minutes today.’

The examples with *lower* in (6:36) above, on the other hand, clearly differ in telicity, as shown by (6:37). Following Hay et al. (1999) and Ramchand (2008a), I therefore maintain that gradual change of state verbs are not always telic. Unlike punctual change of state verbs like *explodera* ‘explode’, verbs like *gulna* ‘turn yellow’ or *växa* ‘grow’ do not carry a *res* feature; see the structures in (6:43), where the suffix *-na* lexicalizes a *proc* head that takes an adjectival small clause complement (represented as XP).

- (6:43) a. Den gulnar.
it yellows
 ‘It turns yellow.’
 [_{procP} den -na [_{XP} den gul]]
- b. Den växer.
it grows
 ‘It grows.’
 [_{procP} den växer [XP]]
- c. Den exploderar.
it explodes
 ‘It explodes.’
 [_{procP} den exploderar [_{resP} den exploderar]]

Since punctual change of state verbs like *explodera* ‘explode’ and BECOME have *res* features, they are incompatible with *for*-adverbials, unlike gradual change of state verbs like *växa* ‘grow’ (see further section 6.2.2 below); consider the difference between *svalna* ‘cool’ and *bli sval* ‘become cool’ in (6:44).¹⁴¹ An adjective in the comparative form does not affect telicity; see (6:45).

- (6:44) a. Den svalnar i flera timmar/på en timme.
it cools for several hours/in an hour
 ‘It is cooling for several hours/in an hour.’
- b. Den blir sval *i flera timmar/på en timme
it becomes cool for several hours/in an hour
 ‘It becomes cool *for several hours/in an hour.’
- (6:45) Den blir svalare *i flera timmar/på en timme.
it becomes cooler for several hours/in an hour
 ‘It becomes cooler *for several hours/in an hour.’

This difference between gradual change of state verbs like *grow* (which lack a *res* feature) and punctual change of state verbs like BECOME (which have a *res* feature) will be of some importance in chapters 7 and 8 below. On this account, the group of verbs that we call unaccusative cannot be characterized as obligatorily telic, or as intransitive verbs that carry a *res* feature.

There is reason to assume that unergative verbs like *dance* and *laugh* are not only possibly transitive, but always involve a transitive structure (see e.g. Bobaljik 1993 and references cited there). Hale & Keyser (1993a) suggest that the difference between unergative and transitive verbs like *read* is that the complement incorporates into or conflates with the verbal head in the former but not in the latter case (cf. e.g. Harley 2005, Platzack 2006b); *dance* and *laugh* can be paraphrased as *do a dance* or *make a laugh*, respectively. The nominal element can be realized as a cognate object in the complement of the verb, as in the examples in (6:46).

- (6:46) a. Hon skrattade ett elakt skratt.
she laughed a mean laugh
 ‘She laughed a mean laugh.’

¹⁴¹ This implies that the meaning of the verb BECOME is not ‘process’, but rather transition, and it does therefore not correspond to the suffix *-na* of Swedish de-adjectival verbs. The analysis of BECOME is complicated by the fact that in some respects it behaves like a copula.

- b. Han dansade en arg och krigisk dans.
he danced an angry and warlike dance
 ‘He danced an angry and warlike dance.’
- c. Han sjöng ett par verser på en sång.
he sang a couple verses on a song
 ‘He sang a couple of verses of a song.’

Unergative verbs behave like the corresponding transitive verbs with regard to telicity, as observed by Harley (2005). Transitive verbs like *eat* are, as noted above, telic or atelic depending on the Rheme object, which serves to measure out the event; a mass object gives an atelic predicate, while a quantized DP yields a telic reading. Unergative verbs related to mass nouns are in a parallel way atelic (in the absence of further modification), whereas unergatives connected to a countable noun are telic; cf. *blöda* ‘bleed’ and *föla* ‘foal’ in (6:47) and *äta* ‘eat’ in (6:48) (and see further Harley 2005).¹⁴² As we saw above, the properties of de-adjectival verbs like *strengthen* in a similar way depend on the properties of the adjective on which the verb is based.

- (6:47) a. Hästen blöder. ⇒ Hästen har blött.
the.horse bleeds *the.horse has bled*
 ‘The horse is bleeding.’ ‘The horse has bled.’
- b. Hästen fölar. ⇒ Hästen har fölat.
the.horse foals *the.horse has foaled*
 ‘The horse is foaling.’ ‘The horse has foaled.’
- (6:48) a. Hästen äter hö. ⇒ Hästen har ätit hö.
the.horse eats hay *the.horse has eaten hay*
 ‘The horse is eating hay.’ ‘The horse has eaten hay.’
- b. Hästen äter ett äpple. ⇒ Hästen har ätit ett äpple.
the.horse eats an apple *the.horse has eaten an apple*
 ‘The horse is eating an apple.’ ‘The horse has eaten an apple.’

Note that this means that neither unaccusative verbs nor unergative verbs can be characterized in terms of (a)telicity; certain unaccusative verbs (e.g. *grow*) are not inherently telic, while certain unergative verbs (e.g. *foal*) are. I return to the distinction between the groups of verbs in chapter 7.

¹⁴² Harley (2005) accounts for semelfactives in a similar way: she assumes that the properties of the incorporated element give semelfactives a punctual interpretation. Semelfactives behave like unergative verbs in the respects relevant here.

6.2.2. (Un)boundedness in Swedish

The criteria that are employed to distinguish telic from atelic predicates often relate to simultaneity or sequentiality, or they involve durative adverbials (as in e.g. (6:42) and (6:44) above). However, these tests are not independent of the temporal anchoring of the eventuality, but tend to pick out a combination of Aktionsart and aspect. Here, (a)telicity is taken to relate to the internal structure of eventualities and to be in principle independent of temporal anchoring. While spatial or causal relations are established in the verb phrase, time is introduced by Voice, Aspect and Tense (see chapter 3 above). Hence, even if unbounded aspect can remove the conception of endpoint by having an assertion time that lies within the event time (or by focusing on a subpart of the event time), it does not make a telic eventuality atelic. Similarly, bounded aspect can add the conception of a temporal boundary, but it does not make an atelic eventuality telic.

Consider the examples in (6:39) again (repeated below):

- (6:49) a. Vi badade (på en kvart).
we bathed in a quarter
 ‘We bathed (in fifteen minutes).’
- b. Vi badade (i en kvart).
we bathed for a quarter
 ‘We bathed (for fifteen minutes).’
 (SAG 1999, 4:326)

The eventuality *bada* ‘bathe’ is homogeneous; there is no culmination involved, and the present (progressive) therefore entails the perfect; see (6:50).

- (6:50) Vi badar. ⇒ Vi har badat (en stund redan)
we bathe we have bathed a while already
 ‘We are bathing.’ ‘We have bathed (for a while already).’

Hence, (6:49a) cannot state that the event of bathing culminated in 15 minutes; instead, it conveys that there is an eventuality of bathing contained within a temporal interval of fifteen minutes. In other words, (6:49a) is an example of an atelic event with bounded aspect. The example in (6:49b), on the other hand, has unbounded aspect and states that the eventuality of bathing was (at least) 15 minutes long.

Also telic events are compatible with both *in*-adverbials and *for*-adverbials, depending on aspect; consider the examples in (6:51) which

involve the same telic event of reading a book but differ with regard to aspect.

- (6:51) a. Han satt och läste en bok i en timme.
he sat and read a book for an hour
 'He sat reading a book for an hour.'
- b. Han läste en bok på en timme.
he read a book in an hour
 'He read a book in an hour.'

We can assume that Swedish *in*-adverbials specify an event time that is included in the assertion time, independently of whether the event is telic or not; the examples in (6:52), which differ in telicity, can both be represented as in (6:53) where + represents the event time (specified by the *in*-adverbial) and the square brackets the assertion time. In other words, *in*-adverbials test for bounded aspect and not telicity.

- (6:52) a. Vi badade på en kvart.
we bathed in a quarter
 'We bathed in fifteen minutes.'
- b. Han läste en bok på en timme.
he read a book in an hour
 'He read a book in an hour.'

(6:53) ————— [—+++++—]—————S→

For-adverbials, on the other hand, appear to be ambiguous: they either specify the event time or the assertion time.¹⁴³ In the former case, they require unbounded aspect. In the latter case, they can be combined with an *in*-adverbial, as in (6:54).¹⁴⁴ *For*-adverbials can therefore only be

¹⁴³ There are instances where also an *in*-adverbial specifies the duration of the assertion time; consider (i).

- (i) På hela dagen lyssnade han bara i tio minuter.
in whole the.day listened he only for ten minutes
 'The whole day, he only listened for ten minutes.'

Swedish *in*-adverbials therefore seem to specify a non-homogenous temporal interval (either the event time or the assertion time). However, examples like (i) seem to be rather restricted, and they will not be discussed further here.

¹⁴⁴ Examples like (6:54) express indefinite iteration of the eventuality. It is well known that different kinds of adverbs of frequency or iteration have different effects on the aspectual interpretation. Compare (ia) with the adverbial *varje dag* 'every day' and (ib) with the adverbial *två gånger* 'twice'.

used to test for unbounded aspect with telic predicates, and for atelicity with bounded predicates.

- (6:54) I en vecka åt han lunch på några minuter.
for a week ate he lunch in some minutes
 ‘For a week he ate lunch in a couple of minutes.’

It is possible to find examples in Swedish where telic predicates have unbounded aspect without having any specific morphological marking. Consider the examples in (6:55) and (6:56), where a contextually given interruption makes an unbounded reading completely natural.¹⁴⁵

- (6:55) Först läste hon den boken i en timme, sedan läste hon
first read she that the.book for an hour then read she
 en annan bok i en timme. (Hon läser aldrig
a different book for an hour she reads never
 färdigt en enda bok.)
finished a single book

-
- (i) a. Han sprang tre kilometer varje dag i tre veckor.
he ran three kilometres every day for three weeks
 ‘He ran three kilometres every day for three weeks.’
 b. Han sprang tre kilometer två gånger på två veckor/*i två veckor.
he ran three kilometres two times in two weeks/for two weeks
 ‘He ran three kilometres twice in three weeks/*for two weeks.’

¹⁴⁵ While an unbounded reading is often natural with telic predicates like *läsa en bok* ‘read a book’, it is more marked when there is a quantized Path present; the examples in (i) are degraded (disregarding the iterative reading).

- (i) a. ?? Han springer fortfarande en kilometer. (Det verkar ta tid.)
he runs still a kilometre it seems take time
 ‘He is still running a kilometre. (It seems to take time.)’
 b. ?? Han sprang en kilometer i tio minuter.
he ran a kilometre for ten minutes
 ‘He was running a kilometre for ten minutes.’

The problem might be that the kilometre is not identified independently of the running in the examples in (i). In fact, the examples in (ii) are fine.

- (ii) a. Han springer fortfarande sin kilometer. (Det verkar ta tid.)
he runs still POSS.REFL kilometre it seems take time
 ‘He is still running his kilometre. (It seems to take time.)’
 b. Han sprang sin kilometer i tio minuter, (sedan gav han upp).
he ran POSS.REFL kilometre for ten minutes then gave he up
 ‘He was running his kilometre for ten minutes, then he gave up.’

There is therefore nothing intrinsic about a quantized Path that excludes unbounded aspect.

'First she was reading that book for an hour, then she was reading a different book for an hour. (She never finishes a single book.)'

In a similar way, (6:56) can have either a reading where the main clause event is simultaneous with the *when*-clause event, or a sequential reading (where the *when*-clause event precedes the matrix event). A simultaneous interpretation is incompatible with bounded aspect; cf. examples in (6:57) (and see e.g. Smith 1991).

(6:56) Hon åt en smörgås när jag ringde.
she ate a sandwich when I called
 'She ate a sandwich when I called.'
 'She was eating a sandwich when I called.'
 (Simultaneous or sequential)

(6:57) Hon åt upp smörgåsen när jag ringde.
she ate up the sandwich when I called
 'She ate up the sandwich when I called.'
 (Sequential)

Notably, modification by *fortfarande* 'still' is possible only with unbounded aspect; consider the examples in (6:58) (iterative readings are disregarded).¹⁴⁶ As we will see below, verbs like *arrive* are necessarily bounded in Swedish.

(6:58) a. Han läser fortfarande samma artikel. (Det verkar ta tid.)
he reads still the.same paper it seems take time
 'He is still reading the same paper. (It seems to take time.)'
 b. *Båten ankommer fortfarande till bryggan.
the.boat arrives still to the.wharf

Adverbs meaning *still* are restricted to imperfective morphology in languages with morphological aspect, as well. In Greek, for example, the adverb *akomi* 'still' is compatible with imperfective verbs, but not with perfective marking (Alexiadou 1997:89).

As pointed out above, atelic predicates can have a bounded reading in Swedish. Typically, this is possible when the eventuality expresses a task or activity that has contextually known temporal boundaries; that is,

¹⁴⁶ Also an example like (i) is grammatical, but only on an iterative or dispositional reading.

(i) Han läser fortfarande en artikel på en timme.
he reads still a paper in an hour
 'He is still able to read a paper in an hour'

bounded aspect is possible with a reading that ‘a job is done’.¹⁴⁷ The examples in (6:59a–b), which typically express every-day events or household tasks with known temporal boundaries, are unmarked on a bounded reading; (6:59c) requires more imagination, but is perfectly fine given the right context.

- (6:59) a. Jag vattnade blommorna på två minuter.
I watered the.flowers in two minutes
 ‘I watered the flowers in two minutes.’
- b. Jag åt lunch på en timme.
I ate lunch in an hour.
 ‘I ate lunch in an hour.’
- c. Jag klappade katten på ett par minuter.
I petted the.cat in a couple minutes
 ‘I petted the cat in a couple of minutes.’

Stative verbs, on the other hand, generally require unbounded aspect independently of context; a temporal boundary presupposes a change or transition, and bounded aspect therefore forces an inchoative reading on examples like (6:60).

- (6:60) a. Jag gillade henne på bara några minuter.
I liked her in only some minutes
 ‘I liked her within only a few minutes.’
- b. Hon förstod frågan på ett ögonblick.
she understood the.question in a moment
 ‘She understood the question in a moment.’

When the verb phrase is quantified with an adverbial like *en gång* ‘once’, the bounded reading becomes less restricted; consider (6:61). In (6:61b), an *in*-adverbial is only possible in the presence of an adverbial of iteration.

- (6:61) a. Hon klappade katten fyra gånger på en timme.
she petted the.cat four times in an hour
 ‘She petted the cat four times in an hour.’
- b. Hon skrattade #(tio gånger) på en timme.
she laughed ten times in an hour
 ‘She laughed #(ten times) in an hour.’

¹⁴⁷ Note that a temporal boundary is not the same thing as a telos. In reality, most eventualities have temporal boundaries (at least all stage-level predicates do). This does not necessarily mean that these boundaries are specified or contextually known.

What is important here is that, depending on context, both bounded and unbounded readings are possible in Swedish, independently of the Aktionsart of the eventuality.¹⁴⁸ In other words, sentences are ambiguous in the absence of specified aspectual morphology (and context); the verbal morphology in Swedish is underspecified as to the relation between the assertion time and the event time.¹⁴⁹ This ambiguity is retained in the perfect; also telic events can therefore have a universal reading, at least marginally; see (6:62) which is grammatical (although it requires some emphasis on the fact that the event has not culminated).

(6:62) Jag har läst den här dumma artikeln sedan
I have read this here stupid paper since
 i morse. (Jag verkar aldrig bli klar.)
this.morning I seem never become finished
 ‘I have been reading this stupid paper since this morning. (I never
 seem to finish it.)’

There are, however, some lexical restrictions. As noted, stative verbs are obligatorily unbounded. Moreover, not all telic verbs allow an unbounded reading; verbs that express an instantaneous transition (i.e. Vendler’s 1967 achievements) do not. Disregarding iterative readings or interpretations where the adverbial modifies the target state, the examples in (6:63) and (6:64) are all ungrammatical independently of context (disregarding the reading where the adverbial specifies the duration of the target state).¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Tonne (2001) comes to the same conclusion in a study of progressives in Norwegian.

¹⁴⁹ This means that aspect in Swedish is not neutral in the sense of Smith (1991) or Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria (2007, 2008). The latter authors assume that the assertion time is identical with the event time (through binding) in the absence of morphology; this would mean that all telic events necessarily had bounded aspect (if the event time gives the duration of the entire complex event). Note that I am not disputing that telicity and boundedness or atelicity and unboundedness often go hand in hand; they clearly do, and we can assume that the assertion time and the event time often coincide in the unmarked case. Swedish has different means of adding or removing a telos (particularly involving particles) that tend to make the one or the other aspectual reading highly preferred, or even obligatory (see below). For the present purposes, what is crucial is that Aktionsart and aspect can be in principle independent also in languages like Swedish. Here, I leave the question of precisely how the event time relates to event structure aside.

¹⁵⁰ Something additional must be said about BECOME in eventive passives. In section 6.2.1 above, I assumed that BECOME has a *res* feature. With participles of atelic verbs, BECOME-passives can, however, have an ongoing reading, as in (i).

- (6:63) a. *Han blir glad i tio minuter.
he becomes happy for ten minutes
 b. *Båten anländer i en timme.
the.boat arrives for an hour
 c. *Han vinner i tio minuter.
he wins for ten minutes
 d. *Olyckan händer i tio minuter.
the.accident happens for ten minutes
- (6:64) a. *Han öppnar dörren i tio minuter.
he opens the.door for ten minutes
 b. *Han tändes lampan i en timme.
he turns.on the.lamp for an hour
 c. *Han upptäcker problemet i tio minuter.
he discovers the.problem for ten minutes

The expression *hålla på* ‘keep at, be doing’ yields a progressive reading with predicates like *läsa en bok* ‘read a book’ and *måla en tavla* ‘paint a picture’; see (6:65).

- (6:65) a. Han håller på att läsa en bok.
he keeps at to read a book
 ‘He is reading a book.’
 b. Han håller på att måla en tavla.
he keeps at to paint a picture
 ‘He is painting a picture.’
 c. Han håller på att äta ett äpple.
he keeps at to eat an apple
 ‘He is eating an apple.’

The verbs in (6:63) and (6:64), on the other hand, do not have a progressive reading with *hålla på*; instead the examples in (6:66) express that the event is about to happen (much like the corresponding English progressives); this reading of progressive forms is sometimes referred to as *prospective aspect* (cf. Tonne 2001, 2007 for Norwegian). While the

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- (i) Hon blev filmad i tio minuter.
she became filmed for ten minutes
 ‘She was being filmed for ten minutes.’

Participles in eventive passives presumably involve an aspectual head which can be either bounded or unbounded. The *for*-adverbial is therefore possible due to the unbounded aspect or Aktionsart of the participle, independently of the fact that the matrix has bounded aspect.

prospective reading is possible also with atelic eventualities, it is only obligatory with punctual events.¹⁵¹

- (6:66) a. Han håller på att vinna.
he keeps at to win
 ‘He is about to win.’
 b. Han håller på att bli glad.
he keeps at to become happy
 ‘He is about to become happy.’
 c. Olyckan håller på att hända.
the.accident kept at to happen
 ‘The accident is about to happen.’

Also with regard to the temporal sequencing in sentences that include a *when*-clause with an instantaneous event, verbs like *öppna* ‘open’ or *bli* ‘become’ behave differently from *läsa* ‘read’ or *paint måla* ‘paint’; the former, but not the latter, are incompatible with a reading where the main clause event is simultaneous with the event of the *when*-clause; cf. (6:67) and (6:68).

- (6:67) a. När Frida kom hem, blev Peter glad.
when Frida came home became Peter happy
 ‘When Frida came home, Peter became happy.’
 (Sequential)
 b. När Frida kom hem, öppnade Peter dörren.
when Frida came home opened Peter the.door
 ‘When Frida came home, Peter opened the door.’
 (Sequential)

¹⁵¹ I include also *öppna* ‘open’ among these verbs; consider (i) which is degraded also in a context where the opening of the door is difficult and can take time.

- (i) *Han öppnar dörren i tio minuter.
he opens the.door for ten minutes

The inchoative *öppna sig* ‘open oneself’, on the other hand, is not necessarily bounded; cf. (ii).

- (ii) Knopparna öppnar sig i tio minuter.
the.buds opens REFL for ten minutes
 ‘The buds are opening up for ten minutes.’

A systematic investigation of the aspectual interpretation of anticausatives would lead too far. We can, however, note that the behaviour of *öppna sig* seems to be contrary to what is expected from Folli’s (2002) analysis of the reflexive inchoative in Italian; Folli assumes that the use of a reflexive clitic depends on the presence of a *resP*.

- (6:68) a. När Frida kom hem, läste Peter en bok.
when Frida came home read Peter a book
 ‘When Frida came home, Peter read a book.’
 ‘When Frida came home, Peter was reading a book.’
 (Sequential or simultaneous)
- b. När Frida kom hem, målade Peter en tavla.
when Frida came home painted Peter a picture
 ‘When Frida came home, Peter painted a picture.’
 ‘When Frida came home, Peter was painting a picture.’
 (Sequential or simultaneous)

For punctual verbs like *öppna* ‘open’ and *vinna* ‘win’, the restriction on unbounded readings is expected: a punctual event time cannot include or partly overlap with the assertion time interval. However, also certain constructions with verb + particle are aspectually restricted in a similar way, even though they do not express punctual events. In (6:69), for example, modification by a *for*-adverbial or *fortfarande* is impossible. With a *when*-clause, only a sequential interpretation is available; see (6:70).¹⁵²

¹⁵² Verbs with Goal PPs behave in a similar way; see the examples in (i), which are degraded (at least without context), and (ii) which only has a sequential reading.

- (i) a. [?] Han reste till Stockholm i tre timmar.
he travelled to Stockholm for three hours
 ‘He was travelling to Stockholm for three hours.’
- b. [?] Han reser fortfarande till Stockholm.
he travels still to Stockholm
- (ii) När Frida kom hem reste Peter till Stockholm.
when Frida came home travelled Peter to Stockholm
 ‘When Frida came home, Peter went to Stockholm.’
 (Sequential)

However, unlike the constructions with verb + particle, the achievement of the goal is not necessarily asserted in examples with a change of location verb + a Goal PP; cf. (iii) and (iv).

- (iii) Han läste ut artikeln, (#men blev avbruten så att han
he read out the.paper but became interrupted so that he
aldrig blev klar).
never became finished
 ‘He finished reading the paper.’
- (iv) Han reste till Stockholm i tre timmar, men då tog
he travelled to Stockholm for three hours but then took
bensinen slut, så han kom inte dit.
the.gas finished so he came not there

- (6:69) a. *Jag läste ut artikeln i tio minuter.
I read out the.paper for ten minutes
 Intended: ‘I was finishing reading the paper for ten minutes.’
- b. *Jag läser fortfarande ut artikeln.
I read still out the.paper
 Intended: ‘I am still finishing reading the paper.’
- (6:70) När Frida kom hem läste Peter ut artikeln.
when Frida came home read Peter out the.paper
 ‘When Frida came home Peter finished reading the paper.’
 (Sequential)

I suggest that all subeventualities in the verb phrase are anchored to time in Swedish, i.e. that they must lie at least partly within the assertion time interval. This means that the transition to the target state is asserted in the presence of *resP*; verbs like *öppna* ‘open’ and *vinna* ‘win’ as well as particle verbs like *läsa ut* ‘finish reading’ have *resP* in their structure and are therefore obligatorily bounded or resultative (in the absence of morphological marking). In the absence of *resP*, on the other hand, the time of the process can lie partly or completely within the assertion time, and both bounded and unbounded readings are available.

However, with durative events like *läsa ut* ‘finish reading’, an unbounded or progressive reading only appears to be unavailable in the absence of aspectual morphology. Unlike instantaneous events, *läsa ut* can have an ongoing reading with *hålla på att* ‘be doing’ and in pseudo-coordinations; see (6:71).

- (6:71) a. Han håller på att läsa ut artikeln.
he keeps at to read out the.paper
 ‘He is finishing the paper.’
- b. Han sitter och läser ut artikeln.
he sits and reads out the.paper
 ‘He is sitting finishing reading the paper.’

Given a context, *for*-adverbials and *fortfarande* are possible as in (6:72). Similarly, the example in (6:73) has a simultaneous interpretation.

- (6:72) a. Han satt och skrev klart i tre timmar.
he sat and wrote finished for three hours
 ‘He was sitting finishing writing for three hours.’

‘He was travelling to Stockholm for three hours, but ran out of gas, so he never got there.’

- b. Han sitter fortfarande och skriver klart artikeln.
he sits still and writes finished the.paper
 ‘He is still sitting finishing writing the paper.’

(6:73) När Frida kom hem, satt Peter och läste ut artikeln.
when Frida came home sat Peter and read out the.paper
 ‘When Frida came home, Peter was sitting finishing reading the paper.’
 (Simultaneous)

The generalization seems to be that in the absence of aspectual morphology, all parts of the verb phrase are anchored to time in Swedish; the available aspectual readings therefore in some respects depend on the composition of the verb phrase. In the presence of imperfective morphology, on the other hand, durative events can have an unbounded reading regardless of the presence/absence of *resP*, whereas punctual events cannot.

6.2.3. Summary

I have assumed that the verb phrase is the domain for spatial construal; it is anchored in time by elements above *initP*. This means that Aktionsart and outer aspect are in principle independent. Following Ramchand (2008a), I have assumed that there is no single feature or element directly responsible for telicity, but that telicity depends on the properties of the complement of *proc*. Since *resP* introduces a target state it always provides a telos. We can expect that the target state reading of participles is possible only in the presence of *resP*.

In addition, the presence of *resP* affects aspectual interpretation; in the absence of imperfective morphology, an unbounded reading is excluded with events that involve *resP* (e.g. with *anlända* ‘arrive’ or *äta upp* ‘eat up’). Other predicates are compatible with both bounded and unbounded readings also in the absence of specified aspectual morphology. The possibility of *fortfarande* ‘still’ with telic predicates can be taken to be criterial for unbounded aspect, whereas *in*-adverbials are indicative of bounded aspect. Bounded eventualities have a sequential reading in relation to a punctual event in a *when*-clause, whereas unbounded eventualities are interpreted as simultaneous with the *when*-clause event.

In the next section, I sketch how the aspectual interpretation of resultant state participles can be derived on the basis of the account of tense–aspect outlined above.

6.3. The aspectual interpretation of resultant state participles

In the following, I argue that resultant state participles have bounded aspect, while other stative participles lack independent aspectual value. The focus in this section is on resultant state participles, since these play a central part in the interpretation of the older Swedish data investigated in chapter 5; I return to other stative participles in more detail in chapter 8. However, in order to properly distinguish the resultant state participles, we need to make a distinction between three different kinds of stative participles, and not only between target states and resultant states.

6.3.1. Three different stative participles

In section 6.1 above, I introduced a distinction between target state and resultant state participles (from Kratzer 2000), and noted that resultant state participles can be formed from most eventive verbs, including atelic verbs like *klappa* ‘pet’.

Atelic events are also more generally possible in stative passives in Swedish, but with a progressive reading; cf. the examples in (6:74) which all express that the participial event is ongoing.

- (6:74) a. Han var jagad av kronofogden.
he was chased by the.enforcement.officer
 ‘He was being chased by the enforcement officer.’
- b. Han är förföljd av polisen.
he is persecuted by the.police
 ‘He was being persecuted by the police.’
- c. Vagnen är dragen av vita hästar.
the.chariot is pulled by white horses
 ‘The chariot is being pulled by white horses.’

I henceforth refer to these participles as progressive state participles. They have an unbounded interpretation; the example in (6:75) only allows for a reading where the event of the *when*-clause eventuality is temporally simultaneous with the matrix eventuality.

- (6:75) När han rundade sista kurvan, var han jagad av
when he rounded last the.curve was he chased by
 tre andra löpare.
three other runners
 'When he rounded the last curve, he was being chased by three other
 runners.'
 (Simultaneous)

Like target state participles, progressive state participles can be modified by *fortfarande* 'still'; see (6:76).

- (6:76) a. Han är fortfarande jagad av kronofogden.
he is still chased by the.enforcement.officer
 'He is still being chased by the enforcement officer.'
 b. Vagnen är fortfarande dragen av vita hästar.
the.chariot is still pulled by white horses
 'The chariot is still being pulled by white horses.'

Progressive state participles have verbal properties and are compatible with agent adverbials, as in the examples in (6:74). They do, however, not convey anteriority or resultativity in any sense.

Hence, also atelic verbs can occur in two kinds of stative passives: resultant state or progressive state passives. In fact, though the progressive reading is primary, the examples in (6:74) are ambiguous. In e.g. a context where an actor has to be chased first by wolves and then by tigers, the director could possibly utter the resultant state passive in (6:77).¹⁵³

- (6:77) ? Han är redan jagad av vargar. (Det är dags att ta in
he is already chased by wolves it is time to take in
 tigrarna.)
the.tigers
 'He has already been chased by wolves. (It is time to bring in the
 tigers.)'

In other cases, it is the progressive state reading that is secondary. For example, the resultant state passive in (6:78a) is more natural than the progressive state passive in (6:78b). Which reading is primary presumably depends on real world knowledge as well as on context.

¹⁵³ A HAVE-perfect would be the unmarked expression in (6:77). Also many of the examples of progressive state passives are slightly marked; for a progressive present tense reading, a morphological passive is generally preferred in Swedish.

- (6:78) a. Tröjan är redan använd (två gånger).
the.sweater is already used two times
 ‘The sweater has already been used (twice).’
- b. Just nu är gungan använd av Lisa. (Du får vänta på
just now is the.swing used by Lisa you may wait for
 din tur.)
your turn
 ‘Right now, the swing is being used by Lisa. (You must wait for your turn.)’

Authentic examples of both kinds do, however, occur; see (6:79). The example in (6:79a) has a resultant state reading, whereas (6:79b) involves a progressive state participle.

- (6:79) a. typ halva brun-utan-sol [-] flaskan är redan använd!
like half brown-without-sun the.bottle is already used
 ‘like half the bottle of tan without sun has already been used!’
 (Google)
- b. Musiken tas bort men platsen är fortfarande
the.music take.PRES.PASS away but the.place is still
 använd
used
 ‘The music is taken away but the place is still being used.’
 (Google)

In other words, many verbs can form two kinds of stative participles: either they form target state participles and resultant state participles, or progressive state participles and resultant state participles. Verbs that form progressive state participles do not form target state participles, and the other way around. Hence, while the possibility of target state and progressive state readings can be assumed to depend on the structure of the verb phrase, the resultant state reading apparently does not. In chapter 8 below, I argue that target state and progressive state participles lack an independent aspectual value; their aspectual interpretation instead depends on the structure of the verb phrase in combination with the properties of the copula. In the next section, I consider the aspect of resultant state participles.

6.3.2. *The aspect of resultant state participles*

As we have seen, resultant state participles are not as lexically restricted as either target state or progressive state participles. The only group of

transitive verbs that is systematically unavailable in resultant state passives is stative verbs; see (6:80).

- (6:80) a. *Svaret är vetat.
the.answer is known
 b. *Den är känd två gånger.
it is known two times
 c. *Han är omtyckt flera gånger.
he is liked several times

On occasion, also a stative verb can marginally form a resultant state participle, but this forces an inchoative reading; cf. the progressive state participle in (6:81a) and the resultant state participle in (6:81b).

- (6:81) a. Huset är fortfarande bebott.
the.house is still lived.in
 'Somebody still lives in the house.'
 b. ? Huset är bebott på en timme.
the.house is lived.in in an hour
 'Somebody will live in the house in an hour.'
 (inchoative)

As noted, the availability of the resultant state reading can vary depending on real world knowledge and context. In section 6.2.2 above, we saw that this was the case also with atelic verbs with bounded aspect; consider the contrast between (6:82a), which is perfectly natural, and (6:82b), which requires a specific context (cf. also the examples in (6:59) and (6:61) above).

- (6:82) a. Han använde den nya tröjan fyra gånger på en vecka.
he used the new the.sweater four times in a week
 'He used the new sweater four times in a week.'
 b. Hon klappade katten på ett ögonblick.
she petted the.cat in a moment
 'She petted the cat in a moment.'

Resultant state participles of atelic verbs are compatible with *in-*adverbials; cf. (6:83).

- (6:83) På bara två minuter var katten klappad.
in only two minutes was the.cat petted
 'In only two minutes the cat had been petted.'

We can therefore assume that resultant state participles may involve bounded aspect. The adverb *fortfarande* ‘still’ is excluded in resultant state passives because it requires unbounded aspect.

Now, I noted in section 6.1 that resultant state participles actually can have two readings; cf. the examples in (6:84a) and (6:84b).

- (6:84) a. Frida är (*fortfarande) hemkommen.
Frida is still home.come
 ‘Frida has (*still) come home.’
- b. Frida är både hemkommen och utgången. (Nu vet jag
Frida is both home.come and out.gone now know I
 inte var hon är.)
not where she is
 ‘Frida has both come home and gone out. (Now I don’t know where she is.)’

Although the participle *hemkommen* ‘come home’ is never compatible with the adverbial *fortfarande*, examples like (6:84a) express that the target state of the event holds at present, like a target state participle. As we have seen, this is not the only reading; examples like (6:84b) are also grammatical (but marked or restricted to certain contexts).

We can conclude that resultant state participles either have resultative aspect (as in (6:84a)) or bounded aspect (as in (6:84b)). Recall that also perfect participles can have different aspectual values; cf. the resultant state constructions in (6:84) with the perfects in (6:85); the example in (6:85a) is a resultative perfect, and (6:85b) is an experiential perfect.

- (6:85) a. Jag har just tappat glasögonen.
I have just lost the.glasses
 ‘I have just lost my glasses.’
- b. Jag har tappat glasögonen två gånger redan.
I have lost the.glasses two times already
 ‘I have lost my glasses twice already.’

The resultative reading of resultant state participles is not identical to the reading of target state participles. Only resultant state participles actually have an aspectual value (see further chapter 8), and only target state participles allow modification by *still*. Resultant state participles with resultative aspect convey that the event has culminated and that the target state holds at the end of the assertion time, whereas target state participles assert that the target state holds throughout the assertion time; the difference can be illustrated as in (6:86), where + represents the process or transition, × the target state and the square brackets the

assertion time. As we will see in chapter 8, target state participles need not have event implications.

- (6:86) a. Resultant state participles with resultative aspect:
 _____ [-++xxx]x————→
 b. Target state participles:
 _____ (++)x [xxxxxxx]x————→

Resultant state participles with bounded aspect state that the participial eventuality lies within the assertion time; see (6:87).

- (6:87) Resultant state participles with bounded aspect:
 _____ [-++-]————→

We could argue that the differences between Icelandic and Swedish noted in chapter 5 above reflect the possible values of the aspectual head of the resultant state participle: in Icelandic, the active construction with BE necessarily has resultative aspect. Negation by an adverbial meaning ‘never’ and adverbs of frequency and iteration typically require bounded aspect, and they tend to be incompatible with the resultative perfect; cf. the resultative perfect in (6:88) and the Icelandic construction with BE in (6:89), which both disallow an adverb of iteration. As we have seen, a resultative reading is much preferred with BE also in Swedish.

- (6:88) I have just lost my glasses for the third time/#three times. (Can you help me look for them?)
- (6:89) * Jón er þrisvar farinn til Boston.
John is three.times gone to Boston
 (Thráinsson 2007:12)

The perfect with HAVE + participle, on the other hand, generally has an experiential and not a resultative reading in Icelandic; examples like (6:90) are infelicitous on a resultative reading. In other words, Icelandic perfect participles of eventive verbs typically have bounded aspect.

- (6:90) # Ég hef týnt lyklunum núna.
I have lost the.keys now
 ‘I have lost the keys now.’

There is, however, a problem with an account along these lines. Since presumably there is no single feature or element directly responsible for telicity, and since telicity can depend on context, it is unclear what it

means to say that a resultative aspect selects for telic events. Instead, we could assume that resultative aspect requires the presence of *res*P in the verb phrase. If the construction with BE + active participle was restricted to resultative aspect, it would accordingly be ungrammatical with gradual change of state verbs, since these lack a *res* feature. This is not the case; cf. the example with *gulna* ‘turn yellow’ in (6:91) below (and see further chapter 7).

- (6:91) Grasið er gulnað.
 the.grass is yellowed
 ‘The grass has turned yellow.’

Pancheva (2003) states that although resultative aspect in Bulgarian (which is marked with perfective morphology) always yields a telic reading, it is not restricted to telic underlying predicates. One possibility is that in resultant state participles, participial morphology can identify the *res* head, and therefore induce telicity. We might then expect participial morphology to have the effects of particles (which typically associate with *res*). Another possibility is that bounded aspect places the process or transition within the assertion time, and that the strength of the inference that the target state holds depends on the aspectual oppositions in the language; this is more in line with what Ramchand (2008b) suggests to account for the interpretation of perfective morphology in Russian. Icelandic differs more generally from Swedish with regard to aspectual morphology. As in English, progressive morphology is required for an ongoing reading in the present tense, and Present-Day Icelandic also has a specific perfective construction (see below section 6.4). Finally, we could assume that the structure of resultant state participles lacks AspP in Icelandic, but not in Swedish; since adverbs of frequency and iteration presumably relate to Asp, they would therefore be excluded. This would mean that the participial event time is directly related to the time of BE in Icelandic, but not in Swedish.

In the following, I will assume that resultant state participles always have AspP in their structure, and that this distinguishes them from target state and progressive state participles. Instead, I tentatively suggest that the difference between Swedish and Icelandic depends on how the event time is related to participial assertion time, but I leave the implementation aside. To get further, we would need to look closer at precisely how the event time is established in relation to the (often complex) event structure and how it is anchored to the assertion time and to the time of BE, considering also cross-linguistic data. Independently of how the difference between Swedish and Icelandic is understood, it is worth

noting that Icelandic is more restricted than Swedish with regard to adverbial modification, and not the other way around; as will be seen in chapter 7, the construction with BE is lexically restricted in Present-Day Swedish but not in Icelandic, and it is used less frequently in Swedish than in Icelandic.

6.3.3. *Temporal adverbials and BE*

As we have seen, there are reasons to assume that past participles are tenseless (cf. e.g. Egerland 2002). I have assumed that this is the reason why constructions with BE + past participle are not possible in past counterfactuals. In chapter 10, I also suggest that the absence of T accounts for the difference between perfect participles with regard to case, and for the difference in inflection. In this section, I consider the possibility of certain kinds of temporal modification of past participles.

Although resultant state participles are tenseless, they convey anteriority; in this respect, they resemble perfects. Since participles with resultative aspect assert that the target state of the participial event holds at the end point of the assertion time; the process or transition is always anterior to the target state. Also participles with bounded aspect convey anteriority; as bounded aspect places the entire event time within the assertion time, the transition must take place before the end point of the assertion time. The question is how the participial assertion time relates to the time of the matrix clause.

In Present-Day Swedish constructions with BE + a participle of a telic verb, a temporal adverbial normally states the time when the target state holds. Compare the stative passive with BE in (6:92a) and the eventive BECOME-passive in (6:92b). Since the stative passive in (6:92a) asserts that the target state holds at two o'clock, the time of the process sub-event (E) necessarily precedes two o'clock. In the eventive passive in (6:92b), on the other hand, the locking takes place at two o'clock.

- (6:92) a. De var utelåsta klockan två.
they were out.locked the.clock two
 'They had been looked out at two o'clock.'
 $E(\textit{locking out}) < 2 \textit{ o'clock}$
- b. De blev utelåsta klockan två.
they became out.locked the.clock two
 'They were looked out at two o'clock.'
 $E(\textit{locking out}) = 2 \textit{ o'clock}$

Occasionally, a temporal adverbial can specify the time of the process or transition also in the passive with BE; SAG (1999, 4:394) gives examples like those in (6:93). Note that the temporal modification is compatible with a resultative reading (depending on the participial predicate).

- (6:93) a. När är du född?
when are you born
 ‘When were you born?’
 b. Bröden är bakade igår.
the.breads are baked yesterday
 ‘The bread was baked yesterday.’
 (SAG 1999, 4:394)

Temporal adverbials could apparently modify the time of the transition or process in the construction with BE also in older Swedish; see (6:94) (and cf. Johannisson 1945:108).¹⁵⁴ As in Present-Day Swedish, a past time adverbial is possible also when the auxiliary BE is in the present tense.

- (6:94) a. Den 19 Augustii är Enke-Hertiginnan [...] bortrester ifrån
the 19 August is Widow-Dutchess away.travelled from
 Stockholm
Stockholm
 ‘The Widow Dutchess left Stockholm 19 August.’
 (Karl XI *Almanacka* *1655:246; from Johannisson 1945:109)
 b. krusen [...] är klockan 10 inkomin i staden idag
Krusen is the.clock 10 in.come in the.town today
 ‘Krusen came in to town today at ten o’clock’
 (Horn *1629:62f.)

Not all participles in the complement of a present tense BE are equally compatible with past time adverbials. Progressive state participles and target state participles are not; see the examples in (6:95) and (6:96).

- (6:95) a. *Han är jagad av kronofogden igår.
he is chased by the.enforcement.officer yesterday
 b. *Vagnen är dragen av vita hästar igår.
the.chariot is pulled by white horses yesterday
 (6:96) a. *Väskorna är fortfarande packade igår.
the.bags are still packed yesterday

¹⁵⁴ In (6:94b), the positional adverbial *klockan 10* ‘at ten o’clock’ refers to a past time within the interval set up by the adverbial *idag* ‘today’.

- b. *Däcken är fortfarande pumpade igår.
the.tires are still pumped.up yesterday

Since positional past time adverbials always relate to the assertion time, this restriction is expected; progressive state and target state participles lack an AspP, and the only assertion time in examples like (6:95) and (6:96) lies in the present.

Hence, the only stative participles that allow positional past time adverbials are resultant state participles; see the passive participles in (6:97) and the active participles in (6:98), and cf. (6:99) which shows that none of the participles is compatible with *fortfarande*.

- (6:97) a. Det här brödet är bakat igår.
this here the.bread is baked yesterday
 'This bread was baked yesterday.'
- b. Den här boken är skriven 1982.
this here the.book is written 1982
 'This book was written in 1982.'
- (6:98) a. Han är hitflyttad från Stockholm i förra veckan.
he is here.moved from Stockholm in last week
 'He moved here from Stockholm last week.'
- b. Han är hemkommen för en timme sedan.
he is home.come for an hour ago
 'He came home an hour ago.'
- (6:99) a. *Det här brödet är fortfarande bakat.
this here the.bread is still baked
- b. *Den här boken är fortfarande skriven.
this here the.book is still written
- c. *Han är fortfarande hitflyttad från Stockholm.
he is fortfarande here.moved from Stockholm
- d. *Han är fortfarande hemkommen.
he is still home.come

Since positional past time adverbials relate to the assertion time (and not the speech time), the grammaticality of examples like (6:97) and (6:98) above need not be taken as evidence for a T in the structure of the participle. In fact, the adverbial modification possible with (active or passive) resultant state participles in Swedish is crucially different from the modification which is licit in perfects: as we have seen, present perfects with HAVE do not allow positional past time adverbials; cf. (6:93) above and the corresponding perfects in (6:100).

- (6:100) a. *När har du fötts?
when have you born.PASS
 Intended: ‘When were you born?’
- b. *Han har bakat brödet igår.
he has baked the.bread yesterday
 Intended: ‘I baked the bread yesterday.’

It can be noted that the possibility of past positional adverbials does not only make resultant state constructions different from perfects, but also from the tenseless infinitivals that I discussed briefly in chapter 3 (section 3.6.1) above. Among other things, tenseless infinitivals can be characterized by disallowing an adverbial with a temporal reference that is not overlapping with the matrix tense; cf. (6:101).

- (6:101) *Han börjar att ha stekt en fisk igår.
he begin.PRES to have fried a fish yesterday

In chapter 3, I assumed that tenseless infinitivals have an unvalued T in their structure, which is valued by the matrix T; the non-finite perfect in (6:101) therefore behaves like a present perfect. Past participles, on the other hand, I have argued are tenseless because they lack a T in their structure. The possibility of positional past time adverbials with BE in Swedish suggests that the assertion time of resultant state participles is free with respect to the matrix assertion time (and does not have to include or even overlap with the matrix assertion time). In the unmarked case, the event time of BE gives the time of the target state of the participial event.

6.3.4. Summary

In the previous chapters, I argued that perfect participles are tensed, whereas past participles are tenseless. In the previous sections, I made further distinctions among the past participles. Disregarding eventive participles, I introduced a distinction between progressive state, target state and resultant state participles (neither of which is tensed). There is, as far as I can see, no reason to assume that resultant state participles literally involve an element that introduces a specific resultant state. Instead, I assume that resultant state participles have either resultative or bounded aspect, at least in languages like Swedish, while progressive state participles and target state participles lack AspP in their structures.

I return to their interpretation and to the properties of the participial stativizer in chapter 8 below.

In the next section, I review how the findings affect an account of BE in older Swedish, and what the consequences for the understanding of the development of the perfect tense might be. I also briefly consider the perfect-like construction with *vera búinn að* (lit. ‘be finished to’) + infinitive in Present-Day Icelandic and passives with BE in older Swedish.

6.4. Older Swedish BE and Icelandic *vera búinn að*

In this chapter, I have suggested that the examples with BE + participle in experiential contexts in older Swedish involve resultant state participles and not perfect participles. Resultant state participles lack tense but have an aspectual value, and therefore allow e.g. adverbs of iteration and frequency. In this way, we can account for the examples in (6:102), as well as the exceptional Norwegian example in (6:103) (= (5:65) above).

- (6:102) a. *mangen snöy är fallen sydhan wi sogoms*
many.a snow is fallen since we saw.each.other
 ‘A lot of snow has fallen since we saw each other.’
 (Didrik 15th c.:295; Johannisson 1945:103)
- b. *honum ma mang thing vara skeedh*
him may many things be happened
 ‘many things may have happened to him’
 (Ivan c. 1303:1999)
- (6:103) *er iorð komin þrysvár undir snúð ok undir snælldu*
is earth come three.times under twirl and under distaff
 ‘the earth has passed a spindle three times’ (i.e., ‘the earth has passed three times through a woman’s hand.’)
 (Gulathings-Lov p. 92; from Johannisson 1945:36)

In Present-Day Swedish, resultant state participles are often marked in experiential contexts, and they are often only available with a ‘job is done’-interpretation. We have seen that this is the case also when atelic finite verbs have bounded aspect (depending partly on real world knowledge). Although the restrictions on adverbial modification appear to be the same, the construction with BE appears to have been contextually less restricted in older Swedish.

Given that the extended use of BE with active participles in older Swedish is to be understood as an extended use of resultant state parti-

ciples, we might also expect to find examples of BE-passives in older Swedish where Present-Day Swedish would have a BECOME-passive or a morphological passive. I have assumed that the distinction between target state and resultant state participles applies to passive and active past participles alike. Without investigating stative passives in the historical material systematically, I have noted a number of older Swedish examples which suggest that also the use of resultant state passives were more frequent in older Swedish, and that active and passive participles with BE go partly hand in hand; a couple of examples are given in (6:104). The example in (6:104a) involves an adverbial meaning ‘often’, and (6:104b) has an adverbial meaning ‘many times’. The example in (6:104c) has an adverbial meaning ‘never’ which negates the existence of the participial event at any point in time.

- (6:104) a. Aff honum ær mik opta mykith sakt
of him is me often much said
 ‘much has often been said to me about him’
 (Ivan c. 1303:1336)
- b. Konung Cristiern som nu war monge gongor affslagen
king Christian who now was many times off.beaten
 ‘King Christian who now had been defeated many times’
 (Swart 1560:4)
- c. En lustigare är aldrih funnen
a funnier is never found
 ‘a funnier one has never been found’
 (Messenius I *1579:28)

In fact, Kirri (1975) states that examples with BE + a passive past participle sometimes have the reading of a perfect in older Swedish; he refers to examples like those in (6:105).

- (6:105) a. Nær domen war affsagd, kom Margaretha [...] fram
when the.verdict was off.spoken came Margaretha forward
 for rættæn
before the.court
 ‘When the verdict had been spoken, Margaretha came before the court’
 (Petri tänkebok *1493:261; from Kirri 1975:37)
- b. Nær thetta læset war sade hwar sitt ther til
when this read was said each POSS.REFL there to
 ‘when this had been read, everyone gave his/her comment’
 (Petri tänkebok *1493:313; from Kirri 1975:37)

With the present distinctions, nothing excludes that these are resultant state participles. It would in fact be highly surprising if older Swedish

had a temporal auxiliary BE that took a passive participial complement, when none of the present-day Germanic languages do. We can note that the context for the examples in (6:105) is typical for resultant state constructions: the event is planned, and the passive conveys that it is now over or finished. Kirri (1975:360) also observes an increase in the use of morphological passives in the 18th century, and a drop in the frequency of passives with BE; as we will see in the next chapter, this is around the same time as the construction with BE + active participle becomes more restricted in Swedish.

Additional support for the assumption that the use of resultant state participles was extended in older Swedish comes from Present-Day Icelandic. In Larsson (2009), I observe that Present-Day Icelandic has an alternation between a perfect with HAVE and a perfect-like construction which in several respects resembles the alternation between the constructions with HAVE and BE in older Swedish.

Icelandic has sometimes been assumed to have two perfects, one with HAVE + perfect participle and one with *vera búinn að* (lit. ‘be finished to’) + infinitive (see e.g. Jónsson 1992, Wide 2002); cf. (6:106).¹⁵⁵ The two constructions appear to have similar functions, and the distribution between them varies depending on text type; *vera búinn að* is more common in informal texts (see Wide 2002:172ff. and Larsson 2009:71).

- (6:106) a. María hefur bakað köku.
Mary has baked cake
 ‘Mary has baked a cake.’
- b. María er búin að baka köku.
Mary is finished to bake cake
 ‘Mary has baked a cake.’
 (Jónsson 1992:134)

Like the construction with BE, *vera búinn að* is ungrammatical in past counterfactuals; see (6:107).

- (6:107) *Ef hann væri búinn að baka köku í gær, þá
if he were finished to bake cake yesterday then
 væri nóg að borða.
were enough to eat
 Intended: ‘If he had baked a cake yesterday, there would have been enough to eat.’
 (Larsson 2009:67)

¹⁵⁵ I follow Jónsson (1992) and gloss *vera búinn að* as ‘be finished to’, even though the construction is perfectly compatible with a reading where the event holds at the reference time.

Not all speakers allow modification by *aldrei* ‘never’ with *vera búinn að*, but judgements improve in a context where ‘a job is done’. Similarly, adverbs of frequency and iteration are often possible, but tend to imply that something has been managed; examples are given in (6:108) and (6:109) (see further Larsson 2009). I therefore suggest that the construction with *vera búinn að* is not a perfect, but that it expresses bounded aspect, just like certain resultant state passives do. The construction involves the resultant state participle *búinn* ‘finished’.

(6:108) Ég er aldrei búin að nota þetta forrit.
I am never finished to use this program
 ‘I have never used this program.’
 (Larsson 2009:74)

(6:109) Skipið er búið að blása tvisvar.
the.ship is finished to whistle twice
 ‘The ship has whistled twice.’
 (Kress 1982:154ff.)

In an impersonal construction, *vera búinn að* can, in fact, correspond directly to a resultant state passive in Swedish; both are used e.g. in lists of things that have been achieved; cf. the examples in (6:110) (from a corpus of Parliament discussions) to the Swedish resultant state passive in (6:111).

(6:110) eftir að búið er að samþykkja lög
after that finished is to pass law
 ‘after a law has been passed’
 (Althingi; from Larsson 2009:82)

(6:111) Lagförslaget är antaget.
the.bill is passed
 ‘The bill has been passed.’

As noted, resultant state participles are infrequent in Present-Day Swedish. In Icelandic, the construction with *vera búinn að* is, on the other hand, sometimes preferred, particularly by younger speakers and in informal contexts. In other words, some speakers of Icelandic choose a perfect-like expression over the perfect. I suggest that the same was the case in older Swedish, with regard to HAVE or BE + active participle. Moreover, since resultant state participles are similar to perfects in many ways, it is plausible that the development of the perfect started by an extended use of them, much like in Present-Day Icelandic or older Swedish.

6.5. Summary

In this chapter, I have tied the extended use of BE + active participles in older Swedish to a distinction between two kinds of perfect-like constructions (involving either target state or resultant state participles) and suggested that the latter may involve bounded aspect, just like experiential perfects do. At the end of the chapter, I showed that a similar distinction can help us account also for the distribution of stative passives in older Swedish and of *vera búinn að* + infinitive in Present-Day Icelandic. In chapter 10 below, I explore the possibility that the development of the perfect tense with HAVE started as an increase in the use of resultant state participles.

On the present account, perfects with HAVE did not replace perfects with BE in the history of Swedish and English (cf. chapter 5, section 5.6 above). Instead, perfects with HAVE appeared with unaccusative verbs as soon as HAVE had developed into a perfect auxiliary. In Present-Day Swedish, the perfect with HAVE is generally preferred to the perfect-like construction with BE, and the construction with BE has also become lexically more restricted. In the next chapter, I turn to the loss of BE in active perfect-like constructions in Swedish, and in chapter 8, I further investigate the internal structure of participles.

7. The loss of BE

The study of the alternation between HAVE and BE in older Swedish in the previous chapters has led to the conclusion that older Swedish did not have perfects with BE. However, we have seen that the construction with BE + active participle was less restricted in older Swedish than in Old Norse. In the present-day languages, it is the other way around: there are cases where the construction with BE is grammatical in Norwegian and Icelandic but not in Swedish; cf. Norwegian in (7:1) and Swedish in (7:2).

(7:1) Det er blitt kaldere.
it is become colder
 'It has become colder.'

(7:2) *Det är blivit kallare.
it is become colder

As we have seen, active participles are, however, not always disallowed in the complement of BE in Present-Day Swedish; cf. (7:3).

(7:3) Frida är hitrest från Oslo.
Frida is here.travelled from Oslo
 'Frida has come here from Oslo.'

In this chapter, I investigate the grammatical change ('the loss of BE') which results in the ungrammaticality of examples like (7:2), and the relevant difference between the participles in (7:2) and (7:3).

An account of both perfects and perfect-like constructions in many ways is tied to the distinctions between unaccusative and unergative verbs. Largely the same groups of verbs that have perfects with BE in Danish and German have active tenseless participles in the complement of BE in older Swedish. With the verb phrase structure assumed here, the group of verbs that I refer to as unaccusatives is not homogeneous; it includes gradual and punctual change of state verbs like *grow* and *become*, telic change of location verbs like *arrive* and variable behaviour

verbs like *travel* in telic contexts. We can therefore expect mismatches in the diagnostics for unaccusativity. However, it still needs to be explained why there are diagnostics in the first place, particularly why the group of verbs that form active participles in prenominal position and in the complement of BE is cross-linguistically rather stable. Ideally, we therefore want an analysis of unaccusatives that allows us to make finer distinctions among the groups of verbs, while keeping with some notion of unaccusativity that unifies the verbs that e.g. have active participles in the complement of BE in older Swedish and in Present-Day Danish.

In the present context, there are several motivations for an investigation of the loss of BE. First and foremost, the loss of BE can be viewed as the final stage in the establishment of the perfect with HAVE. More generally, a study of the shifts in the alternation of two perfect-type constructions, the perfect with HAVE and the perfect-like construction with BE, will provide some insight into the progression of the development of the perfect with HAVE. The emergence of the HAVE-perfect also involved shifts in the alternation between two perfect-type constructions, the perfect with HAVE and the perfect-like construction with HAVE + past participle, but since this is an earlier development than the loss of BE, it is more difficult to trace. The loss of BE is also relevant in the discussion of the development of the Swedish supine form; it has been suggested that the two changes (the loss of BE and the emergence of the supine) are correlated (Johannisson 1945, Platzack 1988a).

The first part of this chapter presents a study of the variation between HAVE and BE in a Swedish material from mainly the 17th century. I investigate whether it is possible to find any regularities in the shifts in the variation when BE is lost, i.e., whether BE is lost at different points in time in different contexts. In section 7.4, I give an overview of the restrictions on BE in Present-Day Swedish compared to older Swedish and to Present-Day Norwegian and Icelandic. Sections 7.5 and 7.6 concern unaccusativity and the question what distinguishes examples like (7:2) above from examples like (7:3).

7.1. Material and data collection

In order to trace the loss of BE in the historical records, I have investigated the distribution of HAVE and BE with unaccusative verbs in 21 older Swedish texts written by authors born between the years 1568 and 1706. In this section, I briefly comment on the choice of texts and on the principles behind the collection of data.

7.1.1. *Texts*

As always in historical studies, the available material is fragmentary and cannot possibly give a balanced picture of the language usage of earlier times. What we need in the study of a historical change is above all data which, together with our theoretical understanding, point to qualitative shifts over time. In the two previous chapters, the discussion therefore centred on cases that were unexpected from a modern point of view; present-day data were a necessary complement in the discussion. In this chapter, I also consider shifts in the historical data. The aim is not to describe stylistic or geographical variation, but to trace the development of Standard Present-Day Swedish and to understand the changes in the grammatical system. However, although the focus is on syntactic-semantic factors, stylistic, social or geographical factors cannot be completely disregarded. On the contrary, the historical study brings the connection between social and individual aspects of language to the fore. Differences between individuals with regard to a grammatical feature are generally not considered a linguistic change until they spread in the community.

The period investigated here offers more of a choice with regard to texts than previous ones. In the choice of texts, the geographical origin and style is, as far as possible, kept constant. Most of the texts are written by authors from Central Sweden (the area around Stockholm and Uppsala); many are informal and can be assumed to reflect the spoken language of the time (to a greater extent than other texts). The language in Central Sweden is one of the main sources for Standard Present-Day Swedish, and the area is presumably the originating centre for several of the changes that took place in Old and Early Modern Swedish (cf. Widmark 2000, Larsson 2004). An assumption underlying the choice of texts is, of course, that informal texts reflect ongoing changes better than formal or more standardized texts; texts that show no variation with regard to the investigated phenomenon say little or nothing about ongoing change. I have considered the results from Johannisson's (1945) study when choosing texts.

The material is divided into two groups, one with the texts that constitute the main corpus, and one which has been investigated for comparison and to test hypotheses on a larger material. The texts are listed in Table 7.1–7.2 below.

TABLE 7.1. *The primary corpus of investigated texts for the period of change (c. 1600–1740).*

<i>Author</i>	<i>Date of birth</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Text type</i>	<i>Nr of pages</i>
Johannes Bureus I	*1568	Bälinge, Uppland	Sumlen	Anecdotes	74
Johannes Bureus II	*1568	Bälinge, Uppland	Anteckningar	Diary	86
Carl Carlsson Gyllenhielm	*1574	Nyköping, Södermanland	Egenhändiga anteckningar rörande tiden 1597–1601. (c. 1640)	Autobiographical notes	31
Johan Rosenhane	*1611	Oppunda, Södermanland	Johan Rosenhanes dagbok (1652–1661)	Diary	305
Agneta Horn	*1629	Riga	Beskrivning över min vandringstid (1657)	Memoires	110
Samuel Columbus I	*1642	Husby, Dalarna	Mål-roo eller Roo-mål (1678)	Anecdotes	68
Samuel Columbus II	*1642	Husby, Dalarna	En Swensk Ordeskötsel (1678)	Language commentary	104
Isak Börk I	*c.1660	Avesta, Dalarna	Darius (1688)	Drama	45
Isak Börk II	*c.1660	Avesta, Dalarna	Apollo	Drama	42
(Unknown)	–	–	Philomela (1688)	Drama	58
Carl Gyllenborg	*1679	Stockholm	Swenska Sprätthöken (1737)	Drama	93

TABLE 7.2. *The secondary corpus of investigated texts for the period of change (c. 1600–1740).*

<i>Author</i>	<i>Date of birth</i>	<i>Place of birth</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Text type</i>	<i>Nr of pages</i>
Johannes Messenius I	*1579	Freberga, Östergötland	Disa (1611)	Drama	
Johannes Messenius II	*1579	Freberga, Östergötland	Christmannus	Drama	
Magnus Olai Asteropherus	†1647	(Unknown)	En Lwstigh comœdia with nampn Tisbe (c. 1609)	Drama	127
Nils Matson Kiöping	*1621	Arboga, Västmanland	Nils Matssons Reesas korta Beskrivning (1674)	Book of travels	162
Erik Dahlberg	*1625	Stockholm	Erik Dahlbergs dagbok 1625–1699 (written after 1699)	Diary	
Urban Hiärne I	*1641	Ingermanland	Rosimunda	Drama	93
Urban Hiärne II	*1641	Ingermanland	Stratonice	Short story	53
Haquin Spegel	*1645	Ronneby, Blekinge	Dagbok	Diary	159
Karl XII	*1682	Stockholm	Brev	Letters	150
Lars Salvius	*1706	Stigtomta, Södermanland	Beskrivning om en resa [...] (1743)	Rev. ed. of the book of travels by Kiöping	174

In tables 7.1–7.2 date and place of birth of the author are given (when known), as well as text type and the number of (investigated) pages.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶ The complete texts have been investigated, apart from the extensive notes by Gyllenhielm and the letters by Karl XII. I judged the first 31 pages of Gyllenhielm's notes (45 examples) to be sufficient to get a picture of the distribution of HAVE and BE. On occasion, I have searched for examples with special verbs (particularly variable behaviour verbs like *rida* 'ride') in the electronic version of the text; these are not included in the numerical data given in the tables below. In the primary corpus, the texts by Bureus, Gyllenhielm, Rosenhane and Horn are preserved in originals by the writer's own hand. The edition of *Mål-roo* is based on a manuscript which can be assumed to be a copy from the original; according to the editor, it is from the end of the 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century. The edition of *En Svensk*

Texts are distinguished by the Roman numeral following the name of the author, when more than one text by the same author is included in the material.

The material includes diaries and notes which clearly reflect the spontaneous language of the writers; these include both texts by Bureus, and the diaries by Rosenhane and Horn (cf. e.g. Larsson 2004:32f.). Also the letters by Karl XII are private in character. The (partly fictional) diary by Dahlberg, on the other hand, is intended for reading, and is more elaborate in style. The notes by Gyllenhielm are formal but are included in the material since Gyllenhielm, like Horn, represents the nobility centred in the area around Stockholm. The corpus also includes a number of plays which are assumed to reflect the spoken language in Central Sweden (the plays by Asteropherus, Börk and Gyllenborg; see e.g. Widmark 1969, K. Larsson 1988 and Larsson 2004:32f.). Samuel Columbus explicitly aims at a written language which reflects the spoken version; features of his language are typical for the area around Uppsala (cf. Hesselman 1908:526, Larsson 2004:33). Also Urban Hiärne is a representative of the educated class in Uppsala. The plays by Messenius and the diary by Spegel are conservative with regard to the HAVE/BE alternation, and the authors do not have a Central Swedish origin, but they have been investigated for comparison. The corpus includes four printed texts, the play by Gyllenborg, which was printed in Stockholm 1740, the play *Disa* by Messenius (printed in Stockholm 1611), as well as the first edition of the book of travels by Kiöping and the third edition of the same text, revised by Lars Salvius. Salvius is known to have had the ambition to standardize both spelling and morphology, and also makes syntactic changes in accordance with the usage of his own time (see Santesson 1986, Magnusson 2007:168ff.); differences between the two editions might therefore reflect the direction of a change.

7.1.2. Data collection

All perfect-type constructions with HAVE or BE + an unaccusative verb have been collected independently of their acceptability in Present-Day

Ordeskötsel is based on a manuscript from 1710, which states that it is based on the original (see the introduction to the edition by Boström p. XI). *Philomela* and the plays by Börk are preserved in the same manuscript, which includes also several other plays from the theatre *Lejonkulan* in Stockholm. The editors note that the entire manuscript is written by the same hand, but all plays do not have the same author, although they all appear to have a Central Swedish origin (see Noreen 1938).

Swedish. As in previous chapters, I include gradual change of state verbs like *växa* ‘grow’, punctual change of state verbs like *ske* ‘happen’, telic change of location verbs like *anlända* ‘arrive’ and variable behaviour verbs (e.g. *resa* ‘travel’ and *löpa* ‘run’) in telic contexts in the group of unaccusatives.¹⁵⁷ Verbs like *resa* ‘travel’ or *fara* ‘go, travel’ sometimes have a telic reading in the absence of a particle or PP; these cases are also included in the data set. The verb *fara* is a variable behaviour verb in the present-day standard, and it occurs in atelic contexts like (7:4). In older Swedish (as in modern dialects), *fara* is sometimes best analysed as an inherently telic verb, and unlike variable behaviour verbs it can have a telic reading with a locative, non-directional PP; cf. (7:5a) which has a directional, telic reading, and the present-day example with *resa* ‘travel’ in (7:5b), which does not.

- (7:4) Han har farit omkring en stund.
 he has gone around a while
 ‘He has been running around for a while.’
- (7:5) a. i medler tidh war H: Mtt, farin i Ryssmarken
 in mean time was His Majesty gone in Ryssmarken
 ‘in the meantime, His Majesty had gone to Ryssmarken’
 (Rosenhane *1611:195)
- b. Han reser i Ryssland.
 he travels in Russia
 ‘He is travelling in Russia.’

Only predicates that could appear in the complement of BE in older Swedish, and which form perfects with HAVE in Present-Day Swedish are included in the data; predicates that behave the same throughout the history of Swedish and never show any variation in their behaviour with regard to HAVE and BE are disregarded; reflexive and transitive constructions are not included, nor are passive participles. Consequently, examples like (7:6a) have not been considered, as the corresponding construction with HAVE obligatorily involves a reflexive; cf. (7:6b–c).¹⁵⁸ Examples of verbs which optionally take a reflexive have been included in the data when they occur in a construction without the reflexive.

¹⁵⁷ A couple of examples with *bli* ‘remain’ with a stative reading have been excluded from the data set; in these cases, the auxiliary is always HAVE.

¹⁵⁸ In (7:6c) a perfect is coordinated with a passive, and the passive auxiliary is omitted in the second conjunct. It is known that older Swedish allowed asymmetric coordination (see Magnusson 2007 for extensive discussion).

- (7:6) a. Hon är gift.
she is married
 ‘She is married.’
- b. Hon har gift *(sig).
she has married REFL
 ‘She has married.’
- c. han hade gift sigh men ike vigd medh henne
he had married REFL but not wed with her
 ‘he had gotten married but [is] not wed to her’
 (Bureus I *1568:226)

The verb *komma* ‘come’ is included in the data set, but not when it occurs in transitive structures or when it takes an infinitival complement. In the latter cases, the auxiliary is always HAVE; consider (7:7). Both types of examples are rare.

- (7:7) a. Nu haar iagh kommit min saak i lagh
now have I come my case in order
 ‘Now I have put my case in order’
 (Asteropherus c. 1609:97)
- b. huru har du [...] kommit at bära denne främmande narre-dräkten?
how have you come to wear this foreign fool.costume
 ‘How have you come to wear this foreign costume for fools?’
 (Gyllenborg *1679:28)

It cannot always be decided purely on the basis of the historical data whether a particular construction is possible or obligatory. The fact that examples like (7:6b) always involve a reflexive in the historical records is, for instance, not by itself evidence that the reflexive is obligatory. I have therefore sometimes had to rely on my Present-Day Swedish intuitions (in combination with theoretical and cross-linguistic knowledge). One important reason to increase the number of investigated texts with the secondary material was to find the possible cases of variation, especially where my modern intuitions have little to say.

Unaccusative verbs presumably do not assign accusative, dative or genitive case to an object DP. DPs with oblique case (or non-subject DPs) do, however, sometimes occur also in active constructions with BE, as well as with HAVE. Consider first the examples in (7:8), which involve the pronouns *eder* ‘you’ and *mig* ‘me’ in the object form.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁹ Like Present-Day Swedish, 17th century Swedish makes a distinction between subject and object forms of personal pronouns, but it generally lacks case morphology.

- (7:8) a. Ähr eder ingen fara hänt
 is you.OBJ no harm happened
 ‘Has no harm happened to you’
 (Messenius II *1579:15)
- b. at thet inte har gåt mig alt, som thet skule
 that it not have gone me.OBJ everything as it should
 ‘that not everything has gone for me as it should have’
 (Horn *1629:84)

Dative Experiencers or Benefactives/Malefactives like those in (7:8) above (so-called free datives) do not affect the choice of auxiliary, but occur both with HAVE and BE (cf. Schäfer 2008a and references cited there); these examples are therefore included in the data set.

Consider now the examples in (7:9), which involve the DPs *2 mijl* ‘2 miles’ and *29 mijl* ‘29 miles’.

- (7:9) a. män när wij woro kumbne 2 mijl i haffwett måste wij
 but when we were come 2 miles in the.sea must we
 wända om
 turn around
 ‘but when we had come 2 miles out into the sea we had to turn
 around’
 (Rosenhane *1611:131)
- b. Biskopens skutha hwilken dän daghen hadhe seghlat 29 mijl
 the.bishops ship which that the.day had sailed 29 miles
 ‘The bishop’s ship which had sailed 29 miles that day’
 (Rosenhane *1611:108)

Unlike free datives, Path DPs are expected to occur only with HAVE; variable behaviour verbs with Paths are not included among the unaccusative verbs, and Paths tend to make active past participles impossible (cf. chapter 2 above). Johannisson (1945:101) also states that in the presence of a Path the auxiliary is HAVE throughout the history of Swedish, with few exceptions. The examples with BE in the texts investigated here involve inherently telic change of location verbs and not variable behaviour verbs, as do the exceptions mentioned by Johannisson. In fact, the DP *2 mijl* ‘2 miles’ in (7:9a) does not necessarily express a Path, but could be argued to give a position (‘2 miles from land’), which specifies the telos of the participial verb.¹⁶⁰ I include ex-

¹⁶⁰ In Present-Day Swedish, the verb *komma* can have an active participle in the complement of BE in the presence of an expression like *en mil på väg* ‘one mile of the way’; see (i).

- (i) Han är kommen en mil på väg.
 he is come one mile on way
 ‘He has come one mile of the way.’

amples like (7:9a) in the data (a couple of cases), but disregard examples with HAVE + variable behaviour verbs and DPs that expresses a Path; the latter include also two examples with *fara* ‘go, travel’.

As pointed out by Johannisson (1945:101), there is one type of nominal which in the older sources generally occur with the auxiliary BE, rather than with HAVE, namely *sin väg* ‘his/her/their way’; see (7:10). I treat these cases in the same way as adverbs like *bort* ‘away’, since they have a similar meaning and behave (partly) in the same way in older Swedish. Hence, they are included in the data set.

- (7:10) han [...] var saa syn wegh lwpen
 he was so POSS.REFL way run
 ‘he had so run his way’
 (Petri tänkebok *1493:21; from Johannisson 1945:101)

The example in (7:11) is similar, but involves the nominal *en annan väg* ‘a different way’ which does not specify a telos; there are no examples like this with BE + variable behaviour verbs in the material, and also (7:11) is exceptional. The rare cases with inherently telic verbs have been included in the data, regardless of whether the auxiliary is HAVE or BE.

- (7:11) Menn när rycktett kom, att konungen var dragen en
 but when the.rumour came that the.king was gone an
 annann väggh
 other way
 ‘But when the rumour came, that the king had gone a different way’
 (Gyllenhielm *1574:286)

For some groups of verbs it can be difficult to determine whether the participle is verbal or purely adjectival. I have not attempted to distinguish between target state and resultant state participles, and a few examples of target state participles are therefore included in the material. The possible cases are infrequent in all texts. Unambiguously adjectival participles like the examples in (7:12), which do not have a verbal counterpart, have been disregarded.

- (7:12) a. Och ala vor handhfalna.
 and all were hand.fallen
 ‘And all were bewildered.’
 (Horn *1629:17)
- b. at han var åldersteegen
 that he was age.risen
 ‘that he was old’
 (Columbus I *1642:29)

Participles which most likely should be treated as adjectives or adjectival participles have been excluded when the corresponding example is grammatical in Present-Day Swedish, but not otherwise; most of these examples include the participle *död* ‘dead, died’. Hence, the example in (7:13a) is included in the data set, while (7:13b) is not; cf. the modern examples in (7:14).

- (7:13) a. upå dätta åhrett åhr vår nampnkunnoghe Kånung död.
upon this the.year is our famous king dead
 ‘this year our famous king died’
 (Rosenhane *1611:307)
- b. Mån då sågh iag, at min mor war dödh for mig
but then saw I that my mother was dead for me
 ‘But then I saw that my mother was dead for me’
 (Horn *1629:nr246)
- (7:14) a. *Det här året är han död.
this here the.year is he dead
- b. Då förstod jag att min mor var död.
then understood I that my mother was dead
 ‘Then I understood that my mother was dead.’

Since BE is impossible in past counterfactuals throughout the history of Swedish, counterfactuals are not included in the data set.¹⁶¹ Some texts use a common reduced form *ha* (or a similar form) for present, preterite and non-finite forms of HAVE (cf. Nordberg 1985a and references cited there). In several cases, the auxiliary HAVE therefore has present tense morphology (*hafwa*) or a reduced form *ha* in the counterfactual, and not the expected preterite form (*hadhe*); consider the examples in (7:15). All (finite and non-finite) counterfactuals are excluded, independently of the tense morphology of the auxiliary.

- (7:15) a. Och hafwa di icke så snart komit dit, så hafwa wi ala
and have they not so soon come there so have we all
drunkna,
drowned
 ‘And if they had not come there so soon, we all would have drowned’
 (Horn *1629:25)

¹⁶¹ As noted in chapter 5 above (fn. 116), one exceptional case involves BE; this has also been excluded.

- b. du ha, [...] blit wäl gift, [...] om intet denne händelse
you have become well married if not this event
 röidt din Friares rätta kynne
exposed your suitor's true temper
 'you would have married well if this event [had] not exposed the true
 temper of your suitor
 (Gyllenborg *1679:82)

A small group of verbs can have either a passive or an active reading in the complement of BE; these involve verbs that have homonymous transitive and anticausative forms. In the older Swedish material, the cases are rare and typically involve either *börja* 'begin' or *lykta* 'finish'; see the example in (7:16a). These have been excluded, apart from the example in (7:16b) where the subject, *Pestilentien* 'the plague', makes a passive reading far-fetched.¹⁶²

- (7:16) a. börjedi iagh skrifva Nicolao Granio til, det brefvet wexte
began I write Nicolao Granio to that the.letter grew
 til en bok papeer och är än intet lyktat 1617.
to a book paper and is yet not finished 1617
 'I began to write to Nicolai Granio. That letter grew to a book of
 paper and has not yet been finished in 1617'
 (Bureus II *1568:29)
- b. at Pestilentien var börjat
that the.plague was begun
 'that the plague had begun'
 (Bureus II *1568:120)

Some of the plays (e.g. the plays by Börk) are written in verse; this can affect e.g. word order and the frequency of HAVE omission, but it does not seem to influence the choice of HAVE and BE to any considerable extent. I have noted a few cases where the form of the participle matters to the rhyme, but nevertheless included them in the data set; they involve both HAVE and BE, and do not affect the overall distribution of the auxiliaries.

All investigated examples in the primary corpus have been sorted according to a number of factors (adverbials, particles, word order, type of subject etc.). Participles in coordinations with a shared auxiliary are included, and the conjuncts are counted separately, but they have been marked as such. The same examples have been investigated in both the

¹⁶² As noted, *komma* 'come' occurs in a transitive structure on a couple of rare occasions. I still treat *komma* as an unambiguous unaccusative (and not a passive) when in the complement of BE. As far as I can tell, transitive *komma* does not passivize.

primary corpus and in the texts that have been included for comparison, but for the secondary material no frequencies have been calculated. Four of the texts are electronic (Kiöping, Salvius, Hiärne II, Spegel); in these, only cases with an explicit auxiliary are included. In the other texts, all cases of omission of the (finite or non-finite) auxiliary have been noted.

If nothing else is said, I treat examples with omitted auxiliary as involving HAVE; in Present-Day Swedish only HAVE can be omitted. There is one example which involves what seems to be a participle agreeing with the subject; it is given in (7:17) below. Since subject-participle agreement is otherwise restricted to constructions with BE, it is possible that it is BE and not HAVE which is omitted.

- (7:17) Ty Iag af maktlöshet nu swimmar ned till Iorden /
for I of powerlessness now faint down to the.earth
 Men du sãm mig till tjänst af Himlen skikkat worden
but you who me to service of heaven sent became.C.SG
 ‘For out of powerlessness I now faint onto the earth. But you who
 [have] been sent to my service from heaven’
 (Börk I *c. 1660:301)

However, in this case, it is also possible that the form of the participle has been chosen since it rhymes with the previous line, which ends with *Iorden* ‘the earth’. Moreover, there is reason to believe that the form *worden* was not part of the spoken language at the time (see section 7.3.4 below). The rare examples with an omitted auxiliary and a (seemingly) inflected participle often involve *varda* ‘become’ also in Johannisson’s (1945) material. There is a theoretical possibility that some of the other cases without an explicit auxiliary should also be analysed as involving BE. The morphological distinction between supine and past participle is not fully established in the 17th century, and many examples do not have unambiguously non-agreeing participles (since they have neuter singular subjects). Moreover, there are a few cases where BE occurs with a non-agreeing participle, as in (7:18).

- (7:18) Dån hwilkens ägen Iag i lijf åg död är
that.C.SG. whose own I in life and death is
 blifwit
become.PTC.N.SG.
 ‘the one whose own I have become in life and death’
 (*Philomela* 1688:218)

However, since there is little positive evidence for BE-omission in the historical records (but ample evidence for HAVE-omission), and since

omission of BE is not possible in Present-Day Swedish, I will assume that 17th century Swedish did not allow omission of BE.

7.2. Outline of the change

In this section I give an overview of the alternation between HAVE and BE in the material and specify the period when BE becomes more restricted.

7.2.1. The period of change

In Johannisson's (1945) material, the over-all frequency of unaccusatives in perfect-type constructions with BE is almost identical in Old Swedish (83 %) and in the first century of the Early Modern Swedish Period (82 %); see Table 7.3 below. In the first half of the 18th century, the frequency drops to 47 %, and in the second half of the 18th century only 14 % of the examples involve BE.

TABLE 7.3. *The frequency of BE in older Swedish (from Johannisson 1945:139, Table 9).*

<i>Period</i>	<i>% BE</i>	<i># BE/total</i>
Old Swedish (–1526)	83 %	1719/2074
1526–1600	82 %	1810/2203
1601–1700	75 %	1481/1962
1701–1750	47 %	696/1483
1750–1800	14 %	92/660

Johannisson concludes that the alternation between HAVE and BE is stable in the period up until the 18th century. He notes only one change during the first 150 years of the Early Modern Swedish period, namely the innovation of HAVE in perfects of the passive auxiliaries *bliva* 'become' and *varda* 'become'; I return to this below.

We have seen that there is variation between texts in the Old and Early Modern Swedish periods. Johannisson points to differences between dialects; for instance, he suggests that examples of HAVE for expected BE in Bureus' *Sumlen* is due to the author's Central Swedish origin (1945:153). As a measure of the variation between texts, I have calculated the standard deviation in the frequency of BE in the different periods in Johannisson's material, including only texts that have 20 or

more examples of either HAVE or BE; see Table 7.4 which also gives the average frequency of BE and the range between the highest and lowest frequency.

TABLE 7.4. *Variation in the frequency of BE in older Swedish (based on the data in Johannisson 1945:135–138, Table 2–8).*

<i>Period</i>	<i>Average % BE</i>	<i>Range</i>	<i>Standard deviation</i>	<i>Nr of texts</i>
Old Swedish (–1526)	85 %	44 (56–100 %)	12.2	26
1526–1600	82 %	24 (67–91 %)	8.0	18
1601–1700	72 %	77 (18–95 %)	20.8	24
1701–1750	45 %	52 (28–80 %)	16.6	16
1750–1800	12 %	27 (2–29 %)	9.1	8

The data in Table 7.4 reveal that, despite the modest drop in the frequency of BE from the 16th to the 17th century, there is a significant difference between the two periods: while the variation between texts is limited ($\sigma = 8.0$) in the 16th century, it is considerable in the 17th century ($\sigma = 20.8$). The variation in the 17th century cannot fully be explained with reference to dialects or text types (cf. Larsson 2007). Rather, there is variation between individuals, and this variation suggests ongoing change. For instance, the letters by Karl XII (*1682) has only 31 % BE, while the letters by his father, Karl XI (*1655), has 95 % BE (see Johannisson 1945:137, Tables 6 and 7).

As shown in Table 7.4, the variation is more limited in the 16th century and in the second half of the 18th century than in the other periods. We know that the 16th century texts show a high degree of conformity with regard also to e.g. text type, and that the preserved records most likely do not fully reflect the possible variation. In the 18th century, on the other hand, we can begin to refer to a Modern Swedish standard, which is no longer carried by individual writers or restricted to certain registers. In the 17th century BE is still the standard auxiliary in formal texts, and in texts by authors that are not from Central Sweden, whereas in the 18th century, HAVE has become norm. Dalin's (*1708) *Argus* I-II has only 28 % BE with unaccusatives, and Hof's (*1703) *Swenska språkets rätta skriftsätt*, which aims at describing the best Swedish, has only 5 % BE (Johannisson 1945:138, Tables 7 and 8); neither Hof nor Dalin is from Central Sweden. The loss of BE with active participle in this way fits in well with a number of other changes that take place during the 17th century and lead to the standard language that is established

from the 18th century onwards (see e.g. Platzack 1985 and Larsson 2004, and references cited there).

If we consider the informal texts from the area around Stockholm and Uppsala in the primary corpus investigated here, we can note a decrease in the frequency of BE during the 17th century; see Table 7.5 below.¹⁶³ The two texts by Bureus are small and therefore treated together, as are the two texts by Börk.

TABLE 7.5. *The frequency of BE with unaccusatives in the primary corpus.*

<i>Author (or text)</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i># BE/tot</i>	<i>% BE</i>
Bureus I + II	*1568	29/36	81 %
Gyllenhielm	*1574	43/45	96 %
Rosenhane	*1611	78/89	88 %
Horn	*1629	36/57	63 %
Columbus I, <i>Mål-roo</i>	*1642	23/39	59 %
Columbus II, <i>Ordeskötsel</i>	*1642	19/43	44 %
Börk I + II	*c. 1660	11/54	20 %
<i>Philomela</i>	1668	12/37	32 %
Gyllenborg	*1679	19/51	37 %
TOTAL		270/451	60 %

The plays by Börk (*c. 1660) show the lowest frequency of BE in the material; they are generally considered representative of the spoken language around Stockholm and Uppsala at the time (cf. Cederschiöld 1902:237). It is not unlikely that the difference between the plays by Börk and Gyllenborg is due to the fact that the latter is somewhat more literary. We can conclude that the loss of BE took place largely during the 17th century, at least in Central Sweden. Since BE is sometimes possible also in Present-Day Swedish, we do not expect the frequency to drop to zero.

The data in Table 7.5 also include cases where the auxiliary is omitted. In the oldest sources in the material, omission of the finite auxiliary HAVE only occurs rarely, and the examples are often unclear, but HAVE-omission is frequent in the younger texts. The drop in the

¹⁶³ Since Johansson's figures include counterfactuals as well as e.g. the adjectival participle *död* 'dead', the frequency of BE in my study differs from his. The difference between the two texts by Columbus is due to the frequency of the verbs *varda* 'become' and *bliva* 'become'. Columbus' *Ordeskötsel* has more examples with *bliva* than *Mål-roo*, and *bliva* favours HAVE over BE (see section 7.3.4 below).

frequency of BE is therefore smaller when cases without an explicit auxiliary are disregarded; see Table 7.6 below.

TABLE 7.6. *The frequency of BE with unaccusatives in the primary corpus, disregarding cases with (finite or non-finite) auxiliary omission.*

<i>Author (or text)</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i># BE/tot</i>	<i>% BE</i>
Bureus I + II	*1568	29/36	81 %
Gyllenhielm	*1574	43/45	96 %
Rosenhane	*1611	78/87	90 %
Horn	*1629	36/56	64 %
Columbus I, <i>Mål-roo</i>	*1642	23/39	59 %
Columbus II, <i>Ordeskötsel</i>	*1642	19/42	45 %
Börk I + II	*c. 1660	11/40	28 %
<i>Philomela</i>	1668	12/26	46 %
Gyllenborg	*1679	19/30	63 %
TOTAL		270/401	67 %

However, the difference between e.g. Rosenhane (90 % BE) and Börk's plays (28 % BE) is still significant. Also the fact that the frequency of BE is 20–30 percentage points lower in the texts by Columbus and Horn than in the most conservative texts in the material suggests that the construction with BE was not simply replaced with a construction without an explicit auxiliary; there is no difference between the texts with regard to auxiliary omission. In the following, I continue to treat cases of auxiliary omission as involving HAVE.

Johannisson (1945) argues that the loss of BE is a consequence of the frequent auxiliary ellipses at the beginning of the 18th century; this is also proposed by Platzack (1989). The data reviewed so far suggest that the loss of BE took place somewhat earlier than Johannisson claims, and that there is no simple causal link between the emergence of the possibility of finite auxiliary omission in subordinate clauses and the drop in the frequency of BE. This does, however, not mean that the two changes are completely independent. I return to the possible connection between them in section 7.7. Auxiliary omission is discussed further in chapter 9.

In the following sections, I look closer at the distribution of HAVE and BE in the 17th century, and at the shifts in the variation.

7.2.2. HAVE and BE in the 17th century

In Present-Day Danish, unaccusative verbs form perfects with BE; HAVE is generally ungrammatical with participles of unaccusative verbs. In chapter 5, it was observed that this is not the case in older Swedish; particularly in experiential contexts and past counterfactuals, the auxiliary is HAVE also with unaccusative verbs. I concluded that the construction with BE + active participle was not a perfect in older Swedish, but expressed a target state or a resultant state. For the resultative reading, a construction with BE is preferred in Swedish before the 17th century, and examples with HAVE + participle of an unaccusative verb are infrequent and tend to have an experiential or a counterfactual reading. Examples with HAVE + unaccusative verbs that have a resultative reading are, however, not unattested; see the examples in (7:19).¹⁶⁴

- (7:19) a. Än nw hafwir biscopin farit vppa höght biärgh
but now has the.bishop gone upon high mountain
 'But now the bishop has gone up on a high mountain'
 (Birgitta 14th c.:346; from Johannisson 1945:129)
- b. Thå Jesus vpståndit hadhe om morghonen på första
when Jesus resurrected had in the.morning on first
Sabbatz daghen, syntes han först Marie Magdalene
Sabbath the.day showed.REFL he first Mary Magdalene
 'When Jesus had resurrected on the morning of the first day of
 Sabbath he showed himself to Mary Magdalene first'
 (NT 1526, Mark 16:9; from Johannisson 1945:111)

Hence, both HAVE and BE can to some extent have a resultative reading with participles of unaccusative verbs. There is actually variation between HAVE and BE in otherwise almost identical contexts; cf. (7:20a) and (7:20b).

- (7:20) a. Her Didrik sporde hwre haffuer tik gangit i Rytzseland.
Sir Didrik asked how have you gone in Russia
 'Sir Didrik asked: how has it gone for you in Russia?'
 (Didrik 15th c.:200; from Johannisson 1945:111)

¹⁶⁴ The Bible from 1541 has BE in the example corresponding to (7:19b); see (i).

- (i) Men när Jesus vpstånden war om morghonen på första
but when Jesus resurrected was in the.morning on first
Sabbatzdagen
the.Sabbath.day
 'but when Jesus had resurrected on the morning of the first day of Sabbath'
 (GVB 1541, Mark 16:9)

- b. böriade Anthenor framseya hwro honom ganget war j grecia
began Anthenor say how him gone were in Greece
 ‘Anthenor began to say how it had gone for him in Greece’
 (Historia Trojana 1529:47; from Johannisson 1945:111)

In Old Swedish, the variation is limited, and resultative perfects with HAVE + unaccusatives are rare. Before the 18th century, the verb *dö* ‘die’ occurs only seven times in perfects with HAVE in Johannisson’s corpus; five of these are counterfactuals (1945:124). As we have seen, HAVE quickly becomes more common in the 17th century, and the use of BE is subsequently restricted.

In chapter 5, I noted that BE sometimes occurs in examples with an experiential reading. By the 17th century, these examples are very rare, and the construction with BE mainly has a resultative reading, as it does in Present-Day Swedish; some typical examples are given in (7:21).

- (7:21) a. Män rät nu på timen är han hit til mig komin.
but right now on the.hour is he here to me come
 ‘But right now on the hour has he come here to me.’
 (Horn *1629:62)
- b. Min iemmers moln ähr driffven hän.
my woe’s clouds are drifted away
 ‘the clouds of my woe have drifted away’
 (Hiärne II *1641:44)
- c. En bonde sade åt hustrun sin, så snart han war
a farmer said to the.wife POSS.REFL as soon he was
hemkommen, att hon skulle [...]
home.come that she should
 ‘A farmer said to his wife, as soon has he had come home, that she should...’
 (Columbus I *1642:42)

There is, however, variation between more and less conservative texts. On a couple of occasions, BE occurs with *aldrig* ‘never’ in the 17th and 18th century texts; see the examples (7:22). The example in (7:22a) is from the conservative text by Spegel. The example in (7:22b), from Börk’s *Darius*, involves the adverb *än* ‘yet’ in addition to *aldrig*. We have seen that *aldrig* is possible in resultant state constructions also in Present-Day Swedish, but that the typical implication is that the participial eventuality has not happened as of yet; cf. (7:23).

- (7:22) a. men som dhetta aldrig är skeet, ej heller hade någon
but as this never is happened not either had any
 apparence til at kunna skeep, så äre the swårliga
appearance to to be.able.to happen so are they terribly
 bedragne
deceived
 ‘but as this has never happened, and did not look as if it could
 happen, they have been terribly deceived’
 (Spegel *1645:111)
- b. Ty Perser aldrig än til listighet wa fala
because Persians never yet to cunning were fallen
 ‘because Persians had never yet surrendered to cunning’
 (Börk I *1660:273)
- (7:23) Den här är aldrig använd.
this here is never used
 ‘This has never been used.’

There are only a few examples with adverbs of iteration and frequency in the material and they generally involve HAVE; see (7:24).

- (7:24) att en Räf hadde 3. gångor lupit öfwer wägen för honom
that a fox had 3 times run over the.road for him
 ‘that a fox had run three times over the road before him’
 (Columbus I *1642:49)

The examples with BE with an iterative reading that are listed by Johannisson (1945:103f.), all come from older texts, with the exception of a couple of examples from Messenius; cf. (7:25).

- (7:25) om hwilke vthi Sverige altijdh tilförene äre Comoedier
about which in Sweden always before are comedies
 celebrerade bleffne.
performed become
 ‘about which comedies have always been performed in Sweden
 before’
 (Messenius I *1579:[2])

Whereas the use of BE is more restricted in the Central Swedish 17th century texts than in previous periods, the auxiliary HAVE is less so. In the 17th and 18th century material investigated here, resultative perfects with HAVE and participles of unaccusative verbs are no longer rare. A couple of examples are given in (7:26).

- (7:26) a. När en af hans trogneste konungzmänn hade afljiddit
when one of his most,faithful kingsmen had deceased
 ‘when one of his most faithful kingsmen had deceased’
 (Columbus I *1642:29)
- b. att dels ha redan flytt
that some have already fled
 ‘that some have already fled’
 (Börk I *c. 1660:295)

Also in the more conservative texts, there is (limited) variation with regard to HAVE and BE in perfect-type constructions with a resultative reading; see the examples from Gyllenhielm in (7:27) and the examples from Spegel in (7:28).

- (7:27) a. Jost Cursel [...] och andra lifländare mera, som vore aff
Jost Cursel and other Livonians more who were of
godh villia medh redne
good will with ridden
 ‘Jost Cursel [...] and several other Livonians who had ridden along
 out of free will’
 (Gyllenhielm *1574:327)
- b. haffver herr Nils Bielke [...] rididt till herttigen
has sir Nils Bielke ridden to the.duke
 ‘has Sir Nils Bielke ridden to the duke’
 (Gyllenhielm *1574:280)
- (7:28) a. genom hwars wällande then pomerska arméen [...] war
through whose cause the Pomerian the.army was
råkad i sådan decadence
happened in such decadence
 ‘who had caused the Pomerian army to fall into such decadence’
 (Spegel *1645:5)
- b. at the andre, som i föllie wore, hade råkat
that the others who in company were had happened
i så stoor olykko
in so great misfortune
 ‘that the others, who were in the company, had fallen into such great
 misfortune’
 (Spegel *1645:139)

In the following section, I investigate whether all examples behave in the same way with regard to HAVE and BE during the time of change, or if there are contexts where one auxiliary is preferred to the other.

7.3. Tracing shifts in the variation

It is clear that the alternation between HAVE and BE is not correlated with factors such as word order or clause type (see further Larsson 2007). Such correlations would hardly be expected considering the choice between HAVE and BE in examples like (7:29) in Present-Day Swedish. Given that (7:29a) is a resultative perfect, the choice between HAVE and BE is mainly stylistic (disregarding geographical variation); in the standard language, (7:29b) is the marked alternative. We have already seen that there is intra-individual variation of this kind also in the 17th century, and that this variation is greater than in previous periods.

- (7:29) a. Båten har redan ankommit till bryggan.
the.boat has already arrived to the.wharf
 'The boat has already arrived at the wharf.'
- b. Båten är redan ankommen till bryggan.
the.boat is already arrived to the.wharf
 'The boat has already arrived at the wharf.'

In this section, I consider factors that are expected to favour one auxiliary over the other, given what is generally said about unaccusatives (cf. chapter 2, section 2.4.1 above). I focus on factors relating to agency, telicity and verb types, and disregard factors that favour HAVE throughout the older Swedish period (i.e., counterfactuality and factors relating to a distinction between experiential and resultative perfects). The verbs *varda* 'become' and *bliva* 'become' are discussed separately in section 7.3.4.

Since the number of cases is small in the individual texts, I have divided the corpus into three periods; see Table 7.7 below. The first group consists of the four oldest texts in the material (the texts by Bureus, Gyllenhielm and Rosenhane); the second includes the texts by Horn and Columbus, and the last group consists of the plays by Börk and Gyllenborg, and *Philomela*.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁵ All texts, with the exception of the notes by Gyllenhielm, can be considered informal, and they can, as noted, be assumed to better reflect the spoken language of their time than other texts. The fact that texts in Period I are all diaries and notes, whereas the texts in Period III are plays, need not be of any concern.

TABLE 7.7. *The primary corpus divided into three periods.*

<i>Author (or text)</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Period</i>
Bureus I, <i>Sumlen</i>	*1568	I
Bureus II, <i>Anteckningar</i>	*1568	
Gyllenhielm	*1574	
Rosenhane	*1611	
Horn	*1629	II
Columbus I, <i>Mål-roo</i>	*1642	
Columbus II, <i>Ordeskötsel</i>	*1642	
Börk I, <i>Darius</i>	*c. 1660	III
Börk II, <i>Apollo</i>	*c. 1660	
<i>Philomela</i>	1668	
Gyllenborg	*1679	

7.3.1. Agency

Given the standard analysis of unaccusatives, where an unaccusative verb takes a non-agentive subject generated as an internal argument, we might expect animate and agentive subjects to favour HAVE, and agent-oriented adverbials to be restricted in the perfect-like construction with BE. It would also be plausible that BE was first lost in agentive contexts. Since agency is generally restricted to animate subjects, I have sorted the examples of unaccusative verbs in the primary corpus according to whether the subject is animate or not. Animate subjects are generally human, but there are also a few occurrences of mainly gods or the like. Three unclear examples have been excluded.

Both HAVE and BE occur with animate as well as inanimate subjects in the historical material; cf. the inanimate subject with HAVE in (7:30a) and the animate subject with BE in (7:30b) below. If BE is favoured by non-agentive subject, we expect the frequency of BE to be higher with inanimate than with animate subjects.

- (7:30) a. ther synes blodh hafva utgångit
there seems blood have out.gone
 'blood seems to have gone out there'
 (Bureus I *1568:200)
- b. Straxtt konungen var kommen i landet
once the.king was come in the.country
 'as soon as the king had come into the country'
 (Gyllenhielm *1574:282)

The results are summarized in Table 7.8.

TABLE 7.8. *The frequency of BE with inanimate and animate subjects in the primary corpus.*

<i>Text</i>	<i># BE + inanim. subjects</i>	<i>% BE + inanim. subjects</i>	<i># BE + anim. subjects</i>	<i>% BE + anim. Subjects</i>	<i>TOTAL # BE</i>	<i>TOTAL % BE</i>
Period I	53/59	90 %	96/110	87 %	149/169	88 %
Period II	31/54	57 %	46/84	55 %	77/138	55 %
Period III	18/63	29 %	24/78	31 %	42/141	30 %
TOTAL	102/176	58 %	166/272	61 %	268/448	60 %

Animacy does not appear to be a factor in the alternation between BE and HAVE. The difference between examples with inanimate and animate subjects is small in all texts. The overall frequency of BE is, in fact, slightly higher in clauses with animate subject than with inanimate subjects, and not the other way around. The data do not reveal any clear change, and younger texts do not necessarily have a larger (or smaller) difference between the cases with inanimate and cases with animate subjects.

In order to isolate the factor animacy further, I have calculated the frequency of BE + the verb *komma* 'come' with inanimate and animate subjects, not including cases where *komma* occurs with a particle; the data are given in Table 7.9 below. Since the number of occurrences in the individual texts is small, I only give the total frequency in the corpus.

TABLE 7.9. *The frequency of BE + the verb komma 'come' and inanimate and animate subjects.*

<i># BE + inanimate subjects</i>	<i>% BE + inanimate subjects</i>	<i># BE + animate subjects</i>	<i>% BE + animate subjects</i>	<i>TOTAL # BE</i>	<i>TOTAL % BE</i>
17/23	74 %	37/47	79 %	54/70	77 %

The picture is very similar to that in Table 7.8 above (although the frequency of BE is higher); the frequency of BE + *komma* is slightly higher in clauses with animate subjects than in clauses with inanimate subjects, but the difference is small. I conclude that animacy does not influence the alternation between HAVE and BE to any considerable extent.

Agent-oriented adverbials are compatible with BE throughout the Early Modern Swedish period; examples are given in (7:31). In the primary corpus, there are 42 clauses with agent-oriented adverbials expressing purpose; 30 of these (71 %) involve BE. This means that BE is,

in fact, somewhat more common in clauses with adverbials expressing purpose, than overall in the material.

- (7:31) a. Efter vij äre hijt komne i then acht at vij skola
since we are here come for the reason that we shall
 göra Gudhi then tjänst som oss bör
make God the honour that us should
 ‘Since we have come here to celebrate God as we should’
 (Bureus I *1568:186)
- b. men officererne wore hembligen förra natten ifrån dem
but the.officers were secretly last.the.night from them
 gångne åth Holsteen
gone to Holsteen
 ‘but the officers had secretly gone from them to Holsteen the night
 before’
 (Dahlberg *1625: 115)
- c. Owe Rammel war upsåtligen och frivilligt inflytt i
Owe Rammel was intentionally and voluntarily in.fled in
 Christianstad
Christianstad
 ‘Owe Rammel had intentionally and voluntarily fled into
 Christianstad’
 (Spegel *1645:57)

There is no restriction on animate subjects and agent-oriented adverbials in Present-Day Swedish either; consider the examples in (7:32).

- (7:32) a. Vi är hitresta för att fira en födelsedag.
we are here.travelled for to celebrate a birthday
 ‘We have come here to celebrate a birthday.’
- b. Han är frivilligt hitflyttad från Stockholm.
he is voluntarily here.moved from Stockholm
 ‘He has moved here from Stockholm voluntarily.’

We can conclude that the verbs that occur with BE should not be characterized as being non-agentive. I return to the connection between unaccusativity and (non)agentivity below.

7.3.2. *Particles*

Unaccusatives are sometimes defined in terms of telicity rather than agency. When BE becomes more restricted with participles of unaccusative verbs, the presence of *resP* can therefore be expected to be of some importance. Following e.g. Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) and Ram-

chand (2008a), we can assume that particles can identify the *res* head in the verb phrase. In the 17th and 18th century texts, the presence of a particle could therefore be expected to favour BE.

Since it is virtually impossible to fully distinguish particles from prepositions, adverbials and prefixes in the historical material, the numerical data should be understood as a rough estimate. Among the particles, I have included elements that generally incorporate into the participle in constructions with BE, but which are not incorporated (or prefixed) in perfects with HAVE; cf. (7:33a) and (7:33b). The order particle–participle is taken to involve incorporation, independently of whether the particle and the participle together constitute a graphical word.

- (7:33) a. för än H:Mtt Dråningen war upståndin
until Her Majesty the.Queen was up.risen
 ‘until Her Majesty the Queen had risen’
 (Rosenhane *1611:194)
- b. Aurora redan har ur hafwet stigit åpp
Aurora already have out.of the.sea risen up
 ‘Aurora has already risen out of the sea’
 (Börk II *c.1660:116)

The verb *ankomma* ‘arrive’ is not analysed as involving a particle, since *an-* is generally prefixed also in constructions with HAVE; see (7:34) (where the auxiliary is omitted).

- (7:34) breffwen och aviserne [...] såm wid posten ahnkummit
the.letters and the.notes that by the.mail arrived
 ‘the letters and notes that [had] arrived with the mail’
 (Rosenhane *c.1660:nr835)

There is, however, some variation with regard to particles and prefixes in older Swedish, and particles are sometimes incorporated into perfect participles and not always into past participles. I have disregarded this variation, and based the analysis on what appears to be the regular case, relying partly on my own intuitions. Examples like (7:35) are therefore treated as involving particles, since they require incorporation in Present-Day Swedish; cf. (7:36).

- (7:35) a. den steenen som var fallen nidh af bärghet
that the.rock which was fallen down off the.mountain
 ‘that rock that had fallen down from the mountain’
 (Bureus I *1568:196)

- b. Är du wäl flugen ner att Sinnet mitt betunga?
are you surely flown down to the.mind mine burden
 ‘Have you surely flown down to burden my mind?’
 (Börk II *c.1660:148)
- (7:36) a. den sten som var nedfallen/*fallen ned från berget
that rock that was down.fallen/fallen down from the.mountain
 ‘the rock that had fallen down from the mountain’
- b. Är du nerflugen/*flugen ner för att betunga mitt sinne?
are you down.flown/flown down for to burden my mind
 ‘Have you flown down to burden my mind?’

The results are summarized in Table 7.10 below.

TABLE 7.10. *The frequency of BE + participle with and without particle.*

<i>Text</i>	# BE without particle	% BE without particle	# BE with particle	% BE with particle	TOTAL # BE	TOTAL % BE
Period I	84/99	85 %	66/71	93 %	150/170	88 %
Period II	53/107	50 %	25/32	78 %	78/139	56 %
Period III	33/125	26 %	9/17	53 %	42/142	30 %
TOTAL	170/331	51 %	100/120	83 %	270/451	60 %

We know that the presence or absence of a particle does not matter for the choice between HAVE and BE in Old Swedish to any considerable extent; BE was strongly preferred with unaccusative verbs in any case. In the oldest texts investigated here, the preference for BE is somewhat stronger (93 % BE) in cases with a particle than in cases without (85 %). This tendency is strengthened with time. In the second period, BE is still clearly preferred in examples involving particle verbs (78 % BE), while there is no such preference in cases without particle (50 %). In the third period, BE is twice as common in examples with particle as in other cases. As we will see below, some verbs are only grammatical with BE in Present-Day Swedish when they incorporate a particle.

Not only particles license *resP*; sometimes the verb itself does, and it is possible that also certain prepositions do (cf. Folli & Ramchand 2005). Therefore the type of verb is also expected to be relevant to the choice of HAVE or BE. Consider the verb *komma* ‘come’ in Table 7.11 below. Although *komma* presumably forms a participle with *resP* also in the absence of a particle, the frequency of BE is higher when a particle is present. On the other hand, we can note that the frequency of BE with

komma without a particle is almost as high (78 %) as with verbs with particle shown in Table 7.10 above (83 %).

TABLE 7.11. *The frequency of BE + the verb komma ‘come’ with and without particle in the primary corpus.*

# BE without particle	% BE without particle	# BE with particle	% BE with particle	# BE/tot	% BE/tot
56/72	78 %	39/42	93 %	95/114	83 %

Both telicity and agency have often been understood as a property of a lexical verb, as has unaccusativity. In the next section, I therefore consider how different groups of unaccusatives behave with regard to HAVE and BE.

7.3.3. *Types of events*

In older Swedish, BE is possible with participles of gradual change of state verbs, which presumably do not identify a target state (carry a *res* feature); consider the example in (7:37) with the verb *växa* ‘grow’. The presence of *resP* is not necessary for stative passives to be possible in Present-Day Swedish either; cf. the progressive state participle in (7:38).

(7:37) är en qist vuxin ur thet ena trädh
 is a twig grown out.of the one the.tree
 ‘has a twig grown out of the first tree’
 (Bureus I *1568:200)

(7:38) Han är förföljd.
 he is persecuted
 ‘He is being persecuted.’

Given that the presence of a particle has consequences for the choice of HAVE or BE when BE becomes more restricted, we can expect that also verbs with a *res* feature occur with BE more consistently than verbs without; the frequency of BE with *komma* ‘come’ above also point in this direction. Gradual change of state verbs are therefore expected to favour HAVE over BE.

I have sorted the material depending on the type of predicate. Since particles affect the alternation between HAVE and BE, I have not based the classification only on inherent properties of the verbs. First, I

distinguish between examples that express a gradual change of state (e.g. *brinna* ‘burn’ and *växa* ‘grow’) and examples that express punctual change of state (*bli* ‘become’, *ske* ‘happen’ and *somna* ‘fall asleep’). The latter group also involves examples with verbs that otherwise express a gradual change of state in constructions with a particle (as in e.g. *brinna upp* ‘burn up’). I also distinguish variable behaviour verbs (e.g. *resa* ‘travel’) that do not occur in a construction with a particle from inherently telic change of location verbs (e.g. *anlända* ‘arrive’) and variable behaviour verbs with particle; the examples in (7:39) are treated separate from examples like those in (7:40). To distinguish these two groups, I refer to the former as change of location verbs and the latter as variable behaviour verbs. Recall that variable behaviour verbs are only included in the data set when they have a telic reading.

- (7:39) a. män Commissarius war ändå inte kummin
but commissioner was yet not come
 ‘but the commissioner had not yet come’
 (Rosenhane *1611:174)
- b. wetten i icke at uhr Grekeland äre utgångne alle
know you not that out.of Greece are out.gone all
wetskaper
sciences
 ‘Don’t you know that all science has gone out from Greece’
 (Columbus I *1642:59)
- (7:40) a. att Carl Mörner war seglad här förbi till Nyen
that Carl Mörner was sailed here past to Nyen
 ‘that Carl Mörner had sailed past here to Nyen’
 (Rosenhane *1611:45)
- b. Som de nu hade gådt in utj nästa bondgåhl
as they now had gone in into next farm
 ‘As they now had gone into the next farm’
 (Columbus I *1642:19)

While the verb *komma* ‘come’ generally can be treated as a change of location verb, I distinguish different uses of *gå* ‘go’; e.g. *gå sönder* ‘break’ (lit. ‘go asunder’) is treated as a change of state verb, as is *gå till* (lit. ‘go to’) when it means ‘happen’. A few uncertain examples have been excluded.

The results are summarized in Table 7.12 below. Since the number of gradual change of state verbs is small, I leave them aside in the following.¹⁶⁶

TABLE 7.12. *The frequency of BE with different kinds of events.*

Text	Gradual change of state		Punctual change of state		Change of location		Variable behaviour	
	# BE	% BE	# BE	% BE	# BE	% BE	# BE	% BE
Period I	4/4	(100)	47/55	85	86/93	92	13/18	72
Period II	1/3	(33)	26/52	50	49/65	75	2/15	(13)
Period III	2/7	(29)	23/90	26	17/28	61	0/17	0
TOTAL	7/14	(50)	96/197	49	152/186	82	15/50	30

It is clear from Table 7.12 that the frequency of BE depends on the type of predicate. Already in the earliest period, variable behaviour verbs (in contexts without a particle) occur with BE less often (72 %) than do change of location verbs (92 %) and punctual change of state verbs (85 %). The number of variable behaviour verbs is small in the primary corpus, but data from the secondary corpus point in the same direction. When conservative writers like Gyllenhielm and Spegel show variation between HAVE and BE, it tends to be with variable behaviour verbs, or with change of state verbs; cf. (7:27) and (7:28) above (repeated as (7:41) and (7:42) below).

- (7:41) a. Jost Cursel [...] och andra lifländare mera, som vore aff
Jost Cursel and other Livonians more who were of
 godh villia medh redne
good will with ridden
 'Jost Cursel [...] and several other Livonians who had ridden along
 out of free will'
 (Gyllenhielm *1574:327)

¹⁶⁶ One of the two examples of a gradual change of state verb with BE in Period III is from *Philomela*; it is given in (i).

- (i) såm länge döder, bränd åg Askan multnad är
who long dead, burned and the ashes decayed are
 'who has long been dead and burned, and the ashes have decayed'
 (*Philomela* 1688:192)

This example might be a consequence of the verse; the line ends with the auxiliary *är* 'is', which rhymes with *bär* 'carries' two lines before.

- b. haffver herr Nils Bielke [...] rididt till hertigen
has sir Nils Bielke ridden to the.duke
 ‘has Sir Nils Bielke ridden to the duke’
 (Gyllenhielm *1574:280)
- (7:42) a. genom hwars wällande then pomerska arméen [...] war
through whose cause the Pomerian the.army was
råkad i sådan decadence
happened in such decadence
 ‘who had caused the Pomerian army to fall into such decadence’
 (Spegel *1645:5)
- b. at the andre, som i föllie wore, hade råkat
that the others who in company were had happened
i så stoor olykko
in so great misfortune
 ‘that the others, who were in the company, had fallen into such great
 misfortune’
 (Spegel *1645:139)

In the most modern texts in the material, variable behaviour verbs never occur with BE in the absence of a particle. Change of location verbs, on the other hand, occur with BE in more than half of the cases also in the third period. We can note that BE is somewhat more common with change of location verbs (61 %) than with particle verbs (53 %) in period III (although the number of examples with a particle is small). As I pointed out above, it is the type of event (e.g. the presence/absence of *resP*) rather than the presence/absence of a particle that is expected to matter to the alternation between HAVE and BE.

While variable behaviour verbs only occur with BE together with particles in the most modern texts in the material, examples with BE + change of state verbs like *bliva* ‘become’ and *ske* ‘happen’ occur also in the youngest texts, but less frequently than in the older or more conservative texts. In the edition of *Kiöpings resa* by Salvius (*1706), there are no examples of *bliva* with BE; in the earlier edition of the text, there are ten; compare the example in (7:43a) to the corresponding example in the edition by Salvius in (7:43b).

- (7:43) a. så äro the blefne dijt beleed-sagade med Persianiske Rytterij
so are they become there accompanied with Persian cavalry
 ‘so have they been accompanied there with Persian cavalry’
 (Kiöping *1621:68).
- b. så hafva de blifvit ledsagade dit med Persiska Riddare
so have they become accompanied there with Persian cavalry
 ‘so have they been accompanied there with Persian cavalry’
 (Salvius *1706:73)

Examples with BE + a change of location verbs still occur in Salvius' edition, and Salvius does not systematically change the auxiliary from BE to HAVE in examples like (7:44).

- (7:44) a. Kalkoniske Hönss skulle wara komne i-från Calicuth
Calcuinian fowl should be come from Calcutta
 uthi Indien
in India
 'Calcuinian fowl should have come from Calcutta in India'
 (Kiöping *1621:98)
- b. at Kalkoner skola vara komne ifrån Kalikut i Indien
that turkeys should be come from Calcutta in India
 'that turkeys should have come from Calcutta in India'
 (Salvius *1706:105)

The loss of BE thus appears to involve a drop in the frequency of BE in all cases, but a greater drop in some contexts than in others, followed by the loss of BE in certain kinds of examples.

7.3.4. *Varda and bliva*

As mentioned above, Johannisson (1945:139–160) argues that the first change with regard to HAVE/BE in older Swedish concerns the two verbs *varda* and *bliva* which both mean 'become'. I give the frequencies of BE + participle of *varda* and *bliva* in my material in Table 7.13 below.

While the frequency of BE with *varda* or *bliva* taken together largely patterns with the punctual change of state verbs (which also include *varda* and *bliva*) in Table 7.12 above, we can note that there is a clear difference between the two verbs: in the corpus, *varda* strongly prefers BE (81 %), while *bliva* occurs more frequently with HAVE than with BE (24 % BE).

TABLE 7.13. *The frequency of BE + participle of varda 'become' and bliva 'become'.*

<i>Text</i>	# BE + varda	% BE + varda	# BE + bliva	% BE + bliva	# BE + varda/bliva	% BE + varda/ bliva
Period I	4/4	(100 %)	7/12	(58 %)	11/16	(69 %)
Period II	6/9	(67 %)	7/19	37 %	13/28	46 %
Period III	7/8	(88 %)	7/56	13 %	14/64	22 %
TOTAL	17/21	81 %	21/87	24 %	38/108	35 %

There are only 4 examples with HAVE (or HAVE-omission) + *varda* in the primary corpus. Two of these are from Columbus; one appears to be a modal perfect and the other is a comment on spoken Swedish (see below). The plays by Börk, which otherwise have a low frequency of BE, have 5 cases with BE + *varda* and one case where the auxiliary is omitted.

The verb *bliva* is rare in Old Swedish, but becomes increasingly frequent in the Early Modern and Modern Swedish periods, at the expense of *varda*. In the 17th and 18th century texts, *varda* is therefore a more conservative choice than *bliva*. It is worth noting that Horn does not use *varda*; her memoirs are known to be one of the best sources for the spoken language of the time that we have. Arguably, also the choice of BE rather than HAVE is conservative, and part of the written, rather than the spoken language. In fact, the comment by Columbus suggests that the auxiliary is HAVE both with *varda* and *bliva* in the spoken language in the second half of the 17th century:

(7:45) Swensken säger: han är bätter. eller han har blidt bätter.
the.Swede says he is better or he has become better
 han har wurditi bätter. Men huarföricke ok. han är
he has become better but why.not also he is
 bätter worden. rätt som warda, fieri, inte wore Svenska!
better became right as warda fieri not were Swedish
 ‘The Swede says: *he is better* or *he has become* [from *bliva*] *better*;
he has become [from *varda*] *better*. But why not also *he is become*
 [from *varda*] *better*, as if *varda*, fieri, was not Swedish!’
 (Columbus II *1642:93)

Columbus gives BE as a possible alternative to HAVE with *varda*, but not with *bliva*; note that the comment itself concerns the choice of *bliva* and *varda* and not the auxiliaries BE and HAVE. In his own writing, Columbus does not follow what he says is the spoken norm, but tends to use BE with *varda* and HAVE with *bliva*; cf. (7:46).

(7:46) at han af en Kung war worden en Privat-person, där
that he of a king was become a private-person where
 hans Fader hade bliffwit af Privat-person en Konung
his father had become of private-person a king
 ‘that he had gone from king to private person where his father had
 gone from private person to king’
 (Columbus I *1642:29)

In Swedish up to the 17th century, there is variation between individuals and individual texts, but with regard to the alternation between HAVE

and BE, there is no reason to make a distinction between styles or varieties. The difference between *varda* and *bliva*, and the comment by Columbus, suggest that changes in the distribution of HAVE and BE have led to beginning stylistic differences by the second half of the 17th century. As pointed out above, the variation is considerable at the time, and there are texts from the same time as Börk's plays where the frequency of BE is many times higher. By choosing a corpus of informal texts, I have tried to avoid differences that depend on style as far as possible, but this is obviously difficult, given the available material. I suggested above that the somewhat higher frequency of BE in the play by Gyllenborg as compared to Börk's *Darius* is due to the fact that the latter lies closer to the spoken language. As far as I can see, the variation is however generally tied to individuals rather than text types or registers. The change in the distribution of HAVE and BE does not lead to the establishment of two separate styles or registers, and, although BE is often stylistically marked in Present-Day Swedish there are no text types where BE is generally preferred to HAVE.

7.3.5. Conclusion

In this section, I have considered three (partly interrelated) factors that could be expected to affect the alternation between HAVE and BE in older Swedish. I have observed that while animacy or agency does not appear to affect the choice of auxiliary, the presence/absence of particle does, particularly in the younger texts. As expected, the type of event has the clearest effects on the alternation, and more so with time. In the oldest or most conservative texts in the material, the difference between the different groups of unaccusative verbs is small; the normal construction involves BE. The frequency of BE with variable behaviour verbs in contexts without particle dropped from 72 % in the first period, to 13 % in the second period and 0 % in the youngest material. For telic change of location verbs (including variable behaviour verbs with particle) the change was more modest: from 92 % in the first period to 61 % in the third period. Punctual change of state verbs fall somewhere in between, with 89 % BE in the first period and 26 % BE in the third period.

I have observed that while there is variation between individuals also before the 17th century, the alternation between HAVE and BE is largely determined by syntactic-semantic factors, and not style or geography. When BE is restricted in the 17th century, on the other hand, differences

between texts can perhaps to some extent be explained as depending on style, or the geographical origin of the writer, even in the rather homogeneous material included in the present study. In Present-Day Swedish, BE tends to be ungrammatical, stylistically marked, or dialectal.

The results from the present study go partly against what Kytö (1997) argues is the case when BE is lost in English mainly in the 18th and 19th centuries. According to Kytö, change of state verbs (*grow, become*) “are slower to adopt *have* than the motion verbs” like *arrive* and *enter* (1997: 36). This is unexpected also considering the (archaic) use of BE with active participles in Present-Day English; cf. the examples in (7:47) where change of location verbs (marginally) can occur in the complement of BE, whereas a change of state verb like *become* does not.

- (7:47) a. She is gone.
 b. The time is come.
 c. * She is become happy.

Another of Kytö’s findings is more in line with my results. She notes that the frequency of the verbs *come* and *go* with HAVE is lower than for other verbs throughout the period 1350–1990; in the 18th century 33 % (37/113) of the cases with *come* or *go* involve HAVE, compared to 58 % (158/274) of the other verbs (1997:45, Table 13). In fact, Kytö (1997:35) states that non-directional unaccusatives were the first to be used with HAVE when BE was lost in English; these include verbs like *begin, happen* and *occur*. By the end of the 17th century, these verbs almost exclusively occur with HAVE (see Kytö 1997:26, Table 6). It seems likely that her results are a consequence of what verbs are included among the verbs of motion and how variable behaviour verbs are treated. There is also a possibility that past counterfactuals and the restrictions on experiential perfects skew the result somewhat; Kytö does not distinguish counterfactuals from true past perfects. In Kytö’s material, HAVE is more common in pluperfects with change of location verbs than with change of state verbs (see her Appendix 3); this might suggest that change of location verbs (as defined by Kytö) were more common in past counterfactuals.

In the following sections, I consider BE in Present-Day Swedish, and the varying properties of unaccusative verbs.

7.4. Unaccusatives in the complement of BE

Although there was (limited) stylistic variation during the period when BE became more restricted in Swedish, the change is clearly not only stylistic. On the contrary, there are contexts where BE was grammatical in older Swedish but is impossible in Present-Day Swedish, independently of style. Moreover, even if the construction with BE + active participle often is stylistically marked, and infrequent in modern corpora, the restrictions are quite systematic.

In this section, I investigate what distinguishes the group of unaccusatives that are grammatical in the complement of BE in Present-Day Swedish. In order to show that the (im)possibility of BE is not purely idiosyncratic, I give several examples from each verb group. I disregard target state participles since they are always grammatical with BE; cf. (7:48).

- (7:48) a. Boken är (fortfarande) förkommen.
the.book is still lost
 'The book is (still) missing.'
- b. Han är (fortfarande) försvunnen.
he is still disappeared
 'He is (still) missing.'
- c. Han är (fortfarande) avsvimmad.
he is still off,fainted
 'He is (still) unconscious.'
- d. TV:n är (fortfarande) död.
the.TV is still dead
 'The TV is (still) dead.'

BE is more common in some areas of Sweden (particularly in Southern Sweden); here, variation between speakers is largely disregarded. For comparison, I consider also the restrictions on BE in Norwegian Bokmål and Icelandic.

7.4.1. BE in Present-Day Swedish

As we have already seen, BE is not restricted to target state participles in Present-Day Swedish; cf. (7:49) below.

- (7:49) a. Deltagarna är (*fortfarande) anlända.
the.participants are still arrived
 'The participants have (*still) arrived.'

- b. Ansökan är (*fortfarande) inkommen.
the.application is still in.come
 ‘The application has (*still) come in.’

Gradual change of state verbs are systematically disallowed in the complement of BE in Present-Day Swedish; cf. (7:50).

- (7:50) a. *Huset är brunnet.
the.house is burned
 b. *Plantan är grodd.
the.seedling is sprouted
 c. *Himlen är klarnad.
the.sky is cleared
 d. *Hjulet är lossnat.
the.wheel is come.loose
 e. *Trädet är vuxet.
the.tree is grown
 f. *Priset är ökat.
the.price is increased

Some of the gradual change of state verbs form participles that are ambiguous between a passive and an active reading. These verbs can occur in the complement of BE, but only on the passive reading; cf. the examples in (7:51), which are grammatical, but have a passive reading. The example in (7:51a) is, for instance, incompatible with a reading where the chocolate melted by itself.

- (7:51) a. Chokladen är redan smält.
the.chocolate is already melted
 ‘The chocolate has already been melted.’
 b. Mängden är minskad till hälften.
the.quantity is reduced to the.half
 ‘The quantity has been reduced to one half.’
 c. Smöret är redan klarat.
the.butter is already cleared
 ‘The butter has already been cleared.’

I have noted one exception, namely *avdunsta* ‘evaporate’, which is sometimes marginally possible in the complement of BE; see (7:52a). It is noteworthy that this example involves some human control, and it is, in fact, only possible in the context of e.g. a laboratory or kitchen; cf. (7:53), which is ungrammatical.

(7:52) Låt det brinna tills spriten är avdunstat.
let it burn until the.alcohol is evaporated
 ‘Let it burn until the alcohol has evaporated.’
 (Google)

(7:53) *En del av vattnet i sjön är avdunstat.
a part of the.water in the.lake is evaporated
 Intended: ‘Part of the water of the lake has already evaporated.’

Also telic change of state verbs are ungrammatical with BE in Present-Day Swedish; cf. (7:54). Hence, telicity (the presence of *resP*) is not sufficient for an intransitive verb to be possible in a resultative with BE.

- (7:54) a. *Andra akten är börjad.
second the.act is begun
 b. *Han är svimnad.
he is fainted
 c. *Han är drunknad.
he is drowned
 d. *Hon är vaknad.
she is awoken
 e. *Han är bliven misstänksam.
he is become suspicious
 f. *Något är skett.
something is happened
 g. *Bomben är exploderad.
the.bomb is exploded

A particle does not make change of state verbs grammatical in the complement of BE; cf. (7:55).

- (7:55) a. *Huset är uppbrunnet.
the.house is up.burned
 b. *Den är söndergången.
it is asunder.gone
 c. *Hans blyghet är bortvuxen.
his shyness is away.grown

Again, passive and active participles pattern differently. When a passive reading occasionally is possible, change of state verbs are grammatical with BE; cf. (7:56a), which is ungrammatical, to (7:56b), which is well-formed, but has a passive reading.

- (7:56) a. *En storm är uppblåst.
a storm is up.blown
 Intended: ‘A storm has arisen.’

- b. Alla ballonger är redan uppblåsta.
all balloons are already up.blown
 ‘All balloons have already been inflated.’

There are, however, a number of exceptions to the restriction on BE with telic change of state verbs. Often, these are limited to fixed expressions; cf. the idiomatic examples in (7:57) and the slightly modified, ungrammatical examples in (7:58).

- (7:57) a. Det må vara hänt.
that may be happened
 ‘All right, then.’
- b. Användningen är stelad i sin form.
the.use is set in POSS.REFL form
 ‘This use has become fixed in form.’
- c. Han är uppvuxen i Stockholm.
he is up.grown in Stockholm
 ‘He grew up in Stockholm.’

- (7:58) a. *Det kan vara hänt.
it can be happened
- b. *Chokladen är stelad i sin form.
the.chocolate is set in POSS.REFL form
- c. *Trädet är uppvuxet i trädgården.
the.tree is up.grown in the.garden

Also the verb *uppstå* ‘resurrect’ occurs in the complement of BE; cf. (7:59). This is possibly a remnant due to influence from the language of the 16th century Bible.

- (7:59) Han är uppstånden från de döda.
he is resurrected from the dead
 ‘He has resurrected from the dead.’

SAG (1999, 2:606) gives the example in (7:60) as grammatical, but marked; I judge it as ungrammatical.

- (7:60) Elden är slocknad.
the.fire is died.down
 ‘The fire has died down’
 (SAG 1999, 2:606)

Some participles meaning ‘dead’ are available in the complement of BE, although they have an archaic flavour; cf. (7:61).

- (7:61) a. Han är omkommen.
he is deceased
 'He is deceased.'
 b. Han är stupad i strid.
he is fallen in battle
 'He has fallen in battle.'

In the historical records, the frequency of BE was higher with change of location verbs than with other verbs. In Present-Day Swedish, change of location verbs like *anlända* 'arrive' are generally possible in the complement of BE; cf. (7:62).

- (7:62) a. De är redan anlända.
they are already arrived
 'They have already arrived'
 b. Båten är redan ankommen till bryggan.
the.boat is already arrived to the.wharf
 'The boat has already arrived'
 c. Han är nyligen återvänd från England.
he is recently returned from England
 'He has recently returned from England.'

Particle verbs expressing change of location are also grammatical with BE; cf. (7:63).¹⁶⁷

- (7:63) a. Frida är hitflyttad från Stockholm.
Frida is here.moved from Stockholm
 'Frida has moved here from Stockholm.'
 b. Hon är hitrest från Uppsala.
she is here.travelled from Uppsala
 'She has come here from Uppsala.'
 c. Hon är nyligen hemkommen från Kina.
she is recently home.come from China
 'She has recently come home from China.'
 d. Han är uppstigen ur badet.
he is up.risen out.of the.bath
 'He has stepped out of the bath.'

¹⁶⁷ Participles of the verb *gå* 'go, walk, leave' are more marked with BE than participles of *komma* 'come'. Most likely, this is connected to the form *gången*, which only marginally has a change of location interpretation (disregarding geographical variation). Many of the participial forms of *gå* + particle have specialized (nominal) readings; cf. *ingång* 'entrance', *utgång* 'exit', *hemgång* 'getting home in a card game', *bortgång* 'demise'.

The verbs *komma* ‘come’ and *resa* ‘travel’ can occur in the complement of BE also without a particle; see (7:64).¹⁶⁸

- (7:64) a. Han är rest till Stockholm med buss.
he is travelled to Stockholm with bus
 ‘He has gone to Stockholm by bus.’
 b. Han är kommen med tåget.
he is come with train
 ‘He has come by train.’

Variable behaviour verbs without a particle are, on the other hand, generally illicit in the complement of BE. The examples in (7:65) only have a passive reading, and the examples in (7:66) are degraded or ungrammatical. Recall that this kind of examples was the first to disappear from the historical records.

- (7:65) a. Han är flyttad till Stockholm.
he is moved to Stockholm
 ‘He has been moved to Stockholm.’ (not ‘He has moved to Stockholm.’)
 b. Båten/*han är seglad till Gotland.
the.boat/he is sailed to Gotland
 ‘The boat/*he has been sailed to Gotland.’ (not ‘The boat has sailed to Gotland.’)
- (7:66) a. *Han är sprungen till grannen.
he is run to the.neighbour
 b. *Han är cyklad till affären.
he is cycled to the.store

The grammaticality of the different types of verbs in the complement of BE can be assumed to parallel the historical development. Examples with gradual change of state verbs were scarce in the investigated texts, but given that there is no variation in Present-Day Swedish, it seems likely that these verbs became ungrammatical with BE before punctual change of state verbs; as noted, there is some variation with BE and telic change of state verbs. Variable behaviour verbs in contexts without a particle occurred with BE less frequently in the historical material than other verbs, and they are ungrammatical with BE in Present-Day Swed-

¹⁶⁸ The examples in (7:64) are more natural with the adverbials than without. In the absence of the adverbial, an expression with BE + a particle verb or a locative adverb is much preferred.

ish. In the following section, we will see that the data from Norwegian and Icelandic point in a similar direction.

7.4.2. Norwegian Bokmål and Icelandic

As noted, BE is less restricted in Present-Day Icelandic and Norwegian than in Swedish.¹⁶⁹ In both Norwegian and Icelandic, gradual change of state verbs are often allowed in the complement of BE, although there is some variation; see the Norwegian examples in (7:67) and the Icelandic examples in (7:68).

- (7:67) a. Selv om snøen er smeltet, og vi ikke tenker så
even if the.snow is melted and we not think so
 mye på ski
much about ski
 ‘Even though the snow has melted, and we don’t think so much about skiing’
 (Google)
- b. Nærbø Maskinforretning som med hans og gode
Nærbø machine.shop which with his and good
 medarbeideres innsats er vokst til en stor og sterk bedrift.
co-workers’ effort is grown to a large and strong company
 ‘Nærbø machine shop which with the effort of him and good coworkers has grown to be a large and strong company’
 (BOKMÅL)
- c. Vinden er økt.
the.wind is increased
 ‘The wind has increased.’
 (Google)
- d. *Hun er rødmet.
she is blushed
- (7:68) a. Vatnið er nýlega frosið.
the.water is recently frozen
 ‘The water has recently frozen.’
- b. Grasið er gulnað.
the.grass is yellowed
 ‘The grass has turned yellow.’
- c. Snjórinn er nýlega bráðnaður.
the.snow is recently melted
 ‘The snow has recently melted.’
- d. *Það er blánað.
it is turned.blue

¹⁶⁹ For Icelandic, see also Yamaguchi & Pétursson (2003).

Telic change of state verbs are more generally possible with BE, both in Norwegian and Icelandic; cf. Norwegian in (7:69) and Icelandic in (7:70).

- (7:69) a. Han er druknet.
he is drowned
 'He has drowned.'
- b. Han er blitt mistenksom.
he is become suspicious
 'He has become suspicious.'
- c. Andre akt er begynt.
second act is begun
 'The second act has begun.'
- d. Hun er våknet.
she is awaken
 'She has woken up.'
- e. Bomben er eksplodert.
the bomb is exploded
 'The bomb has exploded.'
- (7:70) a. Barnið er druknað.
the child is drowned
 'The child has drowned.'
- b. Þetta er orðið fint.
this is become fine
 'This has become fine.'
- c. Sumarið er byrjað.
the summer is begun
 'Summer has begun.'
- d. Jón er sofnaður.
John is fallen.asleep
 'John has fallen asleep.'

As expected, also change of location verbs are grammatical in the complement of BE; cf. Norwegian in (7:71) and Icelandic in (7:72).

- (7:71) a. Hun er kommet.
she is come
 'She has come'
- b. Hun er reist.
she is travelled
 'She has gone.'
- c. Hun er dratt til Stockholm.
she is gone to Stockholm
 'She has gone to Stockholm.'

- (7:72) a. Ég er alveg komin.
he is just come
 ‘He has just come.’
 b. Hún er farin til Stokkhólms.
she is gone to Stockholm
 ‘She has gone to Stockholm.’

In both Norwegian and Icelandic, variable behaviour verbs are possible with BE both with particles and PPs; see Norwegian in (7:73) and Icelandic in (7:74). In Norwegian, examples like these tend to be marked.

- (7:73) a. [?] Hun er flyttet hjem til Oslo.
she is moved home to Oslo
 ‘She has moved home to Oslo.’
 b. [?] De er syklet til stranden
they are cycled to the beach
 ‘They have cycled to the beach.’

- (7:74) a. Hann er floginn heim.
he is flown home
 ‘He has flown home.’
 b. Örninn er floginn til Danmerkur
the eagle is flown to Denmark
 ‘The eagle has flown to Denmark and the stag has run to Holland.’
 (Google)

There is, however, some variation in both languages, and not all PPs make a variable behaviour verb possible in the complement of BE; cf. Norwegian in (7:75) and Icelandic in (7:76).

- (7:75) *Han er løpt til naboen.
he is run to the neighbour
- (7:76) a. Jón er genginn út/*frá Selfossi.
John is gone out/from Selfoss
 ‘John has gone out.’
 b. Jón er flanaður út/*úr stöðinni
John is rushed out/from the station
 ‘John has run out/*from the station.’
 (Yamaguchi & Pétursson 2003:339)

There are two possible reasons for this variation. First, we could assume that certain prepositions can associate with *res*, just like particles do; Ramchand (2008a) suggests that this is the case with English *to* (cf. also Folli & Ramchand 2005). Secondly, even with prepositions that do not

associate with *res*, we expect some variation, given that some verbs have active participles in the complement of BE in Icelandic and in Norwegian also in the absence of *resP* (cf. the gradual change of state verbs above).

Both Norwegian and Icelandic differ from Present-Day Swedish also with respect to the frequency of the construction with BE; in Swedish, BE is, as noted, rare and stylistically marked. In Icelandic, on the other hand, BE is the unmarked choice for the resultative reading (as in Old Norse and older Swedish). Perfects with HAVE and a participle of an unaccusative verb tend to have an experiential reading; the HAVE-perfect in (7:77a) is degraded or awkward on the resultative reading, and the construction with BE in (7:77b) is much preferred (see e.g. Jónsson 1992).

- (7:77) a. # Jón hefur komið til Boston núna.
 John has come to Boston now
 ‘John has arrived in Boston now.’
 b. Jón er kominn til Boston núna.
 John is come to Boston now
 ‘John has arrived in Boston now.’

In Norwegian Bokmål, resultative perfects with HAVE + unaccusative verbs are less marked than in Icelandic, but still sometimes less frequent than the construction with BE.¹⁷⁰ In the Oslo corpus of (written) Bokmål, 66 % (1232/1859) of the examples with present tense HAVE or BE + *komme* ‘come’ have BE.¹⁷¹ For *bli* ‘become’ the frequency of BE is even higher, 87 % (4161/4804). In other cases, BE is the marked expression; this seems to be the general case with gradual change of state verbs. Moreover, HAVE appears to be preferred with less frequent verbs; 2 of 10 examples with *våkne* ‘awake’, and 1 of 10 examples with *eksplodere* ‘explode’, have (present tense) BE in the Oslo corpus. There is also a difference between written and spoken Norwegian. In the NoTa-corpus of spoken Norwegian, the frequency of BE with the participles *kommet* and *blitt* is much lower than in the written corpus; only

¹⁷⁰ While it is possible that the use of BE in Bokmål is to some extent influenced by Danish, it should be kept in mind that still Bokmål is more similar to Old Norse than to Present-Day Danish with regard to HAVE/BE; as we saw in chapter 5, the construction with BE in Norwegian does not behave like the Danish BE-perfect with respect to e.g. counterfactuals and adverbial modification.

¹⁷¹ Strings where something (e.g. the subject) intervenes between the auxiliary and the participle are disregarded. Only examples with HAVE and BE in the present tense are included; past counterfactuals should therefore not affect the results.

19 % (12/53) of the examples have BE with *komme* and 43 % (90/208) with *bli*. The variation in the distribution of HAVE and BE in Present-Day Norwegian thus appears to be partly different from the variation in older Swedish. As noted, *komma* occurs more frequently with BE than *bli* does in older Swedish.

7.4.3. *Summary*

In Icelandic, all groups of unaccusative verbs (as defined here) are possible in the complement of BE, just as in older Swedish. With gradual change of state verbs (*váxa* ‘grow’) and variable behaviour verbs (*rida* ‘ride’), there is, however, some variation. Also in Norwegian, BE appears with all groups of unaccusatives, but is sometimes degraded or marked with gradual change of state verbs and variable behaviour verbs with PP complements. Finally, in Present-Day Swedish, only change of location verbs are (systematically) possible in the complement of BE; variable behaviour verbs are only possible when they incorporate a particle (which carries a *res* feature).

7.5. Different kinds of unaccusatives

In chapter 2 above, I pointed to some of the well-known mismatches between different tests for unaccusativity. In the previous sections, we have seen that different groups of unaccusatives can behave in different ways with regard to BE, depending on language and period. In this section, I look closer at the structures of the different kinds of unaccusatives.

7.5.1. (A)typical unaccusatives

Like the present study, the investigations by e.g. Sorace (2000, 2004), Legendre & Sorace (2003) and Cennamo & Sorace (2007) suggest finer distinctions among the intransitive verbs. With regard to the auxiliary alternation HAVE/BE in perfects, native speakers appear to have more uncertain intuitions for some groups of intransitive verbs than for other groups in all languages investigated by Sorace, and both L1 and L2 learners acquire the choice of auxiliary earlier for some groups of verbs than for other verbs (for the full details, see Sorace 2000 and references

cited there). The results are summarized in the Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy in (7:78) below (from Sorace 2000:863); the feature specifications are from Legendre & Sorace (2003) (cf. Legendre 2007a:1525). The verbs that are higher on the hierarchy most consistently (both cross-linguistically and within a language) form perfects with BE, and the verbs at the bottom most consistently form perfects with HAVE.¹⁷²

Although the data from the Scandinavian languages discussed in the previous sections involve perfect-like constructions and not perfects, they give additional support to the hierarchy. We have seen that the only group of verbs that is systematically possible in the complement of BE in Present-Day Swedish is the change of location verbs; they are at the top of the hierarchy. In Norwegian and Icelandic, there is little variation in the acceptability of the construction with BE and change of location or telic change of state verbs, and more variation with regard to gradual change of state verbs; the latter are lower on the hierarchy. Also the historical data confirm the hierarchy; telic change of state verbs more often occur with HAVE in the 17th century texts than change of location verbs do (disregarding variable behaviour verbs). Stative verbs (*exist*) and process verbs (*sweat*, *work*) never have active participles in the complement of BE in the Scandinavian languages.

The groups of verbs in Sorace's (2000) hierarchy receive slightly different feature specifications and structures with the tripartite verb phrase structure in Ramchand (2008a). This gives us a way to account structurally for the difference between older and Present-Day Swedish, as well as for the difference between Swedish, Norwegian and Icelandic. Stative verbs like *exist* are distinguished from all other groups by lacking *procP* in their structure. Following Ramchand (2008a), we can assume that they include only *initP*. They can, however, differ (at least) with respect to the properties of the complement of *init*. I leave these verbs aside here.

¹⁷² As argued by Legendre & Sorace (2003), change of location verbs also have a more consistent unaccusative behaviour with regard to certain other diagnostics, but the cut-off points on the hierarchy can differ depending on language and diagnostic. In French, participial constructions (e.g. reduced relatives and participial absolutes) are possible with a superset of the verbs that form perfects with BE, and this set is predictable from the hierarchy; the lower on the hierarchy the more variation, and the more likely it is that a particular participial construction is ungrammatical.

(7:78) The Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (Sorace 2000:863; cf. Legendre & Sorace 2003)

BE			
↓	Change of location	(<i>arrive, come</i>)	+telic; +/-agentive; +directed change; +motional displacement
	Change of state	(<i>appear, die</i>)	+telic; -agentive; +directed change; -motional displacement
		(<i>grow, wilt</i>)	-telic; -agentive; +directed change; -motional displacement
	Continuation of pre-existing state	(<i>last</i>)	+stative
	Existence of state	(<i>be, exist</i>)	+stative
	Uncontrolled process	(<i>sweat, tremble</i>)	-telic; -agentive; -directed change; -motional displacement
	Controlled process (motional)	(<i>swim, run</i>)	-telic; +agentive; +directed change; +motional displacement
Controlled process (non-motional)	(<i>work</i>)	-telic; +agentive; -directed change; -motional displacement	

HAVE

Consider first the verbs that I have included among the unaccusatives and which have active participles in the complement of BE in older Swedish. Punctual change of state verbs like *hända* ‘happen’ and gradual change of state verbs like *växa* ‘grow’ differ with regard to the *res* feature; see the lexical entries and structures in (7:79).

- (7:79) a. Lexical entry for *växa* ‘grow’: [proc]
 [_{procP} DP *proc*]
 b. Lexical entry for *hända* ‘happen’: [proc_i, res_i]
 [_{procP} DP_i *proc* [_{resP} DP_i *res*]]

Neither gradual nor punctual change of state verbs has *initP* in their structure, and they can therefore typically be transitivized in English; cf. (7:80).

- (7:80) a. He grows tomatoes.
 b. He broke the stick.

These two groups are often considered the core unaccusative verbs. Neither of them have active participles in the complement of BE in Present-Day Swedish.

According to Sorace's hierarchy, telic change of location verbs like *anlända* 'arrive' are the verbs with the most consistent unaccusative behaviour. These verbs are possibly agentive and express directed change: they convey that the sole argument causes itself to move and end up in a different place/state. In other words, change of location verbs involve a full verb phrase and take a subject which is Initiator, Undergoer and Resultee; see (7:81). Unlike change of state verbs, these verbs do not transitivity in English; see the examples in (7:82).

(7:81) Lexical entry for *anlända* 'arrive': [init_i, proc_i, res_i]

- (7:82) a. *He arrived the boat.
b. *He travelled her to Stockholm.

Consider now motional or non-motional controlled processes like *simma* 'swim' and *dansa* 'dance', which are at the bottom of the hierarchy, and which are generally regarded as unergative verbs. Both *swim* and *dance* are eventive and take agentive subjects, and in the absence of e.g. a telic PP or particle, they are atelic. In other words, they are both lexically specified with *init* and *proc* features, and they both take a subject which is Initiator as well as Undergoer; see the (identical) lexical entries in (7:83) (and cf. Ramchand 2008a:71 ff.).

- (7:83) a. Lexical entry for *simma* 'swim': [init_i, proc_i]
b. Lexical entry for *dansa* 'dance': [init_i, proc_i]

As pointed out in chapter 6, there are reasons to believe that these verbs are (or can be) underlyingly transitive; *dance* takes an (incorporated) Rheme complement, whereas *swim* takes an implicit or explicit Path; see the examples in (7:84). Ramchand (2008:96) suggests that a verb like *swim* and *dance* carries a nominal feature in addition to its verbal category features and that they therefore can identify the content of the complement in the absence of a cognate object or Path.¹⁷³

¹⁷³ Cf. also Hale & Keyser (2002:92), who suggest that *swim* and *dance* are not formed by incorporation but that they have "nominal lexical semantics" which can license the silent N in the complement of the verb.

- (7:84) a. Han simmade (några meter).
he swam some meters
 ‘He swam (a few meters).’
 b. Han dansade (en tango).
he danced a tango
 ‘He danced (a tango).’

The difference between verbs like *simma* ‘swim’ and verbs like *dansa* ‘dance’ with regard to directed motion (see the feature specifications given in the hierarchy above) can be assumed to be due to the (implicit) complement; a Path like *a few meters* contributes directed change, whereas a Rheme like *a tango* does not. The type of complement is, however, not specified in the lexical entry. In fact, *simma* can take a Rheme complement, and *dansa* can take a Path; see (7:85) where the example with *dansa* expresses directed motion, whereas *simma* does not necessarily do so.

- (7:85) a. Han simmade fjärilsim (men rörde sig inte alls).
he swam butterfly.swim but moved REFL not at.all
 ‘He did the butterfly stroke (but didn’t move at all).’
 b. Han dansade hela vägen hem.
he danced all the.way home
 ‘He danced all the way home.’

Note that the difference between unergative verbs like *simma* or *dansa* and telic change of location verbs like *anlända* does not lie in the presence/absence of *initP* or an external argument (Initiator), but in the complement of *proc*: *anlända* involves *resP*, whereas *proc* in the structure of *simma* and *dansa* takes a Rheme or Path DP complement.

Now, as we have already seen, unaccusativity and unergativity are not properties of a verb, but rather of the verb phrase. Therefore, when verbs like *simma* ‘swim’ and *dansa* ‘dance’ are constructed with a particle that lexicalizes *res*, they can display unaccusative behaviour; consider the examples in (7:86) where participles of *simma* and *dansa* have an active reading in the complement of BE (with an incorporated particle). In this respect, they behave just like variable behaviour verbs like *flyga* ‘fly’ or *springa* ‘run’.

- (7:86) a. Han är precis färdigsimmad.
he is just ready.swum
 ‘He has just finished with the swimming.’
 b. Han är precis färdigdansad.
he is just ready.danced
 ‘He has just finished with the dancing.’

We can conclude that there are two requirements on active participles in the complement of BE in Present-Day Swedish. First, either the verb itself or an element (a particle) incorporated into the participle has to carry a *res* feature; a telic PP is therefore not enough for BE to be possible with variable behaviour verbs; cf. (7:87a) and (7:87b).

- (7:87) a. *Han är sprungen till affären.
 he is run to the.store
 ‘He has run to the store.’
 b. Han är hitsprungen.
 he is here.run
 ‘He has run here.’

As noted, not all inherently telic verbs or particle verbs are possible with BE; an *init* feature is also required in Present-Day Swedish. The verbs at the top of Sorace’s hierarchy are distinguished from other unaccusatives by being (possibly) agentive; the difference between unergatives like *work* and unaccusatives like *arrive* can therefore not be understood in terms of (non)agency. Recall from section 7.3.1 above, that agent-oriented adverbials are more common with BE than with HAVE + unaccusative in the investigated older Swedish texts.

7.5.2. Agentive unaccusatives

It is uncontroversial that variable behaviour verbs are agentive. In English, verbs like *run* or *travel* can take so-called *X’s way* objects; see (7:88). This is often taken to be an argument for the presence of an external argument (see Levin & Rappoport Hovav 1995, Ramchand 2008a:23).

- (7:88) John ran his way into history.
 (Ramchand 2008a:23)

There are several arguments for assuming that also change of location verbs like *ankomma* ‘arrive’ and *komma* ‘come’ carry *init* features. As noted, verbs like *arrive* fail to causativize in English; verbs like *melt* and *break* which lack *init* features occur in the causative-inchoative alternation. Agent-oriented adverbials are possible with verbs like *ankomma*; consider the examples in (7:89). Since *arrive*, unlike *run*, requires the same DP to be Initiator, Undergoer and Resultee (cf. (7:81) above), *X’s way* objects are not possible; see (7:90).

- (7:89) a. Han ankom avsiktligt med flyg (och inte med tåg).
he arrived intentionally by plane and not by train
 ‘He intentionally arrived by plane (and not by train).’
- b. Han reste avsiktligt med ett långsamt tåg.
he travelled intentionally on a slow train
 ‘He intentionally travelled on a slow train.’

(7:90) * He arrived his way into history.

Unlike gradual change of state verbs like *vissna* ‘wilt’ or *drunkna* ‘drown’, change of location verbs like *komma* ‘come’ are grammatical in imperatives; cf. (7:91) and (7:92).¹⁷⁴

(7:91) a. Kom då!
come then
 ‘Come, then!’

b. Fly!
flee
 ‘Flee!’

(7:92) a. # Vissna!
wilt

b. # Drunkna!
drown

¹⁷⁴ Also verbs like *drunkna* ‘drown’ are OK in imperatives, but only when negated; cf. (i).

- (i) a. Drunkna inte!
drown not
 ‘Don’t drown!’
- b. Rodna inte!
blush not
 ‘Don’t blush!’

Negated imperatives are thus not restricted to agentive subjects. More generally, the possibility of imperatives is perhaps not as good a test for a syntactically present agent as it is sometimes taken to be; examples like (ii) could perfectly well be uttered by an impatient cook, and it expresses that the speaker is not in full control of the melting rather than that the chocolate is (cf. e.g. SAG 1999, 4:715, Engdahl 2006).

- (ii) Smält, dumma choklad!
melt stupid chocolate
 ‘Melt, stupid chocolate!’

The fact that change of location verbs can identify the *init* subeventuality does not mean that their subject is necessarily Agent. As *init*P is understood here, its specifier is Initiator, and not Agent; this includes causes, as well (see Ramchand 2008a:24; cf. also e.g. Rappaport Hovav & Levin 2000). Moreover, that the clause subject is Initiator does not mean that it lacks the typical ‘object’ properties; verbs like *arrive* have a subject which is Undergoer and Resultee, as well as Initiator.

In chapter 2, I noted that verbs which are unaccusative according to some diagnostics sometimes can occur in impersonal passives. Neither gradual change of state verbs like *gulna* ‘turn yellow’ nor telic change of state verbs are possible in impersonal passives; see (7:93).

- (7:93) a. *Det gulnas i skogen.
there yellow.PRES.PASS in the.forest
 b. *Det sjunks i havet.
there sink.PRES.PASS in the.sea
 c. *Det skes idag.
there happen.PRES.PASS today

Variable behaviour verbs and verbs like *komma* ‘come’, on the other hand, are at least marginally grammatical in impersonal passives; cf. (7:94). This suggests that passivization requires an external argument (an Initiator), as is standardly assumed. Since other passives necessarily have a transitive structure (with one implicit and one explicit argument), verbs like *arrive*, which are obligatorily intransitive, are restricted to impersonal passives.

- (7:94) a. Det skulle resas till Stockholm och gås
there would travel.INF.PASS to Stockholm and go.INF.PASS
 på teater.
on theatre
 ‘People would travel to Stockholm and go to the theatre.’
 b. Det ankoms och avrestes hela dagen.
there arrive.PRET.PASS and off.travel.PRET.PASS whole the.day
 ‘People were arriving and departing all day.’
 c. Sedan anländes det till Arlanda och stods
then arrive.PRET.PASS there to Arlanda and stand.PRET.PASS
 i kö i timmar.
in line for hours
 ‘Then there was the arrival to Arlanda and the standing in line for hours.’

As pointed out by Zaenen (1988) and Thráinsson (2007), verbs tend to require an agentive reading in impersonal passives (see also Barðdal &

Mólnar 2000:129, and Hoekstra & Mulder 1990 for Icelandic and Dutch, respectively). The verb *rodna* ‘blush’ and *hosta* ‘cough’ are marginally possible in impersonal passives if the subject has some control of the event, but not otherwise; cf. the impersonal passives in (7:95) and (7:96) below (the verbs *rodna* ‘blush’ is often assumed to be unaccusative, whereas *hosta* ‘cough’ is unergative or semelfactive).

- (7:95) a. Det rodnas (och fnittras och tramsas).
there blush.PRES.PASS and giggle.PRES.PASS and act.silly.PRES.PASS
 ‘People are blushing and giggling and acting silly.’
- b. *Det rodnas alltid ofrivilligt när någon
there blush.PRES.PASS always involuntarily when someone
frågar.
asks
 Intended: ‘People always blush involuntarily when someone asks.’
- (7:96) a. Då hostas det försiktigt för att få dem tysta.
then cough.PRES.PASS there carefully for to get them quiet
 ‘Then people cough carefully to get them quiet.’
- b. *Det hostas vid förkylning.
there cough.PRES.PASS at cold
 Intended: ‘People cough when they have a cold.’

Dowty (1991:607f.) comes to the conclusion that telic verbs with non-agentive subjects (e.g. *break*) are “definitely unaccusative” and atelic verbs with agentive subjects (e.g. *dance*) are “definitely unergative”; agentive but telic intransitives (e.g. *retire*) and non-agentive but atelic intransitives (e.g. *exist*) fall somewhere in between and show unstable behaviour (cf. also Zaenen 1988). As we have seen, taking auxiliary selection as the primary diagnostic for unaccusativity instead, the typical unaccusatives are not non-agentive telic verbs, but telic change of location verbs which can have an agentive subject and therefore (marginally) occur in impersonal passives.

7.5.3. Summary

In Present-Day Swedish, only unaccusative structures with both *initP* and *resP* (and *procP*) have active resultant state participles in the complement of BE. Older Swedish patterns with Icelandic regarding what verbs have active participles in the complement of BE: neither *resP* nor *initP* is required. In other words, the loss of BE can be understood as the development of two restrictions on participles in the com-

plement of BE. First, a *res* feature (carried by the participial verb or an incorporated element) became necessary; this excluded participles of gradual change of state verbs and variable behaviour verbs without particles. Secondly, an *init* feature came to be required; this excluded also punctual change of state verbs. The requirement of *res*P seems to appear somewhat earlier than the requirement of *init*P; variable behaviour verbs + PPs are the first to disappear from the complement of BE, and with regard to punctual change of state verbs, there is some variation also in Present-Day Swedish.

7.6. A note on unaccusativity

In the standard treatment of the distinction between unergative verbs like *work* and unaccusative verbs like *grow*, the former are assumed to have an ordinary agentive subject, generated as external argument, whereas the subject of the latter is non-agentive and generated as internal argument of the verb. According to Burzio's generalization (Burzio 1986:185), only verbs that assign a theta role to an external argument can assign structural accusative case to the internal argument. The generalization is often captured by the assumption that accusative case on verbal arguments depends on the presence of the head that introduces the external argument (i.e. *v* or *init*).

In Present-Day Swedish, the presence or absence of an Initiator matters for the grammaticality of BE, but not in the way that is expected given the traditional view: for BE to be possible with resultant state participles, an external argument (Initiator) is required; cf. the contrast between (7:97a) and (7:97b).

- (7:97) a. *Olyckan är inträffad.
 the.accident is happened
 b. Barnen är hemkomna.
 the.children are home.come
 'The children have come home.'

The conclusion, then, is either that auxiliary selection is not a diagnostic for unaccusativity, or that the group of unaccusatives is characterized by something other than having a non-agentive subject. In the following, I take the latter to be the case.

As noted, it has sometimes been argued that unaccusatives are not distinguished from unergatives in terms of agency, but that, instead, telicity is the relevant factor. The discussion dates back at least to the end

of the 19th century. In opposition to previous accounts of auxiliary selection in terms of agentivity, Paul (1902) states that the choice of perfect auxiliary depends on the Aktionsart of the verb: the verbs that have active participles in the complement of BE are the mutative verbs (i.e., telic verbs). This is also the position on which Johannisson (1945) bases his investigation of the distribution of HAVE and BE in the older Scandinavian languages. Both Paul and Johannisson limit the discussion to intransitive verbs; transitive telic verbs like *open* are not included, nor are the transitive alternants of verbs like *break*. Telicity can clearly only be a determinant of auxiliary selection if it is combined with some factor relating to (in)transitivity (which in turn tends to be related to case and to the presence of an external argument).

We have seen that the presence of *resP* has consequences for the possibility of BE in Present-Day Swedish and in Norwegian, but not necessarily in Icelandic and older Swedish. Folli & Harley (2006) point out that gradual change of state verbs like *increase* can form perfects with BE in languages like Italian also when they are atelic; see the examples in (7:98) below. Hence, neither the presence of *resP* nor telicity necessarily distinguishes unaccusative from unergative verbs cross-linguistically. Given the well-known mismatches between different diagnostics for unaccusativity, and the cross-linguistic variation, it seems clear that no single factor can be invoked to cover all cases.

- (7:98) a. La temperatura è diminuita per ore.
the temperature is diminished for hours
 ‘The temperature has decreased for hours.’
 b. L’inflazione è aumentata per mesi.
the inflation is increased for months
 ‘The inflation has increased for months.’
 (Folli & Harley 2006:238)

The tripartite verb phrase that I have adopted from Ramchand (2008a) opens for more fine-grained distinctions among the unaccusatives. I have distinguished several groups of verbs that have active participles with BE in the older Scandinavian languages, but which pattern in different ways in the modern languages. It is important to remember that a particular verb is not necessarily marked as unaccusative in its lexical entry (i.e., there is no grammatical feature $\pm unacc$); e.g. a verb like *grow* is compatible with both unaccusative and transitive structures. Since change of location verbs like *arrive* involve more lexical specification than change of state verbs like *grow*, they are expected to have a less variable (unaccusative) behaviour; this is confirmed by the Auxiliary

Selection Hierarchy in Sorace (2000). As we have already seen, different diagnostics can be sensitive to different properties; e.g. impersonal passivization requires an external argument, whereas only verbs that lack an *init* feature partake in the causative-inchoative alternation (at least in the absence of morphological marking).

However, this does not automatically mean that the group of unaccusative verbs as a whole defies any generalization and that there is no such thing as unaccusativity. The group of verbs that can be characterized as unaccusative (using one diagnostic or another) is in fact cross-linguistically rather stable. Largely the same group of verbs are grammatical in the complement of BE in older Swedish and in Present-Day Icelandic, and these verbs form perfects with BE in languages like Danish. The question is, then, what unifies the group of unaccusative verbs, if anything. In the following, I briefly address this question and point to a possible answer that comes close to a standard account in terms of case.

7.6.1. *Decomposition and unaccusativity*

In addition to the variable behaviour verbs (e.g. *springa* ‘run’), I have identified three groups of intransitive unaccusative verbs which behave in partly different ways with regard to BE in the Scandinavian languages (and other languages). Again consider the lexical specifications of verbs like *växa* ‘grow’, *explodera* ‘explode’, *anlända* ‘arrive’ and *springa* ‘run’ in (7:99) below. In (7:100), I give two of the possible structures with which *springa* can associate; (7:100a) gives a transitive/unergative structure (where the DP *a kilometre* is in the complement of *proc*), and (7:100b) an unaccusative structure (where the subject is Resultee, as well as Undergoer and Initiator).¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ Following Ramchand & Svenonius (2002) and Ramchand (2008a), I assume that the particle is base-generated in a PP or Particle Phrase, and that it moves to (or is remerged in) *res*. In Swedish, movement of the particle is obligatory, while in English it is not; cf. (i) and (ii).

- (i) a. Han åt upp kakan.
 he ate up the.cake
 ‘He ate up the cake.’
 b. *Han åt kakan upp.
 he ate the.cake up
- (ii) a. He ate up the cake.
 b. He ate the cake up.

- (7:99) a. Lexical entry for *växa* 'grow': [proc]
 b. Lexical entry for *explodera* 'explode': [proc_i, res_i]
 c. Lexical entry for *anlända* 'arrive': [init_i, proc_i, res_i]
 d. Lexical entry for *springa* 'run': [init_i, proc_i]
- (7:100) a. Han sprang en kilometer.
he ran a kilometre
 [_{initP} DP_i *init* [_{procP} DP_i *proc* [DP_j]]]
 b. Han sprang in.
he ran in
 [_{initP} DP_i *init* [_{procP} DP_i *proc* [_{resP} DP_i *res* [PP]]]]]

Verbs like *arrive* have the most stable unaccusative behaviour; verbs like *grow* and variable behaviour verbs are the least stable (cf. Sorace's Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy in section 7.5.1 above).¹⁷⁶ For all four groups of verbs, the subject is base-generated in an internal argument position: the subject is either Undergoer or Resultee, or both. This is true also for change of location verbs where the subject is Undergoer and Resultee, as well as Initiator. In this respect, the Unaccusative Hypothesis is preserved in the present system.

It has sometimes been suggested that unaccusative structures involve an embedded small clause structure which can, but need not, provide a telos (see Moro 1997, Hoekstra 1999 and Folli & Harley 2006). Among other things, this accounts for the unaccusative behaviour of the stative verb BE; see the structure in (7:101) (where the small clause is represented as XP). As mentioned, BE forms a perfect with the auxiliary BE in German; see (7:102).

- (7:101) He is tired.
is [_{XP} *he* X [_{AP} *tired*]]
- (7:102) Er ist müde gewesen.
he is tired been
 'He has been tired.'

However, a subject generated in a predicate in the complement of a verbal head is not sufficient to make a verb unaccusative. Also transitive

¹⁷⁶ Considering the cross-linguistic data, this is not entirely true; stative verbs like *exist* are the group of intransitives that have the most variable behaviour (cf. e.g. Sorace 2000, 2004). In Italian, they form perfects with BE, in German and Danish they do not (with the exception of the verb BE).

and unergative verbs can have subjects that are base-generated below *init*; consider *dance* in (7:103).¹⁷⁷

- (7:103) a. He danced.
 [_{initP} he dance [_{procP} he dance [_{NP} dance]]]
 b. He danced a jig.
 [_{initP} he dance [_{procP} he dance [_{DP} a jig]]]

Given that unergative verbs are implicitly transitive, we could assume that unaccusatives are the only truly intransitive verbs: either they involve just *proc* and its one argument, or several coindexed verbal heads and one argument. Since English has a silent *init* head, verbs like *grow* can be transitivized as in (7:104) (cf. above). In transitive contexts, *grow* lacks the properties of an unaccusative.

- (7:104) He grows tomatoes.

Verbs like *växa* ‘grow’ can license an accusative DP also in Swedish; *växa* can occur with a Path DP as in (7:105a). Also in this case, *växa* behaves like a transitive verb and can have a passive reading in prenominal position; see (7:105b).

- (7:105) a. Han växte en centimeter.
 he grew a centimeter
 b. Han gladde sig åt varje växt centimeter.
 he rejoiced REFL for every grown centimeter
 ‘He was happy about every grown centimeter.’

We can assume that gradual change of state verbs like *växa* ‘grow’ and *kallna* ‘cool’ either take a Path complement or an (implicit) small clause complement which defines a scale (and a telos); only in the latter case do they show unaccusative behaviour.¹⁷⁸ In this respect, gradual change of state verbs resemble variable behaviour verbs; although only the latter involve an Initiator, both groups of verbs show unstable unaccusative behaviour cross-linguistically. When *resP* is missing, variable behaviour verbs can take an (implicit) Path DP with accusative case. They then behave like ordinary transitive verbs, just like *växa*; consider the contrast between (7:106) and (7:107).

¹⁷⁷ Since *dance* in (7:103) does not introduce a referential object, I represent the complement of *proc* as NP, rather than DP (following Ramchand 2008a:96).

¹⁷⁸ In the case of deadjectival verbs, the scale is defined by the base adjective, e.g. *kall* ‘cold’ (see chapter 6, section 6.2.1 above). With verbs like *växa*, it is possible that the scale is defined in relation to the subject.

- (7:106) a. Mannen sprang en kilometer.
the.man ran a kilometre
 'The man ran a kilometre.'
- b. den sprungna kilometern/*mannen
the run the.kilometre/the.man
 'the run kilometre/*man'
- (7:107) a. Mannen sprang hit (*en kilometer).
the.man ran here a kilometre
 'The man ran here/*a kilometre.'
- b. den hitsprungna mannen/*kilometern
the here.run the.man/the.kilometre
 'the man/*kilometre who ran here'

Path DPs are generally impossible with verbs like *arrive*; consider the examples in (7:108).

- (7:108) a. Båten anlände (*kilometern) till bryggan.
the.boat arrived the.kilometre to the.wharf
 'The boat arrived (*the kilometre) to the wharf.'
- b. den nyligen anlända båten/*kilometern
the recently arrived the.boat/the.kilometre
 'the recently arrived boat/*kilometre'

In other words, it is possible that the relevant difference between change of location verbs like *arrive* and variable behaviour verbs like *springa* 'run' with regard to unaccusativity is not the presence/absence of *initP* or *resP* (or telicity) but the presence/absence of an accusative DP. On an account along these lines, what characterizes unaccusative verbs is not that they cannot assign structural accusative case, but that they appear in structures that lack an accusative DP.¹⁷⁹ When unaccusative verbs ex-

¹⁷⁹ Here, a structural accusative DP can be understood as a second (lower) argument of a verb; I leave aside the question how structural case should be understood, and what the relevant features are (see e.g. Pesetsky & Torrego 2001, Sigurðsson 2003, and Platzack 2006b for discussion). Note that it would be a mistake to tie unaccusative behaviour to the absence of a *morphologically* accusative argument; the restriction is instead on the number of structurally case-marked arguments of the verb. Hence, verbs with dative objects in Icelandic examples like (i) are not unaccusative, and they therefore have passive and not active participles in the complement of BE; cf. (ii) and (iii).

- (i) Skipstjórinn sökkði skipinu.
the.captain sank the.ship.DAT
 'The captain sank the ship.'
 (Zaenen & Maling 1984:141)

press causation, it is therefore necessarily the question of internal (as opposed to external) causation (cf. Rappoport Hovav & Levin 2000).

Reflexive verbs select BE in languages like Italian and French, but not in languages like German and Danish. This difference between Romance and Germanic can be understood as a consequence of the difference in the properties of the reflexive pronouns; Romance reflexives are clitics, while the reflexive pronoun in Germanic is a case-marked DP, and reflexive verbs are therefore transitive in Germanic (see e.g. Schäfer 2008a and references cited there). With a non-clitic reflexive, the auxiliary is HAVE also in Italian; cf. (7:109a) which involves the reflexive clitic and (7:109b) which has the non-clitic reflexive (Perlmutter 1989; cf. McFadden 2007).¹⁸⁰

- (7:109) a. Giorgio si *ha/è ucciso.
Giorgio REFL has/is killed
 ‘Giorgio has killed himself.’
 b. Giorgio ha/*è ucciso sé stesso.
Giorgio has/is killed himself
 ‘Giorgio has killed *himself*.’
 (Perlmutter 1989:63, 96)

It is well known that there are also transitive verbs with unaccusative behaviour (see e.g. Belletti & Rizzi 1988, Pesetsky 1995, Hoekstra 1999 and references cited there). Consider e.g. the verb *piacere* ‘please’ in Italian; like intransitive unaccusatives, it forms a perfect with BE; see (7:110).

- (7:110) La musica è sempre piaciuta a Gianni
the music is always pleased to Gianni
 ‘The music has always pleased Gianni.’
 (Belletti & Rizzi 1988:334; cf. Pesetsky 1995:50)

-
- (ii) Skipinu var sökkt af skipstjóranum
the.ship.DAT was sunk by the.captain
 ‘The ship was sunk by the captain.’
 (Zaenen & Maling 1984:142)

- (iii)* Skipstjórinn var sökkt skipinu.
the.captain was sunk the.ship.DAT

¹⁸⁰ Some varieties of Italian have HAVE-perfects with reflexive clitics (see e.g. Kayne 1993). This does not necessarily mean that reflexive verbs do not have an unaccusative structure in these varieties, but rather that there is no one-to-one correspondence between BE-perfects and unaccusativity.

In Swedish, the transitive verb *nå* ‘reach’ can have an active reading in prenominal position; cf. (7:111a) and (7:111b).¹⁸¹

- (7:111) a. Inga nyheter nådde oss på veckor.
no news reached us in weeks
 ‘No news reached us in weeks.’
 b. de oss nyligen nådda nyheterna
the us recently reached news
 ‘the news that recently reached us’

Similarly, in Dutch, dative psych-verbs like *opvallen* ‘strike’ form perfects with BE and have active participles in prenominal position; see (7:112) (and see further e.g. Hoekstra 1984, 1999 and Bennis 2004).

- (7:112) a. dat deze fouten mij opgevallen zijn/*hebben
that these errors me struck are/have
 ‘that these errors have struck me’
 b. de mij opgevallen fouten
the me struck errors
 ‘the errors that struck me’
 (Hoekstra 1999:73f.)

Hoekstra (1999) points out that verbs like *opvallen* behave much like passives of ditransitive verbs, and it is likely that they have a similar structure. That is, the object DP of dative psych-verbs is not introduced as an argument of a verbal head, but as an argument of a silent preposition or applicative head (cf. chapter 9 below). This is arguably also the case with free datives (see e.g. Schäfer 2008a and references cited there). As noted in section 7.1.2 above, free datives are possible with unaccusative verbs like *hända* ‘happen’ and do not affect the possibility of BE in older Swedish; consider again the examples in (7:8) (repeated in (7:113) below).

- (7:113) a. Ähr eder ingen fara hänt
is you no harm happened
 ‘Has no harm happened to you’
 (Messenius II *1579:15)

¹⁸¹ In other respects, *nå* does not behave like other unaccusatives. It can, for instance, be passivized, as in (i).

(i) Vi nåddes inte av några nyheter.
we reach.PRET.PASS not by any news
 ‘We weren’t reached by any news.’

- b. at thet inte har gåt mig alt, som thet skule
 that it not has gone me everything as it should
 ‘that not everything has gone for me as it should have’
 (Horn *1629:84)

Hence, we can assume that the restriction on unaccusatives is not on the number of DPs in the structure, but on the number of DPs with structural case (or rather the number of DPs licensed by a verbal as opposed to a prepositional head). The main differences between this and the standard view are that the absence of accusative does not correlate with the absence of an external argument for all groups of verbs, and that it is the absence of an accusative DP and not the absence of the external argument that matters for unaccusativity. Given that the structure of unaccusative verbs can differ, a particular diagnostic can target either the group of unaccusatives as a whole (i.e. relate to (in)transitivity) or, as is often the case, a subgroup of them (eg. those which include *resP* or *initP*). In chapter 10, I suggest that the fact that there is only one DP argument in unaccusative structures means that no argument needs to be demoted or be implicit in the absence of T (i.e. in past participial structures).

7.6.2. Summary

The account of unaccusativity sketched above comes close to the standard view, but without tying unaccusativity to the absence of an external argument. I have tentatively suggested that unaccusative verbs, unlike unergative verbs, do not have structurally accusative arguments (in the absence of a preposition or applicative head), regardless of whether they involve an external argument (an Initiator) or not. The variable behaviour of verbs like *springa* ‘run’ and *växa* ‘grow’ reflects the fact that these verbs sometimes involve an explicit or implicit Path or Rheme DP. It is expected that change of location verbs like *arrive* are the most consistently unaccusative verbs; they have more lexical specification than e.g. *grow*, and they disallow Path DPs.

In effect, an account along these lines entails that unaccusativity depends on the complement of *proc*, in line with the suggestions by Moro (1997), Hoekstra (1999) and Folli & Harley (2006). Note, however, that the complement of *proc* is only relevant for verbs that have subjects which are both Undergoer and Initiator, or which lack an *init* feature. In other words, a transitive verb like *öppna* ‘open’ is not unaccusative, although it has *resP* in its structure. Many of the diagnostics for un-

accusativity target a subgroup of the intransitive verbs, e.g. verbs with a *res* feature or, as in the case of impersonal passives, verbs with an *init* feature.

A full account not only requires considerations of the nature of case, but also further investigations of the distinction between scale and Path. One complication is the different behaviour of DPs like *sin väg* ‘his/her way’, *en mil på väg* ‘one mile of the way’ and *en lång resa* ‘a long journey’, as noted in section 7.1.2 above.

7.7. Conclusion: the loss of BE and the establishment of HAVE

In this chapter, we have seen that the perfect with HAVE + participle of unaccusative verbs is generalized in 17th century Swedish, and that the perfect-like construction with BE consequently becomes more restricted. In a sense, the development begins as soon as the perfect with HAVE emerges, i.e. already in the oldest Scandinavian sources. In the initial stage of the development, HAVE-perfects are infrequent with all groups of verbs (see chapter 4, section 4.3.3 above), but perfects with HAVE + unaccusative verbs occur already in Old Scandinavian. We can observe three different subsequent developments in the Scandinavian languages. First, in Icelandic, the construction with BE often remains the preferred expression when there is a choice between HAVE and BE; perfects with HAVE + unaccusatives tend to have an experiential and not a resultative reading. In Swedish and Danish up to the 16th century, the use of BE was extended, but perfects with HAVE still occurred. In Danish, the development continued and BE developed into a temporal auxiliary, whereas in Swedish, the construction with HAVE took over.

It is well known that expressions with similar or overlapping semantics tend to establish different meanings and that there tend to be shifts in their distribution. In Icelandic and Swedish, the constructions with HAVE and BE can have different stylistic values, and one of them can be preferred to the other depending on context, but it is not the question of complete blocking. In both Swedish and Icelandic, there is a small, but clear, difference in meaning between the HAVE-perfect and the perfect-like construction with BE, and there are contexts where only the former is allowed. In this respect, the loss of BE and the establishment of HAVE with unaccusatives in Swedish is crucially different from the changes that Kroch (1989 et seq.) have taken to involve competition between grammatical systems. The perfect-like construction with BE and the perfect with HAVE are clearly not mutually exclusive within a

single grammar. In Danish, on the other hand, HAVE is generally impossible in perfects with unaccusative verbs; it is blocked by the perfect with BE.

In Old Swedish, the variation in the distribution of HAVE and BE does not appear to be ordered in varieties or styles. Even in the 17th and 18th century, when there are considerable differences between conservative and liberal writers, and some differences that presumably correlate with a difference between the spoken and the written language, there is no reason to talk about a BE-register and a HAVE-register; with few exceptions, there is variation between HAVE and BE within texts. In Present-Day Norwegian, on the other hand, I noted a considerable difference in the frequency of BE between written and spoken language. Moreover, as far as the (limited) investigation shows, frequent verbs like *komme* ‘come’ and *bli* ‘become’ occur more often with BE than less frequent verbs do. The lexical restrictions on participles in the complement of BE in Present-Day Norwegian are still largely what we expect given Sorace’s hierarchy. The variation between speakers remains to be investigated.

The investigation raises the question why BE is lexically restricted in Swedish, and not in Norwegian and Icelandic, particularly since the use of BE was less restricted in Old Swedish than in Old Norse (see chapter 5), and, when it comes to e.g. frequency adverbials, is still less restricted in Swedish than in Icelandic. First, past counterfactuals are far more common in Old Swedish than in Old Norse. In other words, in Swedish, there is one fairly common context where only HAVE can be used. Moreover, omission of temporal HAVE is possible in Swedish but not in the other Scandinavian languages. As pointed out above, the frequency of BE begins to drop before auxiliary omission becomes frequent. However, BE was still (marginally) grammatical with punctual change of state verbs at the beginning of the 18th century; this is the time when auxiliary omission comes in fashion (see chapter 9 below). To Karl XII (*1682), for instance, HAVE-omission is preferred to both BE and explicit HAVE in subordinate clauses. Whether the two changes are directly linked or not, they are symptomatic of the same development, namely the establishment of the new standard. In this development, features of the language spoken by higher social classes located in Central Sweden often become norm (see e.g. Larsson 2004 and references given there). The fact that preference for HAVE is somewhat greater in Central Sweden than in other areas (and in Danish), and that it can be considered a feature of the language spoken by the Swedish nobility, will by itself strengthen the position of HAVE.

The diachronic study of the loss of BE involves variation in two ways. First, there is cross-linguistic and diachronic variation in the groups of verbs which are possible in the complement of BE. Secondly, there is variation in the distribution of the constructions with HAVE and BE with a particular group of verbs. These two kinds of variation, or aspects of the variation, are partly related: when the frequency of HAVE increases, BE becomes lexically restricted. In section 7.3 above, I observed a drop in the frequency of BE in the 17th century for all groups of unaccusative verbs, but a greater change for some groups than for others. In the oldest or most conservative texts in the material, the difference between the different groups of unaccusative verbs is small; the normal construction is with BE. However, there is more variation in examples with variable behaviour verbs than in the other groups. In the youngest or least conservative texts in the material, variable behaviour verbs do not occur in the complement of BE unless they incorporate a particle. We could also note that a difference between punctual change of state verbs and change of location verbs (including variable behaviour verbs with particles) develops with time; in the younger material, the preference for HAVE is stronger in the former group than in the latter, while in the older texts, there is no significant difference between the two groups. In other words, the loss of BE involved a drop in the overall frequency of the construction with BE, followed by a complete loss of BE with participles lacking *resP* (and further frequency change) and, in the next stage, by the loss of BE with participles lacking *initP*.

The present study lends support to Sorace's (2000) Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, as well as to the verb phrase structure proposed by Ramchand (2008a); the tripartite verb phrase allows us to capture, structurally, the different behaviour of the respective groups of verbs in Sorace's hierarchy. The lexical specifications (the category features) are not so rigid that we need to assume that verbs with variable behaviour have several lexical entries, or 'unstable' argument structure. Instead, they enable us to make predictions about what verbs have the most or the least variable behaviour. Gradual change of state verbs like *vāxa* 'grow' have little lexical specifications (a *proc* feature), and also show variable behaviour. The fact that telic change of location verbs have the most invariant behaviour is due to the fact that they have the most specific lexical entry. In fact, they are the only group of unaccusatives that is lexically specified as intransitive (i.e. unaccusative), by having all three category features, and requiring an argument which is Initiator and Undergoer as well as Resultee.

In the next chapter, I look closer at the structure of the past participles and the way it relates to the structure of the verb phrase.

8. On the structure of past participles

The development of the perfect involves the emergence of a temporal auxiliary HAVE (and/or BE, depending on language) and a tensed participle, the perfect participle. In the previous chapters, we have seen that there are different kinds of tenseless past participles, and that they can have more or less in common with perfects. In chapter 6, I introduced a distinction between three different kinds of stative participles (target state, resultant state and progressive state participles) and briefly discussed the aspectual properties of resultant state participles. In the previous chapter, I investigated the change in the construction with BE in 17th century Swedish, that led to restrictions on the participles that are possible in the complement of BE.

In this chapter, I look closer at the internal structure of the different stative past participles and its relation to the structure of the verb phrase. Section 8.1 concerns resultant state participles and the question of an (implicit) Initiator in the structure of stative participles. In section 8.2, I discuss the structure of target state participles, and some problems regarding the lexical restrictions on them. Section 8.3 concerns progressive state participles. In the end of the chapter, I return to the distinctions between eventive and stative participles.

8.1. Stative participles and implicit arguments

Eventive passives can be taken to have an implicit argument in their structure (see e.g. Bhatt & Pancheva 2006 and references cited there). As noted in chapter 2, passives allow agent-oriented adverbials like *avsiktligt* ‘intentionally’ to be associated with the implicit argument and not with the surface subject; consider the contrast between (8:1a) and (8:1b).

- (8:1) a. Honⁱ blev avsiktligt^{2*vj*} lugnad.
she became intentionally calmed
 ‘She was intentionally calmed.’

- b. Honⁱ blev avsiktligt^{i/*j} lugn.
she became intentionally calmed
 ‘She intentionally got calm.’

Another argument that is often invoked is control into purpose clauses; this is typically possible with passives but not with e.g. middles; cf. (8:2a) and (8:2b).

- (8:2) a. Kakan bakades för att ha till eftermiddagsteet.
the.cake baked.PASS for to have to the.afternoon.tea
 ‘The cake was made to have with the afternoon tea.’
 b. Kakan är lättbakad (*för att ha till eftermiddagsteet).
the.cake is easy.baked for to have to the.afternoon.tea
 ‘The cake bakes easily (*to have with the afternoon tea).’
 (cf. Klingvall 2008:4)

As argued by Williams (1985) control into purpose clauses can, however, be possible in cases that can hardly be argued to involve an implicit argument; consider the example in (8:3).¹⁸²

- (8:3) Grass is green to promote photosynthesis.
 (Williams 1985:310)

Regardless of how we account for the restrictions or lack of restrictions on purpose clauses, contrasts like that in (8:1) can be assumed to relate to the presence/absence of *initP*. In the present framework, agentive or causative semantics is introduced by *init*, and is therefore missing in the absence of *init*. This does not necessarily mean that an implicit argument is present; Williams (1985:314) suggests that implicit arguments are simply unlinked theta roles, and e.g. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2004) assume that passives have an agentive verbal head that does not introduce the external argument. However, if we want to maintain that predicational structure always require a subject or that verbal heads always have a specifier (see Baker 2003), an implicit argument must be present whenever the verbal head that introduces the initial state is.

¹⁸² In Swedish, on the other hand, purpose clauses are often degraded in passives that allow agentive *by*-phrases and adverbs like *avsiktligt* ‘intentionally’, unless the purpose clause verb is also in the passive; cf. (i).

- (i) Kakan bakades för att ^{??}bjuda/bjudas på till
the.cake bake.PRET.PASS for to serve.INF/serve.INF.PASS to
the.afternoon.tea
 ‘The cake was made to be served with the afternoon tea.’

Here, I assume that syntactically active arguments are syntactically projected (cf. Bhatt & Pancheva 2006:581), and that, therefore, there is an implicit argument present in the structures of passives that involves *initP*.

However, since the external argument is not introduced directly by the lexical verb in the decomposed verb phrase, there is a possibility that certain passive or middle structures do not involve a demoted or implicit external argument, but have a structure where the head that introduces the external argument is missing altogether (cf. Kratzer 2000, Taraldsen 2006). In the following, I will assume that the participial stativizer can attach at different levels in the structure (subject to cross-linguistic variation) and abort the derivation of the verb phrase; some stative participles therefore involve truncated verb phrases. In other words, not all (stative) participles involve *initP* (and an implicit argument). Embick (2004a) proposes an account of English passives along these lines (framed in Distributed Morphology). He suggests that whereas eventive passives involve the head that introduces agentivity, stative participles with resultative aspect do not; instead they have a basically unaccusative structure.

In Swedish, both stative and eventive passives allow agentive *by*-phrases; consider the examples in (8:4) and (8:5). In the following, I leave eventive passives aside and focus on resultant state participles.

- (8:4) a. Hans död [...] var befalld av Gud
his death was commanded by God
 ‘His death had been commanded by God’
 (PAROLE)
- b. att han var mordhotad av en terroristgrupp
that he was murder.threatened by a terrorist.group
 ‘that he had been threatened to life by a terrorist group’
 (SUC)
- c. marken var uppgrävd av djur
the.ground was up.dug by animals
 ‘the ground had been dug up by animals’
 (SUC)
- (8:5) a. Nybyggare och resenärer blev överfallna av stråtrövare
settlers and travellers became attacked by brigands
 och mördare
and murderers
 ‘Settlers and travellers were attacked by brigands and murderers.’
 (PAROLE)
- b. Bägge blev anmälda av sina styvdöttrar
both became reported by their stepdaughters
 ‘both were reported by their stepdaughters’
 (PAROLE)

Agent-oriented adverbials like *avsiktligt* ‘intentionally’ are possible in stative passives; see (8:6).

- (8:6) Barnen var avsiktligtⁱ kvarlämnade av sin morⁱ.
the.children were intentionally behind.left by POSS.REFL mother
 ‘The children had been intentionally left behind by their mother.’

Moreover, both resultative manner adverbials and instrument adverbials are available in stative passives; see (8:7).¹⁸³ It therefore seems clear that stative passives can include *initP*, at least in languages like Swedish.

- (8:7) a. Håret är (noggrant) kammat med luskam.
the.hair is carefully combed with nit.comb
 ‘The hair has been (carefully) combed with a nit comb.’
 b. Dörren är öppnad med nyckel.
the.door is opened with key
 ‘The door has been opened with a key.’

If *initP* and the external argument were completely missing from the structure, passive resultant state participles would be expected to be compatible with a reading where the clause subject is the understood Initiator of the participial event (cf. Baker et al. 1989:224). This is not the case for resultant state passives in the complement of BE in Swedish; cf. (8:8a), which disallows the reading where the door opened by itself, to the adjectival participle in (8:8b), which is silent about the cause of the opening of the door. English patterns with Swedish; cf. (8:9).

- (8:8) a. Dörren är öppnad. (#Den går alltid upp av sig själv.)
the.door is opened it goes always up by REFL self
 ‘The door has been opened. (#It always opens by itself).’
 b. Dörren är öppen. (Den går alltid upp av sig själv.)
the.door is open it goes always up by REFL self
 ‘The door is open. (It always opens by itself.)’

¹⁸³ Manner adverbials are sometimes more generally taken to be attached to the head that introduces the Agent (see Adger & Tsoulas 2004). As noted, certain manner adverbials are excluded in stative passives also in the presence of an *initP*; cf. (i).

- (i) a. Håret är kammat (*med svepande rörelser).
the.hair is combed with sweeping movements
 ‘The hair has been combed (*with sweeping movements).’
 b. Lisa är (*snabbt) kammad av frisören.
Lisa is quickly combed by the.hairdresser
 ‘Lisa has been (*quickly) combed by the hairdresser’

- (8:9) a. The door is opened. (#It always opens by itself.)
 b. The door is open. (It always opens by itself.)

The conclusion is that passive and stative past participles like *öppnad* ‘opened’ involve a full verb phrase in Swedish, and presumably do so also in English (where stative and eventive passives are not morphologically distinguished).¹⁸⁴

German stative passive participles, on the other hand, seem to lack *initP* (and therefore better correspond to Embick’s resultative participles). They are incompatible with agent-oriented adverbials and instruments; see (8:10) and (8:11).¹⁸⁵

- (8:10) *Der Wein ist vom Kellner eingeschenkt.
the wine is by.the waiter poured
 Intended: ‘The wine has been poured by the waiter.’
 (Rapp 2001:396)

- (8:11) a. *Der Safe war vorsichtig/vorsätzlich geöffnet.
the safe was cautiously/on purpose opened
 Intended: ‘The safe had been cautiously opened/opened on purpose.’
 b. *Ihre Haare sind mit einem goldenen Kamm gekämmt.
her hairs are with a golden comb combed
 Intended: ‘Her hair has been combed with a golden comb.’
 (Anagnostopoulou 2003a:19)

The surface subject can be coreferent with the Initiator of the participial event in German; the resultant state passive in (8:12a) is compatible with a reading where the children have washed themselves, whereas the eventive passive in (8:12b) is not.

- (8:12) a. Die Kinder sind (*immer noch) gewaschen
the children are still washed
 i. ‘The children have washed themselves.’
 ii. ‘The children have been washed.’

¹⁸⁴ For English, the problem why agent adverbials are not possible in stative passives remains.

¹⁸⁵ Rapp (2001) distinguishes between *by*-phrases that characterize the result of the event from proper agentive *by*-phrases. The former are possible in German stative passives:

- (i) Das Bild ist von einem Künstler gemalt.
the picture is by an artist painted
 ‘The picture has been painted by an artist.’
 (Rapp 2001:396)

- b. Die Kinder sind gewaschen worden.
the children are washed been
 ‘The children have been washed.’
 (Kratzer 2000:ex. (6))

Verbs like *ermordern* ‘murder’, *bombardieren* ‘bomb’, *erschossen* ‘shoot’ cannot form stative passives in German (Anagnostopoulou 2003a:20), while in Swedish they can; cf. German in (8:13) and Swedish in (8:14).

- (8:13) a. *Er ist erschossen.
 he is shot
 b. *Sie ist ermordet.
 she is murdered

- (8:14) a. Han är skjuten.
 he is shot
 ‘He has been shot.’
 b. Hon är mördad.
 she is murdered
 ‘She has been murdered.’

I therefore conclude that stative participles with event implications involve *initP* in Swedish (and English), but not in German. In fact, in chapter 7 above, I observed that only unaccusative verbs that have an *init* feature are allowed in the complement of BE in Present-Day Swedish. In other words, resultant state participles not only can involve *initP* in Swedish, but they must.

8.2. Target state participles

Apart from the semantic distinction between resultant states and target states, Kratzer (2000) makes a further division among stative participles; she assumes that they can be either phrasal or lexical. Whereas resultant state participles are always phrasal, some target state participles are lexical and therefore lack event implications. In the following, I explore the idea that the participial stativizer attaches at different levels in the verb phrase, and that stative participles therefore can involve more or less verbal structure. I assume that all target state participles are syntactically derived and phrasal, but that they can lack *procP* and therefore need not express a process or transition. Given the tripartite verb phrase, we expect to find evidence for participles that involve *resP* and not

procP and *initP*, participles that have both *resP* and *procP* but not *initP*, and participles that include the full verb phrase; as we have seen, the latter seems to be the case for resultant state participles in Swedish.

8.2.1. The structure of target state and resultant state participles

In this section, I consider three languages which have target state participles and resultant state participles with partly different properties, namely Greek, German and Swedish. In 8.2.2, I look closer at the lexical restrictions on Swedish target state participles.

8.2.1.1. Greek

Stative past participles can involve different suffixes in Greek, either the suffix *-tos* or *-menos*; the suffix *-tos* is cognate to the Germanic past participial suffix on weak verbs (English *-ed*, I.E. **-to-*). Whereas *-menos*-participles can occur with manner adverbials and agent adverbials, *-tos*-participles cannot; cf. the *-menos*-participles in (8:15) and the *-tos*-participles in (8:16).¹⁸⁶

- (8:15) a. Ta keftedakia ine prosektika tiganis-mena
 the meatballs are carefully fried
 ‘The meatballs are fried carefully.’
 b. Ta keftedakia ine tiganis-mena apo tin Maria
 the meatballs are fried by the Mary
 ‘The meatballs are fried by Mary’
 (Anagnostopoulou 2003a:13)

- (8:16) a. *Ta keftedakia ine prosektika tigan-ita
 the meatballs are carefully fried
 b. *Ta keftedakia ine tigan-ita apo tin Maria
 the meatballs are fried by the Mary
 (Anagnostopoulou 2003a:13)

Anagnostopoulou (2003a) suggests that *-tos*-participles involve a bare root embedded under an adjectival stativizer.¹⁸⁷ Like Swedish stative passives, *-menos*-participles can include *initP* (corresponding to VoiceP in Anagnostopoulou 2003a).

¹⁸⁶ Both *-menos*-participles and *-tos*-participles inflect like adjectives and have functions similar to those of adjectives (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008).

¹⁸⁷ This is also the structure that Embick (2004a) suggests for adjectival participles.

Some, but not all, Greek *-menos*-participles can be modified by an adverbial meaning *still*; see (8:17) and (8:18). Anagnostopoulou (2003a) concludes that *-menos*-participles can have either a target state or a resultant state reading.

- (8:17) a. Ta pedhia ine akoma krimena
the children are still hidden
 ‘The children are still hidden.’
 b. Ta lasticha ine akoma fuskomena
the tires are still pumped.up
 ‘The tires are still inflated.’
 (Anagnostopoulou 2003a:15)
- (8:18) a. To theorima ine (*akoma) apodedigmeno
the theorem is still proven
 ‘The theorem has (*still) been proven.’
 b. Ta ruxa ine (*akoma) stegnomena.
the clothes are still dried
 ‘The clothes have (*still) been dried.’
 (Anagnostopoulou 2003a:15)

Unlike resultant state *-menos*-participles, *-menos*-participles that are modified by *akoma* ‘still’ disallow agent adverbials; see (8:19).

- (8:19) Ta lastixa itan akoma fuskomena (*apo tin Maria).
the tires were still pumped.up by the Mary
 ‘The tires were still inflated.’
 (Anagnostopoulou 2003a:22)

Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2008) propose that Greek target state participles either completely lack verbal structure or involve a verbalizer *v* (corresponding to *procP* here); in the former case, they have the suffix *-tos*, and in the latter case the suffix *-menos*. Resultant state participles involve the head that introduces the external argument (*initP*) and are also realized as *-menos*-participles. However, an *initP* is not obligatory in Greek resultant state participles. Unaccusative change of state verbs can generally form *-menos*-participles; see (8:20).

- (8:20) a. i kersasia ine anthismeni
the cherry.tree is blossomed
 ‘The cherry tree has blossomed’
 b. to sidero ine sapismeno
the iron is rotten
 ‘The iron has rotted.’
 (Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2008:39)

The difference between target state and resultant state participles can therefore not depend on the presence/absence of *initP*. Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2008:41) suggest that they instead involve different stativizers; target state participles have a stativizer that denotes a target state, whereas resultant state participles have a stativizer that denotes a resultant state. On my account, the difference lies in the presence/absence of Asp (cf. chapter 6 above): resultant state participles have bounded or resultative aspect whereas the target state reading is a consequence of the structure of the embedded verb (the presence of *resP*).

This gives us the stative participles in (8:21).¹⁸⁸ Since resultant state participles can be formed from any verb, they need not have *initP* and *resP* in their structure; the structure depends on what verb they are formed from.

- (8:21) a. Target state *-tos*-participles:
 [VoiceP Voice [*resP res*]]
 b. Target state *-menos*-participles:
 [VoiceP Voice [*procP proc* [*resP res*]]]
 c. Resultant state *-menos*-participles:
 [AspP Asp [VoiceP Voice [*procP proc*]]]
 [AspP Asp [VoiceP Voice [*procP proc* [*resP res*]]]]
 [AspP Asp [VoiceP Voice [*initP init* [*procP proc* [*resP res*]]]]]]

8.2.1.2. German

As in Greek, some German target state participles can be modified by resultative manner adverbials like *schlampig* ‘sloppily’, unlike adjectives; see (8:22) (and cf. (8:15) above). Kratzer concludes that target state participles can involve verbal structure.

- (8:22) a. Die Haare waren immer noch schlampig gekämmt.
the hairs were still sloppily combed
 ‘The hair was still combed sloppily.’
 b. *Die Haare waren schlampig fettig.
the hairs were sloppily greasy
 Intended: ‘The hair was greasy in a sloppy way.’
 (Kratzer 2000:(16))

¹⁸⁸ Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou assume that all participles are AspPs (cf. Embick 2004a). I translate their Aspect to Voice, and only include an aspectual phrase in the resultant state participles.

Whereas German resultant state participles always have event implications, target state participles do not necessarily do so. Therefore, we can assume that there are three different kinds of stative participles in German, as in Greek, but, unlike the Greek participles, none of them involves an *initP*; see the structures in (8:23) (and cf. (8:21) above).

- (8:23) a. Target state participle I:
 [VoiceP Voice [_{resP} res]]
 b. Target state participle II:
 [VoiceP Voice [_{procP} proc [_{resP} res]]]
 c. Resultant state participles:
 [_{AspP} Asp [VoiceP Voice [_{procP} proc]]]
 [_{AspP} Asp [VoiceP Voice [_{procP} proc [_{resP} res]]]]

8.2.1.3. Swedish

As in Greek and German, target state participles do not allow agent adverbials in Swedish; see (8:24).¹⁸⁹ Unlike the corresponding eventive passive or resultant state passive, the example in (8:24b) is compatible with a reading where the clause subject is the Initiator of the combing.

- (8:24) a. Sängen är fortfarande bäddad (*av Frida).
the.bed is still made by Frida
 ‘The bed is still made (*by Frida).’
 b. Hon är fortfarande kammad i håret (*av Frida).
she is still combed in the.hair by Frida
 ‘Her hair is still combed (*by Frida).’

Also instrument adverbials are incompatible with target state participles; see (8:25). Hence, target state participles do not include *initP* in their structure in Swedish, as resultant state participles do.

- (8:25) a. Skatten är fortfarande nedgrävd (*med spade).
the.treasure is still down.digged with spade
 ‘The treasure is still buried (*with a spade).’

¹⁸⁹ Examples such as (i) with *by*-phrases like *av polisen* ‘by the police’ are grammatical despite the target state reading; the restriction on the *by*-phrase suggests that it is not a true agent adverbial.

- (i) Stället är fortfarande stängt av polisen/*by Lisa.
the.place is still closed by the.police/by Lisa
 ‘The place is still kept closed by the police/*by Lisa.’

- b. Hon är fortfarande kammad i håret (*med guldkam).
she is still combed in the.hair with golden.comb
 ‘Her hair is still combed (*with a golden comb).’

Resultative manner adverbials, on the other hand, can cooccur with *fortfarande* in a stative passive in Swedish, as in Greek and German; see (8:26).

- (8:26) Lampan var fortfarande ordentligt släckt.
the.lamp was still properly turned.off
 ‘The lamp was still properly turned off.’

However, the adverbial in examples like (8:26) does not state that the process of switching off the light was careful, but rather expresses that the light is still completely off. Similarly, an example like (8:27) could be a comment on the hair of a newly bought doll, and it does not necessarily imply that there ever was an event of combing the hair.

- (8:27) Dockan var ordentligt kammad i håret (när jag köpte den).
the.doll was carefully combed in the.hair when I bought it
 ‘The hair of the doll was carefully combed (when I bought it).’

Hence, adverbials like *ordentligt* ‘carefully’ do not seem to require a *procP* in Swedish, but may possibly modify *resP*. Consequently, the possibility of modification with resultative manner adverbials does not present evidence for a target state participle with a *procP* in Swedish.¹⁹⁰ I therefore assume the structures for stative participles in Swedish given in (8:28). Since resultant state participles can be formed from both telic and atelic verbs they may include a *resP*, but they need not.

- (8:28) a. Target state participles:
 [VoiceP Voice [*resP res*]]
 b. Resultant state participles:
 i. [AspP Asp [VoiceP Voice [*initP init* [*procP proc*]]]]
 ii. [AspP Asp [VoiceP Voice [*initP init* [*procP proc* [*resP res*]]]]]

In the following, I will assume that these are the only structures for target state and resultant state participles in Swedish. That is, the struc-

¹⁹⁰ This calls into question the conclusion that German and Greek target state participles have *procP*, which was based on the possibility of resultative manner adverbials. As we will see in section 8.2.3 below, there are, however, additional differences between Swedish and German that can be accounted for, given the assumption that German target state participles may involve more structure.

tures in (8:29) below are missing in Present-Day Swedish. Note that the assumption that Swedish target state participles lack *procP* does not entail that target state participles are never used to convey that a process or transition has occurred, only that the participle does not itself assert process or transition.

- (8:29) a. [VoiceP Voice [*procP proc* [*resP res*]]]
 b. [AspP Asp [VoiceP Voice [*procP proc*]]]
 c. [AspP Asp [VoiceP Voice [*procP proc* [*resP res*]]]]

We have seen that the construction with BE + active verbal participle is restricted to unaccusatives with an *init* feature in Present-Day Swedish. Thus, the loss of BE in the history of Swedish can be understood as the loss of participles with either of the structures in (8:29). From the historical records it is impossible to know if all three structures in (8:29) were possible at some stage. Particularly, there is no clear evidence that the structure in (8:29a) actually was. I leave this question aside.

As noted, a few unaccusatives form target state participles also in Present-Day Swedish; these have the structure in (8:28a) above. Since the subject of unaccusative verbs is base-generated below *initP* (in *spec-res*), target state participles of unaccusative verbs have an active reading.

8.2.2. Lexical restrictions on target state participles

If target state participles include *resP*, they should be formed only from verbs with a *res* feature, and, if there are no further restrictions on truncation than those imposed by the participial stativizer, it is expected that all verbs that have a *res* feature form a target state participle.

Verbs like *fylla* ‘fill’, *släcka* ‘turn off’ and *försvinna* ‘disappear’ have a *res* feature in their lexical specification and form target state participles, as expected; see (8:30).

- (8:30) a. Tunnan är fortfarande fylld med vatten.
the.barrel is still filled with water
 ‘The barrel is still filled with water.’
 b. Lampan är fortfarande tänd.
the.lamp is still turned.on
 ‘The lamp is still turned on.’
 c. Han är fortfarande försvunnen.
he is still disappeared
 ‘He is still missing.’

- d. De är fortfarande gömda och glömda.
they are still hidden and forgotten
 ‘They are still hidden and forgotten.’

Given the structures assumed here, verbs like *läsa* ‘read’ and *baka* ‘bake’ which take Rheme objects are, on the other hand, predicted to be ungrammatical in target state participles, since they lack *res* feature (cf. chapter 6 above). As expected, the examples in (8:31) are ungrammatical with *fortfarande* ‘still’. The resultant state participles in (8:32), on the other hand, are grammatical.

- (8:31) a. *Den här boken är fortfarande läst.
this here the.book is still read
 b. *Kakorna är fortfarande bakade.
the.cakes are still baked
- (8:32) a. Den här boken är läst två gånger.
this here the.book is read two times
 ‘This book has been read twice.’
 b. Kakorna är redan bakade. (Sätt på kaffet!)
the.cakes are already baked put on the.coffee
 ‘The cakes have already been baked. (Make some coffee!)’

Examples with Paths pattern with verbs with Rheme objects, as predicted. Hence, the example in (8:33a) is ungrammatical, whereas (8:33b) is grammatical (but marked).

- (8:33) a. *Den värsta sträckan är fortfarande sprungen.
the worst the.stretch is still run
 b. Nu är den värsta sträckan äntligen sprungen.
now is the worst the.stretch finally run
 ‘The worst stretch has finally been run.’

Gradual change of state verbs lack *res* feature and are accordingly expected to be ungrammatical in target state participles. Considering the participles in (8:34) and (8:35), this appears to be the case.

- (8:34) a. Skeppet är (*fortfarande) sänkt.
the.ship is still sunk
 ‘The ship has (*still) been sunk.’
 b. Räntan är (*fortfarande) höjd.
the.interest.rate is still raised
 ‘The interest rate has (*still) been raised.’
 c. Repet är (*fortfarande) förlängt.
the.rope is still lengthened
 ‘The rope has (*still) been lengthened.’

- (8:35) a. det (*fortfarande) gulnade pappret
the still yellowed the.paper
 ‘the paper which (*still) has turned yellow’
 b. det (*fortfarande) kallnade kaffet
the still cooled the.coffee
 ‘the coffee which (*still) has turned cold’

As we have already seen, not all participles of inherently telic verbs form participles that allow modification by *fortfarande*. Unaccusative verbs like *anlända* ‘arrive’ or particle verbs like *komma hem* ‘come home’, which are instantaneous and obligatorily bounded, and which presumably carry *res* features, do not form target state participles; see the examples in (8:36).

- (8:36) a. *Flyget är fortfarande anlant.
the.flight is still arrived
 b. *Frida är fortfarande hemkommen.
Frida is still home.come

Two possibilities come to mind: either these verbs must project a full verb phrase, or the *resP* does not express a state which can be modified by *fortfarande*, but simply a goal or transition point. If the former is the case, a verb like *komma* ‘come’ is expected to behave the same regardless of what kind of particle or PP it takes. Considering examples like those in (8:37), this largely appears to be the case.¹⁹¹

- (8:37) a. *Den är fortfarande inkommen.
it is still in.come
 b. *Boken är fortfarande utkommen.
the.book is still out.come
 c. *Den är fortfarande hitkommen från Stockholm.
it is still here.come from Stockholm
 d. *Hon är fortfarande kommen från Stockholm med buss.
she is still come from Stockholm by bus

With *resa* ‘travel’ there is one exception, namely *bortrest* ‘away’ (lit. ‘away-travelled’); see (8:38). In fact, as pointed out to me by Elisabet Engdahl, target state participles tend to express motion away from the deictic centre; predicates like *försvinna* ‘disappear’ and *resa bort* ‘go

¹⁹¹ With *bort* ‘away’, *komma* forms an adjectival participle; see (i).

- (i) Han är ganska bortkommen.
he is pretty away.come
 ‘He is pretty lost.’

away' form target state participles, whereas *återfinna* 'find, recover' and *resa hem* 'go home' do not. The type of target state does therefore appear to have some effect on the possibility of target state participles.

- (8:38) a. * Han är fortfarande hemrest.
he is still home.travelled
 b. * Han är fortfarande hitrest.
he is still here.travelled
 c. * Han är fortfarande avrest.
he is still off.travelled
 d. * Hon är fortfarande rest till Stockholm.
she is still travelled to Stockholm
 e. Han är fortfarande bortrest.
he is still away.travelled
 'He is still away.'

According to Kratzer (2000), the group of verbs that form target state passives in German coincides with the group that can be modified by *for*-PPs, which specify the duration of the target state; cf. the accomplishment verbs (in the sense of Vendler 1967) *aufpumpen* 'pump up' and *leeren* 'empty' in (8:39) and (8:40).

- (8:39) a. Die Reifen sind immer noch aufgepumpt.
the tires are still up.pumped
 'The tires are still inflated.'
 b. Der Briefkasten ist (*immer noch) geleert.
the mail.box is still emptied
 'The mail box has (*still) been emptied.'
 (Kratzer 2000:ex. (1), (2))

- (8:40) a. Wir werden das Boot für ein paar Stunden aufpumpen.
we will the boat for a couple hours up.pump
 'We will inflate the boat for a few hours.'
 Implies that the boat will remain inflated for a few hours.
 b. * Wir werden den Briefkasten für drei Tage leeren.
we will the mailbox for three days empty
 Intended: 'We will empty the mailbox and have it empty for three days.'
 (Kratzer 2000:ex. (10), (11))

To Kratzer, the difference between *aufpumpen* and *leeren* provides an argument against the syntactic decomposition of accomplishments into an eventive and a stative component. She assumes that if decomposition of the verbs were involved, the verb *leeren* but not the verb *aufpumpen* would form target state participles, rather than the other way around;

leeren is a compositional causative, while the stative part of a particle verb like *aufpumpen* would be specified only by the particle *auf*. With the analysis of particles that I have assumed here, the latter is, in fact, precisely what is expected: particles (but not adjectives like *leer* ‘empty’) identify the *res* head and specify the target state.

In Swedish, the group of verbs that form target state participles does not coincide with the verbs that allow *for*-adverbials that specify the duration of the target state. While neither verb forms a target state participle, *komma hem* but not *anlända* allows *for*-adverbials; see the contrast between (8:41a) and (8:41b).

- (8:41) a. Frida kom bara hem i fem minuter idag.
Frida came only home for five minutes today
 ‘Frida only came home for five minutes today.’
 b. *Frida anlände i fem minuter.
Frida arrived for five minutes

The availability of *for*-adverbials seems to depend on the particle to a slightly higher extent than the availability of target state participles does; consider (8:42) and (8:43) on the reading where the adverbial specifies the duration of the target state.¹⁹²

- (8:42) a. Hon kom in i två minuter.
she came in for two minutes
 ‘She came in for two minutes.’
 b. Hon kom ut i några minuter (för att prata med mig).
she came out for some minutes for to talk with me
 ‘She came out for two minutes (to talk to me).’
 c. *Boken kom ut i flera veckor.
the.book came out for several weeks
- (8:43) a. Hon reste hem i några dagar.
she travelled home for some days
 ‘She went home for a couple of days.’
 b. Hon reste hit i några dagar.
she travelled here for some days
 ‘She went here for a couple of days.’
 c. *Hon avreste i några dagar.
she off.travelled for some days
 Intended: ‘She went off and stayed away for a couple of days.’

¹⁹² The preposition *i* ‘in’ of the *for*-adverbial is not obligatory; some speakers prefer the examples in (8:42) and (8:43) without it.

It is possible that a particle or PP cannot be modified by a *for*-adverbial when it does not specify a Place, but simply a point of transition; note the difference between (8:43a–b) and (8:43c). Similarly, while (8:42b) states that she is outside for a few minutes, (8:42c) does not say where the book goes. As noted in connection to (8:41) above, the verb *anlända* does not allow *for*-adverbials; the prefix *an-* denotes transition. We can assume that the distinction between different PPs and particles depends on their internal structure.¹⁹³ For the present purposes, it suffices that the properties of *resP* can vary depending on what lexical item it is linked to and what complement it takes. In this way, *for*-adverbials that specify the duration of the target state are restricted in a similar way as *for*-adverbials that express the duration of the process. Depending partly on the lexical items involved, the latter can be excluded when *proc* takes a *resP* as its complement. For instance, a verb like *anlända* involves *procP*, but the process cannot be modified by a *for*-adverbial that specifies the duration of the process; see (8:44) (cf. also the examples in (6:63) and (6:64) above).

- (8:44) * Flyget anlände i tre minuter.
 the flight *arrived for* *three minutes*

As noted, the group of verbs that allows *for*-adverbials that specify the duration of the target state apparently coincides with the verbs that form target state participles in German; since it is not completely predictable what verbs belong to this group, Kratzer takes this as an argument against a syntactically introduced target state. In Swedish, we have seen that there is a mismatch between the availability of *for*-adverbials that specify the duration of the target state and the possibility of target state participles; the verbs that form target state participles appear to be a subgroup of the verbs that take *for*-adverbials. Without going into specifics, I suggested above that *for*-adverbials are restricted to certain kinds of target states (*resPs*). The possibility of target state participles is more limited; not only is a *resP* with certain properties required, the semantics of the lexical verb must also allow for truncation of the verb phrase. It is perhaps not unexpected that the possibility of truncation can coincide with the presence of a *resP* with the relevant properties, as it does in German. Moreover, since target state participles in Swedish presumably lack both *initP* and *procP*, we expect Swedish to be more restrictive with regard to what verbs can form target state participles

¹⁹³ For a discussion of the structure of prepositions and particles, see e.g. Koopman (2000), Svenonius (2007) and Tunsteth (2008), and references given there.

than German, where target state participles can include also *procP*. This account is neither purely lexical, nor purely syntactic; a target state is introduced in the structure by *resP*, but a lexical item with a *res* feature and the appropriate encyclopaedic content is also required for a target state participle to be available.

The behaviour of verbs like *kamma* ‘comb’ is harder to reconcile with the analysis of target state participles proposed here. Without a particle, *kamma* does not identify *res*; among other things, it can have atelic and unbounded readings as in (8:45).

- (8:45) a. Nu kammar han håret i tio minuter.
now combs he the.hair for ten minutes
 ‘Now, he is combing his hair for ten minutes.’
 b. När vi kom hem, kammade han håret.
when we came home combed he the.hair
 ‘When we came home, he was combing his hair.’
 (simultaneous or sequential)

Nevertheless, *kamma* appears to form a target state participle, as do a number of other verbs that do not have a *res* feature; see (8:46) which convey that nothing has been done to undo the event of combing or making the bed, and that the consequences of the event therefore remains.

- (8:46) a. Han är fortfarande kammad i håret.
he is still combed in the.hair
 b. Sängen är fortfarande bäddad.
the.bed is still made
 c. Däcken är fortfarande pumpade.
the.tires are still pumped
 d. Väggen är fortfarande målad.
the.wall is still painted

If a *res* feature could be supplied by the participial morphology, additional assumptions would be required to restrict its use to cases like those in (8:46); examples like (8:47) are unavailable (even if it is possible to find an appropriate context).

- (8:47) *Blommorna är fortfarande vattnade. (Så vi behöver inte
the.plants are still watered (so we need not
water them again på flera dagar.)
water them again for several days)
 Intended: ‘The flowers still have water, so we do not need to water them again for several days.’

In fact, the examples in (8:46) appear to be rather exceptional; cf. the examples in (8:48) below.

- (8:48) a. *Mattan är fortfarande skurad.
 the.carpet is still cleaned
 b. *Gräsmattan är fortfarande klippt.
 the.lawn is still mown

With none of the verbs in (8:46) above can a *for*-adverbial specify the duration of the target state; see (8:49) below (the reading where the adverbial relates to the process is disregarded).

- (8:49) a. *Han pumpade däcken i ett par timmar.
 he pumped the.tires for a couple of hours
 b. *Han bäddade sängen i några dagar.
 he made the.bed for some days
 c. *Han kammade håret i några timmar.
 he combed the.hair for some hours
 d. *Han målade väggen i några timmar.
 he painted the.wall for some hours

When looking at verbs that are expected to include *resP* in their structure, I noted that target state participles are possible with a subgroup of the verbs that allow these *for*-adverbials, and not the other way around.

One way of getting around the problem would be to say that examples like those in (8:46) above all involve an implicit adverbial over which *fortfarande* takes scope; with *kammad* ‘combed’ or *pumpad* ‘pumped’ the adverbial could correspond to ‘well’ or ‘properly’; with *målade* ‘painted’ it would be a colour. Additional assumptions would be required to account for the fact that degree modifiers are not possible; cf. (8:50) where a degree modifier is possible in the presence of an adverbial *ordentligt* ‘properly’, but not otherwise.

- (8:50) a. Han är fortfarande (*ganska) kammad i håret.
 he is still pretty combed in the.hair
 ‘His hair is still (*pretty) combed.’
 b. Han är fortfarande (ganska) ordentligt kammad i håret.
 he is still pretty carefully combed in the.hair
 ‘His hair is still combed (pretty) carefully.’

In any case, participles like *kammad* do not provide an argument for a purely lexical or idiosyncratic analysis of target states, nor for an account that assumes that roots lack category features; the problem is that

verbs like *kamma* appear to involve a target state according to some diagnostics and not according to others.

8.2.3. Summary

In this section, I proposed that target state participles and resultant state participles in Present-Day Swedish either involve only *resP* embedded under VoiceP (target state participles), or a full verb phrase, necessarily including an *initP* (resultant state participles). In this respect, Swedish differs from both German and Greek. In German, no stative passives have *initP* in their structure, while in Greek they can, but need not.

Particularly with regard to target state participles, there are several remaining questions. I have pointed to a group of verbs (e.g. *kamma* ‘comb’) which appear to form target state participles, although they presumably lack *res* feature. Further investigation of the properties of target states is required, particularly since the different diagnostics point in partly different directions. Since it seems unlikely that the solution to these problems have a bearing on our understanding of the issues at hand, I leave them for future work and maintain the generalization that Swedish target state participles consist of *resP* embedded under Voice.

8.3. Progressive states

I have noted that verbs which have target state participles, do not form progressive state participles, and the other way around. This section is concerned with the structure of progressive state participles, and the question what characterizes the verbs that they are formed from.

8.3.1. The structure of progressive state participles

Like target state participles, progressive state participles can be modified by *fortfarande* ‘still’; see the examples in (8:51), which have an ongoing reading (cf. chapter 6 above). Unlike target state participles, progressive state participles are grammatical with agent-oriented adverbials.

- (8:51) a. Vagnen är fortfarande dragen av vita hästar.
 the.chariot is still pulled by white horses
 ‘The chariot is still being pulled by white horses.’

- b. Han är fortfarande jagad av polisen.
he is still chased by the police
 ‘He is still being chased by the police.’

Instrument adverbials are also (marginally) available, while manner adverbials like *långsamt* ‘slowly’ are not:

- (8:52) a. ? Han är jagad med hund.
he is chased with dog
 ‘He is being chased with dogs.’
 b. Vagnen är (*långsamt) dragen av vita hästar.
the.chariot is slowly pulled by white horses
 ‘The chariot is being (*slowly) pulled by white horses.’

The availability of agent-oriented adverbials and instruments suggest the presence of *initP* in the structure. I therefore take Swedish progressive state participles to have the structure in (8:53) below.

- (8:53) Progressive state participles:
 [_{VoiceP} Voice [_{initP} *init* [_{procP} *proc*]]]

Hence, progressive state participles include *initP* like resultant state participles, but like target state participles they lack *AspP*.

8.3.2. Restrictions

Verbs like *använda* ‘use’ form both progressive state participles and resultant state participles, and verbs like *fylla* ‘fill’ have both target state participles and resultant state participles; see (8:54) and (8:55). Whether one reading is preferred to the other, depends on the participial verbs as well as on context.

- (8:54) a. Just nu är gungan använd av Lisa. (Du får vänta
just now is the.swing used by Lisa you may wait
 på din tur.)
for your turn
 ‘Right now, the swing is being used by Lisa. (You must wait for your turn.’
 b. Tröjan är redan använd.
the.sweater is already used
 ‘The sweater has already been used.’

- (8:55) a. Tunnan är fortfarande fylld med vatten.
the.barrel is still filled with water
 ‘The barrel is still filled with water.’
- b. Tunnan är redan fylld av Lisa.
the.barrel is already filled by Lisa
 ‘This barrel has already been filled by Lisa.’

As noted, change of location verbs like *anlända* ‘arrive’ do not have target state participles, presumably since their meaning does not allow truncation of the verb phrase. There is also another group of verbs which neither form progressive state participles nor target state participles, namely eventive verbs with Rheme or Path objects (disregarding exceptions like *kamma* ‘comb’). I noted above that predicates like *läsa en bok* ‘read a book’ or *springa en kilometer* ‘run a kilometre’ are ungrammatical in target state passives; see the examples in (8:31) and (8:33) above. Also progressive state participles are unavailable with these verbs; consider the examples in (8:56), which are ungrammatical (independently of context).

- (8:56) a. *Kakorna är fortfarande bakade. (Vi måste vänta tills
the.cakes are still baked we must wait until
de är färdiga.)
they are ready
 Intended: ‘The cakes are still being baked. (We must wait until they are ready.)’
- b. *Kilometern är fortfarande sprungen. (Det tar tid.)
the.kilometre is still run it takes time
 Intended: ‘The kilometre is still being run. (It takes time.)’

As noted, telic predicates like *läsa boken* ‘read the book’ can otherwise have an ongoing reading; consider the contrast between (8:57a) and (8:57b).

- (8:57) a. Han läser boken i tio minuter.
he reads the.book for ten minutes
 ‘He is reading the book for ten minutes.’
- b. *Boken är läst i tio minuter.
the.book is read for ten minutes
 Intended: ‘The book has been being read for ten minutes.’

The ungrammaticality of the examples in (8:56) is, in fact, not due directly to telicity; progressive state participles are equally impossible when the promoted DP is not quantized:

- (8:58) a. *Kaka är fortfarande bakad. (Vi måste vänta tills det är färdigt.)
cake is still baked we must wait until it is ready
 Intended: ‘Cake is still being baked. (We must wait until it is ready.)’
- b. *Serietidningar är fortfarande lästa.
comic.books are still read
 Intended: ‘Comic books are still being read.’ (ongoing)

The difference between verbs like *baka* ‘bake’ and *använda* ‘use’ with regard to progressive state participles cannot be due directly to category features; both *baka* and *använda* have *init* and *proc* features. I propose that the possible readings of the passives instead are a direct consequence of the origin of the DP promoted to subject. The verbs that form progressive state participles all have object DPs that are Undergoers; they are therefore atelic independently of whether the object is quantized or not (cf. chapter 6 above).¹⁹⁴ Target state participles are formed from some of the verbs that have a *resP* in their structure, and the promoted subject is Resultee. In other words, target state and progressive state passives express that a state holds of the clause subject in its capacity of Undergoer or Resultee.

As far as I can see, there are no verbs that form both target state and progressive state participles. Participles of verbs like *jaga* ‘chase’ do not have a progressive state reading when *resP* (a particle) is added; see (8:59).

- (8:59) a. Vagnen är (*fortfarande) ivägdragen.
the.chariot is still away.pulled
 ‘The chariot has (*still) been pulled away.’
- b. Han är (*fortfarande) uppjagad i trädet.
he is still up.chased in the.tree
 ‘He has (*still) been chased up into the tree.’

¹⁹⁴ The ditransitive verb *erbjuda* ‘offer’ is a possible exception, since it forms a progressive state participle, independently of which object is promoted to clause subject.

- (i) Hon är fortfarande erbjuden ett jobb.
she is still offered a job
 ‘She is still offered a job.’
- (ii) Jobbet är fortfarande erbjudet henne.
the.job is still offered her
 ‘The job is still offered to her.’

To maintain that the subject of progressive state passives is always Undergoer, we have to assume that the verb phrases in the examples in (i) and (ii) have different structures.

This restriction is expected since the presence of *resP* makes a bounded or resultative reading obligatory in Swedish (see chapter 6, section 6.2.2 above). Unlike both resultant state participles and target state participles, progressive state participles therefore necessarily lack *resP*.

Also PPs that express a telos make the progressive state reading impossible or hard to get, although the preposition does not necessarily associate with *res*. The example in (8:60) is, however, not completely ungrammatical, although a BECOME-passive or a morphological passive is highly preferred.

- (8:60) ??Han är fortfarande jagad från Kina.
 he is still chased from China
 ‘He is still being chased from China.’

In chapter 6 above (fn. 152), I noted that telic PPs more generally tend to make an unbounded reading difficult to get; cf. (8:61), which is also slightly degraded.

- (8:61) ? De jagar honom fortfarande från Kina.
 they chase him still from China
 ‘They are still chasing him from China.’ (ongoing)

8.3.3. Summary

In chapter 6, I noted that verbs that form progressive state participles do not form target state participles, and the other way around. This is accounted for with the structures assumed here: progressive state participles necessarily lack *resP*, whereas target state participles necessarily involve *resP*. If target state participles and progressive state participles involved an AspP with unbounded or resultative aspect, we would have to explain why verbs that are otherwise not incompatible with unbounded aspect do not have progressive state participles. We have, for example, seen that verbs like *äta* ‘eat’ and *läsa* ‘read’ can have unbounded readings also in a telic context, but they do not form progressive state participles.

I have suggested that the interpretation of participles that lack AspP depends on the origin of the DP that is promoted to subject: an Undergoer yields a progressive state participle and a Resultee a target state participle. In chapter 9 below, we will see that also the interpretation of the perfect-like construction with HAVE may depend on the structure of the complement.

While target state and progressive state participles both lack AspP, only the latter involve *init*P, like resultant state participles do. Hence, in Swedish, the participial stativizer always attaches to a state, either the initial state or the target state.

8.4. The participial stativizer

In the previous sections, I have sketched a structural account of three kinds of stative past participles in Swedish. I have referred to a participial stativizer which can attach in different positions (depending on language and participle), and which allows the participial verb to have unlinked category features. In this section, I further consider the origin of the stativity.

8.4.1. Stative and eventive participles

In traditional Swedish grammars, the implicit assumption tends to be that the difference between stative passives with BE and eventive passives with BECOME lies exclusively in the auxiliary; a distinction between stative and eventive *participles* is usually not made. There is, however, reason to distinguish stative from eventive participles, regardless of auxiliary.

We know that BE and BECOME have different selectional restrictions in Swedish: BECOME but not BE requires a passive past participle. Moreover, there are, as far as I know, no eventive counterparts to target state participles (with or without *proc*P); participles with truncated verb phrase structure appear always to be stative, and the possibility of truncation therefore seems to be due to the presence of a stativizer.

In Icelandic, active past participles in the complement of BE are necessarily stative, whereas passives are not; cf. again (8:62) below. Without a distinction between stative and eventive participles, we would have to assume that Icelandic has two different but homonymous passive auxiliaries, one which is eventive (and licenses manner adverbials) and one which is stative (and does not); only the latter allows participles of unaccusative verbs.

- (8:62) a. Brauðið var fryst hratt.
the.bread was frozen quickly
 'The bread was frozen quickly.'

- b. Brauðið var frosið (*hratt).
the.bread was frozen quickly
 ‘The bread has frozen (*quickly).’

In Swedish, manner adverbials are, as noted, possible in passives with BECOME, but not with BE; see again (8:63) below.

- (8:63) a. Tunnan var (*långsamt) fylld med vatten.
the.barrel was slowly filled with water
 ‘The barrel had been (*slowly) filled with water.’
 b. Tunnan blev långsamt fylld med vatten.
the.barrel became slowly filled with water
 ‘The barrel was slowly filled with water.’

Manner adverbials are, however, possible also in constructions with BECOME + adjective, but not with BE; see (8:64). One could therefore assume that the structure associated with BECOME licenses the manner adverbial also in the passive, and that the participle is the same in both (8:63a) and (8:63b). This would basically mean that all Swedish participles are stative (and not that they are all eventive).

- (8:64) a. Hon är (*snabbt) glad.
she is quickly happy
 ‘She (*quickly) is happy.’
 b. Hon blir snabbt glad.
she becomes quickly happy
 ‘She quickly becomes happy.’

However, unlike adjectives like *glad* ‘happy’, participles in the complement of BE may involve a full verb phrase and an aspectual head with bounded or resultative aspect. If the participle is the same in both stative and eventive passives, we would have to assume that the auxiliary BE in some way blocks the possibility of manner adverbials without blocking agent-oriented adverbials, instruments and adverbials of frequency and iteration at the same time. On the other hand, if the participle in the complement of BE is stative, manner adverbials are expected to be unavailable, as with stative verbs like those in (8:65).

- (8:65) a. Hon bor (*snabbt) i Göteborg.
she lives quickly in Gothenburg
 ‘She (*quickly) lives in Gothenburg.’
 b. Han gillar (*långsamt) morötter.
he likes slowly carrots
 ‘He (*slowly) likes carrots.’

Moreover, past participles can be modified by manner adverbials also in the absence of an eventive auxiliary; see the reduced relatives with participles in (8:66).

- (8:66) a. en man långsamt slagen i schack
a man slowly beaten in chess
 ‘a man who was slowly beaten in chess’
 b. ett brev långsamt och eftertänksamt skrivet för hand
a letter slowly and thoughtfully written by hand
 ‘a letter which was slowly and thoughtfully written by hand’

In other words, reduced relatives like those in (8:66) seem to involve eventive participles (see Rapp 2001 for a similar conclusion for German). Therefore, I conclude that participles can be either eventive or stative. In Swedish, BE takes stative complements, whereas BECOME selects for eventive and passive past participles. Only stative participles can presumably involve truncated verb phrases.

We have seen that unaccusative verbs like *kallna* ‘cool’ do not have stative participles in the complement of BE in Present-Day Swedish. Some of them do, however, have participles in attributive position and in postnominal reduced relatives; cf. (8:67).

- (8:67) a. det kallnade kaffet
the cooled the.coffee
 ‘the cooled coffee’
 b. den smälta snön
the melted the.snow
 ‘the melted snow’

We could assume that BE selects stative participles that include *initP*, but that stative participles without *initP* occur in other contexts. An alternative is that unaccusative verbs like *kallna* ‘cool’ do not form stative participles, and that the participles in reduced relatives are eventive. Manner adverbials are not excluded; see (8:68).

- (8:68) a. en kopp kaffe snabbt kallnad i kylan
a cup coffee quickly cooled in the.cold
 ‘a cup of coffee that quickly turned cold in the cold’
 b. en man raskt hitcyklad med min post
a man quickly here.cycled with my.mail
 ‘a man that quickly cycled here with my mail’

As far as I can see, a temporal adverbial cannot give a time to which the event is anterior in reduced relatives with participles of verbs like *kallna*; see (8:69).¹⁹⁵

- (8:69) a. en kopp kaffe kallnad klockan två
a cup coffee cooled the.clock two
 ‘a cup of coffee that turned cold at two o’clock’
 E(*turning cold*) = two o’clock
- b. några löv, gulnade redan i september
some leaves yellowed already in September
 ‘some leaves that turned yellow already in September’
 E(*turning yellow*) in September

This suggests an eventive structure; in stative passives the adverbial is generally ambiguous; cf. (8:70a) and (8:70b).¹⁹⁶

- (8:70) a. Hon var hitflyttad klockan två.
she was here.moved the.clock two
 ‘She was moved here at two o’clock’
 i. E(*moving here*) = two o’clock
 ii. E(*moving here*) < two o’clock
- b. Hon blev hitflyttad klockan två.
she became here.moved the.clock two
 ‘She was moved here at two o’clock’
 E(*moving here*) = two o’clock

An account of reduced relatives lies beyond the scope of the present study. In the present context, it suffices that participles apparently can have either eventive or stative properties independently of an (explicit) auxiliary, and that there, as far as I can see, is little evidence for stative participles of unaccusative verbs like *kallna* in Present-Day Swedish.

¹⁹⁵ As noted in chapter 3, the adverbial does actually not specify the event time directly; positional adverbials generally relate to the assertion time.

¹⁹⁶ This does not mean to say that all participles are always eventive in reduced relatives; cf. e.g. the target state participles in (i).

(i) lampan, fortfarande släckt klockan tio på kvällen
the.lamp still turned.off the.clock ten at night
 ‘the lamp that was still off at ten o’clock at night’

8.4.2. *The stativizer*

As noted in section 8.2.1 above, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2008) suggest that all three kinds of stative participles involve an aspectual phrase that stativizes the verb phrase (cf. also Anagnostopoulou 2003a, Embick 2004a). They also propose that the resultant state operator differs from the target state operator (although they can have the same morphology). I have instead assumed that the difference between target states and progressive states, on the one hand, and resultant states, on the other, is a consequence of the presence/absence of Asp; the progressive state and target state readings have been taken to depend directly on the composition of the verb phrase (in combination with a stativizer). The question, then, is what the position of the stativizer is. If it could attach to Asp, we would have to explain why manner adverbials are excluded, and why the verb phrase must necessarily include an *initP*; unaccusatives like *kallna* ‘cool’ and *bli* ‘become’ are otherwise not incompatible with bounded aspect (some of them even require bounded aspect).

Instead, I propose that stativity/eventivity depends on the properties of Voice. Unlike Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou (2008), I have assumed that an Initiator or Agent is not introduced in VoiceP but in *initP*, below Voice. VoiceP instead binds the event variable and introduces the event time. Since manner adverbials like *långsamt* ‘slowly’ say something about the duration of the event time (unlike e.g. instruments), they are also expected to relate to Voice, and to require eventive Voice. Therefore, they are excluded also in stative passives that involve AspP and a full verb phrase.

There is one complication in this account. If the position of the stativizer is below Asp, a stative VoiceP combines with bounded or resultative aspect in resultant state participles. Since stative verbs are generally not compatible with bounded aspect, we might expect also resultant state participles to be unavailable; cf. the stative verb in (8:71a) and the resultant state participle in (8:71b) (cf. also Borer 2005b:129 and references cited there).

- (8:71) a. Väggarna var röda (*två gånger idag).
the.walls were red two times today
 ‘The walls were red (*twice today).’
- b. Väggarna är målade två gånger idag.
the.walls are painted two times today
 ‘The walls have been painted twice today.’

Given the verb phrase assumed here, state and process are taken to be primitives (and not defined in terms of time). Both *init*P and *res*P introduce states, and stative verbs like *love* or *fear* are characterized by lacking *proc*P. This should not in itself make a stative verb incompatible with temporal boundaries.¹⁹⁷ As we have seen, some stative verbs are grammatical with an *in*-adverbial, but then with an inchoative reading; cf. (8:72a). Note that the *in*-adverbial provides a temporal boundary, but this does not mean that the predicate behaves like an event in other respects; manner adverbials and *wh*-clefts are still ungrammatical, as in (8:72b–c).

- (8:72) a. Jag gillade tavlan på ett par minuter.
I liked the.painting in a couple minutes
 'I started liking the painting in a couple of minutes.'
- b. Jag gillade konst (*långsamt) på ett par dagar.
I liked art slowly in a couple days
 'I (*slowly) started liking art in a couple of days.'
- c. ?*Vad som hände var att jag gillade tavlan
what that happened was that I liked the.painting
 på ett par minuter.
in a couple minutes

Resultant state participles behave like stative verbs like *gilla* in the latter respects, but do not get an inchoative reading with *in*-adverbials; cf. (8:73).¹⁹⁸

- (8:73) a. Blommorna var vattnade på ett par minuter.
the.flowers were watered in a couple minutes
 'The flowers had been watered within a couple of minutes.'
- b. Blommorna var (*långsamt) vattnade på ett par dagar.
the.flowers were slowly watered in a couple days
 'The flowers had (*slowly) been watered within a couple of days.'

¹⁹⁷ If individual-level predicates are inherently generic or must combine with a generic operator, as suggested by Chierchia (1995), they necessarily lack specified (or specific) temporal boundaries; they are therefore ungrammatical with bounded aspect and with *in*-adverbials also on an inchoative reading:

- (i) Hon var lång (*på två minuter).
she was tall in two minutes

¹⁹⁸ One way of getting around this would be to say that resultant state participles are in fact inchoative with *in*-adverbials, in the sense that they express the beginning of a resultant state. This would, however, require us to posit a specific 'resultant state', and still leave us with the problem why stative predicates have an inchoative reading with *in*-adverbials.

- c. *Vad som hände var att blommorna var vattnade.
what that happened was that the.flowers was watered

We can note that (participial) middles, which can be taken to express generic states, behave like other statives in certain respects, but require manner adverbials (which are incorporated into them); consider (8:74). Hence, we seem to be dealing with several different kinds of statives. Apparently, also Voice can express a state or an event, and the complex eventuality can therefore have (some of) the properties characteristic of states independently of the presence/absence of *procP*.

- (8:74) a. Blommorna är snabbvattnade (*på ett par minuter/*klockan tre).
the.flowers are quick.watered in a couple minutes/the.clock three
 ‘The flowers water quickly (*in a couple of minutes/*at three o’clock).’
 b. *Vad som hände var att blommorna var snabbvattnade.
what that happened was that the.flowers were quick.watered

The interpretation of stative verbs like *gilla* with *in*-adverbials depends on precisely how the verb phrase is related to temporal structure. I have largely limited the discussion of aspect to a simple distinction between bounded and unbounded aspect, disregarding the internal complexity of eventualities. If bounded aspect relates to (the time of) the process subevent (*procP*), rather than to the entire complex event, it is expected to be incompatible with verbs that lack *procP*, but not necessarily with resultant state participles. I leave these questions aside and continue to assume that resultant state participles involve a bounded or resultative Asp, which attaches to a stative VoiceP which embeds a full verb phrase.

On the present account, perfect participles are not stative (unless they are formed from a stative verb). As noted in chapter 5 (section 5.1) above, stative past participles and perfect participles differ e.g. with respect to the possibility of manner adverbials and *wh*-clefts. These differences are accounted for by the assumption that the former but not the latter involve a stativizer. The fact that perfects still share some properties with statives is presumably due to the stativity of the temporal auxiliary.

8.4.3. *A micro-parameter*

In section 8.2 above, we saw that the size of target state and resultant state participles varies between languages. I have suggested that this variation lies in the properties of the participial stativizer, but that it is reflected in the verbs that form stative participles and the adverbial modification possible. In Present-Day Swedish, the stativizer attaches either to *init*P or to *res*P, whereas in older Swedish it could attach also to *proc*P. In other words, the change in older Swedish investigated in chapter 7 above, where the construction with BE was restricted to participles with *init*P, did not necessarily involve a change in the properties of BE (or of the unaccusative verbs), but can be understood as a change in the properties of the participial stativizer.

8.5. Conclusion and open questions

In this chapter, I have argued that stative past participles, unlike eventive past participles, involve a stativizer (in VoiceP) which can be merged at different levels in the derivation, depending on language and participle. In Present-Day Swedish, the stativizer attaches either to *init*P or *res*P, and never to *proc*P; change of state verbs like *kallna* ‘cool’, which lack both *init* and *res* features, therefore do not have stative participles. The possibility of target state and progressive state participles is partly predictable from the features of the verb. Target state participles require a verb that allows the *init* and *proc* features to remain unassociated to structure; this presumably depends on what kind of target state the verb specifies, and more generally on the encyclopaedic content of the verb.

Participles differ with respect to the presence/absence of T and Asp, as well as in the composition of the verb phrase. In the presence of Asp, stative past participles have a resultant state reading and a temporal-aspectual interpretation which is more independent of the matrix tense-aspect; as noted in chapter 6, positional past time adverbials are in fact possible with resultant state participles independently of the matrix tense. Many questions relating to stativity and to the relation between the complex event structure, the event time and the assertion time, have been left aside. I return to the consequences of the presence of T in perfect participles in chapter 10, and, in chapter 11, to the question of what the different participles have in common.

Throughout the discussion of past participles, I have treated passive and active participles together. With regard to resultant state and target state participles, passive past participles of transitive verbs and active participles of unaccusative verbs also seem to pattern together, and it is predictable from the structure of the participial predicate whether the reading is passive or active. In other words, the impossibility of certain participles in Swedish depends on the fact that the participial stativizer does not attach to *procP*, and not on a difference between passive and active participles. In chapter 6, I noted in passing that the extended use of resultant state participles with BE in older Swedish seems to have involved both passive and active participles.

There are, however, differences between active and passive past participles which have not been accounted for. Specifically, active participles in the complement of BE must have *resP* in their structure in Present-Day Swedish, whereas passive past participles need not.¹⁹⁹ As noted, variable behaviour verbs like *springa* ‘run’ are ungrammatical in the complement of BE with a Goal PP, but not with a participle. Consider the contrast between the grammatical passive in (8:75a) and the similar, but ungrammatical, active example in (8:75b). Compare also the examples with the verb *flytta* in (8:76); without a participle, only a passive reading is available, but with a participle also an active reading is possible.

- (8:75) a. Han är jagad ut ur huset.
he is chased out of the.house
 ‘He has been chased out of the house.’
- b. *Han är sprungen ut ur huset.
he is run out of the.house
- (8:76) a. Han är flyttad från Stockholm.
he is moved from Stockholm
 ‘He has been moved from Stockholm.’
 Not ‘He has moved from Stockholm.’
- b. Han är hitflyttad från Stockholm.
he is here.moved from Stockholm
 i. ‘He has been moved here from Stockholm.’
 ii. ‘He has moved here from Stockholm.’

¹⁹⁹ Since unaccusative verbs generally involve either *resP* or a PP that provides a *telos*, we do not expect any active progressive state participles; we have seen that Goal PPs and the presence of *resP* make the progressive state reading unavailable or hard to get also with passive past participles.

Active participles of variable behaviour verbs were possible in the complement of BE with (certain) PPs in older Swedish, and still are in Icelandic and Norwegian, and they can be assumed to have an unaccusative structure.

It is possible that the different restrictions on passive and active participles depend on competition with the perfect; the perfect with HAVE is preferred to the active construction with BE also for verbs with a *res* feature, and even resultant state participles of atelic verbs are often marginal. However, we know that there are other contexts where active and passive participles do not pattern together. Eventive participles in the complement of BECOME are, for instance, necessarily passive, as are eventive passives with BE in Icelandic and English. If we assume that the difference between active and passive voice is nothing else than the presence/absence of an implicit or demoted external argument, the difference between active and passive participles should, of course, be tied to the properties of implicit or demoted arguments. We therefore do not expect any difference with regard to target state participles, since they lack the structure that introduces the external argument altogether; considering the verb phrase, target state participles of unaccusative verbs and target state participles of transitive verbs look precisely the same. In fact, English target state participles can be grammatical in the complement of BE, whether formed from transitive or unaccusative verbs; see (8:77). Unlike eventive passives, target state participles need not have event implications, and they do not involve an implicit argument which necessarily has disjoint reference from the matrix subject.

- (8:77) a. The tires are still inflated.
 b. They are still lost at sea.
 c. It is still broken.
 d. She is still gone.

I leave the question of passivization and the properties of implicit arguments aside, and turn to the perfect-like constructions with HAVE and the syntax of HAVE and BE.

9. HAVE and BE

In the previous chapters, the focus has been on passive and active participial constructions with BE. I have argued that the construction with BE + participle of an unaccusative verb never developed all the properties of a perfect in Swedish, and I have suggested that participles in the complement of BE are tenseless, but that they have structures of varying size. In this chapter, I show that the finer distinctions among the past participles are relevant to a discussion of the perfect-like construction with possessive HAVE + participle which is the origin of the perfect. Throughout the chapter, I focus on the general properties of the constructions with HAVE and on present-day examples.

In chapter 3, I tied some of the properties of perfects to the syntax-semantics of HAVE. In this chapter, I look closer at the difference between possessive ('lexical') and temporal ('auxiliary') HAVE. Since many languages have perfects with either HAVE or BE, and since Swedish has perfect-like constructions with both HAVE and BE, the relationship between HAVE and BE also needs to be addressed. In the next chapter, the findings from this and the preceding chapters are brought together in an attempt at a more coherent discussion of the historical development.

The chapter is organized as follows. In section 9.1, I give an overview of the properties of the construction with possessive HAVE + participle in Swedish. Section 9.2 concerns the interpretation of the construction and the structure of possessive HAVE. In section 9.3, I address the differences between possessive and temporal HAVE and the structure of temporal HAVE. In section 9.4, I return to the difference between languages like German and languages like Swedish with regard to the semantics of the perfect and the possibility of positional past time adverbials. Section 9.4 concerns split auxiliary systems. The chapter ends with a brief excursus on the possibility of omitting finite temporal HAVE in subordinate clauses in Modern Swedish.

9.1. An overview of possessive HAVE + past participle

There are two important differences between HAVE and BE in perfect-like constructions. Most obviously, the construction with HAVE is obligatorily transitive, whereas the construction with BE is not; cf. (9:1) and (9:2).²⁰⁰

- (9:1) a. Vi har *(väsborna) packade.
 we have the.bags packed
 ‘We have *(the bags) packed.’
 b. *Väsborna har packade.
 the.bags have packed
- (9:2) a. *Vi är väskorna packade.
 we are the.bags packed
 b. Väskorna är packade.
 the.bags are packed

Secondly, the perfect-like construction with present tense HAVE does not allow positional past time adverbials, whereas the corresponding construction with BE sometimes does:

- (9:3) a. *Vi har väskorna packade igår.
 we have the.bags packed yesterday
 b. Väskorna är packade igår.
 the.bags are packed yesterday
 ‘The bags were packed yesterday.’

In this section, I give an overview of the properties of the perfect-like construction with HAVE. As we will see, the similarity between perfect-like constructions with HAVE and perfect-like constructions with BE is clear, despite the differences illustrated above. In section 9.2 below, I therefore assume that the constructions with BE and HAVE involve the same element, the copula. Possessive HAVE in addition has a possessive preposition in its structure (cf. chapter 3 above); this accounts for the difference in argument structure (transitivity), as well as for the difference in interpretation.

In the present context, the restrictions on the construction with HAVE are particularly relevant since they can shed light on the extended use of HAVE when the perfect develops. I am therefore mostly concerned with

²⁰⁰ As pointed out in chapter 4, past participles in the complement of possessive HAVE always agree with the object DP in Swedish, just like participles in the complement of BE agree with the subject. I only gloss agreement when relevant.

the question what constructions with HAVE are accepted by the more liberal speakers (including myself).

9.1.1. *Stative and eventive participles*

In English, possessive HAVE can take either a stative or an eventive participle as complement, just like BE (see e.g. Harley 1998). HAVE is grammatical in *wh*-clefts and in the progressive; see (9:4).

- (9:4) a. What Reynard did was have Pinnochio beaten to a pulp by his henchmen.
 b. Reynard is having Pinnochio robbed by his confederates.
 (Harley 1998:(28))

In Swedish, possessive HAVE necessarily takes a stative participial complement, again just like BE. Perfect-like constructions with HAVE can therefore not be embedded under *hålla på att* 'keep at, be doing'; see (9:5).

- (9:5) *Hon höll på att ha fönstren tvättade.
she kept at to have the.windows cleaned
 Intended: 'She was having her windows cleaned.'

The eventive correspondence to the construction with HAVE is passives with GET. GET-passives are grammatical with *hålla på att*; see (9:6).²⁰¹

- (9:6) Hon höll på att få fönstren tvättade.
she kept at to get the.windows cleaned
 'She was getting the windows cleaned.'

GET but not HAVE can occur in *wh*-clefts like those in (9:7).

- (9:7) a. *Vad som hände var att hon hade väskorna packade.
what that happened was that she had the.bags packed
 b. Vad som hände var att hon fick väskorna packade.
what that happened was that she got the.bags packed
 'What happened was that she got the bags packed.'

²⁰¹ As pointed out by Egerland (1996), the lexical restrictions on the perfect-like construction with HAVE and passives with GET are very similar (cf. also McIntyre 2005 for English and German). In Swedish, a construction with GET (or a perfect with HAVE) is often preferred to a construction with possessive HAVE also when both are possible.

Manner adverbials like *snabbt* ‘quickly’ are impossible with possessive HAVE in Swedish; see (9:8). The corresponding GET-passives are grammatical; see (9:9).

- (9:8) a. Hon har håret kammat (*med snabba rörelser).
she has the.hair combed with quick movements
 ‘She has her hair combed (*with quick movements).’
 b. Vi har (*långsamt) brevet skrivet.
we have slowly the.letter written
 ‘We (*slowly) have the letter written.’

- (9:9) a. Hon får håret kammat (med snabba rörelser).
she gets the.hair combed with quick movements
 ‘She gets her hair combed (with quick movements).’
 b. Vi får (långsamt) brevet skrivet.
we get slowly the.letter written
 ‘We (slowly) get the letter written.’

Resultative manner adverbials and instruments, on the other hand, are grammatical with HAVE and BE alike; see (9:10) (and cf. chapter 5, section 5.5.3.3 above).

- (9:10) a. Vi har väskorna ordentligt packade.
we have the.bags carefully packed
 ‘We have the bags carefully packed.’
 b. Jag har golven tvättade med såpa.
I have the.floors cleaned with soft.soap
 ‘I have the floors cleaned with soft soap.’

As noted in chapter 4, the subject of HAVE can, but need not, be coreferent with the implicit argument of the participle. Agentive *by*-phrases are possible; see (9:11).

- (9:11) Jag vill ha brevet renskrivet av sekreteraren.
I want have the.letter clean.written by the.secretary
 ‘I want to have a fair copy of the letter made by the secretary’

We can therefore assume that the perfect-like construction with HAVE involves a stative and passive past participle with an implicit argument which has free interpretation.

9.1.2. Target states, progressive states and resultant states

As in BE-passives, the participle can express a target state, a progressive state or a resultant state; cf. the target state passives in (9:12), the progressive state passives in (9:13), and the resultant state passives in (9:14). The examples with progressive state participles are, however, not acceptable to all speakers.

- (9:12) a. Vi har fortfarande väskorna packade.
we have still the.bags packed
 ‘We still have the bags packed.’
- b. Vi har fortfarande lådan fylld med vatten.
we have still the.box filled with water
 ‘We still have the box filled with water.’
- (9:13) a. Vi har dem fortfarande observerade.
we have them still observed
 ‘We still have them observed.’
- b. Polisen har dem fortfarande jagade genom hela Europa.
the.police has them still chased through whole Europe
 ‘The police still has them chased through all of Europe.’
- (9:14) a. Vi har (*fortfarande) brevet skrivet.
we have still the.letter written
 ‘We (*still) have the letter written.’
- b. Vi har (*fortfarande) blommorna vattnade.
we have still the.flowers watered
 ‘We (*still) have the flowers watered.’

The construction with HAVE + passive participle is infrequent in (written) Present-Day Swedish.²⁰² In the written language corpora, most examples involve target state participles as in (9:15).

- (9:15) a. Hon har kappkragen uppslagen.
she has the.coat.collar upturned
 ‘She has the coat collar turned up.’
 (PAROLE)
- b. Alltså när man har kanalen påslagen och
that.is when one has the.channel onturned and
 pysslar med annat.
potter.around with other

²⁰² In Rawoens’s (2008) investigation of causative constructions in Modern Swedish Corpora of close to 40 million words, the examples of HAVE with a causative reading (with a participial or infinitival complement) amount to no more than three.

‘That is, when one has the channel on and potter around with other things.’

(PAROLE)

Many examples with resultant state participles are awkward, partly because a different expression (a perfect) is highly preferred, and because a relevant context can be difficult to imagine. Resultant state participles like those in (9:16) require a similar context as the corresponding construction with BE; i.e. they express that a job is done or that something has been achieved.²⁰³ On the primary reading, the implicit argument of the participle and the clause subject are therefore generally coreferent.

- (9:16) a. Jag har barnet rapat.
I have the.baby burped
 ‘I am done burping the baby.’
- b. Nu har jag äntligen den där milen sprungen.
now have I finally that there the.mile run
 ‘Now I am finally done running that mile.’
- c. Jag har boken läst och sammanfattad.
I have the.book read and summarized
 ‘I am done reading and summarizing the book.’

There are typical (frequent) examples of HAVE + resultant state participles that most speakers seem to find less marked. As expected, these examples tend to involve predicates that express that something has been achieved; see (9:17).

- (9:17) a. Det känns bra att ha det gjort.
it feels good to have it done
 ‘It feels good to have it done.’
- b. Nu har jag fönstren tvättade och tvätten struken.
now have I the.windows cleaned and the.laundry ironed
 ‘Now, I am done cleaning the windows and ironing the laundry.’

Also other examples, which might seem odd or degraded when taken in isolation, improve when a context is added; the example in (9:18) is, for instance, completely natural.²⁰⁴

²⁰³ Here, my judgements differ from those given by Egerland (1996). Egerland argues that there is an affectedness constraint on the perfect-like construction with HAVE and that examples like those in (9:16c) are ungrammatical. In my view, they are marked and contextually restricted, just like many other resultant state participles, but they are not ungrammatical.

²⁰⁴ In many cases, perfect-like constructions with HAVE are better when HAVE is non-finite. It is possible that this relates to the restrictions on temporal-aspectual

- (9:18) När hon kommer tänker jag ha chokladen smält
when she arrives intend I have the.chocolate melted
 så att det bara är att röra ihop smeten.
so that it just is to mix together the.batter
 ‘When she arrives, I intend to have the chocolate melted so that it is
 just to mix together the batter.’

Although the construction with HAVE is more marked, the *systematic* lexical restrictions on the perfect-like construction with HAVE are very similar to those of passives with BE.²⁰⁵ As we have already seen, there is one important difference: past participles of unaccusative verbs are ungrammatical with HAVE but not (necessarily) with BE. I return to this in section 9.4.2 below.

9.1.3 On the position of the object

In the perfect-like construction with HAVE, as in e.g. participial absolutes, the lower DP (the object) moves across the participle to a position between the participle and the finite verb. In this respect, these past participial constructions differ from perfects, many infinitives, and finite clauses, where a full DP object always follows the verb in Swedish (disregarding objects in sentence initial position); cf. (9:19) and (9:20) below.²⁰⁶

interpretation. Also with DPs that express punctual events, finite but not non-finite forms of HAVE are degraded; cf. (i). See e.g. Harley 2004 and references cited there.

- (i) a. Hon borde ha en spark i baken.
she should have a kick in the.behind
 ‘She should get a kick in the pants.’
 b. #Hon har en spark i baken.
she has a kick in the.behind

²⁰⁵ A few stative verbs are grammatical in passives with BE, but awkward or degraded with HAVE; consider *äga* ‘own’ in (i).

- (i) a. Huset är ägt av staten.
the.house is owned by the.state
 ‘The house is owned by the state.’
 b. *Staten har företaget ägt (av privatpersoner).
the.state has the.company owned by private.persons

²⁰⁶ The order object–participle does not necessarily correlate with agreement morphology in the constructions in (9:19). The order is the same in Bokmål as in Swedish, although the participle does not agree with the object; consider the examples in (i).

- (9:19) a. Peter har brevet skrivet.
Peter has the.letter written
 ‘Peter has the letter written.’
 b. Peter fick brevet skrivet.
Peter got the.letter written
 ‘Peter got the letter written.’
 c. Med brevet skrivet kunde Peter göra vad han ville.
with the.letter written could Peter do what he wanted
 ‘With the letter written Peter could do what he wanted.’
- (9:20) a. *Peter har brevet skrivit.
Peter has the.letter write.SUP
 b. *Peter beslutade att brevet skriva.
Peter decided to the.letter write.INF
 c. *Peter ska brevet skriva.
Peter will the.letter write.INF

In GET-passives, the object must move across a manner adverbial in a position between GET and the participle; see (9:21).²⁰⁷

- (9:21) a. hon som fick sina väskor snabbt packade
she who got her bags quickly packed
 ‘she who quickly got her bags packed’
 b. *hon som fick snabbt sina väskor packade
she who got quickly her bags packed

A pronoun can move across negation in perfect-like constructions with HAVE, while a full DP cannot; see (9:22). In this respect, objects in the perfect-like construction with HAVE pattern with other objects; cf. (9:23).

-
- (i) a. Hun vil ha butikken stengt allerede klokken syv.
she wants have the.store.C.SG close.PTC.N.SG already the.clock seven
 ‘She wants to have the store closed already at seven o’clock.’
 b. Med brevet skrevet kunne Peter gjøre hva han ville.
with the.letter.N.SG write.PTC.N.SG could Peter do what he wanted
 ‘With the letter written Peter could do what he wanted.’

²⁰⁷ Disregarding V2-contexts, the preferred position for manner adverbials is above the main verb; cf. (i).

- (i) han som snabbt fikk sina väskor packade
he who quickly got POSS.REFL bags packed
 ‘he who quickly got his bags packed’

- (9:22) a. Frida har det ännu inte skrivet.
Frida has it yet not written
 ‘Frida does not have it written yet.’
 b. *Frida har brevet ännu inte skrivet.
Frida has the.letter yet not written
- (9:23) a. Frida ser det inte.
Frida sees it not
 ‘Frida does not see it.’
 b. *Frida ser brevet inte.
Frida sees the.letter not

The restrictions on movement of the pronoun are the same as in ‘regular’ object shift; the pronoun can only shift when the main verb (HAVE) has moved to C; object shift is therefore impossible both in subordinate clauses, as in (9:24a), and in constructions with an auxiliary as in (9:24b) (cf. e.g. Holmberg 1986).

- (9:24) a. *att hon det inte har skrivet
that she it not has written
 b. *Hon har det inte haft skrivet.
she has it not had written

As we will see below, the entire participial small clause (and not the object DP) is the Possessum in the construction with possessive HAVE. In this respect, the construction with HAVE + past participle resembles an ECM infinitival, where the infinitival clause, and not only the accusative DP, gets a theta role from the matrix verb. Also with regard to the position of the object, the constructions with HAVE (or GET) + past participle behave just like ECM infinitivals; cf. the ECM infinitivals in (9:25) and (9:26), which have the order object–infinitive, and which allow pronominal objects to shift, as long as the matrix verb (*såg* ‘saw’) moves to C.

- (9:25) Peter såg tåget komma.
Peter saw the.train come
 ‘Peter saw the train come.’
- (9:26) a. Han såg det inte komma.
he saw it not come
 ‘He did not see it come.’
 b. *Han såg tåget inte komma.
he saw the.train not come
 c. *Han har det/tåget inte sett komma.
he has it/the.train not seen come

In Swedish, GET can marginally occur in a morphological passive. The object DP of a GET-passive can in this way be promoted to subject, at least marginally; cf. (9:27a) and (9:27b). Again, the participial construction behaves like an ECM infinitive; cf. (9:28).²⁰⁸

- (9:27) a. Biljetterna kan numera fås till ganska lågt pris.
the.tickets can nowadays get.INF.PASS to rather low price
 ‘Nowadays, it is possible to get the tickets at a rather low price.’
 b. ? Artikeln fås inte skriven utan ansträngning.
the.paper get.PRES.PASS not written without effort
 ‘The paper will not get written without effort.’
- (9:28) a. Han såg tåget komma.
he saw the.train come
 ‘He saw the train come.’
 b. Tåget sågs komma.
the.train see.PRET.PASS come
 ‘The train was seen coming.’

Like Egerland (1996) and others, I assume that the object DP moves within the participial clause, and (disregarding object shift) not into the matrix verb phrase. An argument for this is that the object DP and the participle together can be fronted to sentence initial position (given the right context); consider (9:29).²⁰⁹

²⁰⁸ Egerland (1996:121f.) uses the restriction on periphrastic passivization as an argument against an ECM analysis of the perfect-like constructions with HAVE and GET. However, neither HAVE nor GET occurs in periphrastic passives, independently of complement; cf. (i).

- (i) a. *Biljetterna blev fädda.
the.tickets became got
 b. *Biljetter blev havda.
the.tickets became had

²⁰⁹ Either participle or DP can also be fronted separately; see (ia) and (ib) (which requires contrastive focus).

- (i) a. Kappkragen hade hon alltid uppslagen.
the.coat.collar had she always up.turned
 ‘She always had the coat collar turned up.’
 b. Uppslagen hade hon aldrig kappkragen. (Ordentligt nedvikt var den alltid.)
up.turned had she never the.coat.collar properly down.folded
was it always
 ‘Turned up she never had the coat collar. (Properly folded down, it always was.)’
 (cf. Egerland 1996:123)

- (9:29) Väskorna packade har jag förstås, men redo att resa
the.bags packed have I of.course but ready to go
 är jag inte.
am I not
 ‘The bags packed, I have, of course, but ready to go, I’m not.

On the assumption that past participles do not assign structural accusative case (to an explicit DP), we could assume that the DP must move to a position (outside the verb phrase) where it can get case from the matrix verb. This is in line with standard assumptions that movement in passives is triggered by case, and it faces similar problems (see chapter 10 below). In GET-passives with participles of ditransitive verbs, either object can be fronted; cf. (9:30). An account in terms of case could capture this by assuming different underlying structures, so that either one of the objects, but not both, can get case within the participial verb phrase. Examples like (9:31), where both DPs are fronted, are more problematic; at least one of the DPs must move for a different reason than case.²¹⁰

- (9:30) a. hon som fick Lisa snabbt fråntagen uppgiften
she who got Lisa quickly away.taken the.task
 ‘she who quickly got the task taken from Lisa’
 b. hon som fick uppgiften snabbt fråntagen Lisa
she who got the.task quickly away.taken Lisa
 ‘she who quickly got the task taken from Lisa’
- (9:31) hon som fick Lisa uppgiften snabbt fråntagen
she who got Lisa the.task quickly from.taken
 ‘she who quickly got the task taken from Lisa’

The participial constructions that involve movement of a DP across the participle are all characterized by being tenseless (lacking a TP); I have argued that this is what distinguishes past participles from perfect participles. The movement of the DP should therefore if possible also be tied to the absence of T. In chapter 10, I suggest that the absence of T does not make accusative case unavailable, but that it affects assignment of nominative case. Movement of the internal argument in past participial constructions can then hardly be required for reasons of case. Another possibility is that there are heads in the T-domain (e.g. Asp, Voice) with features that need to be checked by a nominal element that moves to their specifier (or at least to a position within reach). An internal argu-

²¹⁰ Not all speakers find examples like (9:31) equally acceptable.

ment therefore has to move out of the verb phrase whenever the external argument does not (cf. Egerland 1996 who suggests an analysis along these lines). Given that an (explicit) external argument of a transitive verb requires the presence of T, the word order can be tied to the presence/absence of T also in this kind of account. Examples like (9:31) are, however, still problematic; I refer to Belletti (2004) for a discussion of topic and focus positions in the lower T-domain and to Andréasson (2007, 2008) for an investigation of how information structure affects word order in Present-Day Swedish.²¹¹

Since nothing in the following hinges on the exact position of the object(s), I simply assume that the order object–participle in Present-Day Swedish perfect-like examples with HAVE depends on the absence of T (in one way or another) and that the object is in some verb phrase external position in the participial clause.

9.2. Possessive HAVE and P_{poss}

In this section, I consider the decomposition of possessive HAVE, taking the interpretation of the construction with HAVE + past participle as a starting point.

9.2.1. *The interpretation of HAVE + past participle*

Constructions with HAVE + a DP complement can express several different kinds of relationships between the arguments. Most typically, the relation is one of temporary (alienable) possession, as in (9:32a), or inalienable possession, as in (9:32b). The relationship between the arguments can also be of location, as in (9:32c), or of more abstract or un-specific nature, as in examples like (9:32d).

²¹¹ Swedish GET-passives pose an additional challenge since the order object–participle is not obligatory; cf. (i) and (ii).

(i) Frida fick renskrivet breven av sekreteraren.
Frida got clean.write.PTC.N.SG the.letter.PL by the.secretary
 ‘Frida got the secretary to make a fair copy of the letters.’

(ii) Frida fick breven renskrivna av sekreteraren.
Frida got the.letter.PL clean.write.PTC.PL by the.secretary
 ‘Frida got the secretary to make a fair copy of the letters.’

- (9:32) a. Jag har en bok.
I have a book
 'I have a book.'
- b. Jag har tio fingrar.
I have ten fingers
 'I have ten fingers.'
- c. Jag har en bil bakom mig.
I have a car behind me
 'I have a car behind me.'
- d. Vi har haft regn.
we have had rain
 'We have had rain.'

In order to avoid the stipulation of several lexical items HAVE, an account of HAVE needs to be general enough to capture the different uses and their interpretation; what the different constructions with HAVE have in common is, if nothing else, the verb HAVE. Also the construction with HAVE + past participle should preferably involve the same HAVE as the other constructions. The semantics of HAVE must therefore be fairly abstract (cf. Ritter & Rosen 1997, den Dikken 1997 and many others), and, essentially given by the syntactic context.

A location reading requires a coindexed pronoun in the complement of HAVE, or an element that is inalienably possessed by the subject; cf. the examples in (9:33) and the Swedish examples in (9:34). (9:33a) and (9:34a) require the prepositional phrases, since the subject is inanimate, and since only an alienable possession reading is possible without the link between subject and complement; cf. (9:33c) and (9:34c). McIntyre (2006) refers to this as the link requirement.²¹²

- (9:33) a. The slide has 8 children *(on it). (only location reading)
 b. Calvin has a bee on his back. (location reading)
 c. Calvin has a bee. (only alienable possession reading is available)
 (Harley 1998:(11))
- (9:34) a. Bilden har 8 barn *(i höggra hörnet).
the.picture has 8 children in the.right corner
 'The picture has 8 children in its right corner.'
 (only location reading)

²¹² Vergnaud & Zubizarreta (1992) argue that inalienable possession involves a null Possessor argument which is controlled by the Possessor. In this case, also examples like (9:34a) have an (implicit) pronoun coindexed with the subject of HAVE (cf. Harley 1997).

- b. Peter har ett bi på ryggen.
Peter has a bee on the.back
 'Peter has a bee on his back.'
 (location reading)
- c. Peter har ett bi.
Peter has a bee
 'Peter has a bee.'
 (only alienable possession reading is available)

A location reading is available also when HAVE takes a past participial complement, and with the same link requirement; cf. (9:35a), which has a location reading, and (9:35b), which only has an (infelicitous) alienable possession or causative reading.

- (9:35) a. Trädet har en fågelholk fäst på stammen.
the.tree has a nesting.box attached to the.stem
 'The tree has a nesting box attached to its stem.'
- b. #Trädet har en fågelholk fäst.
the.tree has an nesting.box attached

The interpretation can also depend on whether the participle has event implications or not (cf. Harley 1998). With a resultant state participle, the perfect-like construction can have a causative reading, as in (9:36), which states that Frida will cause the chocolate to be melted, independently of whether she will melt it herself or somebody else does.

- (9:36) Frida tänker ha chokladen smält när Peter
Frida intends.to have the.chocolate melted when Peter
 kommer hem.
comes home
 'Frida intends to have the chocolate melted when Peter comes home.'

The causative reading is independent of whether the subject is coreferent with the implicit argument of the participle or not. Hence, in both examples in (9:37), Frida causes or induces the event of writing, but only in (9:37a) is she the Initiator of the participial event.²¹³

²¹³ There is also a reading of the perfect-like construction with HAVE which is sometimes referred to as the experiencer or affectedness reading (see e.g. McIntyre 2006), since it states that the subject is affected by the participial state; cf. (i).

- (i) [?] Hon hade sin bil förstörd av en elak granne.
she had POSS.REFL car destroyed by a mean neighbour
 'She had her car destroyed by a mean neighbour.'

- (9:37) a. Frida har äntligen artikeln skriven (och hon klarade det själv).
Frida has finally the.paper written and she managed it self
 ‘Frida has finally the paper written (and she managed it by herself).’
 b. Frida har artikeln skriven av en journalist.
Frida has the.paper written by a journalist
 ‘Frida has a journalist write the paper.’

With target state participles, which I have argued do not have *procP* in their structure, the construction with HAVE is silent about the cause of the participial state; examples like those in (9:38) do not entail that the subject caused the participial target state.

- (9:38) a. Jag har fortfarande några flaskor undanstoppade.
I have still some bottles away.put
 ‘I still have some bottles put away.’
 (cf. SAG 1999, 2:513)
 b. Han har fortfarande kragen uppslagen.
he has still the.collar up.turned
 ‘He still has the collar turned up.’

The different interpretations of constructions with HAVE appear to be determined by the structure of the complement of HAVE, and by the link between the complement and the subject (cf. in particular Belvin 1993, Ritter & Rosen 1997 and Harley 1998 who also come to this conclusion).

9.2.2. *The decomposition of possessive HAVE*

The fact that the interpretation of constructions with HAVE depend to a great deal on the complement makes HAVE resemble a copular element. We know that HAVE and BE take much the same range of complements; in many languages perfects are formed with both HAVE and BE, and, in languages like Swedish, perfect-like constructions are. There are also other similarities between HAVE and BE. Like BE, neither possessive nor temporal HAVE can be replaced with *göra* ‘do’ in tag-

In Swedish, this reading is generally unavailable or hard to get, and a construction with GET is much preferred; cf. (ii).

- (ii) Hon fick sin bil förstörd av en elak granne.
she got POSS.REFL car destroyed by a mean neighbour
 ‘She got her car destroyed by a mean neighbour.’

questions or in ellipsis; cf. perfect HAVE in (9:39), possessive HAVE in (9:40) and BE in (9:41) (and see Eide 2005:66).

- (9:39) a. Han har bott i Stockholm, har/*gör han inte?
he has lived in Stockholm has/does he not
 'He has lived to Stockholm, hasn't he?'
- b. Han har bott i Stockholm, och det har/*gör hon också.
he has lived in Stockholm and that has/does she too
 'He has lived to Stockholm, and so has she.'
- (9:40) a. Han har en röd cykel, har/*gör han inte?
he has a red bike has/does he not
 'He has a red bike, hasn't he?'
- b. Han har en röd cykel, och det har/*gör hon också.
he has a red bike and that has/does she too
 'He has a red bike, and so has she.'
- (9:41) a. Han var trevlig, var/*gör han inte?
he was nice was/does he not
 'He was nice, wasn't he?'
- b. Han var trevlig, och det var/*gör hon också.
he was nice and that was/does she too
 'He was nice, and so was she.'

The possessive verb *äga* 'own', on the other hand, behaves like other main verbs; cf. (9:42) and (9:43).²¹⁴

- (9:42) a. Han äger en cykel, gör han inte?
he owns a bike does he not
 'He owns a bike, doesn't he?'
- b. Han äger en cykel, och det gör hon också.
he owns a bike and that does she too
 'He owns a bike, and so does she.'
- (9:43) a. Han läste, gjorde han inte?
he read did he not
 'He read, didn't he?'
- b. Han läste, och det gjorde hon också.
he read and that does she too
 'He read, and so did she.'

²¹⁴ In British English, also possessive HAVE can raise across negation; see (i).

(i) John hadn't the faintest idea.
 (den Dikken 1997:131)

Cf. HAVE/BE-raising in French, where possessive HAVE, but not the verb *posséder* 'possess', raises (Roberts 1998:115).

With much previous work, we can therefore assume that both HAVE and BE involve a copular element. Possessive HAVE in addition has an abstract possessive meaning which BE lacks. Following Harley (1998), we can assume that possessive HAVE decomposes into copula + a preposition (P_{poss}) which introduces the possessive semantics (cf. also chapter 3 above, and Kayne 1993 on temporal HAVE). The basic function of the preposition is to relate the complement to the DP introduced in its specifier (which will raise to subject). Hence, the different readings of HAVE + past participle all have the structure in (9:44) below (cf. Harley 1998); the copula is represented as Cop.²¹⁵

- (9:44) Possessive HAVE:
 Cop [_{PP} DP_i P_{poss} [XP]]

The construction with HAVE + DP differs from HAVE + past participle only in the structure of the complement; cf. (9:45a) to (9:45b), which involves a resultant state participle (with the lower DP in spec-Asp).

- (9:45) a. Frida har en bil.
Frida has a car
 [DP_i Cop [_{PP} DP_i P_{poss} [DP_j]]]
 b. Frida har brevet skrivet.
Frida has the.letter written
 [DP_i Cop [_{PP} DP_i P_{poss} [_{AspP} DP_j Asp [VoiceP]]]]

The element in the specifier of P_{poss} is interpreted as Possessor (in a more or less abstract sense), whereas the complement is interpreted as Possessum. Depending on the structure of the complement, the Possessum can be either an entity or an eventuality. On the causative reading, the subject is the Possessor of the bounded or resultative event expressed by the resultant state participle. When HAVE takes a target state participle, on the other hand, the subject is the Possessor of the target state of the participle.

Note that the decomposition of HAVE does not in itself make HAVE any different from other verbs; also the structure of e.g. *arrive* is complex. The meaning of HAVE is contributed by P_{poss} , the arguments, and perhaps also by the copula; the meaning of *arrive* is contributed by *init*, *proc* and *res*, and by the encyclopaedic content of the lexical item

²¹⁵ The structure is similar to that suggested in Ritter & Rosen (1997). They represent HAVE as a combination of two functional heads, F1 and F2; the structure of BE does not include F2. They do, however, not assume that the subject of HAVE is introduced in F2P, but in F1P.

arrive. There is presumably less encyclopaedic content associated with HAVE than with *arrive*.

As argued by Harley (2002) and McIntyre (2005, 2006), Schäfer (2008a) and others, P_{poss} occurs also in other constructions, which therefore share properties with the constructions with HAVE; these involve e.g. double object constructions, experiencer verbs like *fear*, constructions with GET and free datives. Both double object constructions and double complement constructions can in this way be assumed to involve prepositions; the former has a silent preposition (P_{poss}), whereas the latter has a locative preposition (e.g. *till* ‘to’).²¹⁶ Consider the examples in (9:46) and the corresponding structures in (9:47a) and (9:47b), where only the lowest part of the verb phrase is included (see further e.g. Pesetsky 1995 and Harley 2002; cf. Tungseth 2008 for a discussion of double object constructions in Norwegian).²¹⁷

- (9:46) a. Hon gav honom boken.
she gave him the.book
 ‘She gave him the book.’
 b. Hon gav boken till honom.
she gave the.book to him
 ‘She gave the book to him.’
- (9:47) a. ... [_{PP} Goal P_{poss} [Theme]]
 b. ... [_{PP} Theme to [Goal]]

It can be noted that the possessive preposition in the double object construction takes the Goal DP (the Possessor) in its specifier and the Theme (Possessum) in its complement, whereas in the double complement construction, the Theme c-commands the Goal. This captures well-known differences between the two constructions with regard to binding; cf. (9:48a) and (9:48b) (and see further Barss & Lasnik 1986, Larson 1988, 1990 and Pesetsky 1995).

²¹⁶ Among other things, this provides a means to account for different implicatures of examples like (ia) and (ib), where the a-example (which involves P_{poss}) has a much stronger implication that the students have some knowledge of French (cf. Oehrle 1976 and Larson 1988).

(i) a. He taught the students French.
 b. He taught French to the students.
 (Harley 2002)

²¹⁷ Following Ramchand (2008a), we can assume that *give* spells out *init*, *proc* and *res* and that *res*P takes the silent preposition as complement (cf. also Pesetsky 1995).

- (9:48) a. De gav varje flicka_i hennes_i kopp.
they gave every girl her cup
 ‘They gave every girl her cup.’
- b. *De gav hennes_i kopp till varje flicka_i.
they gave her cup to every girl

Constructions with HAVE and constructions with BE + a locative preposition differ in a similar way; consider the contrast in (9:49) and cf. the locative construction with BE in (9:50). With HAVE, the Possessor DP can be the antecedent of an anaphor in the Possessum but not vice versa; with BE, the Possessum can be the antecedent of an anaphor in the Possessor, but not vice versa.

- (9:49) a. Varje ägare_i ska ha sin_i hund i koppel.
every owner should have his/her dog in leash
 ‘Every owner should have his/her dog in leash.’
- b. *Dess_i ägare ska ha varje hund_i i koppel.
its owner should have every dog in leash
- (9:50) a. Varje hund_i ska vara med sin_i ägare.
every dog should be with POSS.REFL owner
 ‘Every dog should be with its owner.’
- b. *Dess ägare ska vara med varje hund.
its owner should be with every dog

Harley (2002) shows that expressions of possession in languages that lack HAVE differ from constructions with HAVE (in languages that have HAVE) with regard to the binding relation between Possessor and Possessum, just like the constructions with HAVE and BE contrast in Swedish. In Irish, the Possessor does not c-command the Possessum; consider (9:51).

- (9:51) *Tá a_i pheann-fhéin ag chile_i bhuachail
is his pen-self at every boy
 Intended: ‘Every boy has his pen.’
 (Harley 2002:50)

Harley concludes that languages that lack HAVE lack P_{poss} and therefore express possession with a locative structure similar to that in the double complement construction. Languages like Irish, which lack P_{poss} not only

lack the verb HAVE, but also double object constructions and verbs like *fear*.²¹⁸

Consider now the German dative in (9:52) below. Just like the constructions with HAVE, the dative DP in (9:52) can have a causative reading, where Hans caused the event of breaking the vase, or an experiencer reading, where it is (negatively or positively) affected by the breaking of the vase. This can be accounted for by the assumption that they involve the same element, the possessive P.

- (9:52) Die Vase zerbrach dem Hans
the.NOM vase broke the.DAT Hans
 i. ‘Hans unintentionally caused the vase to break.’
 ii. ‘The vase broke and Hans was affected.’
 (Schäfer 2008a:50)

Unlike the subject of HAVE, the dative DP can, however, not express an intentional causer. Oblique causers are only compatible with adverbs expressing non-intentionality (Schäfer 2008a, 2008b). Neither adverbs stating intentionality nor purpose clauses are possible with dative causers; cf. (9:53a) and (9:53b).

- (9:53) a. Der Mann zerbrach die Vase (absichtlich/aus
the.NOM man broke the.ACC vase on purpose/by
 Versehen/um die Versicherung zu kassieren)
mistake/in order to collect the insurance
 ‘The man broke the vase on purpose/by mistake/in order to collect the insurance.’
 b. Dem Mann zerbrach die Vase (*absichtlich/aus
the.DAT man broke the.NOM vase on purpose/by
 Versehen/*um die Versicherung zu kassieren)
mistake/in order to collect the insurance
 ‘The vase broke for the man (*on purpose/*by mistake/*in order to collect the insurance).’
 (Schäfer 2008b:2)

Perfect-like constructions with HAVE, on the other hand, can (and often do) have a subject that intentionally causes the participial event; con-

²¹⁸ In Irish, the correspondence to the verb *fear* is BE + preposition and the noun ‘fear’ as in (i) below (see further Harley 2002).

- (i) Tá eagla roimh an bpúca ag Ailill
is fear before the Puca at Ailill
 ‘Ailill fears the Puca’ (Lit. ‘At Ailill is fear of the Puca’)
 (Noonan 1996:355)

sider the grammatical examples in (9:54a), which involve the adverb *avsiktligt* ‘intentionally’, and (9:54b), which has a purpose clause.

- (9:54) a. Honⁱ hade avsiktligtⁱ Peter avskedad av chefen.
she had intentionally Peter fired by the boss
 ‘She intentionally had the boss fire Peter.’
- b. Hon hade huset städad för att ge ett gott intryck.
she had the house cleaned for to make a good impression
 ‘She had the house cleaned to make a good impression.’

The difference between the unintentional dative causers and the possibly intentional subject of HAVE does presumably not lie in the possessive element that they both share, but in the additional structure associated with HAVE, namely the copula. In passives with BE, an adverb of intentionality tends to be ambiguous; it can refer either to the intentions of the (implicit) Agent, or to the intentions of the surface subject. As noted in chapter 2 above, the latter reading is possible also when BE takes a purely adjectival complement; cf. (9:55).

- (9:55) a. Honⁱ var avsiktligt^{2ij} lugnad.
she was intentionally calmed
 ‘She had intentionally been calmed.’
- b. Honⁱ var avsiktligtⁱ lugn.
she was intentionally calm
 ‘She was intentionally calm.’

Hence, the intentionality of subjects of HAVE can arise when the possessive PP combines with the copula (see Lohndahl, Nygård & Áfarli 2008 and S. Rothstein 2001, who argue that BE has some semantic content).

9.2.3. Concluding remarks

In this section, we have seen that the interpretation of the perfect-like construction with HAVE largely depends on the structure of the complement. With a target state participle (which does not express a change or transition), the construction with HAVE expresses location or alienable/inalienable possession. With a resultant state participle, it can have a causative reading.

In chapter 3, I assumed that temporal HAVE includes a prepositional element (following Kayne 1993 among others). In this section, I have (following e.g. Harley 1998, 2002) assumed that possessive HAVE in-

cludes a preposition (P_{poss}) which introduces the possessive semantics that distinguishes HAVE from BE. I have briefly reviewed some of the arguments for P_{poss} . These motivations mainly relate to the semantics of verbs and their argument structure, and are therefore different from those which motivated Kayne's original proposal. Kayne started from the observation that many languages lack HAVE and, instead, use BE (cf. also Benveniste 1966:197, Freeze 1992), and he introduced the preposition in the structure to account for auxiliary selection. As shown by Harley (2002), there are, however, reasons to assume that the constructions with BE + preposition in languages that lack HAVE have a different structure than the constructions with HAVE in languages like Swedish; the difference corresponds to that between the double object and the double complement constructions.

On Kayne's account, the subject of HAVE originates below the preposition, and the preposition must incorporate into the copula for movement of certain kinds of subjects to the matrix clause to be possible. The verb HAVE is a consequence of incorporation of P into BE, and the copula is realized as BE either because P does not incorporate, or because it is missing from the structure. Instead, I have taken the subject of possessive HAVE to be introduced in the specifier of P_{poss} , and I assume that BE never has P_{poss} in its structure.

9.3. Temporal HAVE and P_T

In this section, I consider some differences between possessive and temporal HAVE and how they can be accounted for under the assumption that the prepositional element of temporal HAVE is not P_{poss} but a temporal preposition P_T , as sketched in chapter 3. Since I assume that both prepositions make a semantic contribution, I will end up rejecting the Kaynean analysis of auxiliary selection.

9.3.1. *Possessive and temporal HAVE*

In chapter 3, I proposed a (reduced) biclausal account of the perfect, where the participle and the auxiliary have separate extended projections, and where temporal HAVE is analysed as a verb and not a functional element. I pointed out that one advantage of this account is that possessive and temporal HAVE can be unified (cf. e.g. Kayne 1993,

Alexiadou 1997:98). I used the properties of HAVE to derive the semantics of the perfect.

There are, however, differences between possessive HAVE and temporal HAVE that cannot be fully explained with reference to their different complements. On standard assumptions, temporal HAVE, but not possessive HAVE, is a raising verb. Hence, temporal HAVE can occur with expletive subjects, like the raising verb *verka* ‘seem’, and unlike control verbs such as *besluta* ‘decide’, and unlike possessive HAVE; cf. (9:56) and (9:57).²¹⁹

- (9:56) a. Det hade varit någon där.
there had been somebody there
 ‘There had been somebody there.’
 b. Det verkade vara någon där.
there seemed be somebody there
 ‘There seemed to be somebody there.’
- (9:57) a. *Det hade (någon) väskorna packade.
there had somebody the.bags packed
 b. *Det hade någon en bok.
there had somebody a book
 c. *Det beslutade att vara någon där.
there decided to be somebody there

With temporal HAVE and raising verbs like *verka*, there is a possibility of splitting idioms as in (9:58). The corresponding example with *besluta* ‘decide’ is ungrammatical; see (9:59) (cf. Wiklund 2007:41).

- (9:58) a. Måttet hade varit rågat.
the.measure had been full
 ‘They had had enough.’
 (Lit. ‘The measure had been full.’)
 b. Måttet verkade vara rågat.
the.measure seemed be full
 ‘They seemed to have had enough.’
 (Lit. ‘The measure seemed to be full.’)

²¹⁹ As pointed out by Wiklund (2007), some control verbs allow expletive subjects, but with a requirement that the expletive-associate DP is animate; cf. (ia) and (ib).

- (i) a. Det försökte komma in någon i källaren.
there tried come in someone in the.basement
 ‘Someone tried to get into the basement.’
 b. *Det försökte komma in vatten i källaren.
there tried come in water in the.basement
 (Wiklund 2007:41)

- (9:59) *Mättet beslutade att vara rågat.
the.measure decided to be full

The supine form in the complement of temporal HAVE can take the morphological passive in Swedish. Participles in the complement of possessive HAVE cannot; cf. (9:60a) and (9:60b). Also this difference is expected if the subject of HAVE is introduced by P_{poss} in the latter but not in the former case.

- (9:60) a. Brevet hade redan skrivits (av någon annan).
the.letter had already write.SUP.PASS by somebody else
 ‘The letter had already been written (by somebody else).’
 b. *Brevet hade redan skrivets/skrivet
the.letter had already write.PART.N.SG.PASS/write.PART.N.SG.
 (av någon annan).
by somebody else

Moreover, temporal HAVE can be omitted in certain contexts, whereas possessive HAVE cannot; cf. the perfects in (9:61) and the perfect-like constructions with HAVE in (9:62) (and see further section 9.5 below).

- (9:61) a. Hon skulle (ha) skrivit brevet.
she should have written the.letter
 ‘She should have written the letter.’
 b. hon som (har/hade) skrivit brevet
she who has/had written the.letter
 ‘she who has/had written the letter’
- (9:62) a. Hon skulle *(ha) brevet skrivet.
she should have the.letter written
 ‘She should have the letter written.’
 b. hon som *(har/hade) brevet skrivet
she who has/had the.letter written
 ‘she who has/had the letter written’

To account for the difference between temporal HAVE and other uses of HAVE, while maintaining a unified account, Ritter & Rosen (1997) suggest that the semantic contribution of temporal HAVE is the same as that of possessive HAVE: it makes the participial eventuality a property of the raised subject. They base the suggestion on experiential perfects like (9:63). As the term suggests, experiential perfect typically state that the subject has a certain experience; in the case of (9:63), John has the experience of reading the New York Times twice. In the words of Ritter & Rosen, John can be said to be a two-time NYT-reader (1997:318).

- (9:63) John has read the New York Times twice.
(Ritter & Rosen 1997:318)

An analysis along these lines can account for the requirement that the subject of a present perfect typically must be alive (the so-called life-time effect). However, as pointed out in chapter 3 above, sentences like (9:64) below are perfectly fine when the subject is not topic, e.g. in a discussion of which people have visited Princeton. In other words, the example in (9:64) states that Princeton (the topic) has the property of having been visited by Einstein rather than that Einstein has the property of having visited Princeton.

- (9:64) Einstein has visited Princeton.
(Chomsky 1971:212)

Moreover, there are obvious problems with non-referential subjects of perfects, as noted by Ritter & Rosen; consider the examples in (9:65) below. That is, the analysis suggested by Ritter & Rosen is particularly problematic precisely in the examples that most clearly show that temporal HAVE is a raising verb.

- (9:65) a. Det har snöat hela dagen.
it has snowed whole the.day
'It has snowed all day.'
b. Det har sprängts ännu en bomb.
there has blown.up.PASS yet a bomb
'Yet another bomb has been blown up.'

In chapter 3 above, I proposed that the prepositional element of temporal HAVE takes temporal arguments. In this way, I accounted for the restriction on positional past time adverbials in the perfect tense in languages like English and Swedish. This suggestion also offers a direct way of accounting for the difference between auxiliary and main verb HAVE with regards to theta assignment, while maintaining that HAVE involves the copula + a preposition. In the account of possessive HAVE outlined above, the arguments of possessive HAVE get their theta roles from P_{poss}, and not from the copula. When the preposition takes temporal arguments, the matrix subject must therefore be raised from within the participle, just as in constructions with BE; cf. the structures of possessive HAVE in (9:66a) (where HAVE takes a resultant state participle

as complement) and temporal HAVE in (9:66b), where ZP is a temporal argument.²²⁰

- (9:66) a. Possessive HAVE:
 [DP_i Cop [_{PP} DP_i P_{poss} [_{AspP} DP_j Asp [VoiceP]]]]
 b. Temporal HAVE:
 [DP_i Cop [_{PP} ZP P_T [_{TP} DP_i T [AspP]]]]

To rule out examples like (9:67), we must assume that P_T selects for a tensed participle; the temporal auxiliary does not take past participial complements.

- (9:67) * Boken har skriven.
 the.book has written

Now, consider the semantics of P_T and the relationship it establishes between the two temporal intervals. To recapitulate, the (present or past) perfect involves two separate assertion times, AST₁ and AST₂. AST₂ corresponds to the perfect time span in the analysis by Iatridou et al. (2001), and AST₁ is the reference time interval. Neither of the assertion time intervals should be confused with the event time or the speech time; the relation between AST₂ and the participial event time depends on the aspectual morphology of the participle. Due to the participial past tense, AST₂ lies before some point in the time of HAVE (which does not necessarily lie within AST₁). To account for the restricted meaning of the perfect in languages like English and Swedish, I suggested that the matrix assertion time (AST₁) lies within the participial assertion time, as in (9:68) below; the barred double brackets represent AST₂ (the perfect time span), while the single brackets represent AST₁, which in the present perfect lies in the present (or in the future). The relation of inclusion between the two assertion times, I assume is due to P_T.

- (9:68) — [[— [—]]] —→

In the present perfect, the participial assertion time (the perfect time span) includes the present, and positional past time adverbials are therefore excluded. Consider the universal perfect in (9:69), where the event

²²⁰ Cf. Hoekstra (1994), who argues that possessive HAVE and temporal HAVE differ with regard to the presence/absence of an element X in the complement; X and not HAVE is responsible for theta-assignment, and it is present with possessive HAVE and not with temporal HAVE.

time of running holds throughout AST_2 and consequently also throughout AST_1 (i.e. at the present).

- (9:69) Hon har sprungit i en timme nu.
 she has run for an hour now
 ‘She has been running for an hour now.’

In section 9.2.2 above, we saw that there is reason to assume that the argument in the specifier of P_{poss} is interpreted as Possessor and not Possessum; the Possessor c-commands the Possessum and not the other way around. If the temporal preposition has the same content as P_{poss} (but different arguments), we therefore expect the matrix assertion time to be interpreted as the Possessor and the participial assertion time as the Possessum. However, without additional assumptions, this would presumably mean that AST_1 (the matrix assertion time) possesses/includes AST_2 (the participial assertion time), and not the other way around. The Possessum otherwise never includes the Possessor; cf. (9:70a) and (9:70b), where the cup possesses/includes the ear, and not the other way around (cf. Postma 1997:278).

- (9:70) a. the cup has an ear
 b. *the ear has a cup

The conclusion is that P_{poss} and P_T not only differ with regard to what kind of arguments they take (DP or ZP), but also in what kind of relationship is established between the arguments (i.e. the content of the preposition). In other words, the change from possessive to temporal HAVE involved a reanalysis of the content of the preposition and not only a change in its arguments. We can assume that temporal HAVE involves a temporal preposition, which like other temporal prepositions (and locative prepositions) takes a specifier which is interpreted as Figure and a complement which is interpreted as Ground; the Figure is located relative to the Ground (cf. e.g. Talmy 1978, 2000, Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2000 and Svenonius 2007). P_T has the meaning *in* (in languages like English and Swedish): it places the matrix assertion time (the Figure) within the participial assertion time (the Ground). Compare the structure of the perfect given in (9:71) and the similar structure of the adverbial *in December* as suggested by Demirdache &

Uribe-Etxebarria (2007) in (9:72) below; ZP is a temporal argument and SIT is the time of December.²²¹

(9:71) Kim has left.
[Cop [PP AST₁ P_T [TP T [AspP AST₂ Asp [VoiceP]]]]]

(9:72) (Kim left) in December.
[PP AST P [ZP Z [NP SIT December]]]
(cf. Demirdache & Uribe-Etxebarria 2007:336)

In the next section, I consider one prerequisite for the reanalysis of P_{poss} as P_T, namely the temporal-aspectual interpretation of the perfect-like construction with possessive HAVE and its relation to interpretation of a perfect.

9.3.2. *The time of perfect-like constructions with HAVE and the reanalysis of P_{poss}*

In order to understand the reanalysis of P_{poss} as P_T, we need to consider the temporal-aspectual interpretation of the construction with HAVE + past participle. Resultant state participles in the complement of HAVE are no different from resultant state participles in the complement of BE (except that the former is necessarily passive); they are stative and involve a full verb phrase, including *initP*. Like resultant state participles with BE, resultant state participles with HAVE have resultative or bounded aspect. Consider examples like those in (9:73) (which are at least marginally possible), where participles of atelic verbs combine with *in*-adverbials.

- (9:73) a. Jag hade katten klappad på ett par minuter.
I had the.cat petted in a couple minutes
'I was done with the petting of the cat in a couple of minutes.'
- b. Jag hade blommorna vattnade på en timme.
I had the.flowers watered in an hour
'I had the flowers watered in an hour.'

²²¹ I have left out EVT, the external temporal argument of the participial T, in the structure of the perfect. One question that arises is why this temporal argument does not block the relationship between the two assertion times. Without going into specifics, it seems to be the case that EVT must be interpreted relative to an event (time), either to the time of the speech event or to some other eventuality (e.g. HAVE).

The relationship between the event time and the assertion time in resultant state participles and target state participles can be represented as in (9:74) (cf. (6:86) and (6:87) above); the square brackets represent the participial assertion time, + the process or transition, and × the target state.

- (9:74) a. Resultant state participles with resultative aspect:
 _____ [-++xxx]×————→
 b. Resultant state participles with bounded aspect:
 _____ [-+++—]————→
 c. Target state participles:
 _____ (++)× [xxxxxxx]×————→

When it has resultative aspect, the resultant state participle conveys that the event has culminated and that its target state holds at the end of the assertion time. With bounded aspect, on the other hand, the participle asserts that the event time lies within the assertion time.²²² In both cases, the eventuality has culminated or terminated before the end of the assertion time. In this sense, perfect-like constructions with HAVE + a resultant state participle express anteriority. Since target state participles always express a target state, they can also convey anteriority, although, as we saw in chapter 8, they do not assert process or transition in Present-Day Swedish. As with BE, progressive state participles do not express anteriority.

However, as mentioned, resultant state participles with HAVE are more restrictive with regard to past positional adverbial than resultant state participles with BE; see (9:75) and (9:76).

- (9:75) a. *Jag har blommorna vattnade igår.
I have the.flowers watered yesterday
 b. Blommorna är vattnade igår.
the.flowers are watered yesterday
 ‘The flowers were watered yesterday.’
- (9:76) a. *Jag har artikeln skriven 1996.
I have the.paper written 1996
 b. Artikeln är skriven 1996.
the.paper is written 1996
 ‘The paper was written in 1996.’

²²² With bounded aspect, it is arguably the time of process or transition (the time of the *proc* subevent) that lies within the assertion time, and the participle is therefore silent with regard to the duration of the target state (if there is a target state) (cf. chapter 8, section 8.4.2 above).

This restriction on temporal adverbials in the construction with possessive HAVE + participle appears to be systematic and independent of the fact that resultant states tend to be more marginal with HAVE than with BE. In fact, the restrictions on past time adverbials is more general in perfect-like constructions with HAVE than in perfects. In Swedish, perfect-like constructions with HAVE also disallow adverbs like *nyligen* ‘recently’ when HAVE is in the present tense, whereas present perfects do not; cf. the perfect in (9:77a) and the perfect-like examples in (9:77b–c).

- (9:77) a. Han har nyligen skrivit ett brev.
 he has recently written a letter
 b. *Han har brevet nyligen skrivet.
 he has the.letter recently written
 c. *Han har nyligen brevet skrivet.
 he has recently the.letter written

We can conclude that the participial assertion time is not independent of the matrix tense in the perfect-like construction with HAVE, as it is in the corresponding perfect-like constructions with BE. In addition, the difference between perfect-like constructions with HAVE and perfects suggests that the restrictions on temporal adverbials should not be derived in the same way in perfect-like constructions as in perfects.

Since HAVE has possessive semantics, but BE does not, the difference between the two is not unexpected. For the subject to have (possess) the resultant state denoted by the participle, the time of the having and the time of the resultant state must coincide; the Possessum must temporally coincide with the time of the possessing. In other words, the participial assertion time must coincide with the event time of HAVE. This does not mean that the matrix assertion time and the participial assertion times coincide; the matrix assertion time is (due to the unbounded aspect of the stative verb HAVE) included in the time of having, and consequently also in the participial assertion time.²²³ In other words, while there is a direct relationship between the two assertion times in perfects, the relationship is indirect in perfect-like con-

²²³ This means that the participial event time need not be included in the matrix assertion time. Consider examples like (i), which is compatible with a reading where the journalist is currently writing the book; for me, this is, in fact, the preferred reading.

- (i) Hon har boken skriven av en journalist.
 she has the.book written by a journalist
 ‘She has a journalist write the book.’

structions with HAVE and depends on what it means for the subject to have something. However, in both cases, the matrix assertion time is included in the participial assertion time. When possessive HAVE is reanalysed as temporal HAVE (i.e. when P_{poss} is reanalysed as P_T), the indirect relation of inclusion between the two assertion times is interpreted as a direct one.

9.3.3. *BE and the German perfect*

The assumption that P_T denotes inclusion accounts for the restricted meaning of the perfect in languages like English and Swedish. Something else has to be said about languages like German, where the participial assertion time does not necessarily include the matrix assertion time.

One possibility is that temporal HAVE can have varying content in languages like German, and that it can express also precedence, yielding the reading of the perfect illustrated in (9:78) (cf. chapter 3 above).

(9:78) — $\{\{ \text{---} \} \} [-] \text{---} \rightarrow$

This would account for the fact that the perfect time span can, but need not, overlap with the present tense in the German present perfect, as well as the possibility of positional past time adverbials; consider again the difference between German and English illustrated in (9:79) (= (3:76) above).

- (9:79) a. I have always lived here (*... until recently).
 b. Ich habe hier immer gewohnt ... bis vor kurzem
 I have here always lived until recently
 (Pancheva & von Stechow 2004:(20), (21))

However, as far as I can see, we do not have to assume that the perfect in languages like German is polysemous. Instead, we can assume that P_T is absent from the structure of the perfect in German and that the position of the assertion times relative to each other is free, as long as part of the participial assertion time precedes the matrix assertion time (or more precisely, the time of HAVE). On this account, German has undergone a further development whereby P_T is lost (see below chapter 10, section 10.4.2). This means that the structure of HAVE need not include a preposition in languages like German, whereas HAVE in languages like Swedish and English must include either P_{poss} or P_T .

As pointed out above, on Kayne's (1993) account the perfect auxiliary can be realized as BE either because the preposition does not incorporate to form HAVE, or because it is altogether missing from the structure. I have instead assumed that BE is always a realization of the copula and never has P_{poss} in its structure (that is, BE lacks possessive semantics). In languages like German and Danish, which have both HAVE and BE as temporal auxiliaries, we could assume either that perfects do not include P_T (yielding a perfect of the German type) or that also temporal BE can include P_T (yielding a perfect of the Swedish type, but with the auxiliary BE). The realization of the copula as either HAVE or BE can consequently not always depend on the presence/absence of a prepositional element. Instead, the account sketched above hinges on the assumption that the copula can be realized as HAVE.

There seems to be a correlation between a perfect of the German type and systems that have BE as a temporal auxiliary; this has previously been suggested by Zagona (2007). I know of no language which forms perfects only with HAVE and which allows positional past time adverbials in the present perfect. Among the Romance languages, Spanish does not have a split auxiliary system and does not allow positional past time adverbials in the present perfect. Italian and French, on the other hand, have a split auxiliary system and allow positional past time adverbials in the present perfect. English and Swedish contrast with German and Dutch in the same way. It is possible that the loss of P_T is restricted to split auxiliary languages, or languages where the only perfect auxiliary is BE. There is, however, no one-to-one correspondence between split auxiliary systems and the possibility of positional adverbials in the present perfect: Danish displays an alternation between HAVE and BE, but at least some varieties behave like the other Scandinavian languages with regard to positional past time adverbials; consider again the examples in (9:80) (and see chapter 3 above).²²⁴

- (9:80) a. *Han er kommet i går.
 he is come yesterday
 b. *Ole har sovet i går nat.
 Ole has slept yesterday night

²²⁴ In fact, the situation in Danish is not completely clear, and, as noted in chapter 3 above, there appears to be considerable variation between speakers. Hulthén (1944) observes that Danish appears to be more liberal than Swedish with regard to positional past time adverbials.

We can assume that in the Danish varieties which disallow positional past time adverbials in the present perfect, the development of BE-perfects involved a change in the realization of the copula in contexts with P_T + a perfect participle, and not a loss of P_T in perfects with HAVE. As we have seen, the Danish BE-perfect develops considerably later than the HAVE-perfect. I return to the historical development in chapter 10 below.

Independently of whether temporal BE can include P_T or temporal HAVE can lack P_T , an account where both P_{poss} and P_T make a semantic contribution leads us to the conclusion that temporal HAVE and BE can involve the same structure, and that the Kaynean account of auxiliary selection therefore cannot be maintained.

9.3.4. Summary

In this section, I have suggested that the structure of both temporal HAVE and possessive HAVE involves copula + a preposition, but that the content and the arguments of the prepositional elements distinguish the two. In this way, I accounted for the fact that temporal HAVE is a raising verb, whereas possessive HAVE is not, and for the semantics of the perfect in languages like Swedish and English. Although the content of the prepositions vary, it is similar enough to make the reanalysis plausible.

On the present account, cross-linguistic variation in the properties of the perfect can lie in the properties of the auxiliary, the present tense and/or in the aspectual composition of the participle. I have suggested that the difference between the Swedish and the German perfect depends on the varying properties of the auxiliary. Whereas it would be possible to account for the German perfect by assuming that temporal HAVE (and BE) can have one of two different prepositions (denoting either inclusion or precedence), a simpler assumption is that the temporal auxiliaries HAVE and BE lack the prepositional element altogether. This means that the grammaticalization of HAVE in German involved a reanalysis of P_{poss} as P_T and a subsequent loss of P_T .

On this account, temporal HAVE and temporal BE need not involve different structures. In languages like German, both temporal HAVE and BE are realizations of a copular element. In languages like Danish, which have a perfect tense similar to the Swedish one, but which have a split auxiliary system, both HAVE and BE can have P_T in their structure. In other words, HAVE and BE are (or can be) morphological variants of

the same element. In this way, I depart from the Kaynean approach to HAVE precisely in the languages that originally motivated the analysis of HAVE as BE + P. As noted, in the present approach, the evidence for P_{poss} does not come from languages which lack HAVE but uses a construction with BE + P for possession; as shown by Harley (1998), the syntactic properties of possessive constructions in these languages are not identical to constructions with HAVE in e.g. English and Swedish. In languages with HAVE, P_{poss} occurs also in the structure of other verbs, e.g. ditransitives and psych-verbs like *fear*, and, crucially, it contributes to the argument structure and interpretation of these verbs. Given that temporal HAVE is a raising verb which does not assign theta roles, it is not unexpected that this element should be missing from its structure.

In the next section, I briefly consider some further arguments for this approach to split auxiliary systems, and the restriction on unaccusative verbs with possessive HAVE.

9.4. A note on auxiliary selection

In the prototypical split auxiliary system, unaccusative verbs form perfects with BE, whereas transitive and unergative verbs form perfects with HAVE; see again the Danish data in (9:81).

- (9:81) a. Peter *har/er ankommet.
Peter has/is arrived
 ‘Peter has arrived.’
 b. Ole har/*er sovet.
Ole has/is slept
 ‘Ole has slept.’
 (Bjerre & Bjerre 2007:7)

The picture is, however, more complicated than these examples suggest. We have seen that there is cross-linguistic variation with regard to what groups of unaccusative verbs occur with BE both in perfects and in perfect-like constructions. Moreover, differences between different groups of verbs cannot fully account for the cross-linguistic data, even with finer distinctions. In section 9.4.1, I briefly review some of the cross-linguistic data which I believe favour an analysis of the HAVE/BE alternation in perfects as a morphological agreement phenomenon. I will, however, not develop a full analysis here. Section 9.4.2 concerns the restriction on possessive HAVE with participles of unaccusative verbs.

9.4.1. *Some cross-linguistic variation*

In the previous chapters, we have seen that there is cross-linguistic and diachronic variation with respect to the groups of unaccusatives which are possible in the complement of BE. The discussion has centred on perfect-like constructions with BE, and not on perfects; like English and Icelandic, Swedish does not have (and has never had) a perfect with BE. The variation is, however, similar in perfects. The Scandinavian data therefore lent additional support to the Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy that Sorace (2000) formulated on the basis of data from languages like Italian and German, which have an alternation between HAVE and BE also in perfects (see chapter 7, section 7.5 above). The group of verbs that form perfects with BE in French corresponds roughly to the group of verbs that occur in the active perfect-like construction with BE in Swedish (disregarding reflexive verbs); cf. the French perfects in (9:82) where the change of state verb ‘rot’ forms a perfect with HAVE, whereas the change of location verb ‘arrive’ has a perfect with BE.

- (9:82) a. Les tomates ont pourri au soleil.
the tomatoes have rotted in.the sun
 ‘The tomatoes have rotted in the sun.’
- b. Des plaintes sont arrivées continuellement.
some complaints are arrived continually
 ‘Complaints have come in continually.’
 (Legendre 2007b:147f.)

It is clear that the structure of the verb phrase, and not only the lexical features of the participial verb, matters for auxiliary selection in both perfects and perfect-like constructions, and do so in different ways in different languages and at different times. We have seen that the possibility of BE + active participle in the Scandinavian languages can depend on the presence of *resP* in the participial verb phrase; in Swedish, but not in Icelandic, *resP* is required for BE to be possible with an active participle. Languages like German and Dutch, which have an alternation between HAVE and BE in perfects, in a similar way have different requirements on the complement of *proc* for BE to be possible; cf. the German BE-perfect with the otherwise unergative verb *tanzen* ‘dance’ in (9:83a) and the corresponding Dutch example in (9:83b), which has HAVE.

- (9:83) a. John ist stundenlang durch den Saal herumgetanzt.
John is hours.long through the hall around.danced
 ‘John has been dancing around the room for hours.’

- b. John heeft urenlang door de zaal rondgedanst.
John has hours.long through the room around.danced
 ‘John has been dancing around the room for hours.’
 (McFadden 2007:7)

Kayne (1993) assumes that incorporation of P into the copula depends on the properties of the functional element in the participial clause responsible for subject agreement (AgrsP), and on the number of arguments that need case. The advantage of this account is that it derives the alternation between HAVE and BE without reference to the selectional properties of the auxiliaries. However, the structure of the verb phrase (the number of arguments) is not always the sole determinant of auxiliary selection; tense, mood, person and number can also affect the choice of auxiliary (see McFadden 2007 for an overview). It is known that certain Italy-Romance varieties have a split between HAVE and BE in perfects depending on person, as well as on the structure of the participial verb; in many Central and Southern Italy-Romance varieties the auxiliary is always BE when the subject is in the 1st or 2nd person, but either HAVE or BE in the 3rd person, depending on verb type (and see e.g. Kayne 1993, Ledgeway 2000 and Bentley & Eythórsson 1999, McFadden 2007). Several other patterns are also attested. In some varieties, the structure of the embedded verb phrase does not affect the alternation between HAVE and BE at all; consider the examples in (9:84) and (9:85) from a peripheral Neapolitan dialect (cf. also the Eastern Abruzzese variety discussed by D’Allessandro & Roberts 2007).

- (9:84) a. so’ visto a Ciro
am seen ACC Ciro
 ‘I have seen Ciro’
 b. so’ arrevato
am arrived
 ‘I have arrived’
 (McFadden 2007; cf. Ledgeway 2000)
- (9:85) a. ha visto a Ciro
has seen ACC Ciro
 ‘He has seen Ciro’
 b. ha arrevato
has arrived
 ‘He has arrived’
 (McFadden 2007:8; cf. Ledgeway 2000)

In some Italian varieties, the alternation is determined by tense. In the Procidano dialect, for instance, the present perfect has HAVE, whereas the pluperfect has BE; see (9:86).

- (9:86) a. jé nun hó/*so' sturiéto, ma...
I not have/am studied but
 'I haven't studied, but...'
- b. a primma lenza nen lu fovo canisciuto
at first look non him was.1SG known
 'at first I had not recognized him'
 (Ledgeway 2000:202)

To account for the cross-linguistic variation, Kayne is forced to make several additional assumptions about the varying properties of AgrsP (see also Ledgeway 2000). Instead, the analysis of HAVE and BE outlined in the previous section views the two auxiliaries as different realizations of the copula, depending on its feature set-up. We can assume that the copula Agrees with the participle, and that its realization therefore depends on the feature set-up of the embedded predicate; what the relevant features are varies.²²⁵ The alternation between temporal HAVE and BE is in this way viewed as a phenomenon on a par with agreement; this is also what the cross-linguistic variation suggests (see Bentley & Eythórsson 2003 for a similar conclusion). In other words, an analysis of auxiliary selection requires closer consideration of the features of the participle and the syntactic Agreement between participle and its argument(s).²²⁶ While the fine-grained verb phrase structure assumed makes it possible to make the relevant distinctions among the unaccusative verbs, it leaves open the question how agreement between the verb and its arguments is established; there is, in fact, no simplex 'verb' in the structure.

More germane for the present purposes, the historical origin of split auxiliary systems is the alternation between HAVE and BE in perfect-like constructions. As we have seen, this alternation can be found in languages like Swedish: only past participles of unaccusative verbs can have an active reading in the complement of BE in Swedish, and un-

²²⁵ For a technical definition and discussion of the operation Agree, see e.g. Chomsky (2001, 2006) and Pesetsky & Torrego (2007).

²²⁶ In the simple case, the copula is realized as BE when it shares nominal features with the participle, and as HAVE when it does not, assuming that the nominal features of the verb are valued by an object DP in transitive structures, while the nominal features of the copula are valued by the subject DP.

accusative verbs generally do not occur in the complement of possessive HAVE. This alternation is the topic of the next section.

9.4.2. Possessive HAVE + unaccusative verbs

There is, as we have seen, an alternation between HAVE and BE also in perfect-like constructions; unaccusative verbs do not occur in the complement of possessive HAVE, and transitive and unergative verbs do not have active participles in the complement of BE; cf. (9:87) and (9:88).

- (9:87) a. *Han är boken skriven.
 he is the.book written
 b. Han har boken skriven.
 he has the.book written
 ‘He has the book written.’

- (9:88) a. Barnen är hemkomna.
 the.children are home.come
 ‘The children have come home.’
 b. *Barnen har hemkomna.
 the.children have home.come.PTC.PL

In one respect, the alternation between HAVE and BE in perfect-like constructions is notably different from that in perfects. All verbs form perfects, and if a group of unaccusatives do not have perfects with BE in a language like Danish, they have a perfect with HAVE. The same cannot be said about perfect-like constructions; there are many unaccusative verbs which are ungrammatical in the perfect-like construction with BE in Present-Day Swedish without being possible in the perfect-like construction with HAVE. Examples like those in (9:89), which involve possessive HAVE + a participle of an unaccusative verb, are ungrammatical, regardless of whether the unaccusative verb is grammatical in the complement of BE or not; cf. (9:90). In other words, whereas auxiliary selection in perfects can be viewed as a kind of agreement phenomenon, the alternation in perfect-like constructions cannot.

- (9:89) a. *Vi har (gästerna) anlända.
 we have the.guests arrived
 b. *Vi har (löven) gulnade.
 we have the.leaves yellowed

- (9:90) a. Gästerna är anlända.
the.guests are arrived
 ‘The guests have arrived.’
 b. *Löven är gulnade.
the.leaves are yellowed

Hence, we need a way to exclude unaccusatives from the complement of HAVE that does not depend on whether BE is possible or not.

The restriction is, however, not completely general. As expected, the few unaccusatives that have target state participles are grammatical in the complement of possessive HAVE in examples like (9:91). I have marked both examples in (9:91) as slightly degraded, but this seems to depend on the difficulty of finding a context.²²⁷ Target state participles of unaccusative verbs tend to express that something is away from the deictic centre, while possession tends to express that it is not.

- (9:91) a. ? Han har fortfarande grannen bortrest.
he has still the.neighbour away.travelled
 b. ? Han har fortfarande nycklarna försvunna.
he has still the.keys disappeared

In chapter 8 above, I argued that target state participles do not include *initP* (and *procP*) and an implicit argument. Target state participles of unaccusative verbs therefore have the same structure as target state participles of transitive verbs. The fact that examples like (9:91) are marginally grammatical provides additional support for this assumption. This leaves us with a restriction on resultant state participles in the complement of possessive HAVE.

Egerland (1996:121ff.) accounts for the restriction on unaccusatives in the complement of possessive HAVE by assuming that the case of the lower DP must be checked within the participial clause; since unaccusative verbs with standard assumptions do not check structural accusative case, they are ungrammatical with possessive HAVE. On this account, it remains unclear how the object DP receives case in examples like (9:92), or in examples with target state participles.

- (9:92) Nu har vi gästerna här.
now have we the.guests here
 ‘Now, we have the guests here.’

²²⁷ There is variation between speakers with regard to the acceptability of examples like (9:91), as with many other examples with possessive HAVE + participle.

Instead, we could assume that participles in the complement of possessive HAVE are necessarily passive, like participles in the complement of BECOME in Swedish and BE in English, but unlike the Swedish construction with BE. Minimally, this means that they involve an implicit argument; consider again the example in (9:93), where the external argument of the participial verb is realized by a *by*-phrase.

- (9:93) Jag vill ha brevet renskrivet av sekreteraren.
I want have the.letter clean.written by the.secretary
 'I want to have a fair copy of the letter made by the secretary'

Given that the participial small clause requires also an explicit DP, the participial verb must allow a transitive structure; unaccusative verbs do not.²²⁸

There is one further restriction on perfect-like constructions that should be accounted for, namely the restriction on BE + active participles of unergative and transitive verbs, as in (9:94).

- (9:94) *Han är boken skriven.
he is the.book written

In chapter 10, I suggest that the external argument of transitive and unergative verbs cannot be spelled out in the absence of T in the structure, for reasons of case. To account for the ungrammaticality of examples like (9:94), we have to assume, in addition, that the external argument cannot be licensed by the matrix clause. As pointed out in chapter 7, BE is often taken to be an unaccusative verb, and, in German,

²²⁸ It is possible that the requirement that resultant state participles in the complement of possessive HAVE are passive in turn depends on the relation between the Possessor and the Possessum established by possessive HAVE, and that events like *arrive* cannot be possessed by a participant who is not also the Initiator, Undergoer and Resultee of the arriving event. However, it should be noted that free datives, which presumably also include P_{POSS}, are compatible with unaccusative verbs (see (9:52) above and cf. Schäfer 2008a). The restriction on participles of unaccusative verbs in the complement of HAVE is, in fact, not completely categorical for all speakers; I judge examples like (i) as grammatical.

- (i) Nu har vi äntligen barnen hemkomna.
now have we finally the.children home.come
 'Now, we finally have the children home.'

Since there is no implicit argument, the clause subject cannot be interpreted as co-referent with the Initiator of the participial event, and examples like these can therefore not be reanalysed as perfects.

it forms a perfect with BE. Like unaccusative verbs like *arrive*, BE requires an intransitive structure, at least in languages like Swedish and English.²²⁹

9.4.3. Summary

In this section, I have considered some of the cross-linguistic variation in the HAVE/BE alternation in perfects. Since the choice of auxiliary can depend on e.g. person, number and tense, as well as verb phrase structure, an account that treats auxiliary selection as a morphological realization of feature agreement between copula and participle seems to be called for.

I have also briefly considered the restriction on participles of unaccusative verbs in the complement of possessive HAVE. I observed that target state participles are possible with HAVE independently of its being formed from an unaccusative or a transitive verb. Participles with event implications are on the other hand necessarily passive (with some exceptions). In these respects, the restrictions resemble those of BE in English.

In the next section, I briefly consider the question of HAVE-omission in Swedish, focusing on omission of the finite auxiliary. The question is whether the possibility of finite auxiliary omission relates to some other property of the perfect (participle). I will not attempt to give a full analysis of auxiliary omission.

9.5. A remark on HAVE-omission

As noted in chapter 7, some 17th century writers use reduced forms of temporal HAVE in both present and past perfects; see e.g. the example in (9:95), where the form *hafwa* is used for past tense *hade/hadhe*.

(9:95) Och finge wi mången dag icke en bit mat för än sent,
 and got we many.a day not a bit food until late
 när di hafwa nog lupi omkringh.
 when they have enough run around

²²⁹ There are many languages where examples corresponding to (9:94) are grammatical, and, as noted, the verb HAVE is cross-linguistically rare.

‘And many days, we did not get any food until late, when they had run around enough.’
(Horn *1629:33)

Also many Present-Day Swedish varieties have a reduced form of temporal HAVE (see Ljunggren 1934, Nordberg 1985a and references cited there). Possessive HAVE, on the other hand, does not have reduced forms; cf. the perfects in (9:96), which in my variety allow the reduced form *ha* for present tense *har*, and the possessive constructions in (9:97), which do not.

- (9:96) a. Jag *har/ha* gjort det.
I have done it
‘I have done it.’
- b. Jag *har/ha* diskat.
I have done.the.dishes
‘I have done the dishes.’
- (9:97) a. Jag *har/*ha* gröna byxor.
I have green pants
‘I have green pants.’
- b. Jag *har/*ha* den skriven.
I have it written
‘I have it written.’

In some present-day varieties, also past tense HAVE can have a reduced form (*ha* for *hade*), as in the 17th century example in (9:95) above. In Nordberg’s (1985a) study of the spoken language in Eskilstuna (a town in Central Sweden), 0,2 % of the examples with past tense possessive HAVE and 42,6 % of the examples with past tense temporal HAVE involved a reduced form of HAVE. It is known that auxiliaries as opposed to main verbs often are reduced; see e.g. van Gelderen (2004:170ff.) who notes that reduced forms of HAVE starts appearing in Old English, and become more frequent in Middle English, as the perfect develops.

In Present-Day Swedish, the finite auxiliary HAVE can be omitted completely in subordinate clauses, as we have seen.²³⁰ This is not pos-

²³⁰ In the PAROLE corpus of Present-Day Swedish, the newspaper material omits HAVE in 83 % of the subordinate clauses with perfects; the corresponding number for the literary texts in PAROLE is 67 % (Andréasson et al. 2002:68; cf. Malmgren 1985). In spoken Swedish, around 10–15 % of the cases lack HAVE (see Andréasson et al. 2002:69 and references cited there).

sible in the other Scandinavian languages; cf. Swedish in (9:98) and Norwegian in (9:99).²³¹

(9:98) Jag vet att hon (har) skrivit brevet.
I know that she has written the letter.
 'I know that she has written the letter.'

(9:99) Jeg vet at hun *(har) skrevet brevet.
I know that she has written the letter.
 'I know that she has written the letter.'

In one respect, omission of HAVE clearly depends on the properties of the perfect: like the reduced forms, it is restricted to temporal HAVE; cf. the example with possessive HAVE in (9:100a) to the perfect in (9:100b). This is not unexpected, since possessive HAVE and temporal HAVE are structurally distinct, and since possessive HAVE (P_{poss}), but not temporal HAVE, assigns theta roles to the DP arguments.

(9:100) a. Hon undrar vem som *(har) hennes bok.
she wonders who that has her book
 'She is wondering who has her book.'
 b. Hon undrar vem som (har) tagit hennes bok.
she wonders who that has taken her book
 'She is wondering who has taken her book.'

The possibility to omit finite HAVE does not otherwise seem to depend on the syntax-semantics of the perfect participle, and it has no effects on the interpretation of the perfect. It is not restricted to certain tenses, or to e.g. certain modal contexts. All readings of the perfect and all kinds of predicates are possible; cf. (9:101).²³²

²³¹ Non-finite HAVE-omission is possible in certain contexts also in Norwegian; see the examples in (i). I refer to Julien (2002) for a discussion.

(i) Det ville fått langt større konsekvenser
that would got far greater consequences
 'That would [have] had far greater consequences.'
 (BOKMÅL)

²³² Since both present and past tense HAVE can be omitted, we cannot know whether HAVE-omission affects the possibility of positional past time adverbials in the present perfect.

- (9:101) a. eftersom han (har/hade) besökt dem flera gånger
since he has/had visited them several times
 ‘since he has/had visited them several times’
 (Experiential)
- b. eftersom han alltid (har/hade) bott där
since he always has/had lived there
 ‘since he has/had always lived there’
 (Universal)
- c. eftersom han (har/hade) varit sjuk den senaste tiden
since he has/had been sick the latest time
 ‘since he has/had been sick lately’
 (Recent Past)
- d. eftersom han precis (har/hade) tappat sina glasögon
since he just has/had lost REFL glasses
 ‘since he has/had just lost his glasses’
 (Resultative)

Moreover, omission of HAVE is not directly dependent on the matrix tense, or even on the presence of a matrix clause. As pointed out by Andréasson, Karlsson, Magnusson & Tingsell (2002), HAVE can be omitted in exclamatives like (9:102). Whether the interpretation is that of a present perfect or a past perfect is determined by the context.²³³

- (9:102) Vilken snögubbe du (har/hade) byggt!
what snowman you have/had built
 ‘What a snowman you have/had built!’
 (Andréasson et al. 2002:70)

HAVE can be omitted also in main clauses with *kanske* ‘maybe’ where the finite verb does not move to C; see (9:103).²³⁴

- (9:103) Han kanske inte (har) skrivit brevet ännu.
he maybe not has written the.letter yet
 ‘He has maybe not written the letter yet.’

Julien (2002) suggests that finite HAVE can be silent as long as none of its morphological components (tense and finiteness) has a unique function, i.e. as long as some overt element shares the features of HAVE. Specifically, she proposes that when finite HAVE is not spelled

²³³ This does not preclude that finite auxiliary omission is dispreferred in contexts where the omitted temporal information cannot easily be supplied (cf. Malmgren 1985).

²³⁴ For a discussion of the syntax of *kanske*, see e.g. Andréasson (2002) and Egerland (1998).

out, the subject must be overtly realized in the specifier of HAVE.²³⁵ As pointed out by Andréasson et al. (2002), this account makes the wrong predictions with regard to subject extraction; examples like (9:104) are perfectly grammatical.²³⁶

- (9:104) men Kalle hoppas jag klarat sig
 but Kalle hope I managed REFL
 ‘but Kalle, I hope made it’
 (Andréasson et al. 2002:73)

As far as I can see, the only systematic restriction on finite auxiliary omission is that HAVE has not moved to C (cf. Platzack 1986). That is, omission of the finite auxiliary has no semantic consequences, and it is unrestricted in non-V2 contexts. A copy/trace of the subject appears to be enough to identify the position of HAVE in finite clauses. Therefore, it seems likely that Swedish has a null auxiliary HAVE, which can be used as long as it is not in a position that must be overt (e.g. C).

It is possible that omission of the auxiliary is made available by the fact that temporal HAVE always combines with a past tense participle and that the participle plays a part in the identification of the silent element. In any case, HAVE-omission should not be tied to the specific morphology of the supine form in Present-Day Swedish. There are a few examples of finite auxiliary omission from the end of the 15th century; see (9:105). As we will see in chapter 10 below, the morphological distinction between supine and past participle was not fully established even in the 17th century.

²³⁵ Following Holmberg (2000), Julien (2002) suggests that *som* ‘that’, which is otherwise generally analysed as a complementizer, should be treated as a relativized subject. In this way, also the presence of *som* can identify the features of HAVE.

²³⁶ Julien marks the example in (i) as ungrammatical with HAVE omitted.

- (i) Kalle_i kan jag garantera [C t_i *(har) klarat sig.]
 Kalle can I guarantee has managed REFL
 ‘As for Kalle, I can guarantee he has made it.’
 (Julien 2002:76)

I do not share this intuition; although HAVE-omission is the marked option in (i), the example is not ungrammatical without HAVE. Also with overt HAVE, it has a flavour of casual spoken language.

- (9:105) at giffwa honom fore all skada, som han honom
to give him for all damage which he him
 giorth, x marck reda peninga
done ten mark ready money
 ‘to give him for all the damage which he [had] done him, ten mark
 ready money’
 (Stockholms stads tänkebok 1481:304, from Moberg 1993:145)

Disregarding poetry, the earliest clear examples of omission of finite HAVE that I have noted in the material investigated here are from Samuel Columbus (*1629); two of these are given in (9:106).

- (9:106) a. den kar'n som de penningarne utlefwererat, det är
the the.man who that the.money deliver.PTC that is
 en skälm
a scoundrel
 ‘the man who [has] delivered that money he is a scoundrel’
 (Columbus, I *1642:62)
- b. Därpå frågade han om faar-sins mördare, om de
then asked he about father.POSS.REFL murderers if they
 ännu stått sitt straff
yet stood POSS.REFL punishment
 ‘Then he asked about his fathers murderers, if they [had] yet received
 their punishment.’
 (Columbus I *1642:33)

The early examples of finite auxiliary omission are scarce, but at the end of the 17th century omission comes in fashion, as observed in chapter 7 above. It seems clear that auxiliary omission was part also of the spoken language of the time. In the play *Sprätthöken* by Gyllenborg (*1679), HAVE is frequently omitted (cf. Widmark 1969:67–70); among the examples with unaccusative verbs collected in chapter 7, there is only a single subordinate clause with an explicit finite HAVE (cf. Table 7.6 above). Similarly, in the diary by Robert Petré (born 1681 in Arboga in Central Sweden) the auxiliary is omitted in 90 % of the cases (Platzack 1983:50).

Auxiliary omission is always optional, and it is therefore difficult to estimate the time when the possibility first emerged. However, the fact that there are (to my knowledge) no clear cases of auxiliary omission before the end of the 15th century suggests that the possibility was missing before that time. This means that the emergence of finite auxiliary omission falls within a period from the 15th to the late 17th century that is characterized by a large number of other changes in the linguistic system; many of these changes take effect in the beginning of the 18th

century (cf. Platzack 1983, Magnusson 2007). Some of the changes relate to the realization of finite verbs. In particular, it is around this time that Swedish loses the requirement of overt agreement morphology and verb movement to T (see e.g. K. Larsson 1988 and Falk 1993; cf. Platzack 1989); cf. the Old Swedish subordinate clause in (9:107a) and the corresponding Present-Day Swedish example in (9:107b).

- (9:107) a. V-to-T movement (Old Swedish):
 när thet är ey stenoghth
when it is not stony
 'when it is not stony'
 (Peder Månsson c. 1515; from Platzack 1988b:250)
- b. No V-to-T movement (Modern Swedish):
 när det inte är stenigt
when it not is stony
 'when it is not stony'

The frequency of the old word order with V-to-T movement drops in the period between the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 18th century (see Falk 1993:176, Table 2). We can assume that as long as the auxiliary shows agreement and moves to T, it cannot be omitted, just like it cannot be omitted in main clauses in Present-Day Swedish, since C must be spelled out.²³⁷ The early examples of auxiliary omission are then tied to the possibility of the new word order.

Finite HAVE can be omitted in subordinate clauses also in Early Modern German; see (9:108). It is well known that German exerted influence on Swedish at the time, and it has sometimes been assumed that finite HAVE omission (or the null auxiliary) is a German loan (see Moberg 1993 and references cited there).

- (9:108) Als nun die Storcken ausgelacht, gerachtschagt sich
when now the storks finished.laughing deliberated REFL
 Gargantua mit seim Hofgesind
Gargantua with his domestics
 'When the storks [had] finished laughing, Gargantua deliberated with his domestics'
 (Early Modern German, 1590; from Breithbart 2005:1)

²³⁷ Also in Old Swedish, the verb was often not realized in T; in main clauses it moved to C, just as in Present-Day Swedish. The ban on omission of HAVE from T and C can therefore not be understood directly in terms of conditions for phonological spell-out of a particular position.

Auxiliary omission appears in German at around the same time as we find the first examples in Swedish, namely in the 15th century (Breithbart 2005).²³⁸ There seems to be a connection between the increase of auxiliary omission in 16th century German and a drop in the frequency of subordinate clauses that are not verb final (Breithbart 2005:104).²³⁹ The frequency of auxiliary omission changes again in German in the 17th century, and the number of examples of omission drops considerably. According to Breitbarth, the possibility of auxiliary omission exists also in Present-Day German, although it is stylistically marked as archaic.

German auxiliary omission is not restricted to perfects, as it is in Swedish. BE (and to some degree also BECOME) is optional both in perfects, passives and copular constructions, and both BE and HAVE can be omitted in constructions with non-bare infinitives; see the copular construction in (9:109a), the eventive passive in (9:109b) and the infinitival in (9:109c).

- (9:109) a. da er nun shuldig /wird gewißlich ein erstlich Exempel
if he now guilty will certainly a serious example
 an jhme statuirt werden.
of him made become
 'If he now [is] found guilty, he a serious example will certainly be made of him.'
 (Early Modern German, 1609; from Breitbarth 2005:4)
- b. als nun den dritten Tag/ der Hauptman von allen
when now the third day the major of all
 Officirn vnd Herrn von Hoff ins Closter zu den
officers and sirs from court into.the monastery to the
 Augustinern zur begrebnis begleitet
Augustinians to.the funeral accompanied
 'when on the third day the captain [was] accompanied to the funeral in the monastery of the Augustinians by all officers and noblemen of the court...'
 (Early Modern German, 1609; from Breitbarth 2005:3)

²³⁸ Also German auxiliary omission has sometimes been explained as a loan, in this case from Latin, although it is unclear what the corresponding construction in Latin would be (see Breitbarth 2005 and references cited there).

²³⁹ In Swedish, verb final subordinate clauses disappear in the end of the 17th century, i.e. when auxiliary omission becomes frequent (see Platzack 1983).

- c. das also nichts sonders inn der Jnsel dieweil sie nit
that thus nothing special in the island while it not
 bewohnt wirt zufinden dann allein die wilde Capparen
inhabited is to.find than alone the wild capers
 'that thus on this island, which is not inhabited, nothing special can
 [be] found apart from wild capers'
 (Early Modern German, 1587; from Breitbarth 2005:3)

It is not impossible that Swedish HAVE-omission is due partly to German influence during the 15th and 16th century (in combination with changes in the morphology and placement of finite verbs). It is, however, hardly a question of syntactic borrowing in any strict sense. Since German auxiliary omission is not restricted to the temporal auxiliary HAVE, it is presumably a question of ellipsis (deletion of phonological material) (see Breithbart 2005 and references given there). Swedish auxiliary omission, on the other hand, appears to be a lexical phenomenon; it is restricted to temporal HAVE. As far as I can see, there is no reason to assume that this correlates with a change in the properties of the participle. Moreover, nothing suggests that HAVE has a different structure in Swedish than it does in e.g. Norwegian. As we have seen, the semantics of the perfect in Norwegian is very similar to that in Swedish.

9.6. Summary

In this chapter, we have seen that possessive HAVE takes the same range of complements as BE in Swedish. I have assumed that both HAVE and BE have a copular element in their structure. Possessive HAVE in addition involves a possessive preposition, P_{poss}; P_{poss} introduces the external argument in its specifier and establishes a possessive relation between the external argument and the complement.

In perfect-like constructions, P_{poss} can take a resultant state participle with bounded aspect. Due to the possessive semantics, the participial assertion time and the time of having must coincide. This means that the matrix assertion time is necessarily included in the participial assertion time in the perfect-like construction with HAVE. I have suggested that temporal HAVE emerges when this indirect relation between the two assertion times is reanalysed as a direct one; P_{poss} is reanalysed as a temporal preposition, P_T, which places the matrix assertion time within the participial assertion time. As a consequence HAVE also becomes a raising verb.

In languages like English and Swedish, copula + P_T is always realized as HAVE, and P_T always makes a semantic contribution. I suggested that languages like German, which allow positional past time adverbials in the perfect, have undergone an additional development whereby P_T has been lost. The German temporal auxiliaries HAVE and BE are therefore both realizations of the copula. I pointed out that the loss of P_T is plausibly tied to a system that employs BE as a temporal auxiliary.

At the end of the chapter, I briefly discussed the possibility of omitting finite forms of temporal HAVE in subordinate clauses in Present-Day Swedish, as opposed to e.g. Norwegian. I concluded that this possibility does not force us to assume a difference between Swedish and Norwegian with respect to the structure of temporal HAVE or the structure of the perfect participle.

10. On the development of the perfect

The discussion in the previous chapters has led to more fine-grained distinctions among the past participles. In the spirit of analyses of nominalizations such as Abney (1987) and Alexiadou (2001), I have argued that *en*-participles involve structures of different size; they can, but need not, include a full verb phrase, and they can, but need not, include AspP and TP. What parts of the verb phrase are included vary between languages, presumably due to the properties of the participial stativizer. In Present-Day Swedish, the stativizer attaches to *init*P or *res*P, and not to *proc*P, while in older Swedish it could attach also to *proc*P. Since the target state and progressive state readings depend on the structure of the verb phrase (the presence/absence of *res*P), we can predict what verbs they are formed from, and account for the fact that no verb is compatible with both. Resultant state participles involve more structure and have an independent aspectual value; they are therefore less lexically restricted and more similar to perfect participles. In chapter 6, I suggested that the use of resultant state participles was less constrained in older Swedish than in Present-Day Swedish; this is why the construction with BE looks more like a perfect in older Swedish, just like the construction with *vera búinn að* does in Present-Day Icelandic. Neither the older Swedish construction with BE nor *vera búinn að* does, however, have all properties of a perfect, and both are ungrammatical in past counterfactuals.

In chapter 4 above, I gave an overview of the early appearances of perfects in the Old Germanic records, focusing in particular on Scandinavian. With previous research, I noted that Gothic lacked a perfect tense while Old Scandinavian had one, although used less frequently than in the present-day languages. While perfects of intransitive and stative verbs occur in all investigated Scandinavian texts, they are rare or non-occurring in the Old and Early Middle English sources and in the earliest Old High German texts.

In the following, I return to perfects with HAVE to see what the results from the preceding chapters bring to our understanding of the early Germanic HAVE-perfects, and to the development of the perfect. I consider whether and how case and agreement distinguish perfects from

perfect-like constructions. I have argued that the perfect is a tense and that it has a complex structure which can vary somewhat between languages. The perfect participle is tensed, and in this respect differs from past participles. Differences between past and perfect participles are therefore likely to be tied to tense.

I start out by considering the agreement patterns of participles in the complement of HAVE in the Old Scandinavian sources. Sections 10.2 and 10.3 concern case and the distinction between active and passive participles. In section 10.4, I consider the development of the morphological distinction between past participle and perfect participle (supine) in Swedish. Section 10.5 gives an overview of the historical development of the perfect.

10.1. Participle agreement in Old Scandinavian

In Present-Day Swedish, past participles in perfect-like constructions always agree with the preceding object. Perfect participles, on the other hand, have an invariant neuter singular or supine form throughout the Germanic languages; cf. again the perfect-like construction in (10:1a) and the perfect in (10:1b) (and see chapter 4, section 4.1.2 above). Agreement in the perfect-like construction with HAVE is always with the object, and never with the subject (as in constructions with BE).

- (10:1) a. Frida har redan väskorna packade.
Frida has already the.bags pack.PRET.PL
 ‘Frida already has the bags packed.’
- b. Frida har redan packat väskorna.
Frida has already pack.SUP the.bags
 ‘Frida has already packed the bags.’

In this section, I consider the examples with agreeing participles in the Old Scandinavian records.

10.1.1. HAVE + agreeing participle in Old Scandinavian

As noted in chapter 9, Present-Day Swedish has perfect-like constructions with HAVE, but examples are rare and often marked. Also in the 16th and 17th century texts investigated in chapter 5 and 7, there are rare cases with HAVE + an agreeing participle; cf. (10:2).

- (10:2) a. Syslomännemar skola ingen intaga j Hospitalen
the.managers should no.one in.take in the.hospital
 för än the haffua Förmyndarenar åtsporda och til råd. z.
before they have the.guardians ask.PTC.PL and to advice
 ‘The managers should not admit anyone in the hospital before they
 have asked and conferred with the guardians.’
 (L. Petri *1499:196)
- b. de som hafwe sine tankar afwende ifrån
they who have their thoughts away.turn.PTC.PL from
 täd rätta liuset som är Gudh
the right the.light which is God
 ‘those who have their thoughts turned from the right light which is
 God’
 (Columbus I *1642:19)

Examples are equally rare in the oldest Swedish records. In the four Old Swedish texts investigated in chapter 4 above (section 4.3), a total of four examples of HAVE + participle involve unambiguously agreeing participles. Three of these are from *Gutalagen*; one is given in (10:3a); the other two are very similar. The fourth example, given in (10:3b), is from *Ett fornsvenskt legendarium*; it has a passive reading: a mother wants her son to be saved by someone.

- (10:3) a. Hafr erfilytia aign lutna.
has heiress land.F.SG.ACC. allot.PTC.F.SG.ACC.
 ‘An heiress has been allotted land.’
 (GL c.1300:20)
- b. ok hialpar eigh. frælsa min son æn þu vilt haua
and help not save my son but you want have
 þin son frælsan
your son.M.SG.ACC. save.PTC.M.SG.ACC.
 ‘and [you] do not help saving my son, but you want to have your son
 saved’
 (Leg c. 1300:25)

As pointed out in chapter 4, we can assume that past participles in the complement of HAVE always agree with the object DP in Old Swedish; we do not expect less agreement in Old Swedish than in Present-Day Swedish. The conclusion is therefore that the great majority of the transitive participles in the complement of HAVE are perfects also in Old Swedish.

Two of the Old Norse texts, the *Edda* and the law *Grágás*, stand out by having a larger number of agreeing participles with HAVE. In this respect they can be assumed to represent an older or more conservative language than the other Scandinavian texts in the material (cf. Ekbo

1943); from what we otherwise know of these texts, this is not unexpected.

Table 10.1 below gives the number of agreeing and non-agreeing participles in the complement of HAVE in the *Edda* and the *Grágás*. Only transitive verbs with explicit accusative DP objects are included in the data. A few examples with double objects are included. Since non-agreeing participles have the neuter singular form, examples with neuter singular objects are treated as ambiguous. With feminine or masculine objects, the form of the participle is always unambiguously agreeing or non-agreeing.

TABLE 10.1. *Object-participle agreement with HAVE in the Edda and the Grágás.*

<i>Text</i>	<i>Agreeing forms</i>	<i>Ambiguous forms</i>	<i>Non-agreeing forms</i>	<i>ALL</i>
<i>Edda</i>	44 (48 %)	25 (27 %)	22 (24 %)	91
<i>Grágás</i>	27 (48 %)	11 (20 %)	18 (32 %)	56

In both texts, almost half of the examples with accusative objects involve unambiguously agreeing participles. Ekbo (1943) gives similar figures for the Old Norse Skaldic poetry from the period before the 13th century: around 47 % (85/179) of the participles in the complement of HAVE are inflected, and around 22 % (40/179) are not (cf. also Barnes 1969). This is in sharp contrast to the four examples in the Old Swedish records. Recall from chapter 4 above that all investigated Scandinavian texts have clear evidence for a perfect tense; consider the perfects of *vera* ‘be’ in examples from the *Edda* and the *Grágás* in (10:4).

- (10:4) a. en þat hefir lengi verit síðkom ok sárom gaman
but that has long been sick and wounded advantage
 ‘but that has long been an advantage to the sick and wounded’
 (Edda Fi. 36)
- b. er eina nótt hafa menn verit á þingi
when one night have men been at thing
 ‘when when men have been at the Thing for one night’
 (Grágás 110, p. 189)

The question is if examples with agreeing participles should be analysed as perfects, i.e. if Old Norse, unlike Old Swedish and the present-day languages, had agreeing perfect participles. This would mean that the perfect-like construction was reanalysed as a perfect without any change in morphology, and that agreement was lost in perfects in a later de-

velopment. In Old Swedish, agreement in perfects had then already been lost in the oldest sources. Ekbo (1943) appears to suggest an account along these lines when he assumes that the examples with HAVE + an accusative object and a non-agreeing participle are constructed in analogy with examples with HAVE-perfects of intransitive verbs, which never involve agreeing participles. There is, however, no evidence for a stage where intransitive verbs form perfects, and where participles in the complement of HAVE consistently agree with an accusative object when there is one. As far as I know, all texts which involve more than single examples of HAVE + participle, and which have perfects of intransitive verbs, also have non-agreeing participles of transitive verbs in the complement of HAVE. In the Swedish runic inscriptions, there are examples of HAVE + non-agreeing transitive participles; see (10:5).

- (10:5) **in ulfr hafiR o [o]nklati þru kialt [t]akat**
and Ulfr has in England three payments.N.PL take.PTC.N.SG
 ‘And Ulfr has taken three payments in England.’
 (U 344)

In Romance, perfect participles in the complement of HAVE can show agreement in certain syntactic contexts (see Belletti 2006 for an overview). For instance, perfect participles agree with (3rd person) direct object clitics in Standard Italian; see (10:6).

- (10:6) L’ho conosciuta ieri.
her(cl) have.1.SG know.PTC.FEM.SG yesterday
 ‘I knew her yesterday.’ (Lit. ‘I have known her yesterday.’)
 (Belletti 2006:494)

In an influential account of participle agreement, Kayne (1989) argues that participle agreement is established in a spec-head configuration in an Agreement phrase (AgrP). In this way, Kayne captures the correlation between object movement and agreement and accounts for contrasts like that between (10:7a) and (10:7b–c) in French; (10:7a) has a full DP to the right of the participle whereas (10:7b–c) involve clitic movement or *wh*-movement through spec-Agr.²⁴⁰

²⁴⁰ D’Alessandro & Roberts (2008) propose a phase-based alternative to Kayne’s (1989) analysis without referring to spec-head agreement (cf. also Holmberg 2002). Instead, they suggest that agreement requires the participle and the DP with which it agrees to be contained within the complement of the same phase head; a phase is understood as a domain with morphological and semantic integrity. Crucially, an *in*

- (10:7) a. Paul a repeint/*repeintes les chaises.
Paul has repainted.SG/repaint.PTC.F.PL the chairs
 ‘Paul has repainted the chairs.’
- b. Paul les a repeintes.
Paul them has repainted.F.PL
 ‘Paul has repainted them.’
- c. les chaises que Paul a repeintes
the chairs that Paul has repaint.PTC.F.PL
 ‘the chairs that Paul has repainted’
 (Kayne 1989:86)

In Present-Day Swedish, there is a similar connection between word order and agreement in constructions with past participles. Past participles agree with a preceding (subject or object) DP, but not with a following DP; cf. the passives in (10:8) (and see Holmberg 2002 and references cited there).

- (10:8) a. Det blev ^{??}gjorda/gjort flera saker.
there became done.PL/done.N.SG several things
 ‘Several things were done.’
- b. Det blev flera saker gjorda/*gjort.
there became several things do.PTC.PL/do.PTC.N.SG
 ‘Several things were done.’
- c. Flera saker blev gjorda/*gjort.
several things became done.PL/done.N.SG
 ‘Several things were done.’

In Icelandic, on the other hand, a past participle obligatorily agrees with the object DP independently of word order; see (10:9).

- (10:9) Það hafa verið skrifaðar/*skrifað þrjár bækur
there have been write.PTC.F.PL/write.PTC.N.SG three books.F.PL
 um þetta.
about this
 ‘Three books have been written about this.’
 (Holmberg 2002:86)

According to Ekbo (1943), there is no correlation between agreement and word order in constructions with HAVE + participle in the Old Norse records. As Ekbo’s investigation is based largely on poetry, his results should be treated with caution. However, also the *Grágás* has examples with participles that agree with a following object, as well as

situ object of a transitive verb is not contained within the complement of the same phase head as the verb; the verb is in the phase head or higher.

examples where an object precedes a non-agreeing participle; cf. (10:10a) and (10:10b).

- (10:10) a. þvi at hann hafé drepin hann.
because that he had kill.PTC.M.SG.ACC he. PTC.M.SG.ACC
 ‘because he had him killed’
 (Grágás 86, p. 149)
- b. ef hann hefir engi man til fengit fyrir
if he has no man.M.SG.ACC to get.PTC.N.SG for
 ondverðo at lysa.
the.beginning to charge
 ‘if he did not get anybody to press charges from the beginning’
 (Grágás 87, p. 151)

As noted in section 4.1.2 above, some Romance dialects have participles that agree also with a full DP to the right of the participle. This is possible in literary Italian; see again the example in (10:11).

- (10:11) Maria ha conosciute le ragazze
Maria has know.PTC.FEM.PL the girl.FEM.PL
 ‘Maria has known the girls.’
 (Belletti 2006:502)

Belletti (2006) points out that Kayne’s account could be maintained if we assume that the order participle–object can be derived by movement of the object to spec-Agr and consequent movement of the participle to a position above Agr. Since agreement appears to be optional in Old Norse, either movement to Agr does not always have a morphological reflex, or examples like (10.10b) involve movement of the object to a preverbal position below Agr, that is, assuming that examples with and examples without agreement involve the same basic structure and differ only in morphology or in the position of the object or participle. As we will see below, this is not necessarily the case.

Tenseless participles are inflected to varying extent in the present-day Germanic languages. As we have already seen, Swedish and Icelandic past participles agree with a subject or object DP. In Norwegian, there is, as noted, considerable variation with regard to participle inflection (see e.g. Faarlund et al. 1997). In Bokmål, as in Danish, participles with verbal structure are generally not inflected; consider the examples with possessive HAVE + participle in (10:12) (cf. e.g. Hulthén 1944, Diderichsen 1944, and see chapter 2 above).

- (10:12) a. Høgskolene bør ha erfaringer knyttet både
the.universities should have experience.PL tie.PTC.N.SG both
 til rurale og urbane strøk.
to rural and urban areas
 ‘The universities should have experiences tied to both rural and urban
 areas’
 (BOKMÅL)
- b. Fartøyer uten dekk skal ha kassene
ships without deck should have the.box.PL
 tildekket.
cover.PTC.N.SG
 ‘Ships without a deck should have the boxes covered.’
 (BOKMÅL)

There is, as far as I know, no variation in the inflection of perfect participles in Germanic; perfect participles are not inflected in any of the present-day languages. If we assume that the oldest Scandinavian languages had agreeing perfect participles, like e.g. Italian does, it is, in fact, surprising that there is no evidence for agreeing perfect participles in the earliest Old Swedish texts and that agreement is lost also in Old Norse, and in all Scandinavian dialects. Since the perfect tense is a rather recent innovation in Old Swedish, we must assume that agreement with perfect participles was lost very rapidly, and without leaving any trace. The Old Swedish inflectional system does otherwise not change until centuries later, and in Icelandic agreement has not been lost elsewhere. The change from OV- to VO-order takes place during the 14th century in Swedish, and in Icelandic the frequency of the OV-order does not drop until in the 18th and 19th century (see Delsing 1999, Hróarsdóttir 2000). On the whole, it seems implausible that perfect participles were ever inflected in Scandinavian.

An alternative worth exploring is that the agreeing participles in the *Edda* and the *Grágás* are not perfect participles, but past participles. In the next section, I therefore look closer at what kind of examples involves agreeing participles.

10.1.2. Types of agreeing participles in the complement of HAVE in Old Norse

Barnes (1969:57 fn. 7), who assumes that constructions with HAVE + agreeing participle in Old Norse may be perfects, points to examples where an agreeing and a non-agreeing participle are coordinated; see

(10:13) and cf. the Old Swedish runic inscription repeated in (10:14) (from (4:24) above).

(10:13) Áðr hafði Gunnarr særða átta menn enn
earlier had Gunnarr wound.PTC.M.PL.ACC eight men and
 vegið þá tvo
kill.PTC.N.SG then two
 ‘Earlier, Gunnarr had wounded eight men and then killed two’
 (Njáls saga; FORNRIT)

(10:14) **sbiut** × / × **saR** × **uisitaula** × **um** × **uaRit** : **hafpi** ×
Spjót who in.the.west PRT be.PTC.N.SG had
burg × **um brutna** : **i : auk** × **um**
town.F.SG.ACC PRT break.PTC.F.SG.ACC in and PRT
barþa
beat.PTC.F.SG.ACC
 ‘Spjót, who had been in the west, broken down and fought in towns’
 (Sö 106)

However, the possibility of coordination should not necessarily be taken as evidence for complete syntactic identity (see Magnusson 2007). In older Swedish, BE can be omitted in coordinations with HAVE, whether it takes an active or a passive complement; cf. (10:15) and (10:16) (= (7:6c) above), where the first conjuncts involve HAVE + non-agreeing (perfect) participles and the second conjuncts have agreeing (past) participles.

(10:15) hwarigenom Magnetén icke hafwer allenast mist sin
whereby the.magnet not have only lose.PTC.N.SG POSS.REFL
 Krafft, uthan och Kistan blifwen förderfwat
power.C.SG but also the.chest.C.SG become.PTC.C.SG ruined
 ‘whereby the magnet has not only lost its power, but the chest [had] also been ruined.’
 (Kiöping *1621:23)

(10:16) han hade gift sigh men ike vigd medh henne
he had married REFL but not wed.PTC.M.SG with her
 ‘he had got married but [is] not wed to her’
 (Bureus I *1568:226)

Furthermore, there are no examples of past counterfactuals with HAVE + agreeing participle in the investigated texts. This does, however, not tell us much; on the whole, past counterfactuals with pluperfect morphology are rare in the Old Norse records.

The types of examples with HAVE + agreeing participle are not necessarily different from those that can be found also in Present-Day Swedish. Examples like (10:17) can, for instance, correspond to a construction with an agreeing target state participle in Present-Day Swedish; cf. (10:18).

(10:17) Echefi Hlórrida hamar um fölginn
I have the.thunderer's hammer.M.SG.ACC PRT hide.PTC.M.SG.ACC
 'I have the hammer of the Thunderer hidden.'
 (Edda Þrk. 8)

(10:18) Jag har den fortfarande gömd.
I have it.C.SG still hide.PTC.C.SG
 'I still have it hidden.'

Participle agreement is not restricted to participles with a target state reading; consider the examples in (10:19) with participles of the verbs *telja* 'count, mention' and *kanna* 'review, muster', neither of which is expected to have a target state participle.

(10:19) a. nú hefí ec dverga / [...] rétt um talða
now have I dwarf.M.PL.ACC rightly PRT mention.PTC.M.PL.ACC
 'Now, I have mentioned the dwarfs rightly.'
 (Edda Vsp. 12)

b. Hefir þú kannaða koni óneisa?
have you muster.PTC.M.PL.ACC man.M.PL.ACC valiant
 'Have you mustered the valiant men?'
 (Edda HH I 23)

The examples in (10:19) are rather typical resultant state participles; (10:19a) states that a 'job' has been done, and (10:19b) asks if it has been. Both of them are (at least marginally) possible in Present-Day Swedish, given the right context; see (10:20), and cf. also the resultant state passives with BE in (10:21).

(10:20) a. Nu har jag dem äntligen räknade.
now have I them finally count.PTC.PL
 'I have finally counted them.'

b. [?] Jag har redan alla männen mönstrade.
I have already all the.men muster.PTC.PL
 'I have already mustered all the men.'

(10:21) a. De är redan räknade.
they are already count.PTC.PL
 'They have already been counted.'

- b. Mǎnnen  r m nstrade.
the.men are muster.PTC.PL
 ‘The men are mustered.’

A couple of the examples with agreeing participles involve frequency adverbials; see (10:22). Since resultant state participles can be modified by adverbials of frequency or iteration, this does not force us to assume that perfect participles could agree with an object DP in Old Norse.

- (10:22) Þ  hefir etnar  lfa kr sir / ok br  r
you have eat.PTC.F.PL.ACC wolves’ food.F.PL.ACC and brother
 þ nom at bana or it, / opt s r sogin
yours for slayer become often wound.N.PL. suck.PTC.N.PL.
 me  sv lom munni
with cool mouth
 ‘You have eaten the food of wolves and become your brothers slayer,
 often sucked wounds with cool mouth’
 (HH I 36)

There are a few examples in Old Norse where HAVE appears to take an agreeing participle of a stative verb. In my material, there are two potential examples; see the examples in (10:23), which involve participles of the verbs *eiga* ‘own’ and *hafa* ‘have’. According to the list of verbs provided by Barnes (1969:88), both *eiga* and *hafa* have agreeing participles with HAVE up until the 14th century. Examples with non-agreeing participles are, however, more common.

- (10:23) a. Þr r haf ar er ek hef  til þ ns
longing.F.PL.ACC have.PTC.F.PL.ACC that I have to your
 gamans, / en þ  til m ns munar: / n  er þatt satt, at vit
lust and you to my love now is it true that we
 sl ta skulom /  vi ok aldri saman.
spend should life and age together
 ‘The longings I have had for your lust and you for my love: now it is
 true that we should spend our life and age together.’
 (Edda Fi. 50)
- b. Þar muno eptir undrsamligar / gullnar t flor   grasi
there will after wonderful golden chequers.F.PL.NOM in grass
 finnaz, / þers    rdaga  ttar h f o
found.ST those in ancient.times possess.PTC.F.PL.ACC had
 ‘There afterwards will be found in the grass the wonderful golden
 chequers, those which [they] possessed in the ancient times.’
 (Edda Vsp. 61)

It is not impossible that there are stative verbs that form participles with a resultant state reading, although these are expected to be restricted and marked. We have seen that stative verbs can sometimes combine with bounded aspect in active sentences (yielding an inchoative reading). This would account for the pronominal participle *havda* ‘had’ which can occur in Present-Day Swedish, but which is highly marked; cf. (10:24), which has the interpretation that there *have been* costs, and not the progressive state reading that there *are* costs.

- (10:24) Den havda kostnaden måste verifieras
the have.PTC.C.SG cost must verify.INF.PASS
 ‘It must be verified what the cost was.’
 (Google)

Regardless of whether stative verbs sometimes have resultant state participles or not, it is not self-evident that examples like those in (10:23) are unambiguous perfects. In (10:23a), it is likely that the participle *hafðar* is part of the noun phrase (i.e. ‘had longings’). The example in (10:23b), on the other hand, might involve a progressive state participle; the interpretation is that they *possessed* the chequers in ancient times, rather than that they *had possessed* them.

However, for examples like (10:25), which also involves *eiga*, a progressive state interpretation is unlikely, and a resultant state or perfect tense reading is closer at hand.

- (10:25) Eg hefði margar orustur áttar, stundum
I have many battle.F.PL.ACC own.PTC.F.PL.ACC sometimes
með meira liði, stundum minna.
with more men sometimes less
 ‘I have fought many battles, sometimes with more men. sometimes with less.’
 (Heimskringla; FORNRIT)

It is, in fact, likely that neither *hafa* nor *eiga* have exclusively stative uses in Old Norse.²⁴¹ For instance, you can *eiga handsöl* ‘shake hands, make a bargain’ (lit. ‘own a hand-sale’), or, as in (10:25) above, *eiga orrustu* ‘fight’ (lit. ‘own a battle’). *Eiga* has an *-st*-form meaning ‘fight each another’; see (10:26).

²⁴¹ As noted in chapter 9 above, Present-Day English HAVE has eventive uses (cf. Harley 1998).

- (10:26) Þá gekk fram Hjörvarðr, ok áttust þeir Oddr við
then went forward Hjörvarðr and own.PRET.ST them Oddr by
 hart vápnaskipti.
hard exchange.of.blows
 ‘Then Hjörvarðr went forward and fought with Oddr in a hard
 exchange of blows.’
 (Hervarar saga og Heiðreks; FORNRIT)

Moreover, participles of the verb HAVE are not restricted to perfects. Consider the example in (10:27) which involves a past participle of HAVE with a passive reading.

- (10:27) Voru þá hafðar af honum sannar sögur og sagði
were then have.PRT.F.PL of him true tale.F.PL and said
 hann þá allt hversu farið hafði með þeim Vigfúsi
he then all what gone had with them Vigfus
 ‘Then they had a true tale of him, and he told them all that had
 happened between him and Vigfus.’
 (Eyrbyggja saga; FORNRIT)

As far as I can see from the list of verbs provided by Barnes (1969) and the texts investigated here, there is little reason to assume that stative verbs have agreeing participles with HAVE in Old Norse, disregarding examples with participles of HAVE and *eiga*, and examples with a progressive state reading.²⁴²

Although there is an extended use of agreeing participles in Old Norse, there is thus little conclusive evidence that perfect participles were ever inflected. Since there is no evidence for agreeing perfect participles in Old Swedish, in the (other) investigated Old Norse texts, or in the present-day Scandinavian languages (although there is considerable variation with regard to past participle inflection), I conclude that perfect participles have never been inflected in the Scandinavian languages. More generally, tensed verb forms do not agree with accusative objects in Germanic.²⁴³

²⁴² In Barnes’s material, there is a single example of an agreeing participle of *halda* ‘hold’ in the complement of HAVE; he does not give the reference and he does not comment on its reading. Verbs meaning ‘hold’ tends to get a progressive state reading in the complement of possessive HAVE.

²⁴³ Hence, there is no difference between earlier and later Old Norse in this respect. Instead, the question is why there is a difference between Germanic and Romance. Verb morphology is generally richer in Romance than in Germanic (see e.g. Biberauer & Roberts 2006), and also person-driven auxiliary selection is absent in Germanic (see D’Alessandro & Roberts 2007).

10.1.3. Conclusion

At first sight, the simplest way to account for the frequent perfect-looking examples with agreeing participles in Old Norse is to assume that perfect participles could agree with an object DP in Old Norse, as they can in e.g. Italian. This is what e.g. Johannisson (1945) and Barnes (1969) assume. However, since it leaves the absence of perfect participle agreement in Old Swedish and in the present-day languages unexplained, I believe that this is not the right way to go. Instead, I suggest that tensed participles were never inflected in the Germanic languages, and that the examples of agreeing participles in the complement of HAVE in the *Edda* and the *Grágás* all involve tenseless perfect-like constructions. The perfect tense emerges when the ambiguous neuter singular past participles of transitive verbs are analysed as being tensed.

As pointed out in chapter 4, one prerequisite for the reanalysis of the perfect-like construction with HAVE + participle as a perfect is that the two constructions have a similar interpretation and that the perfect-like construction has the expected distribution of tense morphology. In other words, in a situation where the perfect-like construction is rare (as in e.g. Gothic and Present-Day Swedish), we do not expect it to be reinterpreted as a tense. Instead, it is plausible that the development of the perfect begins with an extended use of resultant state participles with HAVE at some point in Old Germanic. The early development of the HAVE-perfect thus parallels the change in the distribution of the perfect-like constructions with BE and *vera búinn að*. In Old Swedish, there was sometimes a choice between a resultant state construction with BE and a perfect with HAVE. In Present-Day Icelandic there is often a choice between a resultant state construction with *vera búinn að* and a perfect with HAVE (cf. Wide 2002 and Larsson 2009, and see chapter 6 above). If the account of the agreeing participles in the Old Norse sources is on the right track, this was the case also in Old Norse: there was a choice between a construction with HAVE + an agreeing resultant state participle and a perfect with HAVE + a non-agreeing participle. The fact that agreeing participles are more common in the *Edda* and the *Grágás* than in both Gothic and Old Swedish suggests that the change had started in Old Norse, but that the perfect tense was not yet fully established.

In the next section, I consider – and dismiss – another possible diagnostic for distinguishing perfects from perfect-like constructions, namely case.

10.2. Case in the Old Germanic sources

As noted, it is often assumed that past participles do not assign structural case and that they differ from perfect participles in this respect. With this assumption, an object DP gets case from the participle in perfects, but from HAVE in perfect-like constructions. Since HAVE assigns accusative case, examples with HAVE and genitive and dative objects are therefore sometimes taken as evidence for a perfect tense (see e.g. Wischer 2004; cf. chapter 4, section 4.1.3 above).

In the Old Scandinavian sources, genitive and dative objects are not uncommon in the construction with HAVE; consider the Old Norse examples in (10:28) and the Old Swedish examples in (10:29) (and cf. chapter 4 above).

- (10:28) a. Nú hefi ec hefnt harma minna
now have I revenged sorrow.M.PL.GEN my.M.PL.GEN
 ‘Now I have revenged my sorrows’
 (Edda Vkv. 28)
- b. Svipom hefi ec nú ypt fyr sigtíva sonom
look.M.SG.DAT have I now shown for fighting.gods’ sons
 ‘I have now shown my face to the sons of the fighting gods’
 (Edda Grm. 45)
- (10:29) a. Nu skal bonde þæn sins haur mist ingangæ
now shall farmer who.M.SG.ACC his.M.SG.GEN has lost in.go
 ‘Now a farmer who has lost his [property] shall go in’
 (ÅVgL c. 1220:Tj. 5)
- b. Huer sum [...] hafi firigart sinum halsi.
every who has forfeited his.M.SG.DAT neck.M.SG.DAT
 ‘Everyone who [...] has forfeited his neck.’
 (GL c.1300:63)

However, it is not totally true that past participles cannot assign genitive or dative case. It is, in fact, well known that dative case is retained in passives in Icelandic; cf. (10:30a) to the corresponding passive in (10:30b). Participles in eventive passives can in other words assign dative case to an argument.

- (10:30) a. Skipstjórinn sökkti skipinu.
the.captain sank the.ship.DAT
 ‘The captain sank the ship.’
- b. Skipinu var sökk af skipstjóranum
the.ship.DAT was sunk by the.captain
 ‘The ship was sunk by the captain.’
 (Zaenen & Maling 1984:141f.)

In stative passives, on the other hand, dative case is not preserved in Present-Day Icelandic; cf. the eventive passive in (10:31a), which has a dative subject, and the stative passive in (10:31b), which has a nominative subject.

- (10:31) a. Dyrinum var lokað (af dyraverðinum) klukkan sjö.
the.door.DAT was lock.PTC.N.SG by the.porter the.clock seven
 ‘The door was closed (by the porter) at seven o’clock.’
- b. Dyrnar var lokaðar (*af dyraverðinum)
the.door.F.PL.NOM was lock.PTC.F.PL by the.porter
klukkan sjö.
the.clock seven
 ‘The door had been closed (*by the porter) at seven o’clock.’
 (Svenonius 2006:(28), (29))

It seems clear that the emergence of the perfect should be viewed as a reanalysis of a stative construction. Throughout this thesis, we have observed that stative perfect-like constructions with HAVE and BE can have an interpretation very similar to that of a perfect. This is, however, not the case with eventive passives; cf. the examples in (10:32). While both the resultative with HAVE in (10:32a) and the perfect in (10:32b) express anteriority, the GET-passive in (10:32c) does not. The stative and eventive passives with BE and BECOME differ in the same way; see (10:33).

- (10:32) a. Nu har jag boken skriven.
now have I the.book written
 ‘Now I have the book written.’
 E(writing) < S
- b. Nu har jag skrivit boken.
now have I written the.book
 ‘Now I have written the book.’
 E(writing) < S
- c. Nu får jag boken skriven.
now get I the.book written
 ‘Now I am getting the book written.’
 E(writing) ≥ S
- (10:33) a. Boken är skriven.
the.book is written
 ‘The book has been written.’
 E(writing) < S
- b. Boken blir skriven.
the.book becomes written
 ‘The book is being written.’
 E(writing) ≥ S

Moreover, there is no correlation between languages that have eventive passives with BE and languages that have perfects with BE; English has the former but not the latter, whereas German has the latter but not the former.

However, it is not clear that it is the difference between stativity and eventivity *per se* that determines whether dative is preserved in passives or not; it might instead be the presence or absence of *initP* that is relevant (or a combination of factors). Like stative passives in German, the Icelandic stative passive seems to lack *initP*. Examples like (10:31b) do not allow an agentive *by*-phrase, and instrument adverbials are not possible; cf. (10:34) (and see further Svenonius 2006).

- (10:34) Dyrnar var lokaðar (*með fjarstýringu).
the.door.F.PL.NOM was lock.PTC.F.PL. with remote.control
 ‘The door had been closed (*with remote control).’
 (Svenonius 2006:15)

Since there are stative verbs with dative objects, it seems likely that eventivity is not required for dative to be preserved in passives. Instead, we can assume that dative arguments require an *initP*. Since there are Germanic languages which have stative participles which include *initP*, we cannot exclude that dative and genitive objects were possible in perfect-like constructions with HAVE in Old Germanic. In chapter 4 above, I noted that, in Gothic, there are examples of passives with BE having agent adverbials.²⁴⁴

If dative and genitive objects are available also in perfect-like constructions with HAVE, we expect them to appear before we have intransitive verbs in the complement of HAVE. According to Ekbo (1943: 127), it is the other way around: verbs with dative and genitive objects are the last to occur in perfect-type constructions with HAVE. However, Ekbo treats cases of object-drop as involving intransitive verbs and states that the first “intransitives” that appear with HAVE are verbs that otherwise generally take accusative objects. As far as I can see, the historical records are inconclusive as to what comes first, perfects of

²⁴⁴ In Old Swedish, there are examples of BE-passives with dative DPs; see (i). Oblique datives are possible with BE also in languages like German; cf chapter 5 and 7 above.

- (i) oc sagðhe hwat hænne var drömt
and said what she.DAT was dreamt
 ‘and said what she had dreamt’
 (Bil c. 1300:917; from Falk 1997:36)

intransitive verbs or HAVE + participle and a genitive or dative object. *Beowulf* has several examples with genitive objects and a couple of intransitive verbs in the complement of HAVE (see chapter 4 above); the text by Otrifrid has neither participles of intransitive verbs nor genitive or dative objects embedded under HAVE. In the study of Old English by Wischer (2004), 5 % of the participles in the complement of HAVE have genitive objects, 6 % are intransitive (or lack an explicit object).

The presence of dative and genitive objects in the complement of HAVE thus says little about the historical development of the perfect. In the next section, I consider the question of (structural) accusative case in constructions with past and perfect participles.

10.3. Passive and active *en*-participles

For unergative and transitive verbs, the development of the perfect involves a change from a passive structure with an implicit argument to an active structure. In this section, I will tentatively suggest that this difference between past and perfect participles is directly related to the presence/absence of Tense, and briefly discuss some of the consequences of such a proposal.

10.3.1. *Passive, active and case*

At least since Chomsky (1981), passivization has standardly been understood in terms of absorption of abstract accusative Case; the need for Case drives movement of the object to subject position. It is well known that accusative case is systematically missing in Icelandic passives; see (10:35) (and cf. e.g. Zaenen & Maling 1984, Sigurðsson 1989, Svenonius 2006). With Burzio's (1986) generalization the absorption of case is tied to the demotion of the external argument: only verbs with an external argument can assign accusative case.

- (10:35) a. Stormurinn blés strompinn af húsinu.
the.storm.NOM blew the.chimney.ACC off the.house
 'The storm blew the chimney off the house.'
- b. Strompurinn var blásinn af húsinu.
the.chimney.NOM was blown off the.house
 'The chimney was blown off the house.'
 (Zaenen & Maling 1984:145)

However, abstract accusative case sometimes seems to be available in passives. In languages like Swedish, either object can remain verb phrase internal in passives of ditransitive verbs; cf. (10:36) and (10:37) (which all have a progressive state reading).²⁴⁵

- (10:36) a. Den hästen/han är fortfarande erbjuden henne.
that the.horse/he.SUBJ is still offered she.OBJ
 b. Hon är fortfarande erbjuden den hästen/honom.
she.SUBJ is still offered that the.horse/he.OBJ
 ‘She is still offered that horse/him.’
- (10:37) a. Den hästen/han är fortfarande garanterad henne.
that the.horse/he.SUBJ is still guaranteed her.OBJ
 b. Hon är fortfarande garanterad den hästen/honom.
she.SUBJ is still guaranteed that the.horse/he.OBJ
 ‘She is still guaranteed that horse/him.’

Áfarli (1992) concludes that passivization should not be understood in terms of absorption of accusative case (cf. also Emonds 2006). To him, the essential property of passives is instead that the external argument is implicit (or in his terms, that the subject position is theta-free). This in turn raises the question why morphological accusative disappears under passivization in languages like Icelandic, and why the subject of an unaccusative verb generally has nominative and not accusative case. Áfarli (1992:66) suggests that a DP may be assigned case depending on the position in which it is realized, independently of whether it has been assigned case in a lower position.²⁴⁶ He points to pseudopassives where a pronoun has been promoted from an oblique position to subject, and is realized with subject case; cf. the Present-Day Swedish examples in (10:38) and (10:39) where the preposition arguably assigns oblique case to the pronoun *han/honom* ‘he/him’ in both cases (and cf. Áfarli 1992: 66f.).

²⁴⁵ See e.g. Anagnostopoulou (2003b) and Platzack (2005) for discussion of why languages like Swedish allow either of the objects of ditransitive verbs to be promoted to subject.

²⁴⁶ Morphological accusative is sometimes referred to as a dependent case, since it generally is dependent on the presence of a morphologically nominative argument. Cf. Platzack (2006b) who argues that a DP which Agrees with T, or with two probes with interpretable tense-features and uninterpretable phi-features (i.e. *v*, *p* or T), is spelled out with nominative case in Icelandic. See also e.g. Sigurðsson (2003, 2006) for a discussion of the nature of case.

- (10:38) De gjorde alltid narr av honom.
they made always fool of he.OBJ
 ‘They always made fool of him.’
- (10:39) Han gjordes ideligen narr av.
he.SUBJ make.PRET.PASS continually fool of
 ‘He was continually made fun of.’
 (SAG 1999, 4:370)

It can be noted that accusative is available in the absence of (an explicit) nominative DP in the so-called ‘New Passive’ in Icelandic; consider the examples in (10:40), which are accepted by some speakers (see further e.g. Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir 2002, Thráinsson 2007).²⁴⁷ Even for Icelandic, it is therefore not altogether unproblematic to tie past participle formation to absorption of accusative case.²⁴⁸

- (10:40) a. Það var barið strákr.
there was hit.PTC.N.SG. boy.M.SG.ACC
 ‘A boy was hit.’
- b. Það var lamið stúlkuna í klessu.
there was beat.PTC.N.SG. girl.F.SG.ACC in mess
 ‘The girl was badly beaten up.’
 (Thráinsson 2007:274f.)

As we have seen throughout the previous chapters, past participial morphology is not restricted to passives, but also occurs with unaccusative verbs. In this respect, it differs from the morphological passive *s-*suffix, which necessarily yields an (impersonal) passive reading also with unaccusatives; cf. (10:41a), which involves BE + an active participle, to (10:41b), which is a morphological passive.

- (10:41) a. Några var redan hemkomna.
some were already home.come
 ‘Some people had already come home.’
- b. Det/*folk koms och gick.
there/people come.PRET.PASS and go.PRET.PASS
 ‘There/*people was coming and going.’

²⁴⁷ The *það* in the New Passive is the ordinary expletive, and it is only possible in initial position; cf. (i).

(i) * Var það lamið stúlkuna í klessu.
was there beaten the.girl in mess
 (Thráinsson 2007:275 fn.15)

²⁴⁸ This is independent of whether we take the New Passive to involve a silent nominative element, as suggested by Maling & Sigurjónsdóttir (2002), or analyse it as a passive (with an implicit argument).

Past participial morphology behaves in a similar way throughout the Germanic languages, and independently of whether the languages employ the participle to form a perfect tense; consider the Gothic example in (10:42) (and see Larsson 2006 and references cited there). We can therefore conclude that participial morphology does not necessarily ‘absorb’ an argument.

- (10:42) ik im sa hlaifs libanda, sa us himina qumana
I am the bread living the from heaven come.PTC
 ‘I am the living bread come from heaven.’
 (John 6:51)

Nevertheless, the external argument of unergative and transitive verbs cannot be expressed (without *by/av*) in constructions with past participles in languages like Swedish and English; consider the examples in (10:43) and (10:44). In this respect, past participles differ crucially from perfect participles.

- (10:43) a. en man tidigt hemkommen
 a man early home.come
 ‘a man who came home early’
 b. *en man sjungen (en sång) redan i början av konserten
 a man sung a song already in the.beginning of the.concert
 Intended: ‘a man who sang (a song) already in the.beginning of the concert.’
 c. *en känd författare skriven en artikel
 a famous author written a paper
 Intended: ‘a famous author who wrote a paper’
- (10:44) a. en sång sjungen av en man i början av konserten
 a song sung by a man in the.beginning of the.concert
 ‘a song sung by a man in the beginning of the concert’
 b. en artikel skriven av en känd författare
 a paper written by a famous author
 ‘a paper written by a famous author’

Given the analysis of past and perfect participles that I have outlined in the previous chapters, it seems reasonable to explain the fact that past participles are passive or unaccusative with the absence of T. A fairly standard assumption is that the external argument of a transitive verb gets abstract nominative case from an element outside the verb phrase, typically T (see e.g. Chomsky 1995, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2001, 2007, Platzack 2006b and many others). It is therefore expected that past participles lack the ability to assign nominative case. Leaving

morphological case aside, we can assume that only one argument can be licensed verb phrase internally, and that this is possible also for unaccusative verbs. Since unaccusative verbs only have one argument (with structural case), no argument must be ‘absorbed’ or implicit when T is absent. Due to P_{poss}, two arguments can be licensed verb phrase internally in ditransitive structures (cf. section 9.2.2 above), and both can also be expressed in passives. The external argument of transitive or unergative verbs can, on the other hand, not be expressed unless it can be licensed outside the participial clause, or by a preposition.²⁴⁹

We thus expect past participles to have a passive/unaccusative reading unless an external argument can be assigned case in a matrix clause. Assuming that PRO, unlike the implicit argument in passives, is case marked (as argued by Sigurðsson 1991), past participles of transitive or unergative verbs can therefore not have an active reading in control constructions. This does, however, not mean that past participles are universally passive/unaccusative. An active transitive reading should be possible also outside the perfect tense, given that the external argument can be case-licensed. In the next section, I briefly consider a couple of contexts where this could be the case, namely constructions with active participles in the complement of *gita* ‘be able to’ in Old Swedish, *geta* ‘may’ in Icelandic and GET in Present-Day Swedish. I leave a full investigation of these constructions for future work.

10.3.2. A note on GET-participles

In older Swedish, the verb *gita* ‘be able to’ (cognate of *get*) takes an active participial complement; see (10:45). In Icelandic, the modal *geta* ‘may’ does; see the example in (10:46), which can have either an epistemic or a root reading.²⁵⁰ Note that the participle is not inflected and that the restrictions on past participles of unergative or transitive verbs do not apply.

²⁴⁹ Cf. Egerland (2002) who argues that only tensed structures allow two lexical arguments.

²⁵⁰ There is one context in Present-Day Icelandic where *geta* takes an infinitival complement, namely when it embeds a perfect; cf. (i).

- (i) María getur hafa lesið bókina.
 Mary may have.INF read.PTC.N.SG the.book
 ‘Mary may have read the book.’ (epistemic)
 (Thráinsson 2007:422)

- (10:45) a. at ængen manz øghon gato fæst syn a hanom.
that no man's eyes could fix.PTC.N.SG sight.F.SG on him
 'that no man could fix his eyes on him'
 (LEG, p. 142)
- b. iak giter ekki kent lukten
I could not feel.PTC.N.SG the.smell.C.SG
 'I cannot stand the smell.'
 (Didrik 15th c.:195)
- (10:46) María getur komið á morgun.
Mary may come.PTC.N.SG tomorrow
 'Mary may come tomorrow.' (epistemic)
 'Mary is able to come tomorrow.' (root)
 (Thráinsson 2007:422)

Icelandic *geta* is a raising verb. Unlike control verbs, it can, for instance, take an expletive or quasi-argumental subject; cf. (10:47a) and the control verb in (10:47b).

- (10:47) a. Það getur snjóað á morgun.
it may snow.PTC.N.SG tomorrow
 'It may snow tomorrow.' (epistemic)
- b. * Það vonast til að snjóa mikið í vetur.
it hopes to to snow much in winter
 (Thráinsson 2007:424f.)

Although the evidence is weaker, the same appears to be true for Old Swedish *gita*, at least in some varieties. There are examples where the participle in the complement of *gita* takes passive morphology; see (10:48).

- (10:48) a. then vidirngangan älla scriptamalin gitir ey genstan
that admission or confession can not immediately
giordz mz fullom hiertans idrogha
make.PTC.PASS with full heart's regret
 'that admission or confession cannot immediately be made with the
 full regret of the heart'
 (Svenska medeltidspostillor 15th c.:169)
- b. händrena waro swa harnadha at the gato ey nidhir
the.hands were so hardened that they could not down
lagx vtan vidhir naflan
put.PTC.PASS out by the.navel
 'the hands were so stiff that they could not be put down outside the
 navel.' (About the dead Jesus who has been taken down from the
 cross.)
 (Birgitta 14th c.:33)

The corresponding modern examples are grammatical with the modal *kunna* ‘be able to’, but not with the control verb *förmå* ‘be capable of, manage’; cf. (10:49).

- (10:49) a. Händerna kunde inte läggas ner.
the.hands could not put.INF.PASS down
 ‘The hands could not be put down.’
- b. Händerna *förmådde inte läggas ner.
the.hands managed not put.INF.PASS down
 Intended: ‘It could not be managed to put down the hands.’

Although participles in the complement of *geta/gita* have an active reading, they do not denote anteriority (see further below), and they should not be analysed as perfect participles. One possibility is that they are (eventive) past participles, and that also participles of transitive verbs have an active reading, since the external argument raises and gets case in the matrix clause. The absence of this kind of examples in Present-Day Swedish and Present-Day English then depends on the absence of raising verbs with past participial complements (other than BE and BECOME).

This line of reasoning can, however, not be extended to all participles in the complement of GET (*få*) in Swedish. In chapter 9, I noted that the GET-passive in several ways is the eventive correspondence to the stative perfect-like constructions with HAVE, just like the BECOME-passive is the eventive counterpart to stative BE-passives; see the GET-passives in (10:50).

- (10:50) a. Jag fick bilen förstörd (av min elaka granne).
I got the.car destroyed by my mean neighbour
 ‘I got the car destroyed (by my mean neighbour).’
- b. Vi fick honom belöningen fråntagen.
we got him the.reward from.taken
 ‘We got the reward taken from him.’

However, GET can also take active participial complements in colloquial Swedish; see the examples in (10:51) and (10:52) (and cf. Ljunggren 1934).²⁵¹ In Swedish, the GET-participle can optionally have supine morphology, and unlike past participles it does not incorporate

²⁵¹ The construction with GET + active participle is stylistically marked and not accepted by all speakers.

particles.²⁵² In the following, I refer to these active participles as GET-participles.

- (10:51) a. De fick taget/tagit från honom belöningen.
they got take.PTC.N.SG/take.SUP from him the.reward
 ‘They got the reward taken from him.’
- b. Jag fick inte sovet/sovit.
I got not sleep.PTC.N.SG/sleep.SUP
 ‘I didn’t get to sleep.’
- (10:52) a. Verkligen tur att du fick komma iväg på
really luck that you got come.SUP away on
 grannens loppis
the.neighbour’s flea.market
 ‘It was really lucky that you managed to get away to the neighbour’s flea market.’
 (Google)
- b. jag kom iallafall hem och fick somnat in gott
I came at.least home and got fall.asleep.SUP in well
 ‘at least I came home and got to fall asleep well’
 (Google)

Similar examples occur in Norwegian; see (10:53).

- (10:53) a. men straks han fikk kommet til Irland
but immediately he got come.PTC to Ireland
 ‘but the moment he managed to come to Ireland’
 (BOKMÅL)
- b. at Jeltsin tydeligvis ikke fikk hvilt nok ut etter
that Jeltsin apparently not got rest.PTC enough out after
 det forrige hjerteattaket
the former heart.attack
 ‘that Jeltsin apparently did not get enough rested after the former heart attack’
 (BOKMÅL)

In the active GET-construction, the participle can sometimes be exchanged with an infinitive without any obvious difference in meaning; see (10:54).

²⁵² The active and passive constructions with GET + participle are not necessarily distinguished by word order; GET-passives allow both the order participle–object and the order object–participle (without any clear difference in meaning). To avoid ambiguity, the examples with active participles in the complement of GET have supine morphology or a particle, or both.

- (10:54) Han fick sova/sovit.
he got sleep.INF/sleep.SUP
 ‘He got to sleep.’

There are, however, differences which relate to the fact that GET + infinitive involves raising, whereas GET + participle does not. First, when GET takes a participial complement, the subject must be animate; see (10:55).

- (10:55) Motorn fick vila/*vilat.
the.engine got rest.INF/rest.SUP
 ‘The engine got to rest.’

The active construction with GET + participle does not allow expletive subjects; see (10:56). When GET takes an infinitival complement, it patterns with temporal HAVE and has a modal reading; cf. (10:57).

- (10:56) *Det fick sovit någon där.
there got sleep.SUP somebody there
- (10:57) a. Det fick sova någon där.
there got sleep.INF somebody there
 ‘Somebody had to sleep there.’
- b. Det hade sovit någon där.
there had sleep.SUP somebody there
 ‘Somebody had slept there.’

As noted, the supine form in the complement of temporal HAVE can take the morphological passive in Swedish. Participles in the complement of GET cannot; cf. (10:58). Again, GET patterns with temporal HAVE when it takes an infinitival complement; see (10:59).

- (10:58) a. Han hade redan fråntagits jobbet (av styrelsen).
he had already from.take.SUP.PASS the.job by the.board
 ‘The job had already been taken from him (by the board).’
- b. *Han fick fråntagits jobbet (av styrelsen).
he got from.take.SUP.PASS the.job by the.board
- (10:59) Han fick fråntas jobbet (av styrelsen).
he got from.take.INF.PASS the.job by the.board
 ‘The job had to be taken from him (by the board).’

The conclusion is that the construction with GET-participles involves control, i.e. a PRO subject. If the ability to license a nominative argu-

ment and PRO is tied to T, GET-participles must have a T in their structure, unlike past participles.

It should be noted that GET-participles lack the temporal semantics of a perfect participle. Hence, when the matrix verb is in the present tense, a temporal adverbial with past reference is excluded with a participle in the complement of GET, but not with a present perfect (disregarding positional past time adverbials); see (10:60).

- (10:60) a. *Han får läst klart boken en gång förut.
he gets read.SUP finished the.book one time before
 b. Han har läst klart boken en gång förut.
he has read.SUP finished the.book one time before
 'He has finished reading the book once before.'

While the present perfect in (10:61a) states that the book will be finished before some time tomorrow, the corresponding example with GET in (10:61b) states that the event of finishing reading will lie within tomorrow.

- (10:61) a. Imorgon har han läst klart boken.
tomorrow has he read.SUP finished the.book
 'He will have finished reading the book.'
 b. Imorgon får han läst klart boken.
tomorrow gets he read.SUP finished the.book
 'He will finish reading the book tomorrow.'

Finally, a counterfactual with GET has a present tense and not a past tense reading; see (10:62). For a past counterfactual, GET has to be embedded under temporal HAVE, as in (10:63).

- (10:62) a. Om han fick läst klart boken idag, skulle
if he got read.SUP finished the.book today would
 jag ta den.
I take it
 'If he managed to finish reading the book today, I would take it.'
 b. *Om han fick läst klart boken igår, skulle
if he got read.SUP finished the.book yesterday would
 jag ha tagit den.
I have taken it

- (10:63) Om han hade fått läst klart boken igår,
if he had got.SUP read.SUP finished the.book yesterday
 skulle jag ha tagit den.
would I have taken it
 'If he had managed to finish reading the book yesterday, I would have taken it.'

We can therefore assume that GET-participles have an unvalued T in their structure (cf. the excursion on tenseless infinitivals in chapter 3, section 3.6.1). In this respect, they are similar to tenseless infinitives like (10:64), which has the control verb *glömma* ‘forget’ in the matrix clause. In other words, although PRO presumably requires the presence of T in the non-finite clause, this T need not be valued.

- (10:64) a. Jag glömde att skriva brevet.
I forgot to write the.letter
 ‘I forgot to write the letter.’
- b. *Jag glömmer att skriva/ha skrivit brevet igår.
I forget to write/have written the.letter yesterday
 (cf. Wiklund 2007:55)

This means that participles with a T in their structure can have supine morphology in Swedish, although the supine form is only obligatory when the participle has a past tense value.

The constructions with *geta/gita* and the Swedish and Norwegian GET-participles complicate an account of participle morphology, but it can also have implications for our understanding of the historical development of the perfect and the interpretation of the historical data. Specifically, the possibility of active participles of transitive and unergative verbs outside the perfect opens for different analyses of examples with HAVE + active participle in the historical records. These are addressed in the section 10.3.5. First, I briefly consider the restriction on the morphological passive in the perfect tense.

10.3.3. A note on the morphological passive

Infinitives in the complement of control verbs typically do not passivize, whereas raising infinitives do; cf. the example in (10:65a) with the control verb *besluta* ‘decide’ and the example in (10.65b) with the raising verb *kunna* ‘be able to’. In the previous section, I took examples of passivized participles in the complement of *gita* as evidence for a raising analysis of the construction with *gita* + participle in Old Swedish.

- (10:65) a. *Brevet beslutade skrivas.
the.letter decided write.INF.PASS
- b. Brevet kunde skrivas.
the.letter could write.INF.PASS
 ‘The letter could be written.’

Consequently, participles in the complement of GET do not passivize, as noted above, although GET can take active participles (with supine morphology); cf. the perfect in (10:66a) and the construction with GET in (10:66b).

- (10:66) a. Han fick äntligen skrivit boken.
he got finally written the.book
 ‘He finally got the book written.’
 b. *Boken fick äntligen skrivits.
the.book got finally write.SUP.PASS

If a raising structure and an active participle with an external argument is all that is needed for morphological passives to be possible, we expect participles in the complement of HAVE to allow the *s*-passive as soon as HAVE has been reanalysed as a raising verb, i.e. already in the oldest Scandinavian records (given that Old Scandinavian had an *s*-passive). We have seen that the morphological passive is not incompatible with participial morphology; there are a few examples of participles in the complement of *gita* ‘be able to’ with passive morphology in Old Swedish (see (10:48) above).

The first known examples of the *s*-passive of participles in the complement of HAVE are considerably younger, from the 16th and 17th century (cf. Holm 1952); two early examples are given in (10:67). Examples are rare in the texts investigated here, and 18th and 19th century grammarians disapprove of the passive of the supine (cf. Platzack 1989).

- (10:67) a. thet andra myntet haffuer kallas köpgilt
the other the.coin has called.PASS purchase.valid
 ‘the other coin has been called valid currency’
 (Petri *1493:38)
 b. när waran har förtdts in, så ha namne
when the.product has brought.PASS in so has the.name
kom[m]it in mä.
come in too
 ‘when the product has been brought in, the name has come too’
 (Columbus II *1642:7)

Moreover, whereas the supine can take passive morphology in Present-Day Swedish, the corresponding perfect participles in the other Mainland Scandinavian languages cannot; cf. Swedish in (10:68) with Norwegian in (10:69).²⁵³

²⁵³ Other *s*-forms (e.g. reflexive or middle forms) are sometimes compatible with perfect participial morphology also in the other Scandinavian languages. Consider

- (10:68) Morötterna har hackats i småbitar (av kocken).
the.carrots have chopp.SUP.PASS in small.pieces by the.chef
 ‘The carrots have been chopped into small pieces (by the chef).’
- (10:69) *Gulröttene har hakkets i små biter.
the.carrots have chopp.PTC.PASS in small pieces

I suggested above that the difference between participles in the complement of *gita*, which allowed the *s*-passive in Old Swedish, and perfect participles, which did not, lies in the tense value. We can therefore assume that the *s*-passive is temporally or aspectually restricted in older Swedish, as well as in Norwegian and Danish, but not in Modern Swedish.

The morphological passive is dependent on tense and aspect also outside of the perfect. In Norwegian and Danish, *s*-passives typically have a generic reading, whereas periphrastic passives are used to refer to specific events; cf. the examples in (10:70) (from Faarlund et al. 1997:514; cf. Engdahl 2006, and see Heltoft & Falster Jakobsen 1996 for Danish).

- (10:70) a. Oppgavene leveres hver uke.
the.assignments hand.in.PRES.PASS every week
 ‘The assignments are handed in every week.’
- b. Oppgaven ble levert for seint.
the.assignment became hand.in.PTC too late
 ‘The assignment was handed in too late.’
 (Faarlund et al. 1997:514)

In Swedish, there is no such restriction; the morphological passive is the unmarked option in both (10:70a) and (10:70b). In a study of Mainland Scandinavian passives in newspaper columns, Laanemets (2004) observes that 91 % of all passives are morphological in Swedish. The corresponding numbers for Norwegian and Danish is 53 % and 55 % respectively.

the contrast between the Norwegian examples in (i) and (ii); the passive in (i) is degraded, while examples with a reciprocal reading as in (ii) are attested.

- (i) ?? De to lagene har møttes av elleville fans hver gang.
the two teams have met.PASS by wild fans every time
 Intended: ‘The two teams have been met by wild fans every time.’
 (cf. Faarlund et al. 1997:514)
- (ii) De to lagene har møttes fire ganger før
the two teams have met.S four times before
 ‘The two teams have met each other four times before.’
 (Google)

According to Kirri (1975), the morphological passive is overall more common than the periphrastic passives also in 16th and 17th century Swedish. In the preterite, it is, however, the other way around: BECOME-passives are more common than *s*-passives (Kirri 1975:116). In Danish, not all verbs have *s*-passives in the preterite; most strong verbs do not. Hence, for the verb *synge* ‘sing’ there is no form **sanges* ‘was sung’ (see Laanemets 2004 and references cited there). The same is true in Norwegian; Åfarli (1992) judges examples like (10:71) as degraded (cf. Faarlund et al. 1997:513).

- (10:71) ?? Jon advartes i går.
 John warn.PAST.PASS yesterday.
 ‘John was warned yesterday.’
 (Åfarli 1992:15)

In Laanemets’ (2004) material, there are no examples of past tense *s*-passives in Present-Day Norwegian, and only few examples in Danish.²⁵⁴ Neither the Norwegian nor the Danish corpora have examples of morphological passives in the perfect tense. According to Faarlund et al. (1997), the *s*-passive is, however, not always completely ungrammatical in the perfect tense in Norwegian; see (10:72).

- (10:72) ? Fangene har ført(e)s ut av rommet.
 the.prisoners have take.PTC.PASS out of the room
 ‘The prisoners have been taken out of the room.’
 (Faarlund et al. 1997:513)

Hence, the *s*-passive is largely restricted to infinitive or present tense forms in Norwegian Bokmål and Danish. In Nynorsk, the morphological passive is almost exclusively used with infinitives in the complement of modals (Faarlund et al. 1997:513); see (10:73). The constructions with *gita* + participle correspond to modal + infinitive in the present-day languages; this is the context where we find morphological passives (with *-st*) in Nynorsk.

- (10:73) a. Dette huset kan seljast.
 this the.house can sell.INF.PASS
 ‘This house can be sold.’
 (NYNORSK)

²⁵⁴ In Danish, 14/93 (15 %) of the past tense passives are *s*-passives; in Swedish, the corresponding number is 82/87 (94 %) (Laanemets 2004:87f.; cf. Engdahl 2006:29).

- b. og planane for kongressenteret måtte omarbeidast.
and the.plans for the.congress centre must rework.INF.PASS
 ‘and the plans for the congress centre must be redone’
 (NYNORSK)

Given the restrictions on morphological passives in the present-day languages (relating to tense, aspect, and perhaps mood), and the passivized participles in the complement of *gita* in Old Swedish, it seems highly likely that the restriction on *s*-passives in the perfect tense in older Swedish and Norwegian and Danish depends on constraints on the *s*-passive, and not on differences in the properties of the perfect participle. The first occurrences of the *s*-passive in the perfect tense are therefore due to changes in the properties of the passive suffix, and not in the participle. In other words, the possibility of morphological passives in the perfect tense does not force us to assume that the Swedish supine is structurally different from Norwegian and Danish perfect participles.

10.3.4. Possible implications for the development of the perfect

Thus far, I have assumed that the constructions with HAVE + participle have either of the structures in (10:74), disregarding the distinction between the different past participles. Recall that lexical HAVE has a possessive preposition (P_{poss}) in its structure, whereas the raising verb HAVE involves a temporal preposition (P_T). For simplicity, I disregard the temporal arguments of Asp, T and P_T in the structures. Participles of intransitive and stative verbs do not occur in the structure in (10:74a).

- (10:74) a. Possessive HAVE + passive past participle:
 $DP_i \text{ Cop } [_{PP} DP_i P_{\text{poss}} [_{AspP} DP_j \text{ Asp } [_{\text{VoiceP}}]]]$
 b. Temporal HAVE + perfect participle:
 $DP_i \text{ Cop } [_{PP} P_T [_{TP} DP_i T [_{AspP}]]]$

In the discussion of the historical data, I have implicitly assumed that the temporal auxiliary and the perfect participle develop together, and that the one does not appear without the other. Given the constructions with *gita/geta* and GET, there are at least two more possibilities. First, we could assume that possessive HAVE took a GET-participle or a perfect participle as complement at some point in time; the structure is given in (10:75).

- (10:75) Possessive HAVE + active participle:
 $\text{Cop } [_{PP} DP P_{\text{poss}} [_{TP} \text{ PRO } T [_{AspP}]]]$

Given the cross-linguistic data, stative participles never appear to have a T in their structure; neither GET-participles nor perfect participles are stative. Since it is implausible that the perfect participle has developed out of an eventive participle (see above), we can assume that if the structure in (10:75) is available, it involves a perfect participle. I have suggested that the difference between the GET-participle and the perfect participle is the value of T: the GET-participle has an unvalued T whereas the perfect participle has a past tense T.

It is however not clear what the interpretation of (10:75) would be. As it stands, it expresses that the subject possesses an (assertion time relating to an) eventuality that lies in the past of the time of having. A possessive state otherwise requires (spatio)temporal coincidence between the Possessor and the Possessum. In other words, it is not possible to possess something at present that existed only in the past, or which does not exist yet. In chapter 9, I suggested that the possessive semantics of HAVE (P_{poss}) therefore requires that the participial assertion time coincides with the time of having; the perfect-like construction with HAVE is in this way temporally-aspectually more restricted than are stative passives with BE. At the very least, then, we should not posit the structure in (10:75) without having substantial evidence for it. Since there is nothing that suggests that it has ever been available, I will disregard it in the following.

Secondly, there could, hypothetically, be a structure with a raising verb HAVE with a tenseless past participial complement, as in the structure in (10:76). For the development of the perfect, this would mean that temporal HAVE emerges before the perfect participle does.

(10:76) Raising HAVE + past participle:
 Cop [_{PP} P_T[AspP]]

Taking the participle in the complement of HAVE to be an (active) resultant state participle (which is the stative participle most similar to the perfect participle), this construction would be restricted to verbs that can have bounded or resultative aspect, but not to transitives. In other words, a language with the structure in (10:76) would allow active participles of eventive verbs in the complement of HAVE, but would generally disallow stative verbs with HAVE. Old English is a possible candidate for such a language. Carey (1994, 1995) notes a few examples of participles of intransitive eventive verbs in the complement of HAVE in the oldest sources, but no examples of intransitive stative verbs (see Table 4.6 above). However, the number of examples of eventive intransitive verbs is also small, and hardly allows for any conclusions, particularly since

the distinction between stative and eventive verbs can be difficult to make, and since not all transitive structures need have an explicit object. If the structure in (10:76) were ever possible, we would have to explain the changed selectional properties of P_T . Moreover, in the present-day languages, there is no evidence for active *stative* participles of transitive or unergative verbs.

A simpler assumption is that the participial stativizer (although for unclear reasons) always combines with a passive/unaccusative verb phrase, as in the present-day languages. This means that the development of the perfect involves a reanalysis of the perfect-like construction with lexical HAVE + a resultant state participle as a perfect, without any intermediate stage; see (10:77). As in many other cases of grammaticalization, the change does not mean that the original structure becomes unavailable.

- (10:77) Two stages in the development of the perfect:
- I Possessive HAVE + passive past participle:
 $DP_i \text{ Cop } [PP \ DP_i \ P_{\text{poss}} [AspP \ DP_j \ Asp \ [VoiceP]]]$
 - II Temporal HAVE + perfect participle:
 $DP_i \text{ Cop } [PP \ P_T [TP \ DP_i \ T \ [AspP]]]$

It thus seems highly plausible that active participles of unergative verbs in the complement of HAVE are unambiguous perfects in the Old Germanic sources, in line with what was established in chapter 4 above.

10.3.5. Summary

In this section, I have briefly considered the question of past participles and case, and active participles in the complement of *geta/gita* in Icelandic and Old Swedish, and GET in Present-Day Swedish. I have suggested that although past participles are necessarily either passive (i.e. have an implicit argument) or unaccusative in contexts where all arguments must be licensed within the participial clause, they are not inherently passive/unaccusative.

Active participles in the complement of *geta/gita* and GET (so-called GET-participles) complicate an account of participle morphology somewhat. They also raise questions regarding the historical development of the perfect. However, since nothing suggests that perfect participles appeared before temporal HAVE did or the other way around, I will continue to assume that stative past participles, unlike eventive participles, are always passive or unaccusative, and that temporal HAVE and

the perfect participle were the result of a single reanalysis of a perfect-like construction. In this way, I do not posit any differences between the Old Germanic languages and the present-day languages that there is no evidence for. I leave the question of why the stativizer only seem to occur in tenseless and passive/unaccusative structures aside and instead turn to the historical development of the supine form, and, in section 10.5, the perfect tense.

10.4. Supine morphology

As we saw in chapter 2 above, Swedish strong verbs (4th conjugation) have a supine form which is morphologically distinct from the past participle. This is not the case in the other Scandinavian standard languages; cf. Swedish in (10:78) and Norwegian in (10:79).

- (10:78) a. Det blev aldrig skrivet något brev.
there became never write.PTC.N.SG any letter
 'There was never any letter written.'
- b. Hon har skrivit ett brev.
she has write.SUP a letter
 'She has written a letter.'

- (10:79) a. Brevet ble skrevet.
the.letter became write.PTC.N.SG
 'The letter was written.'
- b. Hun har skrevet brevet.
she has write.PTC.N.SG the.letter

Most varieties of Present-Day Swedish make the distinction between the supine and the neuter singular past participial form for strong verbs; the former has the suffix *-it*, the latter *-et* or *-en*.

As noted, the final *-t* can be dropped in the supine of strong verbs and weak verbs with stems ending with an unstressed *-a* (1st conjugation; e.g. *måla* 'paint' and *tala* 'speak'); consider again examples like (10:80). Omission of *-t* is generally not possible with past participial forms, or when the supine takes the morphological passive; cf. (10:81).

- (10:80) a. Hon har målat/måla huset.
she has painted the.house
 'She has painted the house.'
- b. Jag har skrivit/skrivi en bok.
I have written a book

- (10:81) a. Huset blev målat/*måla.
the.house became painted
 ‘The house was painted.’
- b. Det blev aldrig skrivet/*skrive någon bok.
there became never write.PTC.N.SG any book
 ‘There was never any book written.’
- c. Det har skrivits/*skrivis en bok.
there has write.SUP.PASS a book
 ‘There has been a book written.’

In certain varieties of Swedish, the supine form with *-it* or *-i* can occur also with weak verbs with stems ending in a consonant (2nd conjugation verbs; e.g. *köp-* ‘buy’); consider the examples in (10:82), where the participial forms are *bygg* ‘built’, *byti* ‘switched’ and *glömmi* ‘forgotten’ for standard *byggt*, *bytt* and *glömt* (see further Nordberg 1985b and Sundgren 2002, and references cited there).

- (10:82) a. sen har man väl bygg på et
then have one surely built on it
 ‘then one has surely built on it’
- b. fast jag har byti lägenheter
although I have switched apartments
 ‘although I have switched apartments’
- c. nu har man glömmi bort et
now has one forgotten away it
 ‘now, one has forgotten about it’
 (All three examples were uttered in 1996 by a man from Eskilstuna,
 *1920; from Sundgren 2002:198)

Although I judge forms like *glömmi* (or *glömmi*) for *glömt* ‘forgotten’ as substandard, they are not completely foreign to my (Central Swedish) variety of Swedish. In some cases, the ending *-it* can be seen as a remnant of an older strong inflection, but given that it is possible with most verbs in the 2nd conjugation (with some exceptions; see Sundgren 2002), it is rather a question of generalization of the supine form. In past participles, forms with *-i/-it* or even *-et* are totally impossible for these verbs; cf. the examples (10:83).

- (10:83) a. Huset är byggt/*byggit/*byggi/*bygget.
the.house is built
 ‘The house has been built.’
- b. Det är glömt/*glömmit/*glömmi/*glömmet
it is forgotten
 ‘It has been forgotten.’

According to SAG (1999, 2:551), the final *-t* of the supine can be dropped in most varieties of Swedish. The geographical area where *-t* is omitted from the supine is larger than the area where *-t* is omitted from definite neuter singular nouns as in *huse* for *huset* ‘the house’ (see Sundgren 2002 and references cited there). Forms without *-t* on nouns are assumed to occur in certain varieties of Old Swedish (but not in Götamål; see e.g. Wessén 1955:84, Pamp 1971:107). The possibility of *-t*-drop from participial forms is noted in the 17th century grammars by Aurivillius (1684) and Tiällman (1696) (cf. Platzack 1989:316). Examples from the 17th century are given in (10:84), which have the forms *frachta* for *frachtat* ‘hired’, and *tagi* for *tagit* ‘taken’.

- (10:84) a. såm iagh hadhe långosäden frachta att föra migh
that I had long.ago hire.SUP to bring me
 öfwer till Swerighe
over to Sweden
 ‘that I had hired long ago to bring me over to Sweden’
 (Rosenhane *1611:106)
- b. at ingen har wist hvar vi hafwa tagi vägen
that no.one have known where we have take.SUP way
 ‘that no one would have known, where we had gone’
 (Horn *1629:25)

By the end of the 18th century, supine forms without *-t* appear to have been typical for the spoken language in and around Stockholm; Ristell’s play *Några mil från Stockholm* (1787), which attempts to mimic the spoken language, as a rule has supine forms without *-t*, as noted in the comment to the edition. Omission of *-t* was not restricted to perfect participles in older Swedish, as it is in the Central Swedish varieties of Present-Day Swedish, and also the past participial endings *-d* and *-de* are sometimes dropped; cf. (10:85) with *fägna* for *fägnad* ‘pleased’ and *förblekna* for *förbleknad* ‘pale’.

- (10:85) a. Och om andra afton kom han didh [...] och blef
and on second eve came he there and became
 fägna af hene
pleased by her
 ‘And on the second eve he came there and was pleased by her’
 (Horn *1629:75)
- b. de kinder såm förblekna är åg wåta
the cheeks that pale.PTC are and wet
 ‘The cheeks that are pale and wet’
 (Börk I *c. 1660:304)

The systematic difference between supine forms with *-it* and past participles with *-et/-en* was, on the other hand, not fully established in the 17th century. For an overview of the alternation, I have investigated the alternation between *-i-* and *-e-* in the primary corpus of 16th–18th century texts that were included in the study of the loss of BE in chapter 7. In these texts, there is an alternation between *-i-* and *-e-* both in past participles and in perfects; consider the past participles *öfvergångidt* ‘gone over’ and *åt gånget* ‘used up’ in (10:86), and the perfect participles *frusi* ‘frozen’ and *fruset* ‘frozen’ in (10:87).

- (10:86) a. huru som Åbo stadh och slott var åter öfvergångidt
how that Åbo town and castle was again over.gone
 till the vedervertige finnar
to the atrocious Fins
 ‘how the town of Åbo had again gone over to the atrocious Fins’
 (Gyllenhielm *1574:266)
- b. til thes alt var åt gånget
to that all was off gone
 ‘until all had been used up’
 (Bureus I *1568:215)
- (10:87) a. vi sku ha frusi ihjäl
we would have frozen to.death
 ‘we would have frozen to death’
 (Horn *1629:99)
- b. efter iahan är litet siuk och har fruset
since John is little sick and has frozen
 ‘Since John is a bit sick and has been freezing.’
 (Horn *1629:108)

The vowels alternate also in common gender forms ending in *-n* (i.e. *-in/-en*); cf. (10:88) with *farin/faren* ‘gone’. In my material, the dominating vowel is *-i-*; this is expected since the texts have a Central Swedish origin (cf. e.g. Kock 1921:120f.). In Present-Day Swedish, the ending is *-et/-en* in past participles in the complement of BE, and *-it* in perfect participles (or supine forms) in the complement of HAVE.

- (10:88) a. i medler tidh war H: Mtt, farin i Ryssmarken
in mean time was His Majesty gone in Ryssmarken
 ‘in the mean time had His Majesty gone to Ryssmarken’
 (Rosenhane *1611:195)
- b. Wist lära de mena iag är til helfwitis faren
certainly will they believe I am to hell gone
 ‘they will certainly believe that I have gone to hell’
 (Columbus I *1642:52)

The data are summarized in Table 10.2. Period I includes the texts by Bureus (*1568), Gyllenhielm (*1574) and Rosenhane (*1611); Period II comprises the texts by Horn (*1629) and Columbus (*1642); Period III includes the plays by Börk (*c. 1660) and Gyllenborg (*1679) and *Philomela* (cf. section 7.3 above). The data include only active participles of unaccusative verbs ending in *-it/-i* (e.g. *kommit/kommi*) or *-et/-e* (*kommet/komme*) in perfect-type constructions with HAVE or BE. Counterfactuals are included, as are examples where the auxiliary HAVE is omitted.

TABLE 10.2. *The alternation -it/-et in older Swedish.*

<i>Text</i>	<i>BE + Ptc</i>	<i>BE + Ptc</i>	<i>HAVE +</i>	<i>HAVE +</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
	# -et	% -et	<i>Ptc</i> # -et	<i>Ptc</i> % -et	# -et	% -et
Period I	3/18	17 %	0/23	0 %	3/41	7 %
Period II	2/14	(14 %)	1/45	2 %	3/59	5 %
Period III	0/3	(0 %)	0/45	0 %	0/48	0 %
ALL	5/25	20 %	1/113	0.9 %	6/148	4 %

Although the cases of *-et/-e* are few, and the overall difference between past participles and perfect participles is small, we can note the beginning of a split; with a single exception, participles in the complement of HAVE have the ending *-i/-it*. The frequency of *-e-* is considerably higher (20 %) with past participles in the complement of BE. In this material, no shift in the alternation can be noted.

With inflected (common gender) past participles, *-en*, and not *-in*, is the preferred ending; cf. Table 10.3 below. Here, *-e-* is considerably more common than in the neuter singular contexts, and, with time, increasingly so. In Period III, the forms *-it* and *-en* are categorical; there are no examples of past or perfect participles with *-et* in this period, and no past participles with *-in*.

TABLE 10.3. *The alternation -in/-en in older Swedish.*

<i>Text</i>	<i>BE + Ptc</i> # -en	<i>BE + Ptc</i> % -en
Period I	35/69	51 %
Period II	24/41	59 %
Period III	24/24	100 %
ALL	83/134	62 %

The first appearance of the possibility to omit *-t* and the grammatically based distinction between the supine with *-it* and the participle with *-et*

need not correspond to a change in the structure and feature set-up of the perfect participle; I have argued that Swedish has perfect participles that are structurally distinct from past participles already in the early Old Swedish period. A possibility which lies closer at hand is that the alternation *-i/-e-* is reinterpreted as depending on grammatical function (rather than on phonological or phonetic factors) when the syllabic system changes and short syllables are lost. This change begins in the Old Swedish period but is not completed until much later (see e.g. Widmark 1998:27). According to Palmér (1910) and Kock (1910, 1921: 107), the origin of the alternation *-i/-e-* in participles is vowel balance, i.e. the quantity of the root syllable: *-i-* occurs after short syllables (e.g. *tagit* ‘taken’), *-e-* after long syllables (e.g. *fallet* ‘fallen’). In a study of the variation *-i/-e-* in a number of older Swedish texts from 1541–1847, Platzack (1981) observes that the quantity of the root syllable is the main determinant for the alternation in the translation of the Bible from 1541.

Platzack includes common gender forms with *-in* or *-en* in his study as well. In some texts (particularly from the 17th century), this is the most important factor for the alternation *-i/-e-* (1981:133). As noted above, the ending *-in* is completely missing from the most modern texts in my material. The fact that the endings with *-i-* is restricted in past participles in this way, but not in perfects (since perfect participles always have *-t*), is a possible origin to the analysis of *-i/-e-* as reflecting a grammatical distinction.

It is thus likely that the morphological reanalysis of the alternation *-i/-e-* is triggered by shifts in the morpho-phonological system. The new system for the alternation is grammatically based, and is therefore a consequence of a syntactic change that took place considerably earlier. The development of a morphological distinction requires morpho-phonological variation which can be reinterpreted as relating to the underlying distinction. The conditions for the innovation to spread in the linguistic community must also be met. We know that the beginning of a modern Swedish Standard develops during the 18th century. Palmér (1919:35) notes that the modern system with supine forms with *-it* and past participles with *-et* is almost fully established in *Konung Karl XII:s historia* (1740) by Jöran Nordberg (born in Stockholm 1677). Platzack (1981) observes that the grammar by Sahlstedt (1769) argues for a grammatically based distinction *-it/-et*.

I conclude that the Swedish supine form is nothing but a morphologically marked perfect participle. The fact that the Norwegian and Danish standards lack the morphological distinction, although they

make the same syntactic-semantic difference between perfect participles and past participles, is not unexpected; Swedish has more generally preserved vowel distinctions in endings. In fact, there are Norwegian dialects which make a morphological distinction between perfect participles and past participles; cf. the examples with the non-agreeing passive past participle *skoden* ‘shot’ in (10:89) to (10:90) which has the perfect participle *skode* ‘shot’ (from Øystein Vangsnes and Terje Lohndahl p.c.; judgements from Terje Lohndahl from Lyngdal in the south of Norway). Similar data from Northern Norwegian have been reported by Peter Svenonius.

- (10:89) a. Elgen blei skoden/*skode.
the.elk.M.SG became shoot.PTC.M.SG/shoot.SUP
 ‘The elk was shot.’
- b. Det dyre skulle vore skoden/*skode.
that.N.SG the.animal.N.SG should been shoot.PTC.M.SG/shoot.SUP
 ‘That animal should [have] been shot.’
- c. Dei dyran sko vore skoden/*skode.
that.PL the.animals.PL should been shoot.PTC.M.SG/shoot.SUP
 ‘Those animals should [have] been shot.’
- (10:90) Æ(g) he *skoden/skode elgen.
I have shoot.PTC.M.SG/shoot.SUP the.elk.M.SG
 ‘I have shot the elk.’

Given the structural difference between perfect participles and past participles, what needs to be explained is not that there is a morphological distinction in Swedish and in some Norwegian dialects, but the fact that participles despite their varying structures so often are homonymous. That perfect participles are not morphologically marked in languages like Danish and English can to some extent be accounted for by the fact that the perfect was established (partly) in literary time. However, the problem still remains why eventive past participles and the different kinds of stative past participles generally are homonymous. I return to this in chapter 11.

10.5. The development of the perfect

In section 10.3, I dismissed the possibility that the temporal auxiliary and the perfect participle arose at different times. Instead, I argued that both the auxiliary and the perfect participle are the result of a reanalysis of the construction with possessive HAVE + resultant state participle,

which is still (marginally) possible in Present-Day Swedish. As we have seen, perfects and resultant state constructions can have similar interpretations, although they do not have identical properties. Taking agreement to distinguish non-perfects from perfects, there seems to have been an increase in the use of resultant state participles with HAVE at some point in Old Germanic, as can be observed in the *Edda* and the *Grágás*. I have noted a similar extended use of BE + participle in Old Swedish and the construction with *vera búinn að* + infinitive in Present-Day Icelandic. The reanalysis of the resultant state construction as a perfect is in other words only part of the story; it is tied to changes in the distribution of constructions with a similar or overlapping meaning.

In this section, I reconsider some of the historical and comparative data and discuss how the development can be understood. I begin by summarizing the changes in the structure of the participle. In section 10.5.2, I turn to the grammaticalization of the auxiliary.

10.5.1. Changes in the structure of the participle

In this study of the development of the perfect, I have, compared to most previous work, shifted the focus from the grammaticalization of the auxiliary HAVE to changes in the structure of the participle. I have not assumed that there is a single structure for *en*-participles, simply because they tend to have the same morphological form. Such an assumption would be untenable for Swedish, where no single form corresponds to the *en*-participles in languages like English. We have seen that there is reason to distinguish not only between verbal and adjectival passive participles and perfect participles, but also between eventive and stative tenseless past participles, different kinds of stative participles, GET-participles and perfect participles. Since the perfect participle most likely has developed from a stative participle in a construction where it expresses (implies) anteriority, I have focused on stative participles.

In the comparative Indo-European literature, participles formed with the cognates to the Germanic suffixes **-pa-* (I.E. **-to-*) or **-ena-/*-ana-* (I.E. **-e/o-no-*) are treated as deverbal adjectives (see e.g. Szemerényi 1996:323 and Larsson 2006 for an overview). Also in Modern Greek, participles suffixed with *-tos* have adjectival inflection and distribution, and a target state reading (see further Anagnostopoulou 2003a). In chapter 8, I suggested that Greek *-tos*-participles have the structure in (10:91) below. Since they lack *procP*, they do not denote a transition or process, and since they lack *initP* they are incompatible with instruments

and agentive *by*-phrases. I argued that the same is true for Swedish target state participles.

- (10:91) Target state *-tos*-participles in Greek:
 [VoiceP Voice [_{resP} res]]

However, I also noted that the structure of target state participles can vary between languages. I proposed that German target state participles can include *procP*, as do the Greek *-menos*-participles that have a target state reading.

In the Germanic languages, the same suffixes are used to form participles which have an independent aspectual value (bounded or resultative aspect), i.e., resultant state participles. Although resultant state participles are less lexically restricted and ‘more verbal’ (as a consequence of the presence of *AspP*), they have adjectival properties. In Swedish and Icelandic, they are, for instance, inflected like adjectives. In Greek, resultant state participles are formed with the suffix *-menos*, but they still have adjectival inflection.

Taking the Greek *-tos*-participle to be historically primary to the Germanic participles, we could assume that *en*-participles have gained more verbal structure with time, and that the suffixes **-to-* and **-e/o-no-* in Germanic has come to be employed to form participles that in Greek and Sanskrit have different form (e.g. the suffix *-menos* in Greek).²⁵⁵ If this is the case, the development begins at an early stage. In Gothic, some *en*-participles seem to include *initP*; see again the example in (10:92) (repeated from (4:23) above).

- (10:92) daupidai wesun allai in laurdane abvai fram imma
baptize.PTC.PL.NOM were all in Jordan river by him
 ‘all were baptized by him in the Jordan river’
 (Mark 1:5)

Tensed participial forms (perfect participles) with the suffixes corresponding to Older Germanic **-ba-* or **-ena-/*-ana-* are a more recent development. There is no evidence for a participle with a TP in Gothic and in the oldest Old High German sources. In the presence of T, participles of transitive and unergative verbs can have an active reading, and unlike resultant state participles they are not stative. In Germanic, they are not inflected. The structural changes of the participle can therefore

²⁵⁵ It is standardly assumed that the morphologically more complex verbal systems in Sanskrit and Greek are historically primary to the Germanic system, and that the aspectual distinctions have been lost in Germanic.

be viewed as involving changes in the amount of verbal structure in the participle. With more verbal structure, there are fewer lexical restrictions; resultant state participles are less lexically constrained than target state and progressive state participles, but more constrained than perfect participles.

The reanalysis of a stative past participle as a perfect participle is possible if the following three conditions are met. First, the stative participle must express anteriority. Both target state and resultant state participles do, while progressive state participles and eventive participles do not; cf. the examples in (10:93) and (10:94). In (10:93a), the target state of the event of turning up the collar holds at present, and the event (if there ever was one) must lie before the present. In (10:93b), the time of the event of doing lies within the participial assertion time, and ends before the right boundary of the assertion time. In (10:94a), on the other hand, the event of chasing is ongoing, and in (10:94:b), the event of doing lies (partly) in the future.

- (10:93) a. Han har fortfarande kragen uppslagen. (target state)
he has still the.collar up-turned
 'He still has the collar turned up.'
- b. Nu har jag det äntligen gjort. (resultant state)
now have I it finally done
 'Now I finally have it done.'
- (10:94) a. De har henne jagad genom hela Europa. (progressive state)
they have her chased through all Europe
 'They have her chased through all of Europe.'
- b. Nu får jag det äntligen gjort. (eventive)
Now get I it finally done
 'Now I finally get it done.'

Secondly, it must be possible to interpret the implicit argument of the participle as coreferent with the subject of HAVE. This is possible but not necessary in perfect-like constructions with HAVE also in Present-Day Swedish; cf. (10:95).

- (10:95) a. Jag kommer att ha artikeln skriven före torsdag (och
I come to have the.paper written before Thursday and
 jag klarar det själv).
I manage it self
 'I will have the paper written before Thursday (and I will manage to do it myself.)

- b. Jag vill ha artikeln skriven före torsdag (så nu
I want have the.paper written before Thursday so now
 måste du skynda dig).
must you hurry REFL
 'I want to have the paper written before Thursday (so you must hurry now).'

Thirdly, reinterpretation is facilitated by ambiguous strings. The change is therefore tied to neuter singular participles and to contexts where there is no agentive *by*-phrase or other adverbial (like *still*) compatible with e.g. target state participles but not perfects. Since the Old Germanic languages had OV-order (and variation between OV- and VO-), word order does not disambiguate perfects and perfect-like constructions (see chapter 4, section 4.1.1 above). Note that these are not sufficient conditions for change; ambiguity clearly does not always lead to an innovation that spreads in the speech community.

It is possible that the Germanic development of the tensed participle (and more generally, the perfect tense) from an aspectual tenseless participle should be tied to a more general shift from aspectual to temporal morphology.²⁵⁶ In the Old Germanic languages, there are a number of particles and prefixes which may express aspect or Aktionsart, or a combination of the two. In the present-day languages, the prefix *ge-* on participles in German and Dutch is a remnant of these. In Old Germanic, it is not restricted to participial forms, but is generally assumed to modify the Aktionsart of the verb, yielding a telic predicate (much like particles in Modern Scandinavian), or to be an aspectual marker (see e.g. Streitberg 1891, Prokosch 1938:205, Krause 1968:213, Andersson 1972: 86ff.); compare e.g. the prefixed verb *galagjan* 'place, put away' with *lagjan* 'put', and *gasitan* 'sit down, set' with *sitan* 'sit'. In Scandinavian, a prefix corresponding to Gothic *ga-* (German *ge-*) does not occur even in the oldest sources, and in English it disappears at the end of the 14th century (see e.g. Traugott 1972, Hiltunen 1983, van Gelderen 2004: 208f. and references cited there). In the oldest Scandinavian sources, the particles *um/umb* and *of* can be assumed to relate to aspect and/or Aktionsart; consider the example in (10:96) where the reading of *sakna* 'miss' is inchoative or perfective (and see e.g. Dal 1930 and Ljunggren 1932). In Old Swedish, they occur only in the runic inscriptions, and

²⁵⁶ In Present-Day Icelandic, it seems to be the other way around: the periphrastic progressive and the resultant state construction both appear to be spreading at the expense of the simple present tense form and the HAVE-perfect (see e.g. Torfadóttir 2008, Friðriksson 2008 and Larsson 2009).

also in Old Norse they are characteristic of older texts like the *Poetic Edda*.

- (10:96) Reiðr var þá Vingbórr, er hann vacnaði / oc
 angry *was* *then* *Wingthor* *when* *he* *awoke* *and*
 síns hamars um sacnaði
 POSS.REFL *hammer* PRT *missed*
 ‘Angry was then Wingthor when he awoke and missed his hammer.’
 (Edda Þrk. 1)

These particles and prefixes thus appear to come out of use or become more restricted at approximately the same time as the perfect tense develops. In the case of the participles, there is, however, no loss of aspectual marking when the perfect participle emerges. As we have seen, there are resultant state participles also in the present-day languages.

10.5.2. Grammaticalization of *HAVE* and *BE*

Grammaticalization is sometimes viewed in terms of reanalysis from a structure, where an element is base-generated in a lower (lexical) position and moves to a higher position in the functional sequence, to a structure where it is base-generated in the higher position (see in particular Roberts & Roussou 2003 and van Gelderen 2004). The development of modals in the history of English can for instance be seen as a reanalysis of verbs as functional elements which are base-generated in some head in the T-domain (and not moved there). Among other things, this kind of analysis captures the fact that English modals have lost their non-finite forms, that they do not iterate and that they only occur with bare infinitival complements. This was not the case in Old and Middle English; consider the differences between older English and Present-Day English illustrated in the examples in (10:97)–(10:99) below (from Roberts & Roussou 2003:37f., who in turn refer to Visser 1963, Denison 1993:310 and Roberts 1993a:313).

- (10:97) a. but it sufficeth too hem to kunne her Pater Noster
 but *it* *suffices* *to* *them* *to* *know* *their* *Pater* *Noster*
 (15th century; from Roberts & Roussou 2003:38)
 b. * It suffices to can Pater Noster. (Present-Day English)

- (10:98) a. Who this booke shall wylle lerne
who this book shall wish learn
 ‘He who wishes to master this book’
 (15th century; from Roberts & Roussou 2003:38)
- b. *he who shall will learn this book (Present-Day English)
- (10:99) a. euerych bakere of þe town ... shal to þe clerke of þe
every baker of the town owes to the clerk of the
town a penny
town a penny
 (a. 1400; from Roberts & Roussou 2003:38)
- b. *I shall you a penny. (Present-Day English)

Van Gelderen (2004) suggests a similar analysis of the development of the temporal auxiliary HAVE. She assumes that root modals and the auxiliary HAVE, as well as the progressive auxiliary BE, are base-generated in AspP in Present-Day English. However, as I pointed out in chapter 3 above, there are several reasons to assume that temporal HAVE is not like the English modals.²⁵⁷ Unlike English modals, temporal HAVE has a non-finite form, and it can be combined with modals and occur in a position below negation; consider the English example in (10:100) and the Swedish examples in (10:101).

- (10:100) He should not have done it.
- (10:101) a. han som inte har gjort det ännu
he who not has done it yet
 ‘he who has not done it yet’
- b. han som inte kan ha gjort det ännu
he who not can have done it yet
 ‘he who could not have done it yet’

The biclausal analysis of the perfect outlined in chapter 3 has the advantage of accounting for these differences between HAVE and English modals. It also makes it possible to derive the semantics of the perfect without a perfect phrase, but with a non-finite past tense (which is expected to exist for independent reasons) in combination with the properties of the auxiliary. With Kayne’s (1993) analysis of auxiliary selection as a starting point, I have assumed both possessive and temporal HAVE to involve the copula + a preposition, at least in languages like English and Swedish.

²⁵⁷ I leave open the analysis of the (development of the) so-called inferential perfect (see chapter 3, section 3.6.2 above).

In two respects, the development of temporal HAVE resembles that of modals. First, the complement of both modals and HAVE involves more structure than the complement of the main verbs. For English modals, this can be captured by the assumption that modals are base-generated higher than lexical verbs. For HAVE, on the other hand, I take it to relate to the structure of the participle, and not the position of HAVE; the participial complement of temporal HAVE is TP, the participial complement of possessive HAVE is AspP or VoiceP. Secondly, unlike ordinary main verbs, neither modals nor temporal HAVE assigns theta roles to DP arguments. As noted in chapter 9, temporal HAVE is a raising verb, whereas possessive HAVE is not. I tied this to a difference in the properties of the prepositional element of HAVE: possessive HAVE involves a possessive preposition P_{poss} , which assigns a theta role to the subject of HAVE, while temporal HAVE involves a temporal preposition P_{T} which does not introduce a DP argument but takes temporal arguments.

The development of the perfect has traditionally been viewed as a gradual emptying of the lexical content of the verb HAVE. Semantic bleaching tends to be seen as a central aspect of grammaticalization more generally (see e.g. Hopper & Traugott 1993 for discussion). However, on the basis of the variety of constructions with possessive HAVE, and the different interpretations that are available, I have assumed that possessive HAVE has little lexical content to begin with. Specifically, I have suggested that the change from P_{poss} to P_{T} involves not only a change in theta assignment, but also a change from a possessive relation between the arguments to a relationship of inclusion. Possessive HAVE can express inclusion (inalienable possession), but it clearly need not; cf. (10:102a) and (10:102b).

- (10:102) a. Boken har röd pärm.
the.book has red cover
 'The book has a red cover.'
- b. Jag har den boken hemma.
I have that the.book at.home
 'I have that book at home.'

On the other hand, the temporal-aspectual interpretation is more restricted in constructions with possessive HAVE + a resultant state participle than in perfects. As argued in chapter 9, the participial assertion time necessarily coincides with the event time of HAVE in constructions with possessive HAVE + a resultant state participle. As a con-

sequence, past time adverbials are excluded in constructions with possessive HAVE in the present tense; see (10:103).

- (10:103) a. Jag har (*nyligen) det gjort.
I have recently it done
 'I have it (*recently) done.'
 b. Jag har det gjort (*igår).
I have it done yesterday
 'I have it done (*yesterday).'

Since HAVE is stative and combines with unbounded aspect, the matrix assertion time lies within the event time of HAVE. Consequently, the participial assertion time includes the matrix assertion time (see chapter 9, section 9.3.2 above). Possessive HAVE does, however, not establish a direct relationship between the two assertion times.

In perfects, the anteriority conveyed by the resultant state construction has been reanalysed as a non-finite past tense. The participial assertion time is, however, not past in relation to the speech time but to some point within the time of having. Moreover, the indirect relation of inclusion between the participial assertion times has been reinterpreted as a direct relation established by HAVE (P_T): the temporal preposition places the matrix assertion time in the participial assertion time. Adverbials like *nyligen* 'recently' are possible when HAVE is in the present tense, while positional past time adverbials like *igår* 'yesterday' are not; see (10:104).

- (10:104) a. Jag har nyligen gjort det.
I have recently done it.
 'I have done it recently.'
 b. *Jag har gjort det igår.
I have done it yesterday

In languages like German, where positional past time adverbials are compatible with the present perfect, the grammaticalization of HAVE has gone one step further. According to Grønvik (1986:55), this change takes place in the 16th century. On the present account, one possibility is that the semantics of P_T is weakened and allows for non-overlap between the two assertion times, i.e. readings where the participial assertion time precedes the matrix assertion time completely. Another possibility, which is worth exploring, is that P_T has been lost in German. This means that the auxiliary HAVE is not distinguished from BE by involving a prepositional element. Instead, temporal HAVE and BE can be seen as inflectional variants of the copula. In Italian dialects, the realization can

depend (also) on the particular person and/or tense features of the participle.

As noted, the standard assumption is that languages like Swedish and English have had a perfect tense with BE, and that this was lost fairly recently. A more careful investigation of the data suggests that this assumption should not be maintained and that there are further distinctions among the perfect-type constructions than have generally been assumed in the historical literature. Although a perfect-like construction with BE + a past participle of an unaccusative verb was preferred to HAVE-perfects in the contexts where there was a choice between the two, HAVE-perfects with unaccusative verbs are attested in Swedish and English as soon as there is clear evidence for a perfect with HAVE, and BE never develops into a temporal auxiliary. Since the focus of the present study is on Swedish, I have not investigated the full development of BE-perfects. However, in chapter 5 (section 5.6) above, I noted that the Danish perfect with BE seems to be a later development than the HAVE-perfect. According to Johannisson (1945), HAVE was more common with unaccusative verbs in Older Danish than in the present-day language, and particularly common in counterfactual examples. Also in the history of German, there was a tendency to use HAVE rather than BE in past counterfactuals with unaccusative verbs, although BE was not completely ungrammatical in past counterfactuals, as it was in Swedish and English.

Although split auxiliary languages often allow positional past time adverbials, the development of BE-perfects is not necessarily concomitant with a loss of P_T. In the Danish varieties which disallow positional past time adverbials in the present perfect, the development of BE-perfects thus involved a change in the realization of the copula in contexts with P_T + a perfect participle and not a loss of P_T. As pointed out in chapter 9, it is, on the other hand, possible that the loss of P_T is restricted to split auxiliary languages, or languages where the only perfect auxiliary is BE.

As we could observe in chapter 4, perfect-like constructions do not always involve HAVE or BE. In the oldest Germanic (particularly German) sources, they can also involve *eigan* 'own' + participle. In the present investigation of the Old Germanic sources, there are no clear-cut examples that force us to assume that *eigan* was ever a temporal auxiliary. However, as noted, there is one example with *eiga* + a participle of an intransitive verb in the investigation of the texts by Notker carried out by Dieninghoff (1904); it is repeated in (10:105) (from (4:33) above). With HAVE, there are more than 20 examples.

- (10:105) Vuir eīgen gesūndot sáment únseren fōrderon
we own sinned with our forefathers
 ‘We have sinned with our forefathers’
 (Notker *c. 950:II 451; from Dieninghoff 1904:55)

As far as I can tell, examples like that in (10:105) are exceptional and do not occur more generally. Given that the construction with *eiga* disappears at the time when the HAVE-perfect develops, it therefore seems likely that *eiga* was never fully established as a temporal auxiliary.

10.5.3. *On the development of a new tense*

As outlined in the previous sections, the emergence of the perfect can be understood as a reanalysis of the structure in (10:106a) as the structure in (10:106b) (the temporal arguments are not included). With standard assumptions, the reanalysis takes place when a child acquires a different grammar than his or her parents (see e.g. Lightfoot 1999).

- (10:106) a. ... DP_i Cop [PP DP_i P_{poss} [AspP DP_j Asp [VoiceP]]]
 b. ... DP_i Cop [PP P_T [TP DP_i T [AspP]]]

When we consider the historical records, we can, however, observe finer differences between texts (or varieties) than suggested by the simple split between systems that have a perfect tense and systems that do not. I have observed an extended use of the perfect-like construction with HAVE in some of the Old Scandinavian texts, just like I noted an extended use of BE in older Swedish, and I take this to be a prerequisite for the reanalysis. We also know that changes generally proceed along an S-shaped trajectory (cf. chapter 4, section 4.3.3).

In chapter 9, I noted that the perfect-like construction with HAVE + past participle is marked in Present-Day Swedish, and that it occurs only rarely in the corpora of written Swedish. The situation in the oldest Germanic sources is similar. In the Gothic Bible there are only a couple of examples with HAVE + participle, and the number of examples is small also in the earliest Old High German sources. Furthermore, the interpretation of the examples appears to be similar; like many of the present-day examples, the example in (10:107), which is one of the oldest Old High German examples of HAVE + participle, expresses that something has been achieved.

- (10:107) pi daz er in uuerolti kiuerkot hapeta
for that he in world achieved had
 ‘for that which he had achieved in the world’
 (Muspilli c. 830:36; from Grønvik 1986:35f.)

In a discussion of Old English, Brinton (1988:89) points out that examples with possessive HAVE + past participle are rare, and that this is a problem for the traditional account which takes these examples to be the origin of the perfect (cf. van Gelderen 2004:170); we clearly do not expect a construction with a very limited distribution to be reanalysed as a tense.

When we consider the oldest Scandinavian sources, the picture is somewhat different: agreeing participles in the complement of HAVE are more frequent, and have a distribution more similar to perfects. Consider again the Eddic examples in (10:19), repeated in (10:108) below. As we have seen, the corresponding examples with resultant state participles are grammatical in Present-Day Swedish, but they are marked and a perfect would (almost always) be preferred.

- (10:108) a. nú hefī ec dverga / [...] rétt um talða
now have I dwarf.M.PL.ACC rightly PRT mention.PTC.M.PL.ACC
 ‘Now, I have mentioned the dwarfs rightly.’
 (Edda Vsp. 12)
- b. Hefir þú kannaða koni óneisa?
have you muster.PTC.M.PL.ACC man.M.PL.ACC valiant
 ‘Have you mustered the valiant men?’
 (Edda HH I 23)

We find a similar situation in the Old Saxon *Heliand* (9th century). *Heliand* has a larger number of agreeing participles (18) in the complement of HAVE than many of the other Old Germanic sources, and also a higher number (74) of ambiguous examples; 34 examples have non-agreeing participles, 6 involve intransitive verbs, and 17 have dative and genitive objects (Ekbo 1943:112ff.). In other words, the use of perfect-like constructions with HAVE is somewhat extended, but there are also examples of unambiguous perfects. Similarly, there is evidence for a perfect tense in the *Edda* and the *Grágás*, but the perfect is still not the preferred expression in the same way as it is in Present-Day Swedish. Even in the Old Swedish texts, the frequency of perfects is lower than in the present-day language.

We have seen that the distribution of the perfect with HAVE and the perfect-like construction BE + participles of unaccusative verbs changes over time. In Old Swedish, the perfect-like construction with BE is often

the preferred construction, whereas in Present-Day Swedish, the perfect with HAVE is. To some extent, this change corresponds to a change in the syntax-semantics of the perfect-like construction. In Old Swedish, the construction with BE + active participle was lexically less restricted, since the participial stativizer could attach also to *procP*. In Present-Day Swedish, the stative past participles of unaccusative verbs tend to have resultative aspect, whereas in older Swedish, examples with an experiential reading (where the participle has bounded aspect) occur more generally. Hence, the modern use of the perfect tense was not established until the 17th century, when the perfect with HAVE is generalized at the expense of the perfect-like construction with BE. In Present-Day Icelandic, on the other hand, BE is still preferred to HAVE when there is a choice between the two. In Norwegian, there is variation between speakers and text types.

Speakers of Present-Day Swedish generally have a choice between the simple present, the preterite and the present or past perfect. This choice makes it possible for us to view a situation in different ways and to order it temporally in relation to other situations and eventualities. Similarly, we can view an eventuality as temporally bounded or unbounded, often independently of whether it has a given telos or not. However, despite this choice, we tend to be predisposed to view an eventuality in a specific way, and we tend to share this predisposition with the people around us. For instance, the event of washing clothes is much more likely to be viewed as bounded than the event of petting a cat is, because we generally understand the former but not the latter as a (house-hold) task that tends to take a given amount of time. However, nothing in principle excludes that we view also the petting of the cat as a house-hold task, and we can easily imagine a society where it would be. In other words, when the child acquires a Swedish grammar and a Swedish lexicon, he or she does not only acquire a system that makes a distinction between present, past and perfect, but also a predisposition to view situations and eventualities in certain ways, which is to a considerable extent shared with the rest of the linguistic community. This predisposition is, however, not static. An individual who starts working at a cat shelter, might, for instance, begin to view the petting of a cat as quite a typical task, and when he talks to other people about his work, they might start doing the same.

Although the result is more general, the establishment of the perfect tense can in a similar way be taken to begin with people who start viewing situations in a new way. In the historical records, this change can be observed as a change in frequency. The available choices are still

determined, or delimited, by the grammar of the speaker, and the oppositions between e.g. past, present, and perfect in the individual language, and the predisposition to view a situation in one way or another is tied to these oppositions. At some stage in Old Germanic (which at the time lacked a perfect tense), the construction with HAVE + resultant state participle, which was previously available in the language, presumably became an unmarked way to express that a job of washing clothes or petting the cat was done; in Present-Day Swedish, a stative passive or a perfect is used, and in Present-Day Icelandic, the construction with *vera búinn að* might be.

11. Participles in time

This thesis has aimed at a better understanding of the development of the perfect, particularly in Swedish. Like much previous work, I have assumed that the perfect with HAVE developed from a construction with possessive HAVE + participle, as in the example in (11:1a) which partly shares both morphology and meaning with the perfect in (11:1b).

- (11:1) a. Han har äntligen fönstren tvättade.
he has finally the.windows clean.PTC.PL
 'He finally has the windows cleaned.'
- b. Han har äntligen tvättat fönstren.
he has finally wash.SUP the.windows
 'He has finally cleaned the windows.'

While it is uncontroversial that the perfect has developed from constructions like (11:1a), neither the analysis of these constructions nor the analysis of the perfect is given. In other words, the challenge for the historical study is not to isolate the origin of the perfect, but rather to analyse both the perfect and the perfect-like constructions and to relate them syntactically and semantically to each other. This has been an important focus of the thesis. I have argued that the perfect tense has a biclausal structure, and that the semantics of the present and past perfect depends on the combination of a finite present or past tense, a non-finite past tense, the auxiliary and the aspectual composition of the participle. The perfect participle is tensed; it has T with a past tense value in its structure. Past participles in perfect-like constructions are, on the other hand, tenseless and stative, and they can have varying aspectual and verbal composition.

The distinctions between different participles raise the question of category membership and participial morphology. Apart from the supine form and certain adjectival participles, the different participles are generally homonymous in the Germanic languages (but not in e.g. Greek). This question is addressed in section 11.1. In section 11.2, I summarize some general points and results of the thesis.

11.1. Past, perfect and other participles

Much of the discussion in the previous chapters has concerned the properties of stative past participles and perfect participles. The investigations have led to finer distinctions among the participles (even though eventive past participles have been disregarded). I have proposed that target state participles in Swedish involve *resP* embedded under Voice, whereas resultant state participles involve a bounded or resultative AspP, VoiceP and a full verb phrase, necessarily including *initP*. Perfect participles differ from target state participles and resultant state participles by not involving a stativizer and by having TP; the structure of the verb phrase varies depending on the participial verb. The structures are repeated in (11:2) and (11:3). We have seen that the structures of target state participles and resultant state participles can vary between languages. For instance, German resultant state participles do not seem to include *initP*.

- (11:2) a. Target state participles:
 [VoiceP Voice [*resP res*]]
 b. Resultant state participles:
 i. [AspP Asp [VoiceP Voice [*initP init* [*procP proc*]]]]
 ii. [AspP Asp [VoiceP Voice [*initP init* [*procP proc* [*resP res*]]]]]
- (11:3) Perfect participles:
 [TP T [AspP Asp [VoiceP Voice [*initP init* [*procP proc* [*resP res*]]]]]]]

These distinctions appear to be necessary if we are to account for the varying interpretations of participles, for differences in the availability of adverbial modification and for differences in lexical restrictions. They also make it possible for us to account for the extended use of the perfect-like construction with BE in older Swedish without assuming that BE was a temporal auxiliary that took a perfect participial complement; in this way, we can explain why BE is unattested in past counterfactuals. Moreover, we can account for the agreeing participles in the complement of HAVE in the *Edda* and the *Grágás* without assuming that perfect participles were inflected in Old Norse. Historically, the development of the perfect can be taken to involve a reanalysis of a tenseless resultant state participle as a tensed perfect participle. In Swedish, the perfect participle has become morphologically distinct from the past participles, and in Greek the target state and resultant state participles may involve different morphology.

While the distinctions among the participles thus seem to be required both for the synchronic analysis and for the account of the historical development, they leave us with the question what it is that characterizes a participle. Disregarding the supine form in Swedish and some Norwegian dialects, and certain adjectival participles, the participles have the same form in the Germanic languages, be they stative, eventive or even tensed. While it is possible in principle that the realizations of the different structures are acquired separately, it would clearly be preferred if the homonymy could be accounted for as something other than an accident.

In traditional grammars, participles are viewed as the adjectival forms of verbs. Following Josefsson (1998), we could account for the fact that many past participles have both adjectival and verbal properties by assuming that participles can have verbal structure embedded under an adjectival head which denotes a property (see chapter 2 above). This kind of analysis can, however, not be extended to perfect participles. Throughout the Germanic languages, perfect participles behave like verbs and not like adjectives, independently of whether they are morphologically distinct from past participles or not. Also (active) participles in the complement of GET or Old Swedish and Icelandic *gita/geta* must be treated separately; consider again the Swedish examples in (11:4) (= (10:51)) and Icelandic in (11:5) (= (10:47)) where the participles lack adjectival inflection, and hardly denote a property anymore than infinitives do.²⁵⁸

- (11:4) a. De fick taget/tagit från honom belöningen.
they got take.PTC.N.SG/take.SUP from him the.reward
 ‘They got the reward taken from him.’
 b. Jag fick inte sovet/sovit.
I got not sleep.PTC.N.SG/sleep.SUP
 ‘I didn’t get any sleep.’

- (11:5) Það getur snjóað á morgun.
it may snow.PTC.N.SG tomorrow
 ‘It may snow tomorrow.’ (epistemic)
 (Thráinsson 2007:424f.)

In this thesis, I have, following Ramchand (2008a), assumed that there is no single head corresponding to the traditional category verb. Instead,

²⁵⁸ Cf. Emonds (2006) who accounts for the difference between verbal and adjectival passives by the assumption that the adjectival head that hosts the participial morphology is absent in LF in verbal passives, but not in adjectival passives.

verb forms spell out a possibly complex structure, depending on the combination of category features in their lexical entry. In fact, two individual verbs might not have any verb structure in common; a stative verb like *know* lacks *proc*, whereas a process verb like unaccusative *grow* involves only *proc*. In this way, we can capture the different behaviour of these verbs. On the other hand, the finite forms of *know* and *grow* presumably have the same structure above the verb phrase; they include (at least) VoiceP, AspP, TP and CP (or the specific heads of the C-domain, e.g. Fin and Force). Voice morphology is introduced by Voice, aspectual morphology by Asp, tense morphology by T, and subject-agreement is presumably also determined by structure higher in the clause. We could assume that the category adjective should be split in a similar way, and that, therefore, two individual adjectives do not necessarily share the same categorial heads, but share structure above the ‘lexical’ domain. The adjectival properties of participles could then be derived if we assume that participles (with adjectival properties) share the functional structure with adjectives and not with verbs, or because they lack some of the structure of verbs. On the present account, all *en*-participles with adjectival properties are tenseless, and unlike tenseless infinitival and active participles in the complement of GET, they do not have an unvalued T in their structure.²⁵⁹ In Swedish, supine morphology is restricted to participles which involve a (valued or unvalued) T (see chapter 10, section 10.3.3 above). A consequence of an account along these lines is that we have to assume that constructions that have verbal but not adjectival properties always involve a (valued or unvalued) T.

This still leaves us with the question of what unifies the different participles. A couple of possibilities can be excluded directly. First, we can rule out that the participial suffix is a type of passive morphology. Not all participles are passive, and, as we have seen, participial morphology can be combined with passive morphology. Secondly, the morphology of *en*-participles does not carry a specific aspectual value (e.g. bounded). If they did, we would expect the possible readings of the perfect tense to be restricted, e.g. to the experiential or resultative perfect, as in Greek; recall that Greek perfect participles have perfective morphology and that the universal perfect therefore is excluded. Moreover, also past participles can have different aspectual values (resultative or bounded), and I have suggested that progressive state participles and target state participles, in fact, lack aspectual value altogether; these readings are instead a consequence of the composition of the verb

²⁵⁹ Cf. Embick (2004a) and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2008), who assume that *en*-participles are AspPs.

phrase. In addition, not all *en*-participles convey anteriority; progressive state participles do not. Finally, although the participial morphology sometimes spells out a structure that includes a stativizer, not all participles are stative.

We can conclude that if the different *en*-participles share some property, this property must be understood in a fairly abstract or general sense. We could assume that the participial suffix is merged in a phrase (e.g. a participle phrase) that makes little or no semantic contribution (see e.g. von Stechow 1998 and Lundquist 2009 for suggestions along these lines). An assumption that the participle suffix heads a participle phrase simplifies accounts of certain cross-linguistic differences in their properties. For instance, Holmberg (2002) accounts for correlations between word order and participle agreement by assuming variations in the properties and feature set-up of the participle phrase in the Scandinavian languages and English. However, the assumption that participles are participle phrases says very little about what it means for something to be a participle. In fact, it amounts to little more than saying that all participles are participles, and that this is what they have in common. A different solution would clearly be preferred. Throughout this thesis, I have tried to avoid assuming structure which lacks semantic content and which is specific to particular constructions.

In the analyses that I have pursued in this thesis, the highest head in all participial structures is an element (Voice, Asp or T) which has a temporal argument in its specifier; I have not included a CP-layer in the structure of perfect participles. In line with the analysis by Ippolito (1999), we could assume that the absence of a CP-layer is, in fact, what characterizes a participle. Ippolito argues that participial morphology in Italian (which appears in both verbal and nominal contexts) is a default spell out of an inflectional head (i.e., a head in the T-domain) which has not merged with C. However, the question remains how this would distinguish participles from infinitives.²⁶⁰ We know that also the properties of infinitives can vary (see e.g. Pesetsky 1992, Wiklund 2007). In this thesis, I have considered stative past participles and perfect participles,

²⁶⁰ It is often assumed that ECM infinitives lacks CP (Chomsky 1981, 2000), but there are alternatives. On the basis of their distribution, Pesetsky & Torrego (2004:531f. fn. 27) suggest that both ECM and raising infinitives are CPs. It has often been pointed out that CP shares properties with DP (see e.g. Abney 1987), and sentences and noun phrases have similar external distribution. It should, however, be noted that also participial structures can have a distribution very similar to that of infinitives, and that verbs like GET and HAVE often can take both infinitival and participial complements.

and how they relate to each other, but I have not been concerned with the question how participles relate to infinitives and nominalizations. To answer the question what characterizes a participle, the distinctions between participial forms, infinitives and nominalizations must be investigated in detail.

11.2. Concluding remarks

The assumption that all human beings conceptualize eventualities and entities in space and time and in relation to themselves is uncontroversial; how this assumption should be understood and implemented is not. In this thesis, I have assumed that the structure of the verb phrase and the structure of the T-domain as outlined in chapters 2 and 3 are common to all human languages. The cognitive capacity to acquire a verb like *run* and anchor it in time is therefore common to all humans, and it is tied to the human linguistic competence. In other words, I have assumed that Gothic has a tripartite verb phrase structure and a tripartite T-domain, just like Present-Day Swedish has. In Gothic, as in Swedish, the event time is related to an assertion time which in turn is related to the speech time. This similarity between Gothic and Swedish is fairly general and abstract, and it is independent of the particular morphology of the languages. I have simply taken what Chomsky (2001) calls the *Uniformity Principle* for granted: “In absence of compelling evidence to the contrary, assume languages to be uniform, with variety restricted to easily detectable properties of utterance” (2001:2).²⁶¹

I have assumed that Swedish speakers can view an eventuality as bounded or unbounded also in the absence of specialized morphology (see particularly chapter 6). Among other things, this accounts for the fact that different readings of the perfect are available. The content of present tense morphology or perfective morphology can, on the other hand, vary depending on language; for instance, the English and the Swedish present tenses do not have precisely the same meaning. Distinctions between present and past, or perfective and imperfective, must clearly also be related to what other temporal and aspectual distinctions are made in the individual language, and their meaning can, consequently, be more or less specific. The fact that Swedish and Greek can relate

²⁶¹ Along similar lines, Borer argues “for a view of language variation which is firmly associated with the morpho-phonological properties of grammatical formatives, rather than with syntactic structures or the semantics of grammatical formatives, as such” (2005a:32).

the event time to the assertion time and order the assertion time in relation to the time of speech, does not necessarily mean that Swedish and Greek share the same temporal-aspectual system. To say that all languages are governed by the same cognitive linguistic principles is not to say that they are all the same also on a less general level. Much work in linguistics is devoted to investigating the tension between generality or universality and variability.

In the analysis of the perfect and the participles, I have attempted to limit the number of construction specific elements. The different participles involve elements which are required also in the analysis of finite clauses (T, Asp, Voice and the heads of the verb phrase), and which make a semantic contribution. The cross-linguistic and diachronic variation is instead accounted for by assuming that not all elements are included in the structure of a given participle, and by variations in the content of these elements.

In chapter 3, I argued for a structure of perfects that is largely the same across languages, and consequently also for a semantics of the perfect that shares important features across languages (the semantics of a non-finite past). In this way, we can identify a cross-linguistic category perfect. However, I have assumed that Gothic lacked a perfect tense and that the temporal-aspectual system of Gothic in this respect is different from that of Present-Day Swedish. Another possibility would be to say that the difference is only superficial; this seems to be what Traugott (1972:91) assumes when she states that Old English failed to distinguish regularly between perfect and preterite in the surface structure. This would mean that Gothic preterite morphology is underspecified with regard to the past-perfect distinction, much like Swedish verbal morphology is underspecified with regard to the distinction bounded-unbounded. We would then have to account for the fact that Greek perfects are sometimes translated with present tense morphology in Gothic. More crucially, given the analysis of the perfect outlined in chapter 3, we would have to assume either that a structure can be biclausal without any morphological evidence for this, or that the semantics of the perfect need not correspond to the structure of a perfect. In the former case, we would have to assume that morphology says little or nothing about syntactic structure, and in the latter case, we would be forced to assume that semantic interpretation is independent of syntactic structure. The consequences would in any case be both far-reaching and unfortunate; it would leave us with little possibility to test for syntactic structure, and it would make it virtually impossible to know what the underlying system is (for the speaker as well as for the linguist), since it is not necessarily

reflected in morphosyntax. It would in other words be impossible for us to rule out that Swedish shares the same temporal-aspectual system as Greek, or, say, the honorific system of Japanese. Instead, I have viewed the development of the perfect as a change in the available syntactic structures. This change is necessarily tied to a change in morphology, more specifically to the reinterpretation of HAVE and the participial morphology.

As noted, there are cross-linguistic differences in the syntax-semantics of the perfect; these lie either in the properties of the present tense, in the properties of the auxiliary, or in the aspectual morphology of the participle. A difference in the semantics of the present tense accounts for the fact that Swedish and German allows a present perfect with a future reference time, whereas English does not. Differences in the auxiliary account for the fact that German allows positional past time adverbials in the present perfect, whereas Swedish and English do not. Finally, differences in the morphology of the participle accounts for the fact that the universal reading is available in the Germanic languages but not in Greek. The differences between languages are tied to morphology and to lexical items (e.g. present tense morphology or the auxiliary HAVE).

Throughout this thesis, I have, following Ramchand (2008a), assumed that verbs are lexically specified with combinations of the features *init*, *proc* and *res*. These specifications can often account for the behaviour of verbs, e.g. with regard to participle formation. However, we have also seen that the encyclopaedic content of the items matters for precisely how they can be used, e.g. if a target state participle is possible or if a resultant state participle is natural or more marked. We can assume that the encyclopaedic content is dependent on the category features; that is, the specific content of a verb like *run* is tied to the fact that *run* is a process verb that takes a subject which is Initiator and that *run* occurs in certain syntactic contexts and not in others. The encyclopaedic content is, however, also variable, and it can depend on all the specific experiences and dispositions of the individual, and on social and contextual factors. Along similar lines, the differences between languages like Swedish, English and German with regard to e.g. the present tense or the auxiliary should be understood at a fairly abstract level. In chapter 4, we saw that although there is evidence for a perfect tense in the oldest Scandinavian records, the number of examples is considerably lower than in the present-day languages; for Old and Middle English, this is even clearer. In chapter 3, I pointed to variation within the Scandinavian languages, and noted that a perfect in Swedish or Norwegian is not always translated with a perfect in English. The conclusion is that the

abstract syntax-semantics of the perfect must allow for the perfect to be established in slightly different ways in different linguistic communities.

Sammanfattning

De germanska språken har utvecklat ett tempus perfektum med det temporala hjälp verbet HAVA eller VARA + ett particip bildat med suffixet **-ba-* (I.E. **-to-*) för svaga verb (t.ex. *väntad*) och **-ena-/*-ana-* (I.E. **-e/o-no-*) för starka verb (*skrivnen*).¹ Tidigare forskare har antagit att utvecklingen startade med en konstruktion med possessivt HAVA och ett resultativt och statiskt particip, som i (1a) nedan (se t.ex. Meillet 1917). Resultatet av förändringen är ett komplext tempus som i (1b).

- (1) a. Han har väskorna packade.
b. Han har packat väskorna.

Som en del av den grammatiska förändringen utvecklas HAVA till ett temporalt hjälpverb, men också participet får ändrade egenskaper. Svenskan har med tiden fått en morfologisk distinktion mellan particip i passiva konstruktioner och particip i perfektum; jfr participet *skrivet* i passiven i (2a) och supinformen *skrivit* i (2b).

- (2) a. Brevet är skrivet av någon annan.
b. Hon har skrivit brevet.

Avhandlingen syftar till en bättre förståelse av framväxten av perfektum, särskilt i svenskan. Centrala frågor är hur den syntaktiska och semantiska skillnaden mellan den perfektumliknande konstruktionen i (1a) och perfektum i (1b) ska förstås, och vad som över huvud taget avses med perfektum. Genom att klargöra de syntaktiska och semantiska skillnaderna mellan olika perfektumliknande konstruktioner kan också det språk-historiska förlopp som konstituerar framväxten av perfektum belysas.

¹ Termen *perfektum* innefattar här både det som traditionellt kallas perfektum och pluskvamperfektum; jag betecknar det som normalt kallas perfektum *presens perfektum* (jfr eng. *present perfect*) men bibehåller den traditionella termen *pluskvamperfektum*. Jag antar att skillnaden mellan de två beror på hjälpverbets tempus. Versalt HAVA och VARA används för former av *vara* och *ha* i svenskan, *have* and *be* i engelskan, *sein* och *haben* i tyskan och så vidare, oberoende av skillnader i realisering.

Analysen av perfektum och av de perfektumliknande konstruktionerna bör fånga den synkrona och diakrona variationen. I avhandlingen antar jag att flera olika element samverkar till konstruktionernas syntaktiska egenskaper och betydelse samt att de gör det på olika sätt beroende på språk, konstruktion och tidpunkt. Jag tillskriver både particip och hjälpverb inre syntaktisk struktur och kan på så vis relatera konstruktionerna syntaktiskt till varandra. De syntaktiska element som antas i analysen är inte konstruktionsspecifika utan motiveras också av till exempel satsens struktur, och de har semantiskt innehåll (vilket kan variera mellan språk). Jag föreslår att en del particip har självständig temporal betydelse, medan andra particip är tempuslösa. Vidare har en del av de tempuslösa participen självständig aspektuell betydelse, andra inte. Participens egenskaper beror även på vilka delar av verbfrasen som ingår. I likhet med Ramchand (2008) antar jag en semantiskt motiverad, tredelad verbfrasstruktur med en fras (*initP*) som uttrycker ett initialtillstånd, en fras (*procP*) som uttrycker process eller övergång samt en fras (*resP*) som uttrycker det måltillstånd (eng. *target state*) som aktionen leder till.

I den historiska studien följer jag perfektums utveckling i de språk-historiska källorna och preciserar vad som förändras. Förekomsten av konstruktioner med HAVA + particip undersöks i *Beowulf*, Otrfrids *Evangelienbuch*, i det nordiska runmaterialet, samt i fyra fornvästnordiska och fyra fornsvenska texter. Principerna för växlingen mellan HAVA och VARA + particip av intransitiva verb som *komma* och *vissna* (så kallade icke-ackusativa eller mutativa verb; jfr Johannisson 1945) undersöks i ett svenskt material från fornsvensk tid till början av 1700-talet; i så hög grad som möjligt väljs ett centralsvenskt och talspråksnära material.

De konstruktioner som undersöks i det historiska materialet är ofta grammatiskt möjliga i modern svenska (med delvis annan distribution och andra begränsningar). En fördel med moderna data är naturligtvis att vi som infödda talare kan utnyttja våra intuitioner och på så vis pröva hur ofta ganska fina distinktioner mellan olika konstruktioner korrelerar med skillnader i möjligheten till olika typer av adverbial och med skillnader i tolkning eller kontextberoende. Moderna data kan således bidra till analysen av de historiska exemplen, och till förståelsen av förändringsförloppet, samtidigt som de historiska undersökningarna kan hjälpa oss att upptäcka distinktioner också i nuspråket.

Tempus perfektum

Perfektum är både semantiskt och morfologiskt komplexare än presens och preteritum. I preteritum tycks dåtidsadverbial som *klockan 6* nödvändigtvis ange tiden för aktionen (aktionstiden, AT); se (3). I pluskvamperfekt kan adverbialet också specificera en tid som aktionen föregår; jfr (4a) och (4b). Reichenbach (1947) betecknar denna andra tid *referenstiden*; i (4a) är referenstiden förlagd till klockan 6, medan den i (4b) ligger klockan 7.

- (3) Peter gick hem klockan 6.
- (4) a. (Igår kom Frida till Peters kontor klockan sex.) Men Peter hade gått hem klockan sex.
AT (*gå hem*) före klockan sex
- b. (Igår kom Frida till Peters kontor klockan sju.) Men Peter hade gått hem klockan sex.
AT (*gå hem*) = klockan 6
(cf. Klein 1992:327)

I likhet med Zagona (1995, 2007) och andra antar jag att tempus (liksom temporala prepositioner) är predikat som tar temporal fraser vilka uttrycker tidsintervall som argument. För perfektum föreslår jag en komplex struktur där de temporala egenskaperna kan härledas från kombinationen av hjälpverbets tempus (presens eller preteritum), participets infinita tempus och det temporala hjälp verbet (jfr t.ex. Julien 2001). Det particip (eller supinum) som används för att bilda perfektum kan antas uttrycka ett infinit preteritum, men detta preteritum tolkas inte i relation till talögonblicket utan i relation till en punkt inom hjälpverbets aktions-tid. Jag antar att skillnaderna mellan de nordiska språken, tyska och engelska kan bero antingen på variationer i betydelsen av presens eller på skillnader i hjälpverbets egenskaper. En skillnad i betydelsen hos presens kan till exempel förklara varför svenska men inte engelska tillåter en framtida referenstid; jfr det grammatiska svenska exemplet i (5) med det motsvarande engelska exemplet i (6) som är en semantisk anomali (vilket markeras med #).

- (5) Nästa vecka har jag läst klart boken.
- (6) #Next week, I have finished reading the book.

Relationen mellan tiden för participaktionen och den tid som ges av hjälpverbets tempus kan vara av olika slag. I avhandlingen diskuteras huvudsakligen de tre betydelser av perfektum som illustreras i (7).

- (7)
- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------------------|
| a. | Frida har besökt Göteborg många gånger. | EXPERIENTIELLT
PERFEKTUM |
| b. | Frida har bott i Göteborg i fem år nu. | UNIVERSELLET PERFEKTUM |
| c. | Frida har just kommit hem. | RESULTATIVT PERFEKTUM |

Så kallat experientiellt perfektum, som i (7a), uttrycker att tiden för participaktionen (eller aktionerna) helt och hållet föregår referenstiden (som här sammanfaller med talögonblicket). Universellt perfektum anger å andra sidan att tiden för participaktionen börjar vid någon tidpunkt i dåtiden och fortsätter fram till och med referenstiden. Till skillnad från (7a) hävdar exemplet i (7b) att participaktionen fortfarande pågår i nuet; Frida bor alltså fortfarande i Göteborg. Resultativt perfektum, som i (7c), anger att participaktionen föregår referenstiden, men att det måltillstånd som aktionen leder till (och som specificeras av particip verbet) fortfarande föreligger; (7c) uttrycker att hon är hemma. De olika betydelserna kan illustreras som i (8), där + representerar participets aktionstid och × tiden för måltillståndet; TÖ är talögonblicket. Gemensamt för de tre olika typerna av perfektum är att participets aktionstid är relaterad till ett intervall som börjar i dåtiden och sträcker sig framåt i tiden; i presens perfektum inkluderas talögonblicket nödvändigtvis i detta intervall (jfr McCoard 1978, Iatridou et al. 2001, Rothstein 2008). Det intervall som aktionstiden är relaterad till är den tematiska tiden, dvs. den tid som satsens utsaga kan sägas gälla (SAG 1999, 4:211).

- (8)
- | | |
|----|---|
| a. | Experientiellt perfektum:
——[—+++++—TÖ]→ |
| b. | Universellt perfektum:
——++[+++++TÖ]++→ |
| c. | Resultativt perfektum.
——[—++××TÖ]×→ |

I likhet med Iatridou et al. (2001) och Pancheva (2003) antar jag att perfektums olika betydelser beror på participets aspektuella morfologi. Ett perfektivt particip ger en experientieell betydelse, medan imperfektiv aspekt ger en universell tolkning och resultativ aspekt ett resultativt perfektum. Jag utgår således från att svenska gör aspektuella distinktioner utan att dessa nödvändigtvis realiserar i morfologin. I likhet med t.ex. Platzack (1979) antar jag att aspekt är principiellt oberoende av aktionsart. Aspekt rör hur aktioner förankras i tid (jfr (8) ovan), medan aktionsart

relaterar till aktionens inre struktur. På så vis kan vi inte bara förstå de olika betydelseerna av perfektum utan också förklara t.ex. varför verb som *duscha*, trots att de har oavgränsad aktionsart och alltså inte specificerar någon naturlig slutpunkt, kan modifieras med såväl adverbial av typen *på tio minuter* som med adverbial av typen *i tio minuter*; se (9).

- (9) a. Han duschade i tio minuter.
b. Han duschade på tio minuter.

Vi kan anta att *på*-adverbial är förenliga både med aktioner som har avgränsad aktionsart och med aktioner med oavgränsad aktionsart, men att de kräver perfektiv aspekt. På detta sätt behöver vi alltså inte som SAG (1999, 4:326) anta att distinktionen avgränsad-oavgränsad aktionsart ibland är upphävd i svenskan.

Växlingen HAVA/VARA i äldre svenska

Tempus perfektum saknas i den gotiska bibeln och i de äldsta fornhög-tyska källorna. I det äldsta fornnordiska materialet återfinns å andra sidan redan exempel på perfektum med HAVA + particip (jfr Ekbo 1943); ett runsvenskt exempel med perfektum av VARA ges i (10). Statiska och intransitiva verb förekommer inte i den perfektumliknande konstruktionen med possessivt HAVA, och exemplet i (10) kan därför antas vara ett otvetydigt exempel på perfektum.²

- (10) **han hafpi : ystarla u(m) : uaRit : lenki : tuu : a:ustarla : meþ :
inkuari**
'Han hade varit i väst länge, dog i öst med Ingvar.'
(Sö 173)

Alla typer av verb finns belagda i perfektum i de äldsta nordiska källorna, men beläggen med perfektum av icke-akusativa verb (*komma, vissna*) är få. Dessa verb konstrueras i stället gärna med VARA; jfr (11a) som har HAVA och (11b) som har VARA. Konstruktion med VARA är möjlig också i modern svenska, men den är mer begränsad och ofta stilistiskt markerad.

² Exemplet återges på samma sätt som i den samnordiska runtextdatabasen (www.nordiska.uu.se/forskn/samnord.htm), varifrån det också är hämtat.

- (11) a. hafpe þin kona hær comit. aldre skulde hon hæþan coma liuande:
 ‘Hade din fru kommit hit, skulle hon aldrig ha kommit levande
 härifrån.’
 (Leg s. 19)
- b. Han [...] spordhe hwi iak var komin hære
 ‘Han frågade varför jag var hitkommen.’
 (Ivan ca 1303:462)

Av Johannissons omfattande studie från 1945 av växlingen mellan HAVA och VARA + particip av icke-ackusativa verb framgår att en stor del av beläggen med HAVA i äldre svenska har kontrafaktisk tolkning; det gäller exemplet i (11a) ovan. Bortsett från något enda undantagsfall är VARA överhuvudtaget inte belagt i kontrafaktiver med dåtidsbetydelse i det historiska materialet, och vi kan därför utgå från att HAVA var den enda möjligheten. Samma skillnad mellan HAVA och VARA kan observeras i de moderna språken. Både passiva och aktiva konstruktioner med VARA + particip har nödvändigtvis presensbetydelse i kontrafaktiver i modern svenska. För en kontrafaktiv med dåtidsbetydelse krävs pluskvamperfekt med HAVA; se (12) och (13).

- (12) a. Jag önskar att han redan vore hemkommen.
 b. *Jag önskar att han vore hemkommen till mötet igår.
 c. Jag önskar att han hade kommit hem till mötet igår.
- (13) a. Jag önskar att tröjan redan vore tvättad.
 b. *Jag önskar att tröjan vore tvättad till festen igår.
 c. Jag önskar att tröjan hade varit tvättad till festen igår.

Samma sak gäller för de övriga germanska språken. Konstruktion med VARA i kontrafaktiver med dåtidsbetydelse är möjlig bara i språk där VARA är temporalt hjälpverb (t.ex. danska och tyska), och inte heller i de språken kan passiver med VARA ha annat än presensbetydelse i kontrafaktiver.

Med utgångspunkt i den analys av kontrafaktiver som föreslagits av Iatridou (2000) och i likhet med McFadden & Alexiadou (2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2007), förklarar jag restriktionerna på konstruktionen med VARA genom att anta att VARA inte var ett temporalt hjälpverb i äldre svenska. Den relevanta skillnaden mellan konstruktionerna med HAVA och VARA kan antas ligga i participets tempusmorfologi. Temporalt HAVA konstrueras med ett particip med preteritummorfologi (dvs. supinum), medan VARA tar ett tempuslöst particip. I pluskvamperfektum kombineras participets infinita preteritum med hjälpverbets finita preteritum. Kontrafaktiver med dåtidsbetydelse kan antas behöva två lager preteritummorfologi, och de kräver därför pluskvamperfektum.

Trots att konstruktionen med VARA alltså inte ska analyseras som ett uttryck för perfektum i äldre svenska tycks den mindre begränsad än i isländska. I äldre svenska, men inte i isländska, förekommer VARA i exempel med experientiell betydelse, som i (14).

- (14) a. Thet är offta skeedt, at [...]
(Petri *1493:3)
b. Vbbo [...] bygde Vbsal / Ther altidh är skedt Kongars waal
(Messenius I *1579:4)

I modern svenska kan vi notera en skillnad mellan olika typer av statiska passiver med VARA + particip; jfr (15a) som är grammatisk med ett satsfinalt frekvensadverbial som *ofta* och (15b) som är ogrammatisk.

- (15) a. Huset är ommålat ofta.
b. *Staden är förstörd ofta.

Med Kratzer (2000), kan vi skilja på particip som uttrycker ett (ospecificerat) resultat (eng. *resultant state*) av en aktion av vilket slag som helst, och particip som uttrycker det måltillstånd som specificeras av det verb som participet är bildat av. Resultattillstånden är irreversibla och tillåter därför inte adverbial som *fortfarande*, medan måltillstånden är reversibla och tillåter *fortfarande*; jfr (16a) och (16b).

- (16) a. Huset är (*fortfarande) ommålat.
b. Staden är fortfarande förstörd.

Skillnaderna mellan particip som uttrycker resultattillstånd och particip som uttrycker måltillstånd kan antas hänga samman med aspekt. Endast de förra participen har ett självständigt aspektuellt värde oberoende av matrisverbet. Egenskaperna hos aspektlösa particip beror istället på verbfrasens struktur och kan ofta förutsägas utifrån egenskaperna hos det ingående verbet. I likhet med Ramchand (2008) antar jag att partiklar och vissa verb kan associeras med en struktur som innehåller ett måltillstånd.

Som nämnt antar jag att skillnaden mellan resultativt och experientiellt perfektum är aspektuell och därför i princip oberoende av tempus. Också particip som uttrycker resultattillstånd kan ha antingen experientiell eller resultativ betydelse, och participen är inte begränsade till verb som uttrycker avgränsad aktionsart; se (17). Exemplet i (17a) uttrycker att vattandet av blommorna är över; *vattna blommorna* är en oavgränsad aktion, men exemplet har perfektiv aspekt. Också exemplet i (17b) har experientiell betydelse; det måltillstånd som specificeras av participet *hem-*

kommen föreligger inte vid talögonblicket. Det kan noteras att passiva och aktiva particip betar sig på samma sätt. Huruvida tolkningen är aktiv eller passiv beror på verbfrasens struktur.

- (17) a. Blommorna är vattnade.
b. Hon är både hemkommen och utgången. (Nu vet jag inte var hon är.)

I modern svenska är konstruktion med VARA + aktiva eller passiva particip som uttrycker resultatillstånd ofta markerade och begränsade till specifika kontexter. Genom att anta att så inte var fallet i äldre svenska kan vi förklara bruket av VARA + particip i äldre svenska utan att anta att VARA var ett temporalt hjälpverb. I svenskan före år 1600 föredrogs framför perfektum med HAVA ofta konstruktion med VARA + ett tempuslöst particip som uttrycker ett resultatillstånd. De konstruktioner som uttrycker resultatillstånd har delvis samma egenskaper som dem perfektum uppvisar och kan ha liknande betydelse. Det är därför tänkbart att framväxten av perfektum med HAVA började med ett utvidgat bruk av konstruktioner som uttrycker resultatillstånd.

VARA + particip i nusvenskan, verbfras och participstruktur

Konstruktion med VARA + aktivt particip tycks som noterat ha haft en mindre begränsad tillämpning i äldre svenska än i isländska. I de moderna språken är situationen den motsatta: bruket av VARA är mer restriktivt i svenska än i isländska; jfr de ogrammatiska svenska exemplen i (18) med motsvarande isländska exempel i (19).

- (18) a. *Barnet är drunknat.
b. *Det är blivit fint.
- (19) a. Barnið er drukknað.
barnet är drunknat
b. Þetta er orðið fint.
detta är blivit fint

I det mer talspråksnära centralsvenska källmaterial som jag har analyserat sker förlusten av VARA huvudsakligen under 1600-talet. Vissa typer av verb är under förändringens gång mer benägna att konstrueras med HAVA än andra, och redan i början av utvecklingen kan verb som *råka* växla mellan HAVA och VARA i till synes likartade kontexter; jfr (20a) och (20b).

- (20) a. genom hwars wållande then pomerska arméen [...] war råkad i sådan decadence
(Spegel *1645:5)
- b. at the andre, som i föllie wore, hade råkat i så stoor olykko
(Spegel *1645:139)

I modern svenska är konstruktion med VARA + aktivt particip i många fall stilistiskt markerad och ovanlig, men restriktionerna är ändå i huvudsak systematiska, och grammatikaliteten korrelerar med verbtyp. Med den tredelade verbfrasstruktur som etableras av Ramchand (2008) får de olika verbtyperna delvis olika struktur. I modern svenska har particip som betecknar resultat tillstånd nödvändigtvis en fullständigt utvecklad verbfras där *initP* (den fras som uttrycker ett initialtillstånd) ingår, och participet uttrycker därför alltid agens eller kausativitet. Verb som *drunkna* och *bliva* som inte associeras med en agentiv eller kausativ verbfrasstruktur är ogrammatiska med VARA, medan particip av möjligt agentiva verb som *resa (hem)* är grammatiska; jfr (18) med de grammatiska exemplen i (21).

- (21) a. Hon är redan hemrest.
b. Hon är frivilligt hitflyttad från Stockholm.

Möjligheten till konstruktion med VARA + aktivt particip brukar användas som test för icke-ackusativitet, men man antar också ofta att icke-ackusativa verb kännetecknas av icke-agentivitet. Mot bakgrund av den närmare undersökningen av svenskan, och med en verbfras med fler komponenter, måste den traditionella avgränsningen av icke-ackusativer omvärderas.

Possessivt och temporalt HAVA

Distinktionerna mellan olika typer av statiska particip är viktiga för analysen av den perfektumliknande konstruktion som perfektum med HAVA kan antas ha utvecklats ur. Precis som VARA kan HAVA förekomma med både particip som uttrycker måltillstånd, som i (22a), och particip som uttrycker resultat tillstånd, som i (22b).

- (22) a. Hon har fortfarande kappkragen uppslagen.
b. Det känns bra att (*fortfarande) ha det gjort.

För att förstå likheterna och skillnaderna mellan HAVA och VARA antar jag i likhet med tidigare forskning att possessivt HAVA har en struktur som innehåller kopula och ett orealiserat prepositionellt led vilket bidrar

med transitivitet och possessiv betydelse, och vilket etablerar en relation av det slag som vi finner mellan objekten i dubbelobjektskonstruktioner. Jag föreslår att temporalt HAVA i språk som svenska och engelska också innehåller ett led av detta slag, men att det tar temporala och inte nominala argument.³ På så vis är det möjligt att förklara de syntaktiska och semantiska skillnaderna mellan possessivt och temporalt HAVA. Genom att anta att den temporala prepositionen (liksom prepositionen *i*) uttrycker inklusion, och därmed bidrar till perfektums betydelse, blir det dessutom möjligt att förklara varför dåtidsadverbial som *igår* inte är möjliga i presens perfektum i språk som svenska (om man bortser från en modal tolkning); se (23).

(23) *Frida har ätit ett äpple igår.

Jag föreslår att den relevanta skillnaden mellan svenska och tyska (som tillåter dåtidsadverbial i presens perfektum) är att tyskans temporala hjälpverb saknar temporal preposition och att perfektums betydelse därför är mindre specifik. Det kan noteras att språk med perfektum av det tyska slaget normalt tycks ha både HAVA och VARA som temporala hjälpverb; se (24).

- (24) a. Er ist gestern gekommen.
han är igår kommen
 'Han kom igår.' (Presens perfekt)
- b. Er hat gestern gearbeitet.
han har arbetat igår
 'Han arbetade igår.' (Presens perfekt)

Hjälperbena HAVA och VARA i tyskan är med den här analysen två olika realiseringar av kopulan. Hjälperbeselektion kan betraktas som ett kongruensfenomen.

Utvecklingen av perfektum

Givet den analys av perfektum och de perfektumliknande konstruktionerna som utvecklas och preciseras i avhandlingen innebär utvecklingen av

³ Jämför med prepositionen *i* som kan ta antingen temporala argument eller nominala argument. I uttryck som *spring dit i veckan* etableras en relation mellan aktionstiden för springandet och det tidsintervall som specificeras av *veckan*, medan uttryck som *trädet i skogen* etablerar en (spatial) relation mellan referenterna till nominalfraserna *trädet* och *skogen*.

perfektum att det uppstår ett particip med självständig temporal betydelse. I svenskan har detta particip i en senare utveckling kommit att bli morfologiskt distinkt från de tempuslösa participen. Samtidigt innebär utvecklingen en omtolkning av det possessiva verbet HAVA som ett temporalt hjälpverb, eller snarare en omtolkning av en possessiv preposition som en temporal preposition. I en senare utveckling har HAVA i språk som tyska förlorat den temporala prepositionen, och därmed har perfektum fått mindre specifik betydelse.

Utgångspunkten för utvecklingen av perfektum antas således vara en konstruktion med possessivt HAVA + ett tempuslöst particip med aspektuell betydelse (resultativ eller perfektiv aspekt), vilken från början är begränsad till vissa kontexter, men som generaliseras i processens början. Exempel på HAVA + (tempuslöst) particip är ovanliga i gotiskan och i de äldsta fornhögtyska texterna, men de förekommer. Liksom i modern svenska uttrycker de då gärna att något är avklarat. Ett tidigt fornhögtyskt exempel ges i (25).

- (25) pi daz er in uuerolti kiuerkot hapeta
 för det han i världen åstadkommit har
 'för det som han har åstadkommit i världen'
 (Muspilli c. 830:36; från Grønvik 1986:35 f.)

Det finns anledning att anta att kongruensböjning skiljer temporala från tempuslösa particip i de äldre nordiska språken, liksom i modern svenska och isländska. Att exempel med HAVA + kongruensböjt particip är lika vanliga som exempel med HAVA + inkongruent particip i *Den poetiska Eddan* och den fornisländska lagen tyder därför på ett utvidgat bruk av tempuslösa particip i den äldsta nordiskan. Två exempel från *Den poetiska Eddan* ges i (26).

- (26) a. nú hefi ek dverga / [...] rétt um talða
 nu har jag dvärg.M.PL.ACC rätt om tala.PTC.M.PL.ACC
 'Nu har jag omtalat dvärgarna rätt.'
 (Edda Vsp. 12)
- b. Hefir þú kannaða koni óneisa?
 har du mänstra.PTC.M.PL.ACC man.M.PL.ACC käcka
 'Har du mänstrat de käcka männen?'
 (Edda HH I 23)

Exempel av samma typ är möjliga också i modern svenska, men numera väljs i regel perfektum före den perfektumliknande konstruktionen. Över huvud taget kan vi observera förskjutningar i bruket av perfektum och de perfektumliknande konstruktionerna över en ganska avsevärd tidsperiod.

Trots att utvecklingen av perfektum påbörjas redan i äldsta germanska tid, och trots det begränsade språkhistoriska materialet, är det möjligt att spåra förändringsförloppet och belysa den process som för svenskans del avslutas först i modern tid, när den morfologiska skillnaden mellan supinum och andra preteritumparticip etableras.

I den här avhandlingen har jag utgått från att det finns ett grundläggande format för tempus och aspekt, vilket är gemensamt för alla mänskliga språk. Detta gör det möjligt att identifiera kategorin perfektum tvärspråkligt, trots att dess egenskaper kan variera något mellan språk (beroende på tempus- och aspektmorfologi samt hjälpverbets egenskaper). Samtidigt har vi sett att perfektum, på en mindre abstrakt nivå, kan vara etablerat på olika vis i olika språkgemenskaper.

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