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ON THE RISE OF THE POSSESSIVE MEANING OF *HAVE GOT*^{*}

1 INTRODUCTION

The English construction *have got* is widely used among people speaking various varieties of Modern English. Every major grammar book and dictionary, therefore, contains some description on the usage and meaning of the construction (Quirk et al. 1985, Swan 1995, among others). The meaning of *have got* commonly referred to is the same as the one stative *have* of a main verb denotes, namely ‘possess,’ ‘be in possession of.’ So the construction *have got* is interchangeable with a main verb *have* regardless of its sentence type as in (1)-(3),¹ although its form is the perfect of *get*, which means receiving or acquiring something.

(1) a. I have got a new car.
b. I have a new car.

(2) a. Have you got a headache?
b. Do you have a headache?

(3) a. It's a nice flat, but it hasn't got a proper bathroom.
b. It's a nice flat, but it doesn't have a proper bathroom.

(Swan 1995: 230)

Since *have got* only denotes the state of possession, *have got* cannot replace *have* which has other meanings than stative possession.

(4) a. I have lunch at 2:00 p.m.
 b. *I have got lunch at 2:00 p.m.
 (5) a. John has his bath before dinner.
 b. *John has got his bath before dinner.
 (6) a. I have a beer every night on my way home. (LeSourd 1976: 510)
 b. *I have got a beer every night on my way home. (ibid.)

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¹ The examples sited in the present thesis are produced by the author and judged by informants, unless there is some notification of reference. The informants are: Joseph Lumrie, 22 years old, from Birmingham, UK, and a research student at the department of Japanese Linguistics, Osaka University; Barry Grehan, who is 34 years old, born in Motherwell, Scotland, and raised in London.

(7) a. Mrs. Thompson has a baby every year. (LeSourd 1976: 510)
 b. *Mrs. Thompson has got a baby every year. (ibid.)

(8) a. Did she have her baby at the clinic?
 [‘Did she give birth to her baby at the clinic?’]
 b. Had she got her baby at the clinic?
 [‘Was her baby at the clinic with her?’] (Quirk et al. 1985: 132)

In (4)-(8) each *have* in (a) sentences can be replaced with ‘eat’ (= 4), ‘take’ (= 5), ‘drink’ (= 6), ‘give birth to’ (= 7, 8). Note that the meaning of *have* in (a) sentences is not possession and cannot be replaced with such phrases as ‘possess’ or ‘be in possession of.’ In contrast *have got* only means possession, and (b) sentences in (4)-(8) do not mean the same as their counterpart.

The construction *have got*, however, does not always replace *have* which has stative possession meaning as in (9), (10).

(9) a. I don’t want to have a headache.
 b. *I don’t want to have got a headache.

(10) a. I usually have beer in the house.
 b. *I usually have got beer in the house. (Swan 1995: 231)

These examples indicate that the meaning of the construction *have got* is not completely the same as that of the simple main verb *have*. It would then follow that *have got* has its own function, which is independent of, but still related to, that of *have* and should be treated in its own right. Since the previous works have not analyzed exactly what kind of meaning or function the relevant construction performs, this problem will be pursued throughout the present paper. It is certain, then, that the findings of the true function of *have got* will lead us to the motivation for the perfect form of *get* to assume possessive meaning like main verb *have*.

1.1 Previous Analyses

The peculiarities of the construction *have got* cited above have drawn the attention of some researchers with different theoretical backgrounds. Their main interest or question was: why, in spite of its perfective form, the construction has a stative meaning like its main verb counterpart; how is it formed within the syntactic or cognitive framework; and in what way has it assumed the unique meaning of the construction, which differs from, but has something to do with, its main verb counterpart. In the following sections we have a brief look at analyses conducted from the two major theoretical points of view.

1.1.1 Analyses from Syntactic Perspective Earlier syntactic analyses were devoted mainly to the question of how the relevant construction was derived from deep to surface structure. LeSourd (1976) was the first to provide a solution in which he posited *Got Insertion* transformation.

(11) *Got* Insertion
$$X - \text{pres} - \begin{cases} \text{HAVE} \\ +\text{Verb} \\ -\text{Aux} \end{cases} - Y$$

1	2	3	4	→	1	2	3	got	4
								[+Aux]	

(LeSourd 1976: 512)

In the transformation above *got* is inserted as a pseudo-past participle into position immediately after the main verb *have*, for *have* is changed into an auxiliary verb (in British use) and raised to the position of AUX (*Have* Shift: Akmajisn and Wasow 1975). *Got* Insertion transformation clearly indicates that LeSourd assumes that the construction *have got* is based on a simple main verb *have* both syntactically and semantically. His idea thus puts focus on the fact that the construction *have got* has the stative possession meaning just the same as *have* so that *have* and *have got* are interchangeable with each other.

However, as it is pointed out above that *have got* does not always replace *have*, the transformation LeSourd posited is problematic in that there is no device or condition to distinguish the difference between the meanings of these two expressions. Moreover, only the main verb *have* with stative possession meaning is replaceable with *have got* as in (4)-(8) above, but LeSourd's transformation rule is applied to every main verb *have* regardless of its meaning, for he did not propose any condition in applying the rule.² Although he noticed that in British English the main verb *have* is treated like an auxiliary verb, and this phenomenon has something to do with the development of *have got*, his proposal cannot solve the problem. We will return to this aspect of the development of *have got* in Section 3.

Another syntactic analysis was proposed in Fodor and Smith (1978). In this work they distinguish several stages of the development of *have got* found in British and American English. The stages are: *have got* is a perfective of *get* (Stage 1), *have got* is a main verb of *have* followed by a meaningless morpheme *got* (Stage 2), *have got* consists of a main verb *to got*; the *have* of *have got* is meaningless and is transformationally inserted into AUX (Stage 3). Stage 1 represents British use of *have got*. In British English the main verb *have* behaves like an auxiliary verb and there remains no form of *gotten*, which is the older past participle of *get* than the past participle *got* commonly used in Britain today. Thus in British English *have got* is sometimes ambiguous between the present possessive and the recent acquisition. Stage 2 refers to the peculiar use of the construction in the US. In American English, the main verb *have* is more like a regular main verb than in British English. Moreover the form *gotten* is still widely used for past participle of *get*. Thus in American English *get* in present perfect is *have gotten* and the construction *have got* has unique

² LeSourd actually recognized the distinction between possessive *have* and *have* with other meanings (LeSourd 1976: 515). Although he briefly proposed a condition imposed on *Got* Insertion, it is not certain what it is like and how it works in the derivation of sentences involving the construction *have got*.

status in American English. This is the reason *Got* Insertion is a specific analysis of American *have got*.

Although *have got* in this stage does not need *do*-support when it is used in tag question formation and VP deletion (because *have* of *have got* is raised into AUX position when the pseudo-past participle *got* is inserted), innovative use in Stage 3 in American English allows *do*-support to occur in tag question and VP deletion as in (12)-(15).³

- (12) John's got a swimsuit. I {haven't/don't}.
- (13) John's got a swimsuit but I {haven't/don't}.
- (14) John's got a swimsuit and so {has/does} Bill.
- (15) John's got a swimsuit, {hasn't/doesn't} he?

(Fodor and Smith 1978: 53)

In the most advanced use in Stage 3 *have* of *have got* is dropped and only *do* appears instead of *have* when there is interrogation or negation. In addition *got* is regularized and the simple present may also be *got/gots* as shown below.

- (16) Do you got one?
- (17) You don't got one.
- (18) Lucy gots one.

(Fodor and Smith 1978: 54)

For this Stage 3 it is supposed that analogy of main verb *have* would permit *do* to appear optionally instead. In this connection Fodor and Smith proposed a transformation rule called *Have* Support. They hypothesized that *got* of *have got* is a main verb and claimed that *Have* Support analysis is superior because their analysis can explain the transition from conservative to innovative then to the advanced step of Stage 3.

Although we may recognize that they notify the difference in the use of the construction between British and American English as well as between dialectal varieties within American English, and try to reconstruct the development of the relevant construction along with each stage,⁴ the analysis and the transformation rule posited by Fodor and Smith still does not distinguish the difference between the distribution of *have* and *have got* and there is no explanation for the transition of main verb status from *get* (Stage 1) to *have* (Stage 2) and into *got* (Stage 3).

In summary, syntactic analyses examined so far commonly fail to point out that the distribution of *have got* does not conform with that of *have*. Even if they noticed the inconsistency of the distribution, they actually do not try to detect what kind of function the construction *have got* carries. Insofar as they do not design a device or

³ Note that only the examples without *do*-support are accepted in the more conservative use (Stage 2), but the innovative use of *have got* in American English (Stage 3) allows both of the (a) and (b) sentences. In addition, American use of *have got* in the middle of the road between Stage 2 and 3, shows a range of acceptability in that (15) is the most restricted example for *do*-support while in (12) *do*-support is preferable than in (15). Fodor and Smith explain this is because deletion site and its *have got* antecedent are in separate sentences.

⁴ For evaluation between the analyses by LeSourd and Fodor and Smith from the perspective of language acquisition, see Battistella (1987).

condition for rules to generate sentences including *have got* taking the semantic/functional (and distributional) difference into consideration, their proposal is not explanatory appropriate.

1.1.2 Analyses from Cognitive Perspective This section is going to look into a couple of analyses based on a cognitive point of view. In Tamura (2005a) it is claimed that the construction *have got* is a blended construction. He posited analyses in which he argued that some of the properties of the construction are the same as those of the perfect of *get* and that there is also some similarity between the relevant construction and the possessive main verb *have*. Syntactically sentences including *have got* do not use *do*-support and *have* of *have got* behaves like an auxiliary verb when there is negation and interrogation as shown in (2) and (3) above. Semantically, however, the construction *have got* exhibits more similarity with the main verb *have* than with the perfect of *get*.

Both the main verb *have* and the relevant construction mean stative possession, while the perfective *get* denotes recent acquisition. In addition sentences with *have got* do not use *do*-support in tag question formation and VP deletion as in (12)-(15). This fact indicates that the construction as a whole is regarded to be a kind of main verb denoting stative possession. Moreover there is a formal similarity between the main verb *have* and the construction *have got*. Main verb *have* is used like an auxiliary verb in British English when it means stative possession.⁵

(19) a. Have you (any) coffee in the cupboard?
 b. I haven't (any) coffee in the cupboard.

(Trudgill, Nevalainen and Wischer 2002: 3)

These examples show that the construction *have got* and the main verb *have* share some of the formal property as well as the semantic one.

Based on these facts above that the relevant construction has crossover properties between perfective *get* and (British) main verb *have*, Tamura (2005a) argues that *have got* is a construction which was formed by blending (British) possessive *have* construction and perfective *get* construction formulated respectively below.

(20) a. Possessive *have* construction: NP_{aux}*have* NP
 b. Perfective *get* construction: NP_{aux}*have* _v*got* NP

⁵ Tamura (2005a) argues that Tag question and VP deletion show some properties relating to verb phrase semantics.

(i) People oughtn't ill-treat animals, should they? (Chalker 1984: 128)
 (ii) Jane ought to be in New York now, shouldn't she? (ibid.)
 (iii) They are able to succeed and you can too. (Tamura 2005a: 209)
 (iv) I have to consider and Mary must too. (ibid.)

These examples above show that tag question and VP deletion are not necessarily in concord syntactically, but rather they are decided from a semantic point of view (cf. Nakau 1994).

Since constructional blending is such an operation as defined that two constructions, triggered by the shared property, are blended and then the newly produced construction acquires new property as well as some property inherited from the prior two constructions (Konno 2002, Fauconnier and Turner 1996), Tamura concluded that the construction *have got* is a blended construction and that the construction has acquired new property in that *have got* denotes stative possession specifically at the time of speech.

(21) *Have got* construction:

NP₁ *have got* NP₂

[= NP₁ POSSESSES NP₂ AT THE TIME OF SPEECH]

(Tamura 2005a: 208)

This analysis is, however, problematic in that firstly the meaning of the relevant construction is assumed to be stative possession exclusively at the time of speech, which is not the exact semantic property of the construction. One of the previous analyses shown in 1.1.1 argues that the construction *have got* in American English is restricted in present tense while that in Britain is not. Thus Fordor and Smith (1978: 48) argue that “[i]t appears in the past tense, in the infinitive, and following modals. For example:”

(22) In 1960 I'd got only one child and one car.
 (23) John seems to have got a lot of pots.
 (24) He may have got a key to the safe.

(Fordor and Smith 1978: 48)⁶

These attested data clearly show that the construction *have got* denotes stative possession at time other than speech time.

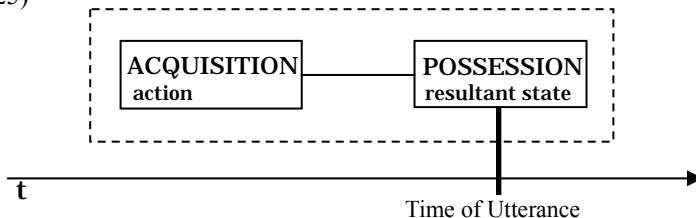
The second problem is that Tamura (2005a) claims that the metonymic relation between the two constructions, i.e. Possessive *have* and Perfective *get* constructions, is the motivation for these constructions to go through constructional blending. Tamura argues that this metonymic relation is a kind of CAUSE-RESULT metonymy where the acquisition (Perfective *get* construction) is CAUSE and the possession (Possessive *have* construction) is RESULT. Note that the answer should be what he argued only when the question is what sort of cognitive relation these two constructions bear. However, the subject to be pursued is what motivation allowed the *have got* construction to assume stative possession meaning and Tamura (2005a) provides no explanation on this. To be exact he argues that the peculiar meaning of the *have got* construction is assigned arbitrarily due to the nature of the constructional blending. But if, as Tamura argues, newly acquired meaning or function is assigned arbitrarily to a blended construction, there should be a possibility for the previous state of CAUSE (Perfective *get* construction) to be the assigned meaning of the blended construction based on the CAUSE-RESULT metonymy where the former is the previous state and the latter is Perfective *get* construction. Since Tamura (2005a)

⁶ For the example (23) and (24) Fordor and Smith put a note saying: “*have* is usually pronounced *əv*.”

does not posit any solution for this problem, his argument is unconvincing. We will return to this problem in 3.3.

Another analysis within the cognitive framework is the one provided by the same author as above (Tamura 2005b, c). Based on previous analyses from a historical point of view (Jespersen 1931, Visser 1973, Araki and Ukaji 1984), his claim is that the construction *have got* derived from the perfect of *get*. In this connection he argues that the relevant construction is better analyzed in terms of the scope of predication (Langacker 1987). He then connected this notion of the scope with Wada's compositional theory of English tense (Wada 2001). Wada argues that perfect tense consists of two events in that past participle represents event prior to reference time, and auxiliary verb *have* indicates the resultant state at the reference time (Wada 2001: 77). Regarding the construction *have got*, the past participle *got* denotes the event of acquisition prior to reference time and the auxiliary *have* indicates the resultant state of possession at the time of speech (= reference time). This composite situation of perfective *get* is depicted below.

(25)



(Tamura 2005b: 21)

According to Tamura, the construction *have got* is derived from, and thus explained with respect to the whole composite scope of predication formulated above. When the relevant construction is used as a perfect of *get*, the construction represents the action event and the resultant state is pragmatically inferred.⁷ However as the agentivity of the subject is reduced as shown in (26), the action meaning of acquisition is attenuated and then the subsequent possession meaning is highlighted further.

(26) a. John has got a present for his mother.
 b. Mary has got a birthday present from her mother.
 c. He has got a bad reputation from all the members.
 d. This car has got a new owner.

⁷ Wada argues that perfect of a telic verb has two types of resultant state that are parallel with Grice's conventional and conversational implicature (Grice 1975).

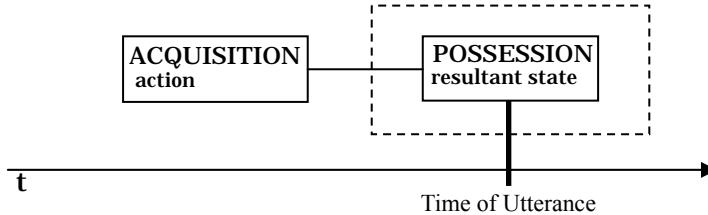
(i) Dodos have already died out. (They do not exist on the earth.)
 (ii) I have now given up. (So don't expect any further action on my part.) (Wada 2001: 134-135)

Tamura argues that the resultant state of the perfective *have got* is directly implied by the event denoted by the construction (i.e. 'recent acquisition') just as (ii) above. This is the reason Tamura specifies the resultant state of perfective *get* as possession and includes it within the schematic event structure (25).

e. This song in the movie has got a nice romantic rhythm.
 (Tamura 2005c: 63)

The reduction of agentivity triggers narrowing of the scope of the relevant construction as depicted below.

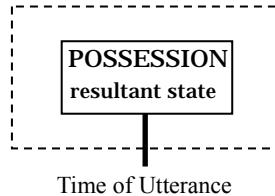
(27)



(Tamura 2005b: 22)

When the attenuation proceeds further to the extent that the action meaning becomes background, the meaning of acquisition no longer receives any attention and the construction only represents the resultant state of possession as depicted in (28).

(28)



(ibid.)

At this stage the construction *have got* denotes stative possession while the form is still the perfect of *get*. In order to solve this mismatch between form and meaning, Tamura (2005b, c) proposes that the construction is reanalyzed as a main verb representing stative possession the same meaning of *have*. Now that the construction is like not the perfect of *get* but, both syntactically and semantically, stative main verb *have*, the phenomenon observed in (12)-(15) that sentences consisting the relevant construction need *do*-support in tag question formation and VP deletion is therefore well explained without any problem.

In this analysis Tamura seems to have abandoned his own previous proposal that the construction is derived by constructional blending. He still maintains, however, that the construction-specific meaning of *have got* is the stative possession exclusively at the time of speech. As is noted above in (22)-(24), the construction *have got* denotes possession at the time other than the speech time. Tamura's analysis is, therefore, problematic so far as he limits the meaning of the relevant construction to the stative possession exclusively at the time of utterance.

Another problem is that Tamura defines the construction *have got* as a construction derived from but independent of perfective *get*. Since he hypothesizes

that the relevant construction is completely independent of perfective *get*, he claims that the construction *have got* has the schematic event structure depicted in (28) and that the construction denotes only the stative possession. Note, however that the construction is not interchangeable with main verb *have* in sentences expressing iterative context as in attested data (10).

(29) a. I usually have beer in the house. (= 10a)
 b. *I usually have got beer in the house. (= 10b)

Tamura explains that this is because the construction *have got* only denotes stative possession at the time of utterance and the example (10) does not specifically refer to the time of utterance. However now that his definition of the construction is problematic, his proposal for the schematic structure of *have got* is not legitimate and there should be an alternative explanation for (10). We will return to this issue in 2.3.1.

In summary these cognitive analyses have not clarified the true nature and function of the construction *have got*. Although, as his work progressed, Tamura turned to more plausible diachronic explanation that the relevant construction has derived from the perfect of *get*, his analysis fails to explain real motivation for *have got* to exist within the system of English language. In order to reveal what status the relevant construction has established in the system of English language, comparison in distributional difference between *have got* and *have* is essential after all.

1.2 *The Present Paper*

As has been argued so far the previous study has consistently left one crucial question: what kind of function *have got* actually assumes. The present paper is, therefore, going to pursue this problem by means of description of the construction based on interviews. Of course the purpose and the subject of this paper is to explain how the relevant construction has developed, still it should not be until, I believe, the true function of the construction *have got* is revealed that the motivation for the perfect of *get* to acquire the new meaning — the stative possession meaning — is explained. Moreover in searching for the function of the relevant construction, close investigation of distributional difference between the construction *have got* and main verb *have* is inevitable. Since both the construction and the main verb express almost the same meaning, these two expressions are closely connected but they must contrast with each other in a certain property. This property should be the real function of the relevant construction pursued here and it is necessary to explain the relation between the signification of perfective *get* and the property extracted through comparison between *have got* and *have*. These issues are composed in the present paper as follows: in Section 2 description of the construction *have got* is conducted with respect to both syntactic and semantic properties. Then distributional difference between *have got* and *have* is closely investigated. The findings in Section 2 are taken into consideration in pursuing the relation between the construction and the perfect of *get* in Section 3. In addition the cognitive motivation for the internal semantic shift

within the relevant construction is discussed in terms of the temporal unidirectionality. Section 4 is conclusions.

2 DESCRIPTION OF *HAVE GOT*

2.1 Status Quo

Previous studies mainly concentrate on establishing theoretical devices or constructs to explain the curious data. As a result those works tend to miss descriptive or diachronic perspective. Although there are some studies whose main interest is in diachronic or descriptive explanation (Jespersen 1926, 1933, Visser 1973, Toda 1993), Their description is not systematically organized and fails to analyze the exact contemporary meaning or function of the relevant construction. In this section the status quo of the description made so far is sorted in order to make clear what is left unanswered. Then the attested data from the descriptive investigation of the present study is provided to discuss the function of the construction *have got*.

2.1.1 Syntactic Facts As shown in Section 1 sentences with *have got* need *do*-support in negation and interrogation regardless of whether the construction is the perfect of *get* or a construction denoting stative possession.

- (30) a. Have you got a headache? (= 2a)
- b. Do you have a headache? (= 2b)
- (31) a. It's a nice flat, but it hasn't got a proper bathroom. (= 3a)
- b. It's a nice flat, but it doesn't have a proper bathroom. (= 3b)

This fact indicates that the relevant construction has the same syntactic properties as the perfect of *get* in that *have* of *have got* is an auxiliary verb and *got* is a past participle of *get*. Thus other syntactic facts below are explained in this respect.

- (32) a. John might have a dog.
- b. *John might have got a dog. (Battistella 1987: 214)
- (33) a. I have had no time.
- b. *I have got had no time. (Toda 1993: 58)
- (34) a. Don't have anything to do with him.
- b. *Don't have got anything to do with him. (ibid.)

As in (32) *have got* does not occur after auxiliary verb *might*, for *have* of *have got* is auxiliary verb and the occurrence of two auxiliary verbs change the meaning of *have got* in (32b) into recent acquisition. Example (33) shows that *have got* is not interchangeable with auxiliary verb *have*. Although the construction *have got* as a whole denotes stative possession just the same as main verb *have*, this fact, as well as that of (32), shows that the form of *have got* is still considered to be like the perfect of *get*. Therefore, as (34) shows, the construction *have got* does not occur in imperative

sentences, since auxiliary verb except for *do* cannot occur at the sentence-initial position of imperative sentences. These facts support the analysis that the syntactic property of *have got* is that of the surface structure of the perfective *get*: [AUX *have*]+[v *got*] (Hirakawa in press). This is the reason *have got* cannot occur in the condition syntactically inappropriate for the perfective form.

2.1.2 Syntactico-semantic Facts Here are facts that relate to both syntactic and semantic properties of the construction. As argued in Section 1, sentences with *have got* are allowed to use *do*-support in tag question formation and VP deletion.

- (35) a. John has a dog, hasn't he?
- b. John has a dog, doesn't he?
- (36) a. Mary has got a dog, and John has, too.
- b. Mary has got a dog, and John does, too. (Battistella 1987: 214)

This fact indicates that the whole construction *have got* is reanalyzed as a main verb, while its surface structure is still the same as that of main verb *get* in perfect tense: [AUX *have*]+[v *got*] (Hirakawa in press, Tamura 2005b). Since the relevant construction is treated as a main verb with the structure: [v *have got*], it is possible to use *do*-support in tag question formation and VP deletion. Note that Hopper and Traugott argue that syntactic reanalysis is triggered by semantic reanalysis (Hopper and Traugott 2003). In the case of *have got*, the meaning of perfective *get*, which is 'recent acquisition,' is semantically reanalyzed as 'resultant stative possession' (Nakau 1994, Hirakawa in press, Tamura 2005b, also see note 5). This semantic reanalysis allows for *do*-support to occur in sentences such as (35) and (36).

2.1.3 Semantic Facts Here are various facts which reflect the semantic behavior of the construction *have got*. The semantic property of the construction denotes stative possession just the same as main verb *have*. Therefore, as seen in Section 1, the relevant construction is interchangeable with main verb *have* when *have* means stative possession.

- (37) a. Jack has a beautiful house.
- b. Jack has got a beautiful house.
- (38) a. I have lunch at 2:00 p.m. (= 5a)
- b. *I have got lunch at 2:00 p.m. (= 5b)
- (39) a. John has his bath before dinner. (= 6a)
- b. *John has got his bath before dinner. (= 6b)
- (40) a. Did she have her baby at the clinic? (= 8a)
- b. [‘Did she give birth to her baby at the clinic?’] (= 8b)
- b. Had she got her baby at the clinic? [‘Was her baby at the clinic with her?’]

Main verb *have* has various significations, although *have got* can replace only *have* with stative possession meaning and cannot replace *have* when it denotes other than stative meaning such as above in (38)-(40). This characteristic is also found when the

construction *have got* does not occur in progressive form like possessive main verb *have*, while *have* with other meaning does.

(41) a. *I am having a headache. (Swan 1995: 229)
 b. *I am having got a headache. (ibid.)
 c. I am having a bath (now). (ibid.: 231)

Note, however, that the construction *have got* predicates not only a concrete object but also an abstract one.

(42) a. Dr. Kohler has a problem.
 b. Dr. Kohler has got a problem. (LeSourd 1976: 509)
 (43) a. I have toothache.
 b. I have got toothache. (Swan 1995: 231)

As for subject, the construction also takes a non-agentive subject as well as an agentive one.

(44) a. This room has large windows.
 b. This room has got large windows. (Tamura 2005a: 205)
 (45) a. This song in the movie has a nice romantic rhythm.
 b. This song in the movie has got a nice romantic rhythm. (= 26e)
 (Tamura 2005b: 63)

These facts in (42)-(45) indicate that the construction *have got* has extended its meaning to the same degree as its main verb counterpart in that both expressions indicate abstract relation or existence (Heine 1997, Langacker 1999).⁸ Thus, as in the attested data below, the construction *have got* is used to express existence and inalienable possession.

(46) a. The boat has a hole in it.
 b. The boat has got a hole in it. (LeSourd 1976: 510)
 (47) a. Mary has brown eyes.
 b. Mary has got brown eyes. (Tamura 2005a: 205)

This semantic extension has reached the stage where the construction denotes obligation and even epistemic necessity when it is used with infinitives.

(48) a. Jeff has to be back at school by 8 p.m.
 b. Jeff has got to be back at school by 8 p.m. (LeSourd 1976: 510)
 (49) a. You have to be kidding.
 b. You have got to be kidding. (Fodor and Smith 1978: 45)

⁸ See Heine (1997) for the typological classification and the extension of the notion of possession, and see Langacker (1999) for the extension of the usage of *have* from the cognitive viewpoint of 'subjectification'.

Since the obligation *have* (+ *to infinitive*) is considered to an auxiliary verb, it is possible to argue that the relevant construction at this stage has also extended its meaning and is now getting into the category AUX. Note, however, that the obligation *have got* differs from its counterpart.

(50) a. We haven't (got) to change at Crewe.
 b. We don't have to change at Crewe. (Jespersen 1933: 243)

Jespersen argues that (50a) is a statement of about the present occasion, while (50b) can only be a comment on regular practice. Fodor and Smith (1978) relate this fact with the property of do in that auxiliary do occurs only when *have* has iterative meaning while (British) *have* does not usually need *do*-support. None of the researchers, however, has paid any attention to the property of *have to* and *have got to*. It is plausible to assume that the difference in meaning of (50) sentences is due to the semantic difference between these two expressions since there is no negation or interrogation, i.e. no need of *do*-support, so these two expressions still exhibit difference.

(51) a. I usually have to get to work at eight.
 b. *I usually have got to get to work at eight. (Swan 1995: 233)

Swan notes that “*have got to* is not normally used to talk about repeated obligation (Swan 1995: 233).” This means that the difference in meaning of (50a,b) is the reflection of the semantic difference between *have to* and *have got to*. This is further attributed to the difference in function between the construction *have got* and its counterpart. We will return to this later in 2.3.1.

2.1.4 Unestablished Properties Looking through the attested data in the previous analyses it is found that some facts are qualified as established and others are not. Generally speaking, syntactic and syntactico-semantic properties are rigid and there is no contradiction in intuition between the researchers. However, when it comes to semantic properties, there seem to be some data about which each researcher has different intuition. The most notable is, above all, about restriction on tense and acceptability in infinitive form.

As argued above, when the construction *have got* occurs in the present tense, it denotes stative possession and is almost always interchangeable with the main verb *have* with possessive meaning. Therefore previous studies share consensus that there is no restriction on its occurrence in the present tense as long as it replaces possessive *have*. Regarding the past tense, however, there are several claims on its occurrence. For example Fodor and Smith (1978) argue that in British English *have got* is relatively unconstrained (in comparison to American English) and appears in past tense. Thus they provide the datum as follows.

(52) In 1960 I'd got only one child and one car. (= 22)

On the other hand Swan (1995) writes that “[g]ot-forms of *have* are less common in

the past tense.” Thus he provides the following data:

(53) a. I had flu last week.
 b. *I had got flu last week. (Swan 1995: 230)

Moreover Toda (1993) and Tamura (2005a, 2005b) claim that the construction *have got* is usually used in the present tense since its denotation is deeply connected to the time of utterance. In addition Toda (1993) predicts that if the relevant construction actually occurs in the past tense, that is possible only when the possession in the past is retained up to the time of utterance. Thus he claims that the following sentence:

(54) When I saw Yoko for the first time, I was amazed. She'd got blue eyes.
 (Toda 1993: 61)

is acceptable because the possession expressed is an inalienable one and it is highly likely that Yoko still has blue eyes at the time of utterance. These incompatible descriptions in terms of the occurrence in the past tense remain to be solved by close and extensive investigation.

Another problematic description is about the occurrence in the infinitive form. Swan (1995: 230) simply notes that “[g]ot is not generally used with infinitives, participles or -ing forms of *have*: you cannot usually say to have got a headache or having got a headache or having got a brother.” Fodor and Smith (1978) argue more specifically that the infinitive form of *have got* follows only epistemic verbs.

(55) a. He seems to {have/have got} the flu.
 b. We believe him to {have/have got} the flu.
 c. He doesn't want to {have/*have got} the flu.
 (56) a. I ordered him to {have/*have got} his I.D. card with him at all times.
 b. {Have/*Have got} your I.D. card with you at all times.
 (Fodor and Smith 1978: 49)

Fodor and Smith argue that this property of *have got* is peculiar in that it is not shared with the perfective *get* despite the fact that some of the property would follow from the identification of the construction with the perfective such as the restriction on *have got* which occurs in stative, non-iterative contexts. Fodor and Smith also argue that there is some relation between this peculiarity and the fact that the construction *have got* follows epistemic modals freely but is unacceptable when it follows obligation modals.

(57) You must have got a drivers license. (ibid.)

Therefore when containing the perfective *get*, the example (57) can be interpreted either epistemically or as an obligation statement. But when containing possessive *have got*, it is only interpreted as an epistemic statement.

While Fodor and Smith briefly point out this distributional difference and provide

no explanation on this peculiarity, Toda (1993) provides his own solution. He defines the meaning of the construction *have got* as stative possession which is strongly related to the time of utterance. Thus epistemic statements such as (55a,b) and (56) are acceptable because of the relation to speech time while the ungrammaticality of (55c) and (56) is due to the meaning of obligation, which naturally refers to the future.⁹ Note, however, that Toda's explanation is not strong enough to explain the attested datum provided by Fodor and Smith as in (52).

(58) In 1960 I'd got only one child and one car. (= 52)

Toda claims that *have got* in the past tense can occur only when the possession is highly likely to be retained at the time of utterance (see (54)). In the case of (58), however, the possession expressed is an alienable one and the number of the child or car has possibly changed. Still there is no unitary explanation in the previous studies. These unsolved problems above are to be discussed in 2.3.

2.2 Interview Survey

In this section the data collected by the interviews with the informants are to be provided to discuss further the inherent semantic, functional property of the construction and posit unitary explanation for the unestablished properties discussed above. The interviews with native British English speakers were carried out for 60-90 minutes once a week for 6 weeks.¹⁰ The reasons for limiting the investigation only to British English are that: American English has the past participle *gotten* and it is possible that there is some difference between British *have got* and American *have got*; since the development of the relevant construction is observed shortly before the immigration to the US, there is a possibility that the immigrants' British *have got* has changed through language contact. In order to pursue the property of *have got*, the main interest and purpose of the survey was set to reveal the difference in meaning between the construction *have got* and its main verb counterpart. What is of particular import is the investigation for tense restriction and the comparison in distributional difference between these two expressions as well as their pragmatic effect.

2.2.1 Distribution in the Present Tense As was already seen several times in the earlier sections, the construction *have got* is interchangeable with main verb *have* only when *have* denotes stative possession.¹¹

(59) a. I have breakfast at 8 o'clock.
 b. *I have got breakfast at 8 o'clock.
 (60) a. John has his bath before dinner.

⁹ Therefore Toda argues that the restriction on the occurrence of *have got* is due not only to its syntactic property (see 2.1.1 especially (33)), but also to its semantic property.

¹⁰ For information about informants, see note 1.

¹¹ The asterisk (*) indicates that the sentence is ungrammatical. A sharp sign (#) indicates that *have got* is perfect of *get* and denotes recent acquisition.

- (61) b. *John has got his bath before dinner.
- a. I have my lunch in my bag.
- b. I have got my lunch in my bag.

- (62) a. He has his glasses on. *(has* = ‘put’, ‘wear’) ¹²
- b. (#)He has got his glasses on.

- (63) a. I’m having difficult time. *(have* = ‘experience’)
- b. #I’m having got difficult time.

Thus in (59) and (60) main verb *have* cannot be replaced with *have got* since it is regarded as denoting almost the same as eat and take in (59a) and (60a) respectively. In (61), however, the main verb *have* and the construction *have got* are interchangeable with each other since *have* denotes ‘be in possession of.’ Main verb *have* in (62a) is ambiguous between stative possession and action meaning in that (62a) can be interpreted both as ‘he puts his glasses on,’ and ‘he wears his glasses.’ In this case *have got* replaces its main verb counterpart as in (62b) and is also ambiguous between stative meaning, i.e. possession (= ‘wear’) and active meaning, i.e. acquisition (= ‘put’). In the case of the latter meaning, *have got* is regarded as perfect of *get*. Note that *have* with active meaning occurs in progressive form (see also (41)). In (63a) main verb *have* is regarded as denoting something like ‘experience,’ and is replaced with the perfective *get* as in (63b). The possessive construction *have got* cannot occur in (63b) instead since the verb *experience* does not have stative meaning.

These attested data give strong impression that the construction *have got* denotes not action but state. Many dictionaries and grammar books and previous studies agree that the relevant construction expresses stative possession. However main verb *have* denoting stative possession occurs with iterative adverbs like “often” as in (64a), while the construction *have got* does not.

- (64) a. He often has his glasses on.
- b. *He often has got his glasses on.

Fodor and Smith (1978) relate this fact to the property of perfect. Consider the following examples:

- (65) a. My glasses are sometimes gone.
- b. *My glasses have sometimes gone.

Thus the restriction on co-occurrence of *have got* with iterative adverbs indicates that there is some difference between the main verb *have* and the relevant construction and that the peculiar signification of *have got* is inherited from the perfective *get*. It is possible to argue that the fact in (65) indicates that the relevant construction denotes temporal possession lasting a short while. This explanation is problematic since the construction denotes inalienable possession as in (47). Another explanation is provided by Toda (1993) and Tamura (2005b), which argues that the relevant

¹² The verb *wear* has both active and stative meaning. In this example the stative meaning contrasts with the active meaning of *put*.

construction only denotes possession at the time of speech. However this is also problematic when the construction occurs in a sentence like (66b).

- (66) a. These apple trees have lots of blossom in spring.
- b. These apple trees have got lots of blossom in spring.

(66a) is a statement of an objective fact about the apple trees, while (66b) has implication that the speaker looks at the trees. Note that it is possible to utter a sentence like (66b) in a season other than spring. This means that the apple trees are not necessarily in blossom at the time of utterance. Here is another example that has the same effect:

- (67) a. Osaka University has a lot of international students.
- b. Osaka University has got a lot of international students.

(67a) is a statement of objective fact about the university, while (67b) is based on the speaker's actual observation. The speaker of (67b) is not necessarily at the university at the time of utterance and it is even possible to utter the sentence off campus.

These facts indicate that the construction *have got* contrasts with its main verb counterpart in terms of temporally unanchored/anchored rather than present/non-present or speech time/non-speech time. The construction *have got* is a temporally anchored expression in that it denotes possession observed or experienced at a specific time. Main verb *have* is, relatively, temporally unanchored compared to the relevant construction. Their properties are apparent in the following sentences:

- (68) a. They have his new album in stock.
- b. They've got his new album in stock.

(68a) indicates that the CD shop always sells the new album; it does not refer to any specific time, while (68b) means that the shop obtains the album at a particular time (especially on the release date). Note that Toda and Tamura's definition of the construction cannot explain these differences. They claim that the possession expressed by *have got* has strong relation to the time of utterance. However those attested data above show that the possession denoted by *have got* has a strong relation of the speaker's direct, either objective or subjective, observation. In (68b) the speaker is likely to have actually observed the shop, but it is also possible that the speaker inferred from the date that the copies of the new album were in delivery and the shop has already received them. This intuition indicates that the relevant construction inherently has temporal specificity without any restriction on the time point whatever. This inherent semantic property of *have got* is more prominent when it is observed in the past tense.

2.2.2 Distribution in the Past Tense The approximation drawn from the attested data above is verified by the observation of the construction *have got* in the past tense. In the present tense the construction is said to denote the same as its main verb counterpart so that grammar books state that the relevant construction is an alternative

way to express possession in English and thus freely interchangeable with main verb *have*. In the past tense, however, its occurrence is relatively restricted and it seems to preserve its original semantics which differs from its main verb counterpart since there is less extension or generalization of its denotation compared to its present tense form.

As to the property of the construction *have got* in the past tense, the most notable characteristic is that it obligatory requires some specific time reference.

(69) a. She had a copy of that book.
 b. *She had got a copy of that book.¹³

Thus (69b) does not denote general state of her possession of the copy. This property is shared with the pluperfect of *get* in that the pluperfect is determined with respect to the reference time. Therefore if some phrase of time reference is added to (69b), the sentence is acceptable as in (70).

(70) She had got a copy of that book yesterday.

When both the construction *have got* and main verb *have* occur with specific time reference, the temporal phrase tends to be more specific in a “had got” sentence than in a “had” sentence.

(71) a. These apple trees had lots of blossoms last year.
 b. These apple trees had got lots of blossoms this time last year.

Thus when both “had” and “had got” sentences do not have temporal phrase, the “had” sentence is considered to denote the possessive state having lasted for longer period of time or to refer to nonspecific time. On the other hand, the “had got” sentence indicates that the recalled situation was on a particular occasion. In parallel with the analysis above, consider the following examples:

(72) a. I clearly remember these apple trees had lots of blossom.
 b. ?I clearly remember these apple trees had got lots of blossom.

(72b) is more acceptable when a phrase such as “on the first day when I moved in” is added to the sentence while the acceptability of (72a) is stable no matter what sort of time reference is added.

Another factor affecting the acceptability of had got sentences is what should be called subjective temporal anchoring.¹⁴ When the speaker is remembering something he or she relates it to specific time even if there is no time reference phrase in the subordinate clause. Therefore a simple had got sentence with rather general time reference is only marginally acceptable, while the sentence is more acceptable when it

¹³ If the reference time is retrieved from context or pragmatic inference this sentence is acceptable.

¹⁴ The term ‘temporal anchoring’ in the present thesis is different from that in Givón (2001) in that he defines the term as a general property of tense while the term here is not exclusively limited to the tense category.

is a subordinate clause of a verb like *remember*.

- (73) a. Dr. Yoshida's class had 120 students last year.
- b. ?? Dr. Yoshida's class had got 120 students last year.
- (74) a. I remember Dr. Yoshida's class had 120 students last year.
- b. ?I remember Dr. Yoshida's class had got 120 students last year.

In (73) and (74) the time reference phrase 'last year' refers to a relatively longer period of time. This is the reason (73b) exhibits relatively low acceptability. (74b), however, is more acceptable since (73b) is subordinated to the verb *remember*. In the latter example the speaker subjectively relates the situation denoted in the subordinate clause to a particular time, possibly the time the speaker witnessed the situation.

This subjective effect characterizes the use of *have got* in the past tense. When the past tense construction is used in a sentence expressing a general state of possession such as inalienable possession, the sentence is considered to be a life story or anecdote.

- (75) a. My grandmother had five children.
- b. My grandmother had got five children.
- (76) a. Mr. Yoshida had brown eyes.
- b. Mr. Yoshida had got brown eyes.

Note that these attested sentences do not indicate that the denoted situation changed afterwards. It is possible to read them with implication that neither the number of the children nor the eye colour changed at any point in the rest of their life. Thus it follows that the construction in the past tense does not mark temporality, which is the opposite notion of permanence.

The reason the relevant construction in the past tense is preferably used in life stories and anecdotes is the inherent function of the construction, i.e. temporal anchoring. In narrative discourse it is desirable to express things vividly and realistically so that the narrative consists of a sequence of foregrounded information. The foregrounded information has to obtain some sort of actuality in contrast to the background. In expressing the actuality the function of the construction effectively works in that the speaker/hearer is able to relate the denoted situation to some specific time point or interpret the sentence as if he or she actually witnessed it. Note that this effect is parallel with the present tense construction, since both in the present and the past tense the relevant construction indicates that the possession occurs or occurred on a specific occasion.

This approximated function further makes it possible to explain the reason the relevant construction is commonly used in the present tense although its occurrence is relatively restricted in the past tense. Since the present tense is defined to be the time the speaker/hearer stands, the present is the most unstable tense. Therefore what is occurring at present is difficult to determine whether it is temporal or stable so that the construction *have got* is easily chosen in every kind of possession just in order to mark time specificity. On the other hand the past tense is so remote from the time the speaker/hearer stands that it is hard to recognize the situation as being on the narrowly

specified occasion and this is why the use of the construction requires the special motivation such as the vivid writing in a life story.

2.3 Discussion

In this section several remaining problems shown in 2.1.4 are to be discussed, based on what has been revealed about the function of the construction *have got* through the attested data gathered in the interview survey. The problems concern such acceptability in the past tense and in the infinitives. Before examining problems the function of the relevant construction is to be considered, and the inherent property of the construction is to be proposed.

2.3.1 Function of Have Got The attested data in the sections above strongly indicate that the function of the relevant construction is to express actuality and reality. This actuality is effectively expressed since the construction relates the situation it denotes a particular time point or occasion; in other words *have got* has a temporal anchoring function. On the other hand main verb *have* usually denotes a general possessive state without referring to any specific occasion. Although it is of course possible for the main verb to refer to some particular point of time, its function of temporal specificity or actuality is now very weak since it has expanded its function to aspectual operator. Therefore main verb *have* may co-occur with an iterative adverb or in iterative context, which was argued in 1.1.2 in relation with (10) and in terms of *have got to* in (51).

(77)	a. I usually have beer in the house.	(= 10a)
	b. *I usually have got beer in the house.	(= 10b)
(78)	a. I usually have to get to work at eight.	(= 51a)
	b. *I usually have got to get work at eight.	(= 51b)

This restriction cannot be attributed to the semantic property in which the construction *have got* has a stative denotation. Since the main verb *have* actually occurs in iterative context and it has almost the same stative and possessive denotation as *have got*, there needs to be an alternative explanation. The functional dichotomy of *have got* and *have* between actuality and generality is therefore the plausible explanation for the facts above in (77) and (78).

The actuality/generality dichotomy is proposed in Givón (2001) and Kudo (2001, 2002).¹⁵ Although they apply the notion to typological classification of lexicon and lexical taxonomy (Givón) and classification of predicates (Kudo), this notion is also helpful for recognizing the functional difference between the relevant construction and its main verb counterpart. In terms of the notion of actuality and generality the construction *have got* denotes actual possession occurring at a specific time, while main verb *have* indicates a general potential of stative possession. Note that actual

¹⁵ For the dichotomy Givón proposed 'time stability,' according to which he classified major lexical categories. Kudo, inspired by Givón's work, proposed 'temporal localization,' "which denotes the difference between contingent actual accident and constant potential essence."

experience is anchored in the specific time point or occasion. *Have got*, therefore, cannot occur in iterative context, since the construction is temporally limited to a specific time.

Relating to this functional property of the construction it is worth noting that the relevant construction often has a pragmatic effect of expressing the speaker's surprise or emphasis. Since noticing unexpected possession of something usually accompanies with a feeling such as surprise, sentences with the construction *have got* tend to express the speaker's feeling of surprise. This is the reason the informant of Toda (1993) gave pragmatic information for "She'd got blue eyes," as in (54). (The condition of the occurrence of *had got* is to be discussed as well below in 2.3.2.)

(79) When I saw Yoko for the first time, I was amazed. She'd got blue eyes. (= 54)

Regarding the emphatic effect of the construction, Visser (1973) wrote; "The *have got* phrase is frequently used for the purpose of emphasis." Thus sentences with *have got* are more emphatic than the ones with *have*.

(80) a. You've to obey.
b. You've got to obey. (Visser 1973: 2203)

Visser (1973) says that (80b) is more forceful than (80a). This fact is attributed to the function of the construction *have got* in that the effect of actuality gives the hearer stronger impression of possession. This is also the reason for *have got* to be used to express strong sense of possession. We will return to this issue in 3.1.

2.3.2 Acceptability in the Past Tense As argued in 2.1.4 the researchers of the previous analyses do not agree with each other on the acceptability of the construction in the past tense. The function drawn from the attested data of the present survey, however, provides unitary explanation to each example cited above. Regarding the datum supported by Fodor and Smith (1978), which is cited again in (77) for convenience, it is plausible to interpret it as a statement in a life story or anecdote.

(81) In 1960 I'd got only one child and one car. (=52)

Since the sentence (81) seems to be one of the sequential episodes in the speaker's life, it is appropriate to regard it as a statement in a life story or anecdote. Even if it is not a part of the story, the sentence is a kind of foregrounded piece of information which is suitable to being highlighted with the use of the relevant construction. Although Fodor and Smith did not try to compare (81) to the paired sentence with main verb *had*, there must be some divergence and the peculiar denotation (81) should be represented in the term of foregrounded information.

According to Swan (1995) the sentences in (53) are also explained by the functional property of the construction *have got*.

(82) a. I had flu last week. (= 53a)

b. *I had got flu last week. (= 53b)

The shared time reference in (82), 'last week,' refers to a rather longer period of time. Thus the sentences above denote the general state of possession lasted for about one week and do not refer to any specific possessive experience at a particular point. Since the construction is not used to indicate a general attribute at a nonspecific time, the "had got" sentence (82b) is not acceptable.

The last past-tense example which is pointed out in Toda (1993) satisfies the condition for the possessive had got to occur.

(83) When I saw Yoko for the first time, I was amazed. She'd got blue eyes. (= 54)

The sentence (83) refers to the highly specific time of the first meeting with Yoko. In addition the sentence expresses the specific experience the speaker had at that particular time. This is what the relevant construction is supposed to denote in comparison with its main verb counterpart and the occurrence of had got in (83) is more prototypical than exceptional.

2.3.3 Acceptability in the Infinitive Now that the function of the construction *have got* is specified, it is possible to give proper explanation to the problem concerning the occurrence of *have got* in the infinitive form. The relevant construction is acceptable when it occurs with epistemic verbs and modals while it is not with other verbs.

(84) a. He seems to {have/have got} the flu. (= 55a)
 b. We believe him to {have/have got} the flu. (= 55b)
 c. He doesn't want to {have/*have got} the flu. (= 55c)

(85) a. I ordered him to {have/*have got} his I.D. card with him at all times. (= 56a)
 b. {Have/*Have got} your I.D. card with you at all times. (= 56b)

These facts are attributed to the inherent function of the relevant construction in that epistemic meaning has some relation to a specific occasion. (84a, b) are the speaker's epistemic statements and he or she has some confidence about his physical condition at a specific time (in these cases, speech time). Other modals and verbs such as obligation must, order, want and imperatives, however, usually have no relation to a specific time. Thus (84c) does not refer to any particular occasion, and neither does (85a, b). In addition both of the sentences in (85) have a phrase 'all times.' This makes matters worse for the occurrence of the construction within the sentences since *have got* cannot occur in sentences denoting general state of possession.

Related to the problem of the infinitive there are two facts which are also explained by the function of the construction *have got*. Swan (1995) points out that the relevant construction does not occur in the gerund (see 2.1.4). This phenomenon is quite similar to the infinitive. Since gerund represents the general state or event and does not usually refer to a specific time, it is not compatible to the function of the

relevant construction. The second problem concerns the future tense form of the construction. Since the occurrence of the construction in the future tense is restricted to sentences with some modals and verbs other than epistemic ones the future tense form, *will have got*, is quite rare and there are only 17 data hit in the BNC search, for sentences with future tense usually denote an unspecified point of time. Among the small examples in the corpus data one of the informants of the present study chose only one example for the possessive construction.

(86) You got the staircase in there but you will have got ornamental wrought iron leading to first floor archway to your dining room. (BNC)

The informant noted that the sentence above is a description of a future state and when the sentence is uttered the hearer creates a vivid image of the situation in his or her mind. This vivid effect is already argued with respect to the occurrence in the past tense in 2.2.2. In the case of (86) this effect is also helpful to make the activated mental image of the future situation more real.

3 DEVELOPMENT OF *HAVE GOT*

In the last section the functional property of the construction *have got* is successfully identified. However the functional property itself leaves behind further issues to. The issues are: how the relevant construction assumed its peculiar function and on what motivation the English linguistic system required the function of *have got* instead of that of the main verb *have*. In this section these two issues are pursued, taking into consideration the origin of the construction and the diachronic transition and synchronic states of main verb *have*.

3.1 *Origin*

Running counter to the argument on the origin of *have got* those syntactic analyses in 1.1.1 posit, previous diachronic studies on the construction argue that the construction has derived from the perfective *get* (*OED*, Jespersen 1933, Visser 1973). For example *OED* states that “[t]he perfect tense is used in familiar language in senses equivalent to those of the present tense of *have* or *possess* (*OED* s.v. *get*).” Jespersen also claimed that “[i]n colloquial English *I have got* (*I've got*) has to a great extent lost the meaning of a perfect and has become a present with the same meaning as *I have* (Jespersen 1933: 241).” These arguments are supported by syntactic facts and other properties of the construction discussed in the previous sections such as, among others, the restriction on the construction to occur in imperatives and iterative context. Moreover the peculiar function of the relevant construction which is presumably inherited from its formal aspects further supports the arguments of the diachronic studies.

The semantics of the perfective construction indicate that the denoted event or action is in relation to the reference time. Comrie (1976) states that “the perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation,” and Quirk et al. (1985)

argues that “the present perfective signifies past time ‘with current relevance’.” This property of the perfective construction naturally relates the resultant state to a particular point of time, i.e. the reference time. Therefore the construction *have got* inherently specifies the time when the resultant possessive state is obtained. Note that it has been argued in 2.3 that the peculiar function of the construction is to specify a particular time point and denote actuality. This actuality is observed in sentences with the construction in that it denotes stronger sense of possession than its main verb counterpart as in (80) above.

(87) a. You've to obey. (= 80a)
 b. You've got to obey. (= 80b)

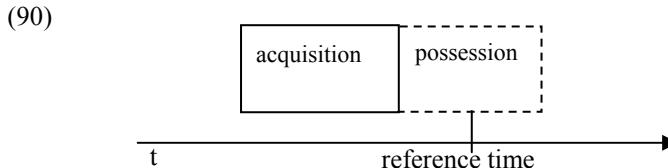
As argued in 2.3.1, *have got* is often used to express emphasis because of the actuality the relevant construction denotes.

Moreover the peculiar function of the construction is also observed in the pragmatic effect which should be referred to as direct evidentiality (Palmer 2001).

(88) a. These apple trees have lots of blossoms in spring. (= 66a)
 b. These apple trees have got lots of blossoms in spring. (= 66b)
 (89) a. Osaka University has a lot of international students. (= 67a)
 b. Osaka University has got a lot of international students. (= 67b)

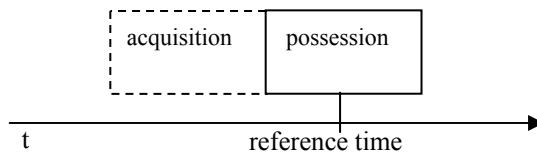
As noted in 2.2.1 both (88) and (89) indicate that the speaker actually observed the situation expressed. This pragmatic effect of direct evidentiality is derived from the function of the construction *have got* since the resultant possessive state is strongly related to a specific reference time and this function triggers the hearer's inference that the speaker has actually observed the possessive situation at a particular time.

It, therefore, follows that the inherent property of the construction *have got* is a shared property with the perfective *get*. Since the perfective *get* denotes the action of acquisition and the subsequent resultant state of possession as well, the schematic description of the perfective *get* is depicted as follows.



As for the construction *have got* the acquisition part of the schema in (90) has been attenuated and the subsequent resultant possession part is highlighted instead. Thus the schematic expression of the relevant construction is depicted as in (91).

(91)



Since the possessive *have got* has seemingly lost its perfective component and now denotes resultant stative possession like main verb *have*, the perfective auxiliary *have* is not much needed in the construction so that sentences with the construction are more acceptable when the auxiliary *have* is contracted.¹⁶

(92) Bill believes that Archibald has got a Mercedes, and he does.

(LeSourd 1976: 514)

Thus LeSourd notes that “[s]ome readers may find examples like this more acceptable with *has* contracted to 's. ... The tendency of the *have* of *have got* to contract is another indication that it is an auxiliary, since the main verb *have* is not usually subject to contraction.” Although LeSourd did not recognize that the construction is formally the perfect of *get* because of its idiosyncratic meaning of possession, his claim clearly indicates that the formal aspect of the construction is the same as that of the perfective *get*.

Note that in 1.1.2 it is pointed that Tamura (2005b) claims that the construction has been derived from, but is now independent of, the perfective *get*. His argument is problematic since the relevant construction still shares the property of time specification with the perfective *get*. Since the construction is regarded as having some relation to the perfect of *get*, the hearer sometimes infers that the possessive state denoted by the construction will last only temporarily since the construction indicates that the possessee does not originally exist but is acquired.

(93) a. The zoo has pandas.
 b. The zoo has got pandas.

Thus (93a) indicates that there are pandas at the zoo at any time while (93b) means that the zoo temporarily has pandas for a special purpose. The difference in denotation of temporality between (93) examples is often described in dictionaries and this fact indicates that the relevant construction has still some relation to its ancestor, the

¹⁶ This phenomenon is related to the fact that the *have* of *have got* is usually pronounced weakly. See (23), (24) and note 6 above. Moreover the perfective auxiliary *have* of *have got* is further reduced in very informal English and there is only *got* left behind in some dialects.

(i) What do you got there?
 (ii) I got something nice for you.

(Quirk et al. 1985: 132)

This fact seems to indicate that the construction at this stage has completely lost the acquisition part of the schema depicted in (91). However since the purpose of this chapter is to discuss the origin and motivation of the construction, this issue is not further discussed here.

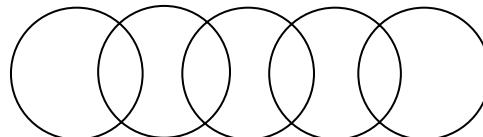
perfect of *get*. Although Tamura (2005a) had noted this inheritance from the perfect, he ignored it in his later work of (2005b, c).

3.2 Motivation

In the last section it has been argued that the origin of the construction *have got* is the perfect of *get*, and it has been demonstrated that several facts as well as the inherent function of the construction are well explained by assuming that the relevant construction is the descendant of the perfective *get*. It is, however, still not clear why the construction *have got* is required in English. In other words the motivation for the construction *have got* to co-exist in English with its main verb counterpart is still underspecified. In order to pursue this remaining problem investigation only of *have got* is not sufficient and to pay attention to its main verb counterpart is essential. In this section the diachronic transition and the synchronic state of the main verb *have* is to be investigated and so is the reason the relevant construction was called for in English.

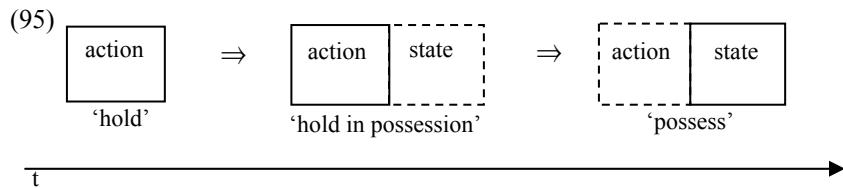
3.2.1 Diachronic Explanation Although the main verb *have* today seems only to denote stative possession, *OED* states that the meanings of the verb has changed in time, losing its old meaning and gaining new one. The primitive and oldest meaning of the verb is, according to *OED*, ‘to hold (in hand)’ and then “the main verb has passed naturally into that of ‘hold in possession,’ ‘possess,’ and has thence been extended to express a more general class of relations, of which ‘possession’ is one type, some of which are very vague and intangible (*OED* s.v. *have*).” Thus the primitive *have* in its earliest days was a verb of action which was almost the same as *hold*, however no notion of any action upon the object remains in the present-day sense of the verb, ‘possess,’ and what is predicated by the verb is now merely a static relation between the subject and the object (*ibid.*). Note that the diachronic development of the main verb *have* in the description of *OED* is parallel to that of the construction *have got* discussed in the sections above. The construction as with its primitive notation, ‘have acquired,’ has dynamic meaning of the action upon the object, while later in the development it has lost its dynamic meaning and come to denote only stative possession. This parallelism in the development is what Heine (1992) discussed in terms of ‘grammaticalization chains.’ In the process of grammaticalization a semantic and categorial extension occurs successively so that when one lexical item has developed from contentive into functional, another lexical item makes up the lost meaning or category and then follows the same process as the previously developed item. Heine depicted this process as follows:

(94)



(Heine 1992: 345)

Based on the notion of grammaticalization chains it is possible to reconstruct the development of main verb *have* in parallel with that of the construction *have got* in spite of the fact that very few empirical data are available which demonstrate the development of main verb *have* prior to gaining the stative possession meaning. Thus the diachronic development of *have* up to stative possession meaning is reconstructed and depicted as in (95) below.



The main verb *have* with stative possession meaning, then, further developed into more abstract meaning like kinship, relation, and existence. This extension is supposed to have co-occurred with acceptance of immaterial or inalienable object and inanimate subject. Langacker (1999) and Nakamura (2004) exemplified this process in terms of losing control and subjectification.

(96) a. Be careful — he has a knife!
 b. I have an electric saw (but I seldom use it).
 c. They have a good income from investment.
 d. They have three children.
 e. He has terrible migraine headaches.
 f. We have some vast open areas in the United States.

(Langacker 1999: 162)

The objects of the verb in (96a, b) are material and alienable, and they are different from those of the rest of the examples in that the object is in the subject's immediate control. The object in (96c) is immaterial and in (96d) inalienable. (96e) expresses a mere relation between the possessor and possessee and the verb in (96f) is existential rather than possessive. Note that the property of the object comes to be more abstract and immaterial as the main verb expands its meaning so that the subject is not capable of literally "holding" the object. Thus the object in (96e, f) is no longer regarded as having proper status of possessee. This expanding process is in accordance with the description of *have* in *OED* in that the object of the verb has come to assume wide variety as the denotation of *have* extends. At the last stage of expansion as in (96f) there is very little or even no indication of action on the object and the schematic expression of the meaning of *have* has almost disappeared indication of the action component.



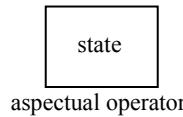
As this process proceeds further into grammaticalization, the main verb decategorizes and belongs to a new category, namely auxiliary verb, an aspectual operator.

(98) a. There may have been a serious breach of security.
 b. Tabs should have been kept on those dissidents all along.

(Langacker 1999: 162)

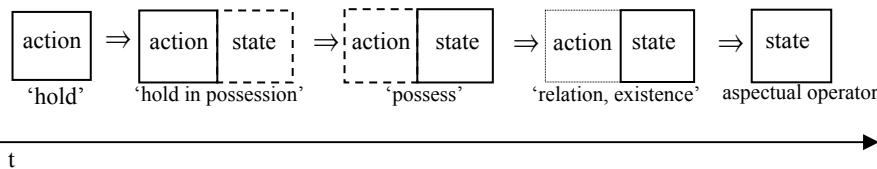
Langacker (1999) argues that the subject of the main verb completely lost its control over the object and the sentences above no longer imply any necessary involvement of the subject. Note that at this stage what is predicated of by the verb is not a nominal but verbal expression. The auxiliary verb no longer denotes any possessive meaning and only indicates that there is a temporal relation between the event denoted by the main verb and the referent time. At this stage *have* has the vague, relational meaning and the schematic expression at this stage has already lost its action component as depicted in (99).

(99)



Now that the whole process of the development of *have* is investigated, the schematic exposition of the meaning of *have* at each stage is combined and the total schematic transition of the denotation of the verb is given below.

(100)



Comparing each stage posited in (100) with the schematic expression of the construction *have got* depicted in (91), it is found that the relevant construction has the same schematic denotation as the main verb *have* with the meaning of 'possess' and 'relation, existence.' As argued in 2.3.1 these two expressions differ from each other in that *have got* indicates actuality, while *have* mainly denotes generality. The reason for the main verb *have* to assume generality is supposed to be its loss of the active meaning, 'hold,' from its semantic property. On the other hand the construction *have got* clearly retains its action meaning, 'acquire,' and this action meaning enables the construction to relate its denotation to a particular point of time. Note that in (96) the more the main verb *have* expands its meaning and is subjectivized, or loses control in Langacker's term, the less temporally anchored its denotation is. Thus the possession in (96a), 'hold in hand,' is related to a specific time, in this case the speech time while the main verb in (96d, e, f) with relational or existential meaning denotes

general stative meaning without any temporal relation. This loss of dynamic denotation in *have* is the most plausible explanation for the motivation of the construction *have got* to co-exist with main verb *have*.

There is, however, one problem to solve in order to maintain the explanation posited above. According to *OED* the action meaning like 'hold' had already been lost by 9th century, yet the first appearance of the possessive construction *have got* was around 16th century. As long as this gap remains unexplained the naive explanation simply based on the functional difference between two possessive expressions is not warranted. Besides the functional difference it is necessary to reveal diachronic factor which occurred in Early Modern English (EME) around 16th century. The most remarkable change brought into EME in that period was the word-order change and the establishment of *do*-support.¹⁷ Denison (1985), Trudgill et al. (2002) and Terasawa (2004) argue that *do*-support was favoured in sentences with inherently dynamic verbs while stative and intransitive verb resisted *do*-support. This tendency is still observed in British English. Thus in Britain when the main verb *have* denotes stative possession, *do*-support is not required as the following examples show.

(101) a. Have you (any) coffee in the cupboard? (= 19a)
 b. I haven't (any) coffee in the cupboard. (= 19b)

This fact indicates that the main verb *have* at that period had already changed into a stative verb to the extent that the verb was almost as stative as *be*, the most stative verb in the language. In addition the establishment of *do*-support naturally altered the main verb *have* into an auxiliary verb, and this change in categorial status made the English speakers consider the verb to be an aspectual operator rather than a possessive expression. Since the verb was no longer regarded positively as a main verb with possessive denotation, an alternative expression was required. And since the main verb still denotes vague relation or general possessive state such as existence, the possessive expression *have got* with dynamic denotation is helpful. Thus Jespersen noted that "[t]he reason obviously is that on account of its frequent use as an auxiliary, *have* was not felt to be strong enough to carry the meaning of 'possess' and therefore had to be reinforced (Jespersen 1933: 242)." Note that the previous studies from a syntactic point of view do not contradict this explanation. Those syntacticians in 1.1.1 noticed the motivation for the construction to be used and claimed that the main verb *have* was raised to the position of AUX. However they were not able to explain the semantic expansion of the perfective *get* and depended on the eccentric idea of quasi-participle.¹⁸ In order to posit better explanation of the motivation for the relevant construction to be required in English, the investigation of both *have got* and *have* is essential and the researchers of those previous works were on their half way.

3.2.2 Synchronic Evidence In the last section it is argued that the categorial change of *have* triggered the development and establishment of the construction *have got*. However it is not sufficient to argue that the new construction came to exist in the

¹⁷ For the establishment of *do*-support, see Ellegard (1953).

¹⁸ Toda (1993) also mentions the distribution of *do*-support but he does not posit his own analysis for the motivation of the establishment of *have got*.

language simply because the categorial status of *have* had changed, since there are other lexical items such as *be* that also changed into auxiliary verbs in the course of their development. In order to demonstrate the impact that the change imposed on the verb, the synchronic states of *have* are to be investigated in this section. The method of the investigation is to choose British film scripts, count the number of occurrence of both *have* and *have got* and then sort the context and denotation of these expressions (For the titles of those films investigated and the details of the result for each script, see Appendix). The reasons to limit the material to British films are: as noted in Section 2 there still remains older past participle form *gotten* in American English and it is highly likely that the denotation or function of the American construction *have got* is different from that of British *have got*; moreover American English has contacted with many foreign languages and the American *have got* is likely to have been influenced by those languages; since the construction *have got* is preferred in spoken context the synchronic state of spoken *have* is likely to provide a clue for the reason *have* gave way to *have got* and thus the spoken *have* must be compared to the relevant construction. The result of the investigation is presented in the table below in (102).

(102) Frequency rate of *have* and *have got* in 6 British film scripts

	possession	infinitive	obligation	others	AUX	perfect
<i>have</i>	16.7%	5.3%	4.8%	2.9%	68%	
<i>have got</i>	63.5%	0%	23%	1.9%		11.5%

In sorting the denotation possessive meaning was counted as ‘possession.’ When *have* is used as an auxiliary verb it is involved in the class ‘AUX.’ The class ‘infinitive’ includes the form to *have (got)* and the bare *have (got)* following auxiliary verbs such as will, might, and should. ‘Obligation’ class refers to the form *have (got) to*. ‘Others’ includes idiomatic expressions and causative *have*. When the form *have got* is a perfect of *get* it is counted as ‘perfect.’

The result of the investigation shown above indicates that the majority of the occurrences of *have* is classified as ‘auxiliary’ while relatively small proportion is intended to denote possession, which is normally regarded as the main denotation of *have*. This fact supports the discussion in the last section that the categorial change facilitated the replacement of *have* with *have got*. Before the establishment of *do*-support negation and interrogation were produced simply by adding not directly to a main verb and inverting the verb and the subject respectively. At that period there was no formal distinction between main verbs and auxiliary verbs. However, *do*-support introduced strict distinction and thence there has been disproportional occurrence of main *have* and auxiliary *have*. Once the distinction was introduced *have* was regarded more as auxiliary than actually occurred, for also introduced was the distinction between double category *have* and other simple main verbs. In consequence, English speakers thought it preferable to use *have* as an auxiliary and this lead to the proliferation of the construction *have got* in its everyday use to make up the loss of the main verb.

Note that the result not only empirically supports the story posited by Jespersen (1933), which was referred to in the previous section, but also explains the intuition the syntactician of the previous studies recognized. Those syntacticians in 1.1.1 regarded *have* of *have got* as a main verb but they claimed that it behaved as if it were an auxiliary verb. Their recognition *per se* represents the unstable status of British *have* and this is also the reason the British *have* gave way to alternative expression *have got*.

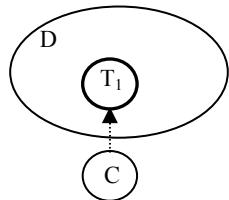
3.3 Temporal Unidirectionality

In this section the motivation of the semantic expansion of the construction *have got* is to be revisited and the human cognitive mechanism which lies behind the expansion is to be discussed. In the previous sections as well as previous (diachronic) analyses it was taken for granted that the meaning of the perfective *get* has expanded from ‘recent acquisition’ to ‘possessive state at a particular time.’ Thus Tamura (2005b, c) argued that the semantic scope of the predicate of *have got* has narrowed down because of the inference invoked by its perfective denotation. He did not, however, give any motivation or explanation on why the narrowing proceeded to a certain direction and not to any other direction.

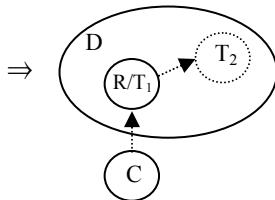
Another discussion for the expansion of the meaning of the relevant construction is posited in Hirakawa (in press). In this study the analysis is proposed to explain the semantic expansion in terms of the reference-point construction, which was proposed in Langacker (1993). This cognitive linguistic construct is applied to the synchronic/diachronic process of the semantic expansion of *have got*, inspired by Yamanashi (2000), in which reference-point construction is applied to the analysis of the interpretation of speech act. The similarity between the relevant construction and the speech act in that form-meaning mismatch is a characteristic of both of them enables the construct to explain the semantic shift from perfective *get* ('acquisition') to the possessive *have got* ('possession') in accordance with Yamanashi's analysis. The process of this shift is divided into three stages and each of them is exemplified in (103) and depicted in (104).

(104)

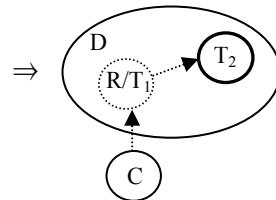
(i) 'acquisition'



(ii) 'acquisition'/'possession'



(iii) 'possession'



D: Dominion

R: Reference point

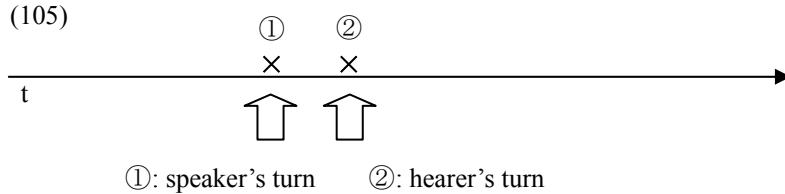
C: Conceptualizer

T₁: literal interpretationT₂: inferred interpretation

(Hirakawa in press)

At stage (i) the construction is interpreted as the perfect of *get* as shown in (103a). Then in the next stage the literal meaning functions as reference point in interpreting a sentence such as (103b), for the sentence causes the hearer to infer that the subject possesses the object as a resultant state. In the last stage the speaker/hearer readily interprets the construction *have got* as an expression denoting stative possession and the construction is finally reanalyzed as an unit and behaves like a main verb. This analysis, however, does not provide any motivation or explanation for the direction of semantic expansion either. The two analyses above are valid only when the reason or mechanism is given which explains why a certain kind of inference is drawn and the inferred meaning finally replaces the literal meaning. In other words it is not always the case that the inferred meaning drawn from literal perfective denotation causes semantic shift and semantic alternation in the end.

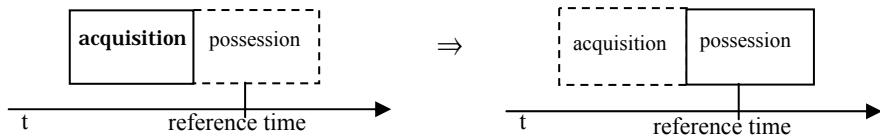
In order to solve the problem it is significant to consider the role the hearer plays in diachronic semantic shift. Hopper and Traugott (2003) argue, from the same viewpoint, that the semantic reanalysis is triggered on the part of the hearer. However they propose a mechanism of abduction as a key notion of the hearer's inference, which also does not provide any principled and independently motivated explanation. In considering the role of the hearer the point is that in the conversation he or she is temporally ahead of the speaker in his or her turn. Thus when there is room for the hearer to infer something from what the speaker has said it is natural for him or her to expect or predict the resultant state. Thus Visser argued that "[w]hen a man went to a physician with the complaint: 'I have got a sore throat,' the doctor's concern would automatically be not with the man's getting or having got the sore throat, but with his having it (Visser 1973: 2202)." As Visser argues, it is the state of affairs at the time of hearer's turn that is the most relevant even if there is only a few seconds' lag. This lag between the speaker's turn and the hearer's is depicted as follows in (105).



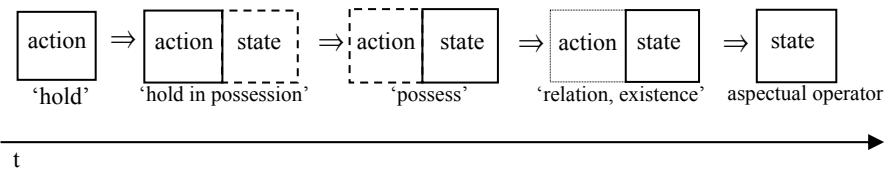
In the speaker's turn he or she has acquired something and literally expresses it as 'I have got something.' However in the hearer's turn the information the speaker has provided is less relevant for the hearer's temporal standpoint and he or she needs to predict the resultant or subsequent state. This process is strongly motivated by the unidirectional flow of time and the hearer's inference is naturally influenced by this physical unidirectionality.

Note that the semantic shift of main verb *have* and the construction *have got* has also proceeded in accordance with the unidirectional flow of time. As shown in (90), (91), and (100) the semantic shift of these expressions has started from action meaning and headed toward the state which resulted from the action ((90) and (91) is combined in (106)).

(106)



(107) (= 100)



The semantic shift of *have got* in (106) and that of *have* in (107) are in parallel with each other and this phenomenon is effectively explained by the notion of temporal unidirectionality. This principled and independently motivated explanation indicates that the human inference is not freely operated but follows some cognitive procedure and the synchronic/diachronic semantic shift is strongly motivated by the human cognitive feature which should be called prediction.

4 CONCLUSION

This paper aims to explain the motivation for the rise and establishment of the construction *have got*. It is intriguing to consider the motivation and mechanism per se which enables the construction to assume the possessive meaning, however it is essential to consider the construction's main verb counterpart, *have* as well. Thus in the first half of the present paper the functional difference between *have got* and *have* is investigated, for it is no wonder these two expressions mark different but related function and this dichotomy is what makes the construction *have got* required in English. This viewpoint is, however, lacking in the previous analyses both on syntactic and cognitive framework and this is the reason there is no clear solution to this problem.

Through the interview survey the inherent functional property of the construction is successfully revealed; the construction marks actuality while its main verb counterpart has assumed the denotation of general possession in addition to its original denotation of actual possession, although the latter is now regarded as very weak. This functional property has been demonstrated in investigating the distributional difference between *have got* and *have* especially in testing with various tenses and infinitive forms. It also explains several pragmatic effects the construction generates such as expressing emphasis and surprise. The results of the tests indicate that the construction is semantically more expanded in the present tense than in the past tense, for it is more freely interchangeable with present tense *have* than with *had*. This is probably because the expansion proceeds more extensively when the denotation of the construction in the present tense directly refers to the deictic centre, while the denotation in the past tense is so remote from the deictic centre that there is less motivation for it to expand its meaning.

Based on the function of *have got* and that of *have* drawn from the descriptive investigation, the latter half of the paper is devoted to the explanation of the motivation of the rise and the establishment of the construction. Since the inherent functional property of the construction is supposed to be attributed to that of the perfect of *get*, the origin of the construction is identified with the perfective *get*. Then the diachronic semantic expansion of the main verb *have* explains the reason *have* has lost its dynamic denotation and finally gave way to the perfective *get*, for it has the denotation related to the specific reference time and this function is what the main verb *have* has lost on its way to development into auxiliary verb. This development is empirically attested to by the synchronic data on the frequency of the occurrence of *have* as well as *have got*. The data clearly shows that *have* is already decategorized and developed into auxiliary verb from the perspective of frequency as well as syntactic property.

In the last section of the paper a principle of temporal unidirectionality is proposed. Since this principle is independently and physically motivated by the unidirectional flow of time, it has unconscious effect upon human cognitive mechanism and his or her inference. This principle, therefore, gives plausible explanation for the motivation of a specific kind of inference the hearer always draws without exception and this principle also has possibility to resolve the problem those previous studies had no choice but to take for granted. Although further investigation is of course needed, the

principle proposed in the paper is worth being pursued further, by applying other synchronic and diachronic semantic shifts such as grammaticalization and auxiliation. Another remaining issue to pursue is how the actuality/generality dichotomy is related to tense and modality. This functional notion was proposed in the earlier studies, however it is so complicated in that it relates to the interface between tense and modality that a valid and plausible explanation has not been posited so far. Since the functional contrast between *have got* and *have* is one of the crucial cases for this issue, it is also worth attempting further investigation from this viewpoint.

APPENDIX

The following film scripts are available at *The Internet Movie Script Database* (IMDb: <http://imdb.com>)

1. *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire* (Screenplay by Steven Koves, based on J. K. Rowlings' work)
2. *Harry Potter and the Chamber of Secrets* (Screenplay by Steven Koves, based on J. K. Rowlings' work)
3. *Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban* (Screenplay by Steven Koves, based on J. K. Rowlings' work)
4. *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone* (Screenplay by Steven Koves, based on J. K. Rowlings' work)
5. *Get Carter* (Screenplay by Mike Hodges, based on Ted Lewis' work)
6. *007 Tomorrow Never Dies* (Screenplay by Bruce Feirstein)

Number of occurrence of *have* and *have got* in 6 British film scripts

		possession	infinitive	obligation	others	AUX	perfect
1	<i>have</i>	11	8	8	7	40	
	<i>have got</i>	1	0	0	0		0
2	<i>have</i>	2	0	1	1	74	
	<i>have got</i>	3	0	1	0		2
3	<i>have</i>	12	7	5	1	63	
	<i>have got</i>	12	0	4	0		2
4	<i>have</i>	0	0	0	0	12	
	<i>have got</i>	6	0	1	0		0
5	<i>have</i>	6	0	3	3	26	
	<i>have got</i>	3	0	1	0		2
6	<i>have</i>	39	7	13	0	70	
	<i>have got</i>	8	0	5	1		0

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