On not deriving auxiliary *have* from *be*
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$have_{main}$ as *be*+P The tradition of treating main-verb *have* as being composed of *be* and a functional element dates to Benveniste (1971). The crosslinguistic evidence marshaled by Benveniste comes in two categories. The first argument is from transitivity: *have* has a surface subject and object but otherwise behaves as an intransitive verb. Second, it is cross-linguistically common for languages to express *have* as "be-to"—*i.e.*, as *be* plus a locative-marked phrase.

(1) a. nadur morin buy
         to.me a.horse is
         'I have a horse.'   (Classical Mongol)

b. min   hespek heye
    to.me a.horse is
    'I have a horse.'   (Kurdish)

(Benveniste, 1971, 169)

Other arguments for deriving come from word order: Existential and possessive constructions are often composed of a locative subject, copula, and theme. And existentials and possessives also show similar definiteness effects, providing support for the claim that these two constructions are derivationally related.

(2) a. pöydä-llä on   kynä
         table-ADE COP pencil
         'There is a pencil on the table.'

b. Liisa-lla on   mies
    Lisa-ADE COP man
    'Lisa has a husband.'

(Freeze, 1992, (51); Finnish)

(3) a. I have a car. (*have = own*)

b. I have the car. (*have ≠ own*)

(Bjorkman, 2011, 130)

The decompositional analysis of main-verb *have*

(4)   a. A book is on the table.   b. Sophie has a book.

The decompositional analysis is illustrated in (6) below, where it is compared with a *be*+P construction in (5). *Be* takes a small-clause complement. F head-moves and incorporates into *be*, meaning that *have* is composed of *be* and a locative functional head. In both structures, the possessor asymmetrically c-commands the possessum. The lower DP moves past the higher locative expression in *be*-constructions, but the possessum cannot move across the possessor in *have*-constructions.

THis is because F bears a [+LOC] feature and Agrees with the [+LOC] possessor, attracting it to its specifier. However, Extending the analysis to $have_{\text{aux}}$ leads to contradictions in (a) ordering between head movement and phrasal movement, and (b) which phrases move to SpecVP.
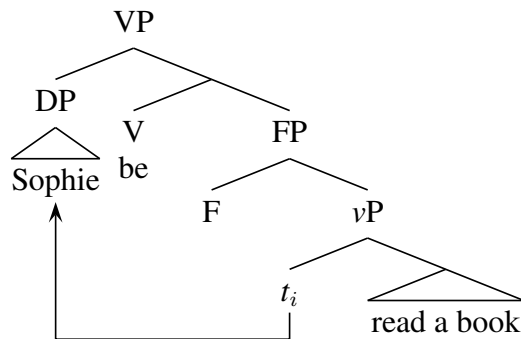
$have_{\text{aux}}$ as be+P Recent work (Bjorkman, 2011, *i.a.*) also assumes that $have_{\text{aux}}$ is composed of *be* and a locative preposition. In some languages, there is morphological evidence for this, as auxiliary *have* is realized as *be* + an aspectual particle that is homophonous with or related to a preposition:

(5) Tha   mi air litir a   sgrìobhadh
     be.PRES 1SG ON letter TRANS write.VERBAL.NOUN

     'I have written a letter.'   (Bjorkman, 2011, 131; Scottish Gaelic)

(6) a. Mu-l on   auto pes-tud
         I-ADE be.3SG car   wash-PAST.PTCP

         'My car is/has been washed.'/'I have washed the car.'

     b. Mu-l on   juba   maga-tud
         I-ADE be.3SG already sleep.PAST.PTCP

   'I have already slept.'   (*ibid.* 131–132; Estonian)

There are, therefore, a cline of language types from languages that use exclusively be_{aux} (Bulgarian, Finnish) to languages that use both be_{aux} and $have_{\text{aux}}$ (based on transitivity or φ-features; French, Italian) to languages that use exclusively $have_{\text{aux}}$ (English, Spanish). The conclusion is that, as with main verbs, the similarities between $have_{\text{aux}}$ and be_{aux}+P constructions should be captured derivationally.

The decompositional analysis of $have_{\text{aux}}$

(7) a. Sophie is reading a book.   b. Sophie has read a book.
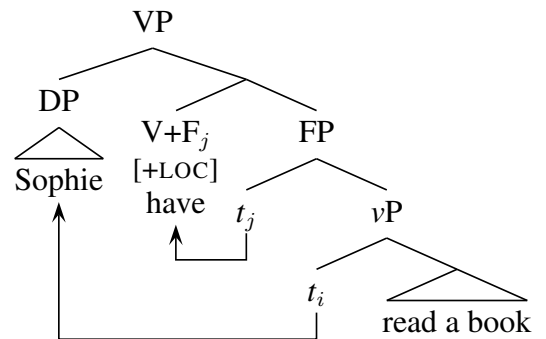
The analysis of $have_{\text{main}}$ can be extended to $have_{\text{aux}}$ if $have_{\text{aux}}$ expresses a locative relation between a subject and an event. Be_{aux} and $have_{\text{aux}}$ co-occur with verbs that take their own complete argument structures. Both be_{aux} and $have_{\text{aux}}$ attract the most prominent argument of vP to their specifiers, but there are language-particular restrictions on what triggers head-movement of F to V. Kayne (1993) presents an analysis in which phrasal movement of a phrase with the right set of features activates F and allows it to undergo head movement. One alternative to this analysis is that F attempts to Agree with an argument in the vP. If agreement succeeds, head movement is possible; if not, no head movement occurs. It is troubling, however, that neither of these options is compatible with contemporary theories of Agreement or movement. **Inversion** Be_{aux} licenses participle preposing, an inversion that is not licensed by $have_{\text{aux}}$:

(8)   a.   Our local congressman is speaking at today's lunch.

         b.   Our local congressman has spoken at today's lunch.

         c.   Speaking at today's lunch is our local congressman.

         d.   * Spoken at today's lunch has our local congressman.

One possible explanation for this fact is that $have_{aux}$, like $have_{main}$, must Agree with a [+LOC] phrase in its specifier. But such an Agree analysis encounters problems if all subjects must move through SpecV+F_{LOC}P. Unlike $have_{main}$, the phrases that move through [Spec,V+F_{LOC}P] with $have_{aux}$ are not limited to small-clause arguments of *have*. $Have_{aux}$ can co-occur with raising verbs. In (9a–9b), the subject is not an argument of the clause containing *have*:

(9)   a. Sophie has happened to stumble upon many opportunities.

        b. Speaking at today's lunch seems to be a local congressman.

And when $have_{aux}$ appears in a sentence with instance of *be*, preposing is licit:

(10)   Speaking at today's lunch has been our local congressman.

It cannot be the case that *have* blocks these processes. Instead, *be* must actively license them. After the inversion occurs, head movement of F to V must be impossible when there is only one auxiliary, but head movement must be possible when $have_{aux}$ co-occurs with be_{aux}. This is a non-local interaction, and it is not clear how head movement could be sensitive to elements in the embedded clause that would result in a cross-clausal interaction between head movement and arguments of the main verb.

***There*-insertion** *There*-insertion poses similar problems for the decompositional analysis., as it is possible with be_{aux} but not with $have_{aux}$. *There*-insertion is, however, possible when $have_{aux}$ co-occurs with *be*, and it is possible in raising constructions:

(11)   a. There have been several local congressmen speaking at today's lunch.

        b. There have happened to be several local congressmen at the meetings.

These facts remain unexplained if *have* must Agree with a locative subject. Furthermore, the analysis requires us to stipulate that *there* is non-locative. Recent work (Deal, 2009) assumes that *there* is base-generated in the specifier of *be*. If *there* cannot be base-generated in the specifier of *have*,it must be merged after head movement occurs. But inverted subjects must move to SpecVP before head movement in order to be licensed by *be*. Therefore, there is no single ordering relationship between head movement and other syntactic processes.

Selection Cross-linguistically, auxiliary selection may be dependent on various factors. Perhaps the most familiar of these factors is argument structure:

(12)   a.   Maria ha comprato i   libri   c.   Maria ha dormito
                  Maria has bought   the books   Maria has slept

                 'Maria has bought the books.'   'Maria has slept.'

         b. * Maria è comprato/a i   libri   d. * Maria è dormito/a
                  Maria is bought   the books   Maria is slept

                 'Maria has bought the books.'   'Maria has slept.'

e.	Maria è arrivata		f.	* Maria ha arrivato	

e. Maria è arrivata
Maria is arrived-FEM
'Maria has arrived.'

f. * Maria ha arrivato
Maria has arrived-FEM
'Maria has arrived.'

(Kayne, 1993, Italian)

In this case, the generalization must be that only external arguments are eligible for movement to [Spec,V+F$_{\text{LOC}}$P] when F has incorporated into V. When F does not incorporate into V, on the other hand, only internal arguments can move to [Spec,V]. This requires head movement to precede phrasal movement. Again, there is not clear that there should be a relationship between head movement and particular argument-structure positions. Other cases of auxiliary selection are dependent on φ-features of the subject. In these cases, an Agree relation must hold between *have/be* and the main verb, whereby some feature would be transmitted from the main verb to F and allow F to undergo head movement to V. This could not be not be the [+LOC] feature that generally allows for such movement. And once again, this kind of non-local dependency is not compatible with contemporary theories of agreement.

(13) a. so' visto a Ciro
AM seen ACC Ciro
'I have seen Ciro.'

b. ha visto a Ciro
HAS seen ACC Ciro
'He has seen Ciro.'

(McFadden, 2007, (21); Neapolitan)

Conclusion A decompositional analysis of *have*$_{\text{main}}$ can account for the similarities between locatives and possessives. Incorporation of a locative small-clause head to *be* describes the alternation between uses of *be* and *have*. But the decompositional analysis of *have*$_{\text{aux}}$ is less successful. Some phenomena require phrasal movement to precede incorporation, while other phenomena require head movement to precede phrasal movement. The distinct syntactic behaviors of *have*$_{\text{aux}}$ and *be*$_{\text{aux}}$ do not make reference to the arguments of *have* and *be* themselves, and the decompositional analysis must posit non-local relations to account for the fact that the arguments of the main verb can have an effect on the behavior of *have* and *be*. The two auxiliaries have similar functions, but the differences in their syntactic behavior make a unified analysis untenable.

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