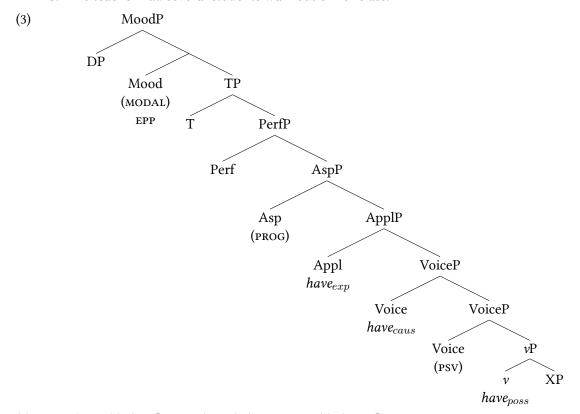
Topic have: An applicative account

I propose a new account of the construction in (1), which I call "topic *have*" (Brunson & Cowper 1992). It differs from causative and experiencer *have* ((2), Bjorkman & Cowper 2013), and from possessive *have* (Bjorkman & Cowper 2014). I argue that *have* in (1) spells out a peripheral Appl head (Kim 2011), crucially above Asp (viewpoint aspect). The subject merges in [Spec,ApplP] before moving to [Spec,TP], and Appl assigns it an affected interpretation. This account correctly predicts both the interactions between *have* and other auxiliaries in the clause (ignored by Brunson & Cowper (1992)), and the other syntactic and semantic properties of the construction.

I assume the structure in (3), with Asp heading the inner phase (Harwood 2013; Wurmbrand 2013). Possessive *have* spells out *v*, functioning as a main verb (Bjorkman & Cowper 2014), while causative and experiencer *have* spell out functional heads (Voice or Appl) between Voice and Asp (Bjorkman & Cowper 2013). (4b) shows that topic *have* cannot appear below Asp; such instances must be interpreted as either causative or experiencer *have*.

The semantic properties of the subject of topic *have* follow from the semantic content of the Appl head it merges with, and from the structural prominence of the subject position, to which it moves. The ungrammaticality of reflexives bound by the subject (1) is due to the fact that the two nominals never appear in the same phase.

- (1) a. The tree has a bird's nest in it/*itself. b. The garden has had many flowers planted in it/*itself.
- (2) a. The teacher had the students write their compositions in class.
 - b. The teacher had several students walk out of her class.



- (4) a. That table has [$_{AspP}$ a bicycle being assembled on it].
 - b. ?That table is $[_{AspP}$ having a bicycle assembled on it].

References

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