

There's a verb gone missing:

Past participle reduced relatives in colloquial English
narrative structures

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Overview of the project

Un(der)discussed structure commonly found in dialectal colloquial (European) English varieties:

- There's a man gone past the window.
- There's a van been trying to reverse down the alley.
- There's a result just been declared.

I term this the **Narrative Relative (NR)**.

Overview of the project

Full relative:

- The man [that has gone past the window].

Standard English (progressive) reduced relative:

- The man [going past the window].

Subject contact relative:

- There's a man [goes past the window].

Overview of the project

Harris & Vincent (1980:806):

In certain idiolects, even tense marking may be lost:

- (9) a. There's lots of people (have) tried to help him.
b. There's two cars (have) left already.

Overview of the project

Huddleston & Pullum (2002:1395):

There is also a past-participial construction that differs from those of [12ii] and [14ii]: %*There's a man been shot*. Here *been* is a perfect past participle, 's being a cliticised form of the auxiliary *has* (cf. *A man has been shot*) – but one which cannot be replaced by the full form.

Overview of the project

Shows surface similarity to:

- presentational/existential constructions
 - There <is> a man <is> going past the window.
- subject contact relatives (SCRs; Doherty 1993, 1994, 2000 and others)
 - There's a man [goes past the window].
 - There was a man [went past the window].
- Standard English phasal reduced relatives (RRCs; Douglas 2016; Harwood 2017)
 - The man [seen yesterday]
 - The woman [sitting on the bench]
 - The cake [being eaten by the guests]

Overview of the project

Grammaticality subject to variation between speakers of English

Part of a pseudo-suppletive narrative paradigm:

- narrative relatives
 - There's a man gone past the window.
- subject contact relatives
 - There's a man has gone past the window.
- narrative infinitival constructions
 - There's been a man go past the window.

Overview of the project

Key points to address:

- syntactic structure of the NR
- factors governing variation in acceptance of the NR as grammatical

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This presentation:

- Which of two possible analyses can best account for the NR?
 - standard English reduced relative
 - subject contact relative

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

- The man who will have been being observed
- The man who [_{TP} will [_{InfP} have [_{PerfP} been [_{ProgP} being [_{VoiceP} observed ...
- T > Inf > Perf > Prog > Voice

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

- The man who will have been being observed
- The man who _{[_{TP}} will _{[_{InfP}} have _{[_{PerfP}} been _{[_{ProgP}} being _{[_{VoiceP}} observed ...
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Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

- The clause-internal phase (CIP) is built of ProgP (as opposed to vP) (Harwood 2013, 2015, 2017; Bošković 2014; Douglas 2016)
- Reinforced by other evidence from VP-ellipsis, VP-extraction, interpretation of idioms and more
- Also corresponds to the ‘predicational layer’ (Wurmbrand 2012a,b, 2013; Harwood 2013, 2015; Ramchand & Svenonius 2014; Aelbrecht & Harwood 2015; Douglas 2016)

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

Predicational layer in Bulgarian and Italian:

Bulgarian

• Ženata e procela knigata.
woman-the is read.pastpart book-the

• Ženata procela knigata.
woman-the read.pastpart book-the

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

Predicational layer in Bulgarian and Italian:

Italian

- La donna ha letto il libro
 the woman has read.pastpart the book

- *La donna letto il libro
 the woman read.pastpart the book

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

Predicational layer in Bulgarian and Italian:

Italian

- La donna è arrivata alle cinque
 the woman is arrive.pastpart at five o'clock

- La donna arrivata alle cinque
 the woman arrive.pastpart at five o'clock

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

English stative participle RRC:

- The leaf (just) fallen from the tree is red.

N.B. The leaf must still be on the ground.

all verbs > unaccusatives > statives

Horvath & Siloni (2005) and Stanton (2011): only adjectival past participles can appear in RRCs

Douglas (2016): stative participle RRCs are also built from the CIP

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

Commonalities between phasal RRCs and NRs:

- subjective acceptability
 - however patterns of acceptance not identical
 - ? The man gone to Leeds for the day is called Bill.
 - There's a man gone to Leeds for the day.
- bias towards unaccusative verbs
 - 90% of examples in a collected corpus contain passives or unaccusatives
 - however there is no outright ban on transitives in NRs
- notable properties of modification with *just*
 - although slightly different instances of *just*

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

Primary obstacle: NRs can appear with transitive verbs, phasal RRCs cannot

- There's a couple [lost £3,200 by fraud].
- * The couple [lost £3,200 by fraud] is very upset.

All verbs in corpus united by resultativity

all verbs > **resultatives** > unaccusatives > statives

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

McFadden & Alexiadou (2006, 2010) and McFadden (2017): *be*-perfect in earlier stages of English conditioned not by unaccusativity but by resultativity

Resultative perfect: “describes a state holding at the topic time, which is the result of the underlying eventuality” (McFadden & Alexiadou 2006:272)

- I have lost my glasses.

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

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Resultative perfect: “describes a state holding at the topic time, which is the result of the underlying eventuality” (McFadden & Alexiadou 2006:272)

- I have lost my glasses. (Can you help me find them?)

Experiential perfect: “describes an eventuality that occurred previous to the topic time, often an experience that the subject has had” (ibid.)

- I have lost my glasses three times in the last month.

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

Resultative examples from the corpus:

- There's a couple lost £3,200 by fraud.
- There's a group of half a dozen girls been learning bell-ringing for the last six weeks.
- There's a lot of women chosen not to have children.
- There have been many people lost their jobs in England.
- There's a company set up a plant which converts [fatbergs] into biodiesel.

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

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Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

Flaws in this analysis

Non-resultative examples should be ruled out(?):

- There's a brick fallen out of the wall but I've put it back.
- There's a new book come out but they've stopped selling it now.

Active experiential perfect should also be ruled out:

- There's a man lost his glasses three times this month.

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

Makes a distinction between two groups of verbs but not the right distinction.

Phasal RRCs: **all verbs** > **resultatives** > **unaccusatives** > **statives**

NRs: **all verbs** > **resultatives** > **unaccusatives** > **statives**

Exploring a phasal RRC analysis

Grammatical NRs should be a subset of grammatical phasal RRCs. If an RRC is ruled out in contexts without an introducer (e.g. *there's*) then it should also be ruled out in contexts with an introducer.

- * The man just eaten an apple is called Bill.
- There's a man just eaten an apple.

Differences in characteristics of modification with *just*

Many English speakers find phasal RRCs grammatical but NRs ungrammatical. Why would the presence of *there's* disallow an RRC?

The phasal analysis cannot account for NRs.

Exploring an SCR analysis

Subject contact relatives (SCRs)

- Non-standard varieties spoken in the UK, Ireland and North America (and possibly elsewhere too)
- Colloquial and informal registers

Standard English allows object contact relatives (OCRs) while (SCRs) are forbidden:

- There's a woman \emptyset John knows.
- * There's a woman \emptyset knows John.

Exploring an SCR analysis

May occur in a restricted set of contexts (Doherty 1994):

- copular existential
 - There's something [keeps upsetting him].
- possessive existential
 - You get people in Green Park [have never set foot in Battersea Park] and vice versa.
- *it*-cleft
 - It's money [makes the world go round].
- copular sentence
 - Is that the boy [was causing all the bother]?
- *know*-complement
 - I know a smart Greek fella [owns maybe twenty restaurants].

Exploring an SCR analysis

Doherty (1993, 1994, 2000) and Haegeman et al. (2015): SCRs are (non-phasal) reduced relatives formed of TP.

Henry (1995) and den Dikken (2005): SCRs have a topic-comment structure which uses the left periphery to encode discourse functional interpretive effects.

I assume the former analysis, following Haegeman (2015).

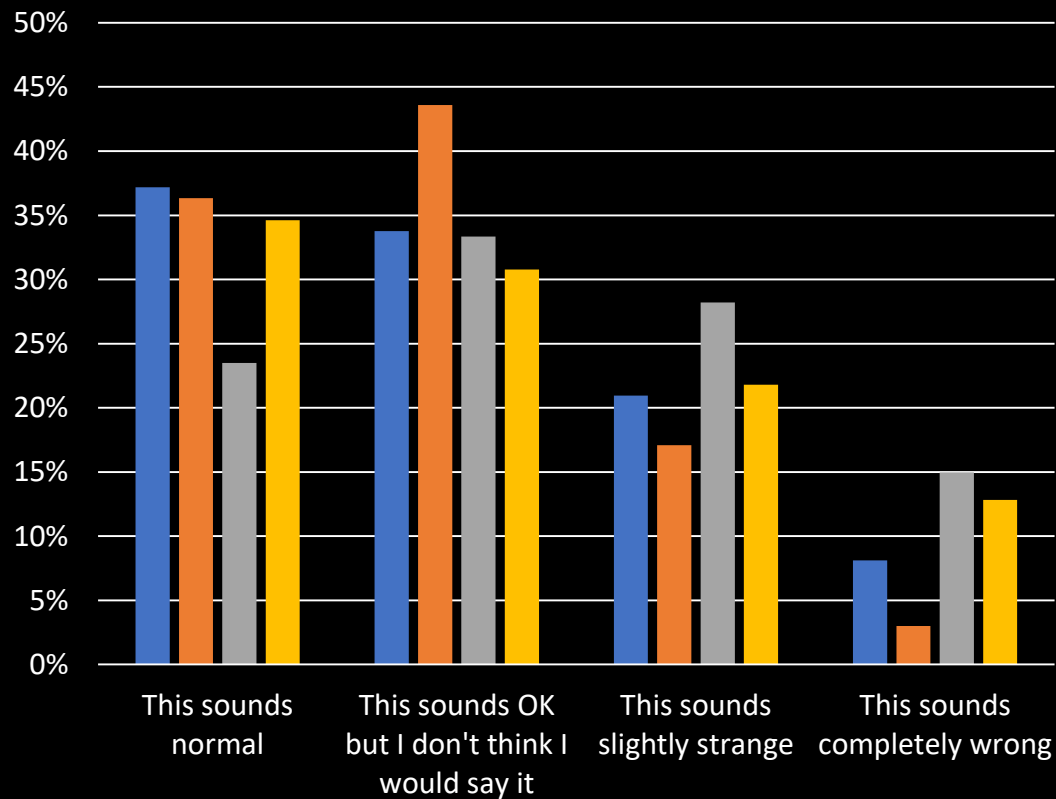
Exploring an SCR analysis

Commonalities between SCRs and NRs:

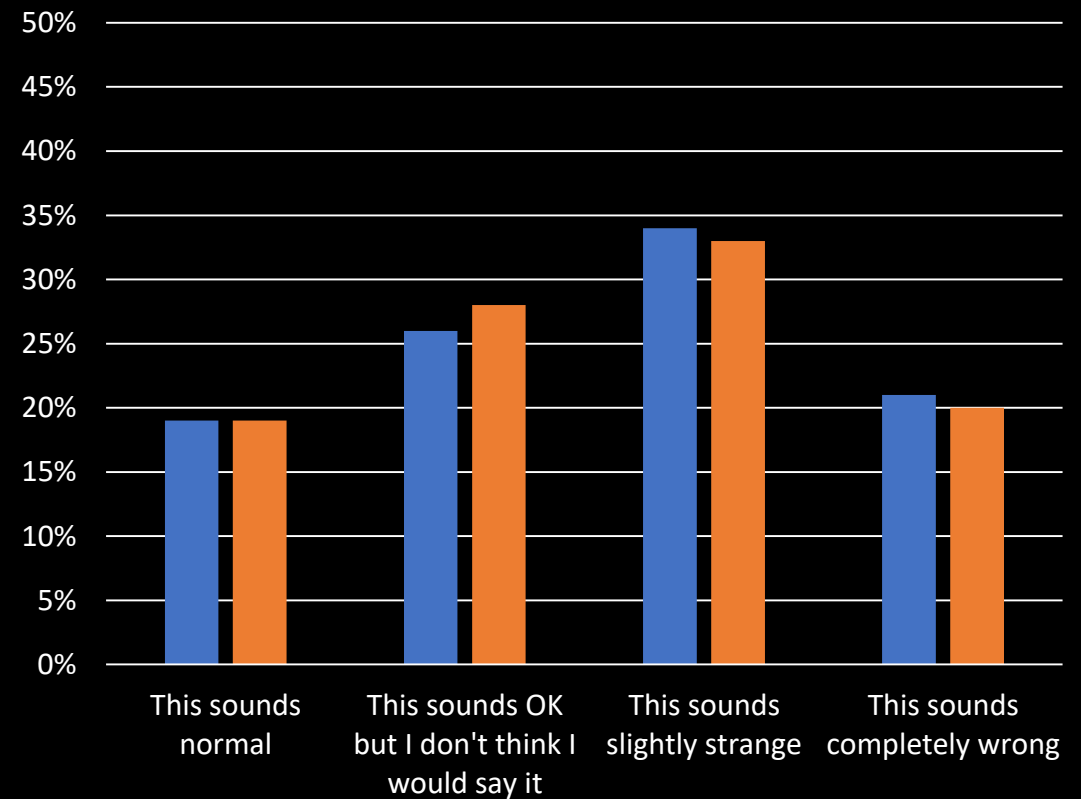
- restricted set of introducers
- discourse role
 - recency/surprise (cf. mirativity, evidentiality – DeLancey 1997, 2001, 2012; de Haan 2012)
 - narrative contexts
- variation in acceptability

Exploring an SCR analysis

Largely grammatical NRs



Largely grammatical simple tense SCRs

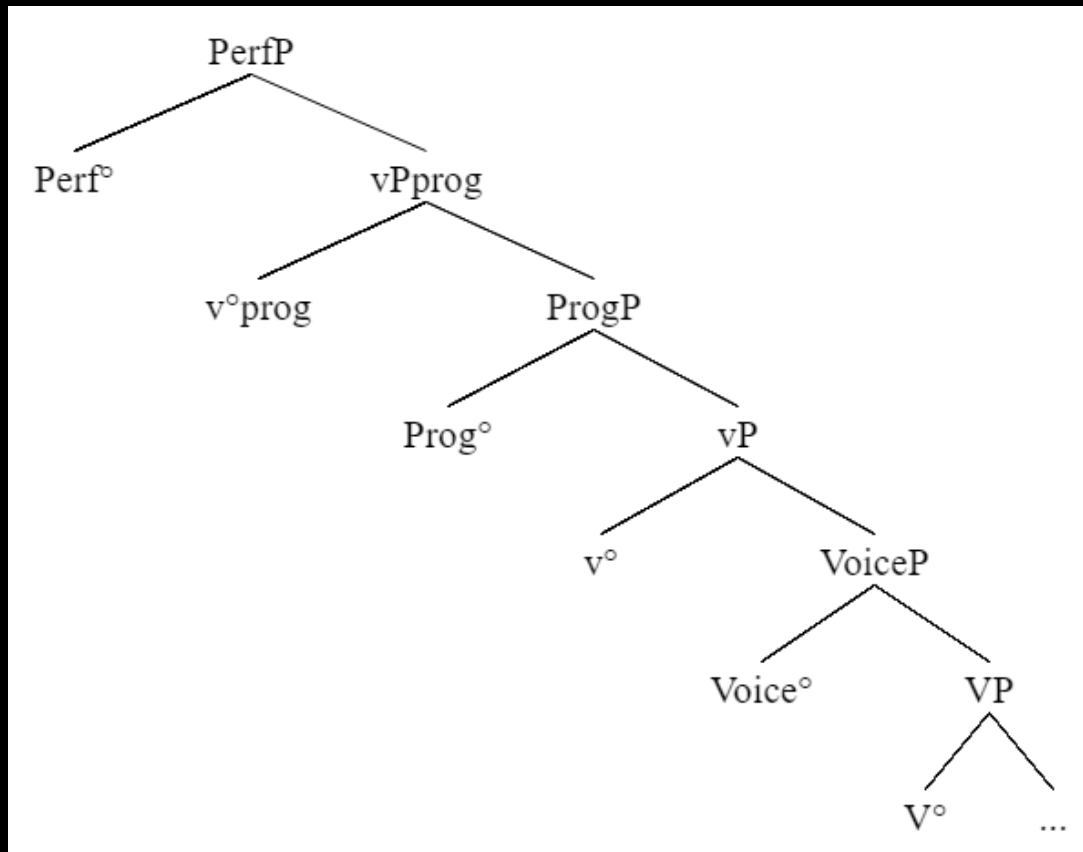


Exploring an SCR analysis

NRs cannot be TP-relatives:

- There's a man [would have gone past the window]. (SCR)
- There'd have been a man [gone past the window]. (NR)

Exploring an SCR analysis



- Similar structures → common set of introducer contexts, similar discourse properties
- Inter-speaker variation left unexplained by Doherty, but variation of SCRs and NRs presumably accounted for by a common cause

Exploring an SCR analysis

Doherty's analysis is successful in identifying TP as distinct from other projections: it can form RRCs whereas others can't.

If PerfP can also form RRCs, why not InfP and ProgP?

The following are in fact possible:

- There'll have been a man [_{InfP} have gone past the window].
- There'll have been a man [_{ProgP} going past the window]. (also phasal and existential)

Exploring an SCR analysis

Mechanisms for forming RRCs:

- phasal RRCs (all speakers):
 - ProgP
- non-phasal TP-RRCs (some speakers):
 - TP, ProgP
 - (Hiberno-English?)
- all aspectual RRCs (even fewer speakers):
 - TP, InfP, PerfP, ProgP, VoiceP

Conclusions

- Phasal analysis is appealing in some respects but has several flaws
 - resultatives are the wrong subset of verbs for NRs
 - despite similarities, differences exist between properties of NRs and phasal RRCs
- SCR analysis seems to be a neat parallel
 - similar structure explains similar properties and variation

Hierarchy of RRCs:

- phasal RRCs > TP-RRCs > all aspectual RRCs

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