On the characterization of the Perfect as a stativizing device

The aim of this talk is to reconsider the characterization of the Perfect as a stativizing device. Michaelis (2011) describes the Perfect as a type-shifting construction. The reason is that Perfect predications count as state predications with respect to five stativity tests: the when test (see Vlach 1981), the indirect-discourse test, the expansion test, the present-tense reporting test, and the complementation test (see Katz 2000). Firstly, I will demonstrate that, at least in Spanish, the behaviour of the Perfect in those tests derives from its aspectual meaning. To be more precise, it is due to the inclusion relation between the Topic Time and the time of the state of affairs that follows the verbal event (see Klein 1991, 1994).

Secondly, I will pay attention to the resultative Perfects in (1):

(1) a. Juan ya ha abierto la puerta. Ahora quiere descansar.
   ‘Juan has already opened the door. Now he wants to rest’

b. Juan ya ha corrido por el parque. Ahora quiere descansar.
   ‘Juan has already run through the park. Now he wants to rest’

I will propose that only the Perfect of (1b) can be considered as a stativizing device. The Perfect of (1b) has a resultant state. The Perfect of (1a) has a target state (see Parsons 1990). The former does not focus on a state that takes part in the predicate subeventive structure. The latter does. Following Moreno Cabrera (2003), I will assume that states are atemporal relationships between entities. My proposal is that the Perfect of (1b) acts in a way similar to a copulative verb, i.e. marks the relation between a second order entity (an action) and the set of entities denoted by the past participle ocurrido, ‘happened’. The action denoted by Juan ya haber corrido por el parque, ‘Juan to have already run through the park’, would belong to this set as, for example, the entity denoted by Juan belongs to the set denoted by the adjective tímido, ‘shy’, in the sentence Juan es tímido, ‘Juan is shy’. Due to the Perfect, so, the time after the verbal event can be regarded as an state.

Finally, I will extend the proposal to the experiential Perfects of (2):

(2) a. Juan ya ha abierto esa puerta en alguna ocasión.
   ‘Juan has already opened that door in some occasion’

b. Juan ya ha corrido con ese tipo de zapatillas.
   ‘Juan has already ran with this kind of sneakers’

I will maintain that those Perfects mark the relation between the entity denoted by Juan and the set of entities denoted by the verbal predicates abrir la puerta, ‘to open the door’, and correr con ese tipo de zapatillas, ‘to run with this kind of sneakers’.

References:


