On the Grammaticalization of the 'have'-perfect in Slavic

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On the Grammaticalization of the 'have'-perfect in Slavic[*]

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1. Introduction

An intriguing property of the compound tenses in Slavic is the fact that they are formed with the verb 'be' as the exclusive auxiliary in all contexts, irrespective of the transitivity of the main verb. This is a rare pattern outside Slavic. For instance, in Germanic and Romance languages the verb 'be' is selected as the auxiliary only in unaccusative and passive structures. Alternatively, the verb 'have', but never the verb 'be' is the exclusive auxiliary. Moreover, in Slavic the auxiliary verb is accompanied by the so-called "*l*-participle" (cf. (1a) for Bulgarian), which unlike in Germanic and Romance, is morphologically different from the passive participle (cf. (1b)).

(1)   a.   Ivan   e   čel   knigata.
           Ivan   be_PRES.3SG   read_PART.M.SG   book-the
           'Ivan has read/been reading the book.'
      b.   Knigata   e   četana/*čela   ot   Ivan.
           book-the_F   be_PRES.3SG   read_PASS.F.SG/read_PART.F.SG   by   Ivan
           'The book is being read by Ivan.'   (Bg)

The structure in (1a) is a Slavic innovation. The *l*-participle derives from a class of so-called *-lo adjectives in Proto-Indo-European, which

signified someone's likelihood to perform a certain action or referred to a characteristic feature of the person involved (Damborský (1967: 126ff)). In Slavic these adjectives were completely verbalized and reanalyzed as participles; see Migdalski (2006) for an analysis of syntactic repercussions of this process.

This paper will not discuss structures involving the *l*-participle, but rather it will analyze a compound tense formed with the auxiliary 'have' and a form of the passive participle, henceforth termed the 'have'-perfect. This is the default compound tense in Germanic and Romance, but in Slavic it has developed only in Kashubian and Macedonian, in addition to the already existing periphrastic constructions formed with the *l*-participle. The principal property of the 'have'-perfect is that its main verb is the passive participle, which is always morphologically invariant irrespective of the gender and number specification of the subject or the object. Thus, even though the subject is masculine singular and the object is feminine singular in the Macedonian example in (2), the participle *završeno* is neuter singular.

(2)   Petar ja   ima   završeno   taa   rabota.
         Petar$_M$ it$_{CL.F.ACC}$ have$_{1PL}$ finish$_{PTP.N}$ that$_F$ work$_F$
         'Petar has finished that work.'   (Mac)

Some other Slavic languages use a non-grammaticalized type of this construction in limited contexts, which will be termed the 'stative perfect'. The main difference between these two structures is agreement in φ-features and case between the object and the participle, which obtains in the 'stative perfect'.

(3)   Mam już wszystkie ciasta   upieczone.
         have already all   cakes$_{F/N.PL.ACC}$ bake$_{PASS.F/N.PL.ACC}$
         'I have already baked all the cakes.'   (Polish)

Diachronic studies show that stative perfect was the source of the 'have'-perfect in Germanic (cf. Behaghel (1928), Hoekstra (1984), Kern (1912), Mitchell (1985), and Wischer (2004)) and Romance (cf. Salvi (1987)). In Slavic the process has not been completed, which allows us to observe its diachrony from a synchronic point of view.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses properties of the 'have'-perfect by contrasting Kashubian and Macedonian data.

Section 3 analyzes the languages in which the construction has not been grammaticalized yet and occurs as the stative perfect. Section 4 provides a syntactic account of the grammaticalization of the stative perfect into the 'have'-perfect.

2. Properties of the 'have'-perfect

The 'have'-perfect in Kashubian displays auxiliary alternation that is related to the transitivity of the participle that the auxiliary verb appears with. The auxiliary 'be' may only select unaccusative past participles, while the auxiliary 'have' is accompanied by transitive and unergative participles. The unaccusative past participles agree with the subject in gender and number, whereas the transitive participles are always marked for neuter singular. Thus, the distribution of the auxiliaries in the 'have'-perfect in Kashubian is largely the same as in Dutch and French.

(4)   a.   Ta białka   je   precz   jidzenô.
           this woman$_{F.SG}$ be$_{AUX.3.SG}$ away   go$_{PTP.F.SG}$
           'This woman has gone away.'   (Csb, Stone 2002: 777)
       b.   Jô móm   tą   białkã   bité.
           I   have$_{PRES.1SG}$ this$_F$ woman$_{ACC.F.SG}$ beaten$_{PTP.SG.N}$
           'I have beaten this woman.'   (Csb)

In Macedonian the verb 'have' is used as the auxiliary in all contexts in this construction, and the participle is always neuter singular. In this way Macedonian resembles English and Spanish, which also use 'have' as the exclusive auxiliary in the corresponding compound tenses.

(5)   a.   Gostite   imaat   dojdeno.
           guests-the   have$_{3PL}$ arrive$_{PTP.N}$
           'The guests have arrived.'   (Mac, Elliott 2001: 39)
       b.   Go   imam   skinato   moeto   novo   palto.
           him$_{CL.ACC}$ have$_{1SG}$ tear$_{PTP.N}$ my-the   new   coat
           'I have torn my new coat.'   (Mac)

The examples in (6) illustrate that the past participles in the 'have'-perfect are morphologically the same as passive participles marked for neuter singular.

(6) a. To   dziecko je   bité.
         this$_N$ child$_N$ be$_{3SG}$ beat$_{PASS.N.SG}$
         'This child is beaten.'   (Csb, Breza and Treder 1981: 134)
     b. Novoto   palto   mu   e   skinato.
         new-the$_N$ coat$_N$ him$_{CL.DAT}$ be$_{3SG}$ tear$_{PASS.SG.N}$
         'His new coat is torn.'   (Mac)

As indicated in (7), in both languages the past participles may occur in all aspectual variants.

(7) a. Nen pòjk   mô   wëpité/pité   mlékò.
         this$_M$ cat$_M$ have$_{PRES.3SG}$ drink$_{PTP.N.SG.PRF/IMPF}$ milk$_N$
         'This cat has drunk/has been drinking milk.'   (Csb)
     b. Gi   imame   pročitano/čitano   knigite.
         them$_{CL.ACC}$ have$_{1PL}$ read$_{PTP.N.SG.PRF/IMPF}$ books-the
         'We have read/been reading the books.'   (Mac)

Virtually all verbs are possible as past participles in this construction. The major exceptions are the verbs 'be' and 'have', which are accepted only by speakers of the Western dialects of Macedonian, that is in the area where the construction is reported to be the most widespread and where it was grammaticalized the earliest.

(8) a. Imam   bideno   tamu.
         have$_{PRES.1SG}$ be$_{PTP.N}$ there
         'I have been there.'
             (Radožda-Vevčani dialect of Mac, Hendriks 1976: 226)
     b. Imam   imano   vakov   fustan.
         have$_{1SG}$ have$_{PASS.N}$ such$_{M.SG}$ dress
         'I have had a dress like this one.'
             (Ohrid and Struga dialects of Mac; Tomić 2006: 342)

This option is considered ill-formed in the standard dialect, and a past tense form or a compound tense with the *l*-participle is used instead.

(9) a. Toj beše   vo Skopje.
         he   be$_{PAST.3SG}$ in Skopje
         'He was in Skopje.'

b. Toj bil   vo Skopje.
    he   be_PART.M.SG in Skopje
    'Supposedly, he was in Skopje.'

<div align="right">(Mac, Friedman 2002: 272)</div>

In both Kashubian and Macedonian the construction is disallowed with modal verbs occurring as past participles[1]. The *l*-participle (in Kashubian, cf. (10)) or a past tense verb (in Macedonian, cf. (11)) must be used to render the modal meaning instead.

(10) a_1. *Jô miôł   muszoné...
             I   have_PART.M.SG must_PTP.N.SG
      a_2. Muszelé   to zrobiec, bò   przébliżiwôł
             must_PART.N.SG it do_INF   because   approach_PART.M.SG
             sã   termin.
             REFL deadline_M.SG
             'They had to do this, because the deadline was approaching.'
      b_1. *Jô miôł   rozmioné...
             I   have_PART.M.SG can_PTP.N.SG
      b_2. Nie   rozmielé   wétłomaczéc sã   z   nygò.
             NEG can_PART.N.SG explain_INF   REFL from this
             'They couldn't explain themselves.'   (Csb)

(11) a_1. *Imam   morano/trebano   da gi   napravam
             have_1SG   must_PTP.N/must_PTP.N da them_CL.ACC do_SUBJ.1SG
             ovie   raboti.
             these work_PL
      a_2. Morav   da ja   napravam   ovaa   rabota.
             must_PAST.1SG that it_CL.F do_SUBJ.1SG this_F   work
             'I have had to do this work.'

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[1] This restriction is surprising, because unlike in English modal verbs do not have a defective paradigm in Slavic and pattern like all other verbs. See Migdalski (2006 ch. 3) for an explanation related to the degree of verbiness of participles in the stative perfect, the 'have'-perfect, and impersonal participles in Polish.

b₁. *Nemam   moženo   da   se   objasnam.
    NEG+have₁SG   canPTP.N   that   REFL   explainSUBJ.1SG
b₂. Ne   movžev   da   se   objasnam.
    NEG   canPAST.1SG   that   REFL   explainSUBJ.1SG
    'I couldn't explain myself.'   (Mac)

Assuming with Oubouzar (1974) and Breitbarth (2005) that a structure is completely grammaticalized once it has developed a full paradigm, the gaps in the 'have'-perfect paradigm indicate that this construction has been most fully grammaticalized in Slavic in the Western dialects of Macedonian (cf. (8)).

Before concluding the section let me point out that some speakers of Kashubian permit the *l*-participle as the main verb in the 'have'-perfect, which is on a par with the past participle appearing in the neuter singular variant.

(12)   Jô móm   jadłe   pomuchla.
            I   have₁SG   eatPART.N.SG   codF.SG
            'I have (already) eaten cod.'   (Csb)

The same group of Kashubian speakers also use the *l*-participle as a passive participle.

(13)   Mój czôłn   je   òsôdły   na mielëznie.
            My   ship   be₃SG   come-downPART.M.SG on   shallows
            'My ship is on shallows.'   (Csb)

This is an unusual pattern in Slavic. According to Piotrowski (1981: 13), this shows that Kashubian has lost a categorial distinction between *l*-participles and passive participles. Possibly, this has happened under the influence of German, which has the same type of participle in passive and compound tense constructions.

It is difficult to trace the origin of the 'have'-perfect in Kashubian, because the first description of its grammar comes from the late 19th century (Ceynova 1879), and there are very few literary works available. However, the evolution of this construction in Macedonian is quite well documented. The earliest example that is reminiscent of the contemporary 'have' perfect was found in a manuscript from the monastery of Krnino in 1706. The sentence contains a passive participle

that agrees in number and gender with the object clitic, so it represents the stative perfect.

(14)   Imamъ   go   aforesanъ.
         have$_{PRES.1SG}$ him$_{CL.ACC}$ excommunicate$_{PASS.M.SG}$
         'I [will] have him excommunicated.'
                                        (18th c. Mac, Koneski 1987: 201)

In the contemporary version of this sentence the participle does not agree with the object, but it occurs in the neuter singular form. Thus, the structure in (15) exemplifies a grammaticalized 'have'-perfect.

(15)   Go   imam   aforesano.
         him$_{CL.ACC}$ have$_{PRES.1SG}$ excommunicate$_{PTP.N}$
         'I have excommunicated him.'   (Mac, Elliott 2001: 39)

In Macedonian the stative perfect has been completely replaced by the 'have'-perfect. However, the stative perfect is still available in many other Slavic languages, as will be shown in section 3. Section 4 will contrast the 'have'-perfect with the stative perfect and will provide a syntactic account of its grammaticalization.

3. Properties of the stative perfect

The stative perfect has been reported in the literature to be available in Polish (cf.16a), Czech (cf.16b), Serbo-Croatian (cf.16c), and Bulgarian (cf.16d), among others.

(16) a. Mam   już   zapięte   pasy.
          have$_{1SG}$ already fasten$_{PASS.ACC.F/N.PL}$ seatbelts$_{ACC.F/N.PL}$
          'I have already fastened the seatbelts.'   (Pl)
      b. Mám   úlohu   napsanou.
          have$_{1SG}$ task$_{ACC.F.SG}$ write$_{PASS.ACC.F.SG}$
          'I have my task written.'   (Czech, Maslov 1988: 80)

   c.   On nema   položen   nijedan   ispit.
        he NEG+have$_{1SG}$ pass$_{PASS.M.SG}$ NEG+single exam$_{M.SG}$
        'He has not passed a single exam./He does not have a single
        exam passed.'[2]
        (S-C, Dimitrovski 1957: 246, quoted in Friedman 1976: 97)

   d.   Toj ima   dve nivi   izoreni.
        he   have$_{1SG}$ two field$_{PL}$ plow$_{PASS.PL}$
        'He has two fields ploughed./He has two ploughed
        fields./He has ploughed two fields.'
        (Bg, Dimitrovski 1957: 246, quoted in Friedman 1976: 97)

As was noted above, the most noticeable difference between stative perfect and 'have'-perfect is agreement between the object and the participle, which obtains only in the former type of constructions. However, the two structures differ in more respects, which will be demonstrated below by contrasting stative perfect constructions in Polish with 'have'-perfects in Macedonian. Thus, the sentence in (17a) shows that in the case of stative perfects, the agent of the action described by the participle need not be the same as the subject of the entire clause. Conversely, the subject of the 'have'-perfect clause (cf. (17b)) must be the same as the agent of the event characterized by the past participle.

(17) a.   Mamy już   zarezerwowane miejsca.
        have$_{1.PL}$ already   book$_{PASS.ACC.F/N.PL}$ seats$_{ACC.F/N.PL}$
        'We have already booked our seats.'
        'We have already had our seats booked.'   (Pl)

   b.   Gi imame   veće   rezervirano   sedistata.
        them have$_{1PL}$ already reserve$_{PRF.PTP.N.SG}$ seats-the
        'We have already booked our seats.'
        '*Someone has already booked the seats for us.'   (Mac)

The examples in (7) above illustrate that 'have'-perfects permit both perfective and imperfective variants of the main verb. By contrast, stative-perfects are possible only with perfective forms (cf. (18)).

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[2] The variations in translations are due to the authors quoted. They are not meant as a criterion for distinguishing the stative perfect from the 'have'-perfect.

(18) Mam   już   przeczytane/*czytane   dwie
      have_{1SG} already read_{PASS.F/N.ACC.PL.PRF/IMPF} two_{F/N}
      książki.
      books_{F/N.ACC}
      'I already have two books finished (i.e. read).'   (Pl)

Example (19a) shows that the one-place predicates may appear as past participles only in the 'have'-perfect. As indicated in (19b), they are excluded in the stative perfect.

(19) a. Goce Delčev ima   spieno   tuka.
          Goce Delčev have_{3SG} sleep_{PTP.N} here
          'Goce Delčev has slept here.'   (Mac, Friedman 1977: 91)
      b. *Jan   ma   już   tutaj   spane.
          Jan   have_{3SG} already here   sleep_{PASS.N.SG}   (Pl)

Correspondingly, only 'have'-perfects may be modified by adverbs (cf. 20).

(20) a. Imam   često   pieno   mleko.
          have_{1SG} often   drink_{PTP.N} milk
          'I have often drunk milk.'   (Mac)
      b. *Mam   często   wypite   mleko.
          have_{1SG} often   drink_{PASS.N.SG.PRF} milk_{N.SG}   (Pl)

The stative perfect also imposes semantic restrictions on the subject. The example in (21a) shows that the subject may not be inanimate in this construction. By contrast, the 'have'-perfect permits inanimate subjects (cf. (21b)).

(21) a. *Statek   ma   uderzone w   skały.
          ship   have_{3SG} hit_{F/N.PL} in rocks
          'The ship hit rocks.'   (Pl)
      b. Brodot   se   ima   udreno   vo karpite.
          ship-the REFL   have_{3SG} hit_{PTP.N} in rocks
          'The ship hit rocks.'   (Mac)

Moreover, even though the stative perfect contains the verb 'have', it need not express the meaning of possession, as demonstrated by the data

in (22). The events of selling apples and losing umbrellas imply that the agent does not possess these objects any more, which shows that the semantics of the verb 'have' is bleached in this structure.

(22) a. Mam   wszystkie jabłka   sprzedane.
          have$_{1SG}$ all   apples$_{F/N.PL}$ sell$_{PASS.F/N.PL}$
          'All my apples have been sold.'   (Pl)
      b. Tazi godina imam   zagubeni   pet   čadăra.
          this year   have$_{1SG}$ lose$_{PASS.PL}$ five   umbrellas
          'This year I have lost five umbrellas.'
                                              (Bg, Lindstedt 1994: 41)

It has also been observed that some grammatical properties of the stative perfect indicate that it is slowly being reanalyzed as the 'have'-perfect. For instance, Pisarkowa (1984: 58) notices that the passive participle in the stative perfect does not need to agree with its complement if this complement is deleted. Consider the dialogue in (23), with both variants of the answers equally acceptable.

(23) A   Słodził-eś   herbatę?
          sweeten$_{PART.M.SG}$+$_{AUX.2SG}$ tea$_{ACC}$
          'Have you put sugar in your tea?'
      B` Mam   już   posłodzo**ną**   (herbatę).
          have$_{1SG}$ already sweeten$_{PASS.ACC.F.SG}$ tea$_{ACC.F.SG}$
      B`` Mam   już   posłodzo**ne**   (*herbatę).
          have$_{1SG}$ already sweeten$_{PASS.ACC.N.SG}$ tea$_{ACC.F.SG}$ (Pl)

In the answer in (23B`), the passive participle agrees with the elided object in case and φ-features. In (23B``), the participle occurs in the default neuter singular form. An overt realization of the object *herbatę* results in agreement mismatch and hence is ungrammatical.

4. Towards an analysis

I will begin the analysis of the stative perfect by establishing a syntactic relation between the direct object and the passive participle. The two elements agree in φ-features, and the participle shows adjectival morphology. However, this does not mean that the participle is an adjectival modifier of the direct object. This can be demonstrated using a

test proposed by Salvi (1987), which consists in pronominalization of the direct object. As shown in (24), when the direct object is pronominalized, the passive participle remains overt.

(24) a. Mam   już   wszystkie ciasta   upieczone.
           have_{1SG} already all $\text{cakes}_{\text{F/N.PL}}$ $\text{bake}_{\text{PASS.F/N.PL}}$
           'I have already baked all the cakes.'

      b. Mam   już   je   wszystkie upieczone.
           have_{1SG} already $\text{them}_{\text{F/N}}$ all $\text{bake}_{\text{PASS.F/N.PL}}$
           'I have baked all of them already.'   (Pl)

Conversely, when a noun is (pre-)modified by an adjective, pronominalization affects both the noun and the adjective.

(25) a. Mam   wiele   ciekawych   książek.
           have_{1SG} $\text{many}_{\text{GEN.F/N.PL}}$ $\text{interesting}_{\text{GEN.F/N.PL}}$ $\text{books}_{\text{GEN.F/N.PL}}$
           'I have a lot of interesting books.'

      b. Mam   ich   wiele   (*ciekawych).
           have_{1SG} $\text{them}_{\text{GEN.F/N.PL}}$ $\text{many}_{\text{GEN.F/N.PL}}$ $\text{interesting}_{\text{GEN.F/N.PL}}$
           'I have many of them.'   (Pl)

The contrast shows that the passive participle is not an adjectival modifier of the direct object in (24). I will assume that the two constituents form a Small Clause, and that the stative perfect in (26a) has the structure as in (26b).

(26) a. Mam   pasy   zapięte.
           have_{1SG} $\text{seatbelts}_{\text{ACC.F/N.PL}}$ $\text{fasten}_{\text{PASS.ACC.F/N.PL}}$
           'I have fastened the seatbelts.'

      b. [$_{\text{VP}}$ [$_{\text{V}}$ mam [$_{\text{(SC)AP}}$ [$_{\text{NP}}$ pasy [$_{\text{A}}$ zapięte]]]]]   (Pl)

The subject of the Small Clause *pasy* 'seatbelts' is in the predicate relationship with the adjectival passive participle *zapięte* 'fastened'. The fact that the two elements form a Small Clause is overtly manifested through agreement on the participle.

    It is generally assumed in the analyses of the grammaticalization of 'have'-perfects in Germanic (cf. Hoekstra (1986)) and Romance (cf. Salvi (1987)) that the process consists in reduction of the Small Clause selected by the verb 'have' in the stative perfect. I propose that this

happens when the adjectival passive participle is reinterpreted as a verbal category. In syntactic terms this means that the passive participle is no longer the head of the Small Clause, but is reanalyzed as the head of the PartP, which takes the former subject of the Small Clause as a complement. This eliminates the Small Clause configuration, which results in the lack of agreement between the participle and the object. As an illustration, a template representing the 'have'-perfect in (27a) is given in (27b).

(27)   a.   (Jas) imam   kupeno   knigi.
             I   have$_{1SG}$ buy$_{PTP.N.SG}$ books$_{F.PL}$
             'I have bought the books.'
      b.   [$_{vP}$ jas [$_{VP}$ imam [$_{PartP}$ kupeno [$_{DP}$ knigite]]]]   (Mac)

Hoekstra (1984, 1986) proposes a test which can be used as a criterion for the emergence of the 'have'-perfect. He points out that a Small Clause may not consist solely of a predicate, and this is why the English examples in (28) are ungrammatical.

(28)   a.   *I want laughed.
      b.   I want *(it) off my list.

This property might be used as a criterion for the grammaticalization of the 'have'-perfect, which is completed only once one-place predicates may complement the verb 'have'. This is a condition for the verb 'have' to function as an auxiliary, and it explains why 'have' may be complemented by the one-place predicate 'sleep' in the 'have'-perfect in (19a), but not in the stative perfect in (19b), repeated as (29a and b) below.

(29)   a.   Goce Delčev   ima   spieno   tuka.
             Goce   Delčev   have$_{PRES.3SG}$ sleep$_{PTP.N}$ here
             'Goce Delčev has slept here.'   (Mac, Friedman 1977: 91)
      b. *Jan ma   już   tutaj   spane.
           Jan   have$_{1SG}$ already here   sleep$_{PASS.N.SG}$ (Pl)

One of the intriguing properties of the stative perfect that still needs to be accounted for is the prerequisite that all the participles must appear in the perfective form in this construction (cf. (18) for Polish; repeated as (30)

below). I would like to explain this requirement by referring to Embick's (2004) analysis of passive participles.[3]

(30)   Mam   już   przeczytane/*czytane   dwie książki.
         have$_{1SG}$ already read$_{PASS.F/N.ACC.PL.PRF/IMPF}$ two   books$_{F/N.ACC}$
         'I have already finished reading two books.'   (Pl)

Embick (2004: 361ff) suggests that adjectival passive participles differ from verbal passive participles in a structural way.[4] The root of the verbal passive participle is dominated by v, a verbalizing head, which in turn is dominated by an Asp[ect] projection. Adjectival passive participles lack the v projection above them, so they attach directly to Asp in the course of derivation.

(31)   a.   Verbal passives

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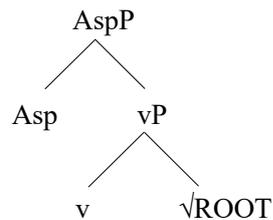
[3] The audience at the FASL-15 conference have pointed out to me that the stative perfect may permit imperfective passives as participles, but a special interpretation is then required: the agent of the event described by the participle may not be the same as the agent of the entire clause. Thus, the sentence in (30) is acceptable with the imperfective form *czytane* under the interpretation 'Somebody is reading two books to me'. This fact implies that the proposal developed below requires some modification, but I leave this for future research.

[4] I am slightly simplifying Embick's analysis here, because he proposes a ternary distinction of participles. Namely, he examines the traditional division of passive participles in English into "verbal" and "adjectival" ones (cf. Wasow (1977); Levin and Rappaport (1986)), employs the term "eventive passive" for the former group and proposes a distinction between "stative" and "resultative" in the latter.

b.   Adjectival passives

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              AspP
             /\
            /  \
         Asp    √ROOT
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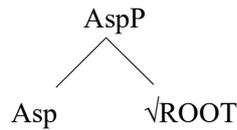
I assume that the Asp head hosts perfective prefixes.[5] Since adjectival passives are not dominated by the v-head, they must directly attach to Asp in the course of the derivation. This is why only perfective forms of participles are possible in the stative perfects in Slavic. Given that the (verbal) past participles in 'have'-perfects are not immediately dominated by the Asp head, they may appear in both perfective and imperfective variants.

Verbal passives are dominated by v, which is a verbalizing head that encodes eventivity and agentivity. One of the consequences of the presence of v is the possibility of adverbial modification, which is compatible with eventive, but not with stative readings.

(32)   a.   The package remained carefully opened.
       b.   *The package remained carefully open.

(33)   a.   The carefully opened package.
       b.   *The carefully open package.
                             (Embick 2004: 357; cf. also Kratzer 1994)

Correspondingly, since the adjectival passives in the stative perfect constructions lack the verbalizing v head above their roots, they never allow any adverbial modification (cf. (20a), repeated below as (34b), which is contrasted with the 'have'-perfect in (34a)).

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[5] The assumption follows from the commonly accepted idea that imperfective aspect is semantically the default (unmarked) form in Slavic. For instance, perfective aspect requires an aspectual prefix, whereas imperfective aspect does not. In contrast to perfective aspect, imperfective aspect has underspecified semantics, which may be pragmatically modified, and it may express a wider variety of meanings, such as habituality (cf. Klimek 2005).

(34)   a.   Imam   často   pieno   mleko.
             have$_{1SG}$ often   drink$_{PTP.N}$ milk
             'I have often drunk milk.'   (Mac)
      b.   *Mam   często   pite   mleko.
             have$_{1SG}$ often   drink$_{PASS.N.SG}$ milk$_{N.SG}$ (Pl)

5. Conclusons

To summarize, this paper has investigated the grammaticalization of 'have'-perfects in the Slavic languages. The analysis has been carried out by contrasting the 'have'-perfect in Kashubian and Macedonian with the stative perfect that occurs in some other Slavic languages. It has been shown that the process involves elimination of the Small Clause selected by the verb 'have' in the stative perfect. The passive participle becomes verbalized, which means that it is no longer the complement of the empty head of the Small Clause, but instead it starts to occupy this position, which is reinterpreted as V^0.

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