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Título: ON THE PHENOMENON OF HAVE-CLITICIZATION AND ITS ACQUISITION

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1. ABSTRACT

This paper is concerned with the acquisition of the linguistic phenomenon of *have*-cliticization by Spanish speakers, for whom English is their second language (ESL speakers). This phenomenon constitutes a poverty-of-stimulus situation (POS), since acquisition occurs despite the insufficient linguistic data available to native and ESL speakers. In order to collect data about the acquisition of the phenomenon by ELS speakers, a survey consisting of utterances containing the relevant structures was prepared, and a grammaticality judgment was elicited from both native speakers of English (as a control group) and ESL speakers. The data collected are examined in order to determine if acquisition of the feature occurs, and if so, to detect the precise stage of the learning process. Then, I try to explain the results on the basis of a syntactic and prosodic analysis. By looking at both the syntactic and phonological-prosodic analyses of the relevant utterances, I attempt to ascertain what the constraints for *have*-cliticization are, and in doing so, I aim at determining what information UG must provide in order to facilitate the acquisition of this linguistic phenomenon.
Key words: *have*-cliticization, Poverty-of-Stimulus, Acquisition, Clitic, ESL.

2. INTRODUCTION

The main goal of this paper is to assess if acquisition of *have*-cliticization takes place for L2 speakers of English and to determine at what stage of the learning process it happens. In order to achieve this goal, I began by studying the syntactic and the prosodic constraints that limit the occurrence of the phenomenon. In section 3.2, I discuss the syntax of several utterances that are relevant for this work, namely, bare infinitive clauses (section 3.2.1), coordinated finite clauses with gapped T where *have* is AUX (section 3.2.2), interrogative clauses with perfect auxiliary *have* (section 3.2.3). In section 3.3, I delineate the bases for the prosodic analysis. Once the phenomenon was understood at its syntactic and prosodic level, I proceeded to explain my goals and preliminary hypothesis in section 4. Another fundamental goal of this work is to assess the consistency in performance of native speakers of English with regards to the aforementioned constructions. In section 4.3, I introduced a very interesting topic, which is the apparent cliticization of *have* onto some modal verbs.

Taking into consideration all the observations gathered from the formal study of the phenomenon, I created a survey consisting of utterances containing instances of clitic '*ve*

(see section 4.4 and Appendix I) which I presented to both English native speakers and learners. The results are discussed in section 5, and in section 6, I provide the syntactic and prosodic analysis of the utterances in question with the aim of providing formal evidence for the results of the survey. My conclusions are finally exposed in section 7.

Ultimately, the paper serves the purpose of proving that both syntax and prosody are responsible for the limitation of occurrence of *have*-cliticization, showing that both levels act in accordance with each other.

3. PRELIMINARY FRAMEWORK FOR THE STUDY AND THEORETICAL ASPECTS

3.1 The Poverty-of-Stimulus issue and UG

The poverty-of-stimulus (POS) issues are situations in which evidence from L1 acquisition in children prove that language is acquired despite the lack of enough linguistic data available to them. The outcome of the acquisition process is greatly undetermined by the primary linguistic data, which does not normally include negative data (that is, explicit examples of what cannot occur in the language). In Berwick, Chomsky and Piatelli-Palmarini's words "only human infants (…) develop capacities to use language that far exceed any data presented to them" (2015:19). Consequently, since external data are not sufficient, the acquisition of a mature adult language means there must be some internal information that help children develop the grammar of the language they are exposed to. This internal innate information is constituted by the UG, which provides a set of linguistic principles that children will use as a blueprint onto which they will map the parameters particular to the language they are exposed to. These concepts are borrowed from Chomsky, who deals with the nature of UG, as well as with principles and parameters in the first chapter of his *Lectures on Government and Binding* (1981).

I consider the linguistic phenomenon of *have*-cliticization to be an example of a POS situation, since it is explained by a set of constraints that are not directly available to children acquiring their L1. Furthermore, I will be comparing the performance of native speakers to that of English learners of different levels of linguistic competence. These learners are native speakers of Spanish, a language where cliticization of auxiliary verbs is

not possible, and consequently, L1 interference is not expected. At the end of this process, I hope to find if acquisition of this phenomenon occurs in L2 speakers of English and, and if so, at which level of competence it takes place.

3.2 *Have*-cliticization at a syntactic level

Let us begin by discussing the contexts relevant to the phenomenon of *have*-cliticization. Andrew Radford (2009:88) limits the occurrence of *have*-cliticization in the following assumption:

"*Have* can encliticize onto a word ending in a vowel or diphthong provided that:

(i) That word c-commands[1] *have* and

(ii) That word is immediately adjacent to *have*."

I am going to explore the acquisition of this phenomenon by looking precisely at those contexts where *have*-cliticization is blocked because there is a constituent between *have* and the previous overt word, namely an empty category (a constituent with a null spellout in surface structure). Baker (1971:174) states that cliticization is blocked when the auxiliary is placed immediately after an empty category or deletion site, an argument that proves to be in accordance with Radford's adjacency condition.

The constructions which I have chosen, show one of the following operations involving the head T: Tense-to-Complementizer movement (which leaves a null counterpart of T in T position and blocks cliticization), an inherent null T constituent, and gapped T constituents. Let us look at these several constructions in turn.

3.2.1 Bare infinitive clauses[2]

[1] C-command is a structural relation between constituents which Radford (2009:59) defines in the following terms: "A constituent X c-commands its sister constituent Y and any constituent Z which is contained within Y". Sister constituents are those which "are directly merged with each other at some stage of derivation" (2009:404).

[2] These structures were discussed by Radford (2009:88-105). My interest on *have*-cliticization was sparked by his work, where *have*-cliticization served to support his syntactic analyses. Therefore, this section is much indebted to his work. It has served as a starting point for my paper.

These are constructions with verbs such as *bid*, *let*, *make*, *see*, *hear*, *dare*, etc., which do not allow the full infinitive form in their complement clause.

(1) Please, let me go to the concert!

(2) You made the baby cry with your silly faces.

(3) I saw him grab the money and put it in his pocket.

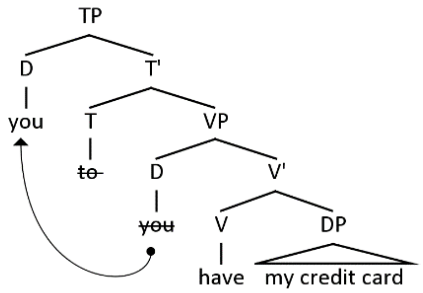
I follow Radford's analysis in his argument for the inherent null T constituent (a silent counterpart of *to*, which merges directly with a null spellout and therefore it is not the result of a copy-deletion process) because I will argue that, precisely, at the syntactic level, this Null T blocks *have*-cliticization in the following examples:

(4) If you really need it, I can let *[you've my credit card.]

(5) Your nutritionist won't let *[you've all the food you want.]

Although these bare infinitive complement clauses seem to lack the infinitival *to*[3], the impossibility of cliticization shows that it somehow is present in the structure of the construction. Analyzing the syntax of the complement clause (shown in square brackets) in (4) we will obtain (6) below:

(6)



As Radford argues, bare infinitive clauses are TPs headed by a Null T constituent. Under this analysis, *you* c-commands *have*, but they are not immediately adjacent since there are silent constituents intervening. Therefore, condition (ii) for *have*-cliticization is not met.

[3] Notice that bare infinitive complement clauses do show an overt *to* in passivized structures:

(1) The thieves made me open the safe.

(2) I was made to open the safe.

3.2.2 Coordinated finite clauses with gapped T, where "have" is AUX

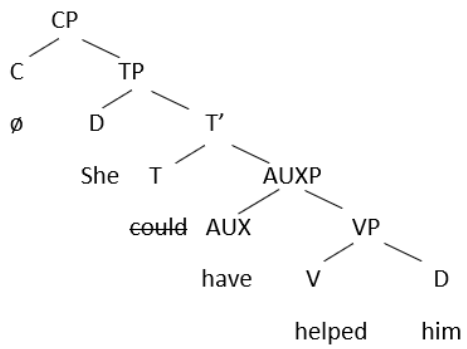
In the following coordinated sentences, we have two finite clauses which contain a TP headed by the tensed auxiliary *could* and its null counterpart ~~*could*~~. Consider the following example (7) borrowed from Radford (2009:86).

(7) He could have helped, or [she have helped him].

In the bracketed clause, T has undergone a certain type of head ellipsis called gapping, which is defined by Radford (2009:87) as "a grammatical operation which allows the head of a phrase to be given a null spellout when the same item occurs elsewhere within the sentence, and is so called because it leaves an apparent gap in the phrase where the head would otherwise have been". Hankamer (1979:20) argues that gapping takes place in structures directly conjoined with each other by coordination when the structures of both conjoints are parallel[4]. Furthermore, Hankamer argues that the gapped constituent must be identical to another constituent placed in the conjoint to the left, and that the deletion happens in the constituent placed in the conjoint to the right (1979:25). These constraints were considered when formulating items – utterances to be assessed by the informants – for my survey.

Though gapping results in a null spellout in the PF, the deleted constituent leaves a null copy of itself, thus the second conjoint in (7) is analyzed in illustration (8) below:

(8)



It is then predictable that *have*-cliticization is not permitted in this context, since null ~~*could*~~ is intervening. AUX and Spec-T are not immediately adjacent, rendering (9) ungrammatical:

[4] Hankamer (1979:26) notices that "the deleted constituent must also be embedded in a structure identical to the structure in which its antecedent is embedded". He proceeds to explain that "the notion structurally identical includes both identical tree structure and identical node labels".

(9) *He could have helped her, or she've helped him.[6]

3.2.3 Interrogative clauses with perfect auxiliary "have".

In this type of structures in particular, we find head movement from T to C. In questions, the null complementizer is a strong head in the sense that it has the ability to attract a (tensed) constituent, therefore, triggering T-to-C movement and deleting the original copy of T afterwards.

(10) The president should have thought twice before making that speech.

(11) You could have won if you had tried.

The interrogative counterparts for (10) and (11) would be:

(12) Should the president have thought twice before making that speech?

(13) Could you have won if you had tried?

Radford proposes that "yes-no questions are CPs with an interrogative specifier (…) a null yes-no question particle which is directly generated in spec-C" (2009:163). This null particle can be identified with a null counterpart of *whether*[5]. When all these considerations are taken into account, (13) results in the derivation (14) below:

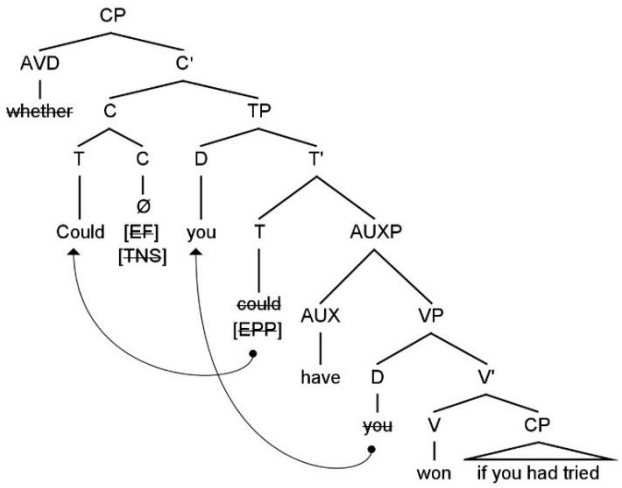
[6] In the survey, examples with pronominal subjects he/she will were not used to avoid a clue for ungrammaticality for different reasons. Participants, in particular the group of intermediate-stage learners, may be misled by the apparent lack of agreement between *she* and *have* in structures like (6) above and assume that the correct verb form would be *has* in any case, failing then to detect the gapping of T.

[7] *Whether* surfaces when the yes-no question is rephrased into an indirect question.

(1) Can you help me?

(2) She wanted to know whether I could help her.

(14)



As previous examples have shown, *have*-cliticization is not allowed since the immediate adjacency condition is not met, rendering the following examples ungrammatical:

(15) *Could you've won if you had tried?

(16) * Would I've been able to stop the president in time if I were her bodyguard?

(17) * Will we've finished this article before release time?

3.3 The framework for the prosodic analysis

I will follow Anderson (2008:1) in the analysis of reduced auxiliaries as simple clitics[6]. What follows from this assumption is that reduced auxiliaries must be understood as lexical variants, (lexical items in the lexicon that constitute alternatives for the full forms of the auxiliaries[7]) that do not have the prosodic properties needed to stand on their own as full words at the phonological level. For instance, the reduced auxiliary '*ve* is made up of a single consonant sound /*v*/, lacking the obligatory syllabic nucleus (usually a vowel) needed to form a complete syllable. Wescoat (2005:1) calls these reduced auxiliaries "nonsyllabic auxiliary contractions". The implication of this analysis is that in order to give phonological representation to these elements, PF must attach these phonologically deficient forms to a host (on the left), and in this sense, we can say they are affixal in nature. Although, we can

[6] It is also worth mentioning Zwicky's (1977:5) definition of simple clitics as "cases where free morpheme, when unaccented, may be phonologically reduced, the resultant from being phonologically subordinated to a neighbouring word". Later, Zwicky and Pullum (1983:503) rephrase the definition of simple clitics as "optional variants of full forms [than can] occur in the same positions in sentences as the corresponding full forms. Consequently, a major condition on the combinability of a word with one of these clitics is the ability of that word to occur with the appropriate full form in syntactic structures".

[7] Anderson (4) agrees with such conclusion, originally proposed by Kaisse (1985).

choose from the lexicon either the full form or the reduced nonsyllabic form, the latter will invariably be attached to the host on the left. In this situation Wescoat (2005:7) proposes "to treat cliticization as an instance of (…) lexical sharing, in which two or more syntactic atoms share a single word as their lexical exponent. In this context, an exponent is the phonetic and graphic representation of a syntactic element.

For the analysis of negative construction in the utterances I have chosen to follow Zwicky and Pullum's (1983:506) view of negative contracted verbs as syntactic units.

(18) Will you not marry me?

(19) Won't you marry me?[8]

In example (18) *will* and *not* are two distinct syntactic constituents with their own lexical exponent. Therefore, when *will* in T is attracted to C to form an interrogative clause, *not,* however must remain in Spec-NEGP since the EF in C is satisfied with the tensed host in T. On the other hand, in (19), *won't* does move as a single syntactic unit to C. In this case, it can be assumed that the full contracted form *won't* is a lexical variant alternative to *will not,* which is taken from the lexicon and merged in T just as it is. Under this assumption, there is no movement from Spec-NEGP. I will analyze prosodically the NEGP as containing null constituents only. Compare the prosodic analyses of (18) and (20), illustrated in (21) and (22):

(21)

CP:PPhrase	TP:PPhrase	NEGP:PPhrase	VP:PPhrase
Will ø	*you ~~will~~*	*not ø*	*~~you~~ marry me?*

(22)

CP:PPhrase	TP:Pphrase	NEGP9	VP:PPhrase
Won't ø	*you ~~won't~~*	*ø ø*	*~~you~~ marry me?*

For Anderson, auxiliary reduction is not a matter a syntactic adjunction, it is a matter of phonological readjustment. I aim to show, that although Anderson's assumption seems to

[8] The following are the constraints described by Zwicky and Pullum (1983:4):
"E. Syntactic rules can affect affixed words but cannot affect clitic rules.
F. Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot."
[9] Maximal projections containing null content are not mapped onto PPhrases.

be the case indeed, an analysis of the syntax of these utterances proves that both the syntactic and the prosodic level seem to be in accordance with each other.

Before delving deeper into the prosodic analysis, let us remember the foundations of prosodic structure. The hierarchy of independent prosodic units is the syllable, the foot, the prosodic word, the phonological phrase, the intonation unit, and the utterance. Let us bear in mind too that, unlike syntactic structure, prosodic structure is nonrecursive, that is, a PPhrase cannot contain another PPhrase, it must be made up of constituents lower in the hierarchy. As mentioned above, our clitic '*ve* /v/, lacks a syllabic nucleus required to form a syllable, so it is phonologically dependent. By means of Stray Adjunction[10], a phonological adjustment will take place, and /v/ will be attached to the host on the left. (23) offers an illustration of the process of Stray Adjunction in a simple example.

(23) They've won.

CP	TP:PPhrase		VP:PPhrase
Ø	PWord		PWord
	σ		σ
	/ðeɪv/	~~/v/~~	/wʌn/

For this phonological readjustment – the attachment of a phonologically deficient clitic form – Anderson provides an analysis based on the correspondence of maximal projections with phonological phrases (PPhrases). He explains that "when the reduced auxiliary is adjoined to the word on its left, it ceases to be a part of its original PPhrase, since it becomes a part of a syllable that is in turn part of a PWord that is part of a different PPhrase" (2008:11). This phonological readjustment can occur across PPhrase boundaries. However, it can never subtract all the overt content of a PPhrase in the process, leaving that PPhrase empty of all phonetic content. Anderson states that "phonetically empty PPhrases are disallowed" in that they suppose a "violation of the fundamental principle of prosodic structure to the effect that a PPhrase has to be supported by at least one PWord" (2008:11). For syntactic projections with null content, prosody simply does not project a PPhrase.

[10] Hayes (1980:121) describes Stray Adjunction as "a universal convention rather than a phonological rule". By means of Stray Adjunction a "stray rime is adjoined as a weak member of an adjacent foot".

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND PRELIMINARY HYPOTHESES

4.1 L1 acquisition of *have*-cliticization

One of the goals of this research is to assess whether English native speakers (henceforth ENS) show a consistent performance when producing grammaticality judgments about the items presented in the survey, thus indicating the acquisition of the phenomenon. Although I expect a certain degree of variation on the answers, I assume the results of the survey will show sufficient consistency to prove that acquisition of *'ve* did indeed take place at some point in the L1 acquisition process.

4.2 L2 acquisition of *have*-cliticization

The main goal of this work is to evaluate whether English learners acquire the use of the phenomenon of *have*-cliticization and if so, in what stage. In order to find answers for such questions I will compare the performance of the English learners from the different levels of competence and eventually, I will compare the learners' performance to that of the control group of ENS.

From my teaching experience I gather that learners will require a high level of competence in English to exhibit a behavior similar to that of the ENS group. I assume that performance will start to appear significantly similar at C1 level and that at C2 level it will have become native-like. These assumptions are based on the fact that, although learners are aware of the contracted form *'ve,* the phenomenon of *have*-cliticization and the environments where it is possible or barred are not explicitly taught in language schools, so I do not expect learners-informants to have been exposed to negative data prior to this research.

4.3 Apparent cliticization of *have* onto modal verbs, such as *could've*, *should've*, *would've*, *may've* and *might've*

It has come to my attention during the elaboration of this paper that utterances such as (24), (25) and (26) below are perfectly grammatical and frequent in the English language. *Have*-cliticization in these utterances means a violation of Radford's constraint, i.e., the host

word must end in a vowel sound; as well as a violation of Anderson's "empty PPhrase constraint" because cliticization would leave AUXP:PPhrase empty.

(24) A: You could've let me know you weren't coming!

(25) B: I should've told you before, sorry for standing you up.

(26) A: I would've killed you if I had found you.

We could analyze the reduced auxiliary not as the lexical nonsyllabic variant that undergoes cliticization but as a full form variant that has undergone phonological reduction at the most superficial level of PF. Under this analysis, Spec-Aux '*ve* does not move and attach to T, nor does the reduced form attach to the previous TP:PPhrase in a prosodic analysis. An evidence for this analysis is that in pronunciation we do not find this nonsyllabic reduced auxiliary /v/, but /əv/ or a syllabic /ṿ/[11]. In either case, the auxiliary is realized phonetically in a different syllable and PPhrase. These realizations, namely /əv/ or /ṿ/, would constitute a syllable, the minimum necessary to constitute a foot and, hence, a PWord. Anderson states that "a PPhrase has to be supported by at least a PWord" (2008:11). Under this analysis, we can consider that either /əv/ or /ṿ/ remains as the realization of the AUXP:PPhrase.

(27) She could've come. */kʊdv/, / kʊd.əv/, /kʊr.əv/, / kʊr. ṿ/

(28) I should've known better. */ ʃʊdv /, /ʃʊr.ṿ/, /ʃʊr. əv/

4.4 Survey and informants

For the collection of data, I have used an anonymous survey with a set of utterances relevant to the aspects under study. In the survey, participants were asked to produce a grammaticality judgment for each of these utterances. A Likert scale was used for this purpose. The values presented to the informants were, *absolutely natural*, *natural*, *I'm not sure*, *unnatural* and *completely unnatural*. In addition to the responses to the utterances, I also gathered personal information to serve as a background for each of the speakers.

[11] Wescoat (2005:3) notices the difference between the nonsyllabic auxiliary contraction, in example (5a) and the phonological reduced variant in example (5b).
"(5) a. They've gone. /ðeɪv/
(5) b. They may've gone. */meɪv/, /meɪ.əv/"

Before launching the survey, a pilot survey was conducted with a former student with a B1 level according to the CEFR. When asked what she thought she was being tested on, she was not able to pinpoint anything in particular but mentioned that in some utterances, "contractions" did not sound alright to her. In order to prevent the informants from noticing the *have*-cliticization, distractors containing other contracted auxiliary verbs were introduced.

4.4.1 Background information collected

a. **Native language**. Most informants were either Spanish speakers or English speakers, although there were some participants whose native language was Chinese, Catalan and Indonesian. When analyzing these informants' performance, I was not able to find a significant difference with the Spanish-speaking group. On the other hand, English native speakers' responses were used as the control group to measure acquisition in L2 English speakers.
b. **Age range**. It would be interesting to observe the responses of children native speakers of English in comparison to those of adult speakers to gather data about L1 acquisition regarding *have*-cliticization. This was not possible in this study however, since only adult speakers participated.
c. **English competence level and certification**. Since I am trying to define at what level of competence an English learner acquires the feature of *have*-cliticization, it was considered essential to include information about the level of competence of learners. The CEFR was used for this matter. Moreover, a large number of participants have had their level of competence certified via Cambridge, Trinity, or IELTS assessment procedures, which contributes to the accuracy of the classification of learners into competence groups, namely C2, C1, B2, and B1. A small sample of A2 learners have been excluded from the study because I considered the language items in the survey far above the skills of these speakers, a fact that would lead to unreliable responses. Besides, the sample consisted of a total of 4 informants, a sample too limited to be able to render significant values.

   In conclusion, the groups were formed in this manner:

   ENS: English native speakers who make up the control group. Total informants: 16.

   C2: English learners whose level of proficiency is C2. Total informants: 16.

C1: English learners whose level of proficiency is C1. Total informants: 35.

B2: English learners whose level of proficiency is B2. Total informants: 13.

B1[12]: English learners whose level of proficiency is B2. Total informants: 13.

4. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

5.1 Bare infinitive complement clauses: Items (1) and (6)

5.1.1 Item (1)

The table shows the different groups of speakers on the vertical axis and the values of the Likert scale on the horizontal axis, where 1 stands for *Absolutely natural,* and 5 for *completely unnatural*. The results are shown in two ways, the first number indicates the number of responses given by that group for that value, and the second figure shows the percentage these responses mean. For example, out of the sixteen ENS informants, only one gave a value of one (*absolutely natural*) to Item (1). This totals a 6.25% of the responses. The second part of the table shows a classification of these responses into positive and negative values. I understand that values 1 and 2 (*absolutely natural* and *natural*) are a positive judgement on the part of the informant, while values 4 and 5 (*unnatural* and *completely unnatural*) are a negative judgment on the part of the speaker. Therefore, it can be said that Item (1) was considered unacceptable by roughly 93% of the ENS informants.

[12] Items include the grammatical concepts of bare infinitives, future perfect, and perfect modals. B1 learners should (at least) be familiar with these grammatical areas.

ITEM 1	1	2	3	4	5
ENS	1 (6.25%)[13]	0	0	14 (87.5%)	1 (6.25%)
C2	1 (6.25%)	0	3 (18.75%)	10 (62.5%)	2 (12.5%)
C1	2 (5.71%)	11 (31.43%)	6 (17.15%)	11 (31.43%)	5 (14.29%)
B2	0	6 (46.15%)	1 (7.69%)	5 (38.46%)	1 (7.69%)
B1	0	7 (53.85%)	1 (7.69%)	5 (38.46%)	0
	POSITIVE VALUES[14]			**NEGATIVE VALUES[15]**	
ENS	1 (6.25%)			15 (93.75%)	
C2	1 (6.25%)			12 (75%)	
C1	13 (37.14%)			16 (45.72)	
B2	6 (46.15%)			6 (46.15%)	
B1	7 (53.85%)			5 (38.46%)	

The analysis of results shows that this utterance is perceived as unacceptable by the vast majority of English native speakers in the control group[16]. The closest in performance is the C2-level English learners. It is very interesting to notice how the perception of the utterance as unnatural decreases as we move from the C2 group down through the other levels of competence, until we reach a point where informants seem to be divided in their opinions at level B1.

5.1.2 Item (6)

ITEM 6	1	2	3	4	5
ENS	0	0	2 (12.5%)	4 (25%)	10 (62.5%)
C2	0	2 (12.5%)	1 (6.25%)	10 (62.5%)	3 (18.75%)
C1	5 (14.29%)	9 (25.71%)	4 (11.43%)	13 (37.14%)	4 (11.43%)
B2	1 (7.69%)	2 (15.38%)	1 (7.69%)	6 (46.15%)	3 (23.08%)
B1	1 (7.69%)	5 (38.46%)	3 (23.08%)	4 (30.77%)	0
	POSITIVE VALUES			**NEGATIVE VALUES**	
ENS	0			14 (87.5%)	
C2	2 (12.5%)			13 (81.25%)	
C1	14 (40%)			17 (48.57%)	
B2	3 (23.08%)			9 (69.23%)	
B1	6 (46.15%)			4 (30.77%)	

[13] The table shows the number of responses for each value and the percentage they represent within the total responses for that group. For example, 16 responses in the ENS group represent 100% of the responses.
[14] The sum of the individual values "absolutely natural" and "natural", which are considered to be a positive judgment.
[15] The sum of the individual values "unnatural" and "completely unnatural", which are considered a negative judgement.
[16] The informant who marked the utterance as AN is an Irish speaker, so she may have fewer restrictions on the contractions of *have*. The rest of the informants are either English or American, so the paper works mainly with these varieties of English. Both varieties show similar behaviour regarding the process of *have*-cliticization.

There were no speakers in the control group that marked the utterance as natural. C2-level learners have a similarly negative perception about the utterance and once more, this negative perception weakens in the groups with a lower level of competence.

The implication of these observations seems to be that acquisition of *have*-cliticization in the context of bare infinitive complement clauses does indeed take place, but at the highest level of L2 competence. These data seem to be in accordance with my preliminary hypothesis about the acquisition of the phenomenon.

5.2 Coordinated finite clauses with gapped T, where have is AUX: Items (3), (9), (15)

5.2.1 Item (3)

It is interesting to notice how the opinion is divided among the participants of the control group. There is a high percentage of uncertain answers as well, which leads me to think that the formulation of the sentence in the survey must have appeared ambiguous to the informants. As for L2 speakers, the pattern of the previous cases is attested again. The higher-competence learners seem to perceive the utterance as ungrammatical with a higher frequency than the lower-competence learners.

ITEM 3	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
ENS	2 (12.5%)	3 (18.75%)	5 (31.25%)	3 (18.75%)	3 (18.75%)
C2	1 (6.25%)	3 (18.75%)	4 (25%)	8 (50%)	0
C1	2 (5.71%)	11 (31.43%)	11 (31.43%)	10 (28.57%)	1 (2.86%)
B2	1 (7.69%)	4 (30.77%)	5 (38.46%)	3 (23.08%)	0
B1	2 (15.28%)	3 (23.08%)	5 (38.46%)	2 (15.28%)	1 (7.69%)
	POSITIVE VALUES			**NEGATIVE VALUES**	
ENS	5 (31.25%)			6 (37.5%)	
C2	4 (25%)			8 (50%)	
C1	13 (37.14%)			11 (31.43%)	
B2	5 (38.46%)			3 (23.08%)	
B1	5 (38.46%)			(23.08%)	

5.2.2 Item (9)

Despite having the same structure as the previous items, native speakers identify this utterance as unnatural in most of the cases. Learners seem to reject the utterance more readily as well, the C2 speakers being very close to the control group.

ITEM 9	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
ENS	0	0	2 (12.5%)	3 (18.75%)	11 (68.75%)
C2	1 (6.25%)	0	3 (18.75%)	6 (37.6%)	6 (37.6%)
C1	3 (8.57%)	9 (25.71%)	7 (20%)	12 (34.28)	4 (11.43%)
B2	0	6 (46.15%)	2 (15.38%)	5 (38.46%)	0
B1	1 (7.69%)	6 (46.15%)	1 (7.69%)	5 (38.46%)	0
	POSITIVE VALUES			**NEGATIVE VALUES**	
ENS	0			14 (87.5%)	
C2	1 (6.25%)			12 (75%)	
C1	12 (34.49%)			16 (45.71%)	
B2	6 (46.15%)			5 (38.46%)	
B1	7 (53.85%)			3 (38.46%)	

5.2.3 Item (15)

Although the control group rejects his utterance very strongly, the group of learners do not seem to show such a strong level of rejection towards it.

ITEM 15	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
ENS	2 (12.5%)	0	0	7 (43.75%)	7 (43.75%)
C2	2 (12.5%)	6 (37.5%)	2 (12.5%)	5 (31.25%)	1 (6.25%)
C1	4 (11.43%)	13 (37.14%)	9 (25.71%)	7 (20%)	2 (5.71%)
B2	2 (15.38%)	6 (46.15%)	1 (7.69%)	3 (23.1%)	1 (7.69%)
B1	1 (7.69%)	6 (46.15%)	2 (15.38%)	3 (23.1%)	1 (7.69%)
	POSITIVE VALUES			**NEGATIVE VALUES**	
ENS	2 (12.5%)			14 (87.5%)	
C2	8 (50%)			6 (37.5%)	
C1	17 (48.58%)			9 (25.71%)	
B2	8 (61.53%)			4 (30.77%)	
B1	7 (53.85%)			4 (30.77%)	

The analysis of the data regarding coordinated finite clauses with gapped T, where *have* is AUX, shows inconsistency among the control group and the groups of learners. It is difficult to determine at what stage of the learning process learners will have acquired the behavior of *have*-cliticization in this case, but the fact that the inconsistency is present points that the level of competence must be high, probably native-like to show sufficient accuracy.

5.3 Interrogative clauses with perfect auxiliary have: Items (4), (8) and (10)

In most cases, the control group perceives these utterances as unnatural. Item (10) was perceived as unacceptable by the totality of the informants. The C2 group of speakers performed in a rather inconsistent way, which leads to the conclusion that the phenomenon of *have*-cliticization in this context is not acquired, or not totally acquired yet. Therefore, acquisition of this phenomenon for learners must take place in a high level of competence.

ITEM 4	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
ENS	0	4 (25%)	0	6 (37.6%)	6 (37.6%)
C2	1 (6.25%)	7 (43.75%)	2 (12.5%)	3 (18.75%)	3 (18.75%)
C1	2 (5.71%)	11 (31.43%)	2 (5.71%)	12 (34.29%)	8 (22.86%)
B2	4 (30.77%)	4 (30.77%)	3 (23.08%)	2 (15.38%)	0
B1	1 (7.69%)	5 (38.46%)	2 (15.38%)	4 (30.77%)	1 (7.69%)
	POSITIVE VALUES			**NEGATIVE VALUES**	
ENS	4 (25%)			12 (75%)	
C2	8 (50%)			6 (37.6%)	
C1	13 (37.14%)			20 (57.15%)	
B2	8 (61.54%)			2 (15.38%)	
B1	6 (46.15%)			5 (38.46%)	

ITEM 8	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
ENS	1 (6.25%)	4 (25%)	0	8 (50%)	3 (18.75%)
C2	5 (31.25%)	5 (31.25%)	1 (6.25%)	4 (25%)	1 (6.25%)
C1	11 (31.43%)	14 (40%)	0	9 (25.71%)	1 (2.86%)
B2	2 (15.38%)	5 (38.46%)	3 (23.08%)	3 (23.08%)	0
B1	2 (15.38%)	5 (38.46%)	5 (38.46%)	1 (7.69%)	0
	POSITIVE VALUES			**NEGATIVE VALUES**	
ENS	5 (31.25%)			11 (68.75%)	
C2	10 (62.5%)			5 (31.25%)	
C1	25 (71.43%)			10 (28.57%)	
B2	7 (53.85%)			3 (23.08%)	
B1	7 (53.85%)			1 (7.69%)	

ITEM 10	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
ENS	0	0	0	10 (62.5%)	6 (37.5%)
C2	1 (6.25%)	4 (25%)	2 (12.5%)	4 (25%)	5 (31.25%)
C1	1 (2.86%)	3 (8.57%)	6 (17.15%)	14 (40%)	11 (31.43%)
B2	1 (7.69%)	4 (30.77%)	3 (23.08%)	3 (23.08%)	2 (15.38%)
B1	1 (7.69%)	4 (30.77%)	1 (7.69%)	5 (38.46%)	2 (15.38%)
	POSITIVE VALUES			**NEGATIVE VALUES**	
ENS	0			16 (100%)	

C2	5 (31.25%)		9 (56.25%)
C1	4 (11.43%)		25 (71.43%)
B2	5 (38.46%)		5 (38.46%)
B1	5 (38.46%)		7 (53.85%)

5.4 Cases with "should've", "might've" and "will've".

5.4.1 Items (5) and (11)

Native speakers admit this utterance as natural, although more than half the speakers were reticent to classify as absolutely natural. C2 learners seem to be on their way to acquisition.

ITEM 5	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
ENS	5 (31.25%)	11 (68.75%)	0	0	0
C2	3 (18.75%)	10 (62.5%)	0	1 (6.25%)	2 (12.5%)
C1	8 (22.86%)	12 (34.29%)	4 (11.43%)	5 (14.29%)	6 (17.15%)
B2	4 (30.77%)	2 (15.38%)	1 (7.69%)	6 (46.15%)	0
B1	1 (7.69%)	3 (23.08%)	5 (38.46%)	2 (15.38%)	2 (15.38%)
	POSITIVE VALUES			**NEGATIVE VALUES**	
ENS	16 (100%)			0	
C2	13 (81.25%)			3 (18.75%)	
C1	20 (57.14%)			11 (31.43%)	
B2	6 (46.15%)			6 (46.15%)	
B1	4 (30.77%)			4 (30.77%)	

ITEM 11	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
ENS	6 (37.5%)	10 (62.5%)	0	0	0
C2	3 (18.75%)	8 (50%)	0	5 (31.25%)	0
C1	5 (14.29%)	17 (48.67%)	4 (11.43%)	7 (20%)	2 (5.71%)
B2	2 (15.38%)	2 (15.38%)	3 (23.08%)	6 (46.16%)	0
B1	1 (7.69%)	7 (53.85%)	1 (7.69%)	4 (30.77%)	0
	POSITIVE VALUES			**NEGATIVE VALUES**	
ENS	16 (100%)			0	
C2	11 (68.75%)			5 (31.25%)	
C1	22 (62.86%)			9 (25.71%)	
B2	4 (30.77%)			6 (46.15%)	
B1	8 (61.54%)			3 (30.77%)	

5.4.2 Item (13)

In the case of "*will've*" both native speakers and learners seem to reject the utterance in a significant number of cases. As we have seen in previous examples, a phonological

reduction of *have* into /əv/ or /ṿ/ occurs in other situations such as, *could've* and *might've*, for example. The only difference that seems to exist between (13) and (5) and (11) is the final sound of the modal auxiliary. In *could've*, *should've*, (etc.), we find a final /d/ or /t/ sound, which is realized as a tap /ɾ/ in certain varieties of English or in fast speech, versus the lateral /ɬ/ of *will*. We cannot disregard, however, the percentage of ENS that marked the sentence as natural, perhaps, for certain varieties of English, more flexibility is permitted in this regard.

As for the cases such as *should've*, I have chosen to analyse them as phonological readjustments in which a variant distinct from the nonsyllabic reduced auxiliary, remains in a syllabic form which allows the mapping of the AUXP into a PPhrase.

ITEM 13	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**
ENS	2 (12.5%)	3 (18.75%)	1 (6.25%)	10 (62.5%)	0
C2	2 (12.5%)	4 (25%)	3 (18.75%)	6 (37.5%)	1 (6.25%)
C1	5 (14.29%)	11 (31.43%)	4 (11.43%)	10 (28.57%)	5 (14.29%)
B2	1 (7.69%)	6 (46.16%)	2 (15.38%)	3 (23.08%)	1 (7.69%)
B1	0	3 (23.08%)	5 (38.46%)	4 (30.77%)	1 (7.69%)
	POSITIVE VALUES			**NEGATIVE VALUES**	
ENS	5 (31.25%)			10 (62.5%)	
C2	6 (37.5%)			7 (43.75%)	
C1	16 (45.71%)			15 (42.86%)	
B2	7 (53.85%)			4 (30.77%)	
B1	3 (23.08%)			5 (38.46%)	

The analysis of results shows:

A) The use of this phenomenon by L1 appears to be inconsistent. At first, I considered that speakers with a higher level of education may perform in a more consistent manner. However, I concluded that all speakers of a language are to be considered, regardless of formal education.
B) Lower-competence groups are more distant from the control group than higher-competence groups, which means that acquisition must be taking place.
C) The phenomenon of have cliticization must be acquired at? a high level of competence, nearly native-like competence.
D) Nonnative speakers feel strongly against forms such as "would've", "could've" while native speakers accept them almost unanimously.

5. SYNTACTIC AND PROSODIC ANALYSIS OF THE ITEMS.

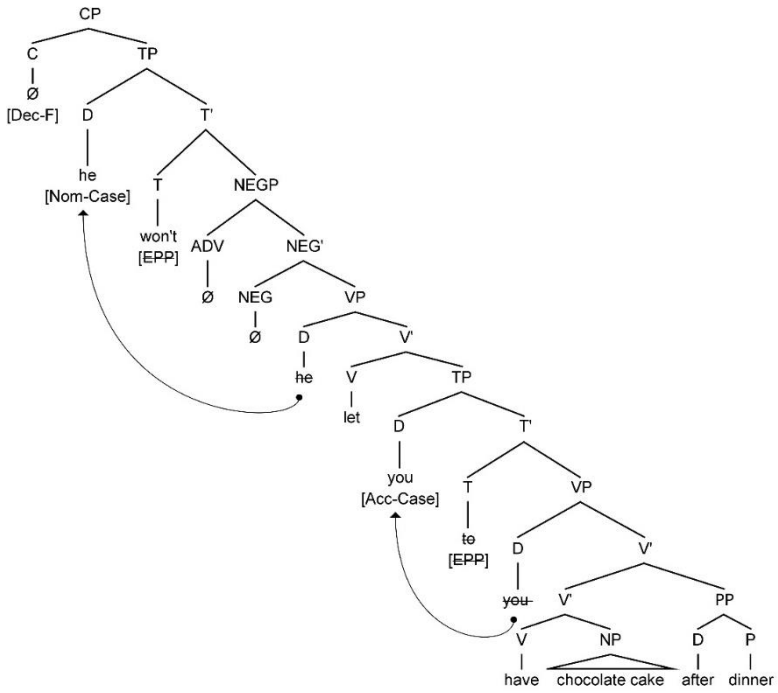
6.1 Bare infinitive complement clauses: Items (1) and (6) in the survey

(1) I agree with your nutritionists when he says *[he won't let you've chocolate cake after dinner].

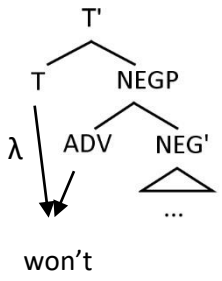
In the syntactic analysis for item (1) below, we can see that null T is intervening between Spec-T and Aux *have*, which means that the adjacency condition for *have*-cliticization is not met. Besides, *you* is in accusative case, which is more clearly seen in (a), where the unmistakably accusative *me* would prevent most speakers from contracting *have* onto *me*.

a. The boss won't let *me* have it my way.

Notice also, that negative auxiliary verbs are analyzed as lexical variants of the noncontracted forms, therefore, won't is selected from the lexicon and merged directly in T.



This is where Wescoat's analysis of lexical sharing can be applied to better illustrate what is happening in T' and NEGP.



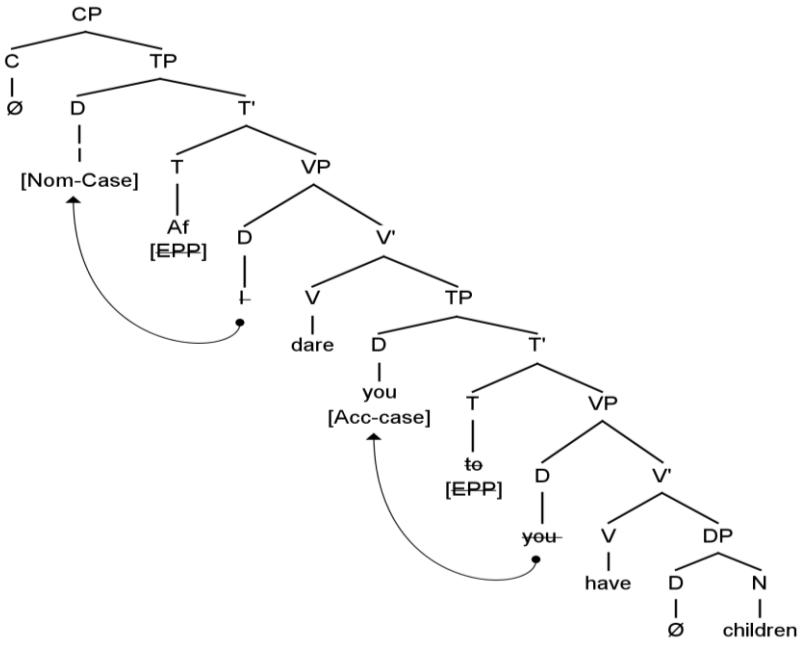
A prosodic analysis for (1) is presented in the table below. At a prosodic level, *have* cliticization would render the VP:PPhrase empty, violating Anderson's constraint.

CP	TP: PPhrase	NEGP	VP: PPhrase	TP: PPhrase	VP: PPhrase	NP: PPhrase	PP: PPhrase
Ø	*he won't*	*Ø*	*~~he~~ let*	*you ~~to~~*	*~~you~~ have*	*chocolate cake*	*after dinner*

These structural accounts attempt to give an explanation for the results of the survey. ENS in the control group considered this utterance unacceptable in 93% of cases. This is justified by both prosody and syntax, which block cliticization of *have* in this case, although for different reasons.

(6) Mark, this is hell. I'm exhausted. *[I dare you've children] and see for yourself.

CP	TP:PPhrase	VP:PPhrase	TP:PPhrase	VP:PPhrase	DP:PPhrase
ø	*I*	*dare*	*you ~~to~~*	*~~you~~ have*	*ø children*

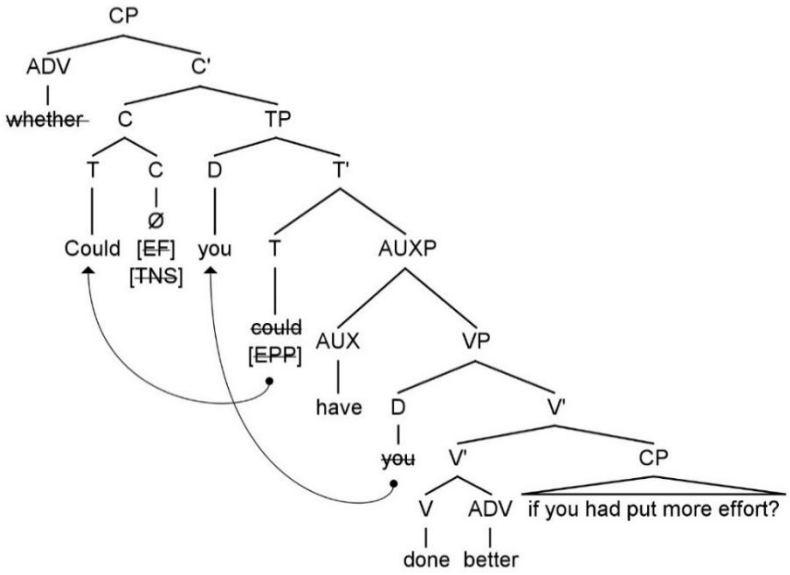


ENS viewed this sentence as completely unnatural (62%) or unnatural (25%) in the majority of cases. *Have*-cliticization in this case would violate Anderson's constraint, since we would leave the PPhrase where *have* generates empty. From a syntactic perspective, it also violates Radford's (2009) adjacency constraint because Spec-T is not immediately adjacent to *have.* Moreover, *you* is in the accusative case.

6.2 Interrogative clauses with perfect auxiliary *have*: items (4),(8) and (10)

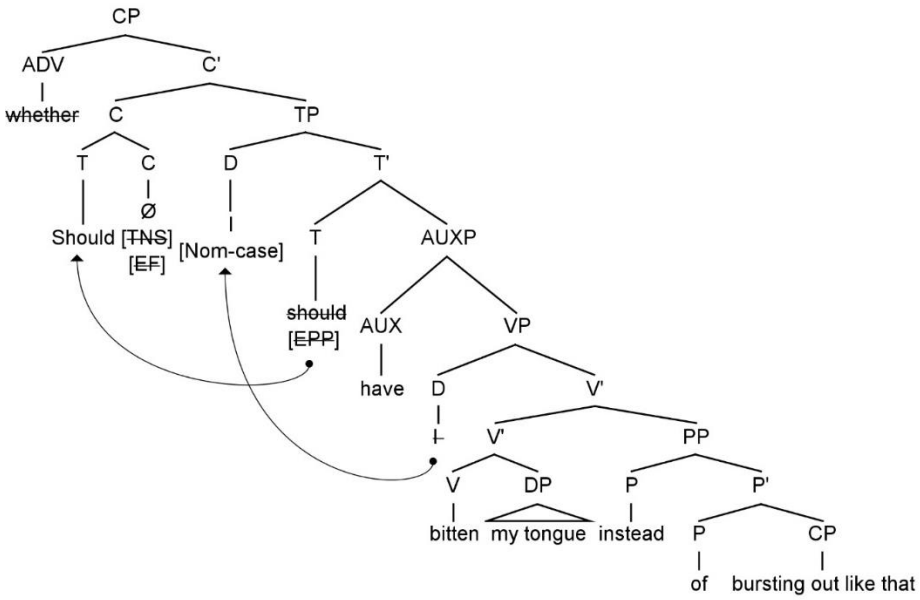
(4) *[Could you've done better] if you had put more effort?

CP:PPhrase	TP:PPhrase	AUXP:PPhrase	VP: PPhrase
Could ø	*you ~~could~~*	*have*	*~~you~~ done better*



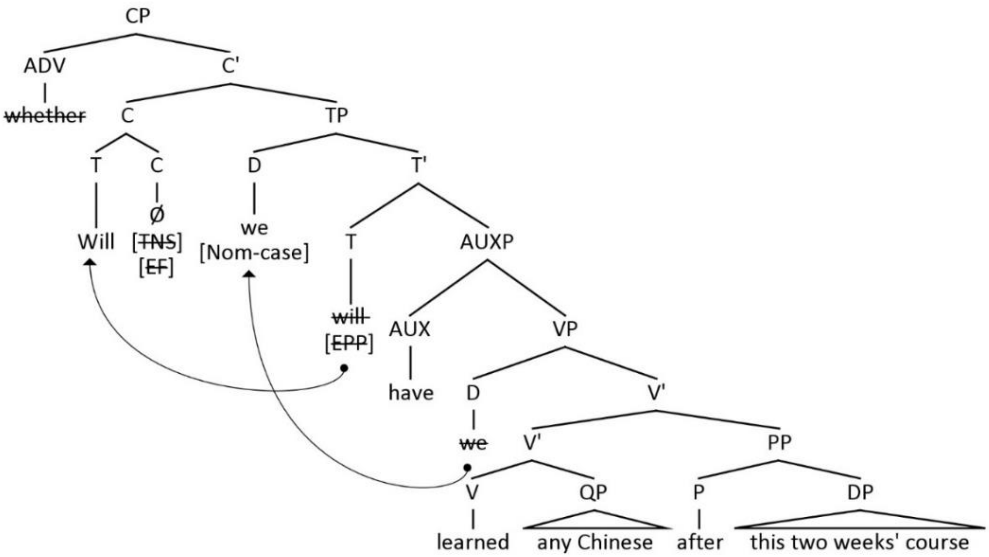
(8) *Should I've bitten my tongue instead of bursting out like that?

CP:PPhrase	TP: PPhrase	AUXP: PPhrase	VP: PPhrase	PP: PPhrase	VP:PPhrase	PP:PPhrase
Should ø	*I*	*~~should~~ have*	*~~I~~ bitten my tongue*	*instead of*	*bursting out*	*like that*



(10) *Will we’ve learned any Chinese after this two weeks’ course?

CP:PPhrase	TP: PPhrase	AUXP: PPhrase	VP: PPhrase	PP: PPhrase	DP: PPhrase
Will ø	*we*	*~~will~~ have*	*~~we~~ learned any chinese*	*after*	*this two weeks’ course*



In items (4), (8) and (10), at a prosodic level Anderson’s constraint would be violated. *Have*-cliticization would leave the AUXP: PPhrase empty. At a syntactic level, the adjacency condition for *have*-cliticization is not met.

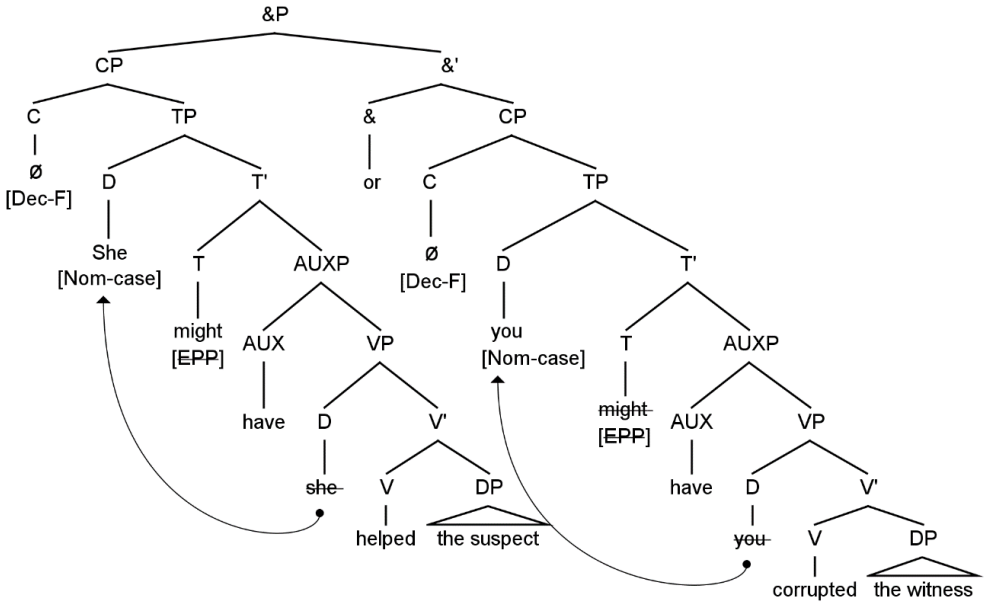
6.3 Coordinated sentences with gapped T: items (3), (9) and (15)

(3) She might have helped the suspect or *[you’ve corrupted the witness].

CP	TP:PPhrase	AUXP:PPhrase	VP:PPhrase	DP:PPhrase
Ø	*She might*	*have*	*~~she~~ helped*	*the suspect*

&P:PPhrase
Or

CP	TP:PPhrase	AUXP:PPhrase	VP:PPhrase	DP:PPhrase
ø	*You ~~might~~*	*have*	*~~you~~ corrupted*	*the witness*



For the analysis of coordinated sentences, I have adopted Grewendorf and Weiß's analysis (2014:71), in which coordination is understood as "an asymmetric structure where the first and second conjunct occupy specifier and complement position of a coordinating functional head", which is *or* in our utterances.

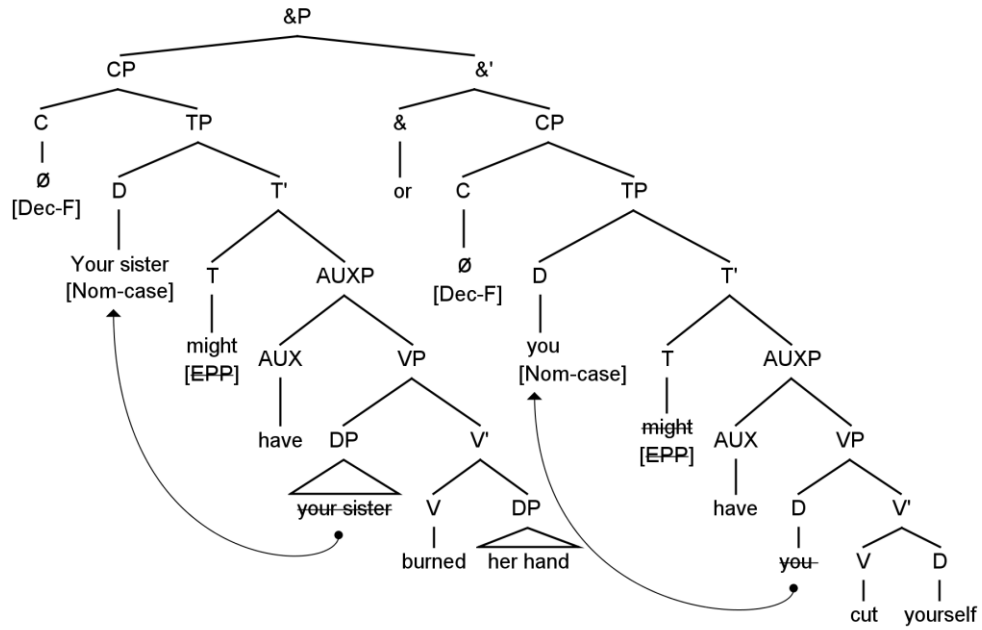
The control group of ENS seems to be divided in their opinions about the acceptability of cliticization of *have* in this sentence. In 31% of the cases, the sentence is perceived as natural, while in 37% it is marked as unnatural or completely unnatural. The reasons for the negative evaluation of the utterance may be due to the fact that cliticization cannot take place if we take into consideration Radford's adjacency constraint. On the other hand, cliticization would leave AUXP:PPhrase empty, violating Anderson's principle. A syllabic phonological reduction of the auxiliary could, in theory, be possible, since it would supply over content to support AUXP:PPhrase.

(9) Your sister might have burned her hand, or *[you've cut yourself], so let me or your dad help you next time.

CP	TP: PPhrase	AUXP: PPhrase	VP: PPhrase	DP: PPhrase
ø	*Your sister might*	*have*	~~*your sister*~~ *burned*	*her hand*

&P:PPhrase
Or

CP	TP: PPhrase	AUXP: PPhrase	VP: PPhrase
ø	You ~~might~~	*have*	~~*you*~~ *cut yourself*



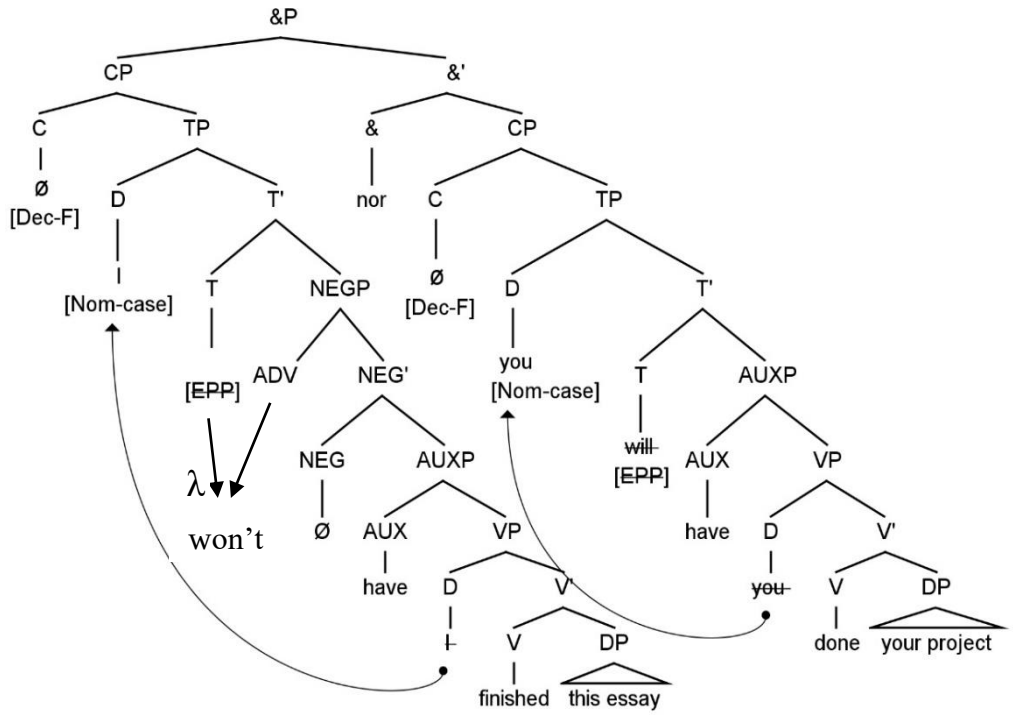
In terms of syntactic and prosodic structure, this sentence is parallel to the previous item. However, the data collected show that it is perceived as unacceptable in 85% of the cases, a very strong response in comparison with the ambiguous results of the previous item. I assume that in an oral survey, this ambiguity could be avoided more effectively, since informants would be able to differentiate nuances in pronunciation. It is only the nonsyllabic reduced auxiliary /v/ the variant that is barred, since it is the result of cliticization. Theoretically, phonologically reduced variants would be acceptable.

(15) Forget about going out tonight, [I won't have finished this essay, nor you've done your project], and both are due for tomorrow.

CP	TP: PPhrase	NEGP	AUXP: PPhrase	VP: PPhrase	DP: PPhrase
Ø	*I won't*	*Ø*	*have*	*~~I~~ finished*	*this essay*

&P:PPhrase
nor

CP	TP: PPhrase	AUXP: PPhrase	VP: PPhrase	DP: PPhrase
Ø	*You ~~will~~*	*have*	*~~you~~ done*	*your project*

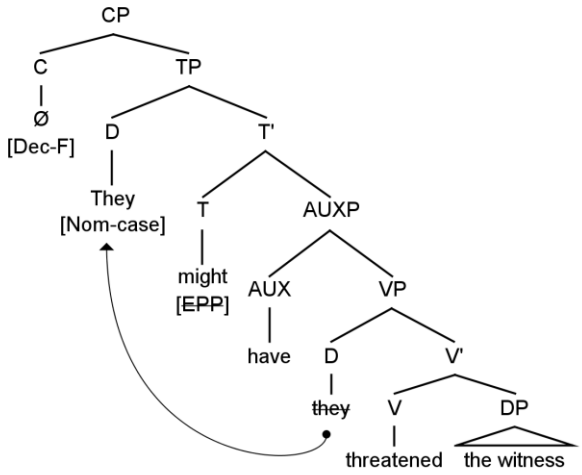


ENS marked this utterance as unnatural in 87% of the answers, a result identical to that of the previous item (9). Again, cliticization of the auxiliary on the second conjoint is blocked because the adjacency condition is not met. At a prosodic level, Anderson's constraint would be broken if we contracted *have* onto the previous pronominal subject because then the AUXP:PPhrase would be empty and hence devoid of all overt content.

6.4 Instances where have appears to cliticize onto T: items (5), (11) and (13).

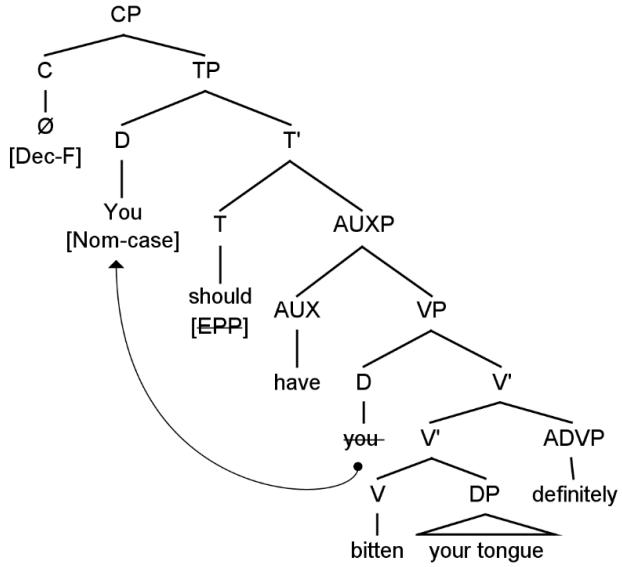
(5) They might've threatened the witness.

CP	TP: PPhrase	AUXP: PPhrase	VP: PPhrase	DP: PPhrase
Ø	*They might*	*/həv/ /əv/ or / ṿ/* but not nonsyllabic reduced auxiliary */v/	*~~you~~ threatened*	*the witness*



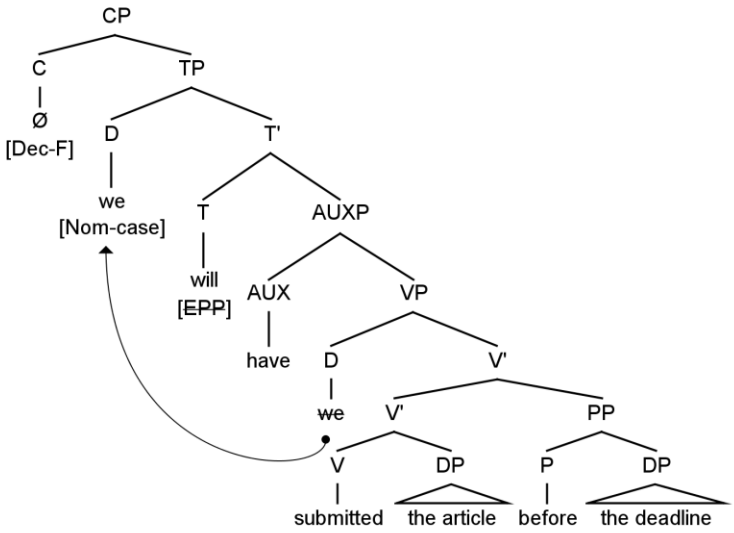
(11) I think [you should've bitten your tongue, definitely].

CP	TP: PPhrase	AUXP: PPhrase	VP: PPhrase	DP: PPhrase	ADVP:PPhrase
Ø	*You should*	*/həv/ /əv/ or / ṿ/* but not nonsyllabic reduced auxiliary */v/	*~~you~~ bitten*	*your tongue*	*definitely*



(13) *[We will've submitted the article before the deadline], don't worry.

CP	TP: PPhrase	AUXP: PPhrase	VP: PPhrase	DP: PPhrase	PP:PPhrase
ø	*We will*	*have*	*~~we~~ submitted*	*the article*	*before the deadline*



ENS marked items (5) and (11) as natural. In these cases, cliticization seems to be impossible since the host does not end in a vocalic sound. Wescoat (3) notices that in these situations, the nonsyllabic reduced auxiliary is not possible, but other phonological reductions of *have* are. The licensed reductions, /əv/ and / ṿ/ would constitute a PWord, and therefore there would be sufficient overt content to support AUXP:PPhrase. However, this phonological reduction is not possible in item (13) if we take into consideration the results of the survey, which may indicate that the previous consonantal sound is relevant for this reduction as I argued in 4.3.

6. FINAL REMARKS

I conclude that the acquisition of *have*-cliticization must be acquired at a high level of competence, nearly native-like. The C2 group of speakers were the closest in performance to the control group of ENS, although, in some instances, the disparity between the responses of both groups was considerable. It is also interesting to note that the performance of lower-competence groups deviates from the control group in a greater way, evidence that supports that acquisition is taking place.

ENS performed rather inconsistently in some instances, which leads me to believe that an oral survey would be useful to avoid ambiguity, since it would allow participants to distinguish the nonsyllabic reduced auxiliary from the phonologically reduced variants. On the other hand, nonnative speakers rejected forms such as *would've* and *could've* very strongly, which may indicate lower awareness of the difference between nonsyllabic reduced auxiliary and phonological reduced variant in the case of learners.

As a final remark, I want to note how in all cases where cliticization is barred, it is barred due to both syntactic and phonological-prosodic reasons, which means that the phenomenon of *have*-cliticization cannot be studied nor explained only from the syntactic perspective.

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APPENDIX I: List of the items in the survey

For each of these items, informants had to choose a value in a spectrum ranging from what utterances they considered perfectly possible to completely unnatural. This is the range of values: *absolutely natural*, *natural*, *I'm not sure*, *unnatural* and *completely unnatural*. The items in the list marked with (D) are distractors.

(1) *I agree with your nutritionist when he says he won't let you've chocolate cake after dinner.

(2) (D) Mark says that you eat a piece of cake every night, is that true?

(3) *She might have helped the suspect, or you've corrupted the witness. The judge will decide.

(4) *Could you've done better if you had put more effort?

(5) They might've threatened the witness.

(6) *Mark, this is hell. I'm exhausted. I dare you've children and see for yourself.

(7) (D) Mark told me that John's having trouble getting used to his new life as a dad.

(8) *Should I've bitten my tongue instead of bursting out like that?

(9) *Your sister might have burnt her hand, or you've cut yourself, so let me or your dad help you next time.

(10) *Will we've learned any Chinese after this two week's course?

(11) I think you should've bitten your tongue, definitely.

(12) (D) * Mark heard you've a problem with the boss. What's wrong?

(13) *We will've submitted the article before the deadline, don't worry.

(14) (D) *The judge'll decide if you have corrupted the witness.

(15) *Forget about going out tonight, I won't have finished this essay, nor you've done your project, and both are due for tomorrow.

(16) (D) I'll forget all we learnt in this course as soon as we step out of the building.