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**English constructions with the causative and experiential verb „*have*“
complemented by a past participle**

**Anglické konstrukce s kauzativním a experienciálním slovesem „*have*“ doplněné
minulým participiem**

Diplomová práce

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Abstrakt

Diplomová práce se zabývá perifrastickou konstrukcí složenou ze slovesa *have* doplněné minulým participiem, která nese kauzativní či experienciální význam. I když se struktura a konfigurace obou typů může zdát identická, rozdíl mezi nimi je markantní, a to zejména v povaze podmětu. Kauzativní podmět, neboli kauzující, působí jako iniciátor děje, který je vyjádřen slovesem ve formě minulého participia, tj. efektem. Oproti tomu podmět experienciální konstrukce, zasažený, je danou situací pouze zasažen, děj jen prožije a na jeho realizaci se nijak nepodílí. Původní zaměr práce byl popis dvou výše zmíněných kategorií, avšak výzkum odhalil existenci další skupiny, tj. experienciální podtyp experienciálně-rezultativní *have*. Práce se tedy snaží o popis a srovnání tří typů *have*, co do jejich výskytu a účastníků, tj. podmět, kauzovaný, *patiens* a sloveso v efektu. Analýza je prováděna na vzorku o 200 příkladech shromážděných z Britského národního korpusu.

Klíčová slova: kauzativita, perifrastická konstrukce, kauzativní *have*, experienciální *have*, experienciálně-rezultativní *have*

Abstract

The subject of the present paper is an analysis of periphrastic constructions consisting of the verb *have* followed by a past participle, which have either causative or experiential meaning. Although the structure and configuration of the constructions may seem to be identical, they differ significantly, the main dissimilarity resting in the nature of subject. The causative subject, the causer, acts as an instigator of the action expressed by the non-finite verb form, i.e. the effected verb. On the other hand, the experiential subject, the affected, merely experiences the action, being affected by it, not inciting it in any way. Even though primarily aiming at description of two *have* groups, the analysis revealed existence of an experiential subclass: the experiential-resultative *have*. Hence, the study attempts to describe and compare the three above mentioned categories in terms of their occurrence and participants, i.e. the subject, the causee, the patient, and the effect. The research is conducted on a sample of 200 cases gathered from the British National Corpus.

Key words: causation, periphrastic construction, causative *have*, experiential *have*, experiential-resultative *have*

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List of abbreviations

Inf	bare infinitive
Pp	past participle
Prp	present participle
The BNC	the British National Corpus
To inf	infinitive introduced by the particle <i>to</i>

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1. Introduction

The English language allows its users to convey causation in several ways, one of them being periphrastic causative constructions. The configurations of these structures differ greatly, yet, we may observe certain similarities in their usage. Such constructions demand a causative verb, i.e. *have*, *get*, *make*, *cause*, which conveys the semantic causative concept, complemented by a lexical verb in the non-finite form, denoting the action caused. The remaining core participants are the subject, i.e. the causer, the causee (*by-agent*), and the patient. This work attempts to describe the constructions including the verb *have* complemented by a past participle. In some cases, the construction, though having the same configuration, does not convey causation, as the subject does not participate in the instigation of the action. These instances express an experience the subject, the affected, went through, hence their name: the experiential constructions. The ratio of occurrence of the two types of *have* + past participle constructions, alongside dissimilarities in their configuration, will constitute the primary focus of the paper. Variety may also be observed in terms of the participants; subject, causee, and patient may differ in the realization form and animacy. The verbs occurring in the “effect slot”, the non-finite complementation of *have*, i.e. the effect, will be studied and sorted using the Levin’s verb classification (Levin 1993).

The first part will be dedicated to the presentation of the theoretical background treating the periphrastic causative and experiential constructions. The verbs *cause*, *make*, *get*, and *have* will be introduced as the possible causative verbs, together with the potential configurations of the constructions. *Have*, being the main focus of the paper, will be described in greatest detail, its possible meanings, other than the causative and experiential, being likewise introduced. Then, we will concentrate on the distinction between the causative and the experiential *have*, providing linguistic tests which may help us determine the nature of the verb. The focus of the work will then shift to the periphrastic construction in question, i.e. *have* complemented by a past participle, all of the core participants being presented. It is also important to consider the nature of words which tend to co-occur in this type of construction, which will be discussed in the following section. Interestingly, the two causative verbs *have* and *get* are sometimes treated as conveying identical information (Quirk et al. 1985), yet, we may notice significant differences in their meaning and also in the resultant meaning of the construction. Their dissimilar behaviour will be described in terms of complementation, register, participants of the construction, and collocation. As for the second part, it depicts the material and the methodology used for the analysis

of the work. The data will be gathered and extracted from the British National Corpus, consisting of 200 cases of the causative or experiential *have* constructions. They will be then studied and described in the research part, where the behaviour of the two types of *have* + past participle constructions and the nature of participants they contain will be compared.

2. The theoretical background

2.1. Periphrastic causative constructions

The periphrastic or analytical construction denotes a structure where the particular phenomenon is realized in separate lexical items. To be more precise, as regards the studied causative construction, “an analytic causative is a two-verb structure that expresses a predicate of causation and a predicate of effect” (Kemmer, Verhagen 1994: 117). Kastovsky (1973) treats this category of causatives under the term of “explicit causative constructions involving a causative auxiliary.” The construction contains a finite causative verb (e.g. *had* in example (1)) which is complemented by a non-finite verb form: infinitive, present participle, or past participle (e.g. *refurbished* in (1)). Kemmer and Verhagen (1994) label the two verbs as a “causal predicate” and an “effected predicate”, the former expressing the causative meaning, whereas the latter conveying the effect of the causation. The causal predicate needs to be complemented by another verb to make the meaning of the construction complete. Hence, it can be said that the causal predicate depends on the effected predicate semantically, whereas the effected predicate depends on the causal one structurally. The main participants of the construction are the subject, the causee, and the patient. The subject of the causative construction, the causer, instigates the realization of an action which is expressed by the effected verb, executed by the causee and having an impact on the patient as in (1).

(1) “*They’ve had their house refurbished in the middle of Oxford*” (Gilquin 2010: 88).

The example (1) illustrates one of the possible realizations of the causative construction, comprised of the initially placed causer “*they*”, the causative verb *have*, and the patient “*their house*”. The last core participant is the effected verb in the form of past participle “*refurbished*”, followed by the finally placed adverbial of place which is not, however, an obligatory member of the causative construction.¹ The causee (*by-agent*) is not included in the preceding example.

The experiential *have* construction is depicted in (2) where the subject of the clause “*my friend*” is the affected, experiencing the action represented by the non-finite verb form

¹ The sentence (1) presents us with a rather common feature of this type of constructions, being the ambiguous nature of the causee. The causee, who is not overtly expressed in this case, could be identical with the causer, or it may denote a completely different entity. To resolve this problematic situation, we would need to know more about the context of use. However, as (1) describes an action which is usually assigned to a professional, we may presume, from our general knowledge, that the causee is not co-referential with the causer.

“*stolen*”. The patient is realized by an inanimate noun phrase “*a valuable watch*” which was manipulated while completing the event of stealing. The causee is not expressed, however, if one wanted to include the participant, it could be introduced by the preposition *by*, e.g. *My friend had a valuable watch stolen by a strange, tall man.*

(2) “*My friend had a valuable watch stolen*” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1412).

The causative event may be expressed by constructions “having particular configurations of participants and types of interactions among them” (Kemmer, Verhagen 1994: 145). Kemmer and Verhagen also reflected on the notion of frequency of more complexly configured analytical constructions stating that the more complex the construction is, the less common it will probably be: “We expect that frequency of a given schema will directly correlate with the complexity of the schema: the more participants involved, the lower the frequency of the schema” (Kemmer, Verhagen 1994: 146).

There are two types of causation: stative and active, Kastovsky (1973) distinguishing stative and active causers. We may find numerous instances where the causer is not involved in a direct instigation of the action, not persuading the causee to do as he wishes. Somewhat, he acts in a way that affects the patient, resulting in the effect.² This causative concept is illustrated in (3), where the causer “*Oliver*” does not force the patient “*Helen*” to laugh, rather, he does something funny that results in the action of laughing. In (3), “*the causing factor is a state*”, as the causer himself is not the action provoking entity (Kastovsky 1973: 276).

(3) “*Oliver made Helen laugh gaily*” (Kastovsky 1973: 275).

In the active causation, the causer is directly involved in the causative action, “actively engaging in causing something,” (Kastovsky 1973: 276) illustrated by (4) where the inanimate causer “*Oliver’s jokes*” directly incites the effect of the construction.

(4) “*Oliver’s jokes made Helen laugh gaily*” (Kastovsky 1973: 275).

² This distinction differs from the following one which distinguishes between the causer and the affected (see section 2.4.1.2. Causer vs. affected), as the active and stative causers fall under the label of causative constructions, merely differing in the manner of instigation of the causative event. Conversely, the affected does not cause the action described by the effect, he rather experiences it. The affected does not exert his will to achieve the given goal, not representing the inciting causative force, in contrast with the causer.

2.2. Different periphrastic causative constructions

The focus of the work will now be shifting towards one of the uses of *have*: the causative one. The causative verb is the most important element of the periphrastic causative construction. To show a fuller frame of expressing causation, the paper will present, alongside the focal *have + pp*, other verbs which may be used in the construction conveying a causative meaning. Four such verbs will be introduced: *cause*, *make*, *get*, and *have*. The distinctive traits of the particular verb will be described separately, as they all prefer different “collocates, semantic associations, syntactic restrictions, stylistic preferences” (Gilquin 2010: 279).

We may find differences in the form of infinitival complementation. Some of the verbs (*make*, *have*) are followed by a bare infinitive and some by to-infinitive (*cause*, *be made*, *get*). Poldauf explains the dissimilar form by stating that the bare infinitive occurs when it constitutes the semantic centre of the predicate, referring to the causative verb as a functional device, being “a mere minimum signal of verb-modifying nature” (Poldauf 1967: 30). In the following section, the possible configurations of causative constructions containing the four above mentioned verbs will be introduced, illustrated by an example sentence. The verbs *get* and *have* and their comparison will be given the greatest emphasis, as their meaning is often considered identical. In literature, the verbs are frequently regarded as synonyms, the important specificities being ignored, shown by the example (5) where Quirk et al. state the two verbs as alternatives (in this case of the experiential type of *have*).

(5) “*She got/had the watch repaired immediately*” (Quirk et al.1985: 1207).

2.2.1. *Cause*

Cause, in contrast with *have* and *get*, is to be found mostly in written technical and scientific texts. The formal character of the verb excludes it from the informal language register (Gilquin 2010).

There is one periphrastic constructions including *cause* that denotes causation: *Cause + to inf.*

(6) “*The regulation of population density can only be a consequence of migration, not the reason why natural selection causes the habit to evolve*” (Gilquin 2010: 100).

2.2.2. *Make*

Make is complemented by a *to* infinitive when in the passive voice, being together with *make + pp* more common in writing than in speech. On the contrary, *make + inf* occurs more frequently in speech (Gilquin 2010). We can see different behaviour of the construction depending on the voice *make* occurs in. In the case of the active voice, the causer is placed initially in the position of subject, as in (7). On the other hand, when the construction with the passive form of *make* contains a causer, it is expressed by the means of the preposition *by* (8). Another difference worth commenting on as far as the voice is concerned is the different complementation of *make*. As Gilquin aptly describes, *make* “takes a bare infinitive in the active voice but a *to*-infinitive in the passive voice” (Gilquin 2010: 98), illustrated by (7) and (8), respectively. To sum up, causative *make* may be used in the following ways: *make + inf* (7), *be made + to inf* (8), and *make + pp* (9).

(7) “*John made his brother help him*” (Tomozawa 2002: 1).

(8) “*Helen was made to laugh by John.*” (Kastovsky 1973: 285).

(9) “*The group who face the most difficulty getting adequately trained are women doctors, and they made their voices heard at the conference despite the organisers admitting with startling candour that they had not anticipated that this issue would arise*” (Gilquin 2010: 125).

2.2.3. *Get*

The register of occurrence of *get* is the spoken language. It is a highly frequently used verb, also owing to its various ways of use and numerous possible meanings (Gilquin 2010).

There are three causative constructions which contain the verb *get*, being *get + to inf* (10), *get + prp* (11), and *Get + pp* (12).

(10) “*Get your husband to come round and get it.*” (Gilquin 2010: 108).

(11) “*Couldn’t get these earphones working.*” (ibid: 119).

(12) “*Get the door shut.*” (ibid: 108).

2.2.4. *Have*

Have, being the main focus of this paper, will be dealt with in greatest detail. Similarly to *get*, it is a verb used typically in the spoken language.

To express causation, *have* may be employed in the constructions: *have + inf* (12), *have + prp* (14), and *have + pp* (15).

(13) “*Hilary had Robin type the letters*” (Tomozawa 2002: 2).

(14) “*This is a male view of the matter, in which women are attacked, and which had me admiring these ugly sisters*” (Gilquin 2010: 113).

(15) “*It’s not twenty quid, if Melanie and I have our hair permed, that’s, that’s two perms and two, two cuts*” (Gilquin 2010: 101).

2.3. Have and its grammatical functions

The main focus of this paper is the causative and experiential meaning and use of *have*, but the verb may express various other meanings. In the following passage, *have* and its semantic and functional nuances are summarized based on the distinction of Biber et al., illustrated by specific examples (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 429-430). The verb *have* is, according to Biber et al., generally more common in conversation than in academic writing. Yet, it is more frequently found in the academic writing than any other lexical verb. The verb may serve various functions altering in meaning, the main distinction being the lexical or main verb, the auxiliary, and the causative verb. The auxiliary *have*, created by the process of grammaticalization, takes on new functional load, accompanied by alternations in “the semantic/pragmatic and morphosyntactic domains” (Bybee 2010: 121). The process was aptly described by Bybee: “new grammatical markers and constructions come into being gradually over time, through the operation of various reductive processes, as well as processes of inference in context. These gradual changes have the effect of creating new grammatical categories or new members of categories, and what could be viewed as new ‘rules’ or conventions of grammar” (Bybee 2010: 120).

The most common meaning of the verb describes physical possession, expressing that the particular speaker owns something.

(16) “*One in three of these families has two cars.*”

Next, the verb *have* may convey family connection and relations illustrated by the following sentence.

(17) “*Jim is aged 40 and has two children.*”

The verb *have* also occurs in the context of food consumption conveying the nature and amount of the food having been consumed.

(18) “*The kids had "superhero sundaes" which turned out to be merely ice cream.*”

Have may be used in the existential meaning as in (19), conveying a mere existence of a phenomenon.

(19) “*But it really would be nice to have a young person about the home again.*”

The meaning of *have* studied by this paper is the causative one, portraying a causative event where the agent, usually the subject, instigates an action which is realized by the causee. The action performed is described by the non-finite verb form which complements the causative *have*, as shown in (20).

(20) “*The problem continues to be that a religious-fascist state wishes to hire professional terrorists to have me killed.*”

We may observe the verb used to link a person or an inanimate subject to some abstract quality as in (21) and (22), respectively.

(21) “*I hope she has fun.*”

(22) “*Stylistics can have other goals than this.*”

The construction *have to* belongs to the category of semi-modals expressing obligation, or necessity.

(23) “*I'll have to blank it out.*”

There are also idiomatic multi-word phrases with *have*. The example (24) contains an instance of verbo-nominal construction which conveys different information than would its finite verbal alternative. In comparison with the present continuous in (25), the verbo-nominal construction describes a brief single instance of the action expressed by the verb, the action being non-repetitive, non-continuous, neither has it a long duration. On the other hand, the present simple in (26), which would be, when used, probably complemented by a prepositional object or an adverbial, may express a habitual action or a general truth, depending on the context of use.

(24) “*I'll have a look.*”

(25) *I'm looking.*

(26) *I look.*

As regards the auxiliary status of the verb, (27) and (28) illustrate *have* being used to form the present perfect and the past perfect, respectively.

(27) “*No one has ever seen anything like that before.*”

(28) “*Twenty years before, Charlie had passed a whole day from rising to retiring without a drink.*”

2.3.1. Stative vs. dynamic *have*

We may distinguish the stative and dynamic use of the verb, which is reflected on the syntactic level, i.e. the use of *do* support. Quirk et al. (1985) prefer talking about dynamic and stative meanings because of the unstable verb semantics which may be changed according to the context it occurs in. The given verb may alter the dynamic/stative category owing to the meaning demanded by the specific situation of use.

When used in the stative meaning *have* coexists with the operator *do*, however, the verb may take on the role of the operator itself, also altering with the construction *have got*. Thus, the sentences (29 a-c) represent the possible variants of use of the stative *have*.

(29) a. “*Have you any brothers?*”

b. “*Have you got any brothers?*”

c. “*Do you have any brothers?*” (Quirk et al.1985: 131)

When used in the dynamic meaning, “such as ‘receive’, ‘take’, ‘experience’, and in idioms with an eventive object,” (Quirk et al. 1985: 132) the previously mentioned form *have got* is not available, leaving the “DO-support” as the only alternative (Quirk et al.1985). The examples (30) and (31) illustrate the possibilities in terms of forming questions with the dynamic *have*.

(30) “*Does she have coffee with her breakfast?*” (Quirk et al.1985: 132)

(31) **Has she got coffee with her breakfast?*

2.4. Causative and experiential *have*

Since the aim of the present paper is to describe the two types of the *have + pp* constructions, it is important to depict the two categories further. The constructions came into existence through grammaticalization and fixation of the verb *have* complemented by a past

participle. Accompanied by a change in word order, for the defaultly finally placed object moved to the medial position, the construction gained a resultative and, furthermore, importantly for this paper, the causative (and experiential) meaning (cf. Poldauf 1967: 33).

2.4.1.1. Causative *have*

The verb in its causative meaning is used most frequently with a past participle which follows the object of *have* (32). This subtype of the verb is conjugated using the operator *do* (Dušková et al. 2006: 178).

(32) “*The emperor had the slave imprisoned*” (Gilquin 2003: 128).

The example (32) illustrates a typical causative *have* + *pp* construction, where the causer in the subject position “*the emperor*” initiates the action described by the past participle positioned finally “*imprisoned*” which affected the patient “*the slave*” placed in the object position of *have*, directly following the verb. The causee is not expressed in this particular case, yet, it could be possibly realized as the complementation of the preposition *by*.

According to Tomozawa, the prototypical causative construction occurs in a social context where the causer and the causee engage in interaction resulting in the causer inciting the action carried out by the causee. “The category may be characterized in terms of a social situation where two participants, the causer and the causee, are related in such a way that the latter is assumed or expected to comply with the former and thus the will of the former is usually all it takes to bring about the action of the latter” (Tomozawa 2002: 4).

What is important in Tomozawa’s remark is the relationship between the causer and the causee. It is implied that owing to the nature of the social relationship, there is no need for the causer to exert much power to achieve the goal of the causative event, being the causee performing the desired action denoted by the effected verb. The course of the causative action may be depicted as “a smooth process of causation; the causer can usually expect to have little difficulty in realizing his/her will” (Tomozawa 2002: 5).

A very frequent type of causative *have* may be represented by the construction called “expert causation” (cf. Tomozawa 2002) where the causer employs an expert in the given area to do something for him. The causee may be expressed overtly as in (33) where it occurs as the complementation of the preposition *by* “*by the midwife*”, or remain unstated but implied by the context which makes it redundant to mention the causee explicitly (34). It is

presupposed that one does not cut their own hair, thus, the causee, denoting the hairdresser, remains unexpressed in (34).

(33) “*Her mum could go home and have it checked by the midwife at home on Monday*” (Gilquin 2003: 128).

(34) “*Yeah my hair was that long when I had it cut*” (Gilquin 2010: 187).

Indicated by the name of this type of causation (expert causation), we may sometimes find inequality in status between the participants involved. Surprisingly, the higher status may belong to the causer or the causee, depending on the particular situation and, perhaps, the area of expertise concerned. Nevertheless, it is still the smoothness of the causative action that is the most important feature, rather than the differences in social hierarchy (Tomozawa 2002).

2.4.1.2. Experiential *have*

The structure of the construction including *have* and past participle may look the same as the causative one treated above, yet, the meaning is different. These instances do not imply causative meaning, as the subject as such does not incite the causative action, summarized by Tomozawa: “the subject is not in a position to be in full control of the event reported by the complement” (Tomozawa 2002: 6). The dissimilar reading resting mainly in the nature of the subject is recognizable owing to the context of the situation depicted by the construction. The experiential effect refers to the action that the subject, i.e. the affected, underwent. The action was not brought about due to the will exerted by the affected, he rather experienced the given action, hence the name of the *have* type. The construction refers to the “situation in which the subject adversely experiences the complement-reported event, whether or not it is something for which the subject is considered to be responsible” (Tomozawa 2002: 7). As depicted in (35), the affected “*he*” did not cause having been robbed, nor did he instigate the action, he merely went through it, and unwillingly so. As we may see, the structure of (35) consists of the affected in the initial position followed by the experiential verb which is complemented by the patient “*his pocket*”. The non-finite verb form “*picked*” expresses the result of the action. Similarly to (34), the sentence also does not contain the causee, which could be expressed by the preposition *by*.

(35) “*He had his pocket picked in the bus*” (Tomozawa 2002: 6).

Likewise, (36) illustrates a non-volitional action which was not brought about by the subject of the verb *have*, therefore we may determine the participant as the affected. Here, the experiential meaning is emphasized by the fact that the affected “*house*” is

inanimate, the causer usually referring to animate entities which are able to exert some kind of pressure to make the causee execute the particular action. The example (36) contains a co-referential patient “*its roof*” being a part of the subject “*the house*”, and the causee “*the gale*” expressed by the preposition *by*.

(36) “*The house had its roof ripped off by the gale*” (Tomozawa 2002: 7).

2.4.2. Distinguishing tests

2.4.2.1. Causative vs. experiential *have* test

We may find several tools available for language users to help them distinguish between the causative and experiential *have*. Inoue (2009) suggests four tests of similar nature to differentiate between the causative and experiential *have*. These tests will be tested using the examples (37) and (38).

(37) *John had his car stolen.*

(38) “*John had the car washed*” (Inoue 2009: 73).

Firstly, if the subject of the verb *have* may be inserted into “What happened to the subject was,” it falls under the category of the experiential *have*, as the causative one does not allow this kind of transformation. Thus, (37) which is the example of the experiential *have* allows this modification: “*What happened to John was that he had his car stolen.*” In contrast, the transformation of the causative example (38) is inadmissible: “**What happened to John was that he had the car washed*” (Inoue 2009: 76).

The next distinguishing tool is the co-occurrence of the phrase “on the subject”, possible only with the experiential type, illustrated by transforming (37): “*John had his car stolen on him,*” being impossible with (38): “**John had the car washed on him*” (Inoue 2009: 75).

We may also use another pseudo-cleft sentence “*what the subject did was*” completing it with the analysed construction. The subject of the causative *have* construction (38) may be referred to in this way: “*What John did was have the car washed*” (ibid: 76), the experiential subject in (37), on the other hand, may not: “**What John did was have his car stolen.*”

Lastly, Inoue (2009) suggests using the verb “*try to*” implementing into the construction preceding the verb *have*. This sentence transformation is possible with the causative reading only: “*John tried to have the car washed,*” contrasted with the experiential *have*: “**John tried to have his car stolen.*”

One may also use the technique mentioned by Poldauf (1967) consisting of intolerance of the imperative and progressive form of the verb *have* used in a meaning other than causative. Hence, this test may be used to distinguish the causative reading from the others, and therefore, could be included in the following section Causative and experiential *have* vs. other types of *have* test, too. The transformation of (37) is not possible owing to the experiential meaning of *have*: **Have the car stolen!*, **John was having the car stolen*. On the contrary, the causative case in (38) allows the transformation: *Have the car washed!* and *John was having the car washed*.

2.4.2.2. Causative and experiential *have* vs. other types of *have* test

The form of the construction, consisting of the finite *have* complemented by a non-finite verb form, does not indicate that the reading of the particular expression has to be only causative or experiential. Hence, it is crucial not only to be able to differentiate between the two types, but also between them and other uses of *have*. According to Inoue (2009), we may use the test constituting in inserting the *have* construction into the pseudo-cleft sentence “What happened was that” followed by the studied construction. If the resulting sentence is acceptable, we are dealing with the causative or experiential structure. Thus, we may notice that the sentences (37) and (38) succeed in the test, indicating their experiential and causative meaning, respectively: “*What happened was that John had his car stolen.*” “*What happened was that John had the car washed*” (Inoue 2009: 75). Conversely, (39) does not admit this type of transformation, as it is an instance of the existential type of *have*: “**What happened was that John had a cake baking*” (ibid: 75).

(39) “*John has a cake baking.*” (ibid: 75).

2.5. Participants of the *have* + *pp* construction

In the following part, the main participants of the construction comprised of *have* and a past participle will be introduced. The typical sequencing of the participants of the causative and experiential construction begins with the subject placed initially, who or which precedes the verb *have* complemented by the patient being followed by the effect. If there is a causee present, it is typically placed finally, usually expressed as the complementation of the preposition *by*. In (40), the configuration of the participants consists of the initial subject “*they*” followed by the verb *have*. The patient “*Woody*” then occupies the position

of direct object of *have* whereas the finally placed causee “*married couple*” is introduced by the preposition *by*, preceded by the effected verb “*adopted*”.

(40) “*They had Woody adopted by a married couple*” (Kemmer, Verhagen 1994: 142).

Gilquin describes the general tendencies of periphrastic causative constructions as follows: “A single, definite, human causer manipulates a single, definite, human causee, distinct from the causer, into producing a volitional and material effect, which can affect, or not, a single, definite and distinct patient” (Gilquin 2010: 153). According to Kemmer and Verhagen, it is the relation and interaction amongst the participants that gives rise to the specific meaning and function of the analytical causative construction and the causative event it describes (Kemmer, Verhagen 1994). The next section will focus on *have + pp*, describing the main tendencies and features of both causative and experiential constructions.

2.5.1. Subject

The entity being referred to by the subject may differ in the realization form and animacy, being the features which will be studied and described in the research part. Hence, it may be expressed by a noun or a pronoun, and it may be animate or inanimate.

The subject, usually placed initially, is the initiator of the causative action in the causative constructions, and the affected in the experiential ones. It is an obligatory participant of the periphrastic construction (cf. Gilquin 2010: 108-115). The sentence (41) provides us with an example of the initial causer “*he*” referring to an animate entity which makes the causee “*somebody*” perform the action expressed by the effect “*read*”. That is finally carried out on the patient “*the letter*”. Even though functioning as the subject of the finite verb, the causer is the instigator of the action denoted by the effected verb, the agent of which being actually the causee (Dušková et al. 2006: 178).

(41) “*He had the letter read by somebody*” (Kemmer, Verhagen 1994: 136).

The second possible realization of the subject is the affected being a participant belonging to the experiential construction. This type of subject does not incite the causee to perform the given action, but experiences it himself (see the section 2.5.1.2. Causer vs. affected). In this paper, the term used by Quirk et al. (1985), the affected, will be used to refer to the subject of the experiential construction.

2.5.1.1. Causer vs. affected

The main dichotomy, besides those treated above, resides in the distinction between the causer and the affected in the position of subject. The causer, e.g. “*we*” in (42), expresses a direct involvement in the causative event, being the primal causing entity of the overall effect of the construction. Similarly, “*he*” in (43) represents the participant owing to whom the causative action came into existence. “The prototypical agent is animate and acts consciously, volitionally” (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 243). The degree of directness of the causer’s participation relates to both, intentional and non-intentional action, the distinction of which is based on the semantics of the effected verb (Dušková et al. 2006: 254). On the other hand, the affected is not the direct instigator of the action, it is experiencing the effect being affected by it, rather than causing it, as depicted in (44) by the subject “*Lorraine*” and “*he*” in (45). “Calling it 'affected' seems to state the involvement with a degree of generality that satisfactorily accounts for most cases” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1412).

(42) “*We had Julie Felix come down and do some stuff for us*” (Gilquin 2003: 127).

(43) “*He had all his enemies imprisoned*” (Martínková 2016: 29).

(44) “*Unfortunately Lorraine . . . had her bag stolen*” (Gilquin 2003: 129).

(45) “*He had a book stolen*” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1413).

There are also cases of *have + pp* which are not classifiable into one category only. Quirk et al. state that the example (46) below may be seen as ambiguous and, consequently, read two ways:

(46) *The guard patrol had two men shot* (Quirk et al. 1985: 1207).

We have to distinguish the agentive, i.e. causative, and experiential reading of the clause. Firstly, we may read it as it was the patrol who shot the two men, being directly involved in the action, the meaning of which would be causative. The subject “*the guard patrol*” would be seen as the causer, marking the *have* construction causative as a whole. On the other hand, the experiential reading, or the “stative” reading, would suggest that the patrol was not actively involved in the action, rather “suffered the loss of two men by shooting” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1207). *Have* would be regarded as experiential, the subject being the affected. According to Quirk et al. (1985), the latter type may be generally paraphrased and semantically equals to the infinitival form of *be*.

2.5.2. Causee

The causee (*by-agent*) refers to the entity directly affected by the causer, performing the desired action. The participant “is changed or influenced by the CAUSER and carries out the EFFECT of the caused event” (Gilquin 2003: 127). In the case of the experiential constructions, the causee is still the participant executing the action depicted by the effected verb, but it is not incited by the affected. Causees in the *have+ pp* constructions may be both animate as in (47), or inanimate as in the preceding example (36) “*The house had its roof ripped off by the gale*” (Tomozawa 2002: 7). In the research part, we will concentrate on the same phenomena as for the subject: realization form and animacy.

(47) “*I had it refigured by A.E. Optics.*” (Gilquin 2003: 135).

As illustrated in (47), the proper name referring to a company “*A.E. Optics*” represents the causee who was influenced into performing the action described by the effect “*refigured*”. As the causee is realized by a collective noun, we may perceive it as animate, referring to the animate members of the company. The causer “*I*” initiated the causative action having an impact on the patient “*it*”.

As regards the *have + pp* construction, the causee is usually realized as the complementation of the preposition *by*, however, it may also remain unexpressed. In the cases where the causee is not expressed, it may refer to the same entity as the causer (cf. Poldauf 1967). This phenomenon is called the co-referential construction. The idea that “the causer and the causee may be identical,” (Gilquin 2010: 85) then leads to the situation where one entity may cause itself to do something, as in (48). In the following example, the causee, which is, however, not overtly stated, may or may not be identical with the causer.

(48) “*David had the house painted*” (Gilquin 2010: 87).

If the causee is not expressed as in (48) it could be an instance of co-reference. Yet, the determination in terms of co-reference is not always clear. The construction in (48) may be read in two ways and become ambiguous. It “can mean either that David painted the house himself or that he asked someone else” (Gilquin 2010: 87). In such cases, “our knowledge of the world may help us determine the most likely reading of the sentence,” (Gilquin 2010: 88) as we should be able to deduce the meaning from the context. Likewise, without further knowledge of the context, one is not able to decide whether the preceding example (38) “*John had the car washed,*” (Inoue 2009: 73) means that the causer “*John*” was

also the causee, which would suggest that he washed the car himself, or whether the causer is not in the co-referential relation with the causee, meaning that somebody else washed the car for him.

2.5.3. Patient

The patient, or the affectee (cf. Kemmer, Verhagen 1994), refers to “the entity that is being “acted on” by the CAUSEE and may or may not undergo a change” (Gilquin 2003: 128). According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002), firstly, the causer makes causee perform an action which then does something to the patient. Hence, the sentence (49) is an illustration of a causative construction including a patient “*the letter*” which is affected by the particular action initiated by the causer “*He*”. As we may note, the patient is merely affected by the causative event, compared to the causer “*he*” who instigates the action, or the causee “*his son*” who carries it out.

(49) “*He had the letter typed by his son*” (Kemmer, Verhagen 1994: 132).

2.5.3.1. The co-referential patient

The patient may also become a part of the co-referential structure - it may refer to the same phenomenon as does the causer or the causee. According to Gilquin, there are even cases where the patient refers to both, the causer and the cause, at the same time (Gilquin 2010). Frequently, the co-reference is held between the patient and the causer, “usually in the form of an inalienable possession” (Gilquin 2003: 133). In (50), the patient “*my tonsils*” is co-referential with the causer “*I*”, as it constitutes a part of the causer’s body.

(50) “*I had my tonsils removed*” (Gilquin 2003: 133).

Similarly to the causer and the causee, patients of particular cases also differ in the realization form and animacy, which will be studied in the following research.

2.5.4. Effect

By the term “effect” or “the effected verb” we label the lexical verb in the non-finite form, i.e. the “effected predicate”, entering the causative or experiential construction (cf. Gilquin 2003: 128), as illustrated by the past participle “*started*” in (51). We may classify effects, just as the verb *have*, as being stative or dynamic verbs.

(51) “*Harry already had the jeep started and in gear*” (Gilquin 2003: 133).

The effected verbs may be categorized according to Levin's (1993) classification, who recognizes 49 verb classes. The groups are formed and defined on the grounds of similar semantic and syntactic features of the particular verbs. The main classes are further subdivided into more precise subcategories according to specific characteristics of the class members. The following list of categories introduces the complete set of the main classes: verbs of putting, verbs of removing, verbs of sending and carrying, verbs of exerting force: *push/pull* verbs, verbs of change of possession, *learn* verbs, *hold* and *keep* verbs, verbs of concealment, verbs of throwing, verbs of contact by impact, *poke* verbs, verbs of contact: *touch* verbs, verbs of cutting, verbs of combining and attaching, verbs of separating and disassembling, verbs of colouring, image creation verbs, verbs of creation and transformation, *engender* verbs, *calve* verbs, verbs with predicative complements, verbs of perception, psych-verbs (verbs of psychological state), verbs of desire, judgement verbs, verbs of assessment, verbs of searching, verbs of social interaction, verbs of communication, verbs of sound made by animals, verbs of ingesting, verbs involving the body, verbs of grooming and bodily care, verbs of killing, verbs of emission, *destroy* verbs, verbs of change of state, *lodge* verbs, verbs of existence, verbs of appearance, disappearance, and occurrence, verbs of bodily-internal motion, verbs of assuming a position, verbs of motion, *avoid* verbs, verbs of lingering and rushing, measure verbs, aspectual verbs, *weekend* verbs, and weather verbs (cf. Levin 1993).

The above stated verb division will be used for description of the effected verbs found in the studied *have + pp* constructions in the research part.

2.6. Collocations

Collocations or frequently coexisting words of the studied constructions are phenomena capable of revealing the characteristics shared by the participants, the semantic nuances of the overall meaning of the construction, as well as the nature of the causative and experiential verb *have* itself. "The preferential lexical company kept by a word" may direct our attention towards the distinctive use and meaning of the particular construction (Gilquin 2010: 185). Some verbs may have a strong tendency to be used in a specific way and context – to co-occur near lexemes of a given semantic field, or convey some specific information,

Besides the particularities noted in the above section, we may observe that *have + pp* is frequently found in the context of service which is the area that provides "people with something they need or want, usually against payment" (Gilquin 2010: 179). For *have*,

there are particular subcategories where it is usually used in its causative sense, being mainly hairdressing. Among the most common words connected to this field we may find: *cut, hair, trimmed, permed, shaved*, but there is also the area of care, containing collocates like *doctor, nails*, or technical maintenance, e.g. *roof, decorated, built, repaired*. As quoted above, the service usually demands a financial reward, consequently, collocates connected to money, e.g. *price, pay* are common with *have*, too (Gilquin 2010). *Have + pp* used in the notional area of service frequently contains a non-finite verb form expressing an action “that one normally commissions a professional to do: a hairdresser to cut or perm one’s hair, a builder to build a house or a wall, a vet to put down an animal, a mechanic to service one’s car” (Gilquin 2010: 210). (see section 2.4.1.1. on the expert causation)

2.7. Have vs. get

In the preceding passages, the main characteristics of the causative and experiential construction *have + pp* have been presented. In literature, the verbs *have* and *get* are usually not treated distinctively, being considered synonymous (Gilquin 2003). As this thesis concentrates on constructions consisting of *have + pp*, it is important to disambiguate the use and meaning of the two verbs in a more detailed manner. *Have* and *get* bear similar characteristics but the differences between them are considerable, and hence, worth analysing and emphasising.

2.7.1. Complementation

As for their similarities on the syntactic level, they may be both complemented by infinitives, present participles, and past participles (see the examples 10-15). The construction consisting of one of the verbs followed by a non-finite verb form may have two different readings: causative and experiential. The structure and configuration of the given construction is identical, however, the meaning is significantly altered due to the dissimilar nature of its participants and the context of use, which cause the crucial semantic shift.

We may also note differences as far as the preference of the form of the effected verbs is concerned. For *get*, the most common non-finite verb forms acting as the effect are a *to* infinitive and a past participle. On the other hand, a present participle may be found in the complementation of *get* only scarcely. *Have* also occurs very frequently with a past participle, the construction of which is the subject of this paper, yet, the remaining non-finite forms, the bare infinitive and present participle, are included in the *have* constructions rather rarely (Gilquin 2003).

2.7.2. Register

As regards the register of use, the two verbs belong primarily to the register of spoken language, nonetheless, *have* is more universally usable, as we may find instances of its use in the written language, too. Conversely, *get* occurs almost exclusively in the spoken language where it operates as a very frequent and versatile lexical item (Gilquin 2003).

2.7.3. Participants in the causative construction³

As regards the subject, the two verbs tend to occur with animate pronominal entities. The causer can be both directly involved, or only indirectly initiating the action. Furthermore, it may be part of co-referential relations, referring also to the causee, or the patient. *Get* and *have* constructions generally contain a causer which is not part of the co-referential schema, being only the initiator of the causative event. The co-referential possibilities, i.e. causer-causee and causer-patient, occur almost equally with *have*, conversely, *get* constructions contain a causer identical with the patient very rarely, being outnumbered by the causer-causee co-reference (Gilquin 2003).

The causee may be realized as the object of the verb *have* or *get*, the complementation of the preposition *by* placed finally, or remain unexpressed, depending also on the non-finite verb form acting as the effect. The causee is not expressed especially when it is co-referential with the subject, hence, it is not necessary to express it overtly, as it is deductible from the context. There are also other instances where stating the causee explicitly is not relevant for the particular case, e.g. the identity of the causee being clear from the context (see section 2.4.1.1. Causative *have* on expert causation). Animate causees are typically found with *get*, differing from *have* for which the incidence of animate and inanimate causees is almost equal. To investigate it further, we may differentiate between the causees expressed as the object and those introduced by the preposition *by*. The ratio becomes utterly different as regards the “objectival causees” which are primarily animate with *get* and inanimate as far as *have* constructions are concerned. Finally, the verbs show a similar tendency in terms of the nature of the “*by* causees”, both typically co-occurring with animate ones (Gilquin 2003).

As for the patient, the constructions with *have*, due to their internal meaning, contain the participant more frequently, compared to *get* constructions. As a similar feature of the verbs, we may state that they tend to employ inanimate patients.

³ The sections 2.7.3. Participants in the causative construction, and 2.7.4. Meaning and collocations, comparing the constructions with *have* and *get* are based on Gilquin’s work *Causative Get and Have: So Close, So Different*. (2003) where she, however, reflects only on the causative use of the verbs. Similar comparison of the experiential constructions was unfortunately not available.

To sum up the tendencies of the verbs as far as the effect is concerned, *have* and *get* occur usually with a volitional effect, where the causative action depends on the will of the causee. Furthermore, for the causative action to be realized, there is the need of “a greater effort on the part of the CAUSER than with a causative verb such as *make*, which is predominantly used with nonvolitional EFFECTS” (Gilquin 2003: 139). Yet, the effected verbs included in constructions with *get* express an action that demands a relatively high degree of exertion made by the causer to be realized, which is not true for *have*.

2.7.4. Meaning and collocations

The two verbs alter the meaning of the constructions not only by embedding the participants into the causative frame, but they themselves add semantic nuances to the overall meaning of the construction, too. *Get* includes the idea of necessity of exerting some degree of effort to achieve the successful realization of the action. It contains the semantic nuances indicating that there is some difficulty needed to be overcome to make the action happen. In contrast, Tomozawa summarizes the use of the causative *have* as follows: “Generally speaking, HAVE causatives seem impossible where persuasion of some sort is involved” (Tomozawa 2002: 3). As an illustrative example, we may use Tomozawa’s:

(52) “**Sarah had the baby stop crying*” (Tomozawa 2002: 3).

As we can see, the sentence (52) is not acceptable, as the action depicted by the effect would demand a certain degree of effort or persuasion made by the causer to assure the execution of the action. If we substituted the causative verb *have* for *get*, respectively *had* for *got*, the sentence would become acceptable: *Sarah got the baby stop crying*.

The other type of collocates or the “verbs that are most distinctive for one or the other construction,” (Gilquin 2010: 193) as far as the effect in *get* constructions is concerned, are verbs expressing persuasion, being connected to the preceding idea of overcoming difficulties, as the causer needs to persuade the causee to complete the particular task. By contrast, *have* does not imply such an idea, rather, it “tends to present things as a mere fact” (Gilquin 2003: 140).

Both *get* and *have* may also occur in vague phrases which do not aim to convey anything specific, usually belonging to the domain of spoken language, e.g. *get something done*, *have it done*. *Get* + *prp* is said to co-occur with verbs of movement and position, similarly to *have* + *prp*. Conversely, the colexemes of *get* + *to inf* tend to be verbs of communication.

Moreover, *get* + *pp* construction contains a different type of collocates – verbs of organization. To conclude the comparing section, it is important to emphasise the construction crucial for this paper. What follows is a brief summary by Gilquin emphasising the similar features of the two causative verbs complemented by a past participle: “[X get Y Vpp] and [X have Y Vpp] share a large number of characteristics (e.g. the extreme rarity of inanimate subjects and causees in these constructions or the very strong preference for dynamic effects), as do the other pairs of *get*/*have* constructions” (Gilquin 2010: 143). The preceding more elaborate comparison of the verbs applies to the use of the causative *have* generally, just as it does to the construction in question.

3. Material and Method

The main goal of the present paper is to analyse the causative and experiential constructions *have + pp* from both syntactic and semantic points of view, in order to find out which construction prevails, and describe the features of the two groups in terms of configuration and nature of their participants.

3.1. Material

The analysis of the periphrastic causative and experiential constructions comprised of the verb *have* complemented by a past participle will be conducted on the basis of 200 examples extracted from the British National Corpus. The corpus material used will not be restricted in any way with the intention of seizing all the possible differences in use of the particular phenomenon. The British National Corpus, or the BNC, contains 100 million samples of language, both written and spoken, originating in numerous sources. Due to the wide scope of sources, it may be considered to be able to bear the representative status of the British English. The written part, consisting mostly of texts from books and periodicals, constitutes 90% of the corpus, complemented by 10% of the spoken language⁴. The content is linguistically annotated and contains contextual information owing to which it is possible to disambiguate potentially ambiguous and vague expressions, in this particular case the causative and experiential use of the *have + pp* construction.

3.2. Method

3.2.1. Data extraction

The KonText interface was used to search for the construction in question, using the following query:
[tag="PNP|NN."][lemma="have"]([tag="DPS"][tag="NN."][word="him|her|them|me"])[tag="V.N"]. The tag referring to the subject, [tag="PNP|NN."], allows occurrence of pronouns and nouns, and, similarly, the patient in the position of object of the verb *have* was searched for by ([tag="DPS"][tag="NN."][word="him|her|them|me"]), looking for nouns, and pronouns *him*, *her*, *them*, and *me*, denoting the participant. The tags referring to the verbs were rather simple in comparison with those searching for noun phrases, being [lemma="have"] for the causative or experiential *have*, and [tag="V.N"] belonging to a past participle following the object of *have*. It was not necessary to include the causee introduced

⁴ The formal features of the British National Corpus are described at the website <http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/corpus/>.

by the preposition *by* into the query, as it is always placed finally, resulting in a redundant item in the query.

3.2.2. Analysis

The first 200 examples from the BNC representing the causative or experiential construction will be used and examined, the results of which will be shown in the research part. In the analysis, the cases will be firstly classified according to the type of the verb *have*, i.e. causative or experiential. Then, the participants of the two distinct groups will be studied. As for the subject, causee, and the patient, we will focus on their realization form (nominal or pronominal) and animacy. The remaining part of the construction, the effected verb, will be described on the basis of Levin's classification (1993). Only the categories the verbs of which will occur three times and more amongst the examples of the particular category will be included into the final results, as infrequent instances would not be significant or useful for the description of the given type of *have*.

Having conducted the first trial of the query, there were cases amongst the resultant data that could not be included in the research, owing to the fact that they did not represent the studied construction. Hence, a profound manual sorting of all the examples was necessary.

There were several reasons for the imprecision of the query, one of them being an insertion of a noun phrase into the construction of the present perfect tense, wrongly recognized by the query as the subject of the *have + pp* construction:

(53) I've known you long enough and why **the hell have my knees decided** to take their annual vacation at this precise moment?

Moreover, the past participle following the verb *have* functioned rather frequently as an adjective:

(54) I noticed, in the afternoon, that **two members of the bench had their eyes closed** and appeared to be asleep.

In some instances, we could see a negative element being fronted, triggering the subject-verb inversion, resulting in the searched for pattern:

(55) And never for **a moment has their answer been in doubt**.

Furthermore, the inversion could arise due to the conditional nature of the clause:

- (56) There was no way in which they could have been saved in **time had their position been known**.

Another possibility confusing the searching consisted in the sameness of the form of the past participle and another word class, exemplified in (57) by *primary* and *ground*.

- (57) The basic point is that the language of conscious **states has its primary ground** in the interaction of humans [...]

We could also find cases including a fixed expression which had to be excluded from the research.

- (58) [...] **Kinky Machine's tour manager having his collar felt** rather severely.

The meaning of some sentences could not be recognized or determined, e.g. (59).

- (59) But nothing happened when **I had her served** so she had to go.

As for the studied 200 cases, some of the effected verbs were difficult to classify due to the fact that they were not listed in Levin (1993), or the class was not treated as a whole, e.g. phrasal verbs. The problematic verbs were classified in analogy with other verbs of similar semantic nature, e.g. *put in prison* was classified as belonging to the category of verbs of putting, in analogy with *jail*. There were also cases that could fall under several categories, the situation being resolved by placing them under the category expressing the semantics of the verb in the most precise manner, e.g. *marry* was listed under two categories: verbs of combing and attaching and verbs of social interaction, being finally classified as belonging to the latter.

4. Research part

4.1. Analysis of the types of *have*

The research showed that amongst the 200 examples of the construction comprised of the verb *have* followed by a past participle, the experiential construction dominated over the causative one. The Table 1 depicts the ratio of the different types, the causative *have* being represented by 39% and the experiential *have* by 58%. The analysis revealed six ambiguous cases not fitting into one category only, taking 3%.

<i>Have</i>				
Type	Causative	Experiential	Ambiguous	Total incidence
Amount	78	116	6	200
%	39	58	3	100

Table 1: Types of *have*

The first step of the analysis of the data consisted of deciding whether the given case belongs to the causative or the experiential *have* category. For the classification, the distinguishing tests between the two types were used (see section 2.4.2.1. Causative vs. experiential *have* test). Thus, as illustrated by (1), the examples including the causative *have* could be transformed into a pseudo-cleft sentence “What the subject did was,” imperative, and progressive form, respectively: What I did was that I had her followed. Have her followed! I was having her followed. However, it is not possible to ask: *What happened to me was that I had her followed, or to say: *I had her followed on me, confirming that it is not an instance of the experiential verb.

(1) **I had her followed** to the airport.

On the other hand, the example of the experiential construction (2) shows that it is impossible to be used as follows: *What a player did was that had his nose broken through illegal play. *A player was having his nose broken. *Have your nose broken! Nevertheless, the transformations confirming its experiential status are acceptable: What happened to the player was that he had his nose broken through illegal play. The test including the “on subject” phrase may seem slightly odd: The player had his nose broken on him. Still, we may label the construction as experiential on the grounds that the majority of the test results fit into the characteristics of the given category, and due to the overall meaning of the sentence.

- (2) [...] we have in the Australia v New Zealand Second Test seen **a player have his nose broken** through illegal play [...]

In the following parts, the behaviour of the *have* + *pp* constructions based on the studied 200 cases will be described, as far as the causative-experiential dichotomy is concerned, together with the description of the participants of the constructions. We will focus on the realization form and animacy of the causer, the causee, and the patient, and as regards the effected verb, the most frequent classes (cf. Levin 1993) will be introduced.

4.1.1. The causative *have*

The causative type of *have* was less frequent than its experiential counterpart, as already mentioned above. Amongst the 200 cases, the causative construction was represented by 78 examples. The causer was explicitly stated in all the constructions, except for two, one of them having the imperative form (3), the other including the causative verb in the form of a present participle (4). The subject of both of the constructions, though unexpressed overtly, refers to a general human agent.

- (3) Have chips no more than twice a week and if preparing them at home **have them cut** very thick.
- (4) **Having your hair cut** in a professional salon can be even more traumatic than going to the dentist.

As for the other participants, the patient of the causative construction occurred in each of the cases, contrasted with the causee which was present only five times, leaving the remaining 73 constructions without mentioning the entity executing the action. The overall representation of the participants, as regards the frequency of occurrence, is shown in the Table 2.

Causative <i>have</i>			
participant	expressed	unexpressed	Total incidence of causative <i>have</i>
Causer	76	2	78
Causee	5	73	78
Patient	78	0	78

Table 2: Causative *have* – participants

4.1.1.1. The subject: the causer

Having been already noted above, 76 examples out of the total causative occurrence of 78 contained an explicitly expressed causer which, nevertheless, differed in its characteristics in terms of realization form and animacy. According to Gilquin (2010), the occurrence of animate causers is much higher than the inanimate, usually in the form of pronouns (ibid: 109, 112).

As regards the realization form of the participant, the causative *have*, as expected (cf. Gilquin 2010), attracted pronominal causers more often in comparison with the nominal ones, being depicted in the Table 3. Pronouns occurred in this position 50 times, making 64,1%, e.g. *he* in (5). Hence, pronominal causers were almost twice as frequent as their nominal counterparts with 26 occurrences, i.e. 33,3%, illustrated by *the priests* in (6).

Causative <i>have</i> : causer				
Form	noun	pronoun	unexpressed	Total incidence
amount	26	50	2	78
%	33,3	64,1	2,6	100

Table 3: The causer - form

- (5) So **he had her captured and brought** to his palace.
- (6) Knox recounts how they piled up a great heap of stones at the place of martyrdom, and no matter that **the priests had them removed**, and threatened excommunication, they were always replaced [...]

The nouns and pronouns acting as the causer showed a strong tendency to refer to animate entities represented by 93,6%, e.g. *they* in (7), contrasted with the remaining 3 cases, i.e. 3,8%, of inanimate causers, e.g. *sheer self deception* in (10). The subject *City* in (8), which refers to a football team, is classified as an animate causer, due to its metonymical nature, referring to the members of the team. Similarly, *the Company* in (9) was placed into the animate class, as it is a collective noun, actually referring to its animate members. The overall ratio of the causative subjects in terms of animacy is shown in the Table 4.

- (7) At sixteen **they had her married** to a cousin who lived about a mile away.
- (8) It was when **City had their man sent off** that we really needed Robbo's experience.
- (9) [...] they did not sail as fast as local ships until **the Company had its ships built** of teak some decades later.

(10) It was **sheer self deception had me conned!**

Causative <i>have</i> : causer				
Animacy	animate	inanimate	unexpressed	Total incidence
amount	73	3	2	78
%	93,6	3,8	2,6	100

Table 4: The causer - animacy

4.1.1.2. The causee

The overall presence of causees was extremely scarce, as only five examples out of the total 78 contained an explicitly expressed causee. The causees were all realized as a complementation of the preposition *by*. Gilquin (2010) states that the general tendency of the causative construction is to contain a causee realized by a noun, which was verified by the research (ibid: 115). In the Table 5, we may observe the characteristics of the causee, as far as its realization form is concerned.

Causative <i>have</i> : causee				
Form	noun	pronoun	unexpressed	Total incidence
amount	5	0	73	78
%	6	0	94	100

Table 5: Causative *have*: the causee - form

The causative construction exhibited a clear preference for nominal causees with the percentage of 100% (11), corresponding to Gilquin's (2010) results.

(11) A TOP salesman sacked for shirking after **his boss had him tailed** by a private eye won £11,000 compensation yesterday.

The Table 6 depicts the division of the causees according the criterion of animacy, resulting in four animate instances, i.e. 5%, and one case, i.e. 1%, of the inanimate causee. The former may be illustrated by (12), the causee *two of his own officers* being further developed by an apposition divided from the causee by the means of a comma at each end: *the Scot Leslie and the Italian Piccolomini*. The latter is depicted in (13), represented by the prepositional phrase *by direct debit from their firm's account*. This particular case

could also be considered an adverbial clause of means and instrument, describing the way of payment⁵.

Causative <i>have</i> : causee				
Animacy	animate	inanimate	unexpressed	Total incidence
amount	4	1	73	78
%	5	1	94	100

Table 6: Causative *have*: the causee – animacy

- (12) [...] so **the emperor had him taken prisoner and murdered** in 1634 at Cheb (Eger) by two of his own officers, the Scot Leslie and the Italian Piccolomini, both of whom were rewarded with palaces of their own.
- (13) **More than 6,000 members have their subscription paid** by direct debit from their firm's account.

The sole type of co-reference was to be found between the causer and the causee, to be more precise, in the examples without the latter explicitly stated. Out of the 73 causative constructions not featuring the overtly expressed causee, five cases exhibited the co-referential behaviour. *This news* in (14) or *You* in (15) act both as the instigator of the action, i.e. the causer, and the entity by which it is actually executed, i.e. the causee.

- (14) **This news had them puzzled.**
- (15) **You have me confused**, Professor, [...]

4.1.1.3. The patient

The patient proved to be an indispensable participant of the *have + pp* construction, being a part of every example found in the BNC. The position it occurred in was identical for all of them, i.e. the object of the causative verb *have*. According to Gilquin, causative patients are usually inanimate, and as far as the realization form is concerned, they may be equally nominal or pronominal (Gilquin 2010: 131-132).

As the Table 7 shows, the patients of the causative constructions tended to be realized more often by pronouns rather than nouns, however, the ratio is not as significant, i.e. 58%

⁵ Dušková et al. comment on similar structures assigning them ambiguous meaning: “Někdy je adverbialní určení s předložkou *by* v pasivní větě dvojznačné, neboť mu v aktivní větě může odpovídat jako podmět (konatel), tak adverbialní určení (prostředek)” (Dušková et al. 261).

and 42%, respectively. All 33 nouns referring to patients were preceded by a possessive determiner.

Causative <i>have</i> : patient			
Form	noun	pronoun	Total incidence
amount	33	45	78
%	42	58	100

Table 7: Causative *have*: the patient - form

We may see a nominal patient in (16), *her majordomo*, which refers to an animate entity, being preceded by a possessive determiner *her*. By contrast, (17) contains an animate patient realized by the pronoun *her*.

- (16) [...] **she had her majordomo appointed** as a rival, with the support of the main body of Numidian bishops.
- (17) I am distraught to learn of the demise of your mother and shut my ears to the ugly rumour that **you had her put to death** so that you could take up ballet-dancing.

Regarding animacy, the two types were relatively equally represented, the animate ones slightly prevailing with 51%, the inanimate taking the remaining 49%, as displayed in the Table 8. This fact goes against Gilquin's (2010) research, which showed that patients are usually inanimate entities. In (18) we see an animate patient *her*, realized by the means of a pronoun. The example (19) also expresses the patient by a pronoun, i.e. *them*, yet, the referent is inanimate, stated in the first sentence of (19): *tattoos*.

- (18) The nursing home to which **her husband has her committed** after her eccentricity has become dangerous.
- (19) He admits he has tattoos around his waist depicting Hitler, Mussolini and Himmler. `Critics use this against me. So what? **I had them done** when I was a kid [...]

Causative <i>have</i> : patient			
Animacy	animate	inanimate	Total incidence
amount	40	38	78
%	51	49	100

Table 8: Causative *have*: the patient - animacy

4.1.1.4. The effect

In this section, we will study the tendency of the causative construction as regards co-occurrence with particular classes of verbs in the position of effect, sorted according to Levin's classification (1993). We will concentrate on classes which were represented in the 78 causative examples three times minimum, as the classes with very low frequency of occurrence would not be reflective of the behaviour of the construction in question. There were seven classes which occurred substantially often with causative *have*, i.e. verbs of grooming and bodily care, verbs of creation and transformation, verbs of killing, psych-verbs (verbs of psychological state), verbs of putting, verbs of sending and carrying, and verbs with predicative complements, all of them being presented in the following section.

The most amply represented class was the one called verbs of grooming and bodily care. Under this label, we could find verbs such as *cut*, *perm*, *set*, *plait*, *colour*, *dye*, *tint*, or *shave*. Thus, as described by Gilquin (2010), the frequent incidence of verbs describing the area of service, mainly hairdressing, in the *have + pp* constructions was confirmed by the studied examples, e.g. *cut* in (20), *plaited* in (21), or *permed* in (22).

- (20) This will entitle your man to a 20% discount on each appointment if **he has his hair cut** at least once a month.
- (21) Just before Christmas when she was twelve, **she had her hair plaited** in a hundred little plaits with a bead on the end of each plait.
- (22) A year and half ago **I had my hair permed** and didn't like it.

The second most frequent verb class was verbs of creation and transformation. In this category, we could find verbs expressing actions which one frequently assigns another person to do for them, e.g. *build*, *make*, *service*, *process*, *take (a photo)*, *fix*, *paint*, etc., depicted in (23), (24), and (25). According to Gilquin (2010), the frequent collocations of the construction belong to the sphere of technical maintenance (see section 2.6 Collocations), which the research showed to be true.

- (23) And there, in front of their destroyed city, **they had their photograph taken**, like a picture for a school magazine.
- (24) **I had my top made for me** and it cost £70.
- (25) [...] we would strongly recommend that **Ford owners have their vehicles serviced** at a Ford dealer.

Another category worth-mentioning is the class of verbs of killing, the instances of which occurred repetitively. Amongst the verbs, the following ones could be noted: *kill*, *put to death*, *behead*, *murder*, and *shoot*, displayed by (26) and (27).

(26) [...] so **he had her beheaded** on 19th. May 1536 and married Jane Seymour on 30th. day of the same month.

(27) **He had him killed** after John had criticised Herod's marriage to Herodias [...]

Furthermore, the causative *have* tended to co-occur with psych-verbs (verbs of psychological state). Some of the verbs belonging to this group are *puzzle*, *confuse*, or *worry* (28).

(28) **You had me worried** there for a moment, I can tell you.

Verbs of putting were also represented in the studied examples, including *put (in prison)* (29), *arrest*, *set*, *take prisoner*, or *imprison* (30).

(29) [...] **his master Edward Dayes had him put in prison** for breaking the terms of his indentures.

(30) People who did wrong, **the master had them imprisoned** there.

The class of verbs of sending and carrying should be mentioned, too, as its members constitute a recurrent entity in causative *have +pp*. To name some of its representatives, we should note the verbs *bring* (31), *ship out* (32), *deliver*, and *send off*.

(31) [...] who arranged the chairs this evening, when **she had them brought out** on the veranda.

(32) **I had her shipped out** from England as deck cargo.

To cover the whole range of classes significantly represented in the research, the last group, verbs with predicative complements, is to be mentioned. Into this category, we put numerous semantically distinct verbs, e.g. *appoint*, *admit (to hospital)*, or *baptize* (33)/*baptise* (34).

(33) This occurred when **they had their children baptised**.

(34) **That bastard had him baptized** a Protestant.

4.1.2. The experiential *have*

The experiential type of *have* is the the most frequently represented class of *have + pp* in the studied examples, taking 58% of the 200 constructions. To describe the category on the general level, the causer and patient were present in all 116 experiential examples, on the other hand, only 15 of them contained an overtly expressed causee.

However, the analysis revealed a highly frequent incidence of cases which positively did not belong to the causative category, yet seemed to be slightly different from the experiential *have* as far as the semantic nature was concerned. These examples do not really depict an action the subject experienced but rather a result of an action which happened in the past. The example (35) shows that there is no experience the subject could go through, rather the result of the action, having happened in the past, expressed by the non-finite verb form “*prepared*” is the main message and focus of the construction. To anchor the classification factually, the cases failed to allow the transformations needed to assign them the causative or experiential status (See section 2.4.2.1. Causative vs. experiential *have* test). They do not allow the experiential *have* tests consisting e.g. in using the following pseudo-cleft sentence “What happened to the subject was...” (*What happened to me was that I had your dress prepared for tomorrow.) Neither are they able to be transformed as the causative constructions, e.g. “What the subject did was that...” (*What I did was that I have your dress prepared.) Yet, we may note that these instances are semantically closer to the experiential construction, conveying a resultative state of an action the subject was somewhat part of. Sometimes, we can consider the construction to depict a result of an action the subject experienced in the past, e.g. *Most houses* in (36) experienced an action which resulted in *their windows* being *barred*.

(35) **I have your dress prepared** for tomorrow.

(36) **Most houses had their windows barred** as standard [...]

Panevová et al. (2014) state that these instances depict and emphasise the result of the action rather than expressing the experience the subject went through, naming the phenomenon a passive resultative (Panevová et al. 2014: 108).⁶ Also Dušková et al.

⁶ According to Panevová et al., the experiential-resultative instances in Czech take the form of the verb *have* followed by a de-verbal adjective or a participle (Panevová et al. 2014: 105). That would suit the potential translation of the examples studied in this paper, e.g. we could translate (3) as follows: *Mám tvé šaty na zítřka připravené.* „U tzv. posesivního rezultativu [...] jde o konstrukci, v níž podmět věty a konatel mohou, ale nemusí být totožní. Podmět věty vyjadřuje, kdo nebo co z výsledku děje těží [...]“ (ibid: 106).

comment on this type of *have*, seeing it as conveying a different meaning, compared to the experiential and the causative type (Dušková et al. 2012: 178).⁷ The examples behaving in the described manner were grouped forming the subcategory of the experiential *have*, in this work called “the experiential-resultative *have*”. Alternatively, this *have* subtype could be also treated as a separate group of *have*. We may note that in the case of the experiential constructions, the action depicted by the effected verb usually conveys a negative experience the affected underwent, e.g. the affected “*a player*” in (2) suffered an injury, his nose having been “*broken*”. The verb occurring in the effected slot in the experiential-resultative constructions often denotes a neutral or a positive action, e.g. the dress having been “*prepared*” in (35).

In the following section, we will concentrate on the experiential construction proper, then, in the section 4.1.3., the experiential-resultative *have* will be introduced.

As regards the ratio, 48 cases out of the 116 experiential constructions were classified as experiential proper and the rest, i.e. 68, were grouped under the label experiential-resultative *have*. The causer and patient were part of all the experiential cases, contrasted with the causee, which was present in only nine examples, as displayed in the Table 9.

Experiential <i>have</i>			
participant	expressed	unexpressed	Total incidence of experiential <i>have</i>
Causer	48	0	48
Causee	9	39	48
Patient	48	0	48

Table 9: Experiential *have* - participants

4.1.2.1. The subject: the affected

It seems that the affected subjects preferred to be expressed by nouns e.g. *Contributors* in (37), taking 81%, rather than by pronouns illustrated by (38), occurring in 19% of the studied cases, the ratio being displayed in the Table 10. In contrast, the causative construction shows an opposite tendency, the pronominal subjects prevailing.

⁷ Dušková et al. determine the following example as having three distinct meanings: *She had clothes brought from abroad*. It may be seen as a causative construction, with the translation: *Dávala si šaty vozit z ciziny*; also, we could read it as the experiential type: *Šaty jí byly dováženy z ciziny*; or it may represent the discussed resultative subtype of the experiential *have*, which would be translated as follows: *Měla šaty dovezené z ciziny* (Dušková et al. 2012: 178).

(37) **Contributors had their hearts broken.**

(38) [...] **she has her documents checked.**

Experiential <i>have</i> : affected			
Form	noun	pronoun	Total incidence
amount	39	9	48
%	81	19	100

Table 10: Experiential *have*: the affected - form

As for animacy, the affected showed a clear preference for animate subjects (39) with the total occurrence of 45 cases, i.e. 94%. The mere three remaining examples featured an inanimate subject (40), as depicted in the Table 11.

(39) [...] in practice **many pupils have their choices denied** [...]

(40) **Ontario trucks had their tyres slashed.**

Experiential <i>have</i> : affected			
Animacy	animate	inanimate	Total incidence
amount	45	3	48
%	94	6	100

Table 11: Experiential *have*: the affected - animacy

4.1.2.2. The causee

As already mentioned above, only nine constructions contained an explicitly stated causee, all of them being introduced by a preposition *by*. When present, they showed a clear preference to be realized by nouns (41). Due to the semantic nature of this group, there were no cases of causer-causee co-reference.

(41) **A CAPTAIN had his finger bitten off** by a lion on board ship.

The Table 12 shows that all experiential causees were nominal, yet took only 18,8% out of the overall occurrence due to the fact that 81,2% of the causees were unexpressed.

Experiential <i>have</i> : causee				
Form	noun	pronoun	unexpressed	Total incidence
amount	9	0	39	48
%	18,8	0	81,2	100

Table 12: Experiential *have*: the causee - form

As regards animacy, seven causees referred to animate entities, illustrated by *by the judge* in (42), contrasted with two inanimate causees, e.g. *by a cement mixer* in (43). Similarly to the causative causees, we could find collective nouns which were classified as animate, e.g. *MI5* in (44), representing the organization but actually referring to its members. The Table 13 below portrays the ratio of occurrence of the causees in terms of animacy.

- (42) [...] **another attorney had his breath checked** by the judge for signs of alcohol [...]
- (43) **A TEENAGER had his arm ripped off** at the shoulder by a cement mixer yesterday.
- (44) [...] **trade-union leaders had their telephones tapped** by MI5 during wage negotiations with government departments.

Experiential <i>have</i> : causee				
Animacy	animate	inanimate	unexpressed	Total incidence
amount	7	2	39	48
%	14,6	4,2	81,2	100

Table 13: Experiential *have*: the causee – animacy

4.1.2.3. The patient

In terms of realization form, as displayed in the Table 14, nominal patients prevailed with 96% (45), as opposed to mere two cases realized by pronouns, i.e. (46) and (47), making 4%. Similarly to the causative patients, when realized by a noun, they were introduced by a possessive determiner.

- (45) Swindon swept back within seconds for Maskell to score, but a minute later **he had his spot-kick turned around the post** by Steve Sutton.
- (46) [...] but the amps he's been using recently (until **he had them nicked** from his car) were Marshall Valvestate 80s.
- (47) **SERB warlords** were last night warned to keep their planes away from Bosnia or risk **having them blasted** out of the sky.

Experiential <i>have</i> : patient			
Form	noun	pronoun	Total incidence
amount	46	2	48
%	96	4	100

Table 14: Experiential *have*: the patient - form

The analysis showed a strong tendency of the experiential patients to be inanimate, which is illustrated by the Table 15. Inanimate patients occupied 96% of the 48 cases, e.g. *their homes* in (48), contrasted with mere 4% of animate participants, e.g. *their babies* in (49).

(48) [...] **families who have defaulted on £20,000 mortgages have their homes repossessed?**

(49) In a national sample of 533, only **four teenage mothers had their babies adopted** in 1979.

Experiential <i>have</i> : patient			
Animacy	animate	inanimate	Total incidence
amount	2	46	48
%	4	96	100

Table 15: Experiential *have*: the patient - animacy

4.1.2.4. The effect

The research revealed that experiential *have* tends to occur mainly with the four following classes: verbs of change of state, verbs of removing, verbs of searching, and verbs of separating and disassembling.

The most largely represented verb class was verbs of change of state, which comprised e.g. *break* (50), *open* (51), *change*, or *clean*.

(50) According to more than one witness, **one of the nuns had her shoulder broken.**

(51) Close said he had found the meeting 'very instructive'. He added: **'A few people had their eyes opened.'**

Verbs of removing constitute the second most frequent class of verbs occurring in the form of past participle in the periphrastic experiential construction. Amongst the verbs, we could find *confiscate* (52), *seize*, *remove*, *repossess*, and *take off* (53).

(52) **The inmates** were subjected to these totally unfair changes of routine, from small things like not getting coffee one day, to next day **having their cells raided** and **all their possessions confiscated.**

- (53) The dogs should be separated while **they have their leads taken off** and their muzzles fitted.

Another verb class which was amply represented is labelled verbs of searching. The verbs *check*, *raid* (52), or *tap* are examples that emerged throughout the studied experiential cases.

Lastly, the experiential construction showed a tendency to contain verbs of separating and disassembling, e.g. *amputate* (54), *blow off*, *hack away*, or *rip off*.

- (54) Under Islamic law, rapists, murderers and drug traffickers are beheaded in public while **convicted thieves have their hands amputated**.

4.1.3. The experiential-resultative *have*

The resultative subtype of the experiential *have* turned out to be more frequent than the experiential *have* proper. As mentioned above, out of the total 116 experiential cases, there were 48 experiential proper ones, and 68 instances belonging to the resultative subcategory.

The analysis showed that the causee was part of mere six cases. It should be also noted that this type of *have* tended to express neutral or positive actions, contrasted with the experiential *have* proper, which often conveyed a negative experience of the affected. Another specific trait of the experiential-resultative construction is that in comparison with the other types, the verb *have* tends to occur in the present tense considerably more often. The four groups of *have* included the following amount of *have* in the present tense: the experiential-resultative type: 36 cases, the experiential type: 12 cases, the causative type: 19 cases, and the ambiguous type: two cases.

4.1.3.1. The subject: the affected

The affected turned out to be realized by both nouns and pronouns almost equally, as depicted in the Table 16. The former was represented by 47%, e.g. *the midwife* in (55), the latter, illustrated by (56), then slightly prevailed with 53%.

- (55) [...] but also because **the midwife has her sleeves rolled up** [...]
(56) **We had our minds made up** that we were going to win this thing.

Experiential-resultative <i>have</i> : affected			
Form	noun	pronoun	Total incidence
amount	32	36	68
%	47	53	100

Table 16: Experiential-resultative *have*: the affected - form

As displayed in the Table 17, the construction showed a clear preference for animate subjects, e.g. *the soldier* in (57), which were present in 53 cases, i.e. 78%, compared to the inanimate ones (58), represented by 15 examples, i.e. 22%.

Experiential-resultative <i>have</i> : affected			
Animacy	animate	inanimate	Total incidence
amount	53	15	68
%	78	22	100

Table 17: Experiential-resultative *have*: the affected - animacy

- (57) [...] but **the soldier has his eyes fixed** in a different direction [...]
- (58) The process by which **cells have their fate fixed** is known as determination.

4.1.3.2. The causee

As already mentioned above, out of the 68 experiential-resultative *have* constructions, only six featured an explicitly expressed causee. As for the co-reference, none of them exhibited this kind of behaviour, which may be assigned to the nature of the construction, expressing the result of the action depicted by the past participle, supported by the subject bearing the characteristics of the affected. Five of the causees were introduced by the means of the preposition *by* and one using the preposition *with*⁸ (59), *with spines*, which could alternatively be considered a prepositional object of the effected verb *covered*.

- (59) Sea porkypine, i.e. sea porcupine, **fish having its skin covered** with spines, e.g. sun-fish.

The Table 18 shows that all causees were nominal, e.g. *by a sword belt* in (60), yet, taking only 8,8% due to the fact that causees of the remaining 62 cases, i.e. 91,2%, were not overtly stated.

⁸ According to Dušková et al., the preposition introducing the agentive role, animate or inanimate, i.e. the causee, does not have to be only *by*, as the choice of the preposition is influenced by the valency of the verb, e.g. *everybody was astonished (amazed) at the news* (Dušková et al. 2010: 262).

(60) [...] **he had his loins girded** by a sword belt'.

Experiential-resultative <i>have</i> : causee				
Form	Noun	pronoun	unexpressed	Total incidence
amount	6	0	62	68
%	8,8	0	91,2	100

Table 18: Experiential-resultative *have*: the causee - form

The analysis showed the tendency of the causees to refer to inanimate entities rather than to the animate ones, which is illustrated in the Table 19. Among the six cases, five of them were inanimate (61), i.e. 7,3%, and one referred to an animate entity (1,5%), being the proper noun *Edith* in (62).

(61) If **employees, consumers, and other corporate victims had their awareness sharpened** and **supported** by trade unionism, consumerism, and environmentalism [...]

(62) Constable Bewman here pointed out that **each guest had their plate handed** to them by Edith.

Experiential-resultative <i>have</i> : causee				
Animacy	animate	inanimate	unexpressed	Total incidence
amount	1	5	62	68
%	1,5	7,3	91,2	100

Table 19: Experiential-resultative *have*: the causee – animacy

4.1.3.3. The patient

All experiential-resultative constructions contained a patient realized as the object of the verb *have*. The Table 20 shows that this type of *have* occurred dominantly with nominal patients, e.g. *her heart* in (63), taking 91%, the pronominal ones occurring in the remaining 9%, e.g. *them* in (64), which refers to *our bunks* mentioned in the first sentence of the example. The nominal patients bear similar characteristics in terms of determination as the causative and experiential constructions, being all introduced by a possessive determiner.

(63) **She had her heart set** on it.

(64) We must get to our bunks or they'll be taken!' 'How can they be taken?' Ruth said. '**We have them booked and paid for.**'

Experiential-resultative <i>have</i> : patient			
Form	noun	pronoun	Total incidence
amount	62	6	68
%	91	9	100

Table 20: Experiential-resultative *have*: the patient - form

The research revealed a strong preference of the patients to refer to inanimate entities, taking 98,5%, e.g. *its tufts* in (65). Only one case contained an animate patient, i.e. *her confessor* in (66). The ratio in terms of animacy of the patients is displayed in the Table 21.

(65) **An Axminster has its tufts inserted** as a separate operation and **knotted** under the warp

(66) All the evidence suggests that **she had her confessor wrapped around her little finger** [...]

Experiential-resultative <i>have</i> : patient			
Animacy	animate	inanimate	Total incidence
amount	1	67	68
%	1,5	98,5	100

Table 21: Experiential-resultative *have*: the patient -animacy

4.1.3.4. The effect

The substantially represented verb classes which contained the verbs in the form of past participle in the effect slot are as follows: verbs of putting, verbs with predicative complements, verbs of combing and attaching, verbs of creation and transformation, verbs of change of state, and verbs of motion.

The experiential-resultative constructions contained verbs of putting the most frequently. To be more precise, we may mention *bar*, *stuff*, *wrap*, *cover*, *insert*, *embed*, *stash* (67), very frequent *set* (68), etc.

(67) **He has his money stashed away** [...]

(68) Rio Tinto has bought into all the mines only in the past few years; and **it has its sights set** on expansion.

Another largely represented category is verbs with predicative complements, containing e.g. the highly often verb *cut out* (69), (70), *classify* (71), *specify*, or *maintain*.

- (69) But **she has her work cut out**.
- (70) **The leaders had their work cut out** keeping the group together [...]
- (71) **More than half of those receiving Family Credit had their occupations classified** as catering, cleaning, hairdressing and other personal services, clerical and selling.

Verbs of combing and attaching should also be mentioned owing to the relatively high incidence. We may classify the following verbs as belonging to this category: *knot*, *tie* (72), or *lock* (73).

- (72) On the way down **I had my camera tied** to my waist and it started to drop [...]
- (73) [...] yet **those who experienced most directly the turmoil, disruption and loss of the war have their information locked** within their memory.

Moreover, *make up*, *package*, *bake* (74), *prepare*, *arrange* (75), or *build (in)* are members of another frequently occurring category: verbs of creation and transformation.

- (74) At least **I've my shortbread baked**, I wouldn't give the bought stuff house room.
- (75) **Many components such as transformers, relays and integrated circuits have their terminals arranged** on a regular grid [...]

The analysis revealed that verbs of change of state constituted an important class comprised of many effected verbs, too. Amongst them, we can note *sharpen*, *close* (76), *open* (77), or *stretch* (78).

- (76) It was because **I had my blinds closed** that I didn't get hurt.
- (77) All men stand under God's just wrath; but **the elect have his love opened** to them through Jesus.
- (78) **The man had his arms stretched out** to either side.

The last largely represented category is the class of verbs of motion. Throughout the examples, we could find e.g. *cross* (79), *roll* (80), or *drive*.

- (79) **We have our fingers crossed** that all the right things will happen and we hope they will be a big success.
- (80) [...] **she had her sleeves rolled up** almost to the armpits, looked fleshless.

4.1.4. The ambiguous *have*

The examples were not always easy to classify, as some of them exhibited features of behaviour of more than one studied type of *have*. These cases were grouped under the label ambiguous *have*, as it is possible to classify them as both causative and experiential constructions. Throughout the observed cases, there were six examples behaving in the described manner. As depicted in the Table 22, all of them contained the subject and the patient, however, none featured an explicitly stated causee. Moreover, there was not a single instance of a clear causer-causee co-reference, and thus, the identity of the causees remains unrevealed. The only potential co-reference, yet uncertain and not surely determinable, is shown in (81), where the subject *a High Elf dragon* could possibly refer to the causee, too. The example is viewed as ambiguous due to the fact that we may read it as a causative construction, i.e. *a High Elf dragon* instigated the action of killing the patient *its rider*, or as an experiential one, meaning that the subject suffered the death of the patient.

- (81) Hence if a **High Elf dragon has its rider killed** add +1 to the D6 roll on the Monster Reaction Table to see what it does next.

Ambiguous <i>have</i>			
participant	expressed	unexpressed	Total incidence of ambiguous <i>have</i>
Subject	6	0	6
Causee	0	6	6
Patient	6	0	6

Table 22: Ambiguous *have* - participants

4.1.4.1. The subject

The constructions containing *have* followed by a past participle which were classified as ambiguous preferred nominal subjects, occurring in 83% of the cases, compared to 17% of the pronominal ones, shown in the Table 23. The subject realized by a noun may be illustrated by the example (81) mentioned above, i.e. *a High Elf dragon*. The sole instance of pronominal subject is stated under the number (82), i.e. *he*. The causative reading would suggest that *he* incited the action expressed by the effected verb *refilled* affecting the patient *his horn*. On the other hand, the experiential reading would mean that the subject only experienced the patient *his horn* being *refilled* without any will exertion, not taking part in the realization of the action.

- (82) There was a silence; then a growing murmur, that grew rapidly to a hubbub of comment and argument around Eachuinn Odhar, while **he had his horn refilled** to ease his throat and sat back, ears alert for the tone of the reaction.

Ambiguous <i>have</i>: subject			
Form	noun	pronoun	Total incidence
amount	5	1	6
%	83	17	100

Table 23: Ambiguous *have*: the subject - form

As regards animacy, the ambiguous constructions showed a strong preference for animate subjects (83), taking 100%, no subject referring to inanimate entities. In (83), the ambiguity rests again in the uncertainty who was the instigator of the action, whether it was the subject, which would be the causative meaning, or somebody else, leaving the subject uninvolved in the incitement of the action, i.e. the experiential meaning. The example (84) does not contain a prototypical animate referent in the position of subject, i.e. *All the companies*, nonetheless, it is still classified as such due to the semantic nature of the subject, being a collective noun, actually referring to its animate members. The example (84) presents us with ambiguity also based on understanding of the subject's activity or lack of it in the realization of the action conveyed by the effect *renewed*, affecting the patient *their contracts*.

- (83) In this case **the incomers had their homes bought** for them.
 (84) **All the companies had their contracts renewed.**

4.1.4.2. The causee

As mentioned above, none of the constructions contain an explicitly stated causee. However, we could consider (81) to contain a causer being co-referential with the unexpressed causee, i.e. *a High Elf dragon*. Yet, the determination of the relationship cannot be considered clear-cut, as it is not truly evident.

4.1.4.3. The patient

The six patients all occurred in the position of object of the verb *have*, bearing similar characteristics in terms of realization form, i.e. all were nominal and preceded by a possessive determiner, e.g. *their blood* in (85). We see (85) as ambiguous owing to the possibly different

degree of involvement of the subject in the execution of the action. *Pregnant women* could refer to the instigator, i.e. the causer, of the action consisting in having *their blood tested*, or they may go through the test without inciting it, i.e. the affected.

(85) Even before birth, the fetus can be infected from the mother's blood via the placenta, and for this reason, **pregnant women have their blood tested** to detect, e.g. syphilis [...]

The Table 24 shows that the ambiguous cases tended to contain an inanimate patient (86) which occurred in five constructions, making 83%, in contrast with the sole instance of an animate patient, i.e. 17%. The latter is stated above under the number (81), i.e. *its rider*.

(86) **WOMEN factory workers fighting for equal pension rights had their case referred** to the European Court of Justice yesterday.

Ambiguous <i>have</i>: patient			
Animacy	animate	inanimate	Total incidence
amount	1	5	6
%	17	83	100

Table 24: Ambiguous *have*: the patient - animacy

4.1.4.4. The effect

Owing to the small amount of the ambiguous cases, it is not possible to draw conclusions as regards the frequently represented classes of the effected verbs. Among the six cases, the highest occurrence of verbs belonging to one class was two, which still does not surpass the determined limit of three verbs in order to be considered significant and indicative of the behaviour of the given type of *have* construction.

5. Conclusions

The main goal of the paper was to describe different tendencies and occurrence of the causative and experiential constructions comprised of *have* and a past participle. The analysis of 200 cases extracted from the BNC proved that the two types manifest significant differences in the both features. Most importantly, the research revealed a subtype of the experiential *have*, the experiential-resultative *have*, which was analysed separately. The cases belonging to this group focus on expressing the result of an action which happened in the past. Also, they typically convey a positive or neutral experience, compared to the experiential constructions which frequently express a negative action happening to the subject. The resultative subtype tended to contain the verb *have* in the present tense considerably more often than the other categories. Thus, four types of *have* constructions, i.e. causative, experiential, experiential-resultative, and ambiguous, were described in terms of incidence and participants. As regards the ambiguous cases, owing to the small amount of occurrence (3%), there were no observable tendencies which could be considered significant and indicative of the given group.

The experiential *have* turned out to be the most frequently represented category (58%), being divided into the experiential proper (24%) and experiential-resultative *have* (34%), followed by the causative (39%), and ambiguous cases (3%). All constructions were comprised of the following participants: the subject, except for two causative subjects which were not overtly stated due to the form of the verb *have* (present participle and imperative), the patient, and the effected verb, i.e. the verb following *have* in the form of past participle. Contrarily, the overtly expressed causee (*by-agent*) was highly infrequent, occurring in mere 20 cases out of the total 200, distributed amongst the categories as follows: causative: 5, experiential: 9, experiential-resultative: 6.

Generally, the causative *have* differs from the other constructions in terms of the realization form and animacy of the participants. The three constructions preferred animate subjects, but behaved in a dissimilar manner as regards the realization form. The experiential construction showed a preference for nominal subjects, conversely, the causative one occurred more frequently with pronominal ones, corresponding to Guilquin's results (Gilquin 2010: 109, 112). The subject of the experiential-resultative *have* was realized almost equally by nouns and pronouns.

The experiential and causative groups shared similar traits of the causee, being nominal and mostly animate, apart from the experiential-resultative causees referring to inanimate entities more often. As for the causer-causee co-reference, the overall incidence was extremely low, occurring only in the causative constructions. Causees were mostly introduced by the preposition *by* with the exception of one experiential-resultative causee following the preposition *with*.

As for the patient, it showed dissimilar preferences of the three constructions. Whereas the causative patients tended to be realized by pronouns, the remaining types of *have* strongly inclined to nominal patients. All nouns referring to patients were determined by the means of possessive determiners. In terms of animacy, the causative constructions proved to be highly dissimilar from the two experiential groups, occurring almost equally with animate and inanimate patients. On the other hand, the experiential and experiential-resultative *have* types showed a strong preference towards inanimate patients.

As for the effect, the classes (cf. Levin 1993) the verbs of which occurred three times and more were considered significant for the particular type of construction. Here we could again note different tendencies of the causative *have* in comparison with the experiential group. The frequently occurring effected verbs in the causative constructions belonged to the following seven classes: verbs of grooming and bodily care (*cut, perm*), verbs of creation and transformation (*build*), verbs of killing (*kill*), psych-verbs (verbs of psychological state), e.g. *confuse*, verbs of putting (*put in prison*), verbs of sending and carrying (*deliver*), and verbs with predicative complements (*baptize*). The analysis showed that the experiential *have* preferred to include a narrower range of verb classes: verbs of change of state (*break*), verbs of removing (*remove*), verbs of searching (*tap*), and verbs of separating and disassembling (*amputate*). The effects of the experiential-resultative constructions seemed to bare more similar characteristics with the causative type than with the experiential one, often containing verbs of putting (*set*), verbs with predicative complements (*classify*), verbs of combing and attaching (*tie*), verbs of creation and transformation (*bake*), verbs of change of state (*sharpen*), and verbs of motion (*roll*).

The study has contributed to the analysis of the constructions with *have* complemented by a past participle. It has been proved that even though the causative and experiential constructions have the same form and bear some similar characteristics, e.g. animate subject, there are notable dissimilar traits between them, e.g. the realization form of the subject, or verb classes of the effect. Importantly, the analysis revealed a third type of the *have + pp*

construction, the experiential subtype, i.e. the experiential-resultative *have*, which was amply represented amongst the 200 examples. Thus, the work offers a comparison of the three above mentioned categories which may look similar, yet, their syntactic and semantic features display significant differences.

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Resumé

Diplomová práce se zaměřila na kauzativní a experienciální užití perifrastických konstrukcí složených ze slovesa *have*, které je doplněno o nefinitní formu slovesnou: minulé participium. Hlavním cílem práce bylo popsání dvou typů konstrukce, participantů, kteří je vytvářejí, a rozdílné užití *have* + minulé participium (*pp*), tj. již zmíněný kauzativní (1) a experienciální typ (2).

- (1) I was awful, in those days I was into acid green sleeks and **I had my hair cut** in a triangle.
- (2) [...] **losing contestants had their fists pressed** into plates of guacamole and refried beans.

První část práce obsahuje teoretický úvod, jenž se zabývá zejména znaky konstrukce *have* + *pp*, které budou posléze ověřeny ve výzkumné části. Práce se nicméně prvně zaměřuje na možné vyjádření kauzativity perifrastickou konstrukcí za použití i jiných kauzativních sloves než *have*. Pro tento účel lze použít *cause*, *make*, *get* a *have*, které se liší jak syntakticky, tak sémanticky. *Cause* se pojí s infinitivem uvedeným částicí *to*, *make* naopak může vytvářet konstrukce s infinitivem s částicí *to* i bez ní a minulým participiem. *Get*, často kladené s *have* na roveň, může být následováno infinitivem s částicí *to* a minulým či přítomným participiem. Následně se zabýváme slovesem *have* a jeho významy obecně. Sloveso *have* může být kromě experienciálního a kauzativního významu dle Biber et al. (1999) použito také k popisu fyzického vlastnictví, rodinných vztahů, konzumaci jídla, dále může vyjadřovat existenciální vztah či vztah mezi abstraktním jevem a člověkem nebo neživotnou entitou. V neposlední řadě se *have* používá jako pomocné a semi-modální sloveso.

Po obecném shrnutí základních pojmů se teoretická část věnuje již výhradně konstrukci *have* + minulé participium. Pro práci je klíčové rozlišení dvou druhů *have*, kauzativní a experienciální, podle kterých se jmenuje i celá konstrukce, ve které se sloveso nachází. Rozdíl mezi těmito typy je patrný v odlišnosti podmětů konstrukcí. V případě kauzativního typu je podmět kauzujícím⁹ (causer), který podněcuje realizaci akce vyjádřené slovesem v minulém participiu. Tento participant způsobí, že daná akce vznikne. Oproti tomu podmět konstrukce experienciální je zasažený (affected), danou akcí pouze prožije a nemá žádný vliv na její uskutečnění. Mezi další participanty patří kauzovaný (causee), který je pověřen

⁹ Termíny kauzující, který označuje participanta causer, a kauzovaný, který odkazuje na participanta causee, jsou použity na základě terminologie užití v díle *Vazby kauzativní a vazby experienciální: paralely anglického slovesa have se sekundární predikací* od Martínkové (2016).

kauzujícím, aby vykonal akci, která je popsána minulým participiem. Tato role je nejčastěji vyjadřována pomocí předložky *by* (*by-agent*). Nejedná se nicméně o povinnou entitu, neboť kauzovaný může být, oproti podmětu, nevyjádřen. Může se také stát, že kauzující a kauzovaný odkazují k totožnému referentovi, kterýžto jev nazýváme koreference. Nedílnou součástí studované konstrukce je *patiens*. Tento participant se nijak aktivně nepodílí na vzniku akce ani u jednoho z typů *have*. Představuje spíše to, co je předmětem dané akce. *Patiens* se vyskytuje na pozici předmětu slovesa *have* a jedná se o obligatorního účastníka konstrukce. Poslední částí konstrukce je sloveso v nefinitní formě minulého participia, nazývané v kauzativní a experienciální konstrukci jako efekt. Vyjadřuje určitý děj, jehož vznik je podnícen kauzujícím a vykonán kauzovaným v kauzativním užití *have*, či děj, který v experienciálním užití slovesa *have* prožije zasažený podmět. Co se kolokací týče, pro kauzativní konstrukci *have + pp* je typické, že se v efektu vyskytují slovesa, která lze sémanticky popsat jako vyjadřující určitý typ služby, zejména ta, která spadají do kategorie kadeřnictví, např. *cut*, *colour*, *perm*, atd. Také můžeme pozorovat častý výskyt sloves, která popisují činnosti, které vyžadují speciální dovednosti či znalosti a většinou si je nechávají lidé vykonat specialistou v daném oboru, např. *fix* (opravit) či *build* (postavit). Pokud je v podobné konstrukci vyjádřen i kauzovaný, můžeme tento typ trefně nazvat pojmem „expert causation“. Efekty konstrukce experienciální často obsahují slovesa, která vyjadřují určitý negativní děj, který zasažený podmět prožil.

Teoretickou část uzavírá srovnání kauzativních konstrukcí obsahující sloveso *have* a *get*. Pro obě dvě je typické, že se objevují spíše v registru mluveného jazyka a také, že je kauzující většinou realizován formou zájmena, které odkazuje k životné entitě. Co do kauzovaného vyjádřeného pomocí předložky *by*, *get* významně preferuje životné referenty, kdežto *have* se pojí s životnými i neživotnými kauzovanými v podobném poměru. Slovesa se také liší frekvencí výskytu role *patiens*, která se častěji objevuje se slovesem *have* nežli s *get*. Společným znakem těchto dvou sloves je povaha slovesa, které se nachází v roli efektu, která bývá ve většině případů dynamická. Je také důležité zmínit, že konstrukce, ve kterých se nachází sloveso *get*, jsou charakteristické tím, že vyjadřují určitou obtížnost či překážku, která musí být překonána, aby bylo dosaženo vykonání daného děje. Tato významová nuance u konstrukcí se slovesem *have* zcela chybí.

Následující metodická část se zabývá postupem, který byl použit k výzkumu a ověření teoretických poznatků o studovaném jevu. Pro tento účel bylo vybráno prvních 200 příkladů, které obsahovaly sloveso *have* doplněné minulým participiem a zároveň nesly kauzativní

či experienciální význam. Ty byly extrahovány z Britského národního korpusu přes rozhraní KonText za použití následujícího dotazu: [tag="PNP|NN."][lemma="have"]([tag="DPS"])[tag="NN."][word="him|her|them|me"])[tag="V.N"]. Přestože tento dotaz pokrývá většinu možných konfigurací konstrukcí, tj. pronominální či nominální podmět, sloveso *have* ve všech tvarech, patiens ve formě zájmena či substantiva a nefinitní sloveso v minulém participiu, výsledné příklady obsahovaly i případy, které byly naprosto irrelevantní pro tuto práci, a tudíž vyžadovaly manuální protřídění. Další nesnází bylo klasifikování některých sloves v roli efektu podle díla *English Verb Classes and Alternations* od Levin (1993). Tato kniha třídí slovesa dle jejich sémantických a syntaktických rysů. Některé slovesné typy ale nejsou do klasifikace zahrnuty, např. frázová slovesa. Tato obtíž byla vyřešena přiřazením daných sloves, která v seznamech chyběla, do skupiny, která jim nejlépe odpovídala po stránce sémantické i syntaktické. Objevily se i případy, kdy se některá slovesa vyskytla ve více než jedné kategorii. Ta byla zařazena do třídy, která nejlépe popisovala jejich užití v daném kontextu.

Prvním krokem praktické části bylo rozdělení příkladů do skupin podle typu *have*, tj. kauzativní a experienciální. Ukázalo se, že mezi studovanými příklady je 78 kauzativních, 39%, 116 experienciálních, 58%, a šest ambiguitních konstrukcí (3), 3%. Analýza však odhalila podtyp experienciálního *have*, v této práci nazvané experienciálně-rezultativní, který nevyjadřuje primárně zážitek zasaženého, ale výsledek určitého minulého děje (4) (cf. Panevová a kol. 2014: 108). Tato početná skupina byla z experienciální třídy vydělena a popsána samostatně s výsledným počtem 68 experienciálně-rezultativních případů (34%). Zbývajících 48 konstrukcí náleží do skupiny experienciální (24%). Co se týče ambiguitních případů, pro jejich malý výskyt nelze pozorovat žádné výrazné tendence slovesa *have*, ani vyvozovat výsledky ohledně typických znaků dané skupiny.

(3) Even before birth, the fetus can be infected from the mother's blood via the placenta, and for this reason, **pregnant women have their blood tested** to detect, e.g. syphilis [...]

(4) She did show me her papers, later on. **She had them hidden** in a box, in the store room.

Následně byly popsány účastníci všech výsledných skupin *have* (podmět, patiens, kauzovaný) podle realizační formy, tj. nominální či pronominální, a životnosti. Analýza zahrnuje také rozřazení sloves v efektu do slovesných tříd (Levin 1993), které se s daným typem *have* markantně pojily. Všechny příklady obsahovaly participanty patiens, efekt

a podmět, až na dvě kauzativní konstrukce, kde nebyl kauzující explicitně vyjádřen. V těchto případech byl kauzující nicméně jasně vyvoditelný z kontextu. Kauzovaný byl obsažen pouze v malém vzorku konstrukcí, tj. pět kauzativních, devět experienciálních a šest experienciálně-rezultativních kauzovaných. Kauzativní konstrukce projevila tendenci odkazovat v podmětu na životné referenty pomocí zájmen. Oproti tomu experienciální *have* silně preferovalo také životný, ale nominální podmět. Experienciálně-rezultativní konstrukce obsahovaly častěji životné podmínky, na které odkazovaly téměř stejným počtem zájmen i substantiv. Co se týče kauzovaného, pokud byl přítomen, v kauzativní a experienciální konstrukci byl vyjádřen podstatným jménem a odkazoval na životné entity. Experienciálně-rezultativní *have* vykazovalo opačnou preferenci co do životnosti, kauzovaní byli sice realizováni pomocí substantiv, ale odkazovali spíše na neživotné referenty. Většina kauzovaných byla uvedena pomocí předložky *by*, např. *by a lion* (5), nicméně jeden experienciálně-rezultativní kauzovaný následoval po předložce *with* (6).

(5) **A CAPTAIN had his finger bitten off** by a lion on board ship.

(6) [...] sea porcupine, **fish having its skin covered** with spines [...].

Tři studované skupiny se značně lišily v realizaci a životnosti účastníka *patiens*. Zatímco kauzativní konstrukce obsahovala téměř stejnou měrou životné i neživotné participanty, ve zbylých dvou skupinách převládla reference na neživotné entity. Co do realizační formy, kauzativní *have* se opět liší od ostatních typů. Experienciální a experienciálně-rezultativní *have* značně preferují nominální formu, kdežto kauzativní konstrukce upřednostňuje pronominální realizaci role *patiens*. Zajímavé je, že všechny role *patiens*, které byly vyjádřeny substantivy, byly určeny posesivním determinantem. Posledním zkoumaným prvkem je efekt, tedy sloveso, které následuje po *have* ve formě minulého participia. Třída sloves v pozici efektu, která se vyskytla třikrát a více a spadala pod jednu slovesnou třídu, byla brána v potaz jako signifikantní pro popis dané kategorie. I v této oblasti se kauzativní konstrukce odlišuje od té experienciální. Prvně lze zmínit, že kauzativní typ zahrnuje nejširší škálu slovesných tříd (Levin 1993): slovesa šlechtění a péče o tělo (*cut*), slovesa tvorby a transformace (*build*), slovesa zabíjení (*kill*), psych- slovesa (slovesa psychického či psychologického stavu), např. *confuse*, slovesa dávání/pokládání (*put*), slovesa posílání a nošení (*deliver*) a slovesa s predikativní komplementací (*baptize*). Oproti tomu slovesa v efektu u experienciálních příkladů nepokrývala tak širokou škálu slovesných tříd, pouhé čtyři třídy byly dostatečně zastoupeny, tj. slovesa změny stavu (*break*), slovesa odstraňování (*remove*), slovesa hledání (*tap*) a slovesa oddělování a rozdělování/rozkládání (*amputate*). Experienciálně-rezultativní

příklady byly v distribuci efektů na sémantické rovině podobnější spíše kauzativnímu než experienciálnímu typu *have*. Třídy, které byly v této kategorii hojně zastoupeny, jsou: slovesa dávání/pokládání (*set*), slovesa s predikativní komplementací (*classify*), slovesa česání a upevnění/přípevnění (*tie*), slovesa tvorby a transformace (*bake*), slovesa změny stavu (*sharpen*) a slovesa pohybu (*roll*).

Práce se zaměřila na srovnání kauzativního a experienciálního typu konstrukce *have* doplněné minulým participiem. Výsledky analýzy ukázaly, že i když se kauzativní a experienciální konstrukce s *have* a minulým participiem mohou zdát podobné, je mnoho rysů, kterými se markantně odlišují, např. realizační forma podmětu, či slovesné třídy efektu. Analýza též odhalila existenci třetího typu *have*, podtyp kategorie experienciální, tj. experienciálně-rezultativní skupinu. Ta se ukázala být relativně hojně zastoupena ve studovaném materiálu, konečný výzkum tedy zahrnuje popis a porovnání třech výše zmíněných kategorií.

Appendix

The following 200 examples are arranged in the order in which they were listed in the BNC.¹⁰

1. [...] **another attorney had his breath checked by the judge** for signs of alcohol, another was found to be in contempt of court after arriving back from lunch drunk & hellip; and so I could go on.
2. Constable Bewman here pointed out that **each guest had their plate handed to them by Edith.**
3. In effect we were becoming structurally and visibly undisciplined, in a world where **discipline has its import spelled out** on every occasion.
4. The sky clears in the childbirth sequence because of Shatov's sublime murmurings about the arrival of a new human being, but also because **the midwife has her sleeves rolled up**, because she is attacking a difficult and strenuous professional job, organizing essentials, masterminding the whole exercise, [...]
5. Perhaps unwittingly, the new statue hints at a deeper truth underpinning the hardline triumph: the worker, the peasant and the intellectual gaze wistfully towards the Forbidden City, the grandest monument to the genius of Chinese civilisation, but **the soldier has his eyes fixed in a different direction** -- down the Avenue of Eternal Peace towards Zhongnanhai, the walled compound where party leaders live and work.
6. **We had our minds made up** that we were going to win this thing.
7. Rugby Union: Rugby to view tape `evidence' By PAUL WILSON OFFICIALS from Rugby will look at video evidence before deciding to take any action arising from their Courage Championship Second Division game with Richmond, during which **Paul Gutteridge the Richmond tight head prop had his nose broken.**
8. **A broken-down Land Rover parked by the roadside had its windows broken** and its instrument panel smashed.
9. **A broken-down Land Rover parked by the roadside had its windows broken and its instrument panel smashed.**
10. Close said he had found the meeting `very instructive'. He added: **`A few people had their eyes opened.'**
11. By the way, Piper, the patrol that relieved us this morning, **one of their number had his leg blown off** and has other serious injuries.
12. Olybrius, the grand governor of Antioch, saw her and seeing her innocence and her loveliness he was jealous and immediately wanted to destroy both. So **he had her captured** and brought to his palace.
13. Olybrius, the grand governor of Antioch, saw her and seeing her innocence and her loveliness he was jealous and immediately wanted to destroy both. So **he had her captured and brought to his palace.**
14. That's how I used to be until **I had my brain overhauled** last year.
15. At sixteen **they had her married** to a cousin who lived about a mile away.
16. The second is a result of **women having their breasts grabbed.**

¹⁰ The examples which contain two *have* constructions are listed twice, the studied construction being marked in bold letters.

17. [...] I am shocked to find that none of my pupils, though they are all acquainted with pastoral poetry, regards them as anything but a nuisance: and one of my colleagues has been heard to ask why **sheep have their wool cut off**.
18. In times when there are ever-louder grumblings about the money that is spent maintaining the Royal Family, it is imperative that **the public has its belief confirmed** that they are special, and in some way different from the rest of us.
19. **Having your hair cut** in a professional salon can be even more traumatic than going to the dentist.
20. Carmen and Nicky 'We would rather pay for designer labels than go to high street shops.' Sarah '**I had my top made** for me and it cost £70.'
21. According to more than one witness, **one of the nuns had her shoulder broken**.
22. **Kingfisher risks having its bid held up by a Monopolies Commission investigation** because of the grip it would have on the electrical retailing market if it controlled Dixons and Currys as well as Comet.
23. Over six months, **the inmates** were subjected to these totally unfair changes of routine, from small things like not getting coffee one day, to next day **having their cells raided** and all their possessions confiscated.
24. Over six months, **the inmates** were subjected to these totally unfair changes of routine, from small things like not getting coffee one day, to next day **having** their cells raided and **all their possessions confiscated**.
25. The Conservatives handed out the Greens 'fairly innocuous version of the 1989 Queen's Speech gratis, too, in the belief that it was time **the public had their eyes opened** to what the party was really about.
26. **He has his work cut out** for him.
27. **Jardine Matheson**, having moved in 1984 to Bermuda, last summer **had its shares listed** in London and Luxembourg, and redenominated its accounts in American dollars.
28. It can mean share-option schemes, so that **top executives have their wealth tied** (in both directions) to their firm's long-term performance.
29. **Most houses had their windows barred** as standard; wealthier householders went in for burglar alarms.
30. She was brainy -- that is, **she had her head stuffed with facts**, but she had neither the intelligence nor judgement to interpret their significance and relate them to the world.
31. Gazer was at a great disadvantage: **she had him cornered**, she was stronger than he was [...]
32. He ends up serving Laban for twenty years, in which time **he has his wages changed ten times** (and that does not mean continually increased, either).
33. I am distraught to learn of the demise of your mother and shut my ears to the ugly rumour that **you had her put to death** so that you could take up ballet-dancing.
34. You mean like Heloise cared for Abelard when **he had his balls cut off**?
35. All the evidence suggests that **she had her confessor wrapped around her little finger**: while claiming the complete obedience appropriate to her spiritual supervisor she in fact got round every attempt he ever made to make her moderate her life style; she persuaded him to confer his blessing and approval on her choices.
36. 'The potential for farm accommodation round the country is huge, 'she says. There are many low grade operations around, but **those registered with the Farm Holiday Bureau and the regional tourist boards have their quality endorsed** [...]
37. **Would You Have Your Baby Delivered By A WOMAN DOCTOR?**
38. Have chips no more than twice a week and if preparing them at home **have them cut very thick**.

39. What I'm sayin' is, the fuckin' fool went and sold out to Penumbra -- bad lady twice over. **She had him fixed à la intersex.**
40. **The mine had its tunnel driven into the side** of a steep bank, making the hill look as though it had a toothless mouth.
41. [...] and when **the archdeacon who rebuked her became the next bishop of Carthage she had her majordomo appointed as a rival**, with the support of the main body of Numidian bishops.
42. Yasmin , have you gone religious? 'He'd never asked me that before, but in fact my religion had been important to me all along; he only asked me that day because **I had my head covered.**
43. **I had my ears pierced** very young, and my nose pierced more recently.
44. **I had my ears pierced** very young, and **my nose pierced** more recently.
45. **Contributors had their hearts broken.**
46. Since **most people have their eyes set side by side**, only vertical edges are normally affected by parallax.
47. Knox recounts how they piled up a great heap of stones at the place of martyrdom, and no matter that **the priests had them removed**, and threatened excommunication, they were always replaced [...]
48. **Others had their cattle seized by Neville's men** until they paid extortionate fines, although their cases should have been heard before the king's judges.
49. **She had her heart set on it.**
50. **The leaders had their work cut out** keeping the group together, and one or both had to remain at the back to motivate the slower ones [...]
51. The nursing home to which **her husband has her committed** after her eccentricity has become dangerous, and from which she and the other residents are eventually ejected to be cared for by an amorphous `community', might have been lying in wait for her from the day she was born.
52. If you have teenagers at home, planning a meal can be tricky; you may think **you have them pinned down**, but one phone call and they are up and away to more exciting prospects.
53. It was because **I had my blinds closed** that I didn't get hurt.
54. In this case **the incomers had their homes bought** for them.
55. It was when **City had their man sent off** that we really needed Robbo's experience.
56. The only civilian is a confused old woman wandering around with her life's possessions in two plastic bags, and even **she has her documents checked.**
57. He admits he has tattoos around his waist depicting Hitler, Mussolini and Himmler. `Critics use this against me. So what? **I had them done** when I was a kid, in 1985 and 1986.
58. Although Anne Boleyn gave birth to Princess Elizabeth at Greenwich, in September 1533, there was no son forthcoming and Henry VIII became convinced that she had another lover, so **he had her beheaded** on 19th. May 1536 and married Jane Seymour on 30th day of the same month.
59. Furthermore, Miss Massiter explained that information gathered by MI5 was shared with other government departments for political purposes and gave examples of **how trade-union leaders had their telephones tapped by MI5** during wage negotiations with government departments.
60. **You had me worried** there for a moment, I can tell you.
61. The greatest Pharaonic inscription was defaced in antiquity; **the disgraced Roman Third Legion had its name hacked away.**
62. And there, in front of their destroyed city, **they had their photograph taken**, like a picture for a school magazine.

63. However, **she had her sights fixed on higher things** than the University of Suffolk, a new 'plateglass' university with a reputation for student vandalism.
64. **More than half of those receiving Family Credit had their occupations classified** as catering, cleaning, hairdressing and other personal services, clerical and selling.
65. Which within half an hour they will not be, for **I have them packaged** and ready to be delivered into your hands to do with as you shall see fit.
66. It was formerly the Leslie Palace, built by a Scottish mercenary who, in the Thirty Years' War, was implicated in the murder of Wallenstein, one of the most powerful men in Bohemia. So powerful indeed that **the emperor had him killed**.
67. His power eventually became a threat, so **the emperor had him taken prisoner** and murdered in 1634 at Cheb (Eger) **by two of his own officers, the Scot Leslie and the Italian Piccolomini**, both of whom were rewarded with palaces of their own.
68. His power eventually became a threat, so **the emperor had him taken prisoner and murdered** in 1634 at Cheb (Eger) **by two of his own officers, the Scot Leslie and the Italian Piccolomini**, both of whom were rewarded with palaces of their own.
69. There was a silence; then a growing murmur, that grew rapidly to a hubbub of comment and argument around Eachuinn Odhar, while **he had his horn refilled** to ease his throat and sat back, ears alert for the tone of the reaction.
70. **He** snapped up the rouble and with a few deft movements **had me seated**, safety-belted and away.
71. **He** snapped up the rouble and with a few deft movements **had me seated, safety-belted** and away.
72. Sometimes **you have your guts investigated** after working too hard for too long, and discovering that things have gone astray Down There.
73. If **cells have their position specified** as in a coordinate system and also have rules for interpreting the positional information, then it is possible [...]
74. The process by which **cells have their fate fixed** is known as determination.
75. [...] **the cells in the limb have their position specified** and this determines how they will behave.
76. In our model, **the cells in the progress zone have their position specified** along the two axes **by two different mechanisms**.
77. For example, a small study in Scotland found that **89 per cent of pensioner couples had their benefits reduced**.
78. **An Axminster has its tufts inserted** as a separate operation and knotted under the warp.
79. **An Axminster has its tufts** inserted as a separate operation and **knotted** under the warp.
80. Transferred to the shore in 1870. DS 23. sea porkypine, i.e. sea porcupine, **fish having its skin covered with spines**, e.g. sun-fish.
81. Even before birth, the fetus can be infected from the mother's blood via the placenta, and for this reason, **pregnant women have their blood tested** to detect, e.g. syphilis so that treatment can be provided to ensure that the baby is not infected.
82. My father and mother both died in the Royal Hampshire Country Hospital; my second grandchild was born there; **my daughter had her appendix removed** there and my wife had an MOT there.
83. In 1891 the point was severely reiterated by Dr Maclagan, the Archbishop of York, who was a strong objector to moustaches despite having been a major in the Madras cavalry and who walked 'as though **he had his loins girded by a sword belt**'.
84. Just before Christmas when she was twelve, **she had her hair plaited** in a hundred little plaits with a bead on the end of each plait.

85. So long as he's our man, it does n't matter whether **we have him shot** for the murder of Daniel or this other fellow.
86. It was **sheer self deception had me conned!**
87. At least **I've my shortbread baked**, I wouldn't give the bought stuff houseroom.
88. Rio Tinto has bought into all the mines only in the past few years; and **it has its sights set on expansion.**
89. **Ontario trucks had their tyres slashed.**
90. Suspecting a mild heart attack, **his doctor had him admitted to hospital** but tests were negative and he was discharged after a few days.
91. While we're delighted to hear of Mr Pearce's 'hands-off' philosophy to maintenance, we would strongly recommend that **Ford owners have their vehicles serviced** at a Ford dealer in accordance with the scheduled service intervals.
92. **I had my heart set on a soft-top** -- preferably a Corvette or a Mustang -- and I wasn't going to let a spot of bracing weather stand in my way.
93. **This Congress had its roots planted in Paris** in 1878 at the French Universal Exhibition when a hastily-assembled meeting of twenty-seven teachers of the deaf was arranged.
94. **He has his work cut out.**
95. On the way down **I had my camera tied** to my waist and it started to drop [...]
96. If **the Scottish Fold has its ears cleaned**, the Canadian Sphynx is kept warm and the Californian Ragdoll is kept away from juvenile tormentors, they can all lead contented and fulfilled lives.
97. I remembered that **Valerie Briscoe-Hooks had her vests pinned** to her shorts, which I had thought looked quite smart.
98. **Both horse and rider had their necks broken.**
99. Because the child wouldn't go into the sea, **she had her taught to swim** in the local baths.
100. **I had them processed** at the one-hour place, cost me a fortune but & hellip; He's called Frederico.
101. They put them on their arms, but Julian noticed his were of different lengths, one covering his hand, the other leaving his hand extended beyond the edge. He did not like this and changed them for two of the same length. Later **they had them set in a row** near the climbing frame.
102. If **you have your hair done** once a week could you set it yourself and just visit the hairdressers for a cut every two months?
103. It is easy enough to put another interpretation on the behaviour of the Robinses, to argue that they were doing their best in trying circumstances (to forbid German was not a bad way of teaching English), and that **they had their work cut out** dealing with precocious children.
104. **I have your dress prepared** for tomorrow.
105. In December 1812 one of **her creditors had her arrested** for debt, as he was entitled to under the still operating Lords' Act of 1759.
106. The 1974 Rehabilitation of Offenders Act states that **anyone jailed for between six months and two and a half years has their conviction wiped out** after 10 years.
107. They state that neutered dogs may be exhibited, but if **he has his hernia repaired**, your vet may insist on informing the Kennel Club.
108. Care must be exercised on returning home, and ideally the dogs should be separated while **they have their leads taken off** and their muzzles fitted.
109. Care must be exercised on returning home, and ideally the dogs should be separated while **they have their leads taken off and their muzzles fitted.**

110. **Starting Grid Many components such as transformers, relays and integrated circuits have their terminals arranged** on a regular grid [...]
111. Then (somewhat sneakily) **I had them fed** not 1,000 but 1,500 calories daily.
112. The best treatment for this is a Ultra-Violet Clarifier. These are usually plumbed into the outflow from a filter, but **some filters have them built in**.
113. We had two violins, a viola, a cello and a contrabass and we overdubbed that quartet four times, so on record it sounds like a chamber orchestra rather than just a quartet. Live, **I have them sampled**, though.
114. [...] but the amps he's been using recently (until **he had them nicked** from his car) were Marshall Valvestate 80s .
115. WHAT TO DO NEXT Once **you have your answers sorted out**, dial the 'Guitar Of The Year' hotline on [...]
116. Would **you have your hair cut**?
117. As a kid my **Pop had me measured** and fitted into Kiltie or Start-Rite lace-ups, which despite my protests I wore until I was 16, feeling stupid at school hops and the youth club when all the other girls were in strappy sandals or black velvet 'boppers'.
118. As a kid my **Pop had me measured and fitted into Kiltie or Start-Rite lace-ups**, which despite my protests I wore until I was 16, feeling stupid at school hops and the youth club when all the other girls were in strappy sandals or black velvet 'boppers'.
119. This ghost, in the absence of a head, carries a huge flaming pumpkin to light his way as he tears after late-night travellers at break-neck speed to see whether **they have his head secreted** in their luggage.
120. [...] lawyers, politicians and policemen; dead, alive, in gaol or simply missing – if they had appeared in print, and often if they had not, **he had them filed**.
121. After those championships **she has her sights set on a more demanding six-day track event** in Australia [...]
122. We must get to our bunks or they'll be taken!' 'How can they be taken?' Ruth said. '**We have them booked** and paid for.'
123. We must get to our bunks or they'll be taken!' 'How can they be taken?' Ruth said. '**We have them booked and paid for**.'
124. If that is true, why does **someone with a lavish lifestyle** have a right to **have that maintained** while families who have defaulted on £20,000 mortgages have their homes repossessed?
125. If that is true, why does someone with a lavish lifestyle have a right to have that maintained while **families who have defaulted on £20,000 mortgages have their homes repossessed**?
126. **SERB warlords** were last night warned to keep their planes away from Bosnia or **risk having them blasted out of the sky**.
127. **A TEENAGER had his arm ripped off at the shoulder by a cement mixer** yesterday.
128. Which **supermodel** is featured in the book **having her toe sucked by Madonna**?
129. Later she became so paranoid about their power that **she had her room searched for bugs**.
130. **The former Page 3 girl had him banned** from their £750,000 mansion after a fiery row and the couple announced they were to split.
131. Swindon swept back within seconds for Maskell to score, but a minute later **he had his spot-kick turned around the post by Steve Sutton**.

132. When in 1916, the Metropolitan Police insisted on all trams being fitted with side lamps, the remainder of **the Croydon fleet had them fixed in small wooden boxes** under the edge of the canopy.
133. **More than 6,000 members have their subscription paid by direct debit** from their firm's account.
134. But as Brian Harris, the Institute's director of Professional Conduct, pointed out, **the Disciplinary Committee had its hands tied** because the transgression took place before a resolution raising the ceiling on fines took effect.
135. At the end of August, **Templeton Emerging Markets Investment Trust had its portfolios invested** as follows: 0.9% Mexico, 2.6% Chile, [...]
136. It could be monotonous work for an aspiring and impatient young painter and Thomas Girtin (1775-1802) for one rebelled against the repetitive work, with the result that **his master Edward Dayes had him put in prison** for breaking the terms of his indentures.
137. This occurred when **they had their children baptised** or mothers came into contact with other Christian young mums through the play group organised by the church.
138. 'And **you have your clothes draped around** so that the place looks like a hand-me-down shop,' he grumbled.
139. [...] to be brought up an orphan in the convent in second-hand clothes, and sent to a secretarial course when **she had her heart set on going to university** without being mown down by a car on her first week.
140. **Joiners of yesteryear had their names stamped on their wooden planes and saw handles.**
141. **This news had them puzzled.**
142. HOW OFTEN DO YOU HAVE YOUR HAIR CUT?
143. There is no need to **have your hair cut** short to get rid of the bleached highlights before you have your hair coloured back to its natural shade.
144. There is no need to have your hair cut short to get rid of the bleached highlights before **you have your hair coloured** back to its natural shade.
145. A year and half ago **I had my hair permed** and didn't like it.
146. I used to model for a hairdresser -- Herberts in Liverpool -- and **I had my hair dyed** blonde and red, it looked great -- honest, but as it started to grow out I neglected it.
147. **Shops had their blinds drawn down** and the shopkeepers stood in their doorways as a mark of respect.
148. Each week **the ladies** spent anxious hours in Andrew's Beauty Salon **having their hair tinted** and set [...]
149. Each week **the ladies** spent anxious hours in Andrew's Beauty Salon **having their hair tinted** and set [...]
150. [...] the conditions attaching to the licence renewal had been imposed solely to prevent **local residents having their sleep disturbed** at unsocial hours.
151. **That bastard had him baptized a Protestant.**
152. [...] yet **those who experienced most directly the turmoil, disruption and loss of the war have their information locked** within their memory.
153. **He had him killed** after John had criticised Herod's marriage to Herodias, the wife of his half-brother Herod Philip (Luke 3:19).
154. **ELTON John's manager has his sights set on Hollywood.**
155. Under Islamic law, rapists, murderers and drug traffickers are beheaded in public while **convicted thieves have their hands amputated.**
156. **WOMEN factory workers fighting for equal pension rights had their case referred to the European Court of Justice** yesterday.

157. **A CAPTAIN had his finger bitten off by a lion on board ship.**
158. A TOP salesman sacked for shirking after **his boss had him tailed by a private eye** won £11,000 compensation yesterday.
159. The hospital confirmed **he** spent 40 minutes **having his injuries examined.**
160. **Their proud father had them painted** wearing their new finery.
161. **Two of the women had their throats slit** after the rapes,' the report states.
162. Even while Dick was lowering Martin to the ground, **he had his head turned** in the direction of the dark blur standing out against the night [...]
163. [...] the woman, who was the exact antithesis of her niece, being thin and bony; even her arms, showing bare where **she had her sleeves rolled up** almost to the armpits, looked fleshless.
164. It was A & hellip; who arranged the chairs this evening, when **she had them brought out** on the veranda.
165. [...] people had asthma attacks and **a girl had her wrist broken.**
166. **WOULD YOU HAVE YOUR HAIR SHAVED OR COLOURED IN A REALLY WEIRD WAY FOR A PART?**
167. **WOULD YOU HAVE YOUR HAIR SHAVED OR COLOURED IN A REALLY WEIRD WAY FOR A PART?**
168. This will entitle your man to a 20% discount on each appointment if **he has his hair cut** at least once a month.
169. **WOULD YOU HAVE YOUR HAIR CUT OFF FOR AN ALBUM COVER?**
170. **WOULD YOU HAVE YOUR HAIR SHAVED OFF FOR A FILM OR VIDEO?**
171. But **she has her work cut out.** Not only must she cope with Cherie's distressing withdrawal symptoms, she also needs eyes in the back of her head to curb a two-year-old 's natural mischief.
172. But **Bulldog has his teeth bared** and ready to sink any rival.
173. Highlight of the evening was undoubtedly the rather drunken arm-wrestling tournament during which **losing contestants had their fists pressed** into plates of guacamole and refried beans.
174. But **I had my heart set on training a bird.**
175. **I had her shipped out** from England as deck cargo.
176. If **employees, consumers, and other corporate victims had their awareness sharpened** and supported by **trade unionism, consumerism, and environmentalism**, and if the state and legal institutions could be shamed into closing the gap between lofty principles and tawdry practices [...]
177. If **employees, consumers, and other corporate victims had their awareness sharpened** and **supported by trade unionism, consumerism, and environmentalism**, and if the state and legal institutions could be shamed into closing the gap between lofty principles and tawdry practices [...]
178. Law 26 Foul Play It is unfortunate that we have in the Australia v New Zealand Second Test seen **a player have his nose broken** through illegal play, and the player's union concerned choosing not to use this new law change.
179. The eagle still had its talons in the goat , and **the goat had its horns embedded in the eagle.**
180. **The man had his arms stretched out** to either side. The parrot was scuttling along from arm to arm across his shoulders.
181. She did show me her papers, later on. **She had them hidden** in a box, in the store room.

182. I was awful, in those days I was into acid green sleeks and **I had my hair cut** in a triangle.
183. **He had them bound into a small handbook**, which he carried around with him at all times, like a passport.
184. Gifted though mankind is in creating sheer wanton destruction, **nature has him whacked every time**.
185. **'You have me confused**, Professor, 'Hawkins said.
186. **He has his money stashed away** -- 'stashed' is the word?
187. **Steffi** had planned in 1990 to take a break in the Caribbean after Wimbledon, but ended up in a hospital bed **having her sinuses worked on** instead.
188. **We had our photo taken** with her, plus she had presents from the supporters.
189. All men stand under God's just wrath; but **the elect have his love opened** to them through Jesus.
190. People who did wrong, **the master had them imprisoned** there.
191. Hence **if a High Elf dragon has its rider killed** add +1 to the D6 roll on the Monster Reaction Table to see what it does next.
192. This was condemned in western countries, but feeling against jews was common everywhere: **Freud's father had his hat knocked off by a Gentile** who shouted at him 'Jew, get off the pavement', and Jewish shops were smashed by miners in Tredegar in 1911.
193. **I had her followed** to the airport.
194. **All the other divisions have their functions spelt out**.
195. [...] 3 there is hidden selection within option schemes; 4 in practice **many pupils have their choices denied**; 5 pupils should keep options open for post-16 education and not be denied opportunities at later stages; [...]
196. In a national sample of 533, **only four teenage mothers had their babies adopted** in 1979 (Simms and Smith, 1982).
197. Anyway, whatever its name, it put up a noble fight before it was gaffed and brought on board, and **I had my photograph taken** with the catch after we landed back on the beach.
198. **All the companies had their contracts renewed**.
199. [...] they did not sail as fast as local ships until **the Company had its ships built of teak** some decades later.
200. **We have our fingers crossed** that all the right things will happen and we hope they will be a big success.