Calquing a Quirk: The Role of Social Conditioning in the Spread of the HAVE perfect across Europe

BRIDGET DRINKA
Top 10 of the rarest characteristics as found in NW Europe (Cysouw 2011: 425)

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<tr>
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WALS Perfects
Have perfects in western Europe

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<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>German</th>
<th>French</th>
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<td></td>
<td>I have seen</td>
<td>ich habe gesehen</td>
<td>j’ai vu</td>
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The quirkiness of the have perfect

- Perfects themselves not rare: found in almost 50% of world’s languages
  (Dahl and Velupillai 2013)
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- Perfects themselves not rare: found in almost 50% of world’s languages (Dahl and Velupillai 2013)

- But HAVE perfects, derived from a possessive, are extremely rare:
  “a European quirk, unparalleled elsewhere in the world”
  (Cysouw 2011: 425)
Correlated with presence of ‘have’ possessive?

• Dahl (1990: 7) says yes
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- But Masica’s (1976) maps do suggest that having a ‘have’ possessive helps
Old World Distribution of the Verb Have
(Masica 1976: 167)
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Standard Average European
(Haspelmath 1998)
Charlemagne Sprachbund

The area of western Europe where languages adhere to an array of similar grammatical patterns, often referred to as “Standard Average European” (SAE), coincides fairly closely with the area ruled by Charlemagne in the 9th century, hence, his name for it, the “Charlemagne Sprachbund”
“Charlemagne Sprachbund”
Isopleth Map for Tense-Aspect
(Van der Auwera 1998b)
BE/HAVE Perfects in Europe
II. BE / HAVE area

- Reinforcement of BE / HAVE contrast in core Romance and Germanic languages
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• Core area: contrast of aux’s extended and made more precise
II. BE / HAVE area

- Reinforcement of BE / HAVE contrast in core Romance and Germanic languages
- Core area: contrast of aux’s extended and made more precise
- Peripheral area: contrast diminished or lost; HAVE usually prevails
III. Perfect > Preterite

- In nuclear area within core
III. Perfect > Preterite

• In nuclear area within core
• First appears in Paris, spread to parts of France, southern Germany, northern Italian
Annales Regni Francorum
741 Carolus maior domus *defunctus est*

‘Charles [Martel], mayor of the palace, died’
761 Dum et supranominatus rex synodum suum teneret in villa, quae dicitur Dura, nuntiatum est ei, quod Waifarius in omnibus mentitus est;

‘While the King was holding his assembly at the villa which is called Düren, he was informed that Waifar had lied
And when he had come to that place, he explained the affair with Tassilo, just as it had occurred […] since he had promised under oath that he would be obedient and loyal in everything to the Lord King Charles, his sons, and the Franks"
820    In eo conventu Bera comes Barcinonae, qui iam diu fraudis et infidelitatis a vicinis suis insimulabatur cum accusatore suo equestri pugna conligere conatus vincit. Cumque ut reus maiestatis capitalis sententia damnaret parsum est ei misericordia imperatoris, et Ratumagum exilio deportatus est.

‘At this assembly Count Bera of Barcelona, who for a long time had been accused by his neighbors of bad faith and treason, tried to contend with his accuser in combat on horseback but was defeated. He was first condemned to death for lèse majesté but then was pardoned by the mercy of the emperor and was taken away into exile to Rouen.’
Et ut in externa profecti domi omnia tuta dimitterent, Carlomannus Grifonem sumens in Novocastello, quod iuxta Arduennam situm est custodiri fecit, in qua custodia usque ad tempus, quo idem Carlomannus Romam profectus est dicitur permansisse.

‘To make sure everything was well dispatched at home while they were abroad, Carloman took Grifo and held him at Neufchâteau, which is located near the Ardennes Mountains, where Grifo is said to have remained in custody until Carloman left for Rome.
Empire of Charlemagne at the time of his death, 814 AD
Social conditioning in three calques of have perfect

- **Old High German and Old Saxon**: within Charlemagne Sprachbund
  - Acquired perfects through scribal and vernacular influence of Latin and Romance
  - Illustrate the role of “roofing” and prestige
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- **Czech:** centuries-long influence from German
  - Calqued a HAVE perfect alongside its native BE perfect
  - Constructed a perfect/aorist contrast modeled closely on German
  - Verbal paradigm revamped but suppressed in standard by language purists
  - Demonstrates the capacity of social motivation to “trump” internal linguistic factors
The “Roofing” of the Charlemagne Sprachbund in Germanic
Germanic Perfects: Native or Latinate?

“An important procedure, not yet utilized by Gothic and doubtlessly owing in the beginning to imitation of Vulgar Latin models, is that which consists of uniting the participle with the verb ‘to have’.”

(Meillet 1970:70)
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(Meillet 1970:70)

“[The] structural conditions for this innovation were present in Germanic, [and the development of the HAVE perfect was an] autonomous development in Germanic and owes nothing to the influence of Latin.”

(Benveniste 1971: 178-9)
Germanic have Perfects: Native or Latinate?

- **Gothic**: NO grammaticalized HAVE perfect. Offers strong support that the other Germanic languages constructed their HAVE perfects later on the model of Latin (Drinka 2011).
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- **ON:** In ancient runic inscriptions, only one periphrastic (passive) has been found; more recent runestones do show HAVE perfects, but they date to the 11th-c. Viking period.
Germanic have Perfects: Native or Latinate?

- **OHG**: earliest texts contain no HAVE perfects. None in Isidor (late 8th c.), the interlinear version of the Benedictine Rules, the Murbacher Hymns, or the Weißenburger Katechismus. They only begin to appear in the 9th century: Tatian, the Muspilli, the Ludwigslied, and Otfrid (Ebert 1978: 58).
Germanic have Perfects:
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Conclusion:
Germanic periphrastic perfects were rare and ungrammaticalized in the oldest layers of Germanic.
Old High German in the Carolingian Empire

• Isidor: translation of the 7th century Latin treatise by Isidore of Seville,
  • imperial church politics
  • strong connection to the Carolingian court.
  • translated in late 8th century, possibly at Murbach
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  • innovative rhyming couplets based on Latin poetic style, not older Germanic alliterative style.
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- **Notker, c. 950-1022**
  - worked at St. Gall, one of the most important abbeys in the Carolingian realm
  - translated numerous Latin works, including Boethius’ *De consolatione philosophiae*, and works of Aristotle, Virgil, and Terence.
  - heavy structural influence from Latin
OHG have perfects

• Isidor (late 8\textsuperscript{th} c.): 0 HAVE perfects

• Tatian (825 – 850): 6 HAVE perfects

• Otfrid’s (c. 870): 32 HAVE perfects

• Notker (c. 950-1022): 79 HAVE perfects
Lat: arborem fici habebat quidam plantatam in vinea sua.

OHG: phigboum habeta sum giflanzotan in sinemo uuingarten

fig-tree had a_certain_man planted in his vineyard

‘A certain man had a fig tree planted in his vineyard’
OHG Have Perfect: Otfrid III 17.13

OHG *wizist  thaz, thiz wib  firworahht habet ira lib*

knowest that  this woman **forfeited**  **has**  her life

‘you know that this woman has forfeited her life’
OHG have perfect: Notker 783, 11

OHG \textit{Uuir \textit{eigun gesundot} sament unseren forderen}

‘We have sinned with our fathers’
OHG be perfect

Latin **synthetic** deponents tend to be translated by

- intransitive verbs
  
  (Lat. *laetari* = OHG *frôôn* ‘rejoice’)

- passives
  
  (Lat. *consolabuntur* = OHG *thiê uuerdent gifluobrit*  
   ‘they will be consoled’)

- or, especially, by reflexives
  
  (Lat. *laetari* = OHG *fréwan sib* ‘rejoice’)

OHG be perfect

But Latin periphrastic deponents and intransitives tend to be translated by periphrastic BE perfects:

Isidor 3,9

Latin  *per illum cuncta creatae esse noscuntur*

‘through him all created be. INF know.3PL.PRS.PASS’

OHG  *dhurah inan ist al uuordan dbazs chiscaffanes ist*

‘Through him everything that is created has come into being.’
OHG be perfect: Tatian 131,17

Latin:
Dixerunt itaque ei: nos ex fornicatione non sumus nati
Said.3PL and_so him.3SG.DAT we from fornication not are born

OHG:
Tho quadun sie imo: uuir ni birumes fon buore giborene
Then said.3P they him we not live from fornication born

“Then they said to him, “We are not born from fornication””
OHG be perfect: Tatian 13,15

Iam inim securis ad radicem arborum posita est
Now for axe at root of_trees laid is

Giu is accus gisezzit zi vwrzulun theru boumo
Now is axe laid at root the of_trees

‘Now the axe is laid at the root of the trees’
OHG be perfect: Tatian 135, 24

trohtin, hersuibbit in: fior taga biliban ist
Lord stinks already four days lain is
‘Lord, he stinks already: he has lain four days.’
OHG be perfect: Otfrid II 7,67

‘Thu bist’, quad er, ‘herasun queman’
Thou art quoth he hither come
‘You have’, he said, ‘come here’
OHG be perfect: Notker I 81, 19

taz tīr in loz keuallen ist
that to_you by lot fallen is
‘which has fallen to you by lot’
**Have and Be Perfects in German from 1000-1650 (based on Oubouzar 1974)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Works</th>
<th>Have (%)</th>
<th>Be (%)</th>
<th>Total Verbs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Notker (early 11th c.)</td>
<td>79 (1.3)</td>
<td>73 (1.2)</td>
<td>6,186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niebelungenlied (early 13th c.)</td>
<td>616 (5.5)</td>
<td>216 (1.9)</td>
<td>11,260</td>
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<tr>
<td>Märterbuch (early 14th c.)</td>
<td>237 (4.7)</td>
<td>70 (1.4)</td>
<td>5,090</td>
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<tr>
<td>Heidin (early 14th c.)</td>
<td>88 (5.6)</td>
<td>28 (1.8)</td>
<td>1,565</td>
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<tr>
<td>Constanzer Concils (early 15th c.)</td>
<td>184 (4.7)</td>
<td>104 (2.7)</td>
<td>3,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ackermann (early 15th c.)</td>
<td>111 (8.7)</td>
<td>35 (2.7)</td>
<td>1,275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fortunatus (early 16th c.)</td>
<td>711 (8.8)</td>
<td>323 (4.0)</td>
<td>8,110</td>
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<td>Luther (early 16th c.)</td>
<td>324 (10.3)</td>
<td>98 (3.1)</td>
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<td>Wickram (mid 16th c.)</td>
<td>904 (15.9)</td>
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<td>Melanchthon (mid 16th c.)</td>
<td>279 (14.2)</td>
<td>102 (5.2)</td>
<td>1967</td>
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<td>Simplicius (mid 17th c.)</td>
<td>705 (12.6)</td>
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HAVE AND BE PERFECTS IN GERMAN FROM 1000-1650 (BASED ON OUBOUZAR 1974)
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- Evidence exists that Otfrid relied on the Heliand as a model
- The Heliand was clearly composed in a Frankish context
Old Saxon perfects : The Heliand

771 nu habad thit lioht afgeben Erodes the cuning
now has the light left Herod the King
‘now Herod the King has left the light’
Old Saxon perfects : The Heliand

771 nu habad thit lioht afgeben Erodes the cuning
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895-6 Ic bium an is bodskepi herod an thesa uuerold cumen
I am on his mission here to this world come
‘I have come to the world on his mission’
Heliand: be and become perfects

4619-20 Thiu uuurd is at handun, thea tidi sind nu ginahid
thy fate is at hand the times be.PRES.PL now neared
‘Thy fate is at hand, the time has now drawn near’

13 examples of uuerdan used as an auxiliary, 8 of which retain the inflection on PP.
2728-9 Tho uurðun an themu gertale Iudeo cuninges tidi cumana
Then become.PRS.SG in the year Jewish king’s time come.PP
‘Then, in the course of the year, the Jewish king’s time had come’

94 Tho uuard thiu tid cuman that thar gitald habdun
Then become.PRET.SG the time come.PP that there foretold had
‘then came the time that [wise men] had foretold’

2398-99 Sum eft bifallen uuard an êna starca strâtun
Some however fall.PP become.PRET on a hard road
‘Some, however, fell on a hard road’
Heliand perfects: Germanic or Latin source?

Several scholars (Davis 1986; Arnett 1997) propose a Germanic source for the OS perfects, claiming that the text was not a translation of Latin or Greek, and noting that the perfects were productive in OS: Arnett (1997: 34), for example, lists 182 examples of the periphrastic perfect in the 5,983 lines of this work, 139 with HAVE, 43 with BE.
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The essential role of Latin as a source cannot, however, be excluded:
• the Heliand falls squarely in the Latin *Vetus* tradition
• it shares many features with other translations of the *Diatesseron*
• it shows strong connection to Frankish and Anglo-Saxon scholarly traditions
Political and Confessional Realignment in Portuguese
Christian and Muslim borders in 950
Christian and Muslim borders in 1150
Christian and Muslim borders in 1300
Portugal and Castile in 1400
Key Developments in the History of Portugal

- Visigothic rule (6th – 7th c.) followed by Muslim control of three-quarters of the Iberian peninsula (8th -11th c.) hampered contact beyond the Pyrenees until the late 11th c.
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- In 1080, Pope Gregory VII instituted the Roman Liturgy, but the county of Portugal refused to give up the Visigothic rite.
- Portugal seceded from Leonese rule, and, in some sense, seceded from the Charlemagne Sprachbund.
Old Portuguese auxiliary use

Transitive:  
- **aver**  *as chamado*  
  ‘you have called’
- **ter**  *tenho vystos e ouvydos muitos enxempros*  
  ‘I have seen and heard many examples’

Intransitive:  
- **aver**  *as dormido*  
  ‘you have slept’
- **ter**  *tiinha ele ja andadas duas leguas*  
  ‘he has gone 2 miles’

Unaccusative:  
- **ser**  *somos chegados*  
  ‘we have (lit. are) arrived’
À sombra do lindo céu
eu jurei, tenho jurado
não ter mais outros amores
só a ti tenho amado.

‘In the shadow of the lovely sky
I swore, I have sworn
not to have any more other loves;
only you have I loved’
NW Spanish: Galician

abríu a folla de enriba da porta e tívoa aberta un istantiño
‘the window on top of the door opened and stayed open for a brief instant’

que dona Amelia tiña dito moitas vegadas
‘which Dona Amelia had said many times’

Esa era outra cousa na que teño cavilado.
‘This was another thing that I have (repeatedly) pondered’
Galician influenced by Castilian

Había deixado os estudios.
‘I had left my studies.’

Anteriormente tiña sido verde, agora é moura, denegrida, marrón, arrubiscada
‘Previously it had been green, now it is dark, blackened, brown, ruddied’
COMPARISON OF HABER AND TENER IN SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE OVER TIME
New World Spanish and Portuguese

• Many archaisms
• Preference for the synthetic preterite
• Perfects tend to imply iterativity or durativity, like Continental Portuguese or Castilian of the Renaissance
Old Aragonese: HAVE and BE Perfects

es ydo      ‘is gone’
passado es   ‘has (lit. is) passed’
Ways of expressing the anterior in Standard Arabic

katab-a r-risaalat-a l-aan-a
write.PFV-3SG ART-letter-ACC now
‘he has written the letter now’

maryam-u ntaḏar-at zaynab-a munḏu saaţatayni
Miryam wait.PRV-3SG.FEM Zaynab since two hours
‘Miryam has waited for Zaynab for two hours’
Ways of expressing the anterior in Classical Arabic

qad kataba
‘he has written’
Maltese ‘sit, stay’ with durative meaning

wara li ʔaˈdu jɐdduː-h
after that DUR.ACC.3PL INAC3.threaten.3PL-him
‘after they had threatened him many times’
Ways of expressing the anterior in Standard Arabic: Active participle deriving from nouns

Retrospective use: Qu’ran 36:16
rabbunā ya‘lamu ’innā ’ilaykum la-mursalūna
Lord.ours knows certainly-we to-you.PL ASSERTIVE-sent_ones
‘Our Lord knows that we have been sent on a mission to you.’

Prospective use: Qu’ran 40: 49
’inna s-sā‘ata la-’ātiyatur
Certainly ART-hour ASSERTIVE-coming_thing
‘The Hour is coming’
Ways of expressing the anterior in Standard Arabic:
Active participle deriving from nouns

Retrospective use: Qu’ran 28: 8

’inna fir’awna wa-hāmāna wa-ğunūdahumā kānū ḥāṭi‘īna

Certainly Pharaoh and Haman and their hosts their were-3PL sinners

‘Certainly Pharaoh and Haman and their hosts were sinners /had sinned’
Ways of expressing the anterior in Standard Arabic:
Active participle deriving from nouns

Gulf Arabic

.il-ğāhil  mākil  ġadā-h
ART-child  eat.ACT.PTCP.M.SG  lunch-his

‘The child has eaten his lunch’
Portuguese perfect with durative meaning

Agora já tem comido
Now I have eaten
‘Now I have taken on the habit of eating’
Expected morphological features

• parallel morphological developments
Expected morphological features

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• a diminished use of periphrastic perfects as anteriors, with a corresponding increased use of synthetic preterites for this purpose
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• a diminished use of periphrastic perfects as anteriors, with a corresponding increased use of synthetic preterites for this purpose
• an intensification of aspectual distinction in the verb system
Evidence for aspectual distinction

1. The distribution of *haber/tener* grew to be parallel to *ser/estar*—a distinction made solely on the Iberian Peninsula
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2. The evidence from Old Castilian and Old Portuguese points to early variability between *haber* and *tener* as HAVE auxiliaries:
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   - Castilian grew in the use of the periphrastic perfects, specializing the two verbs for HAVE as a verb of possession (*tener*) and an auxiliary (*haber*).
   - Portuguese, Galician, and other western varieties underwent a drastic diminution in the frequency of the perfects, and adopted *ter* as both the verb of possession and the auxiliary.
Evidence from Judeo-Spanish

- *tener* is greatly preferred as the auxiliary of the present perfect
Evidence from Judeo-Spanish

- *tener* is greatly preferred as the auxiliary of the present perfect
- *aver* is preferred for the past perfect
Evidence from Judeo-Spanish

- *tener* is greatly preferred as the auxiliary of the present perfect
- *aver* is preferred for the past perfect
- resembles Portuguese, Galician, Asturian, and Leonese in use of *tener*
  but also in denoting current relevance.
Boundary building

“During the eleventh century, the efflorescence of Arabic culture in Spain was accompanied by the first real advances of the Christian reconquest. One effect of the Christian successes may have been a hardening of the linguistic differences, as one marker of the group boundaries that came to be more strongly etched in Iberian life at precisely this time.”

Wasserstein (1991: 13)
Revamping verbal paradigms and language purism in Czech
BE/HAVE Perfects in Europe
Possessive Resultatives in Baltic & N. Slavic (Wiemer & Giger 2005)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>BE aux</th>
<th>HAVE aux</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>primary</td>
<td>secondary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lithuanian</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>(+)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latvian</td>
<td>+</td>
<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. Russ</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>NW Russ</td>
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<td>+</td>
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<tr>
<td>Belarus</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ukrainian</td>
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<tr>
<td>Polish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kashubian</td>
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<td>Czech</td>
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<td>Slovak</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sorbian</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Newer W. European profile:

have + n/t participle (Wiemer & Giger 2005)
Have Perfect in Czech: Jan Hus, 1414

svědky [...], jež mám všecky sepsány

Witnesses, that have.1SG all note.PPP.PL

‘witnesses [who have spoken against me] all of whom I have noted’

(Wiemer and Giger 2005: 95)
Have perfect in Czech: c. 1450

Czoz na nych wiecze zadate, nezli ulozene gmate
What from them more ordered than impose.PPP have
‘What you demand from them more than have imposed’
(Wiemer and Giger 2005: 95)
Have perfect in Czech: mid-15th century

And for her great beauty he had her continually locked up in some tower

‘And because of her great beauty he had her continually locked up in some tower’

(Dickey 2013: 115)
Yesterday, Jestříbský came from Your Grace and gave me the letter'
Psaní V. M., […] jest mne došlo,
letter Your Grace be.PRES.3SG to_me come.PAP.M.SG
kterémuž jsem porozuměla
which be.PRES.1SG understand.PAP.F.SG
‘Your Grace’s letter, […] has come to me, which I have understood’
(Dickey 2013: 114)
Habsburg influence

1526: Bohemia, Moravia, and parts of Croatia were annexed
1583: Dynastic capital moved from Vienna to Prague.
   Effect on perfects:
   3ps periphrastic perfects increased
1611: capital moved back to Vienna.
   Effect on perfects:
   3ps periphrastic perfects disappeared
### Czech calques of German constructions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Czech</strong></th>
<th><strong>German</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>podíl bráti ‘to take part’</td>
<td>Theil nehmen (&gt; teilnehmen)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skládati díky ‘to express thanks’</td>
<td>Dank ablegen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napadáti + ACC (not DAT)</td>
<td>es fällt mir ein ‘it occurs to me’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skrz na skrz ‘completely’</td>
<td>durch und durch ‘through and through’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spokojen s + INSTR ‘content with’</td>
<td>zufrieden mit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máme vybrano ‘we have won’</td>
<td>wir haben gesiegt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Have perfect in modern spoken Czech

Už máš objednáno?
already have.PRES.2SG order.PPP.N.SG
‘Have you already ordered?’

(Dickey 2013: 115 ftnote)
Have perfect in modern spoken Czech

Pan Beyer *měl vlasy rozdělené nad čelem*
Mr. Beyer *had hair part.PPP on forehead*
‘Mr. Beyer *had his hair parted on his forehead*’ (B. Němcová)
(example from Wiemer and Giger 2005: 92)
Within the W. Slavic languages, we find the spread of the have resultative to different degrees, depending on the level of contact with German and on the threats to identity rising from other sources.

- While Bohemian developed HAVE resultatives using the PPP, the Moravian dialect of Brno, so-called Hanakisch, developed perfects using the PAP. This fact is surely tied to the extremely high number of German speakers in the towns.
- Slovak, on the other hand, shows a pattern closer to Bohemian, and may have based its HAVE resultatives, few in number, on these.
Conclusions

The Romance and Germanic languages provide considerable support for the existence of the Charlemagne Sprachbund: its borders correspond almost perfectly with the borders of the HAVE and BE dichotomy in the perfects of western Europe. As a result of the political and social ties established during the time of Charlemagne, innovative strengthening of the dyadic relationship between HAVE and BE tended to occur in the core area, with BE periphrastics undergoing significant growth; in the peripheral areas, this growth did not occur.
Conclusions

The role of Carolingian Latin in establishing this innovation, with its tendency to use deponents and middles in ever-expanding contexts, is undeniable.
Conclusions

The Old Continental West Germanic languages add support to the claim that the HAVE perfect did not exist in Proto-Germanic, and did not grow up independently in the Germanic languages. Rather, evidence has been presented that the Germanic HAVE perfect was constructed on the model provided by Latin, first, through extensive contact with vernacular Late Latin spoken in Merovingian Gaul in the 6th-7th centuries and, subsequently, through the reinforcement of written Latin, especially that connected with the Carolingian court and church.
Conclusions

In the periphery, Spanish and Portuguese adopted this innovation to varying degrees, depending on their geographical and social distance from the Carolingian realm. The Portuguese perfects retain a number of archaisms which reflect the refusal of Portugal to adopt the Roman rite and its disaffiliation with the Carolingian realm; those varieties of Spanish which lie closer to the Carolingian territory, such as Aragonese, have developed the BE / HAVE contrast.
Conclusions

It is also suggested here that the development of durativity and iterativity as special features of the perfect on the Iberian Peninsula may have been modeled upon Arabic perfects formed with *qad* ‘sitting’ or active participles, as a result of the seven centuries of contact between Arabic and the Romance varieties of Al-Andalusia. Those varieties which developed this feature—especially Portuguese, Judeo-Spanish, and Sicilian—all experienced long-term contact with Arabic.
Conclusions

Within the W. Slavic languages, we find the spread of the HAVE resultative to different degrees, depending on the level of contact with German and on the threats to identity rising from other sources. Bohemian, Moravian, and Slovak all show different outcomes based on these factors.
Conclusions

Linguistic purism may have succeeded in stigmatizing the HAVE resultative in Czech, so that it has not entered the standard language, and has not fully grammaticalized to the status of “perfect.” But the construction continues to be used frequently in speech, along with a “staggeringly” large number of other calques from German.
Social conditioning in three calques of have perfect

• **Old High German and Old Saxon**
  Illustrate the role of “roofing” and prestige

• **Portuguese**
  Highlights the linguistic repercussions of political and confessional realignment

• **Czech**
  Demonstrates the capacity of social motivation to “trump” internal linguistic factors