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

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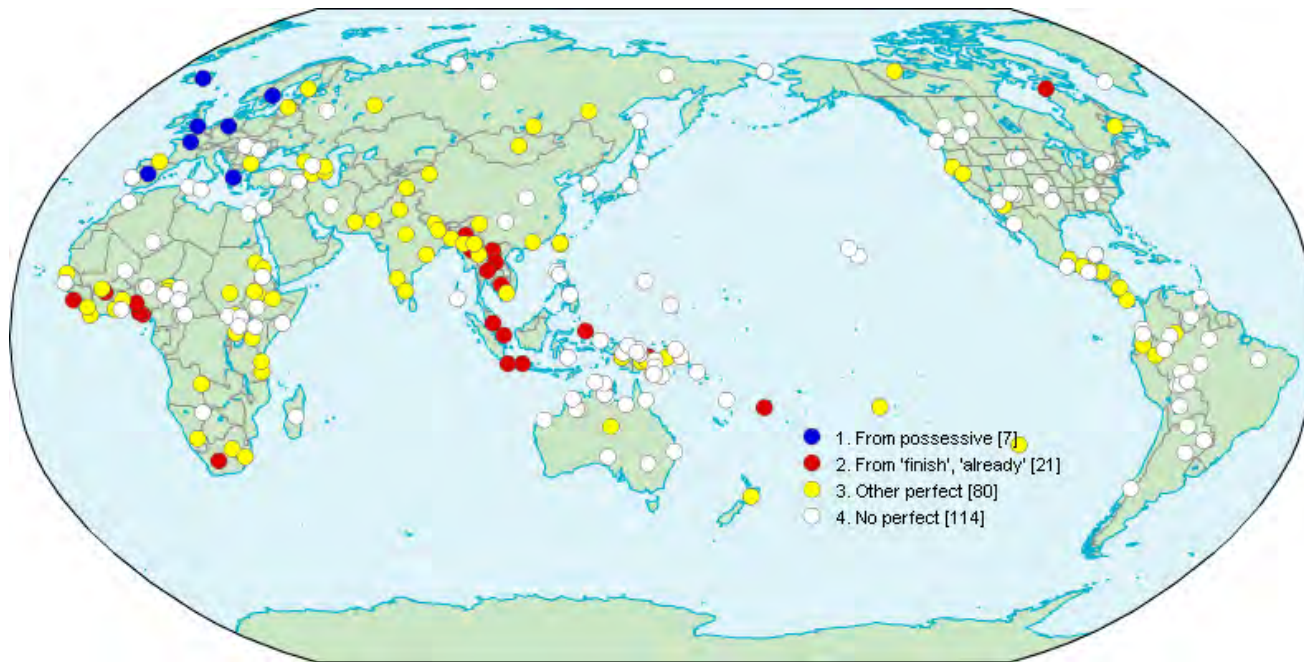
Top 10 of the rarest characteristics as found in NW Europe (Cysouw 2011: 425)

RARITY	FEATURE	EXCEPTIONAL VALUE IN EUROPE
8.39	Polar Questions	Interrogative word order
7.96	Uvular Consonants	Uvular continuants only
7.93	The Perfect	Perfect of the 'have'-type
7.56	Coding of Evidentiality	Modal morpheme
4.58	Demonstratives	No distance contrast
4.32	Negative Indefinite Pronouns	No predicate negation present
4.15	Front Rounded Vowels	High and mid
3.46	Relativization on Subjects	Relative pronoun
3.14	Weight-Sensitive Stress	Right-oriented, antepenultimate involved
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WALS Perfects

Legend:
- 1. From possessive [7]
- 2. From 'finish', 'already' [21]
- 3. Other perfect [80]
- 4. No perfect [114]

Have perfects in western Europe

English	*I have seen*
German	*ich habe gesehen*
French	*j'ai vu*

The quirkiness of the have perfect

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(Dahl and Velupillai 2013)

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- Perfects themselves not rare: found in almost 50% of world's languages

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- But HAVE perfects, derived from a possessive, are extremely rare:

  "a European quirk, unparalleled elsewhere in the world"

  (Cysouw 2011: 425)

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- But Masica's (1976) maps do suggest that having a 'have' possessive helps
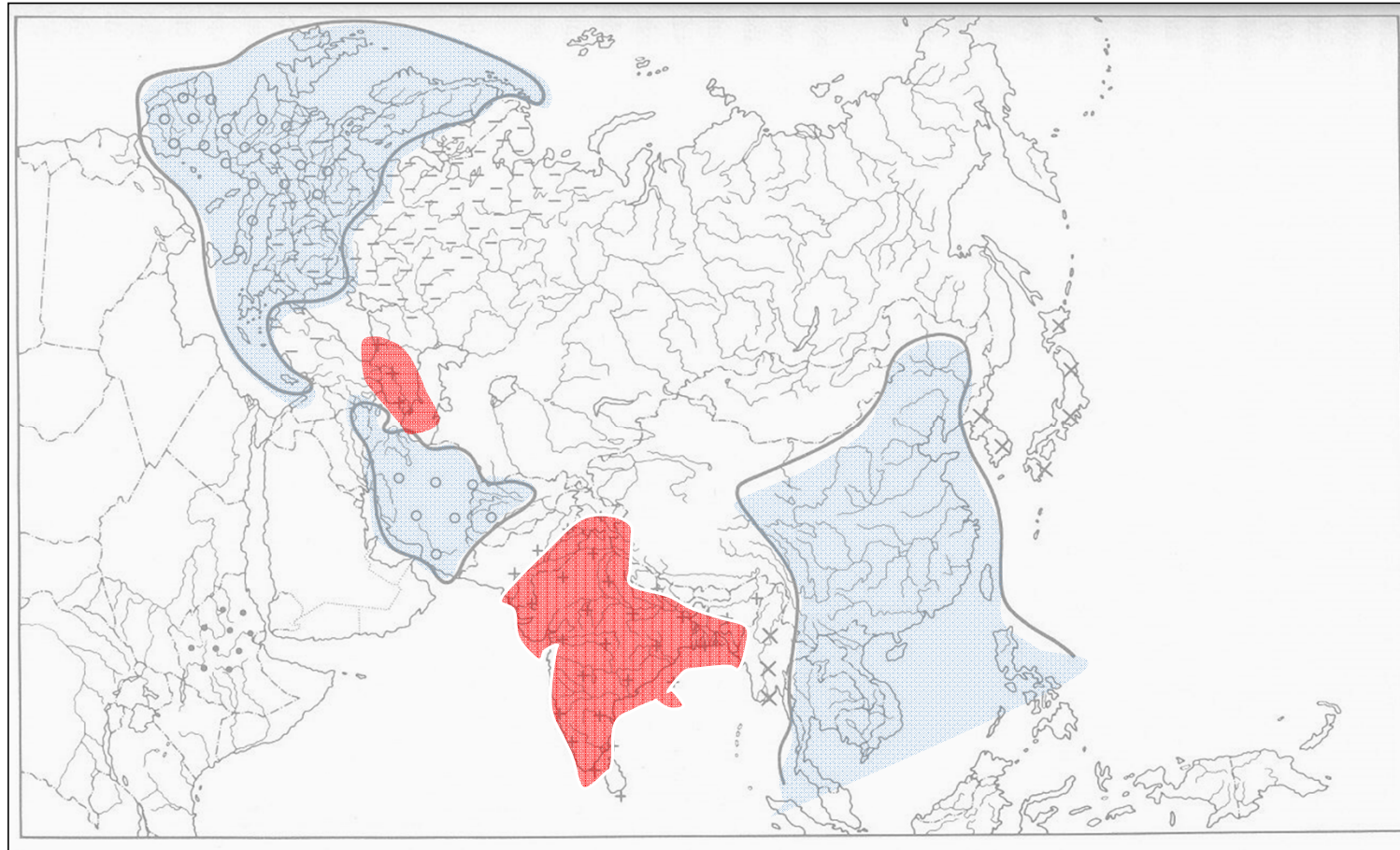
Old World Distribution of the Verb Have
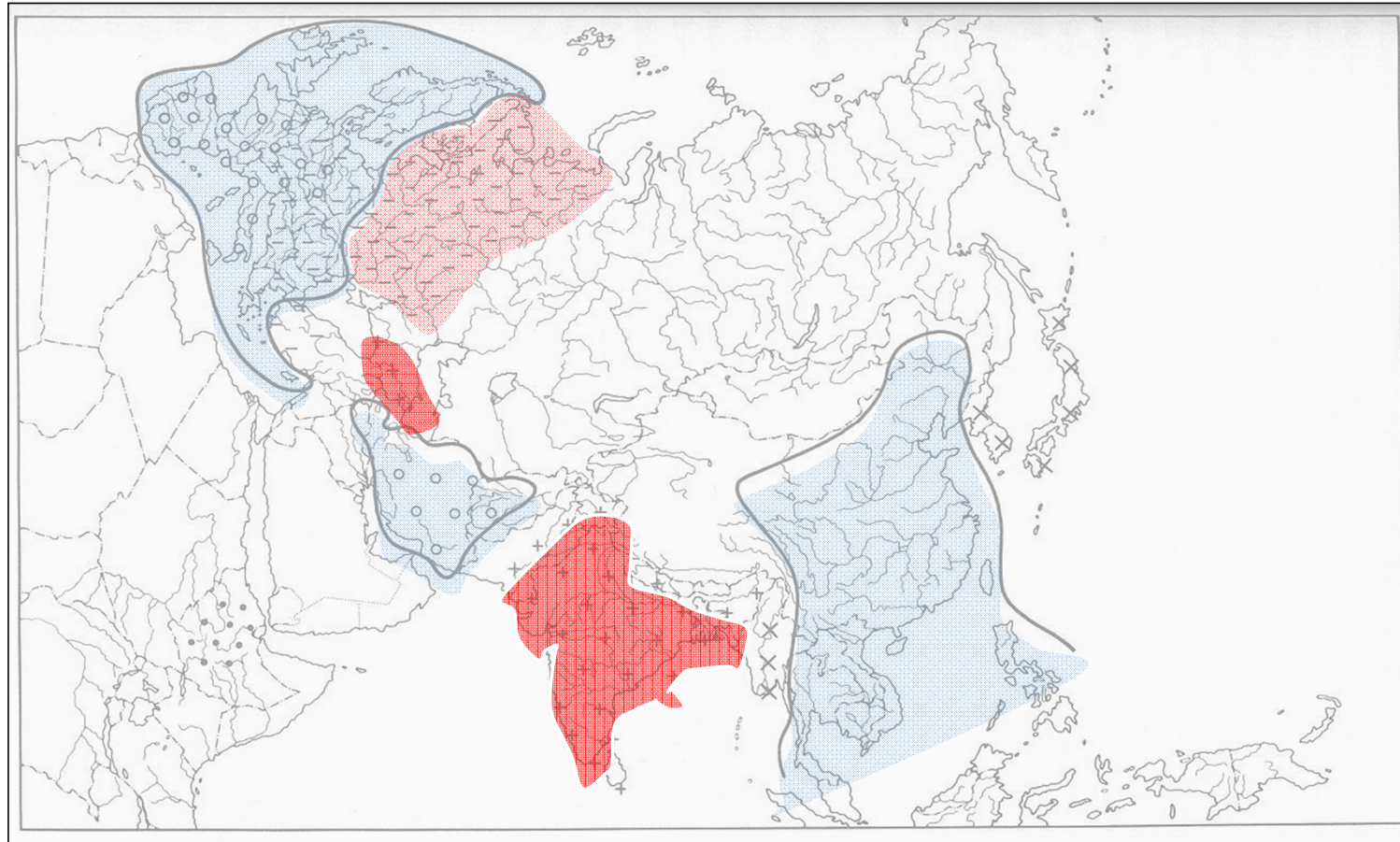## (Masica 1976: 167)
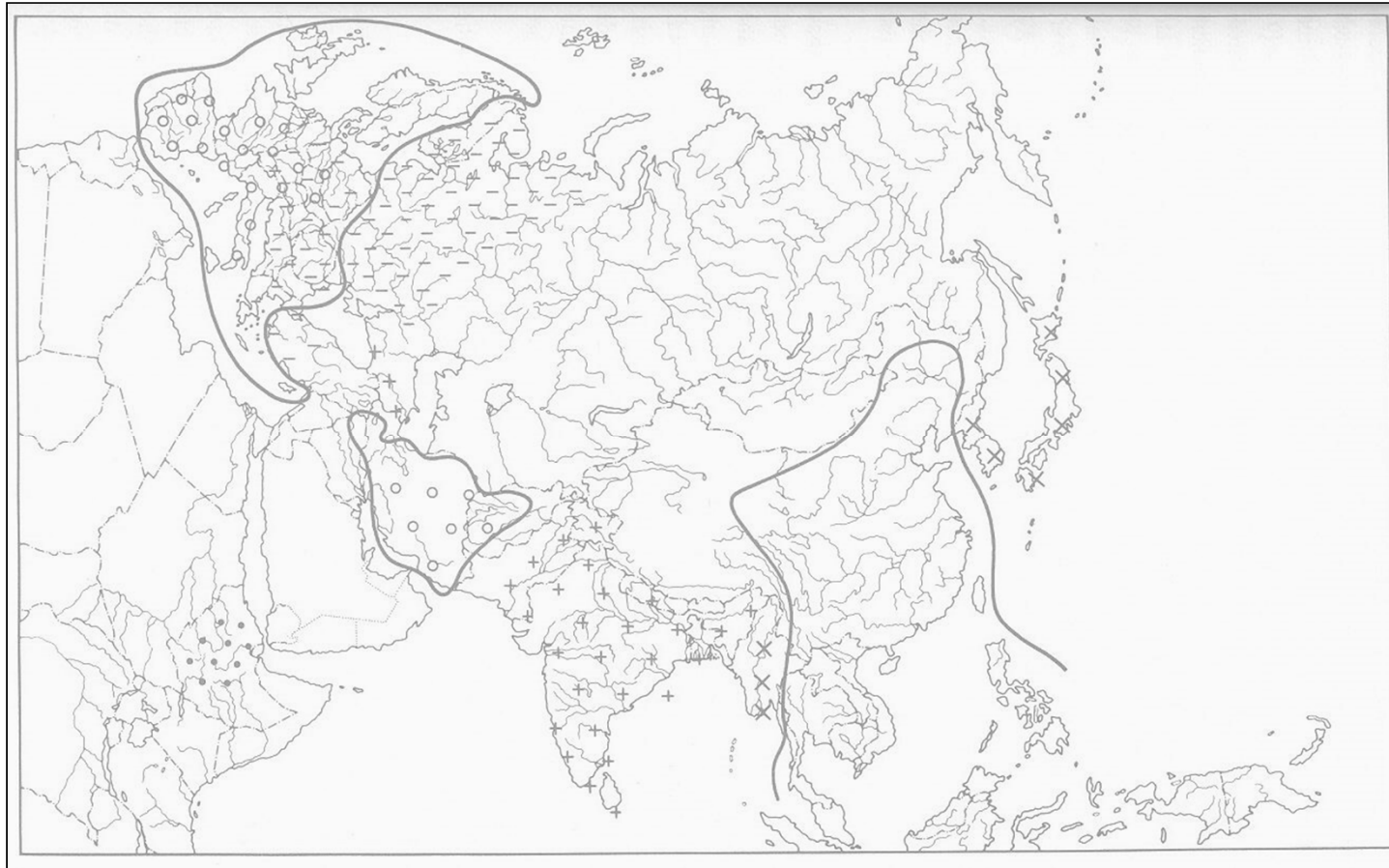
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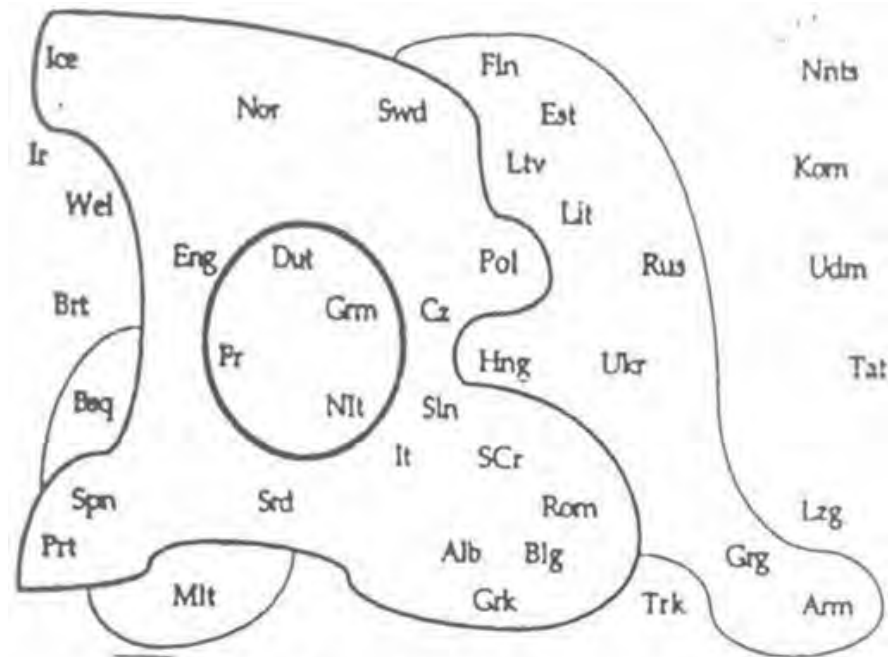## (Masica 1976: 167)
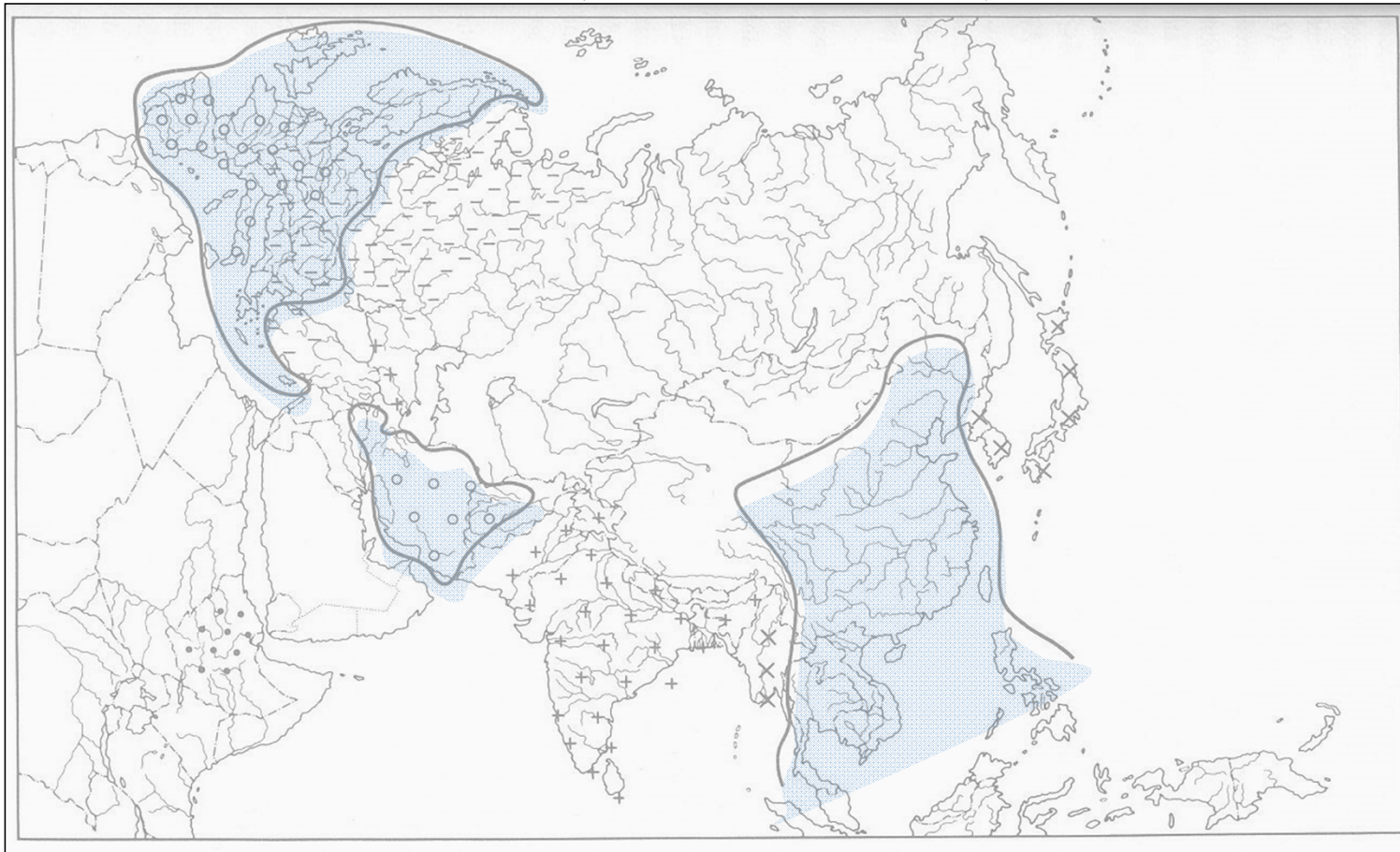
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Standard Average European
(Haspelmath 1998)


Standard Average European (nucleus, core, periphery).

(from 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)

Nor Fin

Ir Dan Lith Rus

Eng Dut Pol

Grm

Fr Hng

Bsq Slve Rum

It

Spn Blg Trk Arm

Alb

Grk

Mlt
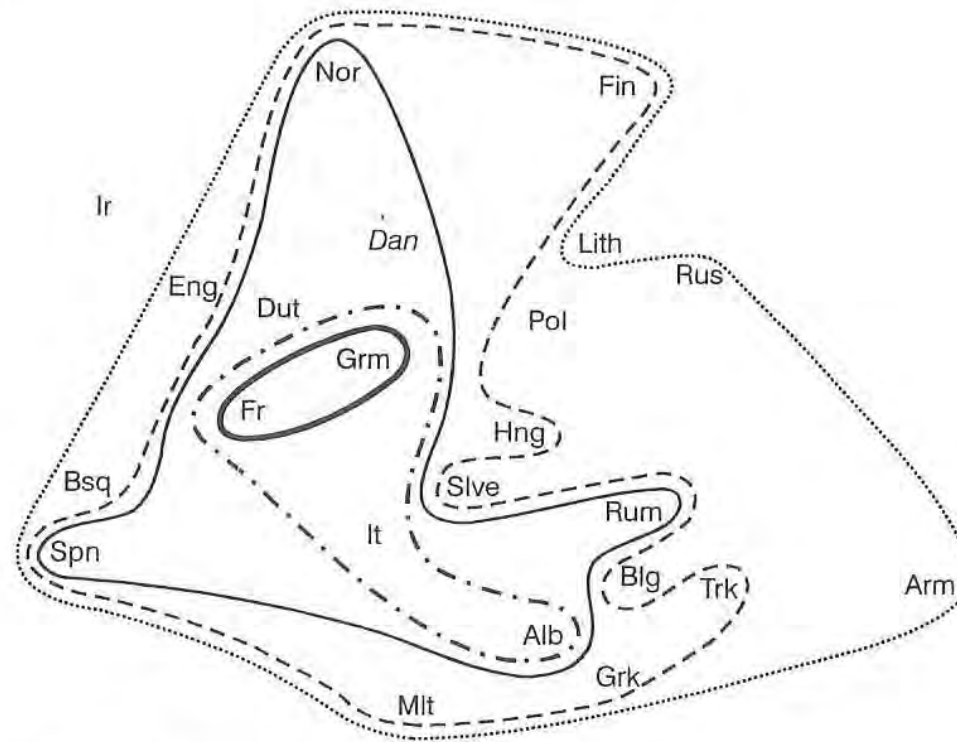
———— : 8 features   ------ : 4 features
—·—·— : 7 features   ·········· : 3 features
———— : 5 features

BE/HAVE Perfects in Europe
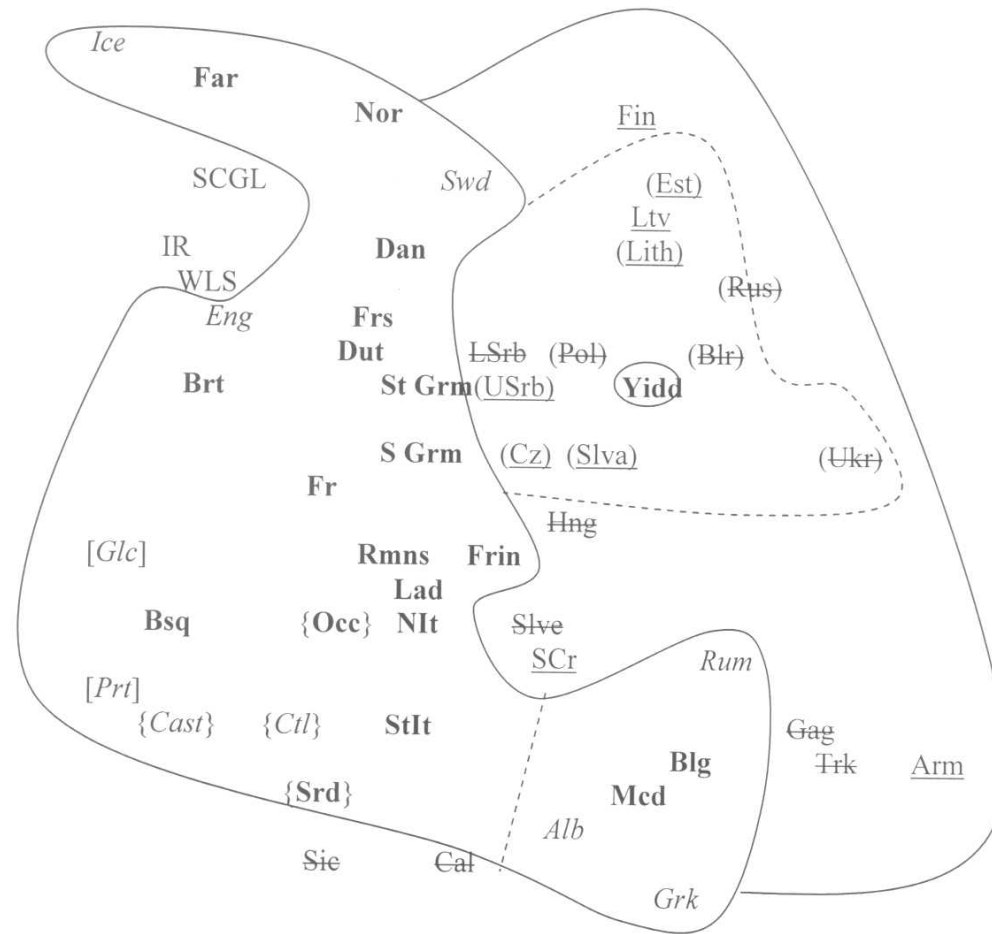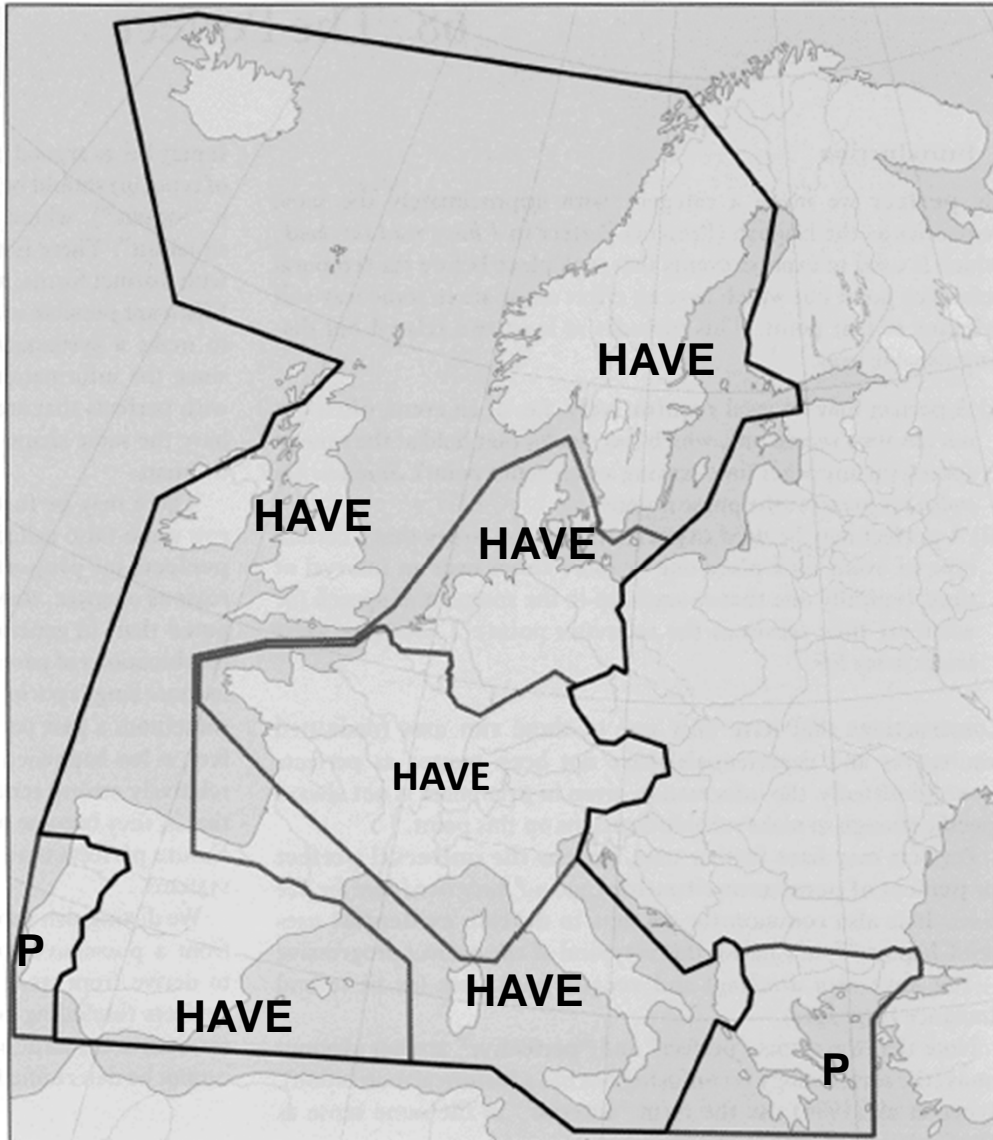
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- Reinforcement of BE / HAVE contrast in core Romance and Germanic languages
- Core area: contrast of aux's extended and made more precise
- Peripheral area: contrast diminished or lost; HAVE usually prevails

HAVE

HAVE

HAVE /BE

HAVE /BE

P

HAVE

HAVE/BE

P

24
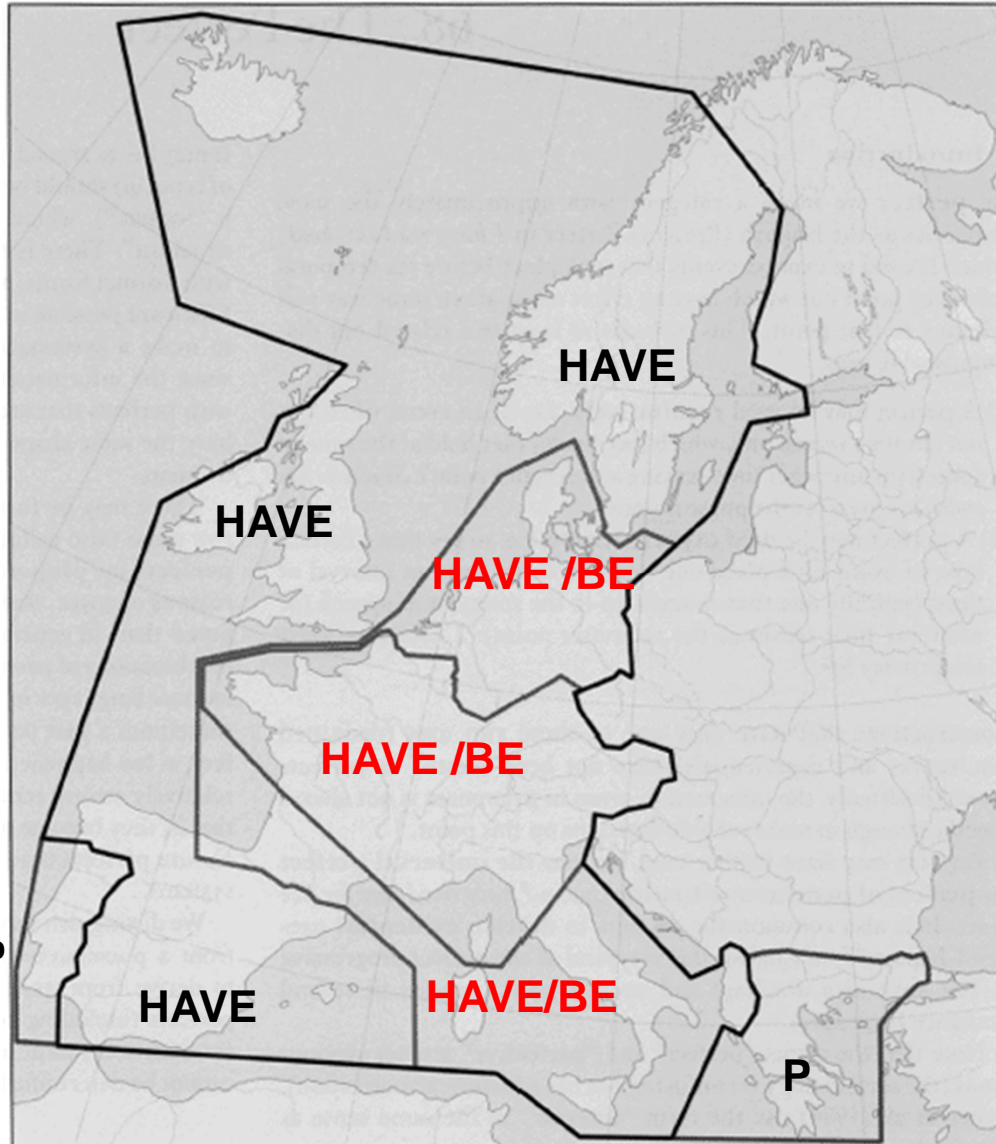
III. Perfect > Preterite

- In nuclear area within core

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- First appears in Paris, spread to parts of France, southern Germany, northern Italian

HAVE

HAVE

HAVE /BE

PERF > PRET

P

HAVE

HAVE/BE

P
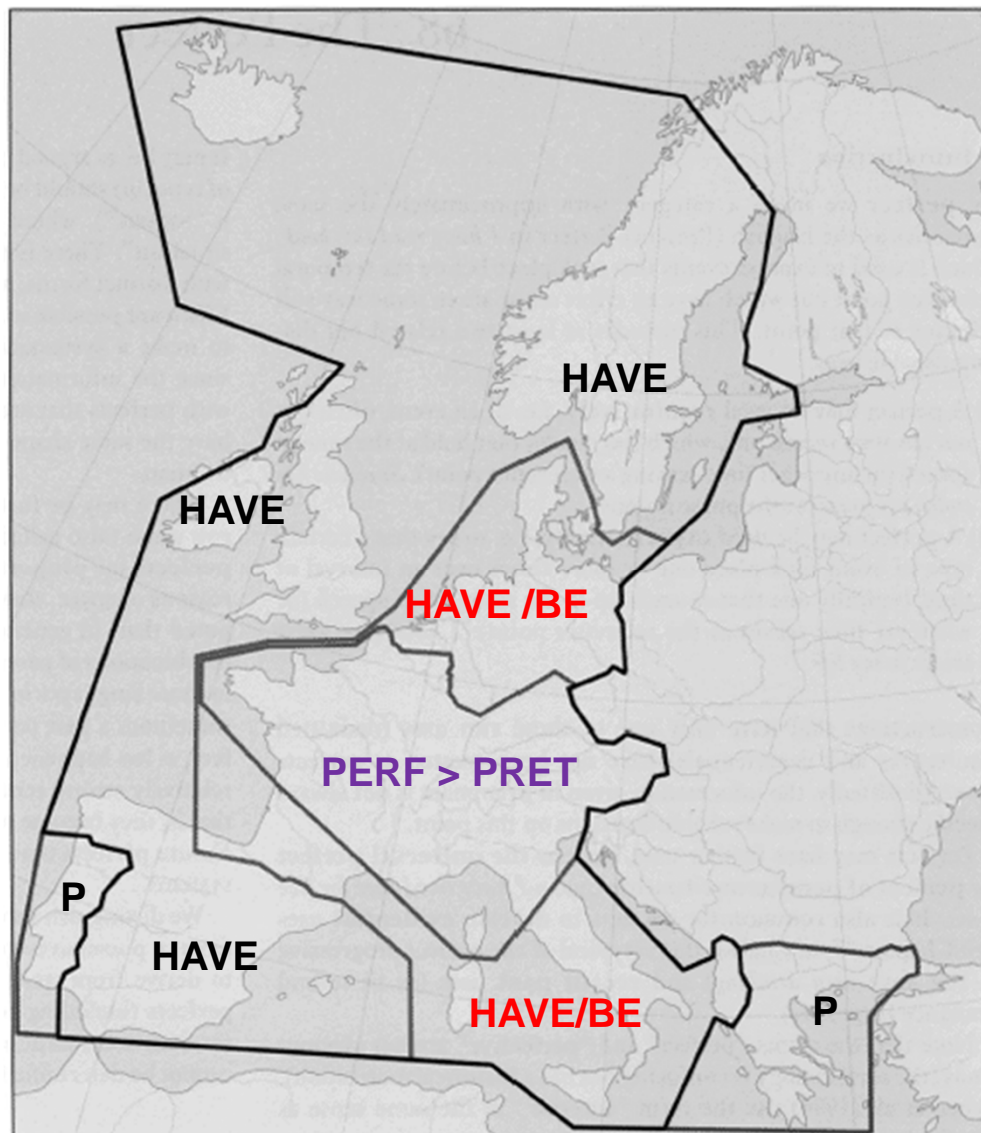
Annales Regni Francorum
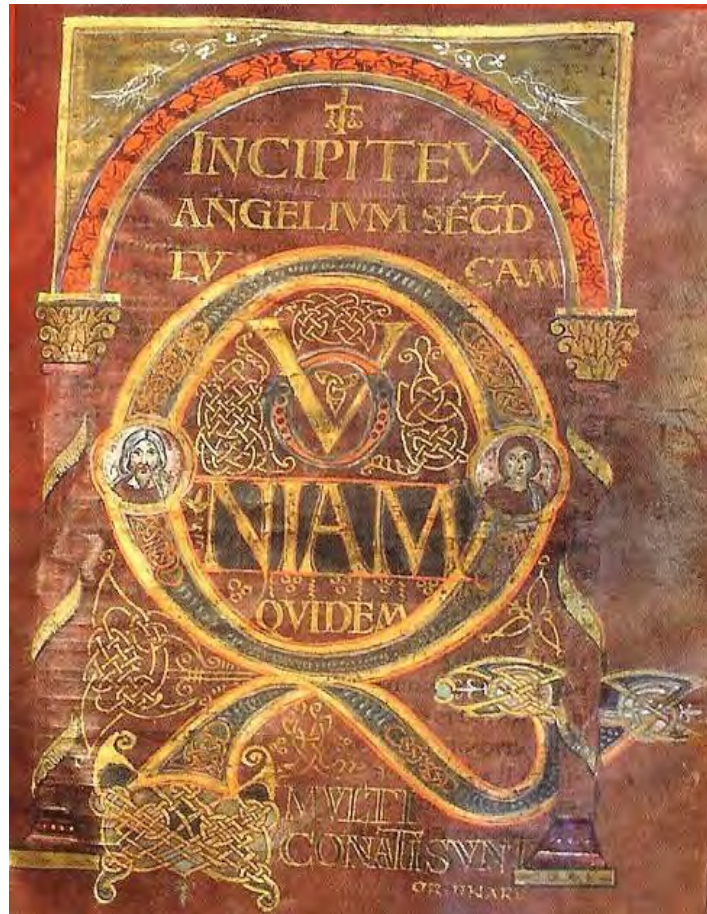
Annales Regni Francorum
Early

741   Carolus maior domus defunctus est

   'Charles [Martel], mayor of the palace, died'

Annales Regnis Francorum Early

761Dum 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

Annales Regni Francorum
Middle

787 Et cum venisset ad hoc locum, quod omnia explanasset de parte Tassilonis, sicut actum erat […]: eo quod sub iureiurando promissum habebat ut in omnibus oboediens et fidelis fuisset domno rege Carolo et filiis eius vel Francis

'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'

31

Annales Regni Francorum
Late

820   In eo conventu Bera comes Barcinonae, qui iam diu fraudis et infidelitatis a vicinis suis insimulabatur cum accusatore suo equestri pugna confligere conatus vincitur. Cumque ut reus maiestatis capitali sententia damnaretur 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.'

Annales Regni Francorum: Reviser

741   Et ut in externa profecti domi omnia tuta
dimitterent, Carlomannus Grifonem sumens in Novo-
castello, 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.

33
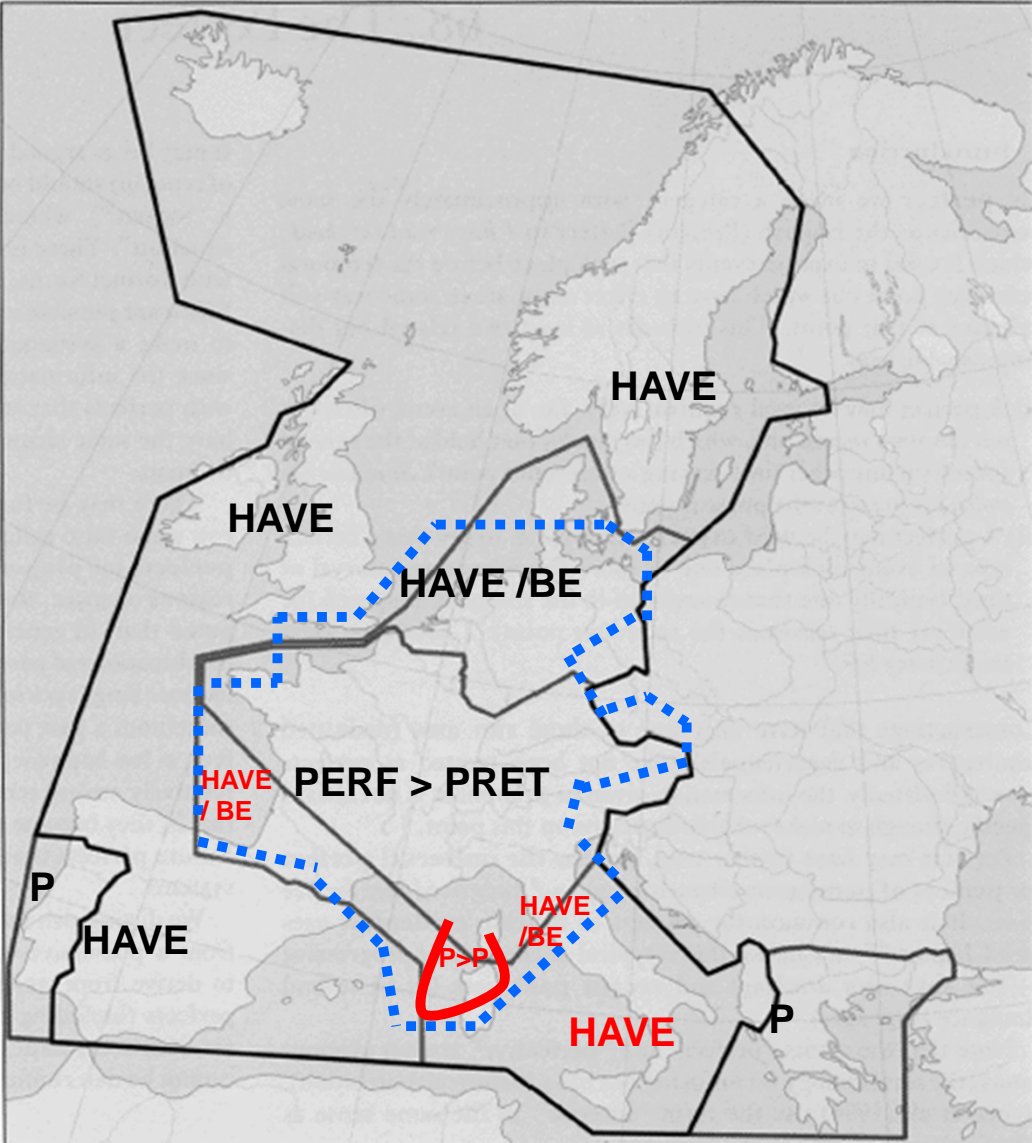
Empire of Charlemagne
at the time of his death, 814 ad
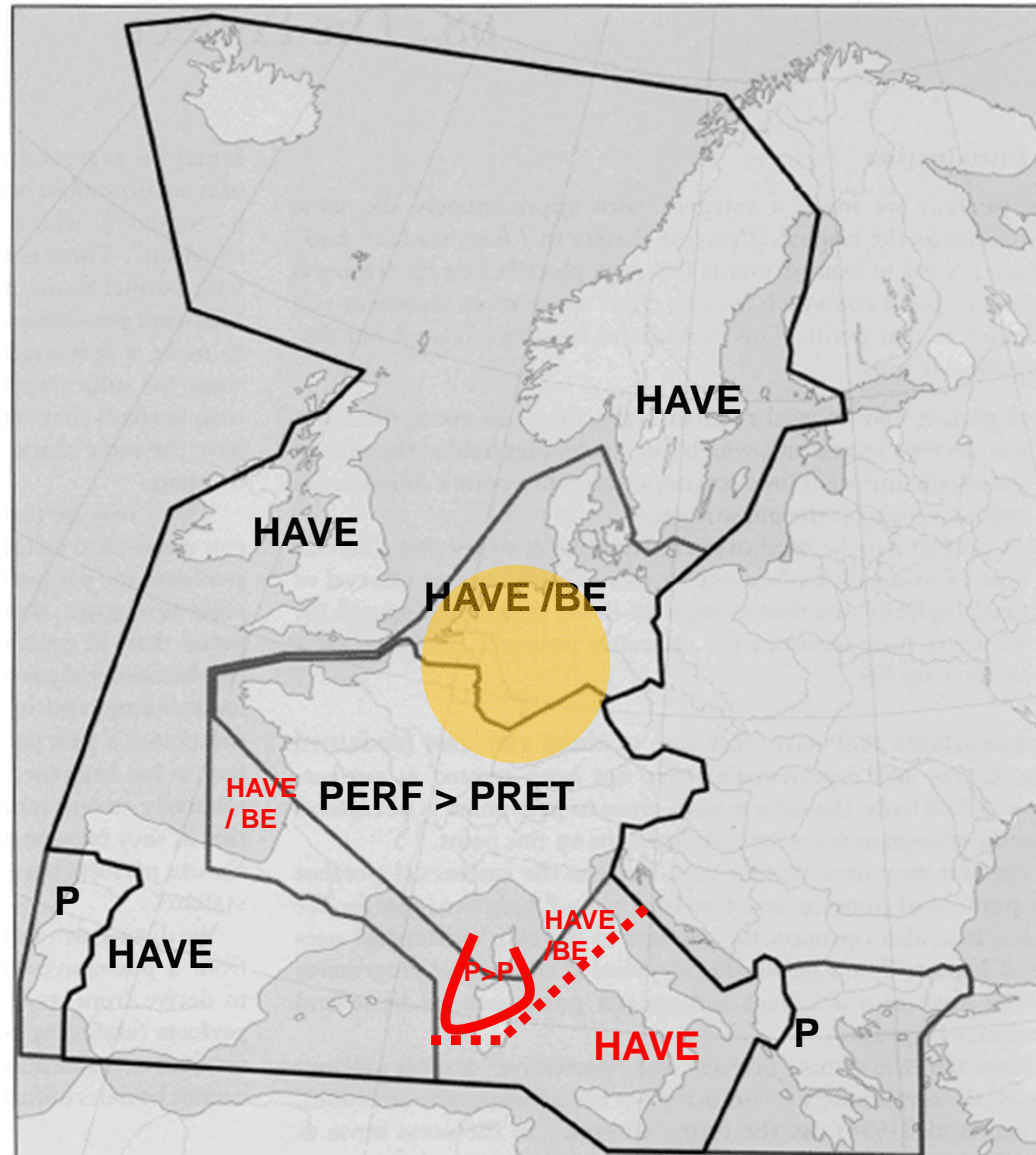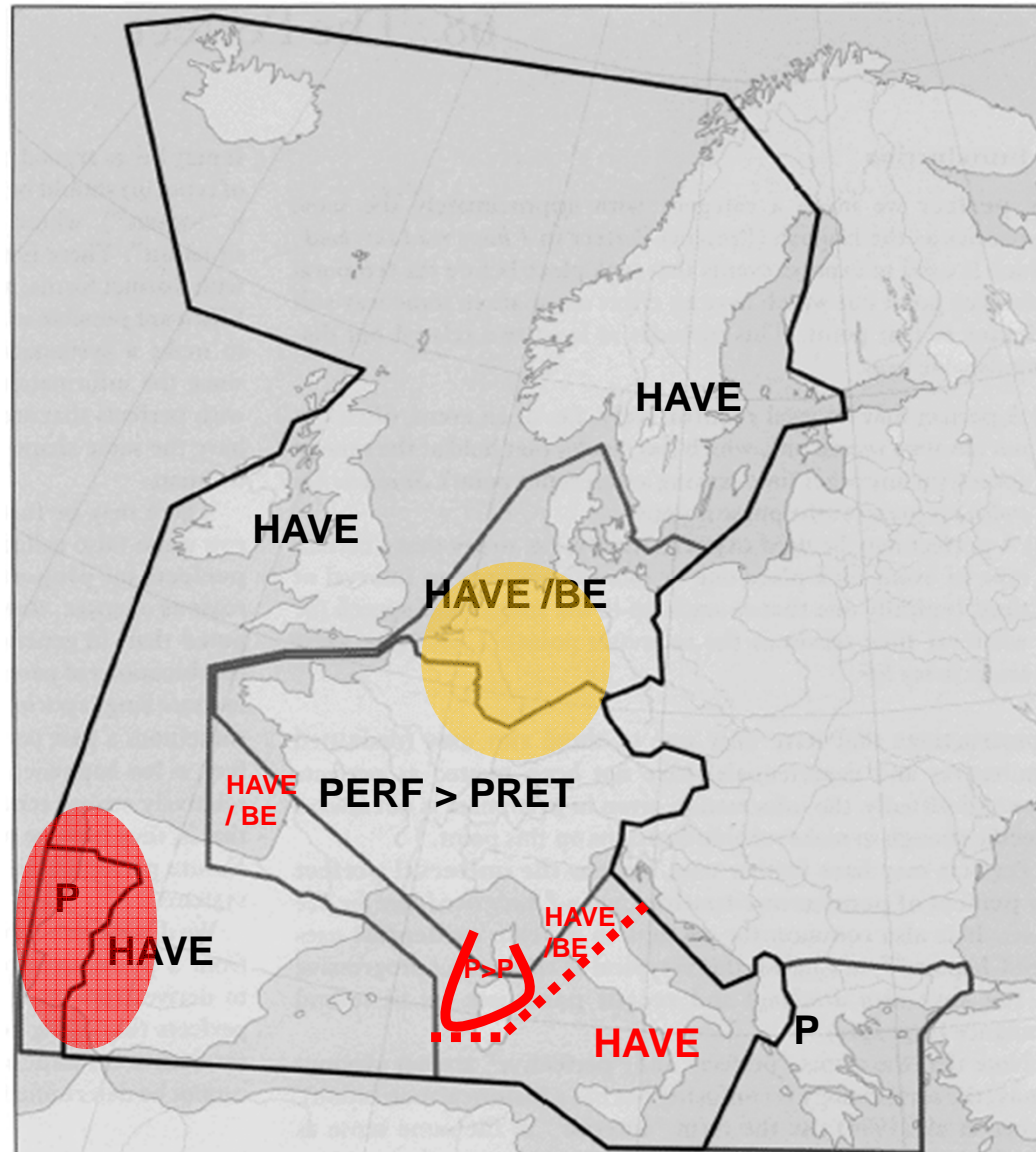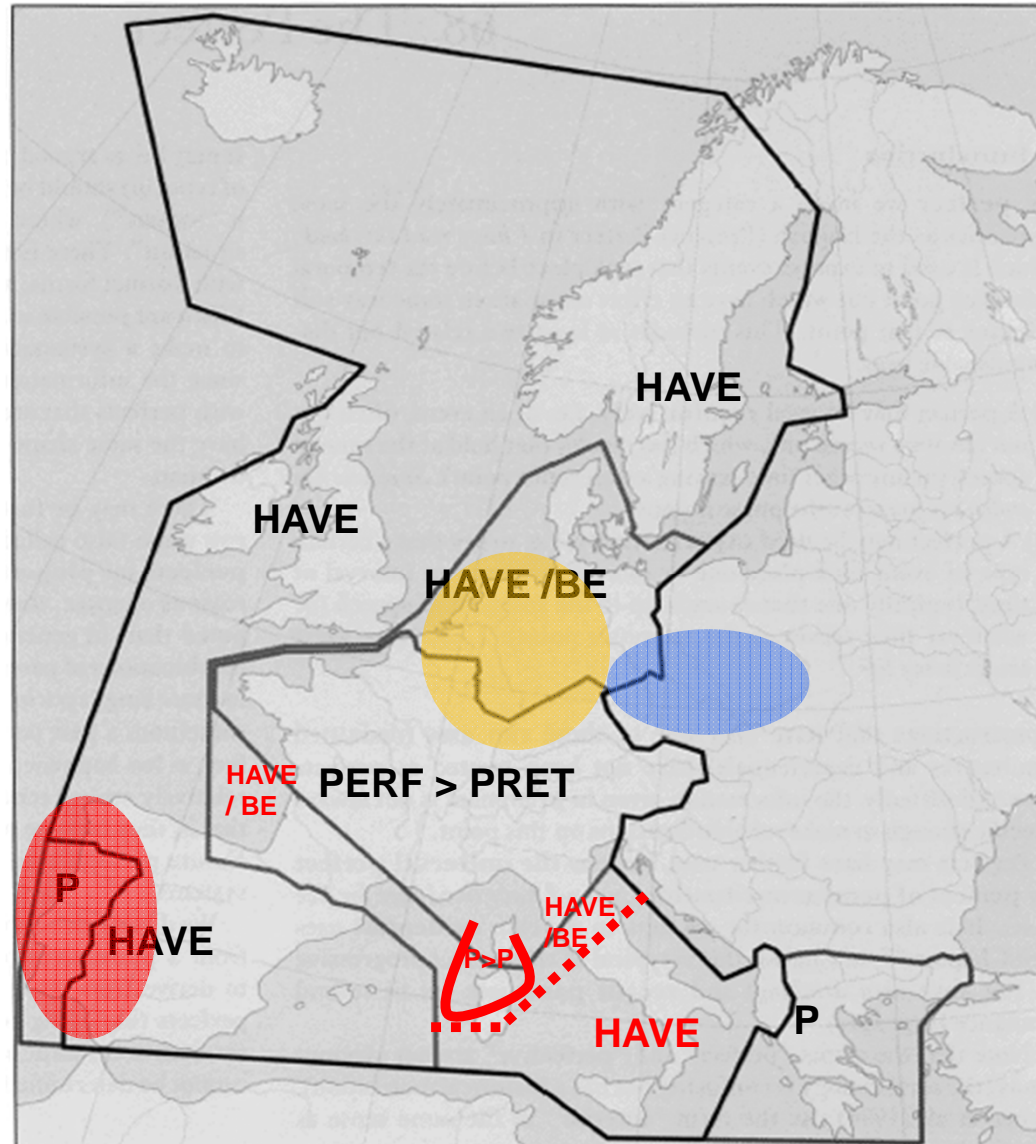
HAVE

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HAVE /BE

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PERF > PRET

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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
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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
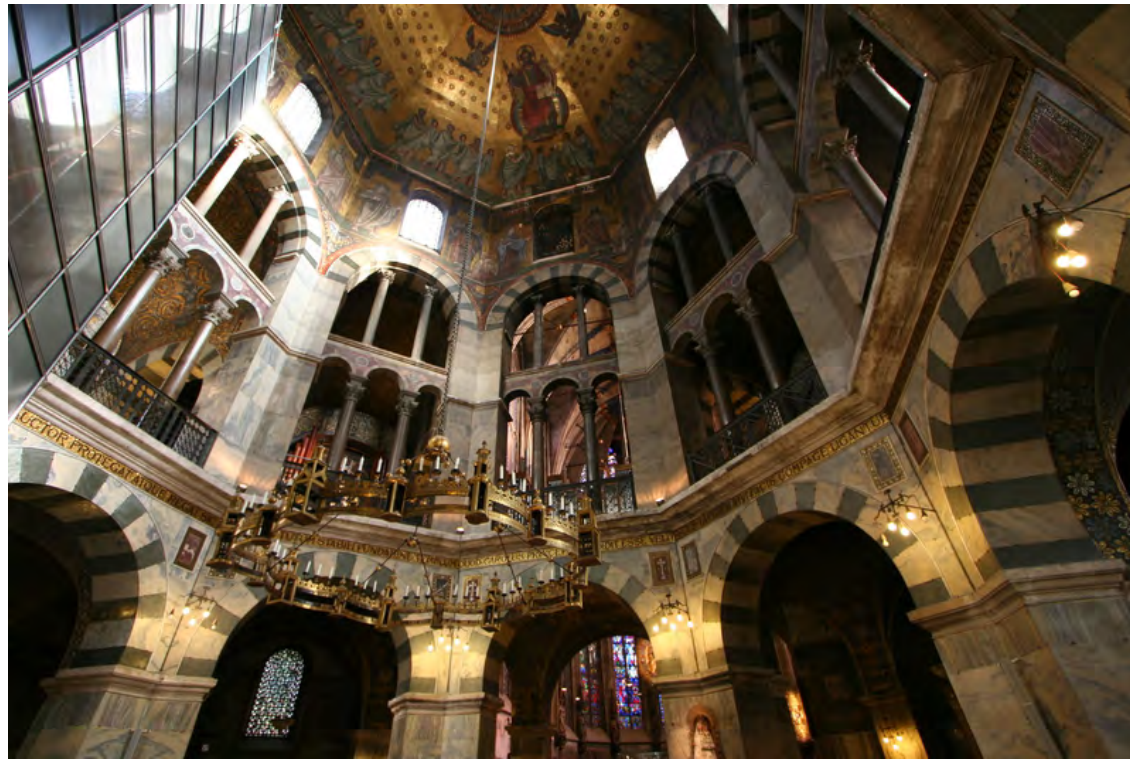
Germanic Perfects: Native or Latinate?

"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'."

<div align="right">(Meillet 1970:70)</div>

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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)

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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
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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 8th c.):   0 HAVE perfects

- Tatian (825 – 850):   6 HAVE perfects

- Otfrid's (c. 870):   32 HAVE perfects

- Notker (c. 950-1022):   79 HAVE perfects

OHG Have perfect: Tatian 102.2

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*   **firworaht 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 *Uuir* **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 sih* '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* **creata esse**   *noscuntur*

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

      'through him all are known to **be created**'

OHG *dhurah inan* **ist** *al* **uuordan** *dhazs chiscaffanes ist*

      through him **is** all **become**   that   created   is

      '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   huore   **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 vvurzulun thero 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, hersuihhit   iu: 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

taʒ   *tir*   *in*   *loʒ* **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)

WORKS	HAVE	(%)	BE	(%)	TOTAL VERBS
Notker (early 11th c.)	79	(1.3)	73	(1.2)	6,186
Niebelungenlied (early 13th c.)	616	(5.5)	216	(1.9)	11,260
Märterbuch (early 14th c.)	237	(4.7)	70	(1.4)	5,090
Heidin (early 14th c.)	88	(5.6)	28	(1.8)	1,565
Constanzer Concils (early 15th c.)	184	(4.7)	104	(2.7)	3,900
Ackermann (early 15th c.)	111	(8.7)	35	(2.7)	1,275
Fortunatus (early 16th c.)	711	(8.8)	323	(4.0)	8,110
Luther (early 16th c.)	324	(10.3)	98	(3.1)	3,147
Wickram (mid 16th c.)	904	(15.9)	390	(6.8)	5,695
Melanchthon (mid 16th c.)	279	(14.2)	102	(5.2)	1967
Simplicius (mid 17th c.)	705	(12.6)	231	(4.1)	5,577

HAVE AND BE PERFECTS IN GERMAN FROM 1000-1650 (BASED ON OUBOUZAR 1974)

German Perfects
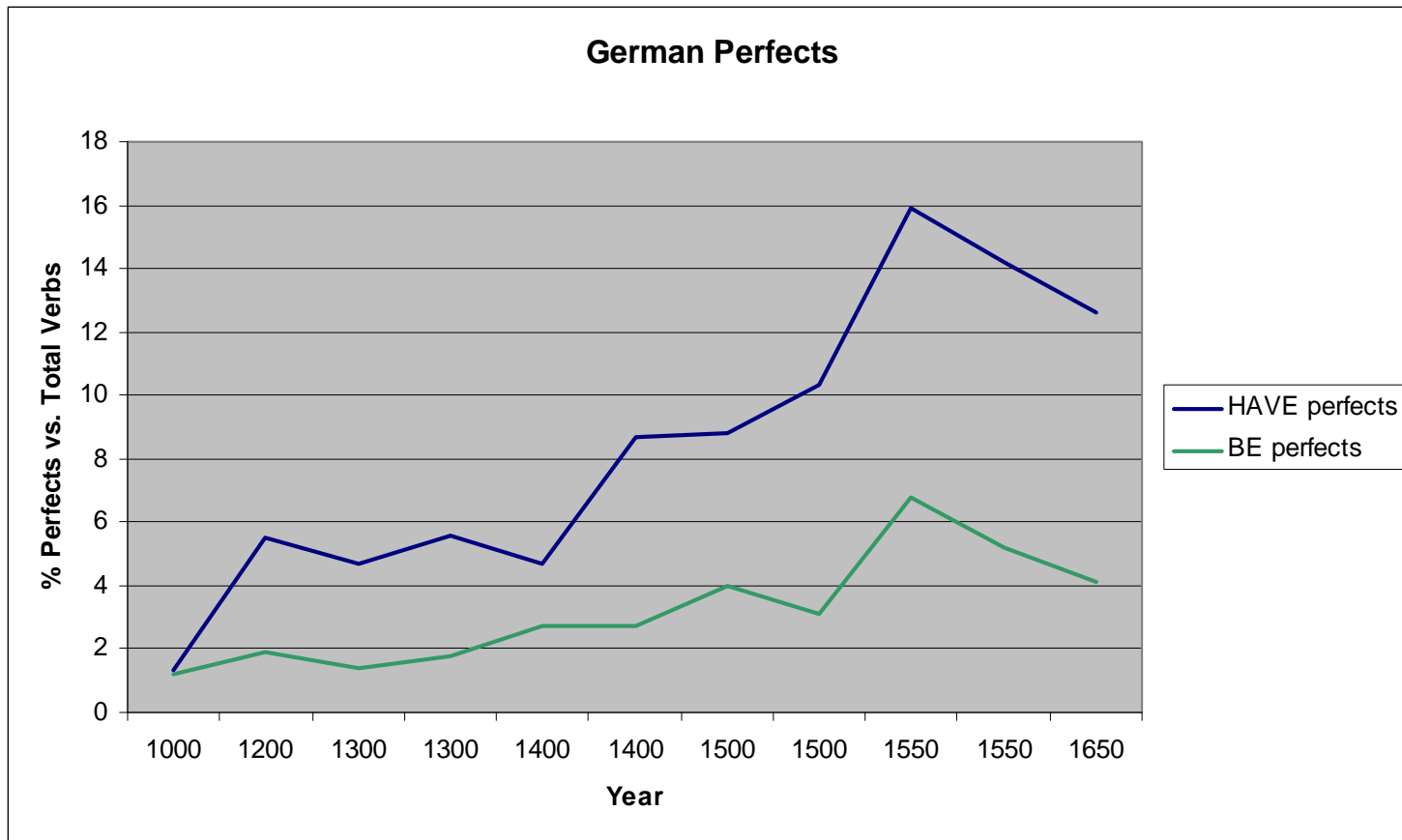
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- Evidence exists that Otfrid relied on the *Heliand* as a model
- The *Heliand* was clearly composed in a Frankish context

Old Saxon perfects : The Heliand

771 nu **haƀad** thit lioht **afgeƀen** Erodes the cuning

   now has   the light left   Herod the King

   'now Herod the King has left the light'

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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 uuarð** 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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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.

The essential role of Latin as a source cannot, however, be excluded::
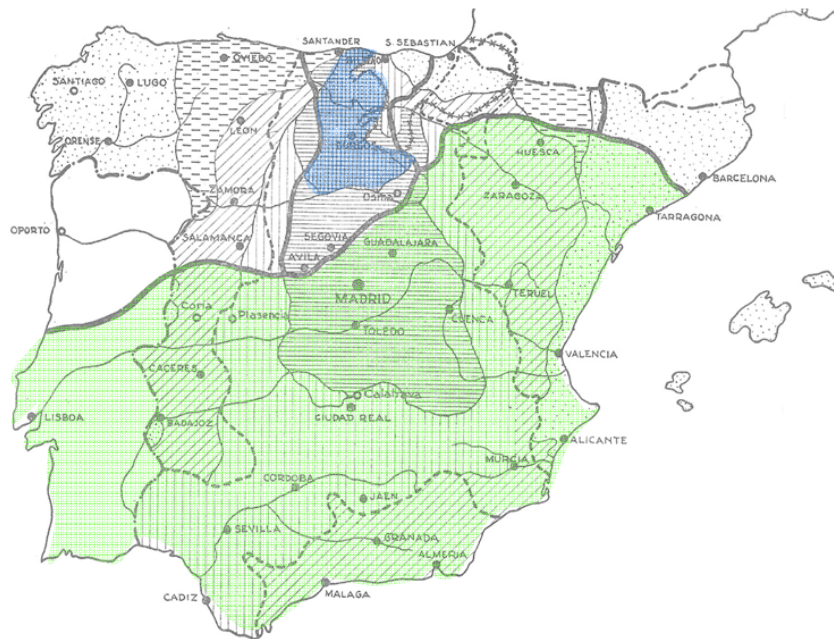- the Heliand falls squarely in the Latin *Vetus* tradition
- it shares many features with other translations of the *Diatesseron*
- it shows strong connection to Frankish and Anglo-Saxon scholarly traditions
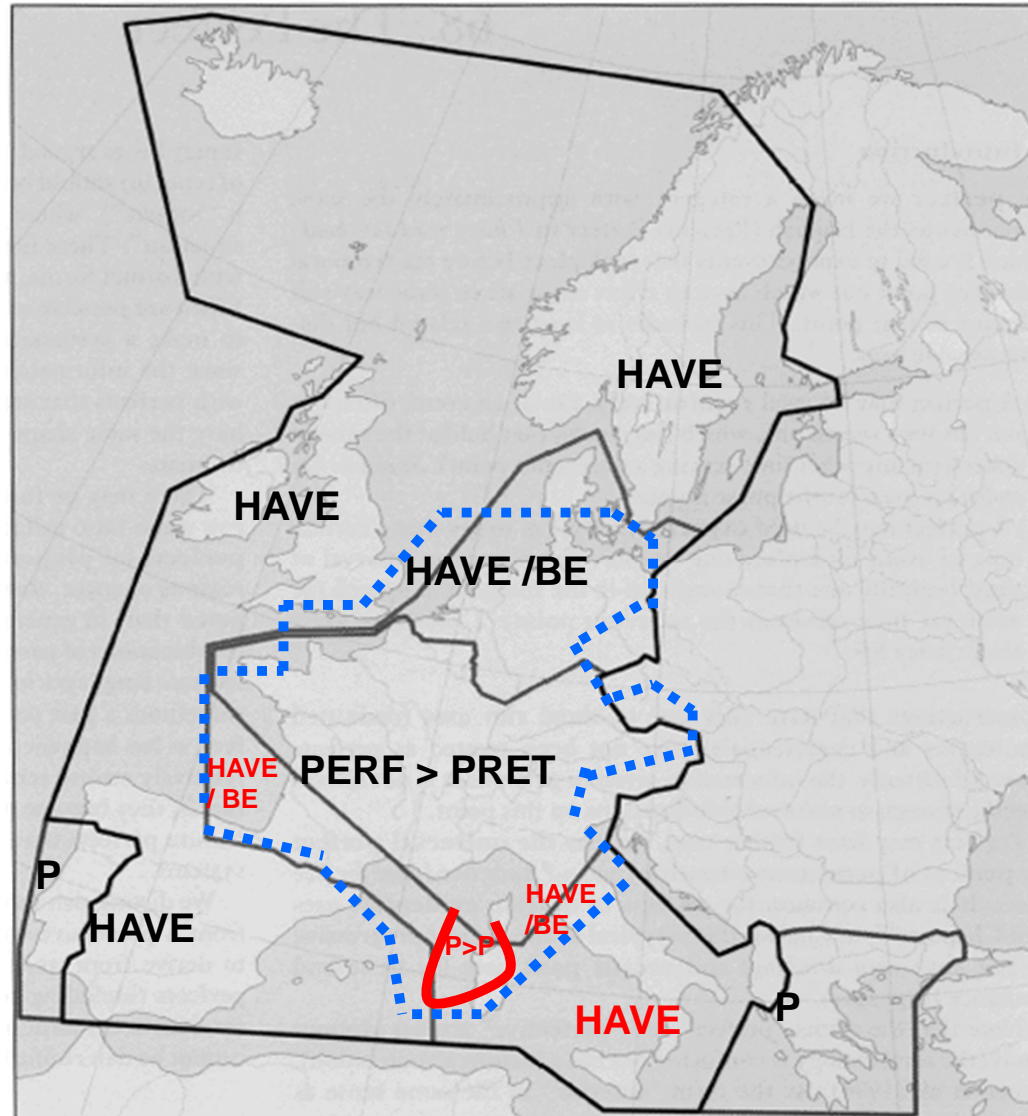
Political and Confessional Realignment in Portuguese

Christian and Muslim borders in 950

Christian and Muslim borders in 1150
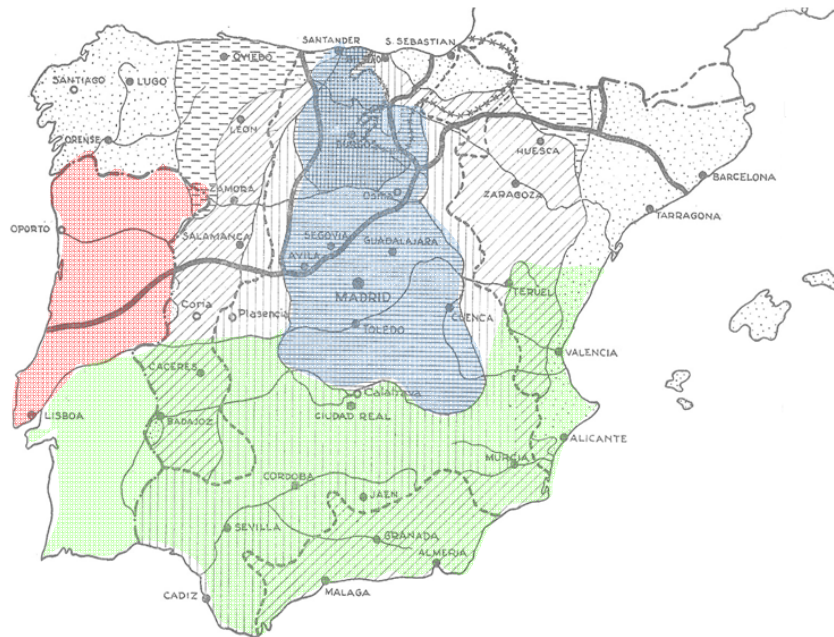
Christian and Muslim borders in 1300
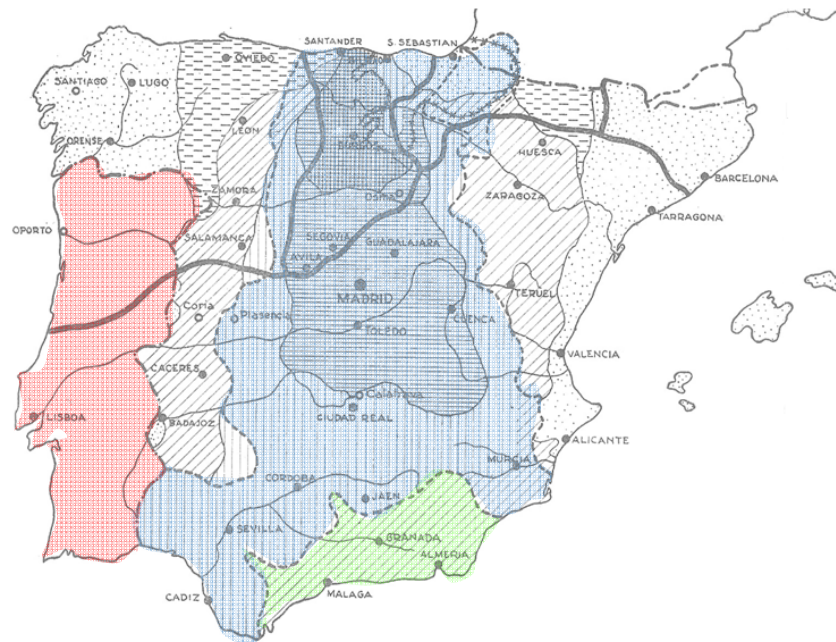
Portugal and Castile in 1400
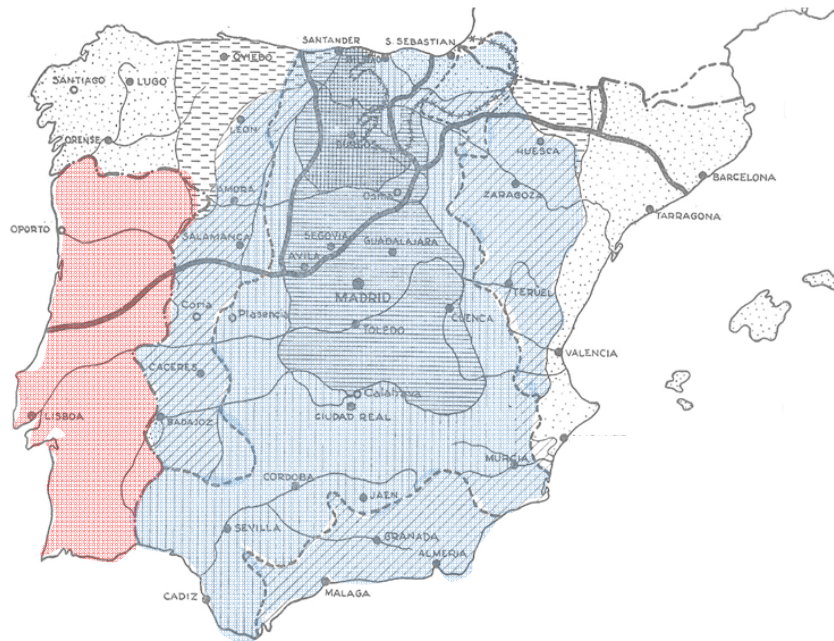
Key Developments in the History of Portugal

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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**'

Popular Portuguese poem

À sombra do lindo céu
eu <u>jurei</u>, **tenho jurado**
não ter mais outros amores
só a ti **tenho amado**.

'In the shadow of the lovely sky
I <u>swore</u>, 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
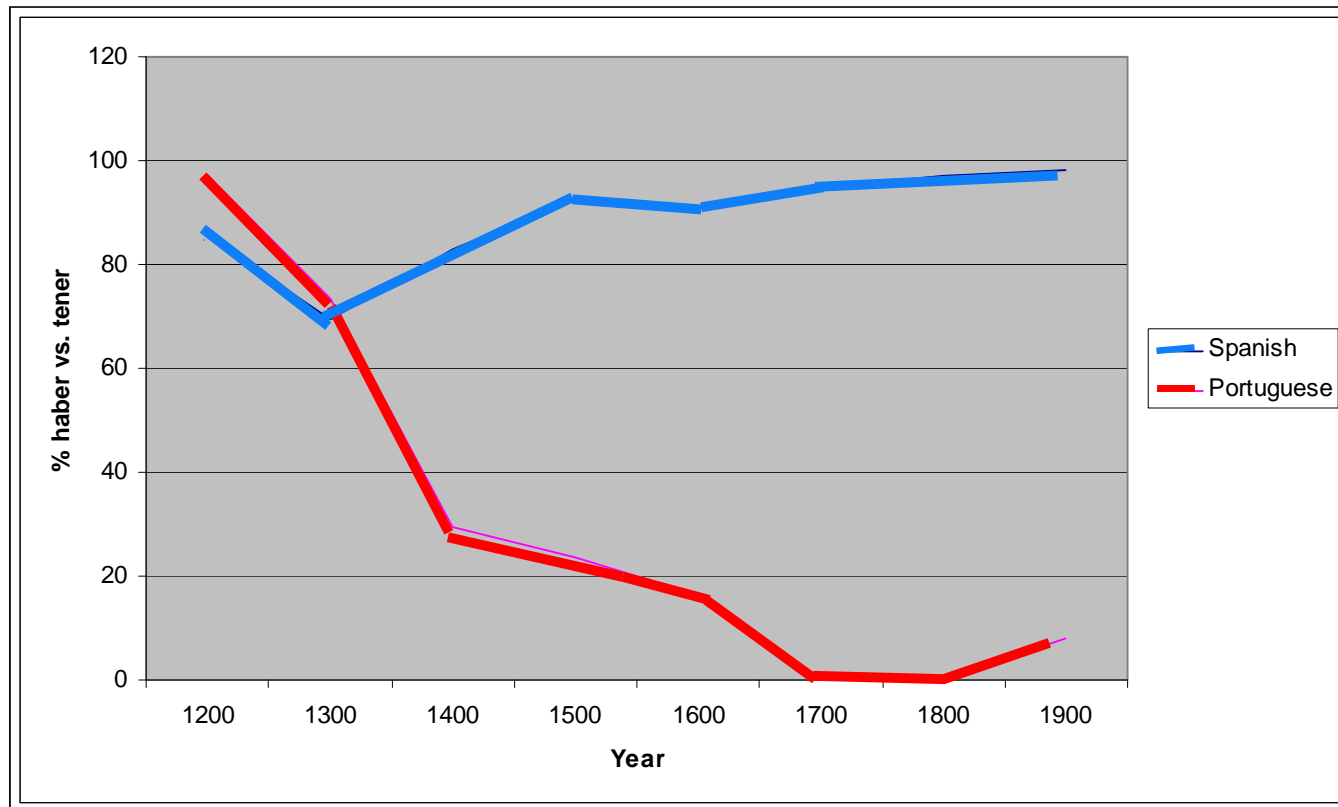
New World Spanish and Portuguese

- 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 ntaḍar-at   zaynab-a   munḏu saaᶜatayni

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   ʔaˁdu   jˁɛddu:-ħ

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-'ātiyatun

    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-ǧunūdahumā **kānū** **ḫāṭi'īna**

  Certainly Pharaoh and-Haman and-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-ǧāhil   mākil   ġadā-h

ART-child eat.ACT.PTCP.M.SG   lunch-his

'The child has eaten his lunch'

Portuguese perfect with durative meaning

Agora jà **tem comido**

Now   I **have eaten**

'Now I have taken on the habit of eating'

Expected morphological features

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- an intensification of aspectual distinction in the verb system

Evidence for aspectual distinction

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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

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- *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."
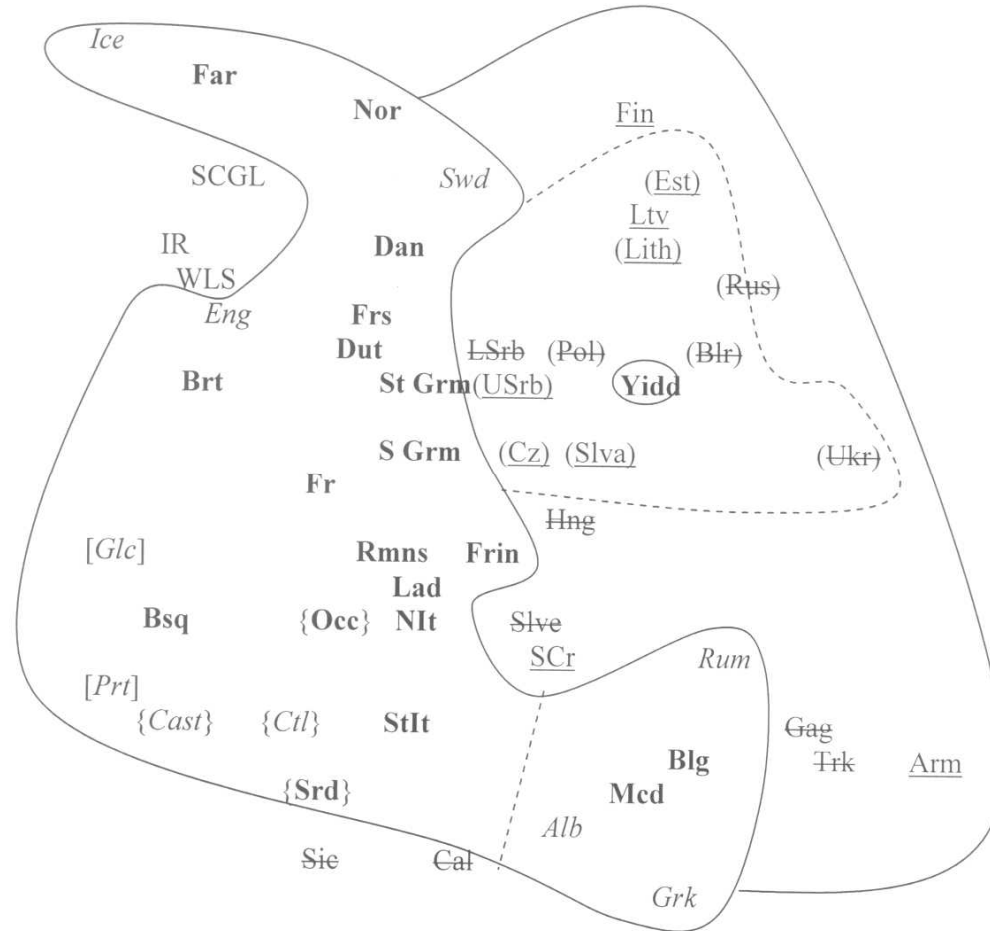
Wasserstein (1991: 13)

Revamping verbal paradigms and language purism in Czech

BE/HAVE Perfects in Europe

Possessive Resultatives in
Baltic & N. Slavic (Wiemer & Giger 2005)

	BE aux		HAVE aux		
	primary	**secondary**	**-n/t-**	***-ųes**	**-l-**
Lithuanian	+	(+)	(+)	+	Ø
Latvian	+	+	Ø	Ø	Ø
St. Russ	-	+	-	-	-
NW Russ	-	+	-	-	-
Belarus	+	+	-	-	-
Ukrainian	-	+	(+)	-	-
Polish	-	-	+	-	-
Kashubian	-	-	+	-	+
Czech	-	-	+	-	(+)
Slovak	-	-	+	-	-
Sorbian	-	-	+	-	-

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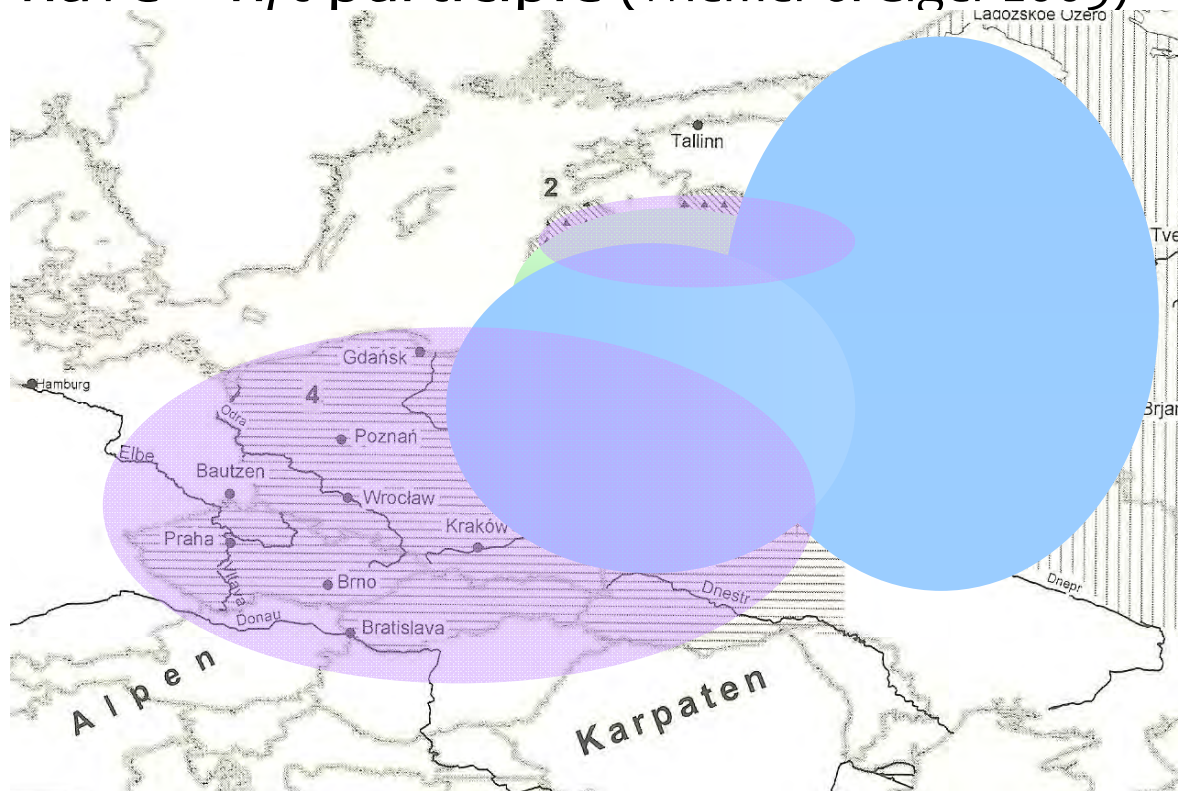
Have Perfect in Czech: Jan Hus, 1414

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

A   *pro jejie velikú krásu*   ***měl***   *ji*   *ústavně*

And for her great beauty **have.PRET.M.SG** her continually

       zamčenú   *na nějakéj věži*

       locked_up.PPP.F.SG in some tower

'And because of her great beauty he **had** her continually **locked up** in some tower'

<div align="right">(Dickey 2013: 115)</div>

Narrative use
no aux (= German preterite)

*Dne_včerejšího Jestřibský   od   V.M.   **přijel***

Yesterday   Jestřibský from Your Grace **come.PAP.M.SG**

          *a   psaní   mi **dodal***

     and letter me **give.PAP.M.SG**

'Yesterday, Jestřibský **came** from Your Grace and **gave** me the letter'

vs. Current relevance:
w/aux (=German **perfect**)

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

CZECH	GERMAN
podíl bráti 'to take part'	*Theil nehmen* (> *teilnehmen*)
skládati díky 'to express thanks'	*Dank ablegen*
napadáti + ACC (not DAT)	*es fällt mir ein* 'it occurs to me'
skrz na skrz 'completely'	*durch und durch* 'through and through'
spokojen s + INSTR 'content with'	*zufrieden mit*
máme vyhrano 'we have won'	*wir haben gesiegt*

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