1 Language Contact in Europe: The Periphrastic Perfect through History

1.1 Introduction

My goal in writing this book is twofold: to present the history of a multifaceted verbal construction, the periphrastic perfect (e.g., *I have seen* in English, *nous sommes venus* 'we have come' in French) as it developed in Europe, and to demonstrate the essential role played by language contact at all stages of this development. The book is a chronological account of the development of the European periphrastic perfect from its earliest attestations in ancient Greek to the various constructions found in the present-day European languages. It is also an attempt to demonstrate that contact is a more crucial factor in linguistic change than has generally been recognized.

The perfect itself has been defined in a number of ways (see Chapter 3 for a fuller discussion), but Comrie's (1976: 52) simple definition offers a useful starting point: "[T]he perfect indicates the continuing present relevance of a past situation."[1] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994: 55) choose the term *anterior* for this category, to avoid confusion with the similar-sounding *perfective* aspect.[2] In this book, however, *anterior* will be used only when precise reference is made to the semantic value of the perfect as a marker of a past situation with present relevance; the generally accepted term *perfect* will be used otherwise, in reference to the broad category.

The term *periphrastic* refers to the fact that the present perfect construction in most European languages is not synthetic, but is made up of an auxiliary + a participial main verb, with the most frequent perfect auxiliaries in Europe being HAVE and BE. The present perfect of English, in maintaining its anterior meaning, has been classified as a prototypical perfect (Dahl 1985: 129–31,[3] Bybee et al. 1994: 61, pace Kortmann 1995: 195), bringing present relevance to past situations:

(1)   Housing prices **have fallen** rapidly in the past two years
            (and so this might be a good time to buy a house).

(2)   Bach **has played** an immense role in shaping musical tastes in the West.
            (Though he is no longer alive, his music continues to exert influence.)

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Besides demonstrating the role of present relevance, these examples also illustrate the fact that Modern English uses the *HAVE* auxiliary exclusively, whether for unaccusative[4] verbs (1) or transitive verbs (2), and for all other perfect constructions, such as the pluperfect and the future perfect. Like many other western European languages, however, earlier English could distinguish unaccusative verbs from transitive ones by means of a BE auxiliary:[5]

(3)   Cleer was the day, as I **have told** er this,
      And Theseus, with alle joye and blis,
      With his Ipolita, the fayre queen,
      And Emelye, clothed al in grene,
      On hunting **be** they **ridden** royally

                    (Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, "The Knight's Tale" 825–29)

      'Clear was the day, as I **have said** before, and Theseus, with great joy and bliss, with his Hippolyta, the fair queen, and Emily, clothed all in green, **had ridden** royally to the hunt.'

(4)   Claudius: Hamlet return'd shall know you **are come** home
   (Shakespeare, *Hamlet* IV.vii.130)
      'Hamlet, having returned, shall know you **have come** home'

When we turn our attention to how such features are distributed among the languages of Europe, we discover several remarkable facts: in Western Europe, the perfect is almost always constructed with BE and HAVE auxiliaries + past passive participle (PPP); in Eastern Europe, a parallel construction is formed especially with a BE + past active participle (PAP). As can be seen by examining the map of this distribution (Figure 1.1), the geographical distribution of these perfect formations is strikingly dichotomous: HAVE constructions are largely a western phenomenon, while the exclusive use of BE in the equivalent perfect structure is limited to the east.

What is perhaps even more intriguing than the distribution of western HAVE/BE vs. eastern BE is the fact that, as illustrated in Figure 1.1, a number of eastern languages along this east-west "border" have tended to develop a new HAVE construction, in addition to their older BE construction, in contact with their western neighbors.[6] Before exploring the possible causes for these distributions and the theoretical implications, we must first take a brief look at the data that support these conclusions.

1.1.1   *Western Languages: HAVE/BE + PPP*

In some western languages (e.g., Italian, German, Dutch, French), HAVE appears with transitive verbs, while BE occurs with unaccusative verbs (5); in other western languages (e.g., Castilian, Icelandic, Swedish, English),

Figure 1.1 Map of HAVE/BE Perfect Auxiliation
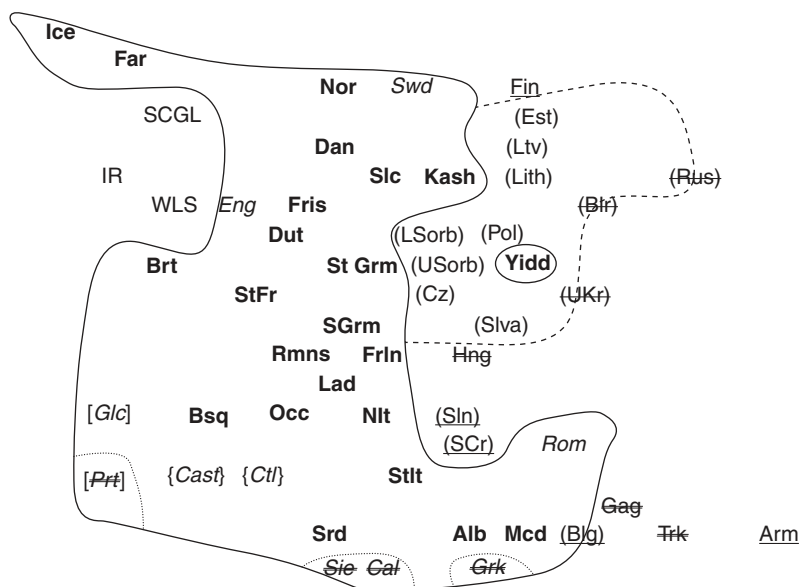
Bold	BE + HAVE
<u>Underline</u>	BE only
Italics	HAVE only
[Brackets]	*ter / tener* used as aux
{Curly brackets}	*haver* used as aux; main vb. > *tener*
CAPS	BE (+ 'after') + verbal noun (Ir, Wls, ScGl)
(Parentheses)	historically BE, with some exs. of HAVE (esp. W. Slav, Circum-Balt)
~~Strikethrough~~	be auxiliary lost (Rus, Blr, Ukr, Hung)
~~Double Strikethrough~~	No perf (Gag, Turk) or pret greatly preferred (Sic, Cal, Prt, Grk)

HAVE is used exclusively, or almost exclusively, whether for transitives or
unaccusatives (6):

(5)   Italian: ***Sono andata*** *a Firenze,   dove*   **ho**   **visitato**   *la   casa   di   Dante.*
                      I-**am gone**   to Florence, where   I-**have visited**   the house of Dante.
                      'I have gone/went to Florence, where I have visited/visited Dante's house.'

(6)   Castilian: ***He   ido***   *a Granada, donde **he visitado** la casa de Federico García Lorca.*
                      I-**have gone** to Granada, where I-**have visited** the house of F.G. Lorca.
                      'I have gone to Granada, where I have visited Federico García Lorca's house.'

1.1.2   *Eastern Languages:* BE + PAP

In the Slavic languages, the BE auxiliary has undergone grammaticaliza-
tion to different extents along a south-to-north continuum, ranging from

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retention in South Slavic (e.g., Bulgarian and Slovenian) (7) to reduction
in Czech and cliticization in Polish (8) to complete loss in the East Slavic
languages (9).

1.1.2.1   Retention of BE

(7)   Slovenian   **Šla   sem** na Vrhniko, kjer **sem obiskala** hišo Ivana Cankarja.
                   gone I-am to Vrhniko, where **I-am visited** house Ivan Cankar.GEN
                   'I went to Vrhniko, where I visited Ivan Cankar's house.'

1.1.2.2   Cliticization of BE

(8)   Polish: **Pojechała-m** do Warszawy gdzie **zwiedziła-m** dom Marii Dąbrowskiej.
                  gone-am   to Warsaw   where **visited-am** house Maria Dąbrowska.GEN
                  'I went to Warsaw, where I visited Maria Dąbrowska's house.'

1.1.2.3   Loss of BE

(9)   Russian   Ya **poehala** v Moskvu, gde ya **posetila** dom Tolstogo
                  I   **went (< gone)** to Moscow, where I **visited** house of Tolstoy.GEN
                  'I went to Moscow, where I visited Tolstoy's house.'

1.1.3   Transition Zones: The Spread of HAVE Constructions

As mentioned in the previous section, the HAVE auxiliary is also to be found, in
less grammaticalized form, in a number of eastern varieties that have been in
close contact with the west. In each case, there is evidence of influence from
a neighboring language that uses HAVE + PPP. Czech, Slovak, and Polish, for
example, have replicated a HAVE perfect, apparently on the model of German,
using their own version of the verb 'have':

(10)   Czech: **Mate** už žádost **podanou**?
                 'Do you already **have** your application **prepared**?'

(11)   Slovak: **Mám** polievku **uvarenú**
                 'I **have** the soup **cooked**'

(12)   Polish: **Mam** już **zakończony** ten artykuł
                 'I **have** this article **completed**.'

The semantic value of the eastern replicas points to the fact that they are less
grammaticalized than their western models are: 'I've got it cooked' rather than

'I have cooked it' (Garvin 1949: 84); hence, they are not full-fledged perfects as many of their western counterparts are, but rather possessive resultatives (Wiemer and Giger 2005: 1–3).

Also indicative of the diffusion of western influence into eastern territory is the fact that western varieties of spoken Ukrainian have developed HAVE perfects (13), evidently in contact with Polish, while the eastern varieties have come under the influence of modern Russian and tend to use the *l*-participle construction (Danylenko 2002: 121; Wiemer and Giger 2005: 66):

(13) W.Ukr. *Hist'*   *maje*   *vže*   *vse*   *zaplačene*
               Guest.NOM.SG.M   **have**.PRS.3.SG already everything.ACC   **paid.**PPP.ACC.SG.N
               'The guest already has everything paid for.' (Wiemer and Giger 2005: 66)

These forms are not considered standard usage, and are productive only in the vernacular.

Wiemer and Giger (2005: 67) make the intriguing suggestion that these forms may have been excluded from accepted standard usage because they were perceived as Polishisms or Germanisms – an assertion that adds substantial weight to the claim that these constructions were, indeed, western borrowings.

Other Slavic languages have also developed a HAVE auxiliary in contact with western languages. For example, the perfects of Macedonian dialects resemble the Greek perfect to different extents, depending on their proximity to Greece: those in the southwest, located near the border with Greece, have adopted not only a HAVE + non-alternating supine similar to that of Modern Greek (14) but also a western-style BE perfect + PPP; dialects to the northeast, near the border with Bulgaria, prefer the Slavic-style BE perfects (15) (Gołąb 1959: 427; Friedman 1976; Graves 2000: 493; Chapter 11):

(14) Macedonian (SW, influenced by Greek or Aromanian):   HAVE + PPP
       Da, barem jas se **imam plivano**   *nekolku pati   vo   nego*
       Yes, at-least   I   RFL   **have swim**.PPP.N   some   times   in   it

(15) Macedonian (NE, Slavic style): BE + PAP
       Da, barem jas **sum plivala**   *nekolku pati vo nego.*
       Yes, at-least   I   **am swim**.PAP.F   some   times   in   it
       'Yes, at least I have swum in it several times.'

                           (examples from Graves 2000: 486)

The perfects of Thracian Bulgarian appear to have undergone two phases of Greek influence, first replicating the older Byzantine pattern of HAVE/BE + passive participle for transitive or intransitive verbs, respectively, and then

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copying the Modern Greek pattern of HAVE + non-alternating supine, which did
not vary according to transitivity:

(16)   Byzantine Gk. model: Thracian:
HAVE: *échō*   *deméno*   *imam*   *vărzano*
          have.1SG.PRS   **bind.**PPP   **have.**1SG.PRS **bind.**PPP
          'I have bound'   'I have bound'
BE: *eímai*   *phtasméno*   *sum*   *dojden*
          be.1SG.PRS   **come**   **be.**1SG.PRS   **come**
          'I have come'   'I have come'

(17)   Newer Mod. Gk. model:
HAVE: *échō*   *phtásei*   *imam*   *dojdeno*
          have.1SG.PRS **come**.SUPINE   **have.**1SG.PRS. **come**.PPP.N.SG.
          'I have come'   'I have come'

  Several northern Russian dialects have also developed a possessive resulta-
tive, based on the normal method of marking the possessive in Russian, using a
preposition + genitive possessive, for instance, *u nego (jest) kniga* (at him.GEN
is book.NOM) 'he has a book':

(18)   *u nego vypito* (lit., 'at him (is) drunk up') 'he has drunk up'
                         instead of Standard Russ. *on vypil*

(19)   *u nego uechano* 'he has departed'
                         instead of *on uechal*

                              (examples from Vasilev 1968: 220–24)

As argued in Chapter 14, this northern Russian development turns out to resem-
ble similar constructions in Estonian and Latvian; together, these three provide
crucial evidence that the structure arose through contact with Hanseatic Low
German.
  Lithuanian provides complex evidence of several types of resultative and
perfect structures, including a productive HAVE construction: *turėti* 'have' + PAP:

(20)   *Stalčiuje jis **turi pasislėpęs** butel*
         'In the drawer he **had** a bottle **hidden**'   (Wiemer and Giger 2005: 48)

  The use of an active participle with the HAVE auxiliary is typologically rare,
found otherwise only in Ancient Greek – a fact that sets it off from its western
and Slavic neighbors, who all use the PPP with the HAVE auxiliary. While the
choice of an active participle is apparently based on patterns already in exis-
tence in the language, it should also be noted that the auxiliary clearly resem-
bles that of its Polish neighbors. The fact that more northerly Latvian does not
use its cognate verb meaning 'have', *turēt*, as an auxiliary (Wiemer and Giger

2005: 49) is further evidence that areal factors could have been responsible for Lithuanian's innovative treatment of *turėti* as an auxiliary (Chapter 15).

Significantly, similar patterns are to be observed in other localities where contact with HAVE languages has occurred: Daco-Romanian, spoken in Romania, likewise diverges from a number of other Romance languages but conforms to Modern Greek, southern Albanian, southern Macedonian, and other nearby dialects in using the HAVE auxiliary exclusively, not the BE, in the formation of its present perfects, providing strong evidence that the HAVE perfect is a Balkan areal feature (Chapter 11):

(21)   Daco-Romanian   ***a jurat***   'he **has** sworn'

(22)   Albanian   ***ka** larë*   'he **has** washed'

(23)   Greek   *to **échō** akúsi*   'I **have** heard'

(24)   Macedonian   ***imam** noseno*   'I **have** carried'
                                (Joseph 2001: 21–22; Feuillet 2001: 1513).

Breton, under heavy French influence, is the only Celtic language to have developed a "Romance-style" perfect, using both HAVE and BE, as opposed to the more usual Celtic formation using BE (+ 'after') + verbal noun, found in Welsh, Irish, and Scots Gaelic.[7] This form has existed in Breton since at least the fifteenth century (Orr 1992: 254):

(25)   Breton   *Yann **en deus lennet** al levr*
                  Yann   **has**   **read** the book.

Perhaps most noteworthy of all is Basque, a language totally unrelated to the Romance languages surrounding it, which has developed a periphrastic perfect almost identical to those found in Romance, using HAVE with transitives, BE with intransitives, and even developing a productive participle in –*tu*, presumably based on the model of spoken Latin or Proto-Romance:

(26)   Basque ***kanta-tu dut*** 'I have sung': Lat. ***cantatu(m) habeo***

It is altogether possible that even the –*tu* participle ending itself was borrowed into Basque from Latin (Haase 1992a: 92; 1994: 290–91).[8]

1.1.4   Preliminary Questions and Explanations: Power, Social Allegiance, and Religious Affiliation

The remarkable distribution of the periphrastic perfect construction on the map of Europe points to the essential role that contact has played in its development,

a role explored in detail in Chapter 2. In the meantime, however, a number of provocative questions present themselves: Why does the early distribution of the construction show such a definitive split between east and west? Why was HAVE chosen as the auxiliary in the west, while BE persisted in the east? Why did HAVE spread eastward, rather than BE spreading westward? Is there any evidence that some European periphrastic perfects arose independently? And finally, where, how, and why did it all begin? It will be the task of this book to answer these questions in detail, but a brief and partial answer can be given at the outset. Evidence is presented here that the first attestations of the HAVE perfect in Europe are to be found in fifth century BC Greek, that this early innovation may have influenced Latin, and may thus have played an incipient role in the development of the perfect in western European languages. The earliest periphrastic perfects in Latin used a BE auxiliary and were all passive or deponent (i.e., unaccusative). The introduction of the HAVE auxiliary thus allowed for the extension of the category to transitive verbs. The diffusion of the HAVE perfect was greatly enhanced by the success of the Roman Catholic Church and by the political and social clout of Latin. The parallel construction in Slavic, the BE+PAP perfect, experienced its own development in the East, and was likewise favorably influenced by the spread of Orthodoxy. The East/West split, then, along with the ensuing "leakage" eastward of the HAVE perfect, appears to replicate fairly precisely the confessional distribution of Orthodoxy vs. Catholicism in Europe (Chapter 12).

Notably, a very similar East/West split was observed by Kortmann (1998a: 219–21; 1998b: 530–35) in his study of the distribution of adverbial subordinators in Europe. He found that the western languages tended to follow Latin in the more frequent use of causal, concessive, and conditional subordinators, while the eastern languages tended to follow Classical Greek in less frequent use of these forms. These two ancient languages, then, appear to have served as models, as "roof" languages, for the later European languages. Kortmann's map of this distribution (1998b: 534) (reproduced as Map 2.3 in Chapter 2) illustrates this East/West split, and bears notable similarity to Figure 1.1. We will return to a discussion of Kortmann's methodology and important conclusions in Chapter 2.

Décsy (1973: 21–22) likewise traces the Roman Catholic/Orthodox divide across the continent as it passes between Catholic Croatia and Orthodox Serbia, between Catholic Poland and Orthodox Ukraine, and between Lutheran western Finland and Orthodox eastern Finland (on the Kola Peninsula), with a vacillation of religious affiliation along the borders not unlike that noted for the adoption of the western HAVE perfects. In the West, as Blatt notes (1957: 48), "literary Late Latin (ecclesiastical Latin) was the main channel through which learning came to the European peoples in their early periods." Besides subordination, Blatt also points to a marked increase in frequency of participials ("the

above-mentioned property"), accusative + infinitive structures ("I suppose this to be true"), absolutives ("this notwithstanding"), verb + abstract noun constructions ("an event took place"), and many other structures in texts influenced by Latin (Blatt 1957: 58–68). Solta (1980: 73) adds that ecclesiastical Latin and classical Latin, as the languages of learning, were more essential in the creation of a linguistically unified Western Europe than vernacular Latin was.

Other sociopolitical superstructures, such as the Roman, Byzantine, and Ottoman Empires, and ecological factors, such as population movements, transhumance, and repeated invasions, likewise played a significant role in shaping this distribution; some of these sociopolitical influences intersected with confessional allegiances, as well, as populations experienced conversion to Christianity or Islam. It is, of course, ultimately the choices made by individual speakers, their "responses to macrohistorical processes" (Gal 1989: 357), which determine whether a form will succeed or not, but the role of these macrohistorical factors is undeniable.

The close examination of the interaction of sociohistorical and linguistic factors in the development of the periphrastic perfect allows us to speak to the larger theoretical argument presented here, that, while internal and external factors both affect the course that an innovation will take in a given language, external factors are a more essential trigger in setting such changes in motion, and are, indeed, an indispensable element in any linguistic change. As Johanson (1992: 279) states, "Im letzten Fall ist die ["natürliche"] Tendenz sozusagen der anbahnende Faktor der betreffenden Neuerung, während der Sprachkontakt gewissermaßen der auslösende Faktor ist."[9]

Johanson stresses that we should not relegate contact to a secondary or independent role, but that we should expect to find contact-enhanced tendencies whenever we seek explanations. This book, then, focuses not only on the role that linguistic contact has played in shaping the course of the particular development of the European periphrastic perfect throughout its history, but also on how contact serves as a motivator and an instigator of change in general.

1.2   The European Periphrastic Perfect as an Areal Phenomenon

Why should Europe be the focus of such a study? Why shouldn't the periphrastic perfect be examined for its worldwide distribution above all, rather than being limited to one geographical area? At least three factors can be mentioned that point to the appropriateness of limiting this study to Europe.

First, the data available to us about Europe are rich and abundant over a substantial span of time. This construction has been documented for at least two and a half millennia on the European continent, affording us the opportunity to examine in some detail how it came to have such a wide diffusion, and why it is so similarly constructed even in languages that are only distantly related.

Second, the configuration of the periphrastic perfect has followed a distinct path in Europe, one that bears some resemblance to that found in other locations (cf. Bybee et al. 1994: 51–105), but that has peculiarities not found elsewhere, such as the co-opting of the HAVE possessive construction for use as an auxiliary and, indeed, the very presence of the HAVE possessive on which such a construction could be built. The virtual limitation of the HAVE perfect to Europe is strikingly illustrated in a map of the perfect from the *World Atlas of Language Structures* (*WALS* Map 68) (Dahl and Velupillai 2013), reproduced here as Figure 1.2. As this map indicates, HAVE perfects are virtually nonexistent outside of Western Europe, and have even been identified as a "quirk" in the languages of the world (Cysouw 2011). Thus, the way that the periphrastic perfect has been constructed in Europe is different from that constructed elsewhere, and is, as a result, inherently worthy of detailed examination.

Third, the formation of this construction according to specifically European patterns is not an isolated phenomenon, but rather a frequently documented one in the languages of Europe. Recent work on the formation of negatives (Ramat and Bernini 1990), comparatives (Heine 1994), passives (Haspelmath 1998; 2001), auxiliaries (Kuteva 1998), and other features explored in connection with the EUROTYP Project (e.g., adverbs in van der Auwera 1998; tense and aspect in Dahl (2000) has shown that Europe behaves in many ways like a Sprachbund or linguistic area. That is, European languages share a number of features that clearly owe their existence not to genetic relationship, but to prolonged, intense contacts. Jacob (1998: 106, footnote) expresses skepticism concerning the possibility of areal diffusion being responsible for the distribution of the perfect. He asserts that, at least among Indo-European languages, no definitive evidence has been produced in its favor except that concerning the Balkans and Breton. It is hoped that the data and arguments presented in this book constitute precisely that evidence.

This study focuses, then, not only on how linguistic contact has influenced the development of the periphrastic perfect in particular but also on how the accumulation of such features has led to a reshaping of the morphosyntax of this linguistic area into something uniquely European.

Besides presenting additional evidence for the European Sprachbund, I also provide support for a more general claim: that linguistic areas are not simply areas of single-tiered contact or areas where features converge in some amorphous way. Rather, they represent an accumulation of many layers of influence, all governed by the sociolinguistic pressures that were in existence at the time of the spread of each innovation, as well as by the formal characteristics of the model and the replicating varieties. Their borders look "messy" on a map perforce (Myers-Scotton 2002: 178; Heine and Kuteva 2005: 178), because the social influence that sways a population to replicate will not be the same influence that existed in the last century or that will exist in the next century. Epicenters of innovation will shift, as abundantly illustrated in the Balkans