

## Periphrasis as precursor of analytic inflection. BE and HAVE in the (pre-)history of German

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### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1 Functional Approaches

*Of course*, it is us using the language who change the language, by adapting it to our needs.  
(Nübling & al. 2006: 4; transl. & *italicis*. PÖ)<sup>1</sup>

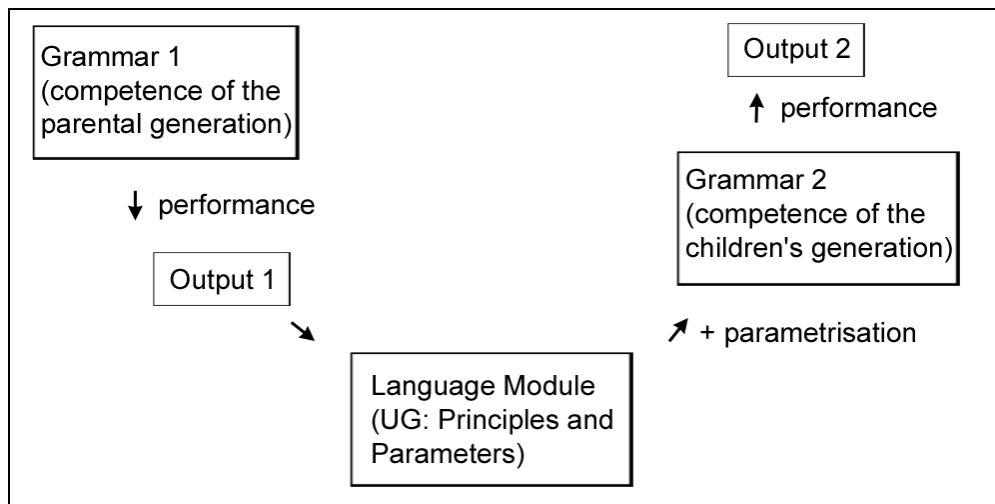
- *Economy vs. expressivity*: competition of the interests of speaker and hearer ("ease of production" vs. "ease of perception" cf. Haspelmath 1998: 320; Hopper & Traugott 2003: 65f.).

The whole development of language is determined by the omnipresent contradiction of the communicative and expressive needs of human beings on the one hand, and on the other hand their tendency to restrict their mental and physical activities to a minimum. (Martinet [1955] 1981: 85; transl. PÖ)<sup>2</sup>

- Language/ grammatical change (Keller 1990; Croft 2000): spread of innovative expressions/ constructions; conventionalisation of 'patterns of usage'; ⇒ *graduality*

#### 1.2 Generative Approaches

- *graduality vs. abruptness* (cf. Lightfoot 1979; Lightfoot 1999: 77ff)
- Leading argument: the *basic* properties of the linguistic semiotic system are not determined by its communicative function and its *basic* rules are not accessible to manipulation by the speaker (Öhl 2006: 235ff; cf. Grewendorf 1999: 319f).



(cf. Öhl 2006: 231; Cook & Newson 2007; etc.)

<sup>1</sup> *Original*: Selbstverständlich sind wir, die wir Sprache verwenden, diejenigen, die die Sprache verändern, indem wir sie unseren Bedürfnissen anpassen.

<sup>2</sup> *Original*: Die gesamte Sprachentwicklung wird bestimmt von dem stets vorhandenen Widerspruch zwischen den kommunikativen und den expressiven Bedürfnissen des Menschen einerseits und andererseits seiner Neigung, seine geistige und physische Aktivität auf ein Minimum zu beschränken.

**Def.:** *Grammatical Parameters* (GenGr): variables of the linguistic system, which are set to structurally specific values, on the basis of universal and innate principles, during first language acquisition. This parameter setting is a prerequisite for the consistent inventory of rules for a specific/ individual grammar. (cf. WSK 'Syntax')

- Parameters of syntax: *head position, verb movement, . . .*

(1) a. Paul has [<sub>VP</sub> eaten [<sub>DP</sub>an apple] ] (vgl. Cook & Newson 2007: 41ff; Roberts 2007: 92ff)  
 b. Paul hat [<sub>VP</sub> [<sub>DP</sub> einen Apfel ] gegessen ]

(2) a. [<sub>CP</sub> Leider [<sub>C</sub> kann<sub>v</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Paul [<sub>VP</sub> keine Äpfel essen ] *t<sub>v</sub>* ] ] ] (FIN-second)

b. Unfortunately, [<sub>IP</sub> Paul [<sub>I'</sub> can [<sub>NegP</sub> not [<sub>VP</sub> eat apples ] ] ] ] (FIN in I°)

c. [<sub>CP</sub> Can<sub>v</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Paul [<sub>I'</sub> *t<sub>v</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub> eat apples ] ] ] ] ?

d. [<sub>CP</sub> Leider [<sub>C</sub> isst<sub>v</sub> [<sub>IP</sub> Paul [<sub>VP</sub> keine Äpfel *t<sub>v</sub>* ] ] ] ]

e. \*Unfortunately, [<sub>IP</sub> Paul [<sub>I'</sub> eats<sub>v</sub> [<sub>NegP</sub> not [<sub>VP</sub> *t<sub>v</sub>* apples ] ] ] ] (\*V to I)

(3) **Parametrisation of functional Categories** (cf. Roberts & Roussou 1999)

a. AFF (→ *movement of lexical heads*)

b. PTC, AUX (→ *no movement of lexical heads*)

(4) a. dass [<sub>IP</sub> sie [ [<sub>NP</sub> den Studenten ] *t<sub>i</sub>* [<sub>VP</sub>] lob-te <sub>IP</sub> ]  
 CMP – she – DET – student – praise.PST

b. dass [<sub>IP</sub> sie [ [<sub>NP</sub> den Studenten ] gelobt <sub>VP</sub>] hat-te <sub>IP</sub> ]  
 CMP – she – DET – student – praise.PII – AUX.PST

(PII = *past participle, in this case*)

(5) a. lauda-vi; lauda-tus sum

b. ich lob-te; (dass) ich gelob-t hab-e/wurd-e/word-en bin

c. wanpela man *i bin* skulim mi long Tok Pisin

(Tok Pisin; Lightfoot 1991: 177)

*one – man – PR – ANT – teach – me – in – Tok – Pisin*

'A man was teaching me in Tok Pisin.'

- Roberts (1993, 2007), Roberts & Roussou (2003: 194ff.) and similar: grammaticalisation of functional elements (COMP, AUX, suffixes) is a by-product of structural simplification/ the elimination of syntactic movement in *first language acquisition*.

! This is neglecting a whole range of findings of grammaticalisation theory, like *persistence, metaphor* and *metonymy*.

! How can such 'spontaneous' phenomena of change spread over a speech community within a rather short period?

### 1.3 An Integrative Approach

- With the role of the 'input', speech production comes into the play:

(6) A sentence S expresses a parameter P if a grammar must fix P to a definite value in order to assign a well formed representation to S. (Lightfoot 1991: 19)

- Speakers make use of the range of possibilities within a frame that is set by the inventory of lexical expressions and grammatical structures, constrained by the regular structure building operations (*speech production*; restricted options of enhancing expressivity; no manipulation of the basic rule system).

- Language learners *interpret* the input in order to acquire an inventory of lexical expressions and a system of regular structure building operations.
- Modification of *usage conventions* in *speech production* changes the input diachronically and may manipulate the grammar of a language *indirectly*.

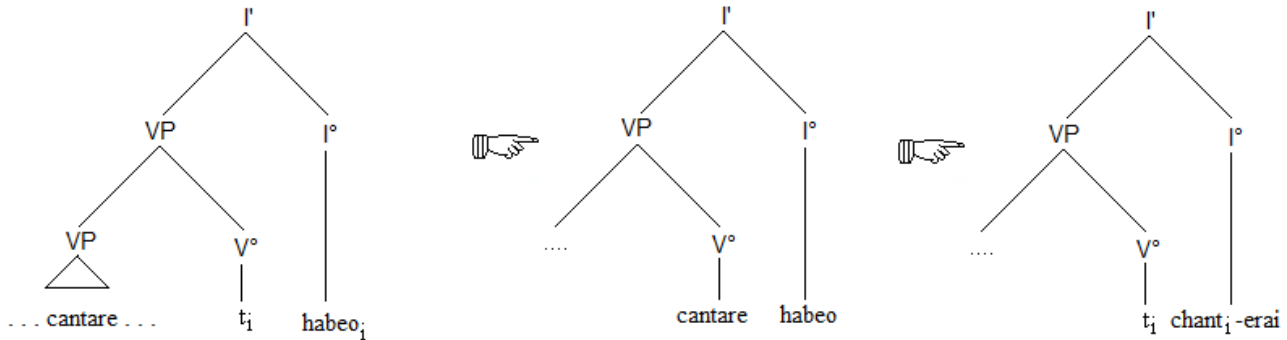
⇒ *gradual*: variation/expansion/conventionalisation

⇒ *abrupt*: regularisation; (→ 'catastrophic' changes)

#### 1.4 Case example: V > AUX > AFF

##### (7) Reanalysis of the future suffix in French

(cf. Roberts 1993)



- The new developed periphrastic form ousted the synthetic one in the vulgar Latin varieties where it became, after phonological reduction, the source of grammaticalisation of the new future suffix (cf. Stotz 1998: 325f.).
- Phonological reduction:

(8) *cantare habeo* > \*[cantar aio] > *chanterai*

(cf. Haspelmath 1998: 348f)

- Cyclicity (cf. Eckardt 2006: 5)

##### (9) Development of future tense in Latin/ French

Proto Latin		class. Latin		French
*kanta b <sup>h</sup> u-mos <i>sing – be.SUBJ-1<sup>pl</sup></i>	>	canta-bimus <i>sing-FUT-1<sup>pl</sup></i>		†
		canta-re habe-mus <i>sing-INF – hav-PRES.1<sup>pl</sup></i> (GERUNDIVE	>	chant-erons <i>sing-FUT-1<sup>pl</sup></i> (FUTURE)
		> FUTURE)		allons chant-er <i>go-1<sup>pl</sup> – sing-INF</i>

#### 1.5 Periphrasis/paraphrasis vs. analytic inflection

- gr. περί 'around'; παρά 'aside'; φράζειν 'speak, say'

- Progressive Aspect

(10) a. Er ist gerade *dabei*, sein Fahrrad *zu reparieren*.

b. Il est *en train d'*acheter quelque chose.

c. He *is* repairing his bicycle.

d. %Er ist sein Fahrrad *am reparieren*.

- (close) Future Tense

- (11) a. He's *going* shopping.  
 b. He's *going to* %*gonna* go shopping.  
 c. He's *going to* \**gonna* school.  
 d. Er geht einkaufen.  
 e. \*Er geht einkaufen gehen.
- (12) a. Er ist *auf dem Weg zum* Einkaufen/ einzukaufen.  
 b. Das Buch ist *auf dem Weg zu* erscheinen.  
 c. Il est *en train d'aller* acheter quelque chose.

- passive-like

- (13) a. Er *bekam/ kriegte/ erhielt* ein Buch *geschenkt*.  
 b. Er *bekam/ ?kriegte/ \*erhielt* die Wahrheit *gesagt*.  
 c. %Ich *bekam/kriegte* von ihnen *geholfen*.  
 d. \*Er *bekam/kriegte* alles *geglaubt*.
- (14) Er will sein Auto von niemand anderem *gewaschen haben/ bekommen*. (HAVE-configurative)

! How does *periphrasis* become *analytic inflection*?

## 2. The German Perfect Tense

### 2.1 Have-Perfect (cf. Öhl 2009a)

- Starting point in OHG were predicative structures with PII like the following ModE ones:

- (15) a. He wants to have his car *washed* by noone else. (HAVE-configurative; cf. Businger 2011)  
 b. I have an apple (that is) *(un)peeled*. (depictive object predicative)  
 c. We have everything *ready and done*. (object predicative in complex predicates)

- (16) **Canonical schema of HAVE-configuratives in German** (cf. Businger 2011: 30)  
 Subject – HAVE – NP<sup>ACC</sup> – Coda

- (17) a. dass [ sie [ [NP die Getränke] [AP (un)gekühlt ] [PP im Hause ] haben<sub>VP</sub> ] (werden)<sub>IP</sub> ]  
*that – they – the – drinks – (un)chilled – have – (will)*  
 b. dass [ sie [ [NP die Getränke] (\*un)gekühlt<sub>VP</sub> ] haben<sub>IP</sub> ]

! Only transitive and ergative verbs were able to form a PII; as long as there is such a restriction, one should assume predicative use, even if a perfective interpretation is possible.

- (18) a. phígboom habeta sum **gipflanzotan** in sinemo uuingarten (Tat 102,2)  
*fig tree – had – someone – planted – in – his – vineyard*  
 b. in buah si iz duent [AP PRO zisamene **gihaltan**] zi habanne (Otf III 7, 54)  
*in – book – they – it – do – together – held – to – have*

- Abraham (1992): HAVE was reanalysed from a lexical head governing a small clause to an AUX in one step.
- Grønvik (1986): The use of HAVE as an AUX spread gradually to other verb classes by means of conventionalisation.

➤ Öhl (2009a): The use of aspectually marked predicative constructions increased steadily until the end of the 9<sup>th</sup> ct. Then they provided robust input for the learners' reanalysis.

- HAVE-configuratives with PII occur in various early Germanic sources:

- (19) a. þin agen geleafa þe hæfþ gehældene (HomS 8,15: 24f)  
*your - own - belief - you - has - healed*
- b. þa he ða hæfde þa wísan onfogne (Beda 344, 27)  
*when - he - then - had - the - leaders - welcome.PII-ACC.pl*
- c. habde sie farfangene fiundo craftu (Hel 3032)  
*had-her-cought away-fiend(GEN)-might(DAT)*
- d. sie **eigun** mir ginomanan liabon druhtin minan (Otrfr V 7, 29)  
*they - have - me.DAT - taken.ACC - beloved.ACC - lord - my.ACC*
- e. ir den christanun namun intfangan eigut (Exhortatio 9,5)  
*you - DET - christian - name - receive.PII - have/own*
- f. pi daz er in worolto kiuuerkot hapeta (Muspilli 36)  
*PREP - DEM - he - in - world.DAT - shaped - had*

! Indicators of predicative reading: use of *eigan* as a suppletive verb form<sup>3</sup>; nominal agreement at the PII.

- Inconsistent use of nominal agreement in early OHG (cf. Braune & Eggers 1987: § 247).

- (20) a. ther blintêr ward geboranêr (Otrfr., ≈840 n. Chr.); predicative with nominal AGR  
 b. pist also gialtet man (Hild., ≈800 n. Chr., 41); attribute without nominal AGR  
 c. tot ist Hiltibrant, Heribrantes suno (Hild. 44); predicative without nominal AGR

⇒ Input for reanalysis as nominal part of complex predicates?

- (21) hialt uns (...) dar giborgan (Otrfr IV 55, 42)  
*kept - us - there - concealed*

- *Hypothesis: haben* was not grammaticalised as an AUX immediately but as a functional verb in aspectually marked complex predicates with an internal argument position (→ parallel argument structure).

- (22) a. dass ich ein Beispiel [<sub>V°</sub> parat [<sub>V°</sub> habe ] ]  
*that - I - an - example - ready - have*
- b. Er hat es damals [<sub>V°</sub> verborgen [<sub>V°</sub> gehalten ] ] (compare: *bereithalten*)  
*he - has - it - back-then - concealed - kept*

- Thus, the complex formation was an option only with transitive verbs (Öhl 2009a: 286ff).

- (23) a. was er in der Welt [<sub>V°</sub> geschaffen [<sub>V°</sub> hatte ] ]  
*what - he - in - world.DAT - shaped - had*
- b. dass ihr den christlichen Namen [<sub>V°</sub> empfangen [<sub>V°</sub> habt ] ]  
*that - you - the - christian - name - received - have*

- Before *Notker Teutonicus* (~1000 AD), there are no structures HAVE+PII with intransitive verbs in OHG. texts, i.e. with PII that cannot be used as predicatives.

- (24) a. tar habet si imo geantwortet sinero frago (Notk I: 284, 26)  
*then - has - she - him - answered - his - question.DAT*
- b. habe ich keweinot so filo (Notk II: 15,30)  
*have - I - cried - that - much*

<sup>3</sup> *eigan* 'own' is used as a suppletive form for *habēn* in PRES.PL. in early OHG. but no more in the writings of Notker at 1000 AD (cf. Oubouzar 1975: 10ff).

c. so habet er gelogen (Notk I: 544,29)  
*thus – has – he – lied*

(25) a. uuanda du gemíchellichot hábest dinen námen (*ambiguous*) (Notk Ps. III, 997)

b. tar habet si imo geantwurtet sinero frago (*unambiguous*) (Notk I, 284, 26)

- Integrity of *haben* in configuratives with PII:

(26) a. Das Zebra hat vier Hufe, in der Regel gewetzt(e). (nachgestelltes Attribut)

b. [PRO<sub>i</sub> gewetzt ] hat seine Hufe<sub>i</sub> das Zebra, [PRO beschlagen ] liegen sie in der Regel nur beim Hauspferd vor. (freies Prädikativ)

c. dass ein Zebra immer [ seine Hufe [<sub>v</sub> gewetzt hält/hat ] ] (VK)

d. dass das Zebra seine [<sub>VP</sub> Hufe gewetzt ] hat (periphrastisches Perfekt)

⇒ The more alternatives there are, the higher is the frequency of (desemanticised) HAVE + PII ('cues').

- Desemanticisation of possessive HAVE is a change converging in several IE languages:

(27) Necdum omnia (...) edita facinora habent (class. Lat.; Livius XXXIX, 16, 3; cf. Salvi 1987: 229)  
*not-yet all(ACC.pl) detect(PII.ACC.pl) crime(GEN.pl) have(3pl)*

- Compare:

(28) Necdum omnia eorum facinora edita sunt  
*not-yet all(ACC.pl) their(GEN.pl) crime(GEN.pl) detect(PII.ACC.pl) are(3pl)*

(29) Hannibal quia *fessum* militem proeliis operibusque *habebat*, . . . (Thielmann 1885: 376)  
*Hannibal CAUS exhaust(PII.ACC.pl) army by combats labour-KOOR had*  
 'Since Hannibal had a army exhausted by combats and labour, . . . '

(30) . . . *quam semper cognitam habui* (anonymous; cf. Grandgent 1962: 55)  
*what.ACC.fem always think.PII.ACC.fem have.PERF.1.sg*  
 '(things) that I have had (?as) thought.'

- Not the construction but the perfective/anterior semantics of the PII itself is the reason for the aspectual/temporal contrast of sentences like (19d&e) above and sentences like:

(31) a. was er in der Welt schuf (anteority)  
*what – he – in – world.DAT – shaped*

b. was er in der Welt geschaffen/ parat / zur Verfügung hatte (implicit perfectivity)

(32) a. dass ihr den christlichen Namen empfangt (anteority)  
*that – you – the – christian – name – received*

b. dass ihr den christlichen Namen empfangen/ zur Verfügung habt (implicit anteriority)

- Only further *reanalysis* and *recategorisation* created the paradigm of the periphrastic perfect tense.

(33) dass [<sub>IP</sub> ihr [<sub>VP</sub> den christlichen Namen empfangen<sub>VP</sub> ] habt<sub>i</sub> ]  
*that – you – the – christian – name – received – have(AUX)*

⇒ The use of the construction *haben*+PII signalling aspectual or temporal markedness (i.e. perfectivity/anteriority) gradually expanded in the course of the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> ct. The auxiliariation of *haben*, however, leading to the extension of this construction also to intransitive verbs without a noticeable gradual intermediate state is a case of abrupt grammatical change.

### 3. Remarks on the Auxiliation of the Copula

- Dik (1987: 80): Initiation by "innovative aspectual forms reinterpreted as temporal or diathetic later on". (→ semantic simplification)

(34) Caesar victus est. (vgl. Dik 1987: 69)  
*Caesar beaten is*  
 ⇒ 'Caesar has been beaten.'

- Synopsis of Lk 5,17:

(35) a. qui **venerant** ex omni castello Galilaeae (Vulgata)  
 b. paiei wesun gaqumanai us allama haimo Galeilias (Wulfila)  
*who was come.PII.NOM.pl from all homes Galilee.GEN*  
 c. die komen waren aus allen Merckten in Galiläa (Luther)

- Synopsis of Mt 2,20:

(36) a. defuncti sunt enim qui querebant animam pueri (Vulgata)  
 b. arstorbane sint thie thar suohtun thes knehtes sela (Tat 11,1)  
 c. Sie sind gestorben, die dem Kinde nach dem leben stunden. (Luther)

⇒ Comparable process with PII of *ergative* V and BE yielding the BE-*perfect* (→ parallel argument structure):

(37) a. Gotes geist ist sprehhendi (Is 4.2.5)  
*God's spirit is (?exists) speaking*  
 b. thaz er sculdig ist widar got (Exh 41f)  
*that-he-guilty-is-against-god* (pred.: ≈ be guilty)  
 c. dhasz christ iu ist langhe quhoman (Is 26,14)  
*that-christ-is-you-long-come(PII)*

### 4. Conclusions

- Due to alternating performance- and acquisition-based changes, the grammaticalisation of the *perfect tense* in German cannot be explained by purely formal or functional methods. Functionally motivated changes are certainly one pillar of language change. However, there are obvious formal criteria which massively constrain functionally motivated change. Changes in the basic rule system in a language that is not accessible to the speaker, cannot simply be ascribed to speech variation (cf. Öhl 2007; 2008). On the other hand, usage based changes in language systems are often neglected in acquisition based accounts.

⇒ *In processes of grammaticalisation, change of the core grammar is often initialised by functional variation at the fringe.*

- *Long-term-objective*: an integrative model of language variation and change adequately considering and assessing both performance based factors and the conditions related to language acquisition (cf. Öhl 2009b).
- *Auxiliary selection*: Variation may be explained by the loss of argument-selecting properties of the verb serving as 'auxiliary' on the one hand, by asymmetrical logical and semantic conceptualisation of verbs on the other hand.

(38) a. Ich bin in der Schule geblieben.  
 b. Je suis resté à l'école.

(39) a. Ich *bin* zur Schule gerannt.  
 b. J'*ai* couru a l'école.

(40) a. We *have* stayed at school.  
 b. We *have* run to school.

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