# ICAME 35: Corpus Linguistics, Context and Culture Nottingham, 30<sup>th</sup> April to 04<sup>th</sup> May 2014

Pre-conference workshop 3: Perfect and perfectivity re-assessed through corpus studies

### **General Information**

### **Conveners**

Elena Seoane (University of Vigo)

<u>Cristina Suárez-Gómez</u> (University of the Balearic Islands)

Valentin Werner (University of Bamberg)

### **Time**

The workshop takes place on Wed, 30<sup>th</sup> April 2014, 13.00–17.00

# Registration

Please register through the <u>conference website</u> (either just for the workshop or for the full conference).

# This document contains

- the workshop description
- the program schedule
- the full abstracts of the accepted papers

### Perfect and perfectivity re-assessed through corpus studies

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While the area of the present perfect has always been a hotly contested ground, recent corpus-analyses have shown that grammatical variation in this realm in English is far more pervasive than has been assumed. This is particularly true when non-native and learner Englishes are taken into account (cf. Davydova 2011; Elsness 2009a, 2009b; Hundt and Smith 2009; Miller 2000, 2004; Seoane and Suárez-Gómez 2013; Suárez-Gómez and Seoane 2013; van Rooy 2009; Werner 2013; Yao and Collins 2012). These studies have addressed the issue from diverse theoretical perspectives and methodologies and using different approaches, both function-to-form and form-to-function, in an attempt to account for the envelope of variation under scrutiny.

This workshop is open to synchronic, diachronic and contrastive corpus-based research on the expression of the present perfect and the perfective in both native and non-native varieties of English. We especially welcome contributions which go beyond the traditional ascription of the perfect to the construction *have* + past participle for the expression of perfect meaning (Quirk et al. 1985: 192-195; Biber et al. 1999: 467; Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 143) and observe variation determined by sociolinguistic variables such as mode, dialect, style, register, genre as well as by the individual interpretation of what the 'perfect time span' means (Rothstein 2008), especially in cases in which there is no explicit time frame specification from a temporal adverbial.

We also want to motivate participants to foster discussion about how these new findings from data analyses help to shed light on theoretical issues such as the grammaticalization of some adverbs as perfect markers (e.g. *just, yet, (n)ever,* cf. Miller 2004), the implications behind the apparent reversal of the long-term shift towards analyticity of other Germanic languages observed in the retreat of the present perfect in English (cf. Ten Cate 2005: 5; Elsness 2009b: 242; Van Rooy 2009: 311-312; cf. Hundt and Smith 2009), the role of register in historical variation and change (cf. Elsness 2009b; Biber and Gray 2013), the potential role of language contact as a driving force in the innovations attested in the use of the present perfect and its different variants (Mair 2013) and the repercussions of corpus linguistics research on the teaching of English as a second language.

The deadline for abstract submission is 15 January 2014. Abstracts of 300-400 words (excluding references) should be submitted by email to the three convenors (elena.seoane@uvigo.es, cristina.suarez@uib.es, valentin.werner@uni-bamberg.de). Notification of acceptance will be sent by the end of February 2014.

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- Werner, Valentin. 2013. "Temporal adverbials and the present perfect/past alternation". English World-Wide 34: 202-240.
- Yao, Xinyue and Peter Collins. 2012. "The present perfect in World Englishes". World Englishes 31: 386-403.

# Program schedule

Each paper comprises 15 minutes of presentation + 5 minutes for questions and comments

Time	Topic focus	Title	Name	Institution				
12.00-13.00	LUNCH							
13.00-13.05	WORKSHOP OPENING							
13.05-13.25	The present perfect puzzle	On the perfect-evidential-link in Continental Scandinavian	Björn Rothstein	University of Bochum				
13.25-13.45	Cross-variety comparisons	The perfect in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles	Stephanie Hackert	LMU Munich				
13.45-14.05	Cross-variety comparisons	The frequency of the present perfect in varieties of English around the world	Robert Fuchs	University of Münster				
14.05-14.25	Cross-variety comparisons	The present perfect in New Englishes: Common patterns in the situations of language contact	Julia Davydova	University of Mannheim				
14.25-14.45	The perfect in individual varieties	The sociolinguistics of the Australian English innovative present perfect: Methodological considerations	Sophie Richard	University of Western Australia				
14.45-15.00	COFFEE BREAK							
15.00-15.20	The perfect in individual varieties	The perfect form and its meanings in Black South African English	Bertus van Rooy	North-West University				
15.20-15.40	The perfect in individual varieties	Constraints on the use of the perfect in Ghanaian English: A comparative sociolinguistic approach	Gloria Otchere	University of Oslo				
15.40-16.00	The perfect in Irish English	The present perfect and perfectivity and Irish Standard(ised)  English: A re-assessment  Jo		Independent Scholar, Belfast				
16.00-16.20	The perfect in Irish English	, , ,		University of Helsinki				
16.20-16.40	The perfect in Irish English/ historical aspects	The impact of migration on the tense and aspect system of nineteenth-century Irish English correspondents						
16.40-17.00	Historical aspects	Speakers have a construction used – Speakers have used a construction: The construction HAVE + past participle in Old English – resultative or perfect?		FU Berlin				
17.00	END OF WORKSHOP							

### **Abstracts**

### **Björn Rothstein**

(University of Bochum)

## On the perfect-evidential-link in Continental Scandinavian

The goal of this paper is to analyse differences in inferential uses of the Swedish and English present perfect. When used in non-inferential contexts, both display the present perfect puzzle (cf. (1)), i.e. they cannot be combined with certain past adverbials (Klein 1992). In inferential contexts however, when used to indicate the author's degree of confidence in a present inference about past events, the present perfect puzzle only disappears in Swedish (cf. (2)) (Kinnander 1974).

Various proposals have been made to explain this cross-linguistic difference and so far, the puzzle has not been resolved yet. One of the basic problems is the judgement of the data itself. Rothstein (2008) claims that the inferential reading is only possible in the context of certain adverbial modifiers or other linguistic elements indicating evidentiality or inferentiality. Larsson (2009), however, states that the inferential reading of the Swedish present perfect is not due to context, but belongs to its semantics. This controversy on the data has an important impact on the analysis of the present perfect itself. If it turned out that the evidential meaning is part of the meaning of the present perfect, "traditional analyses" like the current-relevance- or result-state-approach, but also the classical version of the ExtendedNow would have to be modified. Interestingly, the discussion of the data is only corpus based: there are no experimental approaches to the Swedish inferential present perfect. In my talk, I will therefore discuss data from an experimental and corpus based investigation where I also consider Norwegian and Danish.

(1) a.	*Sigurd har	kommit igår	b.	*Sigurd has come yesterday.
	Sigurd has	come yesterday		
(2) a.	Sigurd har	tydligen kommit igår	b.	*Sigurd has probably come yesterday.
	Sigurd has	probably come yester	dav	

### References

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Klein, W. (1992): The present perfect puzzle. Language 68, 525 – 552.

Larsson, I. (2009): Participles in time. The Development of the Perfect Tense in Swedish. PhD Thesis Göteborg.

Rothstein, B. (2008): The perfect time span. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

# **Stephanie Hackert**

(LMU Munich)

### The perfect in English-lexifier pidgins and creoles

The proposed paper examines the expression of perfect meanings in various English-lexifier pidgins and creoles (P&Cs) with a view to contributing to the debate about whether P&Cs actually constitute a distinct language type opposed to languages which did not emerge out of extreme language contact. It has long been clear (e.g., Winford 1996: 82) that the only solution to the debate is a systematic comparison between P&C structures and non-creole ones. Recently, three large-scale atlas projects, i.e., the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS; Dryer & Haspelmath 2013), the Atlas of Pidgin and Creole Language Structures (APiCS; Michaelis et al. 2013), and the World Atlas of Varieties of English (WAVE; Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2012), have become available which will greatly facilitate such comparative work.

Unfortunately, apart from minor forms such as the medial-object perfect and the after-perfect, the perfect is covered neither in APiCS nor in WAVE. What little work there is on the expression of perfect meanings in P&Cs, however, shows that these languages do not necessarily possess a single perfect category but tend to express different perfect meanings (cf. Dahl 1985: 132) by means of different forms (cf., e.g., Winford 1993: 155; Hackert 2004: 103-7; Hackert & Schröder fc.). In my paper, I will present a corpus of data from a number of languages in order to examine the range of forms covering the semantic space of the perfect in English-lexifier P&Cs. These data will be collected with the help of a tense-aspect questionnaire (Dahl 1985: 198-206) designed specifically for typological work but so far largely unexploited in P&C studies. The languages covered will include both Atlantic P&Cs and Pacific ones. In order to model the data, I will employ semantic maps (cf. Cysow et al. 2010) as well as multidimensional scaling (cf. Croft & Poole 2008).

### References

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### **Robert Fuchs**

(University of Münster)

### The Frequency of the Present Perfect in Varieties of English Around the World

Previous research has shown that the frequency of the present perfect (PP) differs between varieties of English. The PP occurs more often in varieties that tend to be more formal, such as British English (BrE), than in varieties that are more colloquial, such as American English (AmE, Hundt and Smith 2009). Based on data from the International Corpus of English, Yao and Collins (2012) found that these two varieties form the poles of a continuum along which the eight other national varieties they investigated can be placed. Yao and Collins also documented (1) a tendency for the PP to occur more often with a contracted auxiliary in those varieties where it is comparatively infrequent, and (2) found evidence of aerial clusters of Englishes with similar frequencies of the PP:

Based on the Corpus of Global Web-based English (GloWbE, comprising 1.9 billion words), this paper documents the frequency of the PP in 20 national varieties of English, many of which have so far rarely been studied from a corpus-linguistic perspective. Results show that the PP is less frequent in American and South-East Asian varieties, and more frequent in South-Asian and African varieties of English. In terms of frequency per million words, and frequency relative to the simple past, the PP is least frequent in Philippine English. The varieties with the highest frequencies are Kenyan English and Indian English. A surprising result is that the PP is much less frequent in Irish English (IrE) than in BrE, which raises the question whether, historically, Irish influence has contributed to the low frequency of the PP in AmE.

The tendency of the PP to be less frequent in more colloquial varieties is confirmed by determining features of Xiao's (2009) factor 1 "interactive casual vs. informative elaborate discourse". The frequency of the PP is negatively correlated with the prevalence of contractions, private verbs, and 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns, but positively correlated with the frequency of prepositions. Furthermore, Xiao's factor 9 "concern with reported speech" can also contribute to explaining differences between varieties, since the frequency of private verbs is positively correlated with the frequency of the PP.

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### Julia Davydova

(University of Mannheim)

# The present perfect in New Englishes: Common patterns in the situations of language contact

The main goal of this contribution is to identify common patterns underlying the use of the *have*-perfect in those forms of English that have emerged as a result of the expansion of the British Empire (henceforth, New Englishes). The motivation behind this approach is to explore the similarities in the use of standard-oriented, native-like linguistic items in the post-colonial forms of language as the foregoing research has largely focused on the investigation of contact-induced, non-standard New English properties (Kortmann et al. 2004). In this study, I look at the semantic/pragmatic environments described as the present perfect contexts (cf. Radden and Dirven 2006). These are illustrated in (1) through (4).

- (1) I have broken my leg (resultative).
- (2) It has been raining all day long (extended-now).
- (3) I have never been to Brazil (experiential).
- (4) They have recently divorced (recent past).

The study draws on spontaneous data (S1A001-S1A100) obtained from the Indian, Singaporean and East African components of the *International Corpus of English* (ICE) and employs variationist methodology for its analyses. Although the domain of the present perfect has been described as the one exhibiting robust variation and particularly vulnerable in language-contact situations (see, for instance, Davydova 2011), I will explicitly be looking at those patterns that can perhaps be best described as representing the universal core of the English present perfect marking. In so doing, I rely on the diffusion vs. selection model proposed in Schneider (2000), which predicts that some forms and patterns of use will be transmitted unmodified from the parent variety to the daughter variety, whereas others will inevitably undergo change in a language-contact situation. The study sets out to explore which patterns of the *have*-perfect use will remain intact in the newly emerged Englishes, thereby guaranteeing "the core of English-ness in all varieties concerned" (Schneider 2000: 205), and why.

### References

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### **Sophie Richard**

(University of Western Australia)

# The Sociolinguistics of the Australian English innovative present perfect: Methodological considerations

The English Present Perfect (PP) is for the most part not involved in anterior-to-perfective grammaticalization (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994) and is used strictly to establish a link between a current state and a past situation. However, Engel and Ritz (2000), Ritz and Engel (2008) and Ritz (2007; 2010) report innovative uses of the PP in Australian English (AusE) radio chat-show programs, police and news media reports (example 1). The phenomenon is suggestive of a change in progress (Ritz 2010; 2012) but empirical evidence is yet to support this claim.

(1) ... after a spiteful game between the two clubs on Sunday, the Lions **have lodged** an official complaint with the league <u>yesterday</u>. (96 FM radio Perth, 21.3.00) (Ritz & Engel 2008: 149).

This study sets out to establish the sociolinguistic constraints on the use of the innovative AusE PP in *performed* narratives (i.e. vivid stories) by contemporary Perth English speakers. Does the empirical evidence indicate a change in progress? Do gender and occupation play a role in the use of the innovative PP?

Innovative data collection instruments are put to the test. Participants are asked to (1) interact in dyads with one of their friends, telling stories about some pictures they would have brought; (2) play a team-based storytelling game — inspired on the television show "Would I Lie To You?" and (3) tell a remarkable story in front of an audience while being recorded.

Innovative PP usage is remarkably difficult to record in naturalistic interaction (Rodríguez Louro & Ritz forthcoming). The innovative PP appears to be restricted to performed narratives, which may be difficult to trigger in an experimental setting. Additionally, its non-standard status in English may inhibit its production in contexts where participants are aware of their language being recorded. The three data collection procedures outlined above are designed to overcome these issues. In this presentation, I evaluate their adequacy, underscoring the importance of a variety of data collection instruments in capturing linguistic variables likely to feature in specific genres (e.g. narratives) or those which are negatively evaluated by the speech community.

### References

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### **Bertus van Rooy**

(North-West University)

### The perfect form and its meanings in Black South African English

The perfect form in (non-native varieties of) African English is used in ways that differ from what is typical for native varieties, but the deviations do not reveal an underlying uniformity. Mesthrie (2004:1133) observes at a very general level that the perfect forms with HAVE are used in contexts where the native varieties are expected to use the simple past tense in Ghanaian English, while Cape Flats English and Black South African English tend in the opposite direction, extending the past tense to perfect contexts. At the same time, De Klerk (2003:234) finds that the past tense inflection is omitted when the adverb already is used, "since the idea of completion is already contained in already". Van Rooy (2009) notes that, while the semantics of the perfect in East African English is similar to British English, there are a few contexts in which the perfect is not used in East Africa. More complete and recent information is available from the Electronic World Atlas of Varieties of English, which confirms the mixed perspective on the use of the perfect in African Englishes, although the use of the simple past tense for contexts where the present perfect is expected is the more dominant feature reported for Africa, rather the converse (Kortmann & Lunkenheimer 2013). However, most previous accounts are based on questionnaires completed by informants or limited data, usually not drawn from corpora. Even a corpus-based study such as Van Rooy (2009) focuses on the contexts in which the perfect forms are used, without undertaking a parallel analysis of the contexts in which the simple tense forms are used.

This paper will present a two-pronged corpus-based analysis of the perfect and past tense in Black South African English. Part of the analysis is conducted on a 50,000 word sample from the corpus of Spoken Xhosa English (De Klerk 2003), where each verb form is manually classified for its tense and aspect properties. The analysis is supplemented by a more quantitative analysis of the entire spoken corpus, as well as corpora of student writing and published writing in Black South African English, to determine the degree to which the simple past tense competes with the perfect aspect for semantic territory, and establish if particular meanings are still prototypically conveyed by the one form rather than the other.

### References

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### **Gloria Otchere**

(University of Oslo)

# Constraints on the use of the perfect in Ghanaian English: A comparative sociolinguistic approach

This study explores the linguistic and genre constraints on the distribution of the perfect in Ghanaian English. Previous studies of the perfect in standard Ghanaian English (Huber & Dako, 2008; Huber, 2012) have shown that in addition to the leveling of the difference between the present perfect and the simple past, Ghanaian users of English also substitute the past perfect for the present perfect (Huber & Dako, 2008) and vice versa (Huber, 2012) and use the present perfect to refer to completed activities. A preliminary examination of some spoken data has also shown tendencies for the perfect to co-occur with definite past time adverbials, confirming Mesthrie and Bhatt's (2008) observation about the perfect in New Englishes. The perfect in Ghanaian English is thus characterized by four 'deviations' from the norms in Standard (British) English: alternating with the simple past (in some contexts), alternating with the past perfect (in some contexts), co-occurring with definite past time adverbials (in some contexts) and referring to completed activities (in some contexts). The study aims at identifying the specific contexts in which each of the alternating variants occurs and examines its distribution across different genres of speech.

This research takes as its point of departure a combination of constraints on the use of the English perfect as identified by the EUROTYP project (2000), Van Herk (2010) and Van Rooy (2009): temporal distance, temporal frame, type of adverbial, type of clause, voice, polarity, evidentiality, possession and resultative, verb semantics and discourse type. It thus adopts a form-based approach to variation. It also examines variation in terms of the relative frequencies of each of the variable features in two data sets: private conversations, and public broadcast interviews and discussions, to find out the extent to which the genre of texts also affects the occurrence of the variable.

The data for the study comprise public radio and broadcast discussions and interviews and private conversations drawn from the spoken component of the ICE-Ghana corpus. Extraction of the variables is done both manually and by using WordSmith6 tools. The linguistic constraints are examined in a multivariate analysis to determine statistical significance of constraints, rank constraints and determine the relative strength of each constraint in the Ghanaian variety of English, and the genre constraints are examined through a comparison of frequency of occurrence patterns in both data sets.

It is expected that the results will highlight the sociolinguistic constraints that underlie the use of the perfect in Ghanaian English to form the basis for comparison with indigenous Ghanaian languages in the on-going PhD project of uncovering constraints in the use of the perfect in Ghanaian English.

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### John Kirk

(Independent Scholar, Belfast)

### The Present Perfect and Perfectivity and Irish Standard(ised) English: A Re-assessment

The Present Perfect in vernacular Irish English has attracted a lot of attention in recent years. For Harris (1984) the HAVE + past participle construction, so evidently a feature of standard English does not occur, with its semantic functions being expressed by a range of other constructions: the BE + past participle construction, the *after* + V-*ing* construction, what has come to be known as the medial object perfect', and special and extended uses of the present and past tenses. For Kallen (1989) as well as later Filppula (1999) and Hickey (2007), the HAVE + past participle construction occurs alongside all those other constructions. However, in these accounts, standard English is almost invariably considered as a norm, against which those other constructions are calibrated. By contrast, Siemund (2004) considers the Irish English extended uses of the present and past tenses – with parallels in the Irish language upon which they are calqued – as universal, thus offering an explanation for these temporal expressions which does not take standard English as the norm.

Kallen and Kirk (2006, 2007) and Kirk and Kallen (2009) have shown that these Irish-calqued perfective constructions, which have been described on the basis of vernacular speech, are also to be found in the standardized speech of the ICE-Ireland Corpus (Kirk et al. 2011; see also Kallen & Kirk 2008). Although, because of the nature of many of the 15 discourse situations comprising the corpus, there is, not surprisingly, an abundance of occurrences in the standard HAVE + past participle construction in the corpus, much speech – even in formalized settings – is spontaneous, with the result that underlying vernacular constructions creep in, including the BE + past participle construction, the *after* + V-ing

construction, what has come to be known as the 'medial object perfect' construction, and special and extended uses of the present and past tenses expressing perfectivity.

This paper builds on my previous work with Kallen to look more thoroughly and rigorously at the HAVE + past participle construction as well as the extended uses of the present and past tense expressing perfective meanings by investigating the extent to which these constructions map on to descriptions of standard English and how far they diverge. In its re-assessment of the present perfect and perfectivity, the paper will pay heed to the many recent contributions set out in the workshop's abstract.

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### Perfects and perfectivity in two contact varieties of English

The aim of this paper is to discuss the present perfect and perfective aspect in some Irish and western Scottish dialects of English in light of some of the general trends of development in this domain of grammar observed in recent linguistic literature (see, e.g. Davydova et al. 2011; Hundt and Smith 2009). The Irish dialects and those spoken in the Western Isles of Scotland share a background of language contact, having both emerged as a result of language shift on the part of the majority of the populations in these areas. What makes these dialects a particularly interesting pair for linguistic comparisons is the close affinity between the relevant Celtic substrate languages, viz. Irish (Gaelic) and Scottish Gaelic. There is a constantly growing body of literature on the Irish dialects of English and their characteristic features (see, e.g. Filppula 1999, Hickey 2007) but far less is known about the structures of the English of the Western Isles, also called Hebridean English (Sabban 1982, Shuken 1984). Yet they display many similarities with Irish English, which include (some aspects of) the systems of perfects in these two varieties. They have features in common that appear to be unique amongst varieties of English and therefore pose a challenge to some of the mainstream developments in this domain of grammar. Because of close parallels in the Celtic substrate languages, at least part of these shared features can be explained through contact influences. To that extent, the Irish and Scottish varieties examined here confirm the generalisation expressed by, e.g. Davydova et al. (2011), who argue that, in language contact situations, the nature and degree of contact with the target language are the major determinants of the types of expression used for the perfect (cf. also Trudgill 2011: 15 ff. on two types of contact and their linguistic outcomes).

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### Marije Van Hattum

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# The impact of migration on the tense and aspect system of nineteenth-century Irish English correspondents

The tense and aspect system of Irish English (IrE) is one of the most investigated areas of this particular variety of English. According to the literature, IrE has five different perfect constructions which occur alongside the *have*-perfect construction used in Standard English (StE). Filppula (1999) refers to these perfects as the 'indefinite anterior' perfect (example 1), the *after* perfect (example 2), the 'medial-object' perfect (example 3), the *be* perfect (example 4), and the 'extended-now' perfect (example 5). Previous research has mainly discussed these perfects in the light of their origin (i.e. substratum, superstratum and/or universal accounts), their distribution with respect to the StE *have*-perfect, and their acceptability among present-day speakers of IrE (e.g., Kallen 1990. Filppula 1999, Todd 1999, Ronan 2005, McCafferty 2006, Siemund 2006, Hickey 2007). My study will focus on the impact of nineteenth-century migration on the use of these IrE perfects in comparison to the StE perfect.

The data of my study will focus on nineteenth-century IrE emigrant letters to and from Australia, and the findings will be compared to a corpus of (non-IrE) personal letters produced in Australia. The IrE letters will mainly be drawn from *Oceans of Consolation* (Fitzpatrick 1994) and the Australian letters from the *Corpus of Oz Early English* (Fritz 2004). The examples will be analysed according to their time reference using an extended Reichenbachian framework, and processes associated with linguistic accommodation within the context of migration will be discussed in order to account for my results (e.g. Giles 1973, Giles, Coupland & Coupland 1991, Trudgill 1986; 2004). It is thus hoped that my study will contribute to the study of perfects and perfectivity in Irish English in particular and to the field of language and migration in general.

- 1. Were you ever in Kenmare? 'Have you ever been in Kenmare?'
- You're after ruinin' me.'You have just ruined me.'
- 3. *I have it forgot.* 'I have forgotten it'
- 4. All the tourists are gone back now. 'All the tourists have gone back now.'

- 5. I'm not in this (caravan) long.'I haven't been in this caravan long'
- 6. And we haven't seen one for years round here.

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### **Berit Johannsen**

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# Speakers have a construction used – Speakers have used a construction: The construction HAVE + past participle in Old English – resultative or perfect?

The development of the so-called *HAVE*-perfect is often given as a prime example of a grammaticalization path that is attested cross-linguistically in the languages across Europe (e.g. Bybee et. al. 1994, Heine & Kuteva 2006). In these frameworks, the generally accepted account of the development of the English *HAVE+past participle-*construction is that it changed from a possessive-resultative construction into a temporal-aspectual construction, labeled the English perfect. It is further claimed that such a development from a resultative to a perfect construction is characterized by an expansion in the verb types used, from exclusively telic verbs in resultative constructions to both telic and atelic verbs in perfect constructions (Bybee et. al. 1994, Dahl and Hedin 2000). Some authors (Traugott 1972) date this development to the Old English period while other authors (Brinto 1988, Wischer 2004, Wischer 2008) have claimed that no such chronology is deducible from the Old English data. Drawing on data taken from the *York-Helsinki Corpus of Old English Prose*, this study

supports the latter view that a shift from resultative to perfect is not visible in the surviving Old English records. It will show that clear resultative cases are at best rare and that even ambiguous resultative and perfect interpretations are, despite identical word order, not possible in the great majority of cases. Moreover, the verb types used will be analyzed in order to test the hypothesis that there is a shift in verb types used.

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