

The diachronic development of the Upper-German Perfekt Julia Braun

Summary: The presentation focuses on the semantic change of the Perfekt from Middle High German (MHG) to Modern Swabian via constant entailments (cf. Beck, 2012). I provide (more) evidence for the development of the Perfekt from an extended-now semantics to a simple past meaning in Upper-German dialects.

1 Background

Considerable research has been devoted to the history and diachronic development of perfects (Bybee & Dahl, 1989) and that of the German Perfekt in particular (Lindgren, 1957; Dentler, 1997; Öhl, 2009; Gillmann, 2016; Fischer, 2018; Fischer, 2020):

- The German Perfekt developed from a possessive construction (A) that expressed the current **result of a past event**...
- ...to another construction (B) that expressed **current relevance**.
- In a last step, it developed into construction C in Early New High German which caused the loss of the Präteritum in Upper-German.

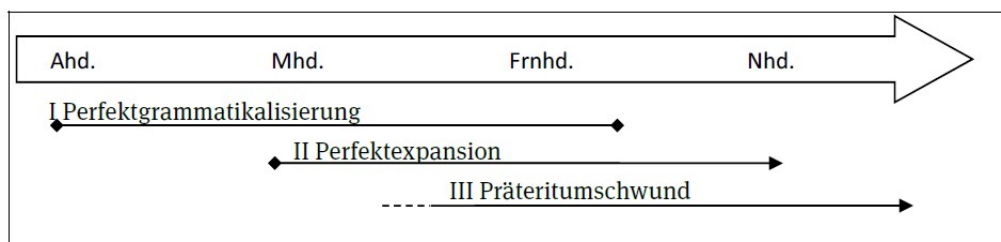


Figure 1: Fischer, 2018, p. 282

- Universal perfect development path: resultatives develop into perfect forms (also called anteriors) which then evolve more and more into past-tense or perfective constructions (Bybee & Dahl, 1989; Bybee et al., 1994, pp. 51–105).

2.1 Plot

- Perfekt in Middle High German (construction B)
- semantic change from construction B in MHG to C in ENHG
- Perfekt in Modern Swabian (construction C')

2 Middle High German Perfekt

2.1 Previous research

- The perfect in MHG is not grammaticalised as a past tense but as something like the English present perfect. (Shimazaki, 2002, pp. 63, 69)
- In MHG, Plusquamperfekt and Präteritum are narrative tenses and occur in anaphoric situations ($R < S$); Perfekt and Präsens are non-narrative and occur in deictic situations ($R = S$) (corpus study by Zeman, 2010).

2.2 Perfekt in *Der Pfaffe Amis*

The MHG Perfekt has an extended-now semantics. Evidence: prototypically close connection to the speech time, choice of adverbials, occurrence in indefinite past time contexts, universal uses, no modification with definite past time adverbials.

Method

- Close investigation of the MHG *Der Pfaffe Amis* – a *Schwankroman* (‘comic romance’) which contains different stories of a vicar who tricks, mocks and scams people.
- 2510 verses, 11508 words¹
- Count occurrences of the Perfekt, categorise the findings (co-occurrence with adverbials, universal use, co-occurrence with *dô*)
- Relate findings to previous research and observations made in MHG grammar books

Data

Close connection to the speech time

- In total, there are 85 occurrences of the Perfekt in *Der Pfaffe Amis*; 14 *sîn*-Perfekts and 71 *hân*-Perfekts.

total n	in dialogue n	%	in monologue n	%	in frame narrative n	%
85	82	96,47	1	1,18	2	2,35

Table 1: The Perfekt in dialogue, monologue and frame narrative in *Der Pfaffe Amis*

¹<http://mhdadb.sbg.ac.at/LastStatistics.de.html>

- (1) *er hât die buochstaben* lot there [in the book]’
 he has the.PL letters
ersehen. (*Der Pfaffe Amis* 298; Henne, 1991, p. 22)
 see.PST.PTCP
 ‘Er hat die Buchstaben gesehen²’
 ‘He has seen the letters.’
 (*Der Pfaffe Amis* 294;
 Henne, 1991, p. 22)
- (2) *der hât er vil* of.these has he many
gesehen dâ
 see.PST.PTCP. there
 ‘und von ihnen hat er dort viele
 entdeckt.’
 ‘Of these [letters A], he has seen a
- Context: Amis teaches a donkey to “read.” He hides oat in a book, the donkey learns to turn the pages while looking for food. When the bishop comes to check on his progress, the donkey brays loudly because it cannot find any food. Amis explains that he is teaching the donkey the alphabet and that the donkey has already learnt the letter A.

- The MHG Perfekt expresses the **current relevance** of a past event to the utterance time of the speaker.³
- The fact that the MHG Perfekt mainly appears in dialogue has also been noted by Zeman (2010), as illustrated in Table 2.⁴

	Präteritum n	%	Perfekt n	%
dialogic (i.e. direct speech and frame narrative)	142	4,8	136	96,45
non-dialogic	2813	95,16	2	1,42
generally valid	1	0,03	3	2,13
total	2956		141	

Table 2: The distribution of Präteritum and Perfekt in *Herzog Ernst*, as reported in Zeman (2010, p. 7)

- This behaviour of the MHG Perfekt is systematic and can also be found in comparable literature, as shown in Table 3:

Temporal adverbials

Of the 85 occurrences of the Perfekt in *Der Pfaffe Amis*, 24 (28,2%) were modified by temporal adverbials⁵. A list of the respective adverbials is given in Table 4.

²The German translations of *Der Pfaffe Amis* are by Henne (1991).

³see also Zeman (2010, pp. 253–255); Fischer (2020, p. 103)

⁴Zeman (2010) shows that non-prototypically, the Präteritum can also appear in dialogic passages. This

Perfekt (hân)	total n	non-dialogic n	%
<i>Herzog Ernst</i> (around 1200)	121	2	1,65
<i>Rolandslied</i> (around 1170)	138	6	4,35
<i>Parzival</i> (around 1205)	144	4	2,78
<i>Tristan</i> (around 1210)	104	3	3,88

Table 3: Percentages of the *hân*-Perfekt in non-dialogue passages, reported by Zeman (2010, p. 8)

Adverbial	Translation German / English	Number of occurrences with the Perfekt
<i>nû / nuo</i>	‘nun’ / ‘now’	7
<i>unz (wenn/her)</i>	‘bis zu’ / ‘until’	3
<i>hie</i>	‘hier’ / ‘here’	3
<i>ê</i>	‘früher; vorhin’ / ‘before’	2
<i>hiute</i>	‘heute’ / ‘today’	2
<i>heint</i>	‘heute Nacht’ / ‘last night’	1
<i>kurzlich</i>	‘in Kürze’ / ‘in a short while’	1
<i>dri stunt</i>	‘dreimal’ / ‘three times’	1
<i>sô lange</i>	‘so lange’ / ‘(for) so long’	1
<i>mêr denn anderthalp jâr</i>	‘mehr als 1 1/2 Jahre’ / ‘more than one and a half years’	1
<i>mange vrist</i>	?	1
<i>zwei jâr unde mê</i>	‘zwei Jahre oder mehr’ / ‘two years or more’	1

Table 4: Adverbials co-occurring with the Perfekt in *Der Pfaffe Amis*

- (3) *meister, nuo sagt mîr, von waz materie habt ir hie gemâlt alsô schône.*
 master now tell me from what matter have you here painted so nicely
 ‘Meister, erklärt mir nun, was Ihr hier so wunderbar gemalt habt?’ (646)
- (4) *nû hân ich ez allez wol gesehen*
 now have I it all well see.PST.PTCP
 ‘Ich habe das jetzt alles klar und deutlich gesehen.’
 ‘I’ve now seen everything well.’
 (*Der Pfaffe Amis* 680; Henne, 1991, p. 36)
- (5) a. *nuo habt ir in dâ vor behuot, daz er mir nimmer niht*
 now have you him there from prevent.PST that he me never not

is the case when the speaker refers to an event that is in the past and not strongly connected to the speech time.

⁵These are the ones that can also modify the Modern English present perfect.

- engît,*
gives.back
'aber Ihr habt ihn nun davor bewahrt, daß er mir jemals wieder etwas zurückgibt'
'but now you have prevented him from giving me back anything'
- b. *und habt mir heint ein zît an mînem lîbe getân, ich muoz*
and have me this.night a time at my body? do.PST.PTCP I must
es immer schaden hân
it always damage have
'und lhr habt mich heute Nacht auch noch gequält, worunter ich mein Lebtag leiden werde'
'and you have tortured me this night, I will always suffer therof.'

Experiential past

The experiential use of the perfect is available in Modern English (Grønning & von Stechow, 2020). As the name implies, past events introduced by the present perfect are somehow relevant for the "subject's experience at the reference time" (Grønning & von Stechow, 2020, p. 3). On top of that, the experiential perfect is quantificational in that the relevant past events are repeatable, which can be overtly marked by adverbials, as illustrated in (6). The experiential perfect occurs with telic and atelic verbs.

- (6) *Since 1976 I have been hospitalized six times.*
(Grønning & von Stechow, 2020, p. 4)

The experiential use of the perfect is also available in Middle High German. In *Der Pfaffe Amis*, the Perfekt co-occurs with quantificational adverbials, like *drî stunt* ('three times') and *ê* ('before').⁶ This was not possible in Old High German.

- (7) *der engel ist nû drî stunt zuo mir komen*
the angel is now three times to me come.PST.PTCP
'Mir ist mittlerweile dreimal ein Engel erschienen'
'The angel has now come to me three times.'
(*Der Pfaffe Amis* 1412; Henne, 1991, p. 66)
- (8) a. *di andern bringe ich iu dar zuo, swenne er der rede gedaget,*
b. *die ich iu ê hân gesaget.*
which I you before have say.PST.PTCP
'[Den Rest zahle ich Euch, wenn er dieses Gerede lāsst,] von dem ich Euch vorhin erzählt habe.'
'[I will give you the rest when he stops the ramblings] of which I have told you before.'
(*Der Pfaffe Amis* 2310; Henne, 1991, p. 100)

⁶For telic verbs, it is difficult to distinguish experiential and resultative uses of the perfect (cf. Mittwoch, 2008.)

Analysis

- MHG Perfekt is best accounted for with an extended-now semantics (McCoard, 1978; Iatridou et al., 2001; Bhatt & Pancheva, 2005; Rothstein, 2006)
- The perfect operator scopes over viewpoint aspect and sits below the tense projection.⁷

(9) **stage 1**

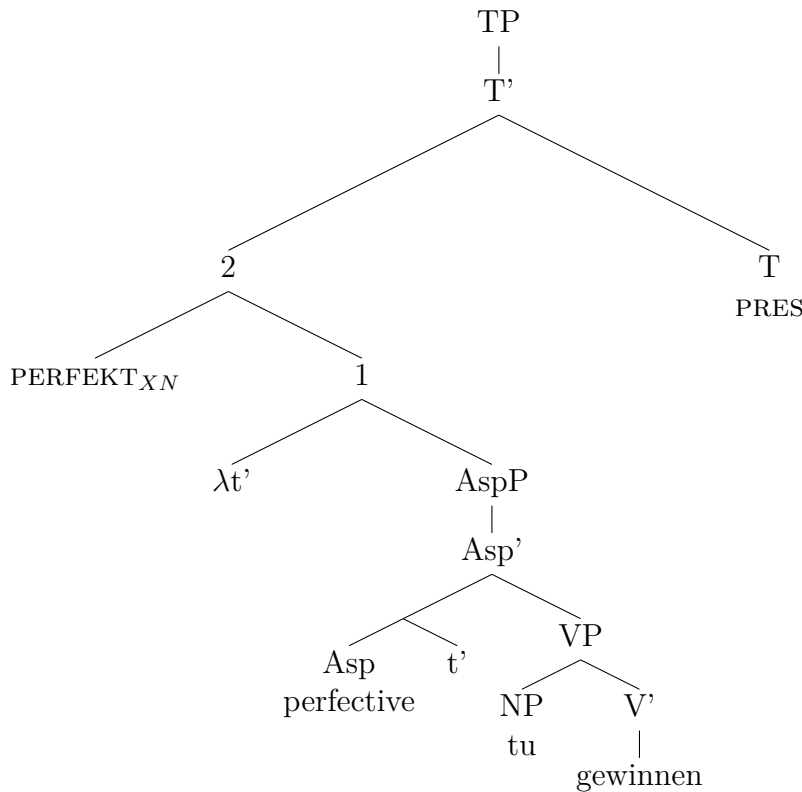
$$\llbracket \text{PERFEKT}_{XN} \rrbracket = [\lambda p_{\langle i,t \rangle} \cdot [\lambda t_{\langle i \rangle} \cdot \exists t' [XN(t',t) \ \& \ p(t')]]],$$

where $XN(t',t)$ iff t is a final subinterval of t'

(10) a. $\llbracket \text{perfective} \rrbracket = [\lambda t_{\langle i \rangle} \cdot \lambda p_{\langle v,t \rangle} \cdot \exists e [\tau(e) \subseteq t \ \& \ p(e)]]]$

b. $\llbracket \text{PRES} \rrbracket = [\lambda p_{\langle i,t \rangle} \cdot \exists t_{\langle i \rangle} [t = t_c \ \& \ p(t)]]]$, where t_c is the speech time

(11)



a. $\llbracket \text{VP} \rrbracket_{\langle v,t \rangle} = [\lambda e_{\langle v \rangle} \cdot \text{GEWINNEN}(e)(\text{addressee})]$

“ e is a winning event of the addressee”

b. $\llbracket 1 \rrbracket_{\langle i,t \rangle} = [\lambda t'_{\langle i \rangle} \cdot \exists e [\tau(e) \subseteq t' \ \& \ \text{GEWINNEN}(e)(\text{addressee})]]]$

“there is an event e whose run time is included in t' and e is a winning event of the addressee”

c. $\llbracket 2 \rrbracket_{\langle i,t \rangle} = [\lambda t_{\langle i \rangle} \cdot \exists t' [XN(t',t) \ \& \ \exists e [\tau(e) \subseteq t' \ \& \ \text{GEWINNEN}(e)(\text{addressee})]]]$

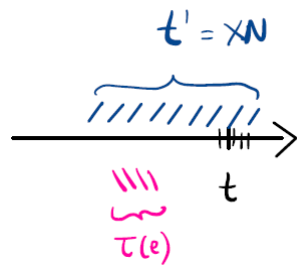
“there is a time interval t' which extends backwards from t and has t as a final subinterval and there is an event e whose run time is included in t' and e is a winning event of the addressee”

d. $\llbracket \text{T}' \rrbracket_{\langle t \rangle} = \exists t [t = t_c \ \& \ \exists t' [XN(t',t) \ \& \ \exists e [\tau(e) \subseteq t' \ \& \ \text{GEWINNEN}(e)(\text{addressee})]]]$

“there is a time interval t which is the speech time and there is a time

⁷For more details on the LF architecture, see Beck & von Stechow (2015).

interval t' which extends backwards from the speech time and has the speech time as a final subinterval and there is an event e whose run time is included in t' and e is a winning event of the addressee ”



XN semantics makes the following **predictions**:

- a. the MHG Perfekt cannot be modified by definite past time adverbials
- b. universal uses of the Perfekt are available with stative verbs

Prediction 1: the MHG Perfekt cannot be modified by definite past time adverbials

- XN-analysis + definite past time adverbials result in ungrammaticality⁸:

(12) Dummy example⁹

- a. **Tristan hat gestern den Kampf gewonnen.*
- b. [[PERFEKT_{XN} gestern [pfv [VP]]][PRES]]
- c. [[*gestern*]_c = [$\lambda p_{\langle i, t \rangle}$. [λt . $t \subseteq \text{gestern}_c$ & $p(t)$]]]
- d. $\exists t[t=t_c \ \& \ \exists t'[\text{XN}(t',t) \ \& \ t' \subseteq \text{gestern} \ \& \ \exists e[\tau(e) \subseteq t' \ \& \ \text{GEWINNEN}(e)(\text{den Kampf})(\text{Tristan})]]]$

“there is a time interval t which is the speech time and there is a time interval t' which extends backwards from the speech time and has the speech time as a final subinterval and the time interval t' is included in *gestern* and there is an event e whose run time is included in t' and e is a winning event of the fight by Tristan”

contradiction: the XN interval which also includes the speech time is a subset of *gestern*, i.e. the speech time is a subset of *gestern*

(13) Dummy example

- a. **Tristan hat gestern den Kampf gewonnen.*
- b. [[*gestern* PERFEKT_{XN} [pfv [VP]]][PRES]]
- c. $\exists t[t=t_c \ \& \ t \subseteq \text{gestern} \ \& \ \exists t'[\text{XN}(t',t) \ \& \ \exists e[\tau(e) \subseteq t' \ \& \ \text{GEWINNEN}(e)(\text{den Kampf})(\text{Tristan})]]]$

⁸This same argument has been used to explain the extended-now semantics of the English present perfect (cf. Bhatt & Pancheva, 2005; Grønn & von Stechow, 2020).

⁹This is a dummy example because there are no MHG sentences like this. So I used Modern German with a MHG semantics.

“there is a time interval t which is the speech time and the speech time is included in *gestern* and there is a time interval t' which extends backwards from the speech time and has the speech time as a final subinterval and there is an event e whose run time is included in t' and e is a winning event of the fight by Tristan”

contradiction: the speech time is a subset of *gestern*

- ‘gestern’ is not used in *Der Pfaffe Amis*
- the following items appear once each, always with Präteritum: ‘*des andern tages*’ (745); ‘*an dem andern tage*’ (1869); ‘*an dem maentage*’ (1648); ‘*an einem vrîtage*’ (1168)
- ‘*mir starp an dem maentage vruo // ein bischolf, der herre mîn.*’ → recent event. **Present perfect puzzle** (cf. Klein, 1992)
- I checked the number of occurrences of the Perfekt, Präteritum and Plusquamperfekt in *Der Pfaffe Amis* with the adverbial *dô* (‘da, dann; then’ and ‘als’; ‘when’), which can introduce both main and subordinate clauses. *Dô* is used exclusively in the main line of narration to recount the order of events.

total n	with Präteritum n	%	with Plusquamperfekt n	%	with Perfekt n	%
177	171	96,61	6	3,39	0	0

Table 5: The distribution of *dô* across past tenses in *Der Pfaffe Amis*

Prediction 2: universal uses

- Universal Perfekt in MHG in previous literature:
 - MHG grammar by Paul: ‘durchstehende Zeit’ (p. 293)
 - Zeman (2010, p. 201): ‘Neutralität bezüglich des Merkmals der Abgeschlossenheit’ of ‘additive’ verbs
 - Shimazaki (2002, p. 63): the MHG Perfekt can express universal, experiential, indefinite past and recent past meanings
 - Larsson (2009): see Appendix
 - 6 universal perfects out of 85 Perfekts in *Der Pfaffe Amis*
- (14)
- Ed has known Jimmy for nine years.*
 - implies: the state of knowing Jimmy is on-going at the speech time (cf. Iatridou et al., 2001; Grønn & von Stechow, 2020)
- Universal (or continuative) uses of the perfect: XN semantics + homogeneous eventualities

- (15) a. $[[\text{PERFEKT}_{XN}]] = [\lambda p_{\langle i,t \rangle} \cdot [\lambda t_{\langle i \rangle} \cdot \exists t' [XN(t',t) \ \& \ p(t')]]]$,
 where $XN(t',t)$ iff t is a final subinterval of t'
- b. Subinterval property: A predicate P has the subinterval property if and only if it follows from the truth of $P(e)$ at an interval t that $P(e)$ is true at all subintervals of t .
 (Matthewson et al., 2015, p. 25)¹⁰

- Adverbials are a necessary ingredient to get a universal perfect (Iatridou et al., 2001)

- (16) a. Context: The example is from the episode *Der Juwelenhändler* ('The jeweller'). Amis tricks a merchant into selling him his jewels and lures him to his accommodation where he wants to pay him. As soon as the merchant gets there, however, he is tied up by Amis and his servants. Amis then brings this poor merchant to a doctor, telling him that his father, who is in fact the merchant, is very ill and keeps shouting and accusing Amis of stealing from him. Amis explains the situation to the doctor in the following way:

- b. *im hât der siehtuom gewert* / *wol zwei jâr*
 him has the sickness lasted.PST.PTCP_‘gewährt’ / certainly two years
unde mê / “*nu sagt mir, wi ist im wê?*” / *sprach der wîse*
 and more / now tell me how is him sore_‘weh’ / said the wise
arzât”

doctor

‘Seine Krankheit dauert nun schon mindestens zwei Jahre.’ ‘Was fehlt ihm denn?’ fragte der erfahrene Arzt’

‘His sickness has lasted for at least two years now.’ ‘Now tell me what is wrong with him?’ said the wise doctor’

(*Der Pfaffe Amis* 2222ff.; Henne, 1991, p. 96)

- Henne (1991) uses the present tense in his German translation because the sickness is still on-going, which is reflected in the doctor’s question: *wi ist im wê?* ‘what is wrong with him?’.

Summary

- XN analysis for MHG because of
 - current relevance as expressed through appearance in dialogue
 - adverbials
 - indefinite past
- predictions of an XN analysis hold for MHG Perfekt
 - present perfect puzzle
 - universal uses

¹⁰This is adapted from Dowty, 1986, p. 42

One more thing...

- 8/85 perfects were future perfects (9,41%)
- in Modern English, this use is not available (cf. Rothstein, 2011)
- 5/8 appear in embedded clauses

(17) V 179: *swenne ir in **gmezzen hat**,*

(18) V 842: *ich **han** iuch kurzlich **entladen** [...] iuwer siecheit,*

(19) V 2141f: *ich wils nindert tragen lân, ê ich daz gelt **enphangen hân***

- Rothstein (2011, p. 124) observes a correlation: languages that have a present tense that can refer to the future also have future perfects (Swedish, German). Languages that lack that kind of present tense do not have a future perfect (English).
- by hypothesis: MHG also has a present tense that can refer to the future.

	Middle German	High	Modern English
current relevance	✓		✓
temporal adverbials modifying UT	✓		✓
experiential past use	✓		✓
universal use	✓		✓
modif. with def. past time adverbials	✗		✗
future use	✓		✗

Table 6: The MHG Perfekt and the ModE present perfect are (almost) functionally equivalent

3 Semantic change

- in MHG period: shift in the use of Perfekt forms
 - “[In MHG,] present perfect forms that are not anchored in the present are attested for the first time” → **focus on event** (Fischer, 2020, p. 103)
 - cf. my examples above on the experiential perfect (7) and (8)
 - “When the past event is put into focus and the reference time is defocused (i.e. is not asserted), the temporal anchoring becomes vague and a past interpretation seems likely.” (Fischer, 2020, p. 105)
 - **In other words: shift from XN to past analysis**
- How to model this shift? Via constant entailments

- **Constant entailments:**
 “Variability in the meaning of an expression α between interpretations α' and α ” is promoted by the existence of contexts ϕ in which an occurrence of α under both interpretations α' and α leads to the same proposition ϕ .”
 (Beck, 2012)
 - Different analyses of α can lead to the same sentence meaning.
 - “the meaning of an utterance before and after semantic reanalysis is practically identical even though the meanings of its parts have changed drastically.” (Eckardt, 2011)
 - Beck & Gergel (2015)
 - “There are many contexts in which a sentence can be judged true on either a past or a perfect analysis” (p. 197) → often no truth-conditional difference
 - “We suggest that this type of **ambivalence** in interpretation is the engine for the transition from the perfect to the past” (p. 197)
- (20) a. $[_{TP} \text{ Tense } [_{PerfP} \text{ Perfect } [_{AspP} \text{ Aspect } [_{VP}]]]]$
 b. $\text{Perfect}_{\text{Germ}} = \lambda P. \lambda t \exists t' t' > < t \ \& \ P(t')$ (where $> <$ is the abutting relation)

My analysis

- (21) a. *di andern bringe ich iu dar zuo, swenne er der rede gedaget,*
 b. *die ich iu ê hân gesaget.*
 which I you before have say.PST.PTCP
 ‘[Den Rest zahle ich Euch, wenn er dieses Gerede lässt,] von dem ich Euch vorhin erzählt habe.’
 ‘[I will give you the rest when he stops the ramblings] of which I have told you before.’
 (*Der Pfaffe Amis* 2310; Henne, 1991, p. 100)
- (22) $\llbracket \text{PERFEKT}_{\text{XN}} \rrbracket_{\text{old}} = [\lambda p_{< i, t >}. [\lambda t_{< i >}. \exists t' [\text{XN}(t', t) \ \& \ p(t')]]],$
 where $\text{XN}(t', t)$ iff t is a final subinterval of t'
- (23) $\llbracket \text{PERFEKT}_{\text{PAST}} \rrbracket_{\text{new}} = [\lambda p_{< i, t >}. [\lambda t_{< i >}. \exists t' [t' < t \ \& \ p(t')]]]$

The run time of the event of ‘saying’ is either regarded as part of the XN-interval or it is regarded as an interval before the utterance time. Both of these analyses can be judged true in the context in (21).

Repercussions for the tense system

I believe that this vacuous ambiguity between XN and past analysis in MHG is the “engine” for more changes to come:

- Frequency of Perfekt forms increases, see Table 7
- This expansion of the Perfekt causes the loss of the preterite (Lindgren, 1957; Oubouzar, 1974; Dentler, 1997; Amft, 2018; Fischer, 2018)

Table 9. Frequencies of the perfect in areal and chronological comparison

	Zeman (2010: 308–311)	Sapp (2009: 425)	Sapp (2009: 425)	Lindgren (1957)	Schöndorf (1983: 174)	Sapp (2009: 425)
	MHG	ENHG	ENHG	ENHG (Upper German)	MLG	ENHG
Century	ca. 1200	14th	15th	1450–1549	1478–1522	16th
present perfect	5%	12%	21%	22%	7%	30%
preterite	95%	88%	79%	78%	93%	70%
total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
	<i>n</i> = 3,097	<i>n</i> = 5,644	<i>n</i> = 7,161	<i>n</i> = 70,416	<i>n</i> = 1,572	<i>n</i> = 6,799

Table 7: Fischer, 2020, p. 108

4 Modern Swabian Perfekt

Swabian is an Alemannic dialect and a descendant of Middle High German. Due to the universal perfect development path (Bybee et al., 1994) and the loss of the preterite in Upper-German, we would expect to find that the Swabian Perfekt is only a past tense (cf. Beck & Gergel, 2014) and that it does not give rise to universal uses.

4.1 Method

- semantic fieldwork (cf. Matthewson, 2004)
- 1-on-1 meetings with informants, judgement tasks
- contexts and target sentences were presented in Standard German
- 9 native speakers of Swabian

4.2 My fieldwork data

- universal uses of the Swabian Perfekt are unacceptable

(24) Universal context:

Marc befindet sich gerade im Krankenhaus und er ist schon seit längerer Zeit dort. Kann man diesen Zustand folgendermaßen beschreiben?

a. target sentence:

Marc ist 3 Wochen lang im Krankenhaus gewesen.

b. judgement participant 9: “Des stimmt au id. Weil er jo ellaweil no em Kroogehaus ischd. Besser: ‘Marc ischd seit drei Wocha em Kroogehaus und muaß ellaweil no deed (=dort) bleiba.’”

- (25) Universal context:
 Klaus und Peter sind beste Freunde und sie kennen sich schon seit der Grundschule. Klaus sagt über seinen Freund Peter, der neben ihm steht:
- a. target sentence:
Ich habe den Peter jetzt 40 Jahre lang gekannt.
 - b. judgement participant 5: “Des mit den Jahren passt. Die könnten da jetzt 46 sein. Aber was mich stört, ist das „habe“. Das klingt, als ob der Peder gschdorbe isch. Ich würde sagen: ‘I kenn dr Pedr jetzt schau viazg Joar lang.’”
- Swabian Perfekt is fully accepted in past contexts
 - minimal pairs to the items used for universal contexts
- (26) Past context
 Marc hatte eine schwere Operation und musste danach noch 3 Wochen im Krankenhaus verbringen. Mittlerweile ist er aber wieder zuhause und wohlauf.
- a. target sentence
Marc ist 3 Wochen lang im Krankenhaus gewesen.
 - b. judgement participant 5: “‘D’Marc isch 3 Woche im Kraagehous gwäse.’ Der Satz passt.”
- It seems that the use of the Perfekt leads to a cessation implicature:
- (27) Past context:
 Wir kamen über die Autobahn nach Florenz, das...
- a. target sentence
... in einem breiten Tal gelegen hat.
 - b. 5/6 of the participants I asked, rejected this,
 e.g. participant 3: “gelegen isch. Besser: liegt. Des liegt da ja immer noch. Anders bei: Cäsars Flotte. Da kann man sagen: Die Flotte von Cäsar hat im Hafen gelegen.”;
 participant 2: “Und wo liegt es jetzt? Auf einem Berg? Besser: des in einem broide Dal liegt. Oder isch.”;
 participant 9: “Lait Florenz etzad nimme emma broada Dal?! Jo, aber des leit ellaweil no do! Des ‘hot’ irridiard mi. [Proband schlägt vor:] ‘...emma broada Dal leit’”
- It seems that this cessation implicature can be overridden by certain adverbials like ‘(schon) immer’:
- (28) Universal context:
 Heidrun ist Künstlerin und sie hat mit 12 angefangen, Vasen und Schalen zu töpfern. Sie arbeitet nicht mit Holz oder Beton, das einzige Material, das sie verwendet, ist Ton.
- a. target sentence
Sie hat immer mit Ton gearbeitet.

- b. 3 accepted this, 2 did not. participant 9 accepts it: “Des isch richtig. ‘Se hat ellaweil mit Ton gschaffet””
participant 4 does not accept it: “ne, se schafft ja noch. Besser: ‘Seit se 12 isch, schafft se mit Ton.’ Oder ‘Se hot mit 12 ogfange und hot scho immer mit Ton gschafft.””

- future uses of the Perfekt are acceptable in embedded clauses (see (29))
- future uses in main clauses triggered varying judgements, maybe depending on lexical aspect of participle? (see (30))

(29) Future context:

Die Freundinnen Lea und Babette unterhalten sich. Babettes Opa ist gestorben und ihrer Oma ging es deshalb letzte Woche sehr schlecht. Lea fragt Babette, wie es ihrer Oma geht. Babette möchte sie morgen besuchen gesehen. Sie sagt deshalb:

- a. target sentence: *Wenn ich sie morgen getroffen habe, weiß ich mehr.*
- b. judgement participant 9: “Ja, des sini au so. ‘Wenn i sie mann droffa hau, wass i mai.””

(30) Future context:

Es wird spannend. In der WG von Mona, Salim und Tom herrscht Aufregung. Ab morgen werden sie eine neue Mitbewohnerin haben, sie heißt Clara. Tom sagt:

- a. target sentence:
Morgen ist Clara hier eingezogen.
- b. 3 participants did not accept this, e.g. participant 6: “Morga isch dClara dahanna einzoge. Nä. Das würde ich nie sagen. Morga zieht dClara dohanna ein. Geht auch. Heute isch se einzoge. Geschdern isch se einzoge. Als Frage vielleicht? Isch dClara morga dahanna eizoge? Ne, als Frage geht des au net.”
- c. 3 participants did accept it, but only if a time (2pm) was included, e.g. participant 9: “Wenn er d’Uhrzeit wasst, no ko er des sage. ‘Mann (=morgen) om zwoa isch dia Clara schau do eizoga.”¹¹

Conclusion

- XN-semantics of the MHG Perfekt
- past semantics of Swabian Perfekt (?)
- diachronic development and dialectology / fieldwork on dialectal variation

¹¹[Zielsatz wurde hier auf schwäbisch präsentiert:] “Morgen um 2 isch die Clara (scho) hier eizoge.”

Appendix

More data on *dô*

According to Bäuerle (2015, p. 53), the German subordinating conjunction *als* only licenses true past tenses in its scope. Given that *als* and *dô* have the same semantics, *dô* can also only allow true past tenses in its scope if it is used as a subordinating conjunction. Since the MHG Perfekt does not appear in subordinate clauses introduced by *dô* as shown in Table 5, it is not a past tense. This is one further piece of evidence in favour of an extended-now analysis of the Perfekt (see section -(8)). An example for *dô* as a subordinating conjunction is provided in (31).

- (31) *dô* *der phaffe von Lutringen quam, / swâ er kirchwîhe vernam, /*
when the vicar from Lothringen come.PST where he parish.fair hear.PST
dâ predigt er als ê.
there preach.PST he as before
‘Als der Pfaffe aus Lothringen kam, predigte er wieder überall, wo Kirchweih war.’
‘When the vicar came from Lothringen, he preached as before wherever there was a parish fair.’
(*Der Pfaffe Amis* 933ff; Henne, 1991, p. 46)

The inability of the MHG Perfekt to occur with *dô* as a subordinating conjunction is parallel to the behaviour of the Modern English present perfect, as simplified in (32):

- (32) a. *When Susan came home, the kitchen was on fire.*
b. ??*When Susan has come home, the kitchen was on fire.*¹²

The adverbial *dô* also occurs in main clauses as illustrated in (33) and (34). As in the example above, it can only co-occur with the Präteritum (or in some rare cases with the Plusquamperfekt):

- (33) *dô sprach der bischolf: “deiswâr”*
then say.PST the bishop: “this.is.true”
‘Da sprach der ‘Bischof’: “Ja, das ist wahr.” ’
‘Then the bishop said: “This is true.” ’
(*Der Pfaffe Amis* 1894; Henne, 1991, p. 84)
- (34) *do erschrac der wirt vil sêre.*
then startle.PST the landlord much very
‘Jetzt erschrak der Kaufmann furchtbar.’
‘Then the landlord got startled very much.’
(*Der Pfaffe Amis* 1895; Henne, 1991, p. 84)

Again, this pattern is parallel to Modern English. The present perfect cannot co-occur with *then*, as illustrated in (35):

- (35) a. *Then, Susan came home.*

¹²Native speaker judgement: “This sounds very odd to me.”

b. ??*Then, Susan has come home.*¹³

The fact that the MHG Perfekt cannot be modified by definite past time adverbials is not an isolated phenomenon. Zeman (2010, pp. 188, 195, 254) also observes that the MHG Perfekt cannot be modified by definite past time adverbials like *dô* ‘then’ or *gestern* ‘yesterday’ whereas the MHG Präteritum and Plusquamperfekt can be used with *dô*. Zeman (2010) illustrates this with the example in (36).

- (36) *dô het got aber ein wunder begân als er vil dicke hât.*
then have.PRÄT God but a miracle perform.PST.PTCP like he very often has
‘Da hatte Gott aber ein Wunder vollbracht, wie er es sehr oft (vollbracht) hat.’
‘Then God had performed a miracle like he has often done.’
(*Herzog Ernst* 4330f., Zeman, 2010, p. 254)

Adhering to the terminology used in the literature on the English present perfect, it is thus appropriate to say that in Middle High German, there was a ‘present perfect puzzle’ (cf. Klein, 1992).¹⁴

Reply to reviewer’s comment

Comment reviewer 2:

- “To show that the MHG is no ‘yet’ a narrative tense, it seems odd to use a ‘comic romance written in verse.’ This seems to be weak evidence that the form CANNOT be used in narrative as an ordinary past tense, and if this is allowed, the semantics of the initial stage of the MHG Perfekt should account for it [...]”

Answer:

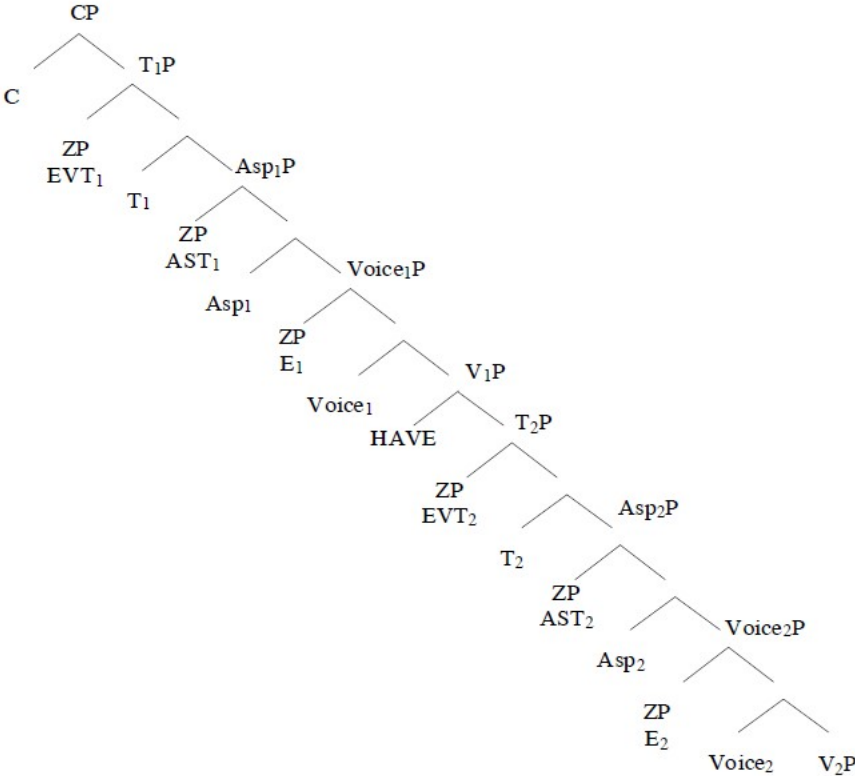
- Zeman (2010) observes that the distribution of MHG tenses are independent of text type (prose vs. verse):
„Auch sind hinsichtlich des Verhältnisses der Tempusverteilung [im Mittelhochdeutschen] zu den Kontextfaktoren der Textsorten bzw. der Textfassung (**Prosa vs. Vers**) **keine direkten Abhängigkeitsbeziehungen nachzuweisen**. Es konnte gezeigt werden, dass die Unterschiede der Tempusdistribution nicht auf die unterschiedliche Charakteristik einer bestimmten Textsorte zurückzuführen sind, sondern dass die **Verteilung in Relation zur Dominanz des jeweils zugrundeliegenden deiktischen bzw. anaphorischen Textmodus** erklärt werden kann.“ (Zeman, 2010, p. 313).
- Bade & Beck (2017): Lyrical texts as a data source for linguistics
- my own findings: systematic

¹³Native speaker judgement: “This sounds very odd to me. It is not possible to use the present perfect with *then*.”

¹⁴Zeman (2010) notes that “Der deutliche Bezug zur Sprechzeit verhindert die Verlagerung der Referenzzeit in die Vergangenheit, so dass das Perfekt von der Bezeichnung der definiten Vergangenheit ausgeschlossen ist. [...] Das mhd. Perfekt verhält sich in dieser Hinsicht parallel zum englischen Perfekt” (p. 207).

Biclausal analysis of the perfect, Larsson (2009)

(3:93) The present or past perfect:



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