Keep on walking
Grammaticalisation of Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic progressives

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Workshop in honour of Prof. Roberta D’Alessandro
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\textsuperscript{1}This talk is based on joined work with Katherine Fraser (U. of the Basque Country)
Outline

Introduction

The data

The analysis

Conclusion
Introduction

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Empirical focus

- Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic progressives with a motion/posture verb as aspectual marker

(1) Ik loop/zit/sta/lig te werken.
I walk/sit/stand/lie to work
‘I’m working.’ (Dutch)

(2) Ek loop/sit/staan/lê en werk.
I walk/sit/stand/lie and work
‘I’m working.’ (Afrikaans)
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→Henceforth MPPs (Motion/Posture Progressive)

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(Afrikaans)

→ In Dutch: ‘motion/posture verb te V’
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→ In Dutch: ‘motion/posture verb te V’
→ In Afrikaans: pseudocoordination, i.e. ‘motion/posture verb and V’
Main aims of this talk

- Presenting data of a systematic comparative study of Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs, investigating:
  - Morphosyntactic variation
  - Semantic bleaching of the motion/posture verbs
- Presenting an analysis how these two factors interact with each other
- If time permits: illustrating additional pragmaticalisation of these MPPs
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  1. All hits for Dutch/Afrikaans MPPs, to investigate the morphosyntactic variation
  2. Smaller, randomly selected data-sets for each MPP in each language, annotated for semantic bleaching and evaluative content
Introduction

The data

The analysis

Conclusion
Dataset #1: morphosyntax

- **Focus**: morphological form of the motion/posture verb in MPPs when embedded under temporal auxiliary *hebben/het* ‘have’

  - In Dutch MPPs, the motion/posture verb always has to appear as an infinitive (=IPP form), and can never appear as past participle (Schmid 2005).

  - In Afrikaans MPPs, the motion/posture verb can either appear in IPP form or as past participle (De Vos 2005; Schmid 2005; Augustinus & Dirix 2013).
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- Temporal auxiliary *hebben/het* ‘have’ normally selects a past participle
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- **Focus**: morphological form of the motion/posture verb in MPPs when embedded under temporal auxiliary hebben/het ‘have’
- Temporal auxiliary hebben/het ‘have’ normally selects a past participle
- In Dutch MPPs, the motion/posture verb always has to appear as an infinitive (=IPP form), and can never appear as past participle (Schmid 2005)
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In Dutch MPPs, the motion/posture verb always has to appear in IPP form, and can never appear as past participle.

(3)  

a. Ik heb *(gelopen)/ lopen te werken.  
    I have walk.PPC/ walk.INF to work

b. Ik heb *(gezeten)/ zitten te werken.  
    I have sit.PPC/ sit.INF to work

c. Ik heb *(gestaan)/ staan te werken.  
    I have stand.PPC/ stand.INF to work

d. Ik heb *(gelegen)/ liggen te werken.  
    I have lie.PPC/ lie.INF to work

‘I’ve been working.’ (Dutch)
In Afrikaans MPPs, the motion/posture verb can either appear in IPP form or as past participle.

(4) a. Ek het **geloop**/loop en werk.
    I have walk.PPC/walk.INF to work

b. Ek het **gesit**/sit en werk.
    I have sit.PPC/sit.INF to work

c. Ek het **gestaan**/staan en werk.
    I have stand.PPC/stand.INF to work

d. Ek het **gelê**/lê en werk.
    I have lie.PPC/lie.INF to work

‘I’ve been working.’

(Afrikaans)
Dataset #1: morphosyntax

- IPP/no-IPP form of the progressive verb in Dutch MPPs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>+IPP</th>
<th>-IPP</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lopen ‘walk’</td>
<td>89 (100%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>zitten ‘sit’</td>
<td>928 (100%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>staan ‘stand’</td>
<td>123 (100%)</td>
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Table 1: Morphological form of the progressive verb in Dutch MPPs

- All Dutch MPPs, the progressive verb occurs in IPP form
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- IPP/no-IPP form of the progressive verb in Afrikaans MPPs

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<td>83 (74.8%)</td>
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<td>109 (100%)</td>
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<td>sit ‘sit’</td>
<td>220 (48.4%)</td>
<td>235 (51.6%)</td>
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<td>155 (44.8%)</td>
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<td>113 (45.4%)</td>
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Table 2: Morphological form of the progressive verb in Afrikaans MPPs
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- IPP/no-IPP form of the progressive verb in Afrikaans MPPs

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Table 3: Morphological form of the progressive verb in Afrikaans MPPs

- IPP is much more common with motion verb *loop* than with the posture verbs (for which IPP seems truly optional)
Dataset #2: semantic bleaching

Different extents of semantic bleaching

A physical motion through space, or seated, standing, lying position is not always entailed by the motion/posture verb in MPPs (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Lemmens 2005; Donaldson 1993; De Vos 2005; Biberauer 2017; Breed 2017a)
Different extents of semantic bleaching

▶ A physical motion through space, or seated, standing, lying position is not always entailed by the *motion/posture* verb in MPPs (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Lemmens 2005; Donaldson 1993; De Vos 2005; Biberauer 2017; Breed 2017a)
Example motion entailed:

(5) Onderweg naar het restaurant hebben ze aan een stuk door open praten. ‘They’ve been talking the entire time on their way to the restaurant.’
Example no motion entailed:

(6) Jammer dat ze in de show hadden open knippen, Pity that they in the show had walk.INF cut, miste een aantal leuke stukken. missed a couple fun parts. ‘[It is] a pity that they’ve been cutting in the show, a couple of fun parts were missing.’

(Dutch, SoNaR+)
## Dataset #2: semantic bleaching

- Physical motion through space/posture position entailed per motion/posture verb MPP for Dutch

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motion/posture entailed</th>
<th>lopen ( n=94 )</th>
<th>zitten ( n=93 )</th>
<th>staan ( n=94 )</th>
<th>liggen ( n=94 )</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>17 (18,1%)</td>
<td>35 (37,7%)</td>
<td>82 (87,0%)</td>
<td>69 (73,4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>67 (71,3%)</td>
<td>6 (6,4%)</td>
<td>15 (16,0%)</td>
<td>20 (21,4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
<td>10 (10,6%)</td>
<td>39 (41,9%)</td>
<td>6 (6,4%)</td>
<td>5 (5,2%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4:** Semantic bleaching per motion/posture verb in Dutch
Physical motion through space/posture position entailed per motion/posture verb MPP for Afrikaans

Table 5: Semantic bleaching per motion/posture verb in Afrikaans
Summary of the data

Morphological form of the progressive verb:

In Dutch MPPs, the motion/posture verb always appears in IPP form.

In Afrikaans MPPs, the motion verb appears in IPP form in roughly 75% of the cases and in past participle form in 25%; for the posture verbs, IPP/past participle form occur equally frequently.

Semantic bleaching of the progressive verb:

In both languages, the motion verbs are semantically bleached to the highest extent (more in Dutch (71.3%) than in Afrikaans (39.4%)).

In general, Dutch progressive verbs are more semantically bleached than the Afrikaans ones (smallest difference with 'stand' (most neutral bodily position)).
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19 / 39
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Conclusion
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1. Afrikaans MPPs are on a grammaticalisation path from a syntactically ‘wider’ structure in which the motion/posture verb behaves as a light verb, to a structure in which en functions as a categoriser, attaches to the root of the motion/posture verb, and head-adjoins as a whole to Prog
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   ▶ The exact syntactic structure of the ‘wider’ structure still needs to be determined (in progress!)

2. Dutch MPPs always have the latter structure

3. The attested morphosyntactic variation in MPPs follows from the extent to which the progressive verbs are grammaticalised
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Two structures for Afrikaans MPPs

- A ‘wider’ syntactic structure (‘Mystery’-structure) and a ‘Biberauer’-structure in which \textit{en} is a categoriser, which attaches to the root of the progressive verb.
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Two structures for Afrikaans MPPs

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- A ‘wider’ syntactic structure (‘Mystery’-structure) and a ‘Biberauer’-structure in which *en* is a categoriser, which attaches to the root of the progressive verb
  - In the Mystery-structure, the progressive verb still behaves as a light verb and can therefore carry inflection
  - In the Biberauer-structure, *en* is a categoriser, which makes it possible for the motion/posture verb to function as a progressive verb (e.g. head-adjoin as a whole to Prog)
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Two structures for Afrikaans MPPs

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(7)  
```
VP  
  V  V'  
  geloop & VP
  en  

lexical verb
```

(8)  
```
ProgP  
  Prog  c  
    en  V  
      root of loop  

root lex. verb
```
The analysis

Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- From the Mystery-structure to the Biberauer-structure
The analysis

Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- From the Mystery-structure to the Biberauer-structure
  - Assumption: this grammaticalisation mirrors the semantic bleaching of the motion/posture verb
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Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- From the Mystery-structure to the Biberauer-structure
  - Assumption: this grammaticalisation mirrors the semantic bleaching of the motion/posture verb
  - The lexical semantic features of the motion/posture verb are gradually replaced by functional ones (e.g. [prog]-feature)
The analysis

Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

Stage 1 (9): progressive verb still has its semantics and can occur as a past participle → becomes more semantically bleached →
Stage 2 (10): expresses progressive aspect together with *en* (only IPP form)
The analysis

Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- The assumption that the semantics of the progressive verb are still very salient when the progressive verb occurs in past participle form is reflected in the data:
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Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- The assumption that the semantics of the progressive verb are still very salient when the progressive verb occurs in past participle form is reflected in the data:
- The occurrences of *loop* as past participle in Afrikaans MPPs entail physical motion through space much more often (in 80.8% of the past participle occurrences) than the IPP-form occurrences (54.2%)
The analysis

Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- *Recall*: the posture verbs in Afrikaans MPPs are semantically bleached to a lesser extent than *loop*
The analysis

Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- Recall: the posture verbs in Afrikaans MPPs are semantically bleached to a lesser extent than loop.
- They also show higher frequencies of past participle form/IPP form (around 50%/50%), while loop has much higher frequencies of IPP-form (around 75%).
Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- *Recall*: the *posture* verbs in Afrikaans MPPs are semantically bleached to a lesser extent than *loop*
- They also show higher frequencies of past participle form/IPP form (around 50%/50%), while *loop* has much higher frequencies of IPP-form (around 75%)
- *Loop* is more semantically bleached, thus further along the grammaticalisation path to a Biberauer-structure, in which it is a functional head and thus appears in bare, IPP form
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Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- Recall: the posture verbs in Afrikaans MPPs are semantically bleached to a lesser extent than loop
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- Loop is more semantically bleached, thus further along the grammaticalisation path to a Biberauer-structure, in which it is a functional head and thus appears in bare, IPP form
- Dutch motion/posture verbs are semantically bleached to a higher extent than the Afrikaans ones, always occur in IPP form: always have the Biberauer-structure
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Grammaticalisation path of Dutch MPPs

- Dutch motion/posture verbs are semantically bleached to a higher extent than the Afrikaans ones, always occur in IPP form: always have the Biberauer-structure
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Grammaticalisation path of Dutch MPPs

- Dutch *motion/posture* verbs are semantically bleached to a higher extent than the Afrikaans ones, always occur in IPP form: always have the Biberauer-structure

- In earlier stages of Dutch, MPPs were also cases of pseudocoordination (‘*motion/posture* verb en V’)


The analysis

Grammaticalisation path of Dutch MPPs

- Dutch motion/posture verbs are semantically bleached to a higher extent than the Afrikaans ones, always occur in IPP form: always have the Biberauer-structure.
- In earlier stages of Dutch, MPPs were also cases of pseudocoordination (‘motion/posture verb en V’).
- Prediction: Dutch motion/posture verbs were less semantically bleached in that construction and could also occur in past participle form, which is indeed the case (Van Pottelberge 2002).
The analysis

Difference between the extent of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

- Why are Dutch MPPs more grammaticalised than Afrikaans MPPs?
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- Both languages have three periphrastic progressive constructions available (‘busy with V’, ‘at the V’ and the MPPs)
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- Why are Dutch MPPs more grammaticalised than Afrikaans MPPs?
- Both languages have three periphrastic progressive constructions available (‘busy with V’, ‘at the V’ and the MPPs)
- A comparative study by Breed et al. (2017) has shown that in Dutch the MPP construction is used much more frequently than in Afrikaans
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- Why are Dutch MPPs more grammaticalised than Afrikaans MPPs?
- Both languages have three periphrastic progressive constructions available (‘busy with V’, ‘at the V’ and the MPPs)
- A comparative study by Breed et al. (2017) has shown that in Dutch the MPP construction is used much more frequently than in Afrikaans
- More frequent use is beneficial for grammaticalisation, e.g. Dutch MPPs are more grammaticalised because it is a more common option compared to Afrikaans MPPs
The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

On top of the morphosyntactic variation and the semantic bleaching, motion verbs have been said to often carry secondary, evaluative content (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Lemmens 2005; Biberauer 2017; Biberauer & Vikner 2017; Breed 2017).

They signal the speaker's evaluation or attitude concerning the eventuality described by the sentence.

In dataset #2, we wanted to see to what extent pragmaticalisation may be occurring.
The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

▶ On top of the morphosyntactic variation and the semantic bleaching, motion verbs have been said to often carry secondary, evaluative content (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Lemmens 2005; Biberauer 2017; Biberauer & Vikner 2017; Breed 2017)
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- They signal the speaker's evaluation or attitude concerning the eventuality described by the sentence
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Secondary, evaluative component

(11) Ja ik merk net dat ik de herhaling heb lopen
yes I noticed just.now that I the rerun have walk
kijken, verdikkeme.
watch, dammit
‘Yes I just notice that I’ve been watching the rerun,
dammit.’ (Dutch, OpenSoNaR+)
The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

Secondary, evaluative component

(11) Ja ik merk net dat ik de herhaling heb open
yes I noticed just now that I the rerun have walk
kijken, verdikkeme.
watch, dammit
‘Yes I just notice that I’ve been watching the rerun,
dammit.’ (Dutch, OpenSoNaR+)

➤ The speaker was expecting to watch a new episode, not the re-run
The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

Evaluative content in dataset #2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Dutch</th>
<th>Afrikaans</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lopen</td>
<td>75/94 (79.8%)</td>
<td>75/109 (68.8%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zitten</td>
<td>28/93 (30.0%)</td>
<td>11/109 (10.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>staan</td>
<td>33/94 (35.1%)</td>
<td>24/109 (22.0%)</td>
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*Dutch*
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*Afrikaans*
- `loop`: 75/109 (68.8%)
- `sit`: 11/109 (10.0%)
- `staan`: 24/109 (22.0%)
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▶ `lopen/loop` has a high percentage of evaluative sentences in both languages
The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

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- **lopen/loop** has a high percentage of evaluative sentences in both languages
- These **motion** verbs are also semantically bleached to the highest extent in the respective languages
The analysis: additional pragmatisicalisation

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- lopen/loop has a high percentage of evaluative sentences in both languages
- These motion verbs are also semantically bleached to the highest extent in the respective languages
- Dutch liggen also has a high percentage of evaluative sentences; often associated with death, illness, laziness (Lemmens 2005)
The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

- *Recall:* Dutch *lopen* is more semantically bleached than Afrikaans *loop*, and shows a higher percentage of evaluative content
The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

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- I.e., a more grammaticalised verb as the progressive marker is more likely to have evaluative content
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The analysis: additional pragmationalisation

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- **Our proposal**: grammaticalisation is a trigger for pragmaticalisation (evaluative content)
  - This accounts for the frequency differences in evaluative content between the two languages, and between the motion/posture verbs
- Especially Dutch *lopen* is even so far grammaticalised that this evaluative meaning has almost conventionalised (=high extent of pragmaticalisation)
The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

Difference between Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs

- As with the semantic bleaching, we see higher extents of pragmaticalisation with Dutch MPPs than with Afrikaans MPPs.
The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

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The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

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- As with the semantic bleaching, we see higher extents of pragmaticalisation with Dutch MPPs than with Afrikaans MPPs
- This can again be accounted for by a division of labour between different constructions
- That is, in Afrikaans, the *gaan staan en V* ‘go stand and V’ pseudocoordination seems to be used to express evaluation more often than the *loop* MPP
The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

Difference between Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs

- In Afrikaans, the *gaan staan en V* ‘go stand and V’ pseudocoordination seems to be used to express evaluation more frequently than the *loop* MPP

\[(12) \text{ Dit het } \underline{\text{gaan staan}} \text{ en } \underline{\text{reën}} \text{ op haar troudag!} \]

\[\text{it has gone stand and rain on her wedding-day} \]

\[\text{‘It went and rained on her wedding day!} \]

(Biberauer & Vikner 2017)
Introduction

The data

The analysis

Conclusion
Conclusion and outlook

- **New data**: Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs show:

  ▶ different morphosyntactic behaviour (IPP/no-IPP)
  ▶ different degrees of semantic bleaching of the progressive verbs
  ▶ different extents of additional pragmaticalisation

Analysis: Morphosyntactic behaviour and extent of semantic bleaching of Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs show:

- the extent to which they are grammaticalised
- e.g. what type of underlying syntactic structure they have

Preview: Afrikaans *loop* and Dutch *lopen* are grammaticalising even further
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Conclusion and outlook

- Afrikaans *loop* and Dutch *lopen* are grammaticalising even further.
- We find (high) occurrences of *te/en*-drop.
- I.e., the motion verbs are becoming genuine progressive markers (*te/en* are no longer necessary as categoriser).
- The idea that *en*-less *loop* is more grammaticalised is again supported by the corpus data: for those hits a physical motion through space is never entailed (e.g. *en*-less *loop* is very highly semantically bleached).
Acknowledgements

Many thanks to/veel dank aan/baie dankie vir:

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