

Progressive microvariation

Grammaticalisation of the Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic
progressive

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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
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→Henceforth MPPs (**Motion/Posture** Progressive)

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→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'

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- ▶ Presenting a unified analysis of these MPPs
 - ▶ Proposing and formalising a grammaticalisation path for these MPPs, from which the attested variation follows

Outline

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- ▶ Corpus based research: *SoNaR+*
 - ▶ Two subcorpora: *SoNaR-500* (500 mil. words) & *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* (9 mil. words)
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 - ▶ Printed and electronic text; spoken Dutch/Flemish
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- ▶ Corpus based research: *Korpusportaal*
 - ▶ 85 million words
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- ▶ 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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- ▶ 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)
- ▶ 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)

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- ▶ 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.PTCP / walk.INF to work
 - b. Ik heb ***(gezeten)** / **zitten** te werken.
I have sit.PTCP / sit.INF to work
 - c. Ik heb ***(gestaan)** / **staan** te werken.
I have stand.PTCP / stand.INF to work
 - d. Ik heb ***(gelegen)** / **liggen** te werken.
I have lie.PTCP / lie.INF to work
'I've been working.'

(Dutch)

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- ▶ In Afrikaans MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb can either appear in IPP-form or as past participle

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- a. Ek het **geloop**/ **loop** en werk.
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 - b. Ek het **gesit**/ **sit** en werk.
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 - c. Ek het **gestaan**/ **staan** en werk.
I have stand.PTCP/ stand.INF to work
 - d. Ek het **gelê**/ **lê** en werk.
I have lie.PTCP/ lie.INF to work
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(Afrikaans)

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

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

Verb	IPP-form	Past participle	Total
<i>Lopen</i> 'walk'	94 (100%)	0 (0%)	94 (100%)
<i>Zitten</i> 'sit'	928 (100%)	0 (0%)	928 (100%)
<i>Staan</i> 'stand'	123 (100%)	0 (0%)	123 (100%)
<i>Liggen</i> 'lie'	214 (100%)	0 (0%)	214 (100%)

Table 1: Morphological form of the progressive verb in Dutch MPPs

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Table 1: Morphological form of the progressive verb in Dutch MPPs

- ▶ In all Dutch MPPs, the progressive verb occurs in IPP-form

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- ▶ IPP/no IPP-form of the progressive verb in Afrikaans MPPs

Verb	IPP-form	Past participle	Total
<i>Loop</i> 'walk'	83 (74,8%)	28 (25,2%)	109 (100%)
<i>Sit</i> 'sit'	220 (48,4%)	235 (51,6%)	455 (100%)
<i>Staan</i> 'staan'	155 (44,8%)	191 (55,2%)	346 (100%)
<i>Lê</i> 'lie'	113 (45,4%)	136 (54,6%)	249 (100%)

Table 2: Morphological form of the progressive verb in Afrikaans MPPs

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Table 2: Morphological form of the progressive verb in Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ IPP is much more common with motion verb *loop* than with the *posture verbs* ($p < 0.001$)

The data: presence/absence of *te/en*

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- ▶ *Focus 2*: the presence/absence of *te* 'to' for Dutch and *en* 'and' for Afrikaans

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- ▶ **Motion** verb MPPs in Dutch and Afrikaans have been reported to show high frequencies of *te/en*-drop, which has been said to be less frequent/ungrammatical in the **posture** verb counterparts (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Biberauer 2017)

The data: presence/absence of *te/en*

(5) Ik heb in de schaduw **lopen** [?](**te**) **wachten**.
I have in the shade walk to wait
'I've been waiting in the shade.'

(6) Ik heb in de schaduw **staan** (**te**) **wachten**.
I have in the shade stand to wait
'I've been waiting in the shade.'

(Dutch)

The data: presence/absence of *te/en*

(7) Ek het in die schaduw **loop** **(en)** wag.
I have in the shade walk and wait
'I've been waiting in the shade.'

(8) Ek het in die schaduw **staan** ***(en)** wag.
I have in the shade stand and wait
'I've been waiting in the shade.'

(Afrikaans)

The data: presence/absence of *te/en*

- Presence/absence of *te* in Dutch MPPs

Verb	<i>Te</i> present	<i>Te</i> absent	Total
<i>Lopen</i> 'walk'	0 (0%)	94 (100%)	94 (100%)
<i>Zitten</i> 'sit'	8 (0,8%)	920 (99,2%)	928 (100%)
<i>Staan</i> 'stand'	13 (10,7%)	110 (89,4%)	123 (100%)
<i>Liggen</i> 'lie'	2 (0,9%)	212 (99,1%)	214 (100%)

Table 3: Presence/absence of *te* in Dutch MPPs

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Table 3: Presence/absence of *te* in Dutch MPPs

- No occurrences of *te* in *lopen* MPPs, few instances with *posture* verb MPPs

The data: presence/absence of *te/en*

- ▶ Presence/absence of *en* in Afrikaans MPPs

Verb	<i>En</i> present	<i>En</i> absent	Total
<i>Loop</i> 'walk'	24 (21,6%)	85 (78,4%)	109 (100%)
<i>Sit</i> 'sit'	455 (100%)	0 (0%)	455 (100%)
<i>Staan</i> 'staan'	346 (100%)	0 (0%)	346 (100%)
<i>Lê</i> 'lie'	249 (100%)	0 (0%)	249 (100%)

Table 4: Presence/absence of *en* 'and' in Afrikaans PeriProgs

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Table 4: Presence/absence of *en* 'and' in Afrikaans PeriProgs

- ▶ We only find occurrences of *en*-drop with motion verb *loop*

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- ▶ *Presence/absence of te/en:*
 - ▶ In Dutch, all **motion** MPPs hits show *te*-drop, while there are some occurrences of *te* in **posture** MPPs
 - ▶ In Afrikaans, there are high occurrences of *en*-drop in **motion** MPPs, and no hits with **posture** MMPs

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The morphological status of ge-

Dutch *ge-* is a regular verbal affix

- ▶ It is in complementary distribution with other verbal prefixes

ge-daan, *ver*-teld, **ge*-*ver*-teld, **ver*-*ge*-teld

The morphological status of *ge-*

Dutch *ge-* is a regular verbal affix

- ▶ The sequence *ge-V* cannot be interrupted by a particle

af-**ge**-haald, ***ge**-af-haald

The morphological status of *ge-*

Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix

- ▶ It is not in complementary distribution with other verbal prefixes; but can only appear to the left of the verbal prefix

ge-doen, *ver*-tel, *ge*-*ver*-tel, **ver*-*ge*-tel

(Conradie 2012:12)

The morphological status of *ge-*

Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix

- ▶ The sequence *ge-V* can be interrupted by a particle

af-**ge**-haal, **ge**-af-haal

(Prinsloo 2009:78)

The morphological status of *ge-*

Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix

- ▶ Conradie (2012:12): **Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix**, with much more syntactic independence than Dutch *ge-*

The semi-lexicality of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

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- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans progressive verbs can still retain their lexical semantics, but their semantics seem also to be bleached (Haeseryn et al. (1997, Biberauer 2017, Breed 2017))

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- ▶ The **motion/posture** verbs in MPPs do not always entail a physical motion/seated/standing/lying position in MPPs
- ▶ They can sometimes even combine with a lexical verb incompatible with motion/postural position (Pots & Fraser, to appear)

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- ▶ The **motion/posture** verbs in MPPs do not always entail a physical motion/seated/standing/lying position in MPPs
- ▶ They can sometimes even combine with a lexical verb incompatible with motion/postural position (Pots & Fraser, to appear)
- ▶ Semantic bleaching is an indication of a shift from being lexical to being functional (Sweetser 1988)

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

Example physical motion entailed

- (9) Het was een kudde herten die had **lopen grazen** in het
It was a herd deer that had walk graze in the
struikgewas aan de overkant.
bushes on the other.side.
'It was a herd of deer that had been grazing in the bushes
on the other side.' (Dutch, SoNaR+)

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

Example lexical verb incompatible with physical motion

- (10) Jammer dat ze in de show hadden **lopen knippen**,
Pity that they in the show had walk 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.'

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ When a vocabulary item is semi-lexical, its functional use is often syntactically more restricted than its lexical use (De Belder 2011:102)

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- ▶ When a vocabulary item is semi-lexical, its functional use is often syntactically more restricted than its lexical use (De Belder 2011:102)
- ▶ For example, Dutch *stuk* 'piece' can be functional and lexical, but when it is used functionally, it cannot take a diminutive suffix

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

Lexical use of Dutch *stuk*:

- (11) a. Ik heb twee **stukken** van deze banaan gegeten.
I have two pieces of this banana eaten
'I've eaten two pieces of this banana.'
- b. Ik heb twee **stuk-je-s** van deze banaan gegeten.
I have two pieces.DIM.PL of this banana eaten
'I've eaten two small pieces of this banana.'

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

Functional use of Dutch *stuk*:

(12) Hoeveel bananen heb je gekocht?
How.many bananas have you bought
'How many bananas did you buy?'

(13) a. Ik heb twee **stuks** gekocht.
I have two specimens bought
'I've bought two specimens.'

b. *Ik heb twee **stuk-je-s** gekocht.
I have two specimens.DIM.PL bought
Intended meaning: 'I've bought two small specimens
of banana.'

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ Similarly to restricted syntactic behaviour of functional *stuk* in Dutch, Dutch *lopen* shows restricted behaviour when used as a progressive verb rather than a lexical verb

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The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ Similarly to restricted syntactic behaviour of functional *stuk* in Dutch, Dutch *lopen* shows restricted behaviour when used as a progressive verb rather than a lexical verb
- ▶ Lexical *lopen* can be either embedded under temporal auxiliary *hebben* 'have', or under temporal auxiliary *zijn* 'be' when an endpoint/goal of the motion is indicated
- ▶ Functional (progressive) *lopen* can only be embedded under temporal auxiliary *hebben* 'have'

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

Lexical use of Dutch *lopen*

- (14) a. Ik **heb** dit weekend veel *gelopen*.
I have this weekend a.lot walk.PTCP
'I've walked a lot this weekend.'
- b. Ik **ben** dit weekend naar mijn oude huis
I am this weekend to my old house
gelopen.
walk.PTCP
'I've walked to my previous house this weekend.'

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

Functional use of Dutch *lopen*

- (15) a. Ik **heb** dit weekend veel *lopen* bellen.
I have this weekend a.lot walk.IPP call
'I've been calling a lot this weekend.'
- b. *Ik **ben** dit weekend veel *lopen* bellen.
I am this weekend a.lot walk.IPP call
Intended meaning: 'I've been calling a lot this weekend.'

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ Taken together, the semantic bleaching and the restricted syntactic behaviour of these items shows that Dutch and Afrikaans **motion** and **posture** verbs are used functionally when they appear in MPPs

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- ▶ Taken together, the semantic bleaching and the restricted syntactic behaviour of these items shows that Dutch and Afrikaans **motion** and **posture** verbs are used functionally when they appear in MPPs
- ▶ They can still retain their lexical semantics, making Dutch and Afrikaans **motion** and **posture** verbs semi-lexical

What it means to be semi-lexical

- ▶ I follow Klockmann (2017)'s approach to semi-lexicality, in which a semi-lexical item is defined as a root that is lexically specified for a syntactic feature

What it means to be semi-lexical

Defining semi-lexicality (Klockmann 2018:6)

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The data

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The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

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Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

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Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans **motion** and **posture** verbs are semi-lexical
- ▶ I.e. they are roots that are specified for a syntactic feature
- ▶ Since they indicate progressive aspect of the lexical verb in MPPs, I propose this feature is a [Prog] feature

Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ The reanalysis of the **motion/posture** verbs is caused by the frequent coordination of these verbs with another verb, leading to bleaching of the semantics of these verbs (cf. Jespersen's Cycle-type developments, Biberauer p.c.)

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- ▶ The reanalysis of the **motion/posture** verbs is caused by the frequent coordination of these verbs with another verb, leading to bleaching of the semantics of these verbs (cf. Jespersen's Cycle-type developments, Biberauer p.c.)
- ▶ The semantic bleaching goes from the **motion/posture** verbs' lexical meaning to a more schematic, abstract meaning of iteration/duration, eventually leading to a progressive interpretation (cf. Sweetser 1988, Kuteva 1999)

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- ▶ *My proposal*: grammaticalisation from a lexical item to a functional item can mean acquiring an uninterpretable syntactic feature, which becomes interpretable when the item is further along the grammaticalisation path

Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

Proposed possible grammaticalisation path:

root \rightarrow root + [*u*F] \rightarrow [*i*F]

For Dutch/Afrikaans **motion/posture** verbs:

root \rightarrow root + [*u*Prog] \rightarrow [*i*Prog]

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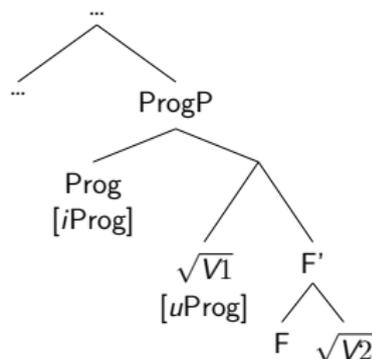
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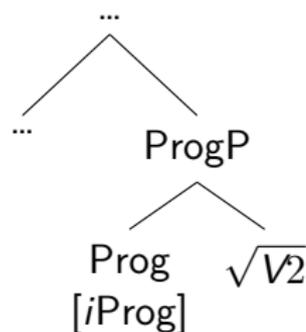
Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ *My proposal*: there are two different structures for MPPs, with the grammaticalisation path of the progressive verbs going from the structure in (16) to the structure in (17)

(16)



(17)



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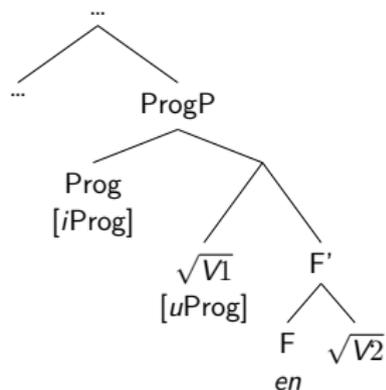
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- ▶ In Afrikaans, this position is filled by *en*, in Dutch by *te*, which semantics are close to vacuous (Broekhuis & Corver 2015)

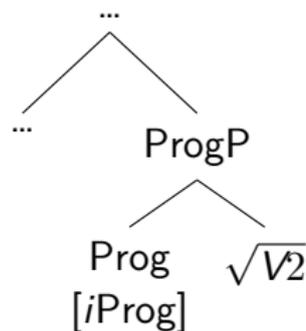
Afrikaans MPPs

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(18)



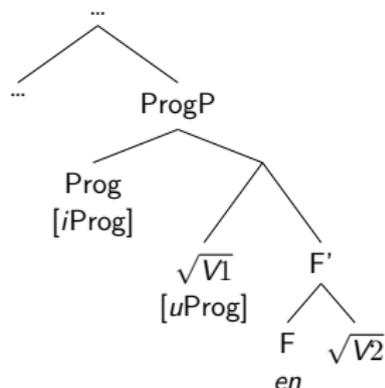
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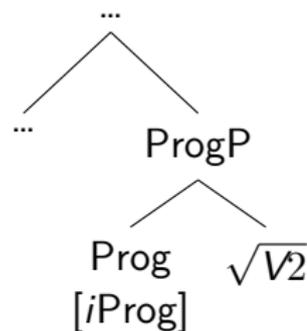
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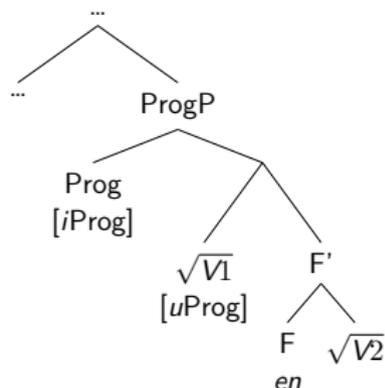


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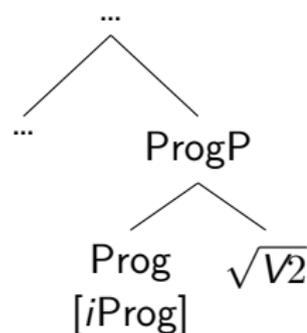
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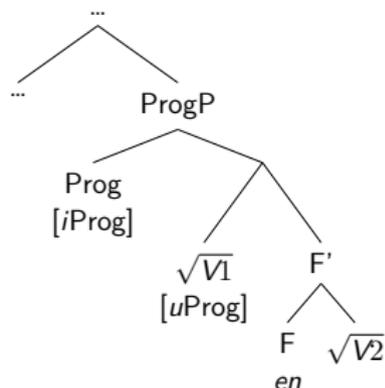


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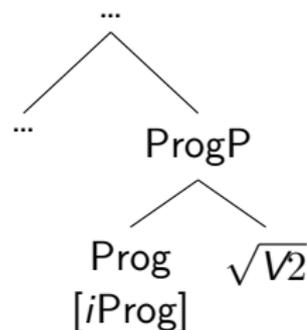
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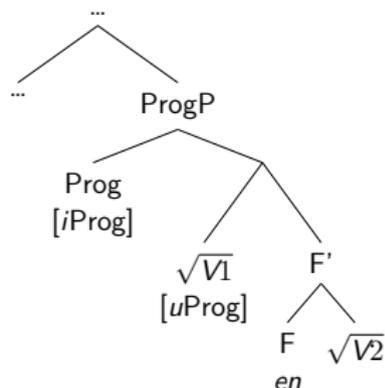


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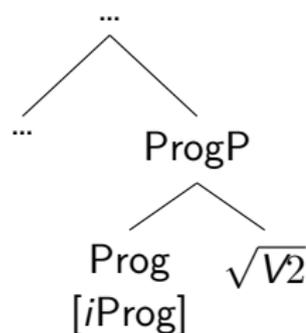
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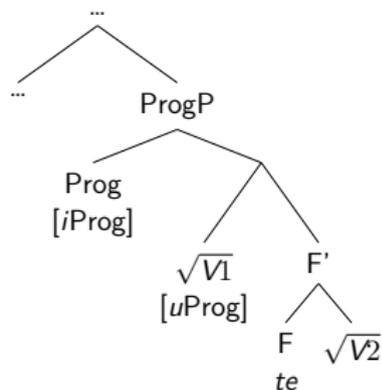
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- ▶ The fact that it shows much higher frequencies of *en*-drop and bare, IPP-form follows from it being close to only being able to have the latter structure, in which there is not F head (so no *en*), and in which *ge-* cannot attach to anything

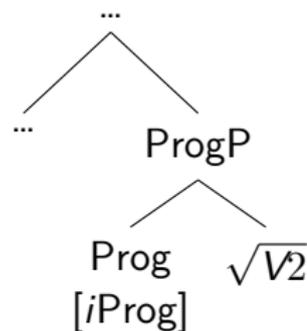
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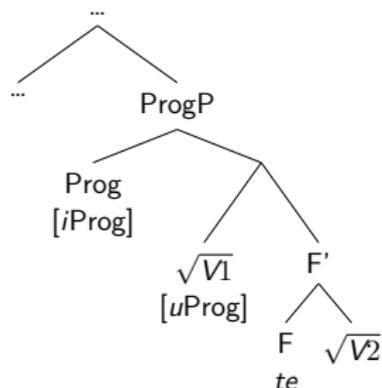
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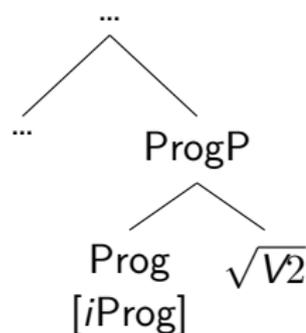
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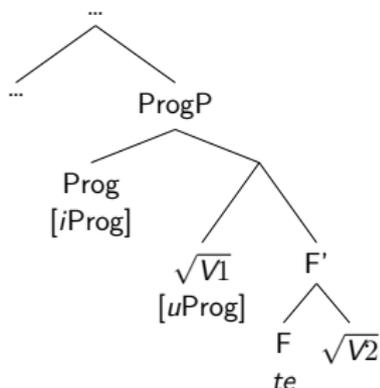


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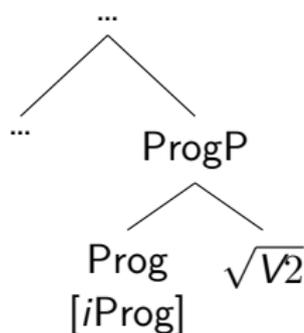
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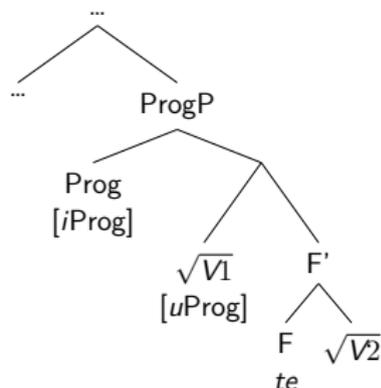


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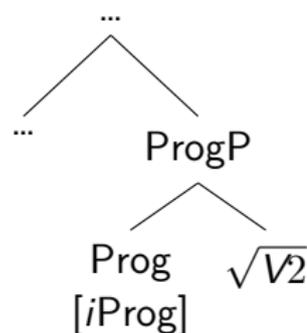
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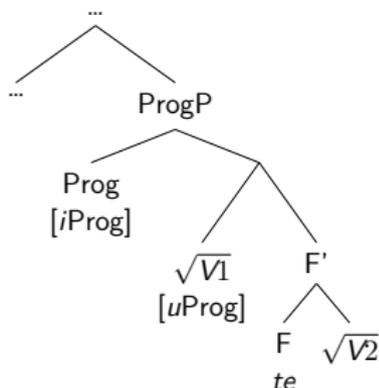


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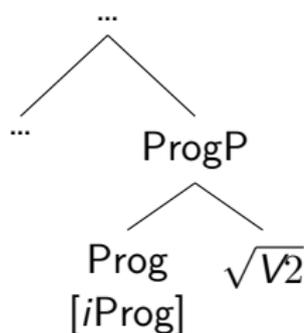
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- ▶ Dutch *ge-* is not a phrasal affix, meaning it can never attach to any of the two structures: we find the bare, IPP-form across the board

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

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(23) Many books.

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- ▶ English quantificational nouns (Q-nouns) indicate quantity, like quantifiers and numerals
- ▶ Klockmann (2018) analyses these Q-nouns as semi-lexical roots

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

(25) A ton/tons of students *was/weren't studying.

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- ▶ The presence or absence of *of* indicates the level of grammaticalisation of these elements, *of* being required to combine the Q-noun root and the root of the noun (Klockmann 2018:22)

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- ▶ 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

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