Being progressive and evaluative
Comparing Afrikaans and Dutch progressive verb clusters

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Introduction

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  Corpora
  Data collection
  Data annotation

Results
  Evaluative content
  Semantic bleaching

Interaction between evaluative content and grammaticalisation

Conclusion and outlook
Introduction

Empirical focus

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

(1) Ek loop/sit/staan/lê en werk.
   I walk/sit/stand/lie and work
   ‘I’m working.’

(Afrikaans)

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

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

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→In Afrikaans: pseudocoordination, i.e. ‘motion/posture verb and V’
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→ In Afrikaans: pseudocoordination, i.e. ‘motion/posture verb and V’

→ In Dutch: ‘motion/posture verb te V’
Evaluative content of MPPs

MMPs are often accompanied by secondary, *evaluative* content (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Lemmens 2005; Biberauer 2017; Biberauer & Vikner 2017; Breed et al. 2017; Breed 2017a,b)
Evaluative content of MPPs

- MMPs are often accompanied by secondary, *evaluative* content (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Lemmens 2005; Biberauer 2017; Biberauer & Vikner 2017; Breed et al. 2017; Breed 2017a,b)
- They signal the speaker’s evaluation or attitude concerning the eventuality described by the sentence
Example evaluative content in an Afrikaans MPP

(3) Stel jou voor, dat elkeen vir hom een donkie
Imagine you for, that everyone for himself a donkey
loop vang het.
w...walk catch have
‘Imagine, that everyone would go and catch a donkey of his own.’
(Afrikaans, Korpusportaal)
Example evaluative content in an Afrikaans MPP

(3) Stel jou voor, dat elkeen vir hom een donkie loop vang het.
Imagine you for, that everyone for himself a donkey walk catch have
‘Imagine, that everyone would go and catch a donkey of his own.’
(Afrikaans, Korpusportaal)

The speaker evaluates the eventuality of everyone catching a donkey of his own as undesired.
Example evaluative content in a Dutch MPP

(4) 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+)
Example evaluative content in a Dutch MPP

(4) 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 speaker evaluates the eventuality of watching the re-run as undesired
Semantic bleaching of the verbs in MPPs

- The semantics of the motion/posture verbs are bleached to different degrees within and across the two languages (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Lemmens 2005; Donaldson 1993; De Vos 2005; Biberauer 2017; Breed 2017a)
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Semantic bleaching of the verbs in MPPs

- The Afrikaans and Dutch progressive verbs can still retain their lexical semantics, but their semantics seem also to be bleached (Biberauer 2017, Breed 2017, Haeseryn et al. 1997)
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- The motion/posture verbs in MPPs do not always entail a physical motion/seated/standing/lying position in MPPs
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Semantic bleaching of the verbs in MPPs

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

(5) Het was een kudde herten die had *lopen grazen* in het struikgewas aan de overkant.
‘It was a herd of deer that had been grazing in the bushes on the other side.’

(Dutch, SoNaR+)
Example lexical verb incompatible with physical motion

(6) 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.’
Main aims of the talk
Introduction

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- Present the results of a pilot study on evaluative content in the corpus sample, i.e. on *pragmaticalisation* of these MPPs
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- Present the results of a pilot study on evaluative content in the corpus sample, i.e. on *pragmaticalisation* of these MPPs
- Discuss additional features of MPPs related to their *grammaticalisation*
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Conclusion and outlook
Afrikaans

- Corpus based research: *Korpusportaal*
  - 85 million words
  - Standard and regional Afrikaans
  - Written and electronic text, incl. text written to be spoken (broadcast)
  - Various registers and genres
Corpora

Dutch

- Corpus based research: *SoNaR*+
  - Two subcorpora: *SoNaR*-500 (500 mil. words) & *Corpus Gesproken Nederlands* (9 mil. words)
  - Standard Dutch and Flemish
  - Printed and electronic text; spoken Dutch/Flemish
  - Various registers and genres
Data collection

- Queries to return Afrikaans and Dutch MPPs with *loop/lopen*, *sit/zitten*, *staan/staan* and *lê/liggen*
Data collection

- Queries to return Afrikaans and Dutch MPPs with *loop/lopen, sit/zitten, staan/staan* and *lê/liggen*
- Embedded under temporal auxiliary *het/hebben* ‘have’
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- Queries to return Afrikaans and Dutch MPPs with *loop/lopen*, *sit/zitten*, *staan/staan* and *lê/liggen*
- Embedded under temporal auxiliary *het/hebben* ‘have’
- *Future work*: embedded under other modals/non-embedded MPPs
Data annotation

Evaluative content
Data annotation

Evaluative content

- Afrikaans: a random sample of 109 sentences per MMP type
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Evaluative content

- *Afrikaans:* a random sample of 109 sentences per MMP type
- *Dutch:* a random sample of 94 sentences per MPP type
Data annotation

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- *Afrikaans*: a random sample of 109 sentences per MMP type
- *Dutch*: a random sample of 94 sentences per MPP type
- All sentences annotated for the presence/absence of *evaluative content*
Data annotation

Evaluative content

▶ Afrikaans: a random sample of 109 sentences per MMP type
▶ Dutch: a random sample of 94 sentences per MPP type
▶ All sentences annotated for the presence/absence of evaluative content
▶ Pilot: annotations by two native speakers per language
Data annotation

Evaluative content

- Afrikaans: a random sample of 109 sentences per MMP type
- Dutch: a random sample of 94 sentences per MPP type
- All sentences annotated for the presence/absence of evaluative content
- Pilot: annotations by two native speakers per language
- Speakers were familiarised with the concept of evaluative content prior to the annotations
Data annotation

Other annotated elements
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Other annotated elements

- The native speakers were also asked to annotate whether:
  
  - the lexical verb of the sentence was inherently negative or not
  - there was a specific word/group of words in the sentence that might contribute to the evaluative content
  - the sentence entailed a physical motion through space/seated/standing/lying position or not
Data annotation

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Data annotation

Other elements checked for after annotation

- Presence of adverbs/adverbial phrases that might add to the evaluative content (e.g., 'iedere keer', 'telkens', 'drie jaar lang', 'voor weken')
- Presence of taboo words (words related to deceases, sex, religion et cetera)
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Table 1: Distribution of evaluative component in the Afrikaans MPP set
Evaluative content

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<th>staan n=109</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
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<td>Present</td>
<td>75 (68.8%)</td>
<td>11 (10.0%)</td>
<td>24 (22.0%)</td>
<td>28 (10.0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Absent</td>
<td>20 (18.3%)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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Table 1: Distribution of evaluative component in the Afrikaans MPP set

- An evaluation is often present in the *loop* MPPs, but hardly so in *posture* MPPs
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- An evaluation is often present in the loop MPPs, but hardly so in posture MPPs
- This is most often a negative evaluation
Table 2: Distribution of evaluative component in the Dutch MPP set.

| Evaluation | lopen \(n=94\) | zitten \(n=93\) | staan \(n=94\) | liggen \(n=94\) |
|------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| Present    | 75 79.8%       | 41 44.1%       | 42 44.7%       | 68 72.3%       |
| Absent     | 13 13.8%       | 29 31.2%       | 35 37.3%       | 4 4.3%         |
| Unclear    | 6 6.4%         | 23 24.7%       | 17 18.0%       | 22 23.4%       |
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- An evaluation is often present in the *lopen* MPPs, as well as the *liggen* MPPs.
- This is most often a negative evaluation.
- *Liggen* is often associated with death, illness and laziness (Lemmens 2005).
Evaluative content

Other elements influencing *evaluative content*

- Many sentences contain inherently negative lexical verbs and/or adverbs/adverbial phrases of iteration, duration or manner (less so taboo words)

Note: native speakers often indicated *lopen/loop* (and also *liggen* for Dutch) as the cause for this evaluation.
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- Many sentences contain inherently negative lexical verbs and/or adverbs/adverbial phrases of iteration, duration or manner (less so taboo words)
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Semantic bleaching

Semantic bleaching of the aspectual verbs in MPPs is an indication of them becoming more grammaticalised (Sweetser 1988; Roberts & Roussou 2003). 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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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>12 11,0%</td>
<td>98 89,9%</td>
<td>94 86,2%</td>
<td>95 87,2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>43 39,4%</td>
<td>2 01,8%</td>
<td>4 03,7%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unclear</td>
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<th>motion/posture entailed</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n=94</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16,0%</td>
<td>37,6%</td>
<td>87,2%</td>
<td>73,4%</td>
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Interaction between evaluative content and grammaticalisation

Conclusion and outlook
Interaction between evaluative content and grammaticalisation

In both languages, the sentences with motion verb MPPs have the highest percentage of evaluative content.

In both languages, the motion verbs are semantically bleached to the highest extent (i.e. grammaticalised to the highest extent).

It seems that a more grammaticalised aspectual verb is more likely to be able to trigger evaluative meaning.
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Interaction between evaluative content and grammaticalisation

- In both languages, the sentences with motion verb MPPs have the highest percentage of evaluative content.
- In both languages, the motion verbs are semantically bleached to the highest extent (i.e. grammaticalised to the highest extent).
- It seems that a more grammaticalised aspectual verb is more likely to be able to trigger evaluative meaning.
Interaction between evaluative content and grammaticalisation

- *Our proposal*: grammaticalisation is a trigger for pragmaticalisation, (evaluative content) (following Diewald 2011)

Especially Dutch *lopen* is even so far grammaticalised that this evaluative meaning has almost conventionalised (i.e., high extent of pragmaticalisation)

Note that in the case of Dutch *liggen*, the low degree of grammaticalisation facilitates the bringing about of evaluative content

This is caused by the lexical semantics of this verb being associated with death, illness or laziness
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Source of evaluative content with motion verbs
Interaction between evaluative content and grammaticalisation

Source of evaluative content with motion verbs

- Ross (2016): Verbs or morphemes indicating movement away from deictic center → ‘unexpected event’
Interaction between evaluative content and grammaticalisation

Source of evaluative content with motion verbs

- Ross (2016): Verbs or morphemes indicating movement away from deictic center → ‘unexpected event’
- Stefanowitsch (2000, 129): “undesired”/“unexpected” readings are “divergent” from path
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- I.e. a way for speakers to express their, most often, negative evaluation of the eventuality of the sentence
Introduction

Methodology
   Corpora
   Data collection
   Data annotation

Results
   Evaluative content
   Semantic bleaching

Interaction between evaluative content and grammaticalisation

Conclusion and outlook
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Outlook: these motion verbs also show different morphosyntactic behaviour compared to the posture verbs.
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Conclusion and outlook

Morphosyntactic variation

- The motion verb MPPs show high occurrences of *te/en*-drop

(7) Ek het in die schaduw \textbf{loop (en) wag.} \\
I have in the shade walk and wait \\
‘I’ve been waiting in the shade.’

(8) Ek het in die schaduw \textbf{staan *\textit{(en)} wag.} \\
I have in the shade stand and wait \\
‘I’ve been waiting in the shade.’ (Afrikaans)
Morphosyntactic variation

(9) **Ik heb in de schaduw lopen ?**(te) **wachten.**
I have in the shade walk to wait
‘I’ve been waiting in the shade.’

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

(Dutch)
Conclusion and outlook

Morphosyntactic variation

- In Afrikaans we also see much higher frequencies of a bare form of the aspectual verb in the case of *loop* compared to the *posture* verbs

(11) a. Ek het *(gelooop)/ loop* en werk.
I have walk/ walk to work

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

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

d. Ek het *gelê/ lê* en werk.
I have lie/ lie to work
‘I’ve been working.’ (Afrikaans)
Conclusion and outlook

- These ongoing morphosyntactic changes are additional indications of the more advanced grammaticalisation of the motion verbs compared to the posture verbs.
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- Future work: testing the interaction between morphosyntax, semantic bleaching and evaluative content with more native speakers/in bigger corpora/experimentally.
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