Progressive evaluations

Comparing Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic progressives

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Introduction

Empirical focus: Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs

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

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    →Henceforth MPPs (Motion/Posture Progressive)

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

(1)   Ik heb **lopen**/**zitten**/**staan**/**liggen** **te werken**.
      I have walk/sit/stand/lie   to work
      'I have been working.'   (Dutch)

(2)   Ek het **loop**/**sit**/**staan**/**lê** **en** **werk**.
      I   have walk/sit/stand/lie and work
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→In Dutch: 'motion/posture verb to V'

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→In Dutch: 'motion/posture verb to V'

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

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  ▶ Semantic bleaching of the motion/posture verbs
  ▶ The presence/absence of secondary, evaluative content

▶ Presenting an analysis how these three factors interact with each other

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- ▶ Two data-sets:
    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

Dataset #1: morphosyntax

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(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)

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     d. Ek het **gelê**/ **lê** **en werk**.
         I have lie.PPC/ lie.INF to work
         'I've been working.'   (Afrikaans)

Dataset #2: semantic bleaching

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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 no motion entailed:

(5) Jammer dat ze in de show hadden **lopen** **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+)

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- *Semantic bleaching of the progressive verb:*
    - In both languages, the motion verbs are semantically bleached to the highest extent (more in Dutch (81,7%) than in Afrikaans (39,4%))
    - In general, Dutch progressive verbs are more semantically bleached than the Afrikaans ones

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1. Afrikaans MPPs are on a grammaticalisation path from a complex-*v* construction (De Vos 2005) to a structure in which the motion/posture verb is directly merged in a functional head of the lexical verb's Fseq (Cinque 2001; De Vos 2002)

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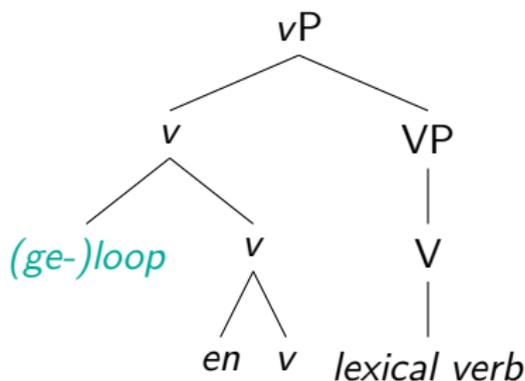
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2. Dutch MPPs always have the latter structure
3. The attested morphosyntactic variation in MPPs follows from the extent to which the progressive verbs are grammaticalised
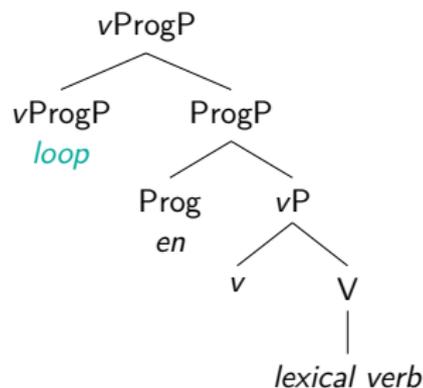
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Two structures for Afrikaans MPPs

- A complex *v*-structure (De Vos 2005) and a ProgP-structure in which the motion/posture verb is merged in the Fseq of lexical verb
    - In the complex *v*-structure, the progressive verb still behaves as a light verb rather than a functional head and can therefore carry inflection

(6)   (7)

The analysis

Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

▶ From the complex *v*-structure to the ProgP-structure

The analysis

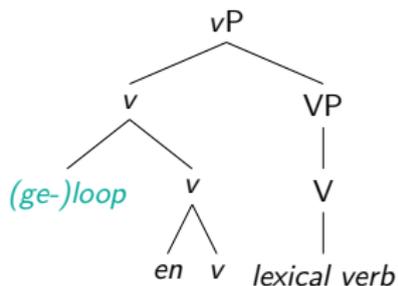## Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

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Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- From the complex *v*-structure to the ProgP-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)
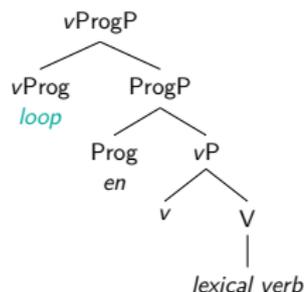
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Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

(8)

(9)

Stage 1 (8): progressive verb still has its semantics and can occur as a past participle →becomes more semantically bleached →
Stage 2 (9): expresses progressive aspect together with *en* (only IPP form)

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Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

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- *Loop* is more semantically bleached, thus further along the grammaticalisation path to a ProgP-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 ProgP-structure

The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

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- 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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- In dataset #2, we wanted to see to what extent pragmaticalisation may be occuring

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Secondary, evaluative component

(10) 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+)

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► The speaker was expecting to watch a new episode, not the
  re-run

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Evaluative content in dataset #2:

Dutch
lopen: 75/94 (**79,8%**)
zitten: 28/93 (30,0%)
staan: 33/94 (35,1%)
liggen: 65/94 (69,1%)

Afrikaans
loop: 75/109 (**68,8%**)
sit: 11/109 (10,0%)
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- ▶ 'Walk' 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

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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)

Conclusion

- **New data**: Dutch and Afrikaans motion verbs in MPPs as compared to their posture verb counterparts:
    - show different morphosyntactic behaviour
    - are more semantically bleached
    - often carry secondary, evaluative content
- **Analysis**: the motion verbs are further along a grammaticalisation path than the posture verbs
    - This grammaticalisation goes hand in hand with pragmaticalisation (evaluative content)
- ***Preview:*** Dutch and Afrikaans motion verbs in MPPs are grammaticalising even further, which is reflected by other morphosyntactic quirks (e.g. *te*/*en*-drop)
    - They are becoming completely functional progressive markers, which makes *te*/*en* (progressive markers) no longer necessary

Acknowledgements

Appendix I: semantic bleaching in Dutch

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

Motion/posture entailed	lopen n=94	zitten n=93	staan n=94	liggen n=94
Yes	17 (18,3%)	35 (37,6%)	79 (**84,0%**)	66 (**70,0%**)
No	76 (**81,7%**)	58 (**62,4%**)	15 (16,0%)	28 (30,0%)
Unclear	1 (01,0%)	0 (00,0%)	0 (00,0%)	0 (00,0%)

Table 1: Semantic bleaching per motion/posture verb in Dutch

Appendix II: semantic bleaching in Afrikaans

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

Motion/posture entailed	loop n=109	sit n=109	staan n=109	lê n=109
Yes	12 (11,0%)	98 (**89,9%**)	94 (**86,2%**)	94 (**87,2%**)
No	43 (**39,4**%)	2 (01,8%)	4 (03,7%)	13 (11,9%)
Unclear	54 (**49,6%**)	9 (08,3%)	11 (10,1%)	1 (00,9%)

Table 2: Semantic bleaching per motion/posture verb in Afrikaans

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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:

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- ▶ 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: additional pragmaticalisation

Secondary, evaluative component

(11) Ek weet dis jy wat jou gif   by die blomme **loop**
      I know it.is you that your poison at the flowers walk
      spuit het.
      spray has
      'I know it was you that has been spraying poison on the
      flowers.'   (Afrikaans, Korpusportaal)

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- ▶ The behavior, i.e. spraying poison on the flowers, of the
addressee (*jy* 'you') is undesired