# Grammaticalising microvariation
## What we can learn from Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic progressives

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# Outline

# Introduction

### 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)

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  →Henceforth MPPs (Motion/Posture Progressive)

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    →In Dutch: 'motion/posture verb te V'

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'I'm working.'                          (Afrikaans)

→In Dutch: 'motion/posture verb te V'

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

# Introduction

## Peculiar morphosyntax and semantics

- MPPs show morphosyntactic variation both within and across the two languages (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Biberauer 2017; Breed 2017)

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### Peculiar morphosyntax and semantics

- ► 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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### Peculiar morphosyntax and semantics

- ▶ 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)

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## Peculiar morphosyntax and semantics

- ▶ 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

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  - Illustrating additional pragmaticalisation of these MPPs

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- Presenting an analysis how these two factors interact with each other
    - Illustrating additional pragmaticalisation of these MPPs
    - Showing how this fits in a theory which places *speaker perspective* phenomena at the phase edge

# Background: periphrastic progressives in Germanic

|  | Du | Afr | Eng | Ger | Cont. Sc. | Ins. Sc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *posture verbs* | ∨ | ∨ | × | × | ∨ | ∨ |
| *'walk'* | ∨ | ∨ | × | × | × | × |
| *pseudocoordination* | × | ∨ | ∨ | × | ∨ | ∨ |
| *'to'-coordination* | ∨ | × | × | × | ×/? | × |
| *real progressive* | ∨ | ∨ | × | × | × | × |

Table 1: MPP-like structures in Germanic

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Table 1: MPP-like structures in Germanic

▶ In English, pseudocoordination is lexically restricted to 'try', 'come' and 'go' (Carden & Pesetsky 1978)

▶ In varieties of Danish and Norwegian, the coordinator in MMP-like constructions is ambiguous between 'to' and 'and' (Wiklund 2007)

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  - Dutch is the only language that combines the two verbs in the MPPs with *te* 'to' (instead of pseudocoordination)

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  - ▶ The only two Germanic languages in which motion verb 'walk' is used in MPPs
  - ▶ The only two Germanic languages in which these structures have real progressive interpretations
  - ▶ Dutch is the only language that combines the two verbs in the MPPs with *te* 'to' (instead of pseudocoordination)

- ▶ So far, a unified formal analysis of the structure of Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs has not been proposed yet

# Corpora

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## 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
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  - Embedded under the temporal auxiliary *hebben* 'have', to investigate the presence/absence of IPP-form of the progressive verb

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## Afrikaans

- Corpus based research: *Korpusportaal*
  - 85 million words
  - Standard and regional Afrikaans
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    1. A dataset containing all hits for Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs, to investigate morphosyntactic variation
    2. Smaller, randomly selected datasets for all Dutch and Afrikaans MPP-types, to annotate for semantic bleaching and evaluative content

# Dataset #1: morphosyntax

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- 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)

# Dataset #1: morphosyntax

- *Focus 1*: 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)
- 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)

# Dataset #1: morphosyntax

- ▶ 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)

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(4)   a.   Ek het **geloop**/ **loop**     **en werk**.
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      b.   Ek het **gesit**/ **sit**    **en werk**.
           I   have sit.PPC/ sit.INF to  work
      c.   Ek het **gestaan**/ **staan**     **en werk**.
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      d.   Ek het **gelê**/ **lê**    **en werk**.
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           'I've been working.'                          (Afrikaans)

# Dataset #1: morphosyntax

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

| Verb | +IPP | -IPP | total |
|------|------|------|-------|
| *lopen* 'walk' | 89 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 89 (100%) |
| *zitten* 'sit' | 928 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 928 (100%) |
| *staan* 'stand' | 123 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 123 (100%) |
| *liggen* 'lie' | 214 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 214 (100%) |

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Table 2: 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

| Verb | +IPP | -IPP | total |
|:---:|:---:|:---:|:---:|
| *loop* 'walk' | 83 (74,8%) | 28 (25,2%) | 109 (100%) |
| *sit* 'sit' | 220 (48,4%) | 235 (51,6%) | 455 (100%) |
| *staan* 'stand' | 155 (44,8%) | 191 (55,2%) | 346 (100%) |
| *lê* 'lie' | 113 (45,4%) | 136 (54,6%) | 249 (100%) |

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

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Table 4: 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)

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

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

# Dataset #1: morphosyntax

(5)　Ik heb  in de  schaduw **lopen** <sup>?</sup>(**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)

# Dataset #1: morphosyntax

(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)

# Dataset #1: morphosyntax

▶ Presence/absence of *te* in Dutch MPPs

| Verb | +*te* | -*te* | total |
|:---:|:---:|:---:|:---:|
| *lopen* 'walk' | 0 (0%) | 89 (100%) | 89 (100%) |
| *zitten* 'sit' | 8 (0,8%) | 920 (99,2%) | 928 (100%) |
| *staan* 'stand' | 13 (10,7%) | 110 (89,4%) | 123 (100%) |
| *liggen* 'lie' | 2 (0,9%) | 212 (99,1%) | 214 (100%) |

Table 5: Presence/absence of *te* 'to' in Dutch MPPs

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- Presence/absence of *te* in Dutch MPPs

| Verb | +*te* | -*te* | total |
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| *lopen* 'walk' | 0 (0%) | 89 (100%) | 89 (100%) |
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Table 5: Presence/absence of *te* 'to' in Dutch MPPs

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

# Dataset #1: morphosyntax

▶ Presence/absence of *en* in Afrikaans MPPs

| Progressive verb | +*En* | -*En* | total |
|---|---|---|---|
| *loop* 'walk' | 24 (21,6%) | 85 (78,4%) | 109 (100%) |
| *sit* 'sit' | 455 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 455 (100%) |
| *staan* 'stand' | 346 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 346 (100%) |
| *lê* 'lie' | 249 (100%) | 0 (0%) | 249 (100%) |

Table 6: Presence/absence of *en* 'and' in Afrikaans MPPs

# Dataset #1: morphosyntax

- Presence/absence of *en* in Afrikaans MPPs

| Progressive verb | +*En* | -*En* | total |
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| *loop* 'walk' | 24 (21,6%) | 85 (78,4%) | 109 (100%) |
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Table 6: Presence/absence of *en* 'and' in Afrikaans MPPs

- 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

# 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)

# Dataset #2: semantic bleaching

*Example motion entailed:*

(9)  Onderweg    naar het restaurant hebben ze    aan een
     On.the.way to    the restaurant have    they at   one
     stuk  door    **lopen praten**.
     piece through walk   talk.
     'They've been talking the entire time on their way to the
     restaurant.'

# Dataset #2: semantic bleaching

*Example no motion entailed:*

(10)  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+)

# Dataset #2: semantic bleaching

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

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

Table 7: Semantic bleaching per motion/posture verb in Dutch

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| Motion/posture entailed | lopen | zitten | staan | liggen |
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| Yes | 17 (18,1%) | 35 (**37,7%**) | 82 (**87,0%**) | 69 (**73,4%**) |
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Table 7: Semantic bleaching per motion/posture verb in Dutch

- Dutch *lopen* is semantically bleached to the highest extent

# Dataset #2: semantic bleaching

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

| Motion/posture entailed | loop | sit | staan | lê |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | n=109 | n=109 | n=109 | 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 8: Semantic bleaching per motion/posture verb in Afrikaans

# Dataset #2: semantic bleaching

- 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%**) |
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Table 8: Semantic bleaching per motion/posture verb in Afrikaans

- Afrikaans *loop* is semantically bleached to the highest extent
- The posture verbs are hardly semantically bleached

# Dataset #2: evaluative content

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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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  - 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 (see Pots & Fraser, in prep)

# Dataset #2: evaluative content

## 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+)

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  ▶ The speaker evaluates the eventuality of watching the re-run
    as undesired

# Dataset #2: evaluative content

## Secondary, evaluative component

(12)    Stel      jou voor, dat elkeen    vir hom    een donkie
        Imagine you for,    that everyone for himself a    donkey
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        'Imagine, that anyone would go and catch a donkey of his
        own.'                                (Afrikaans, Korpusportaal)

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- ▶ The sentences of dataset #2 were annotated for evaluative content by two native speakers per language
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- ▶ Then they were asked to answer a set of questions for each sentence

# Dataset #2: evaluative content

- Presence/absence of evaluative content in sentences with MPPs in Dutch

| 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 (18,6%) | 22 (23,4%) |

Table 9: Evaluative content in Dutch MPP sentences

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Table 9: Evaluative content in Dutch MPP sentences

- Highest percentage of present evaluative content for *lopen* (79,8%), followed by *liggen* (72,3%)

# Dataset #2: evaluative content

- Presence/absence of evaluative content in sentences with MPPs in Afrikaans

| Evaluation | loop<br>*n=109* | sit<br>*n=109* | staan<br>*n=109* | lê<br>*n=109* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Present | 75 (**68,8%**) | 11 (10,1%) | 24 (22,0%) | 28 (10,0%) |
| Absent | 20 (18,3%) | 94 (**77,1%**) | 79 (**72,5%**) | 88 (**77,1%**) |
| Unclear | 24 (12,9%) | 14 (12,9%) | 6 (05,5%) | 1 (00,9%) |

Table 10: Evaluative content in Afrikaans MPP sentences

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- Presence/absence of evaluative content in sentences with MPPs in Afrikaans

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Table 10: Evaluative content in Afrikaans MPP sentences

- Highest percentage of present evaluative content for *loop* (68,8%)
- In the sentences with posture verb MPPs, evaluative content is most frequently absent in Afrikaans
- Evaluative content is much less frequent in Afrikaans as compared to Dutch, except for with *loop*

- *Extent of semantic bleaching*

# Summary of dataset #2

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  - In Dutch, *lopen* is semantically bleached to the highest extent, followed by *zitten*; *staan/liggen* much less

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  - In Afrikaans, only *loop* is semantically bleached to a fairly high extent, the posture verbs almost always retain their postural semantics
- *Evaluative content*
  - In Dutch, we find the highest frequency of evaluative content in sentences with *lopen* MPPs, followed by sentences with *liggen* MPPs
  - In Afrikaans, only in the sentences with *loop* MPPs we find a high frequency of evaluative content

# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

Three main claims:

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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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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

# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives
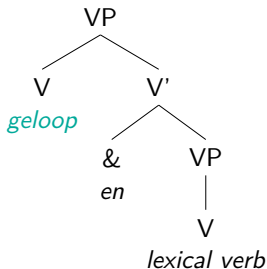
### Two structures for Afrikaans MPPs

▶ A 'wider' syntactic structure of PseudoCoordination ('PC-structure') and a structure in which *en* is a categoriser, which attaches to the root of the progressive verb ('Prog-structure')

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  - In the PC-structure, the progressive verb still behaves as a light verb and can therefore carry inflection

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  - In the PC-structure, the progressive verb still behaves as a light verb and can therefore carry inflection
  - In the Prog-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)

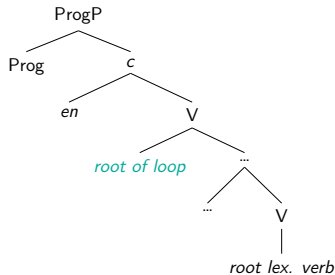# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

## Two structures for Afrikaans MPPs

- A 'wider' syntactic structure (PC-structure) and a Prog-structure in which *en* is a categoriser, which attaches to the root of the progressive verb

(13)



(14)

# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

## Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- From the PC-structure to the Prog-structure

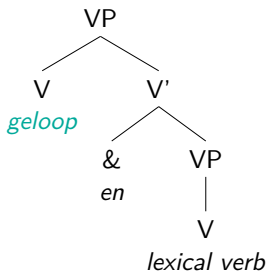# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

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    - *Assumption:* this grammaticalisation mirrors the semantic bleaching of the motion/posture verb

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## Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ From the PC-structure to the Prog-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)
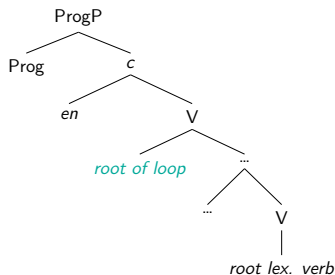
# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

## Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

(15)

```
            VP
          /    \
         V      V'
      geloop   /  \
              &    VP
              en    |
                    V
                lexical verb
```

(16)

```
          ProgP
         /     \
      Prog      c
       |       /  \
       en     V    ...
           /  \     
    root of loop  ...  ...
                    \
                     V
                     |
                root lex. verb
```

Stage 1 (15): progressive verb still has its semantics and can occur as a past participle →becomes more semantically bleached →
Stage 2 (16): expresses progressive aspect together with *en* (only IPP form)

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Two components of the reanalysis in Afrikaans

1. The motion/posture verb becomes a verb that can be directly combined with *en* and then merged in a higher functional head

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1. The motion/posture verb becomes a verb that can be directly combined with *en* and then merged in a higher functional head
2. *En* becomes more grammaticalised, i.e. loses its c-selection requirement to combine two items of the same category, leaving the requirement to combine two items (Biberauer, to appear)

# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

### Interaction of the two components

► 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)

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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)

- The bleaching of these motion/posture verbs has a knock-on effect for *en*, losing the requirement to combine two items of the same category (COMBINATION-OF-LIKES specification –> COMBINATION specification) (Biberauer, to appear)

# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

### Interaction of semantic bleaching and morphological form

- ▶ 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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### Interaction of semantic bleaching and morphological form

- ▶ 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 for periphrastic progressives

### Interaction of semantic bleaching and morphological form

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

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## Interaction of semantic bleaching and morphological form

- *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%)

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- 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 Prog-structure, in which it appears in bare, IPP form

# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

Interaction of semantic bleaching and morphological form

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

# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

### Interaction of semantic bleaching and morphological form

- ▶ Dutch motion/posture verbs are semantically bleached to a higher extent than the Afrikaans ones, always occur in IPP form: always have the Prog-structure
- ▶ In earlier stages of Dutch, MPPs were also cases of pseudocoordination ('motion/posture verb en V')

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## Interaction of semantic bleaching and morphological form

- Dutch motion/posture verbs are semantically bleached to a higher extent than the Afrikaans ones, always occur in IPP form: always have the Prog-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: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

## Further grammaticalisation and presence/absence of *te/en*

- Afrikaans *loop* and Dutch *lopen* are grammaticalising even further

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  - In the hits with *en*-drop, a physical motion through space is never entailed (e.g. *en*-less loop is very highly semantically bleached)
  - *En*-drop almost exclusively happens when *loop* appears in IPP-form

# The analysis: grammaticalisation path for periphrastic progressives

Difference between the extent of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

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- ▶ Both languages have three periphrastic progressive constructions ('busy with V', 'at the V' and the MPPs)

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- ▶ 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

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*Recap*: 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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- *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)

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

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- *Recall*: Dutch *lopen* is more semantically bleached than Afrikaans *loop*, and shows a higher percentage of evaluative content
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- *Our proposal:* grammaticalisation is a trigger for pragmaticalisation (evaluative content) (following Diewald 2011)

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▶ Especially Dutch *lopen* is even so far grammaticalised that this evaluative meaning has almost conventionalised (=high extent of pragmaticalisation)

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- ▶ Stefanowitsch (2000, 129): "undesired"/"unexpected" readings are "divergent" from path
- ▶ Verbs like 'walk' indicate a certain iteration, continuousness, which can be a metaphorical representation of irritation

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(17)  Dit het **gaan staan** en   **reën** op haar troudag!
it   has gone stand and rain  on her   wedding-day
'It went and rained on her wedding day!
                                        (Biberauer & Vikner 2017)

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- ▶ Harwood (2013): the progressive is the maximal phase boundary of *v*P

# At the morphosyntax-semantics interface

## Phase boundaries as loci for speaker perspective

- ▶ Recent work has shown that not only the edge of the CP, but edges of phases in general are locations where speaker's perspective can be signalled (Poletto 2012; Wiltschko 2014, 2017; Heim & Wiltschko 2017; Biberauer & Vikner 2017; Biberauer 2018, a.o.)

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**The Peripheral Speaker-Hearer Hypothesis**
Speaker-hearer perspective is formally encoded at the edges of
phasal domains, where phasal domains are independently signalled,
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- ▶ 'Phase edges constitute points of particular significance in
  language change, contact, and acquisition by providing a "way
  in" for elements that have not been (fully) formally integrated
  into the projecting structure.' (Biberauer 2018: 3)

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## Example of speaker perspective at the *v*P phase edge

- Clause-medial modal particles (Biberauer 2018: 8) and expressives (Potts 2007)

(18) They're all *mos/sommer/maar* taking a chance.
(South African English)

(19) They're all **bloody/flippin'** (well) taking a chance.
(British/American English)

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- Since Dutch and Afrikaans motion verbs are at the edge of a phase, they often carry evaluative content
- They can also more often be the sole contributor of this meaning, i.e. Dutch *lopen* vs *liggen* –> the latter almost always combines with a negative lexical verb and/or subjective/iterative adverbs)

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  - an interaction with additional pragmaticalisation (e.g. *speaker perspective*), which comes about at the *v*P phase edge (Poletto 2012; Wiltschko 2014, 2017; Biberauer 2018)

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