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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[1]This talk is based on joined work with Katherine Fraser (U. of the Basque Country)

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)

(2)   Ek **loop**/**sit**/**staan**/**lê en**   **werk**.
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    - →Henceforth MPPs (Motion/Posture Progressive)

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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 an analysis how these two factors interact with each other

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- ► Presenting an analysis how these two factors interact with each other
  - ► *If time permits:* illustrating additional pragmaticalisation of these MPPs

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- ▶ Corpus data (SoNaR+ & Korpusportaal)
- ▶ 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

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

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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)

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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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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%)
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▶ All Dutch MPPs, the progressive verb occurs in IPP form

Dataset #1: morphosyntax

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

Progressive 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 2: Morphological 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

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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:

(5) 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:

(6)   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 n=94	zitten n=93	staan n=94	liggen 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 4: Semantic bleaching per motion/posture verb in Dutch

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 5: Semantic bleaching per motion/posture verb in Afrikaans

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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 (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))

The analysis

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
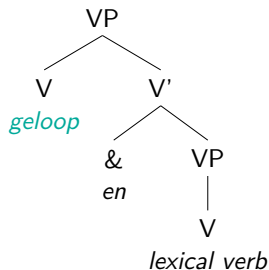
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Two structures for Afrikaans MPPs

- 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

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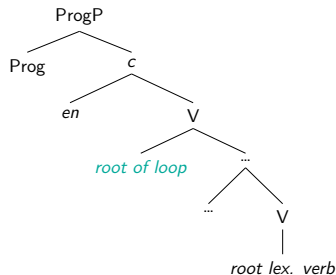## Two structures for Afrikaans MPPs

- 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-stucture, *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

▶ A 'wider' syntactic structure ('Mystery'-structure) and a
'Biberauer'-structure in which *en* is a categoriser, which
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(7)

(8)

The analysis

Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

▶ From the Mystery-structure to the Biberauer-structure

The analysis

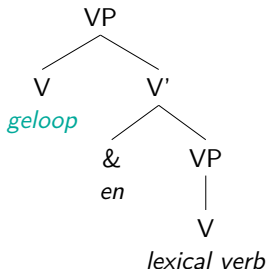### Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

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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)

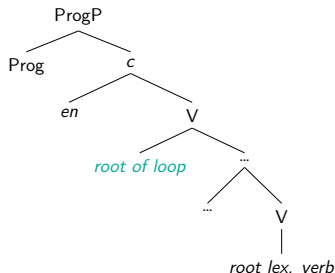# The analysis

Grammaticalisation path of Afrikaans MPPs

(9)

VP
├── V — *geloop*
└── V'
    ├── & — *en*
    └── VP
        └── V — *lexical verb*

(10)

ProgP
├── Prog — *en*
└── c
    └── V
        ├── *root of loop*
        └── ...
            ├── ...
            └── V — *root lex. verb*

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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▶ 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%)

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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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%)

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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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- 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')

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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')
- *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 analaysis

Difference between the extent of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

- ▶ Why are Dutch MPPs more grammaticalised than Afrikaans 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)

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Difference between the extent of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

- 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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Difference between the extent of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

- ▶ 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

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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

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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 occuring

The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

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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       'Yes I just notice that I've been watching the rerun,
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▶ The speaker was expecting to watch a new episode, not the
  re-run

The analysis: additional pragmaticalisation

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%)
staan: 24/109 (22,0%)
lê: 28/109 (10,0%)

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- These motion verbs are also semantically bleached to the highest extent in the respective languages

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

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Difference between Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs

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(12)   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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- 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)

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