

Progressive microvariation

Grammaticalisation of the Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic
progressive

Cora Pots
KU Leuven
cora.pots@kuleuven.be

CGSW 33
Göttingen, 27-28 September

Introduction

The data

- Corpora

- The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- The data: presence/absence of te/en

Prerequisites for the analysis

- The morphological status of ge-

- The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- What it means to be semi-lexical

The analysis

- Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

- Afrikaans MPPs

- Dutch MPPs

- A similar case: English quantificational nouns

- The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and

- Afrikaans

Conclusion

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.
I walk/sit/stand/lie and work
'I'm working.' (Afrikaans)

Introduction

Empirical focus

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic progressives with a **motion/posture** verb as aspectual marker
→Henceforth MPPs (**Motion/Posture** Progressive)

- (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
'I'm working.' (Afrikaans)

Introduction

Empirical focus

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic progressives with a **motion/posture** verb as aspectual marker
→Henceforth MPPs (**Motion/Posture** Progressive)

- (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
'I'm working.' (Afrikaans)

→In Dutch: 'motion/posture verb te V'

Introduction

Empirical focus

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans periphrastic progressives with a **motion/posture** verb as aspectual marker
→Henceforth MPPs (**Motion/Posture** Progressive)

- (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
'I'm working.' (Afrikaans)

→In Dutch: 'motion/posture verb te V'

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

Introduction

Main aims of this talk

Introduction

Main aims of this talk

- ▶ Presenting data of a systematic comparative study of Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs, investigating:

Introduction

Main aims of this talk

- ▶ Presenting data of a systematic comparative study of Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs, investigating:
 - ▶ Morphological form of the **motion/posture** verb

Introduction

Main aims of this talk

- ▶ Presenting data of a systematic comparative study of Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs, investigating:
 - ▶ Morphological form of the **motion/posture** verb
 - ▶ Presence/absence of *te/en*

Introduction

Main aims of this talk

- ▶ Presenting data of a systematic comparative study of Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs, investigating:
 - ▶ Morphological form of the **motion/posture** verb
 - ▶ Presence/absence of *te/en*
- ▶ Presenting a unified analysis of these MPPs

Introduction

Main aims of this talk

- ▶ Presenting data of a systematic comparative study of Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs, investigating:
 - ▶ Morphological form of the **motion/posture** verb
 - ▶ Presence/absence of *te/en*
- ▶ Presenting a unified analysis of these MPPs
 - ▶ Proposing and formalising a grammaticalisation path for these MPPs, from which the attested variation follows

Outline

Introduction

The data

Corpora

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

The data: presence/absence of te/en

Prerequisites for the analysis

The morphological status of ge-

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

What it means to be semi-lexical

The analysis

Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

Afrikaans MPPs

Dutch MPPs

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and

Afrikaans

Conclusion

Introduction

The data

Corpora

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

The data: presence/absence of te/en

Prerequisites for the analysis

The morphological status of ge-

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

What it means to be semi-lexical

The analysis

Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

Afrikaans MPPs

Dutch MPPs

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and

Afrikaans

Conclusion

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

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
- ▶ Dutch periphrastic progressives with motion verb *lopen* 'walk', and the posture verbs *zitten* 'sit', *staan* 'stand' and *liggen* 'lie'

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
- ▶ Dutch periphrastic progressives with motion verb *lopen* 'walk', and the posture verbs *zitten* 'sit', *staan* 'stand' and *liggen* 'lie'
 - ▶ Embedded under the temporal auxiliary *hebben* 'have', to investigate the morphological form of the progressive verb

Corpora

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

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
- ▶ Afrikaans pseudocoordination progressives with motion verb *loop* 'walk', and the posture verbs *sit* 'sit', *staan* 'stand' and *lê* 'lie'

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
- ▶ Afrikaans pseudocoordination progressives with motion verb *loop* 'walk', and the posture verbs *sit* 'sit', *staan* 'stand' and *lê* 'lie'
 - ▶ Embedded under the temporal auxiliary *het* 'have', to investigate the morphological form of the progressive verb

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- ▶ *Focus 1*: morphological form of the **motion/posture** verb in MPPs when embedded under temporal auxiliary *hebben/het* 'have'

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- ▶ *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

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- ▶ *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)

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

- ▶ *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)

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

- (4)
- a. Ek het **geloop**/ **loop** en werk.
I have walk.PTCP/ walk.INF to work
 - b. Ek het **gesit**/ **sit** en werk.
I have sit.PTCP/ sit.INF to work
 - 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
'I've been working.'

(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

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

- ▶ 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

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

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

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

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

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

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

- ▶ *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)

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

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

- 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

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

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

Summary of the data

Summary of the data

- ▶ *Morphological form of the progressive verb:*

Summary of the data

- ▶ *Morphological form of the progressive verb:*
 - ▶ In Dutch MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb always appears in IPP-form

Summary of the data

- ▶ *Morphological form of the progressive verb:*
 - ▶ In Dutch MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb always appears in IPP-form
 - ▶ In Afrikaans MPPs, the **motion** verb appears in IPP-form in roughly 75% of the cases and in past participle form in 25%; for the **posture** verbs, IPP/past participle form occur equally frequently

Summary of the data

- ▶ *Morphological form of the progressive verb:*
 - ▶ In Dutch MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb always appears in IPP-form
 - ▶ In Afrikaans MPPs, the **motion** verb appears in IPP-form in roughly 75% of the cases and in past participle form in 25%; for the **posture** verbs, IPP/past participle form occur equally frequently
- ▶ *Presence/absence of te/en:*

Summary of the data

- ▶ *Morphological form of the progressive verb:*
 - ▶ In Dutch MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb always appears in IPP-form
 - ▶ In Afrikaans MPPs, the **motion** verb appears in IPP-form in roughly 75% of the cases and in past participle form in 25%; for the **posture** verbs, IPP/past participle form occur equally frequently
- ▶ *Presence/absence of te/en:*
 - ▶ In Dutch, all **motion** MPPs hits show *te*-drop, while there are some occurrences of *te* in **posture** MPPs

Summary of the data

- ▶ *Morphological form of the progressive verb:*
 - ▶ In Dutch MPPs, the **motion/posture** verb always appears in IPP-form
 - ▶ In Afrikaans MPPs, the **motion** verb appears in IPP-form in roughly 75% of the cases and in past participle form in 25%; for the **posture** verbs, IPP/past participle form occur equally frequently
- ▶ *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

Introduction

The data

Corpora

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

The data: presence/absence of te/en

Prerequisites for the analysis

The morphological status of ge-

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

What it means to be semi-lexical

The analysis

Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

Afrikaans MPPs

Dutch MPPs

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and

Afrikaans

Conclusion

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

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ 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))

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ 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)
- ▶ The **motion/posture** verbs in MPPs do not always entail a physical motion/seated/standing/lying position in MPPs

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ 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)
- ▶ 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)

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ 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)
- ▶ 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)

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)
- ▶ 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

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

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

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
- ▶ 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)

What it means to be semi-lexical

Defining semi-lexicality (Klockmann 2018:6)

- ▶ Being lexical implies the presence of a **root**

What it means to be semi-lexical

Defining semi-lexicality (Klockmann 2018:6)

- ▶ Being lexical implies the presence of a **root**
- ▶ Being functional implies the presence of a **syntactic feature**

What it means to be semi-lexical

Defining semi-lexicality (Klockmann 2018:6)

- ▶ Being lexical implies the presence of a **root**
- ▶ Being functional implies the presence of a **syntactic feature**
- ▶ Semi-lexicality is often cited as the combination of lexical and functional properties in a single lexical item

What it means to be semi-lexical

Defining semi-lexicality (Klockmann 2018:6)

- ▶ Being lexical implies the presence of a **root**
- ▶ Being functional implies the presence of a **syntactic feature**
- ▶ Semi-lexicality is often cited as the combination of lexical and functional properties in a single lexical item
- ▶ **Semi-lexicality is what occurs when a root is specified for a syntactic feature**

Introduction

The data

Corpora

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

The data: presence/absence of te/en

Prerequisites for the analysis

The morphological status of ge-

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

What it means to be semi-lexical

The analysis

Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

Afrikaans MPPs

Dutch MPPs

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

Conclusion

Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans **motion** and **posture** verbs are semi-lexical

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

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.)

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.)
- ▶ 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)

Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ When a lexical item develops a functional use, it is becoming more grammaticalised

Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ When a lexical item develops a functional use, it is becoming more grammaticalised
- ▶ *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]

Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ The **motion** and **posture** verbs in Dutch and Afrikaans are semantically bleached to different extents (Biberauer 2017, Breed 2017, Lemmens 2005, Pots & Fraser to appear)

Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ The **motion** and **posture** verbs in Dutch and Afrikaans are semantically bleached to different extents (Biberauer 2017, Breed 2017, Lemmens 2005, Pots & Fraser to appear)
- ▶ In both languages, the **motion** verbs are semantically bleached to the highest extent, followed by the Dutch **posture** verbs; the Afrikaans ones being hardly bleached at all

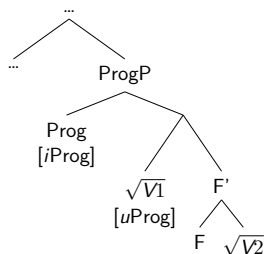
Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ The **motion** and **posture** verbs in Dutch and Afrikaans are semantically bleached to different extents (Biberauer 2017, Breed 2017, Lemmens 2005, Pots & Fraser to appear)
- ▶ In both languages, the **motion** verbs are semantically bleached to the highest extent, followed by the Dutch **posture** verbs; the Afrikaans ones being hardly bleached at all
- ▶ I.e. the **motion** verbs are further along on the grammaticalisation path compared to the **posture** verbs, of which the Afrikaans ones are the least far along this path

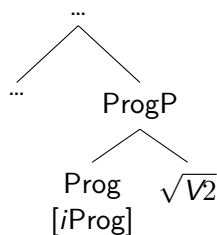
Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ *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)



Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ In the first structure, the **motion/posture** verb is a root specified for a [*u*Prog] feature: its semantics are still salient

Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ In the first structure, the **motion/posture** verb is a root specified for a [*u*Prog] feature: its semantics are still salient
- ▶ We thus have to merge the **motion/posture** root with the root of the lexical verb

Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ In the first structure, the **motion/posture** verb is a root specified for a [*u*Prog] feature: its semantics are still salient
- ▶ We thus have to merge the **motion/posture** root with the root of the lexical verb
- ▶ Roots cannot be merged without an intervening functional head (De Belder 2011, De Belder & Van Craenenbroeck 2011, cf. Klockmann (2018))

Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ In the first structure, the **motion/posture** verb is a root specified for a [*u*Prog] feature: its semantics are still salient
- ▶ We thus have to merge the **motion/posture** root with the root of the lexical verb
- ▶ Roots cannot be merged without an intervening functional head (De Belder 2011, De Belder & Van Craenenbroeck 2011, cf. Klockmann (2018))
- ▶ This intervening functional head does not add any meaning that is not already added by merge; it is conjunctive (De Belder 2011: 248)

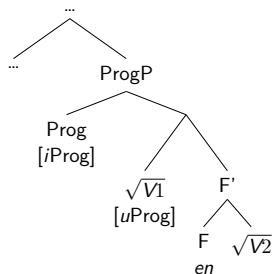
Grammaticalisation path for MPPS

- ▶ In the first structure, the **motion/posture** verb is a root specified for a [*u*Prog] feature: its semantics are still salient
- ▶ We thus have to merge the **motion/posture** root with the root of the lexical verb
- ▶ Roots cannot be merged without an intervening functional head (De Belder 2011, De Belder & Van Craenenbroeck 2011, cf. Klockmann (2018))
- ▶ This intervening functional head does not add any meaning that is not already added by merge; it is conjunctive (De Belder 2011: 248)
- ▶ In Afrikaans, this position is filled by *en*, in Dutch by *te*, which semantics are close to vacuous (Broekhuis & Corver 2015)

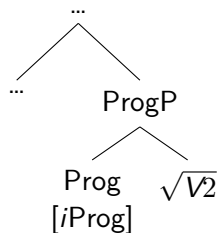
Afrikaans MPPs

The two structures for Afrikaans MPPs:

(18)



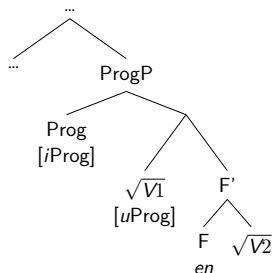
(19)



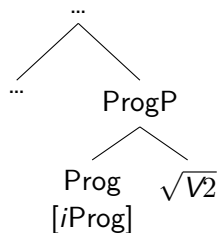
Afrikaans MPPs

The two structures for Afrikaans MPPs:

(18)



(19)

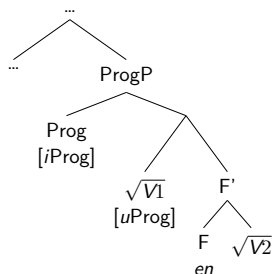


- ▶ The root insertion of the **motion/posture** verb brings about its lexical semantics

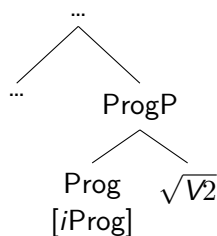
Afrikaans MPPs

The two structures for Afrikaans MPPs:

(18)



(19)

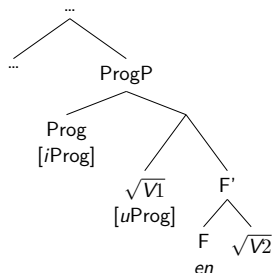


- ▶ The root insertion of the **motion/posture** verb brings about its lexical semantics
- ▶ *Recall*: Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal verbal affix

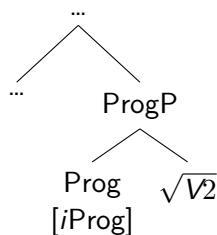
Afrikaans MPPs

The two structures for Afrikaans MPPs:

(18)



(19)

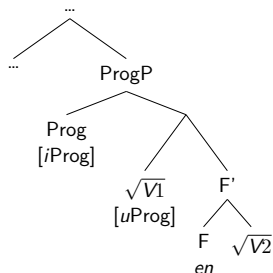


- ▶ The root insertion of the **motion/posture** verb brings about its lexical semantics
- ▶ *Recall*: Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal verbal affix
- ▶ *Assumption*: *ge-* can only attach to lexical material

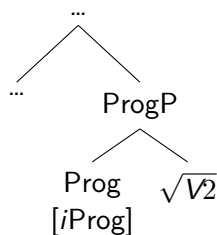
Afrikaans MPPs

The two structures for Afrikaans MPPs:

(18)



(19)



- ▶ The root insertion of the **motion/posture** verb brings about its lexical semantics
- ▶ *Recall*: Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal verbal affix
- ▶ *Assumption*: *ge-* can only attach to lexical material
- ▶ In the first structure, it can attach to the combined roots complex, in the second structure it cannot attach

Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ *Recall*: Afrikaans *loop* is much more semantically bleached than the *posture* verbs

Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ *Recall*: Afrikaans *loop* is much more semantically bleached than the *posture* verbs
- ▶ Afrikaans *loop* is further along the grammaticalisation path from the first to the second structure compared to the *posture* verbs

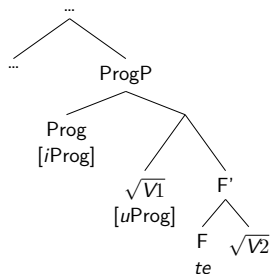
Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ *Recall*: Afrikaans *loop* is much more semantically bleached than the *posture* verbs
- ▶ Afrikaans *loop* is further along the grammaticalisation path from the first to the second structure compared to the *posture* verbs
- ▶ 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

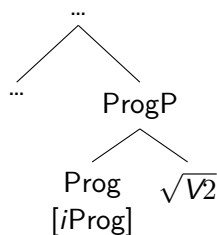
Dutch MPPs

The two structures for Dutch MPPs:

(20)



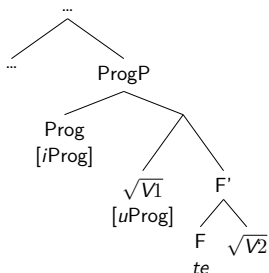
(21)



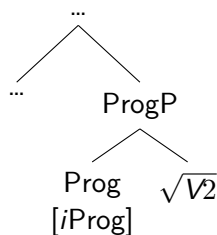
Dutch MPPs

The two structures for Dutch MPPs:

(20)



(21)

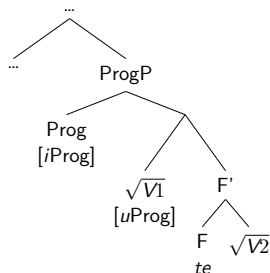


- ▶ The root insertion of the **motion/posture** verb brings about its lexical semantics

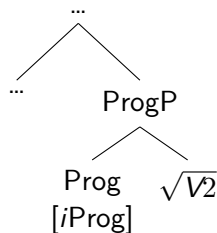
Dutch MPPs

The two structures for Dutch MPPs:

(20)



(21)

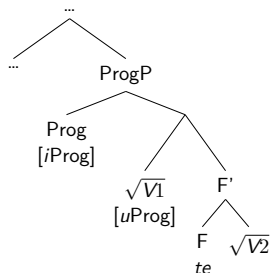


- ▶ The root insertion of the **motion/posture** verb brings about its lexical semantics
- ▶ *Recall*: Dutch *ge-* is a regular verbal affix, not phrasal

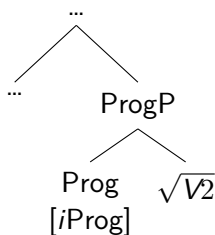
Dutch MPPs

The two structures for Dutch MPPs:

(20)



(21)

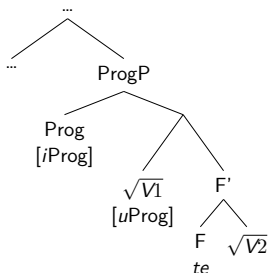


- ▶ The root insertion of the **motion/posture** verb brings about its lexical semantics
- ▶ *Recall*: Dutch *ge-* is a regular verbal affix, not phrasal
- ▶ *Assumption*: *ge-* can only attach to lexical material

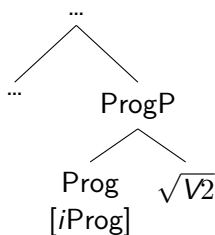
Dutch MPPs

The two structures for Dutch MPPs:

(20)



(21)



- ▶ The root insertion of the **motion/posture** verb brings about its lexical semantics
- ▶ *Recall*: Dutch *ge-* is a regular verbal affix, not phrasal
- ▶ *Assumption*: *ge-* can only attach to lexical material
- ▶ Dutch *ge-* thus cannot attach to either one of the structures (cf. Zwart (2016), Dros-Hendriks (2018))

Dutch MPPs

- ▶ *Recall*: Dutch *open* is much more semantically bleached than the *posture* verbs, but the *posture* verbs are also more semantically bleached than the Afrikaans ones

Dutch MPPs

- ▶ *Recall*: Dutch *lopen* is much more semantically bleached than the *posture* verbs, but the *posture* verbs are also more semantically bleached than the Afrikaans ones
- ▶ Dutch *lopen* is further along the grammaticalisation path from the first to the second structure compared to the *posture* verbs, but these latter are also quite far on this path

Dutch MPPs

- ▶ *Recall*: Dutch *lopen* is much more semantically bleached than the *posture* verbs, but the *posture* verbs are also more semantically bleached than the Afrikaans ones
- ▶ Dutch *lopen* is further along the grammaticalisation path from the first to the second structure compared to the *posture* verbs, but these latter are also quite far on this path
- ▶ The fact that we see no occurrences of *te* with Dutch *lopen* follows from it being so grammaticalised that it only has the latter structure

Dutch MPPs

- ▶ *Recall*: Dutch *lopen* is much more semantically bleached than the *posture* verbs, but the *posture* verbs are also more semantically bleached than the Afrikaans ones
- ▶ Dutch *lopen* is further along the grammaticalisation path from the first to the second structure compared to the *posture* verbs, but these latter are also quite far on this path
- ▶ The fact that we see no occurrences of *te* with Dutch *lopen* follows from it being so grammaticalised that it only has the latter structure
- ▶ The low occurrences of *te* with the Dutch *posture* verbs follows from them also being highly grammaticalised, i.e. often having the second structure

Dutch MPPs

- ▶ *Recall*: Dutch *lopen* is much more semantically bleached than the *posture* verbs, but the *posture* verbs are also more semantically bleached than the Afrikaans ones
- ▶ Dutch *lopen* is further along the grammaticalisation path from the first to the second structure compared to the *posture* verbs, but these latter are also quite far on this path
- ▶ The fact that we see no occurrences of *te* with Dutch *lopen* follows from it being so grammaticalised that it only has the latter structure
- ▶ The low occurrences of *te* with the Dutch *posture* verbs follows from them also being highly grammaticalised, i.e. often having the second structure
- ▶ 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

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

(22) A lot/ton/bunch of books.

(23) Many books.

(24) A hundred books.

- ▶ English quantificational nouns (Q-nouns) indicate quantity, like quantifiers and numerals

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

(22) A lot/ton/bunch of books.

(23) Many books.

(24) A hundred books.

- ▶ 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.

(26) A ton of herring was standing at the shore.

- ▶ Q-nouns cannot function as agreement targets, despite appearing to be singular nouns; they can in their lexical use

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

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

(26) A ton of herring was standing at the shore.

- ▶ Q-nouns cannot function as agreement targets, despite appearing to be singular nouns; they can in their lexical use
- ▶ This shows that these Q-nouns are semi-lexical items (i.e. a root with a syntactic feature)

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

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

(26) A ton of herring was standing at the shore.

- ▶ Q-nouns cannot function as agreement targets, despite appearing to be singular nouns; they can in their lexical use
- ▶ This shows that these Q-nouns are semi-lexical items (i.e. a root with a syntactic feature)
- ▶ 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)

The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

- ▶ This study shows that Dutch MPPs more grammaticalised than Afrikaans MPPs

The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

- ▶ This study shows that Dutch MPPs more grammaticalised than Afrikaans MPPs
- ▶ Both languages have three periphrastic progressive constructions ('busy with V', 'at the V' and the MPPs)

The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

- ▶ This study shows that Dutch MPPs more grammaticalised than Afrikaans MPPs
- ▶ Both languages have three periphrastic progressive constructions ('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

The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and Afrikaans

- ▶ This study shows that Dutch MPPs more grammaticalised than Afrikaans MPPs
- ▶ Both languages have three periphrastic progressive constructions ('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

Introduction

The data

Corpora

The data: morphological form of the progressive verb

The data: presence/absence of te/en

Prerequisites for the analysis

The morphological status of ge-

The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

What it means to be semi-lexical

The analysis

Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

Afrikaans MPPs

Dutch MPPs

A similar case: English quantificational nouns

The different degree of grammaticalisation in Dutch and

Afrikaans

Conclusion

Conclusion

- ▶ **New data:** Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs show:

Conclusion

- ▶ **New data:** Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs show:
 - ▶ different morphosyntactic behaviour (IPP/no-IPP, presence/absence of *te/en*)

Conclusion

- ▶ **New data:** Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs show:
 - ▶ different morphosyntactic behaviour (IPP/no-IPP, presence/absence of *te/en*)
 - ▶ different degrees of semantic bleaching of the progressive verbs

Conclusion

- ▶ **New data:** Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs show:
 - ▶ different morphosyntactic behaviour (IPP/no-IPP, presence/absence of *te/en*)
 - ▶ different degrees of semantic bleaching of the progressive verbs

Conclusion

- ▶ **New data:** Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs show:
 - ▶ different morphosyntactic behaviour (IPP/no-IPP, presence/absence of *te/en*)
 - ▶ different degrees of semantic bleaching of the progressive verbs
- ▶ **Analysis:** Dutch and Afrikaans progressive verbs are on a grammaticalisation path

Conclusion

- ▶ **New data:** Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs show:
 - ▶ different morphosyntactic behaviour (IPP/no-IPP, presence/absence of *te/en*)
 - ▶ different degrees of semantic bleaching of the progressive verbs
- ▶ **Analysis:** Dutch and Afrikaans progressive verbs are on a grammaticalisation path
 - ▶ They are semi-lexical items in the process of becoming more functional (i.e. real progressive markers)

Conclusion

- ▶ **New data:** Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs show:
 - ▶ different morphosyntactic behaviour (IPP/no-IPP, presence/absence of *te/en*)
 - ▶ different degrees of semantic bleaching of the progressive verbs
- ▶ **Analysis:** Dutch and Afrikaans progressive verbs are on a grammaticalisation path
 - ▶ They are semi-lexical items in the process of becoming more functional (i.e. real progressive markers)
 - ▶ The proposed grammaticalisation path goes from being a root with a [uProg] feature to being a [iProg] feature

Conclusion

- ▶ **New data:** Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs show:
 - ▶ different morphosyntactic behaviour (IPP/no-IPP, presence/absence of *te/en*)
 - ▶ different degrees of semantic bleaching of the progressive verbs
- ▶ **Analysis:** Dutch and Afrikaans progressive verbs are on a grammaticalisation path
 - ▶ They are semi-lexical items in the process of becoming more functional (i.e. real progressive markers)
 - ▶ The proposed grammaticalisation path goes from being a root with a [uProg] feature to being a [iProg] feature
 - ▶ The presence/absence of *te/en* and *ge-* (for Afrikaans) are indications of where the progressive verbs are on the grammaticalisation path

Acknowledgements

Many thanks to/veel dank aan/baie dankie vir:

Erin Pretorius, Kitty Bons, Regine Pots, Peter Pots, Benito Trollip, Theresa Biberauer & Jeroen van Craenenbroeck