

How progressives progress

The case of Dutch and Afrikaans

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

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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 a unified analysis of these MPPs

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 - ▶ 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

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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

The emergence of the (M)PP in Frisian

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	DU	AF	FRI	EN	GE	Mn. Sc.	Ins. Sc.
POSTURE VERBS IN MPP	V	V	V	X	X	V	V
'WALK' IN MPP	V	V	X	X	X	X	X
PSEUDOCOORDINATION	X	V	X	X	X	V	V
TO-COORDINATION	V	X	V	X	X	X/?	X
INDEP. PROG. INTERPRETATION	V	V/X	X	X	X	X	X

Table 1: Periphrastic progressives in Germanic

Background: periphrastic progressives in Germanic

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- ▶ In English, pseudocoordination is restricted to the lexical items 'try', 'come' and 'go' (Carden & Pesetsky 1978)

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Table 1: Periphrastic progressives in Germanic

- ▶ In English, pseudocoordination is restricted to the lexical items 'try', 'come' and 'go' (Carden & Pesetsky 1978)
- ▶ In varieties of Danish and Norwegian, the linking element in MPP-like structures is ambiguous between 'to' and 'and' (Wiklund 2007)

Background: periphrastic progressives in Germanic

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 - ▶ Dutch is the only language that combines the two verbs in the MPPs with *te* 'to' (instead of pseudocoordination, but see Frisian later this talk)

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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 can have independent progressive interpretations
 - ▶ Dutch is the only language that combines the two verbs in the MPPs with *te* 'to' (instead of pseudocoordination, but see Frisian later this talk)
- ▶ So far, a unified formal analysis of the structure of Dutch and Afrikaans MPPs has not been proposed yet

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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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- ▶ Corpus based research: *Korpusportaal*
 - ▶ 85 million words
 - ▶ Standard and regional Afrikaans
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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)

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- ▶ *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 2: Morphological form of the progressive verb in Dutch MPPs

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Table 2: 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 3: 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* ($p < 0.001$)

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

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

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- ▶ **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 skadu **loop** **(en)** wag.
I have in the shade walk and wait
'I've been waiting in the shade.'

(8) Ek het in die skadu **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 4: Presence/absence of *te* in Dutch MPPs

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- 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 5: Presence/absence of *en* 'and' in Afrikaans PeriProgs

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- ▶ Presence/absence of *en* in Afrikaans MPPs

Verb	<i>En</i> present	<i>En</i> absent	Total
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Table 5: Presence/absence of *en* 'and' in Afrikaans PeriProgs

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

Summary of the data

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- ▶ *Morphological form of the progressive verb:*

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 - ▶ In Dutch, all **motion** MPPs hits show *te*-drop, while there are some occurrences of *te* in **posture** MPPs

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- ▶ *Morphological form of the progressive verb:*
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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

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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

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- ▶ 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)

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- ▶ 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)

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- ▶ 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-lexicality 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.'

(Dutch, SoNaR+)

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)

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- ▶ 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

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- ▶ 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
- ▶ 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

Progressive 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

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The semi-lexicity of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- ▶ Taken together, the semantic bleaching and the restricted syntactic behaviour of these items show 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-lexicity, 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 2017)

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- ▶ **Semi-lexicality is what occurs when a root is specified for a syntactic feature**

Introduction

Background: periphrastic progressives in Germanic

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-lexicality of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

- What it means to be semi-lexical

The analysis

- Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

- Afrikaans MPPs

- Dutch MPPs

- The emergence of the (M)PP in Frisian

- Parallels in the nominal domain

Conclusion and outlook

Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

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

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- ▶ 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)

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- ▶ This eventually leads to the language acquirer to postulate such a feature on that exact element (in our case, on the **motion/posture** verbs)

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)

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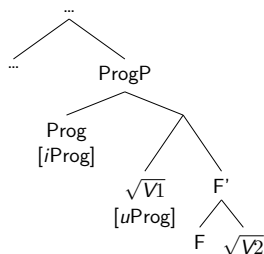
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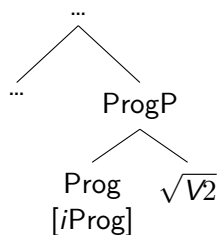
Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

- ▶ *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

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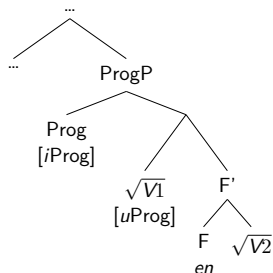
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- ▶ In Afrikaans, this position is filled by *en*, in Dutch by *te*, which semantics are close to vacuous (Broekhuis & Corver 2015)

Afrikaans MPPs

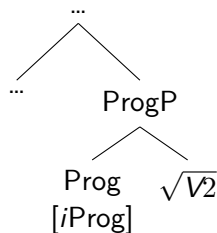
Afrikaans MPPs

The two structures for Afrikaans MPPs:

(18)



(19)

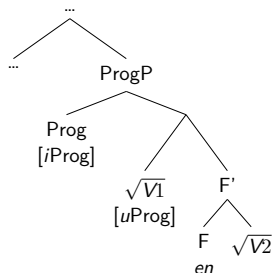


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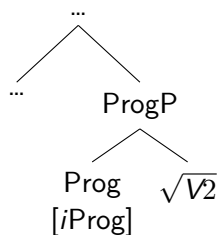
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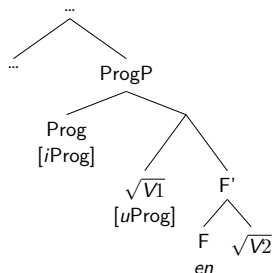


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- ▶ *Recall*: Afrikaans **ge-** is a phrasal verbal affix

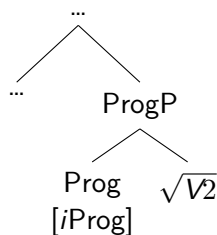
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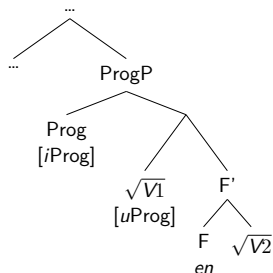


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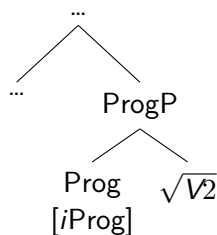
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- ▶ *Recall*: Afrikaans *loop* is much more semantically bleached than the *posture* verbs
- ▶ Afrikaans *loop* is further along the grammaticalisation path from the first to the second structure compared to the *posture* verbs
- ▶ The fact that it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

Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ Afrikaans *loop* has also developed an andative interpretation

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

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- ▶ *Loop* is thus grammaticalising to an even higher position in the functional sequence
- ▶ This illustrates how one element can grammaticalise in a layered fashion (cf. English 'have', Dutch 'hebben'; Hopper & Traugott 1993, Roberts & Roussou 2003, Wall 2018)

Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ In the present corpus data, andative *loop* almost always has *en*-drop

Aspect	<i>En</i> present	<i>En</i> absent	Total
Andative	3 (6,8%)	41 (93,2%)	44 (100%)
Progressive	13 (48,0%)	12 (52,0%)	25 (100%)
Unclear	9 (22,5%)	31 (77,5%)	40 (100%)
<i>Grant total</i>			<i>109 (100%)</i>

Table 6: Type of aspect combined with presence/absence of *en* in Afrikaans *loop* MPPs

Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ Similarly, in the present corpus data, andative *loop* almost always occurs in bare, IPP-form

Aspect	IPP-form	Past participle	Total
Andative	40 (90,9%)	4 (9,1%)	44 (100%)
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Table 7: Type of aspect combined with morphological form of *loop* MPPs

Afrikaans MPPs

- ▶ The idea that Afrikaans andative *loop* has grammaticalised in a higher position in the functional sequence is supported by it being able to embed *posture* verbs:

(21) Sy het die maraton in rekordtyd **loop staan en**
She have the marathon in record-time walk stand and
wen!
win
'She went and won the marathon in record time!'

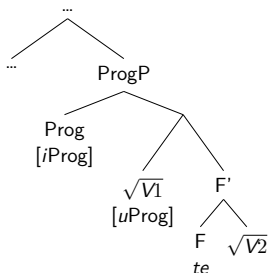
(Biberauer 2017: 4)

Dutch MPPs

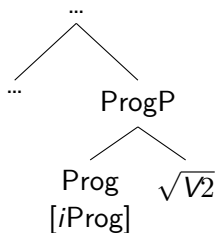
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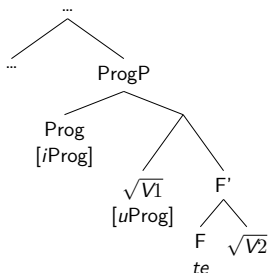


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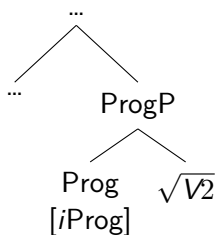
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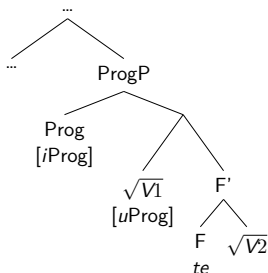


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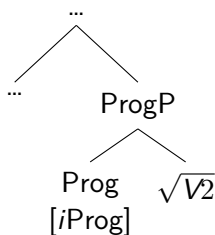
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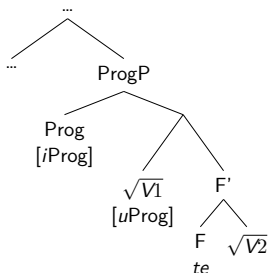


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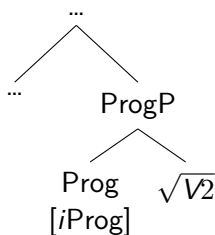
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- ▶ Dutch *ge-* thus cannot attach to either one of the structures (cf. Zwart (2016), Dros-Hendriks (2018))

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

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- ▶ 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

Dutch MPPs

- ▶ Note that *te*-drop also occurs in high frequencies with other Dutch verbs that are becoming more functional/modal, i.e. *hoeven* 'need' and *durven* 'dare' (Haeseryn et al. 1997; Pots 2017; Van de Velde 2017)

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- ▶ These verbs used to always select a *te*-complement, but now show a rapid increase of selecting bare complements, while acquiring a more modal flavour

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- ▶ 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 emergence of the (M)PP in Frisian

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- ▶ A very recent development is them also sporadically occurring with transitive lexical verbs (Taalportaal 2018)
- ▶ I.e. Frisian is a perfect case study on how MPPs can become grammaticalised (*future work*)

The emergence of the (M)PP in Frisian

- ▶ Note furthermore that the Frisian MPP first developed in present tense context, and only sporadically occurs embedded under a temporal auxiliary, in which case *te* is always present

(25) En nei't se in skoftke tegearre op 'e bank **sitten**
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- ▶ This shows that for the **posture** verb is still 'on its way in' into the subcategory of restructuring verbs in Frisian

Parallels in the nominal domain

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- ▶ Klockmann (2017: 337): there seem to be clear parallels between semi-lexicality in the verbal domain (i.e. cases of restructuring, cf. Wurmbrand 2004, on the difference between functional and lexical restructuring) and semi-lexicality in the nominal domain

Parallels in the nominal domain

- (26) A lot/ton/bunch of books.
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- ▶ English quantificational nouns (Q-nouns) indicate quantity, like quantifiers and numerals
- ▶ Klockmann (2018) analyses these Q-nouns as semi-lexical roots

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

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

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- ▶ Q-nouns cannot function as agreement targets when used in this quantifying way, despite appearing to be singular nouns; they can in their lexical use
- ▶ The Q-noun cannot serve as an intervener for Agreement or number sensitive processes: it lacks a number projection, this deficiency showing that it is semi-lexical

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- ▶ Similarly, we see that *of* is disappearing with 'a couple of X' in younger speakers of American English ('a couple X');
- ▶ and 'a dozen X' used to have *of* 'a dozen of X', usually not being permitted anymore in modern-day English (Klockmann 2017: 216)

Parallels in the nominal domain

- ▶ One parallel between in semi-lexicality in the nominal and the verbal domain is thus a semantically vacuous element intervening when the semi-lexical item is still too much 'noun-/verb-like' (*of* for Q-nouns in English, *te/en* for progressive verbs in Dutch/Afrikaans)

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- ▶ Another parallel is the semi-lexical items (when more grammaticalised) taking the same form as the lower, actual noun/verb

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- (31) a. This kind/*kinds of rabbit.
b. This kinds/*kind of rabbits.

- (32) a. This family of insects.
b. This genre of films.

- ▶ Kind-words (*kind*, *type* and *sort*) are semi-lexical (Klockmann 2017: 276-7)

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Parallels in the nominal domain

- ▶ Similarly, Dutch progressive verbs have the same morphological form as the lower, lexical verb

- (33) a. Ik heb ***(gelopen)** / **lopen** te werken.
I have walk.PTCP / walk.INF to work.INF
- b. Ik heb ***(gezeten)** / **zitten** te werken.
I have sit.PTCP / sit.INF to work.INF
- c. Ik heb ***(gestaan)** / **staan** te werken.
I have stand.PTCP / stand.INF to work.INF
- d. Ik heb ***(gelegen)** / **liggen** te werken.
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(Dutch)

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'I've been working.' (Dutch)

- ▶ Similar patterns are attested in other Germanic/Romance restructuring contexts (Cardinaletti & Giusti 2000, Den Dikken & Hoekstra 1997, Hinterhölzl 2009, Pots 2017, Salzmann to appear, Wiklund 2007, Wurmbrand 2012)

Introduction

Background: periphrastic progressives in Germanic

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-lexicality of Dutch/Afrikaans progressive verbs

What it means to be semi-lexical

The analysis

Grammaticalisation path for MPPs

Afrikaans MPPs

Dutch MPPs

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- ▶ *Future work*: further investigating the parallels of semi-lexicity in the nominal and verbal domain

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