

Grammaticalisation in Kaaps Afrikaans comitative and associative expressions: Specifier-to-head reanalysis in the extended prepositional domain

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Afrikaans is a language in which the associative and instrumental are standardly expressed by means of the preposition *met* ('with'). In associative expressions, but not in instrumental ones, *met* can be modified by the adverb *saam* ('together'). In this paper, we present primary and corpus data from Kaaps Afrikaans showing that *met* can be and frequently is dropped in associative expressions, thus making *saam* the primary associative marker. The data are described in terms of the Jespersen Cycle and we put forward a tentative analysis involving specifier-to-head reanalysis (Van Gelderen 2001; 2004). The proposed analysis has both theoretical and typological consequences. On a theoretical level, spec-to-head reanalysis of *saam* entails extending the P cartographic domain from comprising (minimally) one functional head to comprising (minimally) two such heads. In this sense, spec-to-head reanalysis is a structure extending change. On a typological level, our findings suggest that Afrikaans—which, following Donaldson (1993), is currently catalogued in the World Atlas of Language Structures (WALS) Online as an 'identity' language (i.e. one in which the instrumental and comitative are expressed using the same marker)—is becoming a 'mixed' language (i.e. one in which the instrumental and comitative are expressed using distinct, though partially overlapping markers).