Afrikaans IPP doesn't exist (anymore)

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Introduction

Introduction

The IPP effect

(1)   …dat ik hem **heb$_1$ gezien$_2$**.
       …that I him have seen.PTPC
       '…that I've seen him.

(2)   …dat ik hem **heb$_1$** ***gezien$_2$** /**zien$_2$**   eten$_3$.
       …that I him have seen.PTPC /seen.IPP eat
       '…that I've seen him eat.'

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West-Germanic picture

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West-Germanic picture

- ▶ The IPP exists in Dutch, Afrikaans and German (or is assumed to exist) (Schmid 2005)
- ▶ It does not exist in English, Yiddish and Frisian (Hinterholzl 2009:191)
- ▶ *My claim today*: it doesn't exist in Afrikaans either

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Starting point

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- ▶ Ponelis (1993:413): Afrikaans has 'a residue of infinitive assimilation'
- ▶ Cf. De Schutter (2001:205): 'De schets van IPP in het Afrikaans lijkt er sterk op te wijzen dat dat verschijnsel in die taal een heel eigen leven is gaan leiden, en dus niet zomaar als een residu beschouwd mag worden.'

Introduction

Schmid's (2005) typology

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- ▶ Based on grammars and some native speaker judgments:
- ▶ Afrikaans IPP is optional in all verb classes that can occur in temporal 3-verb clusters (causatives, modals, perception verbs, benefactives, duratives, inchoatives, control verbs), with the exception of raising verbs

Empirical background

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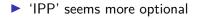- ▶ Taalkommissiecorpus (58 million tokens)

Empirical background

	Werkwoord	IPP	'te' IPP	PP	% IPP
modaal	*blyk*	0	3	4	42,86 %
aspectueel	*kom*	645	0	5	97,43 %
	begin	1461	1	1	99,93 %
	aanhou	45	0	6	88,24 %
	ophou	16	0	6	72,73 %
	gaan	853	0	0	100,00 %
	bly	270	0	0	100,00 %
onderwerpcontrole	*leer* (studeren)	24	0	6	80,00 %
	durf	35	0	1	97,22 %
	wil	4	0	0	100,00 %
	weet	0	3	0	100,00 %
	probeer	575	0	1	99,82 %
causatief	*doen*	1	0	0	100,00 %
	laat	1502	0	2	99,87 %
	maak	1	0	5	16,67 %
perceptiewerkwoorden	*hoor*	4	0	0	100,00 %
	sien	130	0	5	94,89 %
benefactieve werkwoorden	*leer* (onderrichten)	2	0	1	66,67 %
	help	111	0	8	93,22 %
		5679	**7**	**51**	**98,85 %**

Figure 1: Table from Augustinus & Dirix (2013)

▶ 'IPP' is not that optional

Empirical background

	Werkwoord	IPP	PP	% IPP
aspectueel	*sit*	48	58	44,86 %
	staan	45	47	48,91 %
	loop	1	4	16,67 %
	lê	30	5	85,71 %
		124	**114**	**51,67%**

Figure 2: Table from Augustinus & Dirix (2013)

▶ 'IPP' seems more optional

Empirical background

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(3)   a.   ...dat   Eva   hard   **kan**$_2$ **werk**$_3$ **het**$_1$.
          ...that Eva hard can.ɪᴘᴘ work   have
          '...that Eva could have worked hard.'   IPP

      b.   ...dat   Eva   hard   **kon**$_2$ **(ge-)werk**$_3$ **het**$_1$.
          ...that Eva hard can.ᴘʀᴛ ɢᴇ-work   have
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▶ (3b) is ambiguous between Dutch *kan hebben gewerkt* and *heeft kunnen werken*

▶ *Ge-* on V3 is reported as optional (Robbers 1997)

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- They found many hits for the *preterite assimilation* type of cluster with modals, and hardly any hits with the modals occurring in 'IPP' form

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  - ▶ a subgroup of direct linking verbs
  - ▶ preterite form of modals

The data: indirect linking verbs

Verb	IPP-form	Past participle	Total
Loop 'walk'	83 (74,8%)	28 (25,2%)	109 (100%)
Sit 'sit'	220 (48,4%)	235 (51,6%)	455 (100%)
Staan 'staan'	155 (44,8%)	191 (55,2%)	346 (100%)
Lê 'lie'	113 (45,4%)	136 (54,6%)	249 (100%)

Table 1: Morphological form of indirect linking verbs

▶ Higher frequencies for IPP form with *loop*; IPP seems truly optional with the posture verbs

The data: direct linking verbs

Verb	IPP-form	Past participle	Total
Maak 'make'	10 (71,4%)	4 (28,6%)	14 (100%)
Hoor 'hear'	545 (93,8%)	26 (6,2%)	581 (100%)
Help 'help'	539 (91,5%)	50 (8,5%)	589 (100%)
Bly 'stay'	2134 (99,7%)	6 (0,3%)	2140 (100%)
Ophou 'stop'	498 (61,6%)	310 (38,4%)	808 (100%)

Table 2: Morphological form of indirect linking verbs

▶ Past participle form is much more frequent with *ophou* 'stop' and *maak* 'make' compared to the other direct linking verbs

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- Their interpretation is often ambiguous between being V1 or 2 (cf. Dutch *heeft willen maken* vs. *wil hebben gemaakt*)
- In almost all of these 3-verb clusters with V2 being a modal, V3 has *ge-*, except for with *wou* 'want', where there are also many occurrences of a *ge*-less V3 (cf Dutch oddness of *wil hebben gemaakt*)

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The data: summary

The corpus search into 3-verb clusters embedded under a temporal auxiliary show that:

1. 'IPP' is optional with the innovative group of indirect linking verbs (motion and posture verbs)

2. 'IPP' occurs almost across the board with direct linking verbs, least so with the innovative direct linking verbs *ophou* 'stop' and *maak* 'make'

3. Modals are no longer a verb class in which 'IPP' shows up; these verbs always occur in preterite form, and are semantically ambiguous between V1 and V2

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1. IPP is a side-effect;
2. Afrikaans *het* and *ge-* are both past tense markers
3. Afrikaans *ge-* is phrasal

TP I: IPP is a side-effect

Development of West Germanic *ge-*

- ▶ The West Germanic past participle marker *ge-* developed from a proclitic marker of telicity (Gaeta 2007:92, Zwart 2007:84)

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- ▶ It was productively used to make an nontelic verb describe a completed event (Gothic *lisan* 'reap' vs. *galisan* 'collect' (Van Swaay 1899:46–47))

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- ▶ Its telic value was not directly lost
- ▶ E.g. in Old High German, the prefix was not compatible with intrinsically telic verbs *bringan* 'bring' (past participle: *brungan*), *findan* 'find' (past participle: *fundan*), et cetera (Gaeta 2007:93)

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IPP emerges after the grammaticalisation of *ge-*

▶ According to Gaeta (2007:96) and Zwart (2007), IPP in 3-verb clusters is in fact a side-effect of the grammaticalisation of the past participle marker *ge-*

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IPP emerges after the grammaticalisation of *ge-*

- According to Gaeta (2007:96) and Zwart (2007), IPP in 3-verb clusters is in fact a side-effect of the grammaticalisation of the past participle marker *ge-*
- An empirical argument: IPP is first attested in the 13th century, two centuries after the grammaticalisation of the perfect periphrasis (Gaeta 2007: 97)

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No *ge-*, no IPP

▶ A second argument: those West Germanic languages that do not have the past participle marker *ge-*, also do not show IPP (Gaeta 2007, Zwart 2007, Hoeksema 1980, Lange 1981)

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▶ One counterexample has been mentioned: West Frisian dialects (no *ge-*, but IPP) (Gaeta 2007: 100)

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No *ge-*, no IPP

(4) …dat er it **hat**₁ **kinne**₂ **dwaan**₃.
     …that he it has can.IPP do
     '…that he could do it.'   West Frisian dialect

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(4) …dat er it **hat**$_1$ **kinne**$_2$ **dwaan**$_3$.
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▶ Past participles are *ge-*less, e.g. *kind* vs Dutch *gekund*

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▶ Past participles are *ge*-less, e.g. *kind* vs Dutch *gekund*

▶ However, for West Frisian we know it is in strong language
contact with Dutch (which shows high frequency of IPP)

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- As mentioned above, *ge-* developed from a proclitic telicity marker
- A part of the initial meaning of an element is often retained in the grammaticalised form (Hopper & Traugott)
- Zwart (2007) proposes that this retained telic meaning of *ge-* clashes with the atelicity of V2+V3 of the 3-verb cluster

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(5) a. Ik **heb**$_1$ het boek **gelezen**$_2$.
         I have the book read.PTPC
         'I read the book.'

     b. Ik **heb**$_1$ het boek **laten**$_2$ **lezen**$_3$.
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         'I let (sc. them) read the book.'

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  ▶ In (6a) the reading is finished, in (6b) it does not have to be

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▶ Similarly: (Zwart 2007: 87)

(6) a. Ik **heb**$_1$ de film **gezien**$_2$.
         I have the movie seen.PTPC
         'I saw the movie.'

     b. Ik **heb**$_1$ de film **zien**$_2$ **opnemen**$_3$.
         I have the movie seen.IPP shot.INF
         'I've seen (sc. them) shoot the movie.'

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▶ In (7a) the movie-watching is completed, in (7b) the shooting is not necessarily complete

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▶ Zwart (2007:91) concludes: '3-verb clusters headed by a temporal auxiliary are atelic, hence would not have qualified for modification by telic preverb *ge-*'

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- ▶ It follows that the IPP-effect did not come about by elimination of the *ge-* prefix on V2, but through analogical pressure to assimilate original *ge-*less participles with infinitives
- ▶ Standardisation has played a big role in this
- ▶ I.e. in many non-standard varieties, the form of V2 in these clusters in not an infinitive, but a different non-finite form without *ge-*, e.g. a supine

TP II: Afrikaans *ge-* and *het* are past tense markers

Afrikaans *ge-* is past tense inflection

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(7) Ik **het**$_1$ die boek **gelees**$_2$.
I have the book read.PTPC
Dutch: 'Ik heb het boek gelezen (telic)./Ik las het boek (atelic).'

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- ▶ As such, Afrikaans *ge-* seems to have completely lost its telic flavour, still present in Dutch

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- ▶ *Het* has replaced *is/wees* in the course of the 19th century (*is > het gegaan*)
- ▶ Its usage has increased drastically after the loss of the preterite (e.g. *zong > het gesing*)

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- ▶ I.e. *gewerk het* vs. Dutch *heb gewerkt*/*gewerkt heb*'

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- *Het* also always follows the past participle:
- I.e. *gewerk het* vs. Dutch *heb gewerkt*/*gewerkt heb*'
- Furthermore, *het* is very frequently reduced to unstressed *'t*

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Taken together, we can conclude that both *ge-* and *het* are past tense markers

TP III: Afrikaans *ge-* is phrasal

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  ge-daan, *ver*-teld, **ge-ver*-teld, **ver*-**ge**-teld

TP III: Afrikaans *ge-* is phrasal

Dutch *ge-* is a regular verbal affix

▶ The sequence *ge*-V cannot be interrupted by a particle

af-**ge**-haald, *__**ge**-af-haald

TP III: Afrikaans *ge-* is phrasal

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)

TP III: Afrikaans *ge-* is phrasal

Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix

▶ The sequence *ge*-V can be interrupted by a particle

 <u>af</u>-***ge***-haal, ***ge***-<u>af</u>-haal

(Prinsloo 2009:78)

TP III: Afrikaans *ge-* is phrasal

Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix

- Conradie (2012:12): **Afrikaans *ge-* is a phrasal affix**, with much more syntactic independence than Dutch *ge-*

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The analysis of Afrikaans optional 'IPP'

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- ▶ Afrikaans *ge-* has lost its telic flavour, while temporal auxiliary *het* has become a real past tense marker
- ▶ I.e. the past tense interpretation in a temporal 3-verb cluster comes from *het*
- ▶ This makes the presence of *ge-* on V2 redundant, itself also being a past tense marker

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▶ and is in fact common in Standard Afrikaans morphosyntax as well (e.g. negative concord)

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▶ It is therefore not unexpected that they show the least resistance for the attachment of the now only past tense marking *ge-*

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- ▶ The most strict IPP group in Dutch and German - the modal group - has lost its infinitival use altogether

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▶ Another factor that has 'helped' this innovation is of course the loss of the circumfix of Afrikaans past participles

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(9)   a.   Ik **bly** die boek **lees**.
              I continue the book read
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▶ The 'residu IPP' from Dutch, which causes the verbs to have the same form, has thus worked in favour of another innovation in Afrikaans

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▶ Quirky verb second is crucially ungrammatical with modals:

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▶ I.e. the modal group - the core IPP group in West Germanic - shows different behaviour from the 'residu IPP' group of verbs in this respect as well

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▶ In the future, I aim at investigating the dialectal dimension, i.e. variation in frequencies of IPP/non-IPP across the Afrikaans language area

Baie dankie!