

# Beyond Progressive Aspectuality

Aspectual *aan*-constructions in Dutch



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PhD project (2020-2025):  
**Aspect in Languages  
without Aspect**



### **Central Question**

Aspectuality part of core grammar or not: difference in structure and expressive potential?

### **Supervisors**

Prof.dr. Sjef Barbiers  
dr. Ronny Boogaart

### **Method**

Case studies: Mandarin, Dutch, Slavic/Romance  
Parallel corpora & Heuristic Translation Mining (vd Klis e.a. 2017; Bogaards 2019)

# “*Aan het*-progressive”

(1) Jan is een boek aan het lezen.

John be.3SG a book at the read.INF

‘John is reading a book.’



# Outline

1. The Dutch *aan het*-progressive
2. A form-driven perspective
  - Key observations
  - Situational *aan*-PPs
3. Light Verbs
  - Previous work
  - Feature-based system
4. Complements
  - Control and Agentivity
  - Ingressivity
5. Conclusion: Situational *aan*-PPs in Dutch

# The Dutch *aan het*-progressive



*a book* [[*at the read be*]  
*een boek* [[*aan* *het* *lezen* *zijn*]

3. Definite article *het* 'the'

1. Head-verb (V): *zijn* 'to be'

2. Prep. phrase (PP) headed by *aan* 'at'

4. Infinitive–likely nominalized (Booij 2010; Broekhuis *et al.* 2015:153; Lemmens 2005)

“The use of the verb *to be* plus a PP with an originally locative meaning for the expression of action in progress is widespread cross-linguistically (Bybee *et al.* 1994).”

—Booij (2010:148)

# The Dutch *aan het*-progressive



*een boek* [*aan* *het* *lezen*] *zijn*]

2. Prep. phrase (PP) headed by *aan* 'at'

3. Definite article *het* 'the'

4. Infinitive–likely nominalized (Booij 2010; Broekhuis *et al.* 2015:153; Lemmens 2005)

1. Head-verb (V): *zijn* 'to be'

# The Dutch *aan het*-progressive

## Structure

$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] \textit{zijn}_V]$

## Meaning

$\leftrightarrow$  [PROG [SEM<sub>V<sup>INF</sup>]] (Booij 2010:146)</sub>

$\leftrightarrow$  “[the] situation [i.e. V<sup>INF</sup>][is] presented as continuing at a certain moment in time; no reference [...] to a starting point or end point [...].” (Boogaart 1991:3)

$\leftrightarrow$  “associated with the meaning ‘event in progress’ [...].” (Van Pottelberge 2007:123)

$\leftrightarrow$  “ongoing action or situation”  
(Lemmens 2015:6–transl. MB)

# A form-driven perspective: Key observations

$[_{VP}[_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] \textit{zijn}_V]$

## 1. Head-verb is variable (restricted: set of ~13-23 light verbs)

(cf. Haeseryn et al. 1997:1048-1054; Van Pottelberge 2004:27-51; Booij 2010:146-148; Lemmens 2015)

→ e.g. *aan het lezen krijgen/slaan/blijven* 'to get/start/keep reading'

$[_{VP}[_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$



# A form-driven perspective: Key observations

$[_{VP}[_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] \textit{zijn}_V]$   
↓  
 $[_{VP}[_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$

**2.** *Aan* takes other complements—crucially: light verb set & meaning of whole pattern stay largely constant

(cf. Boogaart 1999:169; Van Pottelberge 2004:25-26; van der Horst 2005:139; Broekhuis *et al.* 2015:153; Lemmens 2015:8; Booij & Audring 2018:220-223)

- nominalized verb stem ( $V^{STEM}$ ) or noun (N) with def.article (*het* or *de*)
- e.g. *aan de wandel gaan* 'start strolling', *aan de praat raken* 'end up chatting'  
*aan het bier zijn* 'be drinking beer', *aan het werk krijgen* 'get (sb.) working'

# A form-driven perspective: Key observations

$[_{VP}[_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] \textit{zijn}_V]$



$[_{VP}[_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$

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*aan het bier zijn* 'be drinking beer', *aan het werk krijgen* 'get (sb.) working'

$[_{VP}[_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$

# A form-driven perspective: Key observations

**A**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] \textit{zijn}_V]$



**B**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$



**C**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$

## 3. One major difference: taking a Direct Object (DO)

(cf. Haeseryn et al. 1997:1048ff.; Broekhuis et al. 2015:153ff.)

→ **A** takes DO (as a whole), **B** doubtful (differs per  $V^{LIGHT}$ ), **C** unacceptable

(2) Jan ??raakt/??blijft/\*gaat een boek aan het lezen. [=B]

John get.3SG/stay.3SG/go.3SG a book at the read.INF

'John ends up/keeps/starts reading a book.'

# A form-driven perspective: Key observations

**A**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] \textit{zijn}_V]$



**B**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$



**C**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$

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→ **A** takes DO (as a whole), **B** doubtful (differs per  $V^{LIGHT}$ ), **C** unacceptable

(3) Jan is (\*een boek) aan de lees. [=C–Stem]

John be.3SG (a book) at the read.STEM

'John is reading (a book).'

# A form-driven perspective: Key observations

**A**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] \textit{zijn}_V]$



**B**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$



**C**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$

## 3. One major difference: taking a Direct Object (DO)

(cf. Haeseryn et al. 1997:1048ff.; Broekhuis et al. 2015:153ff.)

→ **A** takes DO (as a whole), **B** doubtful (differs per  $V^{LIGHT}$ ), **C** unacceptable

(4) Jan is (\*wijn) aan de drank. [=C–Noun]  
John be.3SG (wine) at the drink

'John is drinking (wine).'

# A form-driven perspective: Key observations

**A**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] \textit{zijn}_V]$



**B**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$



**C**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$

## 3. One major difference: taking a Direct Object (DO)

(cf. Haeseryn et al. 1997:1048ff.; Broekhuis et al. 2015:153ff.)

→ **A** takes DO (as a whole), **B** doubtful (differs per  $V^{LIGHT}$ ), **C** unacceptable

→ Sets apart **A** from **B-C**; **A** = highly grammaticalized (Van Pottelberge 2007; Lemmens 2015)

# A form-driven perspective: Situational *aan*-PPs

- A**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] \textit{zijn}_V]$
- B**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} \textit{het}_D [V^{INF}]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$
- C**  $[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] V^{LIGHT}]$
- }  $[ASP_{V^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$

→ SEM = *situational*: “involved in the situation denoted by X”  
(cf. Booij & Audring 2018:223ff.)

→ Situational *aan*-PPs share *aspecto-temporal* basis specified by  $V^{LIGHT}$

# Light Verbs: Previous work

$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] \textit{V}^{LIGHT}] \leftrightarrow [ASP \textit{V}^{LIGHT} [SEM_X]]$

Several previous categorizations—syntactic and/or semantic—of 16-23 verbs  
(Haeseryn *et al.* 1997:1048ff.; Van Pottelberge 2004:27-51; Booij 2010:146-168)

Modal auxiliaries (e.g. *moeten* 'must') & copulas (e.g. *lijken* 'seem') and "Acl"  
perception verbs (e.g. *zien* 'to see'): 10 verbs—left aside here

## Van Pottelberge (2004): Semantic categorization

1. Start: *gaan* 'go', *komen* 'come', *(ge)raken* 'get', *slaan* 'hit', *zich zetten* 'put oneself'
2. State: *zijn* 'be', *blijven* 'stay'
3. Cause: *brengen* 'bring', *krijgen* 'obtain', *maken* 'make', *zetten* 'put' → **Start**  
*hebben* 'have', *houden* 'keep' → **State**



# Light Verbs: Feature-based system

$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] \textit{V}^{LIGHT}] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{V^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$

## Van Pottelberge (2004): Semantic categorization

1. Start: *gaan* 'go', *komen* 'come', *(ge)raken* 'get', *slaan* 'hit', *zich zetten* 'put oneself'
2. State: *zijn* 'be', *blijven* 'stay'
3. Cause: *brengen* 'bring', *krijgen* 'obtain', *maken* 'make', *zetten* 'put'  
*hebben* 'have', *houden* 'keep'

**State** → [±MEDIAL] }  
**Start** → [±INITIAL] } [+PHASAL]

**Cause** → [±CAUSATIVE]

**Extra feature:**

**Agentivity/Control**

→ [±CONTROL]

# Light Verbs: Feature-based system

$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] \textit{V}^{LIGHT}] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{\textit{V}^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$

[+PHASAL]

[±MEDIAL]	[±INITIAL]	[±CAUSATIVE]	[±CONTROL]	$\textit{V}^{LIGHT}$

# Light Verbs: Feature-based system

$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] \textit{V}^{LIGHT}] \leftrightarrow [ASP \textit{V}^{LIGHT} [SEM_X]]$

[+PHASAL]

[±MEDIAL]	[±INITIAL]	[±CAUSATIVE]	[±CONTROL]	$\textit{V}^{LIGHT}$
+	-	-	±	<i>zijn</i> 'be', <i>blijven</i> 'stay'
		+	±	<i>houden</i> 'keep'
			+	<i>hebben</i> 'have'
-	+	-	±	<i>gaan</i> 'go'
			+	<i>slaan</i> 'hit', <i>zich zetten</i> 'put REFL'
		+	-	<i>komen</i> 'come', <i>(ge)raken</i> 'get'
			±	<i>krijgen</i> 'obtain', <i>maken</i> 'make', <i>zetten</i> 'put', <i>brengen</i> 'bring'

**BUT:**

→ [+–CONTROL<sub>CAUSEE</sub>]

# Light Verbs: Feature-based system

$$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] \textcircled{V^{LIGHT}}] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{\textcircled{V^{LIGHT}}} [SEM_X]]$$

[+PHASAL]

[±MEDIAL]	[±INITIAL]	[±CAUSATIVE]	[±CONTROL]	V <sup>LIGHT</sup>
+	-	-	±	<i>zijn</i> 'be', <i>blijven</i> 'stay'
		+	±	<i>houden</i> 'keep'
			+	<i>hebben</i> 'have'
-	+	-	±	<i>gaan</i> 'go'
			+	<i>slaan</i> 'hit', <i>zich zetten</i> 'put REFL'
		+	-	<i>komen</i> 'come', <i>(ge)raken</i> 'get'
			±	<i>krijgen</i> 'obtain', <i>maken</i> 'make', <i>zetten</i> 'put', <i>brengen</i> 'bring'

→ Not exclusive to *aan*-PPs, but widest distribution

→ Other PPs (e.g. *in gang zetten* 'put into motion'), APs (e.g. *boos maken* 'make sb. mad'), TPs (e.g. *te spreken krijgen*) but generally with max. 1-3 types of V<sup>LIGHT</sup>

# Light Verbs: Feature-based system

$$[{}_{VP} [{}_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [{}_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N]] \textcircled{V^{LIGHT}} \leftrightarrow [ASP_{\textcircled{V^{LIGHT}}} [SEM_X]]$$

[+PHASAL]

[±MEDIAL]	[±INITIAL]	[±CAUSATIVE]	[±CONTROL]	V <sup>LIGHT</sup>
+	-	-	±	<i>zijn</i> 'be', <i>blijven</i> 'stay'
		+	±	<i>houden</i> 'keep'
			+	<i>hebben</i> 'have'
-	+	-	±	<i>gaan</i> 'go'
			+	<i>slaan</i> 'hit', <i>zich zetten</i> 'put REFL'
		+	-	<i>komen</i> 'come', <i>(ge)raken</i> 'get'
			±	<i>krijgen</i> 'obtain', <i>maken</i> 'make', <i>zetten</i> 'put', <i>brengen</i> 'bring'

→ [+PHASAL], [±CAUSATIVE] and [±CONTROL] as (semi-)aspectual specifications of situational *aan*-PPs: flexible way to encode aspectuality in Dutch

→ “*aan het*-progressive” as one (highly grammaticalized) option in feature-system

# Complements

$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N] V^{LIGHT}] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{V^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$

**1.**  $X = V^{INF}$

**2.**  $X = V^{STEM}$  →  $V^{LIGHT}$  contributes (semi-)aspectual semantics, but type of  $X$  matters too

**3.**  $X = N$

# Complements: Control and Agentivity

$$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N] V^{LIGHT}] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{V^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$$

## 1. $X = V^{INF}$

→ No [+CONTROL] requirement of its own (contr. by  $V^{LIGHT}$ )

## 2. $X = V^{STEM}$

→ Productive pattern: requires [+CONTROL] subject

## 3. $X = N$

→ No [+CONTROL] req.

(5) De rente ging aan het dalen.  
the interest went.3SG at the fall.INF

'The interest rates started falling.'

[+CONTROL] as component of progressivity?

(cf. e.g. Mair 2012)

(6) \*De rente ging aande daal.  
the interest went.3SG at the fall.STEM

[Intended: 'The interest rates started falling.']

**BUT:** (7) Ik raakte aande wandel van de week.  
I got.ISG at the stroll.STEM of the week

'I ended up taking a stroll this week.'

# Complements: Ingressivity

$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N] V^{LIGHT}] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{V^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$

1.  $X = V^{INF}$

2.  $X = V^{STEM}$

3.  $X = N$

“ [A] Google search [...] suggests that [+MEDIAL] prefers the infinitive *kletsen*, [+INITIAL] prefers the noun *klets* [...]; an investigation of more minimal pairs is needed, however [...]. ”  
—Broekhuis *et al.* (2015:153)



# Complements: Ingressivity

$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N] V^{LIGHT}] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{V^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$

## 1. $X=V^{INF}$

*wandelen*

*zuipen*

*poetsen*

*babbelen*

*schrijven*

*leggen*

*opruimen*

*typen*

*hardlopen*

*vreten*



## 2. $X=V^{STEM}$

*wandel*

*zuip*

*poets*

*babbel*

*schrijf*

*leg*

*opruim*

*typ*

*hardloop*

*vreet*

'stroll'

'guzzle'

'clean'

'chat'

'write'

'lay (eggs)'

'opruim'

'type'

'jog'

'gobble'



Corpus  
Gesproken  
Nederlands

10 frequent productive cases of  $X=V^{STEM}$

(Bogaards 2020:94)

# Complements: Ingressivity

$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N] V^{LIGHT}] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{V^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$

1.  $X = V^{INF}$

2.  $X = V^{STEM}$

*aan de*  $V^{STEM}$

```
["aan"] ["de"] [word="wandel" | "zuip" | "poets" | "babbel" | "schrijf" | "leg" | "opruim" | "typ" | "hardloop" | "vreet"]
```

*aan het*  $V^{INF} V^{LIGHT}$

```
["aan"] ["het"] [word="wandelen" | "zuipen" | "poetsen" | "babbelen" | "schrijven" | "leggen" | "opruimen" | "typen" | "hardlopen" | "vreten"] [lemma="zijn" | "blijven" | "houden" | "hebben" | "gaan" | "slaan" | "zetten" | "komen" | "raken" | "geraken" | "krijgen" | "maken" | "brengen"&pos="WW.*"]
```

$V^{LIGHT}$  ...(1-3) *aan het*  $V^{INF}$

```
[lemma="zijn" | "blijven" | "houden" | "hebben" | "gaan" | "slaan" | "zetten" | "komen" | "raken" | "geraken" | "krijgen" | "maken" | "brengen"&pos="WW.*"] [] {0,3} ["aan"] ["het"] [word="wandelen" | "zuipen" | "poetsen" | "babbelen" | "schrijven" | "leggen" | "opruimen" | "typen" | "hardlopen" | "vreten"] [pos!="WW.*"]
```



Corpus  
Gesproken  
Nederlands

# Complements: Ingressivity

$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N] V^{LIGHT}] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{V^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$

1.  $X = V^{INF}$

2.  $X = V^{STEM}$

3.  $X = N$

*aan de*  $V^{STEM}$  → manual noise removal

```
["aan"] ["de"] [word="wandelen" | "zuipen" | "poetsen" | "babbelen" | "schrijven" | "leggen" | "opruimen" | "typen" | "hardlopen" | "vreten"]
```

121 tokens

*aan het*  $V^{INF} V^{LIGHT}$

```
["aan"] ["het"] [word="wandelen" | "zuipen" | "poetsen" | "babbelen" | "schrijven" | "leggen" | "opruimen" | "typen" | "hardlopen" | "vreten"] [lemma="zijn" | "blijven" | "houden" | "hebben" | "gaan" | "slaan" | "zetten" | "komen" | "raken" | "geraken" | "krijgen" | "maken" | "brengen"&pos="WW.*"]
```

1030 tokens

$V^{LIGHT}$  ...(1-3) *aan het*  $V^{INF}$

```
[lemma="zijn" | "blijven" | "houden" | "hebben" | "gaan" | "slaan" | "zetten" | "komen" | "raken" | "geraken" | "krijgen" | "maken" | "brengen"&pos="WW.*"] [] {0,3} ["aan"] ["het"] [word="wandelen" | "zuipen" | "poetsen" | "babbelen" | "schrijven" | "leggen" | "opruimen" | "typen" | "hardlopen" | "vreten"] [pos!="WW.*"]
```

# Complements: Ingressivity

$$[_{VP} [_{PP} \textit{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N] V^{LIGHT}]] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{V^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$$

1.  $X = V^{INF}$

2.  $X = V^{STEM}$

3.  $X = N$

**Table 1**  $\chi^2(df=1, N=1151)=441.28, p<0.0001$ ,  
Cramer's  $V=0.62$  (i.e. large effect)

	V <sup>INF</sup>		V <sup>STEM</sup>	
	n	%	n	%
[+INITIAL]	16	1.6%	64	52.9%
[+MEDIAL]	1014	98.4%	57	47.1%
<b>N</b>	<b>1030</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100%</b>

( $\chi^2$ -test thanks to Reuneker (2019))

## Independent reasons:

1.  $\emptyset$ -V<sup>LIGHT</sup>: only V<sup>STEM</sup> [+INITIAL], not V<sup>INF</sup>

(8) Aan de poets! / ??Aan het poetsen!  
at the clean.STEM at the clean.INF

'(Let's) start cleaning!'

(9) Nu aan de wandel. / #Nu aan het wandelen.  
now at the stroll.STEM now at the stroll.INF

'Going to start strolling now.'

# Complements: Ingressivity

$$[_{VP} [_{PP} \text{aan}_P [_{DP} D^{DEF} [X]_N] V^{LIGHT}]] \leftrightarrow [ASP_{V^{LIGHT}} [SEM_X]]$$

1.  $X = V^{INF}$

2.  $X = V^{STEM}$

3.  $X = N$

**Table 1**  $\chi^2(df=1, N=1151)=441.28, p<0.0001,$   
Cramer's  $V=0.62$  (i.e. large effect)

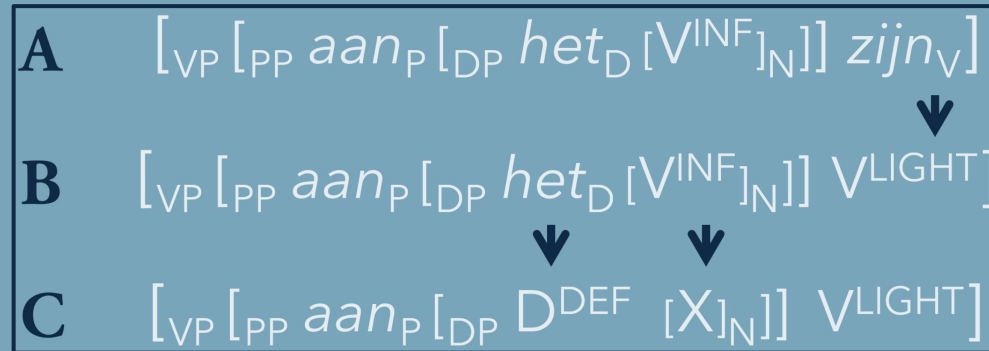
	<b>V<sup>INF</sup></b>		<b>V<sup>STEM</sup></b>	
	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
[+INITIAL]	16	1.6%	64	52.9%
[+MEDIAL]	1014	98.4%	57	47.1%
<b>N</b>	<b>1030</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>100%</b>

( $\chi^2$ -test thanks to Reuneker (2019))

## Independent reasons:

1.  $\emptyset$ - $V^{LIGHT}$ : only  $V^{STEM}$  [+INITIAL], not  $V^{INF}$
2.  $V^{STEM}$ : requires [+CONTROL] subject  
→ Association of Control/Agent with Init. Head (e.g. Ramchand 2008)

# Conclusion: Situational *aan*-PPs in Dutch



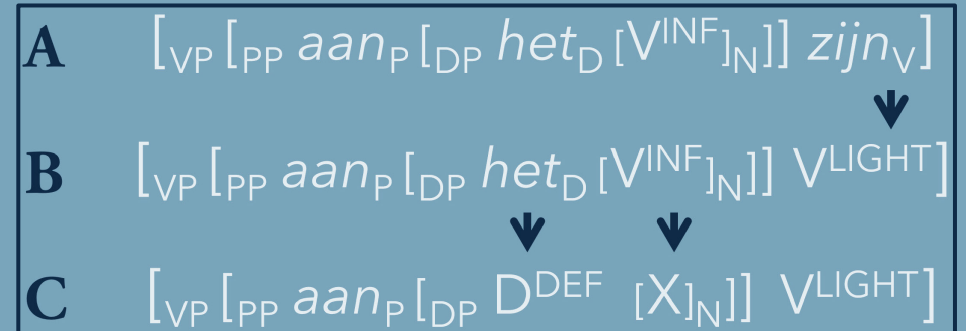
## Complementary analysis of Dutch *aan het*-progressive

- Meaning derived from 'situational PP' ('involved in...')
- (Semi-)aspectual contributions from  $V^{LIGHT}$  and  $[X]_N$   
→  $[+INITIAL]/[+MEDIAL]$ ,  $[\pm CAUSATIVE]$  and  $[\pm CONTROL]$
- 'Progressive construction' [*aan het*  $V_{INF}$  *zijn*] 'to be  $V^{INF}$ -ing' as the most grammaticalized configuration of these features

# Conclusion: Situational *aan*-PPs in Dutch

## Complementary analysis of Dutch *aan het*-progressive

- Meaning derived from 'situational PP' ('involved in...')
- (Semi-)aspectual contributions from  $V^{\text{LIGHT}}$  and  $[X]_N$   
→  $[+\text{INITIAL}]/[+\text{MEDIAL}]$ ,  $[\pm\text{CAUSATIVE}]$  and  $[\pm\text{CONTROL}]$
- 'Progressive construction' [*aan het V<sub>INF</sub> zijn*] 'to be *V<sub>INF</sub>-ing*' as the most grammaticalized configuration of these features



## Open issues/questions

- Situational (event) denotation of object-denoting Nouns  
→ metaphorical/metonymic extension (cf. Bogaards 2020:99-129)
- Association of  $[+\text{INITIAL}]$  &  $[+\text{CONTROL}]$ , but **why** does this differ for  $V^{\text{INF}}$  vs.  $V^{\text{STEM}}$ ?
- What is the precise nature of the  $V^{\text{LIGHT}}$ -set?

# Thanks for your attention!

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