Continuative and Resumptive Aspect in Dutch

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PhD project

'Aspect in Languages without Aspect' (NWO PhDs in the Humanities)
Supervisors: Sjef Barbiers (promotor) & Ronny Boogaart (co-promotor)

Viewpoint aspect in 'aspect-rich' and 'aspect-poor' languages
Mandarin Chinese (rich) & Dutch (poor) as case studies

Currently working on several types of viewpoint-aspectual constructions:

- Progressive' *aan het* + infinitive (Bogaards 2019a, 2020, submitted; Boogaart et al. 2022)

- 'Resultative' posture verb + participle, e.g. *staan opgestapeld* (Bogaards 2019b,c)

- 'Prospective' *op het punt staan (om) te* (Bogaards accepted-*a*; Fleischhauer & Bogaards 2022)

- 'Ingressive' constructions (Bogaards accepted-*b*)

- 'Continuative' and 'resumptive' constructions (this talk)

# PhD project

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- 'Resultative' posture verb + participle, e.g. *staan opgestapeld* (Bogaards 2019b,c)
- 'Prospective' *op het punt staan (om) te* (Bogaards accepted-*a*; Fleischhauer & Bogaards 2022)
- 'Ingressive' constructions (Bogaards accepted-*b*)
- 'Continuative' and 'resumptive' constructions (this talk)

☞ Feeds into revision of *Algemene Nederlandse Spraakkunst* (ANS 3)

Chapter 30: Aspect (together with Ronny Boogaart)
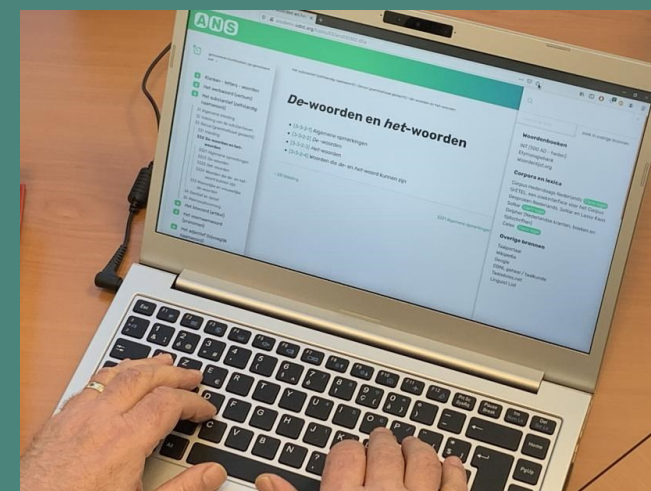
Continuative aspect

Blijven 'to keep', *door* 'through', *verder* 'further' and *voort* 'forward' (from Bogaards accepted-*b*)

(1) *Corona of niet, de huizenprijzen* **blijven verder doorstijgen**.
     'Corona or not, house prices continue to rise (lit. keep further through rise).'
                    (https://www.cda.nl/actueel/nieuws/geef-jongeren-weer-kans-op-eigen-woning-met-forse-koperskorting)

Seemingly interchangeable:

(2) *dat de huizenprijzen* **blijven** *stijgen* / **verder** *stijgen* / **door***stijgen* / **voort***stijgen*
     'that house prices continue to rise'

This talk: Exploratory corpus study (*work-in-progress*)
Aim: Show that none of these expressions are only continuative

Overview

1. Previous work
2. Viewpoint aspect
3. Corpus study
   - *Frequency measures*
   - *Viewpoint-aspectual interpretation*
   - *Restrictions on situation type*
4. Syntax and 'stacking'
5. Conclusion

Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
verder 'further'
voort 'forward'

Previous work

'Phasal aspect distinctions' (Dik & Hengeveld 1997:225):

  BEGINNING—CONTINUATION—END

~ 'Continuous' (Dik & Hengeveld 1997) vs. 'Continuative' (e.g. Xiao & McEnery 2004)

Auxiliary + copula *blijven* 'to keep' (ANS2:975,1050-1; SoD VPs:1019-20)

(3) *Hij had zeker erge honger: hij **bleef** maar **eten**!*
    'He must have been really hungry: he just kept on eating!'
                                                                    (ANS2:975)

"*the **not stopping** of the situation denoted by the infinitive*" (ANS2:1050)

Previous work

Auxiliary + copula *blijven* 'to keep' (ANS2:975,1050-1; SoD VPs:1019-20)

(3) *Hij had zeker erge honger: hij **bleef** maar **eten**!*
'He must have been really hungry: he just kept on eating!'
(ANS2:975)

*"the **not stopping** of the situation denoted by the infinitive"* (ANS2:1050)

(4) *Hij liep hard weg, maar toen ik hem riep **bleef** hij toch **staan**.*
'He walked away quickly, but when I called him he did stop.'
(ANS2:975)

*"blijven staan […] also the interpretation '**stop moving**'."* (ANS2:975)

Previous work

Auxiliary + copula *blijven* 'to keep' (ANS2:975, 1050-1; SoD VPs:1019-20)

*"the **not stopping** of the situation denoted by the infinitive"*
(ANS2:1050)

*"blijven staan […] also the interpretation '**stop moving**'."*
(ANS2:975)

☞ Only *blijven*—not *door, verder, voort*

Only continuativity—not resumptivity

Previous work

Continuative

*"the **not stopping** of the situation denoted by the infinitive"* (ANS2:1050)

(2) *dat de huizenprijzen **blijven** stijgen / **verder** stijgen / **door**stijgen / **voort**stijgen*

'that house prices continue to rise'

Resumptive

resuming a situation that
stopped previously

(5) *Ze stopte met lopen. Daarna liep ze **door** / **verder** / **voort** / #**bleef** ze lopen.*

'She stopped walking. Then she resumed/continued walking.'

Previous work

Continuative

*"the **not stopping** of the situation*
denoted by the infinitive" (ANS2:1050)

(2) *dat de huizenprijzen **blijven** stijgen /*
***verder** stijgen / **door**stijgen / **voort**stijgen*

'that house prices continue to rise'

Resumptive

resuming a situation that
stopped previously

(5) *Ze stopte met lopen. Daarna liep ze **door** /*
***verder** / **voort** / #**bleef** ze lopen.*

'She stopped walking. Then she
resumed/continued walking.'

~ Has been called 'interrupted continuation' (Xiao & McEnery 2004),
but this doesn't work for the Dutch equivalent of *continue*

~ Overlap in form (English *continue*, Mandarin Chinese *-xiaqu*),
but rather different aspectual structure

Viewpoint aspect

(Radical) Selection Theories of Aspect (Breu 1994; Bickel 1997; Sasse 2002:222-5; Croft 2012:49-52)

Viewpoint Aspect & Situation Aspect made up of the **same building blocks**:

- Temporal axis t
- Temporal phases ϕ / $\neg\phi$
- Temporal boundaries τ

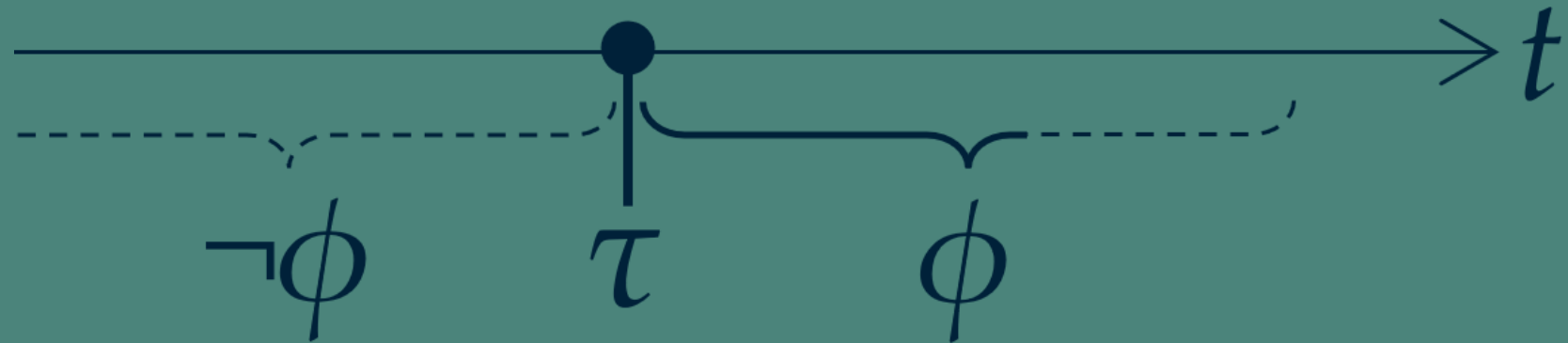(Not the same as saying: All they consist of)

Viewpoint aspect adds **focus/salience** (e.g. Langacker 2008; Anthonissen et al. 2019)

Viewpoint aspect

- Temporal axis t
- Temporal phases ϕ / $\neg\phi$
- Temporal boundaries τ

Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
verder 'further'
voort 'forward'
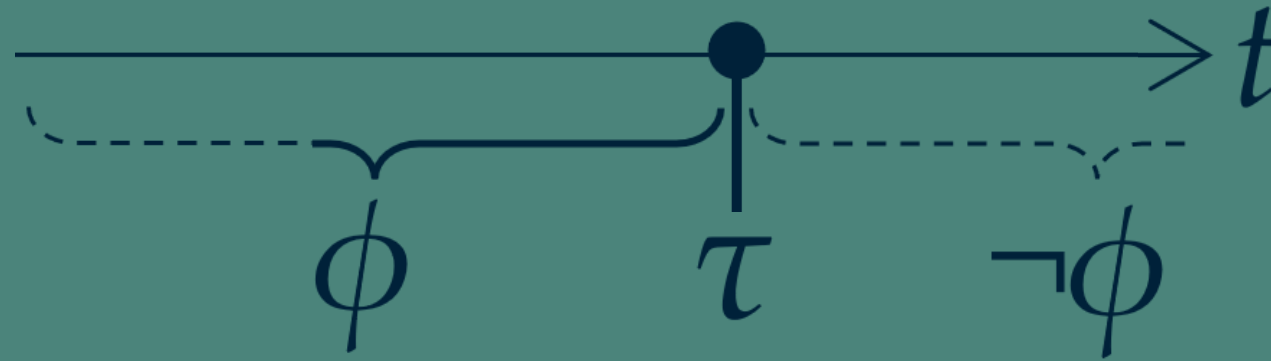
Ingressive (*beginning*)

$$\neg\phi \qquad \tau \qquad \phi \qquad t$$

Viewpoint aspect

- Temporal axis t
- Temporal phases ϕ / $\neg\phi$
- Temporal boundaries τ

Egressive (*stopping*)

Viewpoint aspect

- Temporal axis t
- Temporal phases ϕ / $\neg\phi$
- Temporal boundaries τ

Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
verder 'further'
voort 'forward'

Continuative (*keep on doing/being*)

$\neg\phi \quad \tau_1 \quad \phi_1 \quad \tau_2 \quad \phi_2$

$\neg(\neg\phi)$

*"the **not stopping** of the situation denoted by the infinitive"* (ANS2:1050)
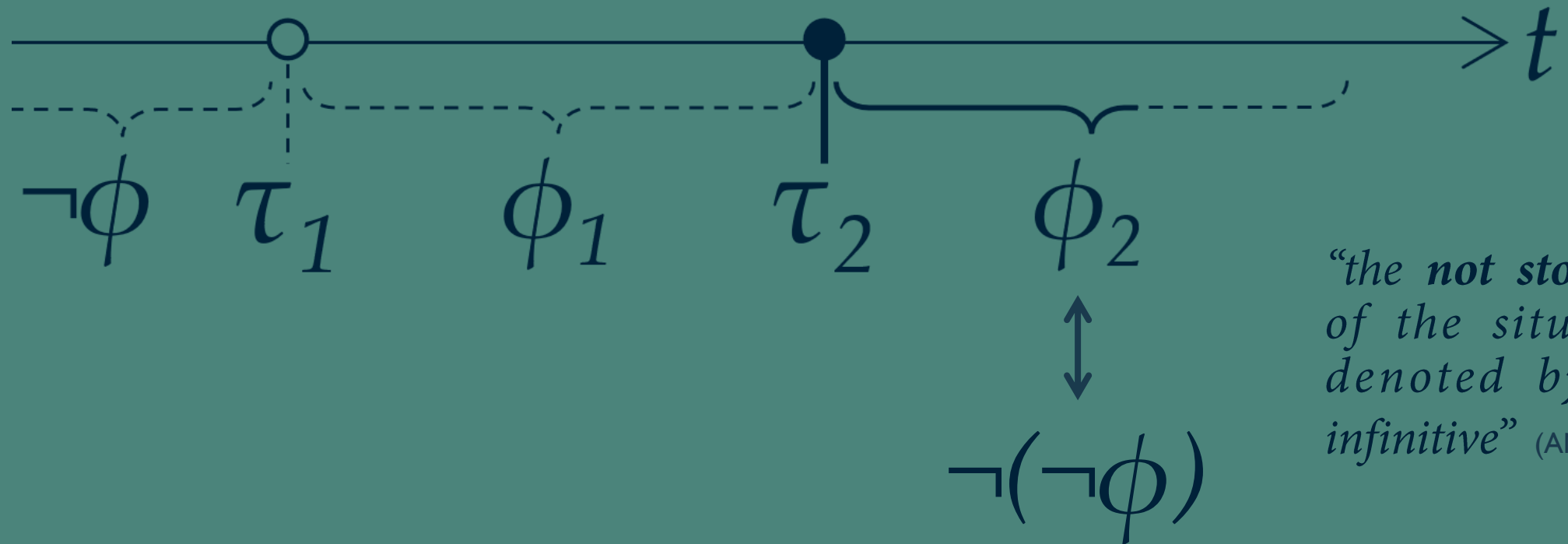
Viewpoint aspect

- Temporal axis t
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Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
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voort 'forward'

Resumptive (*resume doing*)

$$\neg\phi \quad \tau_1 \quad \phi_1 \quad \tau_2 \quad \neg\phi \quad \tau_3 \quad \phi_2$$
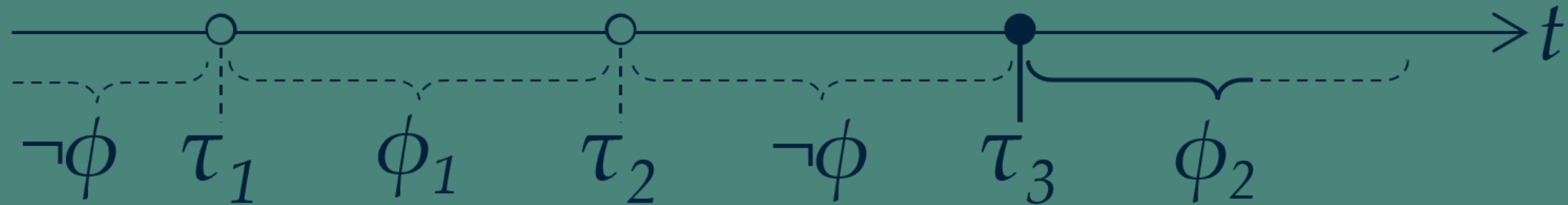
Compare:
Ingressive (*beginning*)
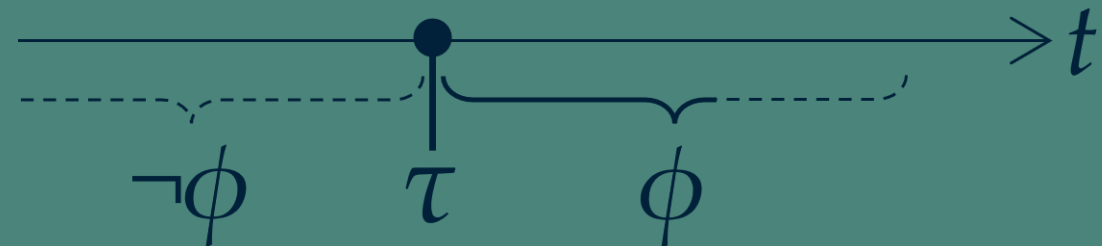
$$\neg\phi \quad \tau \quad \phi$$

Viewpoint aspect

- Temporal axis t
- Temporal phases ϕ / $\neg\phi$
- Temporal boundaries τ

Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
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Resumptive (*resume doing*)
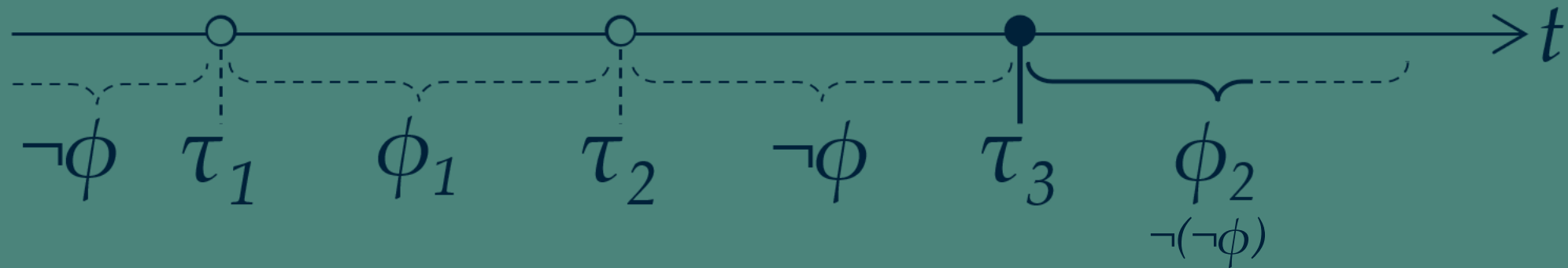
Compare:
Continuative (*keep on being/doing*)
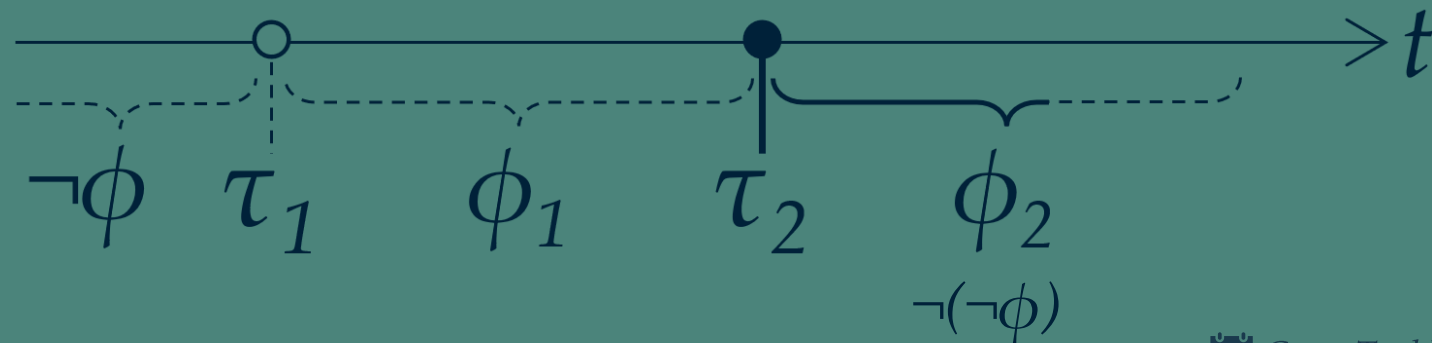
Corpus study

Exploratory: Simple queries in OpenSoNaR (Oostdijk et al. 2013)

[*blijven*$_{fin}$ V$_{inf}$]; [V$_{fin}$ *door* LET]; [V$_{fin}$ *verder* LET]; [V$_{fin}$ *voort* LET]

Only main clause order; only tagged 'Netherlands'

Coded for:
• *Viewpoint-aspectual interpretation*
• *Restrictions on Situation Type*

Corpus study: *Frequency measures*

Tokens, types, TTR, hapaxes (figures after noise removal)

TTR = types/tokens, so higher = more diverse (1.0 = all different)

	tokens	types	TTR	hapaxes	
blijven V_{inf}	9,821	1,192	0.12	605	**most frequent**
V_{fin} *door*	1,079	76	0.07	45	
V_{fin} *verder*	893	114	0.13	66	
V_{fin} *voort*	185	42	0.23	23	**most diverse**

Corpus study: *Frequency measures*

Most frequent tokens (V_{inf} / V_{fin})

	blijven V_{inf}	V_{fin} *door*	V_{fin} *verder*	V_{fin} *voort*
1	*staan* 'stand'	*gaan* 'go'	*gaan* 'go'	*duren* 'last'
2	*hangen* 'hang'	*zetten* 'put'	*moeten* 'must'	*gaan* 'go'
3	*zitten* 'sit'	*lopen* 'walk'	*lopen* 'walk'	*leven* 'live'
4	*steken* 'stick'	*rijden* 'drive'	*lezen* 'read'	*schrijden* 'advance'
5	*bestaan* 'exist'	*moeten* 'must'	*vertellen* 'tell'	*kabbelen* 'babble'
	stative	**more dynamic, and with modals**		**mixed stative/dynamic**

Maarten Bogaards 　　　　*Grote Taaldag*, 4 February 2022

Corpus study: *Viewpoint-aspectual interpretation*

1. Continuative; **2.** Resumptive; **3.** Potentially Egressive/Ingressive

Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
verder 'further'
voort 'forward'

1. Continuative ('*not stopping*')

(6)   *Ik schat in dat het PGB echt nog wel even **blijft bestaan**.*
      'My guess is that the PGB will **continue to exist**.'

(SoNaR WR-P-E-A-0004516538)

(7)   *De trambestuurder probeerde nog te stoppen, maar de tram **gleed door**.*
      'The tram driver tried to stop, but the tram **continued to slide**.'

(SoNaR WR-P-P-G-0000028908)

(8)   *M'n vriendin was 4 weken verder dan ik. Ik kreeg de miskraam en zij **groeide verder**.*
      'My friend was 4 weeks further along than me. I miscarried and she **continued to grow**.'

(SoNaR WR-P-E-A-0004516538)

(9)   *Hij is weliswaar overleden, maar de legende **leeft voort**.*
      'He did die, but the legend **lives on**.'

(SoNaR WR-P-P-G-0000025781)

Corpus study: *Viewpoint-aspectual interpretation*

1. Continuative; **2.** Resumptive; **3.** Potentially Egressive/Ingressive

2. Resumptive (*'not stopping any more'*)

(10) *Hij pakte zijn vork weer op en **at door**.*
'He picked up his fork again and **resumed eating**.'

(SoNaR WR-P-P-B-0000000136)

(11) *Bestuurder lesauto Zierikzee rijdt kind (9) aan, stapt uit om kind uit te schelden en **scheurt verder**.*
'Driver of training car Zierikzee drives into child (9), gets out to scream at child and **resumes driving**.'
(SoNaR WR-P-E-L-0000000580)

(12) *Ik struikelde, stond weer op en **rende voort**.*
'I tripped, got up again and **resumed running**.'

(SoNaR WR-P-P-B-0000000146)

Corpus study: *Viewpoint-aspectual interpretation*

1. Continuative; **2.** Resumptive; **3.** Potentially Egressive/Ingressive

> *Blijven* 'to keep'
> *door* 'through'
> *verder* 'further'
> *voort* 'forward'

3. Egressive/Ingressive ('*stopping/starting*')

(13) *[Z]ij [schoof] acheruit, todat ze in de hoek **bleef staan** en keek hoe hij naderbij kwam.*
      'She moved backwards, until she **stopped** in the corner and watched him come closer.'
                                                            (SoNaR WR-P-P-B-0000000004)

(14) *Jones' blik dwaalde door de kamer en **bleef rusten** op een primitief masker dat aan de wand hing.*
      'Jones' gaze wandered around the room and **stopped** on a primitive mask hanging on the wall.'
                                                            (SoNaR WR-P-P-B-0000000233)

Only possible with particular verbs: besides *staan* 'stand' (ANS2), also *zitten* 'sit', *liggen* 'lie',
      hangen 'hang', *haken* 'catch', *plakken* 'cling', *steken* 'stick', *rusten* 'rest'… and possibly more?

Posture verbs and 'halting movement' verbs

Corpus study: *Viewpoint-aspectual interpretation*

1. Continuative; **2.** Resumptive; **3.** Potentially Egressive/Ingressive

Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
verder 'further'
voort 'forward'

3. Egressive/Ingressive (*'stopping/starting'*)

Particularly interesting variant with *staan* and extra V$_{inf}$ (embedded progressive?):

(15) *Een Koreaan die op het trottoir aan de overkant liep,* **bleef staan kijken.**
       'A Korean person walking on the sidewalk on the other side, **stopped/started to watch**.
                                                                    (WR-P-P-B-0000000221)

☞ Continuative interpretation generally also available (if context allows)

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Posture verbs and 'halting movement' verbs

Corpus study: *Viewpoint-aspectual interpretation*

1. Continuative; **2.** Resumptive; **3.** Potentially Egressive/Ingressive

- Interpretations unevenly distributed over the constructions
- For *door, verder, voort*: based on random sample of 100 items
  (excluding highly frequent combinations—e.g. *doorzetten, verder gaan*)

Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
verder 'further'
voort 'forward'

	continuative	resumptive	potentially e-/ingressive	unclear
blijven V_{inf}	69%	0%	31%	n/a
V_{fin} *door*	49%	46%	0%	5%
V_{fin} *verder*	17%	74%	0%	9%
V_{fin} *voort*	79%	11%	0%	10%

Corpus study: *Viewpoint-aspectual interpretation*

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V_{fin} *verder*	17%	74%	0%	9%	**resumptive**
V_{fin} *voort*	79%	11%	0%	10%	**continuative**

Corpus study: *Restrictions on Situation Type*

Five-way taxonomy (Vendler 1967; Smith 1997)

States, Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements, Semelfactives

> *Blijven* 'to keep'
> *door* 'through'
> *verder* 'further'
> *voort* 'forward'

Restriction on Stativity

(6) *Ik schat in dat het PGB echt nog wel even **blijft bestaan**.*
'My guess is that the PGB will **continue to exist**.' (SoNaR WR-P-E-A-0004516538)

(16) *dat het **<*verder> <*door> <voort> bestaat***

Restriction on Incremental Telicity (Transitivity?) (ANS2:975)

(17) *[D]e landmeter verdrinkt uiteindelijk slechts omdat Lander **hem** er **blijft induwen**.*
'The surveyor eventually only drowns because Lender keeps pushing him in**.**'
(SoNaR WR-P-P-B-0000000365)

(18) *omdat Lander hem er <*verder> <*door> <*voort> induwt*

Corpus study: *Restrictions on Situation Type*

Five-way taxonomy (Vendler 1967; Smith 1997)

States, Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements, Semelfactives

- Expectation: Mainly Activities/Semelfactives
- Based on random sample of 100 items (again, excluding highly frequent combinations)

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Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
verder 'further'
voort 'forward'

Combination with modals: Only resumptive (unrealized)

(19) We **moeten/willen/kunnen <verder> <door> <voort>**
     'We have to/want to/can continue.'

Corpus study: *Restrictions on Situation Type*

Five-way taxonomy (Vendler 1967; Smith 1997)

States, Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements, Semelfactives

- Expectation: Mainly Activities/Semelfactives
- Based on random sample of 100 items (again, excluding highly frequent combinations)

> *Blijven* 'to keep'
> *door* 'through'
> *verder* 'further'
> *voort* 'forward'

	STA	ACT	ACC	ACH	SEM	Modal
blijven V_{inf}	28%	63%	4%	4%	3%	0%
V_{fin} *door*	0%	76%	0%	0%	6%	18%
V_{fin} *verder*	0%	84%	0%	0%	1%	15%
V_{fin} *voort*	21%	75%	0%	0%	2%	2%

Corpus study: *Restrictions on Situation Type*

Five-way taxonomy (Vendler 1967; Smith 1997)

States, Activities, Accomplishments, Achievements, Semelfactives

- Expectation: Mainly Activities/Semelfactives
- Based on random sample of 100 items (again, excluding highly frequent combinations)

Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
verder 'further'
voort 'forward'

	STA	ACT	ACC	ACH	SEM	Modal	
blijven V_{inf}	28%	63%	4%	4%	3%	0%	**all except modals**
V_{fin} *door*	0%	76%	0%	0%	6%	18%	**exclude stative/telic, frequent modals**
V_{fin} *verder*	0%	84%	0%	0%	1%	15%	
V_{fin} *voort*	21%	75%	0%	0%	2%	2%	**only excludes telic, modals less frequent**

Syntax and 'stacking'

Blijven 'to keep'
door 'through'
verder 'further'
voort 'forward'

Example with 'stacking' from before:

(1) *Corona of niet, de huizenprijzen **blijven verder doorstijgen**.*
'Corona or not, house prices continue to rise (lit. keep further through rise).'
(https://www.cda.nl/actueel/nieuws/geef-jongeren-weer-kans-op-eigen-woning-met-forse-koperskorting)

Hierarchy: *verder > blijven > door/voort*-V

(20) *dat de huizenprijzen **verder <door> <voort> blijven <door> <voort>** stijgen*

(21) *"dat de huizenprijzen **blijven verder** stijgen*

Door/voort in complementary distribution with particle verbs (cf. Beliën 2008)

(22) *dat hij <*door> op <*door> ruimt*   (Intended: 'that he continues cleaning up.')

If *blijven* takes scope over *door/voort*, limited to continuative interpretation:

(23) *dat ze blijft <door> <voort> gaan*   'that she keeps on doing (it)'

What if *verder* takes scope over *blijven*, as in (1)? Both continuative and resumptive?

Conclusion

'Continuative' constructions are not limited to continuative interpretations

- *Blijven* is continuative ('*not stopping*') and—with certain verbs—egressive/ingressive (*stop/start*)
- *Verder, door* and *voort* are both continuative and resumptive ('*not stopping any more*'),
  but preferences vary strongly

Blijven, *verder, door* and *voort* also vary in their restrictions on situation type
   (Can these be derived in a Selection Theory of Viewpoint Aspect?)

How frequent are the associations continuative—egressive/ingressive
   and continuative—resumptive crosslinguistically?

Why are these notions expressed by the same form in English, Dutch and Mandarin?

Thank you for your attention!

Maarten Bogaards

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