Unexpected morphosyntax in Dutch and Afrikaans varieties

Cora Cavirani-Pots
CRISSP/KU Leuven
cora.pots@kuleuven.be

REEDS dialect workshop, Amsterdam
29 June 2023

Introduction

Aim of the talk

- ▶ Present two unrelated morphosyntactic phenomena in varieties of Dutch and Afrikaans, which:

Introduction

Aim of the talk

- ▶ Present two unrelated morphosyntactic phenomena in varieties of Dutch and Afrikaans, which:
  - ▶ Show variation between and within these two closely related languages

Introduction

Aim of the talk

- ▶ Present two unrelated morphosyntactic phenomena in varieties of Dutch and Afrikaans, which:
  - ▶ Show variation between and within these two closely related languages
  - ▶ Have previously received hardly any attention

Introduction

Aim of the talk

- Present two unrelated morphosyntactic phenomena in varieties of Dutch and Afrikaans, which:
  - Show variation between and within these two closely related languages
  - Have previously received hardly any attention
  - Can guide us in formalising certain aspects of language change

Introduction

Unexpected morphosyntax

- Both phenomena are cases of 'unexpected' morphosyntax

Introduction

Unexpected morphosyntax

- ► Both phenomena are cases of 'unexpected' morphosyntax
  - ► Displaced morphology in non-finite verb clusters

Introduction

Unexpected morphosyntax

- ▶ Both phenomena are cases of 'unexpected' morphosyntax
  - ▶ Displaced morphology in non-finite verb clusters
  - ▶ (Inflectional patterns within) reduplication

Introduction

Non-finite verb clusters

(1)   a.   Hij zal niet **hoeven** ***te*** **gaan** voetballen.
                he will not need to go play.football

        b.   Hij zal niet ***te*** **hoeven** **gaan** voetballen.
                he will not to need go play.football

        c.   Hij zal niet **hoeven** **gaan** ***te*** voetballen.
                he will not need go to play.football

        d.   Hij zal niet **hoeven** ***te*** **gaan** ***te*** voetballen.
                he will not need to go to play.football

        e.   Hij zal niet **hoeven** **gaan** voetballen.
                he will not need go play.football
                'He won't have to go and play football.'

Introduction

(Inflectional patterns within) reduplication

(2)   a.   Nee, maar ik heb echt **gewerkt**-**gewerkt**.
          No, but I have really GEwork-GEwork
          'No, but I have really, properly, worked.'
    b. ??Nee, maar ik heb echt **gewerkt**-**werkt**.
          No, but I have really GE-worked
    c. *Nee, maar ik heb echt **werkt**-**gewerkt**.
          No but I have really worked-GEworked

Introduction

Language change

- ▶ Both phenomena are cases of language change, namely:

Introduction

Language change

- ► Both phenomena are cases of language change, namely:
  - ► Grammaticalisation

Introduction

Language change

- ▶ Both phenomena are cases of language change, namely:
  - ▶ Grammaticalisation
  - ▶ Language contact and innovation

Introduction

Language change

- ▶ Both phenomena are cases of language change, namely:
  - ▶ Grammaticalisation
  - ▶ Language contact and innovation
  - ▶ Pragmaticalisation and expressivity

Introduction

Overarching goals

- ▶ Make a precise inventory of the *differences* between Dutch and Afrikaans morphosyntax

Introduction

Overarching goals

- Make a precise inventory of the *differences* between Dutch and Afrikaans morphosyntax
- Formalise grammaticalisation, pragmaticalisation and language change through contact

Introduction

Overarching goals

- ▶ Make a precise inventory of the *differences* between Dutch and Afrikaans morphosyntax
- ▶ Formalise grammaticalisation, pragmaticalisation and language change through contact
- ▶ Formalise expressive morphosyntax

Non-finite verb clusters: introduction

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans are verb clustering languages

Non-finite verb clusters: introduction

- Dutch and Afrikaans are verb clustering languages
- I.e. in embedded clauses, all verbs clusters together at the end of the clause

Non-finite verb clusters: introduction

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans are verb clustering languages
- ▶ I.e. in embedded clauses, all verbs clusters together at the end of the clause
- ▶ Some clustering verbs select a *te*-complement

Non-finite verb clusters: introduction

- Dutch and Afrikaans are verb clustering languages
- I.e. in embedded clauses, all verbs clusters together at the end of the clause
- Some clustering verbs select a *te*-complement
- In Afrikaans, pseudocoordination also occurs in verb clusters (*V and V*)

Non-finite verb clusters: introduction

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans are verb clustering languages
- ▶ I.e. in embedded clauses, all verbs clusters together at the end of the clause
- ▶ Some clustering verbs select a *te*-complement
- ▶ In Afrikaans, pseudocoordination also occurs in verb clusters (*V and V*)
- ▶ Both languages show inter- and intraspeaker variation in the morphosyntax of some of these verb clusters

Non-finite verb clusters: introduction

- ▶ Dutch and Afrikaans are verb clustering languages
- ▶ I.e. in embedded clauses, all verbs clusters together at the end of the clause
- ▶ Some clustering verbs select a *te*-complement
- ▶ In Afrikaans, pseudocoordination also occurs in verb clusters (*V and V*)
- ▶ Both languages show inter- and intraspeaker variation in the morphosyntax of some of these verb clusters
- ▶ Particularly so in clusters containing semi-lexical verbs

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Dutch

Selection requirements of lexical versus functional verbs:

(3)   Hij heeft **besloten *te werken***.
        He has   decided   to work
        'He has decided to work.'

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Dutch

Selection requirements of lexical versus functional verbs:

(4)   Hij heeft **besloten *te werken***.
       He has decided   to work
       'He has decided to work.'

(5)   Hij heeft **moeten** (*te) ***werken***.
       He has must   to   work
       'He had to work.'

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Dutch

Certain clustering verbs exhibit optionality:

(6)   Hij zal niet **hoeven** (***te***) ***werken***.
       he will not need   to   work
       'He won't need to work.'

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Dutch

Certain clustering verbs exhibit optionality:

(6)   Hij zal niet **hoeven** (*te*) *werken*.
         he will not need   to   work
         'He won't need to work.'

     ▶ I claim that these verbs are semi-lexical

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Dutch

(7)   a.   Hij zal niet **hoeven** *te* **gaan** voetballen.
            he will not need to go play.football

    b.   Hij zal niet *te* **hoeven** **gaan** voetballen.
            he will not to need go play.football

    c.   Hij zal niet **hoeven** **gaan** *te* voetballen.
            he will not need go to play.football

    d.   Hij zal niet **hoeven** *te* **gaan** *te* voetballen.
            he will not need to go to play.football

    e.   Hij zal niet **hoeven** **gaan** voetballen.
            he will not need go play.football
            'He won't have to go and play football.'

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Dutch

(7)   a.   Hij zal niet **hoeven *te* gaan** voetballen.
           he will not need to go play.football

        b.   Hij zal niet ***te* hoeven gaan** voetballen.
           he will not to need go play.football

        c.   Hij zal niet **hoeven gaan *te*** voetballen.
           he will not need go to play.football

        d.   Hij zal niet **hoeven *te* gaan *te*** voetballen.
           he will not need to go to play.football

        e.   Hij zal niet **hoeven gaan** voetballen.
           he will not need go play.football
           'He won't have to go and play football.'

▶ Completely ungrammatical with lexical or functional verbs

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- ▶ A set of clustering verbs in Afrikaans occur in pseudocoordination constructions (*V and V*)

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- A set of clustering verbs in Afrikaans occur in pseudocoordination constructions (*V and V*)
- *Loop* 'walk', *sit* 'sit', *staan* 'stand', and *lê* 'lie'

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- ▶ A set of clustering verbs in Afrikaans occur in pseudocoordination constructions (*V and V*)
- ▶ *Loop* 'walk', *sit* 'sit', *staan* 'stand', and *lê* 'lie'
- ▶ These verbs indicate progressive aspect

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

(8) a. Ek het **loop _en_ koop** die boek.
   I have walk and buy the book

  b. Ek het **loop koop** die boek.
   I have walk buy the book
   'I went to buy the book.'

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

(9)   a.   Ek het   **loop _en_ koop** die boek.
              I   have walk and buy   the book

        b.   Ek het   **loop koop** die boek.
              I   have walk buy   the book
              'I went to buy the book.'

(10)   a.   Ek het   **sit**/ **staan**/ **lê _en_ lees** die boek.
              I   have sit   stand   lie and read the book

      b. %Ek het   **sit**/ **staan**/ **lê lees** die boek.
              I   have sit   stand   lie read the book

Non-finite verb clusters: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

(9)   a.   Ek het   **loop *en* koop** die boek.
                I   have walk and buy   the book

        b.   Ek het   **loop koop** die boek.
                 I   have walk buy   the book
                 'I went to buy the book.'

(10)   a.   Ek het   **sit**/ **staan**/ **lê *en* lees** die boek.
                  I   have sit   stand   lie and read the book

        b. %Ek het   **sit**/ **staan**/ **lê lees** die boek.
                  I   have sit   stand   lie read the book

▶ These verbs often express the perspective of the speaker

Non-finite verb clusters: variation and optionality

▶ The type of morphosyntactic variation and optionality we
  see in both languages is due to ongoing language change

Non-finite verb clusters: variation and optionality

- ▶ The type of morphosyntactic variation and optionality we see in both languages is due to ongoing language change
- ▶ I.e. Dutch *hoeven* and Afrikaans *loop* are **semi-lexical verbs** that are currently grammaticalising further

Non-finite verb clusters: variation and optionality

- ▶ The type of morphosyntactic variation and optionality we see in both languages is due to ongoing language change
- ▶ I.e. Dutch *hoeven* and Afrikaans *loop* are **semi-lexical verbs** that are currently grammaticalising further
- ▶ This ongoing change causes variation between and within speakers

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Theoretical assumptions

- A lexical item is a featureless root; a functional item is a (bundle of) functional feature(s) (Halle & Marantz 1993; Harley & Noyer 1999; Borer 2005a)

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Theoretical assumptions

- ► A lexical item is a featureless root; a functional item is a (bundle of) functional feature(s) (Halle & Marantz 1993; Harley & Noyer 1999; Borer 2005a)

- ► Semi-lexicality is the result of a root being inserted in the functional domain of another root (Klockmann 2017; Cavirani-Pots 2020; see also Song 2019)

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Theoretical assumptions

- ▶ A lexical item is a featureless root; a functional item is a (bundle of) functional feature(s) (Halle & Marantz 1993; Harley & Noyer 1999; Borer 2005a)

- ▶ Semi-lexicality is the result of a root being inserted in the functional domain of another root (Klockmann 2017; Cavirani-Pots 2020; see also Song 2019)

- ▶ v and n a mere categorizers of roots, not introducing any arguments (Kratzer 1996; Lin 2001; Marantz 2005; Bowers 2010; Lohndal 2014; cf. Borer 2005b)

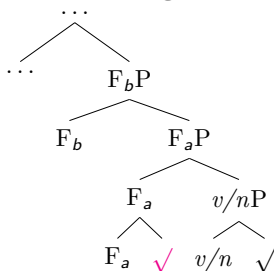# Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Main proposal

- ▶ There are two stages of semi-lexicality, which are early steps on a grammaticalisation path
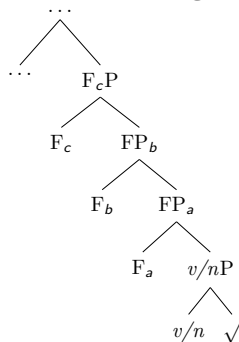
Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis
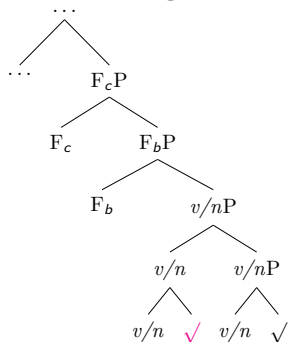
$\rightarrow$ The root in pink is the semi-lexically used root

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

▶ Revision of standard grammaticalisation path (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993)

(11) $A_{lexical} > B_{functional}/A_{lexical} \ (> B_{functional})$

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

▶ Revision of standard grammaticalisation path (cf. Hopper & Traugott 1993)

Stage	Vocabulary items
Stage 0	$A_{lexical}$
Stage I	$A_{lexical}$ + semi-lexical use$_{stageI}$ of $A_{lexical}$
Stage II	$A_{lexical}$ + semi-lexical use$_{stageII}$ of $A_{lexical}$
Stage III	$B_{functional}$ (+ $A_{lexical}$)

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Illustration of the account

▶ The Dutch verb *hoeven* 'need' adds modality (functional behaviour)

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Illustration of the account

- ▶ The Dutch verb *hoeven* 'need' adds modality (functional behaviour)
- ▶ But still optionally selects a *te*-complement (lexical behaviour)

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Illustration of the account

► The Dutch verb *hoeven* 'need' adds modality (functional behaviour)

► But still optionally selects a *te*-complement (lexical behaviour)

► *Proposal*: *Hoeven* is currently grammaticalising from stage I of semi-lexicality into stage II of semi-lexicality

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Illustration of the account

- ▶ The Dutch verb *hoeven* 'need' adds modality (functional behaviour)
- ▶ But still optionally selects a *te*-complement (lexical behaviour)
- ▶ *Proposal*: *Hoeven* is currently grammaticalising from stage I of semi-lexicality into stage II of semi-lexicality
- ▶ This idea is supported by diachronic evidence (Van de Velde 2017)

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Illustration of the account

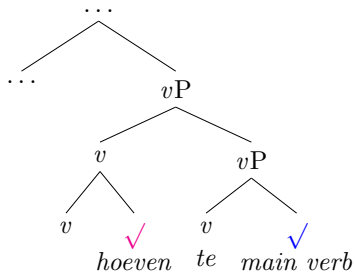- ▶ *te* is the spell out of *v* (*v* is a mere verbaliser)

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Illustration of the account

- ▶ *te* is the spell out of v (v is a mere verbaliser)
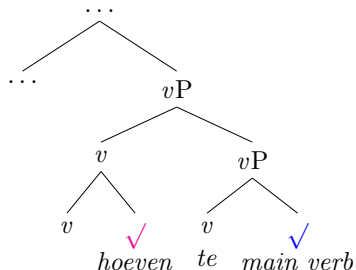- ▶ *Hoeven* can be used semi-lexically due to its lexical semantics that contains modality

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

(12) **Semi-lexical stage I of *hoeven***

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

(12) **Semi-lexical stage I of *hoeven***

▶ When *hoeven* is in stage I of semi-lexicality, the *v* with which the root of *hoeven* is merged imposes its selection requirements: a *te*-infinitive
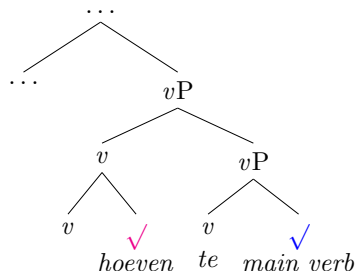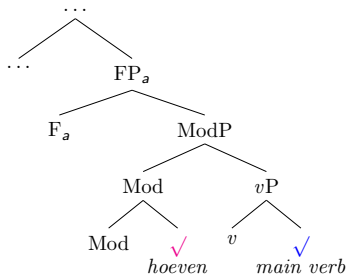
Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

(12) **Semi-lexical stage I of *hoeven***

- ► When *hoeven* is in stage I of semi-lexicality, the *v* with which the root of *hoeven* is merged imposes its selection requirements: a *te*-infinitive

- ► The lower *v* (the one of the main verb of the sentence) is spelled out as *te*

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

(13) **Semi-lexical stage II**

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

(13) **Semi-lexical stage II**
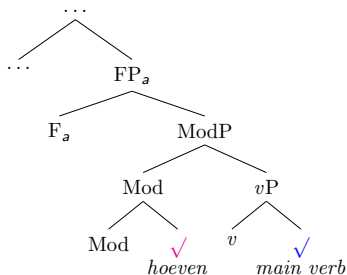
▶ *Hoeven* is no longer verbalised, but forms a complex head with Mod

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

(13)   **Semi-lexical stage II**
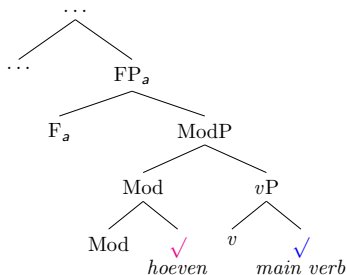
- ▶ *Hoeven* is no longer verbalised, but forms a complex head with Mod
- ▶ It has lost its selectional properties: *hoeven* combines with a bare infinitive

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Bigger picture

- ▶ In this account of semi-lexicality, the two 'verbal' roots look like a verbal compound

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Bigger picture

- ▶ In this account of semi-lexicality, the two 'verbal' roots look like a verbal compound
- ▶ It can thus serve as a stepping stone for the analysis of other 'compound-like' structures

Non-finite verb clusters: the analysis

Bigger picture

- In this account of semi-lexicality, the two 'verbal' roots look like a verbal compound
- It can thus serve as a stepping stone for the analysis of other 'compound-like' structures
- One such phenomenon is reduplication

Reduplication: introduction

- Reduplication is a cross-linguistically common process in which a part of a word (partial reduplication – PR) or an entire word (total reduplication – TR) is reduplicated

Reduplication: introduction

- Reduplication is a cross-linguistically common process in which a part of a word (partial reduplication – PR) or an entire word (total reduplication – TR) is reduplicated

  Oxu-**lakasy-a** → oxu-**lakasya-lakasya**   *Lusaamia*
  'to drop' → 'to drop repeatedy'

Reduplication: introduction

▶ Reduplication is a cross-linguistically common process in which a part of a word (partial reduplication – PR) or an entire word (total reduplication – TR) is reduplicated

Oxu-**lakasy-a** → oxu-**lakasya-lakasya** *Lusaamia*
'to drop' → 'to drop repeatedy'

Kurdu → **kurdu-kurdu** *Walrpiri*
'child' → 'children'

Reduplication: introduction

- ▶ Reduplication is a cross-linguistically common process in which a part of a word (partial reduplication – PR) or an entire word (total reduplication – TR) is reduplicated

  Oxu-**lakasy-a** → oxu-**lakasya-lakasya**   *Lusaamia*
  'to drop' → 'to drop repeatedy'

  Kurdu → **kurdu-kurdu**   *Walrpiri*
  'child' → 'children'

- ▶ Reduplication has a range of semantic effects (pluralisation, emphasis, frequency, repetition) (Kiyomi 1993)

Reduplication: introduction

- Reduplication is a cross-linguistically common process in which a part of a word (partial reduplication – PR) or an entire word (total reduplication – TR) is reduplicated

Oxu-**lakasy-a** → oxu-**lakasya-lakasya**   *Lusaamia*
'to drop' → 'to drop repeatedly'

Kurdu → **kurdu-kurdu**   *Walrpiri*
'child' → 'children'

- Reduplication has a range of semantic effects (pluralisation, emphasis, frequency, repetition) (Kiyomi 1993)
- It is very often found in creole languages

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

▶ Reduplication is not common in Indo-European languages generally, and Germanic specifically (Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2011)

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- Reduplication is not common in Indo-European languages generally, and Germanic specifically (Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2011)

- In Afrikaans, TR is a highly productive phenomenon

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

► Reduplication is not common in Indo-European languages generally, and Germanic specifically (Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2011)

► In Afrikaans, TR is a highly productive phenomenon

► It has been mentioned as one of the main morphological divergences from Dutch

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- ▶ Reduplication is not common in Indo-European languages generally, and Germanic specifically (Stolz, Stroh & Urdze 2011)
- ▶ In Afrikaans, TR is a highly productive phenomenon
- ▶ It has been mentioned as one of the main morphological divergences from Dutch
- ▶ It is more common in spoken than in written language

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

► Reduplication can be formed based on all lexical categories

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- ▶ Reduplication can be formed based on all lexical categories
- ▶ E.g. verbal reduplication: leads to an iterative interpretation

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

► Reduplication can be formed based on all lexical categories

► E.g. verbal reduplication: can lead to an iterative interpretation

(14)   Die seuntjie **skop-skop** teen   die deur.
         the boy   kick-kick   against the door
         'The boy keeps on kicking the door.'

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- Joint work with Engela De Villiers

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- ▶ Joint work with Engela De Villiers
- ▶ Besides the iterative function in verbal reduplication, two other types of verbal reduplication exist in Afrikaans:
    1. Constrastive Reduplication (CR)
    2. *Kamma* Reduplication (KR)

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- ▶ CR is used to indicate the prototypical nature or realness of what is referred to (e.g. Gomeshi et al. 2004)

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- ▶ CR is used to indicate the prototypical nature or realness of what is referred to (e.g. Gomeshi et al. 2004)
- ▶ *Kamma* is an Afrikaans word that is used to indicate when something/someone is fake/pretending

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- ▶ CR is used to indicate the prototypical nature or realness of what is referred to (e.g. Gomeshi et al. 2004)
- ▶ *Kamma* is an Afrikaans word that is used to indicate when something/someone is fake/pretending

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- ► CR is used to indicate the prototypical nature or realness of what is referred to (e.g. Gomeshi et al. 2004)
- ► *Kamma* is an Afrikaans word that is used to indicate when something/someone is fake/pretending
- ► This is also the semantic effect in what we labeled KR

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

(15) Die kelners **BEDIEN bedien** die kos, dis nie 'n
      the waiters serve   serve   the food it's not a
      buffet nie.
      buffet not
      'The waiters are really serving the food, it is not a
      buffet-style meal.'   CR

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

(16) Die kelners **BEDIEN bedien** die kos, dis nie 'n
the waiters serve   serve   the food it's not a
buffet nie.
buffet not
'The waiters are really serving the food, it is not a
buffet-style meal.'   CR

(17) Die kelner **bedien-bedien**, maar niemand het kos
the waiter serves-serves   but   nobody has food
nie.
not
'The waiter pretends to serve the customers, but no one
is getting their food.'   KR

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

(16) Die kelners **BEDIEN bedien** die kos, dis nie 'n
      the waiters serve   serve   the food it's not a
      buffet nie.
      buffet not
      'The waiters are really serving the food, it is not a
      buffet-style meal.'   CR

(17) Die kelner **bedien-bedien**, maar niemand het kos
      the waiter serves-serves   but   nobody has food
      nie.
      not
      'The waiter pretends to serve the customers, but no one
      is getting their food.'   KR

▶ Both types of reduplication are cases of expressive language

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

▶ One potential reason for verbal reduplication to be so
productive is the fact that Afrikaans hardly has verbal
inflection

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

▶ One potential reason for verbal reduplication to be so productive is the fact that Afrikaans hardly has verbal inflection

▶ Cf. CR in German and Dutch is mostly restricted to infinitives (Frankowsky 2022; Cavirani-Pots & Dirix 2023)

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

▶ One potential reason for verbal reduplication to be so productive is the fact that Afrikaans hardly has verbal inflection

▶ Cf. CR in German and Dutch is mostly restricted to infinitives (Frankowsky 2022; Cavirani-Pots & Dirix 2023)

▶ One type of verbal inflection Afrikaans does still have is the perfect participle marker *ge-*

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

- ▶ Applying reduplication to a perfect participle form, we get the following pattern:

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

▶ Applying reduplication to a perfect participle form, we get the following pattern:

(18)   a.   Hy het **gewerk gewerk**.
            he   has   GE-work   GE-work
            'He has pretended to work.'

         b.   Hy het **gewerk werk**.
            he   has   GE-work   work
            'He has really worked.'

         c.   *Hy het **werk gewerk**.
            he   has   work   GE-work

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Afrikaans

▶ Applying reduplication to a perfect participle form, we get the following pattern:

(19)   a.   Hy het **gewerk gewerk**.
          he   has   GE-work   GE-work
          'He has pretended to work.'   → KR

      b.   Hy het **gewerk werk**.
          he   has   GE-work   work
          'He has really worked.'   → CR

      c.   *Hy het **werk gewerk**.
          he   has   work   GE-work

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

▶ In Dutch, reduplication is a relatively new phenomenon, probably due to language contact with English

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

- In Dutch, reduplication is a relatively new phenomenon, probably due to language contact with English
- It is restricted to informal, mostly spoken language

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

- In Dutch, reduplication is a relatively new phenomenon, probably due to language contact with English
- It is restricted to informal, mostly spoken language
- Reduplication of the intensification type exist with adjectives and adverbs

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

- In Dutch, reduplication is a relatively new phenomenon, probably due to language contact with English
- It is restricted to informal, mostly spoken language
- Reduplication of the intensification type exist with adjectives and adverbs
- Verbal reduplication seems limited to the CR type (Cavirani-Pots & Dirix 2023)

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

(20) Je hebt kijken en je hebt **kijken kijken**.
      you have look.INF and you have look.INF look.INF
      'There is looking and there is really looking at
      something.'

> (2019 Campaign *Vlaamse Stichting Verkeerskunde*)

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

- ▶ In corpora, it seems to be limited to infinitival/uninflected forms

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

- ▶ In corpora, it seems to be limited to infinitival/uninflected forms
- ▶ I.e. imperatives seem possible (Cavirani-Pots & Dirix 2023)

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

▶ In corpora, it seems to be limited to infinitival/uninflected forms

▶ I.e. imperatives seem possible (Cavirani-Pots & Dirix 2023)

(21) **Praat praat** met haar, waarmee ik bedoel dat je
talk   talk   with her   with.which I mean   that you
een tweegesprek   voert.
a   conversation.in.two executes
'Literally talk with her, with which I mean a (proper) conversation in two.'

(SoNaR, untitled document)

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

▶ Perfect participle CR sounds quite acceptable

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

▶ Perfect participle CR sounds quite acceptable

▶ However, most naturally so with *ge-* appearing on both
  verbs

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

▶ Perfect participle CR sounds quite acceptable

▶ However, most naturally so with *ge-* appearing on both verbs

(22)   a.   Nee, maar ik heb echt **gewerkt**-**gewerkt**.
              No, but I have really GEwork-GEwork
              'No, but I have really, properly, worked.'
        b. ??Nee, maar ik heb echt **gewerkt**-**werkt**.
              No, but I have really GE-worked
        c. *Nee, maar ik heb echt **werkt**-**gewerkt**.
              No but   I have really worked-GEworked

Reduplication: the phenomenon in Dutch

- ▶ Perfect participle CR sounds quite acceptable
- ▶ However, most naturally so with *ge-* appearing on both verbs

(22)   a.   Nee, maar ik heb echt **gewerkt**-**gewerkt**.
            No, but I have really GEwork-GEwork
            'No, but I have really, properly, worked.'
       b. ??Nee, maar ik heb echt **gewerkt**-**werkt**.
            No, but I have really GE-worked
       c. *Nee, maar ik heb echt **werkt**-**gewerkt**.
            No but I have really worked-GEworked

- ▶ Difference between two languages: circumfix vs prefix, and bigger syntactic freedom of Afrikaans *ge-* (De Vos 2004; Conradie 2017; Biberauer & Cavirani-Pots 2023)

Reduplication: towards an analysis

Marantz (1982)

- ▶ Marantz (1982) is mostly concerned with Partial
  Reduplication (PR)

Reduplication: towards an analysis

Marantz (1982)

- Marantz (1982) is mostly concerned with Partial Reduplication (PR)
- Following Moravcsik (1978), he proposes that each reduplicating process can be characterized by a skeleton

Reduplication: towards an analysis

Marantz (1982)

- ► Marantz (1982) is mostly concerned with Partial Reduplication (PR)
- ► Following Moravcsik (1978), he proposes that each reduplicating process can be characterized by a skeleton
- ► The skeleton of a reduplication rule is a so-called RED morpheme

Reduplication: towards an analysis

Marantz (1982)

- ▶ Marantz (1982) is mostly concerned with Partial Reduplication (PR)
- ▶ Following Moravcsik (1978), he proposes that each reduplicating process can be characterized by a skeleton
- ▶ The skeleton of a reduplication rule is a so-called RED morpheme
- ▶ Hence, reduplication is the affixation of a skeleton to a stem

Reduplication: towards an analysis

Marantz (1982)

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{t a k k i} & \text{t a k k i} & \text{t a k k i} \\
\text{C V C} \quad + \quad \text{C V C C V} & \rightarrow \quad \text{C V C} & + \quad \text{C V C C V} & = \quad \text{taktakki}
\end{array}$$

Reduplication: towards an analysis

Marantz (1982)

$$
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 & \text{t a k k i} & & \text{t a k k i} & & \text{t a k k i} & \\
 & |\ |\ |\ |\ | & \rightarrow & |\ |\ | & & |\ |\ |\ |\ | & =\ \text{taktakki} \\
\text{C V C} \ + \ \text{C V C C V} & & \text{C V C} & & + \ \text{C V C C V} & \\
\end{array}
$$

▶ It's not clear how this works for TR, as there need to exist many skeletons for all possible lengths of reduplicated elements

Reduplication: towards an analysis

Marantz (1982)

$$
\begin{array}{ccccccc}
 & & \text{t a k k i} & & \text{t a k k i} & & \text{t a k k i} \\
 & & | \ | \ | \ | \ | & & | \ | \ | & & | \ | \ | \ | \ | \\
\text{C V C} & + & \text{C V C C V} & \rightarrow & \text{C V C} & + & \text{C V C C V}
\end{array}
= \text{taktakki}
$$

▶ It's not clear how this works for TR, as there need to exist many skeletons for all possible lengths of reduplicated elements

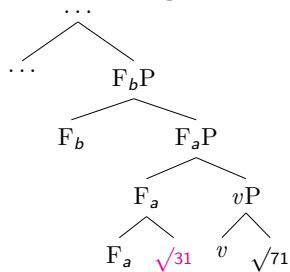▶ The idea of a RED morpheme present/absent is the lexicon of a language is unattractive

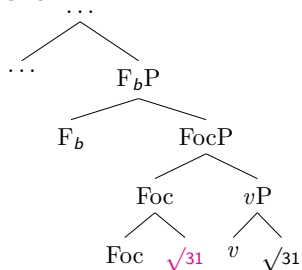# Reduplication: towards an analysis
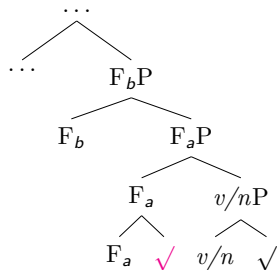
Semi-lex stage II

Reduplication: towards an analysis

Semi-lex stage II

$\cdots$

$\cdots$ F$_b$P

F$_b$ F$_a$P

F$_a$ vP

F$_a$ $\sqrt{31}$ v $\sqrt{71}$

CR

$\cdots$

$\cdots$ F$_b$P

F$_b$ FocP

Foc vP

Foc $\sqrt{31}$ v $\sqrt{31}$

Conclusion and outlook

Conclusion and outlook

▶ Two unrelated phenomena which show variation between and in varieties of Dutch and Afrikaans

Conclusion and outlook

- ▶ Two unrelated phenomena which show variation between and in varieties of Dutch and Afrikaans
- ▶ Both phenomena are cases of language change

Conclusion and outlook

- ► Two unrelated phenomena which show variation between and in varieties of Dutch and Afrikaans
- ► Both phenomena are cases of language change
- ► A better understanding of these phenomena will benefit the formalisation of grammaticalisation/pragmaticalisation and language change through contact

Conclusion and outlook

▶ Reduplication can also teach us a lot about expressive morphoysntax

Conclusion and outlook

► Reduplication can also teach us a lot about expressive morphoysntax

► *Future work I*: concise data collection and formal analysis of the underlying structure(s), and their expressive meaning

Conclusion and outlook

▶ Reduplication can also teach us a lot about expressive morphoysntax

▶ *Future work I*: concise data collection and formal analysis of the underlying structure(s), and their expressive meaning

▶ *Future work II*: see how this analysis can be adapted for other types of compound structures (e.g. elative compounds *bereleuk* lit. bear-nice 'very nice')

Baie dankie vir/veel dank aan:

Engela De Villiers & Peter Dirix