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Periphrastic Progressive Constructions in Dutch and Afrikaans: A Contrastive Analysis

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Given the common ancestry of Dutch and Afrikaans, it is not surprising that they use similar periphrastic constructions to express progressive meaning: *aan het* (Dutch) and *aan die/'t* (Afrikaans) lit. 'at the'; *bezig met*/(*om*) *te* (Dutch) lit. 'busy with/to' and *besig om te* lit. 'busy to' (Afrikaans); and so-called cardinal posture verb constructions (*zitten/sit* 'sit', *staan* 'stand', *liggen/lê* 'lie' and *lopen/loop* 'walk'), CPV *te* ('to' Dutch) and CPV *en* ('and' Afrikaans). However, these cognate constructions have grammaticalized to different extents. To assess the exact nature of these differences, we analyzed the constructions with respect to overall frequency, collocational range, and transitivity (compatibility with transitive predicates and passivizability). We used two corpora that are equal in size (both about 57 million words) and contain roughly the same types of written text. It turns out that the use of periphrastic progressives is generally more widespread in Afrikaans than in Dutch. As far as grammaticalization is concerned, we found that the Afrikaans *aan die*- and CPV-constructions, as well as the Dutch *bezig*- and CPV-constructions, are semantically restricted. In addition, only the Afrikaans *besig*- and CPV *en*-constructions allow passivization, which is remarkable for such periphrastic expressions.[*]

Keywords: Afrikaans, cardinal postular verb, Dutch, periphrastic construction, progressive aspect

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1. Introduction.

In this paper, we compare semantic and syntactic features of periphrastic progressive constructions in Dutch and Afrikaans. In particular, we provide a corpus-based analysis of the Dutch *aan het-* lit. 'on the', *bezig met/(om) te-* lit. 'busy with/to', and cardinal posture verb constructions (with *staan* 'stand', *zitten* 'sit', *liggen* 'lie', or *lopen* 'walk' followed by *te* + verb infinitive). These data are contrasted with corpus data of the Afrikaans *aan die/'t-* lit. 'on the', *besig om te-* lit. 'busy to', and cardinal posture verb constructions (with *staan* 'stand', *sit* 'sit', *lê* 'lie', or *loop* 'walk' followed by *en* + verb; henceforth CPV-constructions). This is the first time such a comparison is undertaken on the basis of corpora that are equal in size (both about 57 million words) and of similar composition, containing roughly the same types of written text. The same methodological steps have been followed in the analysis of both corpora, so that the results are maximally comparable. This approach does not only allow us to compare frequencies of use along a number of relevant parameters, but also to investigate formal and functional similarities and differences between constructions that are relatively infrequent in one language or the other. Moreover, by investigating all three clusters of progressive constructions in Dutch and Afrikaans, the present study is wider in scope than previous investigations, which focus either on a single cluster in both languages (for example, Geleyn & Colleman 2014, Breed & Brisard 2015) or on several clusters in one language (for example, Breed & Van Huyssteen 2015, Lemmens 2015).

The goal of this study is to determine to what extent each of the constructions has grammaticalized into a progressive marker. To that end, we asked the following questions:

(i) What is the overall frequency of the periphrastic progressive constructions? (section 4)

(ii) What are the frequency of aspectual versus nonaspectual uses for each construction? (section 5)

(iii) How freely does each construction combine with various verbs and verb types, and how strong are those collocations? (section 6)

(iv) Are those constructions compatible with transitive predicates, and can they be passivized? In this regard, we also considered the

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formal unit status of various collocations, specifically, impenetrability to complements (section 7).[1]

Assuming that semantic bleaching is the core defining feature of the grammaticalization process, with respect to questions (ii) and (iii), we considered the generality of meaning/use of each construction.

We argue that overall, speakers of Afrikaans tend to pay more attention to the expression of progressive aspect than speakers of Dutch, as specifically attested by the high frequency of the *besig*-construction. In this respect, Afrikaans can be said to occupy a position between English (obligatory marking of progressive aspect with dynamic verbs) and Dutch. The following important observation supports this claim: In Dutch and other languages without a highly grammaticalized and systematically used progressive constructions (such as German or French), progressive marking is motivated by special emotional or other nontemporal considerations. In contrast, in Afrikaans the use of progressive constructions is not usually determined by this type of nontemporal meaning (see below). Moreover, the construction of choice used to express progressive aspect in Afrikaans, that is, the *besig*-construction, exhibits all the typical characteristics of a high degree of grammaticalization, including high frequency of use and generality of contexts. All other constructions, in both Dutch and Afrikaans, can be shown to have traits that point to a certain level of semantic persistence (that is, nongeneralization) when they are used to express progressive aspect.[2]

[1] Other principles of grammaticalization, such as "de-categorialization" (Hopper 1991), have not been specifically investigated in this study. For instance, it would be difficult to combine a CPV-construction (see below) with adverbial modifiers (for example, of place), if the construction is used to express progressive meaning. While our observations suggest that this might indeed be the case (none of the examples cited below contain such adverbials modifying the posture verb in a CPV-construction), we have no quantitative data to back this up.

[2] In this article, the terms *semantic persistence* and *semantically restricted* are used to show that a competing grammatical construction develops preferences for certain word types or specific collocations.

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While in this study we definitely want to suggest that, overall, speakers of Afrikaans tend to pay more attention to the expression of progressive aspect than speakers of Dutch, we are aware of the nontrivial difficulties and pitfalls that might be involved. Most importantly, comparing the formal unit status (degree of word order flexibility) of progressive constructions directly across these two languages runs into the following problem: Differences may arise due to more general properties of the languages involved, rather than to the constructions per se. For instance, Afrikaans generally allows the incorporation of objects with verbs much more freely than Dutch. For this reason, we refrain from comparing the two languages directly for this variable and include data on the relative positioning of verb and object exclusively to document and illustrate the different possibilities that exist in each language in this respect. Therefore, our main claim about the difference between Dutch and Afrikaans is primarily motivated by the following factors: different frequency relations (as shown below); the semantics of the constructions, as manifested through (non)aspectual uses and collocational tendencies; and to a certain extent their syntax—transitivity and passivizability, which reflect "raising" properties (Los et al. 2012:66) pointing to greater integration.

By way of corroborating evidence, we also refer to the often observed correlation between a lower degree of grammaticalization of progressive constructions and their (prime) use to express various nontemporal, (inter)subjective meanings, including feelings of irritation, surprise, and incongruity (sometimes referred to collectively as "interpretative" uses of the progressive; see Ljung 1980). This correlation has been demonstrated, for instance, for French (Franckel 1989, De Wit et al. 2013) and German (Anthonissen et al. 2016): Rarely is a progressive used in these languages merely to express ongoingness or duration. Instead, the most prototypical uses seem to be associated with intense (negative) emotions and modal connotations.

We submit the same is true for the majority of uses of the Dutch constructions reported in this study, which reflects a lower degree of grammaticalization. We do realize that it is hard to quantify a feature that is so subjective (in the sense of expressing the speaker's stance toward a proposition); yet we propose that most examples of Dutch progressive constructions given below express a feeling that there is something wrong or otherwise special about the event described. In Afrikaans, in

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contrast, this only holds for the CPV-constructions and much less so for *aan die/'t-* and *besig*-constructions.[3]

Since we do not use the nontemporal meaning of Dutch and Afrikaans progressives as a systematic criterion for establishing degree of grammaticalization, these observations do not add substantially to our claim. However, they do further support our approach to studying aspectual categories in general. We believe that there is an important interface between aspect and modality, and a comprehensive description of any aspectual construction should take this interface into account (see, for example, Abraham 2008 and Leiss 2000, the latter specifically on "backgrounding" imperfectives and epistemic modality).

The structure of the paper is as follows. In section 2, we define the relevant concepts associated with progressive aspect and discuss the lexical sources of periphrastic progressive constructions in the Germanic languages. Sections 3–8 present the main corpus findings, starting with an introduction of the two corpora (section 3), and continuing with the analysis of the results for overall frequency of use of the periphrastic progressive constructions (section 4), frequency of their aspectual versus nonaspectual uses (section 5), collocations with various verbs and verb types (section 6), and transitivity (section 7). Finally, section 8 concludes the discussion.

2. Definitions and Origins of Aspectual Categories.

2.1. Imperfective and Progressive.

The present study deals with the expression of grammatical aspect, defined as a linguistic category that characterizes how a speaker views the temporal contour of a situation referred to. As such, it offers a certain viewpoint on said situation: "The aspectual viewpoint of a sentence functions as an independent lens on the situation talked about. Viewpoint makes visible all or part of a situation, without obscuring the conceptual properties of the situation type" (Smith 1997:126). Traditionally (Comrie 1976), a general distinction is made between two basic perspectives:

[3] Breed (2017) claims that posture verb constructions in Afrikaans (mainly *sit en* and *staan en*) have in fact specialized in informal spoken language to express only subjective/negative meanings (such as insult, blame, or self-reproach) and that, accordingly, they can even be used to refer to situations that are not ongoing.

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perfective versus imperfective. Whereas perfective aspect presents a situation as a single whole, without attending to the various distinct phases that make it up, imperfective aspect focuses on the internal structure of the situation. Since progressive aspect is regarded as a subtype of imperfective aspect, we are concerned with the latter category only, as exemplified in the following use of the English present progressive (or continuous) construction.

(1) I'm kicking the ball.

In 1, the event of kicking is viewed from within. It is construed as unbounded in time (despite the knowledge that the event of kicking a ball is bounded) and internally homogeneous. This means that component states are treated as identical (precluding distinctive initial and final states; compare Langacker 1990), so that the event in question acquires an overall (if momentary) state-like character.[4] This imperfectivizing construal of an ongoing situation (usually a dynamic event whose boundaries still feature in the conceptual background) overlapping with the time of speaking or another reference time is typical of many progressive constructions in the world's languages. In addition, progressives may also be used to suggest the less than permanent or temporary character of a state of affairs: In other words, an actually ongoing situation is regarded by the speaker as contingent and phenomenal, rather than structural and consolidated (Goldsmith & Woisetschlaeger 1976, De Wit & Brisard 2014).

We use the term *progressive* to refer to a type of imperfective aspect, next to nonprogressive imperfectives such as habitual/generic. Progressives designate a single or multiple process(es) that are actually ongoing (continuous), whereas with generics or habituals, the state or habit in question does not need to be literally going on at the time of speaking. The most prototypical type of progressive is what can be referred to as

[4] As noted by Langacker (1990:91), the "component states are not identical in any strict sense, but their degree of divergence depends on the level of schematicity at which they are viewed. I propose that the participle focuses on the commonality of the profiled states as component members of the same base process, and portrays them as a homogeneous set on the basis of this abstract similarity."

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continuative or durative, a kind of phasal aspect simply referring to one ongoing state of affairs. Continuous, which has to be distinguished from continuative, is more general than progressive, strictly speaking, "because it can be used in progressive situations but in addition with stative predicates" (Bybee et al. 1994:127, following Comrie 1976). For instance, Afrikaans *hou aan* 'keep on' and *bly* 'remain' are best characterized as separate constructions dedicated to the expression of continuous meaning, as in 2 and 3, while a construction involving the word *besig* 'busy' is not just continuous but may be used to express the whole range of progressive meanings.

(2) Die man **hou aan** glo. Afrikaans
ART.DEF man hold on/at believe
'The man keeps on believing.'

(3) Die man **bly** glo.
ART.DEF man remain believe
'The man keeps on believing.'

An instance of the continuative category was given in example 1. In the next section, we turn to the various lexical origins of grammatical constructions—usually periphrastic—expressing progressive aspect, a good number of which are represented in Dutch and Afrikaans.

2.2. Lexical Sources of Progressives.
Based on Bybee et al. 1994 and Heine 1990, we identify the following four major lexical sources for the grammatical development of progressive constructions that are directly relevant for the Germanic languages:

(i) locative constructions
(ii) equation sentences
(iii) movement verbs
(iv) 'keep on V-ing' / 'continue to V'

Bybee et al. (1994:131) describe this first source, that is, locative-based progressives, as follows:

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> [They] always derive from a construction which originally included an element with locative meaning. Or, stated another way, aside from movement sources, reduplication, and constructions with verbs meaning 'to keep on', all progressives derive from locative constructions.

Though this is perhaps too strong a hypothesis typologically speaking, it certainly seems to fit the Germanic picture to a large extent.

Equation sentences, of the type *X is (a) Y* (for example, *He is (an) eating (one)*), are especially common with some kind of present participle, a strategy not or no longer favored in Germanic languages. In English, for example, the real participle construction has been replaced, as is well known, by the *-ing*-construction, which is said to derive from a construction with a locative preposition before the gerund (something like *He is on hunting / He was a-coming home*; see Jespersen 1931).

Movement verbs, such as Spanish *seguir* 'follow', can also give rise to progressive constructions (Bybee et al. 1994:133). These, too, do not appear as frequently within the Germanic family, except perhaps with the verbs *come* and *go* in expressions such as *to go around V-ing*. Constructions of the type *keep on V-ing* illustrated in 2 were referred to as continuous in the previous section. They may, in certain cases, acquire other progressive meanings as well.

In figure 1, we offer the schema presented in Lemmens 2008, showing different possible types of progressive constructions in Germanic languages, complemented with information on Afrikaans.[5]

[5] Lemmens 2008, adapted from Ebert 2000; Bertinetto et al. 2000; compare Lemmens 2015

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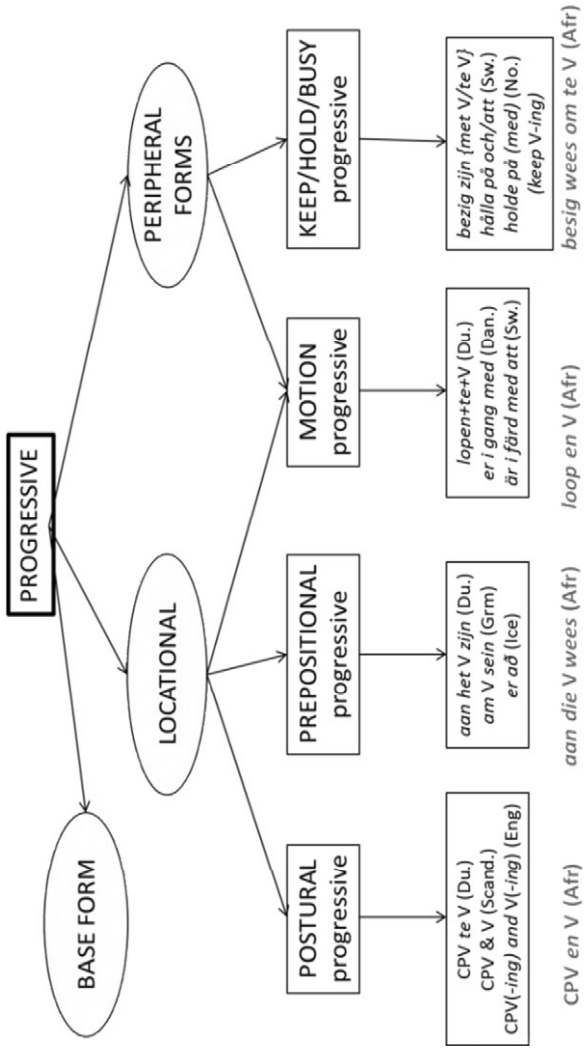

Figure 1. Progressives in the Germanic languages.

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In this schema, we notice four distinct lexical sources for the grammatical expression of progressive aspect, which can in turn be grouped into two more general categories. In line with Bybee et al.'s (1994:132) suggestion, most "nascent" progressive constructions in the Germanic languages instantiate some kind of locative construction, be it with the main verb as a verbal noun/gerund or in the form of a serial construction with posture verbs. According to Kuteva (1999:191), those languages that encode spatial position of an entity in terms of sitting, standing, or lying tend to elevate "the corresponding verb structures to the status of basic, most common verb expressions and thus [make] them appropriate source structures in auxiliation." This is especially true for Dutch and Afrikaans.

As for the "peripheral" forms identified in figure 1, perhaps *keep/hold*-constructions should be separated from *busy*-constructions because the former seem to be the source for specialized constructions expressing continuous meaning (for example, Afrikaans *Ek hou aan werk* 'I keep on working'), while *busy*-constructions can develop a broader range of progressive meanings/uses, as is the case with Afrikaans *besig*-constructions.

3. A Corpus-Based Comparison: Dutch Versus Afrikaans.

Dutch and Afrikaans are closely related sister languages, both deriving from 17th-century Dutch (see, for example, Raidt 1972:177, Dekker 1973:6, Botha et al. 1989:51, Carstens 1989:144, Mesthrie 1995:214, Sebba 1997:161). They are generally said to have a high degree of lexical overlap (up to 90–95% of the vocabulary), as well as many grammatical similarities. On this basis, and despite the obvious differences in evolution both languages have gone through over the ages, we expect more or less the same grammatical usage for cognate constructions, as well as similar patterns of grammaticalization for the constructions concerned.[6]

[6] The term *cognate constructions* is used to refer to syntactic structures that are held to be of common descent (see, among others, Barðdal 2013:443). In this case, the term applies to larger and more complex units, that is, constructions in Modern Dutch and Afrikaans that may be shown to be inherited from a common earlier stage.

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3.1. Dutch and Afrikaans Progressives.

In figure 1, the four cognate constructions used in Dutch and Afrikaans for expressing progressive aspect were presented. Because of the syntactic similarities between the CPV *en V*- 'sit/stand/lay and V' and the *loop en V* 'walk and V'-constructions—both combine a posture or a motion verb with the collocation *en V* in Afrikaans, and with the collocation *te V* in Dutch—they are treated as one progressive cluster. Table 1 features three cognate progressive constructions in Dutch and Afrikaans: the prepositional construction (*aan het/aan die*), the *busy*-construction (*bezig/besig*), and the CPV-construction. Some of these constructions are subject to limited formal variation. Examples of each construction in Dutch and Afrikaans are given in 4 and 5, respectively.[7]

	aan het/aan die	**bezig/besig**	**CPV**
Dutch	*aan het V zijn* (4a)	*bezig zijn met V* (4b) *bezig zijn te V* (4c) *bezig zijn om te V* (4d)	*staan te V* (4e) *zitten te V* (4f) *liggen te V* (4g) *lopen te V* (4h)
Afrikaans	*aan die V wees* (5a) *aan 't V wees* (5b)	*besig wees om te V* (5c)	*staan en V* (5d) *sit en V* (5e) *lê en V* (5f) *loop en V* (5g)

Table 1. Cognate progressive constructions in Dutch and Afrikaans.

(4) Dutch

a. Wat is er eigenlijk **aan het** gebeuren?
INT.N be.3SG.PRS there actually on ART.DEF.SG.N happen.INF
'What is happening exactly?'[8]

[7] Unless otherwise indicated, all Dutch and Afrikaans examples are taken from the LGSUB corpus and the TK corpus, respectively. The corpora are discussed in section 3.2.

[8] Except for examples 4 and 5, no extra glosses are provided. We assume that the English translations suffice to establish the relevant meaning/use of a given construction.

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b. Ze waren een volle dinsdag
3PL.SBJ be.PL.PST ART.INDF.SG entire Tuesday

bezig met verhuizen.
busy with move.INF

'They were moving all day Tuesday.'

c. We waren in eerste instantie **bezig te** overleven.
1PL.SBJ be.PL.PST in first instance busy PRTCL survive.INF
'Above all, we were surviving.'

d. Wij zijn niet **bezig om** iets **te** kopiëren.
1PL.SBJ be.PL.PRS neg busy to something PRTCL copy.INF
'We are not copying something.'

e. We blijven lange tijd zo **staan**
1PL.SBJ stay.PL.PRS long time so stand.INF

kijken naar de regen.[9]
look.INF at ART.DEF rain

'We're standing like that for a long time, looking at the rain.'

f. Ik denk dat hij de voorbije
1SG.SBJ think.1SG.PRS comp 3SG.M.SBJ ART.DEF past

dagen op ons **zat te** wachten.
days on 1PL.OBL sit.SG.PST PRTCL wait.INF

'I think that he was waiting for us the past few days.'

g. De jongen **lag te** slapen
ART.DEF boy lie.SG.PST PRTCL sleep.INF

en kon niet meer gered worden.
and can.SG.PST NEG more save.PASS.PTCP become.INF

'The boy was sleeping and could not be saved anymore.'

[9] This example does not feature a *te* infinitive, but that is due to the auxiliary *blijven* 'stay', with which the CPV-construction combines.

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h. Wie niet **loopt** **te** bellen door de stad,
rel NEG walk.3SG.PRS PRTCL call.INF through ART.DEF city

is niet cool.
be.3SG.PRS NEG cool

'Whoever does not walk around the city calling (people on their phones) is not cool.'

(5) Afrikaans[10]

a. Honde is oral rond **aan** **die** aas.
dog.PL be.PRS everywhere around on ART.DEF scavenge
'Dogs are scavenging everywhere.'

b. Die mense is al **aan** **'t** optrek
ART.DEF human.PL be.PRS already on PRTCL move

eetkamer toe.
dining.room to

'The people are already moving to the dining room.'

c. Jy is **besig** **om** jou vakgebied **te** bemeester.
2SG.SBJ be.PRS busy to 2SG.POSS subject.area PRTCL master
'You are mastering/starting to master your subject area.'

d. Sy afgeleefde salie-groen Mercedes het
3SG.M.POSS rundown sage-green Mercedes have.PRS

voor die hotel **staan** **en** roes.
before ART.DEF hotel stand and rust

[10] Due to the lack of inflection, it is in principle impossible to distinguish between an inflected and an infinitival verb form in Afrikaans. We assume that, with the exception of the *besig*-construction containing the infinitival marker *te*, all are noninfinitival forms: present tense with postural verbs (including *loop*), and nominal with *aan die/'t*. In example 5a, for instance, *aas* is a nominalized verb preceded by the definite article, rather than the noun *aas* 'bait', with which it is homophonous.

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'His rundown, sage-green Mercedes was standing in front of the hotel, rusting.'

e. Ek **sit en** bibber langsaan Ndlovu.
1SG.SBJ sit and quiver next.to Ndlovu
'I'm quivering sitting next to Ndlovu.'

f. En Freek het hom **lê en** doodbloei
and Freek have.PRS 3SG.M.OBJ lie and dead.bleed
op die donkiekar.[11]
on ART.DEF donkey.cart
'And Freek was lying on the donkey cart, bleeding to death.'

g. Dis die dat jy so **loop en** glimlag.
it.be.PRS DEM REL 2SG.SUBJ so walk and smile
'That is why you are walking around smiling.'

The *aan het/aan die*-constructions involve a nominalized infinitive preceded by a definite article. The Dutch *bezig*-construction features a number of syntactic variants: with *te* infinitive, *om* plus *te* infinitive, and preposition *met* 'with' followed by a nominalized infinitive (without determiner).[12] In Afrikaans, the *besig*-construction almost always appears with *om te* plus infinitive.[13] Finally, postural verbs and *lopen/loop*

[11] The pronoun *hom* is the reflexive object of *doodbloei* 'bleed to death' here.

[12] Originally, Dutch *om* 'to' was a purpose preposition, and it can still be used that way. However, it has also grammaticalized into the default infinitival complementizer (see, for example, Haeseryn et al. 1997:1110–1112). In the *bezig*-construction, the use of *om* sounds decidedly odd with certain predicates, while with others it is perfectly acceptable. Kirsner (1985:255) claims that the presence of *om* suggests something of a structural break between the state of being involved in something (indicated by *bezig*) and the actual activity or process designated by the infinitive. Native-speaker judgments about possible effects of the use of *om* in a sentence hint at the particular action being further from its end point than with sentences without *om* (Kirsner 1985:254; see also Kirsner 2014).

[13] Sporadically, a *te* infinitive can also follow the preposition *met* (see Geleyn & Colleman 2014:64).

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combine with a *to*-infinitive (particle *te* plus infinitive) in Dutch, and with conjunction *en* 'and' followed by a bare verb form in Afrikaans. For all these constructions we assume a form of grammaticalization that involves, minimally, a syntactic reanalysis of the relation between the first predicate (including auxiliary *zijn/wees*) and the second, lexical verb. As a result, the original lexical predicate (*aan* + NP, *besig/bezig* + complement, and the postural verbs plus *lopen/loop*) is reinterpreted as an aspectual auxiliary, leading to one complex VP.

3.2. The Corpora.

A preliminary study into the similarities and differences between Dutch and Afrikaans progressive constructions (reported in Breed 2012, Breed & Brisard 2015, Breed & Van Huyssteen 2015) combined observations by various scholars of Dutch reported in the literature with results from a corpus investigation of Afrikaans.[14] The different (Dutch) corpora on which these studies were based, however, were not all comparable to the Afrikaans corpus, and the various authors used different parameters to categorize and investigate the constructions. Therefore, to ensure that constructions could be compared directly, two corpora of about the same size and composition were needed. This would not only allow us to compare frequencies of use along a number of relevant parameters, but also to investigate similarities and differences between constructions that are relatively infrequent in one language or the other, such as the *bezig* progressive in Dutch (whose status as a full-fledged grammaticalized marker of progressive aspect is sometimes even questioned, as shown in Mortier 2008:9).

The Taalkommissiekorpus (TK corpus) used in the present study was compiled in 2011 by the Taalkommissie (Language Commission) of the South African Academy for Science and Arts and features samples from many different strata of written Standard Afrikaans. The corpus consists of almost 60 million words and covers the following genres: literary prose (6 million words), academic writing (24 million words), and nonfiction (27 million words), including articles from newspapers and magazines, and nonfiction books.

[14] The relevant corpus of Afrikaans for both the past and the present research is the Taalkommissiekorpus 2011.

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The Dutch corpus should not only be equal in size to the Afrikaans corpus; it should also contain the same types of written text represented in the TK corpus. For this purpose, a selection of texts from the Dutch Lassy Groot-corpus was compiled (total size: 700 million words, compare van Noord et al. 20013.[15] This subcorpus (henceforth LGSUB) consists of books (6 million words), formal texts (24 million), and newspaper articles (27 million). Table 2 summarizes the relevant properties of the two corpora used in this study.

	Dutch corpus	**Afrikaans corpus**
Name	LASSY GROOT (Subset)	TK corpus
Compilation	Written Standard Dutch	Written Standard Afrikaans
# words (total)	Almost 57 million words	Almost 57 million words
# words (section)	Books: almost 6 million words Formal texts: almost 24 million words Newspapers: almost 27 million words	Literary texts: almost 6 million words Academic texts: almost 24 million words Nonfiction (newspapers, magazines, nonfiction books): almost 27 million words

Table 2. Comparison between the Dutch and Afrikaans corpora.

Previous research into the various progressive constructions in Dutch has not investigated all of them at once (that is, the postural, the prepositional, and the *bezig*-progressive). Most publications (Van Pottelberghe 2002; Lemmens 2003, 2005, 2008, 2015; Booij 2004, 2008; Mortier 2008; Geleyn 2010; Geleyn & Colleman 2014) focus on one or two constructions only (usually either the postural and/or the prepositional) and make use of corpora of limited size or composition. In order to assess the relative usage frequency of each construction in Dutch

[15] Lassy Groot consists of both Netherlandic and Belgian Dutch texts, as does the sample that we derived from it. Both varieties figure substantively in the sample.

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against that of their counterparts in Afrikaans, we conducted the quantitative analysis reported in the next section.

4. Overall Frequency of Periphrastic Progressives.

Although the Dutch and Afrikaans corpora are very comparable in size and composition, we should first note that there are differences in content and in the manner of corpus research that may have influenced the absolute frequency counts of the progressive constructions, though not, we submit, in a way that would significantly alter our main findings. First, the formal genre part of the Dutch corpus also contains meeting reports with a rather fixed structure, whereas the formal genre part of the Afrikaans corpus mainly contains academic texts. Second, for the Dutch corpus search some digital tools (for example, a part-of-speech tagger) were used to preprocess the corpus, whereas the Afrikaans corpus search was performed only manually.[16]

The results for the three Dutch progressive constructions and their respective frequencies in LGSUB are presented in table 3 and figure 2.

[16] The Dutch corpus was automatically queried using Pattern (De Smedt & Daelemans 2012). Inflected verb forms were taken into account, as well as the possibility of intervening material showing up between posture verb and *te* infinitive (for example, *Ik lig buiten te lezen* 'I'm lying outside reading'). The results for *staan te* were automatically filtered to eliminate idiomatic expressions such as *staat te koop* 'stands for sale' or *staat te gebeuren* 'stands (is about) to happen'. Finally, all lists were manually filtered by a native speaker. Since the Afrikaans corpus is not tagged for parts-of-speech, the total concordance had to be compiled manually. A query was executed using Wordsmith for the targets *besig om, aan die*, and *sit/staan/lê/loop en*. These lists were then manually filtered by a native speaker to eliminate nonprogressive uses.

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Construction	Subtotal/Variation	Total/Construction
CPV *te* V		
staan te V	808	
zitten te V	806	
liggen te V	217	
lopen te V	42	
aan het V		293 (13%)
bezig		
bezig te V	70	
bezig om te V	20	
bezig met V	6	
TOTAL		2,262 (100%)

Table 3. Internal frequencies: Dutch progressives.

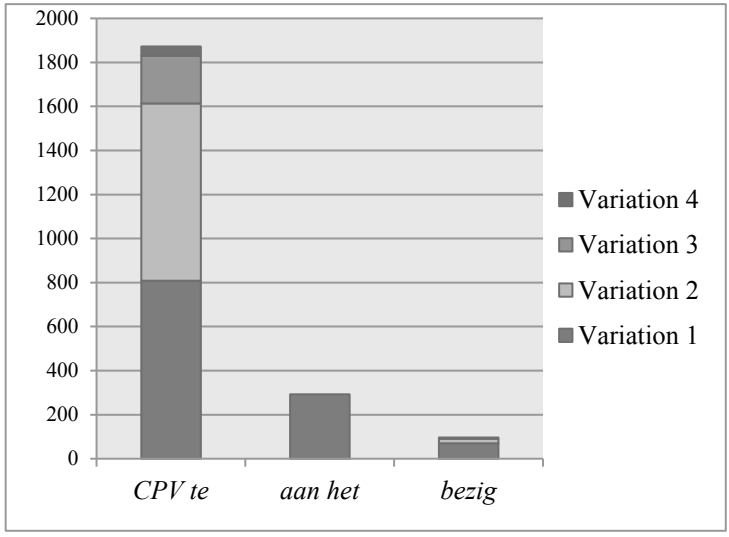

Figure 2. Internal frequencies: Dutch progressives.

These results are similar to what has been reported in the literature on Dutch progressives (see Lemmens 2003, Booij 2004:98, Geleyn &

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Colleman 2014:62). The Dutch CPV-progressive is clearly used more frequently than the other two types. As noted above, the *bezig*-construction is rather infrequent, making up only 4% of the Dutch periphrastic constructions used to express progressive aspect. The relative order of frequency is thus CPV *te* > *aan het* > *bezig*.

Breed (2012:114–116) presents the language-internal frequencies for the different periphrastic progressives in Afrikaans, on the basis of the TK corpus. The results figure in table 4 and figure 3. In Afrikaans, the relative order of frequency is *besig* > *aan die/'t* > CPV *en* (with significant differences between all three constructions).[17]

Construction	**Subtotal/Variation**	**Total/Construction**
besig		7,992 (45%)
aan		
aan die	4,599	
V *aan 't* V	330	
CPV *en*		
sit en V	2,301	
staan en V	1,491	
lê en V	709	
loop en V	220	
TOTAL		17,642 (100%)

Table 4. Internal frequencies: Afrikaans progressives.

[17] Compare Breed & Brisard 2015:12.

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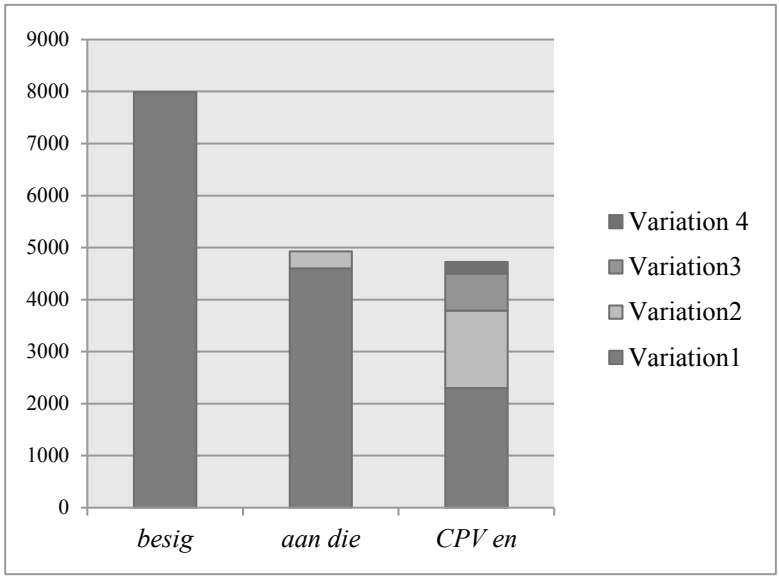

Figure 3. Internal frequencies: Afrikaans progressives.

Clearly, then, Dutch and Afrikaans are different in a number of respects when it comes to frequency of individual progressive constructions. The most popular progressive construction in Dutch is CPV *te*, whereas in Afrikaans it is *besig*.[18] In addition, the frequency differences between CPV and *aan* are pronounced in Dutch, whereas they are more balanced in Afrikaans. We assume that higher frequencies are a symptom of an advanced stage of grammaticalization due to semantic bleaching; in contrast, relatively low frequencies suggest a higher degree of semantic persistence, and thus limited grammaticalization (for example, *bezig* in Dutch or CPV and *aan* in Afrikaans). The Afrikaans CPV-construction in particular does not have the same general popularity as its Dutch counterpart and is expected to be used in more specific contexts.[19] Finally, the usefulness of selecting corpora of similar (or larger) size is

[18] The *busy*-construction is also a marked feature, incidentally, of South African English (Mesthrie 2002), where it is used quite frequently in combination with the standard *V-ing* form, for example, *I'm busy working*.

[19] The same holds for the much less frequent *loop en/lopen te* constructions in both languages.

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apparent from a comparison with the results for Dutch CPV *te* and *aan het* as presented in Lemmens 2008: Our data from Dutch show a larger difference between these two constructions (65% versus 29%) than what was reported there (57% versus 43%). In figure 4, the language-internal frequencies of progressive constructions are given.

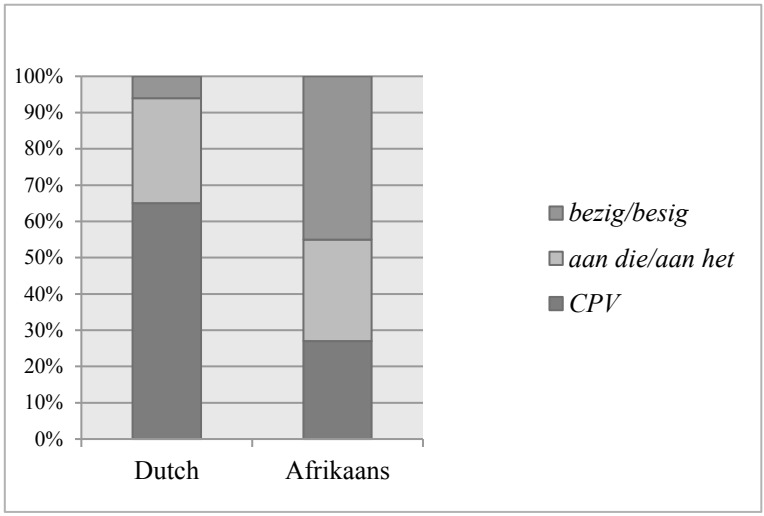

Figure 4. Frequency rankings of Dutch and Afrikaans progressives.

When total frequencies of the periphrastic progressive constructions in the two languages are compared (see figure 5), it appears that speakers of Afrikaans make significantly more extensive use of such constructions than speakers of Dutch.[20]

[20] To determine if the total frequency of the Afrikaans constructions is significantly different from the total frequency of the Dutch constructions, a goodness-of-fit test was performed on the frequencies of all the constructions in the two languages (n=2). There is no problem using the absolute frequencies because the corpora are of the same size: X2=8890, p=0.0000000. To determine if the frequencies of the constructions for each language are significantly different from each other, a goodness-of-fit test on the distributions of the constructions was performed for all three constructions at once (n=3): Dutch: X2=1865, p=0.0000000 and Afrikaans: X2=1140, p=0.0000000. An extra test was then performed to check whether the frequencies of the *aan die*- and *CPV*-constructions (n=2) in Afrikaans are significantly different, because their

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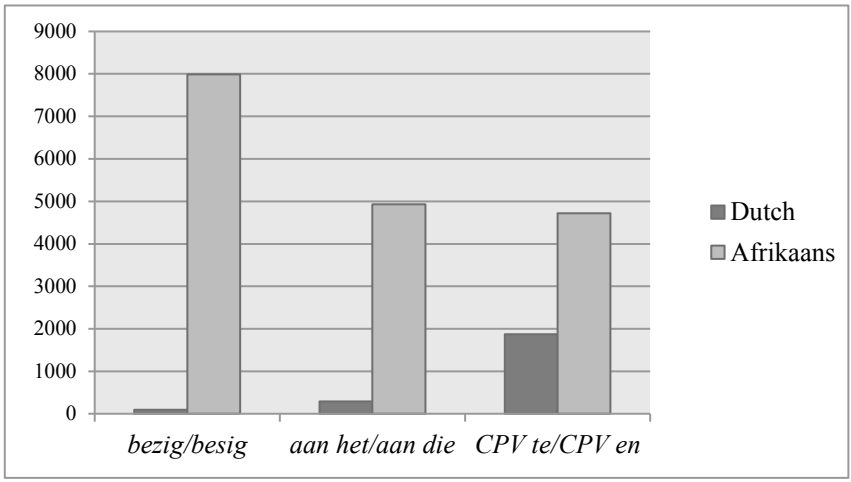

Figure 5. Total frequencies: Dutch and Afrikaans progressives.

If the use of progressives is more widespread in Afrikaans than in Dutch, this must mean that there is an overall need for speakers of Afrikaans to mark progressive aspect more explicitly. This also implies that the Afrikaans constructions are becoming more grammaticalized (undergoing a gradual process of "obligatorification"), and their use is less motivated by nontemporal, often emotional considerations than the use of their Dutch counterparts (see section 1). Afrikaans, in other words, is relatively closer to English than it is to Dutch, as it pays more than incidental attention to expressing progressive aspect (that is, ongoingness or duration). That said, however, progressive marking has not become a necessary and systematic grammatical feature of certain Afrikaans verbs: It is not ungrammatical in Afrikaans to use a nonprogressive form of

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frequencies are much closer to each other: X2=4.483, p=0.034227 ($p < 0.05$). To determine if the proportions of each construction between the two languages are significantly different from each other, a homogeneity test for each construction in the two languages (n=2) was performed: *aan het/aan die*: X2=1.2718, p=0.2594 ($p > 0.05$), *CPV*: X2=1681, p=0.000000, *bezig*/*besig*: X2=3111, p=0.000000. We can thus conclude that all the above comparisons are statistically significant, except for the proportions of the *aan het/aan die* constructions, which cannot be considered different.

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dynamic verbs to refer to an ongoing event at the time of speaking, unlike in English.

5. Frequency of Aspectual Versus Nonaspectual Uses.
A high degree of grammaticalization is usually signaled by a gradual bleaching of the lexical origins of a construction. It also manifests itself in the fact that speakers mobilize it to express grammatical rather than referential meaning (Bybee et al. 1994:20). It is therefore informative to compare the frequency of lexical uses of a given construction, where all components still retain (part of) their lexical meaning, with that of its purely grammatical uses. If the ratio of lexical uses to grammatical uses of a construction differs significantly between languages, then this might indicate a difference in degree of grammaticalization. Since it is not useful to compare the frequency of the *aan het/die*-progressives with the frequency of all prepositional constructions with *aan* followed by a definite noun phrase, only the *bezig/besig*- and CPV-progressives are discussed in this section.

5.1. Dutch Bezig *Versus Afrikaans* Besig.
Earlier, it was noted that the frequency of use of *besig* as a progressive marker is significantly higher in Afrikaans than i) that of the other progressive constructions in Afrikaans, and ii) that of its counterpart in Dutch, which occurs relatively infrequently. This suggests that Afrikaans *besig*, unlike Dutch *bezig*, is subject to a process of grammaticalization. The use of Afrikaans *besig* for purposes other than progressive marking should therefore become more restricted. In contrast, Dutch *bezig* should mostly be used to express the lexical meaning 'busy', and not necessarily the progressive meaning of 'ongoingness'.

Geleyn & Colleman (2014) show that the frequencies of Dutch *bezig* in progressive and nonprogressive contexts differ significantly from those of Afrikaans *besig*.[21] The sentences 6 and 7 (from Geleyn 2010:10) illustrate the use of *bezig*/*besig* in nonprogressive contexts. Progressive

[21] In the newspaper corpora that Geleyn & Colleman (2014) investigated, the lexical use of *bezig* occurred much more frequently than the progressive use. They found 826 lexical (nonprogressive) examples and only 174 examples of the progressive use. In Afrikaans, however, 629 examples of *besig* as a progressive were found, and only 371 nonprogressive examples.

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uses of *bezig/besig* were illustrated in 4b–d and 5c. The lexical meaning of *bezig/besig* focuses more on the subject involved in/occupied by an activity or state, while with aspectual uses, the ongoingness of the situation itself is more prominent. With event nouns such as *huiszoeking* '(house) search', as in 6a, *bezig* does express (mere) ongoingness. However, it cannot be said to figure in a progressive construction, since it serves as a subject complement with the copula *was* and is not followed by an infinitival verb. Other adjectival uses (6b,c and 7b) can take nonverbal complements, in the form of a prepositional phrase.

(6) Dutch

a. Terwijl de **huiszoeking bezig was**, boden zich nog enkele andere gebruikers aan.

'While the house was being searched, some other users volunteered/appeared.'

b. Leeuwerink was **bezig aan zijn achtste seizoen** bij de mannen-eredivisionist.

'Leeuwerink was in his eighth season in the men's honor league.'

c. De liefdadigheidsprojecten nemen niet weg dat Janssens zelf al lang **bezig is met aparte projecten**.

'The charity projects don't prevent Janssens from doing (being involved in) separate projects for a long time.'

(7) Afrikaans

a. Sy was **in die kombuis besig** toe twee jeugdiges skielik by die kombuisdeur inkom en haar en haar seun met 'n mes dreig.

'She was busy in the kitchen when two young men came in through the kitchen door and threatened her and her son with a knife.'

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b. Ek is lankal **besig met my doktorsgraad** in die Regte, en is op die oomblik besig met my doktorale tesis.

'I've been busy with (working on) my PhD in Law for a long time now, and at this moment I am busy with (writing) my doctoral thesis.'

c. Die borduurwerk is vir haar iets wat jou ure lank **besig hou**.

'Embroidery is something with which she can keep herself busy for hours.'

A search in the LGSUB and TK corpora yields similar results. Out of a total of 6,159 tokens of Dutch *bezig*, 6,063 (98%) are used nonaspectually, and only 96 (2%) occur in progressive contexts. In the TK corpus, 12,791 instances of Afrikaans *besig* have been found, of which 4,799 (38%) in nonaspectual contexts. This yields the opposite picture from Dutch, with a majority of uses (7,992, or 62%) expressing progressive meaning. Table 5 and figure 6 summarize these figures.

	***bezig* (Dutch)**	***besig* (Afrikaans)**
Nonaspectual	6,063 (98%)	4,799 (38%)
Aspectual	96 (2%)	7,992 (62%)
Total	6,159 (100%)	12,791 (100%)

Table 5. Aspectual versus nonaspectual *bezig/besig*.

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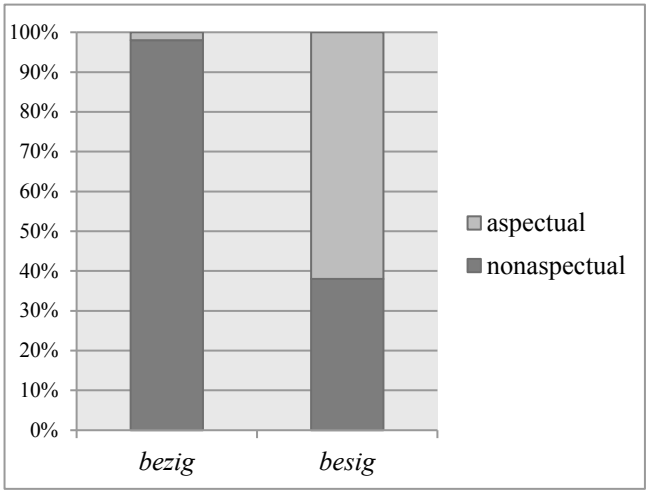

Figure 6. Aspectual versus nonaspectual *bezig/besig*.

These results can be taken as a clear indication that, compared to its Dutch counterpart, the Afrikaans *besig*-construction is turning into a frequent (maybe even obligatory) general marker of progressive aspect.

5.2. Dutch CPV te *Versus Afrikaans CPV* en.
Breed (2012:13) provides the following examples to illustrate the difference between the lexical use, as in 8, and the progressive use, as in 9, of the CPV-constructions in Dutch and Afrikaans.

(8) a. Dutch

Hij **zit** op een stoel en werkt met het gereedschap dat hij al 50 jaar hanteert, een glimlach op zijn gezicht.

b. Afrikaans

Hy **sit** op ’n stoel en werk met die gereedskap wat hy al 50 jaar hanteer, ’n glimlag op sy gesig.

‘He is sitting on a chair and working with the tools that he has been using over the past 50 years, with a smile on his face.’

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(9) a. Dutch

Ton heeft de hele middag aan zijn bureau **zitten (te)** werken.

b. Afrikaans

Tonie het die hele middag by sy lessenaar **gesit en** werk.

'Tony has been working (sitting) at his desk all afternoon.'

Lemmens (2005:188) has compared the frequencies of the most commonly used Dutch posture verbs (*zitten/staan/liggen*) with respect to their lexical versus progressive use (*zitten te/staan te/liggen te*). The results suggest that the overall ratio of the frequencies of aspectual to nonaspectual use is the same for all three verbs: *Staan* is the most frequently used verb with both aspectual and nonaspectual uses, followed by *zitten* and *liggen* (Lemmens 2005:191). However, the internal ratios of the different constructions seem to differ: in the aspectual uses of the three verbs combined, only the proportion of *zitten* is relatively larger than its proportion in the non-aspectual uses.

In the LGSUB corpus, similar construction-internal ratios can be observed as in Lemmens 2005 (compare table 6 and figure 7).

CPV	***zitten***	***staan***	***liggen***	**Total**
Nonaspectual	31,770 (24%)	78,889 (58%)	24,527 (18%)	135,186 (100%)
Aspectual	834 (38%)	1,102 (50%)	253 (12%)	2,189 (100%)
Total CPV	32,604	79,991	24,780	137,375

Table 6. Aspectual versus nonaspectual Dutch CPV *te* in LGSUB.

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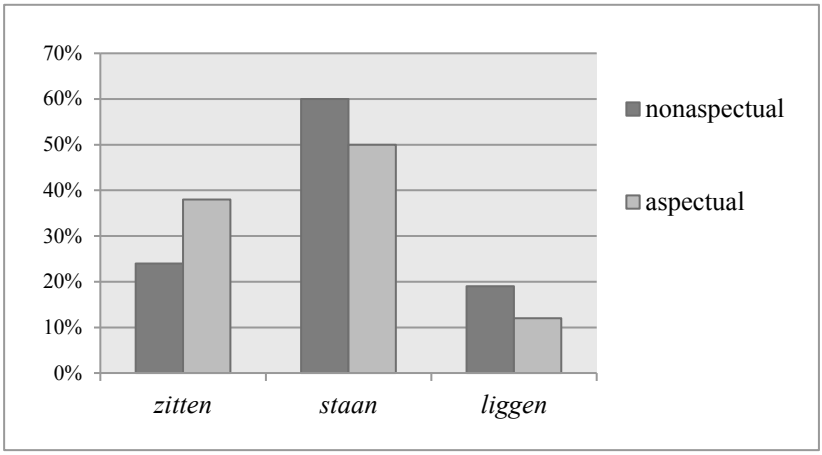

Figure 7. Aspectual versus nonaspectual Dutch CPV *te* in LGSUB.

In the TK corpus, the following results were obtained for Afrikaans.

CPV	***sit***	***staan***	***lê***	**Total**
Nonaspectual (CPV)	24,408 (31%)	34,679 (44%)	19,971 (25%)	79,058 (100%)
Aspectual (CPV *te*)	2,301 (51%)	1,492 (33%)	706 (16%)	4,499 (100%)
Total	26,709	36,171	20,677	83,557

Table 7. Aspectual versus nonaspectual Afrikaans CPV *en* in TK.

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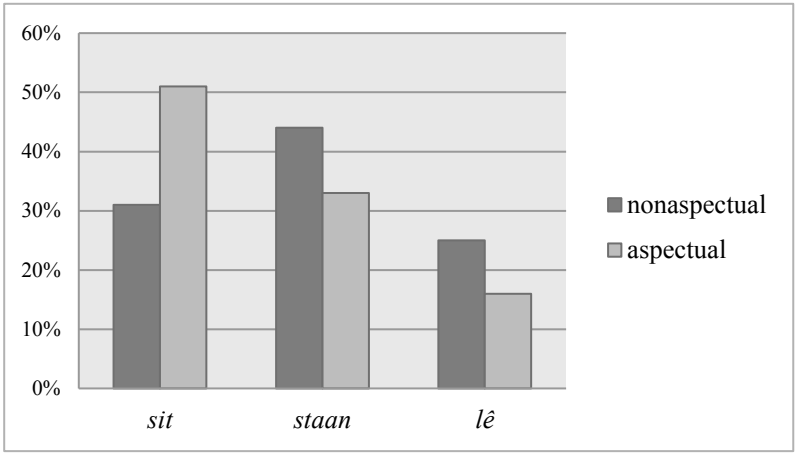

Figure 8. Aspectual versus nonaspectual Afrikaans CPV *en* in TK.

The combined results for all three verbs are the same as in Dutch (that is, nonaspectual uses are significantly more frequent than aspectual uses: 79,058 versus 4,499 occurences). However, the verb *staan* occurs most frequently only in nonaspectual contexts, whereas in aspectual contexts, *sit* is most frequent. Just as in Dutch, the proportion of *sit* is higher in aspectual contexts (51% of 4,499 occurences) than in nonaspectual contexts (31% of 79,058 occurences). Thus, Dutch and Afrikaans exhibit different patterns with respect to the frequency of aspectual use of *zitten/sit*: Dutch: *staan* > *zitten* > *liggen*; Afrikaans: *sit* > *staan* > *lê*.

Figures 9 and 10 summarize the verb-specific ratios of aspectual to nonaspectual uses of CPV-constructions in Dutch and Afrikaans.

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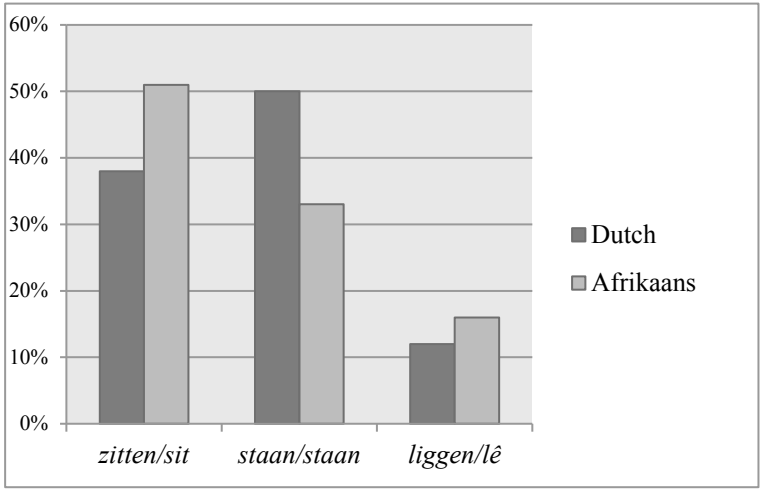

Figure 9. Relative distributions
of aspectual Dutch and Afrikaans CPV-progressives.

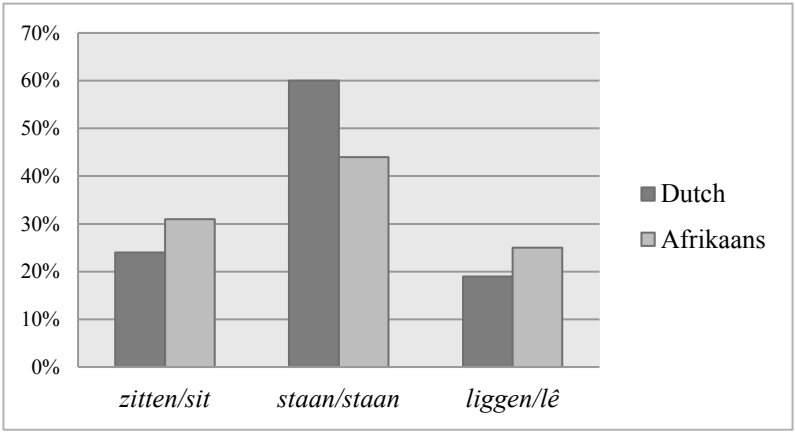

Figure 10. Relative distributions
of nonaspectual Dutch and Afrikaans CPV uses.

In conclusion, although Dutch and Afrikaans both use CPV-constructions as progressive markers, language-specific patterns are different. In Afrikaans, CPV-constructions are not the most popular means of marking progressive aspect: The *besig-* and *aan die/'t-*

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constructions are used more often. In contrast, Dutch CPV-constructions are the most popular markers of progressive aspect. Yet, as progressive markers, Afrikaans CPV-constructions significantly outnumber their Dutch counterparts (see also figure 5 in section 4 above). This contrast suggests that the marking of progressive is overall much more common in Afrikaans.

6. Verb Collocations.

6.1. Overview of Verb Collocations in Dutch and Afrikaans.

The previous sections presented the usage frequencies of the different periphrastic progressive constructions—an important, if not uniquely decisive, factor in establishing a construction's degree of grammaticalization. Grammaticalization usually implies a generalization of meaning, which can, in other words, be interpreted as a broadening of the contexts in which a construction can be used. In order to establish whether these progressive constructions can appear in a wide range of contexts, we looked at the types of verbs with which the various progressive constructions combine. We initially expected that the more frequently a construction is used, the more general its meaning becomes, and the less restricted the set of possible collocating verbs will turn out to be.

We compared verb collocations for the different constructions using Stefanowitsch & Gries' (2003) so-called collexeme analysis. This statistical method employs the Fisher exact test (Pederson 1996) to measure the association strength between a construction and the lexical items that occur in this construction (Gilquin 2010:195). Four types of frequencies are involved in this statistical computation, namely, i) the frequency of the collexeme (L) in the construction (C); ii) the frequency of the collexeme (L) in all other constructions; iii) the frequency of the construction (C) with lexemes other than the collexeme (L); and iv) the frequency of all other constructions with lexemes other than the collexeme (L). Stefanowitsch & Gries (2003:218) explain that the information that emerges from these four types of frequencies "computes the probability of this distribution and all more extreme distributions […] with the same marginal frequencies." The computer program Coll.analysis 3.2a (developed by Gries 2007) was also used in this study to conduct the collexeme analysis. When applying this test to our results, we treat the lexical verbs that appear in the three cognate progressive constructions as the collexeme (L), and the specific progressive

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construction that is examined in each instance as the construction (C). The test aims to show which individual verbs or verb types tend to collocate with which specific progressive constructions, and to what degree.

Since the TK corpus is not an annotated corpus, and since it is critically important for a collostructural analysis that all frequencies of lexical items be completely accurate (see Gries et al. 2005:643–648), each result for the three Afrikaans progressive constructions had to be checked by hand.[22] To this end, a subcorpus exclusively consisting of newspaper texts was selected from the TK corpus. This subcorpus includes 16,458,450 words. Likewise, a newspaper subcorpus was also selected from the LGSUB.[23] This subcorpus consists of 29,010,694 words.[24] Table 8 shows the overall frequencies of the three Dutch and Afrikaans constructions in these newspaper subcorpora.

[22] In other words, part-of-speech labels are not automatically included in the Afrikaans corpus, leaving a number of words ambiguous between either a verb or a noun reading.

[23] The TK-corpus' newspaper subcorpus is referred to as TK-News, and the LGSUB's newspaper subcorpus as LGSUB-News.

[24] The reason for the difference in the total number of words in the two subcorpora, as indicated in table 2, is that the nonfiction part of the TK corpus comes from newspapers, magazines, and nonfiction books, while the Lassy Large corpus' nonfiction part consists of newspapers only.

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Construction	Dutch LGSUB-News		Afrikaans TK-News	
aan het/aan die		200		2,399
bezig/besig		50		2,615
CPV		982		1,382
lopen te/loop en	24		77	
liggen te/lê en	102		177	
zitten te/sit en	392		1,026	
staan te/staan en	464		102	
TOTAL PROGR.		1,232		6,396
TOTAL NEWS SUBCORPUS		29,010,694		16,458,450

Table 8. Internal frequencies in newspaper subcorpora: Dutch and Afrikaans progressives.

Table 9 shows the 30 verbs that collocate most strongly with the three Dutch progressive constructions, and table 10 presents the same information for the Afrikaans constructions.[25] These tables also indicate how frequently the verb appears in the news subcorpus, as well as how frequently the verb appears with a progressive construction. The last column shows the collocation strength of the verb with the specific periphrastic progressive construction. The higher this number is, the stronger the collocation.[26] Only collocations with collexeme strength > 1.301 have been included; for *loop en* and *lê en*, this means that the list

[25] Some verbs appear in the collocation list only once, and this raises the question whether valid conclusions can be drawn regarding the significance of the collocation strength of the relevant verbs. However, since the collocation strength was calculated by means of statistical tests, and since other words of the same type (for instance, verbs of social interaction) that appear in the list are also considered, these infrequent verbs are retained in the collocation list.

[26] Collocation strength is based on p-values and can be interpreted as follows: Coll.strength > 3 => p<0.001; Coll.strength > 2 => p<0.01; Coll.strength > 1.30103 => p<0.05. When a value is lower than 1.30103, the collocation is not significantly strong. The measure of collexeme strength in tables 9 and 10 is a negative logarithmic transformation of the Fisher-Yates exact p-value, as is customary in later work in collostructional analysis (for instance, Gries et al. 2005).

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contains less than 30 verbs. The higher the total of significantly attracted collexemes with a particular construction, the higher the degree of generalization.

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AAN HET				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. Strength**
1	*voorbereiden* 'prepare'	334	12	40.08
2	*bouwen* 'build'	1,984	10	24.91
3	*bekijken* 'look at'	1,794	9	22.46
4	*spelen* 'play'	8,535	10	18.58
5	*groeien* 'grow'	1,050	6	15.5
6	*leggen* 'lay'	3,090	7	15.18
7	*veranderen* 'change'	1,399	6	14.75
8	*kijken* 'look'	4,805	7	13.84
9	*schrijven* 'write'	2,896	6	12.86
10	*maken* 'make'	22,316	9	12.65
11	*ondersoeken* 'investigate'	1,303	5	12.14
12	*doen* 'do'	18,159	7	9.83
13	*geven* 'give'	9,687	6	9.73
14	*vervangen* 'replace'	2,218	4	8.5
15	*weven* 'weave'	14	2	8.29
16	*leren* 'learn'	3,085	4	7.93
17	*lossen* 'release'	632	3	7.75
18	*controleren* 'check'	652	3	7.71
19	*rommelen* 'rumble/grumble'	29	2	7.64
20	*lopen* 'walk/run'	4,162	4	7.41
21	*matchen* 'match'	944	3	7.23
22	*zweten* 'sweat'	62	2	6.97
23	*verliezen* 'lose'	1,867	3	6.34
24	*praten* 'talk'	2,184	3	6.14
25	*luisteren* 'listen'	2,209	3	6.12
26	*vernieuwen* 'renew/revive'	193	2	5.98
27	*rijden* 'ride'	2,793	3	5.82
28	*samenstellen* 'assemble'	235	2	5.81
29	*opbouwen* 'build up'	250	2	5.75
30	*werken* 'work'	11,450	4	5.67
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**137**

Table 9. Thirty strongest verb collocations for Dutch *aan het*.

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BEZIG				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*maken* 'make'	22,316	11	23.25
2	*zoeken* 'search'	3,057	3	7.52
3	*veranderen* 'change'	1,399	2	5.47
4	*leggen* 'lay'	3,090	2	4.78
5	*molesteren* 'molest'	9	1	4.77
6	*halen* 'fetch'	4,971	2	4.37
7	*voltooien* 'complete'	64	1	3.92
8	*vinden* 'find'	8,995	2	3.85
9	*ophangen* 'hang up'	78	1	3.83
10	*beheren* 'control'	149	1	3.55
11	*verzinnen* 'make up/invent'	155	1	3.53
12	*scheren* 'shave'	171	1	3.49
13	*vernieuwen* 'renew/revive'	193	1	3.44
14	*duwen* 'push'	266	1	3.3
15	*forceren* 'force'	266	1	3.3
16	*plakken* 'stick/glue'	265	1	3.3
17	*achterhalen* 'overtake'	288	1	3.26
18	*toevoegen* 'add'	300	1	3.25
19	*herhalen* 'repeat'	304	1	3.24
20	*regelen* 'arrange/regulate'	346	1	3.18
21	*behalen* 'achieve'	358	1	3.17
22	*storten* 'shower'	356	1	3.17
23	*schuiven* 'shove/shuffle'	512	1	3.01
24	*verkrijgen* 'get'	548	1	2.98
25	*beschermen* 'protect'	581	1	2.96
26	*versterken* 'strenghten'	619	1	2.93
27	*lossen* 'release'	632	1	2.92
28	*vergelijken* 'compare'	666	1	2.9
29	*verdedigen* 'defend'	690	1	2.88
30	*tekenen* 'draw/sign'	759	1	2.84
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**59**

Table 10. Thirty strongest verb collocations for Dutch *bezig*.

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STAAN TE				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*wachten* 'wait'	3,427	118	Inf
2	*lezen* 'read'	3,384	66	176.07
3	*springen* 'jump'	619	38	120.53
4	*kijken* 'look'	4,805	47	111.06
5	*dringen* 'urge'	444	11	30.9
6	*schuiven* 'shove/shuffle'	512	9	24.04
7	*praten* 'talk'	2,184	11	23.26
8	*zingen* 'sing'	1,102	9	21.04
9	*roepen* 'shout'	908	8	19.03
10	*dansen* 'dance'	632	7	17.42
11	*zweten* 'sweat'	62	4	13.28
12	*doen* 'do'	18,159	11	13.24
13	*nemen* 'take'	8,818	9	12.95
14	*horen* 'hear'	6,060	8	12.46
15	*maken* 'make'	22,316	11	12.28
16	*bezien* 'view'	138	4	11.87
17	*komen* 'come'	19,562	10	11.38
18	*voetballen* 'play football'	897	5	11.11
19	*werken* 'work'	11,450	8	10.28
20	*draaien* 'turn'	1,454	5	10.07
21	*ploegen* 'plow/plough'	1,784	5	9.62
22	*luisteren* 'listen'	2,209	5	9.16
23	*staren* 'stare'	109	3	8.95
24	*worden* 'become'	60,583	12	8.84
25	*moeten* 'must'	26,164	9	8.81
26	*slapen* 'sleep'	879	4	8.64
27	*eten* 'eat'	2,971	5	8.52
28	*laten* 'let'	12,873	7	8.33
29	*wassen* 'wash'	243	3	7.9
30	*gebeuren* 'happen'	2,773	4	6.65
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**222**

Table 11. Thirty strongest verb collocations for Dutch *staan te*.

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ZITTEN TE				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*wachten* 'wait'	3,427	149	Inf
2	*zitten* 'sit'	7,329	77	191.06
3	*kijken* 'look'	4,805	39	91.99
4	*lezen* 'read'	3,384	31	74.8
5	*komen* 'come'	19,562	26	41.07
6	*eten* 'eat'	2,971	15	32.61
7	*luisteren* 'listen'	2,209	12	26.6
8	*doen* 'do'	18,159	16	22.68
9	*praten* 'talk'	2,184	9	19.03
10	*denken* 'think'	3,947	10	18.96
11	*werken* 'work'	11,450	12	18.06
12	*spelen* 'play'	8,535	10	15.64
13	*springen* 'jump'	619	6	15.11
14	*huilen* 'cry'	210	5	14.65
15	*leggen* 'lay'	3,090	6	10.93
16	*draaien* 'turn'	1,454	5	10.43
17	*helpen* 'help'	2,772	5	9.04
18	*schrijven* 'write'	2,896	5	8.94
19	*drinken* 'drink'	1,038	4	8.65
20	*bellen* 'call'	1,060	4	8.61
21	*bekijken* 'look at'	1,794	4	7.7
22	*genieten* 'enjoy'	1,851	4	7.64
23	*worden* 'become'	60,583	10	7.42
24	*leven* 'live'	12,688	6	7.3
25	*herinneren* 'remember'	473	3	7.25
26	*gaan* 'go'	23,183	7	7.1
27	*weten* 'know'	8,804	5	6.56
28	*slapen* 'sleep'	879	3	6.44
29	*boeken* 'book'	3,810	4	6.4
30	*staren* 'stare'	109	2	5.89
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**175**

Table 12. Thirty strongest verb collocations for Dutch *zitten te*.

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LIGGEN TE				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*slapen* 'sleep'	879	47	181.55
2	*wachten* 'wait'	3,427	22	63.47
3	*kwispelen* 'wag/fawn tail'	5	2	9.83
4	*braken* 'vomit'	305	3	9.58
5	*vrijen* 'woo'	96	2	7.17
6	*zeuren* 'whine'	103	2	7.11
7	*doen* 'do'	18,159	4	6.05
8	*sterven* 'die'	566	2	5.63
9	*nippen* 'sip'	10	1	4.41
10	*blootleggen* 'expose'	23	1	4.05
11	*struikelen* 'stumble'	40	1	3.81
12	*kijken* 'look'	4,805	2	3.77
13	*bekommeren* 'worry'	57	1	3.66
14	*delven* 'delve'	66	1	3.59
15	*waarnemen* 'observe'	69	1	3.57
16	*mopperen* 'grumble'	72	1	3.56
17	*citeren* 'cite'	90	1	3.46
18	*spoelen* 'flush'	104	1	3.4
19	*vervelen* 'bore'	109	1	3.38
20	*slopen* 'demolish'	122	1	3.33
21	*schitteren* 'shine'	162	1	3.2
22	*pompen* 'pump'	178	1	3.16
23	*verbazen* 'amaze'	292	1	2.95
24	*ontspannen* 'relax'	377	1	2.84
25	*beweren* 'claim'	400	1	2.81
26	*schatten* 'estimate'	400	1	2.81
27	*bakken* 'bake'	439	1	2.77
28	*worden* 'become'	60,583	3	2.76
29	*bevinden* 'find'	509	1	2.71
30	*nadenken* 'reflect'	548	1	2.68
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**58**

Table 13. Thirty strongest verb collocations for Dutch *liggen te*.

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LOPEN TE				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*voetballen* 'play football'	897	4	13.85
2	*doen* 'do'	18,159	4	8.63
3	*roepen* 'shout'	908	2	6.49
4	*praten* 'talk'	2,184	2	5.73
5	*zoeken* 'seek'	3,057	2	5.43
6	*blaffen* 'bark'	27	1	4.61
7	*zeuren* 'whine'	103	1	4.03
8	*verheugen* 'rejoice'	114	1	3.98
9	*winkelen* 'shop'	244	1	3.65
10	*wandelen* 'stroll'	705	1	3.19
11	*dromen* 'dream'	977	1	3.05
12	*bellen* 'call'	1,060	1	3.02
13	*reageren* 'react'	1,260	1	2.94
14	*trekken* 'pull'	3,450	1	2.5
15	*spelen* 'play'	8,535	1	2.11
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**15**

Table 14. Fifteen strongest verb collocations for Dutch *lopen te*.

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AAN DIE				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*brand* 'burn'	2,127	550	Inf
2	*kom* 'come'	21,178	381	Inf
3	*lewe* 'live'	10,322	194	Inf
4	*slaap* 'sleep'	1,583	210	Inf
5	*stuur* 'drive/manage'	2,979	242	Inf
6	*werk* 'work'	17,624	241	Inf
7	*rol* 'roll'	4,602	131	248.32
8	*praat* 'talk'	6,396	103	169.64
9	*kook* 'cook'	520	51	125.09
10	*raai* 'guess'	401	48	122.17
11	*toeneem* 'increase'	634	49	114.93
12	*gons* 'buzz'	131	37	109.61
13	*gebeur* 'happen'	6,917	70	101.38
14	*skryf* 'write'	5,131	58	86.89
15	*afneem* 'decrease'	355	25	57.99
16	*taan* 'decline'	51	16	48.68
17	*opbou* 'build up'	316	21	48.29
18	*roer* 'stir'	357	18	39.29
19	*verander* 'change'	4,701	29	36.33
20	*beweeg* 'move'	1,474	22	36.11
21	*dink* 'think'	10,416	35	34.69
22	*oorgee* 'surrender'	73	12	32.88
23	*oefen* 'practice'	1,080	19	32.65
24	*gesels* 'chat'	1,585	20	31.45
25	*ontwikkel* 'develop'	2,437	21	29.53
26	*groei* 'grow'	4,346	22	25.91
27	*kwyn* 'wither'	83	9	23.09
28	*broei* 'breed'	107	9	22.06
29	*woel* 'overturn/be busy'	72	7	17.75
30	*lag* 'laugh'	1,753	12	16.01
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**193**

Table 15. Thirty strongest verb collocations for Afrikaans *aan die*.

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BESIG				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*maak* 'make'	26,219	73	63.81
2	*neem* 'take'	8,693	50	59.14
3	*berei* 'prepare'	580	23	46.89
4	*verander* 'change'	4,701	31	38.79
5	*bou* 'build'	2,581	22	30.18
6	*ontwikkel* 'develop'	2,437	21	28.94
7	*raak* 'touch/become'	7,013	26	26.34
8	*tol* 'spin'	188	11	24.71
9	*stort* 'shower'	489	13	24.55
10	*kyk* 'look'	8,659	24	21.48
11	*onderhandel* 'negotiate'	597	12	21.25
12	*trek* 'pull'	3,384	17	19.67
13	*groei* 'grow'	4,346	18	19.32
14	*daal* 'drop'	604	11	19.07
15	*skei* 'divorce'	454	10	18.23
16	*ondersoek* 'investigate'	7,111	20	18.15
17	*werk* 'work'	17,624	26	16.59
18	*klim* 'climb'	1,103	11	16.2
19	*stel* 'set'	8,073	19	15.89
20	*word* 'become'	109,965	60	15.72
21	*brei* 'knit'	508	9	15.62
22	*styg* 'rise'	1,440	11	14.95
23	*verloor* 'loose'	5,779	16	14.57
24	*krimp* 'shrink'	193	7	14.48
25	*win* 'gain'	97	6	13.91
26	*sterf* 'die'	1,277	10	13.76
27	*ontvou* 'unfold'	106	6	13.67
28	*gebeur* 'happen'	6,917	16	13.39
29	*geld* 'count'	11,364	19	13.28
30	*speel* 'play'	11,441	19	13.22
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**218**

Table 16. Thirty strongest verb collocations for Afrikaans *besig*.

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STAAN EN				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*wag* 'wait'	4,428	37	104.53
2	*kyk* 'look'	8,659	31	75.79
3	*toekyk* 'look at'	144	8	29.27
4	*bedel* 'beg'	73	6	23.13
5	*gesels* 'chat'	1,585	8	20.86
6	*huil* 'cry'	640	5	14.18
7	*val* 'fall'	3,049	6	13.32
8	*skreeu* 'shout'	236	4	12.79
9	*aanskou* 'observe'	247	4	12.71
10	*staar* 'stare'	457	4	11.64
11	*rook* 'smoke'	789	4	10.69
12	*maak* 'make'	26,219	7	9.43
13	*praat* 'talk'	6,396	5	9.19
14	*inwag* 'await'	43	2	7.48
15	*verwonder* 'marvel'	54	2	7.28
16	*visvang* 'fish'	93	2	6.8
17	*sing* 'sing'	1,919	3	6.59
18	*eksperimenteer* 'experiment'	121	2	6.57
19	*afkoel* 'cool'	143	2	6.43
20	*wonder* 'wonder'	2,344	3	6.33
21	*lek* 'lick'	179	2	6.23
22	*kruip* 'crawl'	250	2	5.94
23	*sweet* 'sweat'	279	2	5.85
24	*dophou* 'watch'	321	2	5.73
25	*wys* 'show'	5,146	3	5.31
26	*blaas* 'blow'	530	2	5.29
27	*waai* 'wave'	552	2	5.25
28	*bid* 'pray'	590	2	5.2
29	*vra* 'ask'	6,070	3	5.1
30	*trou* 'wed'	846	2	4.88
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**61**

Table 17. Thirty strongest verb collocations for Afrikaans *staan en*.

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SIT EN				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*wag* 'wait'	4,428	128	292.65
2	*kyk* 'look'	8,659	101	190.49
3	*gesels* 'chat'	1,585	55	129.91
4	*drink* 'drink'	1,234	39	90.67
5	*luister* 'listen'	1,744	37	79.58
6	*eet* 'eat'	1,801	35	73.97
7	*lees* 'read'	3,373	30	53.3
8	*kuier* 'visit'	1,078	22	47.24
9	*huil* 'cry'	640	18	41.32
10	*dink* 'think'	10,416	28	35.39
11	*skryf* 'write'	5,131	21	30.5
12	*slaap* 'sleep'	1,583	15	27.43
13	*toekyk* 'look at'	144	8	21.14
14	*praat* 'talk'	6,396	16	20.05
15	*rook* 'smoke'	789	10	19.78
16	*dophou* 'watch'	321	8	18.32
17	*tob* 'brood'	72	6	17.09
18	*staar* 'stare'	457	7	14.61
19	*doen* 'do'	19,720	16	12.55
20	*bid* 'pray'	590	6	11.54
21	*wonder* 'wonder'	2,344	8	11.42
22	*tjank* 'cry/howl'	54	4	11.36
23	*chat* 'chat'	17	3	9.81
24	*bibber* 'shiver'	19	3	9.65
25	*speel* 'play'	11,441	11	9.6
26	*kla* 'moan'	1,508	6	9.11
27	*teug* 'sip'	43	3	8.55
28	*klets* 'chatter'	47	3	8.43
29	*grinnik* 'grin'	52	3	8.3
30	*glimlag* 'smile'	1,013	5	8.15
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**77**

Table 18. Thirty strongest verb collocations for Afrikaans *sit en*.

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LÊ EN				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*wag* 'wait'	4,428	38	84.58
2	*slaap* 'sleep'	1,583	22	53.75
3	*verrot* 'decay'	23	3	10.76
4	*kyk* 'look'	8,659	8	10.56
5	*loer* 'peek'	262	4	10.4
6	*lees* 'read'	3,373	5	7.82
7	*rondrol* 'toss around'	17	2	7.21
8	*tjank* 'cry/howl'	54	2	6.18
9	*luister* 'listen'	1,744	3	5.08
10	*vrot* 'rot'	407	2	4.43
11	*bake* 'bake'	415	2	4.41
12	*dink* 'think'	10,416	4	4.07
13	*veg* 'fight'	713	2	3.94
14	*uitbroei* 'hatch'	22	1	3.33
15	*droom* 'dream'	1,640	2	3.22
16	*eet* 'eat'	1,801	2	3.14
17	*brand* 'burn'	2,127	2	3
18	*wonder* 'wonder'	2,344	2	2.92
19	*naboots* 'mimic'	64	1	2.86
20	*opkyk* 'look up'	67	1	2.84
21	*besoedel* 'pollute'	106	1	2.64
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**21**

Table 19. Twenty-one strongest verb collocations for Afrikaans *lê en*.

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LOOP EN				
Nr	**Verb**	**Corpus freq.**	**Constr. freq.**	**Coll. strength**
1	*praat* 'talk'	6,396	9	19.57
2	*sing* 'sing'	1,919	5	12.42
3	*spog* 'brag'	1,137	4	10.55
4	*pronk* 'boast'	163	3	10.18
5	*sê* 'say'	52,045	8	9.82
6	*gaan* 'go'	49,432	7	8.41
7	*drink* 'drink'	1,234	3	7.54
8	*brul* 'roar'	120	2	6.83
9	*verkondig* 'preach'	263	2	6.14
10	*verduur* 'endure'	282	2	6.08
11	*maak* 'make'	26,219	4	5.13
12	*probeer* 'try'	8,589	3	5.02
13	*kyk* 'look'	8,659	3	5.01
14	*gesels* 'chat'	1,585	2	4.58
15	*sorg* 'care'	2,190	2	4.3
16	*bring* 'bring'	4,403	2	3.7
17	*vra* 'ask'	6,070	2	3.42
18	*vertel* 'tell'	7,960	2	3.19
19	*keer* 'stop'	15,109	2	2.64
20	*stroom* 'stream'	517	1	2.62
21	*glo* 'believe'	16,843	2	2.55
22	*doen* 'do'	19,720	2	2.42
23	*kuier* 'visit'	1,078	1	2.31
24	*klim* 'climb'	1,103	1	2.3
25	*sukkel* 'struggle'	1,930	1	2.05
26	*besluit* 'decide'	10,101	1	1.34
27	*dink* 'think'	10,416	1	1.33
Total number of significantly attracted collexemes				**27**

Table 20. Twenty-seven strongest verb collocations for Afrikaans *loop en*.

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As can be seen from the above tables, here, too, Afrikaans *besig* scores best, and Dutch CPV-constructions turn out less semantically restricted than their Afrikaans counterparts.

6.2. Dutch Verb Collocations.

Lemmens (2015) conducted a distinctive collexeme analysis of the Dutch *aan het-* and CPV-progressive constructions.[27] He found that verbs of (slow) change (such as *veranderen* 'change' and *groeien* 'grow') and verbs of movement (such as *stijgen* 'rise' and *dalen* 'descend') combine more readily with the *aan het-* than with the CPV-progressives. In contrast, stative verbs (such as *wachten* 'wait' and *slapen* 'sleep'), cognitive/perceptual verbs and emotion verbs (such as *denken* 'think', *staren* 'stare', and *huilen* 'cry') as well as idiomatic expressions (such as *N_1 zitten te wachten op N_2* 'N_1 sit to wait for N_2') collocate with the CPV-progressive rather than with the *aan het*-progressive. The collexeme analysis in Lemmens 2015 confirms the findings in our study, but our analysis also indicates a clear pattern of different verb types that strongly collocate with some of the three progressive constructions. In what follows, the semantic classes to which verbs can be assigned have been operationalized by looking at each example in context.[28]

In addition to what Lemmens (2015) reveals, quite a few of the 30 strongest verb collocations on our collocation list for the *aan het*-progressive are change-of-state verbs (for example, *bouwen* 'build', *groeien* 'grow', *veranderen* 'change', *maken* 'make', and *vernieuwen* 'renew'). What is more, there are a number of verbs that specifically

[27] Like collexeme analysis, this method is a collostructural analysis that can be conducted to measure collocation strength. With collexeme analysis, a given slot within a construction is studied, for instance, the N-slot in the construction [N waiting to happen] (Stefanowitsch & Gries 2003:219). Distinctive collexeme analysis studies a specific slot in two or more similar constructions (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004:112). This analysis can help determine if a specific lexeme tends to combine with one construction rather than with other similar ones.

[28] Some verbs are ambiguous in terms of the classes distinguished here, but this ambiguity is always resolved in context. For instance, the verb *roepen* 'shout' is not necessarily a "verb of negative communication" per se, but in example 11g it is clearly used as such. As a result, the verb may show up in two categories, namely, *social interaction* (neutral, descriptive uses) and *negative communication*.

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express perceptual actions or acts of communication (for example, *(be)kijken* 'look (at)', *praten* 'talk', and *luisteren* 'listen'). Most importantly, more than 20 of the 30 strongest collocations can be classified as transitive verbs involving some kind of action on a patient (see section 7 below).

From our data, it appears that the *bezig*-progressive collocates exclusively with transitive verbs, as in 10. It is therefore not surprising that all except two of the sentences with a *bezig*-progressive also feature an object.

(10) a. Ik was net **bezig** een verbandje **te** leggen, toen de politie aanbelde.
'I was just applying a bandage when the police came.'

b. Ik ben **bezig** uit **te** zoeken op welk moment ik mijn advertenties het beste kan plaatsen.
'I'm finding out at what moment it would be best to place my ads.'

In our results we found only two examples of *bezig* that did not contain an object, and in both sentences the lexical verb was *veranderen* 'change'. The *bezig*-progressive thus seems to have relatively restrictive use. Unlike the Afrikaans *besig*-progressive, it has probably never fully generalized, and the original meaning of *bezig* might still be present in many instances when the construction is also used to express progressive meaning.

As mentioned earlier in this section, our results confirm Lemmens's (2015) finding that stative and cognitive verbs combine more frequently with the CPV-progressives than with the *aan het*-progressive. Furthermore, Lemmens (2005:208) identifies four verb types that frequently collocate with the Dutch CPV-progressives, namely, verbs of social interaction (for example, *praten* 'talk' in 11a or *bidden* 'pray'), creative activity (for example, *schrijven* 'write' in 11b or *maken* 'make'), visual or auditory perception (for example, *kijken* 'look' in 11c and *luisteren* 'listen'), and cognitive activity (for example, *dromen* 'dream' in 11d and *denken* 'think'). Breed (2012:137–138) and Breed & Brisard (2015:19) add two types to this list, namely, verbs that express biological necessities (for example, *slapen* 'sleep' and *eten* 'eat' in 11e) and verbs that indicate that an object is static or inactive (for instance, *wachten* 'wait' in 11f).

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The collexeme analysis of the Dutch CPV-constructions confirms that these six verb types collocate strongly with them, but it is also clear that each of the different postular verbs has its own preferences as well. For instance, some of the six verb types do not have a preference for any particular CPV-construction, while others collocate more strongly with a specific CPV-construction. Furthermore, as can be seen from the list below, a seventh verb type should be added, namely, verbs that express negative communication, as *roepen* 'proclaim' in 11g (see also Breed 2012:140).

(11) a. Ze wandelen wat, of zitten samen te **praten**.
'They are walking around, or sitting together and talking.'

b. Velen zaten te **wachten** tot ze, net als haar schoonmoeder, een kookboek zou schrijven.

'Many were waiting for her to write a cookbook, just like her mother-in-law.'

c. Terwijl hij in de zetel met de voeten omhoog tv ligt te **kijken**.
'While he's lying on the couch watching TV with his feet up.'

d. Koen ook niet: hij liep vroeger wel altijd hardop te **dromen** van vijf-zes, maar na Zita hoorde je hem af en toe toch al pruttelen dat "twee-drie misschien ook niet kwaad zou zijn".

'Neither did Koen: he used to (walk around and) dream aloud about five or six, but after Zita you could hear him mutter that "two or three would probably be fine too".'

e. Op de Visserskaai speelde een man, die in een restaurant zat te **eten**, wel zijn portefeuille kwijt.

'On the Fishermen's Quay, a man who had been (sitting) eating in a restaurant lost his wallet.'

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f. Zeven achteloos neergekwakte boomstammen liggen te **wachten** op vervoer.

'Seven heedlessly felled tree trunks are (lying) waiting to be transported.'

g. Dit uitstel gebeurt met medewerking van kamervoorzitter Herman De Croo (VLD), die nochtans altijd loopt te **roepen** dat het parlement nooit met vakantie is.

'This delay was approved by House Representative Herman De Croo (VLD), who usually (runs around and) proclaims that parliament is never on holiday.'

Verbs of social interaction strongly collocate with all four CPV-progressives, but verbs of creative activity do not collocate strongly with *liggen* 'lie'. Verbs of perception collocate strongly with *zitten* 'sit', *staan* 'stand', and *liggen* 'lie', but not with *lopen* 'walk'. A particularly interesting observation that emerges from the collexeme analysis is that the verbs of cognitive activity in our subcorpus do not collocate as strongly with CPV-progressives as one would think on the basis of Lemmens 2005 and Breed 2012. Only two such verbs are found with *zitten* (*lezen* 'read' and *denken* 'think'), and only one verb is found with each of the other three CPV-progressives (*lezen*, *bekommeren* 'worry', and *dromen* 'dream'). Verbs that express biological necessity strongly collocate with *zitten, staan*, and *liggen,* but none of these verbs are found with *lopen* (presumably because of the real-world incompatibility of the respective actions involved). Just like the cognitive activity verbs, verbs that express inactivity do not collocate strongly with CPV-progressives, except for *liggen.* Lastly, as mentioned above, a seventh class of verb types has been added to the CPV-collocation list, namely, verbs of negative communication.[29] Although none of these verbs could be found with *zitten* and *staan,* two of them (*zeuren* 'whine' and *mopperen* 'grumble') are found with *liggen*, and three with *lopen* (*zeuren* 'whine', *roepen* 'shout/call' and *reageren* 'react').

[29] Verbs of negative communication refer to acts of communication in contexts that are evaluated negatively (even if the verb itself can be seen as neutral, for example, English *calling* (someone names) or Dutch *reageren* 'react').

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6.3. Afrikaans Verb Collocations.

Breed & Van Huyssteen (2015) conducted a distinctive collexeme analysis to determine and compare the strongest verb collocations of the Afrikaans *aan die*- and *besig*-progressives. Since they also worked with the same TK newspaper subcorpus used in this study, their findings are useful here as well. Their results and description of the two progressive constructions were subsequently included in this study and are presented below. An additional collexeme analysis of the Afrikaans CPV-constructions was conducted to enable a comparison between Dutch and Afrikaans verb collocations with all three constructions.

It is striking that quite a number of verbs that strongly collocate with *aan die* can also be used as nouns, namely, *brand* 'burn'/'fire', *slaap* 'sleep', *stuur* 'drive'/'wheel', *lewe* 'live'/'life', and *werk* 'work'. In Afrikaans, both the verb and the noun have the same form, which is different from Dutch, where the verb would be marked as the infinitive, for example, *branden* 'burn'. What is more, the use of these specific constructions is strongly conventionalized, and they function mainly as idiomatic expressions, as in examples 12a–c. They express concepts such as *on fire*, *asleep*, *alive*, including in metaphorical contexts, as in example 12d (*aan die stuur* 'in charge' lit. 'on the wheel').

(12) a. Die slegtes steek die bome wat op die oewer staan aan die **brand**.
'The troublemakers are setting the trees on the riverbank on fire.'

b. Terwyl sy in die badkamer is, raak hy aan die **slaap**.
'While she is in the bathroom, he falls asleep.'

c. Dis soms dae lank wat hy nie sy mond aan kos sit nie, sodat sy wonder wat hou hom aan die **lewe**.

'Sometimes he doesn't eat anything for days on end, so that she wonders what is keeping him alive.'

d. Met hierdie leiers aan die **stuur**, is ek bevrees, gaan ons op dieselfde trant voortploeter.

'With these leaders in charge, I'm afraid we are just going to keep on plodding like this.'

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It is furthermore noteworthy that a number of verbs that occur with the *aan die*-progressive construction can be classified as change-of-state verbs, namely, *toeneem* 'increase', *afneem* 'decrease', *taan* 'dwindle', *opbou* 'stop', *verander* 'change', *ontwikkel* 'develop', *groei* 'grow', *kwyn* 'wither', and *broei* 'brood'. From the verbs included in table 10 it appears that the *aan die*-progressive selects a less varied set of verbs than the *besig*-progressive. Twenty-five out of thirty verbs that combine with the *aan die*-progressive are activity verbs (in the classic Vendlerian sense; for instance, *brand* 'burn', *praat* 'speak', and *gesels* 'converse'), while verbs compatible with the *besig*-progressive show more aspectual variety. Less than half of the verbs that combine with the *besig*-progressive can be classified as activity verbs (for instance, *stort* 'shower' and *speel* 'play'), and there are more examples of verbs that can be classified as either accomplishments (for instance, *daal* 'drop') or achievements (*sterf* 'die' and *oorgee* 'surrender'). In addition, the *aan die*-construction collocates more frequently with intransitive verbs. Only 10 verbs that combine with *aan die* can be classified as typical (syntactically) transitive verbs (that is, verbs usually accompanied by an object; for instance, *broei* 'hatch' and *skryf* 'write'), while about half of the verbs that combine with *besig* can be classified as prototypically transitive (for example, *kyk* 'watch' and *onderhandel* 'negotiate').

6.4. Comparing the Dutch and Afrikaans CPV-Constructions.

To compare the Dutch and Afrikaans CPV-constructions, we conducted distinctive collexeme analyses (Gries & Stefanowitsch 2004), indicating which lexeme/verb tends to cooccur with which CPV-construction.[30] In table 11, each CPV-construction features a list of verbs that it attracts as well as a list of verbs that it repulses. For example, Dutch/Afrikaans *wachten/wag* 'wait' does not seem to collocate well with the *lopen te/loop en*-construction (for obvious semantic reasons). Dutch *zitten* 'sit' and Afrikaans *staan* 'stand' exhibit stronger collocations with specific verb types than the other constructions, as manifested by the larger number of distinctive collexemes.

[30] Only positive (for attraction) and negative (for repulsion) values > 1.3 were used: _*>3 => p<0.001; pbin_*>2 => p<0.01; pbin_*>1.30103 => p<0.05. We used the *Coll.analysis 3.2a* script to conduct the distinctive collexeme analyses: "[t]his script uses an approximation to the multinomial test, namely the one-tailed exact binomial test" (Gries 2007).

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DUTCH					
	Significant attraction	Significant repulsion		Significant attraction	Significant repulsion
***STAAN* 'STAND'**			***ZITTEN* 'SIT'**		
lezen 'read'	12.07		*eten* 'eat'	3.32	
springen 'jump'	6.45		*komen* 'come'	2.98	
dringen 'urge'	3.35		*denken* 'think'	2.47	
bezien 'view'	2.44		*huilen* 'cry'	2.21	
horen 'hear'	2.44		*spelen* 'play'	2.1	
zingen 'sing'	2.27		*luisteren* 'listen'	1.81	
schuiven 'shove/shuffle'	2		*leggen* 'lay'	1.52	
gebeuren 'happen'	1.52		*werken* 'work'	1.39	
dansen 'dance'	1.48		*bewegen* 'move'	1.32	
doen 'do'		-1.39	*studeren* 'study'	1.32	
			vergeten 'forget'	1.32	
			nemen 'take'		-1.45
***LIGGEN* 'LIE'**			***LOPEN* 'WALK'**		
slapen 'sleep'	41.71		*zijn* 'be'	3.87	
braken 'vomit'	3.17		*voetballen* 'play football'	3.57	
kwispelen 'wag/fawn tail'	2.11		*krijgen* 'get'	2.85	
vrijen 'woo'	2.11		*laten* 'let'	1.84	
zeuren 'whine'	1.66		*staan* 'stand'	1.78	
sterven 'die'	1.39		*wandelen* 'stroll'	1.58	
raken 'touch/become'	1.39		*zoeken* 'seek'	1.42	
kijken 'look'		-1.98	*wachten* 'wait'		-7.03

Table 21. Distinctive collexemes analyses for Dutch CPV-constructions.

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AFRIKAANS					
	Signific. attraction	Signific. repulsion		Signific. attraction	Signific. repulsion
***STAAN* 'STAND'**			***LOOP* 'WALK'**		
bedel 'beg'	4.58		*gaan* 'go'	8.41	
val 'fall'	4.58		*sê* 'say'	6.63	
skreeu 'shout'	3.05		*praat* 'talk'	4.19	
toekyk 'look at'	2.57		*spog* 'brag'	3.67	
wys 'show'	2.29		*pronk* 'boast'	3.6	
afkoel 'cool'	1.53		*sing* 'sing'	3.48	
blaas 'blow'	1.53		*bring* 'bring'	2.4	
dans 'dance'	1.53		*brul* 'roar'	2.4	
eksperimenteer 'experiment'	1.53		*sorg* 'care'	2.4	
gee 'give'	1.53		*verduur* 'endure'	2.4	
inwag 'await'	1.53		*verkondig* 'preach'	2.4	
kruip 'crawl'	1.53		*probeer* 'try'	2.37	
sweet 'sweat'	1.53		*keer* 'stop'	1.94	
tik 'type'	1.53		*glo* 'believe'	1.94	
trou 'wed'	1.53		*vertel* 'tell'	1.46	
verloor 'lose'	1.53		*kyk* 'look'		-1.73
verwonder 'marvel'	1.53		*wag* 'wait'		-5.73
waai 'wave'	1.53				
lees 'read'		-1.46			
***LÊ* 'LIE'**			***SIT* 'SIT'**		
slaap 'sleep'	13.43		*skryf* 'write'	5.97	
loer 'peek'	3.54		*kuier* 'visit'	5.4	
verrot 'decay'	3.16		*drink* 'drink'	3.97	
brand 'burn'	2.11		*doen* 'do'	3.61	
rondrol 'toss around'	2.11		*luister* 'listen'	3.14	
veg 'fight'	2.11		*eet* 'eat'	2.88	
vrot 'rot'	2.11		*gesels* 'chat'	2.8	
droom 'dream'	1.66		*huil* 'cry'	2.56	
bak 'bake'	1.38		*speel* 'play'	1.87	
			verkoop 'sell'		-1.47
			vra 'ask'		-1.81
			word 'become'		-1.96

Table 22. Distinctive collexeme analyses for Afrikaans CPV-constructions.

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When the results for Afrikaans are compared to the results for Dutch, it turns out that the six verb types identified by Breed (2012) and Breed & Brisard (2015) collocate more strongly with the Afrikaans CPV-constructions, especially *staan* and *loop*, than with the Dutch CPV-constructions (with the exception of *zitten*). Except for verbs that express inactivity, there are examples of all four CPV-constructions for all seven verb types distinguished above. Verbs of social interaction in particular collocate strongly with all four Afrikaans CPV-constructions.

To conclude this section, there are more similarities between the CPV-constructions of the two languages than between the *aan het*- and *aan die*-constructions or between the *bezig*- and *besig*-constructions. The Afrikaans CPV-constructions collocate more strongly with certain verbs or verb types than their Dutch counterparts. Furthermore, some CPV-constructions collocate more strongly with certain verb types than with others. Nevertheless, overall the Dutch and Afrikaans CPV-constructions both display a preference for the same verb types, including verbs of social interaction, creativity, perception, cognitive activity, biological necessity, inactivity, and negative communication.

There are significant differences between the verbs with which the Dutch *aan het*- and the Afrikaans *aan die*-constructions collocate. Although the constructions in both languages frequently collocate with change-of-state verbs, the Dutch construction prefers transitive and telic verbs (see also Lemmens 2015), while the Afrikaans construction prefers intransitive and atelic verbs (specifically, activity verbs).[31]

The Dutch *bezig*-construction is used in a more restricted way, collocating almost exclusively with transitive verbs. The Afrikaans *besig*-construction, in contrast, is a generalized construction that does not show a strong preference for any verb type. Both transitive and intransitive verbs, as well as a variety of aspectual verb types, are found with this construction.

Thus, the analysis of verb collocations for the three constructions in each language largely confirms our findings on the basis of frequency.

[31] Only about one third of the verbs occurring with the *aan het*-construction can be classified as telic, but Lemmens's (2015) distinctive collexeme analysis indicates that telic verbs will rather collocate with the *aan het*-construction than with the CPV-constructions. The same cannot be said of the corresponding Afrikaans construction (see Breed & Van Huyssteen 2015:264–266).

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The *besig*-construction is the most generalized progressive construction in Afrikaans; and it seems to have grammaticalized further than any one of the three progressive constructions in Dutch. The *aan het*-construction is the most generalized progressive in Dutch, but it also has certain preferences for specific types of collocation, just like the Afrikaans *aan die*-construction. The CPV-progressives in both Dutch and Afrikaans have pronounced collocational preferences, mainly with seven specific types of verbs.

7. Transitivity.

Sections 4–6 have focused on the frequencies of use of the various progressive constructions in Dutch and Afrikaans, as well as on the kinds of verbs these constructions collocate with. To determine with greater precision to what degree the different constructions in each language have generalized as a marker of progressive aspect, it is useful to examine their valency properties, and in particular whether or not they allow transitively used verbs (with an expressed direct object), since a more grammaticalized construction would allow more transitive verbs. The constructions have been investigated with respect to the following properties: i) the relative frequencies of transitive versus intransitive verbs, ii) possible positions of the direct object with respect to the transitive VP, and iii) the possibility of passivizing the transitive construction. Those properties help shed light on the degree of grammaticalization: Highly grammaticalized constructions behave like a syntactic unit, and syntactic freedom of their internal elements (for example, direct objects) is restricted (see Bybee et al. 1994:40). Thus, a (more) fixed constituent order within a construction suggests that the latter has become a grammaticalized syntactic unit. In addition, we hypothesize that highly grammaticalized Afrikaans periphrastic progressive constructions might allow passivization in certain contexts (Bybee et al. 1994:40), a property that is not witnessed in the Dutch or German cognate constructions. For these purposes, a selection of 330 example sentences of each progressive has been compiled.[32]

[32] Breed (2012) could only find 330 instances of the *aan 't* variant in the TK corpus. Even though this variant is not included in the present analysis, we use the findings from Breed 2012 regarding the Afrikaans *aan die*, *besig*, and CPV-constructions as a baseline of comparison. However, as shown in table 3, only 96 instances for the

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7.1. Transitive and Intransitive Verbs in Dutch and Afrikaans Progressives. Tables 23 and 24, as well as figures 11 and 12, indicate the proportion of transitive versus intransitive verbs used with each construction.

Construction	# transitives	# intransitives	Total
aan het	179 (54%)	151 (46%)	330 (100%)
CPV *te*	182 (55%)	148 (45%)	330 (100%)
bezig (total)	87 (91%)	9 (9%)	96 (100%)
bezig te	63 (90%)	7 (10%)	70 (100%)
bezig om te	20 (100%)	0 (0%)	20 (100%)
bezig met	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	6 (100%)

Table 23. Transitive versus intransitive verbs with the Dutch progressives.

Construction	# transitives	# intransitives	Total
aan die	50 (15%)	280 (85%)	330
CPV *en*	58 (17%)	272 (83%)	330
besig om	166 (50%)	164 (50%)	330

Table 24. Transitive versus intransitive verbs with the Afrikaans progressives.

Dutch *bezig*-progressive were found in the Lassy Groot corpus, and it was therefore not possible to include 330 instances of the *bezig*-construction.

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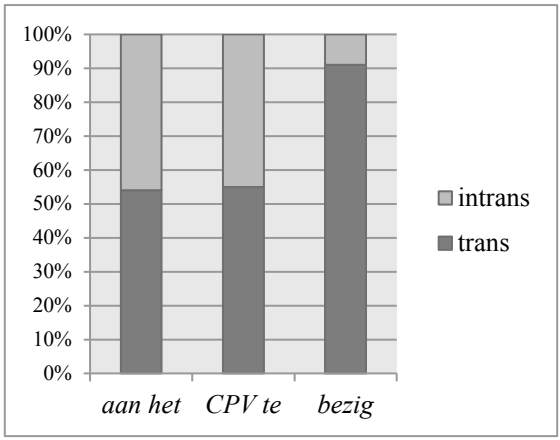

Figure 11. Transitive versus intransitive verbs with the Dutch progressives.

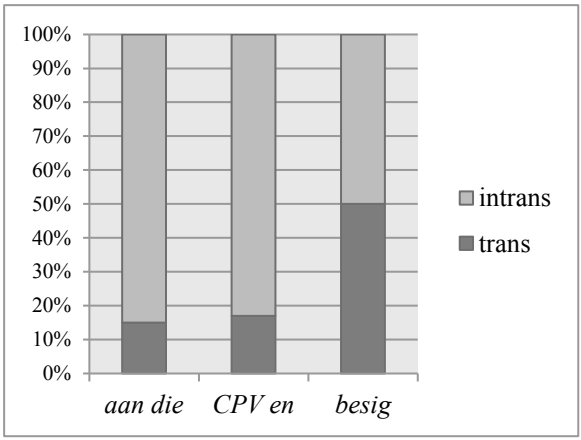

Figure 12. Transitive versus intransitive verbs with the Afrikaans progressives.

As shown in table 25, there is a remarkable difference in the degree to which Dutch and Afrikaans progressive constructions are compatible with transitive verbs. In Dutch, all three progressives frequently occur with transitive verbs, although *bezig*-constructions prefer intransitive verbs. In contrast, the Afrikaans *aan die*- and CPV-constructions occur mostly with intransitive verbs; if Afrikaans speakers need to express a

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progressive meaning with a transitive verb, they typically use the *besig*-construction, as expected (see section 6.3).

	Dutch			**Afrikaans**		
	aan het	CPV	*bezig*	*aan die*	CPV	*besig*
Trans.	+	+	(rare)	(rare)	(rare)	(+)
Intrans.	+	+	+	+	+	+

Table 25. Progressive constructions and transitivity.

Note that the Dutch *aan het*-construction is more generalized than the Afrikaans *aan die*-construction. We have already observed (see section 6) that the latter mainly features activity verbs.

The most surprising difference is that between the Dutch and the Afrikaans CPV-constructions. The data in section 6 suggested that both constructions are used with more or less the same verb types. However, this similarity with respect to verb types is not reflected in the relative frequencies of the transitive versus intransitive verbs with which the constructions combine. The Dutch CPV-constructions have no clear preference, but only 17% of the verbs appearing in the Afrikaans CPV-constructions turn out transitive. The most obvious explanation for this contrast is as follows: Afrikaans speakers are generally reluctant to use progressive constructions with transitive verbs. In rare cases, the *besig*-construction becomes their "designated" transitive progressive, to the detriment of the *aan die*- and CPV-constructions. This situation is very different in Dutch, which, in comparison with its sister languages Afrikaans and German (see Krause 1997), is by far the most liberal in allowing transitive predicates with periphrastic progressives.

In the next section, we examine the positions of the direct object with transitive verbs in progressive constructions.[33] In general, we assume that the less syntactic variation is allowed, the more highly grammaticalized

[33] Breed (2012) also reports on different types of objects, such as definite versus indefinite, and the effect on their position within the various progressive constructions in Afrikaans. These differences do not fall within the scope of the present study, however, as these preliminary results first need to be contrasted with additional findings from Dutch. Only the references to examples not taken from Breed 2012 are given in footnotes.

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the relevant construction is. However, we do not compare unit status across languages (for the reasons given in section 1). The following discussion is therefore primarily meant to document and illustrate the different possibilities that exist in Dutch and Afrikaans.

7.2. Position of the Object in the Aan Het- *and* Aan Die-*Construcitons.* Out of 330 transitive progressives, 179 are Dutch *aan het*-constructions and only 50 are Afrikaans *aan die*-constructions (the proportion of transitive uses of the *aan die*-construction is the lowest of all three Afrikaans progressives). We demonstrate that the position of the direct object within the Dutch *aan het*-construction is more restricted than within its Afrikaans *aan die* counterpart.

Let us first consider Dutch. With the exception of N_{OBJ}-V_{INF} combinations that involve a direct object conventionally associated with the verb (discussed immediately below), the only possible syntactic structure of a transitive *aan het*-construction is shown in 13.

(13) a. Main clause structure: N_{SUB} *zijn* N_{OBJ} *aan het* V_{INF}
b. Subordinate clause structure: N_{SUB} N_{OBJ} *aan het* V_{INF} *zijn*

The structures in 13a and 13b are found in 14a and 14b, respectively.

(14) Dutch

a. Ze *was* **[iets]$_{OBJ}$** *aan het* drinken$_{V.INF}$ op een terras.
'She was drinking something on the patio.'

b. De mortel kreeg ik van arbeiders die in de buurt **[een nieuwbouw]$_{OBJ}$** *aan het* zetten$_{V.INF}$ *zijn*.
'I got the mortar from workers who are constructing a new building in the area.'

In addition, Dutch has the structures [N_{SUB} *zijn aan het* N_{OBJ}-V_{INF}] and [N_{SUB} *aan het* N_{OBJ}-V_{INF} *zijn*], with the object appearing as a separable part of a complex verb form. These structures can only be used when the action denoted by the verb is conventionally associated with the object, for example, *koffiezetten* 'make coffee'. According to the rules of Dutch orthography, these N_{OBJ}-V_{INF} combinations have to be

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written as one word, even though the (bare) noun may appear separately in main clauses (see also Booij 2004:101–111, 2008:92, 2010:118–145).

In contrast, the Afrikaans *aan die*-construction allows three different word orders in the main clause, and two in subordinate clauses:[34]

(15) Main clause structures:

a. N_{SUB} *is* N_{OBJ} *aan die* V_{INF} (17a)
b. N_{SUB} *is aan die* N_{OBJ} V_{INF} (17b)
c. N_{SUB} *is aan die* N_{OBJ}+V_{INF} (17c)

(16) Subordinate clause structures:

a. N_{SUB} N_{OBJ} *aan die* V_{INF} *is* (18a)
b. N_{SUB} *aan die* N_{OBJ}+V_{INF} *is* (18b)

(17) Afrikaans

a. Ons *was* **['n borrel]$_{OBJ}$** *aan die* drink$_{V.INF}$ in die Nederlandse Klub in Kaapstad.
'We were having a drink in the Dutch Club in Cape Town.'

b. Dis die soveelste keer dat ek Frank in die Blue Geisha aantref, en elke keer *is* hy *aan die* **[roomys]$_{OBJ}$** eet$_{V.INF}$.

'It's the umpteenth time that I find Frank in the Blue Geisha, and every time he is eating ice cream.'

c. "Die Kakies *is aan die* musiekmaak$_{V.INF}$, jong," lag Freek, self ietwat onvas.

'"The Tommies (British) are making music, man," Freek laughed, somewhat unsteadily.'

(18) Afrikaans

a. Hy druk daarop en gaan voort asof hy **['n lesing]$_{OBJ}$** *aan die* gee$_{V.INF}$ *is*, asof hy met 'n kliënt praat of 'n produk probeer verkoop.

[34] Since not all patterns occurred within our sample of 330 target sentences, we took additional examples from the TK corpus.

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‘He presses it and continues as if he is giving a lecture, as if he is talking with a client or trying to sell a product.’

b. Hy is ’n transportryer wat, terwyl hy *aan die* houtry$_{V.INF}$ *was* vir die myne, van Concordia af Grootrivier toe, op ’n keer die wonderslang gesien het.

‘He is a truck driver who, once while he was delivering wood to the mines, saw the wonder snake on his way from Concordia to Grootrivier.’

In the Afrikaans corpus, the *aan die*-progressive appears most frequently in a subordinate clause, more specifically in the clause structure [N_{SUB} N_{OBJ} *aan die* V_{INF} *is*]. The most frequent main clause structure is [N_{SUB} *is* N_{OBJ} *aan die* V_{INF}].

Just like Dutch, Afrikaans has the N_{OBJ}+V_{INF} structure for conventionally associated objects (for example, *boeklees* ‘read a book’), but its use is much more widespread. This structure can be used in reference to activities where no conventional or stereotypical association is presumed between predicate and object (for example, *houtry* ‘transport/deliver wood’ in example 18b).

Finally, in Afrikaans, the object can either precede or follow *aan die*, as in 19. This is not possible in Dutch, as shown by the contrast in 20.

(19) a. Ons is appels aan die eet. Afrikaans
b. Ons is aan die appels eet.

‘We are eating apples.’

(20) a. Wij zijn appels aan het eten. Dutch
b. *Wij zijn aan het appels eten.

‘We are eating apples.’

Thus, the data in this section show that the Dutch *aan het*-progressive is syntactically more restricted than its Afrikaans *aan die* counterpart. In the next section, we discuss the position of direct objects within the *bezig-/besig*-constructions.

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7.3. Position of the Object in the Bezig- *and* Besig-*Constructions.*
In our data, the Dutch transitive *bezig*-progressive allows four word order options in main clauses and four word order options in subordinate clauses. The position of the object always corresponds to that in Afrikaans (discussed immediately below), namely, preceding the lexical verb. This is shown in 21–22.

(21) Main clause structures:

a. N_{SUB} *zijn bezig om* N_{OBJ} *te* V_{INF} (23a)
b. N_{SUB} *zijn bezig* N_{OBJ} *te* V_{INF} (23b)
c. N_{SUB} *zijn bezig met* N_{OBJ} V_{INF} (23c)
d. N_{SUB} *zijn bezig met* N_{OBJ} *te* V_{INF} (23d)

(22) Subordinate clause structures:

a. N_{SUB} *bezig zijn om* N_{OBJ} *te* V_{INF} (24a)
b. N_{SUB} *bezig zijn* N_{OBJ} *te* V_{INF} (24b)
c. N_{SUB} *bezig zijn met* N_{OBJ} V_{INF} (24c)
d. N_{SUB} *bezig zijn met* N_{OBJ} *te* V_{INF} (24d)

(23) Dutch

a. De ploeg is al enkele seizoenen verbeten *bezig om* **[de promotie]$_{OBJ}$** *te* forceren$_{V.INF}$.

‘For a couple of seasons, the team has been eagerly working on promoting to a higher league.’

b. De NMBS *is* er volop *bezig* **[de vijf spoorovergangen]$_{OBJ}$** *te* vernieuwen$_{V.INF}$.

‘The Belgian Railways are fully occupied with renewing the five railroad crossings there.’

c. Ik *ben* druk *bezig met* **[campagne]$_{OBJ}$** voeren$_{V.INF}$.
‘I’m really busy campaigning.’

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d. We zijn *bezig met* **[alternatieve aandrijflijnen]$_{OBJ}$** *te* bedenken$_{V.INF}$ die auto's betaalbaar maken in elke zin van het woord: economisch, sociaal en ecologisch.[35]

'We are currently devising alternative sorts of powertrains that make cars affordable in every sense of the word: economically, socially and ecologically.'

(24) Dutch

a. Ik maak u er opmerkzaam op dat we niet *bezig zijn om* [**landbouwpraktijken**]$_{OBJ}$ *te* veranderen$_{V.INF}$.[36]

'I'm informing you that we are not changing agricultural practices.'

b. Ik ben ervan overtuigd, zo goed als ik kan, dat de Franse autoriteiten niet *bezig zijn* [**tijd]$_{OBJ}$** *te* rekken$_{V.INF}$.[37]

'I'm convinced, to the best of my ability, that the French authorities are not buying time.'

c. Via twee organisaties hebben we zo'n 1500 tot 2000 Afghanen in dienst genomen die voortdurend *bezig zijn met* [**mijnen]$_{OBJ}$** ruimen$_{V.INF}$.[38]

'Via two organisations, we have hired between 1,500 and 2,000 Afghans that are continuously clearing mines.'

d. Ze zullen een maand *bezig zijn met* [**de rotzooi]$_{OBJ}$** op *te* ruimen$_{V.INF}$.[39]

[35] http://nl.bab.la/woordenboek/nederlands-engels/we-zijn-bezig-met, accessed on August 31, 2016

[36] http://nl.bab.la/woordenboek/nederlands-engels/we-zijn-bezig-om, accessed on September 15, 2015

[37] http://nl.bab.la/woordenboek/nederlands-engels/goed-bezig-zijn, accessed on August 31, 2016

[38] http://en.bab.la/dictionary/dutch-english/mijnen-ruimen, accessed on August 31, 2016

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'It will take them a month to clean up the mess.'

Let us now turn to Afrikaans. In section 7.1, it was demonstrated that the Afrikaans *besig*-construction, as the most generalized expression of progressive aspect in that language, combines most readily with transitive verbs. One hundred and sixty-six of the 330 selected examples of the *besig*-progressives (see again note 33) feature direct objects. This construction only allows one type of main clause structure and one type of subordinate clause structure:

(25) a. Main clause structure: N_{SUB} *is besig om* N_{OBJ} *te* V_{INF} (26a)
b. Subordinate clause structure: N_{SUB} *besig is om* N_{OBJ} *te* V_{INF} (26b)

(26) Afrikaans

a. Hy was *besig om* **[sy baadjie]$_{OBJ}$** aan *te* trek$_{V.INF}$—'n verslete swart leerbaadjie met bruin lapwerk op die elmboë.

'He was putting on his jacket—an old black leather jacket with brown patches on the elbows.'

b. Dit lyk asof die Westerse wêreld *besig is om* **['n diep identiteitskrisis]$_{OBJ}$** *te* beleef$_{V.INF}$.

'It seems as if the Western world is experiencing a deep identity crisis.'

Unlike in Dutch, the preposition *om* is obligatory in Afrikaans. The object can only follow *om*. Incidentally, the *besig*-construction is the only periphrastic progressive in Afrikaans that does not allow verb-object merger (or object incorporation), as in *appeleet*: ?*ek is besig om te appeleet* 'I am eating the apple'. Lit: *I am busy to apple.eat, or at least we could not find any instances of this in our corpus.

[39] http://en.bab.la/dictionary/dutch-english/op-te-ruimen, accessed on August 31, 2016

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7.4. Position of the Object in the CPV te- *and CPV* en-*Constructions.* The Dutch CPV-constructions use the infinitival particle *te*, while the Afrikaans constructions make use of coordinator *en* followed by a bare verb form. The Dutch constructions only have one word order option for the main clause, and one for the subordinate clause:

(27) a. Main clause structure: N_{SUB} V_{CP} N_{OBJ} *te* V_{INF} (28a)
b. Subordinate clause structure: N_{SUB} N_{OBJ} V_{CP} *te* V_{INF} (28b)

The object follows the posture verb and precedes the particle in the main clause, and it follows the subject and precedes the posture verb in the subordinate clause.

(28) Dutch

a. Mama *stond* daar dromerig **[haar gezicht]$_{OBJ}$** *te* bestuderen$_{V.INF}$ in de spiegel.

‘Mother was (standing there) examining her face dreamily in the mirror.’

b. Terwijl ik **[thee]$_{OBJ}$** *zit te* drinken$_{V.INF}$, hoor ik een andere motor.
‘While I’m (sitting) drinking tea, I hear another bike.’

Eighty-seven out of 330 instances of the Afrikaans CPV *en*-construction are transitive. The combination with transitive verbs is thus less frequent than with *besig*. The following structural patterns can be found:

(29) Main clause structures:

a. N_{SUB} V_{CP} *en* N_{OBJ} V (31a)
b. N_{SUB} V_{CP} *en* N_{OBJ}+V (31b)
c. N_{SUB} V_{CP} *en* V N_{OBJ} (31c)

(30) Subordinate clause structures:

a. N_{SUB} N_{OBJ} V_{CP} *en* V (32a)
b. N_{SUB} V_{CP} *en* N_{OBJ} V (32b)

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(31) Afrikaans

a. Ant Talieta *sit en* **[naaldwerk]$_{OBJ}$** doen$_{V.INF}$ of haar lewe aan daai dun garingdraadjie hang.

'Aunt Talita is (sitting) sewing as if her life is hanging from that thin thread.'

b. Die man wil as 't ware somar hier voor sy tent *sit en* visvang$_{V.INF}$.
'The man just wants to sit in front of his tent, fishing.'

c. Die swerms kom oornag tot bedaring, die insekte gaan *sit en* verloor$_{V.INF}$ **[hul vlerke]$_{OBJ}$** sodat slegs stompies oorbly, vorm pare en begin nuwe neste.

'The swarms calm down at night, the insects start losing their wings so that only stumps remain. They form pairs and make new nests.'

(32) Afrikaans

a. Eendag het hy hom gekry waar hy gebukkend **[die wingerd]$_{OBJ}$** *staan en* snoei$_{V.INF}$, en daar was trane in sy pa se oë.

'One day I found him while, hunched over the vine, he was (standing) pruning it, and his dad's eyes were filled with tears.'

b. Dik Daan wys vir ons toe ons *sit en* **[koffie]$_{OBJ}$** drink$_{V.INF}$ die voorbladfoto van die Umfolozi-olifant wat sy slurp so liefderik oor daai blou karretjie se dak laat hang.

'While we are (sitting) drinking coffee, Fat Dan shows us the cover photo of the Umfolozi elephant with its trunk resting lovingly on the small blue car's roof.'

In Afrikaans, the (main and subordinate clause) structure that occurs most frequently is [N_{SUB} V_{CP} *en* N_{OBJ} V]. Note that in Dutch, such a structure would be ungrammatical, except, perhaps, with objects conventionally linked to a verb (see section 7.2). In comparison to the corresponding CPV-construction in Dutch, the Afrikaans construction shows a more flexible word order: The object can appear in many more

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positions, in line with the general characteristics of Afrikaans with respect to the relative positioning of verb and object/complement.

7.5. Passivization.

The possibility of passivizing a periphrastic construction is probably the most dramatic difference between Dutch and Afrikaans in the domain of progressive aspect marking. In Dutch, none of the progressive constructions can be passivized, as shown in 33a (*bezig*-construction), 33b (CPV *te*-construction), and 33c (*aan het*-construction).

(33) Dutch

a. *[**De appel**]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ *is bezig om* gegeten$_{\text{V}}$ *te worden* door hem.
b. *[**De appel**]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ *wordt* door hem *gezeten te* eten$_{\text{V.INF}}$.
c. *[**De appel**]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ *is aan het* gegeten$_{\text{V.INF}}$ *worden* door hem.
'The apple is being eaten by him.'

In contrast, in Afrikaans, the *besig*- and the CPV *en*-constructions can occur in the passive voice, as shown in 34a and 34b, respectively. The *aan die*-construction, however, cannot be passivized, just like its Dutch counterpart (see 34c).

(34) Afrikaans

a. **[Die appel]$_{\text{OBJ}}$** *is besig om* deur hom geëet$_{\text{V}}$ *te word*.
b. **[Die appel]**$_{\text{OBJ}}$ *word* deur hom *gesit en* eet$_{\text{V.INF}}$.
c. *[**Die appel**]$_{\text{OBJ}}$ *is aan die* geëet$_{\text{V}}$ *word* deur hom.
'The apple is being eaten by him.'

However, passivized *besig*- and CPV-constructions are not a very common phenomenon in Afrikaans. Only eight examples of the passive *besig*-construction could be found in the TK corpus, as shown in 35, and none for CPV *en*.

(35) [**Quartel**] $_{\text{OBJ}}$ *was besig om* gelaai$_{\text{V}}$ *te word* vir die terugvaart Kaap toe.
'Quartel was being loaded for the return voyage to the Cape.'

There are no attestations of passive CPV *en*-constructions (see 36a) on the Internet, though a number of impersonal passives were found (as

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shown in 36b and 36c). These passives can have the locative adverbs *daar* 'there' or *hier* 'here' as expletive subjects (see also Ponelis 1979:408).

(36) a. **[Detensie]$_{OBJ}$** word gesit en ouers word gekontak vir afspraak met onderwyser.[40]

'(They) sit in detention and their parents are contacted for a meeting with the teacher.'

b. Daar word **gesit en hengel** soos met paalhengel.[41]
'People are (sitting) fishing like with a pole.'

c. Hier word **gesit en stry** oor 'n ossewa, pleks van oor gebiede wat nie eens basiese dienste soos drinkwater of riool-aanlegte het nie.[42]

'People are (sitting) fighting over an ox wagon, instead of over areas which don't even have basic services such as drinking water or sewage plants.'

With CPV *en*, only the postular auxiliary verb takes the passive-participial form, while the main verb remains unchanged.

(37) a. Die appel word **gesit en eet** deur hom.
b. ?Die appel word **gesit en geëet** deur hom.

'The apple is being eaten by him.'

The possibility of passivizing Afrikaans periphrastic progressive constructions appears to indicate one of the last stages in their grammatical evolution, compared to cognate constructions in other

[40] http://www.drhavinga.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/DISSIPLINERE-KODE-TEN-OPSIGTE-VAN-LEERDERS-2013.pdf, accessed on July 6, 2017

[41] http://www.stywelynetightlines.co.za/article.html?articleID=258, accessed on February 1, 2012

[42] http://152.111.1.87/argief/berigte/rapport/1998/02/15/10/17.html, accessed on February 1, 2012

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Germanic languages, such as Dutch or German. Furthermore, as discussed above, Afrikaans speakers have a stronger "need" to mark progressive aspect than Dutch or German speakers. These observations place Afrikaans closer to English than to either Dutch or German, whose periphrastic progressive constructions are neither very frequent nor highly grammaticalized.

8. Conclusion.

Based on frequency of use, periphrastic progressives are generally more widespread in Afrikaans than in Dutch. All three Afrikaans constructions occur more frequently than their Dutch cognate constructions. In Dutch, the CPV *te*-construction is more widely used than the others, with *staan te* being the most popular. In Afrikaans, the *besig*-construction appears to be the most generalized and neutral way to refer to actual ongoingness. Even if attending to progressive aspect looks relatively more common in Afrikaans, not all constructions can be considered grammaticalized to the same extent. In fact, both *aan die*- and CPV *en*-constructions exhibit a trait that points to a degree of semantic restriction, namely, typical collocations with specific verb types. They share this trait with the Dutch constructions, with the exception of *aan het*, which is more generalized in this regard than CPV *te*, despite its overall lower frequency. Finally, in Afrikaans, collocations with *aan die*- and CPV *en*-constructions are restricted to certain transitive predicates. In this respect, they resemble the German *sein am*-construction. The *besig*- and CPV *en*-constructions do allow passivization, which is remarkable for such periphrastic expressions.

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