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## Progressive markers in Germanic languages

### 1. Introduction

#### 1.1. The state of the art

Progressive markers have never been treated systematically in any grammar of a Germanic language other than English. (The English progressive was not part of the present investigation, as it is dealt with by Bertinetto (this volume)). The reason for the neglect may lie in the fact that the progressive is nowhere grammaticalized to the same extent as in English. This is reflected on the one hand in the optionality of the markers, on the other in a variety of alternative forms.

The progressive constructions are, however, mentioned in various subchapters of grammars, sometimes in a chapter on participles (Koefoed 1969: 188) or on the use of the preterite (Jones & Gade 1981: 119), sometimes only in a footnote (Duden 1984: 94, Erben 1972: 75). In the German tradition they are subsumed under 'durative aspect' or 'aktionsart'; in grammars with an Anglo-Saxon orientation they are often presented as optional possibilities for translating the English progressive. Kress (1982: 159f) has a whole chapter on the Icelandic progressive formed with *að*, but refers to the postural verb construction only in a footnote. Hansen (1967: 30-31) classifies the Danish postural verb construction as a durative aktionsart/aspect, whereas *være ved at / være i færd med* is said to indicate non-completed activities. The Dutch grammar by Geerts et al. (1984) offers the most explicit discussion, devoting several pages to both the postural verb construction and *aan het V zijn*. Both are, together with continuative, subsumed under 'duratief aspect'.

Of the few recent articles, Andersson (1989) deserves special mention. Andersson describes the use of the German *am*-form in the Rhineland dialect, but he also gives a brief summary of the Standard German progressive markers which gives more information than any of the grammars. Boogaart (1991), van der Hauwe (1992) and Bhatt & Schmidt (1993) are attempts to explain the Dutch and German progressives in theoretical models. I have earlier published two articles on Fering and on German and Dutch progressives (Ebert 1989, 1996), based mainly on native speaker intuition and/or written prose.

## 1.2. The data

The investigation of tense and aspect in EUROTYP was based on questionnaires. Answers to the Progressive Questionnaire (PROGQ, see p. ??? in this volume) were provided for the following languages:

Icelandic:	1
Swedish:	7
Danish:	3
North Frisian <sup>1</sup> :	6 (4 Fering-Öömrang, 1 Wiidinghiird, 1 Mooring)
Frysk:	1 (based on several native speakers' judgments)
Dutch:	2
German:	8 (5 standard colloquial <sup>2</sup> , 1 Rhineland, 2 mixed with Rhineland influence)
Zürütütsch:	4

We collected no data for Faroese, Norwegian, Low German, and Yiddish, which will be mentioned briefly in part 5. The different forms used in the answers to PROGQ are listed in Table 4 at the end of this article. Eight questionnaires have been neglected in this Table: three Swedish ones which do not contain a single progressive construction; the questionnaire from the Mooring dialect of North Frisian, as practically only Iib forms (see Table 1) are used; two German questionnaires which have progressive markers only in the incidental schema<sup>3</sup> and in PROGQ: 1. These results are, of course, interesting in themselves, but they need not be listed. Two of the Zürütütsch questionnaires, which did not yield anything new, were neglected mainly for reasons of space.

Evaluation of the PROGQs was problematic for several reasons. Some consultants tried to list all possibilities, whereas others gave only the translation that came to mind first. Some checked and discussed with several native speakers, so that their questionnaire already represents a broader consensus (e.g., Frysk). The informants did not always understand what the intended meaning was. If the misunderstanding is obvious, I have left a blank in Table 4. Very few informants answered the theoretical questions.<sup>4</sup>

In some of the languages the progressive constructions belong to an informal style. They are frequent in the spoken language, but avoided in writing. In a few cases I had the possibility to conduct an oral interview following the completion of the questionnaire; the results were sometimes rather different, especially for German, where many dialectal and sociolectal differences exist. A systematic comparison of the written and the elicited data on one hand with spoken discourse on the other would be interesting, but was beyond the aims and possibilities of the project.

## 1.3. Inventory of progressive markers

Most Germanic languages have at least two types of constructions used in the typical progressive contexts:

I. Postural verb constructions: (POS)	"sit" + to + INF (Frisian, Dutch) "sit" + and + V (Scandinavian)
II. Prepositional constructions: (PREP)	be + in/at + the + INF (Dutch, Frisian, German) be + at + to + INF (Danish) be + to + INF (Icelandic)
III. 'hold' constructions: (HOLD)	hold on/in (Swedish, Norwegian, Yiddish)

The postural verbs include the verbs for 'sit', 'stand', 'lie', 'hang' and 'go (around)'. The verb 'go' in a POS-construction always indicates undirected motion. German and Zürütütsch lack the POS-construction. The PREP- and the HOLD-constructions are used in roughly the same way, and languages have either one or the other. I have distinguished a subgroup PREP Iib for Frisian and German forms with the preposition *bi*, *bei* 'at, near', which is restricted to agentive verbs.

The expressions listed under IV in Table 1 all emphasize the dynamic, active character of the event, comparable to French *être en train de* or English *be busy doing*. All are marginal; only a few forms were used in the questionnaires (see Appendix).

Table 1. Progressive markers (3rd person sing. forms)

	I POS	Iia PREP	Iib 'bei'	III HOLD	IV BUSY
Ice	sittur og	er að			
Swd	sitter och			hålla på och/att	er i färd med att
Dan	sidder og	er ved at			er i gang med
Wiid	sät to/än	äs oon't	äs bai to/än		
FerÖöm	sat tu	as uun't	as bi tu/an		
Frysk	sit te	is oan 't			is oan 'e gong mei
Dut	zit te	is aan het			is bezig te
Grm	—	ist am	ist beim		ist dabei zu
Zürü	—	isch am			isch draa z'
Far	sit og	er og			er fáast við at
Nor	står og			holde på (med)	
Yid				halt in	
LowGrm	sit un	is an't	is bii un		

## 2. Use of the progressive markers

### 2.1. Test cases

The PREP and POS-constructions were used in typical progressive contexts, e.g., as answers to the question 'What is X doing right now?' (PROGQ: 1, 6–18) and in the incidental schema (see (3)). (As the structure of all Germanic languages is very similar to that of English, I have chosen to provide word-by-word rather than morphemic glosses, which would complicate the reading unnecessarily. I also gloss sentences with parallel constructions together for reasons of space. Icelandic *að* corresponds to both 'at' and 'to').

#### (1) (PROGQ: 1)<sup>5</sup>

Ice	Hún	er	að	vinna.
Dan	Hun	er	ved at	arbejde.
Wiid	Jü	äs	bai to	äprüütten.
	she	is	AT to	work / clean_up
Swd	Hon	håller på att	arbeta / håller på och	arbetar.
	she	holds on to	work holds on and	works

FerÖöm	Hat	as	uun't	köögin.
Frysk	Hja	is	oan't	iten-sieden.
Dutch	Ze	is	aan het	koken.
Grm	Sie	ist	am	Kochen.
Züri	Si	isch	am	choche.
	she	is	IN/AT	the cooking <sup>6</sup>
				'She is working / cleaning up / cooking.'

#### (2) (PROGQ: 7)

Swd	Han	sitter	och	läser	tidningen.
Dan	Han	sidder	og	læser	avisen.
Wiid	Hi	sät	än	löst	et blåär.
	he	sits	and	reads	the newspaper
FerÖöm	Hi	sat	uun't	bleed	tu leezen.
	he	sits	in_the	newspaper	to read
Frysk	Hy	sit	in	krante	te lêzen.
Dut	Hij	zit	de	krant	te lezen.
	he	sits	a/the	newspaper	to read
					'He is reading a/the newspaper.'

#### (3) (PROGQ: 3)

þegar Jón kom, da John kom ...

a.	Ice	... var	Anna	enn	að	vinna.
	Dan	... var	Anne	stadigvæk	ved at	arbejde
		... was	A.	still	AT	work:INF
	Swd	... höll	Ann	fortfarande	på	att arbeta
		held	Ann	still	on	to work:INF
	FerÖöm	... wiar	Anne	noch	uun't	leezen
	Frysk	... wie	Anne	noch	oan't	lêzen
	Dut	... was	Anne	nog	aan het	lezen
	Grm	... war	Anna	noch	am	Lesen.
		was	A.	still	IN/AT_the	reading
b.	(lacking in Icelandic and German)					
	Dan	... sad	A.	og	arbejdede.	
	Swd	... satt	A.	och	arbetade.	
				sat	A. and	worked
	FerÖöm	... seed	A.	noch	tu leezen.	
	Frysk	... siet	A.	noch	te lêzen.	
	Dut	... zat	A.	nog	te lezen.	
				sat	A. still	to read
						'[When John came], Anne was still working / reading.'

As a rule, progressives were not used in the negative test sentences PROGQ: 2, 4, 5, 71 exemplifying habitual (but cf. (33)), repeated or sequential actions. No progressives were used with stative verbs in any of the languages (PROGQ: 39–43). Unlike in English, it is not possible to use a progressive to express temporary states. Thus none of the other Germanic languages can have a progressive marker in the translations of: *She is sitting in the kitchen* (PROGQ: 28), *The shirt is hanging on the nail* (PROGQ: 29), *You are being rude this evening* (PROGQ: 42).

Progressives generally do not combine with adverbs that specify a limited duration. No PREP- or HOLD-constructions were used in PROGQ: 48. The fact that a number of informants in various languages chose a POS here (cf. (29)) suggests a different status for this construction.

### 2.2. Transitive verbs and incorporation

The North Frisian and Standard German PREP and POS do not combine with a direct object. In order to use a progressive, the verb phrase has to be intransitivized by way of incorporation. Incorporation is common, also in Frysk and Dutch<sup>7</sup>, if the combination verb + noun designates a typical activity. This characterization is nec-

essarily vague, as no well-defined rules exist and there is much individual variation. Thus peeling potatoes and catching butterflies are obviously 'typical' activities in Germanic societies, whereas catching elephants and writing a thesis are not.<sup>8</sup> If the object cannot be incorporated, North Frisian and German speakers have to resort to some other construction, as in (5b).<sup>9</sup>

- (4) (PROGQ: 12)
- |        |     |     |         |                     |      |    |         |           |
|--------|-----|-----|---------|---------------------|------|----|---------|-----------|
| Frysk  | Hja | is  | oan 't  | jirpel-skilen/      | is   | j. | oan 't  | skilen.   |
| Dutch  | Ze  | is  | aan het | aardappel-schillen/ | is   | a. | aan het | schillen. |
| FerÖöm | Hat | as  | uun't   | eerdaapler-skelin/  | *as  | e. | uun't   | skelin.   |
| Grm    | Sie | ist | am      | Kartoffel-schälen/  | *ist | K. | am      | Schälen.  |
- she is IN/AT\_the potato(es)-peeling is p. IN/AT\_the peeling  
'She is peeling potatoes.'

- (5) a. (PROGQ: 14)
- |       |     |      |       |      |             |        |           |
|-------|-----|------|-------|------|-------------|--------|-----------|
| Frysk | Hja | is   | trije | kilo | jirpels     | oan 't | skilen    |
|       | she | is   | 3     | kilo | potatoes    | AT_the | peeling   |
| Dutch | Ze  | zit  | drie  | kilo | aardappelen | te     | schillen. |
|       | she | sits | 3     | kilo | potatoes    | to     | peel      |
- b. FerÖöm Hat as diarbi, 6 pünj eerdaapler tu skelin.  
Grm Sie ist dabei, 6 Pfund Kartoffeln zu schälen.  
she is there\_AT 6 pound potatoes to peel  
'She is peeling 6 pounds of potatoes.'

There is an alternative construction which transforms the direct object into a prepositional phrase, thereby deteleicizing it (cf. also FerÖöm (2)).

- (6) (PROGQ: 18)
- |        |     |          |     |       |                                       |
|--------|-----|----------|-----|-------|---------------------------------------|
| FerÖöm | Hat | skraft   | bi  | sin   | doktorarbeit.                         |
| Grm    | Sie | schreibt | an  | ihrer | Doktorarbeit.                         |
|        | she | writes   | at  | her   | dissertation                          |
| Dutch  | Ze  | zit      | aan | haar  | proefschrift te werken. <sup>10</sup> |
|        | she | sits     | at  | her   | dissertation to write/work            |
- 'She is writing her dissertation.'

In the Rhineland dialect, *am* is used with transitive verbs just as naturally as with intransitives (cf. Andersson 1989; Bhatt & Schmidt 1993).<sup>11</sup> Some Züritütsch speakers incorporate definite noun phrases and even locative complements.<sup>12</sup> (The Züritütsch examples are rendered in the transcription used in the questionnaires.)

- (7) (PROGQ: 13)
- |        |     |      |        |            |        |                   |
|--------|-----|------|--------|------------|--------|-------------------|
| GrmRhi | Sie | ist  | die    | Kartoffeln | am     | Schälen.          |
|        | she | is   | the    | potatoes   | AT_the | peeling           |
| Züri   | Si  | isch | (grad) | am         | t'     | herdöpfel schele. |
|        | she | is   | just   | AT         | the    | potatoes peel     |
- 'She is peeling the potatoes.'

- (8) (PROGQ: 16)
- |        |     |      |     |          |              |                  |
|--------|-----|------|-----|----------|--------------|------------------|
| GrmRhi | Sie | ist  | die | Hühner   | am           | Raus-jagen.      |
|        | she | is   | the | chickens | AT_the       | out-chasing      |
| Züri   | Si  | isch | am  | t'       | hüener       | us em huus jage. |
|        | she | is   | AT  | the      | chickens out | the house chase  |
- 'She is chasing the chickens out of the house.'

Locative phrases can be incorporated together with objects to some degree also in Standard German and Frisian. Object, locative and verb together are then quasi-lexicalized. Note, however, that definite objects are totally unacceptable.

- (9) a. FerÖöm Jo san uun't (\*dön) köölen-deel-uun-kääler-dreegen.  
Grm Sie sind am (\*die) Kohlen-in-den-Keller-tragen.  
they are AT\_the the coals-(down)in-the-cellar-carrying  
'They are carrying coals down into the basement.'
- b. Frysk Hja binne oan't hea yn 'e skuorre bringen.  
FerÖöm Jo san uun't fooder iin uun skini keeren.  
they are in\_the hay into in the barn taking  
'They are taking hay into the barn.'

### 2.3. Combinability with tense, voice and modal verbs

There are in principle no restrictions for the combination of progressives with tenses. As marking of future time reference is not common in any of the languages, it is not surprising that we found only present progressive forms in future contexts (e.g. PROGQ: 83). Only the Icelandic future marker cannot be combined with the progressive (Kress 1982: 159). The Dutch future marker is more acceptable with *aan't* than with POS (De Groot 1992: 7). In Fering-Öömring, inserting *wal* or *skal* with a progressive marker invariably yields a modal interpretation (cf. Ebert 1994a).

- (10) a. (FTRQ: 2, Dahl 1992: 64)
- |     |     |        |     |       |    |     |        |     |        |
|-----|-----|--------|-----|-------|----|-----|--------|-----|--------|
| Swd | Han | kommer | att | hålla | på | att | skriva | ett | brev.  |
|     | he  | comes  | to  | hold  | on | to  | write  | a   | letter |

- Dutch Hij zal brieven *aan het* schrijven *zijn* /?zitten te schrijven.  
he shall letters AT the writing be sit to write  
'He will be writing a letter/letters.'
- b. Grm Wenn du nachhause kommst, werde ich *am*  
when you home come FUT I AT\_the  
Briefeschreiben *sein*.  
letter-writing be  
'When you come home, I will be writing letters.'

In PROGQ: 81 (=11a) with a present perfect both progressive constructions were used, though POS is somewhat more natural in Dutch and the Frisian languages.<sup>13</sup>

## (11) a. (PROGQ: 81)

- Ice *ég er búinn að vera að baka í allan dag.*  
I PF be AT baking in all day
- Swd Jag *har hållit på att baka hela dagen.*  
I have held:PP on to bake whole day:DEF
- FerÖöm Ik *san di hiale daai uun 't baagen weezen.*  
Frysk Ik *ben de hiele dei oan 't bakken west.*  
Grm Ich *bin den ganzen Tag am Backen gewesen.*  
I am the whole day AT the baking been
- b. FerÖöm Ik *haa di hiale daai stänen tu baagen.*  
Frysk Ik *ha de hiele dei stien te bakken.*  
Dutch Ik *heb de hele dag staan bakken.*  
I have the whole day stood:PP to bake  
'I have been baking the whole day.'

Icelandic is the only language where a past perfect was used in PROGQ: 82. Combinations of past perfect with progressive markers seem somewhat odd in the other languages; I have only found a single natural occurrence with a POS. The example translates naturally into Fering with a POS, but not with PREP.

- (11) c. Dan [På politigården i Malmö bed Per Månsson tandstikkeren  
over]  
som han *havde siddet og tygget på*,...  
which he had sat:PP and chewed:PP on  
(Sjöwall & Wahlöö, cited from Haberland 1978: 65)

- FerÖöm [Üüb a politsei uun Malmö beed Per M. det swaawelstook  
troch.]  
huar hi *üüb tu kauin seeden hed* /  
where he on to chew sat:PP had  
?huar hi uun't kauin *üüb weesen wiar*  
'[In the Malmö police station Per Månsson bit through the  
match] he had been chewing on.'

The combination of a PREP with a modal verb in PROGQ: 79, 80 yields only an epistemic reading (12a). The two sentences in question do not invite a POS, but this construction combines freely with modal verbs in the deontic meaning. In sentences (12b, c) PREP is excluded.

## (12) a. (PROGQ: 79)

- Swd Tom måste *hålla på och* mata djuren.  
T. must hold on and feed animals:DEF
- Dutch Tom moet de dieren *aan het* voederen *zijn*.
- FerÖöm Tom mut *uun't fulrin weez.*  
T. must the animals AT the feeding be  
'Tom must be feeding the animals.'
- b. FerÖöm Skääl dü imer *sat tu* liaren?  
must you always sit to learning  
'Do you have to sit and learn all the time?'
- c. FerÖöm Wi maad äi linger *üüb a bus stun tu* teewen.  
we liked not longer on the bus stand to waiting  
'We did not want to wait for the bus any longer.'

The progressive is excluded with 'be'-passives and with imperatives except in Icelandic. It is possible with the Scandinavian passives formed with *bli/blive* 'become' and with some passives in -s.

## (13) a. (PROGQ: 75)

- Icelandic það er *verið að bera matinn á borð.*  
it is become:PP to bring meal:DEF to table  
'Dinner is being served.'
- b. (PROGQ: 3e)  
Swd Hur länge har den här bron *hållit på att bygga-s?*  
how long has this here bridge:DEF held on to build-PASS  
'How long has this bridge been being built?'
- c. (PROGQ: 19)  
Swd Han *håller på och* blir klippt.  
he holds on and becomes cut:PP

- Dan Han *er ved at* blive klippet.  
 he is at to become cut:PP  
 'He is getting a haircut.'

#### 2.4. Combinability with types of verbs

The progressive constructions are excluded with stative verbs. They are common with dynamic verbs, both atelic (activities) and telic (accomplishments). The restriction of PREP and POS to intransitive constructions in North Frisian and German is syntactic rather than semantic. Telic intransitives do not pose a problem with *uun't/am*, although they are somewhat odd with POS (cf. part 3.1). The progressive is even obligatory in some cases, for example in (14a), if the people were later saved from starvation. Replacing the progressive by a simple form in (14b) would describe the situation as much less dramatic.

- (14) a. FerÖöm Jo *wiar uun't* ferhongrin, jo hed wegen niks rochts tu  
 Grm Sie *waren am* Verhungern, sie hatten Wochen nichts  
 they were AT\_the starving ...  
 iidjen fingen.  
 Rechtes gegessen.  
 'They were starving, they had not had proper food in weeks.'
- b. Grm Alle Varianten des Nordfriesischen *sind am* Aussterben.  
 all varieties of North Frisian are AT\_the out\_dying  
 'All varieties of North Frisian are dying out.'
- c. FerÖöm Hi *as uun't* promovieren.  
 Grm Er *ist am* Promovieren.  
 he is AT\_the dissertation\_writing  
 'He is writing his dissertation.'

If a progressive is used with a verb that is normally conceived of as momentaneous, it refers to a short pretransformative phase<sup>14</sup>, or it has the meaning of 'almost'. No POS is possible here.

- (15) a. FerÖöm Ik *wiar uun't*/\**laai tu* tusliapen, iar at telefon  
 Grm Ich *war am* Einschlafen, als das Telefon  
 I was at\_the / lay to falling\_asleep when the phone  
 klingert.  
 klingelte.  
 rang  
 'I was falling asleep when the phone rang.'

- b. Dan Jeg *var ved at* falde i søvn.  
 I was at to fall in sleep  
 'I almost fell asleep.' (no progressive reading possible)

The progressive is generally excluded with directed motion verbs. Cases with momentaneous motion verbs like (16) are interpreted in the same way as (15a), i.e., referring to a short time span before the transition point.

- (16) a. (PROGQ: 21)  
 Grm Sie *ist (gerade) am* Rausgehen.  
 Züri Si *isch (grad) am* usegaa.  
 'She is going out right now.'
- b. (PROGQ: 56)  
 Swd Tåget *håller på att* gå.  
 Dan Toget *er ved at* køre.  
 'The train is about to leave.'

No progressives were used with phasal verbs in Dutch, standard colloquial German, North Frisian or Frysk. The few cases where a progressive was combined with 'start' or 'finish' (PROGQ: 23–26) have an imminent meaning. The first Swedish informant (see Appendix) uses *hålla på att*, which generally can express imminent or progressive in these cases, whereas he has *hålla på och* with progressive meaning.<sup>15</sup>

Agentivity plays a major role in the choice between PREP and POS. With non-agentive verbs POS is clearly preferred in the languages which have it. The distribution of PREP vs. POS will be dealt with in section 3.

The 'busy'-constructions listed under IV are explicit means of indicating that a person is in the process of doing something. They combine only with agentive verbs, as do the PREP-constructions listed under IIb.

- (17) Dan \*Han er i gang med at sove.  
 Dutch \*Hij is bezig te slapen.  
 FerÖöm \*Hi as diarbi tu sliapen / \*bi tu sliapen.  
 Grm \*Er ist dabei zu schlafen / \*beim Schlafen.  
 'He is sleeping.'

#### 2.5. Motion progressive

The theoretical part of the PROGQ contained a question about a 'motion progressive' (Part II, 1e) and a 'locomotive' (Part II, 2c). Of the informants who answered the theoretical part, all but one stated that there were no such constructions in their language. Nevertheless the following sentences were given in the translations of the questionnaire sentences:

- (18) Danish
- a. (PROGQ: 1)  
 Hun går rundt og laver mad.  
 she goes around and makes food  
 'She is preparing dinner. / She is running around preparing dinner.'
- b. (PROGQ: 52)  
 Han går rundt og glemmer folks navne.  
 he goes around and forgets people's names  
 'He keeps forgetting people's names.'
- c. (PROGQ: 44)  
 Hun går og danser ved siden af.  
 she goes and dances at side:DEF off  
 'She is dancing in the next room.'
- (19) Wiidinghiird (PROGQ: 33)  
 Hi lapt steeriwäch ün fernärmed sän nääber mä sin  
 he walks continuously and insults his neighbor with his  
 dääsie fraage.  
 stupid questions  
 'He goes around insulting his neighbor with his stupid questions.'

The Danish consultant explains: One would normally say *Hun står og laver mad* ('stands and'); with *går rundt* one gets the impression that the person is moving around "like a wild hen". A negative connotation of this construction is also mentioned in the Dutch grammar (Geerts et al.: 538).

A negative emotion can, however, also be expressed by (other) postural verbs (cf. (21a), (26)), and a motion verb construction can have a neutral interpretation, parallel to that of POS-constructions, as in:

- (20) a. Danish (Jones & Gade 1981: 119)  
 Stephen gik og glædede sig til sin fødselsdag.  
 S. went and looked\_forward to his birthday  
 'Stephen was looking forward to his birthday.'
- b. Dutch Casper was ziek en liep te hoesten.  
 FerÖöm Kasper wiar kraank an lep tu hoostin.  
 C. was sick and walked to cough  
 'Casper was ill and was (going around) coughing.'

A negative interpretation seems to be invited by the particle 'around', which has the same effect with 'sit' or 'stand' (21a), but in some languages 'around' does not exclude a neutral reading. Inserting *ambi* in Fering (21b) would imply a negative

evaluation of the activity, whereas the Swedish sentence with *runt* does not necessarily have this reading. (21c) on the other hand, given that the sentence implies a negative judgement, would be odd without 'around' in Fering and Danish, though not in Dutch. It is totally impossible without *herum* in German, which does not have a POS-construction.

- (21) a. FerÖöm Hi sat *ambi* tu stüpen.  
 Grm Er sitzt *rum* und säuft.  
 he sits around to booze / and boozes  
 'He sits around boozing.'
- b. Swd Hon går (*runt*) och samlar pengar för Jugoslavien.  
 she goes around and collects money for J.  
 FerÖöm Hat leept (*\*ambi*) tu saamin.  
 she walks around to collect:INF  
 'She is collecting (for Yugoslavia).'
- c. (PROGQ: 2)  
 FerÖöm Hi leept *ambi* tu pochin.  
 Dutch Hij loopt te pochen.  
 Dan Han går *runt* og praler.  
 Grm Er läuft *herum* und gibt an.  
 he walks around to brag / and brags  
 'He goes around bragging (all the time).'

There is thus no clear evidence for distinguishing a motion progressive from postural verb constructions, nor for distinguishing a motion progressive from a 'locomotive',<sup>16</sup> of the type 'go around'. German is the only language that has no POS, and it does not allow *läuft und V*. It does have the attitudinal construction *läuft herum und V*, but also *sitzt/steht herum und V*. In the other languages there is no clear distinction between constructions with 'go' and 'go around'. The motion progressive can therefore be included in the POS-constructions, 'going (around)' being a type of constant body position.<sup>17</sup> A POS-construction with a verb meaning 'go, walk' is common in Danish, Dutch and Frysk, but very restricted in North Frisian. For Icelandic and Swedish more detailed information is necessary.

### 3. Prepositional vs. postural verb constructions

#### 3.1. Semantic and pragmatic conditions

What factors determine the choice between PREP/HOLD and POS? Although the PROGQ was not specially designed to test this opposition, some general rules and tendencies became apparent. In Table 2 I have arranged the forms used in the

Table 2. POS vs PREP with types of verbs

Swedish				Danish			
<b>+agentive</b>							
<b>+telic</b>							
PROGQ: 8	0,h*	0,h	0,h	0,h	0	(POS),ved	i gang
10	0,h	0	h	0	0	POS,ved	ved
14	h	0	0,h	0,h	ved	POS,ved	i gang
17	h	0	0,h	0	ved	POS,ved	ved
<b>-telic</b>							
1	0,h	0,h	0,h	0,POS,h	0	PCS	0,i gang
7	0,POS	0	0,POS	0,POS	0	POS,ved	ved
9	0,POS	0	0	0	0	PCS	POS
12	0,POS	0,h	0,h	0,h	0	POS,ved	0,i gang
44	0	0,h	0,h	0	0	0,POS	0
45	0	0	POS	0	-	0,POS	0
<b>-agentive</b>							
<b>+telic</b>							
38?	h	0	0,h	0	0,POS	0,POS	POS
<b>-telic</b>							
35	0,h	0	0	POS	0	-	POS
37	0,POS	0	0	0	0,POS	0,POS	0
77	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>non-intentional</b>							
33	0	0	0,h	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0,POS	0	0	0	0
<b>North Frisian</b>							
<b>+agentive</b>							
<b>+telic</b>							
8	bai	bi	uun	uun	bi	oan	0 bezig
10	0	0	0	0	0	oan,POS	0
14	bai	0	0,bi	0	0,POS	oan,POS	POS
17	0	bi	0	0	-	oan	0 bezig
<b>-telic</b>							
1	bai	POS,uun	uun	uun	POS,uun	POS	0 POS
7	POS	POS	POS	POS	0	oan,POS	aan POS
9	POS	uun	uun	uun	POS,uun	oan	0 bezig
12	POS	POS,uun	uun	POS	bi,POS	oan,POS	POS
44	bai	uun	uun	uun, bi	0,uun	oan	aan -
45	bai	uun	uun	POS,uun	POS,uun	oan	0 -
<b>-agentive</b>							
<b>-telic</b>							
35	POS	POS	0	POS	0	0,POS	POS POS
37	0	0,POS	0	uun	0	0,PCS	POS 0
38	0	0,POS	0	POS	0,POS	0,PCS	0 POS
77	0	0	0	uun	0	0	0 0
<b>-intentional</b>							
33	POS	0	0	0	0	0	POS 0
34	POS	0	0	0	0	0	POS 0

<b>+agentive, +telic</b>		<b>-telic</b>	
PROGQ:8	build a shed	PROGQ:1	work
10?	give a present	7	read the newspaper
14	peel 3 kilos of potatoes	9	sing (a song)
17	chase 2 chickens out of the house	12	peel potatoes
		44	dance
		45	play cards
<b>-agentive, +telic</b>			
38?	rot (Scandin.)	38	rot (Frns)
		37	boil
		35	dream
		77	rain
<b>-intentional</b>			
34	admit one's guilt	33	insult the neighbor

\* h stands for *hälla på*; the other small letters abbreviate various types or PREP forms, which should speak for themselves. Cf. Table 1.

PROGQ according to verb types. This arrangement reveals certain patterns that are lost in the general list in Table 4 (Appendix).

Agentive verbs combine in principle with both PREP/HOLD and POS. Since the postural verbs still carry some of their original meaning, they are in general restricted to events that take place with the protagonist in a constant position. POS was used in PROGQ: 7 (=2) and PROGQ: 70 for 'read' in all the Frisian and in most Scandinavian questionnaires, in PROGQ: 12 for 'peel potatoes' in most Frisian and in some Scandinavian questionnaires, i.e., with activities that are typically carried out while sitting (or standing in the case of Scandinavians peeling potatoes). But POS is always possible if the activity is carried out, or imagined as being carried out, with a certain position of the body. Thus informants have people 'sit' or 'stand' cleaning a gun (PROGQ: 6) or singing a song (PROGQ: 9), 'sit', 'stand' or 'go around' admitting their guilt (PROGQ: 34), 'sit' playing cards (PROGQ: 45) and 'go around' dancing (PROGQ: 44).

The choice between PREP, POS and simple form seems to be partly dependent on personal preferences. The second Danish consultant translated practically all agentive verbs with both POS and PREP; the other two Danes used no or one POS in the examples of Table 2. The POS-constructions of the two Dutch informants are practically in complementary distribution: one has nearly all his POS forms with agentive verbs, the other has POS only with non-agentive verbs.<sup>18</sup>

What is most striking in Table 2 is the rarity of PREP forms with non-agentive verbs. The Danish, Frysk and Dutch informants did not use a single PREP here, and only two PREP forms occurred in one of the five North Frisian questionnaires. Whether a postural verb was used or not with non-agentive verbs depends again on the general condition mentioned above, namely the constant position of the protago-



nist or object. There was a high number of POS in PROGQ: 35 (=22). One usually dreams while lying down, and although it is also possible to sit, stand or go around dreaming only the verb 'lie' was used in the questionnaires.

- (22) (PROGQ: 35)
- |        |  |
|--------|--|
| Dan    | Han <i>ligger</i> og drømmer om sin pige.  |
| Wiid   | Hi <i>läit</i> <i>än</i> driimt fuon sin fründin.<br>he lies and dreams about/of his girl(friend)                                  |
| FerÖöm | Hi <i>läit</i> faan sin foomen <i>tu</i> dremen.   |
| Frysk  | Hy <i>leit</i> fan syn faam <i>te</i> dreamen.   |
| Dutch  | Hij <i>ligt</i> van zijn vriendin <i>te</i> dromen.<br>he lies of his girl(friend) to dream<br>'He is dreaming of his girlfriend.' |

The verb 'dream' is odd with a PREP/HOLD form. Two consultants wrote that this combination would imply that the person is not sleeping, or that he is absorbed in his dreaming; i.e., a more active interpretation results.

Table 2 suggests that agentivity is the crucial factor and non-agentive verbs rule out PREP. That this is not generally true was clear already from Fering and German (14a, b).

No clear picture emerged for the role of telicity in the choice of the progressive form. PREP is sometimes preferred with telic verbs (cf. (23)), but this did not become clear from the questionnaires. Östen Dahl (PROGQ comments) thinks that "*hålla på* is more often used with telic verbs, and in general with goal-directed activities. With the postural verbs, it is rather the other way round". This is only partly confirmed in Table 2. There is not a single POS with telic verbs in Swedish, but there are many HOLD forms with atelic verbs. Dahl himself does not make a clear difference between atelic PROGQ: 12 (peel potatoes) and telic PROGQ: 13–15 (peel the / all the / 3 kilos potatoes). Though he uses only POS in the former and only HOLD in PROG 14–15, he gives both a POS and a HOLD form for telic PROGQ: 13 (peel the potatoes). As Table 4 in the Appendix shows, most informants marked all four sentences in the same way. The exceptions are of course North Frisian and German, where incorporation is possible only with the indefinite object. Atelic PROGQ: 16 and telic PROGQ: 17 (chase chickens / two chickens out of the house) were marked identically by all Scandinavian informants, and there are no relevant differences in the other questionnaires.

A candidate for a telic non-agentive verb in the questionnaire is 'rot' (PROGQ: 38), but the actionality of this verb in the individual languages is far from clear. Intransitive telic verbs often have ambiguous actionality. For instance apples can (in English) *rot in a week or for a week*, towels can *dry in two hours or for two hours*. But the actionality of the translational equivalents of these verbs need not be the

same. Whereas Fering *drügi* has the same actionality as the English *dry* there are two different verbs for 'rot'. The atelic *röödi* combines preferably with POS, the telic *ferröödi* with PREP (23). With the verb *drügi* 'dry' both forms are possible (24), but I could not say that *uun't drügin* implies the idea that eventually the towels will become dry and *hingi tu drügin* does not.

The Swedish verb *rutna* seems to be telic. Dahl finds *hålla på* "natural since the process is not yet complete". HOLD was used in two of the Swedish questionnaires. Haberland (p.c) excludes a progressive interpretation for *er ved at røдне* (23), but not for *er ved at tørre* (24).

- (23) (PROGQ: 38)
- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| FerÖöm   | A aapler <i>hingi</i> tüüb a buum <i>tu</i> röödin /* <i>tu</i> ferröödin.<br>the apples hang on the tree to rotting<br>A aapler <i>san uun't</i> ferröödin / ?uun't röödin.<br>the apples are IN_the rotting |
| Dan      | Æblerne <i>hænger</i> og rådnér på træet. / ?er ved at røдне.<br>apples:DEF hang and rot on tree:DEF  |
| Swd      | Äpplena <i>håller på</i> och ruttnar på träden.<br>apples:DEF HOLD on and rot on tree:DEF<br>'The apples are rotting (on the tree).'  |
| (24) Dan | Tørreklæderne <i>er ved at</i> tørre.   |
| FerÖöm   | A hoonskütjen <i>san uun't</i> drügin / <i>hingi</i> noch <i>tu</i> drügin.   |
| Grn      | Die Handtücher <i>sind am</i> Trocknen.<br>the towels are AT_the drying hang still to drying<br>'The towels are drying.'  |

Whether there is a different actionality involved or whether the difference is just idiosyncratic needs to be clarified. Generally more research into the actionality of the verbs in the individual languages is necessary.

With 'boil' (PROGQ: 37) Swedish HOLD and Danish PREP have only an immaterial reading. This suggests that the verb is ingressive-phasal in those languages, meaning 'come to the boil, boil'.<sup>19</sup> With HOLD/PREP the ingressive component is selected, with POS the phasal component. In Frisian and Dutch the verb is atelic.

- (25) (PROGQ: 37)
- |     |  |
|-----|--|
| Swd | Vattnet <i>står</i> och kokar. ≠ Vattnet <i>håller på</i> att koka.                        |
| Dan | Vandet <i>står</i> og koger. ≠ Vandet <i>er ved</i> at koge.<br>water:DEF stands and boils |

FerÖöm	At weeder <i>stäänt tu köögin</i> . = ?At weeder <i>as uun't köögin</i> .
Frysk	It wetter <i>stiet te sieden</i> . *It wetter <i>is oan't sieden</i>
Dutch	Het water <i>staat te koken</i> . = ?Het water <i>is aan het koken</i> . the water stands to boil 'The water is boiling.'

It is not clear whether the impossibility or oddity of a PREP-construction with 'boil' in Frisian and Dutch is due to non-agentivity or to non-telicity. In Fering telicity seems to matter, as shown in (23) and in (14). According to the Frysk expert *oan't* is not possible with non-agentive verbs, but sentences like *de see wie oan't bearen* 'the sea was roaring' are clearly acceptable. This could be a quasi-agentive use, but there could also be a further factor involved, namely dynamicity.<sup>20</sup> Highly dynamic verbs favor PREP, whereas verbs of low dynamicity hardly occur with PREP even if they are agentive; e.g., in Germanic languages people generally 'sit/stand to wait'.

Non-intentional events are treated like non-agentive ones. Table 2 shows no PREP forms and only one Swedish HOLD. The POS-constructions chosen esp. by the Wiidinghiird and one Dutch informant seem to imply a negative evaluation, cf.

(26)	(PROGQ: 34)	
Swd	Han <i>står och erkänner</i> skulden oavsiktligt. he stands and admits guilt:DEF unintentionally	
Wiid	Soner dat 'r 't wiitj <i>lapt 'r je än säit</i> dat 'r without that he it knows goes he PART and says that he skili äs. guilty is	
Dutch	Hij <i>zit</i> onbewust zijn schuld toe <i>te geven</i> . he sits unconsciously his guilt PREP to give (toegeven – admit) 'He is (standing/sitting/going around) unintentionally admit- ting his guilt.'	

Two contributors remark that the postural verb in (25) implies duration. Haberland writes (PROGQ): "Vandet står og koger (og har gjort det et stykke tid)" [the water stands and boils (and has done this for a while)]. I think POS always implies some noticeable duration (cf. Ebert 1989), and this explains why it is incompatible with momentaneous verbs, where we only find PREP (cf. (15a)). That the remark is linked to this example is probably due to the fact that one would not normally let the water boil for a long time. In oral interviews Fering speakers sometimes inserted a temporal adverb indicating duration in postural verb sentences:

(27)	FerÖöm
	–Saaist dū: At weeder <i>stäänt tu köögin?</i> say you the water stands to boil
	–Je, at weeder <i>stäänt al tjiin minūten tu köögin</i> . yes the water stands already ten minutes to boil

Another somewhat vague factor has to do with goal-directedness or the importance attributed to the activity (cf. citation from Dahl above). This criterion has been elaborated somewhat in Ebert (1989) for Fering, where *uun't* is used if an activity belongs to the work that has to be done in a farming society and POS is preferred with leisure activities. Thus one can only say *hat as uun't moolkin* 'she is milking the cows', although I have never seen anyone milk a Frisian cow other than in a sitting position. The verb is atelic, but the activity is goal-oriented. Mending socks is also goal-oriented, but it is most normal to have a postural verb here: *Hat sat tu hōözen-stoopin*. Mending socks, knitting sweaters, and writing letters counted as a leisure activity in traditional Frisian society, done when the serious work was finished. All activities in the living quarters of the house allow POS; cf. also *stun tu baagen* (11b), *stun tu köögin*, *stun tu eerd bäären-iinmaagin* (stand to bake, to cook, to strawberries-preserving), *sat tu eerten-ūtpūlin*, *sat tu hōözenpreglin* (sit to pea-shelling, to stockings-knitting). The choice between PREP and POS here has to do with the degree of importance or urgency attributed to the activity. This factor seems to be relevant only in Fering. De Groot (p.c.) confirms that the factors a)–e) of Table 3 are also crucial for the choice between PREP and POS in Dutch, where one can, however, say *hij zit te melken* (he sits to milk).

Apart from some variation between languages or idiolects, the use of POS is remarkably stable across languages and apparently also across time.<sup>21</sup> Compare the following combinations with POS from Dutch and Swedish<sup>22</sup> prose with examples from English sources.

Table 3. Factors determining the choice between PREP and POS

	PREP		POS
a)	±constant position	←-----→	+constant position
b)	+agentive	←-----→	±agentive
c)	+telic	←-----→	–telic
d)	high dynamicity	←-----→	low dynamicity
e)	shorter duration	←-----→	longer duration
f)	goal-directed, important	←-----→	not goal-directed, less important

(28)	Dutch	
	ZAT TE	lezen, schrijven, kijken, breien, bedenken,
	SAT TO	read, write, look, knit, think,
		schommelen, appels schillen
		rock to and fro, peel apples
	STOND TE	wachten, dromen, kijken, bekijken, vertellen,
	STOOD TO	wait, dream, look, look at, tell,
		pulken, stampen
		picking (one's nose), stamp (one's foot)
	LAG TE	wachten, dromen, slapen, rommelen
	LAY TO	wait, dream, sleep, mess around/fuck
	LIEP TE	leuren
	WENT TO	peddle/hawk
	Swd	
	SATT OCH	läste, pratade, vaktade, stirrade
	SAT AND	read, talked, waited, stared
	STOD OCH	vred på..., höll ögat intill..., vacklade
	STOOD AND	rubbed, held the eyes against, shook
	MiEngl	
	SAT AND	lokede, thoughte, playd, behelde, song, dinede, loghe, ...
	STOD AND	lokede, thoughte, beheld, logh, wondrede, prechede, ...
	LAY AND	lokede, plaid, thoughte, ...
	ModEngl	
	SAT AND	talked, gazed, looked, smiled, listened, thought, mused, worked, ...
	STOOD AND	talked, gazed, looked, smiled, watched, stared, ...
	LAY AND	gazed, watched, ...

(and similar for Old English; see van der Gaaf 1934, Visser 1973: 1401–1408, 1902–1916). Earlier periods of English also had the constructions *sit V-ande*, *sit V-ing* and – with decreasing frequency – *sit to V*. Note that all the text examples have human subjects and none has a telic verb.

### 3.2. Temporal conditions

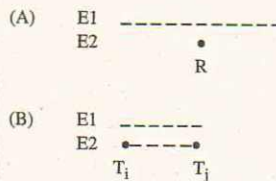
The POS-construction occurs in some contexts that are usually incompatible with progressives, e.g. with adverbs that indicate a temporal limit. In PROGQ: 48 (=29) no PREP, but various POS forms were used.

- (29) (PROGQ: 48)
- Dan Anne *sad* to timer *og* legede helt alene.  
A. sat 2 hours and played all alone
- FerÖöm Anne *seed* tau stünj alian *tu* spelin.  
Dutch Anne *zat* twee uur alleen *te* spelen.  
A. sat 2 hours alone to play  
'Anne played (?was playing) for two hours by herself.'

Although in some languages limiting adverbs can be combined with progressives (cf. Bertinetto & Delfitto, this volume), they are excluded with PREP-constructions in most Germanic languages. Dutch and the Rhineland dialect are an exception.

- (30) a. Dan Anne *var* (\*2 timer/\*fra 2 til 4) *ved at* lege.  
FerÖöm Anne *wiar* (\*2 stünj/\*faan 2 tu 4) *uun't* spelin.  
Grm Anna *war* (\*2 Stunden /\*von 2 bis 4) *am* Spielen.  
A. was (2 hours/from 2 to 4) AT\_the play:INF/VN
- b. Dutch (?)Anne *was* twee uur alleen *aan het* spelen.  
GrmRhi Anne *war* zwei Stunden alleine *am* Spielen.  
A. was 2 hours alone AT\_the playing

The PREP-constructions usually imply a focussing perspective: at a certain moment such-and-such event is in progress. This explains why they do not combine with adverbs that indicate a temporal limit. No such perspective is involved with POS. Here the event can be located in relation to a time interval with a specified duration or temporal endpoint. The temporal structure for the contexts in question can be symbolized as follows:



(A) symbolizes the focussing perspective, which is usually taken as a test case for progressives (cf. examples in section 2.1): E1 holds at reference point R, which can be a second event (E2)

(B) symbolizes the durative constellation, i.e., E1 holds over a time interval: E1 while E2 / from T<sub>i</sub> to T<sub>j</sub><sup>23</sup>

In situation A all Germanic languages use a progressive construction, PREP and POS often being equally adequate; in situation B most languages allow only POS.

In the focussing perspective the termination of E1 may roughly coincide with an E2 serving as R. Sentences like (3) 'When John came, Ann was still working' with a PREP-form in the subordinate clause can in all languages continue: 'but she got up immediately to mix a drink'. PREP is also compatible with adverbials which delimit a stretch of time including R, like 'since' (31a). The crucial factor is that the situation holds at R and leaves the endpoint unspecified. PREP is not possible if there is no temporal overlap, e.g., with adverbials like 'after 5 / after John left', 'before 5 / before John left'.

- (31) a. FerÖöm Anne *as* sant 2 stünj / sant klook 4 *uun't* spelin.  
 Grm Anna *ist* seit 2 Stunden / seit 4 Uhr *am* Spielen.  
 A. is since 2 hours / since 4 o'clock AT/IN\_the playing  
 'Ann has been playing for (since) 2 hours / since 4 o'clock.'
- b. FerÖöm [Efter a klook 7 / biföör John kaam,]  
 haa wi *seeden* tu koordin. / \*wiar wi *uun't*  
 have we sat to card\_playing were we IN\_the  
 koordin  
 card\_playing  
 '[After 7 o'clock / before John came] we were playing cards.'

For the POS-construction no limitation and no temporal overlap are necessary. Adverbials with somewhat vague limits, like 'during' and 'while' clauses, are bad with PREP (though apparently not with Swedish HOLD). Most informants used a POS in PROGQ: 49 and 50. Only one Swedish informant made a difference and used progressive markers in the unlimited context of PROGQ: 49 (=32a), but not in PROGQ: 50, which suggested that the talking stopped when the class was finished. Most Scandinavian and Frisian informants used POS in the 'while' clause of PROGQ: 70 (=32b), but not in the main clause. The clauses can easily be reversed, as in (32c), with the POS remaining with the verb 'sit'. If temporal limits are pragmatically not relevant, the use of POS is conditioned mainly by the type of activity. If temporal limits do matter, both POS and PREP are excluded with co-extensive events, as is shown by the oddity a POS or PREP would create with (32d).

- (32) a. Swedish (PROGQ: 49)  
 ... *höll* Ann *på* och pratade / satt Ann *och* pratade med  
 held A. on and talked sat A. and talked with  
 sin granne.  
 her neighbor  
 '[During the whole class] Ann was talking to her neighbor.' [and she carried on even afterwards].

- b. Danish (PROGQ: 70)  
 Mens Ann *sad* og læste på sit værelse, legede Martin i  
 while A. sat and read on her room played M. in  
 gården.  
 garden:DEF  
 'While Anne was reading in her room, Martin was playing in the garden.'
- c. Danish  
 Mens Martin legede i gården, *sad* Ann og læste på sit værelse.  
 'While Martin was playing in the garden, Ann was reading in her room.'
- d. Dutch (Boogaart 1991: 6)  
 [Oom hurkte, nam de arm van de man en telde diens polsslagen,]  
 terwijl hij op zijn horloge keek/\**zat* te kijken/\**aan* het kijken was.  
 while he on his watch looked  
 '[Uncle squatted down, took the arm of the man and counted his pulse]  
 while he looked /\*was looking at his watch.'

Due to the lack of a focussing perspective the POS-constructions combine easily with habitual contexts (33a) and analogous for the other languages). But then PREP seems to be compatible with a habitual interpretation, too (33b).

- (33) a. FerÖöm  
 At lidj *sat* an injem bluat noch *tu* fernseen.  
 the people sit in\_the evenings only PART to TV\_watching  
 Iar *seed's* *tu* koordin of *tu* leesen.  
 earlier sat they to card\_playing or to reading  
 'Nowadays people only watch TV in the evenings. Earlier they used to play cards or read.'
- b. FerÖöm Hat *as* imer *uun't* werkin.  
 Dut Zij *is* altijd *aan* het werken.  
 Grm Sie *ist* immer *am* Arbeiten.  
 she is always AT\_the working  
 'She is always working.'

To the question 'What does Ann do on Saturdays' (PROGQ: 2) one can answer with (c), but hardly with (d).<sup>24</sup>

- (33) c. FerÖöm An saninjem *as* hat imer *uun't* renskin.  
 Grm Samstags *ist* sie immer *am* Putzen.  
 on-Saturdays is she always IN/AT\_the cleaning  
 'On Saturdays she is always cleaning.'
- d. FerÖöm \*An saninjem *as* hat *uun't* renskin.  
 Grm \*Samstags *ist* sie *am* Putzen.

The adverb 'always' is crucial in those sentences, as it invokes plurifocalization: E1 holds at every R.

### 3.3. Grammaticization and stylistic variation

The Germanic progressives correspond to typologically frequent patterns; locative expressions and postural verbs are among the most frequent sources for progressive markers (Bybee & Dahl 1989, Bybee et al. 1994: 127ff., Heine et al. 1991: 117f.). Grammaticization has proceeded to different degrees. The PREP-constructions are all desemanticized. Syntactically they do not behave like 'be' + locative complement any longer. Only the German and North Frisian progressives do not allow a direct object, the PREP-construction still being analogous to a locational phrase; cf. Grm. *sie ist am Schreibtisch*<sup>25</sup> 'she is at the desk', *sie ist am Schreiben* 'she is writing'. But the Rhineland forms are spreading into other areas. Most German speakers accept a sentence like *Das sind wir noch am Diskutieren* 'We are still discussing that' with a pronominalized and preposed object, even if they otherwise reject objects with *am*.

The POS-constructions of North Frisian underlie the same syntactic restrictions as the PREP forms. Syntactically the postural verbs behave like auxiliaries. In Fering-Öömrang the perfect auxiliary with motion verbs is 'be', but in a POS-construction the perfect takes the auxiliary 'have'.<sup>26</sup> In Dutch auxiliaries appear in a past participle position without the prefix *ge-*, and *te* is or can be omitted after a non-finite POS (cf. Dutch (12a)). The meaning of the postural auxiliaries is bleached, as mentioned by several authors (Geerts et al. (1984: 538), Hansen (1967: 30)). Desemantisation has proceeded furthest in Danish (cf. (18b), (20a)). Generally the postural verbs can not replace each other, but in emotive use they are desemanticized in all languages (cf. also (19), (26)).

- (34) Dutch  
*Loop / lig / zit niet te zeuren.*  
 walk / lie / sit not to whine  
 'Stop whining.'

Postural verb periphrases indicating durative actionality are found in many languages. They may develop into progressives, but then it is usually only one verb that is generalized as a grammatical marker.<sup>27</sup> Often the actional and the aspectual functions exist side by side, and this seems to be the case in the Germanic languages.

There are some loose semantic restrictions on both progressive constructions, as described in part 3.1. These restrictions are also indicators of incomplete grammaticization.

As a corollary of grammaticization a construction becomes obligatory, often ruling out alternative markers. This happened with English *at V-ing*, which replaced

the postural verb constructions that were common in earlier periods. In most Germanic languages marking of progressive aspect is not obligatory. For Frysk, Hoekstra (PROGQ) writes that "Progressive marking is nearly obligatory in West Frisian. The use of a simple verb instead of a progressive construction is perhaps not fully ungrammatical, but marked to say the least [...] There is no relevant difference with respect to style and register. Both constructions are very frequent both in the spoken language and the written (standard) language." In traditional Fering progressive marking is strongly preferred. Some speakers find a simple present inadequate to describe what is going on at the moment (Ebert 1989: 308). That the constructions are seldom in the written materials is due to the fact that written Fering is influenced by German even more than the spoken language (cf. Ebert 1994b). According to van der Hauwe (1992: 9) a progressive marker is necessary in Dutch in some contexts, for example in the incidental schema (cf. (3)) a simple form would be infelicitous.<sup>28</sup> This can hardly be correct for the written language, as in some texts not a single progressive marker was found.

In German the progressive is quasi-obligatory at least in the Rhineland and adjacent areas, but also in Züritütsch. Many speakers in the northern and northwestern part of Germany regularly use the *am*-form in conversation. In spite of being banned by school teachers, the *am*-form is spreading into all the German speaking areas and also into more formal registers (see Ebert (1996) for examples). Thieroff, although he claims that there is no grammatical aspect in German, admits "dass der Gebrauch der sog. 'rheinischen Verlaufsform' (*er war am Essen*) in weiten Teilen des deutschen Sprachgebietes ständig zunimmt" (1992: 70). The *am*-form seems to become indispensable in the incidental schema; two informants who otherwise do not use the progressive (in the PROGQ) felt it to be necessary here.

The Danish POS-construction is very common in the spoken language. In Ribbjerg (1957), written in an extremely colloquial style, I found several occurrences of POS on each page (see Ebert (1989: 315–316) for examples), but practically no PREP. In other prose texts I found fewer, sometimes not a single occurrence in a whole short story (but cf. (35a) and Hansen (1967: 30) for examples from older literature). In a Swedish novel POS and HOLD occurred with approximately equal frequency, but half of the *hålla på att* examples were imminentials. *Hålla på och* belongs to a lower style and is not written (except in the continuative meaning). In approximately 100 pages of Dutch short stories written in a colloquial style, I found numerous POS-constructions (cf. (28), (35b)), but only two occurrences of *aan het*. POS is thus on the whole more frequent than PREP in the written languages.<sup>29</sup> In order to illustrate the natural occurrence of series of POS, let me cite two examples from literature:

- (35) a. Danish (Jepsen 1964: 15)  
 Nu stod de og råbte op om skramlet inde i vognporten, og han følte, hvor det rev i hans bryst. Det var jo en af hans tanker, de stod og tog fra ham.

Skramlet i vognporten, som han havde tænkt så ofte på, at det var blevet hans indvendige ejendom. Det er mit. Det er mit, ville han sige. Skal i da gå og ødelægge alt mit?

'Now they were crying out (*stood and cried out*) the trash in the coach-house, and he felt how it cut in his breast. It was after all one of his thoughts they were taking (*stood and took*) from him. The trash in the coachhouse, which he had thought of so often that it had become his inner property. It is mine. It is mine, he wanted to shout. Do you have to go around destroying everything that is mine?'

b. Dutch. (Broos n.d.: 30/E29)

Mantinae and Tegea *liggen te slapen*, hun lijven tegen elkaar aangedrukt om warm te blijven. De hulpverleenster *staat* met een setje condooms in haar hand naar de twee meisjes *te kijken*

'Mantinae and Tegea are sleeping (*lie to sleep*), their bodies pressed against each other to keep warm. Holding a set of condoms in her hand, the social worker *stands looking* at the two girls.'

#### 4. Other constructions used in the questionnaires

According to prescriptive grammars (e.g., Duden 1984: 94), German *beim* and *im* should be used instead of *am* in the written language. Apart from the fact that the accepted forms are just as scarce in written texts as *am* is, the instruction is rather misleading, especially as no restrictions on the use of the two forms are mentioned. *Beim* and *im* as progressive markers are far more specific than *am* is. *Beim* combines only with agentive verbs, and *im* is used only in a few idiomatic expressions.<sup>30</sup> It never occurs with agentive verbs, so that *beim* and *im* exclude each other, whereas both can be replaced by *am*.

(36) German

- a. Der Mond *ist am / im / \*beim* Abnehmen. 'The moon is decreasing.'  
Die Wunde *ist am / \*im / \*beim* Heilen. 'The wound is healing.'  
Sie *ist am / beim / \*im* Einkaufen. 'She is shopping.'
- b. (PROGQ: 45/47)  
Sie *ist am* Kartenspielen / Sie *ist beim* Kartenspielen.  
'She is playing cards.' (in the next room) / ... (in the club, as usual)

The *am*-sentence of (36b) is used if Anna (=she) is actually playing cards at reference time; *beim* implies that she is in a certain place where she usually plays cards (she need not be playing right at the moment). The *beim*-phrase is—at least in the northern part of Germany—associated with some locative meaning. *Beim* V, though not *am* V, is a possible answer to the question 'where is Anne?'<sup>31</sup> A third ('absentive')

construction *Anna ist Kartenspielen* indicates that Anna has gone to the place where she usually plays cards; she may be on her way—an interpretation that is excluded for *am* and *beim*—or at that place (cf. De Groot, this volume, Ebert 1996). The absentive construction appears with some regularity in PROGQ: 46,47 in all languages except Icelandic and Züritüütsch. In Züritüütsch the construction is totally unknown, and students found, e.g., a note on the door saying *bin Einkaufen* 'am shopping', *ben eten* 'am eating', a typical use in German and Dutch, utterly funny.

In absentive contexts Germanic languages often use a prepositional phrase with a derived noun. Thus PROGQ: 63 was translated with an absentive (a), with the verb 'go' (b), or with a noun (c).

(37) (PROGQ: 63)

- a. Grm Damals war er jeden Samstag tanzen.  
at\_that\_time was he every Saturday dance:INF
- b. Frysk Doedetiids *gie* er alle sneonen te dûnsjen.  
at\_that\_time went he every Saturday to dance:INF
- Dutch Hij *ging* toen iedere zaterdag dansen.
- Grm Er *ging* damals jeden Samstag tanzen.  
he went at\_that\_time every Saturday dance:INF
- c. FerÖöm Dojütidj wiar hi arken saninj *tu* daans.  
Grm Damals war er jeden Samstag zum Tanz.  
at\_that\_time was he every saturday to(the) dance:N  
'At that time he went dancing every Saturday.'

A nominal construction is also often preferred with motion verbs, e.g., Swd *hon är på väg ut*, Isl *hún er á leiðinni ut* (instead of intended: she is going out = PROGQ: 21), Swd *hon är på väg till New York* (instead of: she is flying to N.Y. = PROGQ: 22), and with 'work', e.g., Grm *Sie ist zur Arbeit*, FerÖöm *Hat as tu werk* 'she is working; she is at work' (= PROGQ: 1).

German *tun* 'do' occurred with some frequency in the Rhineland PROGQ and in one of the Züritüütsch PROGQs and is not restricted to agentive verbs ('doings'). As the verb 'do' is attested as a progressive marker in a few languages, the German verb *tun* seemed a possible candidate.<sup>32</sup> However, *tun* is not restricted to progressive contexts, but appears just as naturally in habitual sentences, with stative verbs and in the imperative, e.g., GrmRhi *Sie tut putzen*, Züri *Si tut putze* (lit. 'she does clean [every Saturday]' = PROGQ: 2), GrmRhi *Peter tut die Antwort wissen* (lit. 'P. does the answer know' = PROGQ: 39). We can therefore exclude that *tun* is a progressive marker.

Two informants list Swedish *just* or German *gerade* as progressive markers. As this particle has also been mentioned in the literature, I have listed it in Table 4 in the Appendix. Although *just/gerade* may sometimes disambiguate a sentence, it is by no

means a progressive marker. In the PROGQ sentences *just/gerade* as well as North Frisian *jüst*, Danish *lige* translate 'right now', but not the progressive. The particles combine with all tenses and aspects, including the progressive.

- (38) a. FerÖöbm Ik san *jüst uun*'t teeapjiten / haa *jüst* tee apjööden / wal *jüst* tee apjit.  
Grm Ich *bin gerade am* Teekochen / habe *gerade* Tee gekocht / will *gerade* Tee kochen.  
'I am just preparing tea / have just prepared tea / am just about to prepare tea.'
- b. (PROGQ: 73)  
Swd Se till att ni (just) håller på att arbeta när see\_to\_it that you:PL just hold on to work when chefen kommer.  
boss-DEF comes  
Grm Seht zu, dass ihr (*gerade*) am Arbeiten seid, see\_to\_it that you:PL just AT\_the working are wenn der Chef kommt.  
when the boss comes  
'See to it that you are (just) working when the boss comes.'

The particle is rather odd with expected events and impossible with events of longer duration. Inserting it in (38b) has a comic effect, as it suggests that the periods in which the addressees work are rather short and that they happened to be working when the boss came in.

## 5. Other Germanic languages

For the other Germanic languages we did not get any questionnaires, and I can only give a summary of the information I found in the literature and on the basis of my knowledge.

Yiddish has a progressive periphrasis formed by *haltm in* 'hold' (Aronson's "aspekt fun gedoyerikayt", 1985: 175). The same verb with *in eyn* has continuative meaning (cf. Swd *hålla på och*), with *baym* imminent meaning (cf. Swd *hålla på att*). There are no restrictions for combining the progressive with tenses nor with the habitual marker *fleg* (Aronson 1985: 177).

- (39) Yiddish  
a. ikh *halt in* shraybn 'I am writing'  
I hold in write:INF  
ikh *halt in eyn* shraybn 'I keep on writing, I continually write'  
ikh *halt baym* shraybn 'I am about to write'  
b. ikh vel *haltm in* oysgrabn 'I will be digging'  
ikh hob *gehat gehalm in* oysgrabn 'I had been digging'  
ikh *fleg haltm in* oysgrobn 'I used to be digging'  
(Weinreich 1952: 100)

Low German has a progressive marker *an't*, corresponding to German *am* and Dutch *aan het*. This form is reported by Anderson (1989) for the dialect of Lower Saxony. Slesvig Low German uses a loan translation<sup>33</sup> from Danish *is bii un* which can be combined with objects. At least in this dialect a postural verb periphrasis is also common, usually with 'and' + finite verb (as in Danish). All constructions exist also in the variety of (High) German spoken in Slesvig and in the mainland North Frisian dialects (see Ebert & Hoekstra (1996)).

- (6') (PROGQ: 12)  
LoGrm Se is *an't* kartüfelschelen.  
she is AT\_the potato-peeling  
'She is peeling potatoes.'
- (9') (PROGQ: 16)  
SlesLoGrmSe is *bii un* jaagen de hööner ut huus.  
SlesGrm Sie is *bei und* jagen die Hühner aus dem Haus.  
Moor Jü as *bai an* jáåg e hâne üt et hüs.  
Wiid Jü *äs bai ün* jaag e hoane üt.  
she is AT and chase the chickens out the house  
'She is chasing the chickens out of the house.'

The Slesvig German sentences of (40a, b) were intended as translations into Standard German by the author.<sup>34</sup>

- (40) a. (Bock 1933: 99)  
LoGrm he *lichd un* slöbd  
SlesGrm er *liegt zu* schlafen  
he lies and sleeps / to sleep  
'He is sleeping.'

- b. (Bock 1933: 99)  
 LoGrm vad *sdais* du doa un chobsd?  
 SlesGrm was *stehst* du da zu gaffen?  
 what stand you there and/to stare  
 'What are you staring at?'

Pennsylvania German has the same construction as Standard German: copula + *am* (+ incorporated noun) + INF. It is interesting that the variety spoken by conservative religious groups allows the incorporation of definite objects, like Züritütsch, but the preposition is then not contracted with the article (cf. Van Ness (1994: 435), phonetic symbols neglected):

- (41) Pennsylvania German  
 a. ar *is am* brif shraiwe  
 he is at the letter write:INF  
 'he is writing a letter'  
 b. (conservative speakers)  
 ar *is an* sai bugi fikse  
 he is at his buggy fix:INF  
 'he is fixing his buggy'

Norwegian has, according to Fabricius-Hansen (1994: 54), the same 'imperfectivizing' forms as Danish, which she relegates – without giving criteria – to the realm of Aktionsarten. Marm & Sommerfelt (1967: 49) mention only two constructions of the 'hold on' type: *holde på (med)*, *drive på med*. Both are translated 'keep on with' by the authors, but the examples given are progressives and not continuatives. Askedal (1994) mentions the postural verbs *gå, stå, ligge* (but not *sitte*) and the periphrasis *drive på med*, but gives only a Nynorsk example for *drive og*.

- (42) Norwegian  
 a. Bokmål (Fabricius-Hansen 1994: 54)  
 Hans *er ved* å rydde opp.  
 Hans is at to clean up  
 'Hans is cleaning up.'  
 b. Bokmål  
 Da jeg kom hjem *sto* Hans *og* lagde mat.  
 when I came home stood Hans and made food  
 'When I came home, Hans was preparing dinner.'  
 c. Bokmål (Marm & Sommerfelt)  
 jeg *holder på (med)* å skrive et brev.  
 I hold on with to write a letter  
 'I am writing a letter.'

- d. Bokmål (Askedal 1994: 246)  
 hun *sto og* tenkte  
 she stood and thought  
 'she stood there thinking'  
 e. Nynorsk (Askedal 1994: 246)  
 han *dreiv og* las  
 he carried\_on and read  
 'he was reading'

Both sources for Faroese, Lockwood (1964) and Barnes & Weyhe (1994), mention the postural verb construction as a possible translation of the English progressive:

- (43) Faroese (Lockwood 1964: 140)  
 a. vit *sótu og* prátaðu  
 we sat and talked  
 'we sat talking, we were talking'  
 b. teir *ganga og* mala  
 they go and drift  
 'they are drifting around, doing nothing'

Lockwood gives "be and V" as a second possibility for expressing progressive meaning. This construction is also used as an absentive:

- (43) c. meðan teir *vóru og* drógu lunda  
 while they were and drew puffin  
 'while they were 'drawing' puffin'  
 d. Eri *og* fáí mær millum-mála. Verði skjótur  
 am and get:PRS:1SG me between-meal will:FUT:1SG return  
 affur.  
 later  
 'Gone to get myself a snack. Will be back soon.'

Barnes & Weyhe (1994: 211) do not mention the latter construction, but suggest an "incipient progressive" of the 'busy'-type. The example they give is a complement to the verb 'see', which is not a progressive context, but it can be changed to the following sentence:

- (43) e. Menninar *var fáast við* at seta gørn á vatninum.  
 man:DEF:PL were busy with to set nets in water:DEF:DAT  
 'The men were busy putting nets into the water.'

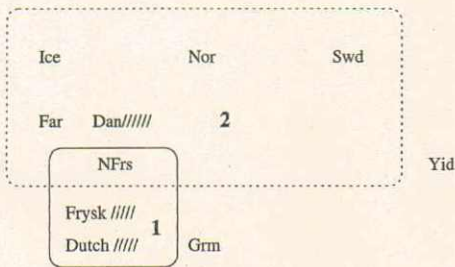


5.1. Areal distribution

The POS-constructions can be separated into two areas according to form: POS + 'to' + INF is used in Dutch, Frysk and North Frisian, POS + 'and' in the Scandinavian languages (map 1). In Mainland North Frisian the Scandinavian construction exists besides the Frisian form. The form PREP + DEF + VN is spread over the Dutch, Frisian and German area. The Scandinavian languages have no common PREP-construction: Danish has PREP + 'to' + INF, Icelandic 'to' + INF; Swedish (and Norwegian) share a 'hold'-periphrasis with Yiddish (map 2).

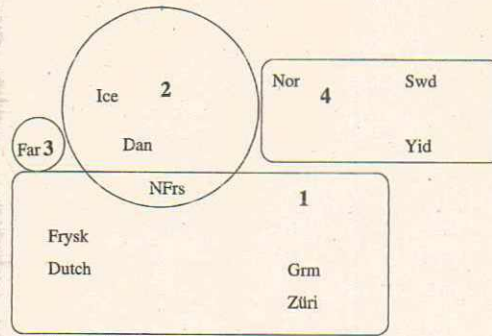
Certain features are found in adjacent areas across language boundaries. Mainland North Frisian uses not only the Danish 'sit and' construction, but *bai* (corresponding in form to Danish *ved*) is the most frequent progressive marker here. The German *am*-form is constantly gaining ground. It has quite recently reached Swabia and Berlin, while it is apparently unknown further east (Thieroff, p.c.). The possibility of combining *am* with definite objects in the Rhineland dialect can possibly be attributed to the Dutch neighborhood (but the transitive construction is found also in Züritütsch). From the dialect the transitive *am*-construction leaked into the colloquial standard in the Rhineland and is now spreading in the German speaking area.

Some probable recent areal influences are tentatively presented in map 3. Needless to say, much more detailed research is necessary both into the use and the spread of the Germanic progressive constructions.



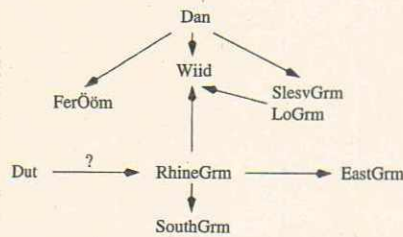
- 1 POS+ 'to' + INF
- 2 POS+ 'and' + V
- //// motion PROG common

Map 2. Distribution of POS-constructions



- 1. 'be' + PREP + DEF + VN
- 2. 'be' (+PREP) + 'to' + INF
- 3. 'be' + 'and' + V
- 4. HOLD

Map 3. Distribution of PREP-constructions



Map 4. Some recent areal influences

Special abbreviations

ABS	absentive
AT	grammaticized preposition 'at, in'
FTQR	EUROTYP future questionnaire
PROGQ	EUROTYP progressive questionnaire
POS	postural verb (construction)
PREP	prepositional construction
SlesvGrm	Slesvig High German
Wiid	Wiidinghiird Frisian

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## Appendix

Table 4. Complete list of markers used in PROGQ

### Abbreviations

#### for all languages

∅	no progr. marker used
(blank)	not translated or with different meaning
POS	postural verb
ABS	absentive
N	construction with noun

#### for Swedish & Danish

h+o	<i>håller på och</i> + V	(HOLD)
h+a	<i>håller på att</i> + INF	(HOLD)
h+m	<i>håller på med att</i> + INF	(HOLD)
ved	<i>er ved at</i> + INF	(PREP)
i gang	<i>er i gang med at</i> + INF	(BUSY)

#### for Frisian and Dutch

uun	<i>as uun't</i> + INF (PREP)
oan	<i>is oan 't</i> + INF (PREP)
aan	<i>is aan het</i> + INF (PREP)
bi/bai	<i>as bi tu</i> + INF, <i>as bai tu / an</i> + V (PREP IIb)
bezig	<i>is bezig te</i> + INF (BUSY)
júst	'just'
N	nominal construction

#### for German

am	<i>ist am</i> + INF (PREP)
beim	<i>ist beim</i> + VN (PREP IIb)
dabei	<i>ist dabei zu</i> + INF (BUSY)
G	gerade = 'just'
tun	'do' periphrasis
go	'gone'

Icelandic does not fit in with the other Scandinavian languages, as its PREP has a quite different distribution:

að:	1, 3, 6–20, 23–26, 35, 44–47, 49–50, 56–57, 64, 70a/b, 73, 75–76, 79–83
þ:	2, 4–5, 27–29, 32, 36–37, 39–43, 48, 51, 53–55, 58–63, 65, 69, 71–72, 74, 77
að or þ:	30–31, 33–34, 38, 52, 66–68
POSV:	—
N:	21, 22

1. inform.	Swedish OD	KD	UK	GT	Danish BJF	HH	HN
1	0,h+o	0,h+a	0,h+a	0,POS,h+o	0	POS	0, i gang
2	0						
3	0,h+o,POS	0,h+a	0,h+a	0	0	POS	0
4-5	0						
6	0,h+o, POS	0,h+a	0,h+a	0,h+o	0	POS	ved
7	0,POS	0	0,POS	0,POS	0	POS,ved	ved
8	0,h+o	just,h+a	0,h+a	0,h+o	0	ved	i gang
9	0,POS	0	0	0	0	POS	POS
10	0,h+o	just	h+a	0	0	POS,ved	ved
11	0,h+o,POS	0	0,h+a	0	0	POS,ved	ved
12	0,POS	0,h+a	0,h+a	0,h+o	0	POS,ved	0, i gang
13	0,h+o,POS	0	0,h+a	0,h+o	ved	POS,ved	i gang
14-15	h+o	just	0,h+a	0,h+o	ved	POS,ved	i gang
16-17	h+o	just	0,h+a	0	ved	POS,ved	lige+ved
18	h+o	0	0, POS	0	0, ved	POS	lige+ved
19	7h+o	ABS	ABS, h+a	0,h+o	ved		ABS
20	h+o	just	h+a	0	0	ved	0
21	N	just	N	N	lige+ved	ved	N
22	N	(just)	N	N		N	N
23	0					ved	
24-26	h+just+a		h+a	0	0	0	lige+ved
27	0	(just)	h+m?	0	0		
28-31	0						
32-33	0	0	0,h+a	0	0	0	0
34	0	0	0,POS	0	0	0	0
35	0,h+o	0	0	POS	0		POS
36	0						
37	0,POS	0	0	0	0, POS	0, POS	0
38	h+o	0	0,h+a	0	0, POS	0, POS	POS
39-43	0						
44	0	0,h+a	0,h+a	0	0	0, POS	0
45	0	0	POS	0	ABS	0, POS	

46-47	ABS	ABS	ABS	ABS	ABS	0	ABS
48	0,POS	0	0	0	0	0	POS
49	0,h+o,POS	0,POS	0,h+a	0	0	0,POS	POS
50	0	0,POS	0,h+a	0	0		POS
51-53	0						(52:POS)
54	0	0, h+a	0	0	0	0	0
55	0	0	0	h+a	0	0	0
56	h+a	0	0,h+a	0	0	0	0
57	h+a	h+a	0,h+a	0	0	ved	ved
58-59	0						
60	0	0	0,h+a	0	0	0	0
61-62	0						
63	POS	POS	N	(went)		(went)	ABS
64-69	0						
70, a	0	POS	POS	POSV	0	POS	POS
b	0						
71-75	0						
76	0, h+o	0	0	0	0	POS	0
77-78	0						
79	0,h+o	ABS	0,h+a	0	0	0	0
80	0	ABS	0,h+a	0	0		i gang
81	h+o	0	h+a	h+a	0		0, POS
82	0						
83	0,h+o	h+m	h+a	h+o	0	0	0

2.	North Frisian Wiidingh.	Fering	AA	Öömrang CT	JJ	Frysk	Dutch	CG
inform.	AP	KE				JH	JM	
1	bai	uun,POS	uun	uun	uun,POS	POS	0	POS
2	0	0	uun,	uun,POS	0	0	0	0
3	oont	uun	uun	uun	uun,POS,bi	oan, POS		POS
4-5	0							
6	0	bi	uun	0	jüst(+bi),POS	oan, POS	0	POS
7	POS	POS	POS	POS	jüst	oan, POS	aan	POS
8	bai	bi	uun	uun	jüst(+bi)	oan	0	bezig
9	POS	uun	uun	uun	jüst,uun,POS	oan, POS	aan	POS
10	0	0	0	0	0	oan, POS	0	0
11	POS	0	bi	uun	jüst	oan, POS	aan	POS
12	POS	uun,POS	uun	POS	jüst(+bi),POS	oan, POS		POS
13	0	0	bi	0	jüst(+bi)	oan, POS	aan	POS
14	bai	0	0, bi	0	jüst bi	oan, POS		POS
15	0	0	POS	POS		oan, POS	aan	POS
16	bai	bi	uun	uun		oan	0	0
17	0	bi	0	0		oan	0	bezig
18	0	POS+bi	bi	POS	uun,bi,POS	oan, POS	aan	bezig
19	0							
20	0, bai	0	uun	POS		0	aan	0
21	oont	jüst	0	jüst		0, oan	0	0
22		N	N					N
23-29	0							
30	bai	0	0	0, bi	uun't	0	0	0
31-32	0							
33	POS	0	0	0		0	POS	0
34	POS	0	0	0		0	POS	0
35	POS	POS	0	POS	0	0, POS	POS	POS
36	0							
37	0	0,POS	0	uun	0	0, POS	POS	0
38	0	0,POS	0	POS	0,POS	0, POS	0	POS
39-43	0							

44	bai	uun	uun	uun, bi	0,uun	oan	aan	aan
45	bai	uun	uun	POS,uun	0,uun,POS	oan	0	POS
46	ABS	ABS	ABS	ABS	ABS	ABS, oan	aan	ABS
47	ABS	ABS	ABS	POS	ABS	ABS, oan	0	ABS
48	0	0, POS	0	POS	0,POS	POS	POS	POS
49-50		0, POS	0	POS?	0,uun,POS	POS	POS	POS
51-52	0							
53	0	0, uun	0	0, uun	0	0	0	0
54-55	0	0	0	0	0	0	aan	0
56	0							
57	(laai oont)	(laai uun)	uun	(laai uun)	(laai uun)	(lei yn't)	aan,POS	POS
58-62	0							
63	(went)	N	0	N	N	0	0	(went)
64-69	0							
70, a	POS	POS	POS	POS	uun	oan,POS	aan	POS
b	0	0	0	0	0	oan,0	aan,0	0
71-72	0							
73	0	0	0	uun	0		0	0
74-75	0							
76	POS	0, uun	uun	0, uun	uun			POS
77	0	0	0	uun	0	0	0	0
78	0	0	0	0	0	0	aan	0
79	0	uun	0	0, ABS	0	oan	0	aan
80	0	0, uun	0	uun		oan	0	aan
81	0	POS	uun	0	bi, POS	oan	POS	POS
82	0							
83	bai	uun	uun	bi	bi	oan	aan	POS

3.		German Standard German	KG	SA	CK	Rhinel. RT	Züritüütsch MM	PZ	RR
inform.		KE							
1		am	G+am	am,beim	am	G(+am)	0,am	am,tun	0,am
2	0						tun	tun	
3		am	am	am	am	0,am	am	am	0,am
4-5	0								
6		0,dabei	G	0	am	G(+dabei)	dabei,tun	am,tun	0,am
7		am	G	am,beim	am	G(+am)	am	am,tun	0,am
8		0	G	0	am	G	dabei	G,am	0,am
9		am	G+am	am	am	G	am,tun	0,G,tun	0
10		0	G	0	0	G	tun	tun	tun
11		0	G	0	0	G(+am)	0,am	G(+am),tun	0
12		am	G+am	am	am	G(+am)	am	0,am	0,am
13		0,dabei	G	am,beim	0		am	0	0,am
14		0,dabei	G	0	0	G+dabei	tun	G	0
15		0,dabei				G(+am,dabei)	tun		
16-17		0,dabei	G	0	0	G(+dabei)	dabei,tun	0,am,tun	0
18		0	G	beim	0	G	dabei,tun	0,am,tun	0,am
19-20	0					G			
21		am	G+am	am,im	beim	G+am	am	G(+am)	
22		N	G	0	N	N	G		
23	0		G			G		G(+tun)	
24		0		0	0	G+dabei		G(+am)	
25	0					G			
26		0		0	0	G+dabei			
27		0	0	0	0	G	dabei,tun	G(+am)	
28-29	0								
30		0	G+dabei	0	0	0	0	0	
31		0	G	beim,im	0	0,G		G	
32		0	G	0	0,am	0	0	0	
33-34	0		G		0			0	
35		0,am	G	am	0	0,(am)	0	0,tun	
36		0	G	0	am	0	am,tun	0	0

37		0,am	0	0	am	0,am	am	0,am,tun	0,am
38		am	am	0	0	0,am	tun	0,tun	0
39-43	0								
44		am	G+am	am	am	G(+am)	am,tun	am,tun	0,am
45		am	G+am	am	beim,am	G(+am)	am,tun	am, 0,tun	0,am
46		ABS	ABS	beim	beim	ABS	ABS	go	go,am
47		ABS,beim	ABS	beim	0	ABS	ABS,tun	go,tun	am
48	0								
49		0	0	0	0	0	am	0	
50	0								
51		0	0	0	0,am	0	am		
52	0						tun	tun	
53		0,am	0	0	0	0,am	0,tun		am
54		0	0	0	0	0			
55		0	0	0	dabei	0			
56		am	am	0	0,am		0	am,tun	
57		(lag im)	am	am	(lag im)	0		am	am
58-59	0								
60-61		0		0	0	0	am	0,tun	
62		0	0	0	am	0	0	0	
63		N		beim	0	(went)	(went)	go,am	go
64-69	0								
70, a		0	G+am	0	0	0	0,am	am	am
b		0	0	am,beim	am	0	0,am	0	0
71-75	0							(73:tun)	
76		0,am		0	0,am	am	am	0	am
77		0		0	0	0	am	0	0
78	0								
79-80		0,am		0	0,dabei	0,G		am	
81		am		am	0	am(PRS)	am	am,tun	0,am
82	0								
83		am		am,beim	0,am	beim,am	am	am,tun	am

## Notes

1. Frisian is usually regarded as one language (cf. also EUROTYP guidelines), but the distance between Frysk ('West Frisian') and the North Frisian dialects is greater than that between for example Danish and Swedish. Fering and Öömrang, the dialects of the islands Föhr and Amrum, show only minimal dialectal variation and are treated together here. The distance between these island dialects and the mainland dialects or Sööring (spoken on the island Sylt) is comparable to that between Danish and Swedish.
2. Standard colloquial German is not codified, but it represents a style that is acceptable everywhere in half-formal speech, as will be heard for example in TV interviews or in seminars. The five questionnaires are from Slesvig-Holstein, Kassel, Frankfurt, Heidelberg, and Berlin.
3. See Bertinetto, Ebert, and De Groot, this volume, fn. 8 for an explanation of this term.
4. As the progressives have not been described as yet, answering the theoretical questions presupposed a detailed linguistic analysis of the facts, which is beyond the scope of lay people. (One consultant wrote that she would need six months' work to answer the questions.)
5. The verb of the test sentence PROGQ: 1 (also PROGQ: 3) was an unhappy choice, as 'be working' is more often referred to by a nominal construction of the type Grm *sie ist zur Arbeit*, Dutch *ze is aan het werk*, Fering *hat as tu werk* 'she is at work'. Otherwise one would specify the type of work, and some informants replaced the verb in PROGQ: 1 and 3.
6. The infinitive is used as a verbal noun in all languages considered here. Frisian has a long and a short form, e.g., FerÖöm *köögi, tu köögin* 'cook, to cook', *luup, tu luupen* 'walk, to walk'. I have glossed nominal forms with an English gerund. The infinitive following *am* in German is treated as a noun in the standard orthography, though it hardly has any nominal properties; e.g., it can not take a genitive complement or an adjective, cf.

sie war beim/\*am Korrigieren der Seminararbeiten ...  
 she was AT\_the grading DEF:PL:GEN seminar-works  
 'she was grading papers'

Bhatt & Schmidt (1993) consequently omit the capital letters with the infinitive after *am*; cf. their examples in fn. 10.

7. Incorporation is not necessary in Frysk and Dutch, as the progressives can be combined with direct objects. Object incorporation is excluded with *te* in Dutch (except in the Groningen dialect; cf. Schuurman 1987) and therefore with the POS-construction; in Frysk it is optional.

Dutch Ze \*zit te aardappel-schillen/ zit aardappelen te schillen  
 Frysk Hja sit te jirpel-skilen/ sit jirpels te skilen  
 she sits to potato-peeling/ sits potatoes to peel  
 'She is peeling potatoes.' (= PROGQ: 12)

8. Cf. also the discussion in Geerts et al. (1984: 590), who find *is aan het vlinders vangen* 'is catching butterflies' fully acceptable, but *?is aan het olifanten vangen* 'is catching elephants' doubtful. (Different from other sources, the authors write the incorporated noun as a separate word.)
9. German and Fering-Öömrang speakers resort to these constructions only if *am* is impossible for syntactic reasons, as in (5b). There is, however, much variation between individual speakers and much insecurity in the judgement of such sentences. Andersson (1989: 95) cites *ich war dabei, einzuschlafen* as Standard German, but many speakers find *dabei* impossible with naked verbs and especially with activities: \**sie war dabei zu schreiben* (→ *sie war dabei, Briefe zu schreiben*).
10. In German this would be expressed without the verb 'write': *Sie sitzt an ihrer Doktorarbeit* (\**zu schreiben*). No such constructions exist for the other postural verbs.
11. Bhatt & Schmidt (1993: 74ff) give a number of examples as belonging to standard colloquial German, including progressives with definite objects and with postural verbs. None of the following examples, which they cite as 'standard' German, was accepted by my informants:
  - a) der Pilot ist den Airbus am wegfliegen
  - b) er ist die Kartoffeln roh am essen
  - c) wir sind die Kinder am spielen lassen
  - d) Noch ist das Bild am hängen, aber gleich fällt es herunter
12. Sentences like Züritütsch (7) and (8) were rejected by some speakers. Cf. also Bickel (1992: 75), who states that "if objects have an article, they cannot be incorporated. Therefore, speakers have to resort to a two-nexus construction with *draa sii* ..."
13. Most informants left out the 'since' phrase as it is odd to combine it with 'the whole day'. As German *seit* and North Frisian *sant* 'since' are used with the present and not with the perfect, some of the progressives listed for PROGQ: 81 in Table 3 are present progressives.

Fer Ik *san* sant jimaaren *uun't* baagen.  
 Grm Ich *bin* seit heute morgen *am* Backen  
 I am since this morning AT\_the baking  
 'I have been baking since morning'

14. There are few strictly momentaneous verbs (cf. also Comrie 1976: 47 on this point and the endless discussions of the verb 'die' in the literature). There is no consensus among German speakers whether *einschlafen* or *sterben* can refer to a period before one 'really' falls asleep or dies, or whether it refers only to the transition point.
15. *Hälla på att* has progressive or imminential meaning, *hälla på och* progressive or continuative. Holmes & Hinchcliffe (1994: 278) give the example:

Hon *höll på att* gråta / Hon *höll på och* grät hela vägen.  
 'She kept crying all the way.'

But only the second construction has the intended continuative reading according to my Swedish consultants. (There may be some confusion, because *att* and *och* are both pronounced [ɔ], but the constructions are clearly distinct, as the latter combines with an inflected verb.)

16. I tentatively used the term 'locomotive' in a paper presented at the Amsterdam meeting of the EUROTYP Tense-Aspect Group, adducing examples mainly from languages outside of Europe (Ebert 1993 ms). I now call the grammaticized motion progressive 'ambulative' (cf. Ebert 1994c: 35ff for examples from Kiranti languages). Fortescue (1992) uses the term 'perambulative' for a similar construction in Koyukon.
17. This should of course not surprise us, as verbs of undirected motion function like 'sit, stand' etc. in the marking of durative and/or progressive in a variety of languages, e.g., Turkic, Mongolian, Kiranti languages; cf. also It., Span. *andare* + Gerundio.
18. HH and CG strongly preferred POS: HH has 19 POS vs. 11 PREP in Danish, CG has 19 POS vs. 2 PREP in Dutch. Interestingly, CG does not use POS in 3 cases, where the other Dutch informant, who has only 8 POS altogether, uses it: in PROGQ: 33, 34 with an emotive undertone, and in PROGQ: 37, where most languages have 'stand to boil'. The Frysk expert, who listed all possible forms that came to mind, has 18 POS and 25 PREP-forms. Generally there is no confirmation that the PREP-form is the most common way to express progressive aspect (as claimed, e.g., in Donaldson 1981: 165f).
19. The Danish consultant confirmed this interpretation. Ingressive-phasal verbs are rare in European languages, but otherwise widespread (cf. Ebert 1995, where this type of verb was called inchoative-dynamic).
20. The factor dynamicity probably accounts for the high degree of variation with certain verbs, like 'sleep', 'rain'. Progressives were sometimes accepted with 'rain' (PROGQ: 77), especially when not negated.

Dan \*Det er nu ikke ved at regne.  
 FerÖöm \*Det as nü ei uun't riinen. / ??Det as uun't riinen.  
 Grm ??Es ist jetzt nicht am Regnen. / ?Es ist am Regnen.  
 GrmRhi Es ist jetzt nicht am Regnen.  
 it is now not AT\_the/to raining  
 'It is not raining now.' / 'It is raining.'

21. I have a larger body of examples only for older stages of English, but cf. Gothic *sat du aihtronds* (lit.: 'sat to begging'), OHGrm *ir stantet zi betonne* (lit.: 'you stood to pray').
22. I thank Östen Dahl for providing the examples from Karin Boye's *Kallockain*.
23. Cf. the distinction between Bertinetto's (in this vol., 1989-90) focalized and durative progressive, which are distinguished in the Italian *stare* + Gerundio vs. *andare* + Gerundio. However, the semantics of *andare* + Gerundio differs from that of the Germanic POS construction in that it does not normally combine with activity verbs.
24. Again tolerance for sentences like (33d) varies. Two FerÖöm informants used *uun't* without *imer* in PROGQ: 2.
25. Heine (1994) postulates an erosion of the form *am* (< *an dem*) in the progressive as a result of grammaticization. However, the contracted form is most often also obligatory in locative phrases, as in the given example.
26. Compare  
 A hünj hee a hiale daai lepen tu blafin.  
 the dog has the whole day run:PP to barking  
 'The dog has been running around barking the whole day.'  
 But: *hi as lepen* 'he has walked'.

27. A detailed description for a European language is Schönig (1984): Tatar uses all kinds of postural verbs to specify durative actionality (as well as other verbs to specify telicity), but only the verb *tur-* 'stand' is used as a progressive marker. No Germanic language has generalized one verb, although van der Hauwe (1992: 13 fn) reports a tendency to generalize *liggen* in Dutch if there is no clear indication for using any of the other postural verbs. However, Dutch children sometimes generalize *zitten*.
28. Van der Hauwe reports that four Dutch students, who answered Dahl's (1985) TMA-questionnaire, did not use a single simple form in the typical progressive contexts. All sentences contained the verb phrase 'write a letter'.
29. Note that the Italian periphrasis *andare* + Gerundio, which corresponds to the Germanic POS-constructions in respect to durativity, is preferred in the written style. In former times it was more frequent in literary texts than *stare* + Gerundio (Bertinetto 1989-90: 38).
30. In the questionnaires there is one single occurrence of *im* by an informant from southern Germany, who also has an unusually high percentage of *beim* forms. All other persons I asked found her sentence totally unacceptable:  
 ??Er war im Erreichen des Berggipfels.  
 'He was reaching the top of the mountain.'
31. I do not agree with Bybee et al. (1994: 133) that the English progressive is per se an appropriate answer to a location inquiry. The given examples like "Where's Lou? - He's taking a bath (having a nap, etc.);" work only because the activities are associated with certain locations.
32. This has been suggested by Heine (1994, fn. 27). However, the habitual meaning may even be the more basic one. In Pennsylvania German and Yiddish 'do' is a marker of habitual present (as opposed to *als* and *fleg* in the past habitual).

PennGrm si *du* shtrige 'she knits' (habitually, for a living)  
 ar hat si *als* gekent 'he used to know her'  
 (Van Ness 1994: 435)  
 Yid ikh *tu* shraybn 'I write'  
 ikh *fleg* shraybn 'I used to write'  
 (Aronson 1985)

A progressive marker originating in 'do' is reported for Navajo (Blansitt 1975) and Syrian Arabic (Ebert, in this volume).

33. Danish *ved at* is here understood as *ved og* (PREP + 'and') due to the identical pronunciation of *at* and *og* as [o], but is still followed by the infinitive. For the partial collapse of *at* and *og*, cf. Jespersen (1895), Haberland (1978).
34. The construction POS + to + INF was apparently more widespread in earlier German; cf. also *Was steht ihr zu horchen?* (lit.: what stand you to hark?) in Sanders' "Handwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache" (cited from van der Gaaf 1934: 81).

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