

Functional Convergence and Extension in Contact

Syntactic and Semantic Attributes of the Progressive Aspect in Pennsylvania Dutch

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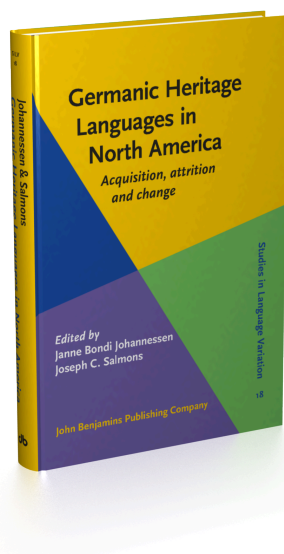
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Functional convergence and extension in contact

Syntactic and semantic attributes of the progressive aspect in Pennsylvania Dutch

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This paper investigates the extension of the progressive aspect in contemporary Pennsylvania Dutch. The scope of convergence in contact varieties is a debated subject in theoretical linguistics; the most recent and promising research finds that convergence in contact is not a simple one-to-one mapping, nor an opportunity for any structural anomaly to present. Previous studies concluded that Pennsylvania Dutch had matched and gone beyond English semantic constraints for the progressive aspect. The extent of the progressive in Pennsylvania Dutch has not been systematically documented. To account for these findings, we propose, as most recently suggested by Putnam and Sánchez (2013), an analysis of feature reconfiguration, with the result of progressive aspect appearing with different aspectual classes of verbs (most notably, with certain types of statives).

Keywords: aspect, convergence, feature reconfiguration, hyperextension, Pennsylvania Dutch, semantics, syntax

1. Introduction¹

In this paper, we discuss some peculiarities of progressive aspect in Pennsylvania Dutch (hereafter, PD). Previous research by Huffines (1986), Loudon (1988), Burrige (1992), and Fuller (1996) (all contra Reed 1947) demonstrate that the incorporation of

1. The authors' names appear in alphabetical order and represent an equal contribution on their respective parts. We would like to thank Barbara Bullock and Jacqueline Toribio who commented on a very early version of this paper and the participants of the Second Workshop on Immigrant Languages in America for their comments and suggestions. In particular, we would like to thank Janne Bondi Johannessen, Paul Kerswill, Mark Loudon, Joe Salmons, and Marit

elements of English progressive aspect in PD allows stative predicates to appear with progressive aspect (which is ungrammatical in standard English):

- (1) *Ich bin am wotte fer sell.*
I am on want for that
Intended: 'I am wanting that.' (Burridge 1992:212)
- (2) *Ich bin am Sache besser versteh.*
I am on things better understand
Intended: 'I'm understanding things better.' (Burridge 1992:212)

These previous studies only provide a surface understanding of the issues surrounding the evolution of progressive aspect in PD. As we show in this paper, many fundamental aspects of the (morpho)syntactic representation of progressive aspect in PD are under-researched and, as a result, poorly understood. Our primary objectives in this paper are the following:

- a. To contextualize how this development in PD connects with other research in contact linguistic literature concerning semantic-discourse properties of language;
- b. To demonstrate how the particular syntactic structures and semantic description of progressive aspect represent an ideal interface platform for such changes to take place; and
- c. To show that PD relies on Aktionsart-related information in determining which structures to employ in forming progressive aspect.

In particular, we focus on the extension of progressive aspect to Aktionsart-classes of predicates that do not entail duration in events (i.e., verbal classes of aspectual classification that are [– stages] in Rothstein's (2004) system, to be defined and discussed in §2); namely, achievement and stative predicates. Many cursory treatments of Aktionsart-classes claim that a common battery test for a stative predicate is its inability to exhibit a progressive form (ex. English **I am knowing the answer*). Following recent work by Maienborn (2003, 2005) and Rothmayr (2009) building on earlier proposals by Carlson (1977), Taylor (1977), and Dowty (1979/1991), we argue here that 'statives' do not represent a homogeneous class of predicates as commonly assumed in the literature. The fact that statives do not form a natural class of predicates is paramount to our analysis of progressive aspect in PD, especially with regard to the forms that appear in PD that are not possible in English. In §4, we provide a theoretical analysis along the lines proposed by Putnam and Sánchez (2013) arguing for the

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re-assembly of functional features (e.g., tense, aspect, and mood (among others)) as the culprit for some of these attested progressive forms in PD.

From a theoretical perspective, our research confirms previous findings by Silva-Corvalán (1994/2000, 1993), Toribio (2004), and Sánchez (2003, 2004), who suggest that one of the most permeable aspects of grammar can be found at the semantic and discourse-pragmatic level (cf. Sánchez' Functional Convergence Hypothesis).² The results from our pilot research show that PD speakers have distinct structures for stative and achievement predicates – with the stative progressive present being similar to the structure used for marking progressive aspect with activity and accomplishment $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$ (i.e., [+ stages]). For this study, we collected grammaticality judgments from 8 PD-speakers (4 from Big Valley, Pennsylvania and 4 from Holmes County, Ohio) with a focus on progressive aspect in all Aktionsart-classes. Our data in this study demonstrate clearly that the range of stative events that can appear with the progressive in PD is much more extensive than in English. In our analysis, we put forward the hypothesis that extension of progressive aspect marking on certain sub-classes of stative predicates in PD that are absent in English are the result of the reorganizing and re-assembly of functional features onto syntactic structures.³

This paper has the following structure: In §2, we provide a brief overview of progressive aspect in English. In particular, we focus on progressive aspect in achievement and stative predicates. Adopting arguments and data primarily from Rothstein (2004), we show how progressive aspect in achievement predicates is not identical to progressive aspect in non-telic, durative (i.e., [+ stages]) predicates such as activities. Secondly, we show that stative predicates do not form a homogeneous group. §3 elaborates on formal semantic and syntactic properties of progressive aspect in English. In §4, we discuss progressive aspect in German, dialectal German, and PD, showing how the latter is both related to continental varieties of German and how it clearly contrasts with them. Our theoretical analysis of the PD data can be found in §5, where we demonstrate that the differences between English and PD with respect to progressive aspect appearing with stative predicates can be easily and efficiently modeled in a system where the relexification/reassembly of functional features leads to the emergence of these different (and often unique) forms of progressive aspect. We illustrate that the extension of progressive aspect into stative predicates is not uncommon in contact situations in §6, where we discuss examples from World Englishes that exhibit patterns similar (and, in some cases, identical) to what we find in PD. §7 concludes this paper and discusses remaining questions and puzzles.

2. Sánchez (2003:150) defines convergence as “the common specification for equivalent functional features for two languages spoken by the bilingual in a language contact situation, takes place only when the languages have partially similar matrices of features associated with the same functional category. Frequent activation of the two matrices triggers convergence in features.”

3. See e.g., Howell (1993) for an influential discussion of the role of lexical semantics in language contact.

2. Progressive aspect – an overview

In this section we undertake a brief introduction to progressive aspect, along the way defining a binary-featural distinction of Vendler's (1957, 1967) classification of verbs used by Rothstein (2004). Consider the following examples from Rothstein (2004: 11; (14)):

- | | | |
|--------|--|------------------|
| (3) a. | *John is believing in the afterlife/loving Mary. | (state) |
| b. | *Mary is recognizing John/losing her pen. | (achievement) |
| c. | Mary is running/walking. | (activity) |
| d. | John is reading a book. | (accomplishment) |

As noted, states and (traditionally) achievements do not appear in the progressive (although there are clear counterexamples, see below). In general, a sentence in the progressive asserts that an eventuality of a particular kind is 'in progress' or 'currently taking place.' According to this simple definition of progressive aspect, it is relatively clear for activities and accomplishments that this is taking place; i.e., in Example (3c) Mary is in the middle of a running activity, and in Example (3d) John is in the middle of reading a book. For states and achievements on the other hand, there does not appear to be any natural sentence where the eventualities are progressing or continuing. Based on this observation, Landman (1992) "argues that the meaning of a progressive sentence is that a stage of the eventuality given by the verb occurred, or is in the process of occurring, where *e* is a stage of *e* 'if *e* develops into *e*'" (Rothstein 2004: 12).

Together with telicity [\pm telic], Rothstein (2004: 12) establishes the following binary feature sets to distinguish the four (traditional) verb classes:⁴

- | | | |
|--------|-----------------|---------------------|
| (4) a. | States | [– telic, – stages] |
| b. | Activities | [– telic, + stages] |
| c. | Achievements | [+ telic, – stages] |
| d. | Accomplishments | [+ telic, + stages] |

Based on the preliminary examples laid out in (3) above and the binary featural distribution of eventualities established in (4), predicates that are specified as [– stages] (i.e., states and achievements) should not appear with progressive aspect. As we discuss below, this assumption is easily falsifiable. There are, however, clear semantic

4. As pointed out by Smith (1991) and others, there is another class of eventualities, called SEMELFACTIVES (e.g., *kick the door*, *wink*, *cough*, *sneeze*, etc.). Smith argues that these events are "conceptualized as instantaneous" (1991: 29) (i.e., are punctual), but unlike achievements, are atelic [– telic] since they can be modified by durative temporal phrases (i.e., for a minutes) and do not instantiate a change of state. Rothstein (2004: Chapter 8) takes on the task of defining how to classify SEMELFACTIVES in her binary feature system. Since this has little bearing on the data discussed and analyzed here, we direct the reader to Rothstein and references *inter alia* for further discussion.

differences between [– stages]-predicates and [+ stages]-predicates when it comes to their meaning in combination with progressive aspect, differences that play a fundamental role in our analysis of PD extensions of progressive aspect.

2.1 Achievements in the progressive

Although classified as [– stages], some – but crucially not all – achievements can occur in the progressive. Consider the following examples (Rothstein 2004: 36; (1)–(2)):

- (5) a. #Jane is reaching the summit of the mountain.⁵
 b. #Mary is spotting her friend at the party.
 c. Susan was arriving at the station when she heard that trains to Jerusalem had been cancelled because of the state of the line.
 d. Dafna is finding her shoes.
 e. Fred and Susan are finally leaving.
 f. The old man is dying.

Although Examples (5a) and (5b) are slightly marked (but could be improved under the proper pragmatic reading), the remaining examples (see e.g., (5c–f)) clearly refute any claim that progressive aspect cannot appear in combination with achievements. This observation, however, does not mean that progressive aspect in combination with achievements (e.g., [– stages]) and other [+ stages]-predicates such as activities or accomplishments are identical in meaning. Rothstein (2004: §2.3.2) lists five ways in which progressive achievements differ significantly from progressive accomplishments:

Point 1: As noted in (5) above, only some progressive achievements are possible. (Note also that the ‘acceptable’ ones (cf. (5c–f)) have a ‘slow-motion’ reading, which is not possible with accomplishments).

Point 2: Temporal modification in the future progressive is different for achievements and accomplishments. Compare (6) and (7) (Rothstein 2004: 43; (21)–(22)):

- (6) Accomplishments:
 a. We are eating dinner in half an hour.
 b. I am writing a book in six months.
 (7) Achievements:
 a. The plane is landing in half an hour.
 b. We are reaching Tel Aviv Central in five minutes.

The accomplishments in (6) are naturally interpreted as providing information about: (a) when the activities of eating or writing will take place, or (b) “asserting that the whole eventuality will occur within the stated time (e.g., in half an hour or in six

5. Data in this section is taken directly from Rothstein (2004: Chapter 2) unless otherwise stated.

months)” (Rothstein 2004: 43). On the other hand, the achievements in (7) have a different reading; namely, the temporal modifiers identify when the telic change of state will take place.

Point 3: There are no ‘stops along the way’ with achievements (Rothstein 2004: 43–4; (23)–(24)).

- (8) a. Mary is running to the Netherlands. In fact she is running to Amsterdam.
- b. Mary is arriving in the Netherlands. In fact she is arriving in Amsterdam.
- (9) a. She is halfway through walking to the station.
- b. #She is halfway through arriving at the station.

Although both (8a) and (8b) are grammatical, they have different implications. “The contrast in grammaticality between Examples (9a) and (9b) clearly demonstrate the inability of the telic change of state associated with the event of arriving, which cannot occur in stages. In conjunction with Point 2 above, temporal modifiers that co-occur with achievements in the (present) progressive can only modify when the telic change of state will occur, but cannot internally modify the achievement” (paraphrased from Rothstein 2004: 55).

Point 4: Achievements are very odd in the perfect progressive (Rothstein 2004: 44; (26)).

- (10) a. She has been cooking dinner (for half an hour).
- b. #Fred and Susan have been leaving.
- c. ?Fred and Susan have been leaving for an hour.

Point 5: With achievements, the activity and the telic point can be modified independently without any difficulty. This, however, is not the case for accomplishments (although Example (11d) suggests that it is possible under a specific reading) (Rothstein 2004: 44; (27)).

- (11) a. John was dying for a long time, but he actually died pretty quickly.
- b. It was very turbulent while the plane was landing, but we (actually) landed smoothly.
- c. #Mary was writing a book slowly, but she actually wrote it quickly.
- d. At one point, Mary was writing her book very slowly, but when it came down to it, she actually wrote it quickly.

Taken together, as argued by Rothstein (2004), there are clear distinctions between progressive constructions with achievements [– stages] and activities and accomplishments [+ stages]. As we shall see in our data and analysis in Sections 4 and 5, PD speakers recognize this distinction and license different structures for achievements and states that appear in the progressive.

2.2 States in the progressive

In addition to achievements, the other class of eventualities that Rothstein (2004) classifies as [– stages] are states. In this section and the ones that follow, we introduce and elaborate on the dilemma that states present for not only Rothstein's (2004) binary featural classification of eventualities, but also how these findings must be accounted for in our analysis of progressive aspect in PD.

First, Dowty (1979/1991: 173–4; (62)) mentions stative verbs that occur in the progressive:

- (12) a. The socks are lying under the bed.
- b. Your glass is sitting near the edge of the table.
- c. The long box is standing on end.
- d. One corner of the piano is resting on the bottom step.

These examples (and others that can be constructed with verbs like *sit*, *stand*, *lie*, *perch*, *sprawl*, etc.) are paradoxical in connection with most standard claims about the progressive in that they (a) do not involve a volitional subject, and (b) no definite or indefinite change of state is entailed. Furthermore, as noted by Ross (1972) and Dowty (1979/1991), these examples are strange, since they fail 'do-tests' (cf. Ross 1972) (from Dowty 1979/1991: 174; (62')):

- (13) a. *What socks did was lie under the bed.
- b. *The glass is sitting near the edge, and the pitcher is doing so too.
- c. *The box is standing on end, which I thought it might do.
- d. *The piano did what the crate had done; rest on the bottom step.

Dowty (1979/1991; §3.8.2) offers the following possible explanations as to why progressive aspect can appear with certain stative eventualities. First, predicates such as *sit*, *stand*, *lie*, etc. primarily denote positions of the human body. Some 'volitional' adjectives and predicate nominates (i.e., *be polite*, *be a hero*) can be argued to signal intentionality. Perhaps in these situations we are dealing with an either/or situation with volitional control or change of state/position. Second, as initially proposed by Taylor (1977), the truth conditions assigned to statives also involve an interval (e.g., *The book is on the table is only true when the book is not in motion or as long as it remains on the table*). Third, Carlson (1977) notes that the 'classic' statives that cannot appear in the progressive (e.g., *know*, *love*, *like*, *believe*, *hate*, etc.) all turn out to be predicates over objects, not predicates over stages. Carlson proposes a distinction between object-level and kind-level predicates from stage-level predicates. As a result of these hypotheses, Dowty (1979/1991: 184) proposes the following sub-distinctions of stative verbs:

Table 1. Sub-classes of stative eventualities.

	Non-agentive	Agentive
States	<i>be asleep, be in the garden</i> (stage-level); <i>love, know</i> (object level)	possibly <i>be polite, be a hero</i> (possibly an activity?)
	Interval statives: <i>sit, stand, lie</i>	Interval statives: <i>sit, stand, lie</i> (with a human subject)

Building on these discussions, Maienborn (2003, 2005) concludes that there are two different kinds of states: (1) ‘pseudo-stative’ verbs (verbs of position and a group containing *sleep, wait, glow* and *stick*, among others), and (2) ‘Kimian states’ (e.g., including copular constructions and various stative verbs such as *weigh, know*, and *resemble*.) A Kimian state (see Kim 1969, 1976) does not denote an event; it refers to a property being instantiated at a particular time. These contrast with traditional Davidsonian statives that are traditionally argued to contain an event argument. Importantly, these findings suggest that there are sub-distinctions to be found within the class of stative eventualities. From a syntax-semantics interface perspective, as suggested tacitly by Maienborn (2003, 2005) and more explicitly by Rothmayr (2009), stative eventualities cannot be treated as a unified, homogenous class, with these sub-variants of contrasting underlying structures. It will become immediately clear how these internal distinctions within stative eventualities play a fundamental role in our analysis in allowing us to hone in on the key distinctions between English and PD progressive aspect with regard to their (in)ability to co-occur with states.

3. Semantics and syntax of progressive aspect constructions

After establishing the distinction in meaning between progressive aspect in achievement vs. accomplishment and activity predicates and explicating that stative eventualities do not form a natural homogenous class, we are now in a position to discuss the semantic and syntactic properties of progressive aspect constructions. In this paper, we assume a ‘first phase’ interpretation of the clausal structure of the traditional verb phrase (VP) that is tied to event semantics found in Ramchand (2008):⁶

(14) [AspP PROG [Init(iator)P α [Proc(ess)P β [Res(ult)P γ]]]

Following the structure in (14), the progressive operator (PROG) interacts with the verbal $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ β (which indicates if a particular $\sqrt{\text{root}}$ is specified with a [+ stages]

6. Hale and Keyser (2005), in contrast to Ramchand (2008), argue that argument structure and event semantics are distinct from one another. Since such claims are orthogonal to our analysis, we will not pursue them further at this point.

feature).⁷ Although we basically agree with the main tenets of Ramchand's approach of amalgamating argument structure and event semantics, we know that her current approach is somewhat incomplete since it neglects the relevant sub-distinctions of stative $\sqrt{\text{roots}}$ discussed above.

Higginbotham (2009: 139; (47), following Landman 1992) interprets this PROG-head/operator to express a relation between events e and properties of events.

- (15) a. John is eating chow mein.
b. $[\exists e \approx u] \text{Prog}(e, \wedge \lambda e' \text{eat}(\text{John}, \text{chow mein}, e'))$

Following Landman (1992), the abstraction is over the ordered pair of process and telos (Higginbotham 2009: 140; (48)).

- (16) a. John is crossing the street.
b. $[\exists e \approx u] \text{Prog}(e, \wedge \lambda(e', e'') \text{cross}(\text{John}, \text{the street}, (e', e''))^8$

Higginbotham (2009: 154; (104)) also points out an interesting fact regarding the structural (syntactic) development of the English progressive; namely, the English progressive was originally a nominal construction with a gerundive object, as in (17):

- (17) John is at [PRO crossing the street]

Such constructions are still common in English dialects that allow *a*-prefixing:

- (18) He kept on *a*-laughing all through the movie.⁹

In both (17) and (18), the (*a*)*t* preposition/particle has its own position for events e and licenses the complement phrase as an argument. In agreement with Higginbotham, let us assume that the complement is identical to Landman's proposal: $\text{Prog}(e, \wedge \lambda(e', e''))$. The preposition/particle *at* expresses a relation between events e and the properties of events P . Although the interpretation remains the same, modern English witnessed a grammatical reduction of the structure (17). As we shall see in §4.1.1, the structure in (17) is quite similar to the German Progressive in non-standard speech and the PD-construction that we investigate in detail here.

7. As a point of clarification, the notion of $\sqrt{\text{ROOT}}$ can be understood as a variable for lexical elements that appear in combination with other grammatical information (e.g., tense, aspect, agreement, etc.) when licensed by a given grammar.

8. Higginbotham (2009: 140) correctly points out that this interpretation solves the problem of defining what constitutes a 'continuation' of an event. A continuation of an event e such that $\text{Prog}(e, \wedge \lambda(e', e''))$ is an event e''' such that e is an initial segment of e''' .

9. In some dialects such as Appalachian English, *a*-prefixing is also phonologically conditioned; polysyllabic verbs with stress on the second syllable (e.g., *discover) are ungrammatical. See e.g., Higginbotham (2009: §8.11) for similar arguments.

4. Progressive aspect in German, dialectal continental German, and Pennsylvania Dutch

In this section, we illustrate the differences in progressive aspect as found in German, dialectal continental German, and PD.

4.1 (Standard) German

Simply put, there are not comparable English-like progressive forms in German. Semantically approximate progressive forms appear with partitive constructions, adverbials and infinitive-nominalizations (cf. Königs 1995: 153, Bartsch 1995: 142).¹⁰ For example, adverbs such as *gerade*, *dabei*, *nun*, *allmählich*, *noch*, *denn*, *wirklich*, *tatsächlich*, *doch* (expressing the temporality associated with the imperfective in certain contexts) are most common:

- (19) a. *Thomas singt gerade.*
 Thomas sings at the moment
 ‘Thomas is singing at the moment.’
 b. *Thomas singt jetzt.*
 Thomas sings now
 ‘Thomas is singing right now.’
 c. *Thomas singt noch.*
 Thomas sings still
 ‘Thomas is still singing.’

Königs (1995: 153–4) notes a few instances where the verb form is changed, as opposed to inserting adverbials (although this is clearly not as productive):

- (20) a. *Diese Sorte ist am Aussterben.*
 This species is on out.dying
 ‘This species is dying out.’
 b. *Ich bin beim Schreiben.*
 I am at writing
 ‘I am writing.’

10. Van Pottelberge’s (2004, 2007) research of periphrastic progressive constructions in Germanic languages makes an important point about cross-linguistic comparisons. He makes the distinction that these adverbial constructions do not actually qualify as progressives. His research further substantiates our main point; namely, that the German progressive is not as fully grammaticalized as English progressive. Additionally, he argues that one of the most recent developments found in this domain (the occurrence of progressive aspect with passive voice structures in Pennsylvania Dutch) is likely not due to contact with English. He also finds that the *am*-periphrasis in Pennsylvania Dutch has been reanalyzed as a verbal infinitive and particle, similar to what is also found Afrikaans and Zürich German.

- c. *Die Straße ist im Bau.*
The street is in building
'The street is being built/under construction'
- d. *Wir haben das schon andiskutiert.*
We have that already discussed
'We've been discussing that.'

In sum, as illustrated by Examples (20a–c) the progressive is formed with the copula verb *be* + PREP *an*, *in* and *bei* and a nominalized form of the verb. In (20d) the prefix *an* has a 'beginning the event' reading (i.e., 'we have already begun discussing X').¹¹

4.2 Dialectal (continental) German

Non-standard, dialectal (continental) variants of German exhibit a higher lexical generalization of the *am*-construction similar to (20a–c) above.¹²

- (21) a. *Er ist sein Zimmer am aufräumen.*
He is his room at.the PART(up).clearing
'He's tidying up his room.'
- b. **Er ist am sein Zimmer aufräumen.*
- c. **Er ist sein Zimmer auf am räumen.*

According to Stiebels and Wunderlich (1994:927), (21a) is possible, whereas (21b) and (21c) are not (i.e., the *am*-construction is only grammatical when *am* immediately proceeds the verb).¹³ Van Pottelberge (2004, 2007) notes the broad variability in dialectal use of the *am* construction. He concludes, however that this construction is not integrated into any progressive paradigm, as it can be readily replaced by non-progressive forms.

4.3 Pennsylvania Dutch

In an early study, Reed (1947) made several claims about the appearance of progressive aspect in PD. Reed claims that progressives are preferential in certain contexts and used only to express duration in relative aspect. Narrowing the usage of forms, PD progressives may not (according to Reed) occur in the following situations:

11. See also the most recent work by Behrens, Flecken and Carroll (2013) on the comparisons of progressives in Dutch, Norwegian, and German.

12. Andersson (1989:105) claims that the German spoken in the Ruhr area may be the dialect most open to grammaticalization of this form, but he maintains that "the *am*-periphrasis has neither spread over the whole system of verbal form categories, nor has it developed an obligatory use or a high text frequency as is the case with the progressive in English."

13. A word of caution needs to be exercised here; Stiebels and Wunderlich (1994) look exclusively at Ripuarian and Bavarian dialects to reach these conclusions.

- a. When the object is qualified with a determiner,
- b. When the object is a personal pronoun,
- c. With a prepositional phrase (predominantly used with verbs like *wuhne* 'reside,' *bleiwe* 'stay,' and *sitze* 'sit,' and
- d. With stative verbs such as *gleiche* 'like' and *verschteh* 'understand'

According to Reed, the following constructions should be (or, at the very least, once were) ungrammatical:

- (22) a. **Er is es Buch am lese.*
 He is the book on reading
 Intended: 'He is reading the book.'
- b. **Er is ihn am suche.*
 He is him on searching
 Intended: 'He's looking for him.'
- c. **Er is in de Stadt am wuhne.*
 He is in the city on living
 Intended: 'He is living in the city.'
- d. **Er is sei Tee am gleiche.*
 He is his tea on liking
 Intended: 'He likes his tea.'

Huffines (1986) notes that the PD progressive is present in both 'fluent' and 'semi-speaker' speech. Furthermore, she provides evidence that contradicts Reed's 'restrictions'; first, progressives can occur with qualified prepositions:

- (23) *Er is am Gleeder ins Klasset henke.*¹⁴
 He is on clothing in closet hang
 'He is hanging clothing in the closet.'

Secondly, progressive forms may be used with stative verbs (particularly 'psychological states'):

- (24) *Er is am wunnere, wie er die Ebbel vum Baam griege kann.*
 he is on wondering how he the apples from the tree get can
 'He is wondering, how he can get the apples from the tree.'

14. In this example, we acknowledge a contrast with continental German dialect examples above (cf. 21a,b) where a bare indefinite plural *Gleeder* 'clothing' can appear after the preposition *am*. From our preliminary data, only bare indefinite plural nouns could appear in this position; however, we acknowledge that any hypotheses developed here must be more rigorously tested with more data. Since this finding does not play a significant role in the topic at hand, we leave this for future research.

In addition to these findings which refute Reed's restrictions, Huffines notes two innovations with the PD progressive forms: First, the movement of the object NP to a medial position between the *PREP am* and the substantive infinitive occurs 50% of the time in her data when the object NP is preceded by an adjective or a possessive. Second, the phonetic realization of *am*, which neutralizes the initial vowel and velarizes the following nasal, producing [əŋ].

Although Huffines refutes (many of) Reed's restrictions, she herself is not restrictive enough in delivering a detailed description of new-found 'restriction' in the distribution of the progressive in PD. Burridge states that certain stative verbs (e.g., *welle* 'want') can also occur in the progressive in PD (1992:212):

- (25) a. *Ich bin am wotte fer sell.*
 I am on wanting for that
 ? 'I'm wanting that.'
- b. *Ich bin am Sache besser versteh.*
 I am on things better understanding
 ? 'I'm understanding things better.'

Burridge cites grammaticalization as the process motivating this syntactic innovation for statives, which assigns them a semantically progressive reading. Although the findings of Huffines and Burridge provide insight into the emerging diversity in progressive aspect forms in PD, many puzzles remain unsolved. For example, what sort of restrictions exist with the extension of progressive aspect in PD to statives? Is it more or less restrictive than English? What about achievements, i.e., eventualities that are also [– stages]? Do PD-speakers allow them to appear in the progressive? If so, do they employ the same form? It is with these questions in mind that we undertook and shaped our current investigation.

4.4 Progressive aspect in Big Valley, PA, and Holmes County, OH, Pennsylvania Dutch

For this study, we interviewed 8 native PD-speakers, with four of them coming from Big Valley, Pennsylvania, and four from Holmes County, Ohio. Kishcoquillas 'Big' Valley is located in the Pennsylvania stretches of Appalachia. An historically Amish settlement, the Valley is now home to a dozen different (and non-fellowshipping) Anabaptist groups ranging from sectarian Old Orders to progressive, assimilated Mennonites. As discussed in detail by Brown (2011), three macro-groups exist within these Old Orders, each designated by buggy color. From most conservative, sectarian to more progressive: white, yellow, and black.

Based on the sub-distinctions of stative events introduced in §2.2, we developed a closed questionnaire (see Appendix) to test in which environments progressive aspect could interact with various statives. We tested for the interaction of the following:

- a. Different sub-types of stative eventualities (e.g., $\sqrt{\text{STAGE-S}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{INDIVIDUAL-S}}$ (i.e., Kimian states)),
- b. Different sub-types of external arguments (e.g., agent (volitional), agent (non-volitional), experiencer, patient), and
- c. the PROG-operator

We conducted both group and individual interviews where consultants were orally presented with data from a closed questionnaire. Researchers read each sentence in PD aloud to the consultants and elicited grammaticality judgments on a Likert scale of 1 (ungrammatical/'I would not use this form' or 'I do not understand this form') to 3 (grammatical/'I would use this construction' or 'This sounds perfectly fine/acceptable to me.'). In instances of ungrammaticality, participants were asked to supply a more grammatical rendering of the sentence in question.

4.4.1 Grammatical acceptability judgments

Figure 1 below displays the differences in acceptability amongst of PD-speaking consultants with respect to progressive aspect and its ability to co-occur with different eventualities.

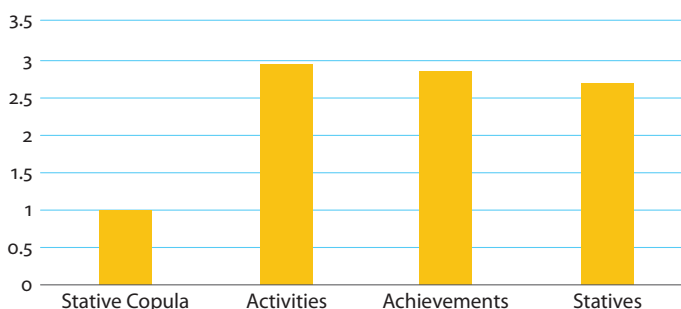


Figure 1. Different eventualities with progressive aspect.

As mentioned above, consultants were orally presented with four types of eventualities (= stative copula, activities, achievements, statives) and were asked to evaluate the likelihood of them using this sentence in their own speech (1–3 Likert Scale; 1 'not likely,' 2 'maybe,' 3 'definitely'). The acceptability rates in Figure 1 illustrate two interesting findings: First, progressive aspect occurs with statives at almost the same level of acceptability as found with achievements and activity eventualities. Second, and also important, is the clear distinction between 'true' statives and statives that occur with a copula verb, with the latter clearly being judged as ungrammatical by our PD-speaking consultants. These findings based on our pilot study provide further evidence for the reality of portioning statives into sub-classes of predicates. In the section that follows, we provide the sketch of a theoretical analysis that argues for the reanalysis of functional information in the form of atomic units commonly labeled 'features' (Chomsky 1995 et seq.). As we discuss in more detail below, following a recent proposals by

Polinsky (2011) and Putnam and Sánchez (2013), linguistic change in heritage grammar can be interpreted as the reanalysis of systematic elements (again, ‘features’) where continued activation of the socially-dominant L2 (in this case, English) forces a reanalysis of functional information in the L1 (in this case, PD), which, although still spoken by Old Order Amish, occurs in restricted social domains.

5. Theoretical analysis

Here we model the interaction of stative eventualities and progressive aspect in English and PD. As a general starting point, let us assume that linguistic knowledge can be encapsulated into atomic units known as features. For our immediate purposes, let us further assume (following Chomsky 1995 et seq.) that the follow sets of features comprise the basic sub-classes of features of human grammar:¹⁵

- a. Functional features (FFs),
- b. Phonological features (PF features); and,
- c. Semantic features

Furthermore, following our brief introduction to the structural properties of progressive aspect and its intersection with (morpho)syntactic structure, we adopt Ramchand’s (2008) proposed architecture of a relatively strict union between event semantics and syntactic structure. Under these core assumptions, the variation of progressive aspect structures cross-linguistically boils down to whether or not individual languages permit a PROG-operator to occur with certain aspectual types. If notions such as PROGRESSIVE ASPECT can be classified as an FF, the relationship between FFs and PF-features can vary considerably in their combinatorial properties. For example, in a language where the PROG-operator is morphophonemically realized as an inflected, bound morpheme, a tight connection between the PROG-operator and a structural position can be assumed; however, in a language where a more periphrastic structure is employed, distributed exponency occurs. In accordance with Bonet’s (1991) seminal work that suggests that the morphological properties of a language are determined after the successful combination of these feature units with structural notions (commonly referred to as the ‘Narrow Syntax’ in mainstream generative literature), we also assume that linguistic variation occurs in the mapping of the PROG-operator, PF-features and the structural properties (i.e., syntax) of a language. As such, linguistic variation is understood as variation in exponency and the lexification of combinations of these three units of atomic linguistic knowledge.¹⁶

15. See Stroik and Putnam (2013) for a slightly altered version of these fundamental sub-classes of features.

16. For detailed discussion of this view of linguistic variation, the reader is referred to Fábregas and Putnam (2013) and (2014).

As a point of departure, we assume that the following three elements constitute the general make up of the input of progressive statives:

- a. PROG-operation (cf. (12))
- b. $\sqrt{\text{STATIVE-V}}$ (i.e., individual-level, stage-level, and Kimian states)
- c. An external argument (EA): {x: (non-)volitional agent, patient, experiencer}

In the remainder of this section, we illustrate the difference properties of progressive statives in English and PD along the lines of the system we sketched out above. In addition to a clear, descriptively adequate analysis of these structures we also propose a possible scenario for the expansion of progressive statives in PD within this model. Based on recent work by Putnam and Sánchez (2013) who propose that changes throughout the lifespan of heritage grammar speakers is the result of the reconfiguration and re-assembly of FFs, we advance the claim that a similar process is primarily responsible for the expansion of structures in which progressive aspect (co-occurring with statives) can occur in PD. In this respect, PD is not a heritage grammar *per se* (see our discussion below in Section 6 of this topic), but we simply wish to illustrate that PD can be classified as a contact language. Here we build upon the core proposals of Putnam and Sánchez's (2013) work and provide a straightforward and predictive way in which this expansion has taken place in PD.

5.1.1 *English*

As a starting point, consider the contrast between stage- and individual-level statives and their (in)ability to co-occur with an experiencer external argument:

- (26) I am liking my job.
Input: {PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{STAGE-S}}$, EXP-subject}
- (27) *I am knowing the answer.
Input: {PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{IND-S}}$, EXP-subject}

The comparison of Examples (26) and (27) illustrates the ungrammaticality of individual-level states being marked with progressive aspect in English. As demonstrated by Example (28) below, stage-level statives and patient external arguments can co-occur with progressive aspect.

- (28) The book is sitting on the table.
Input: {PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{STAGE-S}}$, PAT-subject}

In similar fashion, Example (29) shows that stage-level states co-occurring with non-volitional agents are also acceptable in English:

- (29) Captain Crunch is sleeping.
Input: {PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{STAGE-S}}$, NVOL-AG-subject}

Stage-level states can also appear with volition agents in English, as evidenced by Example (30):

- (30) I am sitting at the table.
 Input: {PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{STAGE-S}}$, VOL-AG-subject}

The situation with copula verbs (i.e., Kimian statives) and their co-occurrence with statives in the progressive is a little more complicated. To illustrate this point, consider the following data:

- (31) He is being polite.
 Input: {PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{STAGE-S}}$, COPULA, VOL-AG-subject}
- (32) *I am being sick.
 Input: {PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{STAGE-S}}$, COPULA, EXP-subject}
- (33) *I am being a man.
 Input: {PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{IND-S}}$, COPULA, NVOL-AG-subject}

The data in (31), (32), and (33) explicate the fact that the structure of $\sqrt{\text{STATIVE}}$ and copular are not identical (contra Ramchand (2008)).¹⁷ This observation is reflected in our constraint inventory, where we posit constraints specifically for stative eventualities and those that also appear with copula verbs. Based on our quick overview of the basic facts of the restrictions of the co-occurrence – and, according to the theoretical desiderata we adopt here, the lexification – of a PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{STATIVE-V}}$, and an external argument with varying thematic properties, English bans progressive aspect in copula Kimian statives (cf. (32) and (33) above) and the lexification of individual-level statives with experiencer subjects in the progressive (cf. (27)). As we see below, PD and English do not radically differ with respect to their lexification properties of these units; however, whereas (27) is ungrammatical in English, similar structures are acceptable in PD. Below we demonstrate how this can be accounted for in the framework we develop in this paper.

5.1.2 *Pennsylvania Dutch*

The different preferences in the lexification of these features sets in English and PD are quite similar. To illustrate this point, consider the following PD examples:

- (34) *Er is in die Stadt am wuhne.*
 He is in the town on residing
 ‘He is living/residing in town.’
- (35) **Er is en Mann am sei.*
 He is a man on being
 Intended: ‘He is being a man.’

17. Although we firmly acknowledge that there is a way to provide enough pragmatic content to arrive at grammatical readings of (32) and (33), it would involve a reading that is somewhat counterfactual. We will focus on lexical semantic properties of lexical items in this paper.

- (36) **Er is grank am sei.*
 He is sick on being
 Intended: 'He is being sick.'
- (37) *Ich bin selli Sach(e) am wisse.*
 I am such things on knowing
 'I am knowing such things.'

As in English, both sentences that appear with copula verbs; namely, Examples (35) and (36), are ungrammatical. This indicates that in both English and PD, Kimian statives cannot co-occur (i.e., be lexified) with progressive aspect. However, in contrast to what we observe in English, individual-level states with an experiencer external argument can co-occur in PD (cf. (37)), which, as we noted above in the previous section in our overview of English stative progressives, is not possible (cf. (27)). This represents the key contrast between English and PD with regard to stative eventualities and their (in)ability to co-occur with progressive aspect. Here we witness an expansion in the domain of possible structures/lexifications in PD where statives can occur in progressive aspect; namely, the input {PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{IND-S}}$, EXP-subject} represents an acceptable unit of atomic features that can be lexified (i.e., connected with the morphophonemic properties of PD).

Before closing our investigation on the connection between states and progressive aspect, it appears that PD is currently undergoing a shift where stage-level states appearing with patient external arguments (with an input of {PROG-operator, $\sqrt{\text{STAGE-S}}$, PAT-subject}) result in marked structures:

- (38) ??*S Buch is am Tisch am sitze.*
 The book is on the table on sitting
 'The book is sitting on the table.'

As a result of this possible shift currently underway in the PD-grammar, it is unclear whether stage-level statives co-occurring with patient external arguments will become fully grammaticalized in PD. Two points are in order here before moving to the next section: First, the combination of the lexification of these formal features (i.e., their connection with PF-features) can and should be best understood as a gradient process where acceptability (but not grammaticality) is affected. Therefore, variance and gradience in linguistic structure is the norm rather than the exception here. Second, given that the English equivalent of (38) is acceptable in English (cf. (28)), it is fair to postulate that this featural combination could result in a (more) acceptable lexified structure in PD in the future, especially in light of growing contact with monolingual English speakers on the part of L1-PD speakers.

5.1.2.1 $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ vs. $\sqrt{\text{ACHIEVEMENTS}}$. A final word is in order here regarding the difference between $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{ACHIEVEMENTS}}$ and their ability to coincide with progressive aspect in PD. As reflected in the grammaticality judgments elicited in this study (Figure 1), both $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{ACHIEVEMENTS}}$ can appear with progressive

aspect quite frequently. Our PD consultants did, however, show a very strong preference for constructing $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{ACHIEVEMENTS}}$ with different syntactic structures. To illustrate this point, consider the following examples:

- (38) $\sqrt{\text{ACHIEVEMENT}}$
Er is es Glas draa am breche.
 He is the glass almost P break
 'He is about to break the glass.'
- (39) $\sqrt{\text{STATIVE}}$
*Die Leit sin *(draa) am glawwe.*
 The people are almost P believe
 'The people are believing.'

In PD, $\sqrt{\text{ACHIEVEMENTS}}$ occur predominantly in combination with the temporal adverbial modifier *draa* (German *gerade* 'just now, currently'), whereas the appearance of *draa* in connection with $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ is virtually unattested.¹⁸ Based on these findings, we arrive at the following generalizations:

- a. The PD-grammar recognizes the distinction between $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ and $\sqrt{\text{ACHIEVEMENTS}}$.
- b. The classification of a \sqrt{V} as [– stages] does not prevent it from appearing in combination with progressive aspect.

6. Hyperextension

In our analysis of progressive aspect in connection with [– stages]-predicates in PD, we exposed the fact that the fundamental difference between English and PD can be reduced to the crucial difference between whether or not the PROG-operator can occur with experiencer subjects and an individual-level stative, which is not possible in English but appears to be possible in PD. With regard to the syntax-semantics interface, recent research claims that the most permeable parts of a grammar in contact situations are those at interfaces (e.g., discourse-pragmatic and semantic), which are readily grammatical in both languages (cf. Sánchez' (2003, 2004) Convergence Hypothesis). Sorace (2006: 116) clarifies the sharp difference between NARROW versus INTERFACE syntax:

Non-interpretable features that are internal to the computational syntax proper and drive syntactic derivations are categorical in native grammars; are acquired successfully by adult L2 learners; and are retained in the initial stages of individual attrition. Interpretable features that 'exploit' syntactic options and belong to the interface

18. In the data produced by informants to 'correct' our elicitations, only one counterexample has the temporal adverbial modifier *draa* with a $\sqrt{\text{STATIVE}}$.

between syntax and other domains, such as the lexicon, discourse, or pragmatics, may present residual optionality in near-native grammars, due to the influence of the native language even at the most advanced competence stage; and are vulnerable to change in individual attrition.

Drawing on similar arguments and observations present in the contact linguistics literature, we show that the PD progressive has converged with English semantics (at least to some extent). However, the mapping is not a simple lexical calque or direct translation from English to PD, which is to be expected in a model of linguistic change that maintains that the reconfiguration of functional features is primarily responsible for the empirical changes we observe here. Burridge's (1992) research elucidates the fact that gradually PD progressives increased until English and PD achieved semantic congruence. The core findings of this study, namely, the fact that PD-speakers can combine [- stages]-predicates with progressive aspect to a greater degree than found in English, is not a novel finding confined to this study. In fact, this phenomenon is widely found in other contact situations, e.g., Hawaiian Creole, where the first appearance of a locative copular-derived *stei* appeared in the 1920s, and now has been extended to cover both progressive aspect and habitual aspect (Roberts 1999:59). For TMA markings in Principense, Maurer (1997:422) shows that the present progressive marker *sa* may also be used with stative verbs, which "insist on the presentness of the situation." Varieties of World Englishes and dialectal English show similar hyperextension patterns (data from Gachelin 1997):

- | | | |
|---------|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| (40) a. | I am having a cold. | (West African English) |
| b. | Are you wanting anything? | (Indian English) |
| c. | She is having a headache. | (Singapore English) |
| d. | She is knowing her science very well. | (East African English) |

Crosslinguistically, research has found that the evolution of an aspect system seems to move from progressive to imperfect, by extending the use of the progressive to $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ (e.g., Comrie 1976, Bybee et al. 1994, Ramat 1997). In some respects, the reconfiguration of the PD-grammar in this particular domain simply reflects universal trends, and given that aspect, a grammatical category situated at the syntax-semantics interface involves malleable 'interface features,' it comes as little surprise that changes in this system are underway.

A final question that we must address before moving onto the conclusion concerns the overall stability of the PD-grammar. A valid and interesting question raised to us by Marit Westergaard (p.c.) concerns the possibility of PD being an 'incompletely acquired' language in the sense of Polinsky (1997, 2006, 2008) and Montrul (2002, 2008, 2009). Under this understanding of incomplete acquisition, Montrul (2002, 2008) and Polinsky (2008) find that the late stage acquisition of stative predicate distinctions is the result of faulty aspectual markings in Spanish-English bilinguals and Heritage/American Russian speakers respectively. Although most Amish children come into heavy contact early in their life – either via a formal introduction to English in elementary school or by contact with older siblings who have already begun to

acquire English – a key difference between PD-speakers and heritage speakers is the fact that PD continues to thrive as an L1 in conservative sects of the Old Order Amish. Importantly, PD has extended the use of progressive aspect beyond English, but, as we model here, constraints do exist on this newer form. Therefore, the hyperextension of progressive aspect to $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ in PD as well as some World Englishes (cf. (40)) may develop as a result of exposure to English during the critical period of language acquisition, but rather than labeling this as some form of ‘incomplete acquisition,’ we classify this situation as the result of the convergence of complex – and in some instances typologically contrastive – Principle Linguistic Data (PLD) see Putnam and Sánchez (2013) and references *inter alia*.¹⁹

PD grammar has not simply copied the English aspectual system in relation to progressive aspect, rather it has constructed its own independent system based on contact with English and the structural representations available to them in PD. We also recognize that there appear to be some typological universals at play here as well (based on the connections with World Englishes and creoles). This, of course, is to be expected in our model of functional feature re-assembly and relexification that has taken place in PD (as well as these other World Englishes and creoles mentioned above). In summary, we concur with the observation that what has taken place – and what likely is still underway – in the PD-grammar is no mere calque of the English aspectual system, but rather the reconfiguration of aspectual information with lexical items and syntactic structure has led to a unique and new aspectual system in current PD.

7. Conclusions and directions for future research

The prime aim of this paper was to gain further insight into (morpho)syntactic and semantic properties of semantic aspect as it is manifest in modern PD. This pilot study shows that PD-speakers in both Big Valley, Pennsylvania, and Holmes County, Ohio, show a hyperextension of progressive aspect in combination with particular combinations of $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ and external arguments not found in (American) English. As discussed in §6, this appears to be an instance of *HYPEREXTENSION* beyond English usage, but there still exist constraints on the grammaticality of what can be hyperextended.

Concerning future research into the aspectual system of PD and other German-language speech enclaves throughout the world, future research in this domain must take into account tense distinctions along with the aspectual system. Second, as mentioned to us by Dave Embick (p.c.), along with this current shift discussed in this study, it would be interesting to explore how PD-speakers construct habituais of non-statives. Third, as noted by Rothmayr (2009), the appearance of progressive aspect with modals creates a very messy situation. This is based on the fact that the contrasting nature of modal versus lexical verbs; i.e., modal verbs are operators that act on propositions,

19. Additionally, substratal influence, especially in the case of World Englishes, as well as access to standard speakers and texts figure into hyperextension in their grammars.

whereas lexical verbs select arguments to form a proposition. Accordingly, it is most likely incorrect to classify modals as $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ (or to associate them with any other Aktionsart-classification for that matter). This finding has a direct impact on the study of progressive aspect in PD, mainly because some of the examples given by Huffines (1986) and Burridge (1992) to illustrate the extension of progressive aspect to ‘states’ is incorrect. In other words, the fact that (progressive) aspect can appear with modals is itself a mystery and should constitute a separate course of tangential study beyond this current investigation. Fourth, in addition to including tense distinctions into a larger-scale investigation of aspect into PD, the following data (provided to us by Mark Loudon, p.c.) seem to indicate that the licensing of progressive aspect interacts also in peculiar ways with voice systems:

- (41) a. *Sie sin ihre Septic-tank am ausgebutzt griege.*
 They are their septic tank P out-cleaned_{PART} get
 ‘They are getting their septic tank cleaned out.’
 b. *Der Septic-tank is(t) am ausgebutzt wadde.*
 The septic tank is P out-cleaned_{PART} been
 ‘The septic tank has been cleaned out.’

Although the construction in (41a) is found today in non-standard continental German speech patterns (as confirmed by Volker Gast and Ralf Vogel, p.c.), (41b) is not. Once again we have an example of an extension of progressive aspect in a domain unattested in continental German non-standard speech, which is also not possible in English. Lastly, as pointed out to us by Marit Westergaard (p.c.), moving forward research into the aspectual system of PD must move beyond mere structural descriptions and tackle the difficult task of determining exactly what these structures mean. We acknowledge this shortcoming in the current research on this topic, and plan to integrate these issues into our future research on aspect in PD.

Importantly, this paper has not considered the progressive in Pennsylvania Dutch in isolation, but sought to tie its workings into larger issues of contact theory. In so doing, we have avoided the trap of viewing this feature in Pennsylvania Dutch as a ‘contamination’ from English, but as a creative and dynamic feature that used English as its expansion point. Other contributions in this volume show similar effects to the bilingual syntax and permeability of the grammar. In fact, some of the studies in this volume comment directly on the productive nature of immigrant languages in contact, e.g., Westergaard and Anderssen on Norwegian possessive constructions. We are confident that this pilot study will lead to a deeper understanding of the workings of the bilingual brain and the grammar in contact.

The findings of this pilot study also stand to have a useful effect on the syntax-semantic literature on aspect as well. First, agreeing with Rothmayr (2009), it is hard to maintain the long-standing perception that $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ are a unified class and function as the building blocks of (all) other predicates. Their structure is clearly more complex than is commonly assumed (contra Ramchand 2008, who argues that their structure is ‘simple’ and similar to copula verbs). In this respect, a more fine-grained treatment

of the interaction between duration and $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$ is sorely needed alongside a more detailed analysis of the structure(s) of $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$. Lastly, and in connection with the previous point, Rothstein's (2004) distinctions (e.g., [\pm telic], [\pm stages]) for classes of eventualities may require (some) revision to account for the sub-class distinctions of $\sqrt{\text{STATIVES}}$.

Appendix

Jake is am grank sei. / Jake is being sick.

Jake is en Mann am sei. / Jake is being a man.

Ruth is iwwer die Schtrooss am laafe. / Ruth is walking across the street.

Die Maem is der Balloon am verbuste. / Mom is popping the balloon.

Die Mannsleit sin der Scheier am baue. / The men are building the barn.

Ich bin am Sache besser versteh. / I am understanding things better.

Sie sin die Leit am glaawe. / They are believing the people.

Dihhr seid es Buch am finne. / You are finding the book.

Die Eldre waare am daheem bleiwe. / The parents were staying at home.

Sam is die Katie am liewe. / Sam is loving Katie.

Sam is es Glas am breche. / Sam is breaking the glass.

Mary is am tschumpe. / Mary is jumping.

Ich bin selli Sach am wisse. / I am knowing that thing.

Ich bin am wotte fer sell. / I am wanting that.

John is am Gleeder ins Klaaset henke. / John is hanging the clothes in the closet.

Katie is ihr Tee am gleiche. / Katie is liking her tea.

Mir sin es Schpiel am gwinne. / We are winning the game.

Sam is sie am suche. / Sam is looking for her.

Mary un John sin in Lengescheder am wuhne nau. / Mary and John are living in Lancaster now.

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