

**GRAMMATICALIZATION
OF
THE PROGRESSIVE FORM IN ENGLISH**

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PhD
The University of Edinburgh
1999



In Memoriam

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I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that the research reported therein has been conducted myself unless otherwise indicated.

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Acknowledgements

I humbly admit that this thesis would never have come into existence without the help of Prof. John Anderson, my supervisor, whose exceptional academic competence is matched by his remarkable human qualities. There was not a single meeting in which he did not display his perspicacious suggestions and strong encouragements.

In addition, I would like to thank the following people who highly contributed to the elaboration of this thesis: Prof. David Denison, for his astute observations on Old English data; Dr. Kersti Börjars and Prof. Nigel Vincent, for their useful comments on morphosyntax; Prof. Manfred Markus, for his assistance in gathering data; Prof. Terttu Nevalainen, for her precious information about private letters in Middle English and Early Modern English; Prof. Matti Rissanen, for his remarks on historical syntax ; Mr. Keith Mitchell, for his discussions about Modern English data; Sveta Klimova and Prof. Jim Miller, for their time and patience with transliterations in Russian; Dr. Douglas Biber, Dr. Edward Finegan, Ms. Bridget Cusack, Prof. Susan Fleischmann, Dr. Sheila Glasbey, Dr. Lesley Gordon, Prof. Berndt Heine, Dr. Caroline Heycock, Dr. Janet Hitzeman, Prof. E. C. Traugott, Dr. Laura Wright, and Prof. Susan Wright, for their advice during the production of this thesis; Abdul Majothi, for his invaluable support with computer matters; Dr. Louise Kelly, for her help with statistics; and the staff of the Edinburgh University Main library.

Moreover, I wish to express my thanks to Prof. Marie-Line Groussier and Prof. Lionel Guierre for their unfailing support. They are the very two Professors who aroused and developed my enthusiasm for the English language when I studied in the Institut Charles V, Université Paris VII, France.

I also want to thank my friends, especially Anup, Marguerite and Sveta, for being around, Thora Hobbs and her sweet family in Woking, for their hospitality and the numerous golf rounds on the 3Ws, as well as my Edinburgh golf partners Iain, Paul, Mike, and Alan, who had to put up with a few progressive forms between two golf swings -- they, of course, contributed to my swinging mood when I went back to work.

Finally, I am grateful to Tato and Amanio, whose deep love and constant support helped me to go through the most difficult moments. This thesis is dedicated to them.

Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to provide an account of the grammaticalization of the progressive form *be + -ing* in English, namely a study of the way the construction has been integrated into the grammatical system of English, both synchronically and diachronically.

The first two chapters are essentially descriptive and set up the terminological background that will be used in the later chapters. Chapter 1 outlines a brief history of grammaticalization, with its various traditions, followed by a presentation of the main characteristics of semantic changes in grammaticalization. Chapter 2 offers a discussion of the perfective and the imperfective aspects, the terminology of which has brought about many misconceptions and mistakes when applied to non-Slavic languages, especially English.

The next four chapters propose a synchronic and diachronic study of the progressive form. Chapter 3 presents a semantic and formal analysis of the progressive form in Modern English. Chapter 4 focuses on the origins of the construction and tries to identify the seeds of a semantic interpretation of the latter in Old English, based on the examination of a few texts in Old English narrative prose. Chapter 5 describes and analyzes the development of the progressive form over the last five centuries in private letters, the results of this investigation being reinterpreted in Chapter 6 in the theoretical framework of the French linguist Culioli, who developed in the sixties a more elaborated version of the theory of enunciation of Benveniste.

The final chapter presents our conclusions and offers suggestions for further research.

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Notational Conventions

The following notional conventions are used in this thesis. Other usages are introduced in the text where appropriate.

- linguistic examples quoted in the main text are in italics, e.g. *a book* ; otherwise, they appear in roman type when they are in displays.
- a sentence that is not grammatical is preceded by an asterisk, e.g. **Mary to a write John.*
- an example in bold characters reflects my own emphasis unless otherwise stated, e.g. *John **is playing** tennis tomorrow.*
- literal translations are introduced in single quotes, e.g. *langue* ‘language’.
- Material that has been added appears in square brackets; cut material within a quoted example is represented with three dots put into square brackets, e.g. [*the man in black*] *crossed the street and [...] entered the shop.*
- when reference is made to a section within a specific chapter, the reference to the chapter is made first, e.g. 4.3.2 means Chapter 4 section 3.2.
- in the main text, the separation or not of two paragraphs by a blank line suggests a lesser or greater degree of coherence between the successive paragraphs, respectively.
- each new argument is developed in a new non-indented paragraph; but the use of an indented paragraph corresponds to the development of a subargument; at the end of a piece of argumentation, the recapitulation is made in a non-indented paragraph.
- the expanded form is abbreviated EF in graphs and tables; the simple form, SF.
- when we talk about Old English, sometimes we use the abbreviation OE, e.g. OE narrative prose.
- the first number of a graph or a table represents the chapter it is used in, e.g. Table 5.1 is the first table of Chapter 5.
- to refer to the narrator, writer, speaker, etc., the masculine singular third person pronoun *he* is used.
- the *British National Corpus* is abbreviated BNC.

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Introduction

Cross-linguistic studies of aspect have given rise to many a controversial discussion. More particularly, in the enormously rich literature treating of the problem of aspect in English, the investigation of the progressive form *be + -ing*, both on a synchronic and diachronic level, has been the focus of much attention without the scholars agreeing on the terminology attributed to the construction, its origins, its historical evolution, and the possibility of a unified semantic interpretation of *be + -ing* in Modern English, to name a few problems.

This thesis constitutes an attempt to explain how the progressive form has been grammaticalized in English, namely how the construction has become more central to the grammatical system of the English language, from both a synchronic and diachronic point of view, with a particular emphasis on the way it has been increasingly associated with a subjective meaning, which expresses the speaker's attitude. Two main parts can be distinguished in the thesis: the first one, consisting of Chapters 1 and 2, provides a clarification of the terminology to be used in the later chapters; the second one offers a synchronic and diachronic analysis of the progressive form in English, which is expounded in Chapters 3, 4, 5 and 6.

In the first part of the thesis, the terminological elucidation essentially centres around two topics: grammaticalization (Chapter 1), on the one hand, and perfective and imperfective aspects (Chapter 2), on the other hand.

In Chapter 1, it is argued that as a theory of linguistic change, grammaticalization involves a crucial link between synchrony and diachrony, which is said to be completely rejected by Saussure in his famous lecture notes, called the *Cours de Linguistique Générale* (CLG) at the beginning of the 20th century. But a careful analysis of the Saussurean synchrony/diachrony dichotomy leads us to understand not only on what level of interpretation this opposition can stand, but also how it is possible to trace the seeds of a theory of linguistic change in the Saussurean framework, provided the concept of 'langue', as well as the role played by the notion of 'parole', can be properly defined. But it is clear that the theory of linguistic change developed by Saussure turns out to be too sketchy, compared to the more ambitious works about grammaticalization. It is not intended to present a detailed history of grammaticalization but the main trends will be examined.

Three important theories of grammaticalization are briefly illustrated: first, the Meillet tradition, embodied in Meillet (1912), Benveniste (1968), and Lehmann

(1985, 1986, 1993); second, Givón's (1979) and Hopper's (1982, 1987) perspectives; third, Traugott's (1982, 1989, 1995) framework.

In addition, an analysis of the main semantic changes in grammaticalization is carried out but the phonetic and syntactic changes are not the focus of our attention. Three types of factors, which motivate the semantic changes of the process, are distinguished. The question as to whether the function of grammaticalization is teleological or not is raised. The preliminary constraints which render specific linguistic expressions susceptible for grammaticalization are also enumerated. As for the mechanisms pertaining to the process, only the mostly discussed ones are taken into account, namely semanticization (Meillet (1912)), metaphor (Sweetser (1984), Heine et al. (1991)), metonymy (Heine et al. (1991)), also called pragmatic strengthening (Traugott and König (1991)). Finally, the unidirectionality of grammaticalization, a property stating that grammaticalization evolves along certain paths only, is put into question, as in Herring (1991), Campbell (1991), Matsumoto (1988) and Allen (1994).

Thus, Chapter 1, with its discussion of a brief history of grammaticalization, and the main factors, mechanisms, and characteristics affecting the semantic changes in grammaticalization, provides an analysis which encompasses all the basic sources of explanation relating to grammaticalization.

In Chapter 2, on the basis of this discussion, an investigation of the perfective and imperfective aspects is pursued. Originally attributed to Slavic aspect, the terms of perfective and imperfective are examined in relation to Russian. The semantic functions of the perfective and the imperfective are considered briefly, alongside the role played by morphology in Russian aspect, especially prefixation. The recapitulation of the functioning of Russian aspect will help us to understand why problems were encountered when the Slavic terminology was applied to non-Slavic languages. In particular, our attention will be turned to the discussion of aspect in Germanic languages with the criticism of Streitberg's (1891) methodology in his attempt to make a close comparison between Gothic and Slavic aspects. An attempt to use the Russian terminology to describe English aspect is also carried out in this chapter. A careful comparison between the imperfective and the expanded form, on the one hand, and the perfective and the simple form, on the other hand, shows the similarities and discrepancies between the two aspects, not only semantically but also formally. The idea of a one-to-one correspondence between the two aspects of the languages needs to be abandoned.

To conclude the first part of the thesis, it can be said that the terminological background just described in Chapters 1 and 2 serves as a basis for the second part of the thesis, extending from Chapter 3 to Chapter 6 and concentrating on the grammaticalization of the progressive form.

Chapter 3 tries to offer a clear picture of a synchronic study of the progressive form in Modern English. In the introduction, it is briefly explained why a new terminology is adopted to designate the construction, namely the expanded form. This chapter can be divided into two sections, one providing a semantic analysis, and the other one giving a formal account of the construction.

A discussion of the most common meanings of the expanded form in Modern English is provided in the first section, showing three basic meanings, all being more or less related to one another. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a few problems, the list of which is extended when the secondary meanings, namely the context-related ones, are examined. In some cases, the link between some basic meanings and their secondary meanings is difficult to evaluate. A recurrent problem lies in the difficulty of explaining the notion of duration, which brought about the confusion between the inherent meaning of a verb, namely its *Aktionsart*, whether durative or not, and the grammatical aspect. Consequently, there is a need to provide a coherent classification of verbs, taking into account the aforementioned problems. As a starting point, the famous Vendlerian classification of verbs will be examined. Because of the increasing number of problems with the latter, there will be proposed a new classification of verbs, based on Bouscaren and Deschamps's (1991) topological study of verb types. This will be of great use in our proposal for a meaning for the expanded form in Modern English, and in our examination of the interaction between the *Aktionsart*, the expanded form and the type of arguments.

The semantic analysis of the expanded form in Modern English is complemented by a formal investigation of what is called a periphrasis in traditional grammar, which has not been the object of great interest apart from Vincent (1982, 1987), Anderson (1989), and more recently, Börjars et al. (1997), for instance. Because of the topic of the thesis, the focus of our attention will be upon verbal periphrases. Their morphosemantic properties will be thoroughly examined. In particular, this will enable us to redefine the notion of paradigms and see the interdependence between verbal periphrases and paradigms.

Thus, Chapter 3 offers an analysis of the expanded form, both semantically and formally, in Modern English, the results of which will be tested in the following chapters.

Chapter 4 precisely focuses on the expanded form in Old English. First, the origins of the Old English construction *beon* + *V-ende* are inspected. Following Nickel (1967), Visser (1973), and Mitchell (1985), it is shown how difficult it is to identify a grammatical status for the expression in Old English, as opposed to that of its Modern English counterpart. Indeed, its grammatical status can be ambiguous between an adjective, an apposition, a noun, and a verb, according to the linguistic context. The interesting part here is the emergence of the verbal status, namely that of the verbal periphrasis, whereas it is clearly established in Modern English.

With respect to the Latin influence on the development of the construction in Old English, the discrepant results prompt us to investigate a possible stylistic function of the *beon* + *V-ende*, depending on the narrator's choice. However, no satisfactory definite conclusion will be drawn in favour of or against the hypothesis of a stylistic function.

Consequently, in an attempt to find the seeds of a semantic interpretation of the expanded form in Old English, data are to be examined in three texts of Old English narrative prose, the relevance of which is justified during the discussion. A systematic approach to the analysis of the data is conducted, with four different parameters associated with the Old English construction: the verb type, the temporal and subjective adjuncts and conjuncts, and the clause type. Even though a conclusion should not be drawn too hastily with respect to the meaning of *beon* + *V-ende*, it is worth noticing that some contexts allow us to associate the Old English expanded form with a specific meaning, the evolution of which is the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter 5 provides an examination of private letters from the 15th century onwards. Again, the relevance of the choice of the genre is fully explained during the analysis. The rarity of the number of private letters in Middle English obliges us to start the investigation of the data in the 15th century. The same four parameters as those for the Old English study are used and interesting results are to be reported, especially with respect to the subjective parameter.

The latter remark will be an opportunity for us to introduce in Chapter 6 the theory of the French linguist Culioli, who elaborated a more sophisticated version of the theory of enunciation of Benveniste, where subjectivity, namely the expression of the speaker's attitude, plays a crucial role in the construction of an utterance. The aim of Chapter 6 is to reinterpret the data of the private letters within this theoretical framework and see to what extent modality, aspect, and subjectivity are

interconnected. A topological representation of the expanded form in Modern English is also proposed.

The conclusion in Chapter 7 summarizes the main findings of the synchronic and diachronic study of the expanded form in English and tries to go beyond the proposed results, by suggesting possible refinements to the existing semantic and formal interpretations of the expanded form.

Chapter 1

Grammaticalization

The purpose of this chapter is to try to understand the phenomenon of grammaticalization, not only by taking into account the main trends since the first appearance of the term in the early twentieth century, namely the Meillet tradition, Hopper's and Givón's works, and Traugott's model, but also by explaining why and how grammaticalization is triggered off.

As a first approximation, it can be said that grammaticalization involves a theory of linguistic change, which can be interpreted both synchronically, i.e. at one point in time, and diachronically, i.e. between at least two points in time. Hence the importance of the link between synchrony and diachrony in grammaticalization.

It is widely acknowledged that this link was neglected in the theoretical conceptions of language developed in Saussure's published lecture notes, the *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, (CLG), which is considered as a cornerstone in the history of twentieth-century linguistics and semiotics. Indeed, because Saussure is said to describe language in its synchronic state, the history of language is seen as irrelevant to the speaking subject. Nevertheless, in what follows, it will be argued that the seeds of a theory of linguistic change can be located in the Saussurean framework, provided the so-called synchrony/diachrony dichotomy is interpreted correctly.

1.1 How the Saussurean synchrony/diachrony distinction is to be understood

Within the Saussurean framework, synchrony and diachrony are defined as follows:

“Est [linguistique] synchronique tout ce qui se rapporte à l'aspect statique de notre science, [linguistique] diachronique tout ce qui a trait aux évolutions.”

(CLG 1974:117)

This definition has then been interpreted as a strict opposition between synchrony and diachrony:

“L’opposition entre les deux points de vue -- synchronique et diachronique -- est absolue et ne souffre pas de compromis.”
(CLG 1974:119)

Saussure defines synchrony and diachrony in such a way that they are said to be antinomic. The whole point here is to determine on what level the opposition is viewed as operational.

1.1.1 Two levels of interpretation

1.1.1.1 The ontological level of interpretation

As suggested by T. De Mauro in his notes (1974:452), the definition might well be interpreted at an ontological level:

“On a cru communément que la distinction se place, pour Saussure, *in re* : l’objet “langue” a une synchronie et a une diachronie, comme monsieur Durand a un chapeau et une paire de gants.”
(De Mauro 1974:452)

This analysis then refers to the properties of language, ‘langue’, itself.

But the interpretation has been contradicted by empirical facts:

“On a dit que des éléments diachroniques sont présents dans la synchronie (archaïsmes, néologismes, apparition de nouvelles tendances, dépérissement de parties du système).”
(CLG 1974, note 176, p.452)

Even Saussure seems to contradict himself by underlining the interdependence between synchrony and diachrony:

“Il semble à première vue très simple de distinguer entre ce système et son histoire, entre ce qu’il est et ce qu’il a été; en réalité, le rapport qui unit ces deux choses est si étroit qu’on a peine à les séparer.”

(CLG 1974:24)

1.1.1.2 The methodological level of interpretation

In fact, the definition implies an opposition of points of view, as already briefly underlined in CLG (1974):

“L’opposition entre les deux **points de vue** -- synchronique et diachronique -- est absolue et ne souffre pas de compromis.”
(CLG 1974:119)

A few lines after this statement, Saussure explicitly delineates the points of view which are represented in this interpretation :

“La première chose qui frappe quand on étudie les faits de langue, c’est que **pour le sujet parlant leur succession dans le temps est inexistante**: il est devant un état. Aussi le linguiste qui veut comprendre cet état doit-il faire table rase de tout ce qui l’a produit et ignorer la diachronie. **[Le linguiste] ne peut entrer dans la conscience des sujets parlants qu’en supprimant le passé**. L’intervention de l’histoire ne peut que fausser son jugement.”
(CLG 1974:119)

In this commentary, Saussure contends that synchrony prevails over diachrony in the study of language, ‘langue’, out of methodological reasons. First, the speaking subject does not reconstruct the historical evolutions of every given linguistic fact he is using in a particular linguistic system, since the “succession in time”, in the historical sense, of linguistic facts does not exist for him. Second, the point of view of the linguist is dependent on that of the speaking subject. For the linguist to understand the nature of the “state” that the speaking subject perceives, he has to “suppress the past”, to do away with diachrony. In other words, the methodological analysis of linguistic facts requires not only a separation between synchrony and diachrony, but also a privileged study of synchrony.

The preference attributed to the study of synchrony can also be ascribed to a reaction to the comparativists’ model in the nineteenth century, which focused on diachrony only. The comparativists compared languages between themselves, and paid attention to local evolutions only. Saussure criticizes this atomist view. He attributes the failure of the comparativists’ model to the absence of definition of the object of study:

“[L’école comparativiste] ne s’est jamais préoccupée de dégager la nature de son objet d’étude. Or, sans cette opération élémentaire, une science est incapable de se faire une méthode.”
(CLG 1974:16)

Because comparativists focused on specific elements in the system, they could not perceive the whole system as such. Therefore, Saussure poses the notion of system as a preliminary methodological condition to understand historical linguistics. Let us characterize the object of study *langue*.

1.1.2 Definition of the object of study 'langue'

Following Thibault (1997), it will be argued that the Saussurean system is not considered as a closed, static, self-regulating system, as classical structuralists usually define the notion of system. The Saussurean system has the specificities to be both open and dynamic.

To begin with, even though the synchronic system is defined as static, this property has to be interpreted in the sense of an adjective attributed to the state of 'langue' ("statique: relatif à un état de langue" (Godel 1957:277)), and not in the sense of an adjective referring to non-dynamic properties. The non-permanent character of 'langue' is underlined in Godel (1957):

"Il n'y a jamais de caractères permanents; il n'y a que des états de langue qui sont perpétuellement la transition entre l'état de la veille et celui du lendemain."
Godel (1957:39)

The relative notion of the state of 'langue' is also emphasized when Saussure makes it clear that the state of 'langue' cannot be assimilated to a point but to a temporal interval:

"Un état de langue n'est jamais un point, mais un espace de temps plus ou moins long pendant lequel la somme des modifications survenues est minime. Cela peut être dix ans, une génération, un siècle, davantage même."
(CLG1974:142).

Moreover, the system is to be seen as open. As suggested by Thibault (1997:102), it is open "because of the continual transactions of matter, energy and information which it engages in."

Besides, it is to be recalled that the object of study is an abstract construct, as the following comparisons show it: projection of a body onto a plane; cross cut of the stem of a plant (see CLG 1974:125).

1.1.3 Nature of linguistic change in the Saussurean framework

It was previously shown that the history of linguistic facts was irrelevant to the speaking subject out of methodological reasons, but the linguist was well aware of it. It would be now opportune to identify the background against which change is measured. The synchronic, and not the diachronic, system turns out to be the basis against which the evaluation of linguistic change is assessed:

“Ce n’est pas en étudiant les corps, c’est-à-dire les événements diachroniques qu’on connaîtra les états synchroniques.”

(CLG 1974:125)

The synchronic system can be analytically constructed through a projection of the historical facts -- the historical reality -- at a given time:

“Pour montrer à la fois l’autonomie et l’interdépendance du synchronique et du diachronique, on peut comparer le premier à la projection d’un corps sur un plan. En effet, toute projection dépend directement du corps projeté, et pourtant elle en diffère, c’est une chose à part [...]. En linguistique, même relation entre la réalité historique et un état de langue, qui en est comme la projection à un moment donné.”

(CLG 1974:124-5)

So linguistic change is to be located within synchrony. And the “seeds of change” in language lies in ‘parole’:

“C’est dans la parole que se trouve le germe de tous les changements.”

(CLG 1974:138)

‘Parole’ is characterized as a specific act of speech, and therefore has a dynamic nature:

“Par la parole, on désigne l’acte de l’individu réalisant sa faculté au moyen de la convention sociale qui est la langue.”

(Riedlinger 1908-09:II R 6)

With the dynamic act of speaking, the speaking subjects are held responsible for specific innovations, which are projected onto the structure of ‘langue’, the synchronic basis against which linguistic change is assessed. And it is only when these innovations located in specific contexts are distributed to other less specific environments that the system can change. Consequently, Saussure already noticed how important the factor of frequency of use was in linguistic change.

Thus, in 1.1, it was shown that grammaticalization, as a theory of linguistic change, established a crucial link between synchrony and diachrony, which could be detected in the *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, provided the interpretation of linguistic change could be assessed against the basis of the synchronic system of ‘langue’, in which ‘parole’, defined as an act of speech which was dynamic in nature, brought about the seeds of change in language. By acknowledging the need to emphasize the crucial role of ‘parole’ in linguistic change, Saussure had paved the way to the development of the theory of pragmatics in linguistics, which will be one of the important characteristics of the phenomenon of grammaticalization, as will be shown in the next sections. But it

is to be admitted that the theory of linguistic change explored by Saussure is still limited, compared to the various works on grammaticalization.

1.2 A brief history of grammaticalization

1.2.1 The Meillet tradition

1.2.1.1 Meillet

Within the theory of linguistic change, the French linguist Antoine Meillet, an Indo-Europeanist, was the first to use the term ‘grammaticalisation’ and acknowledge it as a crucial diachronic phenomenon to account for certain facts in the history of Indo-European languages. In his well-known article “L’évolution des formes grammaticales” (1912:131), he defined grammaticalization as “l’attribution du caractère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome” (‘the attribution of a grammatical status to an erstwhile autonomous word’). Along with analogy, which brings about regular forms out of already existing models -- for instance, French verbs in *-ir* belong to the second category and follow the conjugation of the model verb *finir*, as in *nous finissons, vous finissez, ils finissent* (Meillet 1958:130) -- grammaticalization was said to create new grammatical forms, such as conjunctions out of adverbs, and future tense out of verbs expressing willingness:

“L’innovation analogique et l’attribution du caractère grammatical à un mot jadis autonome sont les seuls [procédés] par lesquels se constituent des formes grammaticales.”

(Meillet 1912:131)

With such a statement, Meillet departed from the Neo-Grammarians, whose research on grammatical morphology was mainly discussed in analogical terms. For instance, Meillet underlined the importance which the Neo-Grammarians such as Brugmann and Osthoff attributed to analogical innovations in their morphological works called *Morphologische Untersuchungen*. Besides, the Indo-Europeanists, at least the first generation of them, only focused on the origins of grammatical forms, and were not concerned to categorize the changes involved. Meillet severely criticized the methodological analysis pursued by Bopp, the founder of the comparative grammar of Indo-European languages, and his followers. By desperately trying to establish that grammatical forms in one language could be traced back into another older one, the comparativists denied the specificity of grammatical systems; they took for granted that the systems to be compared were similar. Hence the innumerable

mistakes made by these historians, such as the analogy of the markers of the genitive in both Greek and Latin, and the projection of the Sanskrit future on its Latin counterpart. Meillet (1958) could not but express his disapproval of the comparative method:

“On a compris que l’origine première des formes grammaticales est hors de nos prises.”
(Meillet 1958:132)

What is then the specificity of grammaticalization according to Meillet? What does it mean to “attribute a grammatical status to an erstwhile autonomous word”? What does it mean that grammaticalization creates new forms, introduces categories which were not linguistically expressed?

According to Meillet (1958), the process of grammaticalization can actually be realized in two ways:

“Tandis que l’analogie peut renouveler le détail des formes, mais laisse le plus souvent intact le plan d’ensemble du système existant, la **“grammaticalisation” de certains mots crée des formes neuves, introduit des catégories qui n’avaient pas d’expression linguistique**, transforme l’ensemble du système.”
(Meillet 1912:133)

Either it can create new forms, which are inserted into old structures. This is called renovation, ‘renouvellement’. Meillet cites the example of concession, for which various new forms have been used in Latin, such as *cum*, *si*, *etsi*, *etiam si*, *tamen etsi*, *quanquam*, and *quamuis* (Meillet 1912:172). Or, grammaticalization can also bring about the existence of new categories, which were not linguistically expressed before. This is called innovation, ‘création’. A famous example lies in the coming into existence of the Romance definite and indefinite articles. The notion of categorial change is worth a bit more of an explanation. It is first to be noticed that Meillet distinguished two major word classes, namely ‘mots principaux’ and ‘mots accessoires’:

“Les mots principaux sont ceux qui indiquent les idées essentielles pour lesquelles est faite la phrase.”
(Meillet 1958:134)

“[Les] ‘mots accessoires’ déterminent la valeur des mots principaux.”
(Ibid.)

In other words, ‘les mots principaux’ are words from major lexical categories such as nouns, verbs and adjectives; ‘les mots accessoires’ belong to minor lexical categories such as prepositions. The whole process of grammaticalization is a categorial change, and therefore it is, for Meillet, a discrete phenomenon. But Meillet also underlines the

continuous nature of the process of grammaticalization, by talking of a progressive attribution of a grammatical role:

“Et il y a tous les éléments intermédiaires entre les mots principaux et les mots accessoires; *laissez* dans la phrase citée [*laissez venir à moi les petits enfants*] est moins un mot accessoire que *faire* dans *faites le venir*. “

(Meillet 1958:135)

The dual character of the process of grammaticalization, namely its discontinuousness and its continuousness, is illustrated in Meillet's (1958) article. This represents the basis of any future study about grammaticalization.

The categorial change is often accompanied with a weakening, 'affaiblissement', in both meaning and phonological form. The weakening in meaning can be understood as a loss of expressivity of the word, a loss of its semantic specificity whereas the weakening in form can be interpreted as a reduction of the length of the word:

“**L'affaiblissement du sens et l'affaiblissement de la forme** des mots accessoires vont de pair; quand l'un et l'autre sont assez avancés, le mot accessoire peut finir par ne plus être qu'un élément privé de sens propre, joint à un mot principal pour en marquer le rôle grammatical.”

(Meillet 1958:139)

“La constitution de formes grammaticales par dégradation progressive de mots jadis autonomes est rendue possible par les procédés [...] qui consistent, on le voit, en **un affaiblissement de la prononciation, de la signification concrète des mots et de la valeur expressive des mots et des groupes de mots.** “

(Ibid.)

In both cases weakening is brought about by the frequency of usage. The more a word is repeated, the more it is phonetically reduced, and the word tends to be shortened, as illustrated below:

“Les observations nombreuses ont montré que les mêmes éléments sont prononcés d'une manière d'autant plus brève qu'ils font partie d'un mot plus long: en français l'*â* de *pâté* est beaucoup plus bref que celui de *pâte*, et l'*â* de *pâtissier* et surtout de *pâtisserie* est plus bref que celui de *pâté* [...]. Les mots accessoires groupés avec d'autres tendent de ce chef à **s'abrèger et à changer de prononciation**. De plus, et par le fait de l'abrègement, et par le fait que, étant accessoires, ils sont **prononcés sans effort** et entendus sans attention spéciale, ils sont **négligés, dénués d'intensité**, ils ne sont plus articulés qu'à demi.”

(Meillet 1958:138)

Likewise, the more a word is repeated, the more it loses its expressive intensity, as underlined below:

“Un nouveau mot frappe vivement la première fois qu’on l’entend; dès qu’il a été répété, il perd de sa force, et bientôt il ne vaut pas plus qu’un élément courant depuis longtemps.”

(Meillet 1958:135)

The phonetic reduction, the phonological shortening, and/or the semantic weakening can be exemplified as follows:

I E **legeti* [legeti] > Lat. *legit* [legit] > Fr. *lit* [li]
All the three instances mean ‘he reads’.

I E **éti* [eti] > Lat. *et* [et] > Fr. *et* [e]
‘de plus, aussi’ (‘furthermore, besides’) > ‘et’ (‘and’)

I E **épi* [epi] > Old Armenian *ew* [ew] > Middle and Modern Armenian *u* [u]
‘furthermore, besides’ > ‘and’

(Meillet 1958:164-5)

Even though it is clear that the phonetic and phonological weakening can be measured by a reduction of the number of syllables in a word, the reduction of vowels, etc., Meillet’s explanation is still succinct and would need further development. Above all, Meillet does not explain at all how to explicitly measure the weakening process in the semantics of a form.

Despite these few critical remarks, Meillet’s brand-new ideas about grammaticalization at the beginning of the twentieth-century epitomize the seeds of the ideas of modern work about grammaticalization, especially after the mid-sixties, and have turned out to be a great source of inspiration for the scholars interested in this phenomenon, as will be illustrated shortly.

1.2.1.2 Benveniste

In his article “Les transformations des catégories linguistiques”, Benveniste (1968), even though he never mentions the French term ‘grammaticalisation’, establishes an analysis of semantic change that very much recalls Meillet’s distinction between the two ways of creating new grammatical forms. Meillet’s distinction between analogical innovation and grammaticalization is echoed by Benveniste’s distinction between innovating mutation and conservative mutation. Benveniste uses the terms ‘transformations innovantes’, namely ‘innovating mutations’, to designate the disappearance of grammatical categories, e.g. the disappearance of the neuter gender, and the creation of new grammatical categories that have never been linguistically expressed before, e.g. the creation of the category of the definite article. The other

type of transformation, called ‘transformation conservante’, namely ‘conservative mutation’, involves categories which are formally “renovated”. Benveniste uses this specific terminology to point at the morphosyntactic process at stake:

“Les transformations conservantes qui consistent à remplacer une catégorie morphématique par une catégorie périphrastique dans la même fonction.”

(Benveniste 1968 II:127)

‘Conservative mutations serve to replace a morphematic category by a periphrastic category with the same function.’

This can be illustrated by the replacement of the morphological comparative by the sequence adverb + adjective. In his data analysis of conservative mutation, Benveniste provides a very thorough examination of the developments from a Latin periphrastic expression *habere* + past participle to a perfective category in Latin, and from the Latin periphrastic expression *habere* + infinitive into a future category in French. Let us consider the Latin perfectum first.

To begin with, it is to be noticed that the verb *habere* has two distinct meanings. It can either mean ‘hold’ or ‘have’. Two preliminary conditions turn out to be necessary for the Latin perfectum to come into existence. The first condition turns out to be crucial in the sense that the choice of the meaning of *habere* determines the possibility of using the periphrasis. Moreover, the first condition is directly linked to another one, involving the function of the auxiliare, ‘la forme auxiliée’ (Benveniste 1968 II:129), which can either refer to an adjectival (as in *tacitus* ‘secret, silent’, *subitus* ‘sudden’), or a verbal form in *-itus*. Of the two syntagms, one will never be used for the construction of the perfectum, that is the sequence *habere* ‘hold’ + adjective. The other is held responsible for the realization of the perfectum, that is the association of *habere* with a verbal participle. Another condition is to be considered. It has to do with the Aktionsart of the verb, i.e. its semantic nature. The verb must “indicate a “sensory-intellective” process inherent in the subject, rather than an “operational” process brought to bear on an object external to the subject” (Benveniste 1968 II:87). Thus, the first verbs to be involved in the periphrasis are verbs meaning ‘understand’, ‘realize’, or ‘notice’, as in the following example *Hoc compertum habet* ‘he has learned this’. *Habere* means ‘have, possess’; the verb *comperire* means ‘learn’; it refers to a mental process; *compertum* is the verbal participle of *comperire*.

Given the three aforementioned restrictions for the perfectum periphrasis to be used, the agent of *comperire* and the grammatical subject of *habere* refer to the same person. Consequently, the agent of the process is to be taken as the possessor of the result, which is his property. Therefore, the use of the periphrasis introduces a new relation between the agent and the process. Furthermore, the perfectum periphrasis

indicates a new temporal situation. Not only is the process located with respect to the present, but it is also classified as accomplished at a moment preceding the moment of utterance. The example *hoc compertum habet* can be analyzed as follows: *habet* indicates the present and the past participle *compertum* shows that the state of the object belongs to the past.

Thus, the Latin perfectum construction represents a form, whose two parts fulfil two distinct and complementary functions. The meaning of the original perfectum is affected by the growing popularity of the periphrastic perfectum. The value associated with the synthetic perfectum *audivi* is transferred to the periphrastic perfectum *auditum habeo*, which leads the value of *audivi* to be confined to the meaning of an aorist. It is then in this sense that one can understand how the morphemic category of the Latin perfectum is to be replaced by a periphrastic category, fulfilling the same function.

Another conservative mutation which has been carefully examined by Benveniste turns out to be that exemplified by the development of the Latin future to the Romance future through the intermediary of the Latin periphrasis *habeo* + infinitive.

Before the Latin periphrasis *habeo* + infinitive appeared, the following combination occurred. The Latin verb *habere*, initially in the imperfect tense, was associated with the passive infinitive in subordinate clauses only, especially relative clauses. The meaning of the Latin periphrastic form had nothing to do with an obligation but indicated that an object was predestinated to follow a certain course of events, as illustrated below (Benveniste (1968 II)):

In nationibus a quibus magis suscipi habebat
 'Among the nations by whom it had most to be accepted.'
 (Benveniste 1968 II:90)

Because it did not first occur in main clauses, but in subordinate clauses, its function is to be interpreted as the equivalent of a passive participle indicating predestination, and not obligation, as the latter is indicated by the verbal adjective in *-ndus* (*a, um*). From subordinate clauses the periphrasis spread to independent clauses. It then was used with deponential or intransitive verbs as in *quia nasci habebat*. In fact, the spreading out of the use of the periphrastic form from passive verbs to deponential verbs turned out to be a natural step in the evolution, since a deponential verb has the specificity to have the same morphology as a passive verbs, even though it has an active meaning. The last step in the process was when Latin *habere* combined with the infinitive of any kind of verbs. Only when it had spread to all verbs did it start to

be a rival for the expression of future. So far there had been two clearly distinct expressions of the future: the future of intention was marked by the ending *-bo, -am* whereas the future of predestination was indicated by the periphrastic form *habere* + infinitive. For Benveniste, the latter finally evicted the former for the following reasons. Once the sequential order infinitive + *habere* turned out to be crystallised, a coalescence between the two members of the sequence started. The *-h* of *habere* was lost, as in *esse abetis* 'you (pl.) will be'. The fusion of the two parts eventually brought about a single unit, and allowed it to replace the original expression of the future.

1.2.1.3 Lehmann

Within the Meillet tradition, it is worth mentioning Lehmann's (1985) article as it is directly based on the lexical item > morpheme model and goes beyond. He defines grammaticalization as follows:

"Under the diachronic aspect, grammaticalization is a process which turns lexemes into grammatical formatives and renders grammatical formatives still more grammatical. From the synchronic point of view, grammaticalization provides a principle according to which subcategories of a given grammatical category may be ordered."

(Lehmann 1985:303)

As opposed to Meillet who just associated the process of grammaticalization with a diachronic point of view only, Lehmann (1985) also wants to link it with a synchronic point of view. Let us first focus on the diachronic dimension of the definition.

The first part of the diachronic definition recalls Meillet's analysis of grammaticalization, saying that grammatical categories derive from earlier lexical items. Lehmann agrees that grammatical categories can arise through grammaticalization in the two ways proposed by Meillet (1915), namely either by renovation, 'renouvellement', or by innovation, 'création'. In the case of renovation, certain lexical items are transformed into grammatical morphemes to join an already existing paradigm, e.g. Latin preposition *ad* and *de* grammaticalized into French *à* and *de*; Latin verb *habere* grammaticalized into an auxiliary. As for innovation, Lehmann (1993), gives an interesting example in Persian, in which the category of classifiers, which was not linguistically expressed in Old Persian, came into existence through nouns in the process of grammaticalization:

yek dast lebas
 one hand dress
 'one dress'

da nafar kesavarz
 two person peasant
 'two peasants'
 Lehmann (1993:322)

In this recent article (1993), Lehmann brings forward a more subtle differentiation to the appearance of grammatical categories, by initially distinguishing two types of grammatical categories: the primary category includes nouns, verbs and adjectives; and the secondary category, a morphological category, comprises categories such as aspect and classifiers. Lehmann agrees with Meillet that the second category can be formed through the process of grammaticalization. As for the first category, Lehmann argues that it seems difficult to say that either nouns or verbs can arise through grammaticalization, since neither category is missing in any language. But for the category of adjectives, there exists a telling example in Tamil, proving that in that language the grammatical category of adjectives came into existence by the syntactic formative "relativizer" *-a*. Let us examine this example in more detail.

In Tamil, Asher (1982:187) states that there exist a number of primary adjectives and notices that five out of the eight primary adjectives in his list end in *-a*. For Lehmann, it is far from being a coincidence. The function of the suffix *-a* needs to be further discussed.

The attribution of a property to something is made possible by the adjectivalization of an abstract noun or an intransitive verb. In the case of the noun, one of the two following adjectivalizing suffixes, is added: *-ulla*, a relative participle, derives from the association of *untu* 'exist, have' with the relative *-a*; *-aana*, also a relative participle, derives from the combination of the verb *aaku* 'become' with the relative *-a*. In the case of the verb, it is relativized by the adjunction of the suffix *-a*, fulfilling the function of the relative. Lehmann (1993) illustrates the formation of adjectives as follows:

manusan ket-t-aan
 man get spoiled-PAST-3SG-MASC
 'The man got spoiled.'

ket-t-a manusan
 get spoiled-PAST-REL man
 'spoiled man'

anta	manusan	ganam
that	man (GEN)	weight
'that man's weight'		
ganam-ull-a	manusan	
weight-EXIST-REL	man	
'heavy man'		

Lehmann (1993:322-3)

Now, among the very few primary adjectives quoted by Asher, it is clear that the predominance of the suffix *-a* (five out of eight) is a clue to the fact that these five forms derive from verbs. The suffix *-a* clearly participates in the formation of adjectives, as previously shown. Therefore, it is possible to postulate that at some stage Tamil had no category of adjectives. Thus, with the Tamil examples, Lehmann has been able to demonstrate that members of the primary category, namely adjectives, can arise through grammaticalization, which had not been explored by Meillet.

The first part of the diachronic definition in Lehmann (1985) also underlines the discreteness of the phenomenon, just as Meillet did. Besides, the second part of the diachronic definition in Lehmann (1985), as well as its synchronic part, have to do with the continuous characteristics of grammaticalization, which was only mentioned *en passant* in Meillet (1915). In other words, the dual character of grammaticalization, namely discreteness and continuousness, is explicitly elaborated in Lehmann's (1985) synchronic and diachronic definition. This is reminiscent of Bybee's (1985) synchronic remark about how semantic elements can be put together into expression units. She distinguishes three expression types -- lexical, inflectional, and syntactic expressions -- which are classified along "a continuum that ranges from the most highly fused means of expression, lexical expression, to the most loosely joined means of expression, syntactic periphrastic expression", as illustrated below:

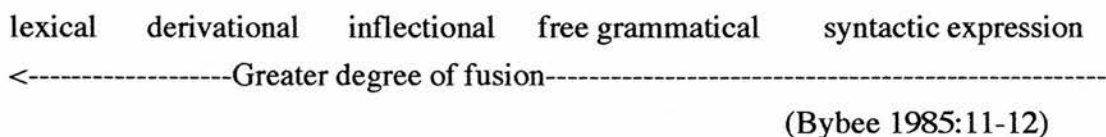


Fig. 1.1 Scale of fusion for grammatical morphemes

In addition to the continuous characteristic, which is elaborated in the second part of the diachronic definition, Lehmann (1985) goes beyond the so-called lexical item > morpheme model developed by Meillet. By saying that grammatical formatives may become more grammatical, Lehmann acknowledges Kuryłowicz

(1965), suggesting that morphemes may also arise out of other morphemes. Let us take a few of his examples.

In the study of grammaticalization of pronominal reference, Lehmann (1986) ranges the different expression types of pronominal reference on the following scale:

lexically empty noun	> free personal pronoun	> clitic personal pronoun	> agglutinative personal pronoun	> fusional personal affix
stage 1	stage 2	stage 3	stage 4	stage 5

Lehmann (1986:9)

Fig. 1.2 Scale of pronominal references

In the evolution of the Romance languages, Lehmann (1986:10) mentions that the set of personal pronouns has lost its autonomy to turn into agglutinative personal affixes of the verb, e.g. *je vois, tu vois, il voit* 'I see, you see, he sees'. From stage 2 on the scale, we are moving to stage 4. A morpheme is created out of another morpheme progressively, becomes "still more grammatical". Lehmann also notices that the personal suffixes of Latin are nearly about to disappear in French and are then situated beyond stage 5: Latin *cant-o, canta-s, canta-t* 'I sing, you sing, he sings' as opposed to *je chante, tu chantes, il chante* 'I sing, you sing, he sings'.

Lehmann (1993) also provides an interesting example in Yucatec, in which he gives synchronic evidence to account for the evolution of some types of lexical verbs into aspectuals and into tense/aspect particles, namely even more grammatical elements, according to Lehmann's terminology:

Example of *ts 'óok* 'finish':

'Finish' is used as a complement taking verb:

k-in	ts 'ok-ik	in	meyah
IMPERF-1SG SUBJ	finish-TR	1SG PASS	work
'I finish work.'			

(Lehmann 1993:317)

Here 'finish' functions as an aspectual:

k-u	ts 'óok-ol	a	meyah
Imperf-3SUBJ	finish-INTR	2 SUBJ	work
hun-p'eel há'b ah-kàambesah-il			
one-CL.INAN	year	M-teach-ADVL	
'You finished working a year as a teacher.'			

(Lehmann 1993:318)

Here 'finish' functions as a terminative particle:

ts 'óok	a	w-à-'l-ik
TERM	2 SUBJ	Ø - say - TR (ABS.3)
'You have said [it].'		
(Lehmann 1993:318)		

Interestingly enough, Lehmann (1993) associates the same kinds of phenomena with the categorial change as Meillet. This can be illustrated by the previous example. The semantic and phonological weakening, which the verb *ts 'óok* undergoes, is called paradigmatic shrinkage. The term *ts'a wa'lik* cannot be paraphrased 'your saying it is finished' but it means 'you have said it'. Moreover, there is a clear integration into the paradigm of prefixes. The main verb is preceded by a subject person clitic and has a conjugation suffix, but the terminative particle has none of these characteristics in Yucatec. Lehmann calls this phenomenon paradigmaticization. Besides, Lehmann (1985, 1986) goes beyond Meillet in that he sees other characteristics of grammaticalization, which allows him to define parameters responsible for a scale of grammaticalization.

The key concept to measure the degree of grammaticalization of a linguistic sign turns out to be the notion of autonomy:

"The grammaticalisation of a sign detracts from its autonomy. Consequently, if we want to measure the degree to which a sign is grammaticalised, we will determine its degree of autonomy."

(Lehmann 1985:305)

In other words, the more grammaticalized a linguistic sign is, the less autonomous it is. Autonomy is measured with respect three factors -- weight, cohesion, and variability -- each being considered both syntagmatically and paradigmatically. A linguistic sign is grammaticalized if it loses both weight and variability, and gains cohesion. Let us examine these factors in detail.

First, weight is a property which participates in the syntactic prominence of the members of the class of the sign. Paradigmatic weight is called integrity. The loss of integrity, i.e. attrition, has to do with the loss of semantic and phonological content. Lehmann cites the example of the Latin preposition *ad* being grammaticalized into the Romance preposition *à*. Phonologically, the process has brought about the deletion of the final consonant *d*. Semantically, the locative characteristics present in *ad* has disappeared in *à*. Syntagmatic weight is called scope. The loss of scope is held responsible for the loss of predicativity and the loss of complexity with respect to the constituents with which the sign is associated. Lehmann indicates that the Latin *de*

takes a cased complement, as opposed to French *de*, which is followed by a caseless complement.

Second, variability is the property that allows a sign to move with respect to other signs. When paradigmatic variability is lost, it is called obligatorification. In this process, grammatical rules lead to a restricted choice of the members of a paradigm. Thus, Latin preposition *de* can be replaced by *ab* and *ex*. But French preposition *de* cannot be replaced, as in *le début de l'année*. When syntagmatic variability is lost, it is called fixation. The latter has to do with the fact that a grammaticalized sign occupies a specific fixed position along the syntagmatic axis. Thus, for Lehmann, the Latin preposition such as *de* could be placed at various positions with complex NPs, whereas French *de* must be obligatorily put before the NPs.

Third, cohesion deals with the kind of relations that a sign has with other signs. Paradigmatic cohesion is called paradigmaticity. The gain in paradigmaticity, i.e. the process of paradigmaticization, favours the insertion of syntactic constructions into morphological paradigms; this process, which relates to the status of the periphrastic status, will be more thoroughly examined in Chapter 3 when the formal analysis of the construction is explored. In the case of Latin *ad* and *de*, being grammaticalized into French *à* and *de* respectively, the evolution is from the paradigm of Latin prepositions to the paradigm of oblique cases. Syntagmatic cohesion is called bondedness. The gain in bondedness, i.e. the process of coalescence, is the transformation of syntactic forms into morphological forms, which can be fused with other constituents. Lehmann illustrates this example: Latin *habere* became a suffix to form the French future *chantera* 'will sing'.

The various degrees of grammaticalization, measured with respect to the aforementioned parameters and processes, can be summarized in the following table after Lehmann (1985:309):

parameter	weak	strong
	grammaticalization	-- process --> grammaticalization
integrity	bundle of semantic features	-- attrition --> fewer semantic features
paradigmaticity	item participates loosely in semantic field	-- paradigmaticization --> small, tightly integrated paradigm
paradigmatic variability	free choice of items according to communicative intentions	-- obligatorification --> choice systematically constrained, use largely obligatorily
scope	item relates to constituent of arbitrary complexity	-- condensation --> item modifies word or stem
bondedness	item is independently juxtaposed	-- coalescence --> item is affix or even phonological feature of barrier
syntagmatic variability	item can be shifted around freely	-- fixation --> item occupies fixed slot

Table 1.1 Degree of grammaticalization of a given grammatical morpheme

Despite the attempt to establish a scale of grammaticalization, the classification encounters a few difficulties since the only forms whose degree of grammaticalization can be measured properly are to be found in the late stages of grammaticalization after the stage of morphologization.

1.2.2 Hopper and Givón

Alongside the tradition inherited from Meillet and his followers, a tradition which emphasized the rising of grammatical categories out of lexical forms, a different tradition emerged in the 1970s, following the investigations of researchers such as

T. Givón (1971, 1979), P. Hopper (1982, 1987, 1988), C. Li and S. Thompson (1974). The new model postulated that the process of grammaticalization was brought about by discourse pragmatic forces. In other words, the evolution of grammatical forms was said to arise from the fixing of discourse strategies. Before examining the model developed by Hopper and Givón, it would be worth considering briefly how Meillet defined grammar in order to better understand what differentiates it from the notion of grammar explored by Hopper and Givón.

In his article "Linguistique historique et linguistique générale" (1958 [1918]), Meillet defines the goal of grammar as being the study of particular facts:

"Et qu'elle [la discipline grammaticale] soit plutôt descriptive ou plutôt historique, l'étude [des langues particulières] n'a pour objet que des faits particuliers. Car, soit qu'on la considère en un temps et un lieu donnés, soit qu'on en suive le développement en des lieux et des temps divers, une langue n'est qu'un fait particulier."

(Meillet 1958:48)

Likewise, in his criticism of the methodologies used in comparative grammar by the Indo-Europeanists, called "Sur la méthode de la grammaire comparée" (1958:26), Meillet also underlines the need to search for particular facts in the comparison of languages:

"C'est par des faits particuliers [...] qu'on établit les parentés des langues [...]. Des analogies de structure, même grandes, si elles ne sont pas accompagnées de faits particuliers significatifs, ne prouvent pas une parenté de langues."

(Meillet 1958:26)

Consequently, the history of grammar proposed by Meillet turns out to be the historical evolution of particular grammatical forms which are part of broader structures. The emphasis is on the particular, not on the general. Besides, Meillet practically focuses his attention on morphology only. So, for him, the study of grammar is almost equivalent to the study of morphological forms. By contrast with the Meillet tradition, Givón's and Hopper's works, among others, show that the study of grammar involves the study of both morphology and syntax. Let us first examine the model introduced by Hopper.

Hopper strongly adheres to the discourse-pragmatic-based tradition and extensively discusses the idea of an Emergent Grammar, a rival of what he calls the *A Priori* Grammar Postulate. The latter comprises a set of rigid rules, which are the *sine qua non* condition for the development of discourse. By contrast, the Emergent Grammar, sustained by Hopper, is defined as a non-static activity, which arises from discourse,

a grammar which comes out of the strategies necessary for the building up of discourse. Here is Hopper's (1987) definition of the Emergent Grammar:

"The notion of Emergent Grammar is meant to suggest that structure, or regularity, comes out of discourse and is shaped by discourse as much as it shapes discourse in an on-going process [...]. [Grammar's] forms are not fixed templates, but are negotiable in face-to-face interaction in ways that reflect the individual speakers' past experience of these forms, and their assessment of the present context, including especially their interlocutors, whose experiences and assessments may be quite different. Moreover, the term Emergent Grammar points to a grammar which is not abstractly formulated and abstractly represented, but always anchored in the specific concrete form of an utterance."
(Hopper 1987:142)

Hopper believes that "the encoding of precepts in the world always take place within a discourse rather than a sentence framework" (1982:5). He tries to illustrate the process of grammaticalization by focusing his attention on the study of the focus marker *-lah* in Literary Malay, which he said has developed into a marker of perfective aspect.

In all grammars of Malay, essentially two functions are attributed to the particle *-lah*. When it is attached to a noun, it shows contrastive focus, as illustrated below:

Anjing-lah yang hilang, bukan kucing.
Dog- which lost not cat.
'It was a dog I lost, not a cat.'
(Hopper 1979:46)

But when the particle *-lah* is suffixed to a verb, it frequently fulfils the function of past tense, as shown below:

Pergi-lah ia.
Go he.
'He went'.

Ia pun mati-lah.
He die.
'He died'.
(Hopper 1979:47)

At first sight, these two functions seem to be unrelated and independent. Nevertheless, Hopper claims that a discourse analysis of the particle *-lah* helps us understand the link existing between these two functions. Let us see in more detail what happens when *-lah* is suffixed to a verb.

Often associated with verbs involving a kinetic activity such as *run*, *come*, or *arrive*, the particle *-lah* denotes that the action of the clause is of major importance to the narrative. Its use is restricted to the indication of sequential events, as shown below:

Maka tiba-tiba **datang-lah** sa orang Melayu membrawa enem buah kepala-kepala durian.

'And suddenly there **arrived** a Malay man bringing six durians.'

lari-lah naik ka-atoy .

'He **ran** upstairs.'

Maka se-bentar lagi **turun-lah** ia ka-bawah .

'And a little later he **came** downstairs again.'

(Hopper 1979:45)

From the sequential value attached to the particle *-lah*, which is a discourse notion, it follows that each action of the series is seen as completed. Therefore, what is asserted in a series of *lah* -clauses is the anteriority of one event with respect to the following one. Hence the reference of *-lah* as a marker of past tense or perfective.

Thus, it has been briefly shown how the particle *-lah* can both fulfil a function of focus particle and refer to past tense in the narrative.

Hopper (1988) also discusses a few characteristics of emergent clause structure in an extract from a Malay written text *The Abdullah story* by Abdullah (1932):

maka	sa-bentar	sa-bentar	di-ambil-nya	surat	itu,	di	-renong-	nya
and	from time	to time	PASS-take-AGT.	letter	the	PASS.-stare:at-	AGT	

kemudian	di-letakkan-nya	demikian-lah	laku-nya
then	PASS.-put:down-AGT.	such -LAH	behavior-his

Maka	sa-hari-hari	adat-nya	ia	berkerta	pada	petang-petang;
and	daily	habit	his	he	go:driving	on afternoon

maka	pada	hari	itu	sampai	malam	kereta	menanti	di-pintu,	tiada
and	on	day	that	until	evening	carriage	remain	at-door	not
he									

mau	turun	dari	rumah-nya
want	go:down	from	house-his

'and this was his behavior: every now and then he took the letter, stared at it, and then put it down again. It was his custom to go for a drive every day in the afternoon; but on that day his carriage remained at the gate, and he would not leave his house.'

(Hopper 1988:124)

Thanks to this extract, Hopper underlines that two antinomic strategies for building up text are to be found in Malay clauses. Foregrounding is a strategy in which the events

of discourse are represented sequentially, with important participants for the narrative. By contrast, backgrounding involves states, situations, and actions of minor importance for the narrative. These two strategies are illustrated in both word order and grammaticalized morphological forms.

To begin with, Hopper associates the foregrounding/backgrounding couple with the transitivity/intransitivity couple. By defining transitivity as "not only the presence of an agent and a patient, but also the perfectivity of the action, the action's dynamicity and effectiveness, the specificity of the patient, and the volitional involvement of the agent" (Hopper 1988:129), it is no wonder that the strategy of foregrounding is combined with a transitive clause: the sequential representation of events is due to the perfectivity of the events ('he took the letter', 'he stared at it', 'he put it down' in the above extract). Besides, transitivity and foregrounding have in common the presence of an important character for the narrative, e.g. the character taking the letter in the above extract. As for the intransitive clauses, e.g. 'he went for a drive', 'the carriage remained', 'he did not want to leave' in the quoted extract, they reflect a backgrounding strategy of discourse, since it is associated with the commentary of the narrator.

Another phenomenon characteristic of transitive clauses in Malay lies in the ergativity of the subject-object type of clause in foregrounding. This is the case in *di-ambil-nya surat itu* 'he took the letter', in which the role of the transitive agent is represented by the clitic *-nya*, referring to the third-person-singular agent 'he' and attached to the verb 'take'. In the backgrounding clauses, which have no object, whether explicitly or implicitly, the third-person-singular agent is represented by the pronoun *ia* 'he', as in *iaberkeretu* 'he went for a drive'.

Another characteristic relating to the backgrounding/foregrounding opposition resides in the association of the backgrounding/foregrounding opposition with the specific word order SV/VS. This word order is not arbitrary and is directly linked to the different nature of the role of the participant in a given discourse strategy. In foregrounding, events are ordered in a sequential way and the same important agent is part of the narrated events. So the agent becomes secondary and the verb assumes the prominent first position. Hence the word order VS. In backgrounding, on the contrary, the nature of this type of discourse strategy requires the predication of a state or a property. The subject then precedes the verb, and consequently the word order is SV.

Thus, through the analysis of an extract of a Malay written text, Hopper has managed to elaborate on a few characteristic features of emergent clause structure.

Other examples of the discourse-pragmatic-based tradition of grammaticalized forms can be provided within Givón's numerous works.

Givón's perspective on language structure is based on the idea that a synchronic language system is not static and not homogeneous, but rather continuously undergoes a flux of change. Besides, language change is seen as a cognitive and social activity. Hence his definition of language:

"Language -- within the minds of speakers, rather than as some abstract system of *langue* -- is always in the middle of change in lexicon/meaning, syntax, morphology and phonology. Language as a cognitive map is thus not only a system of coding knowledge, but perhaps primarily a system of re-coding, modifying and re-structuring existing knowledge and integrating into it newly-acquired knowledge."

(Givón 1982:112)

In other words, the dynamic discourse-based principles, which are known by the speakers, are held responsible for language change. Meillet's concept of grammaticalization is extended and renamed 'syntacticization' by Givón (1979). Just like Hopper, Givón includes syntax in his definition of grammar, as opposed to Meillet, who almost exclusively focused on morphology. Syntacticization refers to the following diachronic process: "Loose, paratactic, "pragmatic" discourse structures develop -- over time -- into tight, "grammaticalized" syntactic constructions" (Givón 1979:208). Thus, the following syntacticizations are worth examining in the fifth chapter of his book called *On Understanding Grammar* (1979): from topic to subject, from topicalization to passivization, from topic sentences to relative clauses, from conjunction to subordination in the VP, to name but a few. The originality of Givón's definition of syntacticization lies in the cyclic nature of the following chain:

Discourse --> syntax --> morphology --> morphophonemics --> zero.

(Givón 1979:209)

Once the process has reached the end of the chain, it starts a new cycle. Among the aforementioned processes of syntacticization, the transformations from topic sentences to relative clauses, and from conjunction to subordination in the VP, will be examined. In *On Understanding Grammar* (1979), Givón has argued in favour of the diachronic discourse basis of morphological relativizers, causativizers, and other types of clause subordinators in some languages. To begin with, let us consider the transformation from topic sentences to relative clauses.

Givón notices that many languages have unembedded-unreduced relative clauses, which he defines as topic sentences preceding or following the main clause

like adverbial clauses. Givón (1979:212) quotes two Hittite examples paraphrased in the following way:

If we see **any** man, we'll report **him** to the king.
 If **a** man comes, we'll report **him** to the king.
 Givón (1979:212)

Following Justus (1976), Givón underlines the fact that some embedded relative clauses in Germanic, Romance, and Indic emerged diachronically from the topic-sentence examples such as those encountered in Hittite. Givón illustrates this phenomenon with the development of subject relative clauses:

A man comes, we'll report **him** to the King
 ---> A man comes we'll report to the King.
 Whatever NP REL
 'Whatever man comes we'll report to the King.'
 Givón (1979:212)

Another transformation worth looking at involves the development from conjunction to subordination in the verb phrase. The first example to be considered deals with the infinitival complements of verbs requiring an equi-NP condition, as in *want* and *tell*. As opposed to some languages such as English in which the complement verb is non-finite, there exist other languages in which the complement verb is finite, or at least shows subject pronominal agreement on the verb, as is the case in Palestinian Arabic:

ana bididi i-mshi
 I I-want I-go
 'I want to go.'
 (Givón 1979:214)

Givón argues that the subordinate construction that is used now in those languages was diachronically derived from a paratactic construction via "syntacticization" (this is Givón's terminology to express the shift from what he calls a more pragmatic pattern ["pragmatic mode"] to a less pragmatic pattern ["syntactic mode"] of communication). Schema proposed by Givón (1979):

-- For equi-subject verbs:

I want	I-go	--->	I want to-go
SUBJ-FINITE			SUBORD-INFINITIVE

Givón (1979:214)

-- For equi-object verbs:

I tell you you-go	---	I tell you to go
OBJ SUJ-FINITE		OBJ SUBORD/INFINITIVE

Givón (1979:214)

Another example of syntacticization in the verb phrase can be illustrated with resultative verb components in Mandarin Chinese. Givón quotes Thompson's (1973) example:

Tā	lā-kāi	le	mén.
He	pull-open	ASP	door.
'He pulled the door open.'			

Givón (1979:214)

Givón (1979) suggests that the transformation illustrated in the following example arose diachronically as follows:

He pulled the door, and (it) opened	---	He pulled the door open.
Givón (1979:214)		

Consequently, whether it be either in Givón's or in Hopper's models, it has been possible to provide interesting examples of the fixing of discourse strategies in syntax and morphology.

1.2.3 Traugott's model

It is only in the early eighties that a new framework based on semantic-pragmatic principles, has arisen in the work of E. C. Traugott. She clearly admits that her work on grammaticalization owes much to the Meillet tradition, according to which lexical items may develop into grammatical markers, and therefore supports the idea that the process of grammaticalization is irreversible:

“[Since Meillet] extensive evidence has been gathered not only to support Meillet's claim that autonomous words (or rather, lexical items) are apt to become grammatical markers, but also to argue that this process is irreversible”.

(Traugott 1982:245)

But Traugott's work is also influenced by Givón's discourse > morphosyntax model to some extent. As we shall see below, Traugott's semantic-pragmatic perspective partly locates the source of syntactic and morphological structures in discourse through the fixing of discourse strategies. But instead of focusing on the

morphosyntactic level of the process of grammaticalization, Traugott explicitly underlines the semantic-pragmatic facet of the process, since the creation of morphosyntactic items are under the service of pragmatic phenomena.

To begin with, Traugott's (1982) model is directly influenced by the Hallidayan tripartite distinction of language functions in that she distinguishes three functional-semantic components in language, namely the propositional, textual, and expressive components. The propositional component, called ideational in Halliday and Hasan (1976), includes not only truth-conditional relations but also such categories as deictics (*here, there*), times (*now, then*), and persons (*I, you*). The textual component includes all that takes part in the cohesion of discourse, this cohesion being both intrasentential and intersentential, as opposed to Halliday and Hasan's definition of cohesion (1976:ch.1), which was only intersentential. The textual component comprises connectives such as *but, then, and hence*, anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns, relativizers, etc.. The expressive component, also called interpersonal in Halliday and Hasan (1976), comprises linguistic elements which express personal attitudes with respect to the situation of enunciation, e.g. adversatives, and epistemic adverbials. Traugott notes that her formulation of the third component moves away from Halliday and Hasan's model, since they classify adversatives within the textual component only, whereas she insists on a possible double classification, involving both the second and the third components.

The process of grammaticalization described by Traugott (1982) is quite a different process from Meillet's and is based on semantic changes between or within the aforementioned components and moves from the propositional via the textual to the expressive functional-semantic component. Traugott (1982) cautiously specifies that the shifts described are optional:

"If there occurs a meaning-shift which, in the process of grammaticalization, entails shifts from one functional-semantic component to another, then such a shift is more likely to be from propositional through textual to expressive than in reverse direction."
(Traugott 1982:256)

Therefore, Traugott's process of grammaticalization involves a preferred direction. This can be illustrated by the following examples. In the case of the development from propositional terms to markers of textual cohesion, it is worth mentioning the developments of conjunctives *but* and *again(st)*. Both were originally spatial markers. Originally, *but* meant 'on the outside' whereas *again(st)* meant 'facing locally' in the context of question and answer. *But* became an adversative marker, then taking part in the cohesion of the text. *Again(st)* developed the meaning of '(reply) again, (answer) back', then showing more textual cohesion:

Malory's *Morte Arthur* 582.34

Than was kynge Marke sore ashamyd and seyð but lytyll agayne
 'Then King Mark was very ashamed and said but little in reply.'
 (Traugott 1982:250-1)

The shift from propositional to interpersonal meaning can be exemplified by the use of intensive adverbials such as *awfully* and *terribly*, which were originally semantically connected to the lexical meanings of the adjectives *awful* and *terrible* respectively.

The shift from the propositional via the textual to the expressive component can be illustrated in the shifts of meaning of *where* and *while*, for instance. Let us focus on the development of *where*. In Old English, *hwær* was only used as a locative interrogative in main clauses and in complements of verbs of knowing, thinking, and asking. The propositional interpretation can be found in this extract from *Orosius* 40.29:

Or. 40.29 *hwær* syndon ure godas þe swylcra mana gynnen swilce hiora wæron?
 'Where are our (among us) gods who such crimes might-desire as theirs were?'
 (Traugott 1982:254)

Both propositional and textual interpretations can be illustrated in this extract from *Orosius* 286.20:

Or. 286.20 he nyste *hwær* he ut sceolde.
 'he not-knew where he out might.'
 he didn't know where he could get out.
 (Traugott 1982:254)

In Middle English it was possible to find examples in which *hwær* was used as a locative relative only, therefore fulfilling the function of a relative marker only. When it turned into a marker of adversity, meaning 'although', it acquired an interpersonal meaning, showing the speaker's attitude towards the content of the proposition:

Morte Arthur 1188.10 And where hit please you to say, I have holdyn my lady, your quene, yerys and wynters, unto that i shall make ever a large answere [...].
 'And whereas/although it pleases you to say that I have embraced my lady, your queen for many years, (yet), I shall always answer freely that [...].'
 (Traugott 1982:255)

As seen in the previous examples, Traugott shows how linguistic expressions that were originally endowed with lexical and objective meanings can serve abstract and interpersonal meanings. As opposed to Givón who emphasizes the syntactic aspect of the process of grammaticalization, Traugott prefers to focus on its semantic-pragmatic aspect. Traugott's and Givón's interpretations are complementary for the following reason. A linguistic item undergoing grammaticalization is repeatedly used in specific syntactic environments. The emergence of particular pragmatic meanings attached to the linguistic item is then dependent on the use of certain syntactic linguistic environments. It is up to the linguist to focus on the semantic-pragmatic or morphosyntactic facets of grammaticalization.

Moreover, the unidirectionality of the semantic changes involved in Traugott's definition of grammaticalization amounts to an increase in subjectivity:

"If a meaning-shift in the process of grammaticalization occurs within a component, it is more likely to involve "less personal to more personal" than the reverse."
(Traugott 1982:253)

Traugott (1982) defines "more personal" as meaning "more anchored in the context of the speech act, particularly the speaker's orientation to situation, text, and interpersonal relations" (Ibid.).

In other words, Traugott equates the process of grammaticalization with pragmaticization, i.e. an increase of the speaker's involvement in the speech situation. If so, this seems difficult to reconcile with the idea that the process of grammaticalization takes part in the linguistic element's being more and more centrally integrated in the grammatical system.

More recently, Traugott (1989) has refined her framework, claiming that this shift from propositional via textual to expressive meanings can be subsumed under three semantic-pragmatic tendencies, which she regards as "paths of change", and which she takes as being "possible and not necessary":

"Semantic-pragmatic Tendency I:

"Meanings based in the external described situation > Meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/ cognitive) situation."

Semantic-pragmatic Tendency II:

"Meanings based in the described external or internal situation > Meanings based in the textual situation."

Semantic-pragmatic Tendency III:

"Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation.""

(Traugott 1989:34-35).

Tendency I may feed Tendency II, while either Tendency I or II may feed Tendency III. Tendency I can be illustrated by the example of the preposition *æfter* in Old English which extended its original meaning, referring to a concrete, physical situation, to a temporal meaning, then referring to a perceptual situation. Other instances of Tendency I include metaphorical extensions undergoing a change from concrete to abstract, such as the development of Old English *felan* 'touch' to perceptual 'feel' in late Old English (see Traugott (1982, 1989) for more examples).

Tendency II involves the development of textual senses and König and Traugott (1989) provide interesting examples, such as the case of the shift from the use of *æfter* as a temporal preposition to that as a temporal subordinating conjunction. They also discuss the example of the temporal preposition Old English *sippan* 'after', which developed into a textual marker of cause in late Middle English. Likewise, the development of the meaning of *observe* is interesting in this respect, since it shifted from a mental-state verb meaning 'perceive' in the sixteenth century to a speech-act verb meaning 'state that', which described the performance of a linguistic act.

Tendency III is illustrated by the appearance of expressive meanings. In her recent article called "Subjectification in grammaticalization", Traugott (1995) discusses various examples such as concessive *while*, the development of markers of planned futurity out of verbs of movement such as *go*, the development of discourse particles out of verbal constructions such as *let's*, *let alone* and *I think*, among other examples.

Thus, it is clear that within Traugott's framework grammaticalization is characterized, among other factors, by a unidirectional increase in subjectivity, as exemplified by a great amount of data provided by Traugott and her followers.

In 1.2, our attention focused on a brief history of grammaticalization, starting with the Meillet tradition, especially Meillet, Benveniste, and Lehmann, who contended that grammatical categories arose from lexical forms, continuing with the totally different perspectives elaborated by Hopper and Givón, who advocated that the fixing of discourse pragmatic forces was responsible for the emergence of grammatical expressions, and finishing with the Traugott model, which owed much to both types of schools but preserved its originality by defining specific semantic-pragmatic principles involved in linguistic change.

Now the focus of our attention will be on the motivations, mechanisms, and characteristics accounting for semantic changes in grammaticalization.

1.3. Motivations, mechanisms, and characteristics accounting for semantic changes in grammaticalization¹

1.3.1 Motivations of semantic changes in grammaticalization

Basically, three different types of factors are held responsible for semantic changes in grammaticalization. First, many a linguist explains grammaticalization in terms of communication. The word 'communication' involves various definitions, all having in common the presence of the notion of expressivity. For instance, Meillet mentions a need for the speaker to be expressive:

"Ce qui en provoque le début, c'est le besoin de parler avec force, le désir d' être expressif."

(Meillet 1958 [1912]:139)

"La première et la plus importante des causes consiste dans le besoin qu'éprouve le sujet parlant d' être expressif, de bien faire sentir sa pensée et d'agir sur son interlocuteur."

(Meillet 1958 [1915]:163)

Meillet even specifies that the need for expressivity is part of a spiral movement, in which the weakening of the meaning in a given word is compensated by the increase in expressivity that the speaker is searching for:

"Les langues ainsi [ont] une sorte de développement en spirale: elles ajoutent des mots accessoires pour obtenir une expression intense; ces mots s'affaiblissent, se dégradent et tombent au niveau de simples outils grammaticaux; on ajoute de nouveaux mots ou des mots différents en vue de l'expression; l'affaiblissement recommence, et ainsi sans fin."

(Meillet 1958 [1912]:141)

As for Lehmann (1985), he perceives language as constrained creative activity:

"On the one hand, the speaker is creative, i.e. he enjoys freedom in this activity [of manipulating the linguistic sign]. On the other hand, he is constrained by tradition, i.e. he must conform to rules. All his activity is subject to the constant tension between these two poles."

(Lehmann 1985:314)

Traugott and König (1991) explains the causes of grammaticalization in terms of pragmatic strengthening of the expression of the speaker involvement in the case of the development of connectives, for instance.

¹ Even though various changes of distinct natures are said to occur simultaneously in grammaticalization, such as the semantic, phonetic, and syntactic changes, (see William Croft (1990)), only the mechanisms and characteristics of semantic changes will be examined thoroughly.

Second, some researchers prefer to account for the process of grammaticalization thanks to cognitive factors only. This can be illustrated by Bybee and Pagliuca (1985):

"We must dispose of the notion that communicative necessity motivates the development of grammatical categories [...]. We suggest that human language users have a natural propensity for making metaphorical extensions that lead to the increased use of certain items. The metaphorical extensions are cognitively based."

(Bybee and Pagliuca 1985:75)

Third, another perspective combines the two types of factors: both communicative and cognitive factors are then at stake in the process of grammaticalization, as suggested by Heine et al. (1991a, b) (see below).

Whether the main causes of grammaticalization, a subtype of linguistic change, are discussed in terms of communication and/or cognition, it turns out that many scholars want to attribute a teleological function to the process of grammaticalization. Meillet (1912) mentions the desire to be expressive. Lehmann (1985) explicitly says that it is a goal-oriented activity:

"[Language activity] is a goal-directed activity, an activity which solves a set of ever recurring problems [...]. Language activity is creative; it constantly finds new solutions for the problems."

(Lehmann 1985:314)

Givón (1982:117) invokes special communicative needs:

"Grammatical subsystems and their attendant inflectional morphologies ('coding devices') [...] arise when the specific communicative need arises, normally when the older system coding a particular function has eroded beyond a certain threshold of communicative coherence ('transparency')."

Givón (1982:117)

Heine et al. (1991) account for grammaticalization in terms of a problem-solving strategy. Grammaticalization can be interpreted as "the result of process that has problem-solving as its main goal, whereby an object is expressed in terms of another" (Heine 1991:29).

This idea of a problem-solving strategy was sustained earlier on by Werner and Kaplan (1963:403), who viewed the creation of linguistic expressions serving the expression of grammatical functions, as due to "the principle of the exploitation of old means for novel functions".

In spite of the great number of linguists advocating a teleological function of grammaticalization, there are a growing number of students of linguistic change who would like to propose an alternative. Here are a few arguments that Bybee and Pagliuca (1985:203-205), for instance, develop against the need for communicative factors. They suggest that if all the so-called communicative needs are to be fulfilled, then there is no possible gap to be encountered in the grammatical system. Unfortunately, some gaps can be found. For instance, the future is not grammatically expressed in some languages. Moreover, if the creation of a grammatical category is due to specific communicative needs, it is difficult to explain the presence of several linguistic forms to express the same grammatical category. This is the case in Spanish for the so-called aspect, which is expressed by both simple present and periphrastic forms. Likewise, Bybee (1985) mentions the example in English of the expression of probability by three modals *may*, *might*, and *could*. Besides, they quote an example from Silva-Corvalán (1985), leading to ambiguity instead of the expected increased expressivity of meaning. Indeed, in some Castilian dialects, the Past Subjunctive is said to be replaced by the Conditional inflection for many functions. In this case, it is impossible to say that some specific communicative needs are to be fulfilled, since the Past Subjunctive and the Conditional inflection are both used in mutually exclusive linguistic environments under "normal" circumstances. Bybee and Pagliuca quote two examples involving complements to verbs of saying. The nature of the complement proposition after verbs of saying normally dictates the choice between the Conditional inflection and the Past Subjunctive in the proposition complement:

Dijo que irías mañana.
'he said you would go tomorrow.'

Dijo que fueras mañana.
'he said for you to go tomorrow.'

(Bybee 1985:204)

In the first example, because the complement proposition just refers to reported speech, the conditional is used. In the second example, because the complement proposition is a command, the Past subjunctive is used.

Therefore, the replacement of the Past Subjunctive by the Conditional inflection in the aforementioned context brings about ambiguity, and cannot be possibly accounted for in terms of specific communicative needs.

What are then the explanations for the processes of grammaticalization if the teleological function needs to be disposed of? Bybee and Pagliuca (1985) suggest that grammaticalization "is motivated by positive forces, rather than called into play for

remedial forces". It is said to be "a spontaneous process that attends not at all to "needs" " (1985:204). This perspective of a non-teleological function of the process of linguistic change, under which grammaticalization is to be subsumed, is in accordance with the point of view explored by Keller (1985, 1989).

Language belongs to "phenomena of the third kind", defined as non-intended consequences of human action such as population growth and a footpath across a lawn. It is the result of an action collectively pursued by human beings for their own good, thereby influencing their direct environment towards their advantage. Language change is then given an "invisible-hand explanation", devoid of a teleological function. The expression 'an invisible hand' was first used by Adam Smith in his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776:354) within the philosophical-historical tradition:

"By preferring the support of domestic to that of foreign industry, [a man] intends only his own security; and by directing that industry in such a manner as its produce may be of the greatest value, he intends only his own gain, and he is in this, as in many other cases, led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention."
(Smith 1776:354)

How is this economic point of view applied to language change?

Language is a complex process used by the speaker, which is dependent on three interrelated parameters, namely freedom of choice, selection and constraint. At any given time, any person is free to speak or to keep quiet. When the decision to speak is taken, the speaker has the choice between making himself not understood and making himself understood. The latter choice, once selected, obliges the speaker to submit himself to the constraints of the linguistic system. In order to influence the hearer by the content of his speech, the speaker must respect what is commonly agreed to say in usage. Thus, the individual intention of any speaker to make himself understood brings about the collective result of language change, which result is provoked without being intended as such. Therefore, language change is attributed to the workings of "an invisible hand". And this is the view we would like to adopt as an account of the process of grammaticalization, a subtype of linguistic change. This point of view very much resembles the non-teleological interpretation adopted by Bybee and Pagliuca (1994), who emphasize the mechanistic aspect of linguistic change:

"Our view, then, is that grammaticalization is not goal-directed; grams [grammatical morphemes] cannot "see" where they are going, nor are they pulled into abstract functions. The push for grammaticalization comes from below -- it originates in the

need to be more specific, in the tendency to infer as much as possible from the input, and in the necessity of interpreting items in contexts."

(Bybee and Pagliuca 1994:300)

In 1.3.1, three types of factors were taken into account to explain the semantic changes in grammaticalization: communication, cognition, and a combination of the two. In addition, it was argued that in spite of the number of linguists advocating a teleological function of grammaticalization language could be classified as one of "the phenomena of the third kind", which led us to opt for a non-teleological motivation in the explanation of the semantic changes in grammaticalization.

Now it would be worth considering the preliminary conditions which are held responsible for the triggering off of the process.

1.3.2 Preliminary conditions

The purpose of this section is to delimit the preliminary constraints that make specific linguistic expressions eligible for the process of grammaticalization. The basis of the discussion turns out to be a remark by Kuryłowicz (1964):

"A sentence is limited in both space and time. This limitation finds its exponents in the person (*ego, tu, ille, or hic, iste, illic*) and in the tense (*nunc, tunc*) [...]. Fundamental categories directly based on the speech situation (*ego* or *hic, nunc*) are the starting-point[s] of the elaboration of higher (grammatical) categories."

(Kuryłowicz 1964:245)

Traugott (1982) corroborates his point of view :

"[Lexical items plus demonstratives, interrogatives, and some other pronouns] are the fundamental elements (symbolic and deictic in function) in a typical speech situation."

(Traugott 1982:246)

Heine et al. (1991a) confirm the nature of the source concepts involved in grammaticalization:

"Source concepts may be said to refer to some of the most elementary human experiences; they are typically derived from the physical state, behaviour, or immediate environment of man. What appears to make them eligible for the process of grammaticalization is the fact that they provide "concrete" reference points for human orientation that evoke associations and are therefore exploited to understand "less concrete" concepts."

(Heine et al. 1991a:33)

As a first approximation, source concepts are to be found among lexical items which refer to notions which are fundamental to the speech situation. Thus, only a restricted set of lexical fields is at stake, as exemplified below:

Spatial items > temporal items
 verbs expressing wish and desire > markers of future
 verbs expressing possession > markers of obligation
 terms for body parts or verbs of motion > case markers
 spatial markers > markers of tense and aspect

Besides, not all lexical items belonging to this set of lexical fields are potential candidates for the process of grammaticalization. Heine et al. (1991b, vol.1) quote the example *liver*, which is part of the basic vocabulary referring to body parts. But it does not develop into a spatial marker, as expected. Likewise, Traugott and Heine (1991, vol.1, p.8) mention the example *corner*, which is often used in temporal metaphors, but has not evolved into a marker of tense or aspect, as expected. Consequently, other constraints participate in the selection of lexical items for grammaticalization. Talmy (1983) shows that only certain lexical items involving a subset of topological geometric structures can be grammaticalized.

In his article "how language structures space", Talmy (1983) shows that the representation of any conceptual material mainly involves two levels: the macroscopic expository level and the fine-structural level. The macroscopic expository level includes the open-class lexical items and any kind of conceptual material can be represented at this level; Talmy (1983) gives the examples of the indication of feelings and gossip in a sentence. Besides, the fine-structural level comprises the closed-class grammatical constructions and it is impossible to represent a spatial scene directly at this level. The fine-structural level must be defined in both topological and schematic terms. The schematic nature of spatial representation refers to what Talmy calls geometries and it implies that only particular features from the scene are selected for the schematic representation, whereas the rest of the object is ignored. The geometric characteristics attributed to an object are topological in nature. This means that no precision with respect to metric configurations, whether it be size, contour, distance or angle, will be represented in the schema. This can be exemplified by the preposition *through*:

I arced/zigzagged through the woods.
 (Talmy 1983:39)

The shape of the place in which the syntactic subject *I* walked is irrelevant, whether it is an arc of a circle, or some zigs and zags.

The nature of the place that the subject goes through is also irrelevant:

Mary went through the water/the trees.

Whether compact ("water") or discrete ("trees"), it does not matter.

The size of the reference object is also of no importance, whether a country or a box:

John cycled through Great Britain/the tunnel.

The distances for the paths travelled are also said to be irrelevant.

Let us have a look now at the types of geometric forms applied to what Talmy (1983) calls The Figure Object and the Ground:

“The Figure is a moving or conceptually moveable object whose site, path, or orientation is conceived as a variable the particular value of which is the salient issue [...]. The Ground is a reference object (itself having a stationary setting within a reference frame) with respect to which the Figure’s site, path, orientation receives characterization.”
(Talmy 1983:8)

Talmy’s terminologies Figure / Ground are quite similar to Langacker’s trajector/landmark. Thus, Talmy suggests that the Figure object is more likely to be associated with a moving point or line. As for the Reference Object, a large number of geometric configurations are distinguished.

First, various degrees of subdivision, "partiteness" in Talmy's terms, are to be found within the schematicization of the Reference Object. For instance, a preposition can represent the Reference Object as a single point as in the case of *near* :

The pen lay near the box.

Or the preposition can associate the Reference Object with a set of points, as illustrated by the use of *among* :

Mary was sitting among her friends.

The Reference Object can also be schematicized thanks to a specific geometric structure, as is the case with the prepositions *across* and *through* :

The bike sped across the field.
 The bike sped through the tunnel.
 (Talmy 1983:14)

With *across*, the Reference Object is identified as a bounded plane. With *through*, it is represented as a type of cylinder.

Second, the Reference Object can also be associated with what Talmy calls biased geometries, namely configurations which are no longer considered as a whole, but in which some parts are privileged to others. The Figure can be in contact with some part of the Reference Object, as shown below:

His acknowledgement was expressed in the front of the book.
 The poster hung on the back of the building.

Another type of expression can situate the Figure within a region, which is just adjacent to the Reference Object's biased part:

The car is behind the building.
 The man parked his car beside the theatre.

Third, the Reference Object can be represented with some irreversible directedness. The adverb *ahead* refers, for instance, to a queue's front-to-back directedness:

John moved ahead in the line.
 (Talmy 1983:19)

It is possible to encounter examples in which no reference to the biased end-points of the Reference Object is made. Hence the focus on the unidirectional sense of the movement only:

John swam upstream.
 (Talmy 1983:19)

So far it has been shown on the basis of Talmy (1983) that within a particularly restricted set of lexical items belonging to a quite specific set of lexical fields, only topological spaces could be potential candidates for the process of grammaticalization. This argument is also mainly discussed and elaborated by Heine et al. (1991b). Similarly, a further exploration of the constraints attached to the referential meaning of the lexical units involved in grammaticalization is pursued in Bybee et al. (1994). As opposed to Talmy (1983), they go beyond the lexical item involved in

grammaticalization and pay attention to the whole construction in which the lexical item is inserted. They illustrate their argument by commenting on the development of *be going to*. For the linguistic expression to evolve from a marker of spatial movement to a marker of future, it is not enough to say that the linguistic construction contains a verb expressing spatial movement, for the very good reason that linguistic constructions with verbs of movement can evolve into markers of futures, pasts and progressives. In the case of *be going to*, it is important to consider the type of verb, the nature of the aspect, and the type of directional marking. More precisely, in addition to comprising a verb of spatial movement, the construction *be going to* is combined with the progressive aspect and the directional marker *to* indicating a goal to be reached. All these three components contribute to the development of *be going to* into a marker of future. By contrast, a verb of spatial movement such as French *venir* ('come'), which is combined with ablative marker *de*, develops into a perfective marker. Again, as underlined by Bybee et al. (1994), the whole linguistic construction, in which the lexical item is inserted, needs to be considered for a possible process of grammaticalization.

It also seems to be sensible to identify the criterion of frequency of use as playing a crucial role in the grammaticalization of a linguistic expression, as remarked by Bybee and Pagliuca (1985):

"As the meaning generalizes and the range of uses widens, the frequency increases and this leads automatically to phonological reduction and perhaps fusion."
Bybee and Pagliuca (1985:76)

But Bybee and Pagliuca (1985) and Heine et al. (1991b) do not clearly identify ways of measuring the significant level of use frequency, from which a linguistic expression starts to undergo a process of grammaticalization. This criterion is still vague in its definition and needs further exploration.

Besides, Mithun (1991) briefly notices that in Karok, culture fulfils a crucial role in the grammaticalization of spatial terms. As opposed to some African languages such as Ewe, in which linguistic expressions of spatial orientation arose from terms referring to body parts, it turns out that in Karok culture, expressions of spatial orientation developed out of references to the Klamath River. For Karok speakers, the Klamath River was obviously considered as an important geographical reference in their daily life speech situation to the extent that it developed into numerous locative suffixes meaning, e.g. 'hence upriverward', 'hence across a body of water', 'hither from across a body of water' (Mithun 1991:159).

More interestingly in the same article, Mithun demonstrates how the grammaticalization of some linguistic expressions can be blocked from the very beginning because of the nature of the grammatical systems in a particular language type. Mithun clearly shows that the category of Subject is not grammaticalized within two types of non-accusative languages, namely the Cayuga language, which is agent/patient based, and the Selayere language, which is ergative/absolute based. These two languages have in common the characteristics of having obligatory, morphologically bound pronouns, using case distinctions, and these very features are held responsible for the blocking of the grammaticalization of the morphological Subject category. Evidence will be provided in formal marking, in the expression of commands, and in nominalized clauses.

Both Cayuga and Selayere have no Subject category in their formal marking. The marking of case categories is exemplified in the use of obligatory bound pronouns: pronominal prefixes in the case of Cayuga, absolute pronominal enclitics in the case of Selayere. Let us focus on the formal case marking in Cayuga. Intransitive and transitive verbs involve two types of pronominal prefixes. Transitive verbs are prefixed with complex pronouns referring to agents as well as patients. Intransitive verbs are prefixed with a single pronoun, whose form differs according to the semantic nature of the participant, namely whether it is an agent or a patient. In the case of an agent, the prefixes used are *k-*, *s-*, and *h-*. In the case of a patient, the prefixes *ak-*, *sa-*, *ho-* are used.

The absence of a Subject category can also be illustrated in the way these languages use imperatives. In the case of Selayere, bound pronouns are obligatory in formal commands, but optional in informal commands. At first sight, it looks as if informal commands show evidence for the Subject category, but as Dixon (1979) underlined, it shows agency or control. As for Cayuga, pronominal prefixes are attached to the verb in imperatives, as shown below:

S	-an	-ah'	-owek	s	-ak	-ya?tt-awi-?t	hni?
2.AGT-	SEMI.REFL-	crown-	cover	2.AGT-	body	-encircled	-CAUS
you	put	on	your hat	you	put	on	your coat
'Put on you hat and coat.'							
(Mithun 1991:164)							

The lack of Subject category can also be exemplified in nominalized clauses. As opposed to Cayuga, which does not express nominalized clauses morphologically, Selayere usually displays nominalization with possessives, which are morphologically expressed by pronominal suffixes on nouns. Again, it is necessary to

distinguish between intransitive and transitive verbs within the subordinate clause. In transitive nominalized clauses, the possessor is represented by the semantic agent:

Tájan-a rínni [sangén-na ku mulían]
 await-1.ABS at-this [until-1.POSS return]
 await me here [until my return]
 'Wait here until I return.'
 (Mithun 1991:168)

In intransitive nominalized clauses, the possessor turns out to be the patient, as shown below:

Tájan-a rínni [sangén-na ku ?úppa ammán-mu]
 await-1.ABS at-this [until-3.POSS 1.ERG-find father-2.POSS]
 await me here [until his I find your father]
 'Wait here until I find your father.'
 (Mithun 1991:168)

Consequently, whether it be in case categories, commands or nominalized clauses, there is no evidence of a morphological Subject category in both Cayuga and Selayarese, two non-accusative languages. It has then been possible to show, thanks to Mithun's study, that the grammaticalization of the Subject category can be blocked in a language type, since the obligatory use of morphologically bound pronouns in these languages is responsible for the non-development of the Subject category.

Out of the study of the numerous possible preliminary constraints responsible for the triggering off of the process of grammaticalization, the following conditions will be taken into account. Only particular linguistic expressions from specific lexical fields, provided that they are frequently used and have a topological geometric structure, can be grammaticalized. Additional factors involving particularly distinctive cultural and/or typological features can also be taken into account in the grammaticalization of a linguistic construction in a given language.

1.3.3 Mechanisms of grammaticalization

Different mechanisms seem to be involved in the process of grammaticalization. Among them, desemanticization, metaphor, and metonymy represent the mostly discussed ones, and will be the focus of our attention.²

² Some other mechanisms are said to pertain to grammaticalization, such as reanalysis (Ramat (1987)), and reanalysis and analogy (Traugott and Hopper (1993)) but will not be examined since they do not represent the majority of the processes discussed by scholars in grammaticalization.

Since Meillet (1912) it has been assumed more than once that grammaticalization involves the mechanism of desemanticization, also called semantic weakening, bleaching, or generalization. Meillet mentions the weakening of the concrete meaning of words: "affaiblissement de la prononciation, de la signification concrète des mots et de la valeur expressive des mots" (Meillet 1958:139).

Bybee and Pagliuca (1985) speak of the process of generalization, or weakening of semantic content as follows:

"The notion of generalization, it should be noted, [...] is twofold. In the one hand, a more general morpheme has a more general distribution, since it can be used in more contexts, and on the other hand, it is more general in that it lacks certain specific features of meaning [...]. Thus, by generalization, we do mean to imply that meanings are emptied of their specificities."

(Bybee and Pagliuca 1985:63)

Lehmann (1985), by saying that "the grammaticalization of a sign detracts from its autonomy" (1985:306), characterizes the gradual loss of semantic and phonological substance as attrition.

Thus, the desemanticization model can be equated with the "loss" model, since the lexical content of a linguistic item is progressively emptied out till it reaches a grammaticalized status. More precisely, the "loss" model is considered from the point of view of the source concept. The output of the process of grammaticalization is compared to the source concept, hence the view that the source concept is emptied out of its semantic features. Nevertheless, the "loss" model has been severely criticized over the last ten years, especially by Traugott (1991) and Sweetser (1988). For Sweetser, even though some lexical meaning is lost, a new sense is gained, namely that of the grammaticalized construction. For instance, in its development as a marker of future, the future linguistic construction *be going to* has lost its meaning of spatial movement, and gained a new meaning, i.e. futurity. König and Traugott (1991) notice that for many linguistic constructions undergoing grammaticalization, strengthening of informativeness takes place. Besides, according to the "loss" model, it is possible to reconstruct the source concept of a grammaticalized morpheme, but there exist cases, in which the latter has completely disappeared, as underlined by Traugott (1980) and Anttila (1989):

"In other cases, the original function [of a morpheme] largely or **completely disappears**, though at varying rates, dependent on linguistic environments [...]. An example in English is retention of the volitional sense of *will* in expressions like *We won't go* which functions as a refusal rather than as a negation of *we will go*."

(Traugott 1980:48)

“Restriction of the semantic range of a word may lead to a **complete loss of lexical meaning**. The inflectional suffixes of agglutinative languages are often independent words that have been grammaticalized. A Hungarian noun *bél* ‘guts, core’ (the inside) gave, in its lative case, *bele*, *belé*, compounds like *világbele* ‘into the world’ in Old Hungarian. In Modern Hungarian, this has been shortened into *be*, *ba*, and it acts as a mere case ending, *világba*.”

(Anttila 1989:149)

In such cases, the reconstruction of the source concept turns out to be impossible. Moreover, this problem can be caused by another factor. Heine (1993) mentions the example of *come*, which has grammaticalized into a large number of uses, such as markers of future tense, near past tense, motion away from point of reference, proximal demonstratives, etc., to which “it would seem hard to find a common denominator” (Heine 1993:92).

As opposed to the aforementioned semantic mechanism, there has been an increasing interest in the cognitive and pragmatic mechanisms involved in grammaticalization, namely metaphor and metonymy. Metaphor will be the focus of our attention first. Let us quote three scholars in favour of this metaphorical interpretation. In her study of the semantic changes in the modals, Sweetser (1984:24) shows that the speaker’s reasoning process is subject to metaphor:

“The only possible link between the epistemic and deontic domains is metaphorical: we view logical necessity, for example, as being the mental analogue of sociophysical force, while logical possibility is the mental (or epistemic) analogue of permission [...] in the real world.”

Sweetser (1984:24)

Bybee and Pagliuca (1985:75) also corroborate the idea that grammaticalization is strongly motivated by metaphorical processes:

“Rather than subscribe to the idea that grammatical evolution is driven by communicative necessity, we suggest that human language users have a natural propensity for making metaphorical extensions that lead to the increased use of certain items.”

Bybee and Pagliuca (1985:75)

But what is exactly a metaphorical process? Metaphor can be briefly defined as a process involving a transfer, or a “mapping of an image-schema” (Sweetser 1988:393) from one domain of conceptualization onto another. Before specifying what an image-schema is and how it is mapped onto another domain, we would like first to contend that not any kind of metaphors takes part in the process of grammaticalization.

Expressive and taboo metaphors³ do not participate in the process, since the expressive one is used to enrich the semantic and pragmatic interpretation of a given utterance, namely its expressiveness, whereas the taboo one is used to obscure reality. The only type of metaphors that is relevant to grammaticalization turns out to be experiential metaphors, which are said to describe conceptually complex phenomena in terms of less complex phenomena. In addition, to account for the process of grammaticalization, it is important to consider categorial metaphors, which are ordered along a scale, extending from the conceptually less abstract to the conceptually more abstract. More precisely, a category “can be viewed as representing a domain of conceptualization which is important for structuring experience. The relationship among the [categories] is metaphorical, i.e. any of them may serve to conceptualize any other category to its right” (Heine et al. 1991, vol.1, p.157). A scale of metaphorical categories can then be constructed. This can be exemplified as follows:

PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY
(Heine et al. 1991, vol.1, p.157)

Along this scale, the metaphorical category ACTIVITY is said to be conceptually less abstract than any category to its right on the scale, i.e. SPACE, TIME, or QUALITY. The most frequently cited examples of metaphorical processes in grammaticalization turn out to be those involving the development of spatiotemporal expressions. In their study of Ewe, an African language, Heine et al. (1991b) very much focus their attention on the shift from body part terms to locatives, from spatial to temporals, etc., in terms of metaphors such as SPACE IS AN OBJECT, TIME IS SPACE. For example, spatial terms such as *behind* can be metaphorically derived from a body

³ Claudi and Heine (1986: 299-300) indicate that expressive metaphors “enrich the expressiveness of an utterance” and “express more than is required by communicational needs.” This can well be illustrated by the use of metaphors in Shakespeare’s *Romeo and Juliet*. For instance, the impersonification of the night as a “sober-suited matron, all in black”, helping Juliet to conquer Romeo’s love, underlines the osmosis existing between nature and Romeo and Juliet’s feelings. The night represents an ally to the lovers since it contributes to the fulfillment of their love, as in III ii 1.2-15:

“Spread thy close curtain, love-performing night,/ That runaway’s eye may wink, and Romeo/ Leap to these arms untalk’d-of and unseen [...] / Come, civil night,/ Though sober-suited matron, all in black,/ And Learn me how to lose a winning match,/ Play’d for a pair of stainless maidenhoods:/ Hood my unmann’d blood, bating in my cheeks,/ With thy black mantle.”

By contrast, the coming of the daylight is synonymous with the separation of the two lovers, as in III v 1. 6-11:

“It was the lark, the herald of the morn,/ No nightingale. Look, love, what envious streaks,/ Do lace the severing clouds in yonder east./ Night’s candles are burnt out, and jocund day/ Stands tiptoe on the misty mountain tops./ I must be gone and live, or stay and die.”

As for the taboo metaphors, they are said “to conceal or obscure reality” (Claudi and Heine 1986: 300), since they tone down the sense of disgust and repugnance aroused in the use of obscene, swear/curse, and dirty words. Such is the case of the use of the neutral pronoun *it* to refer to sexual expressions.

part, namely an example of the shift OBJECT > SPACE; and subsequently, temporal terms can be derived metaphorically from the spatial term, via the metaphor TIME IS SPACE. Another well-known example of metaphorical development is the shift from root to epistemic modality discussed by Bybee (1988) and by Heine et al. (1991b, vol.1).

So far it has been shown that only experiential metaphors are of interest to explain the process of grammaticalization and that, in the semantic change involved, a scale of metaphorical categories could be built up, moving from a more concrete to a more abstract domain. Now the notion of image-schema will be discussed with respect to the metaphorical transfer at stake. Sweetser (1988) clearly illustrates the notion by showing how the lexical verb *go* evolved into a marker of future.

The image-schema abstracted from the lexical verb *go* is a “schematic representation of certain topological aspects of meanings” of *go* (Bybee 1988:391), which remark is reminiscent of Talmy’s (1983). She adds:

"It consists of movement along a linear path from a source proximal to ego towards a goal which is distal."
(Bybee 1988:391)

In the process of grammaticalization, when the image-schema abstracted from *go* is mapped onto the domain of futurity, the sense of physical movement is lost, but the new meaning of future is gained. Besides, the topological structure abstracted from *go* has been preserved in the metaphorical transfer: there is a preserved linear relationship between the two locations, the source proximal to Ego and the distant goal; Ego is still located at the source of the linear path; there is a preserved one-way movement from the proximal source to the distal goal. In other words, during the metaphorical transfer, the topological schematic representation of *go* remains untouched.

Thus, a metaphorical mechanism in the process of grammaticalization can be attributed three characteristics. First, it is to interpreted as a discrete phenomenon, involving the mapping of one conceptual domain onto another. Second, the transfer goes from a more concrete to a less concrete domain. Third, the topology of the image-schema attributed to the linguistic expression undergoing grammaticalization is preserved.

However productive the metaphorical interpretation might be with respect to cognitive motivation accounting for the process of grammaticalization, there exist significant problems, which can hardly be resolved by appealing to the metaphorical perspective. In particular, when it comes to dealing with more abstract and subjective domains, the

metaphorical explanation sounds quite inadequate. For instance, it seems to be problematic to reconstruct the development of what Traugott (1989:47) calls a weakly subjective epistemic meaning of the sentential adverb *apparently* ‘to all appearances’, because of the speaker’s minor commitment to the validity of the proposition, into a strongly subjective epistemic interpretation, ‘I think but do not vouch for’, because of the speaker’s increased commitment to the validity of the proposition, as illustrated below:

1566 Knox *Hist. Ref. Wks* 1846 I 49:

The Bischoppis [...] hes had heirtfoir sick authoritie upoun thy subjectis, that appearandly thei war rather King, and thow the subject.

‘The Bishops [...] have heretofore had such authority over your subjects that to all appearances they rather [than you] were the King and you the subject’ (OED).)

1846 J. Ryland, *Foster’s Life* II 107:

It has been remarked, and apparently with truth = ‘I think, but do not vouch for it’ (OED).

(Traugott 1989:47)

The same remarks could be applied to other modal adverbs, such as *probably*, *evidently*, and *obviously*. Furthermore, the notion of metaphor cannot be reconciled with the problem of the development from a less to a more grammatical meaning. Indeed, saying that a linguistic expression has a more or less grammatical meaning implies the existence of a scale of grammaticality, with many steps between the least and the most grammatical meanings, which is to be contrasted with the case of metaphor, implying a discrete transfer from conceptual domain to another, e.g., as in the development of epistemic *must*.

In order to solve these problems, Traugott (1989) suggests that a distinction should be made between Tendency I and Tendency II on the one hand, and Tendency III on the other. For ease of reference, I reproduce the definitions of the three tendencies already defined in 1.2.3:

Semantic-pragmatic Tendency I:

“Meanings based in the external described situation > Meanings based in the internal (evaluative/perceptual/cognitive) situation.”

Semantic-pragmatic Tendency II:

“Meanings based in the described external or internal situation > Meanings based in the textual situation.”

Semantic-pragmatic Tendency III:

“Meanings tend to become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief-state/attitude toward the situation.”

(Traugott 1989:34-35)

Tendency I and Tendency II can both be brought about through metaphorical processes. For instance, the transition from owing concrete debts such as money to owing certain behaviours, e.g. OE *sculan*, is an instance of Tendency I and can be explained as a metaphorical transfer based on similarities. In the same way, the extension of the temporal preposition *after* to the temporal conjunction *after* is an instance of Tendency II, since it shows the development from a meaning situated in the internal situation towards a meaning situated in the textual situation, according to Traugott's terminology. And this tendency is facilitated through a metaphorical process. As for Tendency III, the one responsible for the development of epistemic meanings out of deontic modals, such as *should*, *would*, and *may*, it can hardly be explained in terms of an analogical mapping from one conceptual domain onto another, since it involves a diffusive shift, in the sense that there exist overlapping meanings. Therefore, Traugott (1989) suggests that the path to be considered is the conventionalizing of conversational implicatures.

The idea was first introduced by Grice at the end of his article "Logic and Conversation" (1975:58), where he suggested the following:

"It may not be impossible for what starts life, so to speak, as a conversational implicature to become conventionalized."

(Grice 1975:58)

An inference made out of a specific context extends itself to a greater number of contexts and is then "becoming part of the semantic polysemies of a linguistic expression" (Hopper and Traugott 1993:75).

The process that best explains the conventionalizing of conversational implicatures turns out to be the process of pragmatic strengthening for Traugott and König (1991). This is in fact considered as a type of metonymy, since, following Anttila's definition of metonymy (1972:141-2), it is semantic transfer through contiguity and is "indexical". In other words, metonymy points to ("indexes") relations in contexts. And the meaning changes arising out of contiguity in specific linguistic contexts are known as "associative" or conceptual "metonymic" changes.

This metonymic change is well exemplified in Traugott (1989) by the development of epistemic modals such as *shall*, *will*, and *must*, the development of assertive epistemic speech-act verbs such as *allow*, and the development of modal adverbs such as *probably* and *apparently*. We shall focus on the evolution of temporal *since* into a marker of cause, and the transition of temporal *while* into a marker of concession. An originally conversational implicature arising in the context of communication of temporal sequence came to be associated with *siððan* 'from the



time that' and then pointed to cause. Here is an example in Old English where the temporal reading is blocked, and no ambiguous reading is possible:

Bo. 36 104.26

Ac ic þe wile nu giet getæcan þone weg
But I thee will now still teach that way

siððan du ongitst þurh mine lare hwæt sið
since thou seest through my teaching what that

soðe gesælð bið, & hwær hie bið
true happiness is, and where it is

'But still I will now teach you the way since through my teaching you see what true happiness is, and where it is.'

(Traugott and König 1991:196)

The verb *see* is classified as a stative verb here; by definition, it has no beginning and no ending, and no distinct occurrence can be distinguished. Consequently, the temporal reading is blocked in the subordinate clause introduced by *siððan*. Given the closed connection between the event of teaching in the main clause and the event of seeing in the subordinate clause, *siððan* acquires a causal meaning through the frequent use of a conversational implicature. It is only by the fifteenth century that the conjunction is often used in stative and non-completive contexts where the temporal interpretation is excluded. The causal interpretation is then conventionalized thanks to the extensive use of the conjunction in contexts in which the temporal reading is made impossible.

As for the conjunction *while*, let us see what happens in its development. In Old English, it was a temporal adverbial meaning 'at the time that', which consisted in three parts, namely the dative demonstrative *þa*, the dative noun *hwile* 'time', and the subordinator *þa* referring to simultaneity, as exemplified below:

Chron A (Plummer) 913.3

& wicode þær þa hwile þe man þa burg worhte
and camped there that time that one fortress worked-on

& getimbrede
and built

'and camped there while the fortress was worked on and built.'

(Traugott and König 1991:200)

By Late Old English the three-term temporal adverbial turned into one-term *wile*, then lost its specific meaning of simultaneity, which brought about the appearance of other,

less specific, inferences. In Late Old English the set of inferences attributed to *wile* is enlarged. Thus, the situation described in the subordinate clause introduced by *wile* was not only considered as a temporal frame of reference for the situation of the main clause, it also could become the grounds of the situation, as shown in the following example:

ChronE (Plummer) 1137.36

ǰæt lastede þa [xix] wintre wile Stephne was King

‘that lasted those 19 winters while Stephen was King.’

(Traugott and König 1991:201)

Wile could be paraphrased with a temporal meaning (=when) or with a causative meaning (=because).

The set of possible inferences can even be more extended when it turned out difficult to find a relationship between the situation described in the main clause and that described in the subordinate clause, hence the inference of surprise. The inference of concessivity is made when the hearer can no longer make a sensible link between the two situations described, as shown in an earlier seventeenth-century example:

1617 Sir W. Mure *Misc. Poems* xxi.23 (OED)

Whill others aime at greatnes boght with blod, Not to bee great thou
stryves , bot to bee good.

‘While others aim at greatness that is bought with blood, you strive to be not great but good.’

(Traugott and König 1991:201)

The interpretation of simultaneity is in serious competition with that of concessivity. The two situations described are completely contradictory. The speaker describes the co-speaker as having a completely unexpected attitude, “to be good”, which contrasts completely with that of the other people, who intend to kill everybody. The two situations are not compatible, hence the effect of surprise, and concessivity, which is linguistically reinforced by the inversion of the construction *Not to bee great*.

Thus, metonymic change, which involves the conventionalizing of conversational implicatures, turns out to be crucial in the process of grammaticalization, since it helps to account for the development of epistemic modals such as *should*, or the emergence of concessive *while* and causal *since*. Again, the latter could not be explained through a metaphorical transfer, given that the spreading of the contexts is diffusive.

Because of the diffusive characteristic of the metonymic process, it is no wonder that semantic ambiguity is encountered during the metonymic process. We would like to

illustrate this notion of ambiguity of meanings a bit more, thanks to an Ewe example in Heine et al. (1991b, vol.1), showing the development from a body part noun *megbé* ‘back’ to a locative adverbial ‘behind’ through the processes of both metaphor and metonymy. In the first example, *megbé* refers to a body part of a person, namely the back. The object is then metaphorically conceived as a person. This example is representative of the OBJECT/PERSON category:

é-pé megbé fá OBJECT/PERSON
 3SG-POSS back be cold
 ‘his back is cold.’
 (Heine 1991:161)

In the second example, *megbé* has a locative meaning ‘behind’, and is therefore representative of the SPACE category:

é le xɔ á megbé SPACE
 3SG is house DEF behind
 ‘he is at the back of the house.’
 (Heine 1991b:161)

Thanks to the experiential metaphor, SPACE IS OBJECT/PERSON, the noun *megbé* has acquired a new meaning, namely a locative meaning. It is clear that the transfer is discrete. But it is possible to identify a few specific contexts, in which it is difficult to opt out for an OBJECT/PERSON or SPACE categorial metaphor, hence the emergence of semantic ambiguity. The diffusiveness of the process is then explained in metonymic terms. Heine et al. (1991b:163) have managed to find two extra linguistic contexts, which allow the creation of overlapping categories. In the following example, the property ‘back’ attributed to a person in the first example is now applied to an object, hence *megbé* is characteristic of the OBJECT category, which semantically overlaps with the OBJECT/PERSON category:

e kpó xɔ-á pé megbé nyúfé má a?
 2SG see house-DEF POSS back nice DEM Q
 ‘Do you see that nice back wall of the house?’
 (Heine et al. 1991b:163)

The property ‘back’ attributed to an object can also be extended to the place situated behind that object. Hence the metaphorical category OBJECT/SPACE, in which a spatial concept is metaphorically represented as an object:

xɔ-á megbé le nyúfé

house-DEF back be nice
 'The place behind the house is nice.'
 (Heine et al. 1991b:163)

Consequently, it has been possible to find specific contexts, in which two other metaphorical categories can be identified between the OBJECT/PERSON and SPACE categories: the categories of OBJECT and OBJECT/SPACE. The former overlaps with the OBJECT/PERSON category and the latter with the SPACE category. Hence the emergence of semantic ambiguities. Besides, because the latter occur in specific contexts, and not any kind of context, as would be the case in a metaphorical transfer, the process involved is metonymic.

The coexistence of various overlapping meanings has led many a linguist to underline the continuousness of the process of grammaticalization, which characteristic was added to the discreteness of the phenomenon. This dual character of grammaticalization, which was previously mentioned by Meillet (1912) *en passant*, is well rendered by the notion of grammaticalization chains (see Heine et al. (1991a)).

Even though Heine et al. argue in favour of the coexistence of the two mechanisms responsible for either discrete or continuous processes in grammaticalization, namely metaphorical and metonymic changes respectively -- it was briefly illustrated in the previous example and it will be underlined again shortly -- the two processes are generally said to be completely different to the point that they cannot occur together in grammaticalization and that they are associated with different types of grammatical functions (see Traugott and König (1991)).

For Traugott and König (1991), metaphor is associated with the shift from meanings based in the external described situation via meanings based on the internal situation towards meanings based in the textual situation (Tendency I and Tendency II). For them, the development of spatiotemporal terms is taken to be metaphorical only. As for metonymy, it refers to the meanings which are increasingly based in the speaker's subjective attitude towards the situation (Tendency III). Thus, the development of connectives such as *while* and *since* is viewed metonymically only.

By contrast, Heine et al. (1991b) are inclined to consider these two apparently opposite phenomena, which are at work with different types of grammatical constructions, as operating in a complementary way within the process of grammaticalization. Therefore, they maintain that both mechanisms are involved in grammaticalization, even though one mechanism may be more predominant. For instance, as opposed to Traugott and König (1991), who discuss the development of

causal *since* in metonymic terms only, Heine et al. (1991b) suggest that metaphor may well be involved, too, as illustrated below:

“It would seem that underlying this causal inference from a temporal expression there is a TIME-to-CAUSE metaphor whereby a sequence of events in time is used metaphorically to refer to a sequence of events in a causal relationship. Once the implication “what happens earlier is the cause of what happens thereafter” becomes conventionalized, the result is a shift from a metaphorical category of TIME to one which is more “abstract”, like that of CAUSE.”

(Heine et al. 1991b, vol.1, p.166)

Consequently, for Heine et al. (1991b), metaphor and metonymy act separately in the process and are said to be complementary:

“Rather than forming mutually exclusive cognitive activities, metaphor and metonymy are both present in the development of grammatical categories; they form complementary aspects of this process.”

(Heine et al. 1991b, vol.1, p.181)

By trying to encapsulate the kinds of mechanism within the process of grammaticalization, Heine et al. (1991b) are trying to underline a possible interaction between metaphor and metonymy, namely between cognitive and pragmatic domains.

We can now briefly recapitulate the characteristics of both metaphors and metonymies in the process of grammaticalization, which are held responsible for discrete and continuous changes respectively. Even though both mechanisms have in common a shift from more concrete to more abstract domains, they mainly differ for the following reasons. Metaphorical changes in grammaticalization comprise experiential metaphors only, and consist in mapping one conceptual domain onto another one. Besides, the topological image-schema extracted from the source domain remains unchanged during the process. As opposed to metaphors involving cognitive domains, metonymy is referred to as the conventionalizing of conversational implicatures, which is better explained by the process of pragmatic strengthening of the speaker's involvement in the situation described.

Nevertheless, the very characteristics attributed to metaphorical changes, mainly based on Sweetser (1988) and Heine et al. (1991b), are far from being sufficient, as demonstrated by Bybee et al. (1994). Their arguments, which will be more fully discussed below, can be summarized as follows. Even though all the criteria enumerated so far for a metaphorical transfer in grammaticalization are fulfilled, it is possible to encounter a case of metonymy, e.g. the development of *may*. The criterion

of the image-schematic structure is problematic, since sometimes the image-schema may well not be identified, e.g. in the case of *be going to*, which leads to the reinterpretation of the phenomenon as being metonymic. Besides, the very idea proposed by Heine et al. (1991b), according to which metaphor and metonymy are part of the same process of grammaticalization for a given linguistic expression, needs to be revised, as the epistemic development of deontic modals such as *should* and *must* requires two different approaches, according to Bybee et al. (1994): the development of epistemic *should*, for instance, is explained metonymically, whereas that of epistemic *must*, for instance, is accounted for metaphorically. Let us examine the arguments by Bybee et al. (1994) one after the other.

In the case of the shift leading to epistemic *may*, Bybee's (1988) work on the early uses of epistemic *may* in the Middle English text *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* has led her to make interesting comments quoted by Bybee et al. (1994). First, it is clear that the development of deontic *may* into epistemic *may* involves the shift from the deontic domain of external sociophysical modality to the epistemic domain of reasoning and judgment, and therefore from a more concrete to a more abstract domain. Besides, the shift involves a change in scope. As opposed to the agent-oriented deontic *may*, which relates the agent, namely the syntactic human subject, to the main verb, and then has a VP scope, epistemic *may* has the whole content of the proposition as its scope. Moreover, the image-schema associated with *may* is that "*may* is an absent potential barrier in the sociophysical world" (Sweetser 1990:59). And Sweetser (1990) defines epistemic *may* as "the force-dynamically parallel case in the world of reasoning. The meaning of epistemic *may* would thus be that there is no barrier to the speaker's process of reasoning from the available premises to the conclusion expressed in the sentence qualified by *may*" (Ibid.).

The image-schematic structure of *may* is then preserved during the shift to the epistemic domain. So all conditions are met for metaphorical change to be the mechanism involved in the grammaticalization of epistemic *may*. But the evidence provided by the Middle English text shows overlapping senses⁴. The change is then gradual, and therefore the mechanism responsible for the shift is metonymic in nature. Indeed, two thirds of the examples with *may* have an agent-oriented interpretation but one third can be attributed either agent-oriented or epistemic meanings:

ze ar a sleper ynslyze, þat mon may slyde hider
 'You are so unwary a sleeper that someone can sneak in here'.
 (Bybee et al. 1994:198)

⁴ A lot of this may reflect the limits of our knowledge rather than anything to do with the Middle English *may*. Further research is needed.

In the aforementioned example, the agent-oriented meaning implies the epistemic reading, so the sentence is semantically ambiguous. More generally, the context which brought about the gradual extension of the epistemic meaning turns out to be the use of clauses without specific agents, such as indefinite pronouns *mon* 'one', passive clauses, stative clauses. In such linguistic environments, because of the non-specific nature of the agent, the VP scope can be almost equated with propositional scope. Hence the absence of an abrupt scope change, which would be expected in metaphorical change. The mechanism involved then deals with metonymy.

Another problem with respect to metaphorical transfer is raised when the criterion of the image-schematic structure is examined a bit closer. This can be illustrated by the example of the development of *be going to* from intention to prediction:

When Mary gets enough money, she's going to buy an expensive dress.

Two interpretations are possible: either the speaker makes a statement about Mary's intentions or the speaker makes a prediction about Mary. The hearer reasons as follows. The hearer truly believes in the genuine report of Mary's intentions. From the speaker's statement that Mary will buy an expensive dress, the hearer can also predict that Mary will do it. Again, two different domains are involved. From the domain of the speaker's intention, we move to the domain of the speaker's assertion. But the identification of the transferred image-schematic structure seems difficult to locate. Because of this problem, the best way of describing the mechanism involved is to refer to metonymic transfer.

Finally, for Heine et al. (1991b), metaphor and metonymy are both used in the process of grammaticalization for the development of a given linguistic expression. But the examination of two similar developments from deontic to epistemic modals, namely *should* and *must*, shows that two different mechanisms are held responsible for their evolution. Let us consider the evolution of *must* first. The context associated with the obligation interpretation, on the one hand, and the context associated with the probability interpretation, are mutually exclusive. The obligation reading is related to future environments, such as *Mary must be back by 2PM tomorrow*. The probability reading can be combined with the past and present contexts only, as exemplified in *Mary must be in her office now* and *Mary must have been in her office*. Since there is no common context for both readings, the transition of *must* cannot be accounted for in metonymic terms, but in metaphorical terms. Indeed, the meaning of *must* is applied to two different domains: the agent-oriented domain and the epistemic domain.

In the former, the speaker asserts that Mary is obliged to be back by 2PM the following day. In the latter, the speaker asserts that the proposition is obliged to be true, and therefore is probably true. Consequently, the meaning of *must* is mapped onto two different domains, and a metaphorical change takes part in the development of *must*. In the case of *should*, there exist linguistic contexts in which both agent-oriented and epistemic readings are possible, with the obligation analysis implying the probability interpretation as in *the letter should be in the mail now* (Bybee et al. 1994:200). Therefore, the mechanism accounting for the evolution of epistemic *should* is metonymic in nature.

In 1.3.3, the most discussed mechanisms of grammaticalization represented the focus of our attention. It was shown how the desemanticization model could be equated with the “loss” model and why the latter raised significant problems, which led the scholars who were interested in the cognitive and pragmatic mechanisms involved in grammaticalization to favour other processes, namely metaphor and metonymy, which both involve a transfer from a more concrete to a less concrete domain but differ for the following reasons.

The metaphorical perspective could be characterized as a discrete phenomenon including experiential metaphors only, with a preservation of the topology of the image-schema attributed to the linguistic expression subject to grammaticalization. Despite the interesting results provided by this interpretation, problems emerged with respect to the validity of these characteristics at stake in metaphor, and with respect to the explanation of abstract and subjective domains as a metaphorical transfer. Hence the interest in metonymy, involving the conventionalizing of conversational implicatures. It is a diffusive process, therefore permitting semantic ambiguities in the grammaticalization of a linguistic expression. Following Heine et al. (1991), it was finally proposed that the two aforementioned mechanisms could coexist.

Thus, the study of desemanticization, metaphor, and metonymy have shed light on the workings of the mechanisms involved in the process of grammaticalization. We would like now to draw our attention on one of the so-called crucial characteristics of grammaticalization, namely unidirectionality.

1.3.4 Unidirectionality and grammaticalization

Grammaticalization is generally characterized as a unidirectional process from a diachronic point of view. In other words, once grammaticalization is triggered off, it proceeds along certain paths, to which more attention will be paid in this section.

To begin with, grammaticalization is often associated with an increase in abstractness, namely an evolution of the linguistic expression from the more specific and concrete to the more general and abstract. And this change can be synchronically represented along a chain of conceptual categories, extending from more concrete to less concrete conceptual categories, as previously illustrated. Here are two examples:

SPATIAL RELATIONS > HUMAN RELATIONS > INANIMATE RELATIONS
PERSON > OBJECT > ACTIVITY > SPACE > TIME > QUALITY

However, the unidirectionality development which involves an increase in abstractness can hardly be considered as a definitional characteristics of grammaticalization, since there exist cases such as *tongue*, which did not become grammaticalized (see Traugott 1994:1483). The linguistic item *tongue* concretely refers to a body part; it acquired a semantically more abstract meaning, 'language', but did not undergo a categorial change, hence the non-grammaticalization of *tongue*.

Furthermore, grammaticalization is also said to be associated with a process of pragmatic strengthening, also called subjectification (Traugott 1989, 1995), and the reverse phenomenon, namely a decrease in subjectivity, is supposed to be unlikely: "Meanings become increasingly based in the speaker's subjective belief state/attitude toward the proposition" (Traugott 1989:35), which mainly corresponds to Tendency III in her three pragmatic-semantic shifts involved in grammaticalization. She explicitly elaborates on the notion of subjectification in an article called "Subjectification in grammaticalization" (1995), by examining the development of the future construction *be going to*, the development of discourse particles such as *let us*, *let alone*, and *I think*, the development of connective *while*, to name but a few. All have in common the emergence of an epistemic meaning, namely "the development of a grammatically identifiable expression of speaker belief or speaker attitude to what is said" (Traugott 1995:32). For instance, the comparative *rather than*, meaning 'sooner than' in Old English, acquired in late Middle English a metalinguistic meaning, in which the speaker showed preference for a specific linguistic expression:

Certes youre wyf oghte rather to be preised than yblamed.

‘Assuredly your wife should rather be praised than be blamed.’

(Traugott 1995:42)

Another example is the development of Old English imperative *uton* ‘let's’ into a Middle English hortative meaning *lat us* ‘let us’, as shown below:

Ye shape for to be ouer-ronne, & that I

‘You prepare for to be over-run, & that I

nel noght soeffre; lat us rather al be ded

not-will not endure; let us rather all be dead

atones than soeffre such a vyleney.

immediatly than suffer such a villainy.’

(Traugott 1995:37)

According to Traugott (1995), this hortative meaning has then evolved towards more subjective meanings, involving the speaker only, who uses the expression as it were the discourse marker *well*:

Let's see now, what was I going to say?

(Traugott 1995:37)

As will be shown shortly, the notion of subjectivity in grammaticalization is problematic. In this example, for instance, we think that the hierarchy of subjectivity, if any, is difficult to establish. And if subjectivity evolves from the marking of both the speaker's and hearer's attitudes in *uton* to that of the speaker's attitude only in *let's see now*, we believe that the expression of subjectivity is decreasing, since the hearer's attitude is not considered by the speaker.

Despite the strong pieces of evidence offered by the data showing unidirectionality in grammaticalization, there still remain a few problems. To begin with, a recent synchronic analysis of some Tamil data (Herring (1991)) provides a counterexample to the unidirectionality of the subjectification hypothesis. Rather than being unidirectional, the development of subjectivity turns out to be bidirectional.

In Tamil, Herring shows that the development of true question markers into rhetorical question markers truly involves an increase in subjectivity. In storytelling, the use of rhetorical questions allows the speaker to manipulate the hearer with two apparently contradictory strategies, by stimulating the attention of the latter (hence the use of the question), and by constraining the nature of his answers thanks to the specific expressive force of a Rhetorical Questions. Herring (1991) focuses her

attention on the traditional Tamil *Villu Pattu* storytelling genre and distinguishes three types of Rhetorical Questions, associated with three different expressive forces in Tamil. First, the persuasive force of a Classical Rhetorical Question (CRQ), as shown below:

Pāi kuṭikkāta pūṇai kūṭa irukkum-ā?
 milk drink-NEG cat even be-F3NS-Q
 'Is there any cat that doesn't drink milk?'
 Herring (1991:257)

The speaker uses Classical Rhetorical Questions to indicate that his point of view is obvious, and consequently encourages the hearer to agree with him.

Second, the suspenseful force of a Thematicizing Rhetorical Question (TRQ), as exemplified below:

Oru nāḷu puruṣaṅkāraṅ eṇṇa ceṇṇirukkṛāṅ
 one day husband what do-PERF-PR3MS
 'One day, what did the husband do?'
 Herring (1991:257)

With Thematicizing Rhetorical Questions, the speaker chooses to bring about suspense in the narration of events thanks to the cataphoric nature of these strategical markers, thereby stimulating the hearer's curiosity about the following events.

Third, the use of a Rhetorical Tag Question (RTag), as illustrated below:

Inta pañcāyattelām vaippāṅka illai, pakkatu ūrile
 this panjayat&all hold-F3PL TAG next town-LOC
 'They hold this panjayat (meeting) and all, right? in the next town.'
 Herring (1991:257)

When the speaker chooses to use Rhetorical Tag Questions, he uses their anaphoric function to refer to the common knowledge shared by both speaker and hearer, thereby making solidarity between the two.

By contrast, the development of Rhetorical Question markers, i.e. pragmatic devices, into subordination markers, i.e. grammatical devices, cannot but be associated with a decrease in subjectivity. Out of the three Rhetorical Question markers, mentioned above, only the latter two types undergo a process of grammaticalization: TRQ grammaticalized into causal conjunctions, whereas RTags grammaticalized into relativizers. Herring (1991) sustains her argumentation by providing both syntactic and prosodic evidence for the newly grammaticalized

expressions. Let us consider the evidence given for the development of the conjunction $\bar{e}\eta\eta a$ 'because' ($e\eta$ 'why' + $\eta\eta a$ a subordinating conjunction⁵). Within a sequence of two events, the linguistic item must be syntactically interpreted as part of the second clause, and not the first clause, if you want to analyze it as a conjunction:

Avan̄ iṅkē illai eṅṅa avan̄ ūrukku pōṅāṅ.
 he here NEG CONJ he town-DAT go-P3MS
 'He is not here because he went to his village.'
 Herring (1991:272)

With respect to intonation, the conjunction $e\eta\eta a$ is prosodically combined with a high, level intonation, which is kept in the following clause. This can be contrasted with a sentence in which the conjunction status has not been achieved yet: $e\eta$ 'why' is prosodically realized with a high, rising intonation, with an optional drop in pitch at the end, whereas $\eta\eta a$ has an intonation going from the high to the middle range. So when the conjunction status is not achieved yet, the linguistic expression is represented with two distinct intonations, as opposed to the case when $e\eta\eta a$ is fully grammaticalized.

Thus, Herring's synchronic study of Tamil Rhetorical Questions in storytelling 'genre' challenges the unidirectional characterization of the process of grammaticalization, since in the Tamil data both subjectification and de-subjectification are to be found. As suggested by Traugott (1995), it is possible to be suspicious of the subjectification hypothesis based on a synchronic study only; a diachronic examination of the data could well shed a new light of the results.

Moreover, more problematic than the consideration of a possible bi-directional phenomenon with respect to subjectification is Traugott's definition, which equates the process of grammaticalization with subjectification, as noticed in a previous section. How can the process of grammaticalization, which is usually defined as a phenomenon moving towards an increasing centrality in the grammaticalized system, be equated with subjectification, a phenomenon involving the speaker's attitude towards what is said, and thereby a phenomenon of a different nature? Consequently, it turns out to be difficult to take subjectification as a definitional characteristic of the process of grammaticalization.

⁵ The subordinating conjunction $\eta\eta a$ literally means 'if (you) say/ask', and is "the conditional form of the quotative verb $e\eta$ 'to say/ask'" (Herring 1991:258, 272).

Moreover, unidirectionality in grammaticalization can be depicted as being related to increasing bondedness. When a linguistic expression becomes grammaticalized, it is becoming more and more dependent on its lexical environment, and it is unlikely that the reverse phenomenon occurs. This unidirectionality can be observed at two levels.

At the intrasentential level, this can be exemplified by the following development of an affix through a relational noun: relational noun > adposition > agglutinative case affix > fusional affix. The English relational noun *side* in *by the side of* developed into the adposition *beside*; the German inflected noun, *Wegen* 'ways' evolved into an adposition *wegen* 'because of'. A verb can also develop into an affix, then following this pattern: verb > auxiliary > clitic > affix. English auxiliary *may*, *might*, *can*, *could*, *should*, for instance, developed out of corresponding Old English lexical verbs. English auxiliary *have* also developed out of an Old English lexical verb, and the path of its development can be synchronically traced. It is a "quasi-auxiliary" in *I have to write a letter*. It behaves like a full auxiliary in *John has had a bath*. Finally, it is a clitic in *Mary's earned a lot of money*.

The unidirectionality in the development of grammaticalization can also be noticed at the intersentential level by the development of elements of independent clauses into subordinator markers. In English, for instance, clause linkers can come from PP: *on the basis of*, *in terms of*; conditional connectives can derive from linguistic expressions either indicating modality, e.g. *suppose*, or marking something known or given, as Latin *si*.

Despite the numerous examples supporting increasing bondedness in the process of grammaticalization, a few counterexamples have been enumerated. They are said to involve a process of de-grammaticalization in that the process involves a development along a path leading from syntax to lexicon, and then shows a loss of grammatical function by a morpheme. At the intersentential level, it is possible to locate a change which originally started to come into existence in subclauses, and extends to main clauses later on. This can be exemplified in Campbell's (1991) work, in which the emergence of a new category of modality in Estonian, called *Modus Obliquus*, is explored. At some stage during the development, three constructions, all involving speech-act or mental-state main verbs, were available to express the non-commitment of the speaker with respect to the content of the proposition. The construction worth mentioning is as follows:

main verb [SAV/MSV] et verb-ACTIVE.PARTCP
 sai kuul -da, (et) sei üks mees ela-vat
 got hear-INF that there one-NOM man.NOM live-MODUS.OBLIQUUS
 'he heard that (they say) a man lives there.'
 (Campbell 1991:287)

The so-called Modus Obliquus expression refers to the verb-ACTIVE.PARTCP, which used to have a pure participle value, and is now analyzed as a finite verb form. It occurs in a subordinate clause, as shown above. It started to be used in main clauses later:

ta tege-vat tööd
 he-NOM do-PRES.INDIR work-PARTV
 'They say he is working.'

ta tei-nud tööd
 he-NOM do-PAST.INDIR work-PARTV
 'he worked, so they say.'

(Campbell 1991:287)

At the intrasentential level, many counterexamples can be considered. Ramat (1992) quotes the case of comparatives losing their grammatical status, and undergoing what he calls a process of "opacization":

Lat. *senior* > Fr. *seigneur*
 OE *eldra* 'brother' > Engl. *elder* 'dean of the Presbyterian church'
 Lat. *maior* > Engl. *mayor*

Another interesting example is provided by Matsumoto (1988) in his discussion of the development of Japanese connectives. In Old Japanese, the linguistic bound morpheme *-ga* marked the genitive or the nominative in some subordinate clauses. As it was used as a subject marker in subordinate clauses in late eleventh century, it progressively became a connective particle. Then it started to get the status of a connective *ga* to relate two clauses in a sentence in the seventeenth century. Here is an example from the late eighteenth century:

Asaina-to kii-ta-naraba semu-maimonoo.
 Asaina-COMP hear-PAST-COND attack-NEG (FUT)- PART

Ga, Asaina-to kiite semeone-ba jigoku-nu naore-ja
 but Asaina- COMP hear (gerund) attack-NEG-COND hell-GEN disgrace-COP

'If I had known that you were Asaina, I would have attacked you! But if I stop attacking you after I know you are Asaina, it is a disgrace to the world of hell.'

(Matsumoto 1988:343-4)

The example is all the more interesting as an explanation is proposed for the observed de-grammaticalization, an explanation which is based on the Japanese typological features. First, the agglutinating nature of the language is held responsible for the use

of relatively bound morphemes as connective particles. Second, the OV word order of the language explains the clause-final position of connective morphemes. In Matsumoto's study, a typological explanation is then developed to account for what appears like a surprising de-grammaticalization at first sight.

In addition to this typological account, further factors can take part in the process of de-grammaticalization. For Allen (1994), the three factors which Heine et al. (1991a:9) described as being responsible for the grammaticalization of a linguistic expression, namely semantic suitability, salience and frequency, also play a significant role in de-grammaticalization. Allen (1994) studies the loss of the inchoative meaning attributed to Latin suffix *-e:sc/-i:sc* - and its development as a conjugational marker both in French and Spanish. During the process of de-grammaticalization of the inchoative suffix attached to both nouns and verbs, the verb root, for instance, is said to be salient since it is not affected by stem alternations as in Spanish *acontece* 'it happens' and *acontecer* 'to happen'. Frequency also contributes to the process of de-grammaticalization, since the denominal first conjugation happens to have a higher frequency than that of the inchoative conjugation. Above all, the most interesting factor turns out to be the semantic factor, since it is the loss of meaning that triggers off de-grammaticalization. Because the inchoative suffix spread not only to verbs having a semantic compatibility with an inchoative meaning such as verbs of emotions and development, but also to verbs of other kinds, the inchoative suffix potentially became in danger of losing its meaning. And this is precisely what happened, and what was encouraged with the use of the *-sc* suffix for morphological, and not semantic, reasons as in *noscere* 'to recognize' and *nasci* 'be born'. For Allen (1994:598), semantics fulfils "a negative role in the de-grammaticalization process".

Because all the three factors involved in grammaticalization, namely semantic suitability, salience and frequency, also have an active role in de-grammaticalization, Allen (1994) maintains that, far from being exceptional, de-grammaticalization is just as natural as the grammaticalization phenomenon. This leads us to consider the so-called irreversibility of the process of grammaticalization as being not a definitional characteristics of grammaticalization, but rather a highly probable tendency.

Finally, in addition to the various kinds of unidirectionality in grammaticalization discussed so far, namely increasing abstractness, pragmatic strengthening, and increasing bondedness, there exists another one, which has been subject to much controversy. It has often been proposed that two perspectives were in competition to explain the ordering of the different stages leading to a grammaticalized linguistic expression: the lexical item > grammatical morpheme model and the discourse >

morphosyntax model. In a previous section, it was shown that far from being contradictory, each model could be said to focus on a different aspect of grammaticalization: Traugott's model, on the semantic-pragmatic aspect, and Givón's model, on the morphosyntactic aspect. The interrelation of the two perspectives can be corroborated by other studies, such as Herring's (1991) study of Tamil Rhetorical Questions, in which both perspectives are at work. The development of conjunctions and relativizers was both discourse- and lexicon- motivated, as demonstrated above. Another study showing the overlapping of the two models can be found in Haiman's (1991) article.

The numerous examples showing how interrelated Traugott's and Givón's perspectives are leads to the question of whether it is possible to find a definition of grammaticalization that could encapsulate the two aspects of grammaticalization. Traugott and Heine (1991) suggested a reconciliation of the two phenomena in their introduction, postulating that " discourse presupposes lexicon". Accordingly, lexicon feeds discourse; pragmatic meanings are then attached to lexical linguistic expressions, and they can be fixed syntactically in the way described by Givón (1979). This leads Traugott and Heine to formulate a new definition, according to which lexical item used in discourse brings about morphosyntax.

Thus, in 1.3.4, it was shown that the diachronic characterization of grammaticalization as a unidirectional process could be put into question with respect to four criteria: increasing abstractness; pragmatic strengthening; increasing bondedness; and the two perspectives in competition to explain the ordering of the different stages leading to a grammaticalized linguistic item, namely the lexical item > grammatical morpheme model and the discourse > morphosyntax model.

On the whole, in 1.3, it was first argued that the semantic changes in grammaticalization could be brought about by communicative and/or cognitive factors, which offered a teleological motivation. Nevertheless, it was also possible to provide a non-teleological function to these changes. Furthermore, among the preliminary conditions for grammaticalization, it was explained how only the linguistic expressions which are frequently used, belong to specific lexical fields, and display a topological geometric structure, are subject to grammaticalization; additional conditions were presented, such as highly distinctive cultural or/and typological features. In addition, the mostly discussed mechanisms of grammaticalization were examined, namely desemantization, metaphor, and metonymy. Finally, the idea according to

which grammaticalization could be diachronically perceived as a unidirectional process was qualified.

1.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the terminological background relating to grammaticalization was introduced. As a theory of linguistic change, grammaticalization was first presented as displaying a crucial link between synchrony and diachrony, the very link which could well be detected in the *Cours de Linguistique Générale*, provided an appropriate interpretation of 'langue' and 'parole' could be made: linguistic change is assessed against the basis of the synchronic system 'langue', in which 'parole', defined as a specific act of speech, is dynamic in nature, and therefore triggers off the seeds of change in language.

This was followed by a brief history of grammaticalization, starting with the Meillet tradition, in which grammatical categories are said to rise out of lexical forms, extending to Hopper's and Givón's completely different works, in which grammatical expressions are described as emerging from the fixing of discourse pragmatic forces, and continuing with Traugott's framework, which borrows much from both types of schools but remains original in her formulation of semantic-pragmatic principles involved in linguistic change.

Our attention then turned to the general characteristics of the semantic changes in grammaticalization. It was shown that the semantic changes could be motivated by three types of factors, i.e. communication, cognition, and a combination of the two, and that they could fulfil a teleological function or not. It was also underlined that the various preliminary constraints which enabled the beginning of grammaticalization could be lexical, topological, cultural, and even typological. Besides, among the mechanisms pertaining to grammaticalization, only the most discussed ones were analyzed, i.e. desemantization, metaphor, and metonymy. Finally, the idea that grammaticalization is a unidirectional process from a diachronic point of view was criticized.

This terminological explanation of grammaticalization is to be complemented by that of the perfective and imperfective aspects in the following chapter.

Chapter 2

The Perfective and Imperfective Aspects

Many a linguist has made an attempt to provide an account of the notion of aspect but most of them have achieved unsatisfactory, not to say, controversial analyses, due to a lack of consistent methodology and rigour. The confusion about the definition of aspect is well illustrated by the comments of the following linguists:

“In spite of a great amount of research, a wide divergence of opinion prevails today regarding the character of aspect and regarding the fundamental principles to be pursued in that study.”

(Goedsche 1940:189)

“La notion d’aspect n’a été définie que vaguement [...]. La notion de l’aspect reste encore insuffisamment définie.”

(Holt 1943:1)

“It should be said that from the very beginning till its rather abrupt end about 1935 the concept formation regarding the Aspects was characterized by terminological confusion and vague definition, which reveals the inadequacy of the semantic theory implicit in the relevant studies.”

(Verkuyl:1972:6-7)

“The study of aspect has been likened to a dark and savage forest full of “obstacles, pitfalls, and mazes which have trapped most of those who have ventured into this much explored but poorly mapped territory.”

(Binnick (1991:135) quoting McCaulay (1978))

Because the French term ‘aspect’ was originally used in 1828 by C.P. Reiff to translate the Russian term ‘vid’ used by Greč in his Russian grammar (1827) to depict the perfective and imperfective in this Slavic language, it is worthwhile briefly recapitulating what Russian aspect is about. Then there will be a discussion of the problems that can be encountered when the Slavic terminology of perfective and imperfective aspects is applied to non-Slavic languages, especially to Germanic languages. Streitberg’s (1891) treatment of Gothic aspect will be examined. Likewise, particular attention will be paid to the analysis of Modern English aspect with respect

to the application of the Slavic terminology of aspect, which will lead us to provide a comparison of English and Russian aspects and see to what extent a parallel can be made between the two kinds of aspects and to what extent the Slavic terminology used to describe aspect can be kept in the description of English aspect.

2.1 Russian aspect

2.1.1 Semantic function of Russian aspect

Russian aspect is defined as a binary opposition: the two components of Russian aspect, namely the perfective and the imperfective, are defined one with respect to the other. The nature of this opposition is privative, which means that one component, namely the perfective, is considered as more specific than the other one, is explicitly defined and is said to be marked, whereas the other component, namely the imperfective, is felt to be less specific than its counterpart and is said to be unmarked. Markedness theory, which was first introduced in phonology by the Prague school linguists, was applied to semantic and syntactic oppositions by Jakobson in his various writings (1932, 1957, 1971):

“One of two mutually opposite grammatical categories is “marked” while the other is “unmarked”. The general meaning of a marked category states the presence of a certain (whether positive or negative) property A; the general meaning of the corresponding unmarked category states nothing about the presence of A, and is used chiefly, but not exclusively, to indicate the absence of A.”

(Jakobson 1971:136)

Thus, the perfective, which is marked, is positively defined as “viewing an action as an indivisible whole” (Maslov 1985:30). By contrast, the imperfective is neutral with respect to this definition and is seen as viewing the action “without an emphasis on this feature” (ibid.). That is, the imperfective “is simply devoid of any inherent indication of the kind of meaning which is inherent in the perfective” (Forsyth 1970:349). Relying on Bondarko’s study of the perfective, Maslov (1985) provides the following specific meanings for the perfective:

1. Concrete-factual

Otpustili tebjja? -- Otpustili.

'Did they release you? -- 'Yes, they did.'

2. Vivid exemplification

Inogda vesnoj byvaet tak: **naletit** burja, **poguljaet** časa dva-tri i tak že neožidanno **zatičnet**, kak načalas'.

'Sometimes in the spring a storm comes along, rages for two or three hours and then dies down as suddenly as it started.'

3. Potential

Vot už neskupoj -- Poslednjuju rubašku **otdast**
'Generous? He'd give you the shirt off his back.'

4. Summative

Alexsej **mignul** raz pjat' podrjad.
'Aleksiej winked half a dozen times in succession.'

(Maslov 1985, note 69, p.31)

Because the imperfective is unmarked with respect to completion, it has a range of other meanings, such as concrete processual, unrestrictedly iterative, permanent qualitative, potential qualitative meanings, to name a few (see 2.2.2.1 for more detail). Now that we have briefly explained the different functions of the perfective and imperfective in Russian aspect, we would like to see how Russian aspect is formally expressed.

2.1.2 Formal expression of Russian aspect

Russian aspect is nearly always expressed by morphology: either a prefix or a suffix identifies the nature of the component of the aspectual opposition. In a very few cases, a pair of verbs of totally different roots can be associated together to form the perfective/imperfective pair; usage has put them together, as illustrated below:

Verbs of different roots:

govorit' (imperfective) / *skazát'* (perfective) 'say'
brat' (imperfective) / *vzjat'* (perfective) 'take'
sadít'sja (imperfective) / *sest'* (perfective) 'sit down'
klast' (imperfective) / *položít'* (perfective) 'put'

Otherwise, in general, the formal expression of Russian aspect is morphological in nature. In the following examples, an effort was made in the English translation to render the difference of meanings between the perfective and the imperfective in Russian, but sometimes it was difficult to find an exact translation in English. Let us take a few instances of simple verbs -- the latter always indicate the imperfective, but with a few exceptions -- which turn into perfective forms through prefixation:

Prefix:

imperfective ---> perfective
pisát' 'write' ---> *na-pisát'* 'have written'
čitát' 'read' ---> *pro-čitát'* 'read through'
vídet' 'see' ---> *u-vídet'* 'notice'
kurít' 'smoke' ---> *za-kurít'* 'begin smoking'

(Forsyth 1970:26).

As for suffixation, it has either a perfectivizing or an imperfectivizing effect, as shown below:

-- perfectivising suffix *-nu* :

prygat' 'jump up and down' ---> *prygnut'* 'jump once, leap'
kášljat' 'cough' ---> *kášljanut'* 'give a single cough'
svistét' 'whistle' ---> *svístnut'* 'blow a single blast'
 (Forsyth 1970:26)

-- imperfectivising suffix *-(i)a*:

kónčit' 'finish up' ---> *končát'* 'come to an end'
prostít' 'forgive' ---> *proščat'* 'beg (s.o.) pardon'
perepísát' 'have rewritten' --> *perepísyvat'* 'rewrite'
 (Forsyth 1970:27)

This brief overview of the semantic and formal expressions of Russian aspect will serve us as a basis for tackling the various terminological problems which emerged when the perfective and imperfective terms were first applied to other non-Slavic languages. This is the purpose of the following section.

2.2 Problems encountered when the Slavic terminology of aspect is applied to non-Slavic languages, especially Germanic languages

Grimm (1824) is said to be the first linguist to apply the Slavic terminology perfective/imperfective characterizing Russian aspect to non-Slavic languages, especially Germanic languages. In the preface to his translation of Vuk's Serbo-Croatian grammar, he briefly explained that Germanic languages might well resemble Slavic languages with respect to the morphological formation of the perfective and to the presence of the imperfective in simple verbs, as paraphrased by Binnick (1991):

"It is not impossible to find in the Germanic languages also the traces of a distinction which so permeates the Slavic languages. Composites with *ver-*, *be-*, *hin-*, *durch-*, etc., (as in the Slavic with *po-*, *do-*, *na-*, etc.) perhaps represent perfectives, uncomposed verbs on the contrary imperfectives."

(Binnick 1991:141)

But it was only at the end of the nineteenth century and at the beginning of the twentieth century that numerous linguists, such as Streitberg (1891, 1920), Delbrück (1897), Brugmann (1904), Deutschbein (1917), to mention but a few, popularized the use of the perfective/imperfective terminology as regards the discussion of aspect in Germanic languages.

2.2.1 Streitberg (1891, 1920) and Gothic aspect

Streitberg's (1891) famous article, called "Perfective und Imperfective Aktionsart im Germanischen", turned out to be a milestone in the discussion of Germanic aspect. It attempted to prove that Gothic aspect bore a close resemblance to Slavic aspect by using the following methodology, which is summarized by Holt (1943):

"Sans se soucier du sens vague du mot "aspect", les linguistes ont essayé de retrouver des aspects dans les diverses langues. Puisque les **résultats** obtenus avaient été surtout **inspirés des faits slaves**, on a presque identifié la notion même de l'aspect avec l'opposition qui existe dans des langues slaves entre les aspects perfectif et imperfectif, et quand il s'agit de définir les aspects d'une langue donnée, **on commence ordinairement par un exposé des aspects slaves**, et l'existence éventuelle d'aspects dans la langue étudiée dépend de la **ressemblance de la signification des formes étudiées avec celle des aspects slaves**. C'est le procédé qu'a employé W. Streitberg en étudiant les faits du verbe gotique."

(Holt 1943:7)

The aim of this section is to describe Streitberg's methodology, which led him to draw the fallacious conclusion that Gothic aspect very much resembled Slavic aspect. It will then be all the easier to understand what problems might arise from his methodology.

2.2.1.1 Nature of Streitberg's (1891) methodology

As described in Holt (1943:7), the results proposed for non-Slavic languages were mainly based on Slavic facts, so the linguists preoccupied with the notion of non-Slavic aspect started their argumentation by expounding the Slavic model of aspect. This is precisely what Streitberg depicted at the beginning of his article, by listing the categories of aspect in Old Church Slavic, namely the perfective, imperfective and iterative:

"Drei große bedeutungskategorien beherrschen das gesamte verbalsystem der slavischen und gleicherweise auch der baltischen dialekte:

1. Die imperfective actionsart, auch durative oder continuative a. genannt. Sie stellt die handlung in ihrer ununterbrochenen dauer oder continuät dar. Vgl. altbulgarisch *лѣстѣ*

'steigen, die handlung des steigens ausführen, im steigen begriffen sein', englisch *to be mounting*.

2. Die perfective actionsart, auch resultative a. geheissen. Sie fügt dem bedeutungsinhalt, der dem verbum innewohnt, noch den nebenbegriff des vollendetwerdens hinzu. Sie bezeichnet also die handlung des verbums nicht schlechthin in ihrem fortgang, ihrer continuität, sondern stets im hinblick auf den moment der vollendung, die erzielung des resultat. Vgl. altbulgarisch *vūzlěsti* 'ersteigen, d.h. die handlung des steigens im hinblick auf den augenblick der vollendung' [...]

3. Die iterative actionsart. Sie bezeichnet die handlung in ihrer widerholung.

a) imperfectiv-iterative verba, z.b. altbulgarisch *bivati* 'widerholt schlagen', *voditi* 'widerholt führen'

b) perfectiv-iterative verba, z.b. altbulgarisch *ubivati* 'widerholt erschlagen': *ubiti* 'erchlagen' (einfach perfectiv).

(Streitberg 1891:70-72)

"Three big semantic categories dominate the whole verbal system of the Slavic languages and as well the Baltic dialects.

1. The imperfective Aktionsart, also called durative or continuous Aktionsart.

It represents the action in its duration or continuation. Cf. Old Bulgarian *lěsti* 'steigen' "climb, perform the action of climbing, to be in the process of climbing, English *to be mounting*."

2. The perfective Aktionsart, also called resultative Aktionsart.

It adds to the content of meaning, inherent in the verb, the additional concept of completion. Therefore, it does not indicate the action of the verb in its development, in its continuation, but always with respect to the moment of completion, the achievement of the result. Cf. Old Bulgarian *vūzlěsti* 'ersteigen' "climb", that means, the action of climbing with respect to the moment of accomplishment." [...]

3. The iterative Aktionsart, referring to repetitive action.

a. Imperfective iterative verbs, e.g. Old Bulgarian *bivati* 'widerholt schlagen' "beat, strike, hit repeatedly", *voditi* 'widerholt führen' "lead repeatedly".

b. perfective iterative verbs, e.g. Old Bulgarian *ubivati* 'widerholt erschlagen' "beat repeatedly till the point of death": *ubiti* 'erchlagen (einfach perfectiv)' "strike dead, kill (simple perfective)".

(My translation)

For the moment, we shall not discuss Streitberg's definitions of the three big semantic categories illustrating aspect. They will be criticized further below.

Streitberg (1891) briefly summarized the results he obtained with respect to the analysis of Gothic at the end of his article as follows:

"1. Das gotische kennt den unterschied zwischen perfectiver und imperfectiver actionsart ebensowohl wie das slavische, entbehrt aber die iterativa.

2. Die perfectiva werden durch zusammensetzung des verbums mit praepositionaladverbien aus den imperfectiven simplificien gebildet.

3. Daneben existieren an sich schon perfective simplicia, denen also eine zusammensetzung in bezug auf die aktionsart nichts neues mehr zu bringen vermag.
4. Auf der anderen seite bestehen einige durative simplicien, welche sich der perfectivierung überhaupt oder unter gewissen bedingungen entziehen.
5. Unter den praeositionaladverbien ist diejenige partikel, die am meisten ihre individuelle bedeutung eingebüsst hat, am geeignetesten, überall da verwandt zu werden, wo es sich lediglich um die modification der aktionsart handelt. Diese partikel ist *ga-*”
Streitberg (1891:176)

- ‘1. Gothic knows the difference between the perfective and the imperfective Aktionsarts, just like Slavic, but it does not have an iterative Aktionsart.
2. The perfective verbs are formed out of the imperfective simple verb through the combination of the verb and a prepositional adverb.
3. There also exist isolated simple verbs; even a combination cannot add anything new with respect to the Aktionsart.
4. On the other hand, there are a few durative simple verbs, which cannot become perfective in general, or in some contexts.
5. Among the prepositional adverbs, there is this particle, which has lost its own meaning more than any of the others, and which is the most appropriate to be used where there is simply a modification of the Aktionsart. This particle is *ga-*’
(My translation)

Each of the five points listed above shows a close resemblance of Gothic aspect to Slavic aspect. Indeed, in the first point, (“Gothic knows the difference between the perfective and the imperfective Aktionsarts, just like the Slavic, but it does not have an iterative Aktionsart”), Gothic is said to comprise both the perfective and imperfective, which are themselves aspectual categories of the Slavic languages. Again, the term *Aktionsart* will be commented upon further down. In the second point, (“The perfective verbs are formed out of the imperfective simple verb through the combination of the verb and a prepositional adverb”), it is clear that the formation of the perfective is clearly similar to that used in the Slavic, namely through morphology (see 2.1). Hence the perfectivizing force of some verbal prefixes in Gothic, the most popular being *ga-* (fifth point), as shown in the following examples:

Examples with *ga-*:

- sitan* ‘sit’: *ga-sittan* ‘sit down’
slepan ‘sleep’: *ga-slepan* ‘fall asleep’
pahan ‘keep silent’: *ga-pahan* ‘become silent’
swiltan ‘die’: *ga-swiltan* ‘die down’

(Streitberg 1920:187-8)

Examples with other prefixes:

steigan 'climb': *us-steigan* 'get, climb, out'
 : *at-steigan* 'get in'
driusan 'fall': *at-driusan* 'shut of itself (by falling)'
rinnan 'run': *du-rinnan* 'run up (to)'
swaran 'swear': *bi-swaran* 'call up'

(Ibid.)

In the third point , it is underlined that like Slavic Gothic has perfective simple verbs, as exemplified below:

giban 'give'
niman 'take'
letan 'leave'
brigan 'bring'
 (Streitberg 1920:189)

In the fourth point it is stated that like Slavic Gothic also has durative simple verbs which cannot be prefixed and therefore cannot acquire perfectivity, as illustrated below:

rodjan 'speak'
wisan in der Bedeutung 'sein' : 'stay' in the meaning of 'be'
liban 'live'
merjan 'announce, preach'
fijan 'hate'
 (Streitberg 1920:188)

By taking Slavic aspect as a basis of the comparison and by comparing the formal expression of aspect, namely morphology, Streitberg (1891) tried to show that Gothic aspect bears more of a resemblance to Slavic aspect than it is actually possible to do. Mossé (1925) is critical of it insofar as, for him, Streitberg attributes more similarities than is warranted by the facts of Gothic:

“M. Streiberg entraîné par le modèle slave a voulu voir dans le gotique plus de régularité qu'il n'y en a.”

(Mossé 1925:312)

The number of regularities observed in the description of Gothic aspect has brought about the situation that the resemblance to Slavic looks forced. It is now opportune to see what is fallacious in Streitberg's methodology.

2.2.1.2 Nature of the fallacy in Streitberg's methodology

The basic mistake in Streitberg's methodology, which is responsible for such a "forced" resemblance of Gothic aspect to Slavic aspect is underlined by Trnka (1930) as follows:

"The fallacy of Streitberg's conception is [...] evident to all Slavonic philologists, who may point that **each Gothic verb, designated either as perfective or imperfective by Streitberg**, corresponds to two Slavonic verbs, the one perfective and the other imperfective, derived regularly from the same root."

(Trnka 1930:32)

At first sight, the comparison of Gothic to Slavic aspect is based on morphological criteria. It is assumed that because Slavic prefixes were used to perfectivize a verb, the presence of verbal prefixes in Gothic is also a sign of a perfectivizing force. In other words, it is taken for granted that the equation of a formal expression of perfectivity taken from a Slavic language with that of a non-Slavic language, namely Gothic in this case, necessarily implies the transfer of the function of perfectivity. So the term 'perfective' is used for both formal and functional category (let us notice that the same commentary could be made about the use of the term 'imperfective'). Hence the fallacious statement that what Streitberg called prepositional adverbs such as *at-*, *du-*, *us-*, and, above all, *ga-*, have a perfectivizing effect. Had Streitberg and his followers been aware of the true function of particles such as *ga-*, they would have understood that *ga-* did not fulfil a grammatical function, illustrated by syntax and inflexion, as shown by the perfectivizing function of suffixes in Russian, but a lexical function, exemplified by derivations, which here marked completion. So the real source of Streitberg's misconception is based on the misidentification of the semantic functions attributed to the Slavic perfective and imperfective, which mistake has been all the more encouraged by the parallel in the form -- in both cases, namely Slavic and Gothic, verbal prefixes are used. The identification of the true function of the preverbal particle would have helped to account for its grammatical behaviour, as remarked by Trnka (1930), in the following linguistic environments:

"*Ga-* is prefixed to the past participle, and [...] the verbs compounded with this prefix or some others, do not occur in combination with verbs of beginning."

(Trnka 1930:32)

This remark leads us to the confusion between aspect and Aktionsart in Streitberg's (1891) analysis of Gothic aspect. In the current linguistic terminology, aspect is understood as belonging to grammar whereas Aktionsart belongs to lexicon. Let us see what meanings Streitberg attributed to these two terms.

In Streitberg's *Gotisches Elementarbuch* (1920), Aktionsart is defined as follows:

“Unter ‘Aktionsart’ versteht man die Art and Weise, wie die durch das Verbum ausgedrückte Handlung vor sich geht.”

(Streitberg 1920:184)

‘The term *Aktionsart* is understood as the way in which the action expressed in the verb takes place.’

(My translation)

The term ‘Aktionsart’ is then defined as having a grammatical meaning. The imperfective Aktionsart is also attributed a grammatical meaning since “it represents the action in its duration or continuation” (see above). But the definition of the perfective Aktionsart turns out to be more problematic, since it is given both a grammatical and a lexical interpretation. Let us start with the lexical one:

“Die perfectiven verba kann man ihrer bedeutung, nicht aber ihrer form nach, in zwei unterabteilungen zerlegen:

a) Sie sind momentan, wenn sie den schwerpunkt einzig und allein auf den moment der vollendung, den augenblick des resultat es legen, alles andere unberücksichtigt lassen, z.b. *ubiti* ‘erschlagen’.

b) Den gegensatz hierzu bilden die durativ-perfectiven verba. Auch sie heben den moment der vollendung hervor, setzen ihn aber in ausdrücklichen gegensatz zu der vorausgehenden dauer der handlung. Die bedeutung des verbums ist also combiniert aus einem durativen und einem perfectiven element. Vgl. slovenisch *preberem* ‘ich lese durch’ d.h. ich bin in der durativen handlung des lesens begriffen, führe dieselbe aber bis zu einem abschluss fort.”

(Streitberg 1891:71-72)

‘The perfective verbs can be classified into two subcategories according to their meanings, and not to their forms:

a. They are punctual, when they put the emphasis solely on the moment of completion, the moment of result and leave anything else unconsidered, f.i., *ubiti* ‘erschlagen’ “to achieve a result”.

b. By contrast, there is the category of durative-perfective verbs.

They also emphasize the moment of completion, but explicitly contrast it with the preceding duration of the action. The meaning of the verb is also a combination of a durative and a perfective element. Compare Slovenian *preberem* ‘ich lese durch’ “I read through”, that is, I am in the process of the durative action of reading, but continue the reading till the end.’

(My translation)

The two subcategories explicitly refer to the inherent meanings of the verbs considered. One comprises punctual verbs, which by definition have no duration at all and “refer to a situation that takes place once and only once” (Comrie 1976:42), e.g. *kill, knock, hit*. The other one includes verbs representing the moment of completion, the moment of termination, of a situation that has duration. But this semantic definition of the perfective can be contrasted with a more general definition of the perfective given earlier on, in which it is described with a grammatical interpretation: “It does not indicate at all the action of the verb in its development, in its continuation, but always with respect to the moment of completion, the achievement of the result.” Consequently, Streitberg (1891, 1920) elaborates a notion of Aktionsart that mixes both lexical and grammatical definitions, which has led researchers astray.

In addition to the confusion between aspect and Aktionsart, which contributed to the fallacious statement that Gothic aspect resembles Slavic aspect, there are additional factors that are worth considering. This so-called resemblance was based on the examination of very few examples. According to Scherer (1954), Streitberg (1891) quoted only four references, which, of course, corroborated his argumentation:

Four references to Old Church Slavic in favour of Streitberg’s argumentation:

“85, in connection with the imperfectivity of *ligan* ‘lie’, *sitan* ‘sit’, *standan* ‘stand’; 91, to prove the perfectivity of *gafraujimond* ‘exercise lordship’ and *gawaldand* ‘exercise authority’; 94, to indicate the perfectivity of *gagaggan* ‘sich versammeln’; and 116, to render OLH [Old High German] *gefullen* ‘fulfill’.”

(Scherer 1954, note 3, p.211-2)

Moreover, for this resemblance to be established, Streitberg (1891) had to deal with an incredibly high number of exceptions, especially with respect to verbs prefixed by *ga-*, the perfectivizing particle *par excellence*, as stated by Trnka (1930):

“Such exceptions in the verbs prefixed by *ga-*, which Streitberg regarded as the most important exponent of perfectivization, make up no less than 66 per cent of the whole number of verbs compounded with this prefix.”

(Trnka 1930:32)

Here are examples of the perfectivizing particle which can be counted as exceptions. The addition of the preverbal particle *ga-*, is not a warrant of perfectivization in the following cases:

“An imperfective may yield an imperfective:

traujinop ‘hath dominion’ (R 7.1) vs *gaTraujinop* ‘exercise lordship’ (Mk.10.42)

A perfective simplex may yield a perfective:

lauseip ‘shall deliver’ (R 7.24) vs *galauseip* ‘will deliver’ (k 1.10).”

(Scherer 1954:221)

There also are perfective compounds with *ga-*, which exist on their own without their being derived from a simple imperfective stem. This suggests we have to do with lexicon rather than grammar, as exemplified below:

ganisan ‘become whole’

jabai patainei attekawaistjai is, ganisa

‘if I but touch his garment, I shall be whole’ (M. 9.21).

(Scherer 1954:218)

Likewise, it is possible to find prefixed verbs, which not only have an imperfective function but also exist on their own without a counterpart:

gapairban ‘be temperate’

ip hazuh saei haifstjan sniwip, allis sik gap arbai

‘And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things (K 9.25).’

gabeistjan ‘leaven’

niu witup patei leitiil beistis allana daig gabeisteip

Know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump (K 5.6).’

(Scherer 1954:217)

Lastly, the inappropriateness of Streitberg’s comparison of Gothic to Slavic aspect can also be illustrated by an important number of examples, displaying a free variation between simple verbs and their compounds with *ga-*, as noticed by Scherer (1954):

“In the imperfective:

saibis ‘seest’ (Mk. 5.31): *gasuibis* ‘seest’ (L 7.44);

sat ‘sat’ (M 26.69) : *gasat* ‘sat’ (J 6.3)

In the perfective:

taujan ‘do’ (M 9.29): *gataujan* ‘make’ (M 5.36)

hausida ‘heard’ (L 1.41): *gahausida* ‘heard’ (MK. 6.14)

Pahaidedi ‘should hold his peace’ (L 18.39): *gaPahaidedi* ‘should hold his peace’ (Mk. 10.48)”

(Scherer 1954, note 16, p.223)

Because all the criteria listed so far contributed to account for “the fallacy of Streitberg’s methodology”, it seems to be all the more appropriate to consider giving up the use of the Slavic terminology for aspect in non-Slavic languages, namely the perfective and imperfective, so that we can stop drawing hasty conclusions about possible resemblances between the aspect of a given language and Slavic aspect. This is clearly stated in Jespersen (1924):

“I think it would be better to **do without the terms perfective and imperfective except in dealing with the Slavic verb**, where they have a definite sense and have long been in universal use. In other languages it will be well in each separate instance to examine carefully what is the meaning of the verbal expression concerned, and whether it is due to the verb itself, to its prefix or suffix, to its tense-form, or to the context.”

(Jespersen 1924:288)

But before abandoning the perfective/imperfective terminology, we still would like to compare Russian and English expressions of aspect and see to what extent some parallel can be made.

2.2.2 An attempt to use the Russian terminology of aspect for the description of English aspect

Many researchers have applied the Slavic terminology of aspect to the description of English aspect (see Comrie (1976)), taking then for granted the equation of the imperfective with the progressive form, and that of the perfective with the simple form. It will be observed that the correspondences are too simplistic and need further exploration. Some similarities will be shown with respect to the semantic functions, but there also exist important differences. In addition, it will be pointed out that the two languages have two completely different ways of expressing aspect formally. In the following discussion, only the present and past perfective/imperfective will be taken into account; as for English, given that the perfect raises various problems as regards its classification as a tense or aspect, it will not be taken into account.

2.2.2.1 To what extent the semantic functions of Russian aspect can be applied to English aspect.

According to Kozintseva (1985) and Matveyeva (1985), it is clear that the progressive forms in English, whether in the present or the past, are translated by the imperfective in Russian in a large majority of cases (above or equal to 70%), as illustrated by the following tables:

English aspectual-tense forms	Perfective	Imperfective
Progressive Past	16	84
Present	26	74

(Adapted from Kozintseva (1985:66))

Table 2.1 Percentage between perfective and imperfective forms used to translate English progressive forms

English aspectual-tense forms	Perfective	Imperfective	Absence of verb in Russian translation
Progressive Past	24	71	5
Present	14	70	6

(Adapted from Matvayeva (1985:82))

Table 2.2 Percentage between perfective and imperfective forms used to translate English progressive forms

In this section, we shall follow Maslov's (1985) terminology since it represents a convenient way of illustrating the range of meanings of the perfective and imperfective. Let us start with a few examples of the progressive forms translated by the imperfective:

--single actions:

“All you’ve got to do is to fix the hour hand on its -- axle. You’re simply **humberging**.”

‘Vam tol’ko i nado bylo sdelat’, čto prikrepit’ časovuju strelku k osi, a vy tut **vozites**’ bez tolku.’

(Matveyeva 1985:115)

He sat opposite her at dinner, and it was terrible -- impossible to say anything for fear of saying the wrong thing [...]. And she **was talking** so well -- swooping with swift wing this way and that.

‘Za obedom on sidel naprotiv nee i eto bylo pytkoj: nevozmožno bylo ničego skazat’ iz stracha, čto skažeš pišnee [...]. A Fler **govorila** tak chorošo, pereparchivaja na bystrych kryl’jach s odnoj temi na druguju.’

(Kozintseva 1985:67)

-- unrestrictedly repetitive actions:

She **was taking out** things which looked suspicious.

‘Ona **vynimala** zamačivogo vida pakety.’

(Kozintseva 1985:67)

The semantic function associated with the progressive form is basically the concrete-processual meaning of the imperfective, which is described by Kozintseva (1985:61) as “an action localised at a specific point on the time axis and either having no limit whatever (in the case of “non-limited” verbs) or not yet having attained its limit (in the case of “limited” verbs)”. Moreover, the progressive form can also be associated with the semantic function of the unrestrictedly-repetitive meaning of the imperfective. In such a case, the progressive form is always combined with an adverbial modifier indicating unrestricted iteration, such as *always*, *often*, and *continually*.

Conversely, it is also possible to find many instances of the imperfective translated by the progressive form:

-- Single actions:

“Ja **sizú** v krésle.”

“I **am sitting** in the armchair.”

(Unbegaun 1957:230)

V kontse nojabrja, v ottepel’, časov v devjat’ utra poezd Peterburgsko-Varšavskoj železnoj dorogi na vseh parach **podchodil** k Peterburgu.

‘Towards the end of November, during a thaw at nine o’clock one morning, a train on the Warsaw and Petersburg railway **was approaching** the latter city at full speed.’

(Kitkova 1985:133)

--unrestrictedly repetitive actions:

“Vy vsjo vremja **žaluetes**’ na pogodu!”
 “You **are** always **complaining** about the weather!”

Given the examples provided, it is all the more tempting to draw the conclusion that there exists a correspondence between the imperfective and the progressive form with respect to semantic functions, namely the concrete-processual and the unrestrictedly-iterative meanings. Further examination of the so-called correspondence leads us to say that such a conclusion is far too simplistic.

To begin with, not all the progressive forms in English are translated into the imperfective in Russian. According to the previous tables, the exceptions represent between 14% and 26% and can be exemplified by the following translations, all indicating a concrete-processual meaning:

Translations of the progressive form by the perfective:

Those last two days had seemed like months in spite of *Cast Up by the Sea*, wherein he **was reading** about Mother Lee and her terrible wrecking bonfire.
 ‘Eti dva poslednie dnja pokazalis’ emu mesjatsami, nesmotrja na “Vybrošennyh morem”, gde on **proče**l pro staruchu Li i ee strašnyj koster.’
 (Kozintseva 1985:69)

To look more closely into the matter he **was staying** with his sister Winifred Dartie in Green Street.
 ‘Čtoby bez pomexi zanjat’ sja etim delom, on na vremja **pereselilsja** k svoej sestre Unifrid Darti na Grin-strit.’
 (Kozintseva 1985:69)

At four o’clock, when it was fairly dark, and Mrs Hall **was screwing up** her courage to go in and ask her visitor if he would take some tea, Teddy Henfrey, the clock-jobber, came into the bar.
 ‘V četyre časa, kogda uže počti stemnelo i missis Choll **sobralas**’ duchom.’
 (Matveyeva 1985:112-3)

In such cases, the choice of the perfective by the translator is directly related to the nature of the Aktionsart of the verb in the progressive form in English. Whenever a process is completed, the translator can represent it either as developing, namely in the imperfective, or in its totality, namely in the perfective, as in the previous examples.

Furthermore, the so-called correspondence existing between the semantic functions of the progressive form and the imperfective is not a two-way correspondence. It only goes from the progressive form to the imperfective, and not the other way round. This can be accounted for by the nature of the markedness of aspect in both English and Russian. In English, the progressive form is said to be

marked, whereas in Russian the imperfective is said to be unmarked. Consequently, it is no wonder that the spectrum of the semantic functions of the imperfective is expected to be much bigger than that of the progressive form. Similarly, it is predictable that the imperfective can also be translated by non-progressive forms, especially simple forms, as illustrated below:

Spectrum of the various meanings of the Imperfective, all translated by non-PF here:

--concrete-processual meaning:

El Miron **razborči v o**, priveredledivo i skoro otodvinul tarelku.
 'Miron **ate** fastidiously, in a picky way, and soon pushed his plate away.'
 (Maslov (1985), note 69, p.31)

Obyčno takája pogóda rádovala Lénu, no segódnja vse ee **ugnetálo**. Kudá ne pogljadí
 -- sneg.
 'Usually Lena enjoyed such weather, but today everything **depressed** her: nothing but snow all around.'
 (Forsyth 1970:61)

-- unrestrictedly-iterative meaning:

Oná často **igráet** na rojale.
 'She often **plays** the piano.'
 (Unbegaun 1957:229)

Tak byválo často: kogdá oná **prichodíla**, egó **razdražalí** ee nezavísimost', otčuzdennost'.
 'It was often like that: when she **arrived** he **was annoyed** by her air of independence and alienation.'
 (Forsyth 1970:155)

-- generalised-factual meaning:

"Spasíbo, ja **uže pil** čaj."
 "Thank you, I **have** already **had** some tea."
 (Offord 1993:331)

"**Sobiralis'** predstaviteli obščestvennosti v etot den'?"
 "Da, **sobiralis'**."
 "**Did** the public representation **meet** that day?"
 "Yes, they **did**."
 (Rassudova 1984:55)

Uše **peredavali** sportivnye novosti.
 'They **have** already **broadcast** the sporting news.'
 (Rassudova 1984:57)

-- **permanent-continuous meaning:**

Vólga **vpadáet** v Kaspíjskoe móre.
 'The Volga **falls** into the Caspian Sea.'
 (Unbegaun 1957:230)

Mésto [...] bylo odkrytoe, živopísnoe. Méstnost' v étoj tóčke snačála **opuskálas'** na vostók ot polotná, a potom **šla** volnoobráznym pod'jomom da sámogo gorizónta.
 'The countryside [...] was open and the scenery beautiful. At this point the land first **sloped down** to the east of the railway track, then **rose** like a wave right to the horizon.'
 (Forsyth 1970:60-61)

-- **potential-qualitative meaning:**

"A ty i na skripke **igraeš**?
 "So you **can play** the violin too?"
 (Maslov (1985), note 69, p.31)

Ja dokázyvala, čto, kak ljubój čelovék, mogu zabyt'. On govoril, čto u menja choróšaja pámjat'.
 'I contended that like any human being I **could forget** [things]. He said [in refutation] that I had a good memory.'
 (Offord 1993:331)

-- **restrictedly-iterative meaning:**

"Mnje eto nadoelo. Tri raza **podogrevala** tebe obed."
 "I'm getting tired of this. I've **heated up** your dinner for you three times."
 (Maslov (1985), note 69, p.31)

Dve nedéli véter **dul** v stóronu Gomelja, Mogiljova, Mínska. Dve nedéli on **rasséival** opásnye radionuklídy nad derevjami i gorodámi.
 'For two weeks the wind **blew** in the direction of Gomel, Mogilev, and Minsk. For two weeks it **scattered** dangerous radionuclides over villages and towns.'
 (Offord 1993:323)

From this description of the interaction between the semantic functions of both the progressive and the imperfective form it follows that it is no longer possible to apply the term 'imperfective' to the progressive form in English. The initially proposed correspondence was too simplistic and must be abandoned. As for the other member in the aspectual system of English, it would be now interesting to see to what extent a parallel can be made between the simple form in English and the perfective in Russian.

When you are trying to see how the semantic function of the perfective can be applied to the simple form and how it is translated into English, you encounter many examples, which seem to confirm the one-to-one correspondence between the simple form and the perfective:

Translations of the perfective into the simple form:

On **pročel** vsju knigu.
 'He **read** the whole book.'
 (Forsyth 1970:35)

On **vstal, pošel** k oknu i **otkryl** egó.
 'He **got up, went** to the window and **opened** it.'
 (Forsyth 1970:35)

Zeljonin dvaždy **postučal** i, ne doždávšis' priglašenija, vošel.
 'Zelyonin **knocked** twice and without waiting for an invitation, walked in.'
 (Forsyth 1970:160)

Translations of the simple form into the perfective:

"What does Bessie **say** I have done?" (Jane Eyre)
 'A čto Bessi **skazala**? čto ja sdelala?'
 (Kozintseva 1985:75)

He **put** his coat **on, took** his suitcase and **went** out of the house.
 'On **nadel** pal'to, **vzjal** čemodan i **v yšel** iz doma.'

Anna knocked at the door four times.
 'Anna **postučala** v dver' četyre raza.'

But this apparent correspondence between the simple form and the perfective is contradicted by the figures provided by Kozintseva (1985) and Matveyeva (1985), in which it becomes clear that the simple form, depending on whether it is in the present or the past tense, is mainly translated by the imperfective or the perfective respectively.

		(Russian) Perfective	(Russian) Imperfective
(English) Simple form	Past	69	31
	Present	11	89

(Adapted from (Kozintseva (1985:66))

Table 2.3 Percentage between perfective and imperfective forms used to translate English simple forms

	(Russian) Perfective	(Russian) Imperfective	Absence of verb in Russian translation
(English) Simple form Past	63	27	10
Present	12	68	20

(Adapted from (Matvayeva 1985:82))

Table 2.4 Percentage between perfective and imperfective forms used to translate English simple forms

Thus, the tendency is to favour the translation of the present simple form by the imperfective (nearly 70% in the two tables) and that of the past simple form by the perfective (above 60% in the two tables).

Again, the capacity of the simple form to be translated by both imperfective and perfective is due to the difference in markedness in aspect. As opposed to the Russian perfective which is marked, the English simple form is unmarked. Hence the much larger spectrum of semantic functions provided by the simple form:

Spectrum of the semantic functions of the simple form:

-- concrete-processual meaning of the imperfective:

She ate slowly when I ate lunch with them.

He tried to open the door.

-- generalised-factual meaning of the imperfective:

I already saw him in the library.

“Did you meet the mayor?”

“Yes, I did.”

-- permanent-continuous meaning of the imperfective:

The Nive river falls into the Atlantic Sea.

Water freezes at 0°C.

-- unrestrictedly-iterative meaning of the imperfective:

I often go to the swimming pool.

You always complain about the weather.

-- concrete-factual meaning of the perfective:

Anna went to Paris last Friday.

“When did you go and see the doctor?”

-- summative meaning of the perfective:

She read the article three times.

John knocked at Anna’s door four times.

Just on its own, the simple form can fulfil nearly all the semantic functions attributed to both the imperfective and the perfective. It is then all the more justified to abandon the idea that the simple form corresponds to the perfective with respect to its semantic functions.

So far what has been considered is some arguments in favour of and against the application of the Slavic terminology of aspect, namely the use of the terms *perfective* and *imperfective*, to the description of English aspect on the level of the semantic functions. Whether it be the perfective or the imperfective, neither of them can be used to describe the semantic functions of the simple form and the progressive form respectively, given the partially overlapping semantic functions and the difference in markedness in the Slavic and English aspects. It would be now worth examining whether the formal expression of these two aspects present some (dis)similarities in order to pursue a possible parallel of the two aspectual expressions on the formal level.

2.2.2.2 Comparison of the formal expression of aspect in Russian and in English

In a previous section, it was shown that the expression of Russian aspect turns out to be morphological in nature, since the perfective is, in nearly all the cases, built up from the imperfective through the addition of a prefix or a suffix. The whole purpose of this section consists in discussing whether the formal expression of aspect in

English abides by the same morphological rule as in Slavic languages, in what way it is similar to or different from a morphological construction, and what its specificities are, if any. Before trying to depict the nature of the formal expression of aspect in English, we shall focus our attention on how a specific semantic function of the perfective, namely completion, is formally expressed in the two languages.

Because both perfective and imperfective are obligatorily marked in the morphology of a Russian verb, their semantic functions are then also associated with the morphology of the verb. That is, you can see by the form of the verb whether the situation denoted by the verb is seen in its totality or not. Very often, in the narration of successive events in Russian, the narrator chooses a series of past perfective forms, which, because of their morphological ability to express an event as a whole (function of the perfective) and their use in the past tense (whole event located in the past), are then all the more appropriate to indicate completion morphologically when you have such a sequence. Here is an example previously quoted:

On **vstal**, **pošol** k oknú i **otkryl** ego.
 'He **got up**, **went** to the window and **opened** it.'
 (Forsyth 1970:35)

By contrast, in English, the marking of completion is not marked in the morphology of the simple form of the verb. But it is possible, though not compulsory, to use additional linguistic expressions to make sure that the interpretation of the whole situation is understood as being completed. Some adverbial expressions can indicate the completion of the process by means of lexical means:

John ate his food **completely/entirely/till the end/till there was nothing left in his plate**.

Or, the notion of completion can be specified by an attributive adjective, or a quantifying determiner:

John ate the **entire/whole** meal.
 John wrote **all the** book.

Particles can also mark that a process has reached its ending point:

Turn the radio **off**.
 The dog has eaten the carpet **out**.
 Peter read **over** the articles.

In the same way, “aspectualizers” can fulfil the same function:

John **finished** reading the newspaper.
Mary **finished** writing her dissertation.

Thus, it has been possible to illustrate a crucial difference with respect to the formal expression of a semantic function common to both the perfective and the simple form: in the former, it is obligatorily marked in the morphology of the verb, and in the latter, it is not marked morphologically and can be optionally indicated by various additional linguistic expressions.

Another major difference in the formal expression of aspect in Russian and English can well be accounted for by comparing how the marked member of the aspectual opposition in both languages is formally realized. The perfective is morphologically constructed. By contrast, the progressive construction, namely *be + -ing*, turns out to be a periphrastic form, in which the first part of the expression *be* fulfils the syntactic function of an auxiliary and the second part of the expression *-ing* fulfils the morphological function of a suffix, used for the present participle. Thus, the progressive is expressed both syntactically and morphologically. A periphrasis is defined by Asher (1994) as “the expression of a grammatical relationship by the use of a phrase or periphrastic form rather than an inflection, e.g. *of John* or *more lovely* rather than *John’s* or *lovelier*” (Asher 1994:5155). It is then necessary to identify the nature of the formal expression of the progressive form, the nature of its semantic function(s), as well as the nature of its relationship with the simple form. Moreover, the linguistic form *be + -ing* includes the presence of the auxiliary *be*, so it is worth quoting the definition of an auxiliary in Asher (1994):

“auxiliary: a non-lexical verb used in conjunction with a lexical verb to make distinctions of aspect, mood, voice, e.g. *we are going, I can/may shall come.*”
(Asher 1994:5095)

Therefore, the syntactic properties of an auxiliary should be examined, so that the syntactic behaviour of the progressive form could be better understood. Likewise, given that the definition of the progressive involves two domains of linguistics, namely morphology and syntax, it would be worth considering how they are intertwined. This could also lead us to determine to what extent the creation of the periphrastic and auxiliary categories contributed to the grammaticalization of the progressive form in English.

Consequently, the attempt to give a definition of the periphrastic form *be + -ing* has brought about many questions, which will be the focus of our attention in a subsequent chapter. For the time being, we cannot but repeat Zandvoort's (1962) remark, which quite appropriately summarizes the difficulties that scholars have felt to depict the true nature of the periphrastic form *be + -ing* :

“The distinguishing formal element [in Russian aspect] is of morphological nature [...]. The English progressive form (or expanded) form also constitutes one member of a binary opposition: *to write/to be writing* [...]. **Formally this is, of course, a very different phenomenon.**”

(Zandvoort 1962:18)

In sum, after making an attempt to apply the terms ‘perfective’ and ‘imperfective’ to the simple form and the progressive form respectively, it was shown that the idea of a one-to-one correspondence between Russian and English aspect had to be abandoned. It is clear that there exist examples, which show the overlapping semantic functions between the simple form and the perfective on one hand, and the progressive form and the imperfective on the other hand but the parallel turns out to be far too simplistic with respect to the semantic functions involved. As opposed to the level of semantic functions, in which it is still possible to find partial similarities, no parallel can possibly be made between Russian and English aspects on the formal level. So many discrepancies and differences exist between the aspects of the two languages that it would be a good idea to exclusively attribute the Slavic terminology to what it describes best, namely Slavic aspect.

Therefore, it would be appropriate to consider aspect as a general category, and not as a category that can be attributed to Slavic languages only or identified with the perfective/imperfective distinction attributed to them, as suggested in Mossé (1925):

“Sans vouloir enlever au slave ce qui constitue un de ses traits les plus originaux, il est permis de considérer **l’aspect comme une catégorie générale**, et si l’on veut bien oublier un instant le slave et se rappeler que bien des langues, indo-européennes ou autres, présentent dans leur système verbal des distinctions d’aspect, on arrivera à une conception plus juste de la catégorie de la durée.”

(Mossé 1925:319)

These remarks stand in accordance with the way Comrie (1976) intends to present aspect in his preface of his book *Aspect* :

“[This book] rather presents aspect as **a part of general linguistic theory.**”

(Comrie 1976:vii)

Likewise, in his section about aspect in *Semantics*, volume 2, Lyons (1977) aims at the same goal with respect to the definition of aspect when he writes the following:

“Our purpose is to introduce the reader to some of the aspectual distinctions that are grammaticalized in languages and to emphasize the importance of these distinctions **in the construction of a general theory of the structure of language.**”

(Lyons (1977), vol.2, p.704-5)

The discussion of aspect as a general category will be the major concern in the beginning of the next chapter.

2.3 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to demonstrate that the terminology describing Slavic aspects, namely perfective and imperfective aspects, could not be applied to the description of English aspect.

The brief presentation of Russian aspect, namely its semantic function and its formal expression, was followed by a criticism of Streitberg's (1891) article, in which it was demonstrated that Streitberg's methodology, which consisted in applying Slavic terminology of aspect to the description of Gothic aspect, was severely criticized. The main problem lay in the fact that the role played by prefixation in Slavic, i.e. aspect, should not be equated with that in Gothic, i.e. Aktionsart. A similar attempt to use the terms of Russian perfective and imperfective to explain English aspect was conducted to no avail: a comparison of meanings and morphology between Russian and English aspects showed again that the terms of perfective and imperfective aspects should be reserved for the description of Russian aspect, which finally enabled us to define aspect as a general category.

Now that the general terminological background necessary for the topic of this thesis has been undertaken, it is possible to tackle the second part of the thesis, the actual study of the grammaticalization of the expanded form in English. Let us start with a synchronic study of the expanded form in Modern English, both semantically and formally, in the following chapter.

Chapter 3

The Expanded Form in Modern English

In the previous chapter, it was argued that aspect could be better characterized as a general category within the structure of language since the distinctions involved were nowhere near to being the monopoly of Slavic languages. As opposed to tense, which is a deictic category, used to “relate utterances to the spatio-temporal co-ordinates of the act of the utterance” (Lyons 1977:636), **aspect** is said to be a non-deictic category, in which **the speaker describes how and to what extent he perceives a situation as internally structured.**

It is now time to focus our attention on how this general category of aspect manifests itself in English. English aspect was already briefly defined as a privative opposition. As the unmarked member of the opposition, the simple form has a larger spectrum of meanings than its counterpart, and in this sense it could be said to be neutral to aspect. There is no unified view of the simple form, since, according to the linguistic context, it can select, among others, semantic values such as punctuality as in *John went to the kitchen, took an apple and sat down at the table*, habit as in *he plays tennis every Sunday*, general property of the subject as in *John teaches*, “general and unmarked” (Quirk et al. 1985:76), “timeless in the sense of ‘non-committed about time’” (Bolinger 1947:436), the latter two semantic values being attributed to the simple present. By contrast, the progressive form is the marked member of the opposition in English aspect and as such it has a restricted number of semantic values, if not just one. The purpose of this chapter is not only to discuss the meanings attributed to the progressive form, but also the nature manifested by the formal expression of the *be + -ing* construction. But first of all, it would be worth agreeing on the use of one terminology to describe the latter construction, since it has been subject to various denominations, as illustrated below.

Indeed, different names have been attributed to the construction consisting of the auxiliary *be* and the present participle of the main verb *V-ing* : the definite, durative, progressive or continuous aspect or tense, or the expanded, periphrastic, or *be + -ing* form. Indeed, Sweet (1891) calls it the definite tense; Quirk *et al* (1972), the continuous tense; Dowty (1979), the progressive tense; and Jespersen (1931), the expanded tense. Close (1981) names it the continuous or progressive [form]; Volbeda (1935), the definite form; Poutsma (1926), Bodelsen (1938, 1951), Charleston (1941), Schibsbye (1965), and Visser (1973), call it the expanded form; Kruisinga (1931), Zandvoort (1957), Palmer (1974), Hatcher (1951), Curme (1931), and Marchand (1955) prefer to refer to it as the progressive form; Mossé (1938) and Mustanoja (1960) name it the periphrastic form. Joos (1964) considers it as the temporary aspect; Lyons (1977), Leech (1971), Leech and Svartvik (1975), the progressive aspect; Curme (1931), the durative aspect. Dahl (1985), Brinton (1988), Binnick (1991) just call it the progressive. This list is non-exhaustive and illustrates a few examples of the terminology attributed to the *be + -ing* form. By convention, we shall agree to adopt only one single label throughout the thesis from now onwards, a label that is not committed to semantics but turns out to be as neutral as possible, namely the expanded form.

Many a scholar has made an attempt to provide an account of the meaning(s) of the expanded form, but it has led to controversial interpretations. The discussion of the meaning(s) of the expanded form tends to elicit basic meanings, that is, most common meanings, from which secondary meanings can be inferred, that is, less common meanings which are context-bound. This is the focus of our attention in the following section.

3.1. Semantic analysis of the expanded form in Modern English

3.1.1 Various meanings of the expanded form in Modern English

3.1.1.1 Discussion of the basic meanings of the expanded form in Modern English

The various basic meanings associated with the expanded form in Modern English can be classified into three groups: one involves the notions of duration/action in progress; another comprises the notions of incompleteness/limited duration; and finally there is the group in which the meaning of the expanded form is accounted for as a combination of the aforementioned meanings. The purpose of this section is to see how various

scholars of the expanded form in Modern English can be categorized in terms of the proposed classification, how they define the notions of duration, incompleteness, etc., and whether some similarities can be established between the groups.

To begin with, one basic meaning that is often associated with the expanded form turns out to be that of **duration**, as suggested by Lyons (1968:316), who maintains that “the most common function of the progressive is to indicate **duration**”. What does the word ‘duration’ mean? According to most of the linguists attributing the meaning of duration to the expanded form, it is associated with an action in progress. We shall understand the word ‘action’ as a dynamic situation under the control of an agent, namely something that happens, occurs, or takes place under the control of an agent (Lyons 1977:483)¹. Let us examine the examples provided by a few linguists:

Curme (1931:373) considers the expanded form as “**durative** aspect. This type represents **the action as continuing**. We usually employ the expanded form here: ‘He is eating’.”

Palmer (1974) describes the expanded form as follows:

“The Progressive indicates **action in progress**, i.e. activity continuing throughout a period of time.”

(Palmer 1974:36)

“And in that sense it is **durational**: [...] *Please, be quiet, I’m reading.*”

(Palmer 1974:54)

As Palmer puts it, the speaker has been reading and intends to continue.

In his definition of duration, let us note that Palmer (1974) equates an action with an activity, but an activity differs from an action in that an activity is one of the two types of situation subordinate to action: an action is a dynamic situation under the control of an agent, which can be momentary -- this is called an act -- or enduring -- this is called an activity (see Lyons (1977 II:483)).

As opposed to these scholars who characterize duration as an action in progress, Friedrich (1974) defines duration as something non-momentary. Indeed, he states that the fundamental aspect distinction in Indo-European turns out to be that between non-duration and duration, i.e. “the relative momentaneity of an action as against its duration” (Friedrich 1974:7). For Friedrich, duration is then to be linked to an action

¹ This will be further criticized p.114.

that is non-momentary and involves a certain period of time, which turns out to be another way of describing an action in progress. He illustrates this argument by citing “English forms such as *is singing* and *was singing* [which] are inherently marked for a duration feature usually called *progressive* (non-past and past respectively)” (Friedrich 1974:7).

Interestingly enough, some students of the expanded form such as Kruisinga (1931) associate the notion of duration not only with an ongoing action but also to a limitation in time. The duration associated with the meaning of the expanded form is then inherently limited. Besides, Kruisinga does not limit the use of the expanded form to actions only, but also to occurrences, which do not necessarily involve agents, as shown below:

“The verbal *-ing* is most clearly a form expressing what may be defined as the **durative** aspect where it forms a group with the verb *to be* .”

(Kruisinga 1931:237)

“The Progressive is used of verbs **denoting an action or occurrence**, to express that this is thought of as being in progress, continuous, **during a certain limited time**; it always implies incompleteness.”

(Kruisinga 1931:342)

His argument is exemplified with the following:

“You’re making the most dreadful accusation. You really ought to be careful.”

“That’s what I am being. Careful...”

(Kruisinga 1931:343)

“Even where Departments are most free from these defects, we find that there are important features in which the organisation falls short of a standard which is becoming progressively recognised as the foundation of efficient action.”

(Ibid.)

Poutsma (1926) also introduces the idea of a limitation as being inherent in the notion of duration:

“The English language has a powerful and effective expedient to express a **durative** aspect [...] in the Expanded (often called the Progressive) Form of the verb, which consists of its present participle and the copula ‘to be’.”

(Poutsma 1926:290)

“[The progressive form represents] **an action distinctly as actually progressing**, that is as actually going forward, or indefinitely repeated, **at or during a certain time**.”

(Poutsma 1926:318)

Here are a few examples given by Poustma (1926):

Rousseau knows he's talking non-sense.
I'm sleeping on the floor in the drawing room.
(Poustma 1926:319)

The latter example turns out to be problematic since Poustma seems to consider static situations such as *sleep* as an action in progress, which is not the case on the usual interpretation of "action". This example with *sleep* is not reconciliable with Lyons's definition of an action for the same reason either.

So far, much of the terminology used to ascribe a basic meaning to the expanded form has turned around the use of notion of duration, defined as an action ongoing, in progress. Some other scholars prefer to refer directly to **a situation which is ongoing, dynamic, in progress**, without mentioning the word 'duration', to account for the main meaning of the expanded form. So this definition encapsulates the one provided for the notion of duration. In particular, this is the case of Dahl (1985), who denotes the expanded form as PROG: "PROG is normally used only of dynamic --that is, non-stative-- situations" (Dahl 1985:93). It refers to an "ongoing activity" (Dahl 1985:91); this terminology implies that the activity is ongoing at a particular time. Here are a few examples by Dahl (1985):

At twelve o'clock sharp, John was still writing the letter.
A: I went to see my brother yesterday.
B: What was he doing? (=What activity was he engaged in?)
A: He was writing letters.
(Dahl 1985:91-2)

In the same way, Dean (1993) argues that the expanded form is used to refer to an action or situation in progress at a definite time in the present, past or future, as exemplified below:

It's getting colder. Black shirts are becoming fashionable again (changing and developing situations referred to at a definite time 'now').
Dean (1993:9)

At one o'clock yesterday I was having lunch (action of eating referred to as being in progress at a definite time in the past specified by the adverbial "at one o'clock yesterday").
Dean (1993:21)

Similarly, Downing and Locke (1992:370) claim that the basic meaning of the expanded form is "to indicate a dynamic action in the process of happening. Attention is focused on the middle of the process, which is seen as essentially dynamic" :

We are writing out the invitations.
 She is growing up into a beautiful girl.
 The apricots are ripening well.
 (Downing and Locke 1992:368)

Marchand (1955:47) contends that “the basic function of the progressive form is to denote one single action observed into the dynamic process of happening”. He corroborates the analysis given by Hatcher (1951), according to which the expanded form describes “overt or developing activity or both” (Marchand 1955:48).

As for Zandvoort (1957:37), “the character of the progressive may be described as *dynamic*, that of the simple form as *static*”:

What are you reading?
 (Zandvoort 1957:37)

In the first group dealing with the basic meaning of duration, it has been shown that many students of the expanded form associate the notion of duration with a situation which is ongoing, dynamic, and in progress. The notion of change is then crucial in such a definition. Nevertheless, it can be pointed out that in the great majority of the cases quoted by the aforementioned linguists we are dealing with verbs of activity, action and progress, which can be described as having the inherent meaning of something ongoing, dynamic, and in progress. That is precisely what Bodelsen (1936-37) briefly mentioned in an article called “The Expanded Tenses in Modern English -- an attempt at an explanation” when he tried to explain the meaning of the expanded form as follows:

“I am convinced that this durative element is something secondary and [...] it does not constitute the essential difference between [the expanded forms] and the simple forms. **An action normally calls up the idea of duration**, while an event [statement of fact, in the sense chosen by Bodelsen] does not call up such an idea. It is therefore natural that a durative element should have come to be associated with the expanded, but not with the simple forms.”
 (Bodelsen (1936-37) in Schopf (1974:146))

We shall come back to the problems raised by the confusion between the Aktionsart of the verb and its aspect in more detail.

Other scholars use another terminology and postulate that the notion of **incompletion** explicitly represents the basic meaning of the expanded form, as opposed to the meaning discussed by Kruisinga (1931) and Poutsma (1926), in which

incompletion was only part of the definition. The following group, including all the scholars that consider the expanded form as incomplete, represents the second group in our classification of the basic meanings of the expanded form in Modern English. The notion of incompletion shows that the action in progress has not reached its ending point, has not been completed yet. Two remarks can be made. Firstly, by using the notion of incompletion to describe the meaning of the expanded form, it is another way of saying that the situation described has some duration, since it is ongoing, in progress. In this sense, the notion of the second group has something in common with that of the first group, the notion of duration. Secondly, because the action in progress is of limited, temporary duration, it is very much linked to the notion represented by the previous subgroup, that of limited duration.

Sweet (1898:97) states that “in Modern -- as in Old -- English the definite tenses always imply incompletion,” giving the example *he is writing a letter*, which implies that the letter is not finished at the moment of enunciation ‘now’. For Sweet, “the expression of duration is not the primary function” (Ibid.) of the expanded form, but rather a consequence of it.

Charleston (1941) depicts the meaning of the expanded form in a similar way:

“The expanded form of the verb is used to denote that at a certain point of time chosen by the speaker (expressed or to be inferred from the context -- very often simply that reached in the narrative) the **action** is already begun but is **not yet finished.**”
(Charleston 1941:116)

And he illustrates his statement by examples such as the following:

The heart yearns towards you. She is making the same discoveries to Leonilla which I have made to yourself.
Charleston (1941:117)

This gentleman [...] was entertaining a whole table of listeners with the project of an opera.
(Ibid.)

Hornby (1954) also defines the notion of incompletion in the same way:

“The most important point to remember about the Present progressive tense is that its use indicates an activity or state that is **still incomplete but whose termination may be expected**, as in *it is raining*. This is a point that should be borne in mind for all the Progressive Tenses. They indicate a continued activity, or state, but not a permanent activity or state. There is always a **limitation, an expectation that there was or will be an end to the activity or state.**”
(Hornby 1954:89)

Close (1981) shows that the speaker focuses his attention on the incompleteness of a situation when he uses the expanded form. He illustrates this point by giving the example *I'm putting my pen on the desk*, which describes "an action in progress", underlining "the gradual movement of hand and pen through the air before they reach the desk" (Close 1981:78). Whether the pen reaches the desk is not indicated by the use of the expanded form. Hence the description of an uncompleted act.

As opposed to the previous four scholars that ascribe the meaning of incompleteness to the expanded form, the following ones prefer to attribute the meaning of **limited duration**, a meaning involving the temporariness of the situation considered. The latter represents a terminology that can be interchangeable with that of incompleteness, since something that has not reached its end is temporary by definition. Therefore, the notions of incompleteness and of limited duration will be put into the same group. Among the students using the second terminology, Dekeyser et al. (1979) argue that "the progressive denotes **limited duration**", as shown in the following examples:

I was playing tennis yesterday from 9 a.m. until 11 p.m.
She was sleeping all day yesterday.
(Dekeyser et al. 1979:50)

They even specify that this concept of limited duration can, in particular contexts, be watered down to the expression "temporary validity of the predication", as exemplified below:

The whole town is on sale; in some cases, clothes are being given away.
I am living in Canterbury.
(Dekeyser et al. 1979:51)

Schibsbye (1965:65) considers the meaning of the expanded form as expressing limited duration: "The commonest content of expanded verbal forms in the present, preterite, and future is that the action expressed by the verb is of **limited duration** and takes place/took place/will take place around a point of time explicit or implicit in the context". Here are a few examples:

(Under a picture) The boy in the centre is carrying a dish of freshly caught fish, which he is offering for sale.
He was turning with an inward chuckle towards the fire, when the door opened.
In a few minutes I shall be seeing him [...].
Schibsbye (1965:65)

Twaddell (1968) claims that the "grammatical meaning" of the expanded form is "**limited duration**", which "can be decomposed into limitation and duration, and

duration itself into continuation or repetition” (Twaddell 1968:10). Interestingly enough, Twaddell is the only linguist in this list to have characterized duration as continuation or repetition, which complicates the definition of duration. But we shall go back to this problem later in more detail. And he shows that when *be + -ing* is applied to a range of verbs such as *operate, expect, approach, provide, tell, be + -ing* is “the normal grammatical signal of simultaneity: limited duration par excellence” (Twaddell 1968:10). Here are some examples by Twaddell (1968):

They’re admitting children free this afternoon.
 We were discussing that very question.
 We’ll be seeing you in Wilmington, won’t we?
 (Twaddell 1968:10)

Volbeda (1935:207) also speaks of “**limited duration** or temporary progress of the action” to explain the meaning of what he calls the “definite form”:

“I would remind the reader of the fact that its durative aspect (as its chief element of progress is usually called) is bound to a certain period of time, for the simple reason that the **duration is limited.**”
 (Volbeda 1935:207)

So far it has been shown that when linguists associate the meaning of the expanded form with the notions of incompleteness or limited duration, they basically are of the opinion that the situation in progress is temporary, and that the duration associated with the situation is necessarily limited. Consequently, in the definition of duration attributed to the second type of basic meanings for the expanded form, the notion of an ending point is an inherent part of the notion of duration, which was not the case with the first group nearly all of whom considered the notion of duration as such without being preoccupied with the notion of limitation. The second type of basic meanings, namely the notions of incompleteness or limited duration, raises a few problems, though. This value of the expanded form turns out to be a consequence of the situation being generally anchored into a specific point in time, whether this point in time is marked explicitly or implicitly. Very often it is indicated by temporal adverbials such as *now, at 2 o’clock, in the afternoon, these days*, etc.. But it might well be the case that the reader/hearer has to infer them from the context as in *John is having problems (these days)*. Moreover, two students of the expanded form define the notion of limited duration in a way that differs from the ones previously discussed, even though their analysis is not unrelated to the point just made about “an anchor” and in this sense they are worth looking at since they also bring about a few problems of interpretation.

To begin with, Jespersen (1924, 1931) puts into question the usual notion of temporary duration indicated by the expanded form. For him, “the notion of shorter or longer duration enters into the theory of the expanded forms, but not in this crude manner” (Jespersen 1931:178). What is fundamental to the understanding of the expanded form is the relativity of the notion of duration: “The purport of the expanded tenses is not to express duration itself, but **relative duration**, compared with the shorter time occupied by some other action” (Jespersen 1924:278). He illustrates this by providing an example with the *on V-ing* construction as a starting point for his demonstration. *He was on hunting* means that “he was in the middle of something, some protracted action or state, denoted by the substantive *hunting*” (Jespersen 1931:179). The *hunting* is considered as a frame round something else; “it is represented as lasting some time before and possibly [...] also some time after something else” (Jespersen 1931:179), whether it is indicated explicitly or implicitly. More generally, “the action or state denoted by the expanded forms is thought of as a temporal frame encompassing something else” (Jespersen 1931:180). Therefore, the following example *he was writing when I entered* is understood as follows: the moment of my entering is encompassed by the temporal frame represented in the main clause *he was writing* thanks to the expanded form applied to the verb *write*. The expanded form then provides a temporal frame for what Jespersen calls an event, as previously shown, or for a temporal adverbial as in *John is playing the piano now*.

Despite Jespersen’s efforts to find examples that fit into his interpretation of the expanded form, there still remain some instances that cannot be incorporated into his framework. Thus, it is possible to find some expanded forms which cannot possibly be given a “temporal frame” interpretation, as shown in the following example:

Mary was playing the piano while her brother was writing his essay.

Two expanded forms are involved in this sentence, one in the main clause, the other in the temporal clause. It looks difficult to identify which activity, the playing of the piano, or the writing of an essay, is used as the temporal frame for the other. Both are frames for a particular unspecified point in time².

Furthermore, in examples such as *he is leaving*, which refer to the future, the expanded form does not provide a temporal frame for the moment of speech, but for the unspecified future reference.

² Some native English speakers would argue that the frame is still provided by the main clause in the expanded form.

Moreover, Jespersen (1931) argues that expanded forms associated with temporal adverbials such as *always* are interpreted with “an emotional colouring”, as in the following example:

Why was she always having letters from abroad? [he asked in irritation].
(Jespersen 1931:193)

But Jespersen (1924) himself concedes that the “temporal frame” interpretation cannot represent the only explanation to such examples: “It cannot be denied that there are applications which cannot easily be explained in this way, thus many combinations with subjuncts like *always, ever, constantly, all day long, all the afternoon*” (Jespersen 1924:279).

Consequently, the interpretation of the expanded form provided by Jespersen is far from being satisfactory and requires some adjustments.

Furthermore, Joos (1964) also considers the notion of limited duration for the meaning of the expanded form in a special way since he says it indicates a marker of “**temporary aspect**” (Joos 1964:106), which is defined in terms of **probability**:

“The temporary aspect does not necessarily signify anything about the nature of the event, which can be essentially progressive or static, continuous or interrupted, and so on; instead it signifies **something about the validity of the predication**, and specifically it says that the probability of its validity diminishes smoothly from a maximum of perfect validity, both ways into the past and the future towards perfect irrelevance or falsity.”
(Joos 1964:107-8)

More precisely, he explains this smooth diminution of the probability in these terms:

“Assuming that the predication is completely valid for the time principally referred to, then it is 99 percent probably valid [a 99-to-1 wager in favor of its validity would be a fair wager] for certain slightly earlier and later times, it is 96 percent probably valid for times earlier and later by somewhat more than that, and so on until the probability of its validity diminished to zero [the actor then is doing nothing, or doing something other than trying, or is not-trying, or is trying something else] for times sufficiently earlier and later.”
Joos (1964:107)

In other words, “the probabilistic limitation in time is the primary significance” of the progressive form (Joos 1964:113). Nevertheless, this probabilistic definition of the expanded form is problematic in general. Let us take the simple example *Mary was reading at 2 o'clock yesterday*, involving the activity verb *read*. Let us suppose that the time *2 o'clock yesterday* can be represented by T_i . According to Joos's

interpretation, the validity of the predication at T_{i-1} and at T_{i+1} should not reach 100 per cent completely and be slightly inferior to this figure, namely it should be 99 per cent. But it might well be the case that at T_{i-20} , T_{i-10} , T_{i-5} , ..., T_{i+1} , T_{i+5} , T_{i+10} , Mary was also in the process of reading, so the predication involved is completely valid at these times the validity achieved by the predication *read* is 100 per cent; and there is no evidence of a smooth increase and decrease in probability. This decreasing probabilistic value that Joos attributes to the meaning of the expanded form *was reading* before and after T_i seems difficult to grasp. The problem can also be illustrated with achievement verbs. Let us take the example *Mary was reaching the summit*. Let us suppose that this is valid at T_i in the past. In this sense, it would be possible to say the validation would correspond to 100 per cent at T_i . The different stages at T_{i-5} , T_{i-4} , T_{i-3} , etc., before the validation of the predication at T_i could well be attributed a value inferior to 100 per cent according to Joos. But we are not convinced that the values attributed at T_{i-5} , T_{i-4} , T_{i-3} respectively could be ordered in such a way that the value at T_{i-4} is superior to that at T_{i-5} , for instance. It might well be the case that Mary has slid and lost some distance at T_{i-4} so that the value at T_{i-4} that Joos would have to attribute would be null, given the circumstances. This, of course, would contradict Joos's probabilistic interpretation. So Joos's account of the meaning of the expanded form is too complicated and far-fetched.

As opposed to the aforementioned linguists that generally attribute one single basic meaning to the expanded form, some assign **a meaning that combines three notions**, which represents the third and last group of our classification of the suggested basic meanings of the expanded form in Modern English, as is the case with Leech (1971), who characterizes the meanings of the present expanded form in particular in the following way:

1. The Progressive Form indicates **duration** (and is thus distinguished from the non-durative 'instantaneous present').
2. The Progressive Form indicates **limited duration** (and is thus distinguished from the 'unrestrictive present').
3. The Progressive Form indicates that the **happening need not be complete** (and is again thereby distinguished from the 'instantaneous present').

(Leech 1971:15)

Similarly, Leech and Svartvik (1975:69) who define the "progressive aspect" as "**an activity in progress**" suggest not only that the activity is **temporary** (i.e. of limited duration) but that need **not be complete**", which they illustrate by the example below:

He was writing a novel several years ago.
(Leech and Svartvik 1975:69)

The subject *he* was in the process of writing at a time specified by the past adverbial *several years ago*; it is an activity which has a limited duration; but we do not know whether the activity was completed or not, hence its incomplete character, too.

By attributing a combination of meanings to the semantic value of the expanded form, Leech (1971), for instance, focuses on the different facets of the notion “duration” and his formulation reveals that duration is not the most appropriate way of conceptualizing what the expanded form expresses. Let us consider the three criteria in Leech’s (1971:15) account one after the other. The first criterion, namely duration, helps to contrast simple and expanded forms. For Leech (1971:15), the use of the simple form in *the house falls down!* shows a sudden movement, whereas the use of the expanded form in *the house is falling down* indicates a more gradual movement. These remarks would suggest that with the use of the expanded form the situation lasts longer than with the use of the simple form. The second criterion, namely limited duration, also helps contrast simple and expanded forms and it exemplifies another meaning of the expanded form. With the example in the simple form *I live in Wimbledon*, Leech (1971:15) says that the simple form indicates permanent residence whereas with the same example in the expanded form *I am living in Wimbledon*, Leech (1971:15) says it involves temporary residence only. In other words, this time, it is the simple form which is more durative than the expanded form. It turns out that Leech’s (1971) account of duration can function in different ways, not uniformly in accordance with markedness (see above), because the meaning of the simple form in English is considered as unspecified --- it can be “instantaneous” or “unrestrictive”, to quote Leech’s aforementioned terminology. Moreover, the third criterion, namely incompleteness, may be problematic since when Leech (1971:15) gives the example *I was reading from 10 p.m. to 11 p.m.*, it might well be the case that the speaker finished his reading at 11 p.m. exactly, so this would represent a contradiction with the third criterion, implying that the situation has not achieved its ending point, here the end of the reading. But we must admit the third criterion is not so strong anyway since Leech (1971) is careful enough to say that the happening **need not** be complete.

Thus, Leech’s (1971) analysis does not provide any further insight into the understanding of the semantic function of the expanded form: focusing on the notion of duration just leads to the enumeration of the different facets of the meaning of duration.

The examination of the basic meanings attributed to the expanded form in Modern English has led us to distinguish three big groups of approaches, one including the notions of duration/action in progress, the other comprising the notions of incompleteness/limited duration, and finally another one containing a combination of the aforementioned notions. Nevertheless, it has been made clear that the terminology used by the different students of the expanded form encountered a few problems, the list of which cannot but be extended when one examines the secondary meanings associated with these basic meanings. This is what we shall try to pay attention to in the next section.

3.1.1.2 Discussion of the secondary meanings of the expanded form in Modern English

In addition to its basic meaning(s), the expanded form displays a whole bunch of secondary meanings, which are context-bound and in this sense are less common, and which are to be inferred from the previously mentioned basic meanings. Let us try to identify them.

Firstly, the expanded form may refer to an instantaneous interpretation, as exemplified by Quirk and Greenbaum (1980):

As you see, I am dropping the stone into the water.
(Quirk and Greenbaum 1980:42)

In such a case, it seems all the more difficult to account for the instantaneous interpretation when the basic meaning turns out to be a dynamic situation in progress, or even something lasting in time. The latter interpretations completely contradict the former one since by definition something instantaneous does not last, and cannot be in progress or dynamic. Assuredly, the instantaneous meaning associated with the expanded form comes directly from the meaning of the type of verb used. In the previous example, *drop* is a punctual verb, which has no duration by definition. Again, the notion of duration is an inherent characteristic of the verb and should not be equated with aspect. We shall come back to this problem below.

Secondly, the expanded form may be used for a repeated or habitual situation. A repetitive situation is defined as a situation repeated on the same occasion whereas a habit is said to be the same kind of situation being repeated on different occasions. Let us consider examples with habitual situations first:

I'm taking dancing lessons this winter (habitual reading).
 In those days, we were getting up at seven o'clock (habitual reading).
 Mr Robinson is cycling to work until his car is repaired (habitual reading).
 (Leech 1971:27)

It turns out that the secondary meaning of a habit can be problematic with respect to Leech's (1971) criteria used to define duration: it seems difficult to reconcile the meaning of a habit, involving discontinuation, temporal interruption between two occurrences of an activity, for instance, with the notion of duration, understood as a continuous temporal concept.

Let us examine a few examples referring to repeated situations:

He's kicking the ball all over the field (repetition of the act).
 Someone is tapping on the wall next door (repetition of the act).
 The soldiers are firing on the rifle range nearby (repetition of the act).
 (Downing and Locke 1992:371)

Again, a similar problem occurs when we are trying to make a link between the secondary meaning of repetition and the basic meaning of duration, interpreted as lasting in time. If we consider each of the repeated situations as belonging to a continuum of situations, then it is becoming possible to see a potential link between the two types of meaning associated with the expanded form.

Thirdly, the expanded form is also said to be attributed an emotional colouring, as illustrated by Goedsche (1932):

"Subjectivity, vividness of expression, and feeling are important factors of the expanded form with terminate force."
 (Goedsche 1932:471)

According to Van der Laan (1922), the expanded form is associated with this meaning when it occurs with adverbials marking constant repetition such as *ever, always, etc.*:

"The Progressive Form combined with adverbs as *ever, always, [...], etc.*, expresses the subjective reflex upon the mind attendant upon the habitual recurrence of some event."
 (Van der Laan 1922:23)

According to some other linguists, the speaker often shows some irritation or annoyance, especially when the expanded forms are associated with temporal adverbials such as *always, continually, forever*, as shown below:

You're always doubting your wife's words.
 (Dekeyser et al. 1979:57)
 I'm continually forgetting people's names.
 (Leech 1971:29)
 My father was forever getting into trouble with the law.
 (Leech 1971:29)
 She's always harping on that string.
 (Jespersen 1931:181)
 Now, that boy is again whistling his infernal melodies.
 (Jespersen 1931:181)

Volbeda (1935), though, notices that the emotional colouring associated with the use of the expanded form can only be present when the subject is a human being:

“Emotion [...] is not always possible, as when the [...] subject is a lifeless thing, or for instance, in the case of a resultative passive object.”
 (Volbeda 1935:13)

And Volbeda (1935) gives the following examples, in which no emotion can be attributed to the use of the expanded form:

She knew that ... she could ... turn comfortably to her run affairs, confident that a good estate was being nursed for her son's manhood.
 The clock was striking eight when I came in.
 (Volbeda 1935:12)

But some examples involving subjects referring to objects, namely “a lifeless thing” can be associated with an emotional colouring:

The car is being difficult this morning.
 The damn clock was always striking eight when I came in.

It is true that in the first example the car is being personified, but in the second example there is no personification and there is a clear indication of annoyance.

However, we think that this frequent association of the secondary meaning of the expanded form with some kind of emotion, especially disapproval or annoyance, is overstated. In one of the previous examples, *You're always doubting your wife's words*, it is clear that the use of temporal adverbials indicating constant repetition such as *always* signals the reinforcement of the repetitive situation in which the hearer is involved, which might lead us to infer that the speaker is showing irritation with respect to his co-speaker. Besides, the intonation can indicate this kind of emotion. Generally, it is from the extra-linguistic context that we might be able to imply the emotional connotation attached to the utterance. But it seems difficult to attach this emotional element to the presence of the expanded form alone. Moreover, this

secondary meaning can hardly be derivable when the basic meaning of the expanded form is duration, no matter how you interpret the notion of duration.

Fourthly, the expanded form may have an explanatory-resultative meaning in specific contexts, thanks to the additional use of the perfect, as illustrated below by a few scholars:

He has been eating my chocolates, but there are some left.
(Quirk and Greenbaum 1980:46)

The boys have been playing rugby. This explains why they are so dirty.
(Dekeyser et al. 1979:62)

What have you been doing to my stamp collection: it's all in a mess.
(Dekeyser et al. 1979:62)

You've been working too hard. You need a rest.
(Palmer 1974:68)

However, this secondary meaning can hardly be accounted for in terms of the basic meaning of incompleteness. When the speaker says *You've been fighting again*, (Leech 1971:46) for instance, to account for the presence of the black eye of the co-speaker, it is clear that there is no fight going on at the speech moment, so no incompleteness interpretation can be provided. But is it clear that the speaker wants to underline that the presence of the black eye is the result of an activity, that of fighting. As Leech (1971:46) says, "the effects of the activity are still apparent". This might be the reason why the use of the simple perfect is impossible in such a case: **You've fought again*.

Fifthly, a future use of the expanded form may be encountered, as illustrated in the following examples:

Sadie is coming to stay with us next week.
(Eastwood 1994:85)

I am sitting for my matriculation examination in June.
(Zandvoort 1957:42)

We're eating out tonight.
(Eastwood 1994:99)

We're inviting several people to a party.
(Leech and Svartvik 1975:72)

The present expanded form with this specific secondary meaning is used "for future events resulting from a present plan programme, arrangement" (Leech and Svartvik 1975:72), to denote a "fixed arrangement, plan, or arrangement" (Quirk and

Greenbaum 1980:49). That is the reason why this future meaning of arrangement or plan in the future cannot be applied to any type of verb in the present expanded form. It is restricted to “ ‘doing’ verbs involving conscious human agency” (Leech 1971:64). Hence the impossibility of the occurrence of the following examples:

*The sun is rising at 5 o'clock .

*It is raining tomorrow.

(Leech 1971:64)

Nevertheless, in the case where the secondary meaning of a planned arrangement of the predication is possible, it is difficult to make a connection between the basic meaning of duration and a secondary meaning of the future interpretation, as illustrated below:

I'm leaving soon.

It turns out to be difficult to see the link between the basic meaning of duration and the secondary meaning since at the time of enunciation, the action of leaving has not started yet. So the future meaning has nothing to do with duration. Similarly, it seems difficult to make a link between this secondary meaning and the basic meaning of temporary aspect defined in terms of probability (Joos (1964)). How can the future use of the expanded form be accounted for in terms of increasing and decreasing validity of the predication? We cannot possibly establish the link.

Thus, all the basic meanings proposed by the aforementioned scholars in 3.1.1 turn out to be insufficient to account for the existence of some secondary meanings of the expanded form documented by the same set of scholars. If the link between the two types of meaning has caused many a problem, it is simply due to the fact that we encountered a recurrent difficulty in finding the proper definition for the notion of duration attributed to the meaning of the expanded form, which scholars interpreted in various ways. In many cases, the notion of duration was seen as a situation which was ongoing, dynamic, in progress (first group). In other cases, duration was said to have an inherent limit, which has led some students to equally use the notion of incompleteness (second group). Besides, we found examples in which the expanded form was interpreted as a combination of the previous meanings (third group). We also wondered whether the notion of duration could not also refer to something lasting in time. We also came across the definition of duration as including the notion of repetition (see Twaddell (1968)).

In fact, the difficulty in ascribing a proper definition to the notion of duration has put down its roots in the constant mistake that most of the students of the expanded form have made, which consists in equating the inherent meaning of the verb, which might have some duration or not, with the grammatical aspect as such, which mistake has been briefly mentioned earlier on. Some linguists, though, have tried to emphasize the role played by the inherent meaning of the verb, i.e. its *Aktionsart*, with respect to the compatibility with the expanded form. In a review of Mossé's *Histoire de la forme périphrastique être + participe présent en Germanique*, Bodelsen (1938) expressed his astonishment at the "fifteen shades of meaning" found by Mossé for the progressive form in Old English:

"While all these shades of meaning are compatible with the EXP [expanded form in Mossé's terminology], they are not functions of the EXP: they are the results of the inherent meaning of the verbs in question or of the context."
(Bodelsen 1938:206)

Again, Bodelsen underlined the mistake at stake, and therefore the importance of *Aktionsart* with respect to the meaning of the verb in the expanded form. Likewise, Hatcher (1951) insisted on the persistence of the same type of mistake:

"The misconception [about the meaning of the expanded form] has to do with the meaning of durative aspect. To say that this is emphasized by the progressive is to say simply that this construction presents an activity as in the midst of happening: as having already begun but not yet ended. It has no basic connection with the actual extent of duration of activity[...]. Nor is there an inevitable connection between presentation of aspect in a given context and the aspectual suggestion of individual verbs in isolation (the 'imperfective' *chew* vs. the 'perfective' *swallow*)."
Hatcher (1951:184)

Twaddell (1968) made a similar remark, as illustrated below:

"*Be + -ing* [was] sensitive to the semantics of the lexical verb [...]. Its contribution varies according to the lexical verb's ingredient of optional or compulsory duration or non-duration, repeatability or non-repeatability."
Twaddell (1968:9-10)

Consequently, it would be interesting now to examine what type of verb is compatible with the expanded form.

3.1.2 The Vendlerian classification of verbs

Since Aristotle's binary classification of verbs, which distinguishes being (state) from doing (activity), various verb typologies have been suggested. The most famous one, established by Vendler (1967), comprised four categories (statives, activities,

accomplishments and achievements) created on the basis of a series of syntactic tests. All the linguists interested in such classifications have been mostly inspired by Vendler's, always trying to refine or correct a particular test of selection. Nevertheless, important problems remain, due to a misunderstanding in terminology, a mixture of definitions, a neglect or an overestimation of some phenomena. In an attempt to deal with these existing problems, Bouscaren and Deschamps (1991) propose a completely different approach, which takes into consideration the cognitive representation of a given verb in an utterance, and associates it with a specific topological structure, which will be explained in more detail shortly. The classification of verbs which we shall rely on is directly based on Bouscaren and Deschamps's (1991) research and will help us to shed light on the interaction between aspect, verb predication and the type of verb occurring in the utterance.

3.1.2.1 Problems with the Vendlerian classification of verbs

The most discussed syntactic test of Vendler's turns out to be the one involving the use of the expanded form. By using this test to make a distinction between activity and accomplishment verbs on one hand, and stative and achievement verbs on the other hand, Vendler (1967:99) determines whether the verbs tested are "processes going on in time, that is, roughly, [whether] they consist of successive phases following one another in time", as illustrated by the following examples based on Vendler's classification of verbs:

- John is running (*run* activity verb).
- John is writing (*write* activity verb).
- John is pushing a cart (*push a cart* activity verb).

- John is running a mile (*run a mile* accomplishment verb).
- John was writing a letter (*write a letter* accomplishment verb).
- John is drawing a circle (*draw a circle* accomplishment verb).

- *John was reaching the top (*reach the top* achievement verb).
- *John was recognizing it (*recognize* achievement verb).
- *John was winning the race (*win the race* achievement verb).

- *John is loving her (*love* stative verb).
- *John was knowing it (*know* stative verb).
- *John was being tall (*be tall* stative verb).

However, the syntactic test of the expanded form does not offer such a clear-cut classification as Vendler thought it would. Many scholars have put into question Vendler's claim that achievement verbs are not compatible with the expanded form and consider the following frequent examples as perfectly grammatical:

John is winning the race.
John is reaching the top.

The interesting point to make here is that the use of the expanded form with an achievement verb requires a particular kind of interpretation: the achievement is not going on; rather, there is something going on, which can result in an achievement.

As for the stative verbs, the compatibility of the following examples with the expanded form also challenges Vendler's claim that stative verbs cannot be used in the expanded form:

He is staying at our place.
She was sleeping on the sofa.

These examples question Vendler's statement that a process is going on, that a dynamic situation is taking place to account for the use of the expanded form here. The verbs used in the expanded form, namely *stay* and *sleep*, are all static: they do not involve a succession of phases following one another in time. Because the grammatical subject is an agent, it would be tempting to argue that the expanded form tests agentivity. But this criterion can be put into question, too, as illustrated below:

The socks are lying under the sofa.
Your glass is sitting dangerously near the edge.
The book is standing on end.
One corner of the box is resting on the bottom step.
(Dowty 1975:581)

Here not a single grammatical subject is an agent and, still, the expanded form is possible. There must be another criterion at stake in the use of the expanded form. The crux of the matter amounts to finding the criterion that encompasses all the previous examples in the expanded form, whether the verbs be dynamic or static, and whether the grammatical subjects be agents or non-agents. But this has not been formulated by Vendler and his followers; or if so, the formulation has needed further refinements. Consequently, this syntactic test involving the use of the expanded form is far from being reliable and other criteria should be chosen to provide a more coherent classification of verbs.

Among the syntactic tests available for the distinction between activities and accomplishments, two of them are to be put into question. The *take* -test and the Imperfective Paradox. Let us discuss them in more detail.

The first syntactic test takes the form of a question: *How long did it take X*

to V? and is used by Vendler and his followers as a linguistic criterion to determine whether the dynamic, ongoing situation represented by the verb *V* has an ending point. Activity verbs, which represent dynamic, ongoing situations but have no ending point, do not pass the test, as shown below:

- *It took John an hour to drive (*drive* activity verb).
- *It took John twenty minutes to run (*run* activity verb).

By contrast, accomplishment verbs, which represent dynamic, ongoing situations and have an ending point, do pass the test, as exemplified below:

- It took John an hour to drive to the station (*drive to the station* accomplishment verb).
- It took John twenty minutes to run a mile (*run a mile* accomplishment verb).

According to Vendler (1967:104), this test can also be used to make a distinction between accomplishment and achievement verbs:

- It took me an hour to write a letter (*write a letter* accomplishment verb)
- It took me three hours to reach the summit (*reach the summit* achievement verb)

In the first example displaying an accomplishment, “the writing went on during that hour” (Vendler 1967:104); by contrast, in the second example including an achievement verb, Vendler insists that “one does not mean that the “reaching” of the summit went on during those hours. Obviously it took three hours of climbing to reach the top” (Vendler 1967:104).

But this test turns out to be problematic, as shown in Mourelatos (1978) and Mittwoch (1991). Let us consider the time reference associated with accomplishment and achievement verbs. With accomplishment verbs, the time reference takes into consideration the very moment when the activity starts, as illustrated below:

John has been reading a newspaper for an hour.

The temporal adverbial clearly shows that the activity of reading started an hour ago. By contrast, you cannot use the same type of temporal adverbial with achievement verbs since the time reference considered is different:

*John has been reaching the summit for an hour.

Mittwoch (1991:72) suggests that it is a “contextually given reference point” that is at stake with achievement verbs. When you say *I am reaching the summit now*, the time adverbial *now* refers to the moment of speech here, namely a point in time before the

actual reaching of the summit, a point in time referring to some of the preparatory events leading to the actual reaching of the summit. Despite the clear difference of time reference between accomplishment and achievement verbs, there exist some examples, in which accomplishment verbs can have an ambiguous interpretation with respect to the time reference, as shown below:

It took John an hour to write a letter.

As previously mentioned, this example could usually be paraphrased by ‘the whole process of writing the letter lasted an hour’. But in some specific contexts, the example could be understood as follows: John had difficulty starting the activity of writing the letter for an hour, because the telephone rang constantly and he could not concentrate, for instance. Such a situation is reminiscent of achievement verbs. Here the preparatory events leading to the actual start of the writing are taken into consideration. Consequently, sentences such as *it took John an hour to write a letter* can be semantically vague, and the *take-* test is not 100% reliable to make a distinction between accomplishment and achievement verbs. So it would be appropriate to drop this test for a satisfactory classification of verbs.

The second syntactic test, the so-called Imperfective Paradox (Dowty 1979:133-154) is also said to allow for a distinction between activity and accomplishment verbs and takes the form of an entailment, as exemplified below:

John was drawing a circle does not entail *John drew a circle*.
John was pushing a cart entails *John pushed a cart*.

(Dowty 1979:133)

Activity verbs such as *push a cart* and *write* pass the test, whereas accomplishment verbs such as *draw a circle* and *write a letter* do not pass the test. The Imperfective Paradox is well summarized in Declerck (1979):

“How can we account for the fact that a bounded VP implying actualization of a terminal point [accomplishment verb] can be used in a progressive sentence where this implication fails?”

(Declerck 1979:271)

Unfortunately, as a test allowing for the distinction between accomplishment and activity verbs, the Imperfective Paradox runs into problems. To begin with, it can only be applicable to sentences using direct objects with an indefinite article or directional prepositional phrases. In other words, the nature of the complementation has been overlooked and needs further consideration. When, for instance, the direct object is

used with an indefinite plural quantifier, or an unspecified quantification, the so-called accomplishment verb passes the tests, as illustrated below:

John was writing some letters (indefinite plural quantifier *some*) entails *John wrote some letters*.

John was drinking glasses of wine (indefinite plural quantifier ϕ -s) entails *John drank glasses of wine*.

So the nature of the NP allows the VP, originally classified as an accomplishment verb, to be classified as an activity verb (see Brinton (1988) for more detail).

In order to provide a solution to the problems involved in the Imperfective Paradox, Dowty (1979), among others, tried to make a few refinements to the formulation of the Imperfective Paradox, but it brought about additional problems. Let us first consider the improvements Dowty (1979) tried to bring.

Dowty (1979) shows that the truth conditions for the progressive operator PROG applied to a given formula ϕ involve the truth of the formula ϕ (at some subinterval) in all “the set of worlds in which the “natural course of events” take place.” Then Dowty expresses his difficulty in describing the “natural course of events”:

“Can “natural course of events” be defined in terms of a more basic notion or one needed independently for a model theory of natural language? The notion seems not to be definable in terms of probability. There are occasions on which we can look back into the past and say truthfully (at least with the benefit of hindsight) that a certain accomplishment or achievement *was occurring* at that time, even though the probability of its completion was very small. Nor can the required notion be defined in terms of Lewis’ similarity relation among worlds, [...], because Lewis requires (for good reasons) that the actual world be similar or more similar to itself than any other world is.”

Dowty (1979:148)

That is why Dowty (1979:148) introduces the notion of inertia worlds to his framework of interval semantics, which is a function *Inr*, assigning to each index, “consisting of a world and an interval of time, a set of worlds which might be called *inertia worlds* -- these are to be thought of as worlds which are exactly like the given worlds up to the time in question and in which the future course of events after this develops in ways most compatible with the past course of events”. Nevertheless, the notion of inertia worlds does not provide any clarification with respect to the semantics of the expanded form. Let us illustrate this with an example:

John was watching a programme on television when he was shot dead.

Because Dowty uses Montague grammar as a framework, all functions are total, and it is therefore legitimate to think that *Inr* is a total function. Consequently, in the aforementioned example, every inertia world contains the facts that John was shot dead and that he completed the watching of the programme on television, which can hardly be considered as natural if he is dead. The inertia world then underlines the completion of an event, which is certainly not the focus of the expanded form and does not clarify the semantics of the construction, let alone the difference between accomplishment and activity verbs. Despite Dowty's (1979) attempt to solve the Imperfective Paradox by introducing the notion of inertia worlds, the latter provides no solution to the problem. So the notion of inertia world should be abandoned, and the Imperfective test should be rejected, too, as a test for the distinction between accomplishment and activity verbs.

This syntactic approach to verb categorization has an important implication. It leads to a confusion between the inherent properties of a verb, and the properties of the sentence which can be deduced from the way this verb is used in this sentence. Let us clarify these two levels.

The properties which belong to the verb itself can be exemplified by different kinds of verbal complementation. According to the nature of these complements, the whole verbal phrase is classified differently. Let us take an example with the verb *run*. It is classified as an activity verb, whose potential ending is not marked, hence its topological representation³ with a heterogeneous interior, showing the distinct occurrences of the activity, and two separate boundaries, the first being closed to mark the beginning of the activity, and the second boundary being open to indicate the non-ending activity: [...]. But when we add the complement *a mile* to the verb *run*, the whole verbal phrase is re-classified as an accomplishment verb, even though the verb *run* remains an activity verb whatever argument is added to the predicate. Indeed, with the countable complement *a mile*, a linguistic ending is explicitly marked to the activity of running, therefore the second open boundary of the previous representation gets closed and the new representation is that of an accomplishment verb: [...].

The other properties which contribute to the manipulation of the classification of the verb involves the whole sentence and can be illustrated by the choice of the adverb collocating with the verb. Let us consider the example *suddenly he knew the answer*. The verb *know* is traditionally classified as a stative verb, since no

³The brief presentation of the topological representation of verb types here anticipates the more detailed discussion provided in 3.1.2.2.

beginning or ending can be distinguished in the state of knowing. Hence the representation with two open boundaries and a homogeneous interior:]_ [. But the addition of the adverb *suddenly* indicates the happening of a punctual event, and therefore the whole sentence can be topological represented with two merged boundaries as follows: **I**.

Many scholars, and among them, Mourelatos (1978), underlined how Vendler confused these two levels, the verbal and sentential levels, as he put it in more general terms in the following quotation:

“Many of the distinctions will be misdescribed if it is thought that they arise mainly from the semantics of individual verbs, when in fact they involve fundamental linguistic categories reflected partly at the lexical level and partly [...] at the morphological and syntactic level.”

(Mourelatos 1978:419)

But Mourelatos was wrong when he attributed the distinction between accomplishment and activity verbs to the use of aspect in the sentence. This can be exemplified when Mourelatos examines the following passage from Vendler (1967:121)⁴ dealing with the difference between *run* and *run a mile* :

“But even if it is true that a runner *has run* a mile in four minutes, it cannot be true that he *has run* a mile in any period which is a real part of that time, although it remains true that he WAS RUNNING or that he WAS engaged in RUNNING a mile, during any stretch of these four minutes.”

(Mourelatos 1978:419)

Mourelatos makes the following commentary concerning the distinction between accomplishment and activity verbs in this passage:

“The distinction is marked, morphologically: by the use of simple forms in the phrases printed in italics (perfective aspect) and use of progressive forms (imperfective aspect) in the two phrases in small capitals.”

(Mourelatos 1978:420)

This time, he himself assimilated Aktionsart of the verb, which is a property applied to the level of the verb, to aspect, which is applied to the sentence level. He then confused two levels.

Moreover, the Vendlerian classification has led to circular reasoning. For instance, the statives are defined as those which are not used with the expanded form, whereas the expanded form is said to be not used with stative verbs. It is not quite satisfactory to define a verb type in reference to a given syntactic structure only. A

⁴The italics and small capitals are Mourelatos'.

lexical definition might be more reliable to describe the category of a verb. The problem is all the more telling for the category of stative verbs, since the latter are nearly always described negatively by syntactic tests, which date back to Lakoff's (1966,1970) works. Indeed, stative verbs do not pass the following syntactic tests: they cannot be used with imperative forms, manner adverbials, pseudo-cleft constructions, and the expanded form. All the tests are based on agentivity. Here are a few examples:

- *Be tall (use of the imperative form).
- *Know a lot (use of the imperative form).
- *She is deliberately tall (use of a manner adverbial).
- *She kindly owns a house (use of a manner adverbial).

Let us note that in these two examples Lakoff quoted the cases of agentive manner adverbials for the syntactic test.

- *What I'm doing is knowing the answer (use of a pseudo-cleft construction).
- *What I'm doing is being white (use of a pseudo-cleft construction).
- *He's possessing a house (use of the expanded form).
- *It is belonging to me (use of the expanded form).

But still, these syntactic tests are not totally reliable, since we can find examples passing some of the syntactic tests. For instance, we may encounter the use of an agentive manner adverbial with a stative verb, as shown below:

- They loved each other enthusiastically (use of the manner adverbial *enthusiastically*).
(Andor 1978:295)

It is possible to find non-agentive adverbials compatible with stative verbs, as illustrated below:

- She secretly knew all the time (use of the manner adverbial *secretly*).
- She secretly owned a house in the countryside (use of the manner adverbial *secretly*).

It is also possible to come across predicative adjectives -- which normally refer to a property -- in the expanded form, provided they involve a behaviour, i.e. agentivity, as shown below:

- He is being cautious (use of the expanded form).
- The car is being difficult (use of the expanded form).

A description of stative verbs in exclusively syntactic terms looks insufficient and sometimes cannot encompass some “exceptional” cases. A lexical definition needs to be elaborated. But, again, much rigour and precision is required, since if the definition of stative verbs is based on the choice of the wrong parameters, then the definition can lead to confusion and misunderstanding.

In this section, the main problems brought about by the use of syntactic tests were discussed and it was agreed to reject them one after another, since they could not represent a solid basis to provide a coherent classification of verbs. As for the lexical definitions of the categories of verbs, it was established that more rigour was needed for the choice of the parameters in the definitions, which we shall try to carry out in the next section.

3.1.2.2 Proposal of a new classification of verbs

The role of language structure, as well as that of the language user, has often been underestimated, or even completely overlooked, by the scholars who aim at providing a coherent classification of verbs, as underlined by Verkuyl (1993):

“One simply got on the wrong track by focusing too much on the construction of temporal domain structure rather than on the question of how language can be seen as a means to construe structure by the choice of the constituents that make a sentence.”
(Verkuyl 1993:67)

It has been widely acknowledged that the situations referred to as processes, events, achievements, activities, etc., by the speaker are not direct representations of the actual world in language. They belong to the range of the conceptual representations, which the speaker describes with linguistic expressions. But what is a situation? However difficult it is to provide a definition, Binnick (1991) underlines that the great majority of scholars consider situation as “instantiations of temporal properties”, then borrowing Gabbay and Moravcsik’s (1980:63) definition. Consequently, in order to evaluate the temporal properties of the situations and classify the latter in the appropriate category, namely a process, an event, an activity, a state, etc., the speaker must have a range of different categories of situations at his disposal, each category being based on constant features, as shown by Bouscaren and Deschamps (1991):

“Si l’on veut montrer la nécessité de catégoriser les procès, il faut éliminer les différences qui résultent de la présence d’opérateurs syntaxiques et donc **travailler à contexte constant.**”

Bouscaren and Deschamps (1991:8)

Therefore, the speaker will use language to construe the temporal properties of the situation in a specific way. This view is corroborated by various scholars, as exemplified below by Smith (1983) and Brinton (1988):

“**Speakers** can --in fact, must-- present **an actual situation as an exemplar of a particular type of situation**, e.g. an event, state, habitual act, etc.. Considerable **choice** exists here.”

(Smith 1983:480)

“In order to name a situation, a **speaker** must **conceptualize** that **situation** in a particular way.”

(Brinton 1988:247).

Because the speaker is responsible for a specific choice among what is often a great number of choices, we shall say that the subjectivity parameter is involved, as also noticed by Lyons (1977) and Bache (1982):

“[There] is an **element of subjectivity** involved in [the] **subclassification of situations** as events, states, processes.”

(Lyons 1977:710)

“**Aktionsart** [...] is rather of a **psychological nature involving the speaker/writer’s conception of situations** and corresponding semantic properties of verbs.”

(Bache 1982:66).

“The various features used to characterize **Aktionsart**, namely durative vs. punctual, dynamic vs. stative, telic vs. atelic, semelfactive vs. iterative, etc., are “notions [that] are not to be regarded as physically measurable, ‘objective’ characteristics of situations based on intuitive belief or conception but rather as **psychological classifications of (objective and other) situations based on intuitive belief or conception.**”

(Bache 1982:70)

Because of what has just been said on the subjective nature of the *Aktionsart* of a verb, or rather of the inherent features of a situation represented by a verb, we would like to posit that the speaker has the choice to cognitively represent a situation as a member of the following traditional categories of situations, which will be explicated with a topological structure later: an activity, an accomplishment, a punctual or a stative situation. Besides, we would like to posit that any of these cognitively represented situations can be associated with a structure of a specific nature corresponding to the categories, which will help us to construct a new classification of verb types directly based on a topological study of verb types elaborated by Bouscaren and Deschamps (1991). Before considering the definitions of the aforementioned cognitively represented situations in more detail, as well as their corresponding topological representations, we would like to briefly focus on the nature of the parameters

involved in the construction of a given topological structure. The parameters involved are of two kinds, given that a cognitively represented situation has a starting and ending point⁵, as well as a temporal nature. Firstly, the starting point of a situation and its ending point are respectively represented with a left and a right boundary within the corresponding topological structure. When the starting/ending point of a situation is explicitly taken into account, it is represented with a closed boundary, otherwise the boundary is left open. Secondly, the temporal nature of a cognitively represented situation is topologically defined by the nature of the interior of the corresponding topological structure. If the temporal duration of the situation, namely the time during which the situation lasts, is conceptually conceived as insignificant by the speaker, then the interior of the topological structure will be empty. Otherwise, if a situation lasts enough for the speaker to take into account the actual temporal extension of the situation, then the interior of the corresponding topological structure will be represented as non-empty, and two types of configuration need to be considered. The interior of a topological structure can be homogeneous in the sense that not a single distinct entity can be distinguished; so it is represented with a continuous line between the two boundaries. But it can also be heterogeneous in the case of a non-uniform internal structure, in which at least a distinct abstract entity can be distinguished, the abstract entity being represented by a distinct point in the interior of the topological structure. It is now time to describe in more detail which topological structure corresponds to which category of the cognitively represented situation.

Three types of topological structures are to be distinguished. The first one includes activity and accomplishment verbs⁶; the second one, punctual verbs; and the third one, stative verbs. Let us start examining the first topological structure. It is represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, which is represented by distinct points. We posit that activities and accomplishments all have a beginning, and therefore the first boundary of their topological structures is represented as closed. They differ in the way the second boundary is taken into account. The second boundary is a potential ending for activity verbs and is represented as open in the topological structure as follows: [...]. Within the category of activity verbs, we can distinguish two subcategories. There is the subcategory of dynamic activity verbs such as *run*, *write*, *read*, etc., which involve movement, change, extending in time, since a series of potentially non-ending distinct postures is

⁵ It is assumed that most situations have a starting point and an ending point.

⁶ Whenever we speak about an activity verb, accomplishment verb, punctual verb, stative verb, etc., we intend to use these expressions as a shorter paraphrase standing for 'a verb that is represented by the speaker as an activity verb, accomplishment verb, punctual verb, stative verb, etc., respectively.' The same kind of paraphrase is also valid for punctual situations, stative situations, etc..

considered; they have the same topological representation as the one mentioned above. And we have the second subcategory of activity verbs, that of non-dynamic activities such as *stand*, *lie*, *sit*, which do not involve any movement or change, but a single posture extending in time, hence the following topological representation: [.], with one single point in the interior since there is only one posture to be distinguished in this type of activity. As for accomplishment verbs such as *run a mile* and *write a letter*, the right boundary of their topological structure represents an obligatory ending and therefore the second boundary is represented as closed in the topological structure: [...].

The second type of topological structures involves punctual verbs. They are represented with two merged boundaries: I. This representation is used for “real” punctual verbs, also known as semelfactive verbs, such as *tap*, *nod*, *jump*, which deal with a situation that occurs on one occasion. This representation is also used for achievement verbs such as *arrive*, *land*, *leave*, which refer to a transition into a state.

The third type includes stative verbs such as *be*, *belong*, *own*, *resemble*, which “exist or endure for an undefined period of time”, without involving any change (Brinton 1988:24). Because not a single entity can be extracted from its extension, a stative verb has a topological homogeneous interior, which is represented with a continuous line. Besides, because of the indefinite time during which a stative verb lasts, it is topologically represented with two open boundaries. Hence the following topological structure for a stative verb:]_[.

Thus, this topological representation of verb types takes into account the nature of the Aktionsart of the verb, or more precisely, the nature of the cognitively represented situation associated with the verb. As will be shown below, the topological representation will be applied not only to the cognitive representation of a given verb occurring in an utterance U, but also to the cognitive representation of this utterance U, which we shall call the linguistic schema. By convention, the linguistic schema⁷ associated with a given utterance U will be written <X1, X2, ...>, where X1, X2, etc., represent the various parts of the utterance.

This topological representation of verb types will play a decisive role in our attempt to account for the interaction between the Aktionsart of the verb type, the aspect and the various parts of the utterance associated with the verb. Before considering how all these different elements are intertwined, let us propose a semantic value of the expanded form in Modern English.

⁷ A more detailed definition of a linguistic schema will be given in Chapter 6, where it is explained how an utterance is constructed in Culioli’s theoretical framework.

3.1.3 The expanded form and the new classification of verbs

3.1.3.1 Proposal of a meaning for the expanded form in Modern English

In his essay concerning aspect, Anderson (1973) provided the following definition for the meaning of the expanded form in the languages he surveyed:

“[The expanded forms] all predicate of a particular event that is in existence (in progress) at a particular point of time (or points within a period, in the case of imperfects).”
(Anderson 1973:27)

We agree with the **temporal constraint** provided by Anderson’s (1973) definition, namely that the situation must be conceived as an event in order to be used with the expanded form. The notion of event will be defined topologically with respect to Bouscaren and Deschamps’s terminology in the new definition of the meaning of the expanded form as follows: **by using the expanded form, the speaker guarantees at a particular point in time the existence of a situation which is topologically represented, whether explicitly or implicitly, with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, which contains at least one distinct entity.**

Moreover, we would like to associate with the temporal parameter of the expanded form a **subjective parameter** in the sense that the speaker views the situation in a specific way, even though this subjective choice can be limited by some objective reasons, as is noticed by various authors:

“For some types of situation, still another choice presents itself: that of viewpoint. Thus, in talking about Mary’s swim, I can choose between progressive and simple verb forms, which correspond to different viewpoints.”
(Smith 1983:480)

“Although **aspect** does basically express the speaker’s **subjective** attitude to a given action in the real world, the choice of aspect in a context [...] is to a considerable extent dictated by **objective** considerations of meaning, syntax and expressional emphasis, and not by any peculiarities of notional psychology.”
(Forsyth 1970:353)

“The ultimate **choice** of tense or **aspect** will **depend**, as choice involving meaning often does, less on objective facts (e.g., whether the action is really in progress or not) than **on what the speaker is concerned with**, or is primarily concerned with, at the time.”
(Close 1959:64)

“Many traditional scholars are agreed on defining **aspect** in terms of a ‘**subjective**’ **choice** between perfectivity and imperfectivity and yet there must be ‘**objective**’ **differences** between perfectivity and imperfectivity determining the cases of obligatory distribution [...] Aspect is basically ‘subjective’ but may have various ‘objectively’ determined functions.”

(Bache 1982:66-67)

The subjectivity associated with the expanded form will then be defined as the expression of the speaker’s attitude and will be further explored in Chapters 5 and 6.

Given the new formulation of the meaning of the expanded form in Modern English, we would like to test it by confronting it first with the new classification of verb types provided earlier on, based on a topological study of cognitively represented situations. And we will try to consider the different types of parts of the utterance occurring with these various types of verbs in the expanded form.

3.1.3.2 Interaction of the Aktionsart, the expanded form and the different parts of the utterance

Let us focus our attention on the first group of our classification of verb types, the group including both activity and accomplishment verbs. Both verb types explicitly fulfil the temporal prerequisite for the use with them of the expanded form, namely two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior. Hence the compatibility with the expanded form, as exemplified below:

Examples with activity verbs:

It is raining (dynamic activity verb *rain*).
 She is singing. (dynamic activity verb *sing*).
 He is sleeping (non-dynamic verb *sleep*).

Let us analyze the first example *It is raining*. The activity verb *rain* is topologically represented as follows: [...]. The utterance represented by the linguistic schema < it, rain > also gets the same topological representation, since we have an impersonal construction, which does not interfere with the topological structure of the verb. So we have a topological representation, which fulfils the topological constraint for the use of the expanded form, namely two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior. The expanded form can then be used. The speaker guarantees the existence of the aforementioned situation at the moment of speech, which is marked by the present tense *is*. Because the speaker is not committed to a potential end of the activity, the expanded form is often associated with a temporary meaning.

Examples with an accomplishment situation:

Mary was writing a letter yesterday (accomplishment verb *write a letter*).
 John is repairing the house (accomplishment verb *repair the house*).
 Peter was recovering from the flu (accomplishment verb *recover from the flu*).

Let us analyze the first example *Mary was writing a letter yesterday*. The activity verb *write* is topologically represented as follows: [...]. The addition of the singular count noun *a letter* turns the activity verb into an accomplishment verb, which means that the ending point of the situation represented by *write a letter* is taken into account this time. So the topological structure for *write a letter* is as follows: [...]. Since *Mary* and *yesterday* do not influence the representation, the whole utterance represented by the linguistic schema <Mary, write, letter, yesterday> has the same topological representation: [...]. The topological prerequisite for the use of the expanded form, namely a situation with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, has been fulfilled. So the expanded form can be used and the speaker guarantees the existence of the situation *write a letter* applied to *Mary* at a point in time in the past, the past being linguistically represented by the temporal adverbial *yesterday*. Again, it is implied that the speaker is not committed to the explicit ending of the situation of *writing a letter*, and therefore not to the existence of a letter.

The second group of verb types includes punctual verbs, which are topologically represented with two merged boundaries and no interior: I. This representation is to take into consideration the fact that the lasting of a punctual situation is insignificant. With punctual verbs, it is no longer possible for the expanded form to focus on the internal structure of the verb it is associated with, since the topological representation corresponds to two merged boundaries. So let us see how the compatibility with the expanded form can be re-established.

Two types of punctual verbs are to be distinguished according to the specific meaning brought about by the use of the expanded form. Firstly, semelfactive verbs are verbs that refer to a situation that occurs on one occasion, and they refer to an iterative situation when they are combined with an expanded form, as illustrated below:

Someone was tapping at the window.
 He was nodding.
 Mary was jumping up and down
 (Leech 1971:19)

Let us analyze the example *Someone was tapping at the window*. Since the verb *tap* is a punctual verb, it has the following topological structure: **I**. In the extralinguistics, the situation is considered as a repetition of the semelfactive situation *tap*. Because the presence of *someone* and *at the window* do not influence the representation of the topological structure of the whole utterance, the corresponding linguistic schema <Someone, tap, at the window> can be topologically represented by a possibly non-ending series of two merged boundaries: [**I I I** ...]. The topological structure has two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, since the series of two merged boundaries can be assimilated to a series of distinct abstract entities. The expanded form can be applied to the whole utterance, since the topological constraint for the use of the expanded form is respected. Therefore, the speaker can guarantee the existence of the repetition of the semelfactive situation *tap* brought about by *someone* at a non-specified moment in the past, the past being marked by the tense with the form *was*.

Secondly, the other punctual verbs are achievement verbs; or they are sometimes called “transitional event verbs” (Leech 1971:19). They refer to a situation that involves a transition into a state. When compatible with the expanded form, these verbs have a special interpretation -- an inceptive reading:

The train was arriving.
The plane was landing.
I am leaving.

Let us analyze the third example above *I am leaving*, assuming the speaker pronounces these words without having left yet. We can say that by not taking into account the boundary -- the boundaries are merged, so there is no final boundary -- the expanded form emphasizes the preparatory stages leading to the stative situation *I am away*. So the focus on the preparatory stages help us to topologically construct a series of distinct abstract entities leading to the actual ending point, here the two merged boundaries. Hence the following structure for the whole predicative relation <I, leave>: ... **I**. This structure can be re-designed. Given that the merged boundaries can be assimilated as an ending point in the new construction, the topological structure can be re-designed as the structure of an accomplishment situation, since it presents the same characteristics: a starting point among the preparatory stages, then the series of distinct stages leading to a final point. Hence the new topological structure: [...]. The prerequisite condition for the use of the expanded form is fulfilled, and has been linguistically constructed from the extralinguistics. By using the expanded form, the speaker guarantees the existence of

the preparatory stages leading to the actual departure at the moment of speech, which is implicit, given the indication of present tense in *is* .

This reading involving preparatory stages is also possible with semelfactive verbs used in the expanded form, but in exceptional circumstances. For instance, as suggested by Comrie (1976), in a medical context, in which an academic shows his students the radiography of the lungs of a patient to explain how the latter coughs, he can focus on one semelfactive situation of coughing and explains the preparatory stages leading to the actual coughing by saying *and now he is coughing* (Comrie 1976:42). Because the doctor takes into account these stages, it is possible to linguistically construct a topological structure with a heterogeneous interior and two separate boundaries, as the one previously mentioned.

It is to be noted here that punctual verbs can be prevented from a compatibility with an expanded form when used with a singular count subject or object, as shown below:

- *He is finding a book on the table.
- *John is recognizing a friend in the crowd.
- *Mary was breaking a glass yesterday.

The compatibility with the expanded form is restored if we use a plural count or mass subject or object, which leads to a repetitive interpretation of the situation, as illustrated below:

- John is finding many of his books on the table.
- Mary was breaking glasses two days ago.

In the first example, the punctual situation denoted by *find* is reiterated thanks to the use of the indefinite plural quantifier *many* applied to the direct object *book*. Again, the use of *John* and *on the table* do not interfere in the topological representation of the whole utterance, so the whole utterance can be topologically represented by a non-ending series of merged boundaries: [I I I ...]. The topological requirement, for the use of the expanded form, of the presence of the separate boundaries and the heterogeneous interior is respected. Hence the compatibility of the situation with the expanded form.

The third group of verb types contains stative verbs, which are often defined as homogeneous and indefinitely lasting in time, and which are topologically represented with the following structure:]_]. Several semantic categories of statives can be distinguished here.

The first category includes verbs of involuntary perception. Verbs of involuntary perception, namely *see*, *hear*, *smell*, *taste*, do not normally occur with the expanded form, whether the subject is the experiencer, i.e. the one who perceives, as in *I heard the postman this morning*, or the phenomenon perceived, as in *this cake tastes good*. Nevertheless, *see*, *hear*, *smell*, *taste*, can be compatible with the expanded form provided they refer to a deliberate action, as is built into *watch*, *look at*, *listen to*, etc.. Here are a few examples:

I'm **seeing** (=visiting) the doctor tomorrow.
 The doctor **is feeling** the child's foot to see if any bones are broken.
 Experts **were smelling** the fungi in order to identify them.
 (Downing and Locke 1992:369)

The agency parameter brings dynamicity to the situation, and therefore introduces heterogeneity within the topological structure and closes the boundaries. So the continuous line of the topological interior associated with the whole situation is broken. The topological prerequisite to apply the expanded form is then fulfilled.

As for verbs of bodily sensations, such as *suffer*, *ache*, *itch*, there seems to be very little difference of use between *my back is itching* and *my back itches*, and between *my head aches* and *my head is aching*. It might seem problematic at first sight to account for the little difference of meaning between the use of the simple form and that of the expanded form with this type of stative verbs. But we must take into account the fact that aspect in English involves a privative opposition. Consequently, it is no wonder that at some point there exists a near neutralization of the meanings between the use of the simple form and that of the expanded form. The crux of the matter amounts to explaining why this neutralization of meaning takes place with verbs of bodily sensation, and not other types of verbs. This area needs further exploration.

The second category contains verbs of cognition such as *know*, *believe*, *understand*, *wonder*, *suppose*, which are usually incompatible with the expanded form. They are almost exclusively used in the simple form, as illustrated below:

I know the answer.
 *I am knowing the answer.

You believe he is going to come.
 *You are believing he is going to come.

I doubt whether he will succeed in his exam.
 *I am doubting whether he will succeed in his exam.

However, there are a few exceptional cases, allowing the use of the expanded form, as illustrated below:

John is **believing** in ghosts these days.
(Smith 1983:483)

John is **knowing** the answer more and more often this semester.
The students **are understanding** Professor Throckmorton less and less these days.
(Smith 1983:498)

I'm **understanding** more about quantum mechanics as each day goes by.
(Comrie 1976:36)

The compatibility of these verbs with the expanded form will be accounted for further on.

The third category represents verbs of feelings such as *love, hate, like, dislike, detest*, and they can hardly be combined with the expanded form. Nevertheless, a few exceptions can be found, all of the following being quoted from Visser (1973, §1847, p.1979-80):

1923 D.H. Lawrence, *The Ladybird*, p.30 What a lovely day! **Are** you **liking** the world any better?

1954 A.S. Hornby, *Non-Conclusive verbs*, p.118 How **are** you **liking** the way she walked?

1957 Millington-Ward, p.131 "Do please turn the radio off. You can't say you're **liking** that disgusting boogie-woogie or whatever it's called." -- "Oh, darling, I am. I'm **loving** every second of it." -- "Well, I'm **hating** it, so I'll go to bed and leave you to it."

1963 W. Diver, *The Chronological System of the English Verb*, p.173 The trouble is that we're disregarding Roosevelt's advice: we're **fearing** fear itself.

We shall provide an explanation for the compatibility of verbs of feelings with the expanded form further down.

The fourth category includes verbs of relations such as *be, have, own, belong (to), seem, appear, consist (of), resemble, be + property*, etc.. These verbs are the most incompatible with the expanded form and are always used in the simple form, as shown below:

He owns a huge house.
*He is owning a huge house.

The bike costs fifty pounds.
*The bike is costing fifty pounds.

Peter resembles his father.
*Peter is resembling his father.

The walls are white.
 *The walls are being white.

Peter is tall.
 *Peter is being tall.

I have three brothers.
 *I am having three brothers.

But let us note in passing that among the aforementioned verbs of relations such as *be*, *have*, *own*, *belong (to)*, *seem*, *appear*, *consist (of)*, *resemble*, which are incompatible with the use of the expanded form, it is possible to distinguish a subgroup of verbs of relation, which can arguably be classified as verbs of perception, namely verbs such as *seem*, *appear*, *resemble*. And this will provide interesting examples compatible with the use of the expanded form, as illustrated below:

John **is resembling** his great-uncle these days.
 (Smith 1983:483)

Peter **is resembling** his grandfather more and more these days.
 These examples **are** gradually **seeming** less and less unacceptable to me.
 (Smith 1983:498)

This operation **is** really **costing** a lot.
 (Bland 1988:61)

The abduction in Boca Raton **is looking** more and more like a family dispute.
 ... it's **looking** worse and worse.
 (L.D. King 1983:142)

All the examples involving verbs of relation used in the expanded form very much resemble the previous cases involving verbs of cognition and verbs of feelings with the expanded form. So let us try to find the common linguistic context(s) providing the opportunity to use the expanded form by analyzing the example involving a verb of relation *resemble*:

Peter is resembling his grandfather more and more these days.

It is clear that the verb *resemble* cannot be represented with two separable boundaries with an interior, since it is a stative verb. By definition, no single occurrence can be identified. And it is topologically represented with two open boundaries with no interior:]_[. If the temporal structure of the verb *resemble* is such that the aforementioned conditions are not fulfilled, how can we then use the expanded form with a stative verb? We want to demonstrate that the conditions are fulfilled not at the level of the temporal structure of the verb, but at the level of the utterance. A linguistic construction is thus set up by the speaker. In the utterance *Peter is resembling his*

grandfather more and more these days, it is to be noticed that the use of the adverb of degree *more and more* is crucial. It allows the speaker to apply a notion of gradient to the verb *resemble*. Therefore, it allows the speaker to construct distinct occurrences of resemblance. More precisely, the time of reference is an interval represented by *these days*.

Within the frame of this temporal interval, the speaker introduces an adverb of degree *more and more*, which indicates a change in a consistent direction. The change is applied to an open-ended series of distinct occurrences of the state of resemblance to the grandfather. And the change moves towards the potential ending point, which can be defined as Peter's potential perfect resemblance to his grandfather. Let us see what happens in more detail.

The interval *these days* can be represented as such:

$i < i+1 < \dots < u$ [$i, i+1, \dots, u$ [

i being a moment preceding the moment of utterance u .

At i , *Peter resembles his grandfather to the degree d_i* , which proposition can be represented by R_i .

At $i+1$, *Peter resembles his grandfather to the degree d_{i+1}* , which proposition can be represented by R_{i+1} .

...

At u , the moment of utterance, *Peter resembles his grandfather to the degree d_u* .

Hence the scale of resemblance:

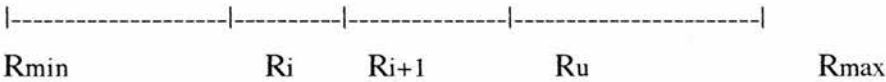


Fig. 3.1 Scale of resemblance

R_{min} corresponds to the proposition *there is a minimum degree d_{min} of resemblance between Peter and his grandfather*.

R_{max} corresponds to the proposition *there is a maximum degree d_{max} of resemblance between Peter and his grandfather*.

The open-ended series of distinct occurrences of states of resemblance can be represented as follows:

[R_i, R_{i+1}, \dots, R_u [

which is equivalent to the following more general representation:

[] [] [] ... []

The speaker has then constructed the preliminary conditions which render the use of the expanded form possible.

When the expanded form is used, the speaker guarantees the existence of a certain stage of resemblance on the scale of distinct occurrences of Peter's resemblance to his grandfather at the moment of speech, represented by the present tense *is* and the temporal adverbial *these days*.

Here, with this example, it was the explicit presence of the adverb of degree which allowed us to construct a topological structure with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior with distinct abstract entities. Various types of adverbs of degree can be used, such as *more and more*, *less and less*, *a lot*, *gradually*, *better*, *every second of it*, etc. (see previous examples). But sometimes we can find examples in which heterogeneity can be introduced implicitly in the linguistic context. Here is repeated a previous example with verbs of feelings:

1957 Millington-Ward, p.131 "Do please turn the radio off. You can't say you're **liking** that disgusting boogie-woogie or whatever it's called." -- "Oh, darling, I am. I'm **loving** every second of it." -- "Well, I'm **hating** it, so I'll go to bed and leave you to it."

(Visser 1973, §1847, p.1979-80)

Here it is possible to use the expanded form with the verb of feeling *hate* because the temporal adverbial *every second of it* can be implicitly reconstructed as it occurs in the previous utterance and is applied to the same situation, the listening to the boogie-woogie. Let us note that it seems difficult to account for the use of the expanded form with *like*, given the very little linguistic context provided by Visser. Nevertheless, it can be worth mentioning that the expanded form with *like* is used in a complement clause introduced by a main clause showing the speaker's point of view *you can't say*. In the main clause of the example, the speaker indicates his disapproval about the situation, namely the listening to the boogie-woogie. Moreover, it was already mentioned that a subjective parameter, involving the attitude of the speaker towards a situation, was at stake with the use of the expanded form (see 3.1.3.1). And we would like to argue that the attitude of the speaker with respect to the situation, already mentioned in the main clause, is reinforced by the use of the expanded form.

Likewise, in the following example involving a verb of cognition, the presence of the adverb of degree *more and more* might well be linguistically reconstructed. Hence the

possibility of using the expanded form:

John **is believing** in ghosts these days.
(Smith 1983:483)

Let us underline the fact that this interpretation is not the only one. With the expanded form, the speaker could express his incredulity and disapproval in relation to John's belief, hence the possibility of a subjective meaning, too. Moreover, given the transient nature of the verb *believe*, it is possible to say that the expanded form with this verb underlines the transience of John's belief in ghosts at the moment of speech, which transience is reinforced by the presence of the adverbial *these days*. In this kind of example, the limited extent of time seems to be important in itself, as with the examples in the following pages involving a behaviour or not.

Let us start examining the examples with the verbs of relation which involve the copula *be* followed by a property. Very often these examples refer to a behaviour, and the expanded form can be used, for the reasons already mentioned, whether the subject is animate or inanimate, as shown below:

John **is really being** impolite today.
He's **being** unusually impatient today.
The car **is being** difficult this morning.

1930 Ev. Waugh, *Scoop* (Penguin), p.151, "Look here, doctor Benitos," said William. "You're **being a bore**."

1954, C. Dickson, *The Cavalier's Cup* (pan Bks.), p.137, "That's our son ... At the moment he's **being a flying squad car** from Scotland Yard."
(Visser 1973, § 1835, p.1957)

"One or two [people] **are being** rather **stupid** about [going away] -- really tiresome in fact. They don't seem to realize how vastly improved their living conditions will be!"
"But you're **being** quite **high-handed** about it, I presume."
(A. Christie *Death on the Nile* 1993 [1956], p.17, Collins)

"I'm **being** dreadfully **lazy**. I really must set to [write]. My public is getting terribly impatient -- and my publisher, poor man!"
(A. Christie *Death on the Nile* 1993 [1956], p.41, Collins)

But we have found examples that do not necessarily refer to a behaviour, as illustrated below. The following examples are all quoted from Visser (1973, §1835, p.1958):

(1)
1929 Wodehouse, *Summer Lightning* 45 The afternoon **was being golden**, after all.
1930 Evelyn Waugh, *Vile Bodies* 18 The bridge party **was not being a success**.
1932 Agatha Christie, *Miss Marple* 72 I think he realized that his visit **was not being a success**.
1966 Thomas Hinde, *The Village* 222 He looked quickly at her, thought it might be as near as she could come to offering help, [he] had the idea that bringing her here **might be being important** to her in a way he hadn't guessed.

(2)

1945 Agatha Christie, *The Burden*, 110 It **was being a very successful cocktail party.**

1945 Norman Collins, *London belongs to me*, 26 In the second floor back it **was being a very different kind of Christmas.**

1959 Norman Collins, *Bond Street Story*, 31 Altogether it **was being a perfect heaven of a morning.**

Ibid. 48 For Mr. Bloat it **was being a very different kind of Sunday.** A unique, exciting sort of day.

(3)

1914 James Joyce, *Dubliners*, 16 Joe said that Alphy was no brother of his and there **was nearly being a row** on the head of it.

c1930 Agatha Christie, *Last year's wife*, 157 There's **being trouble about them.**

c1930 George A. Birmingham, *the Adventures of Dr. Whitty II*, 46 There **was jolly nearly being a revolution afterwards.**

The first subdivision corresponds to examples, in which the subjects refer to a certain period of time in which something is going on: *the afternoon*, *the bridge party*, *his visit*, and *bringing her*. The first subdivision includes what refers to an attitude: *be too resentful*, or *be a man*. The second and third subdivisions contain examples in which the cataphoric subjects precede an expression of time: *a cocktail party*, *a very different kind of Christmas*, *a perfect heaven of a morning*, or something in which a certain period of time is involved: *a row*, *trouble*, *a revolution*.

The common denominator of all these sentences turns out to be the presence of a complement referring explicitly or implicitly to a period of time: the subject *the afternoon* clearly refers to a period of time; the subject *the bridge party* refers to something going on, and then is indirectly linked to the notion of time going by. In each of the aforementioned examples, a property of the situation is identified and extends in time. By using the expanded form, the speaker guarantees the existence of this property over a certain period of time at the moment of speech. For instance, in the third subdivision, the third example *Altogether it was being a perfect heaven of a morning* indicates that the speaker considers a certain period of time, here the morning, and evaluates the situation by attributing it a specific quality, namely, he equates the morning to a perfect heaven. By using the expanded form, the speaker guarantees the existence of this property at the moment of speech situated in the past.

The verb *have* is also worth looking at. When *have* is synonymous with a verb of possession, no expanded form can be used, as shown below:

*He's having a car.

*She's having a house.

*I am having a brother.

In contrast, when *have* occurs with a complementation that turns the whole verbal phrase into an activity or any situation that can be represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, then the topological constraint is respected and the verb is compatible with the expanded form, as shown below:

The firm **is having** a lot of trouble these days.
 (Leech 1971:55)
 We're **having** fun.
 We're **having** dinner.

Among all the verbs of relation, the verbs of possession, such as *own*, *possess*, *belong to*, etc., turn out to be the very verbs that the least compatible with the expanded form, probably because they are the least “permeable” to time and it is nearly impossible to introduce some heterogeneity in the topological structure associated with the utterance in which they occur. Maybe Buyskens’s (1968) remarks with respect to the verbs of relation should be paid more careful attention. For instance, verbs such as *belong*, *comprise*, *consist*, and *include* involve a close relation between a part and a whole, and in this sense the definition is opposed to the idea of separation. As for verbs of possession, such as *have*, *possess*, *own* and *owe*, their definition is opposed to the idea of separation. With these types of verbs, the fact that the definition is opposed to the idea of separation might well be interpreted as another way of saying that their definition is strongly reluctant to introduce some heterogeneity, which is a prerequisite to be used with the expanded form. Hence the very high incompatibility with the expanded form.

3.1.4 Summary

In 3.1, after discussing the various meanings of the expanded form in Modern English and the problems encountered, it was shown that the crucial problem lay in the perception of the notion of duration. A common mistake consisted in confusing the Aktionsart of a verb, whether it had duration or not, with the grammatical aspect. Consequently, there was a need to re-consider the existing classification of verb types. The most famous one, the Vendlerian classification, was examined and the important number of problems brought about by the use of the latter (occasioned particularly by the use of syntactic criteria) prompted us to propose a new classification of verb types, based on the topological study by Bouscaren and Deschamps (1991), with the help of which it has been possible to see how the Aktionsart of the verb, the nature of the different parts of the utterance and the expanded form can interact. The prerequisite for compatibility with the expanded form, namely the need to have a situation

topologically represented, whether implicitly or explicitly, with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior containing at least one distinct entity, turns out to favour the use of activity and accomplishment verbs in the expanded form in the great majority, since, by definition, they already have a topological structure with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, with at least one distinct abstract entity. With the rest of the categories of verbs, the presence of explicit or implicit linguistic expressions indicating heterogeneity has helped to account for the use of the expanded form. With punctual verbs, the heterogeneity is often introduced from the extralinguistics. For instance, in the case of achievement verbs, the preparatory stages leading to the actual achievement of the verb, could be assimilated as distinct abstract entities and helped for the topological construction of a heterogeneous interior associated with the whole utterance in which the achievement occurs. We also have seen how heterogeneity could be introduced with specific linguistic expressions, such as adverbs of degree, indefinite plural noun phrases, etc.. This remark is valid for both punctual and stative verbs. This led us to reconsider the preconceived idea that no stative verb is compatible with the expanded form. Stative verbs are more or less compatible with the expanded form. Degrees of stativity are to be introduced, taking into account how heterogeneity can be introduced in the topological structure associated with the utterance in which a stative verb occurs.

Now that we have clearly established the relevance of the aforementioned prerequisite for the compatibility with the expanded form in Modern English, it would be worthwhile testing it in Old English and arguing to what extent the seeds of the interpretation given for the meaning of the expanded form in Modern English can be detected in Old English and to what extent this correlates with the process of grammaticalization. This will be dealt with in the following chapter. At the moment, we still would like to provide an account of the formal expression of the expanded form in Modern English. What is the status of this periphrastic form exactly? Is it a kind of suppletion, as would be argued by Vincent and Börjars (1996), or does it have a completely different status, which deserves a specific analysis, as will be provided shortly?

3.2. Formal analysis of the expanded form in Modern English

The concept of periphrasis is often referred to in works about traditional morphology, for instance, when scholars pursue specific studies about the future construction *be*

going to or the expanded form *be + -ing*, but it is nowhere near to being thoroughly analyzed, as underlined by Matthews (1991) and Börjars et al. (1997):

“Periphrastic forms have a syntactic structure; and, since levels are often seen as mutually exclusive, they tend to be excluded from morphology. In particular, there is little discussion of when they should be recognised. But they are well entrenched in the grammatical traditions of European languages.”

(Matthews 1991, note p.222)

“The concept of periphrasis is a part of the traditional morphologist’s armoury which has not found much echo in modern morphological thinking.”

(Börjars et al. 1997:173)

Many definitions have been provided for the notion of periphrasis, as illustrated below:

[A **periphrasis** is defined as] “**a syntagmatically separable sequence of forms**” which is attributed “**a set of morphosyntactic properties.**”

(Vincent 1987:240)

“**Periphrasis**: the use of **separate words** to express a **grammatical relationship** that is also expressed by inflection.”

(*Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar* 1994:291)

“**Periphrasis**: the expression of a **grammatical relationship by the use of a phrase or periphrastic form** rather than an inflection, e.g. *of John* or *more lovely* rather than *John’s* or *lovelier*. “

(*Encyclopedia of language and linguistics* 1994:5155)

The definitions have in common that they all refer to a linguistic construction consisting of a sequence of independent words. The linguistic construction can be nominal (*of John*), adjectival (*more lovely, most popular*), verbal (*is going to* and *be + -ing*), and adverbial (*more quickly* and *most rapidly*). Among the aforementioned definitions, some of them also indicate that a periphrasis displays “a grammatical relationship”, another characterizes it as “a set of morphosyntactic properties.” But what is the nature of the grammatical relationship? What do the morphological properties refer to exactly? It is necessary to discuss the status of the periphrasis, not only on the semantic, but also on the morphosyntactic level, and examine its relations with the syntactic categories, namely the primary categories (noun, verb, adjective and adverb), and secondary categories, such as tense, aspect, passive, number, etc.. The periphrastic status will also be discussed with respect to its degree of grammaticalization. Another related point to take into consideration turns out to be the special relationship that the periphrasis seems to have with morphological constructions, especially inflections. Before developing all these points, it is important

to explicate the misunderstanding which has led to a confusion between auxiliary and periphrasis.

The definition of an auxiliary can often be misleading since some scholars exclusively characterize an auxiliary in semantic terms and they seem to ignore its syntactic properties, as exemplified by Brinton (1988):

“I will redefine [the notion of auxiliary] in semantic and functional, rather than syntactic, terms.”

(Brinton 1988:73)

“I consider auxiliiation to be **fundamentally a semantic operation** in which a verb is reanalysed as functioning as a marker of a verbal category. Furthermore, since these verbal categories, tense, mood, voice, and aspect, are semantic categories, **AUX must be defined semantically.**”

(Brinton 1988:110)

Given that an auxiliary is or at least may be part of a periphrasis, which is also defined semantically and “functionally”⁸, we are wondering where to draw the line between periphrastic and auxiliary status.

Nevertheless, some researchers such as Anderson (1989, 1990, 1991, 1992) draw a distinction between auxiliaries as a syntactic class and periphrases as fulfilling a semantic function otherwise realized morphologically, as suggested below in Anderson (1989, 1990):

“Periphrastic status does not coincide with membership of this syntactic grouping, called auxiliary verbs.”

(Anderson 1989:5)

“The notional identification of syntactically motivated classes is not to be confused with semantic auxiliaryhood or periphrasticity.”

(Anderson 1990:351)

This difference between periphrasis and auxiliary is all the more telling when we notice that not all the periphrases become auxiliaries, as is the case with *get* passive and *seem to*, which arguably manifest morphosyntactic categories (with *seem to* as an “evidential”) and which do not meet the NICE properties⁹, which identify auxiliaries as a syntactic class in English. Interestingly enough, there is also the case of the periphrasis *used to*, which once was a syntactic auxiliary and lost its status. Conversely, not all auxiliaries are periphrases, as illustrated by the example of *dare*,

⁸See below for further details.

⁹This might do as a definition of an auxiliary in English, but it will not work universally, as shown below.

whose distribution is partly that of an auxiliary, but turns out to be notionally aberrant since it does not conform to the semantic characteristics of a modal periphrasis.

Besides, a clear distinction between the auxiliary and periphrastic status will help us to understand the role of the development of periphrastic status in the grammaticalization of the expanded form in English.

As a first approximation, the periphrastic status is to be defined in semantic terms whereas the auxiliary status is to be characterized with syntactic properties. Before thoroughly examining how a periphrasis can be properly characterized, we would like to focus briefly on the syntactic properties defining an auxiliary.

3.2.1 A brief presentation of the status of auxiliaries

Many a student of language has questioned the verbal status of the auxiliary: should an auxiliary be considered as a verb or not? Among them, Pullum and Wilson (1977) argue that auxiliaries should be classified as the subclass of verbs. By contrast, Heny and Richards (1985) are of the opinion that auxiliaries represent a different word class from the class of verbs. Between these two completely opposite argumentations, Anderson (1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1997) can be said to opt for a compromise since in his feature-based notional theory of syntactic categories, Anderson argues that auxiliaries share a representation of a dominant feature with the verbs but their representation nevertheless is distinct from that of the verbs. We shall follow Anderson's point of view and develop it shortly.

Auxiliaries are traditionally associated with notional properties such as tense, aspect, modality and voice but the crucial property that auxiliaries typically share with main verbs is the property of finiteness. Auxiliaries are emptied of their lexical content; in this sense, they are desemantized. Auxiliaries are also typically transparent with respect to the associated argument structure, namely no constraint is applied as to the use of the type of subject, for instance. But more importantly, they are characterized by a privileged status in terms of finiteness. But how do we define finiteness? Finiteness is traditionally defined as follows:

“Finite verbs are ‘limited’ by person, number, tense, mood, etc., while nonfinite verb forms (such as infinitives, participles, gerunds) are not marked by these categories.”
(Koptjevskaja-Tamm 1994:1245)

But such a definition is based on the examination of mainly Indo-European languages¹⁰, and in this sense it does not provide a fully satisfactory account of finiteness. That is why we shall follow Anderson's (1997) definition of finiteness, which is more general:

"Finiteness is manifested in the capacity to typically constitute the predicator of a 'simple' sentence."

(Anderson 1997:56)

"A criterion for syntactic auxiliaries

Auxiliaries are verbals which occur more widely in finite positions than other verbals."

(Anderson 1997:281)

Thus, the privileged status in term of finiteness attributed to auxiliaries means that they have the privileged ability to appear in a simple clause in a wider range of construction types than main verbs. The morphosyntactic manifestation of finiteness can vary from one language to another, and is therefore language-specific. In English, there exist specific morphosyntactic tests to identify auxiliaries and help us to distinguish the auxiliaries from main verbs: the so-called NICE tests, which involve certain finite constructions in which only English auxiliaries can turn up. NICE stands for Negation, Inversion, Code, and Emphasis, which all refer to a different type of test. Let us illustrate these four tests. The Negation test deals with the possibility of using the negative particle after the potential auxiliary, as shown below:

You aren't right.
He hasn't won the prize.

*He singsn't a song.
*She readn't a book.

The Inversion test deals with the possibility of putting the potential auxiliary before the subject in interrogatives or after initial negative adverbs such *hardly*, *seldom*, and *never*, as illustrated below:

Is the man running?
Have you listened to me?

Never **shall** I see him again.
Rarely **will** he come to see you.

***Read** I the letter?
***Seldom come** you to see me.

The Code test is very much linked to the notion of ellipsis. So it tests the capacity of the potential auxiliary to appear in elliptical constructions. The most frequent sentence

¹⁰ Nigel Vincent (p. c.) attracts my attention to the fact that even within Indo-European languages it is not satisfactory since we have inflectional infinitives, e.g. in Portuguese.

with elliptical constructions uses the construction ... *and so*, followed by the potential auxiliary, as exemplified below:

He started to run and so **did** she.
He must have been scared and so **must** you.

*He started to run and **started** she.
*He must have been scared and so **must have been scared** you.

The Emphasis test underlines the capacity of the potential auxiliary to be used in emphatic affirmation, the stress being put on the potential auxiliary, as indicated below:

You **cán** drive the car.
She **múst** go and see the doctor soon.

Let us underline that the aforementioned NICE tests are not applied to all occurrences of auxiliaries, but to what some scholars called operators (see Huddleston (1984)). Some other minor morphosyntactic tests, which are not restricted to operators, are worth looking at since they also provide evidence for the different morphosyntactic behaviour attributed to auxiliaries, compared to that of main verbs. One of these tests deals with the position of certain adverbs, such as epistemic adverbs (*probably*, *certainly*) and adverbs of frequency (*often*, *always*), which always occur after an auxiliary, as exemplified in the following examples:

They will **probably** have eaten by six.
*They ate **probably** their dinner by six.

They have **often** won the tournament.
They may have **often** won the tournament.
*They won **often** the tournament.

The test about clitic forms involves the possibility of using clitics after pronouns, for instance:

He' **s** back.
They' **ve** won.
I' **m** happy.

Finally, the test about gaps involves coordination of VPs in the first set of examples and coordination of VPs and small clauses in the second set of examples, as illustrated below:

John likes sausages and Paul -- beefburgers.
*John likes bacon, although Paul -- eggs.
(Warner 1993:26-7)

Harry told this story to his mother, and Tom --- to his father.

*John likes bacon and I know (that) Paul --- eggs.

John must eat his supper and Paul -- finish his homework.

* John must eat his supper, and your mother says (that) Paul --- finish his homework.
(Ibid.)

It is clear from this brief presentation of auxiliaries in English that they are characterized by specific syntactic tests, which emphasize their distinctive distribution in the sentence. This is not to be confused with the morphosemantic notion of periphrasis, as discussed in the following sections.

3.2.2 Special correlation between semantic content and form of expression

To begin with, the formal expression of the so-called PROG category -- Dahl's terminology to encompass all the cross-linguistic semantic uses of what is traditionally the progressive -- by a periphrasis, namely *be + -ing* in English, is nowhere near to being an accident and fits in with the results provided by recent cross-linguistic studies, which have underscored the high correlation between the types of TMA categories, namely Tense- Mood- Aspect, and the types of formal expressions used in this respect, as exemplified in Dahl (1985) and Bybee et al. (1994):

Cross-linguistic categories assigned	Unqualified analysis		
	Morphological form	Periphrastic form	Total
HAB	2	3	5
FUT	25	19	44
IPFV	7		7
PAST	15	2	17
PFV	37	6	43
PFCT	2	16	18
PROG	1	18	19

(Dahl 1985:183-4)

Table 3.1 Distribution of morphological and periphrastic categories

modality type	non-bound forms	bound forms
agent-oriented	79%	21%
other modalities	36%	64%

(Bybee et al. 1994:242)

Table 3.2 Percentages of agent-oriented and other modalities written bound or non-bound

Let us examine a few examples in the table from Dahl (1985). The PAST category, namely the cross-linguistic TMA category that corresponds to what is traditionally called past tenses, is formally expressed with inflections in the majority of cases (15 out of 17). The PFV category¹¹, namely the cross-linguistic TMA category that semantically corresponds to a typical combination of perfectivity and past time reference, is formally expressed with inflections in most of the cases (37 out of 43). The PROG category¹², which corresponds to what Dahl calls the progressive, is formally expressed by an overwhelming number of periphrases (18 out of 19); the same remark can be applied to the PFCT category¹³, namely the perfect category which encompasses the traditional distinctions, (16 out of 18). So it is no wonder that the English PROG category, which is the focus of our interest, is formally expressed by the periphrasis *be + -ing*.

Besides, when we examine the lexical source of what Dahl (1985) and Bybee et al. (1994) call the progressive, it provides us with an additional motivation to account for the formal expression of the PROG category as a periphrasis. Indeed, the lexical source of the PROG category is usually associated with a locative construction, which often requires a set of independent constituents, namely a periphrasis, as corroborated extensively by Anderson (1973), Blansitt (1975), Comrie (1976), Traugott (1978), Heine et al. (1991a) and Bybee et al. (1994), to name a few. The PROG category is mainly formally expressed by locative case particles marking the verbal noun on one hand and a verb with a locative lexical source:

¹¹ “A PFV verb will typically denotes a single event, seen as an unanalysed whole, with a well-defined result or end-state, located in the past. More often than not, the event will be punctual, or at least, it will be seen as a single transition from one state to its opposite, the duration of which can be disregarded” (Dahl 1985:78).

¹² The prototypical use of PROG involves an ‘on-going activity’. “‘To go on’ is basically a relation between a dynamic situation and a point in time” (Dahl 1985:91).

¹³ The prototypical uses of the perfect involves perfect of result as in *Why is it so cold in the room? -- I have opened the window*, experiential perfect as in *Have you been to Italy?*, perfect of persistent situation as in *He has been working for an hour (and is still working)*, and perfect of recent past as in *He has just come back* (see Dahl (1985: 132) for more detail).

Examples with case particles with a locative meaning even though the gloss does not spell it out:

-- Examples with affixes:

Swahili: with non-initial prefix -*na-*

tu -na -sema
 subject marker - prefix PROG -verb
 we- PROG - speak
 'we are speaking'

Maasai: with suffix -*ita* ~ -*ito*

a -rany -ita
 subject agreement marker - verb 'sing' - suffix PROG
 I - sing - PROG
 'I am singing'

i -rany -ita
 subject agreement marker - verb 'sing' - suffix PROG
 you - sing - PROG
 'You are singing'

(Blansitt 1975:11)

-- Examples with preverbal affixes:

Yurok:

present time + continuating action signalled by preverbal particles *ʔocka* or *woʔni*

nek **woʔni** koʔl nepek
 I PROG something I-eat
 'I am eating (something)'

ʔocka koʔl nepek
 PROG something I-eat
 'I am eating (something)'

Mbum: PROG signalled by preverbal particle *kà*

Gûn *kà* hûnà
 Child PROG grow
 'The child is growing'

mì *kà!* lénà!kó
 I PROG try see
 'I'm trying to see'.

(Blansitt 1975:11)

-- Examples with prepositions:

Welsh: preposition *y'n* ('*n* after a vowel)

y mae hi'n gweithio
is she in work(ing)
'She is working'.

y mae hi'n ein taro ni
is she in our hitting us.
'She is hitting us'.

(Comrie 1976:99)

Scots Gaelic: Preposition *ag* with alternant *a'*

tha e a' seinn
be he at singing
'He is singing/he sings'.

(Comrie 1976:100)

Irish: same preposition

tá sé ag teacht
be he at coming
'he is coming'.

(Comrie 1976:100)

Examples with a verb having a locative lexical source followed by the gerund:

Spanish *estar* : *estoy cantando* 'I am singing'.

Italian *stare* : *sto cantando* 'I am singing'.

Portuguese *estar* : *estou cantando* 'I am singing'.

(Comrie 1976:102)

The other sources of the formal expression of the PROG category consist in the copula *be* followed by a present participle, verbs of movement followed by the gerund, and the use of reduplication.

It is a fact that in Modern English the synchronic formal evidence seems hard to establish to demonstrate a locative origin of the PROG category since the periphrasis *be + -ing* consists of the auxiliary *be* followed by the present participle of the verb considered. But, diachronically, the examination of Old English, and especially Middle English, data clearly shows the existence of periphrastic constructions involving locative prepositions such as *in*, *at*, *on*, as illustrated in the Middle English examples by Mossé (1938):

He hath donn the lyke at Venlou, and ys presently **in** doing there.

My sang es **in** syghyng ...My lyfe es **in** langyng.

(Mossé 1938 II:111)

They had ben a fyghtyyng with theyr enemies

(Mossé 1938 II:113)

I am a fishing

(Mossé 1938 II:110)

He was on hunting(e).

Pe dayes ben on coming.

(Mossé 1938 II:111)

Besides, there exist some indications showing that the Modern English present participle *-ing* is historically a gerund (see next chapter for more detail), which renders the locative source even more plausible. This was also corroborated synchronically by Bolinger (1971:246-250), who makes a parallel between the use of the expanded form and that of a pronominalized action, as illustrated in the example *He was **working** an hour ago and I guess he's still **at it***. Further evidence is suggested with the use of a locative preposition in questions which are answered in the expanded form as illustrated in *What are you **at** these days? I'm **writing** a book*. This is also shown by the use of *where-* questions: they might be answered by a locative adverbial introduced by the preposition *at* followed by a nominalized activity, as in *Where's Brother Rollo? -- He's **at** confession*; they might also be answered by the expanded form, as in *Where's Joe? -- He's **reading***. Bolinger also quotes interesting examples, in which locative adverbials can be coordinated with expanded forms, as shown in the examples *They're already **in position and chomping** at the bit* and *He's **here** again **and looking** for trouble*.

Another argument in favour of the parallel between type of meaning and type of form for TMA categories, which is the generalization of the preceding point, is provided by Dahl (1985):

“The idea [...] is that only categories with a ‘Boolean’ semantics [...] will be frequently expressed by inflectional categories. The obvious reason is that it is only ‘Boolean’ categories for which the restricted expressive power of inflectional processes is sufficient. Inflectional categories do not in general allow for iteration or alternative orders of application, phenomena that are essential for categories with an ‘operator’ logic.”

(Dahl 1985:185)

Thus, in English, it is true that, for instance, the category associated with the simple present encompasses a large number of meanings depending on the various contexts of its use. In this sense it can be categorized as a crude concept. The simple present in English is formally expressed by inflections, which is keeping with Dahl's remark about the parallel between the crudeness of Boolean semantics and the “restricted

expressive power” of inflections. By contrast, the semantics of the PROG category is more intricately articulated than Boolean operations. Because its lexical source is largely locative in nature, the PROG category has a more complex articulation and is then more specific, which is well rendered by the formal expression of periphrasis, requiring a set of independent words. In the case of English, it turns out to be all the more justified to associate the specific meaning of the expanded form with a specific intricate formal expression, namely the periphrasis *be + -ing*.

The analysis of the special correlation between types of semantic content and form of expression has helped us to understand that the periphrases are highly associated with certain types of TMA categories. Besides, we would like now to establish that the nature of the formal expression can be used as a piece of evidence for the degree of grammaticalization of the construction, as will be explained in the next section.

3.2.3. Special correlation between the nature of the formal expression and the degree of grammaticalization

According to Bybee et al. (1994), the parameter involving the degree of fusion of a given grammatical morpheme turns out to be crucial in the evaluation of the grammaticalization of a gram, namely a grammatical morpheme. The scale featuring the parameter of the degree of fusion starts with the lowest degree of fusion, namely the syntactic or periphrastic expressions, which involve freely combined grams, and it evolves towards more dependent linguistic constructions, which can be ordered into non-bound grams, including particles and auxiliaries, and then inflections and derivations, and the last stage is represented by a lexical form, which is considered the highest degree of fusion. Hence the following scale:

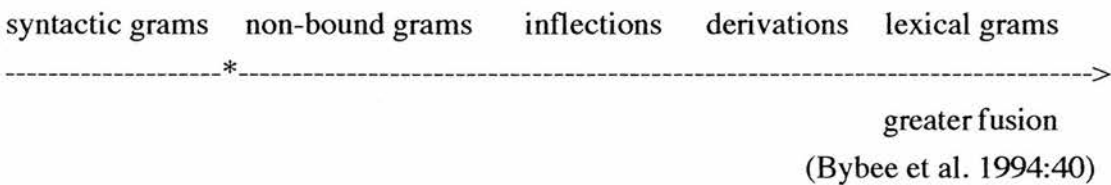


Fig. 3.2 Degree of fusion of grams

If we consider the expanded form in English, namely the periphrastic construction *be + -ing*, it is to be placed nearly at the extreme left of the scale. Because the copula *be* has acquired the status of an auxiliary, it has led the whole construction to acquire distinctive distributional properties, such as the NICE properties, we shall choose to

place the English expanded form between syntactic and non-bound grams, which still represents a very low degree of fusion, as shown by the asterix on the scale.

Moreover, if we assume that the evolution of a gram is highly unidirectional with respect to the grammaticalization process, we can follow Bybee et al.'s (1994) argument that the degree of fusion is taken as a measure of the degree of grammaticalization of a gram. The grammaticalization scale extends from the first stage of grammaticalization, namely lexical words to non-bound grams, and it reaches the last stages of grammaticalization, namely inflections, as exemplified below:

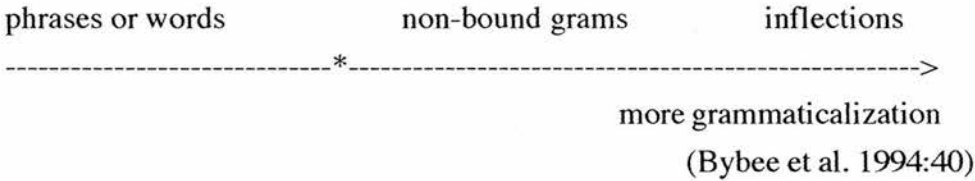


Fig. 3.3 Grammaticalization scale of grams

The English expanded form is to be placed between phrases and non-bound grams, as shown by the asterix on the scale, which testifies to its low degree of grammaticalization as a formal expression. This is also correlated with a low degree of grammaticalization with respect to the evolution of the meaning of the periphrastic construction *be + -ing*. Indeed, even though the construction has extended its use mainly to all the types of verbs, namely activity and accomplishment verbs, achievement verbs, and a few stative verbs, the meaning of the expanded form has not evolved much, as will be subsequently shown in subsequent chapters. The core meaning of the expanded form remains the existence of an activity going on. The expanded form in English can sometimes be used in habitual contexts, but the presence of habitual adverbials is required. So the evolution of the PROG category in English still remains in its infancy and there is a long development to go before reaching the expected stage of the meaning of an habitual, and even that of an imperfective, as is clearly shown by Comrie (1976) to have occurred with languages such as Welsh, Irish, and Scots Gaelic. We must admit, though, that with respect to the degree of fusion, it seems difficult to compare the expanded form in Modern English and the construction of the PROG category in Scots Gaelic, for instance. Which one is more fused? Where is the Scots Gaelic construction placed on the fusion scale? Is it possible to demonstrate that the Scots Gaelic construction is at least as fused as the Modern English one? Undoubtedly, more needs to be investigated in terms of degree of fusion. This parameter needs to be refined. Nevertheless, we can

still say that the expanded form in English is not very grammaticalized both formally and semantically.

In this section it was underlined how the degree of grammaticalization could be reflected in the nature of a formal expression by using Bybee et al.'s (1994) scales for the degree of fusion and the degree of grammaticalization. In particular, it was noticed that the periphrastic status reflected the low degree of grammaticalization of the construction. More properties of the periphrasis will be explored now, the first one being the retainment of the word class of the lexical item within the periphrasis.

3.2.4 Conservation of the word class by the lexical item of the verbal periphrasis.

The lexical item of the verbal periphrasis typically retains its word class. Indeed, by acquiring the status of a verbal periphrasis, the sequence of independent constituents under consideration displays not only semantic but also specifically complementational properties that were also attributed to the lexical item.

3.2.4.1 Conservation of the semantic properties of the lexical item.

The verbal periphrasis retains the semantics of the Aktionsart of the basic verb, namely its inherent verbal semantic properties. For instance, the passive periphrasis *be* + past participle of a given verb retains the semantic dynamics of the basic verb, unlike the derived passive adjective, which always has a static semantic interpretation. This can be exemplified as follows:

The vase was **broken** by John (dynamic semantics of the verb *break* preserved in the passive).

They found a **broken** vase (derived adjective with a static meaning).

The vase was **broken** (ambiguous: the past participle has either the static meaning of a derived adjective or the dynamic meaning of the corresponding verb).

The car was **used** by a stranger.

He drove a **used** car.

The car was **used**.

(The same remarks can be applied in these three examples).

The dynamic semantics of the verbs, namely a punctual verb *break* and an activity verb *use*, is preserved in the passive, but it is also lost when the past participle functions as an adjective, whether attributively or predicatively.

The same kind of remarks can be applied to the verbal periphrasis *be* + *-ing*. The latter keeps the semantic dynamics of the basic verb in the present participle, as opposed to

some cases of derived adjectives in *-ing*, which clearly have a static interpretation, as shown below:

The movie was **interesting**. He found the book **interesting**.
He was attracted by this **charming** woman. Her cousin was **charming**.

3.2.4.2 Conservation of the complementational properties of the lexical verb.

The verbal periphrasis retains the complementational properties of the simple form and in this sense preserves the same syntactic properties as the simple form it is associated with. The verbal periphrasis is then syntactically equivalent to an inflected simple form. The occurrence of a specific kind of complement depends on how the basic verb is classified. Let us take a few examples with the expanded form in English. If the verb is transitive, it is obligatorily followed by a direct object complement as in the following examples:

John **sang** a song (*sing* is followed by a direct object complement *a song*).
John **read** a book (*read* is followed by a direct object complement *a book*).

Consequently, because of the syntactic equivalence with the simple form, the verbal periphrasis *be + -ing* is followed by the same kind of complement when the verb is transitive, namely a direct object complement:

John **was singing** a song (*sing* is followed by a direct object complement *a song*).
John **was reading** a book (*read* is followed by a direct object complement *a book*).

If a verb is ditransitive, it will be followed by two different types of complements, one being a direct object complement, the other being an indirect object complement, as shown with the example in the simple form:

John **gave** a book to his sister (*a book* is the direct object complement of the verb *give* and *to his sister* is the indirect one).
John **borrowed** a jumper from his brother (*a jumper* is the direct object complement of the verb *borrow* and *from his brother* is the indirect one).

Again, because of the syntactic equivalence with the simple form, the verbal periphrasis *be + -ing* is followed by the same kind of complement when the verb is ditransitive, namely a direct object complement and an indirect one:

John **was giving** a book to his sister (*a book* is the direct object complement of the verb *give* and *to his sister* is the indirect one).
John **was borrowing** a jumper from his brother (*a jumper* is the direct object complement of the verb *borrow* and *from his brother* is the indirect one).

If the verb functions intransitively it is not followed by any complement, as illustrated below:

John **sang**.
John **slept**.

Because of the syntactic equivalence with simple forms, the intransitive verbs are not followed by complements either:

John **was singing**.
John **was sleeping**.

Let us remark, though, that in all the aforementioned examples, it is also possible to combine the simple form, and therefore the verbal periphrasis with non-complements. For instance, adjuncts can be added to any type of verb. One characteristic of adjuncts is that they are syntactically deletable, as opposed to complements, which are typically compulsory:

John **slept** an hour (*an hour* is a temporal adjunct).
Hopefully John **wrote** his article in no time (*hopefully* is said to be a disjunct; *in no time* is an adjunct).

Likewise, the corresponding expanded form can be followed by adjuncts, whatever the type of the verb is:

John **was sleeping** an hour (*an hour* is a temporal adjunct).
Hopefully John **was driving** to the shop in no time (*hopefully*, *to the shop*, and *in no time* are adjuncts).

In this section it was shown how the word class of the lexical item within the periphrasis was preserved, both through semantic and syntactic properties. And this can well be contrasted by the non-preservation of the complementation of the derived adjective, as exemplified below:

The story **frightens** the child (simple form followed by the direct object *the child*).
The story **is frightening** her (periphrasis followed by the same kind of object, namely the direct object).
The story **is frightening** to her (the derived adjective *frightening* needs to be followed by a different kind of complement, namely a prepositional phrase).

Other properties will be explored now.

3.2.5 Properties of periphrastic paradigms

The verbal periphrasis enters a system of paradigmatic relations of different semantic kinds. This section will illustrate the fact that the verbal periphrasis is equivalent to a lexical category and one or more secondary categories. Before analyzing the various paradigmatic relations a verbal periphrasis can be involved in, we would like to account for the notion of paradigm, which was initially called ‘*rappports associatifs*’, namely ‘associative relations’, in Saussure’s discussion of the different relations existing in language.

3.2.5.1 The notion of paradigm

For Saussure, the mechanism of language in synchrony is based on relations, as illustrated below:

“Ainsi, dans un état de langue, tout repose sur des **rappports**; comment fonctionnent-ils?”

(CLG 1974:170)

How many relations are there? What are their main characteristics? Such are the questions we shall try to answer.

Saussure distinguishes two kinds of relations. Firstly, the syntagmatic relations, called ‘*rappports syntagmatiques*’, designate the relations between linguistic signs on the linear chain of discourse, namely the text, as shown below:

“Le **rappport syntagmatique** est **in praesentia** ; il repose sur deux ou plusieurs termes également présents dans une série effective.”

(CLG 1974:171)

Secondly, the associative relations, called ‘*rappports associatifs*’, are defined negatively as groups of words formed out of discourse through mental association, as explicated below:

“En dehors du discours, **les mots offrant quelque chose en commun s’associent dans la mémoire**, et il se forme ainsi des groupes au sein desquels des rapports très divers [...]. Le siège [de ces coordinations associatives] est dans le cerveau; elles font partie de ce trésor intérieur qui constitue la langue chez chaque individu. Nous les appellerons **rappports associatifs** [...]. Le rapport associatif unit des termes **in absentia** dans une série mnémotechnique virtuelle.”

(CLG 1974:171)

Saussure gives several examples of associative series based on different relations. The first two relations he illustrates are both based on a consistent combination of form and meaning, one being based on the stem (as in *enseignement*, ‘teaching’ (n.), *enseigner*,

‘teach’, *enseignons*, ‘(we) teach’, which all have in common the stem *enseign-*, etc.), the other on the suffix (as in *enseignement*, ‘teaching’ (n.), *armement*, ‘arms, armament’, *changement*, ‘change’ (n.), etc., which share the nominal suffix *-ment*). The other two relations are based on either meaning only (synonymy as in *enseignement*, ‘teaching’, *instruction*, ‘education’, *apprentissage*, ‘apprenticeship’, *éducation*, ‘education’, etc.) or form only (as in *enseignement* (n.), ‘teaching’, and *justement* (adv.), ‘exactly; rightly’, which share the suffix *-ment*, which is nominal in one case, and adverbial, in the other case). Despite making these distinctions, Saussure does not explore them and does not seem to explicitly differentiate the morphological nature of the first two associative relations from the non-morphological nature of the last two relations (synonymy and homonymy). More needs to be said about the internal structure of the subgroups just distinguished. Besides, Saussure could also have mentioned another important type of paradigms, that involving periphrases, which we shall refer to as the periphrastic paradigms, whose status with respect to semantics, morphology, and syntax requires a thorough analysis to be pursued shortly. Saussure also mentions two basic characteristics of the associative relations: unspecified order and indefinite number, saying that the latter may not be fulfilled. Unfortunately, these so-called basic properties do not say much of the semantic nature of a given associative relation, which needs further exploration. Consequently, the Saussurean description of associative relations presents a few weaknesses and imprecisions.

As underlined by Matthews (1972:119), the Saussurean concept of associative relations was first said to be paradigmatic by Hjelmslev (1938), and therefore the notion of paradigm has become associated with the idea of substitution. Even though the role of paradigms has remained neglected ever since, it has attracted an increasing source of attention again more recently in the eighties, in particular with Bybee (1985), Van Marle (1985), and Carstairs (1987):

“The structure implicit in the traditional representation of paradigms is often supported by data from child language, experimentation, historical change and universals [...]. **paradigms consist of clusters of closely related surface forms**, one of which is basic and the others are derived from it.”

(Bybee 1985:48-49)

Various definitions have been provided to account for the concept of paradigm, the most detailed one being elaborated by *Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar* (1994) presented at the end of the following list:

“A **paradigm** is a **group of inflectionally related words with a common lexical stem**. Such a group of words is not comparable to an unstructured list, in which each word bears an equal relation to every other word. Rather, **a paradigm has internal structure**: they are relations among words that are not symmetrical, and

some relations are stronger than others.”

(Bybee 1985:48-49)

“A **Paradigm** is a **cluster of closely-related words**, in which one word is basic and the others “derived”.”

(Bybee 1985:124)

“A **paradigm** is a **set of all the inflectionally related forms of a single lexeme.**”

(Jensen 1990:116)

“**Paradigm:**

1. a **set of word forms produced by inflection from a single base form.**

For example, *see, seeing, saw, seen* constitute a paradigm.

The term comes ultimately from Greek *paradeigma* ‘pattern, example’; the sense is based on the use in teaching of a set of forms from a particular word as a pattern for all the other words which inflect similarly.

2. a **set of linguistic items** such that any member of the set may (grammatically speaking) be **substituted** for by another member; the relationship between these items. The items in a paradigm are in an *or* - relationship (or choice relationship), in contrast to members of a syntagm, which are in an *and* - relationship or chain. The English article system and the pronoun system are both paradigms. We can say *a book* or *the book*. Similarly, we can grammatically substitute one pronoun for another in *I told the truth*, but we cannot choose more than one pronoun unless they are coordinated (e.g. *you and I told the truth*.)”

(Oxford Dictionary of English Grammar 1994:278)

It follows that the notion of paradigm is traditionally explicated synchronically as sets of closely-related words in which the notion of substitution is often said to play a key role for the formation of a new word form, most attention being usually devoted to inflectional morphology. Such a characterization still remains vague and insufficient to account for such a phenomenon, even though some scholars such as Halle (1973) also tried to underline the clearly influential role of paradigm in language change, as illustrated below:

“It is well-known that paradigm pressure plays a potent role in the evolution of languages. For example, it is because of paradigm pressure that Russian has lost the consonant alternative $k \sim \check{c} \sim c$ in the nominal inflections. In fact, paradigm pressure provides a very plausible explanation for the “accidental gaps” in the Russian conjugations [as illustrated in **lazu* ‘I climb’; **pobezu* (or *pobezdu*) ‘I conquer’; **derzu* ‘I talk rudely’; **muču* ‘I stir up’; **erunzu* ‘I behave foolishly’] If paradigms can influence the evolution of language there is every reason to expect that paradigms must appear as entities in their own right somewhere in the grammar.”

(Halle 1973:9)

In this sense, paradigms should be more thoroughly examined and, therefore, we would like to adopt a new definition based on Carstairs’s (1987), as illustrated below:

“A **paradigm** for a part of speech N in a language L is a pattern P of non-lexically-determined morphosyntactic realizations associated with N and correlated consistently with differences in semantic properties.”

Carstairs (1987:48-49)

A verbal paradigm will then be defined as follows:

A **verbal paradigm** for a verb V in a language L is a pattern P of non-lexically-determined morphosyntactic realizations associated with V and correlated consistently with differences in semantic properties.

This definition of paradigm involves a subtler notion than that of substitution, as will be discussed shortly. But, for the moment, we would like to examine the Saussurean notion of the nature of the associative relation with respect to the new definition that we attributed to the notion of paradigm.

We already underlined the fact that the first two relations distinguished by Saussure involved morphology: one deals with inflections, the other with derivations. For instance, in the case of inflections, in the Latin series *dominus, domini, domino*, etc., the part of speech considered is the noun *dominus*; and there exists a pattern P of non-lexically determined morphosyntactic realizations, namely the inflections *-us, -i, -o*, etc., associated with the aforementioned part of speech which are in a consistent mutual relation with differences in semantic properties. Likewise, in the verbal series in French, *(je) chante, (tu) chantes, (il) chante, (nous) chantons*, etc., the part of speech considered is the verb *chanter*, and there exists a pattern P of non-lexically determined morphosyntactic realizations, namely the inflections for the present, *-e, -es, -e, -ons*, etc., combined with the verbal part of speech *chanter* which correlate consistently with differences in semantic properties. Let us note that in paradigms the linguistic constructions are not necessarily substituted for one another and involve a more subtle relation which will be discussed shortly in 3.2.5.2.

From the definition of a paradigm, it follows that **the basic semantic property of a paradigm** is that it is based on the **distribution of the same semantic value over all the forms of the part of the speech in the paradigm**. For instance, the neutral aspect in English expresses the link between the subject and the predicate, all throughout the different persons of the conjugation. In the case of the expanded form in English, namely *be + -ing*, what is consistently conveyed throughout the conjugation is the existence of the situation expressed by the lexical verb at a certain time. By contrast, the last two associative relations quoted by Saussure do not present any morphological realizations, and therefore they cannot be taken as paradigms for us, since one condition in our definition is not fulfilled.

Now that we have clearly identified the notion of paradigm, it is time to account for the special interdependence between paradigms and periphrases, and more especially that between paradigms and verbal periphrases on a semantic and morphological level.

3.2.5.2 Morphosemantic properties of the paradigmatic relations in which a verbal periphrasis is involved

We mentioned at the beginning of 3.2.5 that the verbal periphrasis enters into a system of paradigmatic relations of different semantic kinds. We shall now describe the semantic nature of these paradigmatic relations, following Anderson's (1989) argumentation. A verbal periphrasis keeps up a special relationship to the simple form, which usually has nothing to do with substitution and which is parallel to those found with members of a morphological paradigm.

To begin with, the relationship can be **contrastive** in nature, namely the semantic contrast between the simple form and its periphrastic counterpart takes place in the same linguistic environments, as illustrated in the following examples:

John **teaches** in Manchester.
John **is teaching** in Manchester.

This contrastive relationship could also be illustrated by examples involving the simple form and the perfect, and the simple form and the passive, as in the following examples:

f the members of morphological paradigms.

John **wrote** a letter (simple form).
John **has written** a letter (perfect).

The fox **ate** the chicken (form in the active voice).
The chicken **was eaten** by the fox (form in the passive voice).

The simple form and the expanded form in English are then in semantic contrast, as is typical o

Furthermore, Anderson (1989) distinguished two types of non-contrastive relationships. Thus, a paradigmatic relationship with the corresponding form can be **complementary** in that they occur in mutually exclusive environments. So they stand in complementary distribution, as shown below:

John **plays** tennis.
John **doesn't play** tennis.

Here the simple form and the *do-* form are used in mutually exclusive environments, namely affirmative and negative environments. So they are complementary in this sense.

The other type of non-contrastive relationship occurs when the simple form and the corresponding periphrasis are in **free variation**. In this type of relationship,

one could say that substitution is involved. This is well illustrated with the free alternation between simple form and *do-* form in early Modern English :

Why doo they make an ouen in the towne?

Why come dogges so of ten to the chyrche.

Apples of Loue do growe in Spain.

He swar great clothes.

(Anderson 1989:2)

Examples involving the free variation between the simple form and the expanded form *beon* + *V-ende* in Old English illustrate this kind of relationship, too (see 4.2.1.1).

Moreover, Anderson (1989) also takes into account **deneutralizing** relationships, in which the two forms used share some semantic properties, but one form is used rather than the other one to underline a specific semantic property that the other one does not have, as is the case with the relationship existing between the past tense and *used to* :

John **played** the piano every Thursday .

John **used to** play the piano every Thursday .

Just like the past tense, *used to* also had a past reference time but it differs from the past tense in that it also marks the habitual in itself.

In addition to these various types of semantic paradigmatic relationships in which periphrases are involved, it is also worth describing other types of morphosemantic properties involving the comparison of periphrastic periphrases with morphological constructions, such as inflections.

3.2.5.3 Morphosemantic properties that verbal periphrases share with morphology, especially inflections

The semantic equivalence existing between periphrastic paradigms and inflectional morphology is reflected by the semantic properties that the periphrases share with inflections, such as cumulation, syncretism, etc., as underlined in Anderson (1989). More generally, periphrases reflect the semantic properties of secondary categories and the properties associated with the morphological expression of semantic properties, as exemplified below.

Cumulation is said to occur when “several distinct inflectional properties share a single variation” ((Matthews 1991:179). Thus, in the Latin word *arboretum* , *-etum*

is the cumulative exponent of masculine, genitive and plural. Matthews (1991:195) cites the case of *insulis*, based on *insula* 'island', in which *-is* marks two instances of cumulation, namely that of ablative and plural and that of dative and plural. Periphrases also present examples of cumulative properties, as in *used to* which combines the properties of habitual and past.

Likewise, syncretism occurs "when a single form expresses two or more meanings that form a natural class in terms of morphological features" (Jensen 1990:123). Jensen (1990:126) illustrates this with the declension of the German demonstrative *dieser*, in which for instance, *diesem* can indicate the dative singular, masculine or neuter, whereas *diese* can indicate the feminine singular, whether nominative or accusative, and the nominative or accusative plural, in all genders. Similarly, properties of syncretism can be found with the use of the perfect which can be ambiguous between the past or perfect meanings, as illustrated in Anderson (1989) with the example *he may have left*, which can be paraphrased as follows:

He may have left on Tuesday (the use of the temporal adverbial *on Tuesday* makes it clear that we have a past meaning).

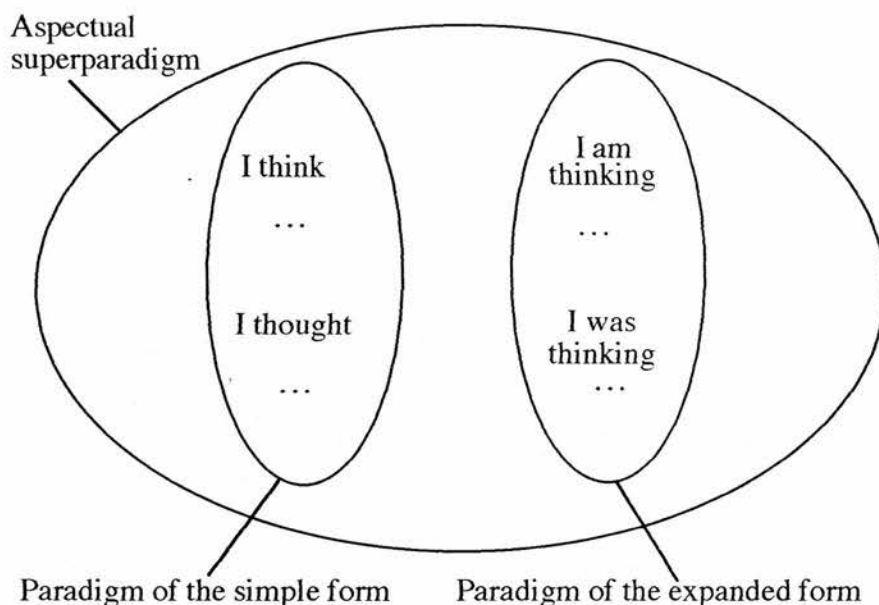
He may have left already (the use of the adverbial *already* indicates a perfect meaning).

Moreover, two morphs are said to be in a suppletive relation if they have identical meanings (but are not related by phonological rules) which appear in distinct contexts¹⁴. For instance, in English, the verb *go* has a suppletive form in the past, namely *went* ; the adjective *good* has a suppletive form in the comparative, i.e. *better*, and in the superlative, i.e. *best*. In Latin, the verb *fero* 'I carry' has a suppletive perfect stem *tul* as in *tuli* 'I carried'; likewise, another good example of suppletion in Latin (see Jensen (1990:120)) is provided by the first person singular, which can be rendered by three distinct allomorphs appearing in three distinct contexts: *-o* is used throughout the present (first conjugation *amo*, second conjugation *moneo*, third conjugation *lego*, fourth conjugation *capio*, fifth conjugation *audio*) and in the future of the first two conjugations (first conjugation *amabo*, second conjugation *monebo*); *-i* is used throughout the perfect (*amavi*, *monui*, *legi*, *capi*, *audivi*); *-m* appears in other cases (future in third conjugation *legam*, fourth conjugation *capiam*, fifth conjugation *audiam* ; and imperfect in first conjugation *amabam* , second conjugation *monebam* , third conjugation *legebam*, fourth conjugation *capiebam*, fifth conjugation *audiebam*). Periphrases also display the aforementioned property: this can be illustrated by the periphrasis *do* being in suppletive relation with the simple form.

¹⁴ Definition adapted from Jensen (1990:120)

Moreover, another parallel can be drawn between the semantic properties of inflectional paradigms and those of periphrastic paradigms. It compares the nature of the relationship existing between two linguistic constructions in the one kind of paradigm with that existing in the other.

In inflectional morphology, two forms can be paired together because of the special relationship linking them as is the case with gender in French (masculine and feminine). Sometimes, more than two forms can be linked, as in the case of the Latin gender (masculine, feminine, and neutral). Similarly, verbal periphrases share special morphosemantic properties with their corresponding simple forms, and they can be structurally organized in pairs. Whether it be the inflectional pair, or the other verbal pair, we would like to create a superset which testifies to the special relationship existing between the two. In the same way as each member of an inflectional pair belongs to a distinct paradigm, the verbal periphrasis and its corresponding simple form generate two distinct paradigms. So we would also like to create a superparadigm which is generated by the superset of this verbal periphrasis and corresponding simple form. Within the superparadigm, what is interesting to notice is that the same kind of relationship exists between linguistic constructions of either paradigm (the paradigm involving the simple form or the periphrastic paradigm). This can be illustrated by the example of the simple form and the expanded form in English, which consistently correlate with a contrastive relationship. The aspectual superset can be created, including the simple form and the expanded form. Because both simple and expanded forms generate paradigms, we can create the aspectual paradigm generated by the corresponding aspectual superset. Within the aspectual superparadigm, the nature of the relationship existing between two linguistic constructions in one paradigm is the same as the one in the other paradigm, as shown overleaf:



Graph 3.1. Representation of the aspectual superparadigm

I am thinking (present + expanded form) has a special relationship with *I was thinking* (past + expanded form); this relationship existing in the periphrastic paradigm can be similarly found in the paradigm of the simple form: *I think* (simple present) has a special relationship with *I thought* (simple past).

Besides, another property that involves the interdependence of the periphrasis with inflectional morphology involves the way a periphrasis follows the path of grammaticalization. This is based on Vincent's (1982, 1987) remarks about how the grammaticalization of the equivalents of *have* + past participle and *be* + past participle is conditioned in Latin, for instance. The verb *habere* is said to have two arguments, one being in the Locative case, and the other in the Neutral case, namely the case of the argument that is semantically inert, as shown below:

Tanta divitias habet (Plautus)
 Great riches he-has
 NEUT LOC
 (Vincent 1982:79)

As for the verb *esse*, it is said to take one argument, namely the subject that has a Neutral case, as illustrated below:

Horum	omnium	fortissimi	sunt	Belgae (Caesar)
Of-these	all	most-brave	are	the Belgians.
				NEUT
				(Vincent 1982:80)

As for the participle, it is said to be adjectival (Vincent 1982:81) and its form has the Neutral case.

Thus, the verbs *habere* and *esse* “would be appropriate vehicles for the formation of periphrases with different classes of verbs, depending on the latter’s valency values” (Vincent 1987:244), as exemplified below:

In ea provincia	pecunias magnas	collocatas	habent	(Cicero)
In that province	capital	great	invested	they-have
	NEUT			LOC
‘They have great capital invested’				(Vincent 1982:82)

This construction is the ancestor of the perfect periphrasis with transitive verbs and with unergative verbs.

Castra sunt in Italia contra rempublicam conlocata	(Cicero)
A-camp is in Italy against the-republic	sited
NEUT	
‘A camp is sited in Italy against the republic.’	(Vincent 1982:80)

This construction is the ancestor of the passive periphrasis and the perfect with unaccusatives.

Let us consider the case of the expanded form in English. The lexical valency attributed to the emergent auxiliary *be*, namely its locative spatial articulation, has very much conditioned the way the expanded form has spread. A locative articulation of meaning requires that the situation the expanded form is applied to has an internal non-empty topological structure, as previously hypothesized. It is no wonder that the generalization of the use of the expanded form deals with situations topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a non-empty interior, as is the case with activity and accomplishment verbs. It is only when the generalization to these kinds of verbs has taken place that the spreading out of the expanded form to other types of verbs can be significant, for which the concept of location is not so much a constraint, as in the case of achievement verbs, topologically represented with two merged

boundaries. The case of stative verbs represents the limit-case since by definition they have no internal structure at all and as such their use is all the more constrained.

We are well aware that the morphosemantic properties that verbal periphrases share with morphology have been compared here to inflectional morphology exclusively. Various recent studies, pursued by Vincent (1987), Vincent and Börjars (1996) and Börjars et al. (1997) have tried to enlarge the comparison to the properties involved in derivations and suppletions to the point that it was concluded in Vincent and Börjars (1996) that all periphrases could be seen as structurally equivalent to suppletive formations. We would like to point out, though, that such a generalization was based on the examination of adjectives and adverbs in Latin and Romance languages. Therefore, we are of the opinion that such a conclusion is a bit too hasty and more exploration of the so-called semantic equivalence should be provided with more data, especially verbal ones.

So far in this section we have tried to identify specific properties attributed to verbal periphrastic paradigms. We would like now to focus on another property of verbal paradigms, namely their independence.

3.2.6. Interdependence of verbal paradigms

In part II, chapter VI, called “Mécanismes de la langue”, Saussure (1974) explicitly studies the nature of interdependence of the relations on which the mechanism of language is based. The purpose of this section is to focus on the interdependence of verbal paradigms.

Saussure devotes a whole paragraph to ‘les solidarités syntagmatiques’, namely ‘the syntagmatic interdependence’, to emphasize in particular how the role of morphology contributes to create this interdependence:

“[...] et voilà pourquoi le rapport syntagmatique de la partie au tout est aussi important que celui des parties entre elles.”

(CLG 1974:177)

As for the close links existing between two syntagms, it can well be illustrated by the close relationship between a subject and its predicate and that between a transitive verb and its direct object complement. The interdependence between syntagmatic groups looks straightforward, as summarized in the following statement:

“Entre les groupements syntagmatiques, ainsi constitués, il y a un lien d’interdépendance; ils se conditionnent réciproquement.”

(CLG 1974:177)

But what about the dependence of the linguistic constructions within a given paradigm?

Saussure does not explicitly say anything about what we shall call the intradependence of paradigms, whether it be in that chapter, or elsewhere in the book. We would like to express the opinion, though, that this intradependence exists and can be reflected by the basic semantic property of a paradigm in that it is based on the distribution of the same semantic value over all the forms of the part of the speech in the paradigm. If the relationship was not close enough, this semantic property could not be so uniformly distributed. In a way, this intradependence of the linguistic constructions within the same paradigm has been implicitly acknowledged in CLG (1974:179), when Saussure speaks about the imperative of the verb *marcher*:

“Le jour où il n’y aurait plus *marche! marchez!* en face de *marchons!*, certaines oppositions tomberaient et la valeur de *marchons!* serait changée *ipso facto*.”

(CLG 1974:179)

More interesting is the interdependence of paradigms. Two kinds of interdependence must be distinguished. Firstly, let us deal with the interdependence of paradigms within the superparadigm. We have previously shown how various the semantic nature of the paradigmatic relations could be within the superparadigm (see 3.2.5.2): it could be contrastive as in the case of the expanded form in English; it could be non-contrastive, namely complementary or in free variation; and finally it could be deneutralizing. The contrastive nature and the “free variation” nature of a paradigmatic relationship shows the two extremes of a possible scale measuring the degrees of interdependence between two paradigmatic relations within the superparadigm. The contrastive relationship reflects the markedness of the relationship, namely the periphrasis is marked and the simple is unmarked. Hence the “tight” link between the two. By contrast, we would like to say that the “free variation” relationship indicates the “loose” link between the periphrasis and the simple form, since they are completely interchangeable without any difference in the semantics. Secondly, another kind of interdependence is to be taken into consideration but it raises a few problems of interpretation. Indeed, it involves the interdependence of two paradigms which are not both of them in the superparadigm. So it can be an interdependence between two verbal periphrastic constructions, for instance, as is the case with *ought to* and *should* or between *can* and *be able to*. We suggested in a previous section that this could be interpreted in suppletive terms. But scholars such as Börjas et al. (1997), referring to

the relationship between *must* and *have to*, prefer to talk about a case of “loose semantic correspondences rather than any more strict kind of morphosyntactic equivalence” (Börjas et al. 1997:169). So the analysis of the nature of the relationships between two paradigms of the same kind (either periphrastic or simple forms) raises a few problems of classification.

With respect to the interdependence between paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships, Saussure explicitly emphasizes the interdependence between the two relationships, as shown below:

“Au moment où nous prononçons la phrase: “que *vous* dit-il?”, nous faisons varier un élément dans un type syntagmatique latent, par exemple “ que *te* dit-il? --- “que *nous* dit-il?”, etc., et c’est par là que notre choix se fixe sur le pronom *vous* . Ainsi dans cete opération qui consiste à éliminer mentalement tout ce qui n’amène pas la différenciation voulue sur le point voulu, **les groupements associatifs et les types syntagmatiques sont tous deux en jeu.**”

(CLG 1974:180)

This can well be illustrated by the use of the expanded form in the following example:

John **was resembling** his uncle more and more these days.

On a syntactic level, we can notice the interdependence between the subject *John* and its predicate *resemble* and between the direct verb *resemble* and the direct object complement *his uncle*. We already underlined the compulsory presence of the adverbial of degree in such an instance since by definition the stative verb *resemble* has no internal structure allowing for the use of the expanded form. So the compatibility of this stative verb with the expanded form will be created linguistically. The choice, among a possible paradigm of adverbials, of the syntagmatic form *more and more* allows for the possibility of the use of the expanded form with *resemble*. Indeed, we have mentally eliminated all the adverbials that would not lead to the required differentiation, to paraphrase Saussure. This brings about a strong syntagmatic relation between the verb in the expanded form and the adverbial of degree. But this has been made possible through the interdependence of paradigmatic -- in a wide, and non-formal sense -- and syntagmatic relations.

3.2.7 Summary

In 3.2, the analysis about the formal expression of the periphrasis, and of *be* + *-ing* in particular, has led us to identify several properties which can be attributed to the verbal periphrasis. The periphrastic status can be regularly associated with a specific semantic status among the TMA categories. The verbal periphrasis represents a piece of evidence of the degree of grammaticalization of the construction. It preserves the

word class of the lexical verb it is associated with. Specific morphosemantic and syntactic properties have also been attributed to the verbal periphrasis: distribution of the same identical meaning throughout the verbal paradigm; variety of the semantic nature of periphrastic paradigm; sharing of morphosemantic properties with inflectional morphology; and, finally, interdependence of verbal paradigms.

3.3 Conclusion

In Chapter 3, a detailed synchronic analysis of the expanded form was provided in Modern English.

In the semantic study of the construction, a discussion of the various meanings of the expanded form in Modern English was attempted. Whether they be basic or secondary, i.e. context-dependent, the meanings which are traditionally attributed to the expanded form in Modern English in the literature raised a few problems: some basic meanings could hardly be applicable in some contexts, or, certain secondary meanings could not possibly be related to a given basic meaning. The core of the problem turned out to be the difficulty of encompassing the notion of duration, which led many a scholar to equate the *Aktionsart* of the verb, whether durative or not, with the grammatical aspect.

A better understanding of the *Aktionsart* of verbs was then required. Among the existing classifications of verb types, was chosen the most famous one, namely the Vendlerian classification, which was the object of our criticism, since it was essentially based on the use of syntactic tests and it lacked rigour and precision.

Another classification was introduced. Based on Bouscaren and Deschamps's (1991) topological study of verb types, the new classification showed a better cognitive representation of the temporal structure associated with a given verb type. Three topological structures were distinguished. Such a classification system enabled us to increase our understanding of the interaction between the *Aktionsart* of a given verb, the expanded form, and the type of arguments of the verb.

This semantic study of the expanded form in Modern English was supplemented by a formal investigation of the nature of the construction, which is called a periphrasis in traditional grammar. Because of the subject of this thesis, it was the concept of verbal periphrasis which we thoroughly examined, by discussing its morphosemantic properties.

Now it would be all the more interesting to see whether the meaning of the expanded form, on the one hand, and its morphosemantic and syntactic properties, on the other

hand, can also be perceived in Old English, at least some of them, and to establish how these relate to grammaticalization.

Chapter 4

The Expanded Form

beon + V *-ende* in Old English

The examination of the expanded form *beon* + V *-ende* in Old English has brought about many controversial discussions. However, all the scholars who have studied the origins of the verbal construction have emphasized the role played by not only the influence of foreign languages, but also the various other kinds of grammatical status attributed to the Old English construction or its antecedents, namely the adjectival, appositive and nominal statuses. We shall focus our attention on how the verbal status of the construction was innovated on the basis of these other uses. After this brief survey of the possible origins of the expanded form, we shall determine to what extent it can be attributed a function in Old English, however difficult it seems to establish.

4.1 Origins of the OE expanded form *beon* + V *-ende*

All the scholars who have studied the origins of the expanded form *beon* + V *-ende* have emphasized the role played by foreign languages such as Latin, French, and Celtic. Although there is a lack of evidence for the influence exercised by the latter two, the data provided by the interlinear glosses and translations corroborate the influence of Latin to what are perceived of as varying extents. Mossé (1938 I), for instance, emphasized its crucial importance whereas Visser (1973) and Mitchell (1976, 1985) prefer to relativize its role. Before focusing on the influence of Latin on the development of the Old English expanded form, the status of OE *beon* + V *-ende* will be examined.

4.1.1 The grammatical status of the expanded form *beon + V -ende*

Among the linguists who have tried to establish a clear-cut explanation, Nickel (1966, 1967) turns out to be the one offering the most cautious and coherent account of the origins of the expanded form. Nickel (1967) provides the reader with a few arguments showing that the construction is “an example of a syntactic blend in Old English”. More precisely, he demonstrates that the *-ende* within the expanded form in Old English is a combination of an adjectival, appositive, and nominal construction. In this section, all the different constructions will be examined one after the other to see how they can be confused with the verbal construction, which is traditionally considered as a recent innovation (see Nickel (1967)).

4.1.1.1 The adjectival status of the OE participle

A few linguists such as Curme (1913) and Sweet (1898) are convinced by the evidence for an adjectival origin of the participial construction in the OE expanded form *beon + participle in -ende*:

“Originally the present participi in this construction was a predicat adjectiv with pure adjectiv force.” (sic)
(Curme 1913:159).

“They [the expanded forms] were no doubt originally formed on the analogy of the combination of the verb ‘be’ with adjectives, so that such a paraphrase as *hie wæron blissiende* ‘they were rejoicing’ was felt to be intermediate between *hie blissodon* ‘they rejoiced’ and *hie wæron blipe* ‘they were glad’.”

(Sweet 1898, §2204, p.96).

Following Visser (1973, §1815, p.1931), it is to be said that there exist several syntactic criteria clearly establishing the adjectival status of the participle in some instances of the OE expanded form. All the following examples are taken from Visser (1973, §1815, pp.1931-34) unless otherwise stated. Among them, let us consider the use of degrees of comparison:

Ælfred, Bede, (Miller) 394.4 eall ðæt sar [...] of minum earme, pær he [...] beornendra wæs
‘all that pain [...] from my arm, where it [...] was more ardent’.

The use of an adverb of degree such as *hu* ‘how’, *to* ‘too’, and *swiþe* ‘very’ explicitly refers to the adjectival status as well:

-- Example with 'how':

Ælfred, *C.P.* 332.14 gif se lareow him gerecð hu fleonde ðis andwearde
lif is.

'if the teacher explains to him how fleeting this present life is.'

-- Example with 'too':

Ancient Laws (Thorpe) ii.416.16 Ne beo he to slaw, ne beo he to eorsigende
[printed eornigende] ne beo he to tælende

'Neither am I the one too lazy, nor am I the one too angry, nor am I the one too
slandrous.'

-- Example with 'very':

Ælfric, *Saints' Lives* 3.417 ure hælendswipe welwillende

'our saviour [was] very benevolent.'

When the OE participle refers to what Visser calls "a natural or innate quality or property", Visser stipulates that it is reasonable to take it as an adjective in such circumstances:

Hexameron St. Basil (ed. Norman) 14 God ȝeworhte [...] eall wýrmcynn ða
ðe creopende beoð

'God created [...] all the reptiles which are rampant.'

Trin. Coll. Hom. 177 alle wordlþing ben fletende, also water erninde

'all the wordly things are fleeting, just like running water.'

Moreover, when the OE participle is coordinated with a real adjective, Visser postulates that there is a high tendency to consider the *-ende* form as an adjective, too. This is in accordance with the grammatical rule saying that two linguistic expressions of the same grammatical nature only¹ can be coordinated. But Visser is well aware that there exist some exceptions to the rule when the adjective is coordinated with an *-ende* form which is followed by a direct object complement, or when the syntactic linking between the two coordinated forms "is not close enough for the forms in *-ing* to adopt the status of adjectives" (Visser 1973; §1815, p.1933), as in *we all were wide-eyed and shouting* (Ibid.). Let us give a few examples with a coordinated *-ende* form in Old English:

Wulfstan, *Polity* (Jost) p.70 §49 þonne motan þa hyrdas beon swiðe wacole
and geornlice clipigende

'then the guardians may be watchful and zealously vocative.'

¹ "When a participle and an adjective are juxtaposed as complements of *to be* [...] the syntactic rapport that is thus created between the two complements leads us to consider them as identical in status" (Visser 1973:1933).

Blick. Hom. 65.15 þæt wuldor is sceort & gewitende
'that glory is short and transient.'

When the OE participle is prefixed by *un-* or *forth-*, Visser (1973) interprets it as an adjective. For instance, in Present-day English, the verb *unforgive* does not exist, therefore the form *unforgiving* cannot but be derived from the adjective *forgiving*. The same remark can then be applied to the adjectival participle *unberinde*:

1200 *OE Hom.* (Morris) ii.125 his [Zacharias's] woreldes make was teames
atold and unberinde
'his world's partner was past child-bearing and barren.'

If any of these criteria cannot be applied, then the grammatical status of the participle in the OE expanded construction can hardly be decided, as illustrated in the examples quoted from Mitchell (1976:480):

ÆC Hom. i. 118.5 gif we on his gesihþe mid beorhtnyse þæs upplican
wisdomes scinende beoð
'if we are illuminating in his sight with the splendour of this supreme wisdom.'

ÆC Hom. i. 320.20 forðan ðe he dyde þæt hi wæron byrnende on Godes
willan, and bodigende ymbe Godes rice
'therefore he acted in such a way that they were burning to God's will, and were preaching around God's kingdom.'

4.1.1.2 The appositive status of the OE participle

We would like to show in this section that throughout its development from Old English onwards the potential development of verbal constructions was increased by the ambiguous status of the appositive² construction, which has led Nickel (1967:271) to argue that "it is possible that this ambiguity reflects a historical transition:

²According to Chalker and Weiner (1994: 30-31), apposition is "a relationship of two (or more) words or phrases, especially noun phrases, such that the two units are grammatically parallel and have the same referent, e.g. *Our longest reigning monarch, Queen Victoria, reigned from 1837 to 1901* [...]. Grammarians vary in their use of the term *apposition*. In the narrowest definition (full apposition), both parts are noun phrases, they are identical in reference (i.e. in an *equivalence* relationship), and either part could be omitted, as in the example above, without affecting the grammaticality or the essential meaning of the sentence. More loosely, apposition may include pairs of units where not all these conditions apply (partial apposition). One part may be a clause, e.g. *They had the idea that everything would be all right in the end*. Or the relationship may be one of example, not of identity e.g. *A monarch, for example a twentieth-century monarch, may have limited powers*. Or the omission of one part may result in an ungrammatical sentence, e.g. *A very important person is coming -- The Queen* (we could not say *is coming -- the Queen*)."

In the rest of this work, when we talk about apposition, we shall implicitly refer to the definition given for partial apposition.

appositive participle ---> predicate participle". In order to identify the ambiguous status of the participial form, let us examine what kinds of criteria are at stake.

Firstly, given the relative freedom of word order in Old English and its variability, the presence of locative adverbials in the following examples contributes to the ambiguous interpretation of the participle, since they can be interpreted as adjuncts of the verb in *-ende*, or a complement of *be*, with the participle then being in apposition with that construction, as illustrated below:

Alfred, *Oros.* 212.3-4 he wæs vi dagas on þa burg feohtende
'he was fighting in this city for six days.'

Wærfeth, *Dial. Greg* (ed. Hecht) 218.23 sum broþor is gyt in ðisum mynstre
mid me wuniende and lifigende
'a brother is still staying and living with me in this monastery.'

Alfred, *Oros.* 220.1 he on anre stowe beforan þæm geate wæs wuniende, op
he his lif forlet
'he stayed in this place before the gate till he lost his life.'

In the first example, for instance, the locative adverbial *on þa burg* can be interpreted as an adjunct of the verb *feohtan* or a complement of *wæs*, with the former being the result of an innovative analysis of the construction as verbal.

Secondly, in the same way as the OE construction V *-ende* standing in apposition to the verb *beon* has influenced the development of expanded constructions, a similar construction of the type *sæt lærende*, i.e. present participles with verbs of state or motion, is said by Nickel (1967) to be responsible for the expansion of the expanded construction, since "the denotational power of verbs such as *sittan*, *cuman* can be so weak as to approach that of *beon*. In that case, *he wæs lærende*, *he wæs ridende* could be regarded as an analogical paradigmatic extension of a pattern NP+ Verb+ Participle" (Nickel 1967:272), as exemplified in the following examples from Mossé (1938 I:110-3):

-- Examples with verbs of movement :

Cuman :

AeH 1.566 com seo sæ færllice swegende
'the sea suddenly came roaring.'
(Mossé 1938 I:110)

Gan:

AeH 2.160 sum munuc [...] eode him ut worigende
 'a monk [...] went out rambling.'
 (Mossé 1938 I:111)

Faran:

Alfred, *Oros.* 286 hi foran hwearfiende geond þæt westen
 'they went wandering about the desert.'
 (Mossé 1938 I:112)

-- Examples with verbs of state:

Standan:

AeH 1.296 þa ða hi up to heofonum starigende stodon, þa gesawon hi ðær
 twegenenglas
 'while they stood gazing up to heaven, they saw these two angels.'
 (Mossé 1938 I:112)

Licgan:

AeH 2.312 ða læg se earming, his yrmðe bemænende
 'then lay the wretch bemoaning his misery.'
 (Mossé 1938 I:113)

Sittan:

Cr. 26 we in carcerne/sittað sorgende sunnan wilsid
 'we sit in prison sorrowing during the whole day.'
 (Mossé 1938 I:113)

There exists another type of construction which has also contributed to the ambiguity of the OE participle, the examination of which is the purpose of the following section.

4.1.1.3 The nominal status of the OE participle

In Old English, there exist deverbal agentive nouns in *-end*, usually masculine, which have undergone a derivational process involving the present stem of a given verb plus the *-end* suffix, as exemplified below:

aliesend 'redeemer' < *aliesan* 'release, liberate; redeem.'

buend 'dweller' < *buan* 'dwell'

ciepend 'seller' < *ciepan* 'trade, sell'

hælend 'healer, Saviour' < *hælan* 'heal, cure; save'

wealdend 'ruler' < *wealdan* 'rule, control'

This category of nouns is not without causing a few problems. Indeed, following Visser (1973, §1813-4, pp.1929-30), it is possible to identify cases of the *-ende* form in which it is difficult to differentiate the nominal character from the adjectival one.

Let us consider the conditions favouring the attribution of a nominal status to the *-ende* form in the OE construction. In the case of a singular subject in the sentence, the predicative participle has to end in *-end* to be interpreted as a derived noun, since a noun in *-end* has no desinence in the nominative singular, as exemplified below:

Ælfred, *Bede* (Miller) 280.25 se wæs timbrend & abbud ðes mynstres
'he was the builder and abbot of this monastery.'

Wærferth, *Dial. Greg.* (ed. Hocht) 89.3 he ongan clypian mid mycclum
stefnum & þus cwepan, þæt he sylfa wære cwylmend þæs mannes
'he cried again with a loud voice and said that he was the tormentor of this man.'

Ælfric, *Hom.* (Thorpe) i.36.33 þæt se Hælend dælnimend wære ure
deadlicnyssse
'that the Lord should be a participator in our mortality.'

In the case of a plural subject in the sentence, the participle has to end in *-end* or *-endas* to be viewed unambiguously as a noun. Indeed, a noun in *-end*, which is masculine most of the time, has the desinence *-∅*, *-e*, or *-as* in the nominative plural, and an adjective ends in *-e* in the nominative plural. So when the desinence is *-∅* or *-as* for a form in *-end*, we are sure it is a (derived) noun, as shown below:

Ælfred, *Oros.* (Sw.) 264.27 he bebead his aldor monnum þæt hie wæren
cristenra monna ehtend
'he ordered his older men that they be the persecutors of Christians.'

Ibid., *Sol. Aug* 42.13 ic wolde þæt wyt nu hwilce þæs wysdomes lufiendas
beon sculen.
'I desired that intelligence now as they must be lovers of this wisdom.'

There occur a few examples, though, in which the nominal character of the *-ende* form cannot be distinguished from the adjectival or verbal one. This happens in the case when the masculine subject is plural and the construction ends in *-ende* since plural masculine nominative nouns and plural masculine adjectives end in *-e*, as exemplified below:

Ælfred, *Oros.* 88, 21 þeh hie þæs gepafiende næren.
'though they are not supporting this / though they are not supporters of this.'

c 1125 *Festival of St. Mary* 39, 223 þæs dæles us geunne God purh hire
þingunge, þæt we beon dælnymende purh his mildheortnysse.
'God allowed us this part through his mediation that we participate in his mercy / that
we are participants in his mercy.'

One might well argue that when the OE expanded form is followed by a complement in the genitive, it is sufficient to argue in favour of a nominal character. The latter criterion is worth considering, since there exist a very limited list of verbs such as *geþafian* 'favour, support', *forsugian* 'suppress, pass over', *ehtan* 'pursue' and *gemunan* 'remember', *dælniman* 'participate', which can also be followed by a complement in the genitive, as shown below:

ÆC *Hom* ii.576.14 Nu eom ic cnæpling, and nytende mines færes
'now I am young, and ignorant of their journey.'

Wærferth, *Dial. Greg.* 109.14 hi wæron his ehtende
'they were persecuting him.'

Ben. Rule (Logeman) 6.13 þæt we beon dælnimende rices his.
'that we are participating in his kingdom.'

In the examples, the ambiguous status of the participles is maintained, since all of *ehtan* 'persecute', *nytan* 'ignore' and *dælniman* 'participate' can be followed by the accusative or the genitive.

The ambiguity of the participial character in such examples has driven scholars like Nickel (1967:272) to argue that it showed a "historical transition": the replacement of one construction by another, which is minimally different in form and meaning, represents a transition in the sense that the *-ende* form acquires a different grammatical status.

So far it has been noted that there exist a few criteria allowing the reader to distinguish the adjectival, appositive, and nominal statuses. Now it would be opportune to underline under which circumstances the expanded form can be given a verbal status, an innovation which helps fill in the gap in the pattern of the three main parts of speech, since the verbal status is the last one to be acquired by the expanded form (see Nickel (1967)).

4.1.1.4 The verbal status of the OE participle

To begin with, when the subject of the sentence is singular, and when the participle ends in *-ende*, we are sure that the status of the *-ende* form is not nominal but verbal or adjectival, otherwise it would not be in *-ende* but in *-end*, as illustrated in the following:

-- Verbal status:

Ælfred, *Bede* 619.35 ic wene þæt he wære bensiende ða uplican ærfæstnesse minra gesynta

'I think that he was praying for the supreme piety of minor benefits.'

Ælfred, *Oros.* 194.21 ðeh ðe he wilniende wære & wenende Romana anwealdes.

'though he desired and hoped for Roman authority.'

-- Nominal status:

Ælfred, *Boeth.* (Fox) 166.9 God is ealra þinga reccend

'God is the teller of all things.'

Martyrology (EETS) 212 þæra bysceopa sum þe hys æfterfyligend wæs.

'one of their bishops who was his follower.'

Moreover, to decide whether the construction fulfills the adjectival or verbal status, it is necessary to look at the complementation. In the case of most transitive verbs, for instance, the expanded form has to be followed by a direct object in the accusative, as follows:

Oros. 188/19 Æfter þæm Scipia se consul [...] wæs monega gefeoht donde on Ispanium

'afterwards Scipio the consul [...] was engaged in many battles in Spain.'

Blick. Hom. 149/24 Drihten is soþlice þisse bære fultumiende

'the Lord is truly supporting this bier.'

Furthermore, according to Traugott (1992:188-9), the criterion of anaphoric substitution of *don*, instead of *beon*, is sufficient to say that the construction is verbal as in the following example:

Blick. Hom. 23/8 þonne beo we sittende be þæm wege, swa se blinda dyde
'Then we sit by the way as the blind man did.'

In such examples, the use of *don* indicates a dynamic verbal interpretation rather than a non-dynamic adjectival one.

Thus, in 4.1.1, we have tried to identify the various criteria, which help to decide about the nature of the status of the V *-ende* form in the Old English expanded form. For Visser, mainly three syntactic criteria explicitly identify the adjectival status of the expanded form in Old English: the presence of expressions involving degrees of comparison, the use of coordination of the expanded form with a real adjective, and the prefixation of the *-ende* form with *-un* and *-forth*. As for the nominal status, it can be unambiguously established by inflectional criteria: when the subject is singular, no desinence must be added to the *-end* form; when the subject is plural, the desinence to the *-end* form can be either $-\emptyset$ or *-as*; and finally, the direct object of the Old English *-ende* form must be in the genitive case. As for the verbal status, it can be shown by the nature of complementation (direct object in the accusative) and the criterion of substitution of *don*. In all other cases, the status of the Old English construction is ambiguous. For instance, when the *-ende* form refers to a masculine nominative plural, its status can be either nominal or adjectival; when a locative adverbial is used, the status of the *-ende* form can be ambiguous between a verbal and adjectival, i.e. appositive, status. Despite these few problems, it is quite likely that the dubious status of the Old English construction in the aforementioned contexts has contributed to the emergence of the verbal status of the construction, as reflected by a certain type of complementation (direct object in the accusative) and the use of constructions of the type *sæt lærende*. Now that the problems involving the status of the Old English construction *beon + V -ende* have been identified and discussed, it would be worth examining the influence of Latin on the development of the expanded form in Old English.

4.1.2 Latin influence on the development of the OE expanded form

Mainly four types of Latin constructions are translated with the expanded form in Old English: perfect tense of deponent verbs (type *locutus est*), *esse* + future participle (type *venturus est*), *esse* + present participle (type *erat docens*), and appositive present participle of a verb (type *dicens*). All the examples quoted below are taken from Visser (1973), unless otherwise stated.

4.1.2.1 Evidence in favour of the influence of Latin

-- Type *locutus est*:

Latin *locutus est mutus*.
 'he spoke in an inarticulate way.'

Matt (Li) 9.33 *sprecend wæs ðe dumba.*

Ps (A) 68.27 *persecuti sunt*
'they pursued.'

OE Translation: *æhtende werun.*

Ps (A) 18.14 *fuerint dominati*
'they dominated.'

OE Translation: *bioð waldende.*

--Type *uenturus est*:

J 6.64 (*sciebat enim ab initio iesus*) *qui essent credentes et qui traditurus esset eum.*
'(he knew from the beginning) who believed him and who betrayed him.'

OE Translation: *ða ðe uæron geleafendo ond hua sellende uere hine.*

L 10.1 *uenturus erat.*
'he was about to come.'

OE Translation: *tocymende wæs.*

Bede's *HE* 346.2 *erat exiturus.*
'he was about to go.'

OE Translation: *gongende wæs.*

--Type *erat docens*:

Ps (A) 13.2 *ut videat si est intelligens aut requires Deum.*
'so that he sees if he understands or questions God.'

OE Translation: *ðæt he gese hweder sie on geontende oð ðe soecende god.*

Ps (A) 121.30 *stantes erant pedes nostri.*
'our feet remained standing.'

OE Translation: *stondende werum fœt ure.*

Latin *et erat prædicans in synagogis galilææ.*
'and he was making prophecies in the synagogues of Galilee.'

Luke (Li) 4.44 *7 wæs bodande on somnungum galiles.*

Latin *et locum quo erat ipse uenturus.*
'and the place he was about to come from.'

Luke (Li) 10.1 *7 þ stydd ðæm wæs he tocymende.*

--Type *dicens*:

Bede's *HE* 428.20 *crescens [...] festinans.*
'growing [...] hurrying.'

OE Translation: *wæs weaxende [...] wæs festende.*

Bede's *HE* 308.29 *nos iter agentes.*
'we travelling.'

OE Translation: we ferende wæron.

Bede's *HE* 316.7 *verum ille patriam revertens.*
'but returning to his fatherland.'

Translation: *þa þa wæs to his ylde hweorfende.*

Following Visser (1973, §1854, p.1991), it has been hypothesized that the preference for the expanded form can be accounted for by the number of words required particularly in interlinear glosses. The first three aforementioned Latin constructions consist of two words. Therefore, in the translation, a two-word cluster had to be found. The expanded form was then an ideal formal candidate, but it is difficult to affirm that the Latin model has influenced the meaning of the two-word construction in Old English. Nevertheless, it can be noticed that, among the three types of two-word clusters quoted, it is most likely the meaning of the model *erat docens* -- an activity going on -- which influenced, if at all, that of its counterpart in Old English.

Even though the correspondence between the expanded form and a few types of Latin constructions has been underlined in interlinear glossing and translations on many occasions, as in the four aforementioned types *locutus est*, *venturus est*, *erat docens*, and *dicens*, it may be added that the translations of Latin constructions by the expanded form turn out to be far from systematic, as illustrated in the following section.

4.1.2.2 Evidence against the influence of Latin

The use of the OE expanded form is not restricted to the use of the aforementioned Latin constructions; it can also be used to translate simple forms, namely non-expanded forms, as carefully noticed by Mossé (1938 I §167) who counts 53 Latin simple forms as being translated by the OE expanded form in *Orosius*, namely more than 22% of the total amount of the OE expanded forms. This can be exemplified as follows:

Latin: plurima bella gessit
'he fought many times.'

Ælfred, *Oros.* 188.19: He wæs monegagefeht donde.

Latin: 'satis, te,' inquit, 'sanguine quem sitisti, cujus per annos triginta insatiabilis perseverasti.'

'She said: 'Satisfy yourself with the blood which you were thirsty of and which you kept being insatiable of for thirty years.'

Ælfred, *Oros.* 76.33: ond þu cwæð: þu þe þyrstende wære monnes blodes
xxx wintra, drync nu þine fylle

Latin: participabat
'He was sharing.'

Ælfred, Bede 112.15: dælnemendewæs

Latin: superest
'He remains alive.'

Ælfred, Bede 4/12: lifigende is

It is possible to encounter some deponent forms in Latin which are translated by the OE expanded form:

Latin: et dolos tota die meditabantur.
'they were meditating their sufferings the whole day.'

Vesp. Psalt. 37, 13: ond facen alne deg werun smegende

Latin: adsumetur.
'it will be adopted.'

Mt 24.40: ondfoende bið³

Latin: machinatur
'he is plotting.'

CP 357/21: bið donde

At the same time as the Latin constructions of the previous section have a tendency to be translated by the OE expanded form, there exist cases in which they are translated by other forms.

To begin with, Latin deponent verbs in the perfect, such as the type *locutus est* can be rendered by simple forms in OE:

Latin: comminatus est
'he commanded.'

Lind. Gosp. Mk 1, 25: bebead

Latin: egressus [est]
'he left.'

³ Mistranslation of the glossator

Lind. Gosp. Mk 1, 45: foerde

Latin (p.41): *Isdem temporibus Perseus a Graecia in Asiam transvectus est*
'In those times Perseus travelled from Greece to Asia.'

Oros. 40/32 : On þæm dagum Perseus se cyninge of Creca lande in Asiam
mid fyrde for

Latin (p.11): *sicut pollicitus sum*
'just as I promised.'

Oros. 10/4 : swa ic ær gehet

Furthermore, Latin constructions of the type *venturus est* can be translated by other forms than the OE expanded form:

Latin: *quæ ventura est*
'she is about to come this way'

Vesp. Psalt. 70/18 ða toward is

Latin (p.105): *facile per turbatam occupatura civitatem*
'[they are] about to occupy the disturbed city easily.'

Oros. 104/3 : and þa burg mehton eaðe begitan

Latin (p.275): *adscensurum in equum*
'about to climb on his horse.'

Oros. 274/25: he to his horse wolde

Likewise, Latin constructions of the type *esse + docens* can be translated by another form than the OE expanded form:

Latin: *Fuit iohannes in deserto baptizans et predicans baptismum*
'John was baptizing and preaching baptism in the desert.'

Lind. Gosp. Mk 1,4 : wæs iohannes in woestern gefulwade and bodade
fulwiht

Latin: *esto vigilans*
'That you should be watchful.'

CP 445, 20: Bio ðu wacor

Latin: *non est ita sapientia desursum descendens*
'thus wisdom does not come from above.'

CP 347, 24: forðæm se wisdom nis ufan cumen of hefenum

It may also be added that many a variation is to be observed with respect to the use and frequency of the OE expanded form translating Latin constructions within a given text.

Following Mossé (1938 I:64), the examination of two texts, which both have been translated from Latin within the same Ælfredian period, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos*, leads us to make the following remarks. Within the first translated text, the translation of Bede's *Historia*

Ecclesiastica, nearly 300 examples of the expanded form can be found, which have the following distribution: 1 example translating the type *esse* + present participle, 6 examples translating the type *esse* + future participle, 30 examples translating the perfect of a deponent verb (10 % of the total), and 132 examples translating a (verbal) present participle (44% of the total). By contrast, the second translated text, namely the translation of Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos*, consists of 238 examples of the expanded form. No single example translating the type *esse* + present participle is found; no example translating the future type has been quoted by Mossé; 2 examples of the perfect of a deponent verb have been counted (less than 1% of the total); and 21 examples translating Latin two-word clusters have been found (less than 9% of the total). When we compare the most important frequencies between the two texts, we see that the proportions of the alleged Latin-influenced expanded forms have dramatically decreased. Indeed, the frequency of the expanded form based on Latin perfect of a deponent verb is 10 times as low in the second text; that of the expanded form based on the Latin present participles is five times as low in the second text; and finally, the frequency of the expanded form based on the Latin construction *esse* + present participle is null.

Consequently, within the same Ælfredian period, we see great variations in the usage of the expanded form which seem to do with the personal choice of the translator. More precisely, the translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* is said to be close to the Latin original whereas that of Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos* is viewed as a freer adaptation. Because of the presence of fewer OE expanded forms translating Latin constructions, the second translated text can be said to embody a more natural OE usage of the form: the use of the expanded form in OE is then forced for the Latin constructions which have been marked down. Given the antithetic character of the two translations, reflecting a personal choice of the translator, it might well be worth wondering whether the OE expanded form does not fulfil a stylistic function, which is the focus of the following section.

4.2 A stylistic function of the OE expanded form *beon* + V *-ende*

The variation of the use of the expanded form in Old English could be dependent on the narrator, who would have his own criteria to establish the validity of the use of the expanded form in Old English in a given context. This is what we shall call the strong sense of the stylistic function of the expanded form in Old English. After a discussion of this hypothesis, there will be examined a weak sense of stylistic variation.

4.2.1 A strong sense of the stylistic function of *beon* + V *-ende*

4.2.1.1 Evidence in favour of the strong sense

4.2.1.1.1 Free variation with the simple form

Given that the expanded form and the simple form seem to be used in some similar contexts in Old English, the meaning of the expanded form seems all the more indeterminate for Modern English speakers, and therefore it would be legitimate to say that for Modern English speakers the expanded form and simple form can be said to be in free variation since we ignore what non-stylistic meaning the Old English speakers attributed to the expanded form. So in this sense, we could speak of stylistic variation, as underlined by various authors such as Bodelsen (1951), Visser (1973), and Mitchell (1985):

"It seems to me very difficult to ascribe to the OE EXF [expanded form] any very distinctive semantic function at all. Add to this their very frequent use together with the simple forms as alternative translations in the interlinear glossaries, and it is difficult to escape the conclusion that they represent a variant of meaning which is almost wholly stylistic."

Bodelsen (1951:261)

"The use or non-use of the EF [expanded form] was primarily a question of free choice and style."

Visser (1973, §1857, p.1992)

"The two forms were sometimes at any rate mere stylistic variants."

Mitchell (1985:274)

As for Mossé (1938 I:103), he insists on the optional, and even subjective character of the expanded form, clearly identifying the contexts where the alleged free variation takes place, as illustrated below.

An expanded form and a simple form can occur in parallel expressions:

ÆCHom. 1.302 him is gemæne mid stanum, þæt he beo wunigende; him is gemæne mid treowum, þæt he lybbe; mid nytenum, þæt he gefrede; mid englum, þæt he understande.

'he has in common with the stones, that he is existing; he has in common with the trees, that he lives; with the beasts, that he has sense; with the angels, that he understands.'

ÆCHom. 2.76 seo non-tid bið ure yld, forðan ðe on non-tide asihð sec sunne, and ðæs ealdigendan mannes mægen bið wanigende.

'the noon-tide is our age, for at non-tide the sun sinks, and the senescent man's power is waning.'

More specifically, Mossé (1938 I:94) notices that when two simultaneous events both have a duration, it is frequent to express the duration of one only by the use of the expanded form:

Bo. 10 þa þæt Mod þa þillic sar cweðende wæs, and þis leoð singende wæs, se wisdom þa and seo Gesceadwises him bliðum eahum on locodon.

'whilst the Mind was uttering such sorrow, and was singing this lay, Wisdom and Reason looked on him with cheerful eyes.'

ÆCHom. 1.66 efne ða ða se apostol þas lare specende wæs, ða bær sum wuduwe hire suna lic to bebyrgenne.

'behold, while the apostle was speaking this lecture, a certain widow bore her son to be buried.'

Besides, Mossé (1938 I:105) quotes examples in which the context, such as the presence of temporal adverbials marking duration or temporal conjunctions of subordination indicating duration, might be thought to favour the use of the expanded form but the simple form is chosen instead. This can be illustrated with examples containing temporal expressions, as exemplified below:

Oros. 212.11 seo burg inneward barn XVI dagas.

'the city was burning for sixteen days.'

Oros. 72.22 Cirus [...] þa hwile ðe Sabini ond Romane wunnon on þæm westdæle, þa hwile wonn he ægper ge on Scippia ge on Indie, oþ he hæfdemæste ealne þone eastdæl awest.

'Cyrus [...] while the Sabines and the Romans were warring in the west, was at the same time warring both in Scithia and in India, until he had laid waste almost all the eastern parts.'

Moreover, Mossé (1938 I:72) shows that variations of use occur in revised manuscripts, as shown in the different versions of the *Chronicles* :

Chron. A 855 þy ilcan geare ferde to Rome mid micelre weorpnese, and þær was XII monaþ wuniende.

'the same year, he went to Rome with much ado and stayed there for twelve months.'

But *Chron.* E uses the simple form *wunade* (HH).

Two other examples of variation can be found when we compare versions E and F, as illustrated below:

Chron. E 994 hi on ða burh festlice feohtendewæron.
'they were fighting constantly against the city.'

But we find the simple form in *Chron.* F:

Chron. F fæstlice on þa burh fuhton.
'they fought intensely against the city.'

Likewise, the same remark can be applied to the following:

Chron. E 994 and unasecgenlice yfel wircende wæron.
'and they were doing unspeakable evil.'

Chron. F and mæsta yfel worhton.
'and they did a lot of evil.'

The same kind of variations takes place when you compare Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* and its revision, as illustrated by Yerkes (1982):

CO: þu oferfærest þone sæ and bist gangende to Rome(s)byrig (132.31)
(C: original translation in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge 322; O: original translation in British Library, Cotton Otho C.i., vol.2, fols.1-137)
H: witodlice in to Rome þu becymst ; ofer sæ þu færst (H: only witness of the revision, fols. 1-54 in Bodleian, Hatton 76)
Latin : Roman ingressus es, mare transiturus (2.15.10)
'you went to Rome, after crossing the sea.'
Yerkes (1982:34)

So far we have been interested in isolating the cases where the expanded form was in apparent free variation with the simple form, making the meaning of the expanded form all the more indeterminate in Old English for Modern English speakers. There exists another argument in favour of a stylistic interpretation of the construction in a strong sense and it takes into consideration the metrical influence, as argued in the following section. It is to be underlined that the term "metrical" is not interpreted in a conventional way, as in poetry, but rather with a broader meaning involving measurement. In the case considered, it involves the number of words in a verse.

4.2.1.1.2 Metrical influence

Among the scholars who tried to account for the use of the OE expanded form in the translations and interlinear glosses, two of them are particularly worth mentioning. Even though Jespersen (1909-49 IV:166) notices that this is a "curious phenomenon"

to translate by the expanded form the Latin perfect forms of deponent verbs, he suggests that "the translator wanted to render a Latin expression consisting of two words (an auxiliary and a verbal form) by means of a similar collocation". As observed in 4.1.2.1, Visser makes a more general comment about the translation of Latin expanded forms by the OE expanded form *beon + V- ende*, which is considered as a useful linguistic device to fill in the two spaces under the Latin two-word construction:

"This happened strikingly frequently in interlinear versions where the glossator had two spaces to fill up underneath the Latin two-word cluster."

(Visser 1973, §1854, p.1991)

And this could be illustrated in the following examples:

Latin: sumus lætantes
'they are rejoicing.'
Ps. 125/3 sindblissiende

Latin: sunt omnes tribulantes me
'they all were harassing me.'
Ps. 68/21 sindallegeswencende mec

Latin: secuti sunt
'they were following.'
Mk 1,18: fylgende weron

Despite these two arguments in favour of a stylistic interpretation of the OE expanded form, namely the apparently free variation of the expanded form with the simple form in many examples, and the metrical influence, there seem to be a few counter-arguments.

4.2.1.2 Evidence against the strong sense

4.2.1.2.1 Criticism of the free variation argument

Despite the very few occurrences of *beon + V- ende* in Old English, it is possible to distinguish a few tendencies with respect to the meaning of the construction in some examples, as underlined by Mossé (1938 I), Nickel (1966), and Mitchell (1985), among others. The expanded form, whether nominal, adjectival, verbal, or ambiguous, can be essentially attributed four distinct meanings, as illustrated below:

First, the expanded form can be interpreted as an activity going on:

Oros. 19.33 *pæt scip wæs ealne weg yrnende under segle*
'that ship was all way running under sail!'

Oros. 292.23 *Theodosius wæs ðencende hu he Gratianus his hlaford*
gewrecanmehte
'Theodosius was thinking how he could avenge his lord, Gratianus!'

Despite the ambiguous categorial status of the construction, it is interesting to note that the meaning of an ongoing activity is difficult to reconcile with an "adjectival" interpretation; therefore, the range of grammatical ambiguities is reduced in this case.

Second, the expanded form can be given the meaning of permanence or unlimited duration:

Ælfred, Lives of the Saints. 5.417 *lc me gebidde to þam gode þe bið*
eardigende on heofonum
'I pray to the God who dwelleth ever in the heaven!'

Blick. Hom. 19.29 *gehyraþ we pæt seo mennisce gecynd biþ a farende*
'let us hear now that human nature is ever going on.'

Third, the expanded form can also be used for a characteristic/description:

Oros. 12.35 *pæt seo ea bið flowende ofer eal Ægypta land*
'that this river floods over all Egyptians' land!'

Blick. Hom. 115.7 *þa wæs he alre fægernesse full. ond he wæs blowende*
on him sylfum on swype manigfealdre wynsumnesse
'it was full of all beauty, and was blowing in itself with manifold pleasures.'

Blick. Hom. 19.30: *þonne we ure synna ondettap & us forgifnessa biddap,*
þonne bið he sona us efen-þrowiende, & hrape miltsiende & forgifende
ura synna.

'when we confess our sins and pray forgiveness, then will he at once compassionate us, and speedily have mercy on us and forgive us our sins.'

Fourth, the expanded form can also be associated with repetition, which meaning is directly linked to the third one, with the element of repetition being highlighted by the adverbials:

Bede's *HE* 362.19 hwilum wæs on horse sittende, ac oftor on his fotum
gangende
'at times he mounted on horsebacks, oftener he went on foot'.

Chron. 1110E he æfre ðas leode mid here and mid ungyldre tyrwigende
wæs
'he was ever harassing the people with a host and with a heavy geld'.

Such a classification mixes different classification types. It seems to be difficult to see how the different grammatical categories of noun, adjective, verb, for instance, can interact with the four aforementioned meanings. No connection is clearly established. Moreover, this classification appears to be compatible with different Aktionsarts, such as dynamic activity, permanence and description, but, in fact, the same type of verb is involved, namely activity verbs, whether dynamic or non-dynamic. This remark needs further development, as will be the case shortly. Furthermore, in the fourth semantic interpretation, the level of the Aktionsart of the verb is confused with that of the utterance. Indeed, the utterance is associated with a repetitive meaning, not because of the verb itself, but because of the use of adverbials of repetition such as *oftor* and *æfre*. Besides, even though scholars such as Nickel (1966), Mitchell (1985) and Mossé (1938 I) attribute a few meanings to the expanded form in some examples in Old English, they do not provide evidence for the fact that according to them the simple form is not available in such cases.

Consequently, in 4.2.2.4, it has been shown that, despite the existing ambiguity of its grammatical status, it is possible to try to identify a few possible meanings for the expanded form in Old English, as proposed by Mossé (1938 I), among others, but this classification is still subject to criticism and needs further elaboration.

4.2.1.2.2 Criticism of the metrical argument

Following Jespersen's and Visser's aforementioned arguments about the use of the expanded form, especially in translations and interlinear versions, it might be concluded that the expanded form was exploited by the scribes to fulfil a stylistic function, namely the scribes had their own criteria for the choice of the expanded form. But if it were part of a stylistic convention, such as the figurative use of speech

in metaphors, it would at least be taken as “a carefully cultivated embellishment” and it would be used only in a “highly specialized genre” (Ness and Duncan-Rose (1982)). The first criterion is not achieved, since the use of the expanded form in interlinear glosses, for instances, has more to do with a desperation measure, a trick used by the glossator to “fill up [the two spaces] underneath the Latin two-word cluster” (Visser 1973, §1854, p.1991), than a carefully controlled, stylistic means. Moreover, the second criterion fails, since the expanded form is not exclusively used in prose. Its use is also represented in poetry, but with a very low frequency, it must be admitted.

Consequently, on the basis of the criticism of both the free variation argument and the metrical argument, the hypothesis in favour of a strong sense of the stylistic function of the expanded form in Old English must be rejected. Nevertheless, it is still possible to give some weight to the stylistic argument, provided it is defined in a weak sense, as the construction fulfils the criteria discussed below.

4.2.2 A weak sense of the stylistic function *beon + V -ende*

4.2.2.1 Use of the expanded form restricted to specific genres

In order to be able to interpret the various figures associated with the expanded form throughout different kinds of works, Nickel (1966:18) also took into account the number of simple forms within a given work, and introduced the following coefficient $K = \frac{EF}{EF + SF} \times 10000$. The coefficient K is calculated by dividing the number of expanded forms by the sum of expanded forms and simple forms, the result being multiplied by ten thousand. This coefficient refers to the occurrence of the expanded form per ten thousand words. It is more significant than Mossé's coefficient, since the latter calculates the occurrence of the construction per hundred thousand words.

In Nickel's (1966) table (see Table 4.1 in Appendix A), the highest coefficient K is to be attributed to the two translated historical works of the Ælfredian period, *Orosius* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*, whose average K is 331. Then comes the coefficient K= 109 for the religious-inspired prose, the *Blickling Homilies*, which is also Latin-based. The only original OE prose text, namely a prose text, Latin influence on which is nearly excluded, is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* and it has the fourth highest coefficient K= 68. Among Ælfric's works, the highest coefficient K= 59 belongs to the *Catholic Homilies*. Finally, the lowest coefficients K= 11 and K=7 are respectively attributed to the *OE Martyrology* and to poetical works.

It seems therefore that the two genres -- prose and poetry -- can be opposed with respect to the influence of the choice of the expanded form. Poetry hardly allows the use of the expanded form, as opposed to prose. It is in keeping with the results discussed by Dennis (1940) and Strang (1982)⁴, who show that the use of the expanded form is linked to the level of style of writing: the more colloquial the style is, the more likely the expanded form is to be used. In poetry, as opposed to narrative prose in general, more archaic expressions, especially nominal constructions, are used. Hence the lower frequency of the expanded form in poetry as opposed to that in narrative prose (see Table 4.1 in Appendix A).

Even within the same genre, it is possible to find important differences in the frequency of the expanded form, due to the variation of the level of style of writing. This is precisely what can be noticed in the examination of two prose works, such as *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies*: the latter displays a coefficient that is three times as low, which can be explained by the fact that a religious work is less likely to contain a huge amount of expanded forms than an historical work, given the tendency it has to use more archaic expressions according to our Modern English standards of formality.

We would even like to suggest that the use of the expanded form in Old English texts can in fact be ascribed to the choice of the narrator to manifest his attitude in the text explicitly. It is noteworthy that the manifestation of the narrator's attitude in texts is still in its infancy in Old English but, following Cecily Clark's (1971) stylistic remarks⁵ about the increasing use of subjective expressions between the 9th and 12th century in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, we would like to add the use of the expanded form to the range of linguistic markers of subjectivity suggested by Clark (1971). However, given the rarity of the occurrence of the expanded form in this period and the low number of texts in narrative prose, this remark needs to stay at the level of speculation, though it is compatible with evidence for the "subjective" character of the expanded form (see Chapters 5 and 6 for further evidence in Modern English).

⁴ Dennis's (1940) study focuses on the general evolution of the expanded form from the late 15th century onwards whereas Strang's (1982) work is mainly interested in the post-1700 period onwards.

⁵ Throughout the Old English period, "adjectives and adverbs, although still sparse, are more emotive, helping to set events against the background of contemporary reaction" (Clark 1971:227). To this Clark (1971) adds the use of subordinate clauses indicating concession and causation and other rhetorical devices such as repetition, alliteration, emphatic word order, and antitheses, which all allow the narrator to convey more emotion in his annals. Even though these observations are applied to the examination of one text in prose style, it would be significant to extend the study to a wider range of narrative prose and see how the use of subjective markers developed throughout the Old English period, but this goes beyond our research.

The difference of proportions of expanded forms, which can be observed not only between two different kinds of genre -- prose and poetry -- but also within a given genre can be linked to the importance of the presence of the narrator/translator. The more formal and literary the narrator sounds, the less often the narrator manifests his presence, and the less likely he uses the expanded form. Thus, in poetry, it is clear that the style is very formal and elegant and the poet explicitly manifests a certain distance with respect to the text and the readers. Hence the low frequency of expanded forms in poetry as opposed to that of prose. Nevertheless, in prose works, it is to be observed that the style in religious works can be associated with more stylistic mannerism than historical works, probably because of the topic at stake.

Consequently, in this section, it has been established that the choice of the expanded form in OE seems to be restricted to specific genres, which are the direct manifestation of the presence of the narrator/translator. But this stylistic restriction does not shed more light on the understanding of the function of the expanded form in Old English. Another criterion in favour of the weak sense of the stylistic function of the construction can be taken into account; it involves the restricted distribution of the construction within a text.

4.2.2.2 Restricted distribution within a text

Three types of narrative prose will be examined with respect to the distribution of the expanded form text-internally: an historical work involving original native OE prose, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, and two translations, which both Mossé (1938 I) and Scheffer (1975), for instance, consider as nearly free of Latin influence, *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies*.

Firstly, the distribution of the expanded form in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (29) (see Table 4.2.a in Appendix A) turns out to be irregular when the evolution is followed per century. After a regular increase of the use of the expanded form from the middle of the eighth century⁶ (3 occurrences for this period) to the end of the ninth century (7 occurrences for the whole ninth century), the consideration of the tenth century is problematic, as the number of expanded forms goes down to three for the

⁶ The first occurrence of the expanded form was found in the entry 656E but it cannot be taken into account in the evolution per century here since that occurrence was used in the Peterborough Chronicle, which was written in the twelfth century and therefore was not contemporary of the entry. So the oldest occurrences of the expanded form are used in the 750A entry and are to be attributed to the Parker Chronicle, the oldest manuscript for Old English prose writing, written between 892 and 1004.

whole century, less than 50% of that of the ninth century. Then, the number is trebled in the eleventh century to reach nine occurrences. In the following century, the number drops to six, but it concerns only the first part of the twelfth century. It is also to be noticed that the second part of the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries always represents the greatest percentage of occurrences if each of them is compared to the total amount of the occurrences of the relevant century. Therefore, the second part of the ninth century has six times as many occurrences as the first part; the second part of the tenth century contains twice as many occurrences as the first part of the century; and finally, the same remark can be applied to the second part of the eleventh century. On the whole, it is extremely difficult to evaluate the general tendency of the number of expanded forms throughout the centuries -- is it an increase or a decrease in the number of the expanded forms throughout the centuries? -- given first the rarity of the occurrences, and second the frequent change of scribes for the writing up of the annals as there are no less than 15 changes of hands in Ms A according to Janet Bately (1986).

Secondly, the examination of the distribution of the expanded forms in *Orosius* (see Table 4.2.b in Appendix A) corroborates the previous results observed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*: in *Orosius*, the uneven distribution of the expanded form is observed not only throughout the six books but also throughout the different chapters of a given book.

Because there are 238 expanded forms in the whole work, with three in the contents, it is assumed that the average number of expanded forms per book amounts to 39. But Book I and Book II have a higher number of expanded forms (58 and 64 respectively), namely about 50% more than the average number; Book III and Book IV contain the average number of expanded forms (40 and 41 respectively), and Book V and Book VI have a much lower number of expanded forms (23 and 11 respectively), namely about 40% and 75% less than the average number of expanded forms respectively.

There are also some discrepancies to be observed with respect to the distribution of expanded forms within a given book. For instance, the highest number of expanded forms are to be found in Book II chapter 4 (19 expanded forms) and Book II chapter 5 (13 expanded forms); in other words, the total in the two chapters (32 expanded forms) represents exactly 50% of the total of the expanded forms in Book II only (64). Likewise, Book III chapter 7 contains 14 of the 40 expanded forms found in Book III, and therefore nearly 30% of all the expanded forms in Book III are to be found in one chapter.

Moreover, there is a very high number of chapters with no expanded form at all, which contributes to the uneven distribution of the expanded form. They fail to occur in the following chapters: Book I chapter 4 and 6; Book III chapters 3 and 4; Book IV chapters 3 and 12; Book V chapters 5, 6, 8, 14, and 15; Book VI chapters 2 to 4, chapters 6 to 22, chapters 24 to 29, chapters 32 and 33, chapters 35 and 38.

Thirdly, the examination of the distribution of the expanded form in the *Blickling Homilies* confirms the results observed in the two previous works, namely the uneven distribution of the expanded form. The *Blickling Homilies* contains 19 Homilies and 158 expanded forms. But Homily XIII will not be taken into account in the commentary, since it contains an excessively high number of expanded forms (89), which for the most part (93%) deals with dynamic activity verbs, with an unusually high number of the verbs being *cweðan* 'speak' (38), and it is said to have been written by a different scribe. Therefore, considering the remaining 18 Homilies, there can be calculated an average number of 3.8 expanded forms per Homily. But the distribution of the expanded form is far from being regular, as illustrated in Table 4.2.c (see Appendix A). The highest numbers of expanded forms are found in Homily II (8), Homily VI (9), and Homily XIX (20). The number of expanded forms in the latter three Homilies represent 54% of the total amount. Besides, no expanded form is to be encountered in Homily III, Homily IX, Homily XV and Homily XVI.

So far it has been shown that on the basis of a careful examination of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, *Orosius*, and the *Blickling Homilies*, the distribution of the expanded form is uneven, whether throughout the centuries, or throughout the books and chapters of a given work. This restricted use of the construction certainly involves a personal choice of the narrator. This kind of choice can also be illustrated by the comparison of the translations and revisions of a given text after an interval of one century.

Two translations are to be looked at briefly: the translations of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and the translation and revision of Gregory's *Dialogues*. The *Gospel of Nicodemus* has three different translations: A (Ms. Camb. Univ. Lib. II. 2.11) and B (Cott. Vitell. A15, *Beowulf*'s manuscript) were written at the same period, the 11th century, but C (Cott. Vesp. D14) is supposed to date to the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century. Following Mossé (1938 I, p.105), it is noticed that the part common to the three manuscripts shows many textual differences. In particular, when the common part of both A and B is compared to that of C, the number of expanded forms goes down from 61 to 19, that is nearly 69% less. The

translation and revision of Gregory's *Dialogues* is also worth looking at. Bishop Wærferth of Worcester set about translating the *Dialogues* into English at King Ælfred's command in the late 9th century, and the translation was revised between the mid 10th century and the mid 11th century. According to Mitchell (1985:274), quoting Scherer (1954:55-6), the reviser considerably reduced the number of expanded forms: from the 56 examples found in Ms C, only 15 remained in Ms H. The frequency has then fallen by 25%.

Given the two kinds of translations briefly considered, it is undoubtedly the personal preference of the translator/reviser which is at stake after an interval of one century. But we still do not know on what criteria it is based. It might well be the case that the expanded form has acquired a more specific verbal value in late OE, which still needs to be identified. For the time being, it is still needed to see if and how the choice of the expanded form and that of subject matter are interconnected.

4.2.2.3 Influence of the subject matter on the use of the expanded form

In the three prose works considered, the number of expanded forms in different parts of them is directly linked to the subject matter at stake. Thus, the high number of expanded forms in a paragraph is very much correlated to the narration of certain topics. For instance, battles can be described with the expanded form, as exemplified with the three occurrences of the expanded form of the verb *feohtan* 'fight' in the famous entry 755A of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, narrating the conflict between King Cynewulf of Wessex and his enemy Cyneheard, whose brother was unfairly deprived of his kingdoms by a cruel and wicked Cynewulf, as illustrated below:

se Cynewulf oft miclum gefeohtum feaht uuip Bretwalum; 7 ymb .xxxī. wintra þæs þe he rice hæfde, he wolde adræfan anne eþeling se was Cyneheard haten, 7 se Cyneheard wæs þæs Sigebryhtes broþur; 7 þa geascode he þone cyning lytle werode on wifcyppe on Merantune 7 hine þær berad 7 þone bur utan beeode ær hine þa men onfunden þe mid þam kyninge wærun; 7 þa ongeat se cyning þæt 7 he on þa duru eode 7 þa unheanlice hine werode, oþ he on þone eþeling locode 7 þa ut rædde on hine 7 hine miclum gewundode, 7 hie alle on þone cyning wærun feohtende oþ þæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon; 7 þa on þæs wifes gebærum onfundon þæs cyninges pegnas þa unstillnesse 7 þa þider urnon swa hwelc swa þonne gearo wearþ 7 radost; 7 hiera se eþeling gehwelcum feoh 7 feorh gebead, 7 hiera nænig hit gepicgean nolde. Ac hie simle feohtende wæran oþ hie alle lægon butan anum

bryttiscum gisle [...] 7 hie þa ymb þa gatu feohtende wæron oþ
 þæt hie þærinne fulgon 7 þone epeling ofslogon 7 þa men þe him mid
 wærun alle butan anum [...].

(Bately 1986:36-37)

‘And Cynewulf frequently fought great battles against the Welsh; and after ruling 31 years he wished to expel a prince called Cynheard; the brother of S. And then he learnt that the King was visiting a mistress at Merantun, with but a small retinue; and he surprised him there, and surrounded the bower before the men who were with the King became aware of him. And then the King perceived this, and he went up to the door and then gallantly defended himself until he caught sight of the prince, and then rushed out on him and severely wounded him. And they all set on the King until they had slain him. And then from the woman’s cries the King’s thanes became aware of the disturbance, and whoever then was ready and quickest ran thither; and the prince offered each of them money and life, and none of them would accept it, but they went on fighting continuously until they all lay slain, except one Welsh hostage [...]. And they went on fighting around the gates until they forced their way in and slew the prince and the men who were with him, all except one [...].’

(Translated by Garmonsway (1953:47-8))

Let us notice that when the narrator mentions at the beginning of the passage that Cynewulf was involved in many battles, he presents this as a fact, with the use of the simple past, in the sense that he introduces this part of the narrative objectively without any subjective forms, as shown in *oft miclum gefeohtum feaht*. It is only when the narrator reaches the scenes of fighting leading to the death of the King and his subjects that he starts using the expanded form of *feohtan*. Thus, the narrator chooses the expanded form to underline some part of the narrative with the verb *feohtan* in some specific scenes, and therefore it highlights some part of the narrative.

Likewise, in *Orosius*, the three occurrences of the expanded form with verbs of plunder and fight such as *hergian* and *slean* within a few lines in Book II chapter 8 allows the narrator to focus on one particular aspect of the attack made by the Gauls against Rome, as illustrated below:

7 him Uaius se consul mid gefeohte ongean com 7 eac raðe gefliemed
 wearð eft into Romebyrig, 7 him Gallie wæron æfterfylgende oþ
 hie ealle þærbinnan wæron: gelice mon mæd mawe, hie wæron þa
 burg hergende 7 sleande buton ælcere ware.

(Bately 1980:51-2)

‘After this the Consul marched against the Gauls, and being beat back quite to Rome, the Gauls pursued so fast, that they entered the town at the same time, so that it was filled with slaughter, and every kind of devastation.’

(Translated by Barrington (1773:75))

Again, with the expanded form, the narrator focuses on some part of the narrative with the verbs *æfterfylgan*, *hergian* and *slean* then contributing to a more vivid description of the battle.

In addition to scenes of fight and plunder, which can be underlined with the use of the expanded form, there are some descriptions of nature, which can be highlighted in the same way, by drawing attention to some specific part of the narrative. The passage from *Orosius*, Book II chapter 4, is particularly interesting since it is taken from the chapter that contains the most numerous occurrences of the expanded form (18). Let us take an extract from this chapter:

7 sippan mid his firde þær oferfor. 7 æfter þæm Euftrate þa ea, seo is
mæst eallra ferscra wætera, 7 is **irnende** þurh middewearde
Babylonia burg, he hie eac mid gedelfe on monige ea upp forlet 7
sippan mid eallum his folce on ðære ea gong on þa burg **færende**
wæs 7 hie gerahte [...], on þæm is **iernende** seungefoglecesta
stream.

(Bately 1980:43)

'After which [Cyrus] passed [the Candes] with his army, as well as the Euphrates, which is the greatest of all fresh rivers, and which runs through the middle of the town of Babylon. This stream Cyrus also divided by ditches into many channels, and passing afterwards with his whole army to the city, made himself master of it [...]. Round [the walls] was a very large dyke, supplied by that stupendous stream (the Candes).'

(Translated by Barrington (1773:60-1))

The following passage, also from *Orosius*, is taken from Book I chapter 1. The three occurrences of the expanded form with *irnan* 'run' and *flowan* 'flow' intensifies the description of the Nile within a few lines, as illustrated below:

Nilus seo ea hire æwielme is neh þæm clife þære Readan Sæs [...] þonne fol raðe þæs sie east **irnende** on þæt sond 7 þonne besince eft on þæt sand 7 þær neh sie eft **flowende** up of þæm sande 7 þær wyrçð micelne sæ [...] Ond þonne of þæm sæ þær he up of þæm sonde scyt he is east **irnende** from eastdæle þurh Æthiopica westenne [...]. Þonne on þæm wintregum tidum wyrþ se muþa fordrifen foran from þæm norþernum windum þæt seo ea bið **flowende** ofer eal Ægypta land.

(Bately 1980:11)

'The head of the Nile is near the cliffs of the Red Sea, though some say it is in the western part of Africa, near Mount Atlas, whence it flows over a large tract of sand till it sinks; it then proceeds in its course till it becomes a great sea; [...] it empties itself into

the Mediterranean, where (in the winter season) the current at the mouth is opposed by the northern winds, so that the river is spread all over Egypt.’

(Translated by Barrington (1773:5-6))

As for the impact of the subject matter on the choice of the expanded form in Book I chapter 1, it is to be noticed that there is a need to distinguish the famous Wulfstan-Othere interpolation, which in the five pages of the account of their voyages, contains only one expanded form, from the other six expanded forms spread out all over the nine remaining pages dealing with a geographical description of the world. For the first part of the geographical description before the interpolation, Nickel calculates an extremely high coefficient $K=795$, whereas he finds a low coefficient $K=39$ for the interpolation. Thus, the level of the coefficient is well correlated to the nature of the subject matter.

It is also necessary to make a short commentary on the chapters or passages in which the occurrences of the expanded form are rare or non-existent. When the narrator does not want to focus on a particular event in the narrative, he just enumerates the events very briefly, without giving the reader any detail. Such is the case in Book III chapter 6, (one occurrence of the expanded form only), in which it is explained very succinctly how the Romans made war with the Latins, or in Book III chapter 4, (no occurrence of the expanded form), in which it is related how the Gauls devastated the Roman territories. In the *Blickling Homilies*, the same remarks can be applied to Homily 8, called “Soul’s Need”, and Homily 11, called “Holy Thursday”, in which only one expanded form occurs, because the narrator does not attach more importance to any specific event in the chain of the narrative events.

In 4.2.2, despite the attempt to give some weight to the stylistic function of the expanded form in Old English by defining it in a weak sense on the basis of three criteria – the restriction of the construction to specific genres, its restricted distribution within a text, and the influence of the subject matter on its use – no explanation can be provided related to the restricted use of the expanded form in Old English. Therefore, the criteria are not convincing since they are not explanatory.

Consequently, in 4.2, not only did we reject the hypothesis of a strong sense for the stylistic function but also we put into question the possibility of interpreting its stylistic variation in a weak sense. It still seems difficult to completely abandon the weak sense, though, given the rarity of the occurrences of the expanded form, as previously seen in Table 4.1 about the distribution of the expanded form in Old English works. In

this table, it must be remarked that the highest coefficient K is displayed by a representative of the genre of narrative prose. Even though this genre is said to have its own status and constraints, it is still in its infancy in Old English. So its characteristics still remain imprecise in Old English, and therefore we do not know whether the low frequency of the expanded form is due to the still innovative use of the genre or to the narrator's own style. Consequently, the stylistic function of the expanded form, which is defined in a weak sense, seems difficult to confirm or disconfirm. Nevertheless, it can be agreed that a semantic criterion, namely **the highlighting of activity verbs**, was already identified with respect to the choice of the expanded form, which will lead us to try to identify a function for the construction in Old English in the following section.

4.3 An attempt to identify a function for the OE expanded form *beon + V -ende*

4.3.1 Relevance of the choice of the text for the analysis

As shown in 3.2.2.1, the use of the OE expanded form is restricted to prose to a large extent. Therefore, the focus of the study of the OE expanded form has to be on prose writing.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, written in the Ælfredian period and beyond, and covering a historical period extending from the creation of the world till the middle of the twelfth century, represents a milestone in OE original prose writing, as exemplified below:

“There existed a body of tradition about the landing of different bodies of invaders, their wars with the Britons, and the deaths of important leaders. The Ælfredian Chronicle is itself the oldest authority for these traditions.”

(Stenton 1943:20)

“If the *Chronicle* is essential to the historian as ‘the fundamental authority for Old English History’ it is also ‘the first national continuous history of a western nation in its own language,’ and ‘the first great book in English prose’ [...]. The *Chronicle* can claim to be by far the oldest historical prose in any Germanic language, which by the time of the Conquest had developed for itself an easy, commanding utterance, surpassing the immediate requirements of the mere unambitious annalist.”

(Garmonsway 1953:xvi)

In this text, the coefficient K is relatively high (68) for an original OE prose text. Therefore, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* will be considered in an attempt to identify a function for the OE expanded form.

Besides, it turns out to be crucial to also focus on prose translations which are nearly devoid of Latin influence. In such cases, the narrator very much distances himself from the Latin original, and therefore his prose works can be considered as good examples of Old English written at the time. So if the expanded form is used in this kind of translation, it is highly probable that its use is due to reasons independent of the Latin model. According to Scheffer (1975), with respect to the Ælfredian period, the adaption of *Orosius*, an historical work, is a rather free adaptation, since 82% of the OE expanded forms are quite independent of the aforementioned Latin constructions. With respect to the Ælfrician period, the *Blickling Homilies*, a religiously-inspired work anonymously written nearly the end of the tenth century, is said by Mossé (1938 I) and Scheffer (1975), for instance, to be quite independent from the Latin model. In these two works, the coefficient K is very high: 336 for *Orosius* and 109 for the *Blickling Homilies* (see Table 4.1 in Appendix A). The two prose adaptations will also be closely examined with respect to the occurrences of the expanded form.

4.3.2 A first approach -- Study of the OE expanded form in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*

4.3.2.1 Comparison between the number of simple forms and that of expanded forms in the data

In an attempt to determine the significance of the expanded form within the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, its frequency will be compared to that of the simple form and this comparison will be pursued for each of the three verb types already mentioned in the previous chapter, namely verbs topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior [...] (dynamic and non-dynamic activity verbs), verbs topologically represented with two merged boundaries I (punctual and achievement verbs), and verbs topologically represented with two open boundaries and a homogeneous interior]_[(stative verbs). To simplify the calculation of the number of simple forms, two extracts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* will be considered both being taken from the *Peterborough Chronicle* edited by Plummer (1889), and representing about 2000 words; the first extract extends from 835E to 868E, the second extract from 980E to 999E. And it will be assumed that they are representative of a significant sample of the whole work so that the comparison at stake be valid. Consequently, in Table 4.4.a (see Appendix A), the first column represents the different verb types distinguished; the second column shows the

cumulated numbers of simple forms in the two extracts, and their corresponding percentage; and the third column displays the number of expanded forms per verb type in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, and the corresponding percentages. The results of the comparison between the second and third column will be interpreted as follows. For a given verb type, if the percentage of verbs in the expanded form is nearly the same as the one in the simple form, the expanded form can be said to have no significant function of its own. On the contrary, if the percentages observed for a given verb type clearly differ, then it is possible to determine whether the use of the expanded form is favoured or not by a certain verb type. In what follows, we shall also consider the percentage Δ_i of the increase of the number of verb type i in the expanded form, which is defined as the difference between the percentage E_i of verb type i in the expanded form and the percentage S_i of verb type i in the simple form, the result being divided by the latter percentage. Hence the following formula: $\Delta_i = \frac{E_i - S_i}{S_i}$. Let us now have a closer look at the results of Table 4.4.a (see Appendix A).

Among the verbs in the simple form in the extract, activity verbs represent the majority (56%), with punctual and achievement verbs (29%) and stative verbs (15%) being less used. This hierarchy of verb types for the use of the simple form is also respected when the verbs are used in the expanded form: first, activity verbs (97%); second, punctual and achievement verbs (3%); and third, stative verbs (0%). More interestingly, when you compare the percentage of activity verbs, namely verbs with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, in the simple form and the expanded form, their percentage increases by +73% when they are used in the expanded form. Within activity verbs, the increase of the percentage is even more striking with the non-dynamic subtype (+180%) as opposed to the dynamic subtype (+50%) when they are used in the expanded form.

By contrast, when you look at the remaining verb types in the simple form and expanded form, namely verbs with an empty interior, which comprise verbs with merged boundaries and verbs with two open boundaries and a homogeneous interior, their percentage decreases dramatically when they are used in the expanded form: -90% for punctual verbs and -100% for stative verbs.

From this it follows that the use of the expanded form favours a particular kind of verbs, namely verbs with a non-empty internal structure, and it seems nearly incompatible with verbs with no internal structure. Hence the significance of the function of the expanded form. Let us now see the distribution in more detail, by taking into account a few parameters: the type of verbs occurring with the expanded

form, the locative, temporal and subjective markers, collocating with the construction, and the type of clauses in which it is used. To simplify the classification, locative adjuncts and conjuncts will be called locajuncts; temporal adjuncts and conjuncts, temporojuncts; and subjective adjuncts and conjuncts, subjuncts.

4.3.2.2 Interpretation of the data

4.3.2.2.1 Parameter of the verb type with the expanded form

29 expanded forms *beon + V -ende* are recorded within the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (see Table 4.2.a in Appendix A). As shown in Table 4.5.a (see Appendix A), they include 28 activity verbs, and among them, 20 dynamic verbs, mainly verbs of warfare such as (*on-*) *feohtan* 'fight' and *winnan* 'fight', and 8 non-dynamic verbs such as *wunian* 'stay, live', and *sittan* 'sit'. Only one punctual verb, namely *fyrclian* 'flash', occurs in the expanded form but no achievement or stative verb collocates with the construction.

As a first approximation, then, it is tempting to say that the expanded form in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* emphasizes the activity going on in the situation described, which interpretation is all the more encouraged since, in the vast majority of the cases (28 out of 29 cases, namely 97% of the examples), the expanded form is associated with activity verbs, which are topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, and therefore have a non-empty internal structure. The expanded form focuses on the internal structure of the verb, hence the semantic interpretation of an activity going on, as exemplified in 1066C with the verb *feohtan* 'fight':

1066C 7 swyðe heardlice lange on dæg feohtende wæron
'and [they] were fighting very strenuously long in the day.'

The verb *feohtan* 'fight' is topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior: [...]. By using the expanded form, the narrator underlines the heterogeneous interior of the topological representation of the verb *feohtan*. Consequently, the activity of fighting is interpreted as going on, which is reinforced by an explicit marker of duration such as *lange on dæg*.

Conversely, if we admit, for the time being, that the expanded form cannot but focus on the (non-empty) internal structure of the verb, then this accounts for the inability of the expanded form to occur with achievement and stative verbs, for instance, since in

both cases, no verb can be topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior: achievement verbs are topologically represented with two merged boundaries, and stative verbs, with two open boundaries. This is corroborated by the results. No expanded form collocates with either an achievement verb or a stative verb in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. Nevertheless, one occurrence of punctual verb is found in 1106E. Because it is punctual, the verb is topologically represented with two merged boundaries. This (apparent) exception can be discussed as follows:

1106E 7 sumne æfen wæs gesæwen swilce se beam on gearweards wið
 þes steorran ward fyrcliende wære
 'and one evening it seemed as if the beam was flashing in the opposite direction towards
 the star.'

In this example, the event of flashing lights can be linguistically viewed as a potentially finite series of punctual verbs, which verb is topologically represented with two merged boundaries: I. The topological structure of the whole scene can then be analyzed as a non-ending series of merged boundaries, as follows: [I I I ... [. We consequently have constructed two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, which interior is underlined by the expanded form. This topological structure very much resembles that of an activity verb.

4.3.2.2.2 Parameters of the locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts with the expanded form

Moreover, as for the types of markers occurring in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, 15 locajuncts, 19 temporojuncts and 17 subjuncts⁷ have been found (see Table 4.6.a and Table 4.7.a respectively in Appendix A) and the expanded forms accompanied by them respectively represent 58%, 66% and 59% of all the expanded forms in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. The relatively high percentage of expanded forms with locajuncts was expected since there are a lot of activity verbs of fight and plunder which are often accompanied by adverbials of location such as *on þone cynning* (755A) and *þær* (855A, 1001E). The frequent collocation of the construction with locajuncts contributes to favour the emergence of a locative meaning for the expanded form in the data. In addition, because it was acknowledged that the expression originated in a locative expression (see section 3.2.2), the locative interpretation is not surprising and turns out to be a confirmation of the special correlation existing between semantic

⁷ A particular marker can be both classified as temporal and subjective, and therefore be counted twice in the survey.

meaning and form of expression in grammaticalization. As for the temporojuncts in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, 9 indicate duration, namely a period extending in time, as illustrated by the use of *simle* (755A), *lange on dæg* (1066C), and *æfre* (1100E), and 10 indicate a point in time, either after a period of time or in a series of events, as exemplified by the use of *op* (755A, 871A) and *pa* (755E, 994E). The temporal interpretation of the expanded form given above is then corroborated. As for the use of subjuncts occurring with the expanded form, 11 can be classified as intensifying subjuncts, such as *æ* (755A), *swyðe* (1066C), and *æfre* (1100E); and 6 indicate manner, such as *midrihte hlaforddome* (918C) and *heardlice* (1066C). Because the subjuncts collocate with more than half of the instances of the expanded forms in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, the subjective element, showing the presence of the narrator within the semantic interpretation of the expanded form, should not be underestimated. Nevertheless, we would not go as far as to say that the meaning of the expanded form in Old English must include the presence of the narrator. This subjective, judgemental element of meaning is pragmatically inferred from the neighbouring linguistic elements occurring with the expanded form, namely the subjuncts. This observation could well corroborate Cecily Clark's (1971) remarks about the increasing marking of the narrator's attitude in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, as previously underlined. But more data would be needed to confirm this position.

4.3.2.2.3 Parameter of the clause type with the expanded form

Let us now consider the type of clause in which the construction occurs. Out of 29 occurrences of *beon + V -ende*, 17 are used in main clauses, hence 59% of the total, and 12 in subordinate clauses, hence 41% of the total. Not a specific type of subordinate clause is favoured: it can be introduced by a conjunction of subordination of comparison such as *swilce* (1098C, 1106E), or a temporal conjunction such as *pæs ðe* (918C), a consecutive conjunction such as *swa pæt* (1031A), or a relative conjunction such as *pe* (1085E), as exemplified below:

1031A swa pæt loc whenne pæt flot byp ealra hehst 7 ealra fullost
 'beo' an scip flotigende swa neh þan lande swa hit nyxt [mæge]
 'so that whenever the tide is at its highest and at the full a ship is floating at night as close to the shore as it is possible.'

1085E Ða Willem Englalandes cyng, þe pa wæs sittende on
 Normandige forðig he ahte ægðer ge Englaland ge Normandige, þis
 geaxode, he ferde into Englalande

'When king William of England, who was residing in Normandy because he owned both England and Normandy, learned about this, he returned to England.'

This distribution of the expanded form in Old English is not surprising, given that the typical way of narrating events in chronicles turns out to be the use of coordinated main clauses. Nevertheless, as underlined by Clark (1971:221ff.), between the early and late years of the Ælfredian period, for instance, the number of subordinate clauses increases incredibly to the point that Clark considers their use as free by the end of the Ælfredian reign, the narrator of chronicles becoming probably fully aware that subordinate clauses can be used as a linguistic means of commentary, as exemplified by the innovative use of concessive clauses by the end of the ninth century. Consequently, throughout the Old English period, subordinate clauses acquire a more substantial linguistic status. In this sense, the statistics must be qualified. Even though the high majority of expanded forms are used in main clauses, this does not provide crucial evidence for a definite preference of the use of the expanded form in a certain type of clause. It is still too soon in Old English to draw any hasty conclusion with respect to the collocation of the expanded form in a certain type of clause.

Thus, in 4.3.2, the examination of the data in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* with respect to the collocation of the expanded form with certain verb types, locajuncts, temporojuncts, subjuncts, and clause types provides the following results. The category of activity verbs represents the mostly favoured type of verbs associated with the expanded form. The relatively high number of expressions with locajuncts bring about the emergence of a locative meaning for the expanded form in the data. The temporal parameter is always linguistically present, since the expanded form is associated with activity verbs in 28 cases out of 29, and can be reinforced by the presence of temporojuncts. The subjective element can be explicitly indicated by the use of subjuncts, indicating manner or intensity, but it seems a bit far-fetched to say that this judgemental element of meaning is inherent in the expanded form. As for the use of the expanded form with a specific type of clause, it is too early in the development of Old English prose to provide an answer: the rarity of the expanded form on one hand, and the innovative use of subordinate clauses during the ninth century lead us to say that the results showing a preference for main clauses must be qualified.

Besides, even though it is tempting, given the results, to interpret the meaning of the expanded form in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* in terms of aspect, it is hardly the case in 100% of the examples examined. Indeed, when you have a closer look at translations into Modern English, not all the 29 occurrences of the expanded form in

the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* are translated by an expanded form. In Gomme's (1909) translation, only 18 Modern English expanded forms occur and it is only from the entry 994E that the expanded form is frequently translated by its Modern English counterpart in 14 out of 15 cases. In Garmonsway's (1953) translation, the first use of a Modern English expanded form is recorded only for 1031A; from this entry onwards 9 Modern English expanded forms out of 11 cases are used. In a more recent translation by Swanton (1996), 20 Modern English can be found. We are well aware that the use of the Modern English construction is not of the same frequency in the three translations and the Old English construction can be rendered by other translations in Modern English, especially expressions involving a durative verb, such as 'went on' and 'continued' (4 examples in Gomme and 10 in Garmonsway). But there are Old English examples, which could have no Modern English counterpart, since they are interpreted with an inchoative meaning (Gomme's translation 'began fighting' in 755A and 'began to hold' in 918C); Swanton's translation 'turned to making war' in 867A) or with a generic meaning (Garmonsway's translation 'is afloat' in 1031A; Swanton's translation 'stands' in 1031A). In order to encapsulate these examples, we would be inclined to say that even though there exist non-ambiguous cases of the aspectual use of the expanded form in Old English, we would rather say that the construction in Old English helps the narrator to **underline a specific Aktionsart of a verb in the narrative, especially that of an activity verb, and then focus on a particular event.**

This in accordance with the points of view elaborated by Kuryłowicz (1973), Thelin (1978) and Rot (1980, 1988, 1993), to name a few, who not only notice the strong correlation between aspect and Aktionsart, but also "believe that the category of aspect arose from oppositions within the system of Aktionsart" (Rot 1993:163). For instance, following Thelin's argumentation, it can be said that the semantic feature which played a crucial role in the coming into existence of the Slavic aspect category, namely the opposition PERFECTIVE:IMPERFECTIVE, turns out to be the semantic primitive \pm DEFINITE which, alongside the catalyzing effect of the distinction AORIST:IMPERFECT, was temporalized in the sense that "it was modified to define events in relation to the time axis (\pm TIME)" (Thelin 1978:22). To the aforementioned primitive was added the semantic feature \pm TOT ("total"), which fulfilled the function of expressing how time-related events came into contact with the time axis. It is also probable that this temporalization was favoured by verbal prefixes, the role of which is said to semantically differentiate the verbs to which they are attached. The criterion of prefixation should not be underestimated in the development of aspect in Slavic languages since, among the verbs that were not perfectivized, were "the non-prefixed

definite verbs of motion” (Thelin 1978:24). On the basis of Thelin’s (1978) reasoning, it is possible to argue that the semantic primitive \pm INDEFINITE played a central part in the rising of the English aspect category, namely the opposition expanded form: simple form, and at some point became temporalized. The semantic feature \pm HET (“heterogeneous”) was added to the semantic primitive and showed how time-related events came into contact with the time axis. The temporalization was most probably highly favoured by the nature of the Aktionsart of verbs: verbs of activity are verbs which, by definition, have a topological structure with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior made with distinct points; consequently, activity verbs include the heterogeneous feature in their inherent meaning and represent the perfect template for the use and development of the expanded form in Old English.

Now it would be worth examining other data in Old English, namely *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies*, in order to refine our analysis with respect to the interpretation of the expanded form in Old English.

4.4 Refinements of the analysis -- Study of the OE expanded form *beon* + V *-ende* in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies*

4.4.1 Comparison between the number of simple forms and that of expanded forms in the data

In order to establish a possible semantic interpretation of the expanded form in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies*, it is significant to make a comparison between the number of simple forms and that of expanded forms within each piece of work, which is the purpose of the present section.

In *Orosius*, because Book III and Book IV show the same tendencies with respect to the distribution of the simple form, we shall focus our attention on the comparison between the distribution of the simple form in Book III and that of the expanded form in *Orosius* (see Table 4.4.b). A similar reasoning could be made if we used Book IV instead of Book III in the argumentation. Thus, among the verbs in the simple form in Book III, it is the activity verbs, namely verbs with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, which represent the highest proportion of the use of the simple form (62%), as opposed to 10% for verbs with merged boundaries and 29% for verbs with two open boundaries and a homogeneous interior. This hierarchy is also established when you consider the results for the expanded form in *Orosius*: 87% of expanded forms are used with verbs with two separate boundaries

and a heterogeneous interior, as opposed to 7% with verbs with two open boundaries and a homogeneous interior, and 6% with verbs with two merged boundaries. Let us notice that the percentage of the use of the expanded form with verbs having two open boundaries and a homogeneous interior is superior to that with verbs having two merged boundaries, which looks unusual, since by definition a verb with merged boundaries is more permeable to the expanded form than the other type, but we have no explanation to provide for this apparent anomaly.

What is interesting to notice between the results for the simple form in Book III and those for the expanded form in *Orosius* is that when one compares the percentage of activity verbs in the simple form and the expanded form, their percentage increases by +40% when they are used in the expanded form. Within activity verbs, the increase of the percentage of the expanded form is much higher with non-dynamic verbs (+800%) than it is with the dynamic ones (+44%). As opposed to this result, the percentage of verbs with merged boundaries and that of verbs with two open boundaries and a homogeneous interior decrease strikingly when these verbs are used in the expanded form, by comparison with the figures showing their percentage with the simple form (-40% and -76% respectively).

On the whole, the examination of the results concerning simple forms and expanded forms in *Orosius* shows a privileged type of Aktionsart of the verb used in the expanded form, namely verbs of activity, which have an explicit temporal structure, on the one hand, and the more or less important rejection of the other types of Aktionsarts, namely verbs with two merged boundaries and verbs with two open boundaries and a homogeneous interior, which hardly have a topological structure permeable to a temporal interpretation. The same reasoning can be pursued with the other data in the *Blickling Homilies* (see Table 4.4.c in Appendix A), which brings about the same kind of commentary. We shall try now to test the meaning attributed to the expanded form in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*.

4.4.2 Interpretation of the data

In order to provide a more coherent interpretation of the expanded form in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies*, we shall use the following parameters: verb types collocating with the expanded form, and temporojuncts and subjuncts occurring with the construction.

4.4.2.1 Parameter of verb types with the expanded form

The distribution of the expanded form in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies* is as follows. In *Orosius*, 238 expanded forms are recorded, as shown in Tables 4.3.b and 4.5.b (see Appendix A): 207 verbs with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, namely activity verbs, and among them, 186 dynamic ones such as *feohtan* ‘fight’ (28/28) and *faran* ‘go’ (44/6) and 21 non-dynamic ones such as *sittan* ‘sit’ (50/13) and *libban* ‘stay, live’ (64/8); 15 verbs with merged boundaries, such as *berstan* ‘burst’ (88/11), *slean* ‘kill’ (92/16), and *gemunan* ‘mention, take notice’ (110/11); and 16 verbs with open boundaries and a homogeneous interior, such as *forsugian* ‘be silent’ (122/10) and *ofpyncan* ‘take (something) ill, disapprove’ (232/21). In the *Blickling Homilies*, 69 expanded forms are to be found, Homily 13 being excluded, as indicated in Tables 4.3.c and 4.5.c (see Appendix A): 58 activity verbs, and among them, 44 dynamic ones, such *don* ‘do, make’ (51/14) and *cwepan* ‘speak, say’ (231/1), and 14 non-dynamic ones, such *sittan* ‘sit’ (23/8) and *standan* ‘stand’ (11/22); 5 punctual and achievement verbs, such as *gripan* ‘seize’ (211/1) and *seon* ‘see’ (209/30); and 6 stative verbs, such as *miltsian* ‘pity’ (45/1) and *onscunian* ‘shun, avoid’ (111/29).

The examination of the parameter of verb types in both *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies* confirms what was already observed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*: an overwhelming majority of activity verbs, namely verbs topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, are used with the expanded form in *Orosius* (87%) and the *Blickling Homilies* (84%), even though the percentages recorded are slighter inferior to that obtained in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (97%). This relatively small decrease of the use of activity verbs with the expanded form in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies*, as opposed to the figures in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, reflects the reduction in the use of non-dynamic activity verbs (9% of the expanded forms in *Orosius*, 20% in the *Blickling Homilies* but 28% in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*).

Besides, the low percentage of the expanded form with verbs having merged boundaries in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (3%) is confirmed in *Orosius* (6%) and in the *Blickling Homilies* (7%), even though they increase slightly. Furthermore, in contrast with the percentage of the expanded form with verbs having open boundaries and a homogeneous interior, namely stative verbs, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (0%), here the data display an innovative use of the expanded form with this type of verbs in both *Orosius* (7%) and the *Blickling Homilies* (9%).

From the observation of these results it follows that the use of the expanded form in Old English is not so much dependent on a certain type of Aktionsart of the verb, as was initially thought in the examination of the data in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. Indeed, although the use of the expanded form with activity verbs in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies* still represents the high majority of the cases, it has proportionally decreased by comparison with that observed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, which means that the temporal constraint does not need to be explicitly marked by the Aktionsart of the verb in 100% of the cases as it slowly becomes more and more associated with the inherent meaning of the expanded form. This is corroborated in the data by the spreading out of the expanded form to other types of verbs, the topological structure of which clearly reveals the less obvious presence of a temporal constraint. Such is the case with verbs with merged boundaries, which have no interior, along with verbs having two open boundaries and a homogeneous interior, namely stative verbs.

The interpretation of the collocation of the expanded form with the two aforementioned types of verbs can be first illustrated by the example 106/26 with the achievement verb *slean* 'kill' in *Orosius* :

Ac sippan Scipia geascade þæt þa foreweardas wæron feor ðæm fæstenne gesette, 7 eac þæt þær nane oðre near næran, he þa diegelllice gelædde his fird betuh þæm weardum 7 feawe men to oþrum para fæstenna onsende to þon þæt hie his ænne ende onbærndon, þæt sippan mæst ealle þe þærbinnan wæron wæron wið þæs fyres weard, to þon þæt hie hit acwencean þohton. He þa Scipia gemong þæm hie mæst ealle ofslog. Þa þæt þa oþre onfundon þe on ðæm oþrum fæstenne wæron, hie wæron flocmælum þiderweard þæm oþrum to fultume, 7 hie Scipia wæs ealle þa niht sleande, swa hie þonne comon, oð dæg, 7 sippan he hie slog ofer ealne þone dæg fleonde.

(Bately 1980:106)

'Scipio, however, observing that the out-posts were placed at a distance from both their fortified camps, secretly marched his army between them, and sent a few of his men to set one end of their camp on fire, on which all those who were within hastened in order to extinguish it. Scipio, observing this, charged them with his troops, and killed most of them. When this was perceived by the army in the other camp, they immediately hastened in great numbers and confusion to the assistance of their countrymen, when Scipio made a carnage of them during the whole night.'

(Translated by Barrington (1773:163))

This passage narrates all the details of Scipio's stratagem, which will lead him to a successful attack on the Carthaginian camp. By setting one end of the camp on fire, Scipio can bring about disorder and confusion among his enemies. After a whole series of verbs in the simple past, such as, for instance, *geahsode*, [...], *onsende*, *onbærndon*, *wæran*, *pohton*, *onfundon*, etc., the expanded form is used with the achievement verb *slean* 'kill'. Given that the latter is an achievement verb, and therefore has no non-empty interior in its topological structure, the expanded form of *slean* can hardly be interpreted with a temporal value. But we could argue that the temporal adverbial *ealle þa niht* underlines the repetition of the event of killing, thus allowing the whole series to be represented as a non-ending series of punctual events; in this sense, we could say it has a temporal meaning. In addition, it is possible to superimpose the narrator's subjective interpretation of the events in the sense that by using the expanded form with *slean* at this point of the narrative, the narrator insists on the success of Scipio's stratagem, which is shown by the fighting of the whole Carthaginian army.

The use of the expanded form with a verb with merged boundaries can also be illustrated in the following example in *Orosius* with the achievement verb *hienan* 'kill' in 71/24:

Næs his scinlac ne his hergiung on þa fremdan ane, ac he gelice slog 7 hiende þa þe him on siml wæron mid farende 7 winnende. Æst he ofslog Amintas his modrian sunu, 7 sippan his broðor, 7 þa Parmenion his þegn, 7 þa Filiotes, 7 þa Catulusan, þa Eurilohus, þa Pausanias, 7 monege opre þe of Mæcedonian ricoste wæron. 7 Clitus, se wæs ægþer ge his þegn ge ær Philippuses his fæder, þa hie sume sipe druncne æt heora symble sætan, þa angunnon hi treahtigean hwæðer ma mærlæcra dæda gefremed hæfde, þe Philippus þe Alexander. Þa sægde se Clitus for ealdre hyldo þæt Philippus mare hæfde gedon þonne he. He þa Alexander ahleop 7 hiene for þære sægene ofslog. He Alexander toecan þæm þe he **hienende wæs** ægþer ge his agen folc ge oðerra cyninga, he **wæs sinþyrstende** mannes blodes.

(Batley 1980:71)

'Nor did Alexander confine his cruelties, and love of plunder, to his enemies, as he also killed some of those who marched with him into Persia; for first he slew Amyntas, his mother's son, and afterwards his brother; then his thane Parmenius, as also Philotas, Attalus, Eurylochus, Pausanias, with many others, who were the richest of the Macedonians; to these also must be added Clytus, who was thane both to himself and his father. This last murder happened when they were drunk, and sitting together, from its being a matter of dispute, whether Alexander or Philip has done the greatest deeds, when Clytus, on account of his old obligations to Philip, said: "The father had done

more than the son," on which Alexander leaped, and slew him. Thus was he always killing his own people, or other kings, so thirsty was he of other men's blood.'

(Translated by Barrington (1773:106-7))

In this passage, the narrator underlines how extremely cruel Alexander can be, since he kills not only his enemies, but also his closest friends and the closest members of his family, such as, for instance, Parmenion, his mother's son, then his brother, and eventually his father Philip, whose murder epitomizes the most cruel act that a son can ever commit. This is precisely what is emphasized in the last few lines of the paragraph after a series of simple past forms, such as *ahleop*, *sægde* and *ofslog*. The expanded form is used with the achievement verb *hienan* 'kill' and a plural direct object in the accusative *ægper ge his agen folc ge oðerra cyninga*. The plural of the complement could well lead us to interpret the scene as a series of non-ending verbs with merged boundaries, and therefore it could bring about a temporal interpretation of the expanded form. Besides, we again are inclined to think that the use of the expanded form here focuses on the Aktionsart of the verb and then attributes a characteristic to Alexander, that of a killer, which seems to be the point of view taken by the translation in Modern English with the presence of the temporojunct *always*; and it is reinforced by the following commentary in Old English, also in the expanded form *· he wæs sinþyrstende mannes bloddes*, which goes as far as to compare Alexander to a monster thirsty for blood. This subjective interpretation of the situation by the narrator then coexists with the temporal meaning of the expanded form in the passage.

The emphasis on the Aktionsart of a verb with merged boundaries can also be pointed out in some examples of the *Blickling Homilies*, such as in 211/1 with the achievement verb *gripan* 'seize', as shown below:

Swa Sanctus Paulus was geseonde on norðanweardne þisne middangeard, þær ealle wætero niðergewitað, & he þær geseah ofer ðæm wætere sumne harne stan; & wæron norð of ðæm stane awexene swiðe hrimige bearwas, & ðær wæron þystro-genipo, & under þæm stane wæs nicra eardung & wearga. & he geseah þæt on ðæm clife hangodan on ðæm is gean bearwum bearwas, manige swearte saula be heora handum gebundne; & þa fynd þara on nicra onlicnesse heora gripende wæron, swa swa grædig wulf; & þæt wæter wæs sweart under þæm clife neoðan.

'As St. Paul was looking towards the northern region of the earth, from whence all waters pass down, he saw above the water a hoary stone; and north of the stone had

grown woods very rimy. And there were dark mists; and under the stone was the dwelling place of monsters and execrable creatures. And he saw hanging on the cliff opposite to the woods, many black souls with their hands bound; and the devils in likeness of monsters were seizing them like greedy wolves; and the water under the cliff beneath was black.’

(Morris 1880:208-211)

In this example, the narrator enumerates what St. Paul sees, and at some point focuses on what the devils are doing. The expanded form with *gripan* ‘seize’, an achievement verb, is used at this point of the narrative. Because of the use of the plural subject *fynd* and the adjunct *on nicra onlicnesse heora*, the scene is considered as a non-ending repetition of the event of seizing, namely it can be topologically represented as a non-ending series of verbs with two merged boundaries: [I I I ... [. And with the expanded form, the narrator can focus on the heterogeneous interior of the structure, hence the temporal interpretation of an activity going on. This differs from the previous one, in which the narrator also insisted on the characteristics of the character.

Other examples with the expanded form are worth examining since they occur with another verb type, which is even less compatible with the construction, given its topological representation with a homogeneous interior, namely the stative verb, as can be exemplified in *Orosius* 22/15 with the verb *wilnian* ‘be desirous’:

7 hyre þagyt to lytel puhte þæs anwaldes ðe se cyningc ær gewunnen hæfde. Ac hio mid wiflice niðe **wæs feohtende** on ðæt underiende folc Æthiopian 7 eac on Indeas, þa nan man ne ær ne syððan mid gefeohte ne gefor buton Alexander. Hio **wæs wilniende** mid gewinum þæt hio hy oferswyðde, þa hio hit ðurhteon ne mihte.

(Bately 1980:22)

‘[Queen Semiramis] thought, however, the empire which Ninus had conquered was too small, and therefore with feminine lust of power she attacked the innocent Ethiopians, as also the Indians, which no one else ever went so far as to engage, except Alexander; though she was, however, very desirous to subdue them, she did not thoroughly effect it.’

(Translated by Barrington (1773:26))

The passage emphasizes how much cruelty and ambition Queen Semiramis displayed to enlarge on and on for forty two years the empire she had acquired from Ninus. The narrator focuses his attention on a particular battle, in which she eventually failed to achieve what she strove for *mid wiflice niðe* ‘with her feminine lust of power’. The narrator uses his first occurrence of the expanded form with the activity verbs *feohtan* ‘fight’ to underline the battles she made, especially those against the Ethiopians, and

then against the Indians. The second occurrence of the expanded form, which particularly interests us, occurs with the stative verb *wilnian* ‘be desirous’. Here the narrator, by using the construction, underlines a particular part of the narrative with the verb *wilnian*, referring to the queen’s extreme lust for power and at the same time, he says that it was not enough to achieve what she wanted since her endless series of successful conquests was put to an end for the first time.

Other interesting occurrences of the expanded form with stative verbs can be encountered in the *Blickling Homilies*, as in 87/35 with the verb *miltisian* ‘feel compassionate’, as illustrated below:

Adam þagyt and Eua næron onlyside, ah on bendum hie wæron hæfde.
 Adam þa wependre stefne and earmlicre cegde to Drihtne, and cwæp:
 ‘Miltsa me Drihten [...] forþon þe anum ic gesyngade, and mycel yfel
 beforan þe ic gedyde [...]’ Drihten Hælend þa wæs miltsigende
 Adame, and raþe his bendas wæron onlyside.

‘Adam and Eve, as yet, had not been set free, but were held in bonds; Adam then with weeping and with a piteous voice cries to the Lord, and said: ‘Have mercy upon me [...], because I have sinned against thee alone and have done great sin before thee [...].’ The Lord Jesus had mercy upon Adam, and at once his bonds were unloosed.’

(Morris 1880:87)

This passage narrates how Adam, by dint of weeping and imploring the Lord, managed to convince the latter to set Eve and him free. The use of the expanded form with the stative verb *miltisian* focuses our attention on some specific part of the narrative, and in this sense it represents the climax of the narrative, since the Lord’s mercy brings about the liberation of Adam and Eve from their bonds.

4.4.2.2 Parameters of the locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts with the expanded form

Let us now have a closer look at the locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts occurring with the expanded form in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies*.

To begin with, *Orosius* contains 71 locajuncts, such as *ymbe þa burg* (31/10) and *ofer eall Romana rice* (50/7) (see Table 4.7.b) and the *Blickling Homilies*, 20, such as *ymb þa reste* (11/22) and *on urum heortum* (115/14) (see Table 4.7.c). In *Orosius*, 30% of the expanded forms co-occur with a locajunct and 29% in the *Blickling Homilies*, which corresponds to half the rate (58%) obtained for

the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. The evolution of the percentage shows a decrease in the frequency of locajuncts with the construction, thereby indicating that the expanded form is getting increasingly independent of the linguistic marking of location during the Old English period.

Furthermore, *Orosius* includes 190 temporojuncts, as exemplified in Table 4.7.b and the *Blickling Homilies*, 47, as shown in Table 4.7.c. More precisely, *Orosius* contains 55 indicating duration, such as *siex monað* (94/2), *nu* (48/23), and *on þæm dagum* (252/12) and the *Blickling Homilies*, 18 such as *a* (19/20), *symle* (75/19) and *næfre* (93/22); *Orosius* also comprises 135 temporojuncts indicating a point in time, whether after a period of time or in series of events, such as *pa* (166/12), *ert* (56/11) and *op* (50/23), and the *Blickling Homilies*, 29, such as *þa giet* (201/20), *ðagit* (231/32), and *pa pa* (165/18). In contrast with the figures recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, those in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies* have increased with respect to the use of temporojuncts with the expanded form: 80% of the expanded forms in *Orosius* and 68% in the *Blickling Homilies* collocate with temporojuncts, as opposed to 66% in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. Given the interpretation that we gave of the parameter of verb types in the previous section, it might well be the case that the slight decrease of the use of the expanded form with verbs having an explicit temporal structure in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies* as opposed to what happens in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* is counterbalanced by an increase of the use of the expanded form occurring with temporojuncts in the same Old English works.

Moreover, 51 subjuncts are recorded in *Orosius*, as displayed in Table 4.8.b, and 30, in the *Blickling Homilies*, as indicated in Table 4.8.c (see Appendix A). In more detail, two subtypes can be distinguished: on one hand, the subjuncts indicating intensity (23 in *Orosius* such as *swiðe* (38/7) and *unarimedlice* (224/28), and 14 in the *Blickling Homilies*, such as *forþon* (5/2) and *æt nihstan* (199/6); on the other hand, subjuncts indicating the way a situation is perceived, namely manner adverbials, adjectives, etc. (28 in *Orosius* such as *lustlice* (48/23) and *mid micle wope* (242/19), 16 in the *Blickling Homilies*, such as *hu* (55/1) and *hrape* (19/30). As opposed to the figures observed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, (62% of the expanded forms with subjuncts), those in *Orosius* (only 21%) and in the *Blickling Homilies* (only 45%) show an important decrease. Consequently, our hypothesis of a possible subjective, judgemental element of meaning, which can be associated with the expanded form through the use of explicit linguistic temporojuncts or/and subjuncts, must be qualified: this must have been true for the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* but it is less the case in the *Blickling Homilies*, and even less so in *Orosius*; the number of

subjuncts with the expanded form fluctuates too much from one piece of work to another for us to make a generalization with respect this parameter.

4.4.2.3. Parameter of the clause type with the expanded form

Despite the proviso in 4.3.2.2.3 about the status of the clause type in Old English prose narrative, we shall have a brief look at which type of clause the expanded form is associated with in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies* to make our study more systematic. For this parameter, the results obtained in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* are largely confirmed: an important majority are used in main clauses as opposed to subordinate clauses. Out of 238 expanded forms in *Orosius*, 155 (65%) are used in main clauses and 83 (35%) in subordinate clauses. Similarly, out of 69 expanded forms in the *Blickling Homilies*, 44 (64%) occur in main clauses, and 25 (36%) in subordinate clauses.

Thus, in 4.4, by examining the types of verbs, the locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts collocating with the expanded form, and the clause type in which the construction occurs, in *Orosius* and in the *Blickling Homilies*, we have been able to partly confirm the conclusion reached with the data in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. To begin with, the highlighting of the Aktionsart of the verb by the expanded form could be noted not only in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, but also in *Orosius* and in the *Blickling Homilies*, since the construction is used with an overwhelming number of activity verbs, namely verbs which are extremely compatible with temporojuncts, as illustrated in the data. In addition, the evolution of the percentage of locajuncts with the expanded form shows a decrease in the frequency of locajuncts with the construction and therefore it underlines its increasing independence of the linguistic marking of location during the Old English period. Moreover, even though the figures showed a higher compatibility of the expanded form with subjuncts in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* in 4.3, this was not confirmed by the data in *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies*, so the idea that a subjective element of meaning can be pragmatically inferred from the linguistic context seems to vary from text to text and needs further exploration to corroborate Cecily Clark's (1971) argumentation about the growing linguistic expression of subjectivity in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, and to extend it to other Old English texts. Besides, the results observed in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* in 4.3 for the type of clause in which the expanded form occurs have been confirmed in the figures for *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies*: a large majority of expanded forms are used in main clauses.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, an attempt was made to discuss the origins of the verbal construction *beon + V -ende* and its possible function in Old English. Despite the ambiguous grammatical status of the form between an adjectival, appositive, and nominal status, it was possible to identify contexts in which the emergence of the verbal interpretation could well be established, as reflected in the use of the direct object in the accusative with the expanded form. Among the possible foreign languages which influenced the development of the expanded form in Old English, Latin was the focus of our attention, especially in interlinear glosses and translations. Nevertheless, arguments were also brought forward against this influence. The discrepant results of the latter led us to consider a possible stylistic function of the expanded form in Old English but the results, again, were far from being convincing. The last two parts of this chapter were devoted to the investigation of a significant function of the construction through the examination of a few Old English prose writings, namely the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, *Orosius*, and the *Blickling Homilies* in relation to five parameters, namely verb types, locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts, and clause types. It was shown that the expanded form in Old English was becoming increasingly independent of the linguistic marking of location. In addition, interesting examples helped us to identify not only a temporal, and therefore aspectual, interpretation of the expanded form, but also a subjective meaning compatible with the first one, involving the narrator's personal attitude towards the events of the narrative. This conclusion corroborates what was already underlined by Wright (1987), who observes that "the progressive form is used as a sort of comment on the narrative, focussing on aspects of importance". Even though we are well aware that this hypothesis about subjectivity in the interpretation of aspect in Old English still remains at the level of speculation, as already underlined, we would like to examine the subjective parameter with the expanded form in more detail in successive centuries. Therefore, it is necessary to focus on one type of writing, in which the speaker's attitude, namely his subjectivity, can well be illustrated. This is perfectly exemplified by the choice of private letters, as will be further explored in the following chapter.

Chapter 5

The Expanded Form in private letters from the fifteenth century onwards

Whether the expanded form in Middle English directly originated in its Old English counterpart (see Mossé (1938 II) and Visser (1973)) or could hardly be linked to it (see Van der Laan (1922) and Jespersen (1905)) is subject to many a controversial commentary. But we would like to briefly argue in favour of a continuation between its Old English and Middle English use for the following reasons.

Firstly, this continuation of usage can be expressed formally between the two periods. Following Visser (1973), it is to be noticed that three different constructions fulfil the function of the expanded form in Middle English, among which at least two are said to be descendants of *beon + V -ende* in Old English: the first type, *he is huntende*, directly related to its Old English counterpart, was very much in use in the North until the late thirteenth century and it was gradually ousted by its rivals; the second type, *he is on (an, a, in) hunting*, which can be traced back to the late Old English period in Ælfric's *Colloquy*, was quite common in Middle English; the third type, *he is hunting*, the origin of which is more difficult to link to Old English, started being used in the South in the early fourteenth century and it spread all over England by the end of the century. The phonetic change occurring gradually from the *-ende* to the *-ing* ending is explained in detail in Mossé (1938 II) and Scheffer (1975) but will not be pursued here. Nevertheless, it can be underlined that the similarity of the reduced forms of the aforementioned constructions facilitated the re-interpretation of the participle ending as *-ing*¹

Secondly, the semantic interpretation offered for non-ambiguous examples in Old English in Chapter 4, namely its aspectual meaning, is also applied to Middle

¹ For more detail about the *-ing* development, see George Black (1988).

English expanded forms by scholars such as Mossé (1938 II). This temporal meaning is reinforced not only in Old English, as seen in Chapter 4, but also in Middle English, by the co-occurrence of the construction with the same type of verbs and temporojuncts. Indeed, in Middle English, the expanded form is also mostly used with verbs of activity, whether dynamic or non-dynamic, which are topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior, such as verbs of movement (*gan/gangen* ‘go’, *cumen* ‘come’, *don* ‘do’, *maken* ‘make’) and verbs of rest (*wunien* ‘stay’, *dwel* ‘dwell’, *liviēn* ‘live’). The expanded form in Middle English, just like its Old English counterpart, is accompanied by temporal adverbials, marking duration (*ay* ‘ever’, *alway(s)* ‘always’, *nu* ‘now’) or a point in time, either at the end of a period of time or in a series of events, (*then* ‘then’, *ȝit* ‘yet’, *still* ‘still’), as well as temporal conjunctions of subordination, such as *æ* and *while* (see Mossé (1938 II) and Scheffer (1975)). As for a possible subjective interpretation of the Middle English and its co-occurrence with subjuncts, further research would be needed for the period but this is beyond the scope of our study.

Thirdly, the continuation of usage between the two periods can be supported by the observation of the frequency of the expanded form. Even though a decrease in frequency is recorded for the construction in both late Old English and early Middle English, which might well be attributed to a refinement of the function of the expanded form, a slight increase in frequency is noticeable for the whole Middle English period (Scheffer 1975:248), which could be interpreted as showing that writers feel better at ease with the construction and start using it more freely. Nevertheless, the examination of percentages should not make us forget raw figures: the expanded form is numerically extremely rare in Middle English, as is the case in Old English (see Mossé (1938 II) for more detail). It was already argued in Chapter 4 that the frequency of the construction is inversely proportional to the degree of formality attributed to the style of writing in which it is used, as supported by Rot (1980), among others:

“[The] facts of comparatively small functional loading of progressive forms in the literature of the 14th-16th centuries has led some scientists to infer that it was only Modern English which has accomplished the formation of progressive forms. But could it not be the case that **literary genres have imposed limitations of functional loading on the progressive forms**? And it is a commonplace that the language of writers, even famous ones, is not the whole contemporary literary language.”

(Rot 1980:82)

The style of writing in Middle English was rather formal, even in narrative prose, according to our Modern English standards. Hence the rarity of expanded forms.

As was previously underlined in more detail in Chapter 4, the expanded form finds its best way of expression in a genre that epitomizes colloquial language, namely the style of writing associated with private letters. Until the end of the 14th century, it turns out that the expanded form has still not found its ideal style of writing for its development, since only one or two private letters have been recorded for this period (Terttu Nevalainen p. c.). It is only in the 15th century that the usage of the expanded form is extended, in a higher proportion, to private letters, which I take as an indicator of colloquial language. Scheffer (1975) describes this phenomenon occurring in the 15th century as follows:

“From this time forward the progressive can be traced not only in the language of clerks and writers, but also in private letters and papers. It is still less frequently used than it is today, but it is used in all sorts of language, from the scholarly language of Pecock to the colloquial language of citizens of Norfolk (Paston Letters), Exeter (Shillingford Letters and Papers) or London (Cely Papers).

(Scheffer 1975:217-8)

Consequently, we would like to focus our attention in this chapter on the study of the evolution of the expanded form in private letters, since this type of writing very much resembles spoken discourse, in which the speaker's attitude, namely his subjectivity, is explicitly expressed. Being to a large extent spontaneous and informal, this style clearly contrasts with that of narrative prose, for instance, in which the rules of writing are stricter and more formal. The private letters consequently epitomize colloquial language quite well. In this respect, our work is to be contrasted with that of Strang (1982), who focuses on extended narrative prose. But our research can be compared to that of Wright (1987), who considers the genre of private letters as the embodiment of “experiential discourse *par excellence*”. Because of the rarity of private letters during the Middle English period, our attention will be drawn upon the study of private letters from the 15th century onwards. The material from each century studied was divided into 2 sections, preferably one from the early years of a given century, and the other from the late years of the same century. Each section contains about 20, 000 words; consequently, about 40, 000 words have been examined and classified per century. An effort was made to select editions which preserved the linguistic properties of the texts.

For the 15th-century data, the *Paston Letters* are examined. The private letters selected for the first part of the century include those of William Paston I (period studied: 1425 - 21 January 1444), John Paston I (period studied: 1444 - 1449), Agnes Paston (period studied: 20 April 1440 - not after 1449), and Margaret

Paston (period studied: about 1441 - 9 May 1449); the second part of the century is illustrated by the letters of Margaret Paston (period studied: 8 April 1465 - 18 August 1465) and John Paston II (period studied: 3 July 1470 - 15 September 1471). For the early 16th-century, a section of the *Lisle Letters* is chosen: 16 March 1533 - 16 October 1533; for the late 16th-century, some of the *Letters of John Chamberlain* are studied: 11 June 1597 - 23 August 1599. In the 17th-century data, the *Letters of Dorothy Osborne* are examined for the period 24 December 1652 - 18 June 1653 and the *Letters of Queen Anne* are scrutinized for the period 10 August 1682 - 15 October 1690. For the 18th century, the early data are represented by a section of the *Orrery Papers* (period studied: 6 January 1737 - 12 November 1739) whereas the later data are exemplified by a part of the *Journals and Letters of Fanny Burney (Madame D'Arblay)* from 31 July 1791 to 19 October 1791. The 19th-century letters studied include some of *Jane Austen's Letters* for the early period (30 October 1815 - May 1817); and a part of the *Amberley Papers*, vol. 2, for the late period (22 June 1871 - 20 November 1872). As for the 20th-century data, they comprise some of the *Letters of Virginia Woolf*, vol. VI, for the first part of the century (3 August 1937 - 7 February 1938), and some letters of the *British National Corpus* (BNC) (1994) for the second part of the century (letters from HD4 and KAR).

To account for the development of the expanded form in private letters from the 15th century onwards in this chapter, six parameters have been taken into consideration: the type of verb used in the expanded form, the collocation of the expanded form with perfects, modals and passives, the type of locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts collocating with the expanded form, the type of clauses (main and subordinate clauses), in which the expanded form occurs, and finally the type of tense, in which the construction is used. Let us briefly note that our understanding of subjective markers encompasses all that has to do with the expression of the speaker's attitude, namely epistemic constructions such as *possibly*, deontic forms such as *I want*, and qualifying expressions such as *I am sorry that*; this sense of subjectivity will be the object of a more detailed discussion in the following chapter². As opposed to Strang (1982), who does not take into account the occurrence of subjuncts, Wright (1987, 1995) underlines the collocation of these markers with the expanded form but she does not make it clear when the conversational implicature of subjectivity was conventionalized. More attention will be paid to the study of this parameter, which will lead us to consider how the categories of modality and aspect are intertwined.

² See section 6.2.1 for more detail.

5.1 Description and analysis of the development of the expanded form in the data

The overall distribution of the expanded form in the private letters examined from the fifteenth century onwards shows a very important increase in the use of the expanded form (see Table 5.1 and Graph 5.1 in Appendix B).

This overall development of the expanded form throughout the centuries was already underlined by various scholars such as Dennis (1940) and Strang (1982):

"From my figures I would estimate that our day uses five to ten times as many progressive forms as did 1600, and ten to twenty times as many as 1500, or -- more rashly, perhaps -- that the use has approximately doubled in each succeeding century throughout Modern English."

(Dennis 1940:860)

"The fullest attempt at quantification puts the rate tentatively at a doubling every century since 1500 to the present day, with a flattening of the curve in the eighteenth century made good by a spurt at the beginning of the nineteenth."

(Strang 1982:429)

In our data, out of a selection of 40,000 words taken from the *Paston Letters* (15th century), only 2 (non-ambiguous) expanded forms can be identified. Within the same amount of words taken from private letters of the 20th century (one selection from Virginia Woolf's private letters and two from the British National Corpus (BNC)'s letters), 238 expanded forms can be found. Therefore, the extreme rarity of the expanded form in the private letters of the 15th century is to be contrasted with the more frequent number of the expanded form in the private letters of the 20th century. But this high increase of the use of the expanded form established from a comparison of the use of the expanded form in private letters between the 15th and the 20th century masks certain irregularities within the development of the use of the expanded form century per century, and between two sections of a given century, i.e. its first and second half (see Table 5.2.a and Graph 5.2 in Appendix B).

Apart from the exceptionally high rate of increase for the 16th century (+850%) and the low rate of increase for the 19th century (+17%), the rate of increase oscillates between +100% and +133% for the 17th, 18th and 20th centuries (see Table 5.2.b in Appendix B). But this series of rates of increase per century masks even more irregularities when one has a closer look at the sections considered within each century (see Table 5.2.c in Appendix B). For instance, for the period between 1652-3 and 1737-9, the rate of increase calculated for the number of

expanded forms amounts to +126%, but within this period, namely for the period between 1652-3 and 1682-98, the corresponding rate of increase is 0% and for the period between 1682-98 and 1737-9, the corresponding rate of increase is +189%. Such discrepancies are also noted for the other periods, with even a rate of decrease noted for the period between 1737-9 and 1791-2 (-42%), and for the period 1937-8 till 1994 (-12%). Are these huge variations noted in the rates of increase due to the idiosyncrasies of a particular author in a private letter? Or rather, are these variations due to a particular fashion for a short period of time, which is followed by a certain number of writers of private letters? For instance, it can be noticed that the sudden decrease of the use of the expanded form in the 18th century (see Fanny Burney's private letters) is directly linked to the formal style of the time. In the same way, the comparison of 20, 000 words between the private letters of Dorothy Osborne and those of Queen Anne shows exactly the same number of expanded forms (19), and therefore the study of the private letters of the 17th century displays a rate of increase of the expanded form which amounts to 0%. Do these authors then have in common the same low rate of frequency of the construction, and therefore do they follow a particular fashion of the time, or rather is it a coincidence? The relative stagnation of the rate of increase of the expanded form (+17%) during the 19th century corresponds to a period of stabilization for the function of the expanded form (see below for more detail), in which a few parameters are in competition for the selection of the expanded form and contribute to re-model the function of the expanded form. Once it acquires a new function, the rate of increase of the construction can develop exponentially, as illustrated during the 20th century (+133% between the 19th and 20th century). It is precisely during the early years of the 20th century that the expanded form reaches its maturity rate of 100 per 40, 000 words (maturity rate adapted from Strang (1982)).

In any case, we are well aware that further research is needed and an extended corpus of private letters would be required to provide a much clearer answer to these questions. Nevertheless, interesting results can be discussed within the private letters selected with respect to the four aforementioned parameters. Let us start with the first one, namely the distribution of expanded forms with respect to verb types.

5.2 Evolution of the use of verb types with the expanded form in the data

On the basis of the examination of the private letters from the 15th century onwards, the verb type in the expanded form, which undergoes the highest increase of

frequency, corresponds to that of verbs of activity, topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior (see Table 5.3 and Graph 5.3 in Appendix B). Throughout the centuries, the vast majority of verbs of activity in the expanded form are dynamic, such as *go* and *come*. Between the 15th and 20th century, the number of expanded forms with activity verbs goes from 2 to 228, hence an increase of +11 300%. Apart from the very high rate of increase between the 15th and 16th century (+850%), the rate of increase oscillates between +95% and +150% for the periods examined with an exception for the period between the 18th and 19th century, displaying a low rate of increase (+15%), which cannot but be explained by the re-modelling of the function of the expanded form. The latter will be discussed in more detail when we speak of the collocation of the expanded form with temporojuncts and subjuncts.

Most of the time, the expanded form is associated with an aspectual function, namely a temporal interpretation. This temporal value of the verb is then all the more underlined if the verb has the aforementioned topological structure. Hence the resistance of the use of the expanded form with other verb types, which have no interior in their topological structure; such is the case of verbs with two merged boundaries, namely punctual and achievement verbs, and verbs with two open boundaries and an empty interior, namely stative verbs. Interestingly enough, the first occurrence in our corpus of a verb with two merged boundaries in the expanded form is recorded in the 17th century in the private letters of Dorothy Osborne, with the verb *die*:

for shée **is dyeing**
(Dorothy Osborne, p.22)

And the first occurrences of the expanded form with a verb having open boundaries and an empty interior is recorded in the 19th-century data, namely in Jane Austen's letters, as illustrated below:

We **have been wanting** very much to hear of your Mother, & are happy to find she continues to mend (Jane Austen, letter 130, milestone 457)

The Curacy only **is wanting** I fancy to complete the business (Jane Austen, letter 139, milestone 476)

The use of the expanded form with verbs which have no interior reflects the fact that the expanded form becomes slightly independent of the temporal parameter explicitly associated with the activity verb, namely two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior. The temporal parameter does not need to be reflected in the use of verbs with a heterogeneous temporal structure; it is inherent in the expanded

form. Despite this late use of the expanded form with punctual, achievement, and stative verbs, as well as their very low number, it is interesting to notice that the frequency rate for verbs represented with two merged boundaries **I** is multiplied by 5 between the 17th and 18th century, whereas that for open boundaries and an empty interior **LI** is multiplied by 4 between the 18th and 19th century. Afterwards, the frequency rate in both verb types is very low, and even null: for verbs with merged boundaries, the number of expanded forms fluctuates between 5 and 7 between the 18th and 20th century; and for verbs with open boundaries and no interior, the number of expanded forms is maintained at 4 for both the 19th and the 20th century.

Thus, the consideration of the parameter of the verb type for the evolution of the expanded form in the data gives us an interesting result with respect to the temporal function of the expanded form: the increasing independence of the construction from the explicit temporal marking is linked to the spreading out of the construction to verbs which have a different topological structure from that of activity verbs, involving two separate boundaries and a non-empty interior. This phenomenon will even be more pronounced when we look at the parameter of temporojuncts (see 5.4). Another parameter is worth considering first, namely the collocation of the expanded form with perfects, modals and passives.

5.3 Evolution of the use of perfects, modals and passives with the expanded form in the data

Undoubtedly the collocation of the expanded form with perfects, modals and passives has contributed to enlarging the conjugation of periphrastic constructions including the expanded form, and therefore has also increased the number of the expanded forms.

5.3.1 Examination of the perfects with the expanded form in the data

The combination of the expanded form with perfects is worth examining (see Table 5.4 and Graph 5.4 in Appendix B). According to Denison (1993), the expanded form is combined with a perfect for the first time in Middle English:

a 1400 (a 1325) *Cursor* 26292
 if þi parischen / In sin lang has ligand bene
 if your parishioner in sin long has lying been
 'if your parishioner has long been lying in sin.'
 (Denison 1993:385)

Mossé (1938 II) even notices that the combination becomes “less rare” at the end of the 15th century. In the private letters we have examined, it is in the 17th century that the private letters display the first occurrences of the combination, as exemplified below:

I found that a Gentlman [...] **had bin treating** with my brother.
(Dorothy Osborne, p.7)

I **have bin reckoning** up how many faults you lay to my charge in your last letter.
(Dorothy Osborne, p.50)

I have had a young daughter of my Lady Churchill’s with me all the while I **have been writing**.
(Queen Anne, p.29)

In our data, the number will be multiplied by 3 in the 20th century (see Graph 5.4 in Appendix B).

5.3.2 Examination of the modals with the expanded form in the data

The collocation of the expanded form with modals is also worth considering (see Table 5.4 and Graph 5.4 in Appendix B). The combination dates back to Old English, the commonest occurrences being with *sceal*, and then *will* and *mæg* (see Visser 1973, §2143, p.2412). In our data, the combination is relatively rare during the 15th and 16th centuries. Only one occurrence is recorded in the data from the *Paston Letters* and no occurrence in the 16th century, as shown below:

My Lord seyde to me [...] that youre presens shold do more a-mongys hem than a c of youre men shold do in youre absens, and more youre enmys wold yf ye **myght be** at home and **steryng** a-mongs hemferre to do a-yens you.
(*Paston Letters* p.297)

In the data we have examined, the number of modals with the expanded form progressively increases and between the 17th and 20th century the number is multiplied by about 3: 13 occurrences are recorded.

The combination of a modal with the perfect and the expanded form occurs soon after the first occurrences of the combination of the perfect with the expanded form (see 5.1.2.1) in Middle English. Denison (1993) quotes the single example from Visser (1946-56: §712):

?a1425 *Mandev.* (2) (Eg) 5.15
for þai trowed þat he schuld hafe bene hingand apon þat crosse

‘for they believed that he should have been hanging on that cross
 as lang as pat crosse myght last.
 as long as that cross might last.’

In the data examined, the first occurrences of the combination are recorded in the 18th century; 20 have been found for the 18th century but none afterwards. Here are two examples:

It **would have been opening** a Door to Envy, Hatred, Calumny, and Revenge: it **would have been exposing** the honest simplicity of his subjects to [...].
 (*Orrery Papers*, p.195)

5.3.3 Examination of the passives with the expanded form in the data

The expanded form also comes to collocate with the passive (see Table 5.4 and Graph 5.4 in Appendix B). There is a little bit of a controversy with respect to the appearance of the first occurrence of this combination. As opposed to Mossé (1938 II), who records the first of these occurrences quite at the end of the 18th century, Warner (1995) finds an earlier one, as shown below:

I have received the speech and address of the House of Lords; probably, that of the House of Commons **was being debated** when the post went out.
 ((Warner 1997:163) in *A Series of Letters of the First Earl of Malmesbury* (1772))

A fellow whose uppermost upper grinder **is being torn out** by the roots by a mutton-fisted barber.
 ((Mossé 1938 II:149-50) in Robert Southey, *Life and Correspondence* (1795))

The passive with the expanded form has become frequent since the early 19th century. But, in our data, it is only in 1871 that we found the first occurrence of the construction, as illustrated below:

The Scotsman has a dispute with its compositors, all of whom have left the office. The work **is being done** by English hands.
 (*Amberley Papers*, p.521)

Two more constructions of this type will be recorded in our data of the 20th century, as exemplified in the following:

One of Julian essays came this morning, War and Peace -- the letter to Morgan -- I thought there were 2 others: perhaps they **weren't being typed**.
 (Virginia Woolf, p.166)

It pleases me because I was afraid music **was being pushed out** by computers and I was chuffed to find that I could still work the pedals after more than 50 years!
 (KAR in BNC, sn 52)

Because the emergence of the combination of the passive with the expanded form is held responsible for the development of other constructions, which phenomenon will be discussed shortly, we would like to pay more attention to the origin of this combined construction.

As well summarized by Warner (1997), three different accounts can be offered. First, Traugott and her followers state that the development of the “passive progressive” is due to the generalization of the expanded form to more and more contexts. Secondly, a semantic argument is evoked, since, for instance, semantic ambiguity is involved in sentences such as *the boy was carrying*, in which the grammatical subject, which is animate, could be interpreted as either a patient or an agent of the activity at stake, especially in the 18th century, in which this type of example, called the covered passive progressive, is quite frequent. The latter is in direct competition with the declining variant *a-*, which some scholars consider as passive, as indicated by Mossé (1938 II):

“Cet emploi passif se rencontre très souvent avec des verbes tels que *make, do* et *prepare* : [...]

Shak. Mcb 3.4.32 The feast is sold, That is not often vouch'd, while 'tis a-making.
Caxton Aymon 163.7 and as the feste **was a doynge**, there came a messenger ...”

(Mossé 1938 II:121-2)

Thirdly, on the basis of the lexicalist explanation, according to which syntactic structures are the projections of lexical properties of individual items, Warner (1993, 1997) demonstrates that the status of *being* undergoes a re-categorization in the second half of the 18th century and that this change of status allows for the emergence of the progressive passive (Warner's terminology). Before this crucial period, *being* is considered as an auxiliary and this property prevents *being* from its use in a potentially progressive passive since the expanded form is only attached to a non-auxiliary verb. After this period, *being* is re-classified as a non-auxiliary, which property favours the development of the progressive passive. The evidence for the change of status of *being* is provided by “the loss of an ellipsis type with a finite of *be* as antecedent” (Warner 1997:166), as exemplified below in Warner (1995), since, as opposed to non-auxiliary verbs, auxiliaries fulfil the property of ellipsis:

“I wish our opinions were the same. But in time they will.” (sc. be the same)
1816. Jane Austen. *Emma*:471

“And Lady Middleton, is *she* angry?”

“I cannot suppose it possible that she should.” (sc. be angry)

1811. Jane Austen. *Sense and Sensibility* :237

*If the library is crowded, then I am sure the refectory will too (sc. be crowded).

(Warner 1995:167)

Consequently, the re-categorization of *being* as a non-auxiliary favours the development of the construction *is being*. Warner (1993, 1995) goes as far as to say that this change of status of *being* favours the development of the progressive passive. But we think he goes too far, since the construction *is being* followed by a noun phrase or adjective phrase is theoretically available at the same time as the progressive passive. Rather, we suspect that the pressure towards filling the verbal paradigm largely contributes to the appearance of the progressive passive before that of the construction *is being* + NP/AP, as shown historically. We have already mentioned the first recorded progressive passive in 1772. The first construction *is being* + AP is said to occur in 1819 (see Mossé (1938 II)) and the first construction *is being* + NP, in 1834 (see Warner (1995)):

You will be glad to hear ... how **diligent** I have been and **am being**.

1819 Keats, *Complete works* V. 72

I really think this illness **is being a good thing** for me.

1834 Froude, *Remains* I. 378

(Warner 1995:14)

The spreading out of the expanded form from AP to NP can well be accounted for in terms of generalization of the pattern to more and more contexts. But this argument does not seem satisfactory enough to justify the development of the expanded form from passives to APs. An answer can be offered when examples such as the following are taken into consideration:

Rachel is very well and not **developing** too rapidly.

(*Amberley papers*, p.486)

Here it is pitch dark and **dripping** with mist from the Channel.

(Virginia Woolf, p.180)

The coordination of an adjective with what we would interpret as a verb nowadays shows how the present participle could well be considered to have an adjectival status earlier on. The blurring of grammatically distinct categories, here that between adjective and verb, is not a new feature. Bailey (1996) looks at a parallel development involving the *-ed* form and he mentions an interesting test, which underlines the moving away of the verbal participial status towards the adjectival

status: the use of *very* instead of *very much* before the tested element. The applicability of this test has become more common since the middle of the 17th century, as indicated by Craigie (1938-44):

“The correctness of this usage, which has been prevalent from the middle of the 17th century, depends on the extent in which the participle has acquired a purely adjectival sense.”

(Bailey (1996:225) quoting Craigie)

So it seems that in that period there was an increase in the adjectival status of the *-ed* form. Bailey (1996) quotes a few examples with the *-ed* form used as follows:

very advanced period of life (1628, OED, s.v. *advanced*)
very illuminated individuals (1661, OED, s.v. *illuminated*)
very composed (1744, OED, s.v. *stickle*)
very attached (1779, OED, s.v. *persecute*)

(Bailey 1996:226)

Because the line between participial and adjectival status was blurred in such contexts, and quite frequent in the 19th century, it contributed to the encouragement of the combination of APs with the expanded form at the same period.

Thus, by focusing our attention on the origins of the combination of the passive with the expanded form, we have underlined the crucial change of status of *being*, which by becoming a non-auxiliary verb during the second half of the 18th century has triggered off the emergence of the construction *is being*, and therefore that of the progressive passive, the latter providing a template for the construction *is being* + AP/ NP. Even though Warner (1993, 1995) considers the lexicalist account as being the very account responsible for the development of the progressive passive, we would rather say that this formal explanation represents a way of setting up a category, that of the non-auxiliary verb for *being*, which allows the morphosemantic paradigm of the periphrasis to be completed. In this sense, the re-categorization just discussed epitomizes a way of implementing the semantic paradigm of the periphrasis *be* + *-ing*.

On the whole, in 5.3, it was shown that the increasing number of the expanded form, as illustrated in the data, partly involved the co-occurrence of the expanded form with perfects, modals and passives at various periods of the history of English. We would also like to consider to what extent the use of temporojuncts and subjuncts with the expanded form contributed to the evolution of not only the use of the expanded form, but also its function.

5.4 Evolution of the use of locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts with the expanded form in the data

5.4.1 Examination of the locajuncts with the expanded form in the data

Because the locative origin of the expanded form was acknowledged in Chapter 3, it would be interesting to draw our attention on the locative markers collocating with the construction in the data from the 15th century onwards and see to what extent they affect its meaning.

5.4.1.1 Description

The evolution of the use of locajuncts with the expanded form is shown in Table 5.5.a and Graph 5.5.a (see Appendix B).

In the 15th century, out of two expanded forms, two locajuncts are used with the construction, as shown below:

My lord [...] seyde to me that [...] that youre presens shold do more a-mongys hem than a c of youre men shold do in youre absens, and more youre enmys wold yf ye myght be at home and steryng **a-mongys** hemferre to do a-yens you; and seyde full playnly in meny othere thyngys.

(Paston letters, 10 May 1465, p.297)

Wherffor, for Goddysake, late my moodre take heede to my yonge brytheryn, that they be nat in noon place **wher** that sykenesse is regnyng, nor that they dysport not wyth noon other yonge peple whyche resortythe wher any sykenesse is.

(Paston letters, 15 Sep 1471, p.441)

In the 16th century, 11 locajuncts co-occur with the 11 expanded forms encountered, as illustrated below:

and I hear that Dr. Edes [...] was cleane out and could go no farther, but kepe that to yourself. Master Edmonds is either gon or presently going **into Fraunce** with letters to prepare the way for this peace

(John Chamberlain, p.37)

The Lord Zouch with Dr. Parkins is going ambassador **into Denmarke** about certain of our shippes that have ben staide there

(John Chamberlain, p.40)

In the 17th century, out of 19 expanded forms, 13 locajuncts can be found, as exemplified below:

In Earnest now shee is goeing **to sea**.
(Dorothy Osborne, p.28)

She gave it to Mrs. Labaudie, who, as she was going **by the bedside**, [**a]cross the step**
(Queen Anne, p.41)

In the 18th century, out of 87 expanded forms, 29 locajuncts collocate with the construction, as shown below:

Lord Boyle is improving **at Westminster School** under the Instructions of Dr. Nichols
(*Orrery papers*, p.259)

She was immediately returning **to Bristol**, where she had left Lady Duncannon by no means better!
(Fanny Burley, p.60)

In the 19th century, 17 locajuncts are recorded with the 102 expanded forms recorded, as illustrated below:

Fanny played, & he sat & listened & suggested improvements, till Richard came in to tell him that " the Doctor was waiting for him **at Captn* Blake's**"
(Jane Austen, letter 115, mil. 433)

They told me a nice trait about her, that when they were travelling **in Italy** they were going to take her 2nd class
(*Amberley papers*, p. 514)

In the 20th century, out of 238 expanded forms, 45 locajuncts are used, as shown below:

I've just been walking **over the downs**, and now, like you, mush wash my head
(Virginia Woolf, p.180)

Bill was with Boots the Chemist, and may have been working **in Peterborough** when Kathleen was with us I can't remember
(KAR in BNC, sn 299)

5.4.1.2 Analysis

The rate of locajuncts with the expanded form decreases regularly throughout the centuries examined in the data: from 100% in the 15th century it goes down to 19% in the 20th century (see Table 5.5.b and Graph 5.5.b in Appendix B). More precisely, during the 16th century, the proportion of locajuncts declined at the same time as that of temporojuncts went up. Consequently, the expanded form was becoming more and more independent from the presence of linguistic markers of location and more and more dependent on the use of temporal constructions. In the early 17th century, the temporojuncts outnumbered the locajuncts for the first time (see Graph 5.5.a in Appendix B) and the situation was never reversed in the following centuries. Consequently, the locative meaning of the expanded form was losing ground as the temporal interpretation started to be grammaticalized. It is only one century later, namely in the early 18th century, that the conventionalizing of the temporal conversational implicature was fully achieved (see sections 5.4.2 and 5.5 for more detail) and the locative meaning was considered secondary. This leads us to study the rival parameter of location, namely the temporal parameter, by examining the evolution of the occurrence of temporojuncts with the expanded form.

5.4.2 Examination of the temporojuncts with the expanded form in the data

Before trying to provide an analysis of the development of the use of temporojuncts with the expanded form, we would like to describe the evolution of their use per century in the private letters examined from the 15th century onwards. Two types of temporojuncts will be considered: adverbials and temporal subordinate clauses.

5.4.2.1 Description

The evolution of the use of temporojuncts can be illustrated in Table 5.5.a and Graph 5.5.a (see Appendix B).

In the 15th century, no temporojunct of any kind has been found with the expanded form in the data. In the 16th century, out of 19 instances of the expanded form, 10 are associated with a temporal adverbial or occurring in a temporal subordinate clause, as illustrated below:

I am going **the next week**.
(John Chamberlain, p.70)

Our Sir John Spencer of London was **the last week** [...] hiding away his daughter.
(John Chamberlain, p.73)

till he was almost going
(John Chamberlain, p.44)

as they were fishing on the coast of Norway
(John Chamberlain, p.79).

In the 17th century, out of 38 instances of the expanded form, 21 collocate with a temporal adverbial or a temporal subordinate clause, as shown below:

an old Knight that I have bin wayting for **this seven yeare**
(Dorothy Osborne, p.22).

everyday at ten o'clock I am makeing my will
(Dorothy Osborne, p.23).

as she was going by the bedside
(Queen Anne, p.41).

In the 18th century, out of 87 instances of the expanded form, 39 collocate with a temporal adverbial or appears in a temporal subordinate clause, as exemplified below:

On Sunday morning, just as I was stepping on Horseback.
(*Orrery papers*, p.218)

I am **now** turning my Thoughts towards England.
(*Orrery papers*, p.227)

when I should be writing to my Friends.
(*Orrery papers*, p.270)

Soon after we came, **While** I was finishing some Letters.
(Fanny Burney, p.37)

In the 19th century, out of 102 occurrences including the expanded form, 38 are associated with a temporal adverbial and/or occur in a temporal subordinate clause, as illustrated below:

I am nursing myself up **now** into as beautiful a state as I can.
(Jane Austen, letter 133, mil. 464)

Anna has not been [...] looking so much like herself **since her marriage** as she is now.
(Jane Austen, letter 139, mil. 475)

at about 3.30 as we were walking.
(*Amberley papers*, p.490)

Joy [...] went to bed **while** I was reading.
(*Amberley papers*, p.508)

In the 20th century, out of 238 expanded forms, 90 collocate with a temporal adverbial and/or are part of a temporal subordinate clause, as shown below:

I'm coming over to tea **tomorrow**.
(Virginia Woolf, p.152)

I'm **always** wanting to argue it with Julian.
(Virginia Woolf, p.159)

when he and Sylvia were staying **at St Yves**.
(Virginia Woolf, p.169)

They are **now** hassling me on it **for the year 1991**.
(HD4 in BNC, sn 232)

as [...] I shall be looking around for other people.
(HD4 in BNC, sn 447)

5.4.2.2 Analysis

In the private letters from the 16th century, 53% of the expanded forms collocate with temporojuncts, namely more than one occurrence in two of the expanded form. This percentage regularly decreases over the centuries to reach a percentage of 38% in the 20th-century data (see Table 5.5.b and Graph 5.5.b in Appendix B). Consequently, the expanded form is less and less associated with a temporal marker throughout the centuries. The linguistic relevance of the decrease of the use of temporojuncts with the expanded form lies in the fact that the expanded form becomes less and less dependent on the explicit marking of temporal linking structure since it carries the temporal parameter in itself. The conversational implicature of a temporal parameter associated with the expanded form has then become conventionalized. This result also corroborates what was indicated by the evolution of the parameter represented by verb types collocating with the expanded form: they also showed a decrease in the dependence on the temporal parameter marking, namely the use of verbs topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior. Alongside the decrease of the temporal indication with the expanded form goes the increase of another type of linguistic marking with the construction, which study is the purpose of the following section.

5.4.3 Examination of the subjuncts with the expanded form in the data

The other type of markers collocating with the expanded form, which we want to pay attention to, involves the indication of the speaker's attitude, and therefore we

shall keep the terminology used in Chapter 4, namely subjuncts. We shall enlarge the set of subjuncts suggested for the Old English period, namely the adjuncts and conjuncts indicating subjectivity, and will also include the markers of punctuation indicating subjectivity, such as exclamation marks, colon, semi-colon, etc.. This focus on subjuncts collocating with the expanded form has directly been influenced by Cecily Clark's study of subjective expressions in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. The aforementioned scholar noticed that the markers of subjectivity, namely those of the speaker's attitude, increased throughout the *Chronicles* (see Clark (1971) for more detail). Among them, epistemic expressions such as *perhaps* and *it is possible* were more and more frequent. Clark did not include aspect in the range of subjective expressions but, given the results of the study of the Old English data in Chapter 4, we think that aspect contributed to the increasing indication of the speaker's attitude. That is why we would like to pursue this study of subjectivity linked to the expression of aspect within the framework of private letters from the 15th century onwards. We shall first provide a brief description of the evolution of the use of subjuncts with the expanded form (see Table 5.5.a and Graph 5.5.a in Appendix B), before providing an interpretation.

5.4.3.1 Description

No subjunct collocates with the expanded form in the data until the 16th century: one occurrence. Interestingly enough, the first collocation of subjuncts with the expanded form in the private letters that we examined occurs one century before what was recorded in Wright's (1995) article, which dealt with prose comedies. In this sense, the type of writing exemplified by private letters is much closer to colloquial discourse than that illustrated by prose comedies, and the colloquial use of the expanded form is much better represented in private letters. In the 16th century, in our data, out of 19 expanded forms, 7 instances of subjectivity are recorded, as illustrated below:

only
(John Chamberlain, p.55)

likewise
(John Chamberlain, p.78)

In the 17th century, out of 38 expanded forms, 14 markers of subjectivity are noted with the expanded form, as shown below:

as fast as
(Dorothy Osborne, p.41)

it were I that
(Dorothy Osborne, p.46)

because
(Queen Anne, p.17)

besides
(Queen Anne, p.19)

In the 18th century, out of 87 expanded forms, 25 subjuncts co-occur with the expanded form, as shown below:

we are sure
(*Orrery papers*, p.229)

Methinks
(*Orrery papers*, p.203)

always
(Fanny Burney, p.49)

really
(Fanny Burney, p.57)

In the 19th century, out of 102 expanded forms, 88 subjuncts can be found with the expanded form, as illustrated below:

sorry
(Jane Austen, letter 118, mil. 440)

so [...] as
(Jane Austen, letter 128, mil. 456)

perhaps
(*Amberley papers*, p.515)

so
(*Amberley papers*, p.527)

In the 20th century, out of 238 expanded forms, 123 subjuncts are identified in the presence of the expanded form, as shown below:

perhaps
(Virginia Woolf, p.166)

probably
(Virginia Woolf, p.197)

very strongly
(HD4 in BNC, sn 106)

but
(KAR in BNC, sn 421)

5.4.3.2 Analysis

From the 15th century onwards, the use of subjuncts with the expanded form follows an exponential distribution, and therefore increases dramatically, reaching a peak (86%) in the 19th century. Interestingly enough, it is in the middle of the 19th century that subjuncts outnumber temporojuncts for the first time (see Table 5.5.b and Graph 5.5.b in Appendix B). From this crucial point in time, the increase of the use of subjuncts with the expanded form at the expense of the use of temporojuncts with the expanded form corresponds to an increasing dependence of the construction on the linguistic marking of the speaker's attitude. By increasingly marking the speaker's interpretation in the linguistic context surrounding the expanded form, the latter is more and more associated with a subjective meaning. Indeed, the subjective interpretation of the expanded form is pragmatically inferred from the linguistic environment signposting the speaker's attitude. It is only from the early 20th century that the construction becomes less combined with subjuncts (52%, which represents a decrease of -40% compared to the percentage in the 19th-century data), then showing a growing independence with respect to the linguistic marking of subjectivity since it starts conveying the notion of subjectivity in itself more and more: the conversational implicature of subjectivity has become conventionalized (see Chapter 6 for more detail about the combination of aspect and subjectivity). And we posit that this independence will increase with the years to come. This phenomenon is well illustrated by the use of the expanded form in politeness strategies and in free indirect speech (see 6.2.1.3 and 6.3), in which it is taken for granted that the expanded form signals a specific attitude on the part of the speaker or character. Consequently, the subjective meaning of the expanded form has been grammaticalized by a metonymic process, as described in Chapter 3, which echoes back what happened with the grammaticalization of the temporal meaning in the expanded form in the previous section.

On the whole, in 5.4, we have seen how the parameters of time and subjectivity are intertwined in the evolution of the use and function of the expanded form. Not only do they contribute to the increase in the number of the expanded forms in the data, but they also bring about a modification of the function of the expanded form. It is

time now to have a closer look at the last parameter of our list, namely the syntactic distribution of the expanded form in main and subordinate clauses.

5.5 Evolution of the syntactic distribution of the expanded form in the data

An interesting development is to be observed in the syntactic distribution of the expanded form, namely in main and subordinate clauses, in private letters from the 15th century onwards.

The general tendency for the distribution of the expanded form shows an increase century after century in both types of clauses (see Table 5.6.a and Graph 5.6 in Appendix B). For instance, from the 15th century to the 20th century, in main clauses, the number of expanded forms extends from 0 to 175, whereas in subordinate clauses the number of expanded forms goes from 2 to 63. Even though it is worth making the observation that the number of expanded forms has considerably increased in both main and subordinate clauses since the 15th century, the rate of increase is not the same in both types of clauses. If one examines the results in more detail, it is to be noted that the rate of increase for the number of expanded forms from one century to another fluctuates enormously in main clauses, whereas that for the number of expanded forms in subordinate clauses shows more consistency, as illustrated in Table 5.6.b (see Appendix B). For instance, from the 16th to the 17th century, the number of expanded forms in subordinate clauses increases by +267%, as opposed to that in main clauses which increases by +23% only. From the 18th century onwards, the number of expanded forms in subordinate clauses regularly increases by around +45% per century, as shown by the curve of the graph which is nearly linear from this period onwards. By contrast, the rate of increase for the number of expanded forms in main clauses is very irregular: from the 17th century to the 18th century, +256%; from the 18th to the 19th century, +7%; from the 19th to the 20th century, +192%. The tremendous increase of the rate of expanded forms in subordinate clauses from the 15th to the 16th century (+200%) and from the 16th to the 17th century (+267%) can well be explained by the fact that temporal subordinate clauses, for instance, represented a significant linguistic means, underlining the temporal anchoring of the situation, as underlined by Strang (1982). This is in accordance with the function that was attributed to the expanded form in Chapter 3: the expanded form involves something being in existence at a point in time, with the subordinate clause serving as a template for what is going on, and the main clause as a point in time. The temporal link was often indicated by temporal

subordinate clauses introduced by *as*, *when*, and *while* in the data of the 16th and 17th centuries, as shown below:

as I was writing of this present
(*Lisle letters*, p.545)

as he was comming out of his coach
(John Chamberlain, p.69)

all the while I have been writing
(Queen Anne, p.28)

when Mrs. Mansell was putting off her clouts
(Queen Anne, p.40)

Another reason for the increasing number of subordinate clauses in which the expanded form occurs can be found in the development of English as a particular medium for this genre of private letters, which looks still quite formal at the time for our Modern English standards.

The dramatic increase of the rate of the expanded form in main clauses in the 18th century shows that the choice of the expanded form is becoming more and more independent of a temporal linguistic marker indicating the anchoring of the situation. The temporal link can be explicitly marked by an adverbial in the main clause or implicitly indicated, as illustrated below:

He is coming into our mournful class.
(*Orrery papers*, p.212)

I am **now** turning my Thoughts towards England.
(*Orrery papers*, p.227)

in the meantime we are setting out for Marston.
(*Orrery papers*, p.238)

I was travelling, I said, for my Health.
(Fanny Burney, p.17)

I am recovering apace.
(Fanny Burney, p.53)

The very high increase (+192%) for the number of expanded forms in main clauses from the 19th to the 20th century can also be explained in those terms. But one problem remains: the very low increase of the rate of the expanded form in main clauses during the 19th century (+7%). Maybe we could relativize this problem by saying that, for the first time in the data, no decrease of the rate of the expanded form has been recorded in main clauses since the late 16th century. Rather, it would be more relevant to refine the study of the syntactic distribution of the expanded form

and add the parameter of tense to those already considered, which might shed light on the problem of interpretation (see section 5.6).

The important differences reflected in the rate of increase of the expanded form in both types of clauses are also corroborated by the comparison of the number of expanded forms evolving in both types of clauses throughout the centuries³. However rare the expanded forms are in the 15th century, the very few (non-ambiguous) occurrences of the expanded form in private letters occur only in subordinate clauses (2). But soon afterwards, in the 16th century, the tendency is reversed: the number of expanded forms used in main clauses (13) is twice as high as that in subordinate clauses (6). Again, at the end of the 17th century, the distribution is changed: there are twice as many expanded forms in subordinate clauses (13) as in main clauses (6). The syntactic distribution is changed again from the early 18th century onwards: the number of expanded forms in main clauses is superior to that in subordinate clauses, which shows that the temporal, and therefore aspectual, meaning of the expanded form is definitely integrated into the grammatical system from this period onwards. The phenomenon occurs one century before the one observed by Strang (1982) in narrative prose. Hence the relevance of the type of writing examined: private letters represent a more colloquial style of writing than narrative prose, and therefore it is no doubt that the phenomenon observed in private letters anticipates what happens in narrative prose. Nevertheless, further research is needed to confirm or disconfirm the irregularities observed on the syntactic distribution of the expanded form in the data from the 15th century onwards. For instance, is it always the case that the very few expanded forms in the 15th century occur in subordinate clauses only? Is it always the case that the number of expanded forms in subordinate clauses is superior to that in main clauses at the end of the 17th century or is it a specificity of the letters examined in our data (i.e. letters of Queen Anne)?

If one has a closer look at the two sections considered per century, the fluctuation of the number of expanded forms is even more dramatic in both types of clauses, as illustrated in Table 5.7 and Graph 5.7 (see Appendix B). For instance, the 17th century shows an important decline of the number of expanded forms in main clauses, counterbalanced by an increase of the number of expanded forms in

³ It is to be noted that the parameter of the syntactic distribution of the expanded form is directly intertwined with that of temporojuncts, since some temporal markers are also represented by subordinate markers. Hence the decrease (respectively, the increase) of the use of temporojuncts is directly linked to the decrease (respectively, the increase) of the use of subordinate clauses.

subordinate clauses: from 1587 to 1698, the figures fall from 14 to 5 in main clauses, hence a decrease of -64%; for the same period, the figures rise from 6 to 14 in subordinate clauses, hence an increase of +133%. The important fluctuations observed for the rate of increase of the expanded form in the two types of clauses reveal the instability of the function of the expanded form, which seems to be still very dependent on the linguistic marking of a linking structure, represented by the subordinate clause. Moreover, it is also a period when constructions such as *do you read?* are still in use, expressing the same meaning as an aspectual use of the form; so the rules for the use and the function of the expanded form are far from being clearly established. Likewise, during the 18th century, the graph shows a spectacular decrease of the number of expanded forms in main clauses for about 50 years, which can well be favoured by a formality imposed on the style of the writing in the 18th century: from 1737 to 1792, the number of expanded forms in main clauses falls from 40 to 16, hence a decrease of -60%. Let us notice that this decrease in main clauses is confirmed by another study of private letters written at the end of the 18th century, the *Letters of Lady Anne Barnard to Henry Dundas* (see Appendix B): 15 expanded forms in main clauses, 7 in subordinate clauses. For the 19th century, no decrease of the number of the expanded form is recorded. In the 20th century, even though the data display a dramatic increase of the number of expanded forms in main clauses and a more moderate increase in subordinate clauses, a slight decrease of the number of expanded forms is also observed in the BNC (1994) in both main and subordinate clauses: from 1937 to 1994, the figures of the expanded forms fall from 95 to 82 in main clauses (-14%); and from 32 to 29 in subordinate clauses (-9%). The relatively small decrease of the number of expanded forms in both types of clauses is a bit puzzling since the rate of the maturity was reached by the construction in the early 20th century: the decrease can only be attributed to the own choice of the narrators; in this sense, a stylistic variation of the use of the expanded form is observed in the data examined over the last sixty years.

Thus, a closer examination of the syntactic distribution of the expanded form in both types of clauses, namely main and subordinate clauses, in private letters from the 15th century onwards has shown that even though the number of main clauses containing the expanded form is superior to that of subordinate clauses containing the expanded form in the 16th century, it is still a fragile result, which will be reversed in the middle of the 17th century, and the main clauses will again outnumber the subordinate clauses from the 18th century onwards, which result occurs one century before what Strang (1982) observed in narrative prose.

5.6 Evolution of the use of tense with the expanded form in the data

A quick examination of the graph representing the evolution of the number of expanded forms in main and subordinate clauses with respect to the parameter of tense (see Table 5.8.a and Graph 5.8.a) shows that the choice of the present tense in main clauses largely contributes to the increase of the use of the construction between the 17th and 18th century on one hand and between the 19th and the 20th century on the other hand: for the first period the number goes up from 11 to 44 and for the second period it evolves from 49 to 147. By contrast, it is to be underlined that the figures for past-tense main clauses are too low to be considered significant: the number of expanded forms augments from 3 to 10 for the first period and from 7 to 18 for the second one. The relatively low figures concerning the number of the construction in subordinate clauses will not be considered in our discussion, even though a slight increase can be observed in the 20th century. It seems tempting here to make the assumption that the nature of the genre chosen for the data highly favours a type of tense in main clauses. Because private letters often deal with the present time of the writer and what is doing at the moment of writing, it is not surprising that the majority of main clauses in the expanded form are used in the present tense. But this result still does not explain the stabilization of the number of expanded forms in present-tense clauses in the 19th century, as was previously underlined for the use of the construction in main clauses in general, whatever their tense may be. The classification needs further refinement.

The introduction of the parameter of subjuncts sheds light on the problematic interpretation of the data in the 19th century (see Table 5.8.b). The relative stability is due to the presence of two opposite forces during this century: the number of expanded forms with subjuncts in present-tense main clauses increases from 14 to 37 whereas the number of the construction without subjuncts in the same type of clause decreases from 30 to 11. The two phenomena are nearly compensating for each other. Therefore, it looks as if there were only 4 more expanded forms recorded between the 18th and the 19th century. The same study in past-tense main clauses gives the following results: the number of expanded forms with subjuncts decreases from 5 to 3 and that without subjuncts decrease from 8 to 6, which amounts to saying that there exists a decrease of 4 expanded forms between the 18th and the 19th century. The addition of the two results for the present-tense and past-tense main clauses brings about an effect of stabilization. The existence of these

contradictory movements can be linguistically explained by the re-modelling of the function of the expanded form, which acquires a new semantic dimension in the 19th century, as was previously underlined in section 5.4.3.2: the expanded form is becoming more and more dependent on the linguistic marking of the speaker's attitude. The conventionalizing of the conversational implicature of subjectivity is starting at this time in present-tense main clauses to a large extent and is fully achieved at the beginning of the 20th century, with the number of expanded forms without subjuncts in present-tense main clauses clearly exceeding that with subjuncts in the same type of clauses.

Consequently, the results in section 5.6 show an interesting historical correlation between the increase of subjectivity in the function of the expanded form and its increasing use in present-tense main clauses and it clearly contradicts the hypothesis made by some scholars, according to which the correlation was validated for expanded forms in past-tense main clauses.

5.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, the examination of a few parameters in the development of the expanded form, namely the occurrence of the construction with different verb types, the collocation of the construction with perfects, modals and passives, the co-occurrence of the construction with locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts, the collocation of the construction with main and subordinate clauses, and finally the examination of the type of tense in which it occurs, has shown how far they all contribute to the dramatic increase in the number of expanded forms in this colloquial style of writing represented by the private letters from the 15th century onwards. In particular, in the 16th century, the locative meaning was losing ground at the expense of the temporal interpretation. In addition, it was underlined how the function of the expanded form has become more and more independent of the temporal parameter associated with activity verbs, namely two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior: the temporal indication is progressively carried in itself by the construction. Indeed, it started in the 17th century with the first use of the expanded form in the data with a verb topologically represented with two merged boundaries, followed by the first use of the expanded form with verb topologically represented with two open boundaries and an empty interior one century later. So from the 17th century onwards, it has become slightly less necessary to choose a verb in which a heterogeneous topological representation is predominant, as

illustrated with the use of activity verbs, topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a non-empty interior. The drift from the obligatory linguistic marking of a temporal anchoring in a situation was confirmed by the more important number of expanded forms in main clauses than in subordinate clauses for the first time in the 16th century; in spite of a few variations, the result has definitely been confirmed from the 18th century onwards. This is all the more corroborated by the examination of temporojuncts and subjuncts collocating with the expanded form: the proportion of temporojuncts, essentially adverbials and subordinate clauses, has declined from the beginning of the 16th century at the expense of the proportion of subjuncts. The crucial period for this parameter is represented by the middle of the 19th century, where the subjuncts outnumbered the temporojuncts for the first time, which underlines the increasing dependence of the function of the expanded form on the subjectivity parameter. It is only during the beginning of the 20th century that the linguistic marking of subjectivity decreases, therefore showing how the expanded form is growing progressively more independent of the linguistic markers of subjectivity since subjectivity is becoming inherent to the construction. Two important periods can then be distinguished in the re-evaluation of the function of the expanded form: the expanded form carries in itself a temporal function in the early 18th century, to which is added a subjective function in the early 20th century. Before the 18th century, the expanded form is linguistically marked with many a temporojunct; before the 20th century, the expanded form is linguistically marked with an increasing number of subjuncts. Finally, the examination of the parameter of tense with the expanded form in the data has indicated a correlation between the increase of subjectivity in the function of the construction and its increasing use in present-tense main clauses.

We would like now to pursue this study about the compatibility of the expanded form with expressions of subjectivity within the theoretical framework developed by French linguist Antoine Culioli in the late 60s, which is a more sophisticated version than the theory of enunciation elaborated by Emile Benveniste, and see to what extent modality, aspect and subjectivity are interrelated.

Chapter 6

Modality and aspect: the blurring of categories

An analysis in the theoretical framework of Culioli

The goal of this chapter is to focus on the subjective expression of the expanded form and its correlation with the expression of modality, with the help of the theoretical framework of Culioli, which is appropriate to address these issues.

Since the early sixties, French linguist Antoine Culioli has elaborated a formalized account of the theory of enunciation developed by Benveniste (1966, 1974). For Culioli, the activity of language cannot be characterized as conveying meaning, but as being a re-construction of meaning, since it produces linguistic forms, which are traces of operations, the latter being defined by formal properties. Culioli, therefore, sets his mind on reconstructing, through modelling, the linguistic invariants which regulate language, namely all the notions, rules, patterns, and operations, which bring about specific grammatical categories in a given language. Moreover, at the centre of the relationship between ‘langue’, defined as “the underlying system shared by all speakers of a given language” (Culioli 1995:4), and ‘langage’, defined as “speech activity as well as an evolving mass of individual speech events” (Culioli 1995:4), lies the speaker. This was already acknowledged within the theory of enunciation developed by Benveniste (1966, 1974), as shown below:

“Quand l’individu se l’approprié, le langage se tourne en instances de discours, caractérisées par ce système de références internes dont la clef est *je*, et définissant l’individu par la construction linguistique particulière dont il se sert quand il s’énonce comme locuteur.”

(Benveniste 1966:255)

“L'énonciation est cette **mise en fonctionnement de la langue par un acte individuel d'utilisation** [...]. C'est l'acte même de produire un énoncé et non le texte de l'énoncé qui est notre objet. Cet acte est le fait du locuteur qui mobilise la langue pour son compte.”

(Benveniste 1974:80)

“L'acte individuel d'appropriation de la langue **introduit celui qui parle dans sa parole**. [...]. La présence du locuteur à son énonciation fait que chaque instance de discours constitue un centre de référence interne. Cette situation va se manifester par un jeu de formes spécifiques dont la fonction est de mettre le locuteur en relation constante et nécessaire avec son énonciation.”

(Benveniste 1974:82)

The theory elaborated by French linguist Culioli in the late sixties, corroborates the central role of the individual speaker in language, as exemplified below:

“There can be no theory of language that denies **the grounding of languages in situations**.”

(Culioli 1995:5)

This remark is related to Culioli's harsh criticism of the system of generative and transformational grammars, which he says “skirts round the relationship between utterance and enunciation [and proposes] a language (activities, texts) without enunciators, without situations in which the act of enunciation can take place” (Culioli 1995:5). This crucial role of the individual speaker in language, namely what we shall call subjectivity, is not to be confused with a definition of subjectivity involving possibly unreliable and controversial statements on the part of the speaker. Moreover, this is not to be interpreted either in the way “mentalistic” linguists such as Guillaume and Bally do; Culioli clearly differentiates the role of the psychologist and that of the linguist. Here the ‘speaking subject’, to paraphrase Benveniste, is understood as the one that is at the origin of enunciation:

“C'est dans et par le langage que l'homme se constitue comme *sujet* ; parce que le langage seul fonde en réalité, dans *sa* réalité qui est celle de l'être, le concept d'“ego”.”

Benveniste (1966:259)

Lyons also associates the role of the speaker with the origin of enunciation and defines subjectivity as “nothing other than indexicality” (Lyons 1982:102). This emphasis on the role of the speaker in language, which has been explained along the aforementioned notion of subjectivity, is crucial to understand the functioning and interpretation of grammatical categories such as tense, aspect, gender, to name a few, as underlined by Benveniste (1966):

“Toutes les variations du paradigme verbal, aspect, temps, genre, personne, etc., résultent de cette actualisation et de cette **dépendance vis-à-vis de l’instance du discours.**”

(Benveniste 1966:255)

Among all these grammatical categories, it is undoubtedly that of aspect, which particularly draws our attention, given our concerns in the thesis. Before trying to account for the expanded form within Culioli’s theory of enunciation, it is necessary to provide a description of the key terminological concepts used in this theory in order to account for the construction of utterances. We shall also examine the classification of modalities in this theory, which will lead us to consider the interaction between modality and expanded form.

6.1 Culioli’s theory of enunciation and the construction of utterances.

6.1.1 Construction of an utterance in Culioli’s theoretical framework

Within the theoretical framework of enunciation elaborated by Culioli, three different levels can be distinguished. Let us note that the classification is purely theoretical¹ and it is not necessary that the speaker tries to follow it when he constructs an utterance. The first level represents the level of notions, which is defined as a complex bundle of non-perceived physical and cultural properties; it is the level of mental representation. According to Culioli, we do not have a direct access to this level, since the mediator for the linguist is the text, which represents only partly what happens in the cognitive activity involved in the first level². The second level corresponds to the level of the construction of the predicative relation; this level is the level of linguistic representations, which are the traces³ of the activity of representation in the first level. The third level stands for the level of the construction of the utterance, in which locating operations such as tense, aspect, modality, determination are carried out; this third level is then the level of the explicit representation of metalinguistic operations

¹ The three levels distinguished by Culioli for the construction of utterance are not situated at the level of production; they are purely theoretical. Culioli does not say that there exist stages extending from the absence of an utterance towards its construction at the level of production.

² “A tout cela nous n’avons pas accès, au sens d’un accès immédiat. Les médiations, quand on peut les distinguer, sont du ressort de l’anthropologie, d’un côté, et de la biochimie, de l’autre. Le linguiste, lui, peut jouer un rôle, mais son médiateur à lui, c’est le texte, qui n’est qu’une partie des traces de cette activité cognitive; quant à l’activité corticale, elle n’est pas de la compétence du linguiste” (Culioli 1990: 21).

³ Central to Culioli’s theory is the concept of trace, also called marker or result. Indeed, a linguistic form is not the representation of an operation, but the result of an operation. This result does not represent like a mirror; it is said to be representative of what it results from: “les marqueurs sont des représentants de représentation” (Culioli 1985: 16).

and it contains traces of the operations carried out at the second level. Let us reconsider these levels in more detail.

At the level of notions, a notional domain (p, p') is constructed out of occurrences⁴ of the notion p and it represents the class of occurrences of this notion; p' represents everything that is other than p . The structure of the notional domain is made of an interior I , an exterior E , and a boundary B . The interior is composed of all the occurrences which can be identified with the notion p ; it is constructed round a prototypical occurrence, which is called the organizing centre, and can be paraphrased 'truly p '. It is possible to construct an attracting centre of I , which includes all the values of high degree attributed to the notion p ; it can be marked by expressions of high degree such as the use of the superlative or the use of adverbials such as *very much*, etc.; it can be paraphrased as 'the highest degree of p '. The exterior E , by contrast, contains all the occurrences of the notional domain (p, p'), which are not identified with an occurrence of p . The notional value corresponding to E is p' , namely non- p , (if one has chosen to call the notional value of I , p). The exterior can be attributed an organizing centre, which represents a prototypical occurrence of the value p : it can be paraphrased 'truly non- p '. It is also possible to construct the attracting centre of E , comprising all the values of high degree attributed to the notion p' ; hence the paraphrase 'the highest degree of p' '. The boundary B includes occurrences of the notion p , which can be neither strictly classified in the interior I nor strictly classified in the exterior E either, but which have properties of both subdomains; the value corresponding to the boundary B can be paraphrased 'not truly p ', or 'not truly p' '. All this terminology about the notional domain and the way it is structured has been described by Culioli (1990) in one of his articles in English "The concept of notional domain", as illustrated below:

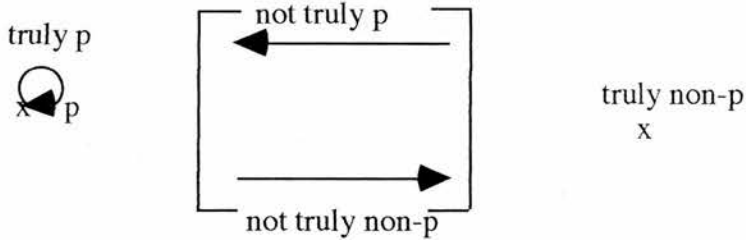
"A **notion** can be defined as a complex bundle of structured physico-cultural properties and should not be equated with lexical labels or actual items. Notions are representations. [...]. It should be obvious that notions have a status of predicable entities and could be described as unfragmented solid wholes; but they are apprehended through occurrences, i.e., distinguished through separate events, broken down into units (actually localized in the physical world, or imaginary) with variable properties [...]. We (that is, linguists in as much as they attempt to represent metalinguistically the activity of subjects) are thus led to construct a **notional domain** which structures the class of occurrences of a given notion in the following way:

(1) It has an **interior**, induced by a process of identification (any x_i is identified to an x_j) so that there is no divide in the area, no first point, no last point: it is open. The open area is **centered**, for it contains an organizing centre (prototype) which acts as an **attracting centre** (whence 'absolute' values, or the so-called high degree in exclamatory modality, e.g. *how beautiful!* ; *some car!* ; *C'est quelque chose!* , etc.). It can also be represented as comprising a **gradient** (from centre outward).

⁴ The (linguistic) occurrences of a notion refer to any term which is introduced in the construction of utterances, whether directly or indirectly (see Culioli (1990: 56)).

(2) It has an **exterior**. If interior values are informally glossed as ‘truly p’, ‘truly representative of p’ [...], exterior values can be described as ‘truly non-p’ ‘totally different from p’ ‘having no common property’, not even the slightest, with p’.

(3) Let us close the interior, by setting up quality occurrences verging on non-p, but still belonging to the p-area [...]. Let us close the exterior: ‘non-p to some extent, whatever this may be, however slight, provided it is kept on this side of non-p’. In other words, we get, on the one hand, ‘not truly p’, on the other hand, ‘not truly non-p’. We have thus constructed the **boundary**.”



(Culioli 1990:69-70)

Graph 6.1 Topological representation of the notional domain

We can illustrate all this terminology about the construction of a structured notional domain, by examining this short conversation:

- A- “Listen! Somebody is singing next door.”
- B- “She’s singing beautifully.”
- C- “No. It’s not true. This is not really singing. There’s no rhythm, no melody.”
- D- “You’re right. Now, she’s screaming.”

There is one occurrence of singing mentioned by A. This allows A to construct the notional domain of “sing”. For A, the sound that is being heard corresponds to the prototypical definition of the notion of singing, maybe something like the production of music, musical sounds, songs, etc., with the voice. Let us posit the value associated with the notion “sing” as p. So for A, the sound that is being heard is ‘truly p’. As for the speaker B, he uses the adverbial *beautifully*, which shows that there is processing on the gradient measuring the quality of the singing; the speaker B constructs the attracting centre of the notion p, which could be paraphrased as ‘absolutely p’. The third speaker C disagrees with B, by saying “it’s not true”. The use of *not really* with the prototypical notion of singing situates the sound in the frontier B of the notion. Finally, the speaker D allows us to construct the exterior of the notional domain represented by “sing”, since the notion of screaming has nothing to do with that of singing. This short conversation involving four different speakers

has helped us to better understand how a notional domain (p, p') can be structurally constructed out of the simple occurrence of p through the use of simple operations of qualification.

At the level of the construction of the predicative relation, Culioli posits the existence of an abstract schema, called a lexis schema, comprising three places, one for a predicate, the other two for arguments. Once the places have been instantiated by the lexical items derived from the notions, we have what will be called a lexis. Then, the speaker chooses the order of the arguments⁵ and the predicate, the order determining, among other considerations, whether the active or the passive voice is used. This ordered lexis is then called a predicative relation. The concept of lexis is explained by Culioli (1990) in the same article as follows:

“Given, on the one hand, a primitive relationship specified by a predicate and, on the other hand, a schema, called a lexis schema and noted $\langle \xi_0, \xi_1, \pi \rangle$, where ξ_0 and ξ_1 are variables for arguments and π is a variable for operators of predication. From the primitive relationship and the schema, we can construct the predicate and the arguments, distinguishing a first argument (order 0) and a second argument (order 1). In this way, a **lexis** is the result of the instantiation of a schema by terms which have themselves been constructed from notions. [...]. **A lexis is not an utterance** (*énoncé*). It is neither asserted nor unasserted, for it has not yet been situated (or located) within an enunciative space defined by a referential network (a system of utterance (enunciative) coordinates).[...] A lexis is therefore both what is often called propositional content [...] and a form which generates other forms.”

(Culioli 1990:78-9)

This can be illustrated by the following example. Let us consider the primitive relationship specified by the predicate *write*, as well as the lexis schema $\langle \xi_0, \xi_1, \pi \rangle$. From this primitive relationship and the lexis schema, we can construct the first argument, *John*, and the second argument, *letter*. Here is the lexis: $\langle \text{John, letter, write} \rangle$. Then we can choose an order. Let us choose the active voice, for instance. We have thus constructed the predicative relation: $\langle \text{John, write, letter} \rangle$.

Finally, at the level of the construction of the utterance, it is an operation of location which is performed on the lexis. But what is the operation of location exactly? We must make a slight digression by briefly explaining the operation of location before re-considering what the location of an utterance represents. Originally, the operation of location consists in situating a place with respect to a fixed point. Linguistically, a grammatical expression is located with respect to a given situation,

⁵ The term ‘argument’ is not used in a generative sense here. In Culioli’s theory, it refers to the term of the predicative relation. Its role is ambiguous: it has either a semantic role (role of agent, patient, beneficiary, etc.) or a syntactic role (it is the complement in an utterance, for instance).

which can be either the situation of the ‘speaking subject’ or another situation. The operation of location is symbolized epsilon, noted $\underline{\epsilon}$, as illustrated below:

“The basic idea is that **an object only acquires a determined value by means of system of location**. The relationship of **location** is always binary [...]. The operator of location is noted $\underline{\epsilon}$ (which is read ‘epsilon’ or, in ordinary language, ‘is located by’). Therefore $\langle x \underline{\epsilon} () \rangle$ means that x is the locatum in a relationship which is being established. From $\langle x \underline{\epsilon} () \rangle$ we can construct a locator, say y, and thus have the relationship $\langle x \underline{\epsilon} y \rangle$ or: ‘x is located relative to y’.”

(Culioli 1990:75)

The operation of location can establish the relationship “is located by”, which is symbolized by $\underline{\epsilon}$. In such a case, the first term of the relationship is the locatum and the second term, the locator. Here are the values that the operation can be associated with.

First, it can be **symmetrical location or strict identification**; this is a reversible operation. Hence $x = y$ and $y = x$. Such is the case with the examples *Peter is my brother* and *My brother is Peter*.

Second, there is the value of **non-symmetrical location**. Two subvalues can be distinguished. Either it is **partial identification** (we then have $x = y$ only), as in the predication of a temporary property (*Peter is tall*). Or it can be **differentiation (also called localization)**, which is symbolized \neq , as illustrated in the marker of the simple past *-ed*, which is said to be different from the time of enunciation T_0 in that it is anterior to T_0 : in the example *John went to the movies*, the time T_2 of the event “go the movies” is different from the time of enunciation T_0 : $T_2 \neq T_0$. In the case of differentiation, it is possible to derive a dual operator, $\underline{\exists}$, from the operator $\underline{\epsilon}$, and, this time, the first term of this converse relationship called “is the locator of” is the locator, and the second one, the locatum. This type of location is frequently expressed by the verb “have” in the languages where it is used, as in the English example *John has a car*.

Third, there is the value of disconnection, symbolized ω . This is maximal differentiation. When something is disconnected from the moment of enunciation, it has no relation at all to T_0 ; it shows a clear break with T_0 . This is well exemplified by a fictive situation as in *If John works hard, he will pass his exams* : the future of the event “pass his exams” is located by the time of the hypothetical subordinate clause *If John works hard*, which is disconnected from the time of enunciation T_0 . There is a clear break between T_2 and T_0 . Hence $T_2 \omega T_0$.

Fourth, there is the **heterogeneous** value, which is the mixture of the three values of identification, differentiation, and disconnection and it is noted *: x is neither identifiable to y nor different from y, x is either identifiable to y or different from y

(namely we have ω or = or \neq y). An interesting example comes from free indirect speech, in which the narrator and the character can be identifiable at some point but the time of the character is different from the time of the narrator and the time of the character is also identifiable with the time of the narrator, as in the following example *John looked through the window. Mary must come back before it is too late.* Here the narrator can be identified to the character *John*, hence the value of identification; but there is also the value of differentiation, since *must* is located by the moment of enunciation of the character, namely the present, which is different from the simple past *looked* of the narrative.

After this short digression about the interpretation of the operation of location, we can go back to the explanation of the construction of the utterance. For a lexis to become an utterance, it must be located with respect to the situation of enunciation, as shown below:

“If we use the symbol λ to refer to lexis and *Sit* (for enunciative situation) to refer to the locational structure of a speech situation, then **an énoncé can be said to be the product of an operation: $\langle \lambda \ \underline{\epsilon} \ \text{Sit} \rangle$.**”

(Culioli 1990:78-9)

“Un énoncé est un construit théorique: **c'est par rapport le repérage d'une relation prédicative par rapport à *Sit* que l'on produit un énoncé.**”

(Culioli 1985:74)

“The speech situation, noted **Sit**, includes “an origin-situation locator *Sit0*, a locator for the locutionary event *Sit1*, and a locator for the event referred to, *Sit2*. Each locator includes two parameters (S for enunciator, or locutor, T for the (spatio)-temporal locators of the utterance origin, of the act of locution and of the event referred to). [...]”

The formula for situational location is therefore:
 $\lambda \ \underline{\epsilon} \ \langle \ \text{Sit2} \ (S2, \ T2) \ \underline{\epsilon} \ \text{Sit1} \ (S1, \ T1) \ \underline{\epsilon} \ \text{Sit0} \ (S0, \ T0) \ \rangle$.”

(Culioli 1990:80)

In *Sit0* (*S0*, *T0*)⁶, *T0* is the temporal origin of enunciation, *S0*, the enunciative origin, *Sit0*, the situation origin. The enunciator is the subjective entity acting as the origin of an utterance.

In *Sit1* (*S1*, *T1*), *T1* is the time of locution and *S1*, the locutor, *Sit1*, the situation of the locutor. The locutor is the one who speaks at a given time, for instance when he exactly quotes what another person says. If I say, *Peter said: “It's cold here”*, I quote Peter's words in direct speech without changing anything; I am then acting as a

⁶ In most cases of narrative, *Sit0* = *Sit1*, to simplify, in general, the temporal origin of enunciation is to be equated with the time of locution. The difference of notation becomes all the more relevant in cases of free indirect speech in which there is clearly a break between the origin of enunciation (located with respect to the character) and the time of locution (which is that of the narrator) (see 6.3 for examples of the use of the expanded form in free indirect speech).

locutor. By contrast, if I say, *Peter said it was cold there*, I integrate Peter's words in my speech by using indirect speech, so I create my own utterance. I am both the locutor and the enunciator.

In $Sit_2 (S_2, T_2)$, T_2 is the time relative to which the predicative relation is located; it is the time of the event. S_2 is the subject of the event considered, and Sit_2 , the situation of the event considered.

In cases of hypothetical modality, a fictive situation, $Sit_0^1(S_0^1, T_0^1)$ is created by the enunciator with a subjective origin S_0^1 constructed out of S_0 and a temporal origin T_0^1 constructed out of T_0 . This notation will be useful for the explanation of quotations in free indirect speech in 6.3.

Thus, if we take the previous example of the predicative relation $\langle \text{John}, \text{write}, \text{letter} \rangle$, in order to turn this into an utterance, we have to carry out enunciative operations. For instance, we can introduce the modal *may*. Let us use the expanded form with the predicate *write*. We can apply a specific operation of determination of the noun, by extracting a member of the class represented by the noun *letter*, hence the use of the indefinite article. And we can make a qualitative operation on the noun *letter*, by using the adjective *long*, for instance. Here is the result of the enunciative operations: $\langle \text{John may be writing a long letter} \rangle$. For this relation to become an utterance, we must locate it relative to the situation of enunciation, which can be indicated by the temporal adverbial *now*, for instance. So we have $\langle \text{John may be writing a long letter} \rangle \in S_{\#0}$, $S_{\#0}$ being represented by the adverbial *now*. Consequently, the aforementioned relation can be considered as an utterance.

We shall now focus our attention on the analysis of modality within the theoretical framework developed by Culioli.

6.1.2 Modality in Culioli's theoretical framework

Various definitions are attributed to the notion of modality. Firstly, there are traditional modal logic accounts of modality in terms of possibility and necessity. Secondly, there is the traditional classification of epistemic and deontic modalities⁷, in which subjectivity, defined as the speaker's attitude, plays an important role. In this classification involving epistemic modality, on the one hand, and deontic or root

⁷ A traditional definition of epistemic and deontic modality is provided by Lyons (1977): "Epistemic modality [...] is concerned with matters of knowledge, belief" (Lyons 1977: 793). Hence the epistemic values of possibility probability and necessity. "Deontic modality is concerned with the necessity or possibility of acts performed by morally responsible agents" (Lyons 1977: 823). Hence the deontic values of permission, obligation and requirement.

modality, on the other hand, the notion of subjectivity, characterized as the speaker's attitude, plays an essential role, as shown below:

“This notion of **subjectivity [as the speaker's attitude]** is **of the greatest importance** [...] for the understanding of both epistemic and deontic modality.”
(Lyons 1977:739)

Thirdly, another classification is worth mentioning since it enlarges the previous one considerably. It is based on Culioli's theoretical framework. Modality is defined as “**the degree and, sometimes, the conditions of validity for the predicative relation**” (After Groussier, personal notes, “Cours d'Agrégation”). This is the very definition of modality which will be closely examined now.

6.1.2.1 Terminological background

It is to be recalled that the predicative relation is a complex notion, structured as a notional domain with an interior I, an exterior E, and a boundary B between I and E, since it is the result of the putting together of notions (see 6.1.1). Before being attributed modal determination, the predicative relation is situated on a **pre-modal plane** (p, p'), where the speaker has not made a modal choice yet.

In the definition of modality that has been adopted, the term “validity” was introduced. It is understood as the degree of conformity with what the speaker thinks is true. When the speaker thinks that the predicative relation is **valid**, he chooses the interior I -- this is called **validation**. When the speaker thinks that the predicative relation is not valid, he chooses the exterior E -- this is called **non-validation**. Some modalities include the choice of the boundary B, as will be shown shortly. What is potentially valid is **validable**.

6.1.2.2 Study of the four types of modality in Culioli's theoretical framework

In the following classification of modalities, the use of a number to refer to a particular type of modality is purely arbitrary and does not involve any hierarchy or scale of preference between modalities on Culioli's part. Besides, let us remark that the following types of modality are generally not mutually exclusive.⁸ Four types of modality are to be distinguished.

⁸ There are some exceptions, though: the modality of assertion and epistemic modality cannot be associated: you cannot assert at the same time as you express disbelief towards a predicative relation.

To begin with, we shall examine **modality I**, which comprises the so-called primitive modalities, which represent the choice of a modal plane on the speaker's part. Three subtypes can be distinguished.

First, the speaker chooses a value of the notional domain (p, p') , depending on its conformity or non-conformity with one or more facts that he believes to be true. When **the speaker does not hesitate to choose**, this is **assertion**: he chooses one and only one value from the notional domain (p, p') . When the speaker chooses the interior I of (p, p') -- because he considers the predicative relation as valid, namely it corresponds to what he thinks to be true in his opinion -- this is affirmative assertion, also called affirmation. When the speaker chooses the exterior E of (p, p') -- because he considers the predicative relation as non-valid, namely, by negating the predicative relation it is impossible for him to find a fact that he could classify as true -- this is negative assertion, also called negation. When **the speaker hesitates to choose** between the values of the notional domain (p, p') , he considers that there is not good enough a reason to opt for one value rather than the other one. So he cannot validate the propositional content of the predicative relation and leaves the decision to the co-speaker. This is the interrogative modality, also called **interrogation**.

Second, the speaker chooses to break his relation(s) to facts and he situates himself on a plane which is outside the plane of true facts, namely a fictive plane. He then uses the **hypothetical modality**, as exemplified by the use of the subordinating conjunction *if*.

Third, the speaker tries to **modify the world** by using the predicative relation in the following ways. With the **injunctive modality**, the speaker tells the co-speaker to do something: he tries to force him to choose one single value in the notional domain (p, p') . As for the **performative modality**, when, for instance, the speaker pronounces the words *I swear*, the event "swear" takes place at the same time of his speech.

Moreover, we shall study **modality II** which, just like assertion and interrogation, deals with the conformity of the predicative relation with what the speaker thinks to be true. But, as opposed to modality I, which classifies facts as valid or non-valid, **modality II evaluates the degrees of validity of the predicative relation which depend on its conditions of validity**. The speaker estimates to what extent he distances himself from the validation of the predicative relation, measuring

Similarly, it is impossible to combine equipossibility and interrogation, hypothesis and interrogation, and there may be other cases.

not only the chances of validity but also the chances of non-validity of the predicative relation. Two types of modality II can be considered.

First, **the speaker evaluates the validity of a predicative relation, which validity does not exist at the moment of enunciation.** Therefore, the predicative relation is validable but it is not validated yet. The use of a subset of modals belonging to modality II indicate the conditions of this validability. This can be illustrated by the use of *will* in the example *The train will arrive at 5 P. M.*. Here the speaker projects the validation of the predicative relation <train, arrive> in the future, which is represented by the temporojunct *at 5 P. M.*. Another example can be provided by the use of *may* in the example *John may be nice*. In such a case, the speaker evaluates the validation of the predicative relation <John, be nice> as possible. The speaker gives equal weight to the validation and to the non-validation of the predicative relation. So both the interior “be nice” and the exterior “not be nice” are equi-probable within the notional domain (“be nice”, “not be nice”). This the contingent value of *may*, which can be paraphrased as *it is possible that John is nice*.

Second, **the validity of the predicative relation may exist at the moment of enunciation but the speaker is not aware of it.** The speaker bases his judgment on the existence of a certain situation and he infers the existence of another fact which could explain the validity of the predicative relation he takes into consideration. Such is the case with the following use of *must* in *John must be away (his bag is not here)*. The speaker states the fact that John’s bag is not there. Then he considers this affirmation as being a direct consequence of the fact on which the validity of the predicative relation <John, be away> is based. Finally, he chooses $p = \text{“be away”}$ as the value which has the highest probability for the validation of the predicative relation <John, be away> and, given contextual evidence, namely the absence of John’s bag, he excludes $p' = \text{<not be away>}$.

Furthermore, we shall focus our attention on modality IV. Just like modality II, it evaluates the degree of validity of the predicative relation and its conditions of validity. **But modality IV differs from modality II in that the conditions of validity of the predicative relation involve the subject of the utterance.**⁹

⁹ The subject of the utterance should not be confused with the grammatical subject in Culioli’s theory. It is defined as the **main actant** of the predicate it refers to, whether it is expressed explicitly or implicitly (After Groussier, personal notes, “Cours d’Agrégation”). An actant fulfils a notional role (agent, patient, beneficiary, etc.). In the active voice, it is equated with the grammatical subject as in the following example *John plays tennis*. But in the passive voice, as in *These windows must be cleaned*, it is clear that the subject of the utterance is not expressed: it is represented by the main agent of the predicate *clean*.

Two types of modality IV can be identified: the modality of “visée” and the modality of property. We shall start with the first one.

When a **situation is projected into the future**, it is called “visée”. Two subtypes can be distinguished, depending on whether the source of “visée” is the subject of the utterance or not. The first subtype is represented by **the modality of willingness**, which indicates that the subject of the utterance, which is animate, is defined as the prospective agent of the situation that he projects into the future, as in the example *Will you go to the theatre on Saturday?* Here the speaker asks the co-speaker about what he intends to do in a near future. In the example *John will not mow his garden tomorrow*, the speaker says that the subject of the utterance *John* does not intend to mow the garden on the following garden. Among the other expressions indicating the willingness of the subject of the utterance, you can find *be going to*, *'d rather*, and *want to*. The second subtype of the modality considered is represented by **the modality of constraint**, in which the subject of the utterance is the target of the constraint whose deontic source can be of various origins. *Must* and *shall*, for instance, can illustrate this type of modality. In the example *You must tell me the truth*, the subject of the utterance *you* is the target of the constraint “tell the truth” and the deontic source is clearly identified as the speaker. In the example *John shall stay here for the summer*, the use of the modal *shall* in rather traditional usage indicates a strong constraint imposed on the subject of the utterance *John*. Because of the use of the modal *shall*, the deontic source remains indeterminate. So it is a convenient way for the speaker not to be held responsible for the role of the deontic source. Other markers of the modality of constraint comprise *have (got) to*, *need*, and *ought to*.

In addition to the modality of “visée”, which involves the projection of a situation into the future, there is a need to discuss the **modality of property, which the speaker uses when he attributes a property to the subject of the utterance**. Two subtypes can be distinguished. First, **the chances of validation for the predicative relation outnumber those of non-validation**, as shown with the following use of *can* in the example *John can be a nuisance at times*. The use of the temporojunct *at times* indicates that the capacity “be a nuisance” attributed to the subject of the utterance *John* is not permanent but it shows that it can be validated on some occasions. *John* is such that the validation of the predicative relation <John, be a nuisance> is possible. Another example of the modality of property can be provided by the use of *will* in *This will be the man upstairs!* (Bouscaren et al. 1992: 71). The presence of the adjunct *again* shows that the speaker has already been confronted with situation involving noisy neighbours, for instance. On the basis of this

experience, he attributes a property to *the man upstairs*, say, “be noisy”. Then the speaker uses this property to make a prediction by using *will*. Because of the property attributed to the subject of the utterance, the validation of the predicative relation <this, be, the man upstairs> is foreseeable in the future. Second, **the chances of validation for the predicative relation are (nearly) equivalent to those of non-validation**, as exemplified with the value of permission of *may* in the example *May I leave now?* Here the use of *may* is based on the presence of a negative preconstruct such as *I cannot leave now*. So the speaker asks the co-speaker to suppress the constraint which prevents the validation of the predicative relation <I, leave>. Once this constraint is suppressed, the speaker is attributed by the co-speaker the capacity of leaving, which will be used or not to validate the predicative relation. Consequently, the number of chances for the validation of <I, leave> is (nearly) equivalent to those of non-validation.

Finally, we shall consider **modality III**, which corresponds to a **qualifying modality**. Whether the predicative relation is to be validated or not is out of consideration. Here the speaker makes a judgment about the content of the predicative relation: **the speaker evaluates to what extent the predicative relation is in accordance with a preconstruct, which represents his expectations**. Two types of judgment can be distinguished: first, the judgment of the type “normal”/“not-normal”; second, the judgment of the type “good”/“not good”. In the first type of modality III, the comparison between the predicative relation and the preconstruct involves modality I, namely the modality of assertion. **If the predicative relation and the preconstruct belong to the same modality, for instance, affirmation, the speaker uses expressions such as *it is normal, it is understandable, etc.***, as exemplified below:

A: “John passed his exams.”

B: “No wonder. He’s such a hard-working person.”

In this example, B is not surprised at John’s success. B’s preconstruct is explicitly expressed as *He’s such a hard-working person*, and because A’s statement corresponds to B’s expectation, B says *no wonder*.

If the predicative relation and the preconstruct express different modalities, then the speaker uses expressions such as *it is not normal, it is strange, etc.*, as illustrated below:

A: “John came to visit me yesterday.”

B: “It is strange. I thought he was ill.”

B's preconstruct is expressed by *he is ill*. So B did not expect John to visit A. Hence his commentary *it is strange*.

In the second type of modality III, **the preconstruct represents what the speaker wishes to happen, so the speaker classifies it as "good"**. If the predicative relation and the preconstruct are of the same modality, the speaker will show his approval, as exemplified below:

It's good that John goes to the gym again.

The preconstruct of the speaker is represented by his wish to see John to go to the gym. Because his wish comes true, the speaker evaluates the situation as being "good".

If the predicative relation and the preconstruct are not of the same modality, then the speaker indicates his disapproval, as shown below:

John did not go to the party. It is not nice.

The preconstruct of the speaker can be represented by his wish to see John go to the party. Unfortunately, his wish is not fulfilled. Therefore, the situation is not in accordance with his wish. Hence the indication of the speaker's disapproval *it is not nice*.

Now that the basic terminology with respect to the concept of modality and the construction of an utterance in Culioli's theory has been clarified, it is time to apply it to the data and see in what respect this theory can shed a new light on the interpretation of the expanded form.

6.2 Interaction between modality, aspect and subjectivity in the private letters

6.2.1 Modal values of the expanded form

Throughout 6.1, it was shown that in Culioli's theoretical framework modality is defined by the speaker's attitude, which can be classified in four subcategories: modality I, or modality of assertion; modality II, or epistemic modality; modality III,

or qualifying modality; and modality IV, or the modality defining the relation between the subject of the utterance and the predicate. In the following sections, an attempt will be made to provide an explanation of the different modal values that the expanded form can be attributed on its own, whether it be modality II, III, or IV; the combination of the expanded form with modals will also be examined.

6.2.1.1 The expanded form and modality II

The expanded form is strongly compatible with markers of modality II. They can be indicated by adverbials, such as *perhaps* and *probably*, and verbs marking expectation, such as *expect* and *hope*, as illustrated below:

-- Combination of the expanded form with adverbials indicating modality II:

Perhaps Irish property is not getting more valuable and ought to be parted with.
(*Amberley Papers*, p.500)

Lady Stanley told us much to our surprise that you were **perhaps** coming to settle in town in Nov..
(*Amberley Papers*, p.531)

perhaps they weren't being typed.
(Virginia Woolf, p.166)

Clive is **probably** coming down tomorrow.
(Virginia Woolf, p.197)

-- Combination of the expanded form with verbs indicating modality II:

I **am expecting** a letter this evening.
(*Amberley papers*, p.491)

Well I **hope** things are going as well as may be.
(Virginia Woolf, p.190)

I was surprised to hear you have a fear of drowning, I **don't expect** that is bothering you on a big ship.
(KAR in BNC, sn 118)

I am writing (I **think**) out of turn, to wish you a happy birthday.
(KAR in BNC, sn 412)

Wherever you are, we **are hoping** that Rob and Joyce will spend some time with us.
(KAR in BNC, sn 144)

and companies I **believe** are suddenly beginning to realise that integrity [...].
(HD4 in BNC, sn 395)

On the basis of this strong compatibility, we shall try to assess to what extent a parallel can be drawn between the expanded form and modality II.

To begin with, the expanded form can be interpreted with such a modal value provided it is combined with some specific types of verbs only, namely accomplishment, punctual and achievement verbs.

In the case of accomplishment verbs, they are topologically represented with two separate boundaries, and a non-empty interior: [...]. The important linguistic feature here is the right boundary, which is represented closed, because an accomplishment verb has, by definition, an ending point. The conditions of validity of a predicative relation including an accomplishment verb require that the right boundary of the topological representation of the verb considered, namely its ending point, should be reached. By using the expanded form at \mathcal{T}_0 , the speaker explicitly indicates that this ending point has not been achieved yet, and therefore he focuses on the interior of the topological representation of the verb, leaving aside the existence of a potential ending point. In this sense, the speaker distantiates himself from the goal to be achieved to evaluate the chances of validity of the predicative relation and its conditions of validity at \mathcal{T}_0 : by saying that the right boundary of the topological representation of the accomplishment verb has not been reached yet, he **leaves the validation of the potential ending point in suspense**. This evaluation of the condition of validity of the accomplishment verb belongs to modality II.

With punctual and achievement verbs, the same argument holds. This type of verb is topologically represented with two merged boundaries: I. Because of the nature of the boundaries here, the speaker takes the merged boundaries as the ending point to be reached. The speaker linguistically reconstructs the topological structure of an accomplishment verb: [...], with two separate boundaries and a non-empty interior. By using the expanded form at \mathcal{T}_0 , the speaker focuses on the interior of the latter topological structure, without considering the ending point. Again, he considers the potential ending point as non-existent, which is an evaluation of the condition of validity of the verb type considered. Hence the value of modality II.

Unfortunately, the availability of the operation underlying modality II has its limits, as illustrated by the cases of activity verbs and stative verbs. Even though activity verbs are represented with two separate boundaries and a non-empty interior, the right side of the structure associated with an activity verb is open, not closed: [...]. The topological representation of activity verbs does not contain an ending point in itself by definition. As for stative verbs, they are topologically represented with two open boundaries and no interior (it is empty). Because no distinct point can be distinguished in the interior, it is *a fortiori* impossible to identify a potential ending point. Because of the absence of this right boundary in the topological representation

of activity or stative verbs, it is impossible to achieve the same conclusion as the one in the case of accomplishment verbs, for instance.

Furthermore, another parallel between modality II and the expanded form can be drawn with respect to *can* and the expanded form provided special conditions are fulfilled. When *can* is followed by a verb of perception and a direct object, the modal *can* takes a contingent value, which means that the values p and p' suggested by the utterance are equally possible. Let us take the following example: *you can see the tree over there*. At *To*, the speaker posits the existence of $p = \langle \text{you, see the tree over there} \rangle$ without excluding that of $p' = \langle \text{you, not see the tree over there} \rangle$. Let us note that because of the nature of the verb, namely *see*, the structure associated with the utterance can be equated with that of an achievement. This reasoning very much resembles that involved in the operation carried out by the expanded form with verbs having two merged boundaries; therefore, the comparison between the expanded form and the modal *can* in this particular context shows that the evaluation of the situation resembles that carried out in modality II. Nevertheless, it seems difficult to extend the parallel any further. Let us just take the counter-example: *can you swim?*, with the modal *can* followed by a verb which is not a verb of perception but an activity verb; and the modal *can* takes the value of capacity, which belongs to modality IV.

Consequently, despite the few contexts in which it has been possible to draw a parallel between the expanded form and modality II, the constraints involved, namely the need for the verb to be topologically represented with a heterogeneous interior and a closed right boundary, were too strong and no unified comparison between the expanded form and modality II can be provided.

It can also be shown that the expanded form can be associated with a meaning belonging to modality IV, as will be explained now.

6.2.1.2 The expanded form and modality IV

It is to be observed that the expanded form is strongly compatible with markers of modality IV, as shown by the use of the verb *want* expressing willingness and that of the semi-auxiliary *have to* :

We have been **wanting** very much to hear of your Mother.
(Jane Austen, letter 130, mil.457)

My cataract operation has been moved forward a fortnight for the rather odd reason that the hospital is **having to** cancel all non-urgent operations in October.

(KAR in BNC, sn 446)

Given this strong compatibility, it would be worth wondering to what extent it is possible to attribute a value of modality IV to the expanded form. Three types of situation could give us evidence of the existence of this modal value for the expanded form.

First, the compatibility of the expanded form with temporojuncts referring to the future can be interpreted as instances of modality IV, as illustrated by the following examples from the data:

I am going the next week (God Willing) to Knebworth.

(John Chamberlain, p.70)

Lord Tyrconnel is going tomorrow.

(Queen Anne, p.22)

I am expecting a letter this evening.

(*Amberley papers*, p.491)

Tom Eliot is coming here next week end.

(Virginia Woolf, p.171)

I am seeing the surgeon on Monday, and shall ask him what magic he employed.

(KAR in BNC, sn 202)

Let us analyze the example from Virginia Woolf. The temporojunct *next week end* indicates that the predicative relation <Tom Eliot, come here> will be validated in the future. Because the subject of the utterance, *Tom Eliot*, is human, it is prospectively defined as the agent of the predicate “come”. In this sense, Tom Eliot is the one who has planned his trip. Hence the value of willingness attributed to Tom Eliot, which is a subtype of modality IV. The same type of reasoning can be extended to the other examples since they all contain human subjects.

Secondly, when the expanded form is used metalinguistically, modality IV is inevitably superimposed on the interpretation of the utterance. It is to be admitted that no utterance of this type was recorded in the data. But, as an illustration, we shall consider the following example *I am not talking to you*, with a contrastive stress on the marker of negation *not*. The presence of the contrastive stress on *not* indicates that the speaker works on a preconstruct, which can be paraphrased as follows: the speaker commits himself to $\lambda =$ “I am talking to you”. With the marker of negation

not, the speaker indicates a second enunciative operation: he refuses to commit himself to λ , and λ is not validated at \mathcal{T}_0 for the speaker. Consequently, this type of utterance offers an illustration of the modality of willingness, and therefore of modality IV, which can be paraphrased as *I don't want to talk to you*.

Thirdly, the use of the expanded form in repeated/habitual situations provides interesting examples of modality IV. Again, no utterance of this type could be found in the data. Nevertheless, it is possible to consider the following examples from Ljung (1980) and Leech (1971):

Wherever I went I was seeing her face.

(Ljung 1980: 88)

When I smoked 40 cigarettes a day, I was tasting tobacco in everything I ate.

(Ljung 1980: 91)

Don't call on them at 7.30 -- they're usually having dinner.

By sunrise the labourers were normally making their way to work.

Whenever I visit him he is mowing his lawn.

(Leech 1971:28)

Let us analyze the last example from Leech (1971). The speaker represented by *I* has assessed the concomitance of the validation of the predicative relation $\langle I, \text{visit}, \text{him} \rangle$ with that of the predicative relation $\langle \text{he}, \text{mow}, \text{lawn} \rangle$ a certain number of times. From this repeated experience involving a predicate referring to the action "mow", the speaker infers that the iteration can be interpreted as an indication of willingness on the agent's part, namely on his uncle's part. On the basis of this property, he makes the following predictability: it is foreseeable that the predicative relation $\langle \text{uncle}, \text{mow}, \text{lawn} \rangle$ will be validated. This value of predictability belongs to modality IV.

Thus, it has been possible to briefly explore how some linguistic contexts -- the occurrence of future adverbials with the expanded form, the metalinguistic and repeated/habitual uses of the construction -- could favour the interpretation of the expanded form as modality IV. Despite the presence of these few examples, it is not sufficient to extend the interpretation of modality IV to all the uses of the expanded form. The interpretation of the expanded form as modality IV should be confined to this limited number of contexts.

Another study is worth pursuing now: we shall try to understand the operation carried out by the use of the expanded form in politeness strategies and we shall see how the

expanded form can be attributed a meaning belonging to both modality II and modality IV.

6.2.1.3 The use of the expanded form in politeness strategies: an interesting example of the combination of modality II and modality IV

In their analysis of the notion of politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987) focus their attention on the concept of face, namely a sort of public “self-esteem”, which comprises two related facets, called positive and negative face. Positive face refers to the need by the speaker to be appreciated by others. By contrast, negative face refers to the need for the speaker to be unimpeded. Very often, the acts performed by the speaker can be felt as an imposition on the co-speaker’s face. Some acts are considered as a threat to the co-speaker’s positive face (when the speaker calls him names, for instance), or a threat to the co-speaker’s negative face (when the speaker asks the co-speaker for help, for instance). It is the second type of act which will be the focus of our attention here, since the expanded form is often used in such contexts. Our purpose is therefore to delineate which characteristics of the expanded form allow for its use in politeness strategies. Let us examine three types of requests, one involving the injunctive, the other the interrogative, and the last one the expanded form.

The first type of request, involving the injunctive, is considered the most direct request that a speaker can make to the co-speaker; and therefore, it is considered the most impolite way of asking something. We shall try to see why it is the case shortly. Let us consider the simple example *Help me*. At T_0 , the speaker S_0 imposes on the co-speaker S_0^{10} the validation of $p = \langle \text{help me} \rangle$ and excludes the validation of $p' = \langle \text{not help me} \rangle$. No other choice is possible. S_0' feels extremely pressured; the negative face of the latter is seriously threatened.

The second type of request, involving the use of the interrogative, is considered a less direct request, and therefore a more polite way of asking a favour from somebody. Let us see why the interrogative is more polite by examining the example *Can you help me?*. With such a question, which is classified as a yes/no question, the speaker clearly shows the co-speaker that the latter has the choice to validate $p = \langle \text{help you} \rangle$ or $p' = \langle \text{not help you} \rangle$. Because this choice is posited by the speaker, the co-speaker does not feel that his negative face is threatened.

¹⁰ See Culioli (1990: 169, note 26)

Various ways of qualifying this type of request exist: the use of the modal in the conditional, here *could*, rather than *can*, makes the request more tentative, and thus more polite; the use of the adverbials of modality II such as *possibly* reinforces this use.

The third type of request is considered as one of the most indirect ways of addressing a request, and therefore one of the most polite ways of asking a favour from someone: it involves the combinations of verbs, such as *wonder*, with the simple present/past, and particularly with the progressive present/past. We shall try to explain the politeness of these uses shortly. Let us start our analysis with the example of *wonder* in the simple present:

I wonder if you could help me.

By definition, the verb *wonder* expresses doubt and indicates the wish to know. The notional domain of *wonder* is then structured with an interior I = “doubt” and exterior E = “not doubt”. The use of this verb means that the speaker scans all the occurrences from I and E without stopping. Consequently, the topological structure of *wonder* corresponds to that of an activity verb, with two separate boundaries, a heterogeneous interior, and no ending point: [...]. The Aktionsart of *wonder* does not contain the definition of an ending point. The latter has to be linguistically constructed, as in *wonder something*. The direct object complement *something* represents the potential ending point, which can be reached if the co-speaker provides the speaker with the relevant answer. In the example *I wonder if you could help me*, it is the subordinate clause introduced by *if* which plays the role of *something*, namely a goal to be achieved. With the simple form *wonder*, the speaker takes into account the two boundaries of the topological structure of the predicative relation <I, wonder, if you could help me>, which means that the potential ending point represented by the potential validation of the subordinate clause is explicitly shown by the speaker to the co-speaker. The goal of the request is then explicitly pointed at, which can represent a threat to the co-speaker’s negative face, and the co-speaker might refuse to help the speaker. Consequently, to render the request more polite, the whole strategy consists in manipulating the request, and therefore the presentation of the potential goal to be reached, so that the co-speaker does not feel the imposition on his face. One of the ways to make a request more polite consists in using the expanded form, as illustrated below:

I am wondering if you could help me.

By using the expanded form at T_0 , the speaker deliberately indicates that the ending point of the topological structure of the predicative relation $\langle I, \text{wonder, if you could help} \rangle$ has not been reached yet. By doing so, he shows the co-speaker that he focuses on the interior of the topological structure, namely on the scanning between the interior $I = \text{“doubt your help”}$ and $E = \text{“not doubt your help”}$, thereby indirectly excluding the existence of a potential ending point. Consequently, the use of the expanded form is a way for the speaker to distance himself from the validation of the predicative relation $\langle \text{you, help, me} \rangle$ by evaluating the chances of validity of the predicative relation: he leaves the validity of the predicative relation in suspense. This operation can be related to modality II.

Moreover, with the expanded form, because the ending point of the topological structure associated with the interior of the *if*- clause is not taken into account, the speaker suggests that the conditions of validity of the predicative relation $\langle \text{you, help, me} \rangle$ are dependent on the subject of the utterance *you*, namely the co-speaker, which preoccupation belongs to modality IV. By putting the condition of validity of the predicative relation $\langle \text{you, help, me} \rangle$ in the hands of the co-speaker, the speaker imposes a more relaxed constraint on the co-speaker. Consequently, the expanded form renders the interpersonal relationship less prominent.

It is possible to render this request more indirect, and therefore more polite, by, for instance, using the adverbial *possibly*, the hypothetical marker *whether*, which is more formal than *if*, and circumlocutions such as *Excuse me*, as shown below:

Excuse me, I am wondering whether you could possibly help me.

Another way of rendering the request more polite is to use the past tense instead of the present tense, as shown in the following examples in the expanded form: *I was wondering if you could help me*. The past tense does not have a narrative value. By using the past tense, the speaker pretends that he has given up his goal, namely obtaining the co-speaker's help. By pretending to focus on the non-ending uncertainty of his request only, the speaker points at the absence of validation of the request introduced by the *if*- clause at the moment of enunciation T_0 , and therefore at its lack of relevance. The strategy of the speaker has then evolved from the assessment that the validation of the request has not been reached yet (use of the present progressive) to the pretense that there is an absence of validation of the request (use of the past progressive). With the past progressive, the speaker gives even more freedom to the co-speaker as to his choice of validation/non-validation in the predicative relation

necessarily show disapproval; it might well show admiration towards the husband, for instance. Because the expanded form is often used in such cases, the emotional attitude (modality III) which can be carried out by a contrastive stress or an adverbial such as *always* or by the use of specific commentaries such as *it is bad* is associated metonymically with the use of the expanded form in such contexts. But given the rarity of these examples, we think it is too soon to postulate that a conversational implicature referring to modality III has become conventionalized. The interpretation of the expanded form as an expression of modality III is still in its infancy.

In 6.2.1 it was pointed out that the expanded form itself could be attributed a meaning belonging to modality II, III, or IV. An interesting example of the use of the expanded form in politeness strategies showed how the expanded form acquired a meaning combining both modality II and modality IV. We shall try now to focus our attention on the use of the expanded form with modals and see to what extent it can change their values.

6.2.2 Combination of the expanded form with modals: to what extent it can change the values of modals

Without the use of the expanded form, it is often difficult to make up one's mind between two modal interpretations, namely modality II and modality IV, as exemplified with the modals *may* and *can*:

Peter may go to the movies.
What can they do?

In either example, we may indeed hesitate between modality II and modality IV. Let us paraphrase the first example; two paraphrases are possible:

It is possible that Peter goes to the movies (modality II).
or
Peter has the possibility to go to the movies (modality IV).

Likewise, the same phenomenon occurs when *will* and *must*, for instance, are used without the expanded form, as shown below:

When will you clear the bill?
John must leave now.

Let us examine the example with *must*; it can be paraphrased as follows:

It is highly probable that John will leave.
 or
 John is obliged to leave.

Nevertheless, the addition of the expanded form explicitly disambiguates the utterance, and it is modality II which is selected, as underlined by various scholars such as Christophersen and Sandved (1969), Coates (1983) and Edgren (1985), among others. Therefore, the following examples can all be paraphrased with markers of modality II only in a specific sense:

Peter may be playing tennis now.
 --> It is possible that Peter is playing tennis now.

What can she be doing?
 --> What is it possible that she is doing?

He must be reading Shakespeare now.
 --> It is highly probable that she is reading Shakespeare now.

To understand the operation carried out by the addition of the expanded form to a modal, let us analyze the first example without the expanded form first: *Peter may play tennis now*. We shall posit that the context is such that *may* expresses the speaker's permission to the co-speaker and therefore it belongs to modality IV. Thus, the speaker gives permission to the subject of the utterance *Peter* to define himself as the prospective agent of the activity "play tennis" at the moment of enunciation \mathcal{T}_0 . In other words, within the topological structure associated with the predicative relation <Peter, play, tennis>, namely of an activity verb ([...]), the left boundary, which indicates the start of an activity, has not been crossed yet at \mathcal{T}_0 . It is the addition of the expanded form which brings about the crossing of this boundary at \mathcal{T}_0 , since, by definition, the use of the expanded form at \mathcal{T}_0 indicates that the subject of the utterance focuses on the interior of the topological structure of the predicative relation considered, and therefore imposes that the left boundary has been crossed at \mathcal{T}_0 . Consequently, the speaker concludes that the fact which could validate the predicative relation <Peter, play, tennis> is possible at \mathcal{T}_0 , which contingent value belongs to modality II.

Even though Coates (1983) mentions that the choice of modality II for the interpretation of the combination modal + expanded form is the right interpretation in 100% cases, there exist cases when modality IV is selected. This happens when the temporojunct in the utterance refers to the future and when the relationship between the speaker and the co-speaker is strong, as illustrated below:

You must be working hard when I come back.

It is worth understanding how this selection of modality IV is carried out. Because of the existence of a strong intersubjective relationship, the speaker defines the subject of the utterance, namely the co-speaker *you*, as the target of a constraint involving the activity “work hard”, which is located in the future by the temporojunct *when*. Hence the value of constraint attribute to *you*, which belongs to modality IV. Because of the strong intersubjective relationship, the interpretation of the expanded form does not influence that of the modal, as discussed previously.

Another illustration to Coates’s conclusion involves the combination of the expanded form with modals in politeness contexts. We shall then analyze the following example:

I must be going now.

To begin with, the predicative relation can be associated with the topological structure of an activity verb: [...], which does not contain an ending point in its definition, so it is not possible to interpret the situation as an instance of modality II, as demonstrated in 6.2.1.1. Moreover, the context is such that the speaker wants the subject of the utterance *I*, namely himself, to be defined as the target of the constraint “go”. Because the politeness context requires the speaker to qualify the target of his request to avoid any threat to the co-speaker’s negative face, it is crucial to mask the fact that in modality IV the conditions of validity of the predicative relation <I, go> are dependent on the subject of the utterance, namely the speaker himself. The use of the expanded form helps him to metaphorically suspend this dependency; it focuses on the existence of the potential activity “go” only. Consequently, the modal *must* is attributed a weakened value of constraint, and the rules of politeness are fulfilled: the speaker says that he has to go without explicitly affirming he is at the origin of this constraint.

Thus, in 6.2.2, a closer look at the collocation of the expanded form with modals has helped us to account for the quasi-systematic interpretation of the utterances as instances of modality II.

6.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, after a brief introduction of Culioli's theory of predicative and enunciative operations, it was shown how this theoretical framework could shed some light on the interaction of modality, aspect and subjectivity. It was explained to what extent the expanded form itself could be interpreted as an example of modality II, modality III, modality IV, or even as a combined meaning of modality II and modality IV (case of politeness strategies). The combination of the expanded form with modals was also the focus of our attention and it was shown how and why a modal belonging to modality IV could acquire an epistemic meaning (modality II). These results can be considered as an enrichment of the remarks suggested by Wright (1995). She had attracted our attention on the collocation of epistemic expressions with the expanded form, which was responsible for the interpretation of the construction as being an instance of modality II, but she had not explored the other types of modal constructions, and therefore the other kinds of modality, which could be associated with the expanded form. Even though some contexts clearly show the blurring of categories between aspect and modality, they can hardly be generalized to a more important range of contexts; therefore, it is not possible to postulate that the expanded form can be associated with a modal value in any particular case.

Chapter 7

Overall Conclusion

In this dissertation, the grammaticalization of the expanded form in English has been examined and the usual, uniquely aspectual, and therefore temporal, interpretation of the construction has been put into question on the basis of the analysis of data, the various findings concerning which are summarized hereinafter, alongside the areas of research that still require further investigations and refinements.

Chapter 1 and Chapter 2 represent the necessary terminological background for the discussion in the later chapters: Chapter 1 briefly discusses the history of the concept of grammaticalization, and the main factors, mechanisms, and characteristics affecting the semantic changes of the process, whereas Chapter 2 investigates the nature of the Slavic perfective and imperfective aspects, and its application to non-Slavic languages, especially English, which leads to the rejection of the idea of a one-to-one correspondence between the two systems of aspects of the languages, and the recognition of aspect as a general category.

Chapter 3 is concerned with a synchronic study of the expanded form in Modern English, both on the semantic (3.1) and the formal (3.2) level. The examination of the various meanings of the construction (3.1.1), whether they be basic or secondary, prompts us to underline how confusing invocation of the notion of duration is, since the Aktionsart of a verb, namely part of its inherent meaning, whether it has duration or not, can often be mistaken for the grammatical category of aspect. To avoid such confusion, it is necessary to consider a classification of verbs which takes into account the cognitive representation of the different verb types. The Vendlerian classification, the most famous one, is strongly criticized (3.1.2) as it is mainly based on syntactic tests and lacks rigour and precision in the lexical definition of verbs. Therefore, a new classification of verb types is offered, based on Bouscaren and Deschamps's (1991) study of the topology of events. Three verb types are

distinguished. The first one comprises activity verbs such as *write* and accomplishment verbs such as *repair*; in this category of verb types, it is possible to distinguish many occurrences of the distinctive event denoted by the verb. Both activity and accomplishment verbs are topologically represented by two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior made up of distinct points: [... (]). They differ in the way the right boundary is perceived: it is open for activity verbs, since the ending point is not necessarily reached and is therefore potential; it is closed for accomplishment verbs, since the ending point is achieved. The second verb type includes punctual verbs such as *knock* and achievement verbs such as *reach* : only a single occurrence of the event is distinguished. It is topologically represented with two merged boundaries: I. The third verb type consists of stative verbs such as *resemble* and *own*. By definition, it has no beginning or ending, and no distinct occurrence can be identified. Hence the topological representation with two open boundaries and a homogeneous interior indicated by a continuous line: [] . On the basis of this classification of verb types, it is possible to provide a topological structure for the temporal constraint involved in the new definition proposed for the meaning of the expanded form (3.1.3): by using the *be + -ing* construction, the speaker guarantees at a certain point in time the existence of a situation, which is topologically represented with two closed boundaries and a heterogeneous interior. The use of both the new classification of verb types and the definition of the expanded form has helped us to understand the interaction between the Aktionsart, the *be + -ing* construction, and the type of arguments. Nevertheless, it must be underlined that the current topological framework does not explain the various degrees of compatibility of stative verbs with the expanded form: some stative verbs such as *resemble* can co-occur with the construction provided they are associated with linguistic markers introducing a heterogeneity in the topological representation, such as adverbs of degree. Besides, it has to be admitted that the putting together of punctual and achievement verbs in the same category of verb types, namely verbs with two merged boundaries, does not reflect the variation of compatibility with the expanded form, depending on the complementation of individual verbs, for instance. Consequently, however encouraging the use of topological means has been in relation to the understanding of the cognitive representation of verb types, it still requires further refinements.

The semantic interpretation of the expanded form in Modern English is complemented here by a formal study of the construction (3.2), traditionally described as a verbal periphrasis.

To avoid terminological misunderstanding between the properties attributed to verbal periphrases on the one hand, and those related to auxiliaries (see Brinton (1988) as an example of misunderstanding), a whole section (3.2.1) describes how the term 'auxiliary' should be understood, namely in syntactic terms only. The status of periphrases is then scrutinized, especially the verbal one, not only on the semantic, but also on the morphosyntactic level.

To begin with, following Dahl's (1985) and Bybee et al.'s (1994) cross-linguistic studies, it is argued that there exists a special correlation between semantic content and form of expression (3.2.2). So it is no coincidence that the so-called PROG (progressive) category is formally expressed by a periphrasis, namely *be + -ing* in English. The lexical source of the expanded form provides an additional motivation for the formal expression of the PROG category as a periphrasis: usually associated with a locative construction, it often required a set of independent constituents in its formal expression, as is the case of the expanded form in English (see Anderson (1973), Blansitt (1975), and Comrie (1976), among others).

Furthermore, it has been underlined that according to Bybee et al. (1994) the nature of a formal expression is directly related to its degree of grammaticalization (3.2.3). The more fused a grammatical morpheme, the more grammaticalized. According to their scale, a periphrastic construction, as illustrated by *be + -ing*, testifies to the low degree of grammaticalization of the formal expression. Nevertheless, it is pointed out that the parameter of the degree of fusion still remains imprecise with respect to its quantifying: this can be exemplified by the attempt to compare the Scots Gaelic construction with the Modern English counterpart, and the difficulty in classifying one in relation to the other one.

In addition, special properties suggestive of a quasi-morphological status can be attributed to the verbal periphrasis as such. First, the lexical item of the verbal periphrasis retains its word class (3.2.4): not only semantic but also complementational properties of the lexical item are conserved at the periphrastic level. Thus, the expanded form keeps the semantic dynamics of the basic verb in the present participle, and it retains the complementational properties of the simple form it is associated with. Second, the verbal periphrasis is involved in a constellation of paradigmatic relations of different semantic kinds. This provided us with the opportunity of defining the notion of verbal paradigm (3.2.5.1), based on Carstairs's (1987) definition of paradigm. A verbal periphrasis displays a special semantic relationship with the simple form (3.2.5.2): this relationship can be contrastive, as exemplified by the expanded form in Modern English; non-contrastive (the relationship between the simple form and its corresponding periphrasis can be

complementary or in free variation); and deneutralizing. Third, it is shown that verbal periphrases share some expressional morphosemantic properties with morphology, especially inflection (cumulation, syncretism, and suppletion) (3.2.5.3). It has also been also remarked that recent studies as in Vincent and Börjars (1996) pursue the comparison beyond the domain of inflection and try to demonstrate that periphrases can be structurally equivalent to suppletive formations. But their conclusion is based on the examination of adjectives and adverbs in Romance languages, so the study of different types of data would be all the more appropriate, especially verbal ones, to confirm or disconfirm such a result. Fourth, the interdependence of verbal paradigms is explored (3.2.6). It is shown that two kinds of interdependence can be examined within a superparadigm, a superset generating two paradigms: when the latter are members of the superparadigm (e.g. the expanded form and the simple form are both members of the superparadigm of aspect and illustrate a contrastive relationship) and when they are not (e.g. *can* and *able to* have a relationship which can be analyzed in suppletive terms). The interdependence between paradigmatic and syntagmatic relationships is also briefly underlined.

Chapter 4 focuses on the examination of the expanded form *beon + V-ende* in Old English.

The origins of the verbal construction are discussed in detail (4.1), by exploring the main arguments in favour of or against an adjectival, appositive, nominal, or verbal status, or even an ambiguous status (4.1.1), which leads us to identify the seeds of a verbal periphrasis for the Old English expanded form. Besides, among the various languages that are said to have had an influence on the development of the Old English construction (see Mossé (1938 I)), our attention turned to the investigation of the Latin influence in the interlinear glosses and translations (4.1.2). Completely different opinions have been expressed: Mossé (1938 I) underlines its crucial importance whereas Visser (1973) and Mitchell (1976, 1985) tone down its role. Both perspectives were presented and it has been concluded that on the basis of the discrepant results it is possible to envisage a stylistic function for the expanded form in Old English (4.2).

Evidence in favour of a stylistic function (4.2.1) comprises the free variation of the construction with the simple form and the metrical influence on its use. Evidence against a stylistic function (4.2.2) includes the restriction in the use of the periphrastic form to specific genres, such as narrative prose, as exemplified in *Orosius* and *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and the uneven distribution text-internally, as illustrated in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, *Orosius*, and the *Blickling Homilies*.

Moreover, it has been noticed that the number of expanded forms in the three examined prose works is directly related to the subject matter considered: some scenes of fight and plunder and some descriptions of nature (4.2.2.3). In addition, the arguments based on alleged free variation and metrical evidence have been criticized (4.2.2.4 and 4.2.2.5) on stylistic grounds. Despite the aforementioned remarks, it turns out to be difficult to draw a definite conclusion with respect to the evidence of a stylistic/non-stylistic function, especially because of the extreme rarity of the occurrences of the expanded form in Old English. So the characteristics of the construction still remain imprecise, but it can at least be emphasized that a semantic criterion can be detected in the choice of the expanded form: the use of activity verbs. This led us to try to identify a function for the expanded form in Old English (4.3).

It has been explained (4.3.1) why our attention is turned on the examination of a particular type of writing in Old English, namely prose writing nearly free of Latin influence: the use of the expanded form is restricted to prose to a large extent, so more examples of the construction are at our disposal; it is also important to focus on prose texts nearly devoid of Latin influence to avoid the doubts expressed in 4.2. Second, the study of the expanded form in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* provides us with a first approach to its function (4.3.2) and this was conducted as follows. The number of simple forms and that of expanded forms in the data were compared to show the relevance of the study (4.3.2.1): having nearly the same proportion of simple forms and expanded forms would be of no interest as regards the interpretation of the expanded form but a clearly uneven proportion of the two types of constructions would reflect the need to consider a special reason as to why one form is favoured over the other in a specific context. Then the data were interpreted with respect to five parameters occurring with the expanded form: the verb type, the locajunct (locative adjunct and conjunct), the temporojunct (temporal adjunct or conjunct), the subjunct (adjunct or conjunct expressing the speaker's attitude), and the clause type (4.3.2.2). The frequent collocation of the construction with locajuncts contributes to favour the emergence of a locative meaning for the expanded form in the data; an overwhelming number of expanded forms in the data involve activity verbs, which corroborates the temporal, and therefore aspectual, interpretation of the construction; a majority of expanded forms collocate with temporojuncts, which cannot but reinforce the temporal meaning; the novelty of what is being suggested here is that the subjective parameter should not be neglected in the understanding of the expanded form in Old English, since it occurs with an important number of subjuncts, so that a subjective meaning is pragmatically inferred from the linguistic

context; finally, the majority of expanded forms appear in main clauses, which sustains the hypothesis that the construction is used in foregrounding, specifically of the verbal Aktionsart.

The same type of investigation has been presented for *Orosius* and the *Blickling Homilies* and the aforementioned results have been qualified as follows (4.4). The frequency of locajuncts with the construction has decreased, thereby indicating that the expanded form is getting increasingly independent of the linguistic marking of location during the Old English period. The purely temporal meaning of the construction has been abandoned and it has been concluded that the interpretation favours the highlighting of the Aktionsart of a verb and it can be pragmatically associated, through the use of subjuncts, with a judgemental commentary of the narrator on a particular part of the narrative, but to a lesser degree compared to the data in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. The previous result about main vs. subordinate clauses is confirmed.

Chapter 5 studies the evolution of the expanded form in private letters from the 15th century onwards. The relevance of the choice of the *genre* is justified in the introduction: it is in the type of writing that best resembles spoken discourse that the expanded form is the most frequent; private letters therefore epitomize the ideal *genre*. Because of the rarity of the construction in Middle English, the study starts from the 15th century.

The overall distribution of the expanded form in the data (5.1) shows a very high increase in the use of the expanded form but it masks certain irregularities between two centuries, and between two sections of a given century. Some tentative answers have been offered but it is agreed that the average choice of only two authors per century, as well as the restricted number of words (40, 000 words) per century gives only tendencies with respect to the behaviour of the expanded form over the last five centuries. A much bigger corpus, alongside a wider range of writers, would be required to offer a more definite and comprehensive commentary to the problems encountered.

The examination of the parameter of the verb type occurring with the expanded form shows interesting results in the data (5.2). As expected, the verb type that records the highest increase of frequency is represented by verbs of activity, topologically represented with two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior; this topological structure perfectly matches the temporal constraint previously mentioned in Chapter 3, namely the need for the verb employed to have the topological representation of two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior.

More interestingly, compatibility with other verb types, which have not a topological structure similar to that of activity verbs, can be detected and it slowly increases over time. The latter result demonstrates the increasing independence of the expanded form from the temporal constraint associated with its use.

The enlargement of the conjugation of the expanded form, and therefore the increase of the number of expanded forms, is facilitated by the collocation of the construction with perfects, modals, and passives, as shown in the data (5.3). This section also represented an opportunity to discuss the development of the so-called passive progressive and it criticized Warner's (1995) lexicalist account, advocating that the re-categorization of the status of *being* is responsible for the emergence of the passive progressive. It is also argued there that the passive progressive provides a template for the growth of *being* + AP/NP. Nevertheless, according to K. C. Phillipps (1970:117), the development of the latter construction is linked to the influence of the gerund, as in the example he quotes from Jane Austen, *She was happy herself, that there was no being severe*. But he does not explain how that influence could be detected, so further research should test this hypothesis.

The description and analysis of locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts occurring with the expanded form in the data (5.4) reinforce the results obtained with the parameter of the verb type and also bring about further explanations. According to the data, in the early 17th century, the temporojuncts outnumbered the locajuncts for the first time, which indicates that the locative interpretation of the construction is being progressively replaced by a temporal meaning from this period onwards. Moreover, the expanded form is less and less associated with a temporojunct throughout the centuries (5.4.1). The linguistic explanation lies in the decreasing dependence of the expanded form on the explicit temporal marker since it increasingly carries the temporal constraint in itself, namely the need for the verb employed to have the topological representation of two separate boundaries and a heterogeneous interior. The study of the development of subjuncts collocating with the expanded form (5.4.2) indicates that between the 15th and the early 19th century, the expanded form is more and more associated with subjuncts, which means that the expanded form is increasingly dependent on the linguistic marking of subjectivity; the subjective meaning of the expanded form is pragmatically inferred from the linguistic context in an increasing number of examples. What is interesting to notice is that subjuncts outnumber temporojuncts for the first time in the data in the early 19th century. The data also show that from the early 20th century onwards, the combination of the construction with subjuncts decreases, so the expanded form is increasingly becoming independent from the linguistic marking of subjectivity since

it carries the parameter of subjectivity in itself more and more. The conventionalizing of a conversational implicature involving subjectivity has taken place progressively. Undoubtedly it seems that the expanded form has undergone a slight modification of its function, with a re-weighting of the temporal and subjective parameters since the beginning of this century. Again, a much larger number of private letters would be needed to test the validity of this result for the 20th century, and it would be interesting to explore other types of the *genre* related to spoken discourse such as prose comedies and narrative prose to see to what extent the aforementioned assumption can be corroborated.

The analysis of the syntactic distribution of the expanded form in the data, namely in main and subordinate clauses (5.5) shows that the number of expanded forms in one type of clause or the other is unstable between the early 15th and the late 17th century, and it is in the course of the 18th century that main clauses with the expanded form clearly outnumber subordinate clauses with the same construction: the expanded form therefore is becoming increasingly independent from its role as part of a linguistic marker indicating the anchoring of the situation, as would clearly be the case with subordinate clauses.

Chapter 6 further explores the parameter of subjectivity, namely the expression of the speaker's attitude, which plays an important role in the re-interpretation of the function of the expanded form in the light of the results observed in the private letters from the 15th century onwards. It provides an analysis of the data in the theoretical framework of Culioli, a French linguist who since the late sixties has developed a more sophisticated version of the theory of enunciation of Benveniste. Culioli's theory is briefly introduced (6.1): the main focus of our attention is the way an utterance is constructed and how modality is analyzed in his framework. On the basis of this terminological background, it is possible to see to what extent modality, aspect and subjectivity interact (6.2). The combination of the expanded form with subjuncts in the data is re-examined (6.2.1), leading us to identify the contexts in which it is possible to interpret the expanded form itself as an instance of modality II (or epistemic modality), modality III (or qualifying modality), modality IV (expressing the link between the subject of the utterance and the predicative relation), and even the combination of modality II and modality IV (politeness strategies involving the use of verbs such as *wonder*). Our attention is also drawn upon the study of the combination of the expanded form with modals to show how and why a modal belonging to modality IV can acquire an epistemic meaning (6.2.2). It is concluded that even though some specific contexts allow us to show a

blurring of categories between aspect and modality, they cannot be generalized to a huge number of contexts, and the idea of an equation between the expanded form and a certain type of modality must be qualified. Further research might provide an answer. The examination of the combination of the expanded form with modals (6.2.2) shows how and why a modal belonging to modality IV can change its value in the majority of the cases and acquire an epistemic value (modality II). Nevertheless, there exist examples in which this modal change does not occur, as illustrated in the cases of planned situations (modality IV) and certain politeness contexts (modality weakened).

The investigation carried out in this thesis has provided an insight into the grammaticalization of the expanded form in English and has confirmed a few crucial points developed by the scholars interested in the study of grammaticalization.

Among the preliminary conditions responsible for the grammaticalization of the expanded form, the locative source concept associated with the construction has not only conditioned it semantically -- it developed towards the so-called core meaning of activity going on -- but also formally -- it became a verbal periphrasis. Consequently, the special correlation existing between semantic content and form of expression is corroborated here.

As for the different mechanisms involved in the grammaticalization of the expanded form, it would be tempting to eliminate metaphor since the metaphorical processes *SPACE IS ACTIVITY* and *TIME IS SPACE* seem to be already present in Old English: the spatial, temporal and ongoing activity meanings coexist (see Bybee et al. (1994) for more detail). In addition, the phenomenon of propagation of the expanded form is diffusive, not discrete, in nature. So it would be worth accounting for the grammaticalization of the expanded form in metonymic terms (see 5.4.1.1 and 5.4.1.2 for the conventionalizing of temporal and subjective conversational implicatures).

From a formal point of view, the emergence of the expanded form as a verbal periphrasis has accelerated the spreading out of the construction to a larger range of verbs, and therefore, to its greater use. The development of morphosemantic properties specific to verbal periphrases has contributed highly to the semantic differentiation of the construction from the simple form, especially thanks to the establishment of the contrastive relationship between expanded form and simple form, which has facilitated the rising of the construction as an independent aspectual marker. On the scale of grammaticalization for grammatical morphemes established by Bybee et al. (1994), its degree of grammaticalization is very low, since it is

situated between syntactic and non-bound grammatical morphemes; so it validates the special correlation between the nature of the form of expression and its degree of grammaticalization.

From a semantic point of view, the fact that the expanded form is more integrated into the grammatical system of English is reflected by the slow evolution extending from a device for highlighting the *Aktionsart* of a verb in Old English to an independent aspectual marker in the early 18th century, upon which a marker of subjectivity, showing the narrator's attitude, was more recently superimposed in the early 20th century. More generally, it confirms the hypothesis according to which, during its process of grammaticalization, a grammatical morpheme evolves along a highly unidirectional path of semantic change towards an increasing degree of subjectivity. Nevertheless, it is still too early to postulate a complete integration of the expanded form into the grammatical system: on the basis of Scots Gaelic, for instance, it can be said that there still exists a long way before the English expanded form can be associated with a habitual meaning. So the semantic degree of grammaticalization is still low for the construction.

On the basis of these observations, it turns out to be difficult to clearly separate the semantic and formal points of view in the study of grammaticalization of the expanded form, so intertwined they seem to be. Nevertheless, when it comes to evaluating the degree of grammaticalization, it might be the case that the integration into the grammatical system is more advanced semantically than formally. This raises the problem as to whether the full apprehension of the degree of grammaticalization of a grammatical morpheme could be confined to a semantic analysis only, or should require a more ambitious definition with more precise criteria of evaluation. It may also be worth wondering whether the subjective and temporal meanings inherent to the expanded form will be in competition for the core meaning and whether the subjective interpretation will take over the temporal one in a few centuries.

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Appendix A: Tables of Chapter 4

Table 4.1 Distribution of the expanded form in Old English works

Old English Works	Coefficient K
Alfred	
<i>Cura Pastoralis, Boethius, Soliloquies</i>	38
<i>Orosius, Bede's Historia Ecclesiastics</i>	331
<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicles</i> (till year 1000, MSS A to E)	68
<i>Old English Martyrology</i>	11
<i>West-Saxon Gospels</i>	32
<i>Paris Psalter</i>	32
Aelfric	
<i>Lives of the Saints</i>	40
<i>Homilies</i>	59
<i>Heptateuch</i>	17
<i>Blickling Homilies</i> (Homily 13 excluded)	109
Poetry	7

(Nickel 1966:206)

Table 4.2.a Distribution of the expanded form in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* :

Total: 29

[0-749]: 1

[750-799]: 3

[800-899]: 7

[900-999]: 3

[1000-1099]: 9

[1100-1154]: 6

Table 4.2.b Distribution of the expanded form in *Orosius* :

Total: 238

Contents: 3

Book I: 58

I	7	VIII	3
II	9	IX	2
III	2	X	11
IV	0	XI	6
V	2	XII	6
VI	0	XIII	2
VII	5	XIV	3

Book II: 64

I	7	V	13
II	7	VI	7
III	1	VII	3
IV	19	VIII	7

Book III: 40

I	3	VII	14
II	2	VIII	2
III	0	IX	11
IV	0	X	1
V	4	XI	2
VI	1		

Book IV: 41

I	4	VIII	5
II	1	IX	2
III	0	X	6
IV	1	XI	2
V	12	XII	0
VI	3	XIII	1
VII	2		

Book V: 23

I	1	IX	3
II	2	X	3
III	1	XI	5
IV	2	XII	2
V	0	XIII	2
VI	0	XIV	0
VII	2	XV	0
VIII	0		

Book VI: 11

I	1	XXXIV	1
V	2	XXXVI	1
XXIII	2	XXXVII	1
XXX	2		
XXXI	1		

The other chapters within Book VI contains no expanded form.

Table 4.2.c Distribution of the expanded form in the *Blickling Homilies* :

Total: 158

Chapter	EF	Chapter	EF	Chapter	EF
1	2	8	1	15	0
2	8	9	0	16	0
3	0	10	3	17	6
4	3	11	1	18	4
5	5	12	2	19	20
6	9	13	89	Total	158
7	3	14	2		

Table 4.3.a List of the expanded forms in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*

656E ich bidde calle þa ða æfter me cumen. beon hi mine sunes. beon mine breðre. ouper kyningas þa æfter me cumen. þ ure gyfe mote standen. swa swa hi **willen beon .deInimende** on þa ece lif.

(Earle 1857: 32)

755A hie alle on þone cyning **wærun feohtende** op þæt hie hine ofslægenne hæfdon [...]. Ac hie simle **feohtende wæran** op hie alle lægon butan anum bryttiscum gisle [...] hie þa ymb þa gatu **feohtende wæron** op þæt hie þærinne fulgon.

(Bately 1986:37)

835A wip Ecgbryht Westseaxna cyning **winnende wæron**.

(Bately 1986: 43)

855A þær **wæs .xii. monap wuniende**.

(Bately 1986: 45)

867A hie late on geare to þam gecirdon þæt hie wip þone here **winnende wærun**.

(Bately 1986: 47)

871A onfeohtende **wæron** op niht.

(Bately 1986: 48)

876A ergende **wæron** 7 hiera tilgende.

(Bately 1986: 50)

878A of þam geweorce **was winnende wip** þone here.

(Bately 1986: 50)

918D heo gefor .xii. nihtum pridie idus Iunii ær middansumera binnan Tamweorðe þy eahtoðan geare þæs þe heo Myrcna anweald mid rihte hlaford dome **healdende wæs**.

(Cubbin 1996: 40)

994D hi ða on þa burh fæstlice **feohtende wæron**.

(Cubbin 1996: 49)

994D unasecgendlice yfel **wyrcende wæron**.

(Cubbin 1996: 49)

1001D þær fæstlice **feohtende wæron**.

(Cubbin 1996: 51)

1031A swa þæt loc whenne þæt flot byp ealra hehst 7 ealra fullost 'beo' an scip **flotigende** swa neh þan lande swa hit nyxt mæge 7 þar **beo** an mann **stande** on þan scipe.

(Bately 1986: 81)

1052D þa **wæs** Eadward cyng on Gleawcestre **sittende**.

(Cubbin 1996:70)

1066C swyðe heardlice lange on dæg **feohtende wæron**.

(Conner 1996: 70)

1085E Ða Will'm Engalandes cyng þa **wæs sittende** on Normandige.

(Earle 1857: 218)

1086E þe swa manig ungelimp **wæs forðbringende**.

(Earle 1857: 220)

1090E se cyng **wæs smægende** hu he mihte wrecon his broðer Rodberad swiðost swenceon.

(Earle 1857: 226)

1098E Toforan s̃ce Michael' mæssan ætwyde seo heofon swilce heo forneah ealle þa niht **byrnende wære**.

(Earle 1857: 235)

1100E he æfre þas leode mid here 7 mid ungyldre **tyrwigende wæs**.

(Earle 1857: 236)

1104E Nis eaðe toasecgenne þises landes earmða þe hit to þysan timan **dreogende wæs** purh mistlice and mænig fealdlice unriht and gylt.

(Earle 1857: 239)

1106E and sune æfen wæs gesewen swilce se beam ongeanweardes wið þes steorran ward **fyrcliende wære**.

(Earle 1857: 240)

1110E 7 þa steorran ofer eall þa heofon swiðe beorhte **scinende [wæron]**.

(Earle 1857: 242)

1131E wæs se heofene oðe norð half eall swilc hit **wære bærnende** fir. swa þ ealle ðe hit sægon wæron swa of færed swa hi næfre ær ne wæron.

(Earle 1857: 259)

1131E þ wæs on næt and on swin swa þ on þa tun þa **wæs tenn ploges oðer twelfe gangende** ne belæf þær nohtan.

(Earle 1857: 259)

Table 4.3.b List of the expanded forms in *Orosius*

Contents:

2/24 Hi Sicilia leode **wæron** him betweonum **winnende**

4/5 ond hu Hanna an mon **wæs** onwaldes **giernende**

6/20 Hu Orosius **wæs** sprecende ymbe þa iiii onwaldas þara feower heferica pissesmiddangeardes

Book I

Ch.I

8/24 seo is **irnende** of norpdæle [...].

11/6 þonne fol raðe þæs sie east **irnende** on þæt sond

11/7 þær neh sie eft **flowende** up of þæm sande

11/10 Ond þonne of þæm sæ þær he up of þæm sonde scyt he is east **irnende** from eastdæle þurh Æthiopica westenne

11/19 þæt seo ea bið **flowende** ofer eal Ægypta lande

12/21 is sippan east **irnende**

16/22 þæt þæt scip **wæs** ealne weg yrnende under segle.

Ch.II

21/26 mid ungemætlicre gewilnunge anwaldes he **wæs heriende 7 feohtende** fiftig wintra, oð [...]

21/32 under þæm þe he him **on winnende wæs**

22/6 þa æt nyhstan he **wæs feohtende** wið Sciððie on ane burh

22/11 twa 7 feowertig wintra **wæs dreogende**

22/12 ac hio mid wiflice niðe **wæs feohtende** on þæt underiende folc [...]

22/15 Hio **wæs wilniende** mid gewinum

22/20 þæt an þæt hio ðyrstende **wæs** on symbel mannes blodes

22/22 ac eac swelce mid ungemætlicre wrænesse manigfeald geligre **fremmende wæs**

Ch.III

23/4 þa **wæs** þæt folc þæs micclan welan ungemætlicre **brucende**, oð [...]

23/6 seððan ðær **wæs standende** wæter ofer þam lande

Ch.V

23/24 From ðæm losepe Sompeius se hæþena scop 7 his cniht Iustinus **wæran** ðus singende

24/8 se scop **wæs secgende** þæt [...]

Ch.VII

25/23 ægþer ge þa men ge ða nytenu unaanlennendlice þiniende wæron
 25/29 þa wæron swiðe hreowlice berstende
 26/3 þa wyrtruman sceorfende wæron
 26/12 Hrædlice se cyning þa mid his floce him wæs æfterfylgende
 26/24 hwær þara wigwæгна hweol on gongende wæron

Ch.VIII

27/14 swylc morð donde wæron swylc her ær beforan sæde
 27/19 on ða ðeode winnende wæs oþ [...]
 27/27 Hwa is þæt þe eall ða yfel þe hi donde wæron asecgean mæge oððe
 areccean?

Ch.IX

28/17 On ðæm dagum wæs þætte Lapithe 7 Thesali wæron winnende him
 betweonum
 28/19 þonne þa Lapithe gesawon Thesali þæt folc of hiora horsum beon feohtende
 wið hie

Ch.X

28/23 Uesoges, Egypta cyning, wæs winnende of suðdæle Asiam
 28/25 he Uesoges, Egypta cyning, wæs sippan mid firde farende on Scippie
 29/6 him æfterfylgende wæron
 29/10 þær wæron fiftene gear þæt lond herigende 7 westende
 29/17 þær winnende wæron oð [...]
 29/27 on ðæt folc winnende wæron 7 þa wæpnedmen sleande
 30/30 ealle þa worold on hiora agen gewill onwendende wæron folneah c wintra
 31/8 sumne dæl landes æt eow biddende sindon
 31/21 þonne heora wif swa monigfeald yfel donde wæron on þiosan middangearde

Ch.XI

31/29 hi ða x gear ymbe þa burg sittende wæron
 31/30 feohtende [wæron]
 32/4 hie dreogende wæron
 32/7 þa gewin wraciende wæron
 32/9 þa sona of þæm gefeohte wæs oper æfterfylgende
 32/12 hu monega gewin 7 hu monega gefeoht he þær dreogende wæs

Ch.XII

33/20 Hi þa hiera wif him ongean iernende wæron
 33/27 he þæt wæs eall forsacende

34/1 mid ungemetlicre pinunge he **wæs** þæt folc **cwielmende**
 34/5 þe he þæm folce **donde wæs**
 34/8 þonne hie þæt susl þæron **þrowiende wæron**
 34/17 þeh þe hwa **wære** mid þæm cyningum on hiora gewill yfel **donde**

Ch.XIII

34/23 mid eallum hiera cræftum him betweonum **winnende wæron**
 34/25 On þære ilcan tide **wæron** eft oðre sipe þa wifmen **winnende** on Asiam

Ch.XIV

34/30 him betweonum **winnende wæron** xx wintra
 35/10 þa oðere sittende **wæran** ymb þa burg, oð [...]
 35/18 þæt Creca folc fela geara him betweonum **dreogende wæron**

Book II

Ch.I

36/2 hit God sippan longsumlice **wrecende wæs**
 36/14 þe giet **ricsiende sindon**
 38/8 ac hie nugiet **ricsiende sindon** ægþer ge [...] ge [...]
 38/15 se ilca se þe giet **settende is 7 wendende** ælce onwaldas.
 38/20 firenlustum mid heora cyninge buton ælcra hreowe **libbende wæran**
 38/23 Ac Romane mid hiora cristnan cyninge Gode **þeowiende wæron**, þætte [...]

Ch.II

39/4 hwelce bisena he ðær **stellende wæs**
 39/14 ær þara Romana wif mid heora cildum **iernende wæron** gemong ðæm gefeohtum
 39/15 heora fæderum **wæron** to fotum **feallende 7 biddende** þæt [...]
 39/30 ðær micelre hungor **þoliende wæron**
 39/33 Hie ðær þa **winnende wæron** oð [...]
 39/34 æfter þæm wið þa londleode on ælce healfe unablinnendlice **winnende wæron** oð [...]

Ch.III

41/11 þæt gewin mid ealle forlet þe he ær þreo winter **dreogende wæs**

Ch.IV

41/13 him Romae þæt swiðe **ondrædende wæron**
 41/22 Ac þa monigfealdan iermpo þa werigan burg swipe **brociende wæran**
 42/16 þa **wæron** simbel binnan Romebyrg **wuniende**
 43/15 is **irnende** þurh middewearde Babylonia burg

- 43/18 sippan mid eallum his folce on ðære ea gong on þa burg **færende wæs**
 43/29 on þæm is **iernende** seungefoglecestastream
 44/2 eac selce heo self **sprecende [wære]** sie to eallum moncynne
 44/11 him Cirus **wæs æfterfylgende** op [...]
 44/15 ðæt ægþer ge hio self ge hiere anweald is ma **hreosende** for ealddome
 þonne of æniges cyninges niede
 44/27 þæt þa se gionga cyning swiðor micle **wenende wæs**
 44/28 þæt hie þonon **fleonde wæren**
 44/30 Hie ðær þa mid micelre bliðnesse buton gemetgunge þæt win **drincende**
wæron, oð [...]
 44/32 sippan **wæs farende**
 44/33 þær ðæs cyninges modor mid þæm twæm dælum þæs folces **wuniende**
wæs
 44/36 Hio þa seo cwen Dameris mid micelre gnornunge ymb þæs cyninges slege
 hiere suna **þencende wæs**
 45/3 Hio mid þæm healfan dæle beforan þæm cyninge **farende wæs**
 45/4 swelce heo **fleonde wære, oð [...]**
 45/5 se healfa dæl **wæs** Ciruse **æfterfylgende**
 45/8 þu þe **þyrstende wære** monnes blodes xxx wintra, drync nu þine fyllle

Ch.V

- 46/31 þær **feohtende wæron** iii dagas, op [...]
 47/5 Ac he þus **wæs sprecende** 7 **geomriende**
 47/7 þe ure **ehtende on sindon**
 47/12 He pagiet þridan siþe **wæs wilniende** midscipfierde
 47/18 þa hie on ðæm sæ **feohtende wæron**
 47/26 hie **biddende wæs**
 47/31 hie selfe eac **fleonde wæron**
 47/33 se hiene **wæs georne lærende**
 48/12 toeacan ðæm he him **wæs swiþe ondrædende** þæt him his fiend **wæren**
æfterfylgende
 48/17 þæt he eft **wæs biddende** anes lytles troges æt anum earman men
 48/19 þe hie on þæt hie þonon **fleonde wæren**
 48/34 mid þæm þe he **sprecende wæs** to his geferum æt his underngereorde

Ch.VI

- 49/19 swelce eal se hefon **birnende wære**
 49/25 Sona æfter þæm ealle heora þeora þeowas wið þa hlafordas **winnende**
wæron

50/7 Æfter þæm wæs an ger full þæt ofer eall Romana rice seo eorpe wæs
cwaciende 7 berstende

50/17 þeh hie him þæs gepafiende næren

50/22 sippan heora agen lond wergende wæron

Ch.VII

51/2 þe ær ætgædere wið Perse winnende wæron

51/4 hie eac sippan betweonum him selfum winnende wæron, op [...]

51/12 þa unsibbe mid gefeohtum dreogende wæron op [...]

Ch.VIII

52/2 him Fallie wæron æfterfylgende op [...]

52/4 hie wæron þa burg hergende 7 sleande buton ælcra ware

52/25 næron on hie hergende buton þrie dagas

52/26 Gallie wæron ær siex monað binnan þære byrig hergende 7 þa burg
bærnende

52/33 Ac swipor micle wæron wilniende þæt [...]

Book III

Ch.I

53/16 swa heora scopas on heora leoðum giddiende sindon

55/3 Ahteniense wæron þa him swiðe ondrædende þæt [...]

55/20 wæron swipor winnende on Thebane þonne hie fultumes hæde

Ch.II

56/15 þe ær wæron lxx wintra wið Romane winnende

56/17 raþe æfter þæm Suttrian þæt folc wæron hergende on Romane op þære
burge geata

Ch.V

58/8 for þon hie on an land þa winnende wæron

58/11 seo longe æfter þæm weaxende wæs, swa [...]

59/4 swelce hie þonne winnende beon woldan

Ch.VI

60/20 þæt longe donde wæron ær [...]

Ch.VII

61/2 nu ic wille eac þæs maran Alexandres gemunende beon

62/11 ac wæron him swa betweonum winnende

62/14 þe he þonne on winnende wæs mid þæm folce

62/19 hie him **peowiende wæron**

62/30 **wiðwinnende [wæren]**

62/31 þe he **winnende wæs**

63/8 On þæm dagum on Tracia þæm londe **wæron** twegen cyningas ymb þæt rice **winnende**

63/30 þe him an sumbel **wæron** mid **winnende**

64/39 Eft þa Philippus **wæs** þonan cirrende

65/10 Ac oftrædlice he **wæs** mid hlofum on hi **hergende** 7 onbutan **sierwende**
op [...]

66/3 For þon Philippus **wæs** xxv wintra Creca folc **hienende**

66/4 ægþer ge heora byrig **bærnende** ge hiera folc **sleande**

Ch.VIII

67/4 Geornor we woldon, cwæð Orosius, iowra Romana bismra **beon**
forsugiende þonne **secgende**

Ch.IX

68/4 þonan **wæs** farende an Nilirice [...]

68/30 Alexander **wæs** þa him swiðe **ondrædende** for þære miclan menige

70/4 þæt he sippan **wæs** fleonde mid þære firde

71/4 on ðære hwile þe he þær **winnende wæs**

71/14 hiende þa þe him on siml **wæron** mid **farende** 7 **winnende**

71/24 þe he **hienende wæs** ægþer ge his agen folc ge oðerra cyninga

71/25 he **wæs** sinpyrtsende monnes blodes

72/21 þy he swa swiðe **wæs** feohtende ongean hiene

73/4 hie lange **wæron** þæt **dreogende** ær [...]

73/11 hie his sippan **wæran** swa swiðe **ehtende** swa [...]

Ch.X

76/22 þætte hie ær **dreogende wæron** lviii wintra

Ch.XI

80/4 heo **wæs** þæm folce monig yfel **donde** þurh Cassander hiera hlafordes þegn

81/3 hie ealle **winnende wæron** wið Antigones 7 wið Demetrius his sunu, sume
on londe, sume on wætere

Book IV

Ch.I

84/8 þe he **begongende wæs**

85/18 þæt oþer folc **wæron** swa swiþe **sleande** swa hi him scildansceoldon

85/34 þæt hie þa wæron swiþe sleande þe [...]

86/12 Gemong þæm þe Pirrus wið Romane **winnende wæs**

Ch.II

86/29 **wæs byrnende** fyr up of þære eorþan

Ch.IV

88/1 þe hi him lærende **wæron**

Ch.V

89/19 ælc acciende 7 frinende æfter his friend

89/25 he se cyning his handa **wæs** uppweardes brædende wið þæs heofones

89/26 mid oferheortnesse him **wæs waniende** [...]

90/2 **wæs** mid ungemete girnende þæs cynedomes

90/26 þæt he heora swicdomes wið Alexandes fremmende wære

91/8 **wæs** þæt folc þonan ut sleande 7 hienende. op [...]

91/10 him æfterfylgende **wæs** op [...]

91/12 þær ymbutan **wæs** hergende 7 bærnende, þætte [...]

91/28 **wæs** mid sibbe wið his farende mid eallum his folce

Ch.VI

93/3 þæt hie ealle ongean hiene **wæron** feohtende

93/16 **wæron** hergende oð [...]

93/19 þa he æst þider mid firde farende **wæs**

Ch.VII

97/11 hie þæt sippan fela geare an missenlicum signum dreogende **wæron**

98/11 þa him mon on þreo healfe onwinnende **wæs**

Ch.VIII

99/12 þær **wæs** sittende eahta monað, op [...]

100/20 þætte se consul **wæs** wenende þæt eall þæt folc wære gind þæt lond tobræd

100/21 þiderweard farende **wæs**

100/22 þencende [**wæs**] þæt [...]

100/28 **wæs** monega gefeoht donde on Ispanium 7 Magonem, Penalatteow, gefeng

Ch.IX

101/8 him þa consulas **wæron** æfterfylgende

101/9 þæt folc sleande [**wæron**]

Ch.X

103/28 ðeh ðe wilniende wære 7 wenende Romana anwealdes, þæt [...]

104/19 se **wæs** georne biddende þæt [...]
 106/26 hie Scipia **wæs** ealle þa niht sleande, swa [...]
 107/13 biddende **wæs** þæt [...]
 107/14 wilniende **wæs** þæt [...]

Ch.XI

108/1 þæt hie **dreogende wæron** xiii winter
 110/21 æfter þæm gefeohtum Perseus **wæs** ealne þone gear Romane swiþe
swencende

Ch.XIII

112/17 he **wæs** vi dagas on þa burg feohtende, op [...]

Book V

Ch.I

113/24 þe þæt ilce **wæron dreogende** ccwintra

Ch.II

116/7 þær **wæs winnende** op [...]
 116/112 ac swiþe hreowlice swa gebend he on anre stowe beforan þæm geate **wæs**
wuniende, op [...]

Ch.III

117/9 ut **irnende wæron**æt twæm geatum

Ch.IV

118/28 eac for hiera niedþearfe fela wintra **dreogende wæs** unarimedlice oft
 119/14 ealla þa scipu formulton þe neah þæm sæ **færende wæron**

Ch.VII

121/25 ealne ðone dæg **wæron** þæt þa fiende op niht
 121/26 þa on mergen hie **wæron** þæt ilce **donde** [...]

Ch.IX

123/2 Hit **wæs** þa swiþe **oppyncende** þam oþrum consulum, Pompeiuse 7 Caton
 123/5 eft **wæron biddende** þæt Metellus to Rome moste
 123/7 him þa sippan æ feondscipe **wæs** betweonum **weaxende**

Ch.X

123/19 þonan up **wæs biernende** fyr wið þæs hefones
 123/21 **wæs** from þæm heofone **bradiende** niþer op þa eorþan
 123/22 **wæs** eft **færende** wið þæs heofones

Ch.XI

124/25 he þa hrædlice mid ealre his firde wið Rome weard farende wæs

125/3 raðe eft wæs cirrende wið Rome weard

125/8 þa wæs Silla mid micelre geornfulnisse farende of Crecum wip Rome weard

125/17 him æfterfylgende wæs, op [...]

125/20 þæt hie wæron dreogende xl wintra, ær [...]

Ch.XII

128/3 he wæs mænende þa dæd mid wope, for þon [...]

128/20 he him wæs swiþe waniende þæt [...]

Ch.XIII

129/23 on þæm wæron farende eahta legian

129/24 on þæm wæron farende x legian, for þon [...]

Book VI

Ch.I

133/5 Eac on þæm dagum wæs þæt norpmeste micliende on Mæcedonium

Ch.V

137/20 Toeacan þæm monigfealdum bisrum þe he donde wæs

137/25 Se wæs vi dagas biernende 7 vii niht

Ch.XXIV

144/22 þa sceoldon on siml beon winnende þær hit þonne þearf wæs

145/6 þæm oprum, Gallienuse, wæron monog folc onwinnende [...]

Ch.XXX

147/3 On þære tide wæron Dioclitie iii cyningas on winnende

148/2 Ac he wæs hwon giernende þissa worolpinga 7 micelra onwalda [...]

Ch.XXXI

150/11 [þæt he] mid firde wæs farende þær Romana onwald him geagnian

Ch.XXXIV

152/19 se wæs þær wilniende þæs onwaldes

Ch.XXXVI

154/7 He þa Theodosius wæs pencende

Ch.XXXVII

155/27 dæghwamllice wæs blotende diofolgildum mid monslitum

Table 4.3.c List of the expanded forms in the *Blickling Homilies* (Homily 13 excluded)

Hom. 1

5/2 forþon **wæs** se enge **sprecende** to ures Drihtes meder

11/22 Ac hwæt mænde þæt syxtig wera strongera þe þær **standende wæron** ymb þa reste for nihtlicum ege?

Hom. 2

15/28 He þa sona instæpes geseh, & þa sona **wæs** Drihtne **fylgende**

19/20 Gehyrap we nu þæt seo mennisce gecynd **biþ a ferende**

19/26 miht he **bið a wesende**

19/30 þonne **bið** he sona us **efen-prowiende**, & hræpe **miltsiende & forgifende** ura synna.

23/8 þonne **beo** we **sittende** be þæm wege, swa se blinda dyde

23/11 þonne **beo** we urum Hælende **fylgende**, swa se blinda **wæs**, syppan he geseonmihte

Hom. 4

39/23 Swa Drihten sylfa **wæs** **sprecende** þurh witgan

45/1 þonne sægde Sanctus Paulus þæt se biscop **nære miltsiende** wydewum

51/14 gif we **beop** riht **donde**

Hom. 5

55/1 Her segþ hu se æpela lareow **wæs** **specende**

57/1 swa David se sealmsceop **cwepende wæs**

57/17 & mid þæm **sceal beon** riht **agylde**nde for ealles þæs lichoman dædum

61/28 Be þæm demum Crist sylf **wæs** **sprecende**

63/26 Forþon on domes dæg hi **beop** from Gode pysne cwide **geherende** þe he cwip

Hom. 6

67/10 & hie **wæron** eft ham **hweorfende**

67/36 Lazarus þær **wæs** ana **sittende** mid Hælende

69/16 god weorc heo **wæs** **wyrcende** on me

75/5 Lazarus, þe Crist awehte þy feorþan dæge þæs þe he on byrgenne **wæs** ful **wunigende**

75/19 gif [...] **beon** symle **efenprowgende** opres earfopum

75/20 swylce eac on opres gode **beon** swiþe **gefeonde**

75/32 Læt þis þus wesan, god weorc heo **wæs** **wyrcende** in me

75/33 Mid þyssum wordum he gecyþde þæt he **wolde beon** **swyltende**

81/22 Hæl us on eorþan we þe **synt** on lichomum **lifgende** [...]

Hom.7

87/35 Drihten Hælend þa **wæs miltsigende** Adame

89/24 Drihten Hælend þa **wæs miltsiende** Euan

93/32 & þa breost þa þe næfre **meolcgende næron**

Hom.8

101/29 & we þonne **beop standende** beforan Drihtenes þrymsetle

Hom.10

109/2 & nænig god **awunigende**

115/7 he **wæs blowende** on him sylfum on swype manigfealdre wynsumnesse

115/14 & is nu on urum heortum **blowende**

Hom.11

127/31 & bið a dæges & nihtes **byrnende**

Hom.12

133/15 þa **wæron** ealle þa apostolas **wunigende** on anre stowe

133/17 þæt **wæs** sweg þæs Halgan Gastes to him **cumende**

Hom.14

161/18 & hie þære soþfæstnesse spellodan & tacen **secgende wæron**

165/18 þa þa he on his modor bosme **wunigende wæs**

Hom.17

199/6 þa æt nehstan eft **hwyrfende wæs** to þæm yrfe

201/20 On þa ilcan tid Neapolite ða heora nehgeburas þa þe þa giet on hæðnum
þeawum **dwelgende wæron**

207/30 hie [...] mid þæs engles bletsunga eft **hwyrfende wæron** to heora husum

209/18 ðonne of ðæm þeodlande þæm þe þær ymsyndon ða folc þær **cumende
beoð**

209/30 Swa Sanctus Paulus **wæs geseonde** on norðanweardne þisne middangeard

211/1 & þa fynd þara on nicra onlicnesse heora **gripende wæron**, swa swa
grædigwulf

Hom.18

217/33 þa **wæs** he swipe **gefeonde**

223/30 ah he a to æghwylcum soð & riht **sprecende wæs & donde**

227/9 hwepre his mod **wæs** aheard & **gefeonde**

Hom.19

- 229/17 ah he **wæs** simle hine to Drihtne **gebiddende** mid myclum wope
- 229/21 forþon we [...] **wæron** þe **fylgende**
- 231/1 & eft Drihten **wæs cwepende**
- 231/9 He þa þurhwunigende mid gebedum **wæs** Drihtnes lof **singende** on þæm carcerne
- 231/32 mid þy þe he þis cwæð Drihten Hælend ðagit **wæs sprecende**
- 233/2 he **wæs gefeonde** myclum gefean
- 235/1 hie **syn ofergytende** þissesæweege
- 235/4 he æteowde us swa he **slæpende wære** to costianne
- 235/19 his discipulos ðær **slæpende wæron** mid him
- 235/27 ic **wæs** to ðe **sprende** swa to men
- 235/32 Forgif me, Drihten þæt ic to ðe **sprende wæs** swa to men
- 237/10 [Gemune ge hu manega earfoðnesse] fram Iudeum ic **wæs ðrowiende**, hie me swungon
- 237/24 Se eadiga Matheus þa and se haliga Andres hie **wæron cyssende** him betweonon
- 241/19 þa **wæs** se deofol **ingangende**
- 243/33 Gif ge me gehyrað and ge me **beoð fylgende**
- 249/2 mid þi se halga Andreas þanon **wæs farende**
- 249/7 and þu nære miltsiend ofer heora cild þa þe **wæron fylgende** and **wepende**
- 249/12 Se eadiga Andreas þa **wæs** eft **hwyrfende** on Marmadonia ceastre
- 249/16 Hio **wæron gefeonde** mycle gefean

Notational conventions for the representation of verbs in the following tables:

Let us posit that [...] represent all the activity verbs; with AD, being the dynamic ones and ANON-D, the non-dynamic ones. In addition, punctual and achievement verbs are represented as I, and stative verbs, as II.

Table 4.4.a Distribution of the simple form and the expanded form in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*

Extract chosen for the study of simple forms : 830A---> 876A.

Type of verb	Simple forms in the extract		Expanded forms in the whole <i>Chronicles</i>	
	Number	%	Number	%
[...]	131	(56%)	28	(97%)
AD	114	(46%)	20	(69%)
ANON-D	17	(10%)	8	(28%)
I	59	(29%)	1	(3%)
II	25	(15%)	0	(0%)
Total	215		29	

Table 4.4.b Distribution of the simple form and the expanded form in *Orosius*

Extracts chosen for the study of the simple form:
Book III pp. 94-108 and Book IV pp. 154-166

Verb types	Simple forms in Book III		Simple forms in Book IV		Expanded forms in <i>Orosius</i>	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
[...]	147	(62%)	153	(64%)	207	(87%)
AD	144	(61%)	152	(64%)	186	(78%)
ANON-D	3	(1%)	1	(0%)	21	(9%)
I	23	(10%)	32	(13%)	13	(5%)
]]	68	(29%)	53	(23%)	18	(8%)
Total	238		238		238	

Table 4.4.c Distribution of the SF and the EF in the *Blickling Homilies* :

Chapters chosen for the study of SF: chapter 5 and chapter 17

verb types	SF in ch.5		SF in ch.17		EF--ch.13 excluded	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
[...]	86	(45%)	119	(54%)	56	(81%)
AD	69	(36%)	103	(47%)	42	(60%)
ANON-D	17	(9%)	16	(7%)	14	(21%)
I	28	(14%)	39	(18%)	6	(9%)
]]	80	(41%)	60	(28%)	7	(10%)
Total	194		218		69	

Table 4.5.a Distribution of the expanded forms in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* per verb type

29 expanded forms *beon* + V *-ende* are to be found within the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. The distribution is as follows:

[...]: 28 (97%)

AD: 20 (69%)

ANON-D: 8 (28%)

I: 1 (3%)

LI: 0 (0%)

List of the verbs in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*:

[...]: (28):

AD (20):

(on-) feohtan (7) 'fight'

wyrcean (1) 'make, work'

winnan (3) 'fight'

erian (1) 'plough'

tilian (1) 'make a living (for oneself)'

forðbringan (1) 'bring (forth)'

smeagan (1) 'consider'

tyrwian (1) 'exasperate'

delniman (1) 'take part, participate'

byrnan (2) 'burn'

gan (1) 'go'

ANON-D(8):

healdan (1) 'keep'

wunian (1) 'stay, live'

flotian (1) 'float'

standan (1) 'stand'

sittan (2) 'sit'

dreogan (1) 'suffer'

scinan (1) 'shine'

I (1):

fyrclian (1) 'flash'

LI (0)

Table 4.5.b Distribution of the expanded form in *Orosius* per verb type

[...]: 207 (87%)

AD : 186 (78%)

ANON-D : 21 (9%)

I: 15 (6%)

II: 16 (7%)

We shall only focus on the list of merged boundaries and verbs with open boundaries occurring with the expanded form in *Orosius* :

I: (15)

berstan (2) 'burst'*cwacian* (1) 'quake'*forsacan* (1) 'renounce'*gemunan* (1) 'mention, take notice'*slean* (7) 'kill'*stellan* (1) 'set'*(on) teon* (1) 'arrogate'*geþafian* (1) 'allow'

II: (16)

forsugian (1) 'be silent'*giernan* (3) 'be desirous'*ondrædan* (4) 'be anxious, dread'*þowian* (1) 'be under one's power'*wilnian* (6) 'desire'*ofþyncan* (1) 'take [something] ill, disapprove'

Table 4.5.c Distribution of the expanded form in the *Blickling Homilies* per verb type

Out of 69 expanded forms in the *Blickling Homilies* (Homily 13 excluded), the expanded form collocates with the following verb types as follows:

[...]: 86 (84%)

AD: 44 (64%)

ANON-D: 14 (20%)

I: 5 (7%)

LI: 6 (9%)

We shall only focus on the list of the verbs with merged boundaries and with open boundaries occurring in the expanded form in the *Blickling Homilies* :

I: (5)

forgifan (1) 'forgive'

swyltan (1) 'die'

sean (1) 'see'

gripan (1) 'seize'

ofergytan (1) 'forget'

LI: (6)

efenprowian (2) 'feel compassionate'

miltsian (4) 'pity'

Table 4.6.a List of locajuncts in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* : 15

755A <i>on þone cyning</i>	1031A <i>þar ... on þan scipe</i>
755A <i>ymb þa gatu</i>	1052D <i>on Gleawcestre</i>
994E <i>on ða burh</i>	1085E <i>on Normandige</i>
855A, 1001E <i>þær</i>	1106E <i>wið þes steorran</i>
867A <i>here</i>	1110E <i>ofer eall þa heofon</i>
878A <i>of þam geweorce</i>	1031A <i>neh þan lande ... nyxt</i>

Table 4.6.b List of locajuncts in *Orosius* : 71

<i>binnan þære byrig</i> 52/26	<i>neah þæm</i> 119/14
<i>ymbutan</i> 66/4	<i>of hiora horsum</i> 28/19
<i>ofer eall Romana rice</i> 50/7	<i>ymbe þa burg</i> 31/10
<i>on Ispanium</i> 100/28	<i>sæ</i> 47/18
<i>on Scippie</i> 28/25	<i>on þa burg</i> 112/17
<i>on ða norðdælas</i> 28/25	<i>of ðæm sande</i> 11/7
<i>on ðæm</i> 43/18	<i>ofer eal Ægypta land</i> 11/19
<i>on ða burg</i> 43/18	<i>hwær</i> 26/24
<i>an Nili rice</i> 68/4	<i>binnan þære byrig</i> 52/26
<i>on Thraci</i> 68/4	<i>of norpdæle</i> 8/24
<i>æstþider</i> 93/19	<i>east</i> 11/6
<i>on þæt sand</i> 11/6	<i>on Asiam</i> 34/25
<i>on þone Wendelsæ</i> 12/21	<i>on an land</i> 58/8
<i>on þæm</i> 43/29	<i>on swelcehealfe</i> 59/4
<i>ut</i> 117/9	<i>on Tracia</i> 62/31
<i>æt twæmgeatum</i> 117/9	<i>ymb þæt rice</i> 62/31
<i>norpmeste</i> 133/5	<i>on londe</i> 81/3
<i>on Mæcedonium</i> 133/5	<i>on wætere</i> 81/3
<i>ge innege ute</i> 25/23	<i>binnan Rumburg</i> 42/16
<i>onbutan</i> 65/10	<i>on anre stowe</i> 116/12
<i>ymb þa burg</i> 35/10	<i>beforangæte</i> 116/12
<i>ofer þam lande</i> 23/6	
<i>nīðer</i> 123/21	<i>wið norðan Creca lond ut</i> 12/21
<i>uppwardes</i> 89/25	<i>þurh middewearde</i> 43/15
<i>þiderweard</i> 100/21	<i>þær</i> 66/4; 32/12; 44/30; 44/32; 150/11;
<i>of Crecum</i> 125/8	46/31; 11/7; 99/12; 23/6; 39/4; 39/30; 29/10;
<i>wip Rome weard</i> 125/8	152/19; 29/17; 39/33; 71/4; 116/7; 44/32

from east dæle pirh Æthiopica westenne east 12/21
11/10

Table 4.6.c List of locajuncts in the *Blickling Homilies* : 20

þær 11/22; 67/36; 209/18; 255/19

ymb þa reste 11/22

be þæm wege 23/8

from Gode 63/26

ham 67/10

on byrgenne 75/5

on lichomum 81/22

beforan Drihtnes þrymsetle 101/29

on him sylfum 115/7

on urum heortum 115/14

on anre stowe 133/15

on his modor bosme 165/18

on hæðnum þeawum 201/20

of ðæm peodlande 209/18

on þæm carcerne 231/9

beforan Mermedonia ceastre 235/19

on Marmadonia ceastre 249/12

Table 4.7.a List of temporojuncts in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* : 19**-- Temporojuncts indicating duration: 9**

656E *swaswa*
 755A *simle*
 855A *Xii monap*
 1031A *whenne..*
 1066C *lange on dæg*
 1098E *ealle þa niht*
 1100E *æfre*
 1104E *to þysan timan*¹

-- Temporojuncts indicating a point in time either after a period of time or in a series of events:10

755A *op þæt* (2)
 755A, 871A *op*
 755A, 994E, 1052D, 1085E, 1110E *þa*
 1098E *forneah*

Table 4.7.b List of temporojuncts within *Orosius* : 190**-- Temporojuncts expressing duration: 55**

siex monaǣ 52/26
nu 31/8
VIdagas 112/17; 137/25
VII niht 137/25
dægwamlice 155/27
on þæm tidum 58/12
longe 60/20
æfter þæm 80/3; 100/28
on morgen 121/26
felageara 35/19
preo winter 41/11
twaandfeorwertig 22/11
wintra
lange 73/4
L VIII wintra 76/22
felageare 97/11
XIII winter 108/1
cc wintra 113/24

XXV wintra 66/3
on þæm dagum 133/5; 56/15
X gear 31/29
eahta monaǣ 99/12
ealle þa niht 106/26
mid þæm þe 48/34
ealne þone gear 110/21
ealne ðone dæg 121/25
XXX wintra 45/8
longe 58/11
folneah c wintra 30/30
fiftene gear 29/10

on þære ilcan tide 34/25
XX wintra 34/29
unablinndlice 39/34
LXX wintra 56/15
on þæm XXV 62/31
wintrum

¹As suggested by David Denison, the translation of *to þysan timan* in Garmonsway (1950:239), for instance, shows that this adverbial should be classified as a temporojunct indicating duration: it means 'in these days'.

<i>for hiera</i>	118/28	<i>on þæm dagum</i>	62/31
<i>niedþearfefela</i>			
<i>wintra</i>			
<i>XL wintra</i>	125/20	<i>an simbel</i>	63/30
<i>fifty wintra</i>	21/26	<i>hwile þe</i>	71/4
<i>III dagas</i>	46/31	<i>on siml</i>	71/14; 144/22
<i>on þæm XXV</i>	62/31	<i>on þære tide</i>	147/3
<i>wintrum</i>			
<i>buton þrie dagas</i>	52/25	<i>þæm oðrum</i>	147/3
<i>orþrædlice</i>	65/10	<i>ful X winter</i>	145/6
<i>simbel</i>	42/16		

-- Temporojuncts expressing a point in time either after a period of time or in a series of events: 135

<i>þa</i> (37)	89/19; 26/11; 32/9; 101/8; 25/29; 41/22; 23/4; 64/27 121/26; 51/22; 44/30; 93/19; 124/25; 125/8; 22/6; 31/29; 47/18; 33/20; 55/3; 68/30; 25/23; 26/3; 31/29; 35/10; 29/27; 85/34; 44/36; 154/7; 25/30; 123/7; 44/27; 39/33; 58/8; 144/22; 32/6; 42/16; 123/2	<i>æt nyhstan</i>	22/6
		<i>þæt (te)</i>	11/19; 58/12; 91/12
		<i>ert</i>	34/25; 48/17; 123/5; 125/3; 64/27; 123/22; 11/7
		<i>to ðon þæt</i>	87/29
		<i>þagiet</i>	47/13
		<i>giet</i>	36/14; 38/15
<i>op</i> (33)	32/9; 44/11; 52/2; 91/10; 125/17; 123/21; 23/4; 121/26; 51/12; 44/30; 45/3; 21/26; 46/31; 112/17; 45/4; 29/10; 56/17; 93/16; 91/8; 29/17; 63/21; 65/10; 35/10; 99/12; 121/25; 27/19; 29/17; 28/23; 39/33; 39/34; 51/4; 116/7; 116/12	<i>nugiet</i>	38/8
		<i>swa</i>	73/11; 85/18; 106/26; 23/6; 58/11; 89/19
<i>op</i>	121/25; 27/19; 29/17; 28/23; 39/33; 39/34; 51/4; 116/7; 116/12	<i>folneah</i>	30/30
<i>sona</i> (3)	32/9; 49/25; 98/11	<i>ær</i>	52/26; 60/20; 41/11; 73/4; 76/22; 125/20; 39/14; 52/26; 48/34; 34/29; 51/3; 56/15
<i>þanon</i>	44/27	<i>sippan</i>	97/11; 73/11; 28/25; 43/18; 44/32; 70/4; 12/21; 85/18; 123/7; 50/21; 51/4; 36/1; 44/32; 23/6
<i>þonan</i> (2)	64/27; 123/19		
<i>þonne</i> (7)	11/6; 11/10; 67/4; 34/8; 55/20; 59/13; 62/14	<i>toeacan ðæm</i>	48/12

<i>pæron</i>	34/8	<i>æfter pæm</i>	110/21
		<i>gefeohum</i>	
		<i>æfter pæm</i>	39/34; 100/28

Table 4.7.c List of temporojuncts in the *Blickling Homilies* : 47

– Temporojuncts expressing duration: 18

– Temporojuncts expressing a point in time either after a period of time or in a series of events: 29

<i>a</i>	19/20; 19/26; 127/31; 223/30	<i>pa</i>	15/28; 87/35; 89/24; 115/7; 115/14; 133/15; 199/6; 211/1; 217/33; 231/9; 235/19; 237/24; 241/19; 249/12 15/28; 19/30; 111/29
<i>dome dæg</i>	63/26	<i>sona</i>	
<i>þy feorþan dæge</i>	75/5	<i>þonne</i>	19/30; 23/8; 23/11; 101/29
<i>pæs þe...</i>		<i>eft</i>	67/10; 199/6; 207/30; 231/1; 249/12
<i>symle</i>	75/19	<i>pa þe</i>	201/20
<i>simle</i>	229/17	<i>pa giet</i>	201/20
<i>næfre</i>	93/32	<i>ðagit</i>	231/32
<i>seoppan ...</i>	111/29		
<i>nu</i>	115/14		
<i>dægres and nihtes</i>	127/31		
<i>pa þa ...</i>	165/18		
<i>on þa ilcan tid</i>	201/20		
<i>swa</i>	209/30		
<i>mid þy þe</i>	231/32, 249/2		

Table 4.8.a List of subjuncts in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* : 17

-- subjuncts of intensity: 11

-- subjuncts of manner: 6

755A <i>Ac</i>	918C <i>mid riht hlaforð</i>
755A <i>simle</i>	918C <i>dome</i>
994E <i>festlice</i>	1066C <i>heardlice</i>
994E <i>unasecgendlice (yfel)</i>	1100E <i>þurh yfelra manna rædas</i>
1001E <i>fæstlice</i>	1100E <i>þurh his agene gistunga</i>
1031A, 1086E <i>swa</i>	1110E <i>beorhte</i>
1066C <i>swyðe</i>	

1100E *æfre*
 1110E *swiðe*
 1131E *swilc*

Table 4.8.b List of subjuncts in *Orosius* : 59

--- subjuncts of intensity: 31

<i>swiðe</i>	25/29; 41/13; 73/11; 72/21; 48/12; 55/3; 68/30; 85/18; 85/34; 110/21; 128/20; 44/27; 52/33; 55/20; 116/12; 123/2; 86/9	<i>ungemetlicre</i>	22/22
		<i>unablinnendlice</i>	25/23
		<i>þus</i>	23/29; 47/5
<i>swa</i>	31/21; 73/11; 72/21; 85/18	<i>micle</i>	128/2; 44/27
<i>raðe</i>	125/3; 56/17; 11/6	<i>ma</i>	44/15
<i>swylc</i> (2)	27/14	<i>micelre</i>	44/36
<i>siml</i>	71/14; 144/22	<i>micelne</i>	39/30
<i>on siml</i>	71/14; 144/22	<i>midcelre</i>	125/8
<i>swelce</i>	22/12	<i>symbel</i>	22/20; 63/30
<i>furðu</i>	26/3	<i>eac</i>	22/22; 118/28; 133/5
<i>unarimedlice</i>	118/28	<i>æc</i>	41/22; 22/12; 22/22; 47/5; 148/2; 38/23; 50/17; 52/33; 65/10; 38/8; 62/11; 116/12
<i>micelre</i>	44/30		
<i>ungemætlicre</i>	21/26		

--- subjuncts of manner: 28

<i>midswiðlice heafe</i>	89/19	<i>para wigwæгна</i>	26/24
<i>and wope anstyred</i>		<i>hweol</i>	
<i>hrædlice</i>	26/11; 124/25	<i>under segle</i>	16/22
<i>hreowlice</i>	25/29	<i>ealneweg</i>	16/22
<i>lustlice</i>	31/8	<i>midmonigfealdum</i>	38/20
		<i>ynryhtum and</i>	
		<i>firenlustum</i>	
<i>georne</i>	104/19; 47/33	<i>buton ælcre</i>	38/20
		<i>hreowe</i>	
<i>ungemetlice</i>	23/4	<i>midmicle wope</i>	128/2

midungemetlicre 34/1
pinunge

midmanigfealdon 22/11
firenslustum
niedþearfe (rela 118/28
wintra)

midmicelre 44/30
bliðnesse buton
gemetgunge

midungemætlicre 21/26
gewilnunge
anwaldes

mid wirlice niðe 22/12

midungemetlicre 22/12
wrænnesse
midungemete 90/2

mid 25/23
fyrsmertendum
bitum

midmicelre 44/36
gnornunge
midoferheortnesse 89/26

mid eallum hiera 34/23
cræftum

ætgedere 51/3

hreowlice 116/12

Table 4.8.c List of subjuncts in the *Blickling Homilies* : 30

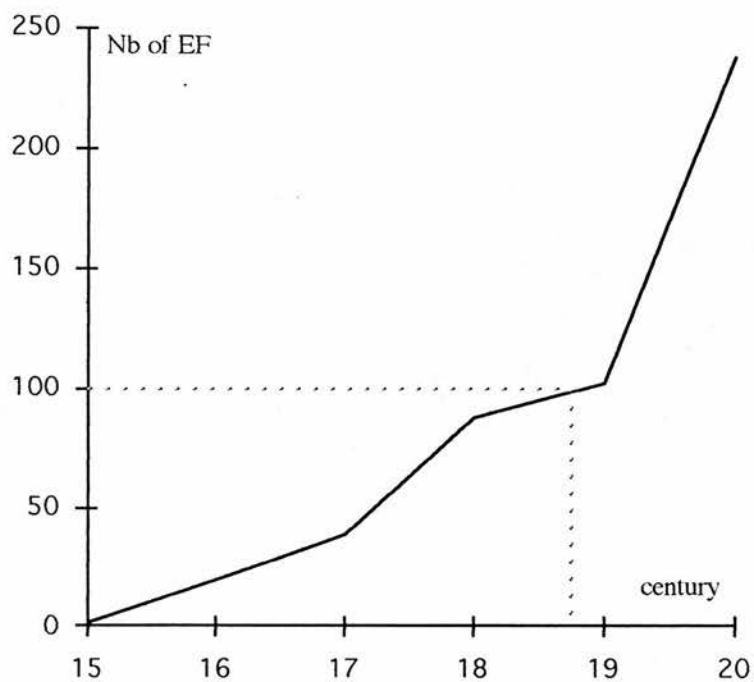
--- subjuncts of intensity: 14

<i>forþon</i>	5/2; 63/26; 229/21
<i>swylce</i>	75/9
<i>eac</i>	75/19
<i>swipe</i>	75/19; 217/33
<i>swype</i>	115/7
<i>swa</i>	115/14
<i>æt nehstan</i>	199/6
<i>ah</i>	223/30; 229/17
<i>myclum (gefean)</i>	233/2
<i>mycle (gefean)</i>	249/16

--- subjuncts of manner: 16

<i>hrape</i>	19/30
<i>swa ...</i>	23/11; 57/1; 115/1; 235/4; 235/27
<i>riht</i>	51/14; 57/17
<i>hu</i>	55/1
<i>ana</i>	67/36
<i>ful</i>	5/5
<i>wynsumnesse</i>	115/7
<i>swaswa</i>	211/1
<i>soð and riht</i>	223/2
<i>(myclum) gefean</i>	233/2
<i>(mycle) gefean</i>	249/16

Appendix B: Tables and Figures of Chapter 5

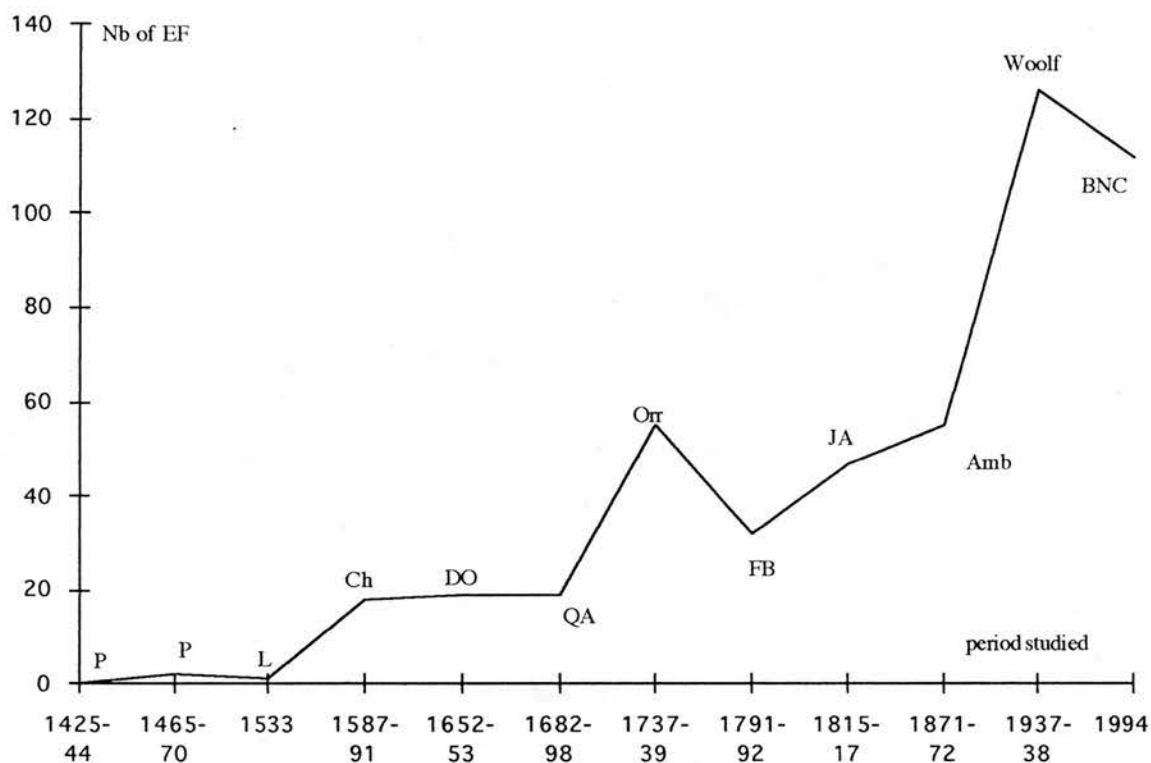


Graph 5.1 Evolution of the EF in private letters

maturity rate of the EF: 100 per 40 000 words

century	15	16	17	18	19	20
Nb of EF	2	19	38	87	102	238

Table 5.1 Evolution of the number of the EF in private letters



Graph 5.2 Detailed evolution of the number of EF in private letters

P: Paston Letters

L: Lisle Letters

DO: letters of Dorothy Osborne

Orr: Orrery papers

JA: letters of Jane Austen

Woolf: letters of Virginia Woolf

Ch: letters of John Chamberlain

QA: letters of Queen Anne

FB: letters of Fanny Burney

Amb: Amberley papers

BNC: British National Corpus

period studied	1425-44	1465-70	1533	1582-91	1652-53	1682-98
Nb of EF	0	2	1	18	19	19

period studied	1737-39	1791-92	1815-17	1871-72	1937-38	1994
Nb of EF	55	32	47	55	127	112

Table 5.2.a Detailed evolution of the number of EF in private letters

Period studied	15th --> 16th century	16th --> 17th century	17th --> 18th century	18th --> 19th century	19th --> 20th century
Increase rate	+850%	+100%	+126%	+17%	+133%

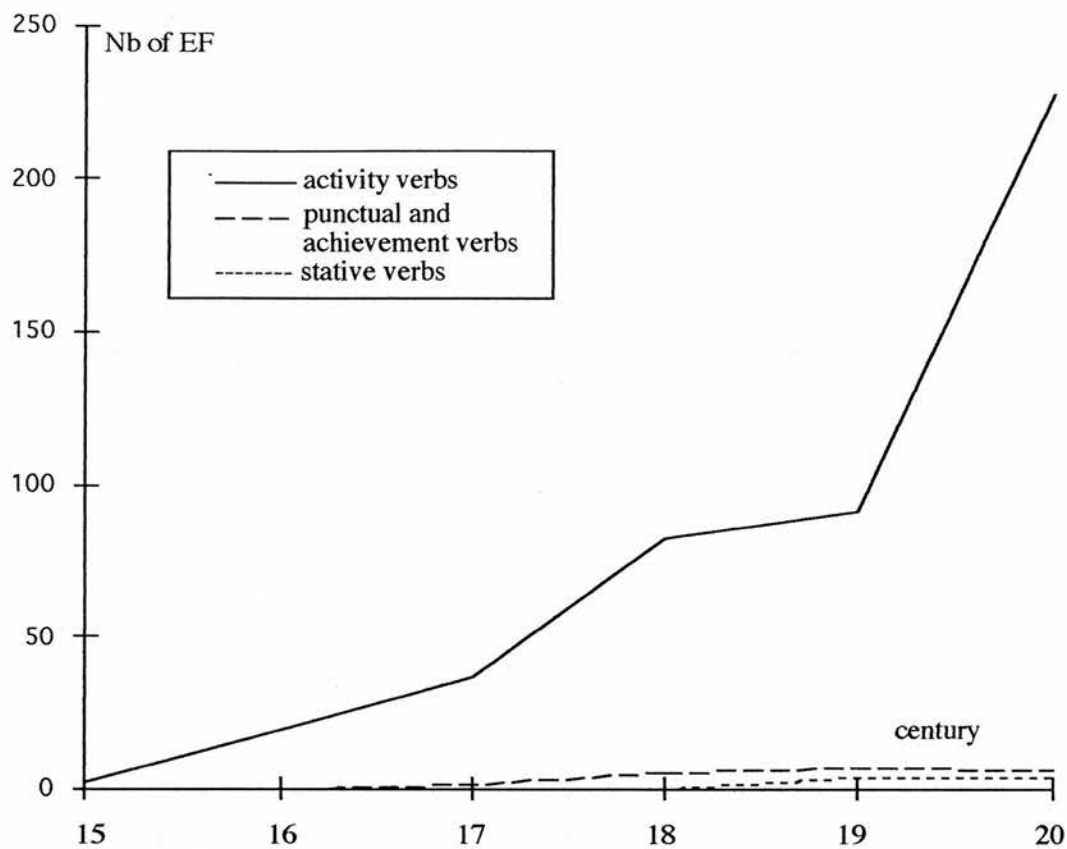
Table 5.2.b Increase rate of the EF per century in private letters

Period studied	1425-44 --> 1465-70	1465-70 --> 1533	1533 --> 1587-91	1587-91 --> 1652-53	1652-53 --> 1682-98
Increase rate	X	-100%	+1700%	+6%	+0%

Period studied	1682-98 --> 1737-39	1737-39 --> 1791-92	1791-92 --> 1815-17	1817-17 --> 1871-72	1871-72 --> 1937-38
Increase rate	+189%	-42%	+47%	+17%	+129%

Period studied	1937-38 --> 1994
Increase rate	-12%

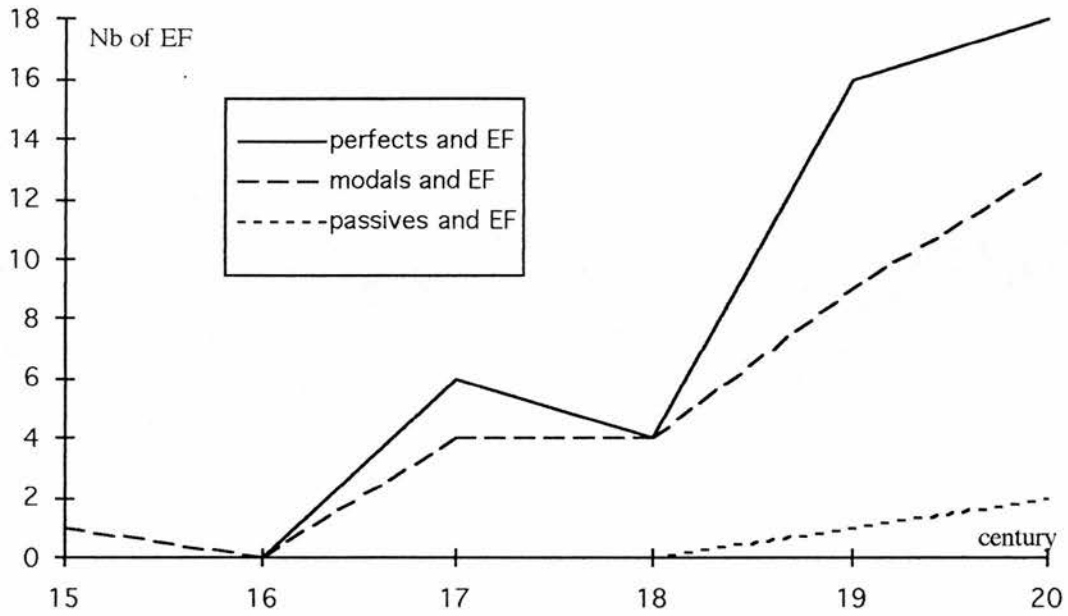
Table 5.2.c Detailed increase rate of the EF per section studied in private letters



Graph 5.3 Evolution of the use of verb types with the EF in private letters

century	15	16	17	18	19	20
activity verbs	2	19	37	82	91	228
punctual and achievement verbs	0	0	1	5	7	6
stative verbs	0	0	0	0	4	4

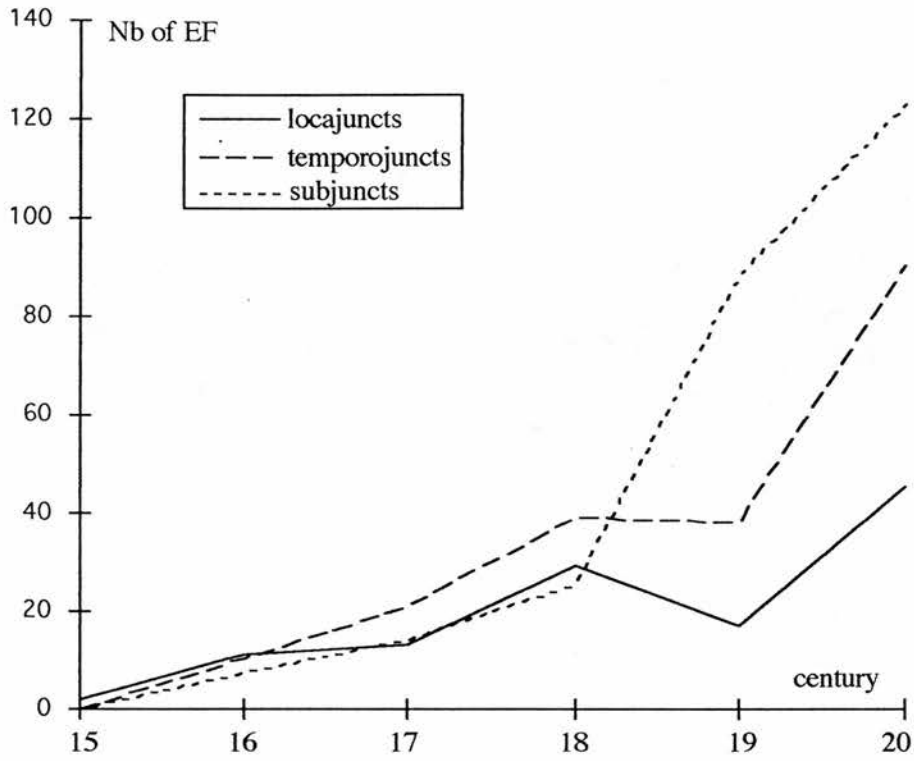
Table 5.3 Evolution of the use of verb types with the EF in private letters



Graph 5.4 Evolution of the use of EF with perfects, modals and passives in private letters

century	15	16	17	18	19	20
perfects and EF	0	0	6	4	16	18
modals and EF	1	0	4	4	9	13
passives and EF	0	0	0	0	1	2

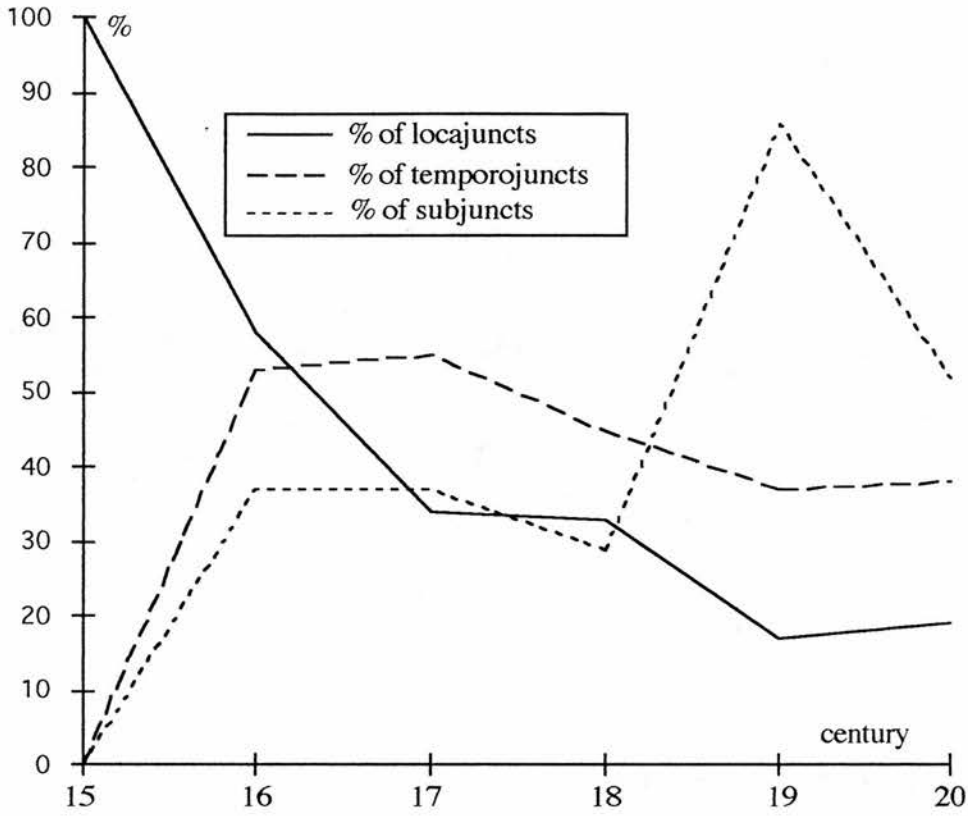
Table 5.4 Evolution of the use of EF with perfects, modals and passives in private letters



Graph 5.5.a Evolution of the number of locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts with the EF in private letters

century	15	16	17	18	19	20
locajuncts with the EF	2	11	13	29	17	45
temporojuncts with EF	0	10	21	39	38	90
subjuncts with EF	0	7	14	25	88	123

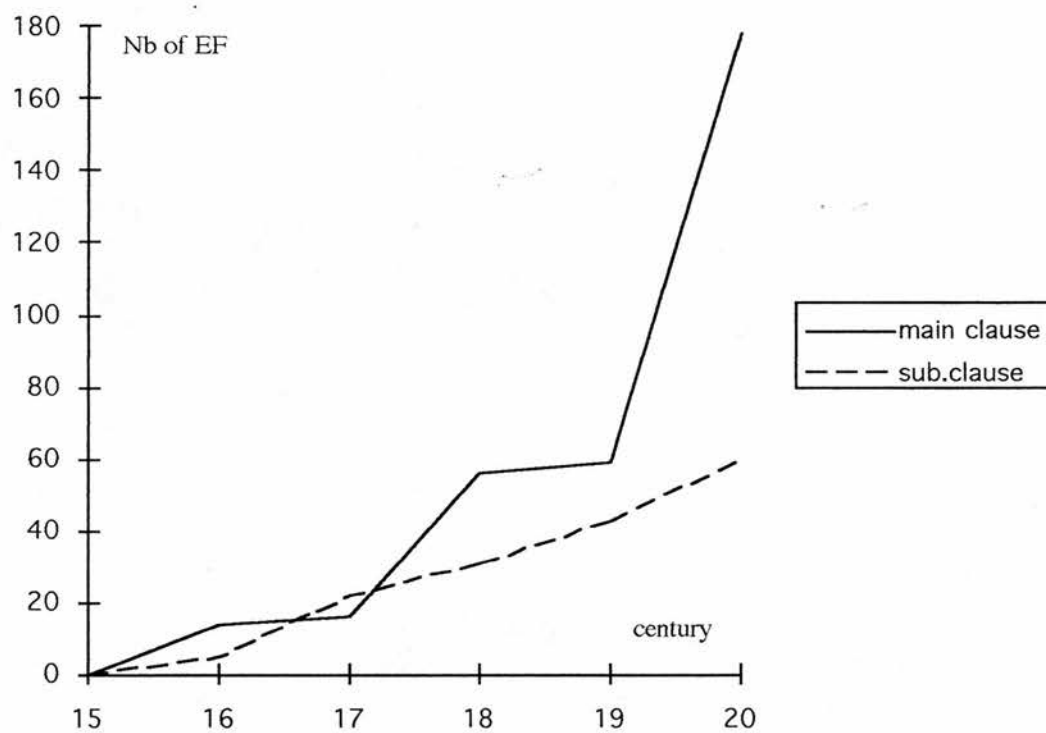
Table 5.5.a Evolution of the number of locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts with the EF in private letters



Graph 5.5.b Evolution of the percentage of locajuncts, temporojuncts and subjuncts with the EF in private letters

century	15	16	17	18	19	20
% of locajuncts with EF	100	58	34	33	17	19
% of temporojuncts with EF	0	53	55	45	37	38
% of subjuncts with EF	0	37	37	29	86	52

Table 5.5.b Evolution of the percentage of temporojuncts and subjuncts with the EF in private letters



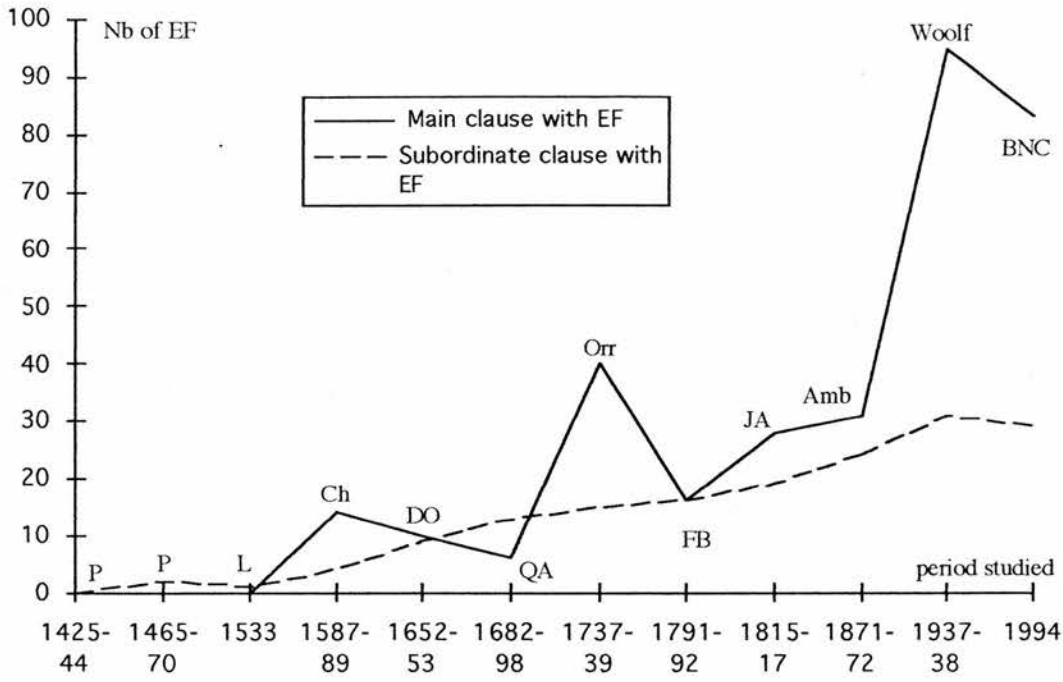
Graph 5.6 Evolution of the syntactic distribution of the EF per century in private letters

century	15	16	17	18	19	20
main clause	0	13	15	56	60	175
subord. clause	2	6	23	31	42	63

Table 5.6.a Evolution of the syntactic distribution of the EF per century in private letters

Increase rate	Subordinate clause	Main clause
15th --> 16th century	+200%	X
16th --> 17th century	+267%	+23%
17th --> 18th century	+35%	+256%
18th --> 19th century	+36%	+7%
19th --> 20th century	+50%	+192%

Table 5.6.b Evolution of the increase rate of the EF per clause type per century in private letters



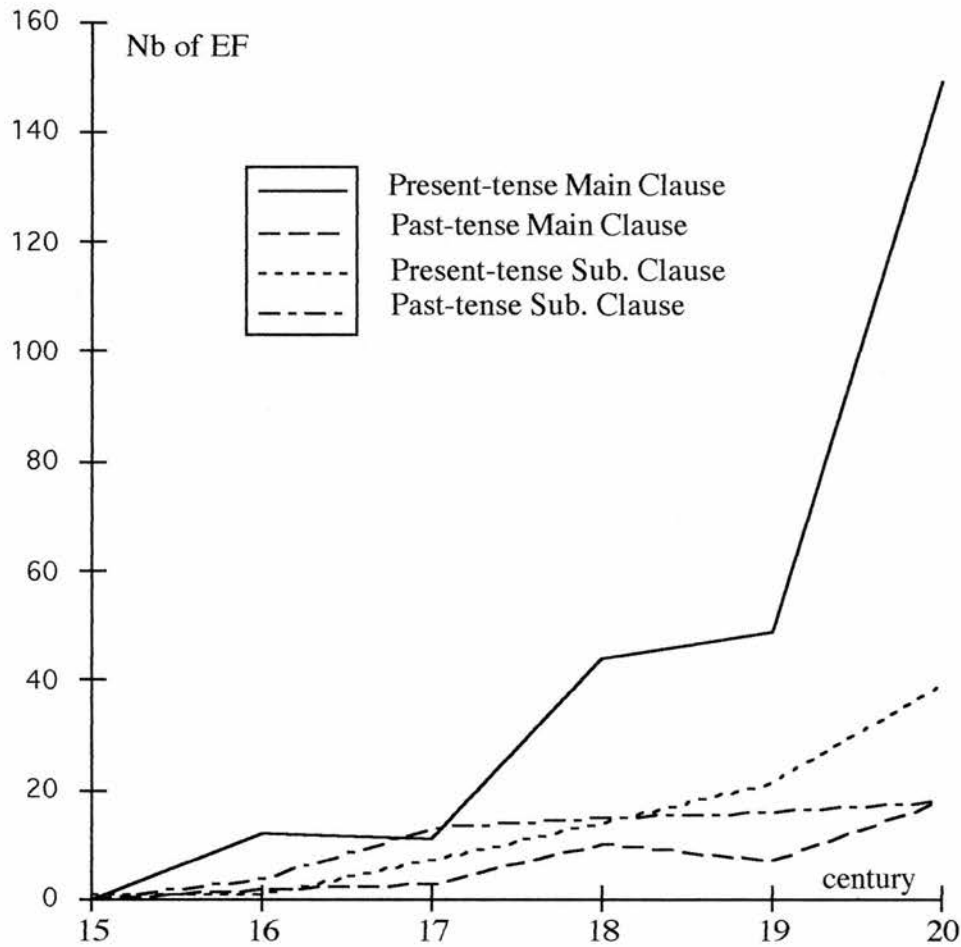
Graph 5.7 Detailed evolution of the number of main and subordinate clauses with EF in private letters

- P: Paston Letters
- L: Lisle Letters
- Ch: letters of John Chamberlain
- DO: letters of Dorothy Osborne
- QA: letters of Queen Anne
- Orr: Orrery papers
- FB: Fanny Burney
- JA: letters of Jane Austen
- Amb: Amberley papers
- Woolf: letters of Virginia Woolf
- BNC: British National Corpus

period studied	1425-44	1465-70	1533	1587-89	1652	1682-98
main clause	0	0	0	13	10	5
subord. clause	0	2	1	5	10	13

period studied	1737-39	1791-92	1815-17	1871-72	1937-39	1994
main clause	40	16	29	31	93	82
subord. clause	15	16	18	24	34	29

Table 5.7 Detailed evolution of the number of main and subordinate clauses with EF in private letters



Graph 5.8.a Evolution of the number of EF in main and subordinate clauses with respect to tense

century	15	16	17	18	19	20
Main clause						
Present	0	13	11	44	49	147
Past	0	0	2	10	7	18
Other	0	0	2	2	4	10

Subord. clause						
Present	1	1	7	14	21	41
Past	0	4	14	15	16	18
Other	1	1	2	2	5	4

Table 5.8.a Evolution of the number of EF in main and subordinate clauses with respect to tense

century		16	17	18	19	20
Present-tense main clause	with subjunct	5	7	14	37	65
	without subjunct	8	4	30	11	85
Present-tense subord. clause	with subjunct	0	0	5	3	8
	without subjunct	1	2	8	6	5

Past-tense main clause	with subjunct	1	0	5	9	19
	without subjunct	0	7	6	11	21
Past-tense subord. clause	with subjunct	0	3	6	5	9
	without subjunct	4	11	8	11	13

Table 5.8.b Evolution of the number of EF in main and subordinate clauses with respect to tense and subjuncts

Appendix C: List of the expanded forms in the private letters (Chapter 5)

15th century

The Paston letters

Computerized version.

1st part of the 15th century: no EF

Agnes Paston 1440-49: 1953 words

Margaret Paston 1441-49: 8925 words

John Paston I 1444-49: 2078 words

William Paston I 1425-44: 8357 words

2nd part of the 15th century: 2 EF + 1 ambiguous example

John Paston II 3 July 1470 - 15 September 1471: 9916 words

Margaret Paston 1465 (till August): 10853 words

Margaret Paston 1465:

My lord seyde to me that he wold ryght fayn that ye had a gode conclusyon in youre maters, and seyde by hys trouthe that he ought you ryght gode wyll and wold ryght fayn that ye were com hom, and seyde to me that it shold be a grete confort to youre frendys and neighbors and that youre presens shold do more a-mongys hem than a c of youre men shold do in youre absens, and more youre enmys wold yf ye **myght be** at home and **steryng** a-mongys hemferre to do a-yens you; and seyde full playnly in meny othere thyngys

(10 May 1465, p.297)

John Paston III 1470-1:

Wherffor, for Goddysake, late my moodre take heede to my yonge brytheryn, that they be nat in noon place wher that sykenesse is **regnyng**, nor that they dysport not wyth noon other yonge peple whyche resortythe wher any sykenesse is.

(15 Sep 1471, p.441)

ambiguous example:

I her seye that the Erle off Oxenfordys bretheryn be goon owt off Sceyntewarye. Syr Thomas Fulforthe is goon owt off sceyntewarye and a gret felaschyp fettchyd hym, a iijxx, and they sey that wyth-in v myle off London he was [wyth] cc men, and no man wotethe where he is become not yit. The Lordes Hastyngys and Howard be in Caleys and haue it pesebely, and Syr Walter Wrettesle and Syr Ieffrey Gate be comyn thense and woll be at London thys daye, as it is seyde.

(15 sep 1471, p.441)

16th century

The Lisle letters

period studied: 16 March 1533-16 October 1533
pp.452-585
1 EF

The Letters of John Chamberlain

period studied: 11 June 1597-28 June 1591
pp. 29-83
18 EF

The Lisle letters:

letter 40. Lord Lisle to Cromwell. 12 August 1533

And as I was writing of this present, there came iiij sail of French ships into the haven of Calais to take succour (p.545)

The Letters of John Chamberlain :

Yet is the greatest newes behinde that I am upon a viage into Ireland with Master Wallop [...], and hope to be setting forward within this moneth (p.32)

and I hear that Dr. Edes [...] was cleane out and could go no farther, but kepe that to yourself. Master Edmonds is either gon or presently going into Fraunce with letters to prepare the way for this peace (p.37)

The Lord Zouch with Dr. Parkins is going ambassador into Denmarke about certain of our shippes that have ben staide there (p.40)

I heard not of this messengers being here, nor of his intended jorny to Ostend till he was almost going (p.44)

John Wroth is making redy to go ambassador into Turkie. Sir Fra: Vere is comming to the Brill out of which intertainment he paiess yearly 400 to the Lady Borroughs [...]. Sir John Gilbert with six or seven sayle one and other is going for Guiana (p.49)

The erle of Ormond hath sent over in post for 2000 men which are making redy with all possible haste (p.51)

The erle of Southampton was named to be general of the horse, Sir Rob: Sidney to be Lord Marshall and I know not how many more to other places: but now all is husht again and only Sir Arthur Savage is going thether with a thowsand man (p.55)

The French king is sending to the Pope to determine the controversie of the Marquist of Saluces (p.59)

The citie went on reasonable roundly with theyre taske and paid in 50000 the last weeke; the rest is **comming** after (p.61)

I made account we may looke after you a moneth more at the least, yf not longer. I **am going** to Knebworth (I know not how soone) (p.67)

On Saterdag last Sir william Woodhouse accompanied with fowre hacksters, understanding that Sir Robert Drury was to come from Totnam toward London, waited for him in the way, and set upon him as he **was comming** out of his coach (p.69)

for my part I can finde no such buggeswords, but that every thinge is as yt is taken. I **am going** the next week (God Willing) to Knebworth (p.70)

we all are here in a hurle as though the ennemie were at our doores. The Quenes shippes **are all making** redy (p.78)

Letters **are likewise going** out to the bishops and theyre clergy (p.78)

[...] the king of Denmarke pickes quarrels, and went lately in his owne person and tooke five of our shippes as they **were fishing** on the coast of Norway (p.79)

Twelve or thirtene of the Quenes shippes **are preparing** in all haste wherof the Lord Tho (p.81)

17th century

Letters of Dorothy Osborne

years studied Dec 1652-Oct. 1653
pp.3 --> 57
19 EF

The Letters of Queen Anne

years studied: late 16th cent. Aug.1682-Oct 1698
pp.8 --> 67
19 EF

Letters of Dorothy Osborne :

letter 2. 2 Jan 1653

he [...] sends mee worde againe that you were comeing over. (p.4)

letter 3. 8 Jan 1653.

there I spent the latter end of the sommer and at my comeing home, found that a Gentlman [...] had bin treating with my Brother, and it yet goes on faire and softly. (p.7)

letter 4. 15 Jan 1653

she is glad of mine, till her Eyes will give her leave to looke out better; they are mending. (p.10)

letter 6. 29 Jan 1653

it is soe like my luck too, that you should bee goeing I know not wither againe (p.15)

letter 9. 26 Feb 1653

Your fellow Servant kisses your hands and say's if you mean to make love to her olde woman this is the best time you can take, for shee is dyeing. (p.22)

this colde weather kils her I think. it has undone nee I'me sure in Killing an Old Knight that I have bin wayteing for this seven yeare. (p.22)

letter 10. 5 March 1653

[it] makes mee soe horridly sick that every day at ten o'clock I am makeing my will, and takeing leave of all my freind's. (p.23)

letter 11. 12 March 1653

and yet 'tis nit to bee imagin'd how sick it makes mee for an hower or two. and, which is the missery, all that time one must be useing some kinde of Exercise. (p.25)

letter 12. 17 March 1653

In Earnest now shee is goeing to sea. (p.28)

letter 13. 19 March 1653

I found him come, had sett up his horse, and **was sweeping** the Stable in great Order. (p.28)

letter 14. 25 March 1653.

I will confesse all this, and something more, which is, [...], that my courage is putt to noe greater a tryall then parteing with you at this distance; but you **are not goeing** yet neither. (p.32)

My Lady Ann Wentworth I heare **is marryeing**. (p.32)

letter 17. 14 April 1653.

besyd's that at this instant you are i beleeve more asleep then i, and doe not soe much as dream that I **am writeing** to you. (p.37)

letter 20. 7 May 1653.

I have a squire now that is as good as a knight, hee **was comeing** as fast as a Coach & 6 horses could bring him. (p.41)

but I thank God an imagination took him the morning that hee **was falleing** into a dropsey. (p.43)

letter 22. 22 May 1653.

One would think it were I that had heard the three Sermons, and **were tryeing** to make a fourth [Sermon]. (p.46)

letter 24. 2-4 June 1653.

I **have bin reckoning** up how many faults you lay to my charge in your last letter. (p.50)

hee **will be comeing** this way. (p.52)

letter 25. 11 June 1653.

hee has often inquired after mee to heare if I **were not marryeng**. (p.55)

*The Letters of Queen Anne:***Aug. 10, 1686 (?)**

The reason I touched so slightly on this matter before was because I **was then writing** on a subject (p.17)

Nov. 26, 1686

I expect the man every minute that is to give you this, and besides, I **am going** to Whitehall, so that I must end (p.19)

Dec. 29, 1686

there was never grace said at the King's table by a priest till after I went to Tunbridge this year; when I came back and found it so whenever I dined with their Majesties, I always contrived when grace **was saying** to be either talking to somebody or looking another way. (p.21)

Upon that, he said it **was looking** upon them as Turks. (p.21)

Jan. 10, 1687

Lord Tyrconnel **is going** tomorrow. (p.22)

March 13, 1687

and now, to complete all his virtues, he **is working** with all his might to bring in Popery. (p.25)

April 11, 1687

I have had a young daughter of my Lady Churchill's with me all the while I **have been writing**. (p.28)

She is a very pretty talking child, and she was with me while I **was dressing**. (p.29)

March 20, 1688

And whenever I happen to be in the room as she **has been undressing**, she has always gone into the next room to put on her smock. (p.35)

June 18, 1688

methinks it would have been very natural for her sometimes, when she **has been undressing**, to have let Mrs. Robarts [...] have seen her belly. (p.37)

July 9, 1688

for it is very uneasy to me to be with people that every moment of one's life one **must be dissembling** with. (p.38)

July 24, 1688

one day Roger's daughter came into the room, when Mrs. Mansell **was putting off** her clouts. (p.40)

because she did not care to be seen when she **was shifting**. (p.40)

She sent for the King at that time, who had been up a quarter of an hour, having lain with her that night, **was then dressing**. (p.40)

she gave it to Mrs. Labaudie, who, as she **was going** by the bedside, [a]cross the step (p.41)

I **am going** to Tunbridge. (p.42)

?1691-3

and you best think of everything you have to ask him, for he **is going** out of town very quickly. (p.51)

1692

for she railed at him mightily one day as she and I **were going** to church together. (p.62)

Oct 15, 1698

When that business we **are speaking** of concerning a friend of yours comes near enough to a conclusion. (p.67)