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“-AND vs. –ING: The Development of Present Participle  
and Verbal Noun in Middle Scots“

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*To my parents.*

(i) **List of Abbreviations**

|       |                      |      |                     |
|-------|----------------------|------|---------------------|
| AGr   | Ancient Greek        | OHG  | Old High German     |
| ESc   | Early Scots          | OI   | Old Icelandic       |
| Gmc   | Germanic             | OIr  | Old Irish           |
| Got.  | Gothic               | OS   | Old Saxon           |
| Lat.  | Latin                | OSc  | Older Scots         |
| Lith. | Lithuanian           | PDE  | Present Day English |
| ME    | Middle English       | PGmc | Proto-Germanic      |
| eME   | Early Middle English | PIE  | Proto-Indo-European |
| lME   | Late Middle English  | S0   | 1450 - 1500         |
| MHG   | Middle High German   | S1   | 1500 - 1570         |
| ModE  | Modern English       | S2   | 1570 - 1640         |
| ModSc | Modern Scots         | S3   | 1640 - 1700         |
| ModHG | Modern High German   | WGmc | West Germanic       |
| MSc   | Middle Scots         |      |                     |
| NGmc  | North Germanic       |      |                     |
| OE    | Old English          |      |                     |
| eOE   | Early Old English    |      |                     |
| lOE   | Late Old English     |      |                     |
| OF    | Old French           |      |                     |

## (ii) Tables/Figures

|                                                                                                                                                      |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| <b>Table 1.</b> Participial paradigm of the PIE root <i>bher-</i> .....                                                                              | 26  |
| <b>Table 2.</b> Phonetic realisations of the suffixes of the present participle and verbal noun in five Scottish and Northern English dialects ..... | 95  |
| <b>Table 3.</b> Periodisation and number of words per period.....                                                                                    | 107 |
| <b>Table 4.</b> Text genres and word count per period per genre .....                                                                                | 108 |
| <b>Table 5.</b> Overall frequency of –AND/-ING-forms in Middle Scots.....                                                                            | 128 |
| <b>Table 6.</b> Frequency distribution of spelling variants over the periods .....                                                                   | 130 |
| <b>Table 7.</b> Frequency distribution of –AND/ING-forms in text genres .....                                                                        | 132 |
| <b>Table 8.</b> Genre-specific frequency distribution of spelling variants .....                                                                     | 134 |
| <b>Table 9.</b> Genre-specific frequency distribution of –AND-forms over the periods.....                                                            | 137 |
| <b>Table 10.</b> Genre-specific frequency distribution of –ING-forms over the periods .....                                                          | 138 |
| <b>Table 11.</b> Frequency distribution of types of construction.....                                                                                | 139 |
| <b>Table 12.</b> Category-specific frequency distribution of spelling variants over the periods (type 1-6a) .....                                    | 143 |
| <b>Table 13.</b> Category-specific frequency distribution of spelling variants over the periods (type 7-CL).....                                     | 146 |
| <b>Table 14.</b> Frequency distribution of -ING-forms in types of construction over the periods .                                                    | 149 |
| <b>Table 15.</b> Genre-specific frequency distribution of –AND-forms regarding types of construction .....                                           | 153 |
| <b>Table 16.</b> Genre-specific frequency distribution of –ING-forms regarding types of construction .....                                           | 156 |
| <br><b>Figure 1.</b> Genetic relationships between IE languages relevant to the discussion .....                                                     | 12  |
| <b>Figure 2.</b> Map of Southern Scotland and Northern England in the early Old English period                                                       | 16  |
| <b>Figure 3.</b> Development of the suffixes of the infinite verb forms in the London standard of Middle English .....                               | 54  |
| <b>Figure 4.</b> –nd/-ng isogloss of the present participial ending .....                                                                            | 89  |
| <b>Figure 5.</b> Graphic representation of the proportional numbers of words in the respective periods .....                                         | 107 |

### (iii) **Table of Contents:**

#### PART I

|                                                                 |    |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|----|
| 1. Introduction .....                                           | 7  |
| 2. The Scots Language .....                                     | 9  |
| 2.1. Terminology, Definitions, Origins .....                    | 10 |
| 2.2. Historical Background .....                                | 14 |
| 2.3. Modern Scots and its Status .....                          | 19 |
| 2.4. History of Research .....                                  | 21 |
| 3. The Infinites .....                                          | 24 |
| 3.1. Participle Present .....                                   | 25 |
| 3.1.1. PIE .....                                                | 26 |
| 3.1.2. Germanic .....                                           | 29 |
| 3.1.3. OE / ME .....                                            | 31 |
| 3.1. Verbal Noun .....                                          | 40 |
| 3.1.1. From PIE to Germanic .....                               | 41 |
| 3.1.2. OE/ME .....                                              | 45 |
| 3.2. The Infinitive .....                                       | 49 |
| 4. The Coalescence .....                                        | 51 |
| 4.1. Phonology/Morphology .....                                 | 53 |
| 4.2. Syntax/ Semantics .....                                    | 56 |
| 5. The Gerund .....                                             | 57 |
| 5.1. Characteristics/ Functions of the Gerund .....             | 60 |
| 5.2. Origin & Development .....                                 | 64 |
| 5.2.1. Compounds .....                                          | 64 |
| 5.2.2. Development as result of formal coalescence .....        | 66 |
| 5.2.3. Development from Inflected/ Uninflected Infinitive ..... | 67 |
| 5.2.4. Foreign influences .....                                 | 69 |
| 5.2.5. Morphological productivity of verbal noun .....          | 72 |
| 5.2.6. Phrases of genitive noun + verbal noun .....             | 73 |
| 5.2.7. Resistance of the infinitive to take prepositions .....  | 73 |
| 5.3. Conclusion .....                                           | 74 |
| 6. The Progressive .....                                        | 75 |

|        |                                                                  |     |
|--------|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| 6.1.   | Origin & Development .....                                       | 77  |
| 6.1.1. | The progressive in OE ( <i>beon/wesan</i> + <i>-ende</i> ) ..... | 77  |
| 6.1.2. | The progressive in ME .....                                      | 81  |
| 6.2.   | Function/Meaning.....                                            | 86  |
| 7.     | The Infinites in Scots.....                                      | 89  |
| 8.     | Conclusion.....                                                  | 103 |

## PART II

|         |                                               |     |
|---------|-----------------------------------------------|-----|
| 9.      | Introduction .....                            | 103 |
| 9.1.    | Research Questions.....                       | 104 |
| 10.     | Preliminaries.....                            | 105 |
| 10.1.   | Databases .....                               | 105 |
| 10.1.1. | HCOS.....                                     | 106 |
| 10.1.2. | DOST/DSL .....                                | 109 |
| 10.2.   | Methodology .....                             | 109 |
| 10.2.1. | Setting up the Database .....                 | 110 |
| 10.2.2. | Classification of types of constructions..... | 114 |
| 11.     | Results .....                                 | 127 |
| 11.1.   | Parameters/ Correlations .....                | 127 |
| 11.1.1. | Frequency/Period.....                         | 128 |
| 11.1.2. | Frequency/Genre .....                         | 132 |
| 11.1.3. | Frequency/Period/ Genre.....                  | 137 |
| 11.1.4. | Frequency/ Type .....                         | 139 |
| 11.1.5. | Frequency/ Period / Type .....                | 142 |
| 11.1.6. | Frequency/ Type/ Genre .....                  | 152 |
| 11.1.1. | Frequency/ Period/ Genre/ Type.....           | 158 |
| 11.1.   | Summary of results .....                      | 158 |
| 12.     | Conclusion.....                               | 160 |
|         | Bibliography.....                             | 161 |

## PART I

### 1. Introduction

The development of the verbal noun and the present participle throughout the course of the history of English is a highly disputed and still rather inconclusive issue among historical linguists, the English language having undergone certain rather idiosyncratic processes which resulted in grammatical and syntactical forms and constructions unique among the Germanic languages.

Originally constituting separate categories (ending in *-ende* and *-u/ing* respectively), the participle present and verbal noun were merged to *-ing* in English, this process allegedly originating in the South of England around 1200 (Lass 1992: 146 et al.) and accounting for the formal difference between ModHG *das tanz-ende Mädchen* and PDE *the danc-**ing** girl*.

Views on the causes and consequences of this coalescence of forms are manifold and substantial disagreement seems to remain to this day, the matter to a great extent tying in with and influencing the highly complex processes of the genesis of the gerundial<sup>3</sup> forms and the progressive tenses<sup>3</sup>, the emergence of both constructions, according to general agreement, to be located in the Middle English period.

In Scots, a descendant of the Northumbrian variant of Old English, the forms in question are often claimed to have taken a different path, their original distinction reportedly having been preserved in a few remote dialects of Modern Scots e.g. Orkney, Shetland, Caithness and others (Romaine 1984: 60; Aitken 1984: 105). Furthermore, differences in function and usage of the forms and their constructions to the English participles and verbal nouns have been proposed, suggesting that a discussion of the Older Scots situation is highly relevant and important and might help to clarify open questions concerning the diachronic development of these grammatical categories.

The present paper now, by providing a comprehensive account of the behaviour of the present participle and the verbal noun in all their appearances and syntactic functions during the period of Middle Scots, i.e. between 1450 and 1700 (Macafee 2004: DSL 1.1.3.). aims to be a first step into this direction. In order to enable a thorough treatment of the issue, the main points surrounding the development of the forms in question and their suffixes from PIE to Middle English will be discussed in a first part of this paper, offering valuable background information. The matters treated in this connection will, as mentioned above, include the much debated and still greatly disputed questions of the origin of the gerund, the development of the progressive form, as well as the obvious problem of the alleged coalescence of forms and its syntactical consequences. Before treating these highly interesting yet rather complex issues, a very brief description of the Scots language, its history and present situation will be given, in order to introduce the reader to this less well known and somewhat neglected in scientific research sister of the English language.

While the first part of this study hence will merely deal with the theoretical background i.e. the key issues and the chief views voiced concerning them in the history of research, the second part will see the presentation of individual corpus work done by means of an electronic database. The first and main object of this analysis will be to provide a purely descriptive account of the development of the present participle and the verbal noun respectively, i.e. of the distribution of spelling variants of the suffixes and their syntactic functions of the forms during the period of Middle Scots, since to the knowledge of the author no conclusive treatment of this issue has been offered so far. Hypotheses and claims proposed in regard to the situation of the forms in Middle Scots will be checked against statistical evidence and conclusions will be drawn from analysing the data. Furthermore, the author would welcome results enabling her to contribute to the discussion of the origin of the gerund and progressive tenses as well as the merger (or non-merger) of forms and its implications.

However, as pointed out above, the first and main aim is to offer a purely descriptive account (also due to the limited scale of this study), yet any side-products increasing the explanatory power of the survey will certainly be warmly welcome.

Apart from this aim to fill a gap left by previous research, the author aspires to pursue the more personal object of contributing to the study of the Scots language and to a deeper understanding of this dialect of Old English and its speakers by providing valuable insights in its grammatical history and development. The author's interest in the issue of Scots was raised during an Erasmus stay at the University of Edinburgh and deeply influenced the choice of topic for this diploma thesis, the concentration on the present participle and verbal noun resulting from exhaustive reading on the language and the matter found to be one of the most striking and interesting points in this regard. It is hoped that this research will be valuable in some sort to the research conducted into Scots, seeing that being aware of its origins is essential for comprehending Modern Scots, and will hopefully be of help in preserving this "priceless national treasure" (MacClure 1988: 63).

## **2. The Scots Language**

Seeing that the linguistic situation in Scotland is a rather peculiar one, with three different languages being present and spoken (although to different extents), two of which, namely Scots and English, share a common (Germanic) ancestry, while the third, Scottish Gaelic represents a member of the Celtic language family and is closely related to the Gaelic spoken in Ireland, in the following chapters it will be attempted to give a brief account of the most important linguistic and extra-linguistic issues in this regard. While in the first section, intra-linguistic aspects such as classification and periodisation of Scots will be treated in order to clarify its position, the second section will see a brief discussion of the historical background of the Scots language, its speakers and the country. Here, particular consideration will be

given to the issue of Anglicisation of Scots, which is supposed to have started during the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Aitken 1997: 89) and is thus also of high relevance for this study. The consequences of this process of Anglicisation and the linguistic situation of Modern Scotland, in particular, the status of Modern Scots and the relations between Scots, Scottish English (SSE) and Standard English (StE)<sup>1</sup>, will be addressed in the subsequent chapter, before last, an assessment of the history of research on Scots and specifically, the issue of verbal noun/present participle in Scots, will be given.

As this chapter is only supposed to introduce the reader to the topic and this particular language in order to avoid confusion in the subsequent parts of this paper and to clarify the most relevant points, it will not be attempted to achieve conclusiveness in any way and most issues, although highly interesting, will only be very briefly touched upon. Furthermore, seeing that it lacks relevance for this study, no description of the main features of Scots concerning its lexis, phonology, morphology or syntax will be provided, but the reader is here referred to the main reference works mentioned below.

## **2.1. Terminology, Definitions, Origins**

A discussion of the Scots language is not seldom complicated by terminological deviations and confusions, which are often the result of or tie in with disagreement on the status of Scots, ranging between full-blown language and mere dialect of English, a debate that is not a purely linguistic one but has to be viewed in a larger context, involving social-political, historical as well as religious issues (cf. chapter 2.3.).

While in this paper, the term ‘Scots’ will be used as a broad cover-term comprising all diachronic stages as well as the modern spoken variant of this language, the term is somewhat

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<sup>1</sup>In order to avoid incoherence, the term ‘English’ will be used to refer to diachronic developments shared by both English and Scots.

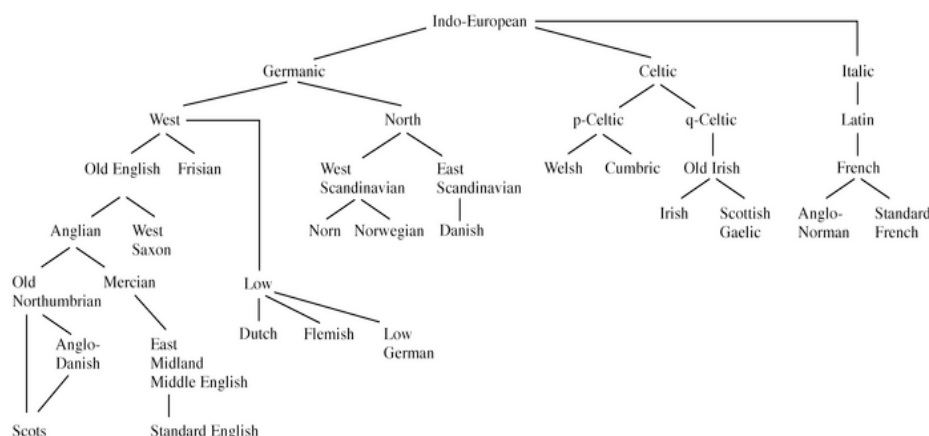
reluctantly applied by linguists (particularly Scottish researchers), “possibly from a fear of seeming to introduce a nationalist bias into their work” (Macafee 2004: 1.1.1.). Indeed, regarding Scots as ‘the national tongue of Scotland’, or ‘the Scottish language’, a terminology that can be found in a majority of treatments including scientific discourse, is a slightly unlucky choice both out of diachronic linguistic considerations (neglecting to take into account Scottish Gaelic) as well as in regard to the linguistic situation of Modern Scotland, where Scottish Standard English, a variety of the Standard British English, cannot be ignored as an important linguistic medium for everyday communication (Jones 2002: 1).

Furthermore, the term ‘Scots’ appears rather ambiguous and easy target for misunderstandings, especially when dealing with the past stages of the language, as in the earlier written records (i.e. roughly between the 11<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> century), the ancestor of Modern Scots was called *Inglis*, in contrast to *Scots* or *Erse*, which was used to refer to Scottish Gaelic (Jones 2002: 94).

In an attempt to avoid this aforementioned confusion, a second term, or rather, an expanded form of the former, namely ‘Lowland Scots’ has been introduced in literature, taking into consideration the geographical distribution and diachronic development of these languages (Macafee 2004: 1.1.1.), however, this terminology does not appear to have found broad acceptance outside Scotland and linguistic discourse, possibly due to its length and the general public’s ignorance of Scottish geography and linguistic history.

Although terminological differences are also found in the discussion of earlier stages of Scots and English, the linguistic origin of the Scots language is rather undisputed and fairly clear, which will be briefly outlined in the following paragraphs.

**Figure 1. Genetic relationships between IE languages relevant to the discussion**



(taken and adapted from Macafee 2004: 1.1.2.).

As can be seen in the figure above, Scots, as a descendant of the Old Northumbrian dialect of English (ONhb), represents a member of the West-Germanic language family, which in turn is descended from the Germanic (Gmc) branch of the Proto-Indo-European language (PIE) and is thus ultimately related to languages such as Latin and Sanskrit, as well as sharing a common ancestry with its neighbour Scottish Gaelic. Furthermore, Scots is rather closely related to the North-Germanic or Scandinavian languages, which due to extra-linguistic reasons played a significant role in the development of the languages of the British Isles during the period of Old English, as will be pointed out below.

The close relation between English and Scots is constituted by their common descent in the Anglian dialect of Old English, while, however, present-day Standard English, according to general consent, developed from the Anglian sub-dialect of Mercian, the distinctiveness of Scots is a result of its ancestry in the Northumbrian dialect of Anglian, as was pointed out above (Macafee 2004: 1.1.2. et al.). Disregarding terminological deviations commonly occurring in treatments of the diachronic development of English and Scots, the cover-term of ‘Old English’ (in contrast to a terminology more sensitive to regional variation, such as ‘Anglo-Saxon’ or others) will be applied for this stage in this paper, whereas reference to the individual dialects will only be made when considered relevant.

Concerning the subsequent chronology of Scots, the periodical divisions traditionally made can be visualised as follows:

|                    |              |
|--------------------|--------------|
| Old English        | to 1100      |
| Older Scots        | to 1700      |
| Pre-literary Scots | to 1375      |
| Early Scots        | to 1450      |
| Middle Scots       | 1450 to 1700 |
| Early Middle Scots | 1450 to 1550 |
| Late Middle Scots  | 1550 to 1700 |
| Modern Scots       | 1700 onwards |

|                      |              |
|----------------------|--------------|
| Old English          | to 1100      |
| Middle English       | to 1475      |
| Early Modern English | to 1650      |
| Modern English       | 1650 onwards |

(adapted from Robinson 1985 (CSD): xiii; cf. Macafee 2004: 1.1.3.).

Although these attempts at periodisation are certainly valid and necessary schemes for the diachronic treatment of languages, it has to be borne in mind that “they are for guidance only and often have little basis in linguistic fact or development” (Jones 2002: 95), in no ways reflecting actual linguistic changes or innovations which may be pinned down to a certain moment in history (Jones: *ibid*). Furthermore, it is clear that deviations in periodisation within the scientific community are frequent and complete agreement is, due to the artificial nature of these divisions, rather impossible to achieve, thus, the tables given here only represent one possibility of chronologisation (cf. e.g. Jones 2002: 95 for differing timelines of English).

The period of particular relevance for this paper is Middle Scots, as the research presented in the second part is based on the HCOS, a textual database comprising texts from the period of

1450 to 1700. As will be pointed out in more detail in the chapters on methodology, the corpus in question is further subdivided into four periods, however, this periodisation is little based on linguistic considerations (thus is, e.g. the broadly accepted division between early and late Middle Scots not reflected) but was introduced in order to facilitate research and the presentation of statistical evidence (Meurman-Solin 1995: 53-4).

## **2.2. Historical Background**

The linguistic history of Scots is a highly interesting matter, its distinctiveness being the result of a great extent of language contact due to various extra-linguistic factors such as invasions and foreign occupations. In this, Scots greatly resembles the English language and many of the factors relevant in this regard are shared by both variants (in particular, of course, during the pre-Middle English/Middle Scots stages), most certainly resulting from their geographically close and rather isolated position. Nevertheless, the Scottish language displays some remarkable peculiarities and contrasting developments responsible for its uniqueness, which are of great significance and appeal for research.

In a linguistic treatment of Scots, the issue of language contact and foreign influences, as well as the relation between Scots and English thus cannot be disregarded, and providing an account of the historical background seems essential. However, presenting a thorough and detailed description of the manifold factors at play in this regard will, due to the limited scale of this study, not be possible, hence, only the most important events and aspects of the history of Scotland, in particular where differing to the history of English, will be given and very briefly discussed. Foreign influences on Scots will, however, be dealt with in more detail where relevant in the respective chapters.

The first people to leave its linguistic legacy in Britain were the Celts, whose language is represented in Modern Britain by descendants of both its two main dialects. The so-called

*P-Celtic* (or Brythonic or Brittonic language) which is the ancestor of Modern Welsh, was spoken in Scotland South of the Firth of Clyde, the language spoken in Northern Scotland, called Pictish (Latin *Picti* ‘painted’ (Fortson 2010: 328)) probably belonging to this group as well, although a definite linguistic assignation is impeded by the scarce written evidence available (Fortson 2010: 328; Jones 2002: 92). Goidelic, the second type of Celtic language (also called *Q-Celtic*) in the British Isles yielded what is now Scottish Gaelic and Modern Irish (Jones 2002: *ibid*; Macafee 2004: 1.1.2 ; et al.).

The Roman occupation of the British Isles between the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 5<sup>th</sup> ct. AD set the foundation for the immense influence of Latin on the languages of Britain, although the main impact was exercised only later through its status as the official language of Christianity (Jones 2002: 92ff., Singh 2005: 70ff.). Subsequently to the Romans, the Germanic peoples of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes invaded Britain, “with the northernmost kingdom of the Angles, Bernicia, [founded in 547], extending into southern Scotland” (Macafee 2004: 2.1.) and the kingdom of Northumbria being created soon afterwards (Macafee: *ibid*) by a fusion of the said Bernicia and the southernly Deira. Expansions into the North were halted by conflicts with the Picts, but eventually (between the late 10<sup>th</sup> and early 11<sup>th</sup> ct., according to different sources) Lothian “in the broad sense of Scottish Northumbria from the Forth to the Tweed” (Macafee: *ibid*) was ceded to these Proto-Scots, their Germanic dialect beginning to supersede the former Celtic languages in large parts (Jones 2002: 92ff.).

**Figure 2. Map of Southern Scotland and Northern England in the early Old English period**



(Chris Lowe (1999), taken from Macafee 2004: 2.1.).

From the late 8<sup>th</sup> century onwards, Vikings from Norway began raiding the British Isles, first taking the Western Islands and Ireland, but shortly afterwards settling in the Northern Islands of Shetland and Orkney as well, where they remained for more than five hundred years, establishing a dialect of Old Norse, called *Norn*, as the main language spoken throughout the period of Older Scots (Macafee 2004: 2.2.1.). Further Scandinavian influence was exercised by the foundation of Danish settlements and the creation of the *Danelaw* in England, as although “the Scandinavians did not become the dominant power or population group anywhere in Lowland Scotland south of Caithness” (Macafee 2004: 2.2.), their presence in Southern Scotland is demonstrated by an abundance of traces in place-names (ibid).

Onomastics and archeology is also, unfortunately, the main and principal source of knowledge about the emergence of Scots, as documentary evidence from this period of time is scarce, not only for Scots, but for all Scottish languages, and thus “the early history of Scots is obscure, to the extent that we are not certain whether the language descends primarily from the Anglian of Lothian or from the Anglo-Danish of Yorkshire four or five hundred years later, or from a mixture, in unknown proportions, of the two” (Macafee 2004: 2.).

The next people to exercise linguistic and political influence in Scotland were the Norman French, whose language was first introduced to the Scots via Norman and Southern English brought into the country during the reign of Malcolm III (Canmore) and his English wife Margaret (Romaine 1984: 56; Macafee 2004: 2.3.1.). However, “Anglo-Norman French never acquired the importance in Scotland that it had in England” (Macafee 2004: 2.3.2.), but rather, did “the introduction of English-speaking tenants by the Norman nobility” (Jones 2002: 94) as well as the beginning processes of feudalisation and the establishment of burghs (administrative and economic entities) across the kingdom (with the exception of a large part of the Highlands) by David I. in the 12<sup>th</sup> century (Romaine 1984: 56; Murison 1974: 77ff., Macafee: *ibid*) greatly promote the use of Lowland Scots in Scotland, which by the middle of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (Jones 2002: 94) had superseded Latin as the official language of administration and in the Scots parliament, and by the end of the following century, had reached “a fully elaborated standard [...], used in all spheres of both public and private life” (Romaine 1984: 57), thus forcing back the Gaelic language formerly used for many of these functions.

Apart from these instances of language contact leaving their print on Scots and English, the relationship between these two Old English descendants and the ongoing ousting of the former by the latter is a highly significant issue as well, greatly influencing the situation of Modern Scots which will be discussed in the next chapter.

As mentioned above, Scots had acquired the status of a full language within an independent kingdom (Johnston 2007:105) by the 14<sup>th</sup> century, being used for all domains, with a considerable amount of literature being published between 1400 and 1700, and the 16<sup>th</sup> century representing the golden age of Scots as a literary language (Romaine 1984: 57). However, starting as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Romaine 1984: 58)<sup>2</sup> a process of Anglicisation

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<sup>2</sup>Aitken (1997) proposes the later dating of early 16<sup>th</sup> century.

can be witnessed, meaning the introduction and gradual adoption of English words and features into the Scots language.

This process, which reached its high-water mark in the late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, was determined and promoted by a variety of reasons and can be said to have had far-reaching consequences, as is claimed by Johnston:

[T]here is no question that it [i.e. Scots] would have become as independent from English as Portuguese is from Spanish or Dutch from German had not the religious and political turmoil of the sixteenth century changed the course of Scottish history [...] (2007: 105-6).

While a certain flux between the two languages and an affinity of Scots speakers to adopt English innovations, due to the geographical proximity, as well as the “greater size of the population of the south-east of England, and the wealth and stability of the English economy” (Macafee 2004: 2.5.2.), had always been present, and “[t]he predominant contemporary perception that Scots and English were the same language” (ibid) permitted an infiltration of English forms “into Scots writings and, later, speech, without appearing too incongruous” (Aitken 1979: 89), later phases of Anglicisation saw a much more drastic processes, with whole genres being replaced by Standard English (Macafee 2004: 2.5.2.). This development of the adoption of Standard English represents what Macafee (ibid) calls a “voluntary language shift”, and was the consequence of various reasons, among which the “lack of a complete Protestant bible in Scots” (Johnston 2007: 106), promoting the use of the Standard English version (the Geneva Bible) and encouraging the printing of English texts in Scotland, as well as the increasingly close ties between the two kingdoms (peaking in the Union of Crowns under James VI in 1603) appear to be the most striking ones (ibid).

Furthermore, an extension of the social prestige of the London-based version of Standard English is often claimed to have been a leading force in the adoption of allegedly ‘correct’ English forms to replace stigmatised, localised vernacular elements of Scots (Johnston 2007:

106). Other linguists, however, propose Anglicisation to have been a “pragmatic process” (Macafee 2004: 2.5.2.) rather than a development motivated by status considerations. So does Meurman-Solin (1993: 49) argue that:

[A]nglicization [...] appears to be primarily motivated by the practical needs dictated by contact situations between the two varieties. Individual writers seem to have been tempted to adopt practices of the wider linguistic community, whereas institutions [...] tend to be resistant to abrupt overall change [...].

Regardless of the reasons and various causes of this process, its consequences, which are still ongoing, despite attempts at counter-attacks<sup>3</sup>, are easily to be witnessed and are of great importance in regard to the linguistic situation of Modern Scots and its various socio-political and cultural implications.

### **2.3. Modern Scots and its Status**

As mentioned above, great controversy remains surrounding the question of the status of Modern Scots, not only within the general public, but among linguists as well, with researchers of this field such as McClure (1979: 27) or David Murison (1974) defending the assignation of the status of an individual, fully developed language to Scots (in contrast to it being viewed as a mere dialect of English), while others, including A.J. Aitken, are rather reluctant to do so (Macafee 2004: 1.1.1.), taking into account the high extent of anglicisation and common ancestry of Scots and English.

Linguistic arguments voiced in favour of the former view typically include its “continuous written tradition [...] (in contrast to non-standard dialects in England), and [...] its former role as a language of state documents and of the royal court” (Macafee 2004: 1.1.1.) as well as its broad range of uses outside the literary genres, suggesting that Scots does indeed “[fulfil]

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<sup>3</sup>Especially during the Scottish Literary Renaissance of the early/mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, initiated by the poet Hugh MacDiarmid (Görlach 2002: 5-6; et al.).

identificational functions” (Görlach 2002: 1) for many speakers in Scotland.

Such considerations, as well as targeted language activism in this direction has lead to the recent official recognition of Scots by the UK government, acknowledging Scots as a regional minority language by signing a charter of the European Bureau of Lesser Used Languages in 1993/ 2000 (Macafee: *ibid*; Görlach: *ibid*), thereby to a certain extent officially dismissing the claim of Scots being a dialect.

Strictly speaking, however, the terming of *dialect* does indeed enjoy a certain justification, as both Scots and English constitute dialects of the Anglian Old English, and “being descended from Old English and sharing in the general history of West Germanic speech in the British Isles, [Scots] is appropriately considered as part of ‘English’ in the purely linguistic sense of the term” (McClure 1994: 23-24). Nevertheless, the use of this terminology is rather misleading as typically evoking the impression of Scots being “derived from Modern English” (McClure 1979: 27) and is therefore largely avoided in treatments of Scots.

Further points of importance in this regard, which add to the uniqueness of the linguistic situation of Scotland and to the difficulty of the issue, are the question of what entity should actually be regarded as Modern Scots<sup>4</sup>, as well as the complicated and multi-layered relationship between Scots and Scottish Standard English (SSE), the latter representing the local form of English spoken in Scotland (McClure 1979: 31). The views on this relation are manifold, ranging from it constituting a bipolar system resembling a typical bilingual situation in which speakers may code-switch (Johnston 2007: 109-110) to the proposal of a so-called dialect-continuum between Broad Scots (the most distinct form of Modern Scots) and Scottish Standard English (Aitken, Macafee) with the speakers code-switching or code-drifting depending on socio-linguistic factors (Johnston 2007: 110ff.).

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<sup>4</sup>Cf. e.g. the artificial ‘Lallans’ Scots created by Hugh MacDiarmid in contrast to the Central Belt-based ‘ideal’ or ‘Mid-’ Scots (McClure 2003: 259).

Although these issues are highly fascinating, and Scotland certainly presents “one of the most interesting multi-varietal situations in Western Europe, [revealing] how the attribution of 'languagehood' is as much of a socio-political judgement as a linguistic one“ (Johnston 2007: 105), embracing political, social, literary and even religious issues (McClure 1994: 23) and being of particular importance in the area of education (McClure: *ibid*; Macafee 2004: 1.1.1.), it will, however, not be possible to go into further detail in this paper, as they are not of immediate relevance for the matters treated here.

## **2.4. History of Research**

As mentioned above, the Scots language has so far been rather neglected and has received considerably less attention than its sister language in the South in the history of research, this fact most probably being due to its unsteady status of a full-blown language and the whole range of political and social issues tied to this discussion. In accordance to its commonly being regarded as a mere dialect of English, statements and claims made about this language can most frequently be found embedded in diachronic works on English, often under the head-term of Northern English. So is, e.g. the variant form *–and(e)* of the present participle in Older Scots and its origin mentioned and treated in nearly all major works on the question (cf. Mustanoja 1960: 547 et al.) and various references are made to Scots forms where considered relevant (cf. Denison 1993: 409 et al.). Early works more specifically concerned with Scots mainly consist of treatments of particular varieties of the Scottish language, exemplified by the very influential and thorough treatment by James Murray, *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland* (1873), Eugen Dieth’s account of the grammar of the Buchan dialect in Aberdeenshire (1932) or the compilation *Specimens of Middle Scots* by Gregory Smith, published in 1902.

While little notice had been taken of the Scottish language outside Scotland itself during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the last few decades have seen a great advance in research on the topic, with major reference works such as *The Edinburgh History of the Scots language* (Jones 1997) and *The Edinburgh Companion to Scots* (Corbett et al. 2003) as well as the DSL (Dictionary of the Scots Language) and other important databases being published.

Furthermore, prominent linguists such as A.J. Aitken<sup>5</sup>, putting forward highly significant insights into the language, inspired many other researchers both in Scotland and abroad to conduct studies in this field, leading to a broader coverage and extensive diachronic linguistic treatment of the various aspects of the grammar of the Scots language than ever before.

Recent years have experienced a further increase in surveys on Scots due to the compilation and availability of electronic databases such as the HCOS (Meurman-Solin 1995), which has proven to be a highly beneficial tool and which will be used as the basis for analysis in this paper, or the linguistic atlases of LALME (which is currently being revised at the Department of Historical Dialectology at the University of Edinburgh) and LAOS, which has also been made available online. These devices have sparked and promoted a new series of studies and will certainly be of great use in providing new insights in the Scots language.

While literature on the particular subject of verbal noun and present participle regarding Old and Middle English is abundant and rather overwhelming, information on the Scots development, as hinted at above, is rather scarce, mainly found in marginal notes in the works on English, and treated in the sections on diachronic grammar of the standard reference works on Scots, yet seldom receiving more than a few paragraphs' worth of attention (cf. King 1997: 179ff., Beal 1997: 356, Görlach 2002: 96, et al.).

Of particular interest for this paper, therefore, are the following four relatively recent surveys based on electronic corpora, dealing with certain (partial) aspects of this issue.

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<sup>5</sup>Cf. Aitken's Law, also known as *The Scottish Vowel Length Rule*.

The first to be mentioned is a small-scale study based on the HCOS and carried out as a class project at the University of Aachen by Ute Dons and Lilo Moessner in 1999, titled ‘The Present Participle in Middle Scots’. While this study is certainly very valuable as a guiding example, it cannot claim conclusiveness (and does indeed not do so), as only one individual spelling variant of the participial suffix, namely the most prominent <–and> is examined, and the verbal noun and gerundial forms are, as made clear by the title, not dealt with at all. Furthermore, the study has been criticised as inadequate (Gardela 2011: 206) and little useful due to giving absolute figures rather than proportions (Macafee/ Dossena 2003).

Also based on the HCOS is a survey by Anneli Meurman-Solin, the compiler of the corpus, which specifically deals with the development and use of the progressive in Middle Scots (Meurman-Solin 2002: 203). Particular focus here lies on the distribution of variants of the suffixes according to dialects/ idiolects and genres and the question of the ousting of the participial ending by *–ing*. Although certainly presenting a highly significant and worthy study, again only a single aspect of the issue is treated and no general and final conclusions about the development of the two forms can be drawn.

The third paper dealing with the matter in question is part of a dissertation project currently being accomplished at the University of Edinburgh (not published yet), “investigating morphological and syntactic variation of the verbal noun and present participle in a selection of Northern English and Scots texts of the late 14th and the 15th centuries” (Gardela 2011: 201, note) . Thus, the study concerns itself with the period of early Scots, immediately preceding (and slightly overlapping with) the time span that will be examined in this paper. Although the full version of this work is unfortunately not available, the article by Gardela will be used for guidance and as a model which may be resorted to when necessary.

In addition to these studies directly related to the corpus work in this paper, Amy J. Devitt, in her account of Anglicisation as a standardising process offers a statistical examination of

“[t]he linguistic diffusion of five variables” (Devitt 1989: 16) in the period of approximately Late Middle Scots, one of which is the present participle in *–and* versus *–ing*. Devitt’s database, consisting of 120 texts over this period, has, however, been criticised as “not sufficiently representative” (Meurman-Solin 2002: 204), furthermore, no information on the syntactic distribution of the suffixes or socio-linguistic variation concerning their usage is provided (ibid).

These four research projects will be presented in more detail in the second part of the present paper, where the findings and claims put forward in them will be discussed and re-assessed by means of the evidence acquired by the analysis of the HCOS here.

### **3. The Infinites**

In the following sections, it will be attempted to give an overview of the phonological, morphological and syntactical development of the infinite verb forms found in the English language and the key views voiced in regard to them. While the main focus will be on the present participle and the verbal noun and their respective suffixes, the third category of the infinitive will be dealt with as well, though in a briefer and less extensive way. The chapters will each be divided into two (to three) parts, the first one tracing the very origin of the suffixes from Indo-European to the subsequent Germanic proto-language. Furthermore, the suffixes’ development in the different branches of this language family will be briefly addressed and issues particularly relevant for the discussion of the Scots forms will be discussed. In the second chapters, the focus will be on the phonological and morphological peculiarities of the infinites and their respective suffixes in Old and Middle English, and their various syntactic functions and uses will be summarised and presented.

Finally, information given and claims voiced regarding the diachronic development of the infinite verbal forms in Older Scots will be presented, which will then be further discussed in Part Two of this paper.

### **3.1. Participle Present**

The PIE participles, of which in Germanic only two, namely the present participle and the past participle were continued and remained productive, are very peculiar and highly interesting forms. As is suggested by their name, one of the most striking peculiarities is their ‘taking part’ (Lat. *participare*) in both the nominal (adjectival) and verbal system of the PIE language (Kisbye 1971: 24), accordingly, they are commonly defined as ‘verbal adjectives’ (Mustanoja 1960: 551 et al.). While the participle is inflected (in number and case) like an adjective, its verbal nature manifests itself in the ability of verbal government, i.e. the taking of an object in the same case form as its finite counterpart. More precisely, the participle is verbal in its “admitting of the ordinary verbal modification by adverbial adjuncts and objects and, chiefly, in indicating an action or state with a more or less distinct time association; i. e. a notion that the action or state they denote is thought of in connection with a certain length of time“ (Poutsma 1923: 188), but is “like [an adjective] in being applicable as adnominal modifiers and in admitting of the same modification as ordinary adjectives“ (ibid). In the following sections, the origin of the participle present will be traced and it will be attempted to outline its development in English, which “differs markedly from the other Germanic languages” (Swan 2003: 179), discussing the most relevant phonological, morphological and syntactical issues in this regard.

### 3.1.1. PIE

The present participle in English represents a category deeply rooted in PIE grammar and dates back to the very beginnings of this ancient language. Taking the characteristic *-nt-* suffix, it can be found in virtually all IE daughter languages, though in some it is “no longer a living category” (Szemerényi 1980: 317). The common ancestry of the form and its suffix can be exemplified by equations such as Gothic *baírands*, *baírandins* and Ancient Greek *φέρων*, *φέροντος*, both with the meaning of ‘taking, carrying’ (Krause 1953: 229).

As already pointed out above, the present participle was built by means of a suffix containing the consonant cluster *-nt-*. This suffix originally showed hysterokinetic ablaut, thus appearing as *\*-ont-* (probably, but without clear evidence, alongside *\*-ent-*) in the strong cases, in contrast to the weak alternate *\*-nt-* (Ringe 2006: 33). However, the accent was fixed on the root vowel, instead of being mobile as could be expected. In athematic stems, the suffix was joined directly to the weak variant of the root (Bammesberger 1968:101), whereas in thematic stems it is characteristically preceded by the linking theme-vowels *-e/o-* (Szemerényi 1980: 317ff.). Merit to the relatively high conservatism of the Ancient Vedic language, the original PIE inflectional paradigm can be “reconstructed with a fair degree of certainty” (Szemerényi 1980: 317), as can be seen in the following forms of the PIE root *bher-* ‘to carry’:

**Table 1. Participial paradigm of the PIE root *bher-***

|             | <b>Singular</b> | <b>Plural</b> |
|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| <b>Nom.</b> | bhér-ōn         | bhér-ont-es   |
| <b>Acc.</b> | bhér-ont-m      | bhér-ont-n    |
| <b>Gen.</b> | bhér-n          | bhér-n        |
| <b>Loc.</b> | bhér-n          | bhér-n        |

(taken and adapted from Szemerényi 1980: 317).

The long-grade vowel, which is here shown by the nominative singular, was ousted by the short variant plus the typical nominative suffix *–s*, which was felt more regular, in all IE languages except Greek (cf. *φῑρων* in contrast to Goth. *baírand-s*, Lith. *vedas* and others) (Szemerényi 1980: 318).

Furthermore, most languages appear to have undergone substantial levelling, generalising either the strong or the weak variant of the suffix for all case forms. This process of analogy can be witnessed in the prominent example of the word for ‘tooth’, which is formed from the IE root *\*ed-* ‘to eat’ and appears in different forms even within the Germanic language family (OHG *zand*, OE *tōþ* vs. Goth. *tunþus*), a result of the generalisation of the strong form of the suffix (PIE *\*d-ónt* > PGmc. *\*tanþ*, cf. AGr. *οδόντ-*) in contrast to the weak form (PIE *\*d-nt* > PGmc. *\*tunþ*, cf. Lat. *dent-*) respectively (Bammesberger 1968: 101). The original alternation is preserved in Old Indic, seemingly most closely sustaining the archaic PIE inflexional system, where by the nominative *dánt* and the genitive *datás* both the strong and the weak grades are represented (Szemerényi 1980: 317; Streitberg 1896: 215). The original *o*-vowel of the suffix can still be found in Lat. *sons* ‘guilty’ (literally ‘he who is it’, from the root *\*h<sub>1</sub>es-* ‘to be’) (Szemerényi 1980:318).

While the neuter gender was likewise built by the bare *–nt*-suffix in combination with the regular neuter case endings, the feminines took on a further suffix, namely the widespread feminine motion suffix *–ih<sub>2</sub>/–i□eh<sub>2</sub>* (Ringe 2003: 202/3). These so-called *devī*-type feminines, were, according to Tichy (2009: 80) inflected mesodynamically, yielding forms such as OInd. *satī* (< *\*h<sub>1</sub>s-nt-ih<sub>2</sub>*, an original strong grade of the first suffix has to be alleged but can only reconstructed mechanically (*\*\*h<sub>1</sub>s-ent- ih<sub>2</sub>*, Gen. *h<sub>1</sub>s-n□t-i□áh<sub>2</sub>-s*)) (Tichy 2009: 80).

The inflectional paradigm and the processes subsequently inflicted on it are thus, as mentioned above, quite reliably explainable, in contrast, the origin of this participial suffix is rather disputed and difficult to assess. The hypotheses put forward in this regard include its

derivation from a combination of pronouns (\*-*n(o)-t(o)-*-, cf. Kretschmer, Glotta 32), which is, however, refused by Szemerényi (1980: 318), who claims the –*ont*-variant of the suffix to be the primary one even in athematic stems, the vowelless –*nt*- being due to the reinterpretation of the vowel in forms such as *ā-ont* > *ā-nt* as belonging to the stem. Furthermore, Szemerényi (ibid) proposes the suffix stemming from the root \**em*- ‘to take’, linked with a suffix –*t*- used for the formation of agent or action nouns. This group could, originally, then enter compounds with noun forms, yielding entities such as \**bher-om-t*, with the meaning of ‘taking the carrying’. This assumption seems, although hard to prove, at least advantageous insofar as it would be in line with the often voiced claim that the verbal qualities of the participles were not primary, but secondary acquisitions, and the formation having started out as one of a purely nominal nature (Szemerényi 1980: 318; Dal 1966: 113; Brugmann 1897: 477).

According to Brugmann (1897: 477), the partaking in the verbal system of the language resulted from the participle’s formation by the “Antritt des Suffixes an einzelne Tempusstämme [joining of the suffix to specific temporal stems]” (ibid). This was made possible by forms which could be interpreted both as root derivations and derivations from the present or aorist stem, the new (reinterpreted) pattern was then analogically spread to the other temporal stems, yielding four different participles (present, preterite, aorist, perfect), the present participle since being formed from the present stem of a verb (ibid).

In accordance to this its original nominal character, the present participle is claimed to be virtually indifferent to tense and of not being “capable of expressing the time-sphere (Zeitstufe) of an action or state” (Poutsma 1923: 174), but in this regard depending on “other elements of the sentence, mostly by the (finite verb of the) predicate, sometimes by an adverbial adjunct” (ibid).

Similarly, a primary distinction of voice cannot be evidenced, but rather has to be doubted, as Anatolian shows the peculiarity of participles from transitive verbs having passive meaning and indicating completion (compare the Hittite forms *asant* -‘being’ and *kunant*- ‘killed’) in contrast to intransitive verbs forming active participles (Szemerényi 1980: 318; Fortson 2010: 108). The reason for the present participle having become restricted to the active mood in the other branches, however, remains without successful explanation (Watkins 1969: 145).

Although the participles thus “hold an intermediate position between verbs and adjectives” (Poutsma 1923: 188), in certain uses they are able to display one set of qualities exclusively. So is, e.g. a substantivised participle (although connected to the underlying verb in meaning) purely nominal in its use as an agent noun, these forms will, however, not be specifically addressed in this paper except where considered necessary.

### **3.1.2. Germanic**

While in the preceding chapter the most significant features of the participles and in particular, the participle present, were assessed, the focus of the following will be on the participle’s development in the Germanic proto-language and relevant information on its form in a few of its daughter languages will be given.

In Germanic, the participial suffix appears as *-nd-*, the regular descendant of PIE *-nt-* with the tenuis consonant turned into a media after the application of Verner’s Law (Krahe/Meid 1969a: 81 et al.). In Proto-Germanic, the second consonant of the suffix, *-d-*, was lost in the nominative singular, but was later reintroduced in analogy to the oblique cases (Kisbye 1971: 24). The old athematic inflection was mostly abandoned in favour of the thematic system in the Germanic languages, the various continuations pointing to a PGmc. suffix *\*-and*, the regular descendant of PIE thematic *\*-o-nt*. However, remnants of the old consonantal athematic stems can be found in lexicalised items such as Goth. *frijōnd-*, ‘friend’ (originally meaning ‘loving’), which were used substantively (Krahe/Seebold 1967: 94/5, Ringe 2006:

199). While all Germanic languages experienced some sort of remodelling of the productive formation of participles (Ringe 2006: 199), significant differences in these transformational processes between the individual languages (or language groups) can be witnessed.

In Gothic, the strong declension of forms was disposed of almost completely (Bammesberger 1968: 160, note5), and the participles were inflected like weak adjectives in all cases except the masculine nominative singular, which could still appear in its strong form, cf. nom.m. *gibands*, gen. *gibanda* (Krahe/Seebold 1967: 110; Hempel 1966: 60). The feminine forms, however, also underwent certain innovations, as they came to be inflected after the type ‘managei’, (cf. Goth. *gibandei*, gen. *gibandins*) resulting from a merger of the PIE *devī*-type and formations with a suffix *-\*i̯ēn/i̯ōn-* (ibid). Similar processes were at work in the Scandinavian languages, where the strong declension was completely deserted.

In contrast, in West-Germanic the present participle entered the inflectional system of the so-called *i̯a/i̯o*-adjectives, yielding forms such as OE *gifende*, OS *ge**bandi***, or OHG *gebanti* (Bammesberger 1968: 160, note5; Krahe/Meid 1969a: 81; Streitberg 1896: 215). This process most probably resulted from backformations to inherited feminine *-ī*-stems (Bammesberger 1968: 160; Ringe 2006: 199). Contrary to Gothic and North Germanic, no restriction as to strong or weak inflection can be seen, thus providing “reasonable evidence that present participles could be inflected strong in PGmc, but hardly any evidence for what the strong masc. and neut. endings were” (Ringe 2006: 203).

In the following chapters, the specific development of the present participle in Old English and Middle English will be discussed, and special focus will be given to its uses and functions in the periods respectively.

### 3.1.3. OE / ME

Attempting to provide a reasonable and clear overview of the development of the present participle as well as the other infinite verb forms during the Old and Middle English period certainly is not the easiest venture, seeing that neither their phonological and morphological development nor their syntactical behaviour and innovative changes can be viewed in isolation, but are strongly interlinked and most probably conditioned each other in some or the other way. Therefore, a definite dating of certain processes, or rather general agreement on such dating seems rather unachievable, and many issues remain controversial to this day, despite having occupied research for more than a century by now.

Furthermore, giving an account of the various functions of the infinites is hindered by frequent overlapping or ambiguity of instances, as well as by the abundance of secondary literature on the topic, frequently applying different terminologies (cf. e.g. Visser (1984) in contrast to Moessner (1997)).

#### 3.1.3.1. Distribution (phonology, morphology)

The phonological development of the vowel in the ending of the present participle in Old English appears to have been rather straight-forward and easily explicable, the PGmc suffix *\*-and-* yielding the regular outcome of *-endi* (via an intermediate form of *-ændi*, which can be found in the oldest texts available), the change in vowel most likely being due to an umlauting process motivated by the high vowel contained in the inflectional endings of the *-i/a/i/o*-declension (Langenhove 1925: 43; Kisbye 1971: 24)<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup>Exceptional forms showing a differing vocalism such as *-ond(e)*, *-ynd(e)* are scarce and may thus be dismissed in this paper.

In Middle English, the vowel of the suffix displays a three-fold continuation, with the Midlands showing the highest conservatism in retaining the /e/-vocalism, while in the Southern and Kentish dialects a change to a high vowel can be seen, resulting in forms ending in *–ind(e)* (Mustanoja 1960: 547 et al.). This variation in vowel quality has commonly been explained as conditioned by its phonological environment, i.e. by the nasal contained in the consonant cluster following the vowel (Brunner 1955: 74; Langenhove 1925: 53-54), Brunner (ibid) suggesting that a similar process occurred with the back vowels, where an /o/ would be raised in front of labials. While written evidence for this mutation is scarce before early Middle English (Visser 1984: 1081) and the change does not appear to have gained ground before the 12<sup>th</sup> century, its origins are dated further back into Old English by some researchers. So does Visser (ibid) propose the OE *–ende* to have had an allomorphic form containing a high vowel (/endə/ alongside /ində/), whereas Langenhove (1942: 52ff.) suggests a vowel quality intermediate between /i/ and /e/, and thus explains occasional *–ind*-forms in the Midland dialects not by Southern influence but simply by a closer affinity towards the high vowel possibly due to sentence melody reasons.

In the Northern dialects (including Scotland and parts of the Northern Midlands), a variant form in *–and(e)* can be found from Old English times on (Langenhove 1942: 50), the origin of which will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3.4. on the infinites in Scots.

Apart from changes in the first vowel, the suffix further appears to have undergone certain modifications in regard to the final syllable(s), as particularly in the Northern variants, the forms are frequently (already in late OE) found without inflectional endings, either showing a final *–e* or zero ending (Langenhove 1942: 40ff.). While this development would be in line with a general reduction in inflectional endings during the Middle English period (cf. apocope of final unstressed syllables), the occurrences of so-called ‘crude’ forms, i.e. “weathered, uninflected form[s] that cannot be assigned to any definite case” (Callaway 1889: 2-3) are

rather curious and of particular significance when dealing with absolute participles (Mitchell 1985: 930; Callaway 1889: 2ff.).

Concerning consonantism, a certain flux and interchangeability between the endings of the infinite verb forms can be witnessed from early on, issues relating to this phenomena will, however, be treated in the chapter on the merger of forms below (4).

### **3.1.3.2. Functions/Uses (Syntax)**

The syntactical uses and functions of the present participle are manifold, and a clear and definite classification of individual samples is not always easy or even possible, due to, as Mitchell points out, “the ambiguous testimony of the examples” (1976: 478).

While a basic categorisation scheme according to the participle’s nature on the one hand, and “the relationship of the participle to its subject (or principal)” (Callaway 1901: 142) on the other hand has been applied in the large majority of secondary literature on the topic, with slight or more considerable modifications depending on the author (cf. Mustanoja 1960; Visser 1984; Kisbye 1971), such taxonomy has been criticised for incompleteness (Moessner 1997: 346, referring to Mustanoja), failing to consider or include the additional functions acquired by the alleged coalescence of forms during the Middle English periods. Accordingly, other approaches, most notably the gradience system presented in Quirk et al.’s *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language* (1985), which will be used as a point of reference in this study, have attempted to provide a more comprehensive and hybrid model, ranging between purely deverbal nouns and the participle in verbal function (Quirk et al. 1985: 1290ff.; Dons/Moessner 1999:19).

However, seeing that the present participle is here considered in its original state of still being clearly separated from the verbal noun, an introduction of the basic scheme aforementioned seems valuable and helpful. In this context, one major work of reference which cannot be ignored is Morgan Callaway’s treatment of the appositive participle in Anglo-Saxon (1901;

alongside his less extensive, yet equally significant study on the absolute participle of 1889), constituting the first attempt at a presentation of such classification model (Callaway 1901: 141-44)<sup>7</sup>.

A further very extensive treatment of the functions of the present participle can be found in the respective chapters in Visser's *An Historical Syntax* (1984), providing a rather copious amount of data for the individual types and functions of this form. However, Visser's account is found to be hardly presentable in a brief overview as this chapter is intended to be, as in an effort to represent each and every type of participial construction possible in all sub-periods, the author (to a certain extent) fails to maintain clarity and the result appears rather confusing and overwhelming to the reader (Moessner 1997: 346).

The following outline of the functions and uses of the present participle in the periods of Old and Middle English<sup>8</sup> will thus be based on the original model of classification by Callaway (1901) as well as the slightly modified and more recently composed systems presented by Mustanoja (1960), Kisbye (1971) and Moessner (1997).

As mentioned before, and treated in the introductory section of this chapter, one major distinctive feature of the present participle is constituted by its innate twofold nature as being either verbal or adjectival (or somewhere in-between, due to the relativity of this division) (Callaway 1901: 141-2). While in the latter case the relevant force is descriptive, in the former "the assertive force is dominant" (ibid: 142), with "[t]he presence of accusative, genitive, or dative, objects [...] emphasiz[ing] the verbal force of the participle" (Mitchell 1985: 411).

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<sup>7</sup>Although Callaway himself does not claim originality for this classification, as the terms had been applied in linguistic discussion before, it does appear to be the first presentation of "the system as a whole" (Callaway 1901: 143) and is thus thought valid to be called the originator of the model.

<sup>8</sup>Since the present participle does not differ substantially in its functions in Old English and Middle English respectively, its development will be dealt with collectively here, and discrepancies in use will only be discussed where considered necessary.

Even though this proposed dichotomy in nature may be said to be inherent in participles (cf. *the shining sun* (adj.) vs. *the sun, shining through the trees, lighted our path* (verbal) (Callaway 1901: 142)), a process of restriction can be generated by continual adjectival use of a form, resulting in the participle becoming an adjective proper (Callaway 1901: 142). This development can be seen in OSc *lufand* ‘loving, friendly’ or OSc *plesand* ‘pleasant, agreeable’, which are both listed as ‘(participial) adjective’ in DOST/DSL (2004).

A second chief distinctive feature concerning the present participle is the relation between the participle and the subject it is referring to, namely its standing in a dependent position in contrast to independent uses of the construction. While the former, dependent forms constitute the prototypical participial constructions, the latter category refers to participles in their substantivised use as nomina agentis, alongside the aforementioned entirely adjectivised participial forms. These deverbal nouns, which denote human beings and animals and can be illustrated by OE *timbr(i)end* ‘builder’, *flegend* ‘bird’ or the Latin/French loan words *servant*, *assistant* or *student* (Kisbye 1971: 32; Visser 1984: 1069), have been claimed to be distinguishable from ordinary participles by their differing inflectional endings (the agent nouns ending in *–end* in contrast to participial *–ende*), resulting of their continuing the old consonantal stems (Kisbye; Visser: *ibid*). However, these formations were later ousted by the nomina agentis formans *–er* and can thus only be found in fossilised traces such as the aforementioned PDE *servant*.

While this definition of independent participles is taken from Kisbye (1971: 32ff.), Callaway (1901: 142) appears to have had a different concept in mind, as independence in his case implies the subject of the participle differing from the subject of the main sentence, thus constituting what is also called *absolute* or *misrelated/ dangling* (also sometimes subsumed under the appositive uses) participles (Visser, Mustanoja, Callaway).

The second group, namely the conjoint (or dependent) participles, which display a close relation to the grammatical subject of the main clause (Callaway 1901: 142), may further be subdivided into three groups (Mustanoja 1960: 551ff; Kisbye 1971: 32ff.). Of these, the first is constituted by the predicative use, meaning that “the participle is joined to its subject by means of a verb” (Callaway 1901: 142-3). In this function, the participle may either stand in relation to the subject of the finite verb form (predicative nominative) or have reference to the object of the verb. In the latter case, the participle in object relation, also called predicative accusative, occurring predominantly after verbs of perception as well as occasionally after verbs of mental action (Mustanoja 1960: 552; Kisbye 1971: 33), enters competition with the *AcI* (accusativus cum infinitivo) constructions, the substitution possibly being motivated by Latin influence (Mustanoja: *ibid*). However, as Mustanoja (*ibid*) declares in his account of participial types, these constructions are not employed interchangeably, but rather fulfil differing aspectual functions, the infinitival formation “record[ing] the mere fact” (*ibid*) in contrast to the predicative accusative of the participle adding a more illustrative and dynamic element to the description of an action (*ibid*; Kisbye 1971: 33).

In contrast, when in subject relation, joined to the subject by verbs of motion or rest, the infinitive was almost completely superseded by the participial construction during the Middle English period (Kisbye 1971: 33), yielding examples such as the following:

1. a) # the Earle of Murray came **running** out at ye gaitt of Dunibirsell (sdia2b)  
(predicative nominative)
- b) And twa discipilis herd him **spekand**, and followit Jesu (sbible1)  
(predicative accusative)<sup>9</sup>

The so-called *attributive* (adjectival) participles, characterised by “the connection between the

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<sup>9</sup>Elements highlighted by the author.

participle and its principal [being] so close that the two constitute one indivisible idea“ (Callaway 1901: 143) form the second sub-category of the dependent participles.

Although in this use the OE participle shows no fundamental differences to its PDE corresponding forms (Mustanoja 1960: 551), there are slight discrepancies concerning position, as in contrast to PDE, where the participle usually precedes the noun phrase (regulated by length, with long adjuncts following the subject, cf. Moessner 1997: 337), in Old English (and subsequently ME and OSc) it could either precede or follow its principal, the choice depending on rhetoric or stylistic considerations (Mitchell: 1985: 650), as the following instances may show:

2. a) his bricht and **schynand** visage (seduc0f)
- b) in the chepture **folowand** j sall schaw (seduc0f)<sup>9</sup>

Since the attributive participle in post-position experienced a rather rapid increase in use during the Middle English period, it has frequently been claimed to be of French origin (Kisbye 1971: 32-33), however, no general consent has been reached in this regard.

A further, third group of construction<sup>10</sup> which falls into this category of dependent participles is represented by appositive participles, also called *clause-equivalent* (Kisbye 1971: 33-34; Callaway 1901: 143), which according to Sweet (1891/I: 33) may be defined as “[w]hen the subordination of an assumptive (attributive) word to its head-word is so slight that the two are almost co-ordinate, the adjunct-word is said to be in **apposition** to its head-word“. Subject and participle thus appear to be bound by such loose ties they rather “constitute two independent ideas“ (Callaway: *ibid*) than one inseparable concept, as is the case in attribution. The clause-equivalence of appositive participles is manifest in that these constructions may be paraphrased by adverbial syntagmata, either temporal, modal, conditional, or causal, as well as occasionally final, consecutive, or concessive clauses (Kisbye 1971: 33-34), or, may, in

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<sup>10</sup>Attributive and appositive participles are subsumed under the cover-term of non-predicative types (in contrast to predicative uses) by Callaway (1901: 142ff.)

more independent usage, repeat the idea of the main sentence (Mitchell 1985: 601) and denote accompanying circumstances (ibid). Furthermore, the participial construction may equate an adjectival clause, able to be substituted by a relative sub-ordinate sentence (Callaway 1901: 144ff.; Kisybe: ibid), however, opinions on this issues vary, so are, e.g. instances of this type subsumed under the attributive uses in Quirk et al.'s gradience (type 12), as will be shown below.

A feature common in most IE languages, the question of the source and development of the appositive participle in the English language is not entirely and conclusively solved; while foreign influence (Latin or French), frequently proposed in this regard, most likely is responsible for some of its uses and might have promoted its rapid spread in Middle English, other functions are thought to rather be of native Germanic (English) origin (Callaway 1901: 149ff.), Mustanoja (1960: 555) claiming the part of foreign impact to be of less significance than often alleged. Similarly, Callaway suggests

the attributive use [to have] preceded the appositive, the latter growing out of the former when thrust into post-position, either because the noun had several participles modifying it at once or because the participle was itself modified (1901: 149-150).

The close relation between attributive and appositive usages of the present participles is also responsible for the functional ambiguity frequently encountered in samples, as a participle in post-position to its nucleus may not seldom be interpreted as either modifying the noun phrase or the entire sentence or clause (Moessner 1997: 337). While in Modern English grammar, such ambiguity would be prevented by punctuation, clear classification often seems rather impossible to achieve for Old and Middle English, resulting from irregularities and little standardisation in writing (Mustanoja 1960: 600). The lack of certainty in categorisation of these constructions is demonstrated by the following MSc example, as the participial phrase

may either be paraphrased by a relative (attributive) clause, or by an (temporal) adverbial clause:

3. The king of France and consall [,) **heirand** this grantit immedeatlie to hir desyre (...) (shist2b)<sup>11</sup>

A further construction which has already been mentioned above and which presents a fairly great challenge to linguists is constituted by the so-called absolute participle, closely linked and frequently overlapping with what is often termed *misrelated* or *dangling* adjunct (Kisbye 1971: 27). Resembling the appositive participles<sup>12</sup> in their clause-equivalence, these misrelated participles show a different subject than the principal of the main sentence, thus functioning as an independent adverbial syntagma within the core sentence (ibid), the subject being either overtly present, or merely implied (Moessner 1997: 336).

The absolute participle, defined by Callaway (1889: 316) as

when to a substantive not the subject of a verb and dependent upon no other word in the sentence (noun, adjective, verb, or preposition) a participle is joined as its predicate, a clause is formed that modifies the verbal predicate of the sentence and denotes an accompanying circumstance[.]

can be found in many IE languages such as Latin (ablativus absolutus), Sanskrit (locativus absolutus) or others. In Old English, the case form applied for this usage of the participle commonly is the dative, although occasional instances of instrumentals can be seen as well (Callaway 1889: 317). A curious mutation, however, absolute participial constructions displaying so-called ‘crude’ forms, an uninflected, indeterminable case form (as well as others showing nominative or accusative, in this appearance hardly distinguishable from the aforementioned dangling participles) has dazzled researchers and continues to do so.

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<sup>11</sup>Emphasis by the author.

<sup>12</sup>As will be seen below, this type is considered as equalling the appositive structures in Quirk et al.’s gradience.

Similar to the other types of participles, the source of these constructions and their mutations has frequently been questioned and disagreement prevails regarding native origin or foreign influence. However, going into details concerning this issue (although highly interesting and complex) would lead too far, and the reader is thus referred to the abundance of secondary literature on the topic (Callaway 1889; Visser 1984; Jespersen 1978; Mitchell 1985 et al.)

A final point which needs to be addressed in this context is the issue of voice and tense of the participle. As pointed out in the introduction, the participle is innately indifferent to voice and temporal relations. Nevertheless, it appears to have soon been restricted in its use, so is the Old English participle predominantly active in voice<sup>13</sup>, and analytic formations for passive use of the participial constructions (of the type *being written*) can only be found in literature from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Mustanoja 1960: 549). Compound forms used in order to express tenses outside the present and past tense system do not appear until the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and most probably were generated by translations from Latin (Mustanoja 1960: 548).

### **3.1. Verbal Noun**

The second linguistic entity which needs to be introduced in this study is the verbal noun ending in OE-*ung/-ing*<sup>14</sup>, showing a highly intriguing development and its history representing, to use Jespersen's words, "certainly one of the most interesting examples of the growth from a very small beginning of [sic!] something very important in the economy of the language" (1978: 182). A device for the formation of abstract nouns of action, the suffix *-ing* is remarkable not only due to its being only found in the Germanic language family (most probably even excepting Gothic) but also owing to its fairly idiosyncratic and distinctive behaviour and development in the history of the English language. In the following sections,

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<sup>13</sup>Passival constructions such as 'the house is building' will be treated in the chapter on the progressive tenses.

<sup>14</sup>For general statements concerning both manifestations of this suffix, '*-ing*' will be used as a cover-term for both variants in this paper.

it will be attempted to provide a brief outline of the most important phonological and morphological issues in this regard, however, the focus will here be on the form in its purely nominal manifestation, while the further development of gerundial features and the alleged coalescence with the present participle will be discussed in the respective chapters below.

### **3.1.1. From PIE to Germanic**

The linguistic development of the suffix of the verbal noun (also called verbal abstract) is a very complex and thorny issue, seeing that even though it is not present in any IE language outside the Germanic language family, it appears to have been “das verbreitetste und allgemeinste bildungsmittel für abstracta [...], das sich in den germanischen sprachen vorfindet [the prevailing and most common<sup>15</sup> means of the formation of abstract nouns which can be found in the Germanic languages]” (von Bahder 1880: 163).

The genesis of this suffix, which is characterised by the consonant cluster *-ng-*, is, however, unclear and remains without definite explanation (Kluge 1926: 82). While it is rather unlikely to be of common PIE origin, due to its presence in only one single branch, its proto-Germanic descendent has been questioned as well, von Bahder (1880) (and others) suggesting a fairly late development, independently accomplished in the individual daughter languages, as no instances of abstract *-ung/-ing-* formations can be found in Gothic (Kluge: *ibid*; von Bahder 1880: 163). In contrast, Willmanns claims that

die Anwendung des Suffixes zur Abstractbildung [sic!] reicht jedenfalls in die urgermanische Zeit zurück [...], denn auch wenn das Got. keinen Beleg bietet, so stimmen alle andern germanischen Sprachen in dem Gebrauch überein [the use of the suffix for the formation of abstract nouns goes back to Proto-Germanic times [...], as

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<sup>15</sup> ‘Most common’ is here used in reference to “seiner bedeutung und seiner anwendung [its meaning and its use]” (von Bahder 1880: 163), as the suffix can be formed from every verb without any significant restriction or modification of the base form’s meaning and is further not constrained to any particular verbal stems but may be built from simple as well as derived verbs (*ibid*).

despite the absence of evidence in Gothic, all other Germanic languages conform to this use]

(Willmanns 1899: 374-5)

Despite the uncertainty of the origin of the suffix, which is proposed as Gmc. *\*-ingō/-ungō* (Kluge 1926: 82; et al.), linking its development to another suffix of the same (in subsequent development) outward appearance, namely Gmc. *\*-inga/-unga* seems fairly plausible (Munske 1964: 4; Willmanns 1899: 373ff.; von Bahder 1880: 163ff.).

Of these suffixes, most probably being derived from PIE *\*-enkā/-n□kā* and *\*-enko/-n□ko* respectively (Brugmann 1897: 485ff.)<sup>16</sup>, the latter, which could only yield masculine forms, is a highly complex device of word-formation, as it appears to have been poly-functional (Schaffner 2011: not published), being constituted by various different PIE suffixes and embracing diverse meanings. While on the one hand, Gmc. *-inga/-unga* has repeatedly been associated with diminutive formations of *n*-stems, illustrated by analogical structures such as OInd *rājaka-* ‘little king’, derived from OInd *rājan-* (m.)<sup>17</sup>, and the forms OIsl *bolungr* ‘young bull’ from OIsl *boli* (m.) ‘bull’<sup>18</sup> (Schaffner: not published; Brugmann 1897: 374), the suffix *\*-ko-* (in combination with an individualising suffix *-n-*) on the other hand is claimed to indicate affiliation or possession (among other functions) and is often found in personal names, patronymika or ethnonyms (cf. OE *Centingas* ‘inhabitants of Cent’ or the Northumbrian king *Eduine Aelling*, son of *Aelle Yffing*, son of *Yffi Uuscfreaing* and others) (Schaffner: not published). Willmanns, in an effort to grasp its original function, states that “das *ng*-suffix bedeutet zunächst nichts weiter, als dass das abgeleitete Wort zu dem

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<sup>16</sup>Schaffner (not published) gives *\*-ī-ngō/-ō-ngō-* as the PIE base forms of Gmc *\*-ingō/-ungō*.

<sup>17</sup>The forms descending from PIE *\*h<sub>3</sub>rēg□-n□-kó-* and *\*h<sub>3</sub>rēg□-on-* respectively (Schaffner: not published).

<sup>18</sup> < PIE *\*bulan-* (Schaffner: not published).

Grundwort in irgendeiner Beziehung steht [initially, the *ng*-suffix merely denotes any kind of relation between the derived word and its base word]” (1899: 372).

In contrast, the suffix in question here, which is claimed to invariably have yielded feminine forms (Brugmann 1897: 374; Kluge 1926: 82; et al.), is used to form abstract de-verbal nouns of action such as OE *leornung* ‘scholarliness’ (cf. OE *leornian*) or AN *sending* ‘message’ (cf. AN *senda*) (Kluge: *ibid*). Although thus seemingly far apart, a connection between the two means of word formation has often been proposed. So does von Bahder (1880: 167ff.) attempt to trace the development of the verbal noun back to de-nominal, masculine appellative formations having personal meaning (Munske 1964: 4; Willmanns 1899: 375) via parallel derivations from adjectives (triggered by the de-nominals) such as OE *earming*/ ON *armingi* ‘poor devil (man)’ (von Bahder 1880: 174). The crossover of the suffix to verbs would then have occurred “[b]ei ableitungen, welche von adjectiven erfolgten, die ein abgeleitetes verbum neben sich hatten [in derivations from adjectives which had a derived verb beside them]“ (von Bahder 1880: 177), as these were gradually reinterpreted as formed from underlying verbs (*ibid*).

A similar development is mentioned by Brugmann, who, while not definitely confirming a derivation of feminine abstracts from masculine forms in *-ing*, asserts the plausibility of such process, provided it happened “zu einer Zeit [...] als sie auch noch adjektivisch waren [at a time when they [the masculina] were still adjectival as well]“ (Brugmann 1897: 374).

However, this hypothesis was soon refuted by Willmanns, who argues for an independent development of the feminine abstract nouns in *-ing/-ung* (although neither viewing the derivation from verbs as primary, but claiming an original nominal derivational basis<sup>19</sup>) and

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<sup>19</sup>Due to the *-ng*-cluster requiring a combination of the *-k*-suffix and a substantival *-n*-stem (Willmanns 1899: 374). Compare also Kluge (1926: 82), suggesting occasional denominative forms in Old Norse e.g. ON *háþung* ‘scolding, abuse’ to ON *háþ* ‘slander, derision’. An original restriction to denominal use is further mentioned in Jespersen (1978: 128).

suggests a link between the verbal abstracts and Gothic feminina ending in *-eins*, *-o□ns*, *-ains* (Willmanns 1899: 374-5).

A general consent on this highly complex issue has apparently not yet been reached, as can be seen by Munske's statement:

Die interessante Frage der gegenseitigen Abgrenzung der beiden Suffixe im Zeitpunkt ihrer Entstehung oder auch später ist somit noch ungeklärt [the interesting question of the mutual delimitation of the two suffixes at the time of their emergence or else afterwards thus remains unsettled]<sup>20</sup>

(1964: 4).

A further point which has to be considered in this regard is the alternating vowel quality of the suffix (a high front vowel in *-ing* in contrast to the back vowel of *-ung*). According to Willmanns, this distinction must originally have been determined by accentuation or the type of the stems on which the derived forms were based (1899: 369), however, these original restrictions most likely soon failed to be consciously perceived by the speakers, who introduced new rules of application (ibid). A corresponding explanation can be found in von Bahder, who proposes the existence of "zwei gleichberechtigten formen [...], die jetzt auseinander getreten sind, früher aber zu éinem [sic!] system gehört haben [two equal forms which are now standing apart but before pertained to one system]" (1880: 165). Although here referring to the denominal suffix discussed before, this reasoning probably accounts for the difference in form of Gmc *\*-ingō-* and *\*-ungō* as well (von Bahder 1880: 185).

In their continuations within the Germanic languages, the suffixes show an uneven distribution (Kisbye 1971: 51). So are abstract deverbal nouns in MHG exclusively built by *-ung*, which completely ousted the variant containing the high vowel in this function (Kisbye: ibid; Kluge 1926: 83), illustrated by examples such as OHG *warnunga* (derived from a weak

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<sup>20</sup>Admittedly, this statement was made almost fifty years ago, nevertheless, it seems valid as the author did not come across any more recent convincing and definite explanation.

verb OHG *warnōn*) (Kluge: *ibid*). In contrast, *-ing* appears to be the preferred suffix in the North Germanic languages (cf. ON *menning* ‘education’ from ON *menna* ‘to make someone a man, to become a man’) (Kluge: *ibid*; Brunner 1962: 351), while in Old English, both suffixes are represented (even though not to the same extent). This particularly English development of *-ing/-ung* will be discussed in the following chapter, the focus being on the phonological and morphological processes at work, as all syntactical issues outside the *-ing*-form’s use a regular and proper noun will be dealt with in chapter (5) on the gerund.

### 3.1.2. OE/ME

As pointed out above, both variants forms *-ing* and *-ung* of the suffix of the verbal noun were continued in Old English, however, these could not be applied randomly, but rather stood in “systematic interchange” (Kisbye 1971: 51), their distribution depending on the class membership of their verbal bases. While accordingly, *-ing* adhered to weak verbs of the first class (*-ja*-verbs), *-ung* was used for weak verbs of the second class (*-ō*-verbs), the latter being the prevalent form, occurring with considerably higher frequency than its front-voweled counterpart (*ibid*). The reason for the superiority of *-ung* in Old English has been claimed to be attributable to the greater mass of second class weak verbs, which comprised the high number of suffixed verbs as well as the majority of zero derivations (Faiß 1989: 243).

Despite this principle of distribution apparently commonly obeyed, variant forms are occasionally found, in regard to which (though only a slight unsteadiness) diverse arguments have been proposed. These include the suggestion of a certain affinity of Old English to an alternation between front and back vowels (or light and dark vowels) (Langenhove 1925: 3; Thiele 1902: 116), resulting in *-ung* being preferred in a position after light derivational syllables such as *-el*, *-en*, *-et*, as well as differences according to the vowels in specific case-forms (e.g. dative plural *-ingum* in contrast to *-ung* in other cases (Langenhove: *ibid*;

Jespersen 1942 VI: 377)). However, this principle seems to have been of rather early date, and processes of paradigmatic levelling frequently obscured such alternations (Thiele 1902: 116).

A further explanation for sporadic fluctuations in Old English is given by Weyhe (1911: 24ff.), who defends a clear and systematic division in adherence between the two suffixal variants, and traces irregular forms back to crossovers of their base verbs to the respective other verb class, dragging the suffixes with them.

While initially the suffixes could only be attached to weak verbs, seeing that they were “restricted in [their] use, and [were] very rarely used to form derivatives from strong verbs” (Sweet 1891/I: 461), instances of abstract nouns to strong verbs sporadically occurred from the late Old English period onwards (Kisbye 1971: 51), typically taking the front-voweled suffix *-ing* (Weyhe 1911: 31). Derived abstract forms from French verbs appear relatively early in English texts, even “at a time when they could not be formed from every native verb” (Jespersen 1978: 97), which can be seen in the examples of *preching*e or *riwlunge* (in *Ancrene Riwle*, early 13<sup>th</sup> ct.) (ibid).

From early Middle English onwards, “a perceptible trend towards using *-ing* in situations where *-ung* would normally be expected” (Kisbye 1971: 51) can be noticed, leading to an almost complete supersession of the previously dominant *-ung*-form by its front-voweled correspondent by the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Faiß 1989: 244), and thus yielding the characteristic and productive suffix *-ing* present in PDE (Mustanoja 1960: 566). The factors responsible for this victory of one suffix over the other are diverse and primarily involve phonological as well as morphological processes (Kisbye 1971: 52). Among these causes are the aforementioned principle of vowel alternation in early texts, which introduced *-ing* into the paradigm of forms taking the *-ung*-suffix (in the dative plural)<sup>21</sup> from where it could

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<sup>21</sup>Compare OE Nom. Pl. *geamrung* ‘grief, moaning’ in contrast to Dat.Pl. *geamringum* (Kisbye 1971: 52).

spread over the other cases and into the singular (Weyhe 1911: 47ff; Kisbye: *ibid*), a development influenced and promoted by the general loss of inflectional endings and levelling of case forms (Langenhove 1925: 4-5).

Furthermore, the front-vowel variant seems to have been preferred due to its greater versatility (Kisbye 1971: 52) as it could not only build abstract feminines with strong declension as did *-ung*, but also appeared in masculine and feminine concrete nouns. As a result, attracted by these already existing concretes, abstract nouns when turning into concrete forms<sup>22</sup> were rather prone to take *-ing* than *-ung* (Kisbye: *ibid*; Langenhove 1925: 4).

Similarly, according to Kisbye (*ibid*), verbal nouns in compounds favoured the *i*-vocalism already in eOE, as can be exemplified by the following pair of OE *leornung* (f.) ‘learning, reading, study’ in contrast to OE *leorningcniht* (m.) ‘student, disciple’ (*ibid*).

A further relevant point in this context most probably was the high-front vowel’s being drawn to the consonant cluster *-ng-* due to its palatal character (Langenhove 1925: 4), as well as a “general trend of late OE towards unrounding vowels in unstressed syllables, illustrated by spellings like *-eng* and *-ang* for earlier *-ung*” (Kisbye 1971: 52). Langenhove (1925: 5) here proposes <*-eng*> to represent an intermediate vowel between /i/ and /u/, possibly a wide /ɪ/. Besides, *-ing* would have been favoured by the IOE “tendency [...] to change the secondary stress of the suffix into weak stress” (Langenhove 1925: 4-5) as vowels in this position would usually have been shortened and heightened (*ibid*).

A last factor to play a role in this development of the ousting of verbal noun formans *-ung*, which is also mentioned by Brunner (1962: 351) and Mossé (1969), might have been Scandinavian influence, as *-ing* was the common and prevailing variant of this suffix in Northern Germanic (cf. chapter 3.2.1.; Kisbye 1971: 52; Langenhove 1925: 5).

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<sup>22</sup>Compare concrete nouns (from original deverbal abstracts) such as OSc *bigging* ‘building’, OSc *bedding*, *living*, *covering* (in the same meaning as their PDE counterparts). Cf. also Jespersen (1954/V: 87).

Concerning the development of the consonant cluster *-ng-* of the suffix, the reader is referred to chapter (4) on the merger of forms in Middle English, since its discussion is thought to be of greater relevance in that context.

In its uses and functions, the *-ing*-form, as has been pointed out before, “[a]part from slavish imitations of Latin [...], keeps nicely within the syntactical boundaries of a noun until the middle of the 13th century” (Kisbye 1971: 55), therefore displaying the following main characteristic features (adapted from Kisbye (1971: 52-53) and Visser (1984: 1065-67):

- takes part in the declensional system<sup>23</sup>  
ex. *And syne suld thou avis' prouffitable blude latingis for # the tyme* (seduc0b)
- the verbal noun may be governed by a preposition  
ex. *# they who by calling should be the foster-fathers* (spam2d)
- may enter freely into compounds  
ex. *Quhilk being the # duelling house of his mother* (shist2c)
- may function as subject or object in syntactical units  
ex. *their actioun can not be callit representatioun, bot adoratioun & #worshipping* (spam2b)
- may function as a predicative complement to a copula  
ex. *that is cursing [...] of the congregatioun of Christ* (stri1b)
- may take adnominal modifiers such as adjectives, demonstrative pronouns and articles, and possessive pronouns (either in subject or object relation to the action expressed by the abstract noun)  
ex. *the generall good liking and imbracing of this foolish custome* (spam2c)
- may take a subject or object in the genitive  
ex. *the incuming of certane #frenchmen / The preaching of goddis word* (shist2b)

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<sup>23</sup>As will be pointed out below, the form's ability (or reluctance) to appear in the plural is considered a decisive criteria to distinguish between de-verbal nouns and verbal nouns by Quirk et al. (1985: 1290ff).

### 3.2. The Infinitive

In the following sections, a brief outline of the key aspects concerning the third category of infinite verb forms, namely the infinitive, will be given. Despite not being considered in the research carried out for this thesis, an introduction to this original noun of action is found to be essential, due to its participation in and intermingling with the development of the present participle and the verbal noun in the course of the history of the English language. However, only the most basic and most characteristic traits will be mentioned in this section, and further information will only be provided where relevant for the discussion in the chapters below. For an exceptionally thorough and very extensive treatment of this linguistic category the reader is referred to Morgan Callaway's work *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon* (1913).

The infinitive, which may be defined as a verbal noun of action, comparable to the *-ing*-form treated in the preceding chapter, is a rather curious formation, as although an infinitival construction can be found in almost all IE family members (with few exceptions), “[t]he daughter languages exhibit a rather bewildering variety of infinitives” (Fortson 2010: 107). Thus, a single, common PIE infinitive appears highly unlikely; nevertheless, the infinitival formations found in the individual languages certainly are of old descent (ibid), typically constituting fossilised case forms of various abstract deverbative nouns i.e. mainly datives or accusatives, as well as locatives, and seldom, but still occasionally, genitives or ablatives (ibid; Szemerényi 1980: 324)<sup>24</sup>.

In the Germanic languages, the infinitive is represented by the accusative singular of a neuter abstract noun in PIE *\*-no-* (Szemerényi 1980: 325), yielding a suffix *\*-ana-* in Proto-

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<sup>24</sup>Compare, for instance, Vedic *pī-táye* ‘to drink, for drinking’ and OCS *da-ti* ‘to give’, both manifestations of case-forms of the abstract nominal suffix *\*-ti-* (Fortson 2010: 107).

Germanic (< \*-*anam* < PIE \*-*onom*) (Bammesberger 1986: 100; Lass 1992: 145)<sup>25</sup>, which can be seen in Goth. *bairan* ‘to carry’ derived from PIE \*-*bheronom* (Szemerényi 1980: 325).

While originally, these formations were purely nominal, without ties to the verbal system and thus not formed from any temporal stem, but from the verbal root, in Germanic a connection was soon established between the infinitive and the present stem<sup>26</sup> (Hirt 1932: 192; Szemerényi: *ibid*).

An apparently West-Germanic innovation<sup>27</sup> and peculiarity (due to its absence in Gothic and Old Norse) is the presence of a second infinitival form, namely the so-called *inflected infinitive*<sup>28</sup>, constituted by the genitive or dative case form of an abstract noun showing a suffixal extension by PGmc \*-*(n)i□o-*, not equalling the ordinary infinitival suffix mentioned above (Langenhove 1925: 86-7; Sprockel 1973: 198).

Accordingly, in Old English two types of infinitives can be found, the uninflected, which is also termed *pure* (Mossé 1969: 128) or *first infinitive* (Mustanoja 1960: 512), ending in OE *-an*, alongside the inflected, second infinitive, only appearing in its dative form OE *-enne* in this West-Germanic branch, while a genitive is seen in Old High German or Old Saxon (Langenhove 1925: 86-7). While the former type chiefly occurred after temporal and modal auxiliaries (Mossé 1969: 128), the latter form, which was treated as a *jo*-stem and inflected accordingly (Mustanoja 1960: 512 et al.), formed a “standing unit” (Langenhove 1925: 101) with the preposition OE *tō* (PDE *to*), originally indicating direction (Mustanoja 1960: 514) as

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<sup>25</sup>Hirt (1932: 192) states a second possible source of PGmc \*-*anam*, namely PIE \*-*o-mn-om* (with a nasal cluster then simplified in Germanic), which would allow the suggestion of a link between the Germanic form and Greek infinitives in *-menai*.

<sup>26</sup>Compare *j*-present \*-*bug-ja* → \*-*bug-jana*<sup>n</sup> (Bammesberger 1986: 100).

<sup>27</sup>Langenhove (1925: 86-7) proposes a common PGmc descent of the inflected infinitive, which would have been lost in Gothic and Northern Germanic but survived in the West Germanic languages. Compare also Dal (1966: 100).

<sup>28</sup>The inflected infinitive is further occasionally referred to as *gerundive* (Mossé 1969: 108), due its original adjectival form and meaning (Langenhove 1925: 101).

well as futurity and necessity (Langenhove 1925: 86-7). Similarly to the second preposition combined with the inflected infinitive, namely *for to*, which from eME onwards was used to express purpose, the prepositional force of *to* was considerably weakened in the course of the 12<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century, causing it to become a “mere sign of the infinitive” (Mustanoja: *ibid*).

A change in vowel quality (OE *-enne* → *-anne*), affecting the inflected infinitive, which can already be witnessed in Old English, “can only be accounted for by assuming that it is due to the influence of the uninflected infinitive” (Sprockel 1973: 198).

Due to a general reduction of inflections, however, the distinction between these two infinitives was lost during the Middle English period (Mustanoja 1960: 513; Langenhove 1925: 98-100). While the nasal suffix of the uninflected infinitive is claimed to have been retained until the late 14<sup>th</sup> century in the Southern dialects (the longest in monosyllabic forms), in the North nasal-less forms appear as early as the beginning of Middle English (Brunner 1938: 89), the inflected type suffering a similar fate (*ibid*).

In its functions and uses, the infinitives frequently stand in competition with the present participle as well as the gerundial forms, an issue which will, as well as overlaps in their phonological and morphological development, be treated in the following chapters.

#### **4. The Coalescence**

In the following chapter, the alleged merger of forms during the Middle English period, (i.e. the ousting of the participial *-nd*-ending by the suffix *-ing*, which originally only characterised the verbal noun) a development responsible for the indifference in outward appearance of the participle and verbal noun in PDE, will be examined and the key points regarding its causes and consequences will be addressed. Although rather abundantly

discussed in literature, disagreement on this complex issue remains to this day, the main point of debate being the origin of this process, as is stated by Luick ([1964]: 1005):

Noch nicht ganz geklärt ist ein Vorgang, der zu Beginn des 13. Jahrhunderts einzusetzen scheint: *nd* nach unbetontem *i*, das nur im südlichen Ausgang der Partizipia Praesentis *–inde* für ae. *–ende* vorkommt [...], wurde zu *ng* = [ŋg]. Gelegentliche Schreibungen sind schon im 13. Jahrhundert zu finden, im 14. Jahrhundert ist die Umbildung bei Chaucer und in den Urkunden durchgeführt: *beringe* ‘tragend’, *fallinge* ‘fallend’ usw.  
[not yet resolved is a process which appears to arise at the beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> century<sup>29</sup>: *nd* after unstressed *i*, which only occurs in the Southern ending of the present participle *–inde* for OE *–ende* [...] became *ng* = [ŋg]. Occasional spellings can already be found in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, in the 14<sup>th</sup> century the transformation is accomplished in Chaucer and in the charters: *beringe* ‘carrying [pres.part.]’, *fallinge* ‘falling [pres.part.]’ etc.]

Thus claimed to have originated in the South-West of England<sup>30</sup>, this availability of *–inge* alongside *–inde* for the category of the present participle seems to have spread over the other dialects until becoming dominant standard form by the 15<sup>th</sup> century (Lass 1992: 146) and most likely first reached the North in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century (Faiß 1989: 244; Brunner 1962: 191). The suffixes’ development in Scots and Northern English is, however a peculiar one and deserves special treatment, which will be provided in chapter (7) below.

In the following sections, the two main approaches concerning this so-called coalescence of the present participle and the verbal noun, namely on the one hand, viewing phonological (or morphological) processes as the trigger of the merger, and on the other hand, stressing the importance of syntactical (or semantic) issues, will be contrasted and briefly outlined.

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<sup>29</sup>Brunner (1962: 191) claims the process to have started towards the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, in contrast to Faiß (1989: 243-4) and Luick ([1964]: 1005), who argue for its emergence at the beginning of this century.

<sup>30</sup>Langenhove more precisely proposes the merger “to [have] originate[d] in O.E. in the border dialects where the Saxon, Midland and Kentish dialects were likely to merge one into another”.

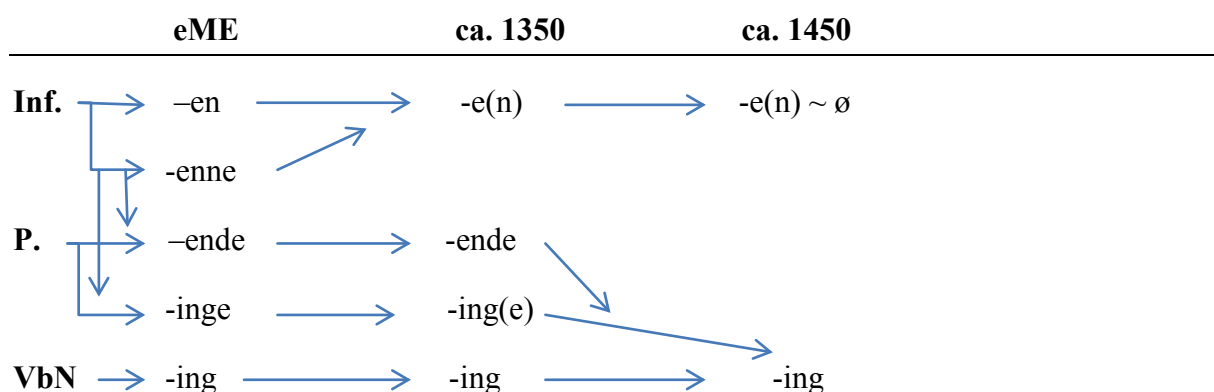
#### 4.1. Phonology/Morphology

As pointed out above, opinions on the initiative forces of the merger of the suffixes in question seem to differ to a relatively high extent. Among the group of linguists supporting phonological causes for this development, Langenhove certainly is one of the most prominent, claiming in the introduction to his monograph *On the Origin of the Gerund in English* (1925) that the solution lies in phonology and morphology, not in syntax (viii-x). Similarly, Berndt (1960: 177) argues for exclusively phonological factors at play, while Visser (1984: 1096) perceives phonological and scribal confusion as at least one aspect of significance in this regard, and Luick, although not entirely committing to this view, admits that “es [ist] doch wahrscheinlicher, daß ein lautlicher Vorgang zugrunde liegt [it is still more plausible that phonological operations form the basis [of this development]]” ([1964]: 1006). Further defenders of sound processes having been at work include Einkenel (1914), Rooth (1942) and Gleißner (1979).

However, assuming a simple sound change of a cluster *-nd-* to a velar cluster *-ng-* does not appear reasonable as “there is no adequate evidence” (Dobson 1968: 950) for such “general substitution of the suffix” (ibid). Instead, the most common and frequently taken up explanation of this phenomena draws on a phonological approximation of the consonant sounds of the endings of the present participle, verbal noun and inflected infinitive in Middle English, resulting in confusion and insecurity in regard to their use on the part of its speakers, and leading to frequent misapplications as well as hypercorrections.

The complex and longsome phonological development of the suffixes is visualised by Lass as follows:

**Figure 3. Development of the suffixes of the infinite verb forms in the London standard of Middle English**



(taken and adapted from Lass 1992: 146).

Langenhove further accounts for the consequences of such processes, stating that

[t]he consonant-combination /nd/ of the suffix of the present participle is since I.O.E. no longer fixed, as its articulation and intensity was determined by the neighbouring sounds, so that /nt/ and /n/ were frequently substituted for it. Thanks to this unfixed state of things it became possible in several dialects gradually to substitute the suffix in *-ing-* for that in *-ind-* since some of the pronunciations represented by *-ng-* were either identical with or very like those represented by *-nd-*, and that as soon as in a number of cases the confusion was actual, the two suffixes with their various pronunciations might, at least for a space of time, be used more or less promiscuously.

Langenhove (1925: 84).

This view is supported by Callaway, who claims that the “confusion between the endings of the uninflected infinitive, the inflected infinitive, and the verbal noun in *-ung* (*-ing*) may have taken place substantially as claimed by him” (1929: 35), as well as Mossé (1938: §147), correspondingly arguing for a considerable unsteadiness in the pronunciation of the three suffixes in question, thus “semblant pratiquement interchangeable [seeming practically interchangeable]” (ibid), able to be used without significant difference (Rooth 1942: 72)<sup>31</sup>.

While some authors here propose a sort of intermediate pronunciation of *-ng-* and its dental counterpart of the present participle, the suffixes “represent[ing] one and the same consonant

<sup>31</sup>The equation of ON *tīdende* ‘events’ and OE *tīdung* ‘tidings’ as well as Lat. *scindula* and ME *shingle* are often presented in support of a phonological confusion of these consonant sequences, however, both may also be explained as due to earlier, extra-English developments (Luick 1964: 1006).

sequence located phonetically at the same point between a truly dental (or alveolar) *nd* ([nd]) and a truly velar *ng* ([ŋg])” (Gleißner 1979: 57), others support the assumption of a reduction of the clusters to a simple dental nasal sequence /in,ən/ in all forms, which would equally complicate distinguishing between the categories for the hearer. So does Berndt (1960: 176-7) claim the change to be due to the speakers’ laziness to produce the velar occlusion necessary for the articulation of [ŋg], satisfied with the easier dental or alveolar stop, a feature common in colloquial speech to this day (Jacobsson 1962: 295-6; Brunner 1962/I: 414). The assumption of such reduction is backed by occasional past participle forms in *-ing* (e.g. ME *beholding, unknowing*), however, these instances in most cases can be interpreted differently as well, thus not constituting convincing proof (Callaway 1929: 35).

The reason for the development to have originated in the Southern dialects of English is most commonly thought to lie in the quality of the vowel of the suffix, as here, the participle present like the verbal noun showed a high front vowel /i/ (Visser 1984: 1096). This fairly broadly accepted view is also taken by Luick, who in his historical grammar states that

[d]er Vorgang ist an die Stellung des *nd* nach *i* gebunden [...]. Palatal gefärbtes *nd* und *ng* stehen einander sehr nahe, so daß der Übergang von einem zum andern leicht ist. [the process is bound to the position of *nd* after *i* [...]. Palatally coloured *nd* and *ng* closely resemble each other, so the passage from one to the other is easy”

([1964]: 1006).

Rooth, in contrast, denies the merger to have been determined by the preceding vowel, but suggests its promotion by a tendency to substitute the consonant clusters by a palatalised nasal [nɿ], which was imported by the Saxons from the North sea coast (Rooth 1942: 81ff.)<sup>32</sup>.

A further, entirely different approach, namely explaining the disappearance of the participial *-ende-* by an attempt to avoid homonymity and resultant potential “confusion with the *-en* form of the present plural” (an allomorphic suffix used in the Midlands, yet “comparatively

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<sup>32</sup>Rooth here refers to a similar phonological development which can be found in Low German.

rarely recorded in OE”), is taken by Horobin (2002: 117-8). However, a correlation between this development and the finite verbal system has not been mentioned anywhere else, and seems hardly likely, or rather, an involvement of the other infinite forms most certainly enjoys greater plausibility.

As can be seen, opinions and views on the coalescence of forms are manifold and rather inhomogeneous, nevertheless, broad agreement appears to prevail on the belief that the alleged phonological and scribal confusion of forms was followed by a “functional or syntactical confusion which threw the whole structural system out of gear” (Visser 1984: 1096) and that

[s]uch multiple variation and confusion as that displayed in the phonology of infinitives, participles and verbal nouns in Middle English dialects undoubtedly played a role in creating functional ambiguities; many of the functions the various forms had are easily confused

Swan (2003a: 180).

In the following section, hypotheses in favour of syntactical issues as the trigger of the merger in question will be presented and briefly discussed.

#### **4.2. Syntax/ Semantics**

Contrary to the above mentioned theories, various linguists dealing with the issue have stressed the importance and original driving force of syntactical processes. So does, e.g. Mustanoja (1960: 547) claim both phonological and morphological as well as syntactical factors to play a significant role in the coalescence, while Dobson (1968: 1950) states that “the substitution of *-ing* can, and should, be explained by syntactic confusion of the verbal noun and the pres.p.”.

Sweet (1898) and Faiß (1989) reason in the same way, the former ascribing the merger to a mixing of the present participle with the gerund or verbal noun, the latter declaring that the various syntactical points of contact between the categories of participle, verbal noun and

infinitive and their frequent indifferent use in the same constructions (cf. ME *to doiinge/ to flende*) resulted in a certain overlapping and subsequent confusion on the part of the speakers, thus representing a case of syntactic syncretism (Faiß 1989: 248).

In contrast, Duffley (2006: 168-9) stresses that “the driving force behind this sound change was not phonetic but rather semantic – the generalization of the meaning of the –ing-form leading to its conceptualization as an abstract schema”, thus presenting yet another approach to this issue.

While certainly valuable considerations, the explanations presented here do, however, not shed light on why precisely the –*ing*-variant was chosen to supersede the others and hence (among further points of criticism) fail to provide a conclusive answer to this curious process which “has puzzled grammarians for many decades” (Duffley 2006: 167) and which remains without a general consent having been reached.

## **5. The Gerund**

The history of the gerund in English is a highly complex issue, with a vast amount of secondary literature published on it, presenting a no less great number of differing views on its origin and the factors involved with its development.

In the following sections, the rather demanding task of offering a brief and concise overview of the most important features of the gerundial forms as well as the key theories voiced in regard to their genesis will be undertaken, however, as the scale of this paper is limited, no conclusive coverage of all aspects concerning this matter will possibly be achieved.

In order to enable a discussion of the gerund and to avoid confusion, first, some terminological issues need to be addressed. While the terms ‘gerund’ or ‘gerundive’, both expressions taken over from Latin grammar, have occasionally also been used to refer to the inflected infinitive (cf. e.g. Langenhove 1925: 101) in the history of research, the former term

is commonly employed to mark an *-ing*-form which combines both nominal and verbal syntactical features, as can most characteristically be seen in phrases such as PDE *John's writing the letter* (Lass 1992: 145). Definitions of the gerund are manifold, mostly drawing on its being a verbal noun having acquired verbal characteristics, or its rather ambiguous intermediate position between verbal noun and present participle or infinitive, as is found in Poutsma: “[it is] of a less distinctly verbal nature than the infinitive, and of a more distinctly verbal nature than the noun of action“ (1923: 101).

An important distinction which has to be maintained in this context is between the terms ‘verbal noun’ and ‘gerund’, as they are frequently used indifferently or confused (Spitzbardt 1958: 37). Furthermore, ‘gerund’ is often misleadingly applied as a cover-term for all non-participial *-ing*-forms, however, a more appropriate terminology would see ‘verbal noun’ referring to the *-ing*-form exclusively in nominal function (as discussed in chapter 3.2.), while the term ‘gerund’ should be used for the form displaying mixed nominal and verbal features, which will be dealt with in more detail in the next section.

Although constituting the most common designation for this phenomena, a tendency to avoid ‘gerund’ can be seen in more recent literature (Mustanoja 1960: 567, note1), where the use of ‘*-ing*-form’ is proposed and promoted as a more adequate and neutral term, more apt for the discussion of the gerund in ModE (ibid). Nevertheless, ‘gerund’ still enjoys a rather great popularity “in the controversy concerning the origin of this peculiar grammatical feature” (ibid), as it has there been employed for over a century and a certain consistency in terminology appears advantageous.

Correspondingly, the term ‘gerund’ will be used to refer to this particular mode of construction in this chapter, considering, however, that in the second part of the present paper research will be based on the gradience system established by Quirk et al. (1985), which aims to prevent a binary distinction of verbal noun versus gerund, a more sensitive terminology will have to be applied there.

The question of the dating of the acquisition of syntactic qualities characteristic of verbs and thus the genesis of the gerund is the “subject of [equally] much scholarly dispute” (Mustanoja 1960: 567), as the issue of the driving forces behind this development, the most broadly accepted view being that it “emerged during the ME period” (Jack 1988: 15). Supporters of this perception include Faiß, who records a first “deutliche verbale Valenz [clear verbal valency]” (1989: 245) at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> century in the example of ME *on eting to michel* (ibid)<sup>33</sup>.

In contrast, an earlier, Old English development of this mode of construction has been proposed by researchers such as Curme (1912 et al.), Callaway (1929) as well as Dal (1952)<sup>34</sup>, however, arguments in this favour have frequently been criticised as inadequate and unconvincing (Jack 1988: 15), as pre-12<sup>th</sup> century-examples of gerundial constructions are almost exclusively found in Latin interlinear glosses, thus constituting “remarkably slender evidence” (Mustanoja 1960: 567).

While the presence of gerundial features in the Middle English period has found general approval, the extent of this construction’s establishment and “effective use” (ibid) at that time has been repeatedly questioned. So does Emonds “conclude that Chaucer’s dialect did not contain a gerund as a normal grammatical device” (1973: 193), corresponding to Donner (1984: 396), who proposes an only marginal and infrequent use of the gerund even in late Middle English (Jack 1988: 15). Jack, although not entirely committing to this view, admits that the gerundial form “did not acquire its complete set of verbal characteristics before the MnE [i.e. Modern English] period, and that within the Me [i.e. Middle English] period

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<sup>33</sup>Corresponding accounts can be found in Einkenkel (1914a), Mossé (1957) Mustanoja (1960), Kisbye (1971), Schibbye (1982) and Tajima (2005), among others.

<sup>34</sup>Unfortunately, Dal’s article “Zur Entstehung des englischen Participium Praesentis auf *-ing* [On the Origin of the English Present Participle in *-ing*]“ was not available to the author, therefore, all references to this work made in this paper are taken indirectly from other secondary literature.

gerundial constructions were still in the process of emergence, rather than being fully developed” (1988: 16)<sup>35</sup>.

Although evidence thus clearly points to the Middle English period having been decisive in the gerund’s emergence (Tajima 2005: 569) at least to a significant extent, “exactly when and how this syntactic development took place remains a subject both of much scholarly debate and limited in-depth inquiry” (ibid).

### **5.1. Characteristics/ Functions of the Gerund**

As already touched upon in the previous section and as stated by Tajima (2005: 569), “the English gerund, which began as a pure noun, has broadened its syntactic role beyond anything characteristic of its own past history or of the other Germanic languages”, thus constituting a great peculiarity and idiosyncrasy of the English language, its main characteristic trait being its displaying both nominal and verbal syntactical features. While the gerund is substantival in its origin, “retain[ing] the capability of operating as a noun” (Visser 1984: 1097), its verbal behaviour is manifest in various grammatical properties which will be presented in the subsequent paragraphs and which are summarised by Eienkel as follows:

[U]m die wende des 12.jahrhunderts [...] [beginnt] die artikellosigkeit des verbalsubstantivs auffällig zu werden [...]. Etwa ein halbes jahrhundert später beginnen am verbal-substantiv umfängliche adverbelle erweiterungen und sogar akkusativs-objekte aufzufallen [...] [around the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> century, a beginning absence of the article of the verbal substantive is noticeable [...]. About half a century later considerable adverbial extensions of the verbal substantive as well as accusative objects begin to attract attention [...]]

(Eienkel 1914a: 48-9)

While the articlelessness of the verbal noun in positions where a determiner would be expected (Eienkel: ibid; Brunner 1962/II: 352) can be viewed as a transitory stage,

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<sup>35</sup>A contrary belief is maintained by Visser (1984: 1096ff.), who argues for copious enough textual evidence to represent the gerund as an established category in Middle English.

accusative<sup>36</sup> governing power of the *-ing*-form, as mentioned by Einenkel, represents one of the most decisive factors in determining a gerund construction, as taking a direct object in the oblique case is an evident feature of transitive verbs, in contrast to nouns requiring an object in the genitive<sup>37</sup>. This non-prepositional, non-genitival object of the gerund is still frequently found in pre-position to the *-ing*-form (thus forming a quasi-compound)<sup>38</sup> in eME, but is later ousted by the now common post-positional construction (Kisbye 1971: 56). By 1300, the use of the *-ing*-form in combination with an accusative object appears to be established convention, and can be found in an increasing amount of instances (ibid).

A second feature characteristic for the gerund is its ability to govern a predicative complement (cf. PDE *the advantages of being friendly*), while a further, highly distinctive property of this form is constituted by its taking an adverbial modifier instead of an adjectival one, as does the verbal noun. Although this development has been proposed to have already started in Old English (Mustanoja 1960: 574; et al.), locating it in the Middle English period appears to be more plausible, as the first unquestionable textual evidence for this construction is only found later (Kisbye 1971: 58). “[P]receded by an adverb and followed by an object without *of*” (Jespersen 1942/V: 120) and thus “doubly assert[ing] its verbal nature”(ibid), the gerund is most unambiguously identifiable as such, these attributes therefore constituting the most characteristic and dominant distinguishing marks.

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<sup>36</sup>The more appropriate term here would be ‘direct object’, as the English accusative is not recognisable by inflection any more, the term will, however, be used in this paper, as historically an accusative case would be required in this construction.

<sup>37</sup>

a) cf. He practises writing **letters** (G) vs. He practises the writing **of letters** (vbN) (Tajima 2005: 569).

b) According to Kisbye (1971: 57), objects in the inflected genitive were still in widespread use in eME, but were superseded by the genitival *of*-periphrasis around 1200. Pronominal objects could appear without or with the preposition (ibid).

<sup>38</sup>Compare van Gaaf (1928: 33ff.) for a discussion of the origins of the pre-position of the common case object.

The syntax of the subject of the gerund is a highly interesting issue and shows a rather peculiar development, as in contrast to the commonly expected (in OE as well as in PDE) genitive or possessive pronoun, from the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards the subject is also found in the common case (object case of pronouns)<sup>39</sup> with the earliest undisputed examples dating from around 1400 (Mustanoja 1960: 573-4; Kisbye 1971: 58)<sup>40</sup>. Although rather infrequently occurring until the early 17<sup>th</sup> century<sup>41</sup>, the common-case subject enjoys increasing popularity from then on (Tajima 2005: 571), leading to the use of the genitival variant being felt as rather pedantic or archaising in PDE (Spitzbardt 1958: 35; OED *-ing*<sup>1</sup>). Pronouns in the object case functioning as the subject of a gerundial form seem to appear slightly later around the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century<sup>42</sup>, and are rare until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, “much more so than the gerund with a noun subject in the common case” (Tajima 2005: 575), but see a similar rapid increase in use afterwards (ibid: 574)<sup>43</sup>.

The source of this phenomenon of alternation in case-forms, which Eienkel (1914a: 34) calls “das interessanteste aber auch schwierigste gebiet auf dem entwicklungsgange des gerundiums [the most interesting yet most difficult area in the development of the gerund]”, and which, according to Tajima (2005: 570) “shows that the gerund, which was a pure noun

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<sup>39</sup>

a) cf. PDE *the time of her departing/my mother's departing*.

b) Corresponding to the genitive in object function, the subjective inflected genitive was ousted by the of-periphrases from 1200 onwards (Kisbye 1971: 58).

<sup>40</sup>Compare the well-known example of *I insist upon Miss Sharp appearing* (1848 Thackeray, Van. Fair XI 48) or PDE *What is the use of me speaking?* (Tajima 2005: 569). A possible pre-1350 example often mentioned in literature is Cursor Mundi 2396: *thoru corn wantyng*.

<sup>41</sup>A similar chronology is found in van Gaaf (1928), Brunner (1962) and Schibbye (1982), while Visser (1984: 1172) suggests first examples to appear around 1200, relating the development to the loss of inflectional endings (cf. also Langenhove 1925: 128). Jespersen (1978) claims a later emergence at the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>42</sup>An exact dating is aggravated by the relatively high amount of ambiguous borderline-cases, as due to the absence of apostrophes in ME/eModE formally distinguishing between the common case plural and genitive plural as well as genitive singular seems almost impossible (cf. spoken language) (Tajima 2005: 571).

<sup>43</sup>Tajima (2005: 575) proposes first appearances to be found as early as around 1400, but is consent with the other views voiced here.

in origin, has furthered its verbal character in one more respect”, remains unclear to this day. Theories voiced in this regard include its being the result of a certain ambiguity between case-forms as mentioned above (cf. also Langenhove) which has, however, been doubted as not influential enough to generate the emergence of a completely innovative construction (van Gaaf 1928: 68-9; Einkenkel 1914a: 36), as well as Tajima’s suggestion that “the noun before the gerund may, in fact, be a survival of OE genitives without –s, in the light of the fact that the s-less genitive was used in all ME dialects” (2005: 573). Others (Mustanoja 1960) propose a connection to the appositively used participle, whereas French influence is claimed by van Gaaf (1928) and Jack (1988) (among others), especially concerning instances such as ME *Personrysyngel/ Pe son-settyng* (PLAlex. 49/11-12), which, as van Gaaf (1928: 70-1) argues, were not considered compounds by the speakers, but represent direct calques from OF *le soleil levant/ colchant* (ibid; Tajima 2005: 574). While van Gaaf (ibid) entirely ascribes the common-case subject construction to French influence, Tajima is slightly reluctant to do so, yet admits that “[w]hether our ME idioms are OF calques or not, it can hardly be denied that they are somehow connected with the OF idioms” (2005: 574).

A further and final approximation of the gerundial constructions to a completely verbal nature is represented by their acquisition of the ability to be distinguished in tense and voice, contrary to the original temporal and active/passive indifference of the non-finites. While the later, namely periphrastic passive constructions (e.g. PDE *being hunted*) start to appear in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>44</sup>, instances of an analytic perfects (e.g. PDE *having hunted*) can be found from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards, this late processes illustrating the long and complex development of the –ing-form in English (Mustanoja 1960: 573; Kisbye 1971: 59; Jespersen 1978: 185).

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<sup>44</sup>Jespersen (1978: 185) claims a much later emergence of the passival forms around 1600.

As can be seen, the gerund constitutes a highly peculiar and interesting form, having undergone various processes and extensions, “[t]hanks to [which] the ing has clearly become a most valuable means of expressing tersely and neatly relations that must else have been indicated by clumsy dependent clauses“ (Jespersen 1978: 186). Evidently, further subtypes to the aforementioned constructions and instances of contaminations are easily found as well, however, covering every possible formation is impossible in this context of a limited-scale paper; the reader is thus referred to the extensive secondary literature on the topic (cf. especially Visser (1984: 1096- 1212) for a list of possible types of gerundial constructions).

## **5.2. Origin & Development**

As touched upon in the previous chapter, the “when and how” (Mustanoja 1960: 567) of the emergence of the gerund probably constitutes one of the most complex issues in the history of the English language and great disagreement on the key factors involved remains even though abundant research has been carried out in this field.

In the following sections, the main theories and hypotheses concerning the origin of the gerundial construction will be presented and briefly discussed. Here, the basic structure given in George Jack’s article “The origins of the English gerund” (1988) will be followed, as he, although certainly not above criticism, provides a very nice and clear overview of the chief views proposed so far and a guiding example in view of the rather overwhelming amount of secondary literature on the topic is found to be of great help.

### **5.2.1. Compounds**

One of the earliest theories in this context was proposed by Curme, who defended an entirely native source of the gerund, stating that “[t]o the riter [sic!] it is a pure English development.

It is as clear as the day” (Curme 1914: 495) and furthermore supported a very early development of the gerundial features, declaring that “ther [sic!] was a lively feeling for the gerund in Old English. The characteristic forms ar [sic!] already firmly establisht [sic!]“ (Curme 1914: 496).

Curme’s basic assumption rests on the belief “that relationships within compounds may be extended into phrasal use” (Jack 1988: 18), as he explains the acquisition of the accusative-governing power of the gerund by a dissolution of compounds (with their second member being an *-ing*-form) into their constituents (Curme 1914: 493ff.). Curme thus claims instances such as OE *boc-ræding* ‘book-reading’ to have been broken up into their constituents in the course of OE, the old uninflected accusative form then moving into a post-position to its principal without any inserted preposition (yielding OE *ræding boc*), and the *-ing*-form thereby acquiring verbal regimen (Curme: *ibid*). To justify and account for his assumptions, Curme (*ibid*) further proposes a rather elaborate and complex theory of stress patterns and word order in Old English, even coining a new term and concept of ‘group-words’ which would differ from common compounds in their accentual behaviour and subsequently explaining the dissolution of the compounds by a shift of the group-stress from the first element to the final (Callaway 1929: 37)<sup>45</sup>.

However, these suppositions were rather harshly criticised from early on (Curme and Einkenkel attacking each other back and forth in *Anglia* 38 (1914) and elsewhere) and on various levels: While on the one hand, the textual evidence presented by Curme was repeatedly claimed to be inadequate und unreliable as mainly taken from interlinear glosses as well as texts based on Latin originals (Jack 1988: 20; Onions 1914-5: 169-71; Callaway 1929: 37ff.), on the other hand, the principles of Curme’s theory were equally radically crushed,

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<sup>45</sup>Curme further attempts to account for the absence of a gerund in the other Germanic languages, stating that in German compounds such as *Kopf-verletzung* a break-up was hindered by different conditions in stress pattern. (Curme 1914: 494).

Jack going so far as to call his assumption of OE group-stress a “bizarre argument” (1988: 21), whereas Einkenkel simply states that “[...] im allgemeinen [hat] die nachstellung der objekte, sowie anderer adverbialer bestimmungen mit einer etwaigen tonverschiebung nichts zu tun [in general, the post-positioning of the objects, as well as other adverbial modifiers, has nothing to do with a possible shift in stress“ (1914b: 501). Similarly, the postulation of a great significance of gerundial compounds in Old and Middle English was already refuted by van Gaaf (1928: 71).

### **5.2.2. Development as result of formal coalescence**

A second theory drawing on exclusively native forces behind the development of the gerund, namely explaining the gerund as a result of the alleged formal coalescence of the present participle and the verbal noun (as well as the inflected infinitive), which has been dealt with in chapter (4), is one frequently found in secondary literature. So does, e.g. Jespersen state that “[t]he coalescence in form of the verbal substantive and of the present participle is, of course, one of the chief factors in this development“ (1978: 183). Further supporters of this view include Armstrong (1892) as well as Poutsma (1923), Langenhove (1925) and Mossé (1957), Kisbye (1971: 55) at least committing to a certain possibility of the “phonological and morphological confusion [...] hav[ing] caused the verbal force of the present participle to be extended to the noun in *-ing*“. A similar stance is taken by Mustanoja (1960: 570), claiming that it is “difficult to believe that this confusion of forms did not bring the noun in *-ing* into closer connection with the present participle and the infinitive and thus promote its use as the gerund“, as well as Fischer (1992: 250), who agrees with the plausibility of a syntactic confusion resulting from certain phonological developments, and explains that “[a]n immediate consequence of all this was an enormous expansion of the functional load of the form in *-ing*” (ibid).

However, although seemingly rather popular, this theory is difficult to maintain when considering the Northern situation, where gerundial forms are easily found despite their expected absence according to the hypotheses voiced above, as they should not be present in dialects not displaying the feature of the formal merger (Jack 1988: 25ff.). Furthermore, instances of gerunds occur at a very early stage, rendering arguments claiming Southern influence little plausible (ibid)<sup>46</sup>.

Nevertheless, “[i]t does not follow from this [...] that the coalescence of the –ing noun with the participle had no role in furthering the verbalization of the former; as Jack (1988) also admits, “in practice it is likely that merger of the two forms did promote the use of the [verbal] gerund”, even though it may not have been its ultimate source” (Fanego 1996: 102).

### 5.2.3. Development from Inflected/ Uninflected Infinitive

The assumption of the gerund having developed out of the inflected infinitive is based on rather unsteady foundations and has therefore not found too much support, nevertheless, for conclusiveness’ sake, it will be briefly summarised here. As pointed out before, this prepositional infinitive was typically characterised by the suffix *–enne* or later *–anne*<sup>47</sup> (Mustanoja 1960: 512), however, a variant form *–ende (-inde)* was sporadically used in the Southern dialects, which would, in tow of the homonymous participial forms’ coalescence with the *–ing*-forms, become to end in *–ing* as well, retaining, however, its syntactical properties of an infinitive (Jack 1988: 28). While Einkenkel (1915/6: 14ff.) affirms the

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<sup>46</sup>The issue of the gerund in the Northern dialects and in particular Scots will, of course, be addressed and dealt with in the subsequent chapters, and it is hoped that an analysis of the gerundial forms in the HCOS will yield relevant results in order to further clarify this point. (However, seeing that the HCOS only comprises texts from the MSc period from 1450 onwards, no results will possibly be achieved in regard to the early development of the gerund in Scots).

<sup>47</sup>Einkenkel actually calls this infinitival type the ‘gerundial infinitive’ (1915/6: 14), thus drawing on a significant connection between these two forms.

inflected infinitive to have played a significant role in the development of the gerund, Poutsma considers the inflected infinitive as a possible “secondary source of the gerund” (1923: 167), nevertheless, arguments in favour of a direct and decisive link between gerund and second infinitive appear rather weak, as the infinitival variant *–ende* occurred very infrequently and was restricted to the Southern area, whereas the gerund from early on was found in the other regions as well (Callaway 1929: 32ff. ; Jack 1988: 28-9), Jack (ibid) therefore claiming that it seems “highly improbably that this unusual and recessive form of the infinitive could be the source from which the gerund arose”<sup>48</sup>.

A second theory including the infinitive is largely based on Langenhove (1925), who traces the origin of the gerund back to the uninflected infinitival form, stating that

the gerund merely continues the e.Mid.E. non-prepositional infinitive in *–n*, never losing its original dual nature, that of being both a noun and a verb, and its equally original ability to interchange in various constructions with the prepositional infinitive

(1925: 131).

This development is explained by a twofold approximation of the respective suffixes to each other, one the one hand, the verbal noun in *–ing* getting in contact with the infinitival ending when reduced in its consonant cluster (*–ing* > [in/ən]) (ibid: 8ff.), and on the other hand, the “phonetic possibility” (Kisbye 1971: 55) of the infinitival final [n] > [ŋ], this formal identity ultimately leading to the infinitive adopting certain syntactical features of the verbal noun (Jack 1988: 30.)

Counter-arguments to this proposal include the dialectal distribution of the infinitive, as in the Northern dialects the final dental nasal was lost early (Brunner 1938: 74; et al.), yet equally early instances of a gerund can be found, their “presence [...being] incompatible with van

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<sup>48</sup>Compare also Onions (1914/5: 169-71), who stresses a clear distinction between the “true gerund” and the inflected infinitive.

Langenhove's account" (Jack 1988: 34). Furthermore, the variant forms and phonological processes suggested by Langenhove (1925) appear to have been rather exceptional, infrequent and restricted in their impact, and thus implausible to have initiated a highly innovative syntactic development such as the emergence of the gerund (Jack: 31ff.).

#### **5.2.4. Foreign influences**

One major dividing line between opinions in the discussion of the origin of the gerund is constituted by the question of native in contrast to foreign forces having been at work, illustrated by the contrasting positions of Jespersen (1942/V: 90), stating that "[t]he whole thing is a perfectly natural consequence of native English conditions, and there is hardly any need for invoking foreign influence to any great extent" and Callaway (1929: 40), who devaluates arguments in favour of a native development as unconvincing.

While in the previous sections, hypotheses in favour of a purely inner-English development have been presented, the following sections will see a brief discussion of the foreign processes which might have exercised their influence on the English gerund.

##### **5.2.4.1. Celtic**

A significant influence of the Celtic substratum on the English language (cf. chapter (2)) has been repeatedly proposed as well as doubted, the extent of mutual impact (little lexical influence, and less grammatical) not appearing to be as great as one would expect it to be according to the long co-existence of these languages in a rather isolated geographical situation. Nevertheless, a contributory influence of Celtic on the development of the gerund has repeatedly been suggested (cf. Dal 1952; Kisbye 1971), drawing on the highly extensive use of verbal nouns in particular constructions (comparable to the gerund with direct object) in the Celtic languages (Jack 1988: 35; Kisbye 1971: 56), which usage would have been transferred to English (Jack: *ibid*). The plausibility of a Celtic source of this phenomenon is,

however, rather low, due to the little impact of Celtic languages on other features of the English language and the only slight extent of Celtic loanwords in English, as well as the geographical distribution of the gerund not corresponding to actual contact situations (Jack 1988: 35-6), a certain structural parallel between the English gerund and the Celtic verbal nouns possibly being pure coincidence (Kisbye 1971: 56).

#### **5.2.4.2. Latin**

The second language of relevance in this context is Latin, which has repeatedly been named the original source of the English gerund. One key supporter of this theory is certainly Callaway (1929), who argues the gerund's governing power of a direct object to have arisen under the influence of Latin texts, rejecting the assumption of a native development (1929: 41ff.)<sup>49</sup> and claiming the earliest instances of English gerundial forms to be direct imitations of the Latin usage, thus rendering Latin gerunds or gerundives, as well as occasional infinitives, participles or finite verbs (Callaway 1929: 41; Jack 1988:37). The chief problem with this theory is, however, its dependence on the acceptance or non-acceptance of the Old English evidence presented in its support (Moessner 1997: 341), as rather great controversy prevails concerning the representativeness of examples in interlinear glosses (Mustanoja 1960: 568). While Jack (1988) as well as Einkenkel (1914b) disagree with considering such examples in the discussion of the origin of the gerund, the former claiming that they "characteristically render the Latin of the Bible word for word, with little regard for natural English idiom, and they cannot be relied on to exemplify customary OE usage" (1988: 38), the latter similarly stating that

[e]s ist aber deutlich erkennbar, daß sie sämtlich ganz sklavische und mechanische nachbildungen von lateinischen gerundien sind und ebensowenig beweisen können, daß sie zu dem eigentlichen körper ihrer sprache gehören [yet it is clearly visible that

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<sup>49</sup>However, Callaway (1929: 46) does not deny other factors such as the coalescence of participle and verbal noun, as well as OF influence to have played a role in furthering and promoting the use of the gerundial features later in ME.

they [the examples] are all purely slavish and mechanical imitations of Latin gerunds and cannot prove that they belong to the proper body of their language]

(1914b: 499),

such rejection of data from interlinear texts has recently been criticised as inadequate and questionable (Moessner 1997: 341). Corresponding to Callaway, Moessner (1997: 341) thus supports admitting glosses as evidence, as “translations are often the entrance gate for borrowings” (ibid)<sup>50</sup>.

The particular relevance of this debate lies in the entire chronology of the English gerund’s (as discussed in chapter (5.1.) above) dependence on such considerations, as “if one accepts [these examples] as forerunners of corresponding ME *-ing*-constructions [...] they are continuations of OE constructions” (ibid), if, however, they are refused, the emergence of the gerund has to be located in the Middle English period, with French being the only “plausible foreign model for construction” (Jack 1988: 37). The possibility of such French influence will be discussed in the following section.

#### **5.2.4.3. French**

The assumption of the OF ‘gerondif’ construction playing a significant role in the development of the English gerund enjoys rather great popularity, with Einkenkel (1914a), Mustanoja (1960) and Brunner (1962 et al.) as well as Poutsma (1923) arguing in favour of an at least considerable contributory influence of Norman French on this aspect of English grammar. While Einkenkel, in his article “Die Entwicklung des englischen Gerundiums [The development of the English Gerund]” (1914: 20ff.) claims a primarily native source of the gerund in the interaction of infinitive and verbal noun, he on the other hand stresses the necessity of Anglo-Norman reinforcement on the construction, which would otherwise have not gained such importance (Mustanoja 1960: 571).

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<sup>50</sup>Examples for early gerunds outside Latin glosses which have been put forward in this discussion are all rather ambiguous and can be interpreted differently, thus equally controversial as evidence as the Latinate instances (cf. Jack (1988: 39): “none [of these examples] can be accepted as giving good evidence of OE usage”).

Jack, although admitting a certain Anglo-Norman impact on the English language, the present participle and the gerund having coalesced there in a form *-ant* in the course of the 10<sup>th</sup> century (Kisbye 1971: 56), believes this “influence from OFr gerundial usage” (Jack 1988: 51) to be restricted, in certain functions “merely reinforce[ing] an existing participial construction in English” (ibid). However, constructions of the ME type ‘preposition + *-ing*-form + subject/object’ are seen as innovations imported from French, not having any correspondences in OE (Jack 1988: 53ff.)<sup>51</sup>.

Further constructions possibly originating in French usage mentioned in Jack (1988: 56ff.) include adverbially modified gerunds as well as the above mentioned gerunds with common-case subjects or objects, however, “the fact that there are characteristics of ME gerundial usage which match features of the OFr gerund cannot simply be taken as evidence that the English gerund arose through influence from French” (Jack 1988: 59), instead, French impact most plausibly constitutes one contributing factor among many (ibid: 60)<sup>52</sup>.

### 5.2.5. Morphological productivity of verbal noun

The hypothesis of the origin of the gerund lying in the high morphological productivity of the verbal noun was put forward by Ingerid Dal in 1952, and has, although interesting, not met with much response in the scientific community. The theory basically draws on the distinction between inflectional and derivational morphemes, the former enjoying “automatic productivity” (Jack 1988: 41), as they may be attached to every member of a particular word-class, while the latter are restricted in their application and productivity (ibid), “her argument [then being] that a suffix which comes to be of unrestricted productivity will shift out of the

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<sup>51</sup>Moessner (1997: 341), in contrast, ascribes these constructions to Latin influence, already appearing in OE (cf. “The existence or non-existence of an OE forerunner of the ME *-ing*-construction in the function “complement in a prepositional syntagm” hinges on the acceptance or non-acceptance of the OE evidence” (ibid).

<sup>52</sup>Furthermore, Jack states considerable differences in syntactic characteristics between the ME gerund and the OFr *gérondif*, thus, a simple transfer is rather unlikely.

system of derivational morphology and enter that of inflectional morphology” (ibid). This transition would in turn represent a shift between a ‘deverbal abstract noun’ and ‘true verbal noun’<sup>53</sup>, the former belonging to the nominal system, the latter displaying verbal characteristics (Jack 1988: 40-43), thus constituting the origin of the English gerund.

Although this view certainly has to be criticised, as the “gerund was evidently a new form that arose in addition to the older verbal noun, and not simply a product of evolutionary change in the verbal noun” (ibid: 43) and it appears unlikely that such processes form the primary source of the gerundial forms, a high morphological productivity of the *-ing*-suffix most probably was an essential feature of the verbal noun, constituting “a necessary preliminary condition” (ibid: 45) for the evolution of the gerund in English.

#### **5.2.6. Phrases of genitive noun + verbal noun**

A further possible source of at least a partial aspect of the gerund is offered in point (8) of Jack’s account (1988: 45-50), when the construction of the gerund preceded by a common-case subject or object is traced back to phrases of genitive nouns and verbal nouns, as proposed by Visser (1984: 1172; cf. chapter (5.1.) p.61, note41). Since, however, these constructions have already been discussed above, this hypothesis will not be further reviewed here.

#### **5.2.7. Resistance of the infinitive to take prepositions**

The final hypothesis put forward in Jack (1988: 61-62), which finds support in Fanego (1966: 121ff.) explains the emergence of the gerund in English by means of its relationship to the infinitive, the two constructions to a certain extent overlapping in their syntactic properties, and standing in competition to each other in certain functions. While theories claiming the

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<sup>53</sup>The terminology applied here is most probably taken from Dal’s article, however, as mentioned before, only indirect references can be made to this work due to its unavailability to the author.

gerund to have evolved out of original infinitives were presented in section (5.2.3.) above, the following considerations draw on a different concept, stressing the importance of prepositional syntagmata.

According to Fanego (1996: 125), during the Middle English period, prepositions saw an immense increase in use, resulting from the corrosion of the OE system of inflections, which in consequence gave “rise to a situation in which a nominal form of the verb capable of functioning as prepositional complement was often” (ibid) called for. However, the infinitive, which would have been expected to step up in such circumstances, displayed a certain reluctance, or rather, inability to enter prepositional phrases from early on<sup>54</sup>, and thus restricted in its usage, left a “gap in the range of syntactic patterns” (Jack 1988: 62). The syntactic system then demanding the introduction of a new form able to be used in this construction, “the verbal noun may have come to fill this gap” (ibid).

Although it is hardly possible to determine whether such process constitutes the very origin of the gerund, or merely contributed to its promotion (Jack: ibid), it would certainly nicely account for the “marked tendency [...] for all kinds of gerunds to function as prepositional complements” (Fanego 1966: 124-5) which is suggested by textual evidence<sup>55</sup>.

### **5.3. Conclusion**

In the previous sections, it has been attempted to provide an overview of the key theories voiced in regard to the development of the English gerund and the most important factors involved in it, by means of the organisational structure presented in Jack (1988). As can easily be seen, finding consent between the manifold views which were proposed in this regard

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<sup>54</sup>Compare Callaway (1913) for a detailed discussion of the features of the Anglo-Saxon infinitive.

<sup>55</sup>A similar ‘gap-filling-hypothesis’ is proposed in Fischer (1992) to account for the gerund in object function (cf. also Moessner 1997: 345).

appears to be rather complicated. The most plausible approach, which literature increasingly (cf. e.g. Mustanoja 1960: 572) seems to agree upon taking is to

[suggest] that the development of the English gerund was brought about by the convergence of various contributory factors, as a result of which they were able to act in a concerted way, each reinforcing the effect of the others. The conclusion towards which the evidence points, therefore, is not merely that several distinct factors contributed to the emergence of the English gerund, but also that the effectiveness of these factors is likely to have been dependent on the way in which they dovetailed together

(Jack 1988: 64).

Furthermore, it appears reasonable to assume that the gerund acquired its verbal features through various routes and at different pace, depending on the type of phrase involved

(Fanego 1996: 125).

Possible correlations between the development of the gerund and the progressive tenses will be examined in the next chapter.

## **6. The Progressive**

A further important and highly significant issue which has to be considered when dealing with the infinite verb forms in the course of the history of English is the evolution and functions of a construction consisting of a form of *be* and the present participle of the type ‘I am writing this paper’. Although abundantly discussed in scholarly discourse, a homogenous terminology seems to be lacking, with various different labels for the construction being in circulation. The most commonly used term, at least in popular speech, is ‘progressive’, ‘progressive form’ or ‘progressive tenses’ (cf. e.g. Mustanoja (1960); Scheffer (1975); Mitchell (1985 et al.) or Denison (1993)), alluding to the action as being in progress. A second name often found in school grammars is ‘continuous tenses’, similarly drawing on the construction’s “describ[ing] an action as going on or a state as existing at some time or during some period, or as having been continued up to some point of time present, past, or future” (Onions 1904: 112). Sweet

(1898:103ff.), stressing the ‘shortness’ and ‘immediateness’ of the periphrasis, prefers the term ‘definite tenses’, while Jespersen (1954) in an attempt to provide a more neutral form, introduces the name ‘expanded tenses’. This is taken up by Nickel (1966) as well as Kisbye (1971) and Scheler (1982), though in the slightly modified variant of ‘expanded form’ in order to avoid predefining the construction by the concept of ‘tenses’ (Nickel 1966: 9, note1). German-speaking linguists such as Eienkel (1915/6) and Raith (1951) usually apply the plain term “Umschreibung [periphrasis]” (Raith 1951: III), and the same is done by the French scholar Mossé in his extensive work *Histoire de la Forme Périphrastique être + participe présent en Germanique* (1938). Further labels which can be found in literature include ‘subjective form’, ‘temporary aspect’ and ‘imperfective tenses’ (stated in Scheffer 1975: 2), as well as the term ‘resolved tenses’, which is used by Mitchell/Robinson (1986: 109) to refer to constructions comprising an auxiliary and a (past or present) participle or infinitive<sup>56</sup>.

While in Old English the progressive is only found in the present and preterite tenses, in the infinitive and in the imperative mood, to express emphasis in prayers, other constructions only begin to appear later, a future progressive construction emerging towards the late 13<sup>th</sup> century, followed by the perfect progressive at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, and a pluperfect in the 16<sup>th</sup> (Mustanoja 1960: 591; Scheffer 1975: 252-3).

Periphrastic passive constructions of the progressive of the type ‘the house is being built’ do not occur before the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, but see a rapid increase in use in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (ibid). Active progressive forms with passive meaning of the type ‘the house is building’, which were frequent between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, will be briefly addressed in section (6.2.) below.

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<sup>56</sup>In this paper, for convenience’s sake the term ‘progressive’ will be used in contrast to ‘simple’ verbs.

## 6.1. Origin & Development

Considering the development of the progressive construction from Old English to Modern English, a two-fold discussion arises, both issues being equally subject to much scholarly dispute. First, rather great disagreement prevails on the origin of the Old English periphrasis comprising *beon/wesan* and the present participle in *-ende*<sup>57</sup>, mainly concerning the assumption of either an entirely native English source of the construction or of foreign influence being the chief factor. The second argument relates to the development of the progressive in Middle English, since two different ME constructions, namely the continuance of the OE periphrasis in contrast to a phrase *be* + preposition *on* + verbal noun in *-ing*, are possible sources of PDE *be X-ing*. Not surprisingly, the possibility of French influence having played a role in this development has been proposed as well.

### 6.1.1. The progressive in OE (*beon/wesan* + *-ende*)

The overall frequency of constructions of a form of OE *beon* or *wesan* in combination with the present participle ending in *-ende* in Old English seems to be relatively low in comparison with ModE (Swan 2003b: 186), nevertheless, instances occur sufficiently regularly and frequently for it to be called an established mode of construction (Scheffer 1975: 205). While the highest proportion of instances is found in OE prose texts based on Latin originals, the progressive appears to be exceedingly rare in poetry (Scheffer 1975: 141; Mustanoja 1960: 584). Since, however, “the frequency of progressives has remained low in poetry even into modern times, and OE verse texts with a similar provenance to a prose work [...] show far lower incidence of progressives than their prose counterparts” (Denison 1993: 399), these figures do not seem to be of much relevance for the discussion (cf. also Scheffer 1975: 142).

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<sup>57</sup>Of course, *-ende* here stands for all variants of the participial suffix.

In the following sections, the two main approaches concerning the origin of the Old English progressive will be presented and assessed.

#### **6.1.1.1. Native development**

Constructions of the type *be + present participle* are reported to have existed in various Semitic and Indo-European languages such as Hebrew, Aramaic, Hittite and Greek as well as Latin, in the Germanic language family, analogous periphrases can be found throughout all branches, most popular apparently in West-Germanic (Nickel 1966: 77; Scheffer 1975: 131ff.). Although highly interesting, a more detailed discussion of the early origins of the progressive would, however, lead too far in this paper, and the reader is thus referred to the works Mossé (1938), Nickel (1966) and Scheffer (1975), and the references to secondary literature given there.

For the progressive in Old English, a purely inner-English development in contrast to Latin influence being the driving force has repeatedly been proposed (Nickel: 1966; Scheffer 1975; Visser 1984; Mitchell 1985/I). So does Nickel argue the influence of Latin to have been overrated in research and stresses its being “an idiomatic, native grammatical category” (ibid: 390), while Scheffer (1975: 131ff.) similarly claims that the “progressive was an ‘autochthonous’ (indigenous) construction greatly reinforced in written Old English by Latin influence” (Denison 1993: 399).

Assuming a native development, four possible contributory constructions, which, when blending into each other, might have produced the progressive, come into consideration (Mitchell 1985/I: 279; Denison 1993: 399).

First, a connection between the progressive and predicative adjective constructions has been suggested, the progressive constituting an intermediate stage between the finite verb form and

the adjective phrase in examples such as OE *hīe blissodon/ hīe wæron blissiende/ hīe wæron blipe* ‘they rejoiced/were rejoicing/ were glad’ (Sweet 1898: 96), where *blissiende*, first considered a plain adjective, would have been reinterpreted as belonging to the verbal system (Traugott 1992: 188; Nickel 1966: 274). Such relation seems particularly plausible when considering ModE participles in adjectival function (cf. *this letter is interesting*) (Raith 1951: 7; Mitchell: *ibid*; Denison: *ibid*).

A second construction of significance in this regard is the appositive participle, as in examples such as the much cited OE *þa he on temple wæs/ lærende his discipulas* ‘then he was in the temple, teaching his disciples’ (Nickel 1966: 280), which were highly ambiguous, a transition from appositive to predicative participle could take place (*ibid*; Mitchell 1985/I: 279-80; Brunner 1962/II: 370).

Further impact was most probably exercised by constructions parallel to the progressive in which instead of *be* a verb of movement or rest was employed, as illustrated by OE *he com fleogende* ‘he came flying’ besides OE *he wæs fleogende* ‘he was flying’ (Nickel 1966: 283) or *hīe stodon singende* ‘they stood singing’ (Scheffer 1975: 132). In these constructions, the finite verbs were reduced in their meaning and approaching auxiliary status, although to a lesser extent than the *verbum substantivum* (Nickel: *ibid*; Mitchell 1985/I: 280).

Last, and, according to Nickel (1966: 283ff.), most importantly, the progressive can be deduced from constructions comprising a form of *be* and an agent noun in *-end*, which, due to their frequent occurrence and equivalence in form with the present participle might have easily been interpreted as belonging to the verbal system (Nickel: *ibid*; Mitchell: *ibid*).

Furthermore, seeing that the present participle was originally typically construed with a genitive object, phrases of the type OE *he wæs ehtend + gen* ‘he was a persecutor of’ and OE *he wæs ehtende + gen* ‘he was persecuting of’ (Mitchell 1985/I: 279), and seeing that these phrases were virtually equivalent in meaning, confusion was likely to occur (*ibid*; Denison

1993: 399; Nickel 1966: 288)<sup>58</sup>. This process was most probably supported and promoted by the later substitution of *-ere* for *-end* in agent nouns (Denison 1993: 400).

Mitchell (1985/I: 279-81) further states various secondary supporting factors, namely the restoration of the system of aspects in Old English, the general OE tendency towards analytic formations as well as the presence of a parallel periphrastic construction in Latin.

The plausibility of Latin influence on the development of the English progressive will be discussed in the following section.

#### **6.1.1.2. Latin influence**

The question of the extent of Latin influence on the progressive is, as mentioned above, a rather controversial issue. On the one hand, the expression has, due to the “close correspondence between the Latin and OE constructions in translations texts and the paucity of examples in independent ones” (Kisbye 1971: 28), frequently been claimed to be “nothing but a reflex of Latin idiom”, introduced “as an expedient in interlinear glossing for dealing with various Latin forms which had no real equivalent in Old English” (Denison 1993: 397). So does e.g. Mossé (1938: 155-6) explain the progressive as having arisen as a means to translate perfect deponentia such as Lat. *locutus est* (> OE *sprecende wæs* ‘was speaking’), constructions of Lat. *esse* in combination with a future or present participle (cf. Lat. *erat docens* > OE *wæs lærende* ‘was teaching’; Lat. *venturus est* > OE *cymende is* (Raith 1951: 109-10)) or appositive participles as in the aforementioned example of Lat. *erat in temple docens/ docens erat in temple* (Mossé: *ibid*), “the translator want[ing] to render a Latin

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<sup>58</sup>Denison does not support an original genitive government of the participle, but states that occasional instances of verbs taking a genitive object in the progressive “can be explained if the progressives derive (in part) from the agent nouns in *-end*, which would have had to have a genitive NP following” (399-400).

expression consisting of two words (an auxiliary and a verbal form) by means of a similar collocation” (Jespersen 1942/IV: 166)<sup>59</sup>.

Although, however, a certain impact as well as a promoting and accelerating effect of the parallel Latin constructions on the use of the English progressive can hardly be denied (Kisbye 1971: 29), Latin influence being the complete and sole source of the expression seems, on the other hand, unlikely. A first argument in contra is constituted by the sufficiently frequent occurrences of the periphrasis in texts independent from Latin (Kisbye 1971: 29) second, as stated by Scheffer (1975: 133) “[i]t is improbable that the glosses had much influence on the development of Old English” and third, the fact that “even in these mechanically-glosses texts the equivalence is far from exact” (Mitchell 1976: 487). Furthermore, the progressive seems to be sufficiently stable in its functions within the OE verbal system to suggest an independent, earlier development (Mitchell 1985/I: 279; Nickel 1966: 391).

### **6.1.2. The progressive in ME**

Equally debated as the development of the progressive in Old English is the development of the expression during the Middle English period, the main question being whether there is a continuity to be seen from OE *beon/wesan* + participle to the late Middle English and subsequently Modern English progressive or whether a second construction involving the verbal noun was of greater significance in this regard. Further factors which have been proposed to be of relevance for this development include French as well as Celtic influence.

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<sup>59</sup>Compare further Mitchell (1976: 487-9); Kisbye (1971: 28-9); Raith (1951: 107-110).

#### 6.1.2.1. OE continuity

Although seemingly the easiest and readiest available explanation of the ModE progressive, the assumption of a direct continuance from the OE progressive to ModE *be* + *-ing* has frequently been doubted. The main arguments in contra voiced in this regard draw on the extreme rareness and quasi-absence of the construction in the first half of the ME period, especially in the South-West of England (Kisbye 1971: 36-37, 215) as well as alleged differences in function between the OE and ModE usage (Mitchell/Robinson 1986: 110), the OE functions being rather ill-defined (Kisbye 1971: 214). In contrast, researchers such as Scheffer (1975: 244) argue that “this cannot be used as a reason to dismiss the idea of continuity in the use of the progressive altogether” and that “[a]ll the evidence at out [sic!] disposal indicates that the Old English use of the progressive was continued in Middle English, at first with a much lower frequency, which gradually increases again” (Scheffer 1975: 248), further claiming the near-absence of the form to only have been dialectal<sup>60</sup> and stating various functional overlaps in use between the OE and ModE progressive (cf. also Scheffer (1975); Nickel (1966); Mossé (1938)) in order to dismiss the counter-arguments mentioned above.

#### 6.1.2.2. OE *beon/wesan* + *on* (*a*, *in*) + *-ing*

A contrary view, first voiced by Jespersen (1954), derives the ModE progressive from an OE construction comprising a form of *be* plus the preposition *on* and the verbal noun in *-ing*. While a very early instance OE *gyrstandæg ic wæs on huntunge* ‘yesterday I was on hunting’ is found in Ælfric’s Colloquy (p24, 1.67; quoted in Scheffer 1975: 244), this periphrasis seems, however, to occur very seldom in Old English literature<sup>61</sup>, only becoming common in the

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<sup>60</sup>The high relevance of evidence from MSc texts in this context will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

<sup>61</sup>This quasi-non-existence of the prepositional construction in OE lead some researchers to suggest it was actually a “conjectural ghost-phrase” (Denison 1993: 387) unwarrantedly put on a pedestal by the supporters of this theory.

Middle English period (Mustanoja 1960: 578). From the late 13<sup>th</sup> century on, the preposition of the periphrasis is regularly substituted by *in*, which has often been proposed to be the result of French influence (Denison 1993: 387-8; Kisbye 1971: 60), both constructions occurring with active and passive meaning (Mustanoja 1960: 578). Analogous phrases of *on* + verbal noun after verbs of movement are frequently found expressing the purpose or result of the action of the respective verb (cf. ME *ich rod on fischinge* ‘I rode fishing’ (King Horn, p29, 1.684; quoted in Scheffer 1975: 245). Towards the end of the Middle English period, the preposition *on* is said to have undergone a reduction to *a*, yielding the so-called ‘*a-hunting-type*’ which reached its high-water mark between 1500 and 1700 and survived as a colloquial form into the ModE period (Mustanoja: *ibid*; Kisbye: *ibid*). This reduced preposition gradually being dropped from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards (Brunner 1962/II: 370), the construction would then have generated the ModE form ‘I was hunting’ (Jespersen 1942/IV: 169).

However, the assumption of a direct and exclusive development of the ModE progressive from these constructions has, due its relatively late gaining ground (Kisbye 1971: 37) not obtained too much popularity, with Jespersen himself changing stance in later discussions, arguing for a mutual interaction between the two constructions in question (Denison 1993: 401).

### **6.1.2.3. Fusion**

Seeing that a derivation of the ModE progressive from solely one of the abovementioned OE constructions without any interaction and mutual influence appears rather implausible at least for the Southern variants of English, the hypothesis prevailing among a large part of scholars occupied with this matter sees the progressive as the result of a formal and functional fusion between the two types (Mustanoja 1960: 587), Denison (1993: 405) describing them as “two concurrent, long-drawn-out, and in the end convergent processes”.

This hypothesis evidently heavily depends on the coalescence of participial *–ende* and the verbal noun suffix *–ing*, as through coming to share the same outward appearance, certain syntactic functions would have been lost and an amalgamation was likely to occur (Denison 1993: 400; Mustanoja: *ibid*). A further prerequisite, namely the disappearance of the reduced preposition *a(-)* can easily be accounted for by its unstressed position and parallel processes of apharesis in other quasi-prefix elements (*ibid*).

This so-called ‘blending-theory’ is summarised by Jespersen (1942/IV: 169) as follows:

[T]he modern English expanded tenses are in some vague way a continuation of the old combinations of the auxiliary verb and the participle in *–ende*; but after this ending had been changed into *–inge* and had thus become identical with that of the verbal substantive, an amalgamation took place of this construction and the combination *be on* + the sb, in which *on* had become *a* and was then dropped [...]. This amalgamation accounts, not only for the greatly increasing frequency of the construction, but also for the much greater precision with which the expanded forms are used in modern times [...].”

Although a more prominent role seems to be ascribed here to OE *beon* + participle, broad consent persisting on the view that the main source of the ME and ModE progressive is constituted by the continuant of this construction, a contributory and encouraging force of the prepositional form after the phrases’ assimilation is equally generally accepted (Mustanoja 1960: 588; Denison 1993: 400; Visser 1984: 1096).

In contrast, Dal (1952) emphasises the verbal noun-construction as the chief basis on which the ModE periphrasis is built, arguing that in Old English, the types of ‘he wæs feohtende’ and ‘he wæs on feohtinge’ were co-existing, distributed according to social classes (Scheffer 1975: 246), the former belonging to literary style, the latter occurring in popular usage, which seldom found its way into written evidence (*ibid*; Mustanoja 1960: 588; Denison 1993: 400-2). In certain syntactical contexts, these constructions would have been indifferently applicable, causing them to blend into each other (Traugott 1992: 189-90; Mossé 1957: 159).

Subsequently, “die anfänglich vulgäre Gerundialfügung hat nach und nach die Partizipialfügung verdrängt, aber durch Einfluss der letzteren entstand der präpositionslose Typus [to be doing] [the originally vernacular gerundial construction gradually ousted the participial construction, but through the impact of the latter the prepositionless type [to be doing] was coined” (Dal 1952: 100; quoted in Scheffer 1975: 247).

However, Dal’s theory has been criticised as “very imaginative” (Scheffer 1975: 246), since documentary evidence for OE popular usage can hardly be obtained, as a result, “the evidence [seems] largely circumstantial [...] and much of the argument is speculative” (Denison 1993: 401-2).

Dal (among others) further proposes considerable influence from the Celtic substrate languages on the Old and Middle English progressive (Denison 1993: 401; Scheffer 1975: 230-1 et al.). While these languages lack a present participle (Nickel 1966: 299), a construction of *be* + preposition *on* + verbal noun is abundantly used, leading Dal (1952) to assume significant interferences on the periphrasis in popular OE and ME usage (Scheffer: *ibid*). However, supporting evidence is scarce and similar to other grammatical areas where Celtic might have played a role, such involvement appears almost impossible to prove (Mustanoja 1960: 590; Denison 1993: 401-2), Scheffer stating that “[i]t seems doubtful that there ever was any appreciable Celtic influence on the increase in the use of the progressive” (1975: 230).

## 6.2. Function/Meaning

Not surprisingly, a rather overwhelming number of differing views on the functions and meanings<sup>62</sup> have been put forward since the beginning of research on the topic, as is made clear by the following statement by Nickel (1966: 233):

Die Gesamtheit der bisher für die Funktionen der altenglischen EF vertretenen Meinungen stellt sich als ein Spektrum von Auffassungen dar, das von absoluter Indifferenz der Form über eine Vielzahl ihr zugeschriebener und in bunten Reihenfolgen gruppierter Einzelfunktionen bis zum Postulat einer einzigen ihr speziell zukommenden Grundfunktion variiert [The total of the opinions which have been advanced for the functions of the Old English EF represents a spectrum of views ranging from complete indifference of the form to a multitude of individual functions ascribed to it and grouped in varying order, to the postulate of one single special basic function]<sup>63</sup>.

In order to present and assess all of these, however, a whole separate paper would be needed, thus, only the more frequently proposed and most popular hypotheses will be given in this chapter, yet no critical analysis will be provided. Furthermore, the differences in usage between OE and ME will not be addressed, and no account of the functions of the periphrasis in Modern English can be offered. What is clear, though, is that differences can be seen in the use of the construction between the respective periods, with the progressive in OE being little stabilised in its meaning, constituting “a locution still in process of development” (Nickel

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<sup>62</sup>The term ‘function’ here does not refer to the syntactic properties shown by the construction but is used as an equivalent to ‘meaning’.

<sup>63</sup>A prime example of such overzealous identification of features is Mossé, claiming no less than twelve different functions for the progressive form in Old and Middle English:

Les diverses valeurs de la périphrase avec *beon-wesan* sont déjà si riches qu’elles nous obligent à distinguer l’actualité, la durée indéterminée, la permanence, la valeur descriptive, la durée limitée et l’emploi avec adverbes de temps, la répétition, la simultanéité, la valeur ingressive, l’irréel; puis les différentes valeurs affectives; enfin divers tours stylistiques pour terminer par le caractère facultatif de la forme périphrastique et le cas d’indifférenciation [The diverse values of the periphrasis with *beon-wesan* are so manifold that they oblige us to distinguish actuality, indefinite duration, permanence, descriptive value, limited duration and the use with temporal adverbs, repetition, simultaneity, ingressive value, the unreal and different emotional values, finally diverse stylistic features to conclude the optional character of the periphrastic form, as well as the case of indifference]

(Mossé 1938: 203).

1966: 391), nevertheless, the form appears to have “show[n] clear tendencies which are not dissimilar to those apparent in modern English” (ibid).

A concept which has frequently been claimed to be of relevance in the discussion of the progressive is the one of ‘aspect’ (as well as ‘Aktionsart’)<sup>64</sup>, as one of the key functions ascribed to this expression is ‘durativity’ or ‘imperfectivity’ (Mossé 1969: 131; et al.), emphasising the action as such, in contrast to the simple form which would be used for general statements of facts (Brunner 1955: 218). However, the validity of this theory has been doubted insofar as durativity does not seem to be restricted to the progressive but can be claimed for simple verbs as well (Nickel 1966: 247-8; et al.). On the other hand, a certain relation between the form and the concept of duration does seem to exist, as perfective verbs are rarely found in the progressive (ibid).

Other functions proposed for the periphrasis are the notion of a ‘time-frame’, referring to the idea “that the action or state denoted by the expanded tense is thought of as *a temporal frame encompassing something else* which as often as not is to be understood from the whole situation” (Nickel 1966: 249; cf. Jespersen 1942/IV: 178-9), as well as intensive meaning (Raith 1951: 105) or the assumption of the periphrasis possessing a greater descriptive force than the simple form as a result of its length and consequently greater weight (Mustanoja 1960: 594-5; Kisbye 1971: 39; et al.). This inherent feature would account for the fact that the “progressive is used with great frequency in vivid narrative and emotional style” (Denison 1993: 210), while the non-progressive form prevails in matter-of-fact statements in textual genres such as scientific treatises or biographies (Brunner 1962/II: 378).

Furthermore, the periphrasis has been claimed to express inchoativity (cf. Denison 1993: 209) simultaneity (Jespersen 1942/IV: 180), habitual and repetitive actions (Mustanoja 1960: 594),

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<sup>64</sup>The difference between ‘aspect’ and ‘Aktionsart’ cannot be addressed in this paper as it would lead too far, the reader is thus referred to the standard works on this issue.

ingressivity or actuality (Kisbye 1971: 30), subjectivity (Denison 1993: 210), as well as possessing a characterising function (Nickel 1966: 265) and various others. However, the postulation of many of these has been criticised and doubted as not constituting grammatical differences, and not being part of the meaning of the progressive itself, but rather being highly dependent on the context and accompanying elements such as adverbs and others (Mitchell 1985/I: 275).

Apart from these various meanings attributed to this construction, a feature displayed by the progressive which needs to be at least briefly addressed in this regard regards the rather curious instances of the progressive having passive meaning, fairly common between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century (Brunner 1962/II: 375). Illustrated by examples such as ‘the house is building’<sup>65</sup>, this peculiarity has been explained by three differing ideas (Denison 1993: 408ff.), the first of which traces the passival progressive back to the abovementioned phrase of *be + on + -ing*, drawing on “the original voice-neutrality of the verbal noun” (ibid; cf. Jespersen 1942/IV: 205), the preposition having been reduced and subsequently lost.

Another approach views the form as preserving the original neutrality to active- or passiveness of the present participle (as pointed out in chapter (3.1.1), cf. Denison: ibid; Mossé 1938; Scheffer 1975), while other scholars derive the passival meaning from the verbs themselves, as being in ergative or medio-passive usage (Denison: ibid), and again others propose the construction to result from an ellipsis of a reflexive pronoun<sup>66</sup> (ibid).

Furthermore, the expression has been suggested to originate from a combination of these different putative sources, each affecting different classes of verbs (ibid), which seems at least fairly plausible for the Southern dialects, but cannot account for the development in the North, as will be revealed in the following chapter.

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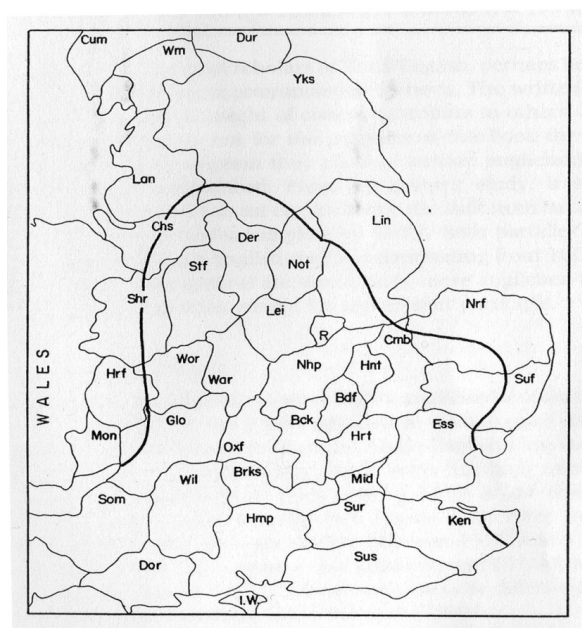
<sup>65</sup>Compare PDE ‘dinner is cooking’, ‘the book is printing/selling well’ etc. (Brunner 1962/II: 376).

<sup>66</sup>Cf. e.g. ‘the house is building itself’ (Denison 1993: 408).

## 7. The Infinites in Scots

This final chapter of the first, theoretical part of the present paper will see a discussion of relevant and remarkable features the infinite forms, i.e. the present participle, verbal noun and (to a lesser extent) the infinitive display in the Scots language. Furthermore, variant forms and idiosyncrasies in use of the infinites will be analysed, and the significance of Scots for the controversy about the origin of the English gerund as well as the progressive construction will be assessed, the basic structure of this chapter mirroring the organisation of the whole paper. The focus will here be on the historical stages of the Scots language, however, references to Modern Scots will be made where considered relevant or interesting.

**Figure 4. –nd/-ng isogloss of the present participial ending**



(taken and adapted from MED Plan and Bibliography 1956-99: 9).

As briefly touched upon in previous sections and as can be seen in the figure above, the regular form of the present participle in the Northern and in parts of the Northern Midlands in Middle English, and thus in Scots, was *–and(e)*, in contrast to Southern *–ind(e)* and Central *–end(e)*. The vowel quality in the Scots variant is most commonly explained by Scandinavian influence, representing a borrowing of the ON participial ending *–andi* (Macafee 2004:

7.8.10; King 1997: 180). A differing hypothesis is, however, given by Langenhove (1925: 45), stating that “the use of this suffix in *–and* for the present participle is reasonably explained [...] as essentially developed in the second weak class, by analogy of the *–a*-forms of the present indicative”, comparing the process to the change of *–enne* to *–anne* in the inflected infinitive (ibid). Although a possible contributory factor, Old Norse influence appears to be a more plausible primary origin of the Northern low-voweled participial suffix<sup>67</sup>.

Langenhove (1925: 41) further claims the uninflected variant *–and* of the participle to occur with higher frequency in the Northern dialects than in the South, where these variants evenly alternate with forms showing a final *–e*. *–and*-forms in the Midlands, south of the Humber, are easily explicable by contact between and migration of speakers of both varieties, the low-voweled participles found in the Auchinleck MS<sup>68</sup> (ascribable to the London dialect) having to be accounted for along the same lines as imported by Northern immigrants.

In early Scots texts, French loan words in *–ant* frequently appear in what Eienkel calls “germanisierenden schreibungen [germanising spellings]” (1916: 13), showing *–and* “as if they were indigenous participles” (Görlach 2002: 96), illustrated by nouns such as OSc *serva(u)nd* or the adjectives OSc *plesand* and *triumphand* (Macafee 2004: 7.8.10; Eienkel: ibid).

In contrast to the Southern dialects, where, as pointed out before, the suffixes of the present participle and the verbal noun coalesced in a standard form *–ing* (cf. chapter (4)), the formal

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<sup>67</sup>Langenhove himself presents both possible sources, and admits the likelihood of an interaction of the processes, cf. “for although weak verbs constitute a large class, and the substitution of their suffix for the original one in strong verbs is a simple process, the fact that *–and*- became the only suffix in Northern E. during the Mid. E. period and thus outgrew its original boundaries, shows that the Danes and Northmen may have contributed to its development, the native and foreign elements combining together” (1925: 46).

<sup>68</sup>Cf. Macrae-Gibson (1971). There is no convincing evidence for the use of *–and* having extended into the very South of England.

distinction between these two categories was retained in writing throughout the Middle Scots period, Murray (1873: 210) stating that “in the Northern tongue they [i.e. the suffixes] are quite distinct from the earliest period to the 16th century, the participle being in *–and*, *–ant*, the gerund [/verbal noun] in *–yng*, *–yne*, *–ene*, *–een*”. This stability of distinction, which Langenhove (1925: 52) ascribes to the greater divergence of the vowel qualities in *–and* and *–ing* (in contrast to Southern *–ind/-ing*), allows an unambiguous contrast between phrases such as OSc *the kyng is cumand* (participle) and OSc *the kingis cuming* (verbal noun) (Romaine 1984: 60) and is manifest in the following example from the Henryson Fables (late 15<sup>th</sup> century, p.68-70):

**Scraipand** [participle] amang the as be auenture He fand ane iolie iasp, richt  
precious, Wes castin furth in **sweeping** [verbal noun] of the hous [Scratching in the  
ashes, he by adventure found a bright jasper, flawlessly precious [which] was thrown  
out in the sweeping of the house]

(quoted in Macafee 2004: 7.8.10; translation and emphasis by the author)<sup>69</sup>.

From the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards a gradual decline in the use of the *–and*-participles can be witnessed, increasingly being substituted by the suffix *–ing* similar to the Southern development. Although it is commonly agreed that the distinctive participial ending was extinct in general Scotland by the Modern Scots period (Dons/Moessner 1999: 23), views on the exact dating of this expansion of *<-ing>* vary. So do Grant/Dixon (1921: 113) as well as Murray (1873: 210) suggest the rather early date of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, while Agutter (1990: 4) and King (1997: 180) claim first sporadic *–ing*-variants of expected *–and*-participles to have occurred already in the early/mid 15<sup>th</sup> century, becoming the dominant form after 1600, a

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<sup>69</sup>Compare further Kisbye (1971: 60), Einkenkel (1914a: 2), Brunner (1962/II: 193), Görlach (2002: 96) as well as Smith (1902: xxxvi) and van Buuren (1982: 86).

stance also supported by Devitt (1989: 30) who believes “the categorical use of –ING” to have become the norm by the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In contrast, Beal (1997: 356) (among others) locates the process more recently, in the Modern Scots period (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 19) and Dons/Moessner, in their study based on the HCOS, similarly argue for a relative late development, deducing from their corpus analysis an initial increase of –*and*-forms in the early Middle Scots period, followed by a steady decline in frequency, with the late Middle Scots texts seeing a low, yet still present number of instances (Dons/Moessner 1999: 23).

Despite Devitt’s treatment of this development in her study on the Anglicisation of Scots (1989), the Scots process of coalescence most probably was not due to influence of the Southern merged forms, although a certain contributory motivating force of these forms seems plausible (Agutter 1990: 4; Macafee 2004: 6.3.1.2.). Arguments against the assumption of English impact include the early –*ing*-forms for participles mentioned by Agutter (*ibid*), which would have preceded “the changes usually explained in terms of Anglicisation” (*ibid*) by “more than a century” (*ibid*)<sup>70</sup>.

The generally accepted view on the Scots development of the participle and verbal noun, “without recourse to explanations of deliberate borrowing of southern forms” (Agutter 1990: 4-5), draws on phonological motivations behind the process, specifically the dropping of post-nasal mediae in all positions. According to Dieth (1932: 123-4), in medial position such process of reduction can first be seen with the sound /b/, which appears to have been lost from 1300 onwards, before slightly later affecting the other voiced plosives /d/ and /g/ as well<sup>71</sup>. In unstressed syllables, judging from textual evidence in 14<sup>th</sup> century texts (spellings of <-in> for the verbal noun suffix), final velars might have been reduced even earlier (*ibid*; Macafee

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<sup>70</sup>However, these rare early instances do not seem to be sufficient evidence to entirely refute the possibility of Southern influence, and reinforcing power, if not the original source, of Southern forms appears very likely (cf. also Macafee 2004: 6.3.1.2.).

<sup>71</sup>Macafee (2004: 6.3.1.3.) gives the examples of Scots *finger*, *Inglis*, *langage*, pronounced with a medial [ŋ] as in StE *singer*.

2004: 6.3.1.3.)<sup>72</sup>. In Middle Scots, due to a rather high conservatism in orthography (Macafee: *ibid*), such revealing spellings are rare, however, traces of the development can be found in inverse spellings such as MSc <latyng> 'Latin' (King 1997: 180) or <kiching> 'kitchen' (Macafee: *ibid*), showing a certain insecurity of Scots speakers in regard to this suffix, and hinting at a predominant pronunciation /-n/.

In the case of dental clusters, final /d/ appears to have been lost (or assimilated) slightly later, Müller (1908: 130) recording first *d*-less instances in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, while King (1997: 180) claims this change to be "well attested from the fifteenth century on", in both voiced and voiceless clusters, illustrated by the not infrequent spellings of e.g. MSc <excep>, <han(d)> (*ibid*), or <groun(d)> as well as in medial position, MSc <can(d)il> (Macafee 2004: 6.3.1.3.). Macafee further states that "[t]hese reductions are treated as colloquial in OSc rhyming practice" (*ibid*) and claims backspellings to be rare (cf. MSc <ganer>, <spinnel> without "insertion of unetymological /d/" (*ibid*), Agutter (1987: 79) offers MSc <send> for <sen> "since").

Although the dropping of dentals in final and unstressed syllables appears to be common in all ModSc dialects, they seem to differ in the case of /d/ in stressed position, as in the Southern Counties of Scotland, [d] is only lost under certain conditions such as between /n/ and /l/ as well as in "the termination of the pres.p., e.g. *eitand*" (Dieth 1932: 124) but is usually retained in all positions (*ibid*; Murray 1873: 211; Macafee 2004: note150).

The motivation behind this reduction of cluster-final consonants has been proposed to be Celtic influence, as in Modern Gaelic a similar process seems to affect English loanwords (cf. Scottish Gaelic *Lunnainn* 'London')<sup>73</sup>, however, "outside provocation" (Dieth 1932: 125) to

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<sup>72</sup>Most probably the cluster was reduced from [ŋg] to [n] via an intermediate stage [ŋ] (cf. Dieth 1932: 123).

<sup>73</sup>Translation taken from [http://www.lexilogos.com/english/gaelic\\_scottish\\_dictionary.htm](http://www.lexilogos.com/english/gaelic_scottish_dictionary.htm).

explain this trend is hardly needed, as assimilation in such circumstances is a common and “obvious [phonological] phenomenon” (ibid).

A further relevant factor in the coalescence of Scots verbal noun and present participle is constituted by the vowel qualities of the respective suffixes. While the former almost invariably displays a short /ɪ /, the ending of the latter is most commonly transcribed with /ə/ (King 1997: 180; Grant/Dixon 1929: 113; Romaine 1984: 60). Dieth (1932: 75), however, proposes a more differentiated value of the participial vowel and claims it to be rendered by /ɪ / and /ɛ /, as well as occasional /i/ and /ə/. As a consequence of the sound qualities of the respective vowels thus being very close or even overlapping, alongside “the final consonants becoming mute” (Murray 1973: 211), the suffixes could then easily be confounded in speech, resulting in their merger in most of the Scots dialects. The quality of the vowel in this converged form is alternately given as either /ən/ (King 1997: 180; Agutter 1990: 4) or /ɪ n/ (Dieth 1932: 142), yet is almost invariably spelt as <-in> (Grant/Dixon 1929: 113).

This phonology-based theory finds support in the fact that spelling evidence is found in both informal and formal texts, suggesting a broad distribution of the feature among genres and social groups (King 1997: 180), as well as by the “small nr of –and forms wrongly used for vbN/G” (Görlach 2002:96)<sup>74</sup>, which would weaken the assumption of a syntactically motivated process. Further corroboration to this view is given by the reported preservation of the original distinction of present participle and verbal noun in some peripheral dialects of Scots. In these dialects, specifically those of the Southern Lowland Counties (Roxburghshire and East Dumfriesshire), Shetland, Orkney, Caithness and Sutherland as well as the Black Isle, the suffixes of the participle and verbal noun are supposed to differ in their phonetic realisation, allowing a contrast between [kʌ mən] ‘coming’ (participle) and [kʌ min] ‘coming’

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<sup>74</sup>Smith is reluctant to accept the presence of verbal nouns/gerunds in *–and* at all, ascribing the few instances to “abnormal texts of the type of Lancelot of the Laik or the Quair of Jelusy” (1902: xxxvii).

(verbal noun) (Romaine 1984: 60; Murray 1873: 211; McClure 1994: 70; Grant/Dixon 1929: 113; Dons/Moessner 1999: 19). Views on the exact pronunciation of the suffixes, however, vary, Romaine (1984: 60) proposing a distinction of [-ən] (P) and [-in] (vbN), while Faiß (1989: 244) offers participial [-ɪ n, -ən, -n] in contrast to vbN [-in, -ɪ n]. Other propositions of pronunciation include Ellis (1874/V: 712), who suggests [-ɐ n] (P) versus [-in] (vbN) and McClure (1994: 70) giving [ɪ n] and [in] respectively.

A further and more differentiated account of the variants of the suffixes in question is found in Eugen Dieth's *A Grammar of the Buchan dialect (Aberdeenshire)* (1932), presented in the following table:

**Table 2. Phonetic realisations of the suffixes of the present participle and verbal noun in five Scottish and Northern English dialects**

|                   | Pr. Participle / Verbal Noun |      | Past Participle |
|-------------------|------------------------------|------|-----------------|
| Yorkshire         | -ɪ n                         |      | -n, -m , -ŋ     |
| Penrith           | -ən, -n                      | -ɪ n | -n              |
| Southern Scotland | -ən                          | -ɪ n | -n              |
| Pertshire         | -ɪ n (>-n)                   |      | -n (-ɛ n)       |
| Buchan            | -ɪ n                         | -ɛ n | -n, -m, -ŋ      |

(taken and adapted from Dieth 1932: 142).

Here, the phonetic realisations of the endings of the present participle and verbal noun in five Scottish and Northern English dialect areas are contrasted to those of the past participle, claiming a clear opposition between the categories only to be preserved in the dialects of Southern Scotland and Penrith (Northern England). A suffix /-ɪ n/ for both forms in Pertshire is confirmed by Wilson (1912: 134), who in his account of Lowland Scotch dialects does not discriminate between the endings in ModSc *a deein maan* 'a dying man' and ModSc *plooïn 'z noa aizee waark* 'ploughing's not easy work'.

While the distinction of the forms appears to have still been present in the minds of the speakers of dialects of the Southern Counties in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, as reported by Murray:

It is as absurd to a Southern Scot to hear *eating* used for both his *eiting* and *eitand* as it is to an Englishman to hear *will* used for both his *will* and *shall*. When he is told that "John was *eating*," he is strongly tempted to ask what kind of *eating* he proved to be?

(1873: 211, note1),

Beal (1997: 356) suggests "[t]his distinction...would appear to be increasingly recessive: it is certainly not mentioned by Macaulay (1991), Miller (1993) or Macafee (1983) as occurring in modern urban dialects of Scots", thus proposing a decline in use of this feature in recent decades.

In mid-20<sup>th</sup> century literary Scots, the spelling <-an> for the present participle in contrast to <-in> for verbal nouns was reintroduced and consistently observed due to its "identificational function" (Görlach 2002: 96)<sup>75</sup>, which appears "a somewhat pedantic procedure since the distinction had long vanished from most forms of spoken Scots" (McClure 2003: 232, note13). Furthermore, the Middle Scots full form of <-and> was applied by some authors as an intentional archaism (ibid), creating a sort of "pseudo-medieval Scots" (ibid, note225). However, the use of these features was abandoned in the later 20<sup>th</sup> century, when it was regarded an "undesirable archaism" (Görlach 2002: 96).

Apart from the issues mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, not much can be said about the verbal noun in *-ing* in Scots. Most commonly, the suffix appears in the spellings of <-ing>, <-inge>, <-yng>, <-ynge> as well as less frequent <-in(e)>, <-yn(e)> (van Buuren 1982: 86). In the latter, velar-less forms, a certain ambiguity between verbal nouns, present participles and past participles ending in <-in/-en> (Murray 1873: 211) is often given, increased by the verbs of motion's ability to form the perfect tense by the auxiliary *be* (Mustanoja 1960: 501;

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<sup>75</sup>Compare the 'Scots Style Sheet' of 1947: [http://www.electricscotland.com/poetry/purves/Grammer\\_Style.pdf](http://www.electricscotland.com/poetry/purves/Grammer_Style.pdf).

Devitt 1989: 105, note 17). This is illustrated by the example MSc *Bot the tyme is cummin* (sbible1), which could either be interpreted as a progressive ‘the time is coming’ or perfective ‘the time has come’. Here, the appropriate interpretation can only be discerned by the context.

As mentioned above, backspellings such as MSc *courting* ‘curtain’ (OFr co(u)rtine), *garding* ‘garden’ (ONF gardin) or *childring* ‘children’ are regularly found, indicating the actual realisation of the suffix *-ing* in speech (van Buuren 1982: 86).

The infinitive(s) appear to have played a less significant role in the development of the Scots participle and verbal noun, as they “apart from some relics of final schwa in very early Scots, the infinitive was unmarked in Older Scots” (King 1997: 179), the final nasal having been lost at a very early stage, probably already in late Old English (Brunner 1938: 74). Sporadic inflected infinitives in *-in* (also spelt <-ing>) appearing in the 15<sup>th</sup>/16<sup>th</sup> century can convincingly be explained as anglicisms and thus do not reflect proper Scots forms (Macafee 2004: note 149; Langenhove 1925: 93ff.).

The prepositions most commonly used with the infinitive in Scots are OSc (*for*) *to* when preceding a consonant as well as OSc (*for*) *til(l)*, a preposition borrowed from Old Norse (in StE only present with the meaning ‘until’) which occurred before words starting with a vowel or /h/. A third preposition *at*, equally introduced from Scandinavian, is, although fairly popular in Northern English, only found “in fossilised phrases, particularly *ado* (*at* + *do* ‘to do’)” (Macafee 2004: 7.8.9.) in Scots. Furthermore, the infinitive is found after certain causative verbs such as MSc *gar* ‘cause’, without preposition (Macafee: *ibid*; King 1997: 179-80; Mustanoja 1960: 515).

The gerund in Scots most probably developed along the same lines as in Middle English, with sufficient pre-1350 examples of gerundial constructions found in Northern English texts to

prove its early and independently generated<sup>76</sup> presence there, however, due to the scarcity of textual material from the early Scots period, little can be presumed about the initial stages of the development of the Scots gerund. Nevertheless, instances of (traces of) gerundial constructions such as

Barbour (?) Legends: *quhare twa □er He liffit in **preching**e ilkaday Agane þe Iowis* (mid-14<sup>th</sup> century; quoted in Einkenkel 1914a: 2)

as well as

Cursor (?) *witouten **asking** help of sun* (NME, early 14<sup>th</sup> century; quoted in Jack 1988: 26)

are of value to the discussion of the emergence of the gerund in English, as they may confirm or refute certain hypotheses voiced in this regard.

So is, e.g. the assumption of the gerund being a consequence of the coalescence of present participle and verbal noun rendered highly implausible when considering that gerundial constructions emerge in early stages in the history of the Scots language, despite the preservation of a clear formal opposition between the categories (Jack 1988: 26-7), indicating that “the development of G cannot have been facilitated by merger of vbN with P” (ibid: 27).

Furthermore, the gerund having arisen through Celtic influence seems highly unlikely, at least from early Welsh, which is usually drawn on in this context (cf. Dal 1952; Jack 1988: 35), as due to their geographical distribution, no sufficient language contact to ensure mutual interferences would have been given between early Scots and early Welsh. Nevertheless, influence from Scottish Gaelic would be possible, however, the situation here appears to be similar to England, where surprisingly little impact from the Celtic languages even in lexis can be seen (Jack 1988: 35-36).

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<sup>76</sup>‘Independently generated’ here refers to the fact that gerunds in Scots and Northern English texts can be found so early that “it cannot be held that the gerundial construction could have spread into the dialects of these works from another variety of ME in which the verbal noun and the present participle had coalesced in form” (Jack 1988: 27), but does not intend to locate the original source of the gerund in the North.

Last, it appears that no conclusions can be drawn from the Scots evidence in regard to the gerund – common-case subject/object periphrasis, as according to van Gaaf (1928: 66), the common case was frequently substituted for the genitive in the Northern dialects, these instances thus lacking relevance for the discussion (cf. also Poutsma 1923: 127).

Concerning Modern Scots usage, Miller (2003: 100; 1993: 129) has claimed the gerund to be preferred by Modern Scots speakers (especially younger generations) in constructions where it stands in competition with the infinitive (cf. *start quarrelling* vs. *start to quarrel*). However, this apparently constitutes no peculiarity of Scots but is a feature of all non-standard varieties of English (*ibid.*).

The progressive in Scots is a highly interesting issue and of fairly great relevance for the general discussion of this construction, as some hypotheses regarding its development in Middle English can be refuted due to Scots evidence. Nevertheless, it has to be borne in mind that dialectal differences might well have existed, weakening or rather, limiting the general value of the Scots argument to a certain extent.

Similarly to the other matters in question, little can be deduced about the early origins of the progressive in Scots, as “[a] comparison between Northern and Southern English in the 13th century is impossible because until 1275 there are no Northern texts, and very little is known about their evolution since the writing of the Lindisfarne Gospels [...]” (Scheffer 1975: 215). However, the periphrasis very plausibly continued to be in use throughout the Early Scots period, seemingly a rather well established mode of construction in the earliest texts available from the North (Brunner 1962/II: 368) and occurring with a considerably greater frequency than in Southern or Midland texts, where the progressive faced near-extinction at that time (Fischer 1992: 251; Denison 1993: 405-6; Scheffer: *ibid.*)<sup>77</sup>. This “stability of the Northern

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<sup>77</sup>High frequency in this regard refers to the comparison with the Southern situation, but cannot be taken as an indication for abundant use of the progressive in comparison with other modes of construction, cf. Meurman-

dialects” (Kisbye 1971: 36) has lead linguists to claim “that the renewed spread of the construction must have originated there, and via the Midlands have penetrated into the Southern and, ultimately, the South-Western dialectal areas” (ibid), the progressive thus being restored to the other dialects from the North (Scheffer 1975: 218). The assumption of such continuity in use in Scots and Northern English is of fairly great consequence for the discussion of the source of the periphrasis in Middle and Modern English, as it strongly supports the theory of an uninterrupted development of the construction from OE *beon/wesan* with the present participle. Furthermore, the postulation of a fusion between this expression and the prepositional progressive form (*be + on + -ing*) is rendered highly implausible (at least for the Northern dialects), as it rests on the proposition of a merger of the suffixes and thus cannot have occurred in the Scots “where the present participle (*-ande*) and the verbal noun (*-yng*) remained strictly separate” (Fischer 1992: 253). Moreover, the overall frequency of the prepositional type (with the preposition *a* or *in*) appears to be rather low, with incidences of *be + a + -ing* “only attested in post-1670 letters” (Meurman-Solin 2002: 214), rendering a great impact of these constructions on the development of the progressive in Scots fairly unlikely. This view is also supported by Meurman-Solin, who states that “despite the variation between –AND and –ING in other functions of the present participle in the pre-1570 texts [...], its prevailing form in continuous tenses in that period is in –AND” (2002: 221), the evidence hence suggesting a separate, yet parallel development of the two constructions in the North (ibid; cf. also Denison 1993: 406ff.; Brunner 1962/II: 369).

Another hypothesis voiced in this regard, which cannot be confirmed by Scots evidence is French influence being at work, as the progressive, as pointed out above, is most frequent in the North, where French played a considerably lesser role than in the South (Brunner 1962/II:

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Solin who points out “the generally low frequency of progressive forms in pre-eighteenth century texts” (2002: 212).

369; Fischer 1992: 254). However, the possibility of French affecting the construction cannot be ruled out for the Southern dialects, as the developments seem to differ to a certain extent.

Due to the existence of a formally similar expression to the prepositional progressive in the insular Celtic languages, Celtic influence has repeatedly been claimed to be of importance in this regard, however, documentary evidence for such interaction can hardly be obtained, as Scheffer declares:

Although the abundant use of the progressive in the present-day English of Wales, Ireland and Scotland suggests considerable Celtic influence on the English of these particular areas [...], there is little trace of any influence of the gerundial construction on Old and Middle English” (230-1)

(1975: 230-1; cf. also Meurman-Solin 2002: 214-6; Mustanoja 1960: 590).

Concerning the passival progressive of the type ‘the house is building’ mentioned in the preceding chapter, Scots evidence likewise challenges the hypothesis of its source lying in the prepositional progressive, which can be seen in the following statement by Murray (1873):

To express the Passive of action, equal to the Latin *aedificatur*, *aedificabatur*, *aedificabitur*, the Scotch uses the form *the hoose is buildan'*. This is not a contraction of the Old Eng. *a- building*, as the form is not the gerund but the participle, and represents the middle voice *buildan' itsel'*, and thus *being built*.

(Murray 1973: 225).

Murray thus argues for an unequivocal present participle in *-and* in these constructions, and stresses its derivation from the reflexive pattern, with ellipsis of the pronoun (Scheffer 1975: 254; Denison 1993: 409ff.; Kisbye 1971: 40). In contrast, Meurman-Solin (2002: 221) puts into question whether the gerundial form *be + on + -ing* might have yielded the structure with passive meaning, thus not entirely refuting this putative source as is generally done.

In function and meaning, the Scots progressive appears to be largely in line with the Southern periphrasis, Brunner (1938: 88) mentioning its denoting durativity and incompleteness, while

Meurman-Solin (2002: 221ff.) indicates the periphrasis' higher frequency in texts based on spoken language, emphasising its descriptive and narrative quality.

In Modern Scots, the progressive has been claimed to be far more extensive in its range of uses than in Standard English, it being possible and popular to form progressives from so-called 'stative verbs' such as *think, doubt, like, hear want, know, understand*, as well as others, where Standard usage would apply simple verbs (Beal 1997: 372; Miller 1993: 121; Wilson 1915: 118; Grant/Dixon 1929: 114<sup>78</sup>). This can be illustrated by the following examples:

4.      a) they're not **intending** opening the bottle tonight surely
- b) I wasnae **liking** it (both taken from Miller 1993: 121)
- c) Aa'm noa **cairin** (taken from Wilson 1915: 118)
- d) I was never **knowing** such a girl, so honest and beautiful (Stevenson, David Balfour; quoted in Grant/Dixon 1929: 114)

While this frequent use of the progressive seems to have originally been restricted to colloquial and informal speech (Grant/Dixon: *ibid*), recent years have seen an increase of this feature "in the educated speech of younger people" (Beal 1997: 373), Beal stating that "[t]he existence of these progressives in educated written usage, presumably of young people, would suggest that the progressive is gaining ground in Scots and increasingly occurs with a larger number of verbs than in Standard English" (*ibid*; cf. also Miller 1993: 121-122).

The sources of this characteristic feature of the Scottish language have frequently been proposed to lie in Celtic usage (cf. Scheffer 1975: 230-1). Others, however, claim that the high frequency<sup>79</sup> most probably is not the result of a historical development, but constitutes a

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<sup>78</sup> Grant/Dixon (1929:114) claim the use of the progressive of the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular to convey a meaning of deliberateness and to be of particular popularity in Highland speech.

<sup>79</sup> Scheffer quite judgementslly refers to Scottish speakers "as abusing the progressive" (1975: 112), pointing out their 'excessive' and 'exaggerated' use of this mode of construction.

Modern Scots innovation (Beal 1997: 373), possibly motivated by stylistic preferences (Miller 1993: 122).

## **8. Conclusion**

Concluding this first part of the present paper, it can safely be said that the history and development of the infinite verb forms in English and Scots is a highly complex and challenging issue, with the most diverse factors being at play. While in the first content chapter of this paper the Scots language was briefly described to introduce the reader to the language and clarify certain issues relevant for the ensuing discussion, the subsequent chapters saw a detailed description of the development of the present participle, the verbal noun and the infinitive from Indo-European (as far as possible) to Middle English, touching both formal and syntactical issues. Afterwards, it was attempted to provide an account of the manifold views on the origin and development of the gerundial form, before the same was done for the progressive construction in Old and Middle English. These chapters comprising merely preparatory information in order to get an idea of the complexity of the matter and to clarify and define the general theoretical issues involved, which will be referred to in the second part of this paper, the final chapter of this first part offers a discussion of the specific situation of the infinite verb forms and the gerund and progressive forms in Scots, indicating the research questions which were tackled in the corpus analysis carried out in the course of this paper.

## **PART II**

## **9. Introduction**

Having touched upon the most important issues surrounding the development of the infinite verb forms in the history of English and Scots in the preceding part of the present paper, the

following chapters will see the presentation and discussion of a research project carried out by means of a digital corpus in the course of this paper. While in the very first part, the research questions forming the basis of the study will be specified, the methodology applied in it will be explained in the subsequent chapter, introducing the reader to the text corpus used for analysis as well as auxiliary sets of data such as dictionaries, before providing a detailed description of the author's approach to the issue, the parameters involved, and the classification schemes employed. In the next step, the results acquired by said linguistic analysis will be presented in form of statistical tables and graphic charts ordered by the investigated variables, accompanied by explanatory remarks. Furthermore, a thorough analysis and discussion of these results will be given and previous literature and research on the topic be reassessed, as earlier claims will be checked against the evidence obtained.

Last, the contents, aims and accomplishments of the present paper will briefly be summarised and final conclusions will be drawn.

### **9.1. Research Questions**

As pointed out above, the present study basically and first and foremost aims to provide a descriptive account of the development of the present participle and the verbal noun in the period of Middle Scots. More specifically, this basic concern addresses the following research questions of:

- a) what frequency distribution of the forms in question across time, genre and syntactic patterns can be discerned?
- b) what morphological variants do the suffixes of the forms in question display?
- c) how are these spelling variants distributed across time, genre and syntactic patterns?

- d) can any conclusions be drawn from the evidence gathered concerning the beginning and advancing of the ousting of the participial *-nd*-inflection?
- e) is the decline of *-and* restricted to or more palpable in certain genres or syntactic patterns (or even certain lexical items/ formulaic phrases)?
- f) can any conclusions be drawn concerning the dating of the emergence of gerundial constructions in Scots?
- g) are these gerundial forms restricted to or more palpable in certain genres or syntactic patterns?
- h) can any conclusions be drawn from the frequency distribution of progressive forms in Middle Scots concerning the development of the Middle English progressive?
- i) can any further idiosyncrasies or distinctive features be witnessed?

Evidence to answer these questions was obtained by an in-depth analysis of a diachronic electronic text corpus, the methodology and results of which will be illustrated below.

## 10. Preliminaries

In the following sections, the databases by which means the present study was carried out will be briefly described before presenting the methods applied in the analysis, with special focus on the model of definition of the verbal noun and present participle as put forward by Quirk et al. (1985: §17.54).

### 10.1. Databases

The initial plan and ambition concerning this corpus-based study had been to analyse and compare various different databases, namely the OST (Older Scottish Texts) corpus, which was compiled by A.J. Aitken, Paul Bratley and Neil Hamilton-Smith<sup>80</sup> and served as the basis

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<sup>80</sup>Consisting of 19 texts from the late 15<sup>th</sup> ct. to the early 17<sup>th</sup>; available at the University of Oxford Text Archive, cf. <http://ota.ahds.ac.uk/headers/0701.xml>.

for the Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue (DOST), as well as the Linguistic Atlas of Older Scots (LAOS)<sup>81</sup>, a corpus of lexico-grammatically tagged texts, and the HCOS (Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots). However, it was soon realised that such undertaking was out of proportion considering the limited scope of this research project as well as the amount of time available. In consequence, the study was restricted to the last mentioned of these corpora, as the HCOS was judged the most appropriate choice for an investigation of the forms in question, as well as covering the broadest range of texts and textual genres. In the subsequent sections, the reader will be introduced to the basic structure of this corpus, furthermore, the main auxiliary data set, namely the Dictionary of the Scots Language (DSL), comprising the above mentioned DOST, will very briefly be presented and its relevance for the study be pointed out.

#### **10.1.1. HCOS**

The Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots was compiled by Anneli Meurman-Solin and mentored by A.J. Aitken at the University of Helsinki between 1985 and 1993, its final version being released for public use in 1995 ([www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HCOS/index.html](http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HCOS/index.html), 26 Feb 2012). Originally created as a supplement to the diachronic part of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts (HC), the database offers “material for studying the last stages of the differentiation of the northern English dialect, the rise of a distinctive Scottish variety of English and the anglicization process of Scots” (Meurman-Solin 1995: 50). In order to enable and facilitate comparisons between the supplement and the core part of the HC as well as the Corpus of Early American English, corresponding “computer format, parameter coding and editorial and typographical conventions” (ibid) were employed in the compilation of the former. Furthermore, the choice of texts for the HCOS conformed “to the same principles of sociohistorical variation analysis as the main corpus” (ibid). The main objective of the venture

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<sup>81</sup>A daughter of LALME (Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English), covering the time span of 1380 to 1500.

of the compilation is stated by Meurman-Solin to have been to provide a device for gaining “statistically significant information about extralinguistically and linguistically conditioned frequencies and distributions of distinctively Scottish features, and about diachronic changes in the use of these features in Scottish prose genres’ (1993a: 54).

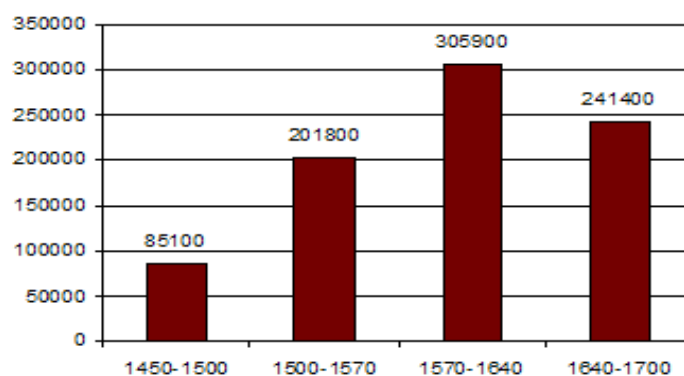
Compiled at the same time as the HC, the database covers the period of Middle Scots (1450-1700), and contains a total amount of 80 text samples, the majority of which is written in prose, alongside an assortment of both official and private letters (Meurman-Solin 1995: 50; [www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HCOS/index.html](http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HCOS/index.html), 26 Feb 2012). The number of words of running text comprised in these samples amounts to approximately 830,000, distributed across the four subdivisions of the period as follows:

**Table 3. Periodisation and number of words per period**

| Subperiod            | Words          |
|----------------------|----------------|
| <b>SC0</b> 1450–1500 | 85,100         |
| <b>SC1</b> 1500–1570 | 201,800        |
| <b>SC2</b> 1570–1640 | 305,900        |
| <b>SC3</b> 1640–1700 | 241,400        |
| <b>Total</b>         | <b>834,200</b> |

(taken and adapted from Meurman-Solin, <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HCOS/basic.html>)

**Figure 5. Graphic representation of the proportional numbers of words in the respective periods**



(taken from Meurman-Solin, <http://www.helsinki.fi/varieng/CoRD/corpora/HCOS/basic.html>).

The text samples of the corpus further cover a fairly broad range of different genres, ranging from legal texts such as the Acts of Parliament to private letters, as is shown by the following table:

**Table 4. Text genres and word count per period per genre<sup>82</sup>**

|                       | <b>S0</b>            | <b>S1</b> | <b>S2</b> | <b>S3</b> | <b>Total</b>   |
|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| Acts of Parliament    | 27,300 <sup>83</sup> | 30,400    | 49,700    | 40,800    | <i>148,200</i> |
| Burgh records         | 4,900                | 46,400    | 20,100    | 20,000    | <i>91,400</i>  |
| Trial proceedings     |                      | 22,100    | 35,200    | 8,500     | <i>65,800</i>  |
| Histories             |                      | 21,800    | 32,000    | 15,600    | <i>69,400</i>  |
| Biographies           |                      |           | 8,600     | 14,700    | <i>23,300</i>  |
| Travelogues           |                      |           | 14,400    | 13,300    | <i>27,700</i>  |
| Diaries               |                      |           | 46,000    | 45,000    | <i>91,000</i>  |
| Pamphlets             |                      | 29,900    | 21,500    | 17,100    | <i>68,500</i>  |
| Educational treatises | 51,300               | 9,500     | 19,900    | 7,800     | <i>88,500</i>  |
| Scientific Treatises  |                      |           | 9,100     | 15,200    | <i>24,300</i>  |
| Handbooks             |                      |           | 6,900     | 12,600    | <i>19,500</i>  |
| Private letters       |                      | 1,300     | 15,300    | 18,600    | <i>35,200</i>  |
| Official letters      | 1,500                | 36,000    | 11,800    | 7,700     | <i>57,000</i>  |
| Sermons               |                      |           | 15,400    | 4,500     | <i>19,900</i>  |
| The Bible             |                      | 4,400     |           |           | <i>4,400</i>   |

(adapted from Meurman-Solin 1995: 58-62).

In selecting the text samples for the corpus, Meurman-Solin explicitly concentrated on non-literary genres, stressing the relevance of text types “reflect[ing] usages of spoken language or [...] favour[ing] stylistically marked variants that are typical of informal settings” (1995: 51) as possible evidence and informants of “the influence of the social roles and social networks of the authors and the addressees” (ibid).

Although a highly valuable tool and greatly advantageous for linguistic research into Scots, one flaw of the corpus certainly is the choice of editions, as manuscript versions of texts as well as early prints were frequently neglected in favour of more easily approachable later editions which often feature regularised or modernised orthography, considerably affecting

<sup>82</sup>Blank spots indicate that no texts were available to the compiler for the respective period (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 18).

<sup>83</sup>Approximate numbers (cf. Meurman-Solin 1995: 58-62).

the value of statistical findings and thus contradicting the central aim of the compilation of the corpus. However, some improvements to the pilot were made in this direction before the release of the final version, so was, e.g., the Woodrow Society edition of Robert Bruce's sermon, whose initial preference was greatly criticised (Mapstone 1996: 239) replaced by a more reliable, earlier version (Meurman-Solin 1995: 53).

### **10.1.2. DOST/DSL**

The *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (DSL), comprising electronic versions of the two chief historical dictionaries of Scots, namely the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (DOST) and the *Scottish National Dictionary* (SND), the former covering the period of the 12<sup>th</sup> to the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the latter bearing Modern Scots lexis, was created at the University of Dundee between 2001 and 2004. Of particular relevance for this paper is DOST, a dictionary in 12 volumes, which was compiled by Sir William Craigie and, in subsequence, A.J. Aitken, in various phases over the fairly long period of 70 years between 1931 and 2001, and served as a point of reference for checking the word-class status of certain lexical items, as will be pointed out below, as well as a general auxiliary device to establish contextual relations in the texts analysed (Skretkiewicz 2004: About the DSL/ DOST Prelims).

## **10.2. Methodology**

The following sections will see a brief description of the author's approach to analysing the corpus and the items under consideration. While at first, basic steps taken in approaching the corpus will be presented and explained, the second sub-chapter will contain a detailed account of the classification scheme for syntactic types of present participles and verbal nouns as suggested by Quirk et al., which was used as a point of reference in this study. Furthermore,

certain modifications and additions which had to be made to this model in the course of analysis will be pointed out here.

### 10.2.1. Setting up the Database

The present study is essentially based on results gained by the quantitative technique of counting the occurrences of the present participle and verbal noun in the corpus.

In order to enable such procedure, in a first step the corpus was searched for instances of all possible spelling variants of the suffixes in question by means of the text concordance program AntConc by Laurence Anthony<sup>84</sup>. Concerning the present participle, the orthographical variants looked for included the reportedly most common <-and> and <-ande>, alongside the less popular forms <-ant> and <-ent> (Jumpertz-Schwab 1998: 112; Smith 1902: xxvi)<sup>85</sup>. Spelling variants of the *-ing*-suffix, originally restricted to the verbal noun, as pointed out before, yet later extended to the participial forms (cf. chapter 7), which were considered in this study involved <-ing(e)> and <-yng(e)>, as well as the less frequent <-in(e)> and <-yn(e)>. Further rare, yet sporadically occurring spellings of the participle and verbal noun are the diphthongal <-aind> as well as <-ane>, <-en>, and <-eng>.

Seeing that the HCOS is neither lexico-grammatically tagged nor parsed, wildcat searches for the suffix variants yielded a great number of items displaying the same combinations of sounds, such as *iland* ‘island’, *hand*, *seriand* ‘sergeant’, *king* or *thing* as well as inverse spellings e.g. *suddand* ‘sudden’, *samin(g)/samyn(g)* ‘same’, *cusing* ‘cousin’, *sasing* ‘possession’ or *childring* ‘children’ and many others, which had to be excluded from the data in the course of analysis. Moreover, personal and place names ending in any of the suffixes,

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<sup>84</sup>Freeware available at <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html>

<sup>85</sup>Smith (ibid) claims <-ant> to have enjoyed particular popularity, however, this variant is only listed under marginal forms by Jumpertz-Schwab (ibid), which was corroborated by the findings in this study.

such as *Scotland, I/Yngland, Strivelling* (Stirling) or *Dunfermling* had to be disregarded. As mentioned above (chapter (7)), occurrences of forms ambiguous between present participle and past participle are fairly frequent especially in the case of the velar-less spellings <-in(e)> and <-yn(e)> and “most typically in a verb phrase following an inflected ‘be’, as in ‘he is cumene’” (Devitt 1989: 105, note 17), however, backspellings of past participles as in the following example were found as well:

5. the #nychburis **has chossyng** twa kyrk masteris (srec0a)<sup>86</sup>.

A different, yet particular difficulty when searching the corpus was posed by editorial parameter codings such as abbreviations of the suffixes in question (e.g. <-i~g> for <-ing>) or emendations (cf. sorny[{ng}]) in certain texts, which could not be captured by the regular method, but had to be looked for separately by going through all instances of, in these cases, final <-g> or <-ng->. Furthermore, a high amount of abbreviated forms complicated approaching and understanding the context of various instances, thus prolonging or even impeding the process of classifying the forms (cf. in particular concerning sparl0/1 as well as srec1b).

In addition to the aforementioned exclusions, instances of original present participles which were restricted to particular functions or had crossed over into another word class through continual usage in specific syntactic positions, as was mentioned in chapter 3.1.3.2. (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 22; Devitt 1989: 105, note 17) had to be considered. Using the DOST as a point of reference to verify the status of uncertain elements concerning their word-class, the following MSc items were omitted from the data:

- participles in a transitional stage to adjectives (mostly of OF or Latin origin): *plesand/-ant* ‘pleasant’, *(a)boundand* ‘abundant’, *vacand* ‘vacant’, *sufficiand*

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<sup>86</sup>Emphasis by the author.

‘sufficient’, *avenand* ‘suitable, agreeable’, *va(i)lʒeand* ‘valiant’<sup>87</sup>, *repugnant* ‘contradictory, opposing’, *participiant* ‘participating’ (the two latter also occurring as nouns), *apperand* (in the formulaic expression *apperand heir* ‘the person to whom the succession has actually opened’ (DOST).

- participles used as adverbs: *excedand* ‘exceedingly’

6. and procurit sa # **excedand** wiselye this my pure causs (soff1)<sup>88</sup>

- participles in a transitional stage to nouns: *servant*, *apperand* (as an elliptical form of the above listed *apperand heir*).
- participles in transition to prepositions: *endurand* ‘during’, *tuichand* ‘concerning, relating to’, *excepand* ‘except’, *giving* in the phrase *giving that* ‘given that’, *nocht againstandand* ‘notwithstanding’, *accordand/-ing* in the phrase ‘according to’ as well as certain instances of *concerning*, depending on its position and function, cf.

7. a. [...] all uthir thinges **concerning** the said matere [...] (stri1b)

vs.

b. **As concerning** the making of the meale, the Beir [...] (shand3a)<sup>88</sup>

- participles used predominantly as conjunctions: *providing* in the phrase *providing that* ‘provided that’, *seeing* in the phrase ‘seeing that’<sup>89</sup>.

Although excluded in the main body of data which will be presented in chapter (11), these transitional forms, in particular the prepositional and conjunctive participles, were examined independently, as a type/token frequency analysis suggested them being of relevance considering the ousting of participial *–and* by the verbal noun suffix *–ing* (cf. Meurman-Solin 2002: 205).

<sup>87</sup>Items listed as participial adjectives by DOST, such as *willing*, *cunning* or *culand* ‘cooling’ were, however, included in the data, as a sufficiently strong connection between the form and its verbal basis was felt to be still present. As a rule of thumb when undecided, items preserving the *–nd-* inflection in PDE and ModSc, such as the above-mentioned *pleas-ant* were excluded, while modern *–ing-*forms were retained.

<sup>88</sup>Emphasis by the author.

<sup>89</sup>Dons/Moessner (1999: 22) here include *considerand*, however, it was found that the instances in the corpus could sufficiently reasonably be explained as participial forms and do no (yet?) suggest a transition to the class of conjunctives. Correspondingly, the form does not have a separate entry in the DOST, but is subsumed under its inflectional basis *consider*.

Plural forms of the verbal noun displaying the spelling variants of <-ing(i)s>, <-yng(i)s> were omitted from the data after some consideration, as they could only be built from so-called deverbal nouns (i.e. verbal abstract nouns having acquired concrete meaning, cf. Quirk et al.: 1290). Although included in Quirk et al.'s gradience and thus in the present study, these concrete *-ing*-forms did, however, not constitute the key aspect and interest of the analysis, hence, it was found acceptable to disregard their plurals.

After narrowing down the sample data in such way, the appropriate instances were extracted from AntConc and pasted into a word processor, organised according to the sub-periods introduced by Meurman-Solin and texts contained in these. Each occurrence was then analysed and classified according to the model presented in the subsequent section. Becoming aware of additional types and modifications which were required in order to guarantee a representative analysis in the course of doing so, as well as attempting to even out any inconsequence in methodology, this procedure was repeated a second time for the entire gathered data, before in a next step, the findings were put into statistical form. Seeing that the data available for the different sub-periods varied in size, the observed numbers of tokens needed to be normalised, which was accomplished by dividing them by the total number of words in the respective period<sup>90</sup>, the result then being multiplied by 10,000<sup>91</sup> and rounded up to the second decimal place (cf. Gardela 2011: 207).

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<sup>90</sup>In analysing the distribution of forms in regard to text genre, the figures were normalised according to the word-count of the individual genres as given by Meurman-Solin (1995: 58-62).

<sup>91</sup>The value of 10,000 for multiplication was preferred to 1,000 due to the very wide range of deviation between occurrences.

### 10.2.2. Classification of types of constructions

As mentioned above, the descriptive model applied in this paper for classifying the *–and/-ing-* forms found in the corpus is Quirk et al.’s complex “gradience”<sup>92</sup> from deverbal nouns via verbal nouns to participles” (1985: 1290) in Modern English. While, however, the constructions observed in the HCOS largely correspond to this model, certain modifications needed to be made to the existing types in order to incorporate digressing constructions. Furthermore, additional types to cover constructions peculiar to Middle Scots had to be introduced after a first analysis of the corpus.

#### 10.2.2.1. Quirk et al.’s gradience model

In the following paragraphs, the fourteen main types of construction identified in Quirk et al.’s gradience will be presented, organised in seven groups according to their syntactic features. While the discussion is largely and mainly based on Quirk et al. (1985: 1290-2), references to Dons/Moessner (1999: 19-22; 29) and Gardela (2011: 203-4, 210-12) may be found as well.

##### A) Deverbal nouns<sup>93</sup>

The first group of types introduced by Quirk et al. comprises verbal nouns in *–ing* which were restricted to concrete meaning. Thus representing regular concrete count nouns, they may also occur in the plural, as can be seen in type [1]. In contrast to type [1], type [2] is accompanied by an object standing in accusative relation to the action expressed by the verbal base of the

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<sup>92</sup>The term ‘gradience’ was here deliberately chosen by Quirk et al. to stress the blurriness of the boundaries between verbal noun, so-called gerund and participle and to indicate the hybrid nature of these forms in Modern English. Evidently, such transitions were influenced and promoted by the coalescence in form, a stricter division in syntactical function should therefore be noticeable at least in the earlier periods of MSc (cf. chapter 4 and 7).

<sup>93</sup>a) The expression ‘deverbal noun’ is used by Quirk et al. in a twofold way, either referring to concretised verbal nouns in *–ing* or nouns derived from verbs such as PDE *arrival* or *behaviour* (1985: 1290).

b) A clear and definite differentiation between concrete and abstract nouns is, however, often problematical.

-*ing*-form. Examples of this type from MSc include *bigging* ‘building’ or *writting* ‘letter, writing’.

Type [1]: some paintings of Brown(’s)<sup>94</sup>

Type [2]: Brown’s painting of his daughter

## B) Verbal nouns

In contrast to the former group, the following types represent abstract non-count nouns of the type ‘representation’, ‘portrayal’. Typically, the *-ing*-form in this case is pre-modified by a definite article, pronoun or genitive noun phrase, as well as post-modified by a noun phrase introduced by the preposition *of*, corresponding to the subject of the action expressed by the *-ing*-form if no object is present (cf. ex. type [3] below in contrast to ‘their polishing of the furniture’; Quirk et al.: *ibid*). Type [4] is characterised by an accompanying adjectival pre-modifier of the verbal noun.

Type [3]: the painting of Brown is as skilful as that of G...<sup>95</sup>

Type [4]: Brown’s deft painting of his daughter is a delight to watch<sup>96</sup>

## C) Gerundial constructions<sup>97</sup>

Types [5] and [6] represent the so-called gerund constructions by displaying both nominal and verbal characteristics. The latter are manifest in the form’s taking a direct object as well as its adverbial pre-modification in type [5], while the construction behaves like a noun in its being modified by a genitive noun phrase (i.e. Brown’s).

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<sup>94</sup>a) All examples are taken from Quirk et al. (1985: 1290-2).

b) Brown either owning the painting, or having painted it (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1290).

<sup>95</sup>The verbal noun may here refer either to Brown’s mode of painting or the action of him painting (*ibid*).

<sup>96</sup>The verbal noun construction may here be replaced by a subordinate clause of the type ‘It is a delight to watch while Brown deftly paints his daughter’ (*ibid*).

<sup>97</sup>Although Quirk et al.’s introduction of the gradience model aims to dispose with the term ‘gerund’, the expression continues to be used here, in order to relate to the discussion in chapter (5).

Type [5]: Brown's deftly painting his daughter is a delight to watch  
Type [6]: I dislike B's painting his daughter<sup>98</sup>

#### D) Participles displaying nominal features<sup>99</sup>

The following types are characterised by a participle construction constituting the object of the main verb of the sentence. While according to Quirk et al. (1985: 1290-1), in type [7], “the **process** (=painting) is the object of dislike; the dislike is directed against the action of painting and not against Brown” (Dons/Moessner 1999: 20), type [8], although structurally similar, resembles the Latin AcI (accusativus cum infinitivo) constructions, with either the person ‘Brown’ or the process of ‘painting’ being the object of the main verb.

A variation of the former examples is presented by type [9], where ‘Brown’ is post-modified by the participle construction, which in turn is pre-modified by an adverb and governs a direct object (cf. Quirk: *ibid*, Gardela 2011: 203, note6).

Type [7]: I dislike Brown painting his daughter {when she ought to be at school}.

Type [8]: I watched Brown painting his daughter

Type [9]: Brown deftly painting his daughter is a delight to watch.

#### E) Participles in appositive constructions<sup>100</sup>

Preceding the main clause, the participial constructions of this group function as adverbial complements. While in type [10], the subject of the complement corresponds to the subject of the main clause, thus representing the prototypical appositive participle, type [11] is a so-called absolute participle construction, with its subject differing from the one of the main clause (cf. chapter 3.1.3.2.).

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<sup>98</sup>Paraphrased by ‘I dislike the way B paints his daughter’ (*ibid*).

<sup>99</sup>Gardela subsumes these types under the group of appositive constructions, yet mentions that in fact, the participial clauses here are “nominal in character” ((2011: 203).

<sup>100</sup>The term ‘appositive’ is not used by Quirk et al. here, Dons/Moessner (1999: 29) prefer the expression ‘participles displaying adverbial features’.

Type [10]: Painting his daughter, Brown noticed that his hand was shaking<sup>101</sup>  
Type [11]: Brown painting his daughter that day, I decided to go for a walk<sup>102</sup>

#### F) Participles in adjectival constructions

The main characteristic of the participles subsumed under this point is their attributive relation to the noun phrase they are modifying. Contrary to type [12], where the participle governs an object and usually post-modifies its principal, instances of type [13] function as simple adjectival pre-modifiers, not having verbal government. In the latter type, the participle itself may be modified by an adverb.

Type [12]: The man painting the girl is Brown<sup>103</sup>

Type [13]: The silently painting man is Brown

#### G) Verbal participles (progressive constructions)

The last type introduced by Quirk et al., namely the progressive participle, is the most verb-like of all constructions, constituting a finite verb phrase and functioning as the predicate of a sentence (cf. chapter 6).

Type [14]: Brown is painting his daughter.

#### **10.2.2.2. Modifications**

Since Quirk et al.'s gradience did not account for all constructions observed in the HCOS, several modifications had to be made, as was already pointed out above.

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<sup>101</sup>The participial construction could here be paraphrased by a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction such as 'while' (cf. While he was painting..., Brown noticed...; Quirk et al. 1985: 1290-2).

<sup>102</sup>The participle construction can be replaced by a subordinate phrase such as 'Since Brown was painting..., I... ' (cf. Quirk: *ibid*).

<sup>103</sup>The participial construction can here be substituted by a relative clause (cf. The man who is painting/ paints/ will paint etc. the girl, is Brown).

First, following Kisbye (1971: 58), the definition of type [5] was broadened so as to encompass constructions of verbal nouns post-modified by adverbs (governing either a genitive or direct object and potentially pre-modified by an article, pronoun or genitive noun phrase), as is illustrated by the following examples:

8. a) In the **opening upe** of his text #he was moderat the space of (sdia2a)<sup>104</sup>
- b) be **taking away** of their stipends (sdia2a)
- c) Ane schollar bad him #desist from **dinging up** the dore (sdia2b)

However, this decision may be questioned, as the verb and adverb in these cases appear to stand in a rather close relation and may be regarded as an inseparable unit.

Second, constructions governing a direct object and pre-modified by constituents other than genitive noun phrases, such as articles or pronouns (cf. Visser 1984: 1210) were integrated to type [6]:

9. a) Dilatit of **the vsing Sorcerie**, Witchcraft, and # Incantatioune (stri2b)
- b) **my forgetting the # resolutions** and promises (sdia3b).

Type [10], characterised by concordant subjects of both main clause and participial complement (the subject of the latter usually being only implied) was extended to instances where two expressed, yet co-referential subjects were found<sup>105</sup>:

10. a) Whereupon **I** seriously considering the matter, **I** posed her (seduc3)
- b) **The king of france** heirand thir nowellis **he** advysed (shist2b)<sup>106</sup>.

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<sup>104</sup>Any highlighting in examples taken from the HCOS was done by the author.

<sup>105</sup>Dons/Moessner (1999: 20) in contrast subsume these occurrences under type [11], judging the presence of a second expressed subject more relevant than the co-referentiality of these.

<sup>106</sup>Cf. Dons/Moessner (1999: 20).

Further subsumed under the group of appositives [10, 11], were participle constructions introduced by a subordinate conjunction, exemplified by the clause below:

11. **quhen # for+getting** his vertuous~ maneris and postponyng to consult in grave materis with +te barouns, he reulit all sic thingis be private counsel (shist1).

In correspondence to Dons/Moessner (1999: 21), attributive copula constructions such as the following were classed as type [12]:

12. Bot quein regent **beand ane vyse and naturall woman** [...] consultit (shist2b).

Furthermore listed under type [12] were participle constructions modifying nominal constituents other than nouns such as pronouns, as can be seen in the example below:

13. It bringis to gude cullour all Cathetic persounis **quhilkis being** of euil habitude & constitution of bod (sscie2b).

Contrary to Dons/Moessner (1999: 20-1) however, instances of the following type were considered to represent appositive constructions.

14. a. als four scrupulis of the pil. of Ruffus ar maist profitable, **quhilkis beand** tane oft befor (sayis Ruffus) preseruis maist surlie fra the pest [...] (sscie2a)
- b. [...] wes remittit #and referrit to[...] the counsell, **quhilkis being** # conuenit [...], fand #and decernit (srec1e).

Due to the word order rules of MSc differing from those of ModE, appositive constructions are not restricted to a pre-position to the main clause as claimed in Quirk et al., but may as well be found following their objects (cf. Gardela 2011: 212):

15. The King was at the same time at the Hague, **onlie waiting for a fair** # wind (spriv3).

Similarly, attributive participles of type [13] may either precede or follow their principal, as can be shown by the following examples:

16. a. and held the paper **flaming** to her hand, till her hand did blister (seduc3)
- b. the day **following** (stra2a)<sup>107</sup>.

While these instances were subsumed under type [12] by Gardela (2011: 211), judging the position of the participle to be the decisive feature, the presence or absence of an object governed by the participle was considered most significant in this paper (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 21).

Predicative adjectival participles such as the following were subsumed under type [13]:

17. And thairwith also being **most willing** (sparl2).

### 10.2.2.3. Additional types of constructions

Besides the modifications presented above, certain additional types were felt to be required in order to account for all types of constructions found in the HCOS. Newly introduced types concerning the participial part of the gradience (type [7]-[14]) largely overlap with and arose from a comparative assessment of the additions made by Dons/Moessner (1999: 21-22) and Gardela (2011: 210-2), whereas any extra types to the first part of the gradience were created independently by the author after a first analysis of the corpus.

A first group of additional types in fact represent sub-types of type [3] of verbal nouns, yet were introduced as separate classes to provide a more detailed overview of the syntactic functions of this form.

Type [3\*] comprises instances of verbal nouns governed by prepositions (cf. chapter 3.1.2.) as exemplified by the following phrases:

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<sup>107</sup>Further occurrences of word order seemingly affecting a construction's classification include instances such as 'the dismembering and **abstracti~g** frome thame **of thair levingis**' (sparl2). Here, the displacement of the genitive object was disregarded, and the construction treated as a regular type [3].

18. a. the barn that Margret Philp hes **in fostering** (stri2a)  
 b. to purge the samyn **be vomiting** (sscie2a).

In contrast, verbal nouns of type [3''] are post-modified by prepositional phrases or adverbs. In these constructions, the *-ing*-forms cannot be substituted by other derived abstract nouns like the proto-typical verbal noun (cf. Quirk et al. 1985: 1290), as according to Quirk et al. (1985: 1290), the latter differ from the former “in their acceptance of modification by prepositional phrases”<sup>108</sup>:

19. a. after thair **returning from** Babell (sserm2a)  
 b. at my **cuming heir** (shist1).

Two further sub-types of [3] were established to account for verbal nouns functioning as either first or second members of compounds.

Type [+3] can be illustrated by ModE examples such as ‘spying glass’ or ‘walking stick’, where the *-ing*-form does not stand in attributive but rather instrumental (‘a stick for walking’) or genitive relation to the noun it is modifying:

20. a. to make his **dwelling place** cleane (sserm2b)  
 b. efter' the sesoun of jlke **bathing and stoving tyme** (seduc0a).

In constrast, type [3+] comprises compounds having a verbal noun as their second constituent:

21. a. bot not for no **scheip steilling** (stri2d)  
 b. and wont was of **payment makyn** (srec0a)<sup>109</sup>.

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<sup>108</sup>This feature can be exemplified by phrases such as ‘their arriving for a month’ vs. ?‘the(ir) arrival for a month’ or ‘their behaving with courtesy’ vs. ?‘their behaviour with courtesy’ (Quirk et al. 1985: 1290).

<sup>109</sup>Compounds with adverbs or adjectives as their first constituents were also subsumed under this type, cf. adverbs: the Quenis **hame-cuming** / for **away taking** (stri2b); adjectives: by **euill doing** (sserm2b). The latter could, however, alternatively be interpreted as a simple pre-modifying adjective.

An additional group of types was introduced to cover constructions “syntactically ambiguous between an *-ing* clause and a noun phrase with a verbal noun in *-ing* as its head” (Quirk et al. 1985: 1065). One of the main characteristics of this group being the lack of pre-modification of the *-ing*-forms, the introduction of a mixed category into the classification here follows Eienkel (1914a: 28), who claims the articlelessness of phrases such as (EX 1) to be a first step towards gerundial constructions, the *-ing*-forms in question are thus regarded as hybrids between verbal nouns and gerunds.

In the first of these types, labelled [3/6], the *-ing*-form either occurs independently or accompanied by a genitive noun phrase and functions as the subject or object in a syntactical unit:

[3/6] (subject relation):

- 22. a. that is **cursing** [...] of the congregatioun of Christ (stri1b)
- b. Whereby **Learning** is in great hazard to languish (spar13)

[3/6] (object relation):

- 23. a. if these Symptoms, [...] do import, **Drowning**, or **#Strangling** (stri3)
- b. usit in drinks to caus **#vomiting** (stri2c)

However, in cases of a non-pre-modified *-ing*-form functioning as subject or object and governing a direct object such as the following, the construction was classified as type [6]:

- 24. Drinking or **Wishing Confusion** to his (^Majesty^), is high Treason (stri3).

Following Quirk et al. (1985: 1063-4), *-ing*-forms following the adjectives *busy* and *worth*, and governing a direct object were regarded as type [6] constructions as well, yet classed as [3/6] when occurring alone:

- 25. a. Dauet is **busi skliting** the turettes (spriv3) [6]

- b. which is all the news **worth writing** (spriv3) [3/6]

In case a construction of *-ing-* governing a genitive object without pre-modification was found following a parallel, predetermined phrase (the two constructions joined by a co-ordinate conjunction *and* or forming part of a list), the construction in question was not included in this group, but instead subsumed under type [3], assuming an implied pre-modifier:

26. **the cruell** murther, # slauchter, mutilatoun, and **hurting** of their nychtbours (srec1e).

A second type of construction pertaining to this group of mixed instances, labelled [3/6a], is constituted by *-ing-*forms being part of a prepositional phrase and governing a genitive object:

27. a. **for reuenging of** all the iniuries comitted against any (seduc2)  
b. fairly martches off **without fyreing of** a pistol (sbio3a).

Correspondingly, a subtype [6a] was created for the group of gerundial constructions, comprising instances of *-ing-*forms following a preposition and governing a direct object:

28. a. **for caring leidis** on the Sabboth day (stri2a)  
b. **in committing adultrie** with him (stri2a)

Not infrequently, instances of both type [3/6a] and [6a] are found concurrently within one single sentence, as shown by the following example:

29. and **for mending of** the kirk, **for delating of** faltouris and **taking ordour** for punischment (stri2a)

Introducing separate types for prepositionally governed *–ing*-forms, such as the preceding [3/6a] and [6a]<sup>110</sup>, appeared reasonable and relevant in order to check the alleged “marked tendency [...] for all kinds of gerunds to function as prepositional complements” (Fanego 1966: 124-5) against textual evidence (cf. chapter 5.2.7.).

As can be seen in the example above as well as by the following instance below, in co-ordinate phrases or lists, introductory prepositions, if not repeatedly expressed, were assumed to be implied (cf. the case of pre-modification of type [3] instances above):

30. **in** cloathing, feeding, and **inriching** them with the fatnesse (stra2a).

In regard to participial constructions, the category of appositives was extended to four types, adding the sub-types of [11a] and [11b]. The former, established on the basis of Gardela (2011: 210), comprises instances of appositive participle constructions introduced by a preposition, and having a subject differing from that of the main clause:

31. and #upone ye 27 day, ye same proclamatioun of ye Earll of Bothuell's peace  
#wes renewit at ye crosse **vith heralds and trumpettis sounding for ioy**  
(sdia2b).

Type [11b] was established to cover appositive constructions without overt subject, yet the implied subject showing no co-referentiality to the subject of the main clause (cf.

Dons/Moessner 1999: 21; Gardela 2011: 210), as exemplified by the following sentence:

32. And his power is as sufficient to make his body invisible and insensible in the sacrament **hauand ane immortal and glo[ri]fyet bodye** (spamlc)<sup>111</sup>.

In correspondence to Dons/Moessner, a further type [10/12] was added to the classification, representing a hybrid (or rather, ambiguous) type oscillating between appositive [10] and

<sup>110</sup>As well as [3\*] to allow comparisons.

<sup>111</sup>The implied subject of the adverbial complement does not correspond to that of the main clause, namely ‘his power’, but agrees with the ‘he’ introduced by ‘his power’/ ‘his body’ (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 21).

attributive [12] construction. The participle construction, directly following a noun phrase, can here be interpreted in two ways: either as modifying the whole clause [10] or as modifying the preceding nominal constituent [12] (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 21):

33. Calphurnius **persewand ferder with his armye** come to Ordoluce and thro  
Dere [...] to Pichtland (shist1)<sup>112</sup>.

Type [and]<sup>113</sup>, regarded as belonging to the group of appositive constructions in this paper<sup>114</sup>, is characterised by the participial complement being connected to the main clause by the conjunction *and*, which in this case, however, “does not function as a coordinator but as a subordinator, and expresses concession, reason or a combination of both” (Dons/Moessner 1999: 21-22):

34. And pat (^my lord^) was in the house afoir, and had left the said (^Paris^) parein, **and the said (^Hob^) standand at the dur** [...] (strilc).

Gardela further introduces a type covering constructions of the type ‘□ay moghte wele forgaa □e lufe of **all creaturs lyfande**<sup>115</sup> in erthe’ (*The Bee and the Stork*, cited in Gardela 2011: 211) to this category, however, this type was disregarded in this paper, as such instances were considered attributive rather than appositive.

Two additional types [14a] and [14b], introduced to the last, verbal group, represent sub-types of the progressive construction. While the former was introduced to account for progressives in tenses other than the most common and original present and preterite (such as future,

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<sup>112</sup>The example given may thus be substituted either by a relative clause ‘Calphurnius, who further pursued..., came’ or by a subordinate clause ‘When/While further pursuing..., Calphurnius came...’.

<sup>113</sup>Corresponding to type [C] in Gardela (2011: 210).

<sup>114</sup>Cf. Gardela (2011: 210), contra Dons/Moessner (1999: 21-22; 29), who subsume this type under the group of participles displaying verbal features.

<sup>115</sup>Emphasis by the author.

perfect or pluperfect, as well as for infinitives, imperatives and subjunctives of the progressive and constructions of the type ‘being doing’ (cf. 35. a/b below)), the latter comprises quasi-progressive constructions consisting of a verb of motion or rest in combination with an *-ing*-form (cf. 36.a/b) <sup>116</sup>:

35. a. gyf +tai **be cumyne** to the natural cours of elide (seduc0a)

b. I **had bein speiking** face to face with God (sdia2c)

36. a. One **came running**, and said, they had found Sir (^James^) (stri3)

b. for the country **lay # groaning** wnder thir havie burdinges (shist3).

In addition to these progressive and progressive-like constructions, the group of verbal participles was extended by type [CL], characterised by the *-and/-ing*-forms “function[ing] as independent clauses with or without a subject” (Dons/Moessner 1999: 21). Elliptical titles and headlines of texts or passages were included here:

37. a. KING JAMES THE SIXTH **DISCHARGING** JOHN GRANT OF FREUCHIE #FROM BEING PUT TO THE HORN AS CAUTIONER FOR THE EARL OF HUNTLY (soff2)

b. **Duelling** toward the northe, **temperand** the air in priuat luggingis, [...] at the fairest hour of the day **oppinnand** dure & vindois toward the Septentrionall partis. (sscie2a).

Although it was attempted to provide a comprehensive and clear classification scheme by the modifications and additions presented in the preceding sections, an unambiguous and definite assignation to one single type was unfortunately not always possible. Uncertain instances were, however, not excluded from the data, but were assigned the most plausible of possible interpretations.

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<sup>116</sup>The finite verbs are here almost reduced to auxiliaries, while the main idea of the action is borne by the participle (cf. chapter (6); Gardela 2011: 211).

## 11. Results

In this chapter, the statistical results gained by an analysis of the HCOS as outlined above will be presented according to the different parameters observed in the study, accompanied by a detailed discussion of these findings. Moreover, previous research done on the topic will be re-assessed and claims put forward in the past reviewed.

### 11.1. Parameters/ Correlations

The following sections will see the presentation and discussion of the results gained through the present study. The findings will here be organised according to the variables examined in the corpus analysis, namely *frequency*, *period*, *spelling variant*, *genre*, and *type of syntactic construction* (cf. chapter 10.2.2.), which will be correlated in different combinations<sup>117</sup>. As the data obtained is rather abundant, in order to not complicate the matter further by giving overly complex tables, the parameter of *spelling variant* is not treated separately in all sections. In cases where providing distinct numbers for all possible orthographical variants was not felt to be effective, the spellings were accumulated in two main groups, the first<sup>118</sup> comprising the dental-bearing variants of <-and>, <-ande>, <-ant>, <-ent> and diphthongal <-aind>, as well as reduced <-ane>, which, although dental-less, was considered to be part of this group due to its vocalism (and preferred syntactic function), while the second group embraces the variants of the original verbal noun suffix <-ing(e)>, <-yng(e)>, <-in(e)>, <-yn(e)>, <-en><sup>119</sup>, as well as <-eng><sup>120</sup>. A comprehensive analysis of all spelling variants was

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<sup>117</sup>The structure of presenting the results was here adopted from Dons/Moessner (1999).

<sup>118</sup>Subsumed under the head-label –AND. Whenever numbers are given for lower case characters, they refer to the individual spelling variants.

<sup>119</sup>Meurman-Solin (2002: 209-210) argues against such subsumption of reduced variants to -ING, as she claims these to have independent status and to be “systematically preferred in specific functions in certain idiolectal and/or geographical varieties of Scots” (ibid: 210). However, this issue had to be disregarded due to the rather overwhelming amount of data here presented in a quite limited scale. Nevertheless, reference will be made to the individual spelling references where considered conspicuous.

regarded as disadvantageous insofar as previous research on the issue has proven –AND variants to be almost entirely restricted to the verbal end (i.e. the participial part) of Quirk et al.’s gradience (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 26ff.; Görlach 2002: 96), while -ING is supposed to be found in all types of construction with a fairly even distribution between the two parts above all in the later periods (cf. chapter 7.). A simultaneous treatment of both groups of variants would thus have yielded distorted results.

As pointed out above, the figures obtained are given in two forms, absolute numbers of tokens (labelled *T*) on the one hand, and normalised, relative numbers (labelled *R*) on the other hand. References to tables always relate to the normalised figures, unless indicated otherwise. The labels *S0-S3*<sup>121</sup> refer to the sub-periods introduced by Meurman-Solin, as given in chapter 10.1.1.

#### 11.1.1. Frequency/Period

In the following table, the frequency distribution of –AND and –ING forms over the four periods between 1450 and 1700 can be seen. Furthermore, the total count of occurrences of the forms in question is given.

**Table 5. Overall frequency of –AND/-ING-forms in Middle Scots**

| Period       | Word-count            | -AND         |             | -ING          |              |  | Total         |              |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|--|---------------|--------------|
|              |                       | T            | R           | T             | R            |  | T             | R            |
| <b>S0</b>    | <i>85,100</i>         | 405          | 47.6        | 737           | 86.6         |  | 1,142         | 134.2        |
| <b>S1</b>    | <i>201,800</i>        | 955          | 47.3        | 2,402         | 119          |  | 3,357         | 166.4        |
| <b>S2</b>    | <i>305,900</i>        | 450          | 14.7        | 5,464         | 178.6        |  | 5,914         | 193.3        |
| <b>S3</b>    | <i>241,400</i>        | 15           | 0.6         | 5,111         | 211.7        |  | 5,126         | 212.4        |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b><i>834,200</i></b> | <b>1,825</b> | <b>21.9</b> | <b>13,714</b> | <b>164.4</b> |  | <b>15,539</b> | <b>186.3</b> |

<sup>120</sup>This group being referred to by –ING in capitals. Forms without nasal cluster were included here due to their predominant use in types towards the nominal end of the gradience. However, it has to be borne in mind that the spelling variants do not necessarily reflect the syntactic functions chiefly associated with them, not even in the earlier periods (as will be evidenced below).

<sup>121</sup>Introducing different labels such as *Period I-IV*, as done by Dons/Moessner (1999) was found to result rather confusing, the original tags were thus retained in this study.

A first observance which can be made from these figures is a general and steady increase in the use of -AND/-ING-forms towards the end of the Middle Scots period, the relative number of tokens rising by almost 60% between *S0* and *S3*. Although the overall frequency of occurrences does not seem to be of exceptional significance, seeing that various syntactic features as well as orthographical variants are indifferently amalgamated in these figures, the obvious increase in popularity is interesting insofar as it might be accounted for by the form's expansion in function. Thus, the figures might be a first indication of certain developments such as a growing use of gerundial constructions in the course of the period.

In regard to the distribution of –AND-forms, the present figures corroborate Dons/Moessner's (1999: 23) proposition of a rather drastic decline in use only in the transition of *S1* to *S2*, in contrast to the general assumption of a gradual and steady decrease from the beginning on in previous literature (cf. chapter 7.). In contrast to Dons/Moessner<sup>122</sup>, however, no increase in frequency between *S0* and *S1* could be observed, the figures rather showing a slight (yet irrelevant) decrease from 47.6 instances in *S0* to 47.3 in *S1*. The subsequent period of *S2* sees a sharp drop of almost 70% in the number of –AND-occurrences, followed by a further decline towards the end of the period, the very low frequency of only 15 (absolute) tokens in *S3* suggesting the process of the ousting of the participial suffix to have been greatly advanced by Late Middle Scots. Nevertheless, a type/token-comparison of the *S3* instances showed the 15 tokens to appear in 10 types, this rather high diversity indicating that the complete extinction of –AND was still not directly imminent.

The present figures thus, in accordance to Dons/Moessner's (1999: 23) findings, support a relatively late dating of the final disappearance of the participial suffix (apart from its alleged

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<sup>122</sup>The figures presented by Dons/Moessner (199: 22) are as follows: *S0* – 1.66; *S1* – 3.93; *S2* – 1.11; *S3* – 0.056 (normalised by 1,000). Differences in figures between the present study and Dons/Moessner may first be due to their considering only the most prominent –and- spelling variant and second may result from their working with an earlier version of the HCOS, differing considerably in the overall word-count and text sizes of the periods. Furthermore, differing approaches to including or omitting data as well as to classifying the data might have yielded deviating results.

retention in peripheral dialects of Scots, cf. chapter 7.) in the early Modern Scots period, as proposed by Beal (1997: 356) and others (cf. chapter 7.).

In contrast to the participial suffix, the figures for -ING-forms display a steady increase in frequency in the course of the periods, the number of tokens more than doubling between *S0* and *S3*. Furthermore, -ING appears to generally succeed –AND in frequency from the beginning on, occurring almost twice as often already in *S0*. While in regard to the later periods, such predominance is perfectly in line with the generally accepted view of the use of –ING being extended to functions formerly occupied by –AND, the high rate of occurrence of -ING in the earlier periods cannot be ascribed to the coalescence process alone, as will be shown below, but has to be explained by an overall more frequent use of verbal nouns in the texts examined.

In the following tables, the ratios established for the individual orthographical variants of the suffixes in question are presented. Blank fields indicate that no instances of the variant could be found in the respective period.

**Table 6. Frequency distribution of spelling variants over the periods**

| Period       | Word-count            | -and         |              | -ande     |             | -ant      |             | -ent     |             | -aind    |             |
|--------------|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|----------|-------------|----------|-------------|
|              |                       | T            | R            | T         | R           | T         | R           | T        | R           | T        | R           |
| <b>S0</b>    | <i>85,100</i>         | 335          | 39.37        | 69        | 8.11        |           |             | 1        | 0.12        |          |             |
| <b>S1</b>    | <i>201,800</i>        | 947          | 46.93        | 2         | 0.1         | 3         | 0.15        |          |             | 1        | 0.05        |
| <b>S2</b>    | <i>305,900</i>        | 443          | 14.48        |           |             | 7         | 0.23        |          |             |          |             |
| <b>S3</b>    | <i>241,400</i>        | 14           | 0.58         |           |             | 1         | 0.04        |          |             |          |             |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b><i>834,200</i></b> | <b>1,739</b> | <b>20.85</b> | <b>71</b> | <b>0.85</b> | <b>11</b> | <b>0.13</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>0.01</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>0.01</b> |

| Period       | Word-Count            | -ing          |              | -inge     |            | -yng       |             | -ynge     |             | -eng      |             |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------|--------------|-----------|------------|------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
|              |                       | T             | R            | T         | R          | T          | R           | T         | R           | T         | R           |
| <b>S0</b>    | <i>85,100</i>         | 413           | 48.53        | 38        | 4.47       | 155        | 18.21       | 26        | 3.06        |           |             |
| <b>S1</b>    | <i>201,800</i>        | 1,912         | 94.75        | 9         | 0.45       | 267        | 13.23       | 25        | 1.24        | 2         | 0.1         |
| <b>S2</b>    | <i>305,900</i>        | 5,378         | 175.81       | 9         | 0.29       | 36         | 1.49        | 2         | 0.07        |           |             |
| <b>S3</b>    | <i>241,400</i>        | 5,085         | 210.65       | 11        | 0.46       |            |             |           |             | 10        | 0.41        |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b><i>834,200</i></b> | <b>12,788</b> | <b>153.3</b> | <b>67</b> | <b>0.8</b> | <b>458</b> | <b>5.49</b> | <b>53</b> | <b>0.64</b> | <b>12</b> | <b>0.14</b> |

| Period       | Word-count            | -in        |            | -ine      |             | -yn       |            | -yne      |             | -en      |              | -ane     |              |
|--------------|-----------------------|------------|------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------|----------|--------------|----------|--------------|
|              |                       | T          | R          | T         | R           | T         | R          | T         | R           | T        | R            | T        | R            |
| <b>S0</b>    | <i>85,100</i>         | 37         | 4.35       | 1         | 0.12        | 56        | 6.58       | 11        | 1.29        |          |              |          |              |
| <b>S1</b>    | <i>201,800</i>        | 132        | 6.54       | 26        | 1.29        | 27        | 1.34       |           |             | 2        | 0.1          | 2        | 0.1          |
| <b>S2</b>    | <i>305,900</i>        | 27         | 0.88       | 3         | 0.1         | 9         | 0.29       |           |             |          |              |          |              |
| <b>S3</b>    | <i>241,400</i>        | 4          | 0.17       | 1         | 0.04        |           |            |           |             |          |              |          |              |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b><i>834,200</i></b> | <b>200</b> | <b>2.4</b> | <b>31</b> | <b>0.37</b> | <b>92</b> | <b>1.1</b> | <b>11</b> | <b>0.13</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>0.024</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>0.024</b> |

Considering the overall figures of the frequency distribution of the various spelling variants, the predominance of <-ing> is evident, followed but not in the slightest challenged by the second-most frequent <-and> spelling as well as <-yng> and <-in> as further at least fairly popular variants. While the low frequency of spellings without nasal clusters corroborates Macafee's (2004: 6.3.1.3.) claim of a relatively high conservatism of Middle Scots orthography, rarely indicating the alleged loss of final plosives (cf. chapter 7.), the assumption of <-yng>, <-yne>, <-e(e)n(e)> being the most common and sole spelling variants, as stated by Murray (1873: 210) is refuted by the HCOS data, the two latter only rarely occurring and thus of not much relevance, the former, although not infrequent, not reaching the prevalent spelling of <-ing> (cf. van Buuren 1982: 86).

In regard to the distribution of spelling variants across the periods, a general trend towards standardisation of orthographic variation can be witnessed, the forms increasingly becoming restricted to the most common spellings of <-and><sup>123</sup> and <-ing> respectively.

Little variation is displayed by the participial suffix throughout the periods, <-and> representing the most popular spelling and reflecting the overall trend of –AND-forms as pointed out above, while <-ande> appears to present a valid alternative in the earlier periods, accounting for almost a fifth of –AND-occurrences in *S0*, but is completely abandoned in subsequence. The low frequency of <-ant>-spellings, despite an assumed significant amount of French loanwords ending in *-ant*, is accounted for by the aforementioned Older Scots

<sup>123</sup>Of course, the general reduction in occurrences of –AND-forms has to be borne in mind here, <-ing> representing the overall most frequent and dominant spelling.

tendency to incorporate loans into their orthographic system (Görlach 2002: 96; Macafee 2004: 7.8.10; Einkenkel 1916: 13). Sporadic instances of other forms such as <-ent> or <-aind>, reminiscent of Southern spellings, or dental-less <-ane> are too infrequent too be considered relevant and may thus be disregarded.

In contrast to –AND’s decline, a steady increase of forms in <-ing>, as pointed out above, can be seen throughout the periods, accompanied by a steady decrease in frequency of the other spelling variants<sup>124</sup> in line with the abovementioned trend to standardisation.

### 11.1.2. Frequency/Genre

A further issue addressed in this study is the correlation between the frequency distribution of –AND- and –ING-forms and the text genres as indicated by Meurman-Solin (1995: 58-62).

**Table 7. Frequency distribution of –AND/ING-forms in text genres**

| Genre            | Word-count | -AND |      | -ING  |       |  | TOTAL |       |
|------------------|------------|------|------|-------|-------|--|-------|-------|
|                  |            | T    | R    | T     | R     |  | T     | R     |
| Bible            | 4,400      | 21   | 47.7 | 54    | 122.7 |  | 75    | 170.5 |
| Handbooks        | 19,500     |      |      | 403   | 206.7 |  | 403   | 206.7 |
| Sermons          | 19,900     | 5    | 2.5  | 211   | 106   |  | 216   | 108.5 |
| Biography        | 23,300     | 3    | 1.3  | 498   | 213.7 |  | 501   | 215   |
| Science          | 24,300     | 137  | 56.4 | 328   | 135   |  | 465   | 191.4 |
| Travelogue       | 27,700     | 2    | 0.7  | 627   | 226.4 |  | 629   | 227.1 |
| Private letters  | 35,200     | 5    | 1.4  | 427   | 121.3 |  | 432   | 122.7 |
| Official letters | 57,000     | 137  | 24   | 667   | 117   |  | 804   | 141.1 |
| Trials           | 65,800     | 174  | 26.4 | 965   | 146.7 |  | 1,139 | 173.1 |
| Pamphlets        | 68,500     | 183  | 26.7 | 971   | 141.8 |  | 1,154 | 168.5 |
| History          | 69,400     | 115  | 16.6 | 1,251 | 180.3 |  | 1,366 | 196.8 |
| Education        | 88,500     | 232  | 26.2 | 1,093 | 123.5 |  | 1,325 | 149.7 |
| Diary            | 91,000     | 8    | 0.9  | 1,774 | 195   |  | 1,782 | 195.8 |
| Records          | 91,400     | 397  | 43.4 | 1,839 | 201.2 |  | 2,236 | 244.6 |
| Law              | 148,200    | 401  | 27.1 | 2,635 | 177.8 |  | 3,036 | 204.9 |

Considering the overall amount of occurrences of the suffixes in question, the figures appear to be relatively balanced, ranging between approximately 100 and 200 instances in most

<sup>124</sup> Although the increase towards and peak of <-in> and <-ine> in period *SI* might indicate an increased reduction of final plosives in the suffixes as proposed by Dieth (1932: 123-4), the deviations were considered too slight in this study and thus disregarded.

genres. No clear preference of the forms towards one type of text can be discerned, as on the one hand, the highest ratio is shown by the formal genre of *Burgh records*, and a similarly high figure is given for the *Acts of Parliament (Law)*, whereas on the other hand equally high ratios are found for the rather private text types constituted by *Travelogues*, *Biography* and *Handbooks*, while other informal genres present a rather low frequency of occurrences (cf. private letters).

A similarly even distribution is seen concerning –ING-forms, where the highest figures are found in the informal genres of *Travelogue*, *Biography* and *Handbooks* alongside a rather high ratio for *Diary*, whereas *Private letters*, equally intended for private use, shows a quite low ratio. The same can be witnessed for formal genres, ranging between high numbers for *Burgh records*, *Law* and *History* in contrast to low numbers for *Official Letters*, allowing no assumption of the dominance of –ING relating to the formality or publicness of a text.

In regard to the distribution of –AND-spellings, a rather different picture is drawn, with the number of tokens varying considerably between the various genres. The figures here largely correspond to and confirm Dons/Moessner's (1999: 25-6)<sup>125</sup> findings, suggesting that the participial forms most frequently occur in formal text types (such as *Law*, *Burgh Records*, *Bible*, *Official letters*, *Trials*, *Pamphlets* and *History*, as well as *Educational Treatises*<sup>126</sup>), while private genres such as private letters or travelogues show considerably lower ratios. Dons/Moessner (1999: 26) further propose the frequency of –AND-forms to be related to the conception of a text, the use of the construction increasing in texts of written conception. Thus, the low ratio of forms in the genre of *Sermons* is accounted for, as although of formal, public character, the texts are intended to be read aloud and listened to. This explanation

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<sup>125</sup>*Burgh Records* and *Acts of Parliament* are both subsumed under Law in Dons/Moessner (1999).

<sup>126</sup>The figures for *Educational Treatises* given here differ considerably to the ones of Dons/Moessner (1999: 25). Seeing that the total word-counts of the genre in the two studies more or less agree and the deviations can neither be due the inclusion of other spelling variants, differences in approaching the database have to be assumed.

might further be applicable to –ING-forms as well, as the low ratios for letters (official and private) as well as sermons, as shown above, might be due to their being conceived as oral texts genres.

The exceptionally high rate of –AND-occurrences in *Scientific treatises* greatly contradicts this genre’s being of informal character (consisting of household remedies and being designed for a broad, common audience), yet can be explained by the idiosyncratic high use of the construction by the author of file *sscie2a*, which accounts for almost 98% of the genre’s tokens (Dons/Moessner 1999: 25).

A further interesting frequency distribution of forms is shown by the genre of *Handbooks*, characterised by the complete absence of -AND-spellings in contrast to a very high token frequency of -ING-forms. In line with Dons/Moessner, this observation can be explained “by the fact that this genre is represented by only three files which all come from the end of the last two periods (seventeenth century only) when *-and* was clearly on its way out” (1999: 25-6), having been entirely succeeded by -ING in all functions in this genre.

**Table 8. Genre-specific frequency distribution of spelling variants**

| Genre | Word-count | -and |       | -ande |      | -ant |      | -ent |      | -aind |      |
|-------|------------|------|-------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|------|
|       |            | T    | R     | T     | R    | T    | R    | T    | R    | T     | R    |
| bible | 4,400      | 19   | 43.2  | 2     | 4.55 |      |      |      |      |       |      |
| hand  | 19,500     |      |       |       |      |      |      |      |      |       |      |
| serm  | 19,900     | 3    | 1.51  |       |      | 2    | 1    |      |      |       |      |
| bio   | 23,300     | 1    | 0.43  |       |      | 2    | 0.86 |      |      |       |      |
| scie  | 24,300     | 137  | 56.4  |       |      |      |      |      |      |       |      |
| trav  | 27,700     | 1    | 0.36  |       |      | 1    | 0.36 |      |      |       |      |
| priv  | 35,200     | 5    | 1.42  |       |      |      |      |      |      |       |      |
| off   | 57,000     | 134  | 23.51 | 1     | 0.18 |      |      |      |      |       |      |
| trial | 65,800     | 173  | 26.29 |       |      |      |      |      |      | 1     | 0.15 |
| pamph | 68,500     | 183  | 26.72 |       |      |      |      |      |      |       |      |
| Hist  | 69,400     | 114  | 16.43 |       |      | 1    | 0.14 | 1    | 0.14 |       |      |
| educ  | 88,500     | 229  | 25.88 | 3     | 0.34 |      |      | 1    | 0.11 |       |      |
| diary | 91,000     | 6    | 0.66  |       |      | 2    | 0.22 |      |      |       |      |
| rec   | 91,400     | 382  | 41.79 | 15    | 1.64 |      |      | 2    | 0.22 |       |      |
| law   | 148,200    | 352  | 23.75 | 49    | 3.31 |      |      |      |      |       |      |

| Genre | Word-count | -ing  |        | -inge |      | -yng |       | -ynge |      | -eng |      |
|-------|------------|-------|--------|-------|------|------|-------|-------|------|------|------|
|       |            | T     | R      | T     | R    | T    | R     | T     | R    | T    | R    |
| bible | 4,400      | 41    | 93.2   |       |      | 7    | 15.91 |       |      |      |      |
| hand  | 19,500     | 393   | 201.5  | 10    | 5.13 |      |       |       |      |      |      |
| serm  | 19,900     | 208   | 104.5  |       |      | 1    | 0.5   |       |      |      |      |
| bio   | 23,300     | 479   | 205.6  |       |      | 19   | 8.16  |       |      |      |      |
| scie  | 24,300     | 327   | 134.6  |       |      |      |       |       |      |      |      |
| trav  | 27,700     | 612   | 220.9  |       |      |      |       |       |      | 5    | 1.81 |
| priv  | 35,200     | 412   | 117.01 | 2     | 0.57 | 1    | 0.28  | 2     | 0.57 | 5    | 1.42 |
| off   | 57,000     | 509   | 89.3   | 7     | 1.23 | 117  | 20.53 | 8     | 1.4  | 1    | 0.18 |
| trial | 65,800     | 944   | 143.5  | 1     | 0.15 | 15   | 2.28  |       |      | 1    | 0.15 |
| pamph | 68,500     | 831   | 121.3  | 3     | 0.44 | 33   | 4.82  | 25    | 3.65 |      |      |
| hist  | 69,400     | 1,175 | 169.3  | 6     | 0.87 | 57   | 8.21  |       |      |      |      |
| educ  | 88,500     | 937   | 105.9  | 32    | 3.62 | 76   | 8.59  | 10    | 1.13 |      |      |
| diary | 91,000     | 1,763 | 193.7  |       |      | 3    | 0.33  |       |      |      |      |
| rec   | 91,400     | 1,580 | 172.9  |       |      | 97   | 10.61 |       |      |      |      |
| law   | 148,200    | 2,539 | 171.3  | 6     | 0.41 | 31   | 2.09  | 8     | 0.54 |      |      |

|       | Word-count | -in |       | -ine |      | -yn |      | -yne |      | -en |      | -ane |      |
|-------|------------|-----|-------|------|------|-----|------|------|------|-----|------|------|------|
|       |            | T   | R     | T    | R    | T   | R    | T    | R    | T   | R    | T    | R    |
| bible | 4,400      | 6   | 13.64 |      |      |     |      |      |      |     |      |      |      |
| hand  | 19,500     |     |       |      |      |     |      |      |      |     |      |      |      |
| serm  | 19,900     | 2   |       |      |      |     |      |      |      |     |      |      |      |
| bio   | 23,300     |     |       |      |      |     |      |      |      |     |      |      |      |
| scie  | 24,300     |     |       | 1    | 0.41 |     |      |      |      |     |      |      |      |
| trav  | 27,700     | 3   | 1.08  |      |      | 7   | 2.53 |      |      |     |      |      |      |
| priv  | 35,200     | 1   | 0.28  |      |      | 2   | 0.57 |      |      | 2   | 0.57 |      |      |
| off   | 57,000     | 18  | 3.16  |      |      | 7   | 1.23 |      |      |     |      | 2    | 0.35 |
| trial | 65,800     | 2   | 0.3   | 1    | 0.15 | 1   | 0.15 |      |      |     |      |      |      |
| pamph | 68,500     | 9   | 1.32  |      |      |     |      |      |      |     |      |      |      |
| hist  | 69,400     | 10  | 1.44  |      |      | 3   | 0.43 |      |      |     |      |      |      |
| educ  | 88,500     | 2   | 0.23  | 26   | 2.94 | 5   | 0.57 | 5    | 0.57 |     |      |      |      |
| diary | 91,000     | 7   | 0.77  | 1    | 0.11 |     |      |      |      |     |      |      |      |
| rec   | 91,400     | 104 | 11.38 | 2    | 0.22 | 55  | 6.02 | 1    | 0.11 |     |      |      |      |
| law   | 148,200    | 34  | 2.29  |      |      | 12  | 0.81 | 5    | 0.34 |     |      |      |      |

Taking a closer look at the frequency figures of individual spelling variants, no clear contrastive distribution can be discerned, the majority of text genres employing at least two alternatives of -AND- as well as -ING-spellings. Promiscuous use of different variants is further frequently found within one and the same text or even within one sentence, as is demonstrated by the following example:

38. for tham bath scotty**ng** lotty**ng** waki**ng** and wardi**ng** #and for the borou mallis payi**n**<sup>127</sup> (srec0a).

Moreover, -AND- and -ING-spellings are repeatedly employed indistinctively in one single clause, fulfilling the same syntactic function, a phenomenon which will be discussed in more detail below. Cf.

39. The quens companie and frenchemen be**ing** in thin order ffor the time and tak**and** wpe thair airmie<sup>47</sup> (shist2b).

The orthographic variants of the suffixes in question most evenly distributed are unsurprisingly constituted by the overall most common <-and> and <-ing>-spellings, which in their dispersal across the genres mirror the general pattern of -AND- and -ING-forms as illustrated above. Among the less frequently used variants of either form, no clear and prevalent preference to certain text types<sup>128</sup> can be established, additionally impeded by the rather low total numbers of tokens in most cases<sup>129</sup>. Thus, one of Meurman-Solin's propositions in this regard, namely of the occurrences of less popular variants being conditioned by genre-specific practices (2002: 210) can be refuted to a certain extent, however, as Meurman-Solin herself points out and as pointed out above, the HCOS might not be able to yield sufficient "conclusive evidence of factors conditioning the choice of variants" (2002: 212) due to its limited size.

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<sup>127</sup>Emphasis by the author.

<sup>128</sup>In this paper, the term 'genre' is applied in reference to extra-linguistic criteria such as intended audience or purpose, while 'text type' relates to internal features such as level of formality (cf. Lee 2001: 37-8).

<sup>129</sup>Discerning any tendency towards a text type or genre is, e.g. difficult in cases such as <-aind>, <-en> or <-ane>, where only very few occurrences could be found in the corpus. While a slight inclination to formal genres (*Bible*, *Burgh records*, *History* et al.) is shown by <-ande>, <-ent> as well as <-in>, in contrast to <-ant> being more prone to informal texts (*Biography*, *Diary*), the divergence in token frequency does not seem to be sufficiently high to be of real relevance in these cases either.

### 11.1.3. Frequency/Period/ Genre

In the following tables, the genre-specific ratios for -AND- and -ING-spellings respectively will be correlated to the parameter of time, in order to detect possible relations of the ousting of participial *-and* and concurrent succession of *-ing* to text types or genres<sup>130</sup>. Figures in the right column of the respective periods (*R*) were here normalised in accordance to both the total word-counts of the individual genres and periods. While cases featuring ‘0’ indicate that no occurrences of -AND/ING-forms were found in the texts of the respective period, blank fields signify that, according to Meurman-Solin (1995: 58-62), no documents were included in the corpus for this period<sup>131</sup>.

**Table 9. Genre-specific frequency distribution of –AND-forms over the periods**

| Genre        | Word-Count     | S0<br>85,100 |             | S1<br>201,800 |             | S2<br>305,900 |             | S3<br>241,400 |            |
|--------------|----------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|------------|
|              |                | T            | R           | T             | R           | T             | R           | T             | R          |
| bible        | 4,400          |              |             | 21            | 2.4         |               |             |               |            |
| hand         | 19,500         |              |             |               |             | 0             |             | 0             |            |
| serm         | 19,900         |              |             |               |             | 5             | 0.08        | 0             |            |
| bio          | 23,300         |              |             |               |             | 3             | 0.04        | 0             |            |
| scie         | 24,300         |              |             |               |             | 137           | 1.8         | 0             |            |
| trav         | 27,700         |              |             |               |             | 2             | 0.02        | 0             |            |
| priv         | 35,200         |              |             | 1             | 0.01        | 4             | 0.04        | 0             |            |
| off          | 57,000         | 5            | 0.1         | 131           | 1.1         | 1             | 0.006       | 0             |            |
| trial        | 65,800         |              |             | 100           | 0.8         | 74            | 0.37        | 0             |            |
| pamph        | 68,500         |              |             | 177           | 1.3         | 6             | 0.03        | 0             |            |
| hist         | 69,400         |              |             | 61            | 0.4         | 53            | 0.25        | 2             | 0.01       |
| educ         | 88,500         | 218          | 2.9         | 15            | 0.08        | 0             |             | 0             |            |
| diary        | 91,000         |              |             |               |             | 8             | 0.03        | 0             |            |
| rec          | 91,400         | 91           | 1.17        | 268           | 1.45        | 33            | 0.12        | 7             | 0.03       |
| law          | 148,200        | 89           | 0.71        | 192           | 0.6         | 114           | 0.25        | 6             | 0.02       |
| <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>834,200</b> | <b>405</b>   | <b>47.6</b> | <b>955</b>    | <b>47.3</b> | <b>450</b>    | <b>14.7</b> | <b>15</b>     | <b>0.6</b> |

Considering the first table, the frequency distribution of -AND-tokens can be seen to reflect the general trends pointed out above, the forms on the one hand sharply declining in the

<sup>130</sup>Since, however, no differentiation between syntactic functions of -ING is made in the following tables, definite conclusions in regard to this issue cannot be drawn from these, but will only be enabled by appropriate tables later on in the paper.

<sup>131</sup>This practice was adopted from Dons/Moessner (1993: 23).

transition to period S2, and on the other hand being largely restricted to texts showing a high degree of formality<sup>132</sup>. However, seeing that only few genres are represented in each period and informal, private genres are virtually absent from periods S0 and S1 (except for *Private letters* in the latter) no conclusive statements can be made about the early development of the forms in question in regard to genre. Nevertheless, it seems obvious that -AND-spellings were retained longest in formal texts (*History*, *Burgh records* and *Law*) (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 23).

**Table 10. Genre-specific frequency distribution of –ING-forms over the periods**

| Genre | Word-Count | S0<br>85,100 |      | S1<br>201,800 |      | S2<br>305,900 |      | S3<br>241,400 |      |
|-------|------------|--------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|---------------|------|
|       |            | T            | R    | T             | R    | T             | R    | T             | R    |
| bible | 4,400      |              |      | 54            | 6.1  |               |      |               |      |
| hand  | 19,500     |              |      |               |      | 122           | 2.05 | 281           | 5.97 |
| serm  | 19,900     |              |      |               |      | 153           | 2.51 | 58            | 1.21 |
| bio   | 23,300     |              |      |               |      | 141           | 1.98 | 357           | 6.35 |
| scie  | 24,300     |              |      |               |      | 107           | 1.44 | 221           | 3.77 |
| trav  | 27,700     |              |      |               |      | 356           | 4.2  | 271           | 4.05 |
| priv  | 35,200     |              |      | 21            | 0.3  | 165           | 1.53 | 241           | 2.84 |
| off   | 57,000     | 16           | 0.33 | 349           | 3.03 | 193           | 1.11 | 109           | 0.79 |
| trial | 65,800     |              |      | 229           | 1.73 | 534           | 2.65 | 202           | 1.27 |
| pamph | 68,500     |              |      | 217           | 1.57 | 470           | 2.24 | 214           | 1.29 |
| hist  | 69,400     |              |      | 482           | 3.44 | 466           | 2.2  | 303           | 1.81 |
| educ  | 88,500     | 322          | 4.28 | 35            | 0.2  | 551           | 2.04 | 185           | 0.87 |
| diary | 91,000     |              |      |               |      | 927           | 3.33 | 847           | 3.86 |
| rec   | 91,400     | 148          | 1.9  | 605           | 3.28 | 395           | 1.41 | 690           | 3.13 |
| law   | 148,200    | 357          | 2.83 | 411           | 1.37 | 870           | 1.92 | 997           | 2.79 |

Similar to the development of -AND-spellings, the figures presented in this table mirror the general tendencies of -ING-spellings as pointed out above, suggesting a fairly even dispersal of the forms across genres and periods, without clear prevalence of -ING-forms in particular text types. The slight tendency towards a higher frequency of -ING-forms in private genres (such as *Travelogue* or *Diary*) in S2 may be accounted for by the -AND-forms' preference of formal genres, which might suggest the ousting of the participial suffix to have begun in texts

<sup>132</sup>The peak of -AND-forms in *Scientific treatises* in S2, as pointed out above, most probably being due to the idiosyncratic practice of the author of file sscie2a.

of informal, private character, however, drawing any definite conclusions in this regard is impeded by the texts of the earlier periods being restricted to merely a few genres of predominantly formal character.

#### 11.1.4. Frequency/ Type

The subsequent sections will see the presentation and discussion of figures indicating the frequency distribution and development of the construction types introduced in chapter 10.2.2.1.-3. above, which will further be correlated to the variables of time and genre.

Concerning the overall distribution of the individual types of construction, the following ratios could be established:

**Table 11. Frequency distribution of types of construction**

| <b>Type</b>  | <b>T</b> | <b>TOTAL<br/>R</b> | <b>%<sup>133</sup></b> |
|--------------|----------|--------------------|------------------------|
| <b>1</b>     | 607      | 7.28               | 3.91                   |
| <b>2</b>     | 103      | 1.24               | 0.66                   |
| <b>3</b>     | 1,626    | 19.49              | 10.46                  |
| <b>3*</b>    | 584      | 7                  | 3.76                   |
| <b>3/6</b>   | 257      | 3.08               | 1.65                   |
| <b>3/6a</b>  | 1,089    | 13.05              | 7.01                   |
| <b>3“</b>    | 259      | 3.11               | 1.67                   |
| <b>3+</b>    | 159      | 1.91               | 1.02                   |
| <b>+3</b>    | 105      | 1.26               | 0.68                   |
| <b>4</b>     | 608      | 7.29               | 3.91                   |
| <b>5</b>     | 234      | 2.81               | 1.51                   |
| <b>6</b>     | 180      | 2.16               | 1.16                   |
| <b>6a</b>    | 917      | 10.99              | 5.9                    |
| <b>7</b>     | 89       | 1.07               | 0.57                   |
| <b>8</b>     | 84       | 1.01               | 0.54                   |
| <b>9</b>     | 2        | 0.02               | 0.01                   |
| <b>10</b>    | 2,118    | 25.39              | 13.63                  |
| <b>11</b>    | 1,092    | 13.09              | 7.03                   |
| <b>11a</b>   | 404      | 4.84               | 2.6                    |
| <b>11b</b>   | 1,016    | 12.18              | 6.54                   |
| <b>12</b>    | 1,556    | 18.65              | 10.01                  |
| <b>10/12</b> | 643      | 7.71               | 4.14                   |
| <b>13</b>    | 848      | 10.17              | 5.46                   |
| <b>14</b>    | 422      | 5.06               | 2.72                   |
| <b>14a</b>   | 101      | 1.21               | 0.65                   |

<sup>133</sup>The figures' not adding up to 100% can be accounted for by their having been rounded up to the second decimal place (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 26).

|            |     |      |      |
|------------|-----|------|------|
| <b>14b</b> | 39  | 0.47 | 0.25 |
| <b>And</b> | 62  | 0.74 | 0.4  |
| <b>CL</b>  | 335 | 4.02 | 2.16 |

Analysing the table, it follows that type [10], the appositive co-referential participle, occurs with the highest frequency, constituting more than 13% of the overall number of occurrences of -AND/ING-forms in the corpus (i.e. 15,539 tokens), followed by type [3] and type [12], covering over 10.5% and 10% of instances respectively. Further fairly frequent construction types include appositive type [11] and type [11b] as well as intermediate type [3/6a], while the group of nominal participles (type [7] to [9]) can be found at the end of the frequency scale (adding up to merely 1.12% ). While these overall figures do not seem to be exceedingly revealing, first observances in regard to certain issues which will be addressed in more detail below can be made. First, considering the nominal part of the gradience, a clear dominance of the stereotypical verbal noun, accompanied by pre-modifiers such as article, pronouns or genitive noun phrases and post-modified by a genitive object can be witnessed. In contrast, *-ing*-forms in their most characteristically gerundial use<sup>134</sup>, i.e. type [5] and [6] (as well as [3/6] to a certain extent) appear to occur with considerably low frequency, rather far behind their prepositional counterparts of type [6a] and [3/6a] (5.9 and 7.01% respectively). These figures thus significantly corroborate Fanego (1966: 124-5) as well as Jack (1988: 61-2), who claim prepositional syntagmata to have played an important role in the emergence of the gerund (cf. chapter 5.2.7), which will be further evidenced by the period-specific figures below. Also (at least to a certain extent) in line with this proposition is the relatively high frequency of type [3\*], which is characterised by its being part of a prepositional phrase, yet without taking any object.

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<sup>134</sup>Cf. Lass 1992: 145.

Further sub-types of [3], such as [3''] and the compound types of [3+] and [+3]<sup>135</sup> are found towards the lower end of the frequency scale, while pre-modification by means of an adjective or adverb appears to be a rather common feature, type [4] and [5] amounting to almost 4% and 1.5 % respectively.

Type [1] and [2]<sup>136</sup>, although fairly frequent, were shown to be largely restricted to certain lexical items (such as MSc *bigging* 'building', *duelling* 'residence, house', *beginning*, *writting* 'letter' and others) by a type/token frequency analysis and were disregarded in this study to some extent, since the main focus here laid on the development of the gerund, which does not seem to stand in immediate connection with these concrete count-nouns.

Contrary to the results yielded by Dons/Moessner's study (1999: 28), no clear preference of type [8] to type [7], in accordance to the former's dual possibility of interpretation (either nominal or adjectival), can be discerned, both types representing merely about 0.5% of the total occurrences of -AND/ING-forms in the corpus<sup>137</sup>.

Furthermore, the predominance of appositive as well as adjectival participles over participles displaying nominal<sup>138</sup> and verbal<sup>139</sup> features is obvious (the latter amounting to approximately

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<sup>135</sup>Type [+3], having an *-ing*-form as its first constituent, seems to be less popular than its counterpart [3+], most probably due to its ambiguity in form between verbal noun and attributive participle as well as its resultant peculiarity in meaning.

<sup>136</sup>The latter appearing to be rather irrelevant as representing less than 1% of the total amount of forms, this unpopularity most likely caused by a certain reluctance of particular concrete nouns to take objects (cf. ?my building (~MHG *Gebäude*) of XY).

<sup>137</sup>Discrepancies between Table 11. and Dons/Moessner's results (1999: 26) are first and foremost caused by this study's inclusion of various other spelling variants of -AND as well as the entirety of -ING-forms. Furthermore, differences in analysis have to be assumed (e.g. considering type [10/12], of which considerably less instances were found in this study, possibly resulting of employing stricter criteria).

<sup>138</sup>Cf. chapter 10.2. The group of 'nominal' participles is constituted by type [7], [8] and [9].

<sup>139</sup>Cf. chapter 10.2. 'Verbal participles' is used to refer to the progressives of type [14], [14a] and [14b] as well as the clause-equivalent participles of type [CL].

6%, opposing the appositive forms covering almost a third of all instances<sup>140</sup> and adjectival forms constituting approximately 17%). Dons/Moessner (1999: 27ff.) stress this point as “refut[ing] the hypothesis that the frequency of *-and*-forms in Middle Scots increases with the verblikeness of the constructions in which they are used”, according to which verbal participles would be expected to occur most commonly. However, they deduce this hypothesis from the labels given to the participle in literature, such as ‘(verbal) adjective’ (Murison 1984: 44; Smith 1902: xxxvi), which terms in the view of the author do not necessarily indicate the prevalence of verbal or adjectival features in the participle, but rather constitute a slight inadequacy in labelling, seeing that the various functions of the participle were accurately and in great detail described already in rather early literature (cf. Callaway 1901 et al., chapter 3.1.2.3.).

In order to enable a more detailed analysis of the development of the forms in question, and the observances made above, figures more differentiated in regard to time and spelling variants will be provided in the following tables.

#### **11.1.5. Frequency/ Period / Type**

The frequency of construction types in relation to the respective periods will be presented in Tables 12-13, organised according to their syntactic functions. While the first table will cover the nominal end of Quirk et al.’s gradience (type [1] - [6a]), figures concerning the participial part of the model will be given in the subsequent table below.

On the basis of Dons/Moessner (1999: 28), the numbers of occurrences of the ‘mixed’ categories of [3/6], [3/6a] as well as [10/12] were arbitrarily divided by two and the results added to the groups of ‘verbal noun’ and ‘gerundial’ in the first case, and ‘appositive’ and

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<sup>140</sup>As will be pointed out below, participles of type [10/12] further add to the overall dominance of appositive participles as being interpretable as either adjectival or appositive. Similarly, type [8] displays both nominal and adjectival features due to its dual quality (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 30).

‘adjectival’ participles in the latter case, in order to account for their being in a transitional stage or being of an ambiguous nature respectively. Similarly, the number of type [8] tokens was split between ‘nominal’ and ‘adjectival’ participles, as they are interpretable in two ways.

**Table 12. Category-specific frequency distribution of spelling variants over the periods (type 1-6a)**

|           | Deverbal Noun |           |             | Verbal Noun |            |              | Gerundial   |           |             |
|-----------|---------------|-----------|-------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-----------|-------------|
|           | <i>Form</i>   | <i>T</i>  | <i>R</i>    | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>     | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>  | <i>R</i>    |
| <b>S0</b> | -and          | 1         | 0.12        | -and        | 3          | 0.35         | -and        | 1         | 0.12        |
|           | -ande         |           |             | -ande       |            |              | -ande       |           |             |
|           | -ant          |           |             | -ant        |            |              | -ant        |           |             |
|           | -ent          | 1         | 0.12        | -ent        |            |              | -ent        |           |             |
|           | -aind         |           |             | -aind       |            |              | -aind       |           |             |
|           | -ing          | 29        | 3.41        | -ing        | 283.5      | 33.31        | -ing        | 35.5      | 4.17        |
|           | -inge         | 2         | 0.24        | -inge       | 33         | 3.88         | -inge       | 3         | 0.35        |
|           | -yng          | 21        | 2.47        | -yng        | 100        | 11.75        | -yng        | 11        | 1.29        |
|           | -ynge         | 1         | 0.12        | -ynge       | 19         | 2.23         | -ynge       | 3         | 0.35        |
|           | -in           | 2         | 0.24        | -in         | 31.5       | 3.7          | -in         | 1.5       | 0.18        |
|           | -ine          |           |             | -ine        | 1          | 0.12         | -ine        |           |             |
|           | -yn           | 4         | 0.47        | -yn         | 42         | 4.94         | -yn         | 2         | 0.24        |
|           | -yne          |           |             | -yne        | 7          | 0.82         | -yne        |           |             |
|           | -ane          |           |             | -ane        |            |              | -ane        |           |             |
|           | -en           |           |             | -en         |            |              | -en         |           |             |
|           | -eng          |           |             | -eng        |            |              | -eng        |           |             |
|           |               | <b>61</b> | <b>7.17</b> |             | <b>520</b> | <b>61.11</b> |             | <b>57</b> | <b>6.58</b> |

|           | Deverbal Noun |            |             | Verbal Noun |            |              | Gerundial   |            |              |
|-----------|---------------|------------|-------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
|           | <i>Form</i>   | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>    | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>     | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>     |
| <b>S1</b> | -and          |            |             | -and        | 1.5        | 0.07         | -and        | 5.5        | 0.27         |
|           | -ande         |            |             | -ande       |            |              | -ande       |            |              |
|           | -ant          |            |             | -ant        |            |              | -ant        |            |              |
|           | -ent          |            |             | -ent        |            |              | -ent        |            |              |
|           | -aind         |            |             | -aind       |            |              | -aind       |            |              |
|           | -ing          | 107        | 5.3         | -ing        | 720.5      | 35.7         | -ing        | 200.5      | 9.94         |
|           | -inge         |            |             | -inge       | 1.5        | 0.07         | -inge       | 1.5        | 0.07         |
|           | -yng          | 32         | 1.59        | -yng        | 110        | 5.45         | -yng        | 14         | 0.69         |
|           | -ynge         |            |             | -ynge       | 20         | 0.99         | -ynge       | 3          | 0.15         |
|           | -in           | 4          | 0.2         | -in         | 81.5       | 4.04         | -in         | 17.5       | 0.87         |
|           | -ine          |            |             | -ine        | 19         | 0.94         | -ine        | 7          | 0.35         |
|           | -yn           | 2          | 0.1         | -yn         | 7          | 0.35         | -yn         | 3          | 0.15         |
|           | -yne          |            |             | -yne        |            |              | -yne        |            |              |
|           | -ane          |            |             | -ane        |            |              | -ane        |            |              |
|           | -en           |            |             | -en         |            |              | -en         | 2          | 0.1          |
|           | -eng          |            |             | -eng        | 1          | 0.05         | -eng        |            |              |
|           |               | <b>145</b> | <b>7.19</b> |             | <b>962</b> | <b>47.67</b> |             | <b>254</b> | <b>12.59</b> |

|  | Deverbal Noun |          |          | Verbal Noun |          |          | Gerundial   |          |          |
|--|---------------|----------|----------|-------------|----------|----------|-------------|----------|----------|
|  | <i>Form</i>   | <i>T</i> | <i>R</i> | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i> | <i>R</i> | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i> | <i>R</i> |
|  | -and          |          |          | -and        | 1        | 0.03     | -and        | 1        | 0.03     |
|  | -ande         |          |          | -ande       |          |          | -ande       |          |          |
|  | -ant          |          |          | -ant        |          |          | -ant        |          |          |
|  | -ent          |          |          | -ent        |          |          | -ent        |          |          |

|           |       |            |             |       |             |              |       |            |              |
|-----------|-------|------------|-------------|-------|-------------|--------------|-------|------------|--------------|
| <b>S2</b> | -aind |            |             | -aind |             |              | -aind |            |              |
|           | -ing  | 170        | 5.56        | -ing  | 1442.5      | 47.16        | -ing  | 806.5      | 26.37        |
|           | -inge |            |             | -inge | 1           | 0.03         | -inge | 1          | 0.03         |
|           | -yng  | 2          | 0.07        | -yng  | 15.5        | 0.51         | -yng  | 5.5        | 0.18         |
|           | -ynge |            |             | -ynge | 2           | 0.07         | -ynge |            |              |
|           | -in   | 5          | 0.16        | -in   | 6           | 0.2          | -in   | 2          | 0.07         |
|           | -ine  | 1          | 0.03        | -ine  | 1           | 0.03         | -ine  | 1          | 0.03         |
|           | -yn   |            |             | -yn   | 4           | 0.13         | -yn   |            |              |
|           | -yne  |            |             | -yne  |             |              | -yne  |            |              |
|           | -ane  |            |             | -ane  |             |              | -ane  |            |              |
|           | -en   |            |             | -en   |             |              | -en   |            |              |
|           | -eng  |            |             | -eng  |             |              | -eng  |            |              |
|           |       | <b>178</b> | <b>5.82</b> |       | <b>1473</b> | <b>48.15</b> |       | <b>817</b> | <b>26.71</b> |

|           | Deverbal Noun |            |              | Verbal Noun |             |              | Gerundial   |            |              |
|-----------|---------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|--------------|
|           | <i>Form</i>   | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>     | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>    | <i>R</i>     | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>     |
| <b>S3</b> | -and          |            |              | -and        |             |              | -and        |            |              |
|           | -ande         |            |              | -ande       |             |              | -ande       |            |              |
|           | -ant          |            |              | -ant        |             |              | -ant        |            |              |
|           | -ent          |            |              | -ent        |             |              | -ent        |            |              |
|           | -aind         |            |              | -aind       |             |              | -aind       |            |              |
|           | -ing          | 324        | 13.42        | -ing        | 1049        | 43.46        | -ing        | 872        | 36.12        |
|           | -inge         | 1          | 0.04         | -inge       | 9           | 0.37         | -inge       |            |              |
|           | -yng          |            |              | -yng        |             |              | -yng        |            |              |
|           | -ynge         |            |              | -ynge       |             |              | -ynge       |            |              |
|           | -in           |            |              | -in         |             |              | -in         | 2          | 0.08         |
|           | -ine          |            |              | -ine        | 1           | 0.04         | -ine        |            |              |
|           | -yn           |            |              | -yn         |             |              | -yn         |            |              |
|           | -yne          |            |              | -yne        |             |              | -yne        |            |              |
|           | -ane          |            |              | -ane        |             |              | -ane        |            |              |
|           | -en           |            |              | -en         |             |              | -en         |            |              |
|           | -eng          |            |              | -eng        | 1           | 0.04         | -eng        | 2          | 0.08         |
|           |               | <b>325</b> | <b>13.46</b> |             | <b>1060</b> | <b>43.91</b> |             | <b>876</b> | <b>36.29</b> |

The results of the preceding tables rather unsurprisingly suggest the syntactic functions of (de-)verbal noun and gerundial forms to be largely restricted to -ING-spellings, thus corroborating Görlach's claim of only a "small nr of –and forms wrongly used for vbN/G" (2002: 96) occurring in Middle Scots. However, the existence of (although infrequent still present) *-and*-tokens in these functions in various texts and different periods, illustrated by the example below, disprove Smith, who, reluctant to acknowledge the presence of verbal nouns/gerunds in *–and*, ascribes any observed instances to "abnormal texts of the type of Lancelot of the Laik or the Quair of Jelusy" (1902: xxxvii):

40. as scho walde throu **lukand** pers' him with hir sycht (seduc0b) [3\*]<sup>141</sup>.

In line with Dons/Moessner (1999: 26-7), such instances seem to predominantly occur in the earlier periods, but are rare (or rather, even rarer) in *S2* and entirely absent from *S3*<sup>142</sup>.

Concerning -ING-spellings, the distribution of tokens appears to reflect the general pattern established above, with <-ing> constituting the most popular variant in all periods, followed by <-yng> and <-in> (as well as <-yn> in period *S0* and, interestingly, <-inge> in *S3*).

Furthermore, the figures suggest a slight tendency towards less variation in the form of spelling near the end of the Middle Scots period, as was pointed out before.

De-verbal nouns and verbal nouns display a steady, yet not radical development, the amount of tokens of the former almost doubling between *S0* and *S3* (by way of a slight fall in *S2* and a subsequent considerable rise), whereas the number of occurrences of the latter gradually declines by approximately a third of its initial frequency. This decrease is most probably caused by the increasing popularity of gerunds, a claim substantiated by the figures for the gerundial forms showing a gradual and steady growth in number from approximately 7 instances in *S0* to more than 35 tokens at the end of the period. While it can thus be safely assumed that the period of Middle Scots played a significant role in promoting and enhancing the use of the gerund, its emergence, judging from this data, has to be located prior to 1450. Hence, the findings agree with Jack (1988: 26) and Einkenkel (1914a: 2), who state first examples of gerunds in the North to surface in the early 14<sup>th</sup> century (cf. chapter 7) and gerunds to have become an established possible mode of construction by 1500 (Jack: *ibid*).

Nevertheless, certain modifications have to be made to these claims, as will be seen below (cf. Table 13.).

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<sup>141</sup>Emphasis by the author. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that the majority of instances of *-and*-forms used for the (de-) verbal noun or gerund are not unambiguous, but may be interpreted differently.

<sup>142</sup>In contrast to Dons/Moessner (*ibid*), who state the last of such tokens to date from 1521, two later instances of the intermediate type [3/6a] were identified in file *stri2b* (dated 1576-1591) in this study. However, these might alternatively be interpreted as appositive participles (cf. ex. Dilatit of [...] continew**and** in familiaritie with [...]).

Table 13. Category-specific frequency distribution of spelling variants over the periods (type 7-CL)

|           | Nominal      |          |             | Adverbial (Appos.) |            |              | Adjectival  |            |              | Verbal (Progr.) |           |             |
|-----------|--------------|----------|-------------|--------------------|------------|--------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------|-------------|
|           | <i>Form</i>  | <i>T</i> | <i>R</i>    | <i>Form</i>        | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>     | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>     | <i>Form</i>     | <i>T</i>  | <i>R</i>    |
| <b>S0</b> | -and         | 4        | 0.47        | -and               | 165        | 19.39        | -and        | 136        | 15.98        | -and            | 25        | 2.94        |
|           | -ande        |          |             | -ande              | 24.5       | 2.88         | -ande       | 40.5       | 4.76         | -ande           | 3         | 0.35        |
|           | -ant         |          |             | -ant               |            |              | -ant        |            |              | -ant            |           |             |
|           | -ent         |          |             | -ent               |            |              | -ent        |            |              | -ent            |           |             |
|           | -aind        |          |             | -aind              |            |              | -aind       |            |              | -aind           |           |             |
|           | -ing         |          |             | -ing               | 24.5       | 2.88         | -ing        | 32.5       | 3.82         | -ing            | 8         | 0.94        |
|           | -inge        |          |             | -inge              |            |              | -inge       |            |              | -inge           |           |             |
|           | -yng         |          |             | -yng               | 5          | 0.59         | -yng        | 6          | 0.71         | -yng            | 12        | 1.41        |
|           | -ynge        |          |             | -ynge              | 3          | 0.35         | -ynge       |            |              | -ynge           |           |             |
|           | -in          |          |             | -in                |            |              | -in         |            |              | -in             |           |             |
|           | -ine         |          |             | -ine               | 2          | 0.24         | -ine        |            |              | -ine            |           |             |
|           | -yn          |          |             | -yn                | 4          | 0.47         | -yn         |            |              | -yn             | 4         | 0.47        |
|           | -yne         |          |             | -yne               | 2          | 0.24         | -yne        |            |              | -yne            | 2         | 0.24        |
|           | -ane         |          |             | -ane               |            |              | -ane        |            |              | -ane            |           |             |
|           | -en          |          |             | -en                |            |              | -en         |            |              | -en             |           |             |
|           | -eng         |          |             | -eng               |            |              | -eng        |            |              | -eng            |           |             |
|           | <b>TOTAL</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>0.47</b> |                    | <b>230</b> | <b>27.03</b> |             | <b>215</b> | <b>25.26</b> |                 | <b>54</b> | <b>6.35</b> |

|           | Nominal     |           |             | Adverbial (Appos.) |             |              | Adjectival  |            |              | Verbal (Progr.) |            |             |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|
|           | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>  | <i>R</i>    | <i>Form</i>        | <i>T</i>    | <i>R</i>     | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>     | <i>Form</i>     | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>    |
| <b>S1</b> | -and        | 26        | 1.29        | -and               | 474.5       | 23.17        | -and        | 359.5      | 17.82        | -and            | 80         | 4.31        |
|           | -ande       | 0.5       | 0.025       | -ande              | 1           | 0.05         | -ande       | 0.5        | .025         | -ande           |            |             |
|           | -ant        |           |             | -ant               | 1           | 0.05         | -ant        | 2          | 0.1          | -ant            |            |             |
|           | -ent        |           |             | -ent               |             |              | -ent        |            |              | -ent            |            |             |
|           | -aind       |           |             | -aind              |             |              | -aind       |            |              | -aind           | 1          | 0.05        |
|           | -ing        | 8.5       | 0.42        | -ing               | 562         | 27.85        | -ing        | 269.5      | 13.36        | -ing            | 44         | 2.18        |
|           | -inge       |           |             | -inge              | 4           | 0.2          | -inge       |            |              | -inge           | 2          | 0.1         |
|           | -yng        | 1         | 0.05        | -yng               | 54.5        | 2.7          | -yng        | 52.5       | 2.6          | -yng            | 3          | 0.15        |
|           | -ynge       |           |             | -ynge              | 2           | 0.1          | -ynge       |            |              | -ynge           |            |             |
|           | -in         |           |             | -in                | 16          | 0.79         | -in         | 4          | 0.2          | -in             | 9          | 0.45        |
|           | -ine        |           |             | -ine               |             |              | -ine        |            |              | -ine            |            |             |
|           | -yn         |           |             | -yn                | 2           | 0.1          | -yn         | 11         | 0.55         | -yn             | 2          | 0.1         |
|           | -yne        |           |             | -yne               |             |              | -yne        |            |              | -yne            |            |             |
|           | -ane        |           |             | -ane               | 2           | 0.1          | -ane        |            |              | -ane            |            |             |
|           | -en         |           |             | -en                |             |              | -en         |            |              | -en             |            |             |
|           | -eng        | 1         | 0.05        | -eng               |             |              | -eng        |            |              | -eng            |            |             |
|           |             | <b>37</b> | <b>1.83</b> |                    | <b>1119</b> | <b>55.45</b> |             | <b>699</b> | <b>34.64</b> |                 | <b>141</b> | <b>6.99</b> |

|           | Nominal     |          |          | Adverbial (Appos.) |          |          | Adjectival  |          |          | Verbal (Progr.) |          |          |
|-----------|-------------|----------|----------|--------------------|----------|----------|-------------|----------|----------|-----------------|----------|----------|
|           | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i> | <i>R</i> | <i>Form</i>        | <i>T</i> | <i>R</i> | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i> | <i>R</i> | <i>Form</i>     | <i>T</i> | <i>R</i> |
| <b>S2</b> | -and        | 7.5      | 0.25     | -and               | 203.5    | 6.65     | -and        | 125      | 4.09     | -and            | 105      | 3.43     |
|           | -ande       |          |          | -ande              |          |          | -ande       |          |          | -ande           |          |          |
|           | -ant        |          |          | -ant               |          |          | -ant        | 6        | 0.2      | -ant            | 1        | 0.03     |
|           | -ent        |          |          | -ent               |          |          | -ent        |          |          | -ent            |          |          |
|           | -aind       |          |          | -aind              |          |          | -aind       |          |          | -aind           |          |          |
|           | -ing        | 40.5     | 1.32     | -ing               | 1866.5   | 61.02    | -ing        | 874      | 28.57    | -ing            | 178      | 5.82     |
|           | -inge       |          |          | -inge              | 2        | 0.07     | -inge       | 5        | 0.16     | -inge           |          |          |
|           | -yng        |          |          | -yng               | 10       | 0.33     | -yng        | 3        | 0.1      | -yng            |          |          |
|           | -ynge       |          |          | -ynge              |          |          | -ynge       |          |          | -ynge           |          |          |
|           | -in         |          |          | -in                | 2        | 0.07     | -in         | 5        | 0.16     | -in             | 7        | 0.23     |
|           | -ine        |          |          | -ine               |          |          | -ine        |          |          | -ine            |          |          |
|           | -yn         |          |          | -yn                | 3        | 0.1      | -yn         |          |          | -yn             | 2        | 0.07     |

|  |      |           |             |      |             |              |      |             |              |      |            |             |
|--|------|-----------|-------------|------|-------------|--------------|------|-------------|--------------|------|------------|-------------|
|  | -yne |           |             | -yne |             |              | -yne |             |              | -yne |            |             |
|  | -ane |           |             | -ane |             |              | -ane |             |              | -ane |            |             |
|  | -en  |           |             | -en  |             |              | -en  |             |              | -en  |            |             |
|  | -eng |           |             | -eng |             |              | -eng |             |              | -eng |            |             |
|  |      | <b>48</b> | <b>1.57</b> |      | <b>2087</b> | <b>68.23</b> |      | <b>1018</b> | <b>33.28</b> |      | <b>293</b> | <b>9.58</b> |

|           | Nominal     |           |             | Adverbial (Appos.) |               |              | Adjectival  |              |              | Verbal (Progr.) |            |              |
|-----------|-------------|-----------|-------------|--------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|
|           | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>  | <i>R</i>    | <i>Form</i>        | <i>T</i>      | <i>R</i>     | <i>Form</i> | <i>T</i>     | <i>R</i>     | <i>Form</i>     | <i>T</i>   | <i>R</i>     |
| <b>S3</b> | -and        |           |             | -and               | 7             | 0.29         | -and        | 7            | 0.29         | -and            |            |              |
|           | -ande       |           |             | -ande              |               |              | -ande       |              |              | -ande           |            |              |
|           | -ant        |           |             | -ant               |               |              | -ant        | 1            | 0.04         | -ant            |            |              |
|           | -ent        |           |             | -ent               |               |              | -ent        |              |              | -ent            |            |              |
|           | -aind       |           |             | -aind              |               |              | -aind       |              |              | -aind           |            |              |
|           | -ing        | 42        | 1.74        | -ing               | 1566.5        | 64.89        | -ing        | 825.5        | 34.2         | -ing            | 406        | 16.82        |
|           | -inge       | 1         | 0.04        | -inge              |               |              | -inge       |              |              | -inge           |            |              |
|           | -yng        |           |             | -yng               |               |              | -yng        |              |              | -yng            |            |              |
|           | -ynge       |           |             | -ynge              |               |              | -ynge       |              |              | -ynge           |            |              |
|           | -in         |           |             | -in                |               |              | -in         | 1            | 0.04         | -in             | 1          | 0.04         |
|           | -ine        |           |             | -ine               |               |              | -ine        |              |              | -ine            |            |              |
|           | -yn         |           |             | -yn                |               |              | -yn         |              |              | -yn             |            |              |
|           | -yne        |           |             | -yne               |               |              | -yne        |              |              | -yne            |            |              |
|           | -ane        |           |             | -ane               |               |              | -ane        |              |              | -ane            |            |              |
|           | -en         |           |             | -en                |               |              | -en         |              |              | -en             |            |              |
|           | -eng        |           |             | -eng               | 4             | 0.17         | -eng        | 1            | 0.04         | -eng            | 2          | 0.08         |
|           |             | <b>43</b> | <b>1.78</b> |                    | <b>1577.5</b> | <b>65.35</b> |             | <b>835.5</b> | <b>34.61</b> |                 | <b>409</b> | <b>16.94</b> |

A first and highly interesting observation which can be made by analysing the preceding tables concerns the supersession of -AND- by -ING-spellings in the syntactic functions of the present participle. Considering the relatively high degree of variation between forms in *S0*, with -ING-forms accounting for approximately 20% of the total amount of participial tokens in this period, it can be assumed that *-ing* was already established to a considerable extent in these functions by that time (yet not too advanced in its spread), suggesting the initial introduction of this suffix to have occurred slightly before the outset of Middle Scots. Thereby, Gardela's proposition of first -ING-spellings having entered Early Scots in the time between 1420-1500 (2011: 108-9) can be refined and the beginning of the change of *-and* to *-ing* dated with greater precision to the early 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>143</sup>. Further corroboration to this claim is provided by the fact that these early -ING-forms show a fairly balanced frequency distribution between appositive, adjectival and verbal constructions (4.77, 4.53 and 3.06

<sup>143</sup>In line with Agutter (1990: 4) and King (1997: 180), cf. chapter 7.

normalised tokens respectively), agreeing with Gardela's assumption (ibid) of the ousting to have spread from the two former constructions to the progressive around the same time<sup>144</sup>.

In regard to the later development of -ING-forms in contrast to -AND-forms, Devitt's results, suggesting a frequency of 62% of -ing-forms between 1520- 1539 (1989: 28-9), although not wholly disproven, had to be modified to a certain extent, as *S1* showed the former to constitute 52,5% of all participles in that period, the two forms thus co-existing on almost equal terms. Moving further towards the end of the Middle Scots period, "such variability within texts becomes less common", ultimately leading to "categorical usage of -ING becom[ing] the norm" (ibid: 29), which is reflected by -ING-forms covering 87% and 99,5% in periods *S2* and *S3* respectively (cf. Devitt: ibid, giving 99% -ING by 1659).

Conform to this development, -AND-forms of the present participle, as already mentioned above, rapidly decline in frequency from *S1* onwards in all syntactic functions, being retained longest in adverbial and adjectival constructions (cf. Dons/Moessner 1999: 28).

Concerning the overall development of -AND/ING-forms in different syntactic functions over the periods, no particularly great variation can be discerned. In accordance to Dons/Moessner (1999: 32), participles in noun-like constructions appear to play a very marginal role throughout all periods, while most occurrences are found for appositive participles, followed by participles displaying adjectival features. Despite the latter being of almost equal frequency to the former in *S0*, adverbial participles increase steadily in subsequence, more

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<sup>144</sup>Meurman-Solin (1995: 205) as well as Gardela (1999: 109) claim that "[t]he occurrence of the present participle in ING in Esc seems to be in fixed phrases, which function in an appositive way, like 'God willing' and 'all tyme cummyng' " (Gardela: ibid), alongside quasi-prepositional (or conjunction-like) uses of the participle as mentioned in chapter 10.2.1 (cf. concerning, according, providing). However, these claims could only partly be confirmed, as although lexical items such as 'cuming', 'halding', 'perteining' as well as 'being', the three former being largely confined to formulaic use, account for a almost half of the observed tokens in *S0*, the total amount of types (of 105 tokens) in this period is 37, suggesting a fairly high degree of productivity of this feature. Nevertheless, Meurman-Solin's proposition of certain lexical items taking -ing only in specific linguistic context could be substantiated to a large extent (cf. 11 out of 18 instances of 'cuming' in *S0* occurring in the fixed phrase 'in all tyme(s) cum(m)ing' (Meurman-Solin: ibid)). A further proposition, namely of -ing-variants being preferred in marked contexts such as final formulae in letters (involving 'beseiking' or 'praying') had to be refuted, as the distribution of these items was found to be more or less even in both *S0* and *S1* (cf. Meurman-Solin 2002: 205-6).

than doubling in their amount of tokens between *S0-S3*, whereas adjectival participles see a slight rise in *S1*, but are kept constant at approximately 34 tokens from then on. Participles with verbal features, although experiencing a steady growth in the course of Middle Scots, do not reach the same popularity as appositives and adjectivals, accounting for less than a fifth of all participles in period *S3* (16.94 normalised tokens).

The following table merely serves to define the phenomena discussed above with greater precision, but will not be analysed in detail otherwise<sup>145</sup>.

**Table 14. Frequency distribution of -ING-forms in types of construction over the periods**

| Period<br>Type | S0  |      | S1  |      | S2  |      | S3  |      |
|----------------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|-----|------|
|                | T   | R    | T   | R    | T   | R    | T   | R    |
| <b>1</b>       | 81  | 9.5  | 113 | 5.6  | 157 | 5.1  | 285 | 11.8 |
| <b>2</b>       | 9   | 1.1  | 32  | 1.6  | 21  | 0.7  | 40  | 1.7  |
| <b>3</b>       | 224 | 26.3 | 453 | 22.5 | 543 | 17.8 | 404 | 16.7 |
| <b>3*</b>      | 109 | 12.8 | 88  | 4.4  | 168 | 5.5  | 217 | 9    |
| <b>3/6</b>     | 47  | 5.5  | 87  | 4.3  | 80  | 2.6  | 40  | 1.7  |
| <b>3/6a</b>    | 53  | 6.2  | 250 | 12.4 | 518 | 16.9 | 264 | 10.9 |
| <b>3“</b>      | 3   | 0.4  | 59  | 2.9  | 118 | 3.9  | 80  | 3.3  |
| <b>3+</b>      | 31  | 3.6  | 21  | 1    | 72  | 2.4  | 33  | 1.4  |
| <b>+3</b>      | 7   | 0.8  | 15  | 0.7  | 42  | 1.4  | 42  | 1.7  |
| <b>4</b>       | 94  | 11.1 | 155 | 7.7  | 229 | 7.5  | 131 | 5.4  |
| <b>5</b>       | 1   | 0.1  | 33  | 1.6  | 80  | 2.6  | 116 | 4.8  |
| <b>6</b>       | 1   | 0.1  | 12  | 0.6  | 62  | 2    | 104 | 4.3  |
| <b>6a</b>      | 2   | 0.2  | 35  | 1.7  | 374 | 12.2 | 502 | 20.8 |
| <b>7</b>       |     |      | 6   | 0.3  | 31  | 1    | 27  | 1.1  |
| <b>8</b>       |     |      | 6   | 0.3  | 19  | 0.6  | 31  | 1.3  |
| <b>9</b>       |     |      | 1   | 0.1  |     |      | 1   | 0.04 |
| <b>10</b>      | 11  | 1.3  | 260 | 12.9 | 908 | 29.7 | 598 | 24.8 |
| <b>11</b>      | 8   | 0.9  | 104 | 5.2  | 386 | 12.6 | 426 | 17.7 |
| <b>11a</b>     |     |      | 13  | 0.6  | 23  | 0.8  | 36  | 1.5  |
| <b>11b</b>     | 7   | 0.8  | 88  | 4.4  | 343 | 11.2 | 298 | 12.4 |
| <b>12</b>      | 32  | 3.8  | 214 | 10.6 | 468 | 15.3 | 420 | 17.4 |
| <b>10/12</b>   | 5   | 0.6  | 95  | 4.7  | 231 | 7.6  | 199 | 8.2  |
| <b>13</b>      | 14  | 1.7  | 189 | 9.4  | 391 | 12.8 | 374 | 15.5 |
| <b>14</b>      | 10  | 1.2  | 28  | 1.4  | 87  | 2.8  | 206 | 8.5  |
| <b>14a</b>     | 2   | 0.2  | 13  | 0.6  | 24  | 0.8  | 47  | 2    |
| <b>14b</b>     | 2   | 0.2  | 1   | 0.1  | 17  | 0.6  | 15  | 0.6  |
| <b>And</b>     | 1   | 0.1  | 11  | 0.6  | 11  | 0.4  | 26  | 1.1  |
| <b>CL</b>      | 12  | 1.4  | 18  | 0.9  | 59  | 1.9  | 139 | 5.8  |

<sup>145</sup>Seeing that a closer examination of the frequency distribution of -AND-forms in regard to individual types of construction over the periods did not yield any new and relevant results, this ratio was omitted here.

As can be seen by the figures above, and as indicated before, the period of Middle Scots seems to be a period of refinement and advance of the gerund constructions, which is evident in the gerundials' gradually replacing the types of transitional quality ([3/6(a)] towards the end of the period, cf. the clear dominance of [3/6(a)] over types [5; 6(a)] in *S0* (12.1 tokens vs. 0.4 tokens) in contrast to the latter occurring more than twice as frequent as the former in *S3* (12.6 tokens vs. approximately 30 tokens).

Nevertheless, the figures show the majority of these gerunds to occur in prepositional syntagms, suggesting the stereotypical uses of the gerund<sup>146</sup> to be a relatively late development (Lass 1992: 145) and contradicting the proposition of a firm and definite establishment of the gerund in the period of Middle Scots. Such development would be in line with claims made in regard to the gerund in the Standard English, which, according to Jack (1988: 16), “did not acquire its complete set of verbal characteristics before the MnE period, and [...] within the Me period [...] was] still in the process of emergence, rather than being fully developed”<sup>147</sup>. Furthermore, the findings to a great extent support Fanego (1966: 121ff.) and Jack's (1988: 61-62) focus on prepositional phrases in the emergence of the gerund by confirming the gerund's alleged “marked tendency [...] to function as prepositional complements” (Fanego 1966: 124-5) to hold true for Middle Scots as well. However, making conclusive statements in regard to the early development of the gerund in Scots is impeded by the rather low frequency of tokens for gerundial and intermediate forms in *S0*, as well as their not displaying a clear preference towards prepositional phrases<sup>148</sup>.

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<sup>146</sup>Cf. Type [6], illustrated in Lass (1992: 145) by the example ‘John's writing the letter’.

<sup>147</sup>These observances further agree with Donner (1986: 394ff.), who does not find conclusive evidence for an establishment of the gerund even in IME. However, it has to be borne in mind that MSc does not correspond to ME in its dating, but rather overlaps with eModE, the Scots gerund thus seems to parallel the StE development yet within a slightly different time frame.

<sup>148</sup>In fact, the figures rather suggest gerunds in prepositional phrases to only supersede the ‘regular’ type during the course of Middle Scots and thus might contradict the hypothesis of an emergence in these constructions. However, as pointed out above, figures in *S0* are not sufficiently high to draw definite conclusions.

Conform to the observations made above, -ING-spellings appear to be most common in appositive types such as [10] and [11] as well as adjectival types ([12] and [13]) from *S0* onwards, thereby reflecting the general syntactic behaviour of -AND/ING-forms in the corpus.

In regard to participles in progressive constructions, Meurman-Solin's claim of "only the variant in -AND [being] used in the formation of the continuous tenses" (2002: 217) in pre-1500-texts needs to be modified, as sufficient instances (14/ 1.6 tokens) of -ING-spellings in various spelling variants could be found in *S0*<sup>149</sup>. However, BE + AND- constructions seem to dominate until 1570, before being gradually superseded by BE + ING in the course of *S2* (cf. Meurman-Solin: *ibid*). Most commonly, the progressives are found in the present or past tense (type [14]), the additional types of [14a] and [14b] only playing a marginal role in this regard (the former, in accordance to secondary literature (cf. chapter 6), only increasing in frequency towards the end of the period).

Constructions of the type BE + preposition *on* (*in*, *a*) + -ING, in accordance to assumptions made in previous literature (cf. chapter 7.) were found to be rather infrequent, with no instances at all being present in *S0*. 5 instances could be located in periods *S1* and *S2* (2 and 3 respectively, all featuring the preposition *in*)<sup>150</sup>, while 8 instances<sup>151</sup> of the prepositional progressive appear in *S3*, thus showing a slight increase in frequency. Of these late instances,

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<sup>149</sup><-ing>: 5 absolute tokens, <-yn>: 4, <-yng>: 3, <-yne>: 2.

This observation is confirmed by Gardela (2011: 208), who finds 1 instance of <-yng> in progressive function in the period of 1420-1500.

<sup>150</sup>Including the stereotypical instance of 'I **wes in huntynge**' (*soff1*). While 3 of these instances appear without object, one is found taking a genitive object (cf. 'sa **was** # he **in winning** of me' (*sdia2a*)) as well as one instance showing a direct object (cf. 'the tuter **is in auchten** him mair nor ain hunder pundis' (*spriv1*)). These early instances seem to be restricted to private genres.

<sup>151</sup>Interestingly, 3 instances included here are built by means of the verb of motion 'fall' instead of BE, cf. 'fell a quarreling' (*stri3*).

the majority shows the reduced variant *a* of the preposition, as is illustrated by the following example:

41. Your orders [...] **uas** so long **a coming** (spriv3).

Contrary to Meurman-Solin, these occurrences are, however, not restricted to “post-1670 letters” (2002: 214) but are found in various genres including *Travelogues*, *Trial Proceedings*, *Diary* and *Scientific Treatises*, indicating a preference towards informal, speech-based texts.

A further claim by Meurman-Solin, concerning the absence of *-ing*-progressives with passive meaning in texts before 1570 could be substantiated by this study, as the only possible instance of a passive progressive in *SI* appeared in the form BE + -AND<sup>152</sup>. Altogether, 6 examples of passival *-ing*-progressives were located in the corpus (the majority in *S3*), in addition to 3 constructions of the prepositional progressive in passive meaning, as can be seen in the example of ‘Others say that when the Church **was a bigging**’ (stra3b).

Although a possible development of these passive constructions from the progressive type of BE + preposition + -ING, as alleged by Meurman-Solin (2002: 221) cannot be entirely ruled out by this textual evidence, the overall amount of instances of the forms is certainly too small to draw any convincing conclusions.

#### 11.1.6. Frequency/ Type/ Genre

In tables 14 and 15, the ratios established for the genre-specific distribution of the individual types of construction will be presented and the most striking issues be briefly discussed.

Concerning -AND-spellings, the figures were found to largely conform to the overall distribution of construction types, as virtually all genres seem to have a predilection for appositive and adjectival types, with only slight variation in their preferences in regard to

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<sup>152</sup>Cf. ‘Thar **is** grypt prowysyon **makand** in Carleill’ (soff1). This example also constitutes the only possible instance of BE+ AND with passive meaning in the whole corpus.

**Table 15. Genre-specific frequency distribution of –AND-forms regarding types of construction**

|       | bible<br>4,400 |      | hand<br>19,500 |  | serm<br>19,900 |     | bio<br>23,300 |     | scie<br>24,300 |     | trav<br>27,700 |     | priv<br>35,200 |     | off<br>57,000 |     | trial<br>65,800 |     | pamph<br>68,500 |     | hist<br>69,400 |     | educ<br>88,500 |     | diary<br>91,000 |     | rec<br>91,400 |      | law<br>148,200 |      |
|-------|----------------|------|----------------|--|----------------|-----|---------------|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|-----|---------------|-----|-----------------|-----|-----------------|-----|----------------|-----|----------------|-----|-----------------|-----|---------------|------|----------------|------|
| 1     |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     |                |     |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| 2     |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     | 1              | 0.1 |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| 3     |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     | 1             | 0.2 |                 |     |                 |     |                |     |                |     |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| 3*    |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     | 2              | 0.2 |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| 3/6   |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     |                |     |                 |     |               | 1    | 0.07           |      |
| 3/6a  |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     | 2               | 0.3 |                 |     |                |     |                |     |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| 3+    |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     | 1              | 0.1 |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| +3    |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     |                |     |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| 3“    |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     |                |     |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| 4     |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     |                |     |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| 5     |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     |                |     |                 |     |               |      | 2              | 0.13 |
| 6     |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     | 1             | 0.2 |                 |     |                 |     |                |     |                |     |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| 6a    |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     | 1              | 0.1 |                 |     |               |      | 2              | 0.13 |
| 7     |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     | 1             | 0.2 | 2               | 0.3 | 2               | 0.3 |                |     | 1              | 0.1 |                 |     | 12            | 1.3  | 5              | 0.3  |
| 8     | 8              | 18.2 |                |  |                |     |               | 1   | 0.4            |     |                |     |                |     | 2             | 0.4 | 5               | 0.8 | 1               | 0.2 |                |     | 6              | 0.7 |                 |     | 3             | 0.3  | 1              | 0.07 |
| 9     |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     |                 |     |                 |     |                |     |                |     |                 |     |               |      |                |      |
| 10    | 1              | 2.3  |                |  |                |     |               | 11  | 4.5            |     |                | 2   | 0.6            | 36  | 6.3           | 41  | 6.2             | 44  | 6.4             | 48  | 6.9            | 70  | 7.9            | 2   | 0.2             | 33  | 3.6           | 49   | 3.3            |      |
| 11    | 1              | 2.3  |                |  |                |     |               | 9   | 3.7            | 1   | 0.4            |     |                | 10  | 1.8           | 24  | 3.7             | 16  | 2.3             | 9   | 1.3            | 1   | 0.1            | 1   | 0.1             | 51  | 5.6           | 48   | 3.2            |      |
| 11a   |                |      |                |  |                |     |               | 1   | 0.4            |     |                |     |                |     |               | 5   | 0.8             | 2   | 0.3             | 2   | 0.3            |     |                |     |                 | 7   | 0.8           | 7    | 0.5            |      |
| 11b   |                |      |                |  |                |     | 1             | 0.4 | 18             | 7.4 |                |     |                |     | 23            | 4   | 17              | 2.6 | 33              | 4.8 | 4              | 0.6 | 30             | 3.4 | 1               | 0.1 | 59            | 6.5  | 92             | 6.2  |
| 12    | 2              | 4.6  |                |  |                |     |               | 3   | 1.2            |     |                |     |                |     | 21            | 3.7 | 28              | 4.3 | 48              | 7   | 4              | 0.6 | 19             | 2.2 | 2               | 0.2 | 148           | 16.2 | 147            | 9.9  |
| 10/12 |                |      |                |  | 1              | 0.5 |               | 4   | 1.7            |     |                |     |                |     | 1             | 0.2 | 9               | 1.4 | 24              | 3.5 | 20             | 2.9 | 10             | 1.1 |                 |     | 32            | 3.5  | 14             | 1    |
| 13    | 5              | 11.4 |                |  | 2              | 1   | 2             | 0.9 | 16             | 6.6 |                |     |                |     | 8             | 1.4 | 4               | 0.6 | 9               | 1.3 | 14             | 2   | 73             | 8.3 | 2               | 0.2 | 21            | 2.3  | 29             | 2    |
| 14    | 2              | 4.6  |                |  | 1              | 0.5 |               |     |                |     | 1              | 0.4 | 3              | 0.9 | 13            | 2.3 | 28              | 4.3 | 1               | 0.2 | 10             | 1.4 | 14             | 1.6 |                 |     | 16            | 1.8  | 3              | 0.2  |
| 14a   |                |      |                |  |                |     |               | 1   | 0.4            |     |                |     |                |     | 2             | 0.4 | 4               | 0.6 |                 |     |                |     | 2              | 0.2 |                 |     | 2             | 0.2  | 3              | 0.2  |
| 14b   |                |      |                |  |                |     |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     |               |     | 1               | 0.2 |                 |     |                |     | 1              | 0.1 |                 |     | 1             | 0.1  |                |      |
| and   |                |      |                |  | 1              | 0.5 |               |     |                |     |                |     |                |     | 3             | 5.3 | 1               | 0.2 |                 |     | 2              | 0.3 | 2              | 0.2 |                 |     | 3             | 0.3  | 1              | 0.07 |
| CL    |                |      |                |  |                |     |               | 73  | 30             |     |                |     |                |     | 15            | 2.6 | 2               | 0.3 | 5               | 0.7 | 3              | 0.4 |                |     |                 |     | 11            | 1.2  |                |      |

individual types being shown by the different genres. While in most genres of rather formal character, type [10] appears to be most popular (corresponding to the overall picture), the *Acts of Parliament (Law)* and *Burgh records*, both being of legal content, show a particular affinity to type [12] and [11b], a phenomenon which may be accounted for by the often very complex structure of these texts, involving a high amount of subordinate clauses.

Furthermore, the majority of texts of these genres feature a formulaic introductory clause of the type ‘Oure Souerane Lord [...] Ratifies and apprevis’ (sparl2)/ ‘The quhilk day, the prouest, baillies, and counsale [...] Consentis and thinkis’ (srec1c), constituting the main clause which lengthy and complex sections of explanations of the authorities’ enactments depend on. These subordinate sections in turn see the introduction of various (frequently not expressed) secondary subjects, thus accounting for the lower frequency of type [10] constructions in contrast to the higher frequency of type [11b] constructions.

A similar distribution indicating a most common use of appositive and adjectival can be assumed for texts of informal character, however, the overall low figures in these genres (in line with -AND’s preference of formal genres as established above) do not allow a more precise analysis.

Further noteworthy, yet not overly revealing due to the small number of occurrences is the apparent restriction of -AND-spellings used for functions of the nominal part of the gradience to formal contexts (*Official letters, Education, Law, Trial proceedings*)<sup>153</sup>.

Two genres which break ranks and show a rather idiosyncratic behaviour are *Bible* and *Scientific Treatise*. While the prevailing of type [8] constructions in the former is nicely explained by Dons/Moessner as due to “the many constructions with *see, behold, hear* to describe the deeds of Jesus Christ and the reaction of the people” (1999: 30), the exceeding

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<sup>153</sup>Cf. Dons/Moessner (1999: 30).

amount of [CL] tokens in the latter (accounting for more than half of all -AND occurrences in this genre) seems to be the result of the peculiar use of this type by the author of file *sscie2a*, as was already pointed out above<sup>154</sup>.

In regard to -ING-spellings, no simple correlation between genres and types of construction can be established, however, the majority of genres do seem to reflect the overall pattern of frequency distribution of types, showing type [3], [3/6a] and [6a] on the one hand, and appositive as well as adjectival constructions on the other hand, to occur most frequently.

Taking a closer look at the distribution of gerundial forms, the high frequency of type [3/6a] forms in the formal genres of *Law* and *Burgh Records* appears relevant insofar as these (alongside *Education* and *Official Letters*) constitute the only genres documented in all periods, thus suggesting type [3/6a] to have been of particular relevance in the furthering of the use of the gerund at the beginning of Middle Scots. In contrast, the highly conspicuous number of over 36 tokens for type [3/6] in *Bible* may be disregarded as irrelevant, as all instances are constituted by one single type of token, in the formulaic phrase of ‘to bear witnessing (of/to someone or something)’<sup>155</sup>.

While no clear preference to any particular text type can be discerned concerning type [6a], as although evidently the overall most frequent of gerundial types (in line with the observations made above), the genres featuring the highest amount of occurrences of this construction are those only documented in the later periods (such as *Handbooks*, *Biography*, *Diary*), instances of type [6] are most frequent in the genres of *Private letters* and *Diary*, possibly indicating the ‘stereotypical’ gerunds to have developed in texts of informal, private character. However,

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<sup>154</sup>In this text, which offers household-remedies against the plague and is written for a broad audience of common people, “in a simple, easily understandable style” (Dons/Moessner 1999: 25), the participles function as a sort of imperatives (cf. **Obseruand** also that na domesticall beast, sic as Dog or Cat, vaig abrod in tyme of pest.).

<sup>155</sup>Cf. ex. ‘Ye you self beris **witnessing** to me’ (sbible1).

**Table 16. Genre-specific frequency distribution of –ING-forms regarding types of construction**

|              | <b>bible</b><br>4,400 |      | <b>hand</b><br>19,500 |      | <b>serm</b><br>19,900 |      | <b>bio</b><br>23,300 |      | <b>scie</b><br>24,300 |      | <b>trav</b><br>27,700 |      | <b>priv</b><br>35,200 |      | <b>off</b><br>57,000 |      | <b>trial</b><br>65,800 |      | <b>pamph</b><br>68,500 |      | <b>hist</b><br>69,400 |      | <b>educ</b><br>88,500 |      | <b>diary</b><br>91,000 |      | <b>rec</b><br>91,400 |      | <b>law</b><br>148,200 |      |
|--------------|-----------------------|------|-----------------------|------|-----------------------|------|----------------------|------|-----------------------|------|-----------------------|------|-----------------------|------|----------------------|------|------------------------|------|------------------------|------|-----------------------|------|-----------------------|------|------------------------|------|----------------------|------|-----------------------|------|
| <b>1</b>     | 3                     | 6.8  | 9                     | 4.6  | 4                     | 2    | 11                   | 4.7  | 26                    | 10.7 | 9                     | 3.3  | 14                    | 4    | 52                   | 9    | 25                     | 3.8  | 29                     | 4.2  | 60                    | 8.7  | 39                    | 4.4  | 76                     | 8.4  | 50                   | 5.5  | 65                    | 4.4  |
| <b>2</b>     |                       |      | 3                     | 1.5  | 1                     | 0.5  | 4                    | 1.7  | 2                     | 0.8  |                       |      | 4                     | 1.1  | 13                   | 2.3  | 10                     | 1.5  | 9                      | 1.3  | 8                     | 1.2  | 6                     | 0.7  | 2                      | 0.2  | 15                   | 1.6  | 8                     | 0.5  |
| <b>3</b>     | 9                     | 20.5 | 24                    | 12.3 | 29                    | 14.6 | 20                   | 8.6  | 18                    | 7.4  | 35                    | 12.6 | 42                    | 11.9 | 111                  | 19.5 | 82                     | 12.5 | 125                    | 18.2 | 117                   | 16.9 | 162                   | 18.3 | 171                    | 18.8 | 283                  | 31   | 420                   | 28.3 |
| <b>3*</b>    | 1                     | 2.3  | 53                    | 27.2 | 4                     | 2    | 17                   | 7.3  | 16                    | 6.6  | 7                     | 2.5  | 14                    | 4    | 27                   | 4.7  | 17                     | 2.6  | 28                     | 4.1  | 28                    | 4    | 100                   | 11.3 | 67                     | 7.4  | 96                   | 10.5 | 102                   | 6.9  |
| <b>3/6</b>   | 16                    | 36.4 | 4                     | 2.1  | 1                     | 0.5  | 2                    | 0.9  | 17                    | 7    | 4                     | 1.4  | 4                     | 1.1  | 6                    | 1.1  | 21                     | 3.2  | 12                     | 1.8  | 7                     | 1    | 67                    | 7.6  | 17                     | 1.9  | 29                   | 3.2  | 50                    | 3.4  |
| <b>3/6a</b>  |                       |      | 19                    | 9.7  | 13                    | 6.5  | 12                   | 5.2  | 17                    | 7    | 14                    | 5    | 21                    | 6    | 39                   | 6.8  | 96                     | 14.6 | 38                     | 5.6  | 56                    | 8.1  | 59                    | 6.7  | 87                     | 9.6  | 246                  | 26.9 | 370                   | 25   |
| <b>3+</b>    |                       |      | 3                     | 1.5  | 4                     | 2    | 3                    | 1.3  | 8                     | 3.3  | 5                     | 1.8  | 17                    | 4.8  | 3                    | 0.5  | 7                      | 1.1  | 7                      | 1    | 12                    | 1.7  | 18                    | 2    | 17                     | 1.9  | 37                   | 4.1  | 21                    | 1.4  |
| <b>+3</b>    | 1                     | 2.3  | 6                     | 3.1  | 1                     | 0.5  | 1                    | 0.4  |                       |      | 6                     | 2.2  | 2                     | 0.6  | 1                    | 0.2  | 15                     | 2.3  | 3                      | 0.4  | 4                     | 0.5  | 9                     | 1    | 12                     | 1.3  | 9                    | 1    | 19                    | 1.3  |
| <b>3“</b>    |                       |      | 4                     | 2.1  | 11                    | 5.5  | 20                   | 8.6  | 2                     | 0.8  | 2                     | 0.7  | 21                    | 6    | 47                   | 8.3  | 22                     | 3.3  | 13                     | 1.9  | 25                    | 3.6  | 5                     | 0.6  | 39                     | 4.3  | 30                   | 3.3  | 29                    | 2    |
| <b>4</b>     | 1                     | 2.3  | 9                     | 4.6  | 9                     | 4.5  | 24                   | 10.3 | 10                    | 4.1  | 15                    | 5.4  | 12                    | 3.4  | 56                   | 9.8  | 34                     | 5.2  | 73                     | 10.7 | 30                    | 4.3  | 85                    | 9.6  | 65                     | 7.1  | 65                   | 7.1  | 124                   | 8.4  |
| <b>5</b>     | 3                     | 6.8  | 11                    | 5.6  | 4                     | 2    | 7                    | 3    | 24                    | 9.9  | 8                     | 2.9  | 9                     | 2.6  | 12                   | 2.1  | 15                     | 2.3  | 18                     | 2.6  | 10                    | 1.4  | 18                    | 2    | 41                     | 4.5  | 38                   | 4.2  | 24                    | 1.6  |
| <b>6</b>     |                       |      | 4                     | 2.1  | 1                     | 0.5  | 4                    | 1.7  | 3                     | 1.2  | 6                     | 2.2  | 25                    | 7.1  | 8                    | 1.4  | 9                      | 1.4  | 10                     | 1.5  | 2                     | 0.3  | 12                    | 1.4  | 55                     | 6    | 18                   | 2    | 22                    | 1.5  |
| <b>6a</b>    |                       |      | 49                    | 25.2 | 10                    | 5    | 42                   | 18   | 21                    | 8.6  | 40                    | 14.4 | 22                    | 6.3  | 39                   | 6.8  | 39                     | 5.9  | 100                    | 14.6 | 32                    | 4.6  | 111                   | 12.5 | 142                    | 15.6 | 131                  | 14.3 | 136                   | 9.2  |
| <b>7</b>     | 1                     | 2.3  | 5                     | 2.6  | 3                     | 1.5  | 5                    | 2.2  |                       |      | 4                     | 1.4  |                       |      | 2                    | 0.4  | 2                      | 0.3  | 2                      | 0.3  | 10                    | 1.4  | 4                     | 0.5  | 17                     | 1.9  | 1                    | 0.1  | 5                     | 0.3  |
| <b>8</b>     | 5                     | 11.4 | 3                     | 1.5  |                       |      |                      |      | 3                     | 1.2  | 7                     | 2.5  |                       |      |                      |      | 8                      | 1.2  | 2                      | 0.3  | 5                     | 0.7  | 5                     | 0.6  | 18                     | 2    | 2                    | 0.2  | 1                     | 0.07 |
| <b>9</b>     |                       |      |                       |      |                       |      | 1                    | 0.4  |                       |      |                       |      |                       |      |                      |      | 1                      | 0.2  |                        |      |                       |      |                       |      | 2                      | 0.2  |                      |      |                       |      |
| <b>10</b>    | 1                     | 2.3  | 64                    | 32.8 | 31                    | 15.6 | 108                  | 46.4 | 30                    | 12.4 | 173                   | 62.5 | 57                    | 16.2 | 68                   | 11.9 | 142                    | 21.6 | 115                    | 16.8 | 303                   | 43.7 | 170                   | 19.2 | 269                    | 29.6 | 116                  | 12.7 | 132                   | 8.9  |
| <b>11</b>    |                       |      | 18                    | 9.2  | 6                     | 3    | 68                   | 29.2 | 29                    | 11.9 | 74                    | 26.7 | 16                    | 4.6  | 37                   | 6.5  | 126                    | 19.2 | 60                     | 8.8  | 76                    | 11   | 41                    | 4.6  | 119                    | 13.1 | 86                   | 9.4  | 170                   | 11.5 |
| <b>11a</b>   |                       |      | 8                     | 4.1  | 1                     | 0.5  | 3                    | 1.3  | 10                    | 4.1  | 2                     | 0.7  | 5                     | 1.4  | 4                    | 0.7  | 14                     | 2.1  | 3                      | 0.4  | 26                    | 3.8  | 6                     | 0.7  | 17                     | 1.9  | 131                  | 14.3 | 150                   | 10.1 |
| <b>11b</b>   |                       |      | 22                    | 11.3 | 16                    | 8    | 45                   | 19.3 | 19                    | 7.8  | 40                    | 14.4 | 11                    | 3.1  | 31                   | 5.4  | 47                     | 7.1  | 54                     | 7.9  | 87                    | 12.5 | 62                    | 7    | 101                    | 11.1 | 91                   | 10   | 120                   | 8.1  |
| <b>12</b>    | 1                     | 2.3  | 18                    | 9.2  | 11                    | 5.5  | 22                   | 9.4  | 16                    | 6.6  | 69                    | 24.9 | 17                    | 4.8  | 46                   | 8.1  | 82                     | 12.5 | 50                     | 7.3  | 112                   | 16.1 | 36                    | 4.1  | 127                    | 14   | 198                  | 21.7 | 329                   | 22.2 |
| <b>10/12</b> |                       |      | 9                     | 4.6  |                       |      | 27                   | 11.6 | 9                     | 3.7  | 9                     | 3.3  | 2                     | 0.6  | 4                    | 0.7  | 76                     | 11.6 | 42                     | 6.1  | 127                   | 18.3 | 20                    | 2.3  | 48                     | 5.3  | 69                   | 7.6  | 88                    | 5.9  |
| <b>13</b>    | 5                     | 11.4 | 51                    | 26.2 | 32                    | 16.1 | 28                   | 12   | 20                    | 8.2  | 58                    | 20.9 | 83                    | 23.6 | 24                   | 4.2  | 23                     | 3.5  | 69                     | 10.1 | 58                    | 8.4  | 28                    | 3.2  | 74                     | 8.1  | 48                   | 5.3  | 66                    | 4.5  |
| <b>14</b>    | 6                     | 13.6 | 5                     | 2.6  | 12                    | 6    | 21                   | 9    | 16                    | 6.6  | 28                    | 10.1 | 25                    | 7.1  | 12                   | 2.1  | 22                     | 3.3  | 16                     | 2.3  | 35                    | 5    | 16                    | 1.8  | 97                     | 10.7 | 11                   | 1.2  | 10                    | 0.7  |
| <b>14a</b>   |                       |      | 3                     | 1.5  | 1                     | 0.5  |                      |      | 5                     | 2.1  | 4                     | 1.4  | 7                     | 2    | 1                    | 0.2  | 13                     | 2    | 1                      | 0.2  | 2                     | 0.3  | 10                    | 1.1  | 19                     | 2.1  | 10                   | 1.1  | 11                    | 0.7  |
| <b>14b</b>   |                       |      |                       |      | 1                     | 0.5  | 1                    | 0.4  |                       |      | 3                     | 1.1  |                       |      |                      |      | 3                      | 0.5  | 2                      | 0.3  | 10                    | 1.4  | 2                     | 0.2  | 8                      | 0.9  | 5                    | 0.6  |                       |      |
| <b>and</b>   |                       |      | 2                     | 1    |                       |      |                      |      | 2                     | 0.8  | 1                     | 0.4  |                       |      | 7                    | 1.2  | 2                      | 0.3  | 6                      | 0.9  | 5                     | 0.7  | 2                     | 0.2  | 7                      | 0.8  | 6                    | 0.7  | 9                     | 0.6  |
| <b>CL</b>    | 1                     | 2.3  | 4                     | 2.1  | 3                     | 1.5  | 2                    | 0.9  | 5                     | 2.1  | 4                     | 1.4  |                       |      | 16                   | 2.8  | 10                     | 1.5  | 10                     | 1.5  | 5                     | 0.7  | 5                     | 0.6  | 54                     | 5.9  | 28                   | 3.1  | 82                    | 5.5  |

making any more precise statements in this regard is impeded by these genres being absent from the earlier periods.

Concerning -ING-spellings in participial functions, a predominance of occurrences in non-public, informal genres (*Biography, Diary, Travelogue*) can be observed, the latter accounting for the highest amount of type [10] constructions among all genres. Although such distribution might be explained by a tendency towards mutual exclusion (-AND-spellings preferentially occurring in formal texts), its source more probably lies in the fact that these genres are only documented in the later periods, at a time when *-and* was already rapidly declining. The same may be assumed for the high frequency of -ING-participles in *Handbook*, which consists of only three texts all dating from the 17<sup>th</sup> century.

An exception to the abovementioned affinity of -ING-spellings to private genres is posed by the genre of *History*, characterised by a rather high degree of formality, showing a large amount of -ING-tokens in appositive and adjectival participial function. Moreover, the ambiguous type of [10/12] is most common in this genre, possibly explainable by the narrative style employed here.

Interestingly, the appositive type of [11a] is most prominent in the formal genres of *Burgh records* and *Law*, which may be accounted for by the large amount of formulaic expressions such as ‘in time coming’, included in this type and used with extraordinary frequency in these texts. Seeing that the genres in question are documented throughout the periods, this prevalence would be in line with Meurman-Solin’s (2002: 205) claim of *-ing* having first ousted *-and* in fixed phrases of this kind.

A final observation can be made regarding progressive constructions, as it seems that texts more remnant of spoken language (such as letters, travelogues or diaries) show a slight tendency to a more frequent use of the progressive types in both -AND- and -ING-forms, this

being in accordance to the periphrasis' alleged descriptive and narrative quality (cf. chapter 6.2. and 7.; Meurman-Solin 2002: 221ff.). Correspondingly, Meurman-Solin (2002: 224) claims that "that a number of sixteenth-century instances of the progressive in Scots have been attested in proceedings of trials can be interpreted as related to the written text being based on either speech or script, and probably both", suggesting the source of the periphrasis to lie in spoken language (ibid: 222).

#### **11.1.1. Frequency/ Period/ Genre/ Type**

Since no significant new insights could be gained by a correlative analysis of construction types, genres and periods, in addition to the tables resulting exceedingly complex and unclear, they were omitted from this paper.

#### **11.1. Summary of results**

In order to conclude the second part of this paper, a brief summary of the most striking and significant findings of the present study will be given in this final section.

Considering the nominal part of the types of construction established in Quirk et al.'s gradience, an overall predominance of the verbal noun in its most characteristic form, pre-modified by an article, pronoun or noun phrase in the genitive, and governing a genitive object could be established. In regard to the development of the gerund in Scots, a more precise dating of its emergence was enabled by the evidence collected in this study, since the low number of gerundial forms in *SO* suggests they had not been in use for a long time. The period of Middle Scots then largely represents a period of advancement and refinement of this expansion in function of the verbal noun, the number of occurrences of gerundial constructions more than quintupling in the course of the period. However, the figures show the majority of these gerunds to occur in prepositional syntagmata, corroborating previous

suggestions made in this regard in secondary literature (Fanego 1966: 121ff., Jack 1988: 61-2). In contrast, the most characteristic uses of gerunds as in type [5] or [6] only increase in frequency towards the end of the period, thus contradicting the assumption of a firm and definite establishment of the gerund in the period of Middle Scots (in line with claims put forward by Jack 1988: 16 and Donner 1986: 394ff.).

An analysis of the verbal end of the gradience, i.e. the present participles, amongst others yielded results showing that the original participial suffix *-and* (in various spelling variants), although preserved throughout all sub-periods, experienced a great decline in use in the course of Middle Scots, the low number of tokens in *S3* suggesting its complete ousting to have been imminent at that time. First *-ing*-forms, in correspondence to Gardela (2011: 208-9) seem to enter the functions of the present participle from the early 15<sup>th</sup> century onwards, constituting a viable optional alternative to *-and* in *S0* already. The figures indicating a steady increase of *-ing*-forms, Devitt's (1989: 28-30) propositions could here be confirmed to a large extent, with only slight modifications necessary to adjust the results gained in the present study to her claims.

As regards the syntactic behaviour of the participial forms, a clear predilection for appositive and adjectival constructions can be seen by both *-and-* and *-ing-*, reflected in all sub-periods and across the majority of genres. Participles displaying exclusively verbal features appear to occur less frequently yet are sufficiently and amply documented, while participles in nominal functions (type [7] to [9]) seem to have played only a very marginal role in Middle Scots.

Finally, concerning genre-specific frequency distributions, *-and*-forms were shown to be largely restricted to texts of formal character, whereas *-ing*-forms do not demonstrate a clear preference for certain genres or text types neither in participial function nor in gerundial or verbal noun constructions, the coalescence of forms thus apparently not exercising a strong impact on the genre-specific distribution of the latter.

## 12. Conclusion

Concluding this paper, it can safely be said that the question of the development of the verbal noun and present participle in the history of English and Scots represents a highly complex and intricate issue, which, although having occupied researchers for over a century now, is most certainly far from being completely and conclusively resolved.

Despite the first and main aim of the present study having been to provide a purely descriptive account of the behaviour of the forms in question in the period of Middle Scots, certain hypotheses in regard to the coalescence of participle and verbal noun in Scots, as well as the genesis and development of the gerund and progressive could be checked against the data acquired through an analysis of the HCOS, the results of this research project hopefully contributing to some extent to the larger discussion surrounding these forms.

However, further research into this topic is without doubt indispensable, both concerning the diachronic development of *-and-* and *-ing-* forms in English and Scots, as well as specifically Scots-related questions of orthographical, geographical and genre-related variation. The increasing availability of electronic databases such as the HCOS will surely be of great advantage in this regard, helping to fill the gaps in Scots historical linguistics left by previous research.

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## **Abstract/ Zusammenfassung**

Die Entwicklung des Partizip Präsens und des Verbalnomens auf *-ing (/ung)* in der Geschichte der englischen Sprache ist hochkomplex und umfasst zahlreiche, sich gegenseitig beeinflussende Faktoren, viele Fragen im Zusammenhang mit diesen Wortformen (bzw. Derivaten) wurden daher noch nicht zufriedenstellend geklärt.

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit widmet sich nun einem nahen Verwandten des modernen Englischen und Abkömmling des nordhumbrischen Dialekts des Altenglischen, dem sogenannten ‘Scots’. Das Schottische zeichnet sich diesbezüglich besonders dadurch aus, dass beide Bildungen bis ins späte sechzehnte Jahrhundert formal getrennt blieben, entgegen dem Englischen, wo ab der mittellenglischen Zeit eine zunehmende Ausdehnung des *-ing*-Suffixes auf die Partizipialformen (*-nd*) festgestellt werden kann. Während im ersten Teil dieser Arbeit die theoretischen Hintergründe dieses Themenbereichs beleuchtet und damit verknüpfte Problematiken wie die Entstehung des Gerunds oder der Progressive tenses eingehend diskutiert werden, wird im zweiten Teil die Korpus-basierte Studie, die im Rahmen der Arbeit ausgeführt wurde, präsentiert. In dieser wurden alle Instanzen von Participia Praesentis bzw. Verbalnomen, die in dem ungefähr die mittelschottische Periode (1450 – 1700) umfassenden Text-Korpus HCOS (*The Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots*) gefunden werden konnten, aufgelistet und anhand des ‘Gradience’-Modells von Quirk et al. (1985) klassifiziert. Durch eine anschließende Analyse der Häufigkeitsdistributionen dieser Formen (hinsichtlich Zeitspanne, Konstruktionstyp und Genre) konnten diverse Erkenntnisse gewonnen werden, so konnte etwa ein deutliches Überwiegen von Partizipialformen in appositiver und adjektivischer Funktion, sowie von Gerundialformen in Präpositionalphrasen festgestellt werden. Darüber hinaus konnte unter anderem der Beginn des Überhandnehmens von *-ing*-Formen in Partizipien, sowie der endgültige Untergang des *-and*-Suffixes präziser datiert werden, und Aussagen über die Ausbreitung des Gerunds getroffen werden.

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