

Progressive Constructions in English and Germanic Languages : A Diachronic Analysis(2)Locative Constructions to Show Progressivity be on/a : ing

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Progressive Constructions in English and Germanic Languages:

A Diachronic Analysis (2) Locative Constructions
to Show Progressivity *be on/a -ing*

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1. Introduction: Another Possible Construction as an Origin of the Progressive Form

If Old English Expanded Form *beon/wesan -ende*¹ is not a direct ancestor of the Present Day English Progressive Form, what can we regard as an origin? There is another construction that is a possible ancestor, the Old/Middle English Locative Construction ‘be + on -ing.’ In this phrase, the prepositions ‘an,’ ‘a,’ ‘in,’ and ‘at’ are sometimes used instead of ‘on,’ and the construction with prefix ‘a-,’ a weakened form of these prepositions, ‘be + a -ing’ is still used in Present Day English as a form to express progressivity in ‘[m]ost of the southern dialects and the vulgar speech² both in England and America’ (Visser, 1973: 1996). This form is also called ‘Old English gerund construction’ (by Brinton 1988: 267), ‘English gerundive construction’ (by Koma 1987: 311) and so on.

About this type of construction, Visser writes “‘he is on (an, a, in) hunting’ can also be traced back to Old English’ and gives the following sentences (Visser 1973: 1993, translations are mine):

(1) Old English

ȝyrstandæȝ ic wæs on huntunȝe ‘yesterday I was on hunting’

(Ælfric, Colloquy 68)

(2) Old English

deofles costnung biþ on tihtinge 'the devil's temptation is on enticing'
(Ælfric, Homily II, 356, 12)

As Visser writes '[h]ere the word in *-ing* is not a verb, but a real noun, ... This noun occasionally ended in *-op*, *-ap*, *-ep*,³ instead of *-ung*, *-ing*' as follows (Visser 1973: 1993):

(3) Old English

Sum biþ on huntope 'Someone is on hunting'

(Cod. Exon. VII, 37 (EETS) 291)

Visser goes on to say '[t]he cluster "he is on (an, a, in) hunting" is extremely frequent throughout the whole Middle English period' and '[t]he spread of the variant with *in* may have been furthered through the influence of French: "en chantant." Of the variant with *at* no Old English instances have been encountered' (Visser 1973: 1994). About '*an/a*,' Visser proposes that 'there occurred *at* an early period constructions with *an(a)* instead of *on* before the form in *-ing*, and that this *an/a* came to be slurred over and was eventually elided' (Visser 1973: 1994) to the construction 'he is hunting.'

Moreover, there are similar constructions to 'be + on -ing' to express a kind of progressivity in other Germanic languages (Visser 1973: 1996, 2001, English words in every sentence and translations are mine):

(4) modern dialectal German

Wir waren gerade am (beim) Essen.

we were just at the to eat/eating 'we were just(a)eating'

(5) modern dialectal German

das Wasser ist am Kochen

the water is at the to boil/boiling 'the water is(a)boiling'

(6) modern standard Dutch

wij waren aan het eten

we were at the to eat/eating 'we were(a)eating'

(7) modern standard Dutch

het water is aan het koken

the water is at the to boil/boiling 'the water is(a)boiling'

(8) Icelandic

hann var að telja

he was at to tell 'he was telling'

In these sentences, the pattern of every sentence is 'be + preposition (+ article) + noun.'

Here, I call this 'be + on -ing' phrase 'Locative Construction' because it originally expresses 'an existence in some place' and examine its grammaticalization process to progressive.

2. Localist Theory of Aspect

This construction also has a theoretical background—a localist theory of aspect. The definition of the term 'localism (Localist Theory of Aspect)' is as follows (Lyons 1977: 718):

The term localism is being used here to refer to the hypothesis that spatial expressions are more basic, grammatically and semantically, than various kinds of non-spatial expressions ... There are many languages in which the aspectual notions of progressivity or stativity (and, more especially, contingent stativity) are expressed by means of constructions that are patently locative in origin.

The localist theory of aspect suggests that a locative expression has a tendency to be grammaticalized to an expression to show a progressive aspect.

In the case of the English Progressive Form, first of all, I give the following Kuteva's explanation which is based on this theory (Kuteva 2001: 23):

'be + on -ing' as 'the development of a spatial adpositional structure with an adposition expressing co-location into the progressive,' i.e. be at/on/in/with + place-denoting Noun Phrase ⇒ progressive

The grammaticalization process of the English Progressive Form is expected here to be as follows:

OE: *Ic wæc on huntap/huntunge/huntinge* → ME: I was on/an/a/in hunting → ModE: I was hunting

Secondly, Bybee's explanation of 'progressive sources' is as follows (Bybee et al. 1994: 129–130):

The majority of progressive forms in our database derive from expressions involving locative elements ... The locative notion may be expressed either in the verbal auxiliary employed or in the use of postpositions or prepositions indicating location – 'at,' 'in,' or 'on.' The verbal auxiliary may derive from a specific postural verb, such as 'sit,' 'stand,' or 'lie,' or it may express the notion of being in a location without reference to a specific posture but meaning only 'be at,' 'stay,' or, more specifically, 'live' or 'reside' ... The form of the main verb is usually nominal (cited as a verbal noun or a gerund), although serial constructions are attested.

It is interesting that Bybee gives several candidates for the verbal auxiliary in grammaticalized progressive form; not only 'be' but other verbs' have the possibility of being an auxiliary.

Thirdly, Heine writes about 'localism' and the progressive aspect as follows (Heine et al. 1997: 117–118):

In many languages worldwide, locative constructions of the type "X is at Y" have in fact been grammaticalized to progressive aspects (to "X is doing Y") ... "prepositional periphrasis," whereby predicates are encoded linguistically as locative complements. Prepositional periphrasis entails that the verb appears in a nominalized form and is governed by an adposition ... One might argue that verbs such as 'sit,

live, stay' are likely to have some locative base ... it is some kind of activity, rather than a spatial notion, that has been exploited for the expression of progressive aspect.

And the following explanation, which mentions the relation between the decline of case inflections and a start of grammaticalization is interesting (Heine et al. 1997: 121):

[S]patial concepts, encoded typically as locative adverbial/adpositional phrases, form the most convenient source for expressing case functions for which adequate linguistic means no longer exist. Accordingly, in many languages worldwide, the decline of case inflections correlates with the introduction of spatial expressions for case marking – with the effect that locative adpositions (*from, at, by, through, to, for, etc.*) have assumed the function of the declining case inflections ... In such instances, natural linguistic change may be said to have “triggered” grammaticalization.

It is possible to apply this theory to Middle English 'be + on/an/a/in + -ing' which expresses a progressive aspect.

Additionally, Brinton refers to a 'localist' theory of aspect as a source of aspect as follows (Brinton 1988: 112):

A more complete explanation of the choice of aspectualizers is provided by a 'localist' theory of aspect ... In the 'localist' perspective, aktionsart categories are understood as spatial categories; situations are seen as spatial entities ... Aspect categories are also analysed in spatial terms.

- (a) imperfective (or progressive) aspect, which focuses on the internal structure of an event, denotes *being in a situation*;
- (b) continuative aspect, which focuses on the persistence of an event, likewise denotes *being in a situation*;

[I]t has been common (since Jespersen's original suggestion) to explain the progressive in English as deriving historically from a locative construction of *on* (>*a-*) and a verbal noun with the sense of 'to be in the midst of' a situation ... it is a useful way for understanding the principle dictating the choice of aspectualizers.

She also says that 'the progressive is a verbal periphrasis consisting of a form of the auxiliary *be* and the present participle of the main verb' (Brinton 1988: 7) and gives the following note (Brinton 1988: 248):

In the 'localist' theory of aspect, the progressive stems from location at, in, or on; hence, it expresses the relation of an event around a reference point and means to 'be in the process/middle/course of.'

Thus, it is more likely for the construction 'be + on -ing' to express a progressive aspect than the Old English Expanded Form, which is considered as originally 'be' + predicative adjective '-ende.' I will examine the possibility of the locative construction 'be + preposition + noun' to be grammaticalized to a progressive expression.

3. '*be* + Preposition + Noun Phrase' Constructions in Other Germanic Languages

There are many examples of the constructions similar to the Old/Middle English 'be + on + -ing,' in other Germanic Languages, i.e. '*be* + Preposition + Noun Phrase' construction. Ebert classifies the progressive markers in Germanic languages as follows (Ebert 2000: 607):

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

I. Postural verb constructions (POS):

"sit" + to + INF (Frisian, Dutch)

“sit” + and + V (Scandinavian)

II. Prepositional constructions (PREP):

be + in/at + the + INF (Dutch, Frisian, German)

be + at + to + INF (Danish)

be + to + INF (Icelandic)

III. ‘hold’ constructions (HOLD):

hold on/in (Swedish, Norwegian, Yiddish)

And she says, ‘the progressive is nowhere grammaticalized to the same extent as in English’ (Ebert 2000: 605).

3.1. Icelandic ‘*vera að* + Infinitive’ Construction

Haugen says, ‘[i]n Icelandic innovative forms have been developed with the infinitive’ and gives the following examples (Haugen 1982: 158):

(9) Icelandic

a durative	<i>ég er að koma</i>	‘I am coming’
a perfective	<i>ég er búinn að borða</i>	‘I am through eating, I have eaten’
an inchoative	<i>ég fer að gera það</i>	‘I am about to do it’
a future of necessity	<i>ég verð að gera það</i>	‘I shall (have to) do it’

Einarsson explains about this construction compared to English, and gives a more precise paradigm⁵ as follows (Einarsson 1967: 143):

Icelandic, like English, has developed an expanded conjugation along with the ordinary one in order to express duration of an action (or simultaneity of action), something going on, something on the point of happening, or, finally, in order to give the action affective (emotional) emphasis. This expanded conjugation is formed in Icelandic by the verb *vera* (in all the forms) and an infinitive with *að* of the verb conjugated. In English the present participle takes the place of this infinitive.

In this construction, *vera* 'be' is one of 'the chief auxiliary verbs' of Icelandic (Gordon 1927: 313), *að* 'at' is a preposition, and *lesa* is an infinitive which works as a noun. Morita says that the old form of this construction, *vera (+at) +at* expresses duration of action in Old Norse and gives examples (Morita 1971: 156, English words and translations are mine):

(10) Old Norse

þorfinnr ... kvað hann vera at telja silfr (BHd. 34)

Thorfinnr said he was at to count silver

'Thorfinnr ... said he was counting silver.'

(11) Old Norse

*hann var at at hlaða skútuna.*⁶ (Njal's Saga 11)

he was at at to load back cabin 'He was loading the back cabin.'

The double *at* shows that the former is really a locative preposition, and the latter is the infinitive marker.

Thus, the Icelandic *vera* 'be' + *að* + *Infinitive* construction is grammaticalized as Hewson and Bubenik say, while '[p]rogressive forms in Germanic languages other than English and Icelandic exist, but are not fully grammaticalised,' '[i]t is now commonly agreed that two of the Germanic languages, English and Icelandic, have developed a progressive aspect that is a fundamental part of the verbal system' (Hewson and Bubenik 1997: 221, 339).

Though the Icelandic '*vera* + *að* + *Infinitive*' is considered less grammaticalized than English, there are two features pointed out as evidences of the fact that the Icelandic '*vera* + *að* + *Infinitive*' construction has reached a more grammaticalized stage than other Germanic equivalents. One is that 'Icelandic is the only language where a past perfect was used' with the progressive marker, though the '[c]ombinations of past perfect with progressive markers seem somewhat odd in the other languages' (Ebert 2000: 612). Another is that the Icelandic '*vera* + *að* + *Infinitive*' construction can be used in the passive, though '[t]he progressive is excluded with "be"-passives and with imperatives except in Icelandic' (Ebert 2000: 613).

3.2. Dutch 'be + aan het + Infinitive' Construction – 'aan-durative'

Dutch has a construction to express progressivity, 'be' + *aan het* + Infinitive.⁷ Kuteva considers this construction as 'the development of a spatial adpositional structure with an adposition expressing *co-location* into the progressive,' i.e. 'be at/on/in/with + place-denoting Noun Phrase → progressive,' and gives the following example (Kuteva 2001: 23):

(12) Dutch

Ik ben aan het lezen.

I am at the reading 'I am reading.'

The last word *lezen* is an infinitive and the article *het* (the) before *lezen* shows that the infinitive works as a noun.

Scheffer gives more precise explanation to this construction. He says, '[a]n interesting Dutch counterpart of the progressive is the construction aan het + infinitive, the "aan-durative"' and he finds not only 'certain similarities with the progressive ... but also differences' (Scheffer 1975: 107). He gives the following sentence which has a similarity to the English Progressive Form (English words are mine).

(13) Dutch

Hugo is met Ina aan het dansen.

Hugo is with Ina at the to dance 'Hugo is dancing with Ina'

However, two differences are pointed out: '[o]ne of the differences is that the "aan-durative" can only occur with agentive verbs, i.e. verbs that impose on their subjects the semantic interpretation of being a wilful agent or intender of the action denoted by that verb. Exceptions are some inchoative verbs, expressing gradual transition to a certain state without there being any agentive connotation ... iterative verbs which express human activities usually not under conscious control ... and atmospheric verbs,' and '[o]ther differences are that the progressive can easily be passivized, whereas the "aan-durative" is incompatible with the passive, and that the progressive is used in non-generic statements (We are reaching the top floor right now), which is impossible with the "aan-durative."

The following examples⁸ are given (Scheffer 1975: 107, English words and translations are mine):

(14) Dutch

Grootvader is aan het aftakelen.

grandfather is at the to go off 'Grandfather is going off.'

(15) Dutch

Wat ben je weer lelijk aan het hoesten!

are you again nasty at the to cough

'You are nastily coughing again!'

(16) Dutch

Het is nu al de hele avond aan het regenen.

it is now all of the evening at the to rain

'It is now raining all the evening.'

(17) Dutch

Zij is nu de bovenste verdieping aan het bereiken.

she is now the upper floor at the to reach

'She is now reaching the upper floor.'

Middle Dutch has a 'be' + *-ande*, though it is not certain whether it expresses progressivity, as Scheffer writes that '[i]n [Middle] Dutch the meaning of the form varies, sometimes the present participle has verbal meaning, at other times it is completely adjectival' (Scheffer 1975: 106). In Present Day Dutch, the '*aan het* + Infinitive' construction is used in a progressive context, though it has more restriction on its use than the Present Day English Progressive Form.

3.3. '*be* + *am/beim* + Infinitive' Construction in Colloquial German Dialects

Though '[i]n Modern High German the progressive no longer occurs' (Scheffer 1975: 108), it has another way to express progressivity as follows (Scheffer 1975: 108, English words and translations are mine):

What may be regarded as the German equivalent of the Dutch "aan-

durative” is the construction with ‘am’ or ‘beim’ + infinitive,⁹ which occurs in colloquial West-German.

(18) German

Sie ist am Kochen.

she is at the to cook ‘She is cooking.’

(19) German

Ich bin am Lesen.

I am at the to read ‘I am reading.’

(20) German

Er ist am Verhungern.

he is at the to starve ‘He is starving.’

(21) German

Er ist beim Lesen/Spielen/Umziehen/Waschen.

he is by the to read/to play/to move/to wash

‘He is reading/playing/moving/washing.’

Lehmann also writes about the progressive aspect in Present Day German as follows (Lehmann 1991: 513):

Standard German, which is, perhaps, one of the poorest languages as regards the category of aspect, has nothing of the sort. However, in a couple of West German dialects, in particular Lower Frankish (spoken, e.g. in Cologne), a progressive aspect has come into use. This is expressed by a periphrasis which involves *sein* ‘be’ plus the infinitive, which is governed via the preposition *an* ‘at’ fused with the definite article of the infinitive to yield *am*.

He gives the following sentence as ‘a typical and, at the same time, the earliest example’ (Lehmann 1991: 513, English words are mine):

(22) German, Lower Frankish (spoken, e.g. in Cologne)

Ich bin am Arbeiten.

(letter by August Macke, 1908)

I am at the to work ‘I am working.’

As Lehmann explains, 'the infinitive depending on a preposition fused with the definite article' (Lehmann 1991: 513), *am* being a fusion of the preposition *an* and the article *dem*. He continues to say, '[t]his can also occur as the predicate of a copula sentence' and also gives the following sentence (Lehmann 1991: 513, English words and translation are mine):

- (23) German, Lower Frankish (spoken, e.g. in Cologne)
Ich bin beim Arbeiten.

I am by the to work 'I am working.'

So, these are also 'be' + Preposition + Noun Phrase constructions, because the infinitive works as a noun. This is clear from the conjugation of Article *dem* in *am* and *beim* + Infinitive.

Lehmann says that the '*sein* + *am/beim* + Infinitive' construction is 'currently spreading into the colloquial language of Northwest Germany' (Lehmann 1991: 513) and gives the following examples to explain the features (Lehmann 1991: 514, English words are mine):

- (24) German, Lower Frankish (Colognese speaker, 1988)
Ich bin jetzt dieses Orientierungs-Papier am überarbeiten.

I am now this of-orientation paper at the to rework
 'I am currently reworking this orientation paper.'

- (25) German, Lower Frankish

a. *Martha ist Flaschen am sortieren.*

Martha is bottles at the to sort 'Martha is sorting out bottles.'

b. *Martha ist am Flaschen-Sortieren.*

Martha is at the bottles to sort 'Martha is bottle-sorting.'

- (26) German, Lower Frankish

*Jupp ist am Radfahren/*Rad am fahren.*

Joe is at the bicycle to ride 'Joe is bicycle-riding.'

In these examples, (24), (25)b, and '*am Radfahren*' in (26) are more widely accepted than (25)a and '**Rad am fahren*' in (26).

The first feature is that 'intransitive verbs allow the progressive aspect much more easily than transitive or other plurivalent ones' and while the sentence in (22) would be accepted by many speakers at the colloquial

level, the examples like (24) 'are still rare outside of the original dialect area' (Lehmann 1991: 514).

The second feature is concerning the structure of the sentence. In the sentence (24), 'the internal syntax of the verbal group in the progressive follows the pattern of other periphrastic verbal categories: auxiliary verb in second position, then all the complements and adjuncts (in partly variable order), finally the non-finite form of the full verb. The preposition-plus-article portmanteau morph *am* forms a constituent with the non-finite verb form,' and in the sentence (25)b is 'an alternative construction' in which 'the complement comes between *am* and the non-finite verb form.' In other words, the Direct Object of the Infinitive is basically between *am* and the infinitive. So, the construction '**Rad am fahren*,' which is the Direct Object + *am* + Infinitive construction, is not allowed and '*Flaschen am sortieren*' is marginal. Lehmann explains the reason why the examples like (25)b and (24) are widely accepted as follows (Lehmann 1991: 514):

They have to be analyzed as instances of incorporation. This is in consonance with the above observation that the progressive is much more common with intransitive than with transitive verb constructions: the incorporation construction is treated like an intransitive one.

In other words, the '*am* + Direct Object + Infinitive' construction is more easily considered as an intransitive incorporation than the 'Direct Object + *am* + Infinitive' construction.

Lehmann summarizes the features of the 'be' + *am/beim* + Infinitive construction in Colloquial German Dialects as follows (Lehmann 1991: 514-515):

If one wants an explanation for the order in the spread of the progressive, there is a structural and semantic factor that can be adduced.

First, the relevant shallow syntactic structure of constructions... This means that the material depending on the non-finite verb form is outside the scope of the definite article which determines it. This is non-iconic and unprecedented in German syntax. Second, the semantic locus of the progressive aspect is in intransitive verbs. Progressivity and intransitivity have a natural affinity,¹⁰ as the progressive aspect centers the attention on the situation of the subject. Given such conditions, one would predict that if a grammatical category is introduced into a language, it will start from its natural locus and only later penetrate into less prototypical domains. This is borne out by the diffusion of the German progressive aspect. In the meantime, it is intriguing to observe the conspiracy of the structural and the semantic factors, which are completely independent.

It seems that this colloquial German Dialect has the 'be' + *am/beim* + Infinitive construction¹¹ to express progressivity and it is spreading to other areas. But the construction has more restrictions on its use than the Present Day English Progressive Form as well as the Dutch 'aan-durative,' which itself it is not grammaticalized yet.

4. From Locative to Progressive Grammaticalization

In this section, I examine a grammaticalization process from locative to progressive. Among these progressive markers of the Germanic languages, I refer to Kuteva's account of the grammaticalization of the '*am*-progressiv,' and then I think about the English 'be + on -ing.'

4.1. Locative-to-progressive Auxiliation in Colognese German

At first, I show the main points of Kuteva's explanation of the grammaticalization of the '*am*-progressiv' (Kuteva 2001: 30–35).

Kuteva says, '[t]he lexical source, i.e. Stage 0, of the auxiliation development is the locative construction *sein* ('be') + *an* ('at') + determiner

(‘the’) NP.’ In this stage, both ‘animate’ and ‘inanimate’ subjects can be used. To proceed to Stage I, ‘a metonymic extension from the locative sense of the prepositional structure to the sense of stereotypical, routine activity performed at a place (the place being specified by the NP)’ has occurred, but ‘this extension leads to the ambiguity of the structure.’ At this stage, the subject is restricted to ‘animate’ in order to extend to the meaning, which needs an agent to perform ‘stereotypical, routine activity at a place.’

There follows ‘another meaning extension, which could be viewed as either metonymy or semantic generalization’ at Stage II. The meaning extension leads the sense in the previous stage (b), ‘activity performed at a place’ to the ‘generic notion of activity-as-entity,’ which is expressed by an NP. The subject is also ‘animate’ at this stage, because the NP ex-

**Table 1 Locative-to-progressive Auxiliation in Colognese German:
am-progressive (Kuteva 2001: 34)**

Stage	Example	Subject	Meaning	Form
0	<i>Ich bin am Bahnhof</i>	animate/ inanimate	location at place	<i>sein + an + det. NP</i>
I	<i>Ich bin an der Uni</i>	animate	(i) location at place (ii) routine activity performed at place	<i>sein + an + det. NP</i>
II	<i>Ich bin an der Arbeit</i>	animate	generic notion of activity-as-entity	<i>sein + an + det. NP</i>
III	<i>Ich bin am Arbeiten</i>	animate	(i) generic notion of activity-as-performance (ii) progressive	<i>sein + am + deverbal noun</i>
IV	<i>Ich bin das Buch am lesen</i>	animate	progressive	<i>sein + am + DO + infinitive</i>
V	<i>Ich bin am Arbeiten Der Schmerz ist am nachlassen</i>	animate/ inanimate	progressive	<i>sein + am + infinitive</i>

presses activity of an agent.

At Stage III, a further semantic extension, 'from the generic notion of activity-as-entity (expressed by an NP) to the generic notion of activity-as-performance (expressed by a deverbal noun)' appears. Kuteva says, '[n]ote that here the copula is followed by the portmanteau morph *am* which results from the fusion of the preposition *an* ('at') with the dative form for the determiner for deverbal nouns in German, i.e. *dem*,' showing why this stage is important in producing a progressive marker. If the infinitive is pure verbal, it should be written *arbeiten*, but *Arbeiten* with a capital letter 'A' is similar to the noun *Arbeit*. This shows that *Arbeiten* is originally an infinitive used as a noun and should be treated here as a deverbal noun similar to English gerund, 'working.'

So, the meaning is the generic notion of activity-as-performance in III (i), but it has changed to progressive meaning in III (ii). Kuteva says, '[a]t Stage IV, the structure in its new meaning is applied to new contexts ... those involving transitive verbs' and goes on, '[i]t is now an infinitive form that follows the copula. That this is indeed an infinitive rather than a deverbal noun is suggested by the fact that the activity-denoting form tends to take the orthography of infinitival forms in German, i.e. small initial letter of the word form, and not the orthography of the corresponding deverbal noun (written with a capital initial letter)' (Kuteva 2001: 33). Thus the morphosyntactic shape of the progressive structure now is *sein* ('be') + D.O. + *am* (= *an*.determiner 'at.the') + infinitive.'

Here, the position of the Direct Object is not between *am* and infinitive, but between *sein* and *am*, because the '*am* + Direct Object + Infinitive' construction is more easily considered as an intransitive incorporation than the 'Direct Object + *am* + Infinitive' construction.

At Stage V, the '*sein* + *am* + Infinitive' construction is applied to various contexts.

First, 'the construction has also come to be used with infinitives in non-transitive contexts,' i.e. in intransitive contexts. The important point of Stage V is 'the use of infinitival verbal forms in intransitive contexts.'

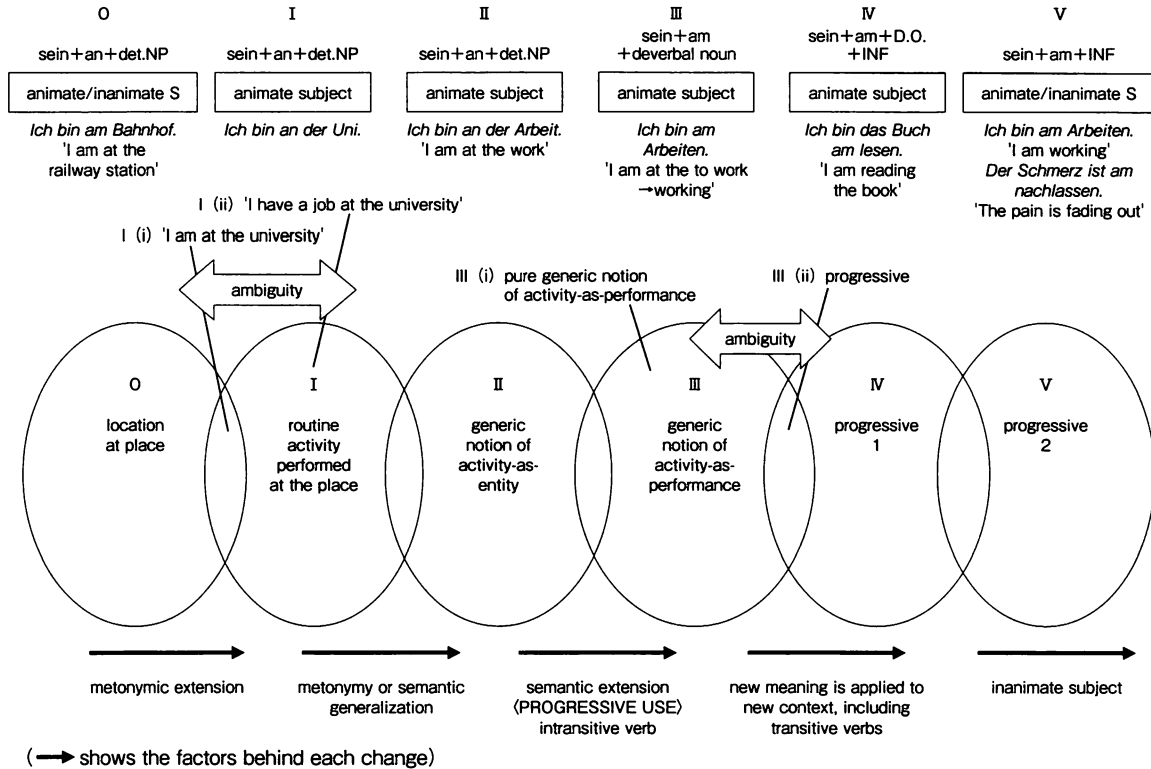


Fig. 1 From Locative Construction to Progressive, Based on Kuteva's Table

(Imai 2009: 246)

Secondly, the use of the '*sein + am + Infinitive*' construction spreads so rapidly that 'new contexts may also include cases where not only physical activity verbs are involved.'

Thirdly, '[i]t may even be the case that in some contexts newly modified uses of the construction occur, as for instance the inceptivity nuance.'

Finally, there also appear inanimate subjects in the construction' (the quotations are taken from Kuteva 2001: 31–34).

Thus, the locative construction '*sein + an + det. NP*' has developed to progressive '*sein + am + infinitive*' in Colognese German and now, both Stage IV 'progressive 1' and Stage V 'progressive 2' are used in various contexts. Though this is not as fully grammaticalized as the English Progressive Form—'*sein + am + infinitive*' does not have a full paradigm and still has semantic restriction in the type of verbs—it seems to have got closer to full grammaticalization than the first stage, the locative construction. Especially, a notable feature of the grammaticalization process of the '*sein + am + infinitive*' form in Colognese German is the use of infinitive instead of present participle as in the English Progressive Form.

4.2. Locative-to-progressive Grammaticalization in English 'be + on -ing'

It might be possible to compare the analysis of Colognese German grammaticalization process from locative to progressive to the English 'be + on -ing' construction. The semantic shift is basically similar to the German counterpart, but there are several differences.

4.2.1. Synchronical Evidence

First, I will explain about examples in Present Day English.

Stage 0 is a 'location at place' which is expressed by the 'be + preposition + determiner-Noun Phrase' construction. It expresses a 'location at place,' but in Stage I, we can easily imagine an implied meaning that the subject has a 'routine activity performed at the place' by metonymic extension.

As a result, an ambiguity in the meaning, whether it expresses a pure 'location at place' or a 'routine activity performed at the place' comes out in Stage I and the latter appears as the implied meaning.

When it is generalized, the meaning of 'generic notion of activity-as-entity' is expressed by 'be + preposition + Noun Phrase' in Stage II. It is remarkable that an abstract noun or verbal noun is used after the preposition, and that the determiner 'the' disappears. This comes from the generalization of the meaning of the construction.

In Stage III, the NP that follows the preposition can be a deverbal noun, and the meaning is extended to that of 'activity-as-performance.' There could be four possible constructions in this Stage. Only the b-type construction is acceptable in Present Day Standard English. The d-type is sometimes acceptable in dialectal or colloquial context, and the a-type and c-type are unacceptable.

- a. *I am at to work. be + preposition + to-infinitive
- b. I am at working. be + preposition + verbal noun
- c. *I am at work. be + preposition + bare-infinitive
- d. ?I am a-working. be + a (preposition > a) + verbal noun

It is important that a semantic extension brings a new interpretation 'progressive use' in intransitive contexts in Stage III. Once the 'be + preposition + deverbal noun' unit has acquired the 'progressive use,' the new usage begins to be extended to various contexts.¹²

In Stage IV 'progressive 1,' the new meaning 'progressive' is applied to new contexts including transitive verbs with a preposition 'of' after the gerund to take a Direct Object. Thus, a new construction 'be + (preposition) + gerund + of + Direct Object' appears.

In Stage V, the '-ing' form gets verbal character and the preposition 'of' after '-ing' is no longer needed when the '-ing' is made of a verb which has both transitive and intransitive usages. Another feature in Stage V is the applying of progressive usage to contexts in which the subject is

**Table 2 Locative-to-progressive Grammaticalization in Present Day English
'be + prep. + -ing'**

Stage	Example	Subject	Meaning	Form
0	I am at the office A pen is on the table.	animate/ inanimate	location at place	<i>be + prep + (det.) NP</i>
I	I am at the office. (I have a job at the office.)	animate	(i) location at place (ii) routine activity performed at place	<i>be + prep + (det.) NP</i>
II	I am at work.	animate	generic notion of activity-as-entity	<i>be + prep + NP</i>
III	I am (at) working. ?I am a-working.	animate	(i) generic notion of activity-as-performance (ii) progressive	<i>be + prep + deverbal noun</i>
IV	I am working on the project.	animate	progressive	<i>be + (prep) + gerund + of + DO</i>
V	I am working the project. A flood is moving the tree.	animate/ inanimate	progressive	<i>be + pres. part. + DO</i>

(Imai 2009: 248)

inanimate. But the meaning is not progressive but iterative.

Thus, it is confirmed that a locative construction 'be + preposition + the + Noun Phrase' could be developed into a progressive construction in Present Day English.¹³

4.2.2. Diachronical Evidence

The Old English locative expression 'be + preposition + -ing' seen in Stage 0 has already proceeded to Stage II in Old English.¹⁴ We find the following Old English sentence (Visser 1973: 1993) and Middle English ones (Mustanoja 1960: 577-578, translations are mine):

(27) Old English

hie selfe wæron ælce dæg on þare ondrædinge (Ælfred, *Orosius* 88, 13)
'they themselves were every day (in) the fearing'

(28) Middle English

on huntung be they riden roially. (Chaucer, *Knight's Tale* 1687)

'they were royally (on) hunting to ride.'

(29) Middle English

he wes an slæting. (Lawman A 12304)

'he was (on) slating.'

The sentence *Ic wæs on huntap/huntunge/huntinge* (I was on hunting) is a typical Old English sentence with this type of construction. It consists of the form 'be + preposition + Noun Phrase' and has a meaning, 'generic

Table 3 Locative-to-progressive Grammaticalization in Historical English
'be + prep. + -ing'

Stage	Example	Subject	Meaning	Form
0	<OE> <i>Ða ðe wæron on ðam mynstre.</i> (They were in the minster.) <i>flota wæs on yðum</i> (ship was on wave)	animate/ inanimate	location at place	<i>be + prep +</i> (<i>det.</i>) <i>NP</i>
I	<OE> <i>Ða ðe wæron on ðam mynstre.</i> (They prayed in the minster.)	animate	(i) location at place (ii) routine activ- ity performed at place	<i>be + prep +</i> (<i>det.</i>) <i>NP</i>
II	<OE> <i>ic wæs on huntap.</i> (<i>huntunge/huntinge/huntende</i>)	animate	generic notion of activity-as-entity	<i>be + prep +</i> <i>NP</i>
III	<ME> <i>I was on/an/a hunting.</i>	animate	(i) generic notion of activity-as- performance (ii) progressive	<i>be + prep +</i> <i>deverbal</i> <i>noun</i>
IV	<ModE> <i>I was (a) hunting of a bird.</i> [<i>The project is working.</i>] [<i>The house is building.</i>]	animate animate/ inanimate	progressive [passival progres- sive]	<i>be + (prep) +</i> <i>gerund + of +</i> <i>DO</i> [<i>be + -ing</i>]
V	<PDE> I was hunting a bird. A flood is moving the tree. [<i>The project is being worked.</i>] [<i>The house is being built.</i>]	animate/ inanimate animate/ inanimate	progressive [passive progres- sive]	<i>be + pres.</i> <i>part. + DO</i> [<i>be + being +</i> <i>past. part.</i>]

notion of activity-as-entity.’ In the case of using *huntunge/huntinge*, it could be said that it belongs to Stage III, which consists of the form ‘be + preposition + deverbal noun.’

From Late Old English to Early Middle English, a phonetic and morphological confusion has happened (a confusion of endings between verbal noun ‘-ung,’ ‘-ing’ and present participle ‘-ende’ has already begun in the Late Old English period and the new form ‘-ing’ prevails in the Middle English period) and an ‘-ing’ form was born between Stage II and III. Next, reanalysis could lead to the ‘generic notion of activity-as-performance’ in Stage III expressed by the form ‘be + preposition + deverbal noun.’

In Middle English, as Visser says, ‘there are three differently structured expanded forms, vying with each other for the hegemony: type (a) “he is huntende,” type (b) “he is on (an,¹⁵ a¹⁶) hunting,” type (c) “he is hunting.”’ In (b), ‘in’ also occurs. About the prepositions, Visser says, ‘we have to assume that there occurred *at* an early period constructions with *an* (*a*) instead of *on* before the form in *-ing*, and that this *an/a* came to be slurred over and was eventually elided’ (Visser 1973: 1994).

The next change happens to the character of ‘-ing’ – it changes from nominal to verbal by the process of confusion of endings, i.e. the English present participle not only has the original adjectival character, but also acquires a new verbal character. We can find a new construction ‘be + (preposition) + gerund + of + Direct Object’ which shows the change of the function of ‘-ing’ from nominal to verbal.

Thus, in the process of changing of ‘-ing’ from nominal to verbal, the meaning of the ‘be + preposition + deverbal noun’ construction also changes from ‘generic notion of activity-as-performance’ to ‘progressive’ and goes into Stage IV of Modern English, in which the new form ‘be + (preposition) + gerund + of + Direct Object’ expresses progressive. We see Modern English sentences such as ‘?I was hunting of a bird,’ though in standard Present Day English an object with ‘of’ after a present participle ‘-ing’ is hardly acceptable.

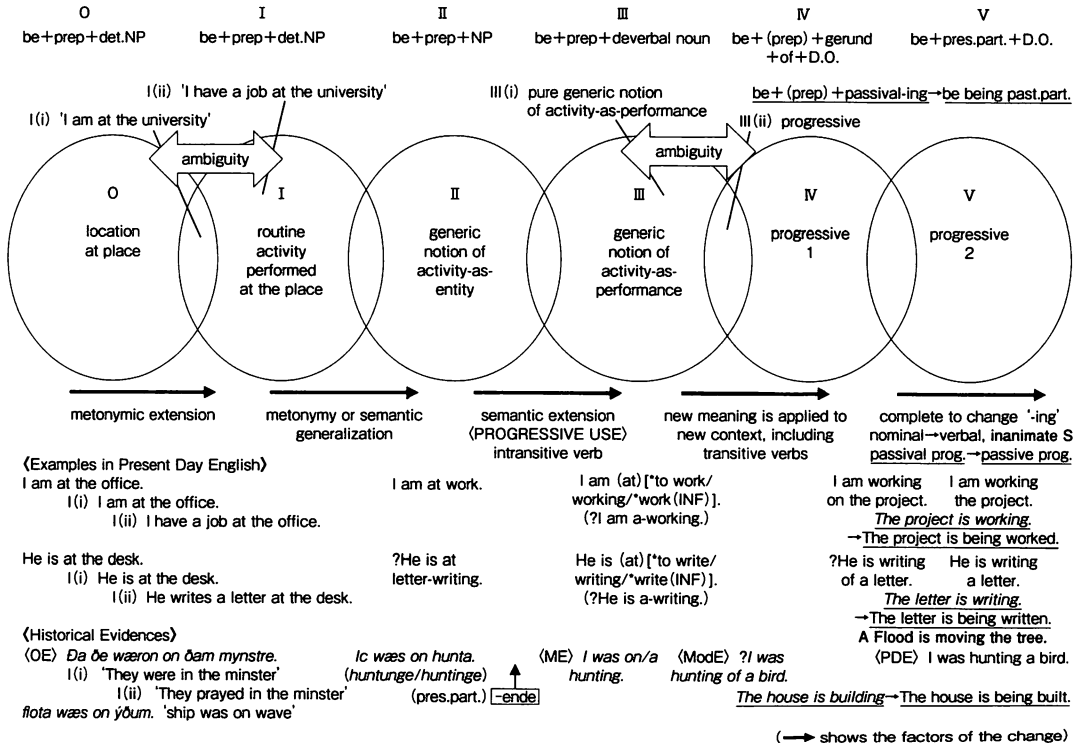


Fig. 2 From Locative Construction to Progressive in English
'be + preposition + -ing'

(Imai 2009: 254)

Moreover, it is interesting that we find a 'passival progressive' sentence, 'The house is building' in the place of the Present Day English 'passive progressive' sentence, 'The house is being built.' This shows the transitivity of '-ing' goes on, though it is not completed.

Thus, the '-ing' form has come to take an object without 'of,' because the verbal property of '-ing' comes to dominate.

Finally, the form 'be + present participle + Direct Object' expresses 'progressive' in Stage V, and the Present Day Progressive Form 'be -ing' is ready. Now we can utter a Progressive Form, 'I was hunting a bird,' in Present Day English.¹⁷

4.3. A Comparison between the Grammaticalization Processes of German and English

Now I compare the grammaticalization processes of the Colognese German '*sein + am + infinitive*' and the English 'be + on + -ing.' They are basically similar, but there are a few differences.

4.3.1. Basic Change

The grammaticalization of both the Colognese German '*sein + am + infinitive*' and the English 'be + on + -ing' starts from 'location at place' (Stage 0), and extends to 'routine activity performed at the place' (Stage I).

On the way to this metonymic extension, the first ambiguity has come; whether it is a pure 'location at place' or an expression implying a 'routine activity performed at the place.' In the case of the latter, the 'routine activity performed at the place' is generalized metonymically to a 'generic notion of activity-as-entity' (Stage II).

Then the activity itself becomes profiled, and the profiled point changes from the person who does the activity to what is done by the person. A new meaning 'generic notion of activity-as-performance' is brought by semantic extension in intransitive contexts at first. Now, the element after the preposition is not a 'Noun Phrase' but a form based on

a 'verb,' a 'deverbal noun' (Stage III).

In this Stage, a progressive use is fully prepared and the second ambiguity has come about, whether it is a pure 'generic notion of activity-as-performance' or a new meaning 'progressive.' Then the new meaning is applied to a new context, i.e. a transitive context (Stage IV).

The verbal character of '-ing' has begun to increase since Stage III, and it tries to take a Direct Object in Stage IV – in German, the Direct Object appears between '*am*' and infinitive, and in English, after '-ing' accompanied by 'of.' Another evidence of a verbal property of '-ing' is a 'passival progressive' which frequently appears in Late Modern English. This is a transform of an active progressive in which the present participle takes an object as a transitive verb.

Then in Stage V, the progressive usage extends to various contexts. An application of the progressive usage to contexts in which a subject is inanimate occurs in German, and English '-ing' completes the change from nominal gerund to verbal present participle in this Stage. Additionally, the 'passival progressive' is built into a paradigm and then replaced by the new 'passive progressive' construction, 'be + being + past participle.'

4.3.2. Difference between German '*sein* + *am* + Infinitive' and English 'be + on -ing'

There are the following differences between the grammaticalization of the Cologne German '*sein* + *am* + infinitive' and the English 'be + on + -ing':

- A) In English, determiner 'the' disappears in Stage II 'generic notion of activity-as-entity,' though every Stage retains the determiner either as a determiner itself or as a fusion form '*am* < *an dem*' in Cologne German.
- B) English has a deverbal noun (gerund) in Stage III, a gerund in Stage IV, and present participle in Stage V, though Cologne German maintains only an infinitive as deverbal noun in Stage III,

IV, and V.

- C) In Stage IV and V, English applies the progressive usage to much more contexts than Colognese German and ‘-ing’ completes the change from nominal to verbal. Especially in Stage V, the present participle ‘-ing’ can take an object without ‘of,’ and a passival progressive, e.g. ‘The house is building,’ is expressed as a part of a progressive paradigm, a passive progressive in the form of ‘be + being + past participle,’ e.g. ‘The house is being built.’ The English Progressive Form extends its usage to various types of verbs including the verbs which did not have the Progressive Form in earlier Modern English and seems likely to extend in the future to verbs which cannot be used in the Progressive Form now.

Among these points, I think B) is the most important, because the English choice of ‘-ing’ enables the ‘be -ing’ to be the Progressive Form. ‘Be’ needs to be considered as an auxiliary verb and ‘-ing’ as a main verb to be realized as a Progressive Form. It is more possible to regard the present participle ‘-ing,’ after the acquisition of verbal character, as part of the verb paradigm than the infinitive, for the infinitive¹⁸ has two alternative grammatical possibilities (i.e. as a noun or an adverbial) and this form feature can block the advance of the grammaticalization of the *am*-progressive.

4.3.3. Why a Deverbal Noun Changed to a Verbal Present Participle in English

What makes the English ‘-ing,’ which is originally a deverbal noun (gerund), have a verbal property? After looking through a historical process based on Visser’s explanation, I think about it with a cognitive linguistic interpretation by Langacker.

4.3.3.1. A Diachronical Process of a Development of the ‘Duplex Form in -ing’

Visser says, ‘the main feature was the acquiring by the form in *-ing* of a capacity to operate as a verb, a feature which sets the English language

apart from the other Germanic languages'¹⁹ (Visser 1973: 1096) and names 'the form in *-ing* simultaneously operating in one and the same collocation as a noun and as a verb' the 'duplex form in *-ing*'²⁰ (Visser 1973: 1097).

Visser points out the morphological side of the metamorphosis of the form in '*-ing*' and 'a functional or syntactical confusion which threw the whole structural system out of gear' as follows (Visser 1973: 1096–1097, square brackets and numbers are mine):

[I]n English the newly created form in *-ing* is found to be construed with a direct object, a usage originally only possible with the forms in *-and(e)*, *-end(e)*²¹ and *-ind(e)*. The capacity to operate as a verb is also conspicuous from the facts (v1) [that the form in *-ing* can be modified by adverbial adjuncts that can only be used with verbs], (v2) [that they can be employed as attributive and predicative adjuncts, as the nucleus of related and of non-related (absolute) free adjuncts], and (v3) [that they can take the suffix *-ly* to form adverbs]. Meanwhile the form in *-ing*, wherever it was a direct descendant of (or formed on the analogy of) the Old English form in *-ung/-ing*, retained the capability of operating as a noun. Thus (n1) [it could be preceded by an article, a possessive or a demonstrative pronoun]; (n2) [it could take attributive modifiers in the form of adjectives or of clusters of consisting of *of* + noun]; (n3) [it could be preceded by a preposition]; (n4) [it had a plural in *-s*]. (n5) [It could moreover be employed as the subject in the sentence or the object of a verb].

It is pointed out that the form in '*-ing*' begins to have a capacity to operate both as a verb (v1–v3) and as a noun (n1–n5). Figure 3 shows the main points of his explanation.

In this way, '*-ing*' comes to have a capacity to operate as a verb and it can be seen as a part of a paradigm of verb. The Modern English '*-ing*' form is useful because of the amphibious character both as a noun and as a verb. Compared to the '*-ing*,' an infinitive seems not to be as useful as a

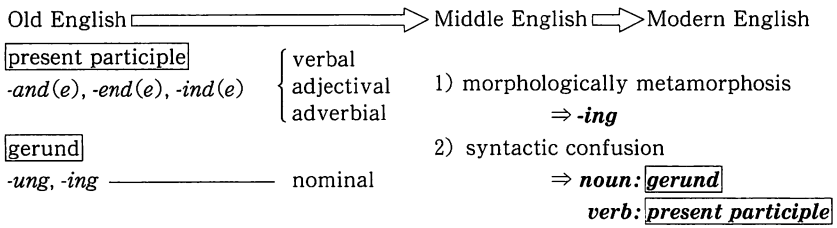


Fig. 3 A Historical Process of a Development of the 'Duplex Form in -ing'

(based on Visser 1973: 1096-1098)

verb form as 'ing,' because an infinitive has a possibility seen as adverbial, i.e. 'purposive' in the construction. As Visser says, the property of the form in 'ing' operating as a verb makes the English language prominent in the other Germanic languages, because it enables English to have a fully grammaticalized Progressive Form.

4.3.3.2. What Supports the 'Duplex Form in -ing'

Then, how is the 'Duplex Form in -ing' construed in Present Day English? In this section, I think about the similarity and difference between a gerund 'ing,' a nominalization of a verb, and a present participle 'ing,' one of the verbal paradigm, of Present Day English based on Langacker's analysis.

Firstly, the following description explains that the English present participle 'ing' has both an adjectival function, an original Germanic language function of the present participle and a verbal function to work as a main verb present participle in the Progressive Form (Langacker 1987a: 85):

the progressive -ing and the -ing on noun modifiers are the same, though only the latter occurs on imperfectives (e.g. anyone knowing his whereabouts) ... either type of process requires the atemporalization effected by -ing in order to produce a suitable modifier.

While the 'atemporalization' is a common property between an adjectival

function and a verbal function of '-ing,' the adjectival function expresses an imperfectiveness and the verbal function makes the English Progressive Form with 'be.' Anyway, the first remarkable feature of the English present participle '-ing' is the 'atemporalization.'

Secondly, the English '-ing' is not only a present participle but also a nominal gerund. What makes these two functions possible?

Figure 4 contains three figures given by Langacker to explain the difference among the original (a) Verb, (b) Present Participle, and (c) Nominalization. Though (a) 'Verb' consists of a sequential scanning of an activity and has a starting point and an ending point of the activity, (b) 'Present Participle' 'comprises only an arbitrary sequence of internal states; i.e. the initial and final states are excluded' and 'atemporalizes the base process by suspending sequential scanning' (Langacker 1987a: 85). Figure (c) is 'Nominalization' of verb and it is applied to the nominal forms such as an abstract noun which comes from a verb (e.g. bear → birth), deverbal nouns (a nominal infinitive, and a nominal gerund). The structure of two uses of the English '-ing,' a present participle and a nominal gerund, is similar, but the difference is a profiled point in the immediate scope: the former is an activity in an immediate scope shown in bold and the latter is the surrounding frame of an arbitrary sequences of internal states given as a bold circle seen in (c).

However, they have another common property – both of them are atemporalized in time. While there is a bold part on the arrowed line

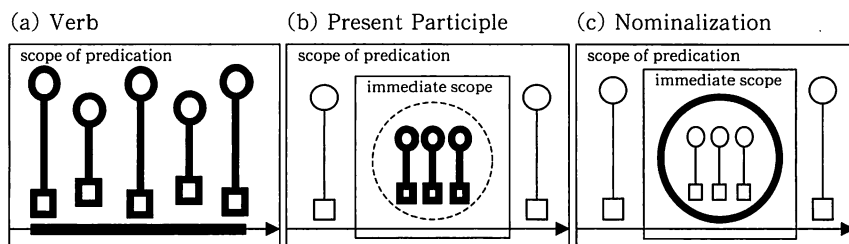


Fig. 4 Verb, Present Participle, and Nominalization

(Langacker 1987b: 26)

(time) in (a), which means the starting point and the ending point, the arrowed lines in (b) and (c) have no change of thickness, which shows the immediate scope is not temporalized in time. This 'atemporalization' is the common feature of (b) and (c), and enables the '-ing' to act as a present participle and as a nominal gerund.

Finally, Langacker points out the 'twofold difference' between a complex scene construed as a 'process' (in this case (a) Verb above) and the same scene construed as an episodic noun ((c) Nominalization), with examples 'enter' for the former and 'entrance' for the latter, as follows (Langacker 1987b: 248-249):

- (1) the component states are profiled individually as relations in the former, and collectively as a thing in the latter; and (2) sequential scanning is employed for the process, and summary scanning for the noun.

It is important for the 'process' i.e. 'verb' to include a 'sequential scanning.' Though the English present participle '-ing' has a similar appearance to the nominal gerund, the internal state, which is given by a sequential scanning, is profiled as well as the 'process' i.e. 'verb.' This similarity to the 'verb' is a central point of the property of the English present participle '-ing' and the verbal character of '-ing' comes from that. But the auxiliary verb 'be' which makes the present participle '-ing' retemporalized, is needed to make a verbal predicative expression, the English Progressive Form, because the English present participle '-ing' is 'atemporal' seen in (b).

In short, thinking about the similarity and the difference in two functions of '-ing,' a shift of profiled point from a nominal gerund to a verbal present participle becomes clear: from the surrounding frame of an arbitrary sequences of internal states to an activity in an immediate scope. Namely, the English speaking people construe '-ing' as the whole activity conceptually in a nominal gerund, but they have another view to focus on

an activity in an immediate scope adopting the original construal of a verb to a newly born verbal present participle. This change enables the English ‘-ing’ already used as a deverbal noun in Stage III to a verbal present participle in Stage IV. The structural similarity and the difference of the profiles of the immediate scope supports the ‘Duplex Form in *-ing*’ in Modern English.

4.3.4. Transitivity of the Present Participle ‘-ing’

We can see two phenomena to show a transitivity of the ‘-ing’ form: one is a completion of change of the ‘-ing’ form from nominal to verbal, i.e. its taking a Direct Object with ‘of’ in Stage IV and finally without ‘of’ in Stage V, and another is the rise of a ‘passival progressive’ (type ‘The house is building’) in late period of Stage IV and its change to ‘passive progressive’ (type ‘The house is being built’) in Stage V.

First, as Visser says, ‘the form in *-ing* has a nominal character on account of its being used as a subject or object or of its being preceded by a determinative word or a preposition.’ But the fact that ‘it is construed with an object shows that at the same time it has a verbal character, the *-ing* form becomes to take an object with *of*’ (Visser 1973: 1207). Then, the ‘of’ is sometimes omitted and ‘-ing’ seems to take an object as a present participle of a transitive verb. The ‘-ing’ in ‘be (+on>an>a) + -ing’ finished changing from a nominal gerund to a pure verbal present participle and comes to take an object in the ‘be + -ing + Direct Object’ construction.

Secondly, there arises an interesting construction ‘be (on) + Passival Form in *-ing*’ (Visser 1973: 2004) in late period of Stage IV. For example, ‘-ing’ is not performed by the person or thing indicated by the subject in the following sentence:

(30) The house is building.

In this case, not the subject ‘the house’ but ‘someone’ is building ‘the house,’ and (30) is a passive transform of ‘they are building the house.’

About this construction, Visser writes the history as follows (Visser 1973: 2010–2018):

Middle English

The number of instances, which in part may have developed from the type 'the church is a building' by dropping the preposition, is still comparatively small, the construction having a hard struggle for life to fight with quite a number of rivals: 'the church is a building, is on building, is in building, is at building'

Modern English

1500-1699

The number of instances gradually increases in this period, though that of the types 'the church is on (a, in) building' does not seem to be appreciably on the wane. The usual idiom is still of the type 'the church is built' ... Constructions with *man, men, me* as subject, however, were no longer current.

1700-1799

The idiom goes on occurring – mainly in prose – with increasing frequency by the side of the type without *-ing* form: 'the house is built' ... such writers as DeFoe, Fielding, Richardson, Smollett and Sterne had a predilection for the 'the house is building' pattern because it enabled them to focalize the readers' attention on the post-inception phase and thus to render the story more vivid. The construction with a preposition before the *-ing* is on the decline and tends to become obsolete by the middle of the eighteenth century.

1800-1890

In this period the pattern of the type 'the house is building' goes on occurring with great frequency in prose and occasionally in poetry.

1900-today

Here the incidence perceptibly begins to decline, owing no doubt to the increasing use of the 'the house is being built' pattern ... The great rival is here again the pattern 'the letter is written,' especially when it has *gets* instead of *is*: 'the letter gets written,' which to a certain extent is expressive of the same 'aspect' as 'the letter is writing' and 'the letter is being written.'

Thus, the passival progressive ‘-ing’ in ‘the house is building’ is used most frequently in the eighteenth and nineteenth century ‘in a passive, transitive sense.’ From the late eighteenth century, the more analytical form ‘the house is being built’ occurs. Concerning this construction, I will analyze quotations of *Oxford English Dictionary* in ‘Progressive Constructions in English and Germanic Languages: A Diachronic Analysis (4).’

5. Conclusion

The English Progressive Form seems still to keep on changing even after its full grammaticalization. Semantically, it is extending the range of verbs which can take the Progressive Form ‘be + -ing.’ Though Declark explains it as a basic rule of Present Day English that ‘[t]he progressive can normally only be used in sentences that express a dynamic situation, i.e. an action, event or process’ and that ‘[v]erbs that are used statively are not normally used in the progressive’ (Declark 1991: 167), there are many exceptions, i.e. ‘verbs of inert perception,’ ‘verbs of inert cognition,’ and ‘[r]elational verbs or verbs of state’ can be used in progressive (Declark 1991: 169–175 Note). Thinking about a future of the English Progressive Form, it might be possible that the verbs such as seem, know, belong,²² which cannot be applied to progressive in Standard English now, could be used in ‘be + -ing,’ and there would be no restriction on applying the progressive to any verb.

In this way, it is more plausible to think about the Locative Construction ‘be + on -ing’ as a starting point of the grammaticalization of the English Progressive Form than the Old English Expanded Form. In this grammaticalization process, I would like to emphasize the following two points:

1. There is a ‘profile shift’ at every stage of grammaticalization of the Progressive Form, because every stage has a meaning profile from the last. In other words, this is a shift of profile causing each

grammaticalization stage to proceed to the next.

2. There is also a 'profile shift' in the most significant element of the grammaticalization of the English Progressive Form, i.e. in the change of an English deverbal noun (gerund) '-ing' to add a verbal character as a 'duplex form in *-ing*,' which is regarded both as a nominal gerund and a verbal present participle. As seen in Langacker's explanation, these two functions have different profiled points – the former is a surrounding frame of arbitrary sequences of internal states, and the latter is an activity in an immediate scope. The 'profile shift' again enables '-ing' to operate as a verb.

These 'profile shifts' make the grammaticalization proceed to the level we see today in English. The result is the fact that an acquisition of verbal character of '-ing' distinguishes the grammaticalization of the English Progressive Form from other Germanic languages and English comes to be prominent in the Germanic languages.

Notes

- 1 Concerning Old English Expanded Form *beon/wesan -ende* as an ancestor of the Present Day English Progressive Form, I have the following conclusion (Imai 2014: 211):

[T]he appearance seems to be an expression of progressivity, but the Old English Expanded Form remains as a customary collocation of 'be' + adjectival present participle derived from a verb and it is semantically difficult to see it as an ancestor of the Present Day English Progressive Form.
- 2 Scheffer writes about this use as follows (Scheffer 1975: 103):

There is a curious idiomatic variant of the progressive in which the present participle takes the prefix *a-*. Sometimes this variant belongs to the simulated negro-speech of show-business, as in the popular tunes of the thirties: "I'm a-sittin' and a-rockin'," "I'se a-muggin'" and many others, in other cases it comes from the world of rustic speech, as in the hill-billy number "A-fussin' a-feudin' and a-fightin'" or, with archaic overtones: ... The prefix is generally explained as a reduction of *on* in the type "to be on hunting" to "to be a-hunting," which now only exists as an archaism and

in dialectal speech.

Kuteva also considers 'be + on -ing' as 'the development of a spatial adpositional structure with an adposition expressing *co-location* into the progressive,' i.e. 'be at/on/in/with + *place-denoting Noun Phrase* → progressive,' and gives the following example (Kuteva 2001: 23):

Middle English be on ('be on hunting') → be a- ('be a-hunting') → Modern English be + present participle ('be hunting')

- 3 These noun endings are the ancestors of '-th' in Present Day English, which makes an adjective or a verb into an abstract noun, e.g. 'true' → 'truth,' 'long' → 'length,' and 'bear' → 'birth.'
- 4 About this possibility of other verbs, I will examine the Bodily Posture Verb Construction, the Hold Construction, and the Busy Construction in 'Progressive Constructions in English and Germanic Languages: A Diachronic Analysis (3).'
- 5 Icelandic '*vera að Infinitive*' has a full verbal paradigm as follows (Einarsson 1967: 143):

Present	<i>ég er að lesa</i>	I am reading
Preterite	<i>ég var að lesa</i>	I was reading
Perfect	<i>ég hef verið að lesa</i>	I have been reading
Past Perfect	<i>ég hafði verið að lesa</i>	I had been reading
Future	<i>ég mun vera/verða að lesa</i>	I shall probably be reading
	<i>or: ég verð að lesa (common)</i>	I shall be reading
Perfect Future	<i>ég mun hafa verið að lesa</i>	I would be reading
Past Future	<i>ég mundi (y) vera/verða að lesa</i>	I would be reading
	<i>ég yrði að lesa, ef...</i>	I would be reading
Past Perfect Future	<i>ég mundi (y) hafa verið að lesa ef...</i>	I would have been reading, if ...

- 6 Morita says that the construction, '*vera + at + at + Infinitive*' is more common than '*vera + at + Infinitive*' in Old Norse and the latter is not found in manuscripts written before 1300 (Morita 1971: 156).
- 7 This Dutch construction is classified into the type 'II. Prepositional constructions (PREP)' by Ebert (Ebert 2000: 607).
- 8 Scheffer mentions '*zijn + infinitive*' as follows (Scheffer 1975: 107):
Another Dutch counterpart of the progressive is the construction ZIJN + infinitive. According to Holmberg this form was also found in High German, where er ist findende used to occur side by side with er ist finden.
- 9 This construction belongs to the 'II. Prepositional constructions (PREP)' in Ebert's classification of the progressive markers in Germanic languages (Ebert 2000: 607).

10 Here, Lehmann gives a reference to Hopper, Paul and Sandra A. Thompson, 1980. 'Transitivity in grammar and discourse,' *Language* 56: 251-299.

11 This construction is also referred as a 'rheinische Verlaufsform' with the following example (Okamoto et al. 2013: 123):

Peter ist am Laufen. Peter is on-the running

The English note of *Laufen* 'running' is nominal and the initial capital letter *L* shows it is considered as a noun.

12 Lindkvist explains the relation of the preposition *at* to the progressive meaning twice. One explanation is that '[a]t is used with complements denoting different things which according to their nature are the objects or centres of special activities, to indicate that the activity connected with such a thing is carried on close to the thing. Thus *at* here has the local signification viz. close proximity to something. However, the sense of locality often succumbs more or less completely to the idea of activity so that the whole phrase forms a paraphrase of a verbal expression signifying an action or activity' (Lindkvist 1968: 165). The second explanation is as follows (Lindkvist 1978: 62):

Someone or something is present, or something happens, or a state prevails, during a specific time or period suggested in the context. The fact that there may thus be a temporal connotation in *at*-phrases of the present kind can be seen in these illustrations answering the question "What is he doing now?"

"He is at the telephone (=he is telephoning)
 at the wheel (=steering or driving a car)
 at his books (=reading)
 at the writing-table (=writing)"

At + complement is then not a spatial indication only, but also refers to how time is spent. This may evolve to suggesting a kind of state: 'The ship was lying at anchor.'

13 There can be other examples of 'Locative-to-progressive Grammaticalization in Present Day English' as follows. But there appear several difficulties in detail.

- | | | |
|--------------|--|---------------------------|
| (1) Stage 0. | He is in the pool. | be + prep + (det) NP |
| Stage I. | He is in the pool. | be + prep + (det) NP |
| | (connotation: He has a swim in the pool./He always swims in the pool.) | |
| Stage II. | He is in swim. | be + prep + NP |
| Stage III. | He is (in) swimming. | be + prep + deverbal noun |
| | *He is (in) to swim./*He is (in) swim./?He is a-swimming. | |

(In this example, two possibilities are expected to have transitive meanings: a) where to swim – the Direct Object is the place denoting Noun Phrase, and b) how to swim – the Direct Object is the form of

swimming.)

Stage IV. a) He is swimming across the English Channel. be + (prep) + gerund + prep + DO

b) He is swimming on his back.

Stage V. a) He is swimming the English Channel. be + pres. part. + DO

b) He is swimming the backstroke.

(2) Stage 0. He is in the court. be + prep + (det) NP

Stage I. He is in the court. be + prep + (det) NP

(connotation: 'He judges in the court.' also 'He is hung in the court.' is possible)

Stage II. He is in court./*He is in judge. be + prep + NP

(active connotation: He judges in the court.)

He is in trial.

(passive connotation: He is hung in the court.)

(Here, only active connotation is considered in what follows, but in this case, we must change 'court' to 'judge' or 'try' as a verb to produce deverbal noun)

Stage III. He is (in) judging./trying. be + prep + deverbal noun

*He is (in) to judge./to try. *He is (in) judge./try.

?He is a-judging./a-trying.

Stage IV. He is judging of the case. be + (prep) + gerund + prep + DO

He is trying of the case.

Stage V. He is judging the case. be + pres. part. + DO

He is trying the case.

14 The Old English examples in Stage 0 and I are taken from the following explanations:

(Mitchell and Robinson 1982: 116-117 'List of Prepositions,' translation is mine)

Locative Prepositions

æt dat. 'at, from, by'; (acc. 'as far as, until')

in 'in, into'

on 'in, into, on'

wip acc. gen. dat. 'towards, opposite, against, along'

Bede. 4, 26; S. 602, 35

Ða ðe wæron on ðam mynstre Æbbercornig, ðæt is geseted on Engla-lande.

'They/Who were in the minster of Abercorn, which is set in England'

(Toller 1973. *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary & Supplement*, translation is mine)

a1000 *BEOWULF* 210b-211a

flota wæs on yðum *bat under beorge.*
 'ship was on wave boat below an elevated shore'

(Mitchell and Robinson 1982: 116, translation is mine)

and heo hine in þæt mynster onfeng. 'and she received him into the monastery'

het þa in beran segn 'then [he] ordered [them] to carry in the banner'
 c983 ÆLFRED *Orosius* I. i. § 31

Be norðan is se sæ, þe æzþer is ze nearo ze hreoh, wið Italia þam lande.

'To the north sea, which is both narrow and stormy, is by north, against the land Italy.'

- 15 The explanation of 'an, prep.' in *Oxford English Dictionary* is as follows:

Obs. The orig. form of the prep. which, in prehistoric Eng., in accordance with the regular phonetic history of short a before nasals, was rounded to *on*, a form, unlike the parallel *ond*, *hond*, *lomb*, *monn*, ever after retained. In Anglo-Saxon, but not in Anglian, *on* also absorbed the prep. in ... After 11th c. when *on-* in comb. was generally reduced ... the same befell *on* prep. to some extent, esp. in familiar phrases, as *an edge*, *an end*, *an erthe*, *an even* (*at eve*), *as high*, *an hand*, *an horseback*. But in course of time all these were altered back to *on*, or changed to *in*; an being retained only in those in which its prepositional character was no longer apparent, as to *go an* (now *a*) *hawking*, *twice an hour*. 1236 Beket. *Letters ... that thus an English were.*

- 16 The description of 'a, prep.' in *Oxford English Dictionary* is as follows:

12. Process; with *a* verbal n. taken passively: in process of, in course of, undergoing. Varying with *in*: 'forty and six years was this temple in building,' *arch.* or *dial.* (In modern language the *a* is omitted and the verbal n. treated as a participle, passive in sense; as *the house was a building*, *the house was building*. In still more modern speech a formal participle passive appears: *the house was being built*.)

13. Action; with *a* verbal n. taken actively. **a.** With *be*: engaged in. *arch.* or *dial.* (In literary Eng. the *a* is omitted, and the verbal n. treated as a participle agreeing with the subject, and governing the case, to *be fishing*, *fighting*, *making anything*. But most of the southern dialects, and the vulgar speech both in England and America, retain the earlier usage.)

- 17 There can be the other examples of 'Locative-to-progressive Grammaticalization in Historical English' as follows. In the following processes, only the italic sentences are found in historical English. To fill all the Stages out, several hypothetical sentences are added in parentheses.

(1) Stage 0. (I was on the field.) *be + prep + (det) NP*

Stage I. (I was on the field.) *be + prep + (det) NP*

(connotation: I have a hunting on the field./I always hunt on the field.)

- Stage II. <Old English>
ic wæs on huntap. *be + prep + NP*
(huntunge/huntinge/huntende)
- Stage III. <Middle English>
 I was on hunting(e). *be + prep + deverbal noun*
 (in/an/a) (huntinge/huntynge)
 ?I was a-hunting.
- Stage IV. <Modern English>
 I was (a) hunting of a bird. *be + (prep) + gerund + prep + DO*
- Stage V. <Present Day English>
 I was hunting a bird. *be + pres part + DO*
- (2) Stage 0. <Old English>
Ða ðe wæron on ðam mynstre. *be + prep + (det) NP*
 'They were in the minster.'
- Stage I. <Old English>
Ða ðe wæron on ðam mynstre. *be + prep + (det) NP*
 (connotation: They prayed in the minster.)
- Stage II. <Old English>
 (They were in prayer). *be + prep + NP*
- Stage III. <Middle English>
 (They were in praying.) *be + prep + deverbal noun*
 (on/an/a) (prayinge/prayynge)
 (?They were a-praying.)
- Stage IV. <Modern English>
 They were (a) praying for good- *be + (prep) + gerund +*
 ness. *prep + DO*
- Stage V. <Present Day English>
 They were praying goodness. *be + pres part + DO*
- (3) Stage 0. <Old English>
flota wæs on ýðum. *be + prep + (det) NP*
 'ship was on wave.'
- Stage I. <Old English>
flota wæs on ýðum. *be + prep + (det) NP*
 (connotation: ship sails on wave.)
- Stage II. <Old English>
 (A ship was in sail). *be + prep + NP*
- Stage III. <Middle English>
 (A ship was in sailing.) *be + prep + deverbal noun*
 (on/an/a) (sailinge/sailynge)
 (?The ship was a-sailing.)
- Stage IV. <Modern English>

	The ship was (a) sailing across the sea.	<i>be + (prep) + gerund + prep + DO</i>
Stage V.	〈Present Day English〉	
	The ship was sailing the sea.	<i>be + pres part + DO</i>

- 18 Concerning the contribution of infinitive to develop '-ing' from a gerund to a verbal present participle, Koma writes as follows (Koma 1987: 313, 321-322):

Infinitives, along with present participles, are supposed to have been partly responsible for this change. One has to discuss the adequacy of the contention that infinitives, in addition to present participles, also played an important role in causing the change under analysis ... Our account based on the semantic similarity between participles and in-phrases cannot explain the cases with prepositions signifying PURPOSE, such as for-phrases, since to my knowledge there is no historical evidence to show that participial constructions were used as purpose adverbials. However, infinitives, unlike present participles, are qualified as adverbials of PURPOSE, and at the same time, they, like participles, have VP-like internal structures. Consequently, it is not unlikely that infinitives too took part in the evolution of verbal gerunds.

- 19 Visser gives the following examples which cannot be used (Visser 1973: 1096):

Dutch

**de bestraffing de misdadiger* 'the punishing (of) the criminal'

**de herroeping het bevel* 'the cancelling (of) the order'

German

**die Reinigung das Zimmer* 'the cleaning (of) the room'

**die Verbrennung das Buch* 'the burning (of) the book'

- 20 The following Visser's view of a development of the 'Duplex Form in -ing' is actually seen in the grammaticalization Stage IV and V (Visser 1973: 1097):

The result of the developments sketched above was an extraordinary expansion of the functional range of the form in -ing, and sentences in which the form in -ing operated simultaneously as a noun and as a verb spread with rapidly increasing frequency.

- 21 Concerning this Old English present participle *-ende*, I found a tendency of the verb to act in the Expanded Form '*beon/wesan -ende*' similarly to that in Simple Form sentences. See Table 3 Kind of Verb and Transitivity of the Expanded Form Examples (Imai 2014: 208).
- 22 Actually, it has already happened in English in a colloquial or dialectal context. Trudgill and Hannah write about the use of 'belong' in the Progressive Form in South Irish English as follows (Trudgill and Hannah 1994: 106):

There are a number of grammatical differences between SIREng and EngEng. Most of the typically SirEng forms are found only in speech, particularly in colloquial styles...

2. Progressive verb forms are more frequent and are subject to fewer restrictions than in other varieties of English. For example, they can occur with many stative verbs:

I'm seeing it very well This is belonging to me

Moreover, about 'seem,' Professor Scahill of Keio University told me the following type of sentence, in which 'seem' is used in a Progressive Form, is often heard. The time adverbials are essential in this case:

She is seeming tired these days.

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